FANTASY AND MUSIC IN SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

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Graham Strahle

To my Mother
and
the memory of
my Father

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ABSTRACT

One of the major difficulties in attempting to understand the early fantasia is the enormous stylistic diversity of the genre. It is necessary to look beyond the question of musical style and consider what might be the significance of the 'fantasy concept' in music. To do this requires a knowledge of philosophical and psychological theories of fantasy, as they existed in the period in question. English writers modelled their theories on Platonic and Aristotelian fantasy, and evolved a largely independent theory of fantasy which was closely connected with the affections and passions. In literature it was closely connected with poetry.

The emergence of a specifically musical concept of fantasy took place gradually in England during the late 1600s, partially in response to its development in poetry. Its importance is reflected by the many trends in musical thought in the late Elizabethan period which were directly related to it.

The fantasia was an important musical manifestation of creative fantasy, but it was not the only one. Also to be included in the broader picture are the madrigal, improvised music, and all other music which was conceived in purely imaginative terms. The history of the fantasia,

however, offers a unique and invaluable means of charting the evolution of 'musical fantasy' during sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The ideas of contrapuntal skill, variety, depiction of the passions, inner narrative, musical image, and the bizarre were all important themes. Of these, variety was the most important.

John Dowland, William Byrd, and Thomas Morley were three of the most influential composers in the development towards a characteristically English concept of musical fantasy. They appear to have responded positively in a changing aesthetic environment in the Elizabethan period, one which can be seen to have given unprecedented scope to the concept's development, particularly in relation to the fantasia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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... Poetry and Musick, the chief
manifesters of Harmonical Phancy ...

(from Matthew Locke's preface to <u>Psyche</u>)

SELECT
Muſicall Ayres
AND
DIALOGUES,
In Three BOOKES.

First Book, containes *AYRES* for a Voyce alone to the Theorbo, or Baſſe Violl.

Second Book, containes Choice *DIALOGUES* for two Voyces to the Theorbo or Baſſe Violl.

Third Book, containes ſhort *AYRES* or *SONGS* for three Voyces, ſo Compoſed, as they may either be ſung by a Voyce alone, to an Inſtrument, or by two or three Voyces.

Compoſed by theſe ſeverall Excellent Maſters in Muſick, *Viz.*

Dr. *John Wilſon*,
Dr. *Charles Colman*,
Mr. *Henry Lawes*,
Mr. *William Lawes*,
Mr. *William Webb*.

Mr. *Nicholas Lanneare*,
Mr. *William Smegergill alias Caeſar*,
Mr. *Edward Colman*,
Mr. *Jeremy Savile*.
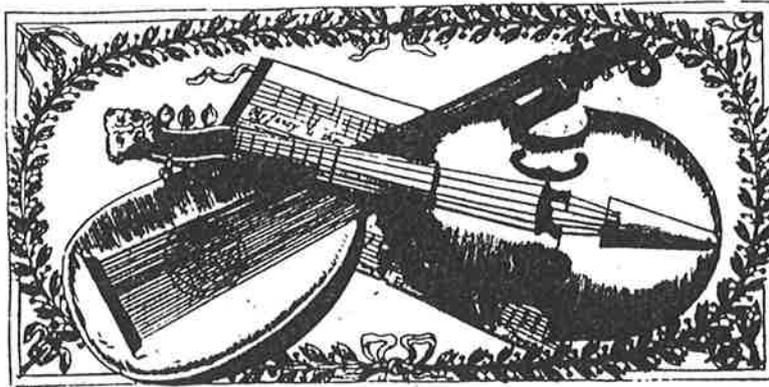
LONDON,

INTRODUCTION

To attempt a study of the possible connections between music and fantasy in the Renaissance period might seem, on the face of it, a somewhat unlikely proposition. A period which espoused artistic principles of order, rationality and propriety, the Renaissance hardly promises the fertile ground of research into musical fantasy that, say, the nineteenth century does. There are no immediate parallels to be drawn, for example, between the various instrumental genres of the sixteenth century and the many formally diffuse, poetically inspired, and freely imaginative compositions which typify the Romantic period. It is difficult to think of how such works as Schubert's 'Wanderer Fantasie', Berlioz' 'Symphonie Fantastique', and Liszt's 'Réminiscences de Don Juan' might find even the remotest equivalents in music of the Renaissance period. Moreover, it is doubtful even that the notion of creative fantasy, as exemplified by these works, can be said to have truly belonged to that early period.

To borrow a phrase from literary criticism, creative fantasy can be described as 'the energy of a mind engaged in aimless invention'.[1] As a general concept, creative fantasy bases its whole artistic premise on the creative superiority of free-ranging imagination over the rigid control of reason, and it upholds as artistically virtuous the potentially anarchical elements of fiction, super-

naturalism and escapism. 'Musical fantasy', if such a term can be used, would seem to involve an element of self-conscious evasion, even deliberate and outright denial, of purposeful and ordered means of musical expression. Predictability gives way to unpredictability, uniformity gives way to heterogeneity, and logic gives way to free and spontaneous invention. The composer is allowed to pursue his own imagination, whether this is some kind of personal reverie, nostalgia, or other 'idiosyncracy'. And the listener is required to temporarily suspend his own musical beliefs and preconceptions, in order that he may participate in a 'journey of the mind into the unknown'. As a possible approach to composition, this appears to contradict in every way the Renaissance view that music, like every other art, is founded on universal principles (of ideal imitation, universal order and natural harmony) which normally preclude any form of 'idiosyncratic' or indulgently subjective expression.

Before making any pre-emptive conclusions about the applicability or validity of the term 'musical fantasy' in Renaissance music, one first has to carefully consider what is meant by fantasy. Here lies a special problem, for trying to define that word with an aim to establish its significance as an artistic concept in whatever field, is like trying to define art itself. Both are open-ended in meaning, and neither is truly definable. For example, the burgeoning genre of literary fantasy has prompted many

literary scholars to ask what precisely delineates that genre from fiction and other related genres.[2] If there is a general consensus, it is that literary fantasy belongs to a special, 'undefinable' category of its own. The problem is that fantasy defies rationality because it is the very antithesis of ordered thought. As a creative force, it is to be marvelled at but never to be understood. Its creations happen as if by chance, out of the impossible, always evoking wonder. One literary scholar, C.N. Manlove, wrote that 'wonder is, of course, generated by fantasy purely from the presence of the supernatural or impossible and from the element of mystery and lack of explanation that goes with it'.[3] Attempting to analyse fantasy in works of art therefore presents serious problems; it may be that such a task can never truly be accomplished. The substance of fantasy, being the very life-blood of creation, is perhaps totally inscrutable. Unlike other aspects of a work of art, such as form or structure, it cannot be isolated, dissected, or explained. In a way, it must forever remain intangible if the life-blood is to continue to flow. For the scholar, then, the indications are that as a line of enquiry for critical investigation, fantasy seems to be an impossibility.

There is another aspect to this problem, and it concerns the changing face and relative nature of fantasy. For different people and different times, fantasy means different things. There can be no fixed definition, simply

because it is not a static concept. It always denotes freedom in one way or another, but the nature of this freedom cannot be circumscribed within known or fixed boundaries. Historically, a philosophical polarity has always separated fantasy from rationality, but the nature of this polarity has always been understood differently, and the critical boundary which separates the two has constantly shifted, in response to changes in a wide range of cultural and philosophical norms. All forms of modern fictional literature would have been regarded as fantasy in the sixteenth century, whereas in modern times the term 'literary fantasy' has usually been reserved for 'juvenile' fiction and nonsense verse (for example, George MacDonald, Charles Kingsley, William Morris, Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear), Gothic literature and the supernatural (Horatio Walpole and Mary Shelley), the fairy story (J.R.R. Tolkien), and science fiction (Jules Verne and Brian Aldiss). Therefore, its meaning must be understood to vary from one period to another, and from one writer to another. This being the case, a review of the different types of fantasy literature forces one 'to realize that fantasy may be almost all things to all men'.[4]

It is perhaps only because of a latent suspicion of the subject of fantasy by a majority of musicologists that there has so far been no attempt to study the history of musical fantasy. Indeed, the validity of musical fantasy as an area of research still awaits recognition, and this

may be the result of a general belief that fantasy defies
orthodox musicological enquiry since it lies beyond the
realm of the logical, the explicable and the investigable.
For all its potential interest it must, as long as this
belief continues, remain a closed book of knowledge. The
problem is that conventional analytical methods are
designed to explain music's logic, not its free spirit of
invention or its essential element of fantasy. Fantasy in
music is more a fundamental artistic impulse or idea, than
a documentable 'fact', which can through analysis be found
to manifest itself in certain patterns of notes or subtle
manipulations of form. The musicologist would do well to
bear in mind the words of one scholar of literary critic-
ism, Roger Schlobin, who remarked that fantasy in literary
works 'is not detectible by such tools as theme,
character, style, or structure'.[5] The same is true of
fantasy in musical works, and an example will show this.
The 'Symphony Fantastique' of Berlioz is a dream-like,
incoherent and strange musical narrative of 'an episode in
the life of an artist', born of obsessive, amorous longing
and opiate-induced hallucinations. Its concept of fantasy
relates at the deepest level to the romantic notion of the
dispossessed and tormented individual who turns to art for
salvation. Berlioz, for whom fantasy and imagination were
connected with literary impulse (as seen in his reading of
Virgil and Shakespeare[6]) and exoticism (as seen in his
interest in the legends and mysteries of Egypt and the Far
East[7]), thought of fantasy as a creative force inspired by

powerful emotions and loneliness. The sound of an aeolian harp from high up in a leafless tree, creating 'fantastic harmonies', could only fill him with an experience of 'profound sadness' and 'a vague but overmastering desire for another existence'.[8] To enter the fantastic world of Berlioz' symphony is impossible without recourse to the programme which he wrote for it. This outlines the vivid imaginings of the young artist, and enables the listener to make many meaningful associations with the music.

The point is that the element of fantasy relates very closely to the initial conception or motivation of an artistic work, and the way that work is comprehended by the listener. To look critically into these areas with any hope of success, it is absolutely necessary to investigate the 'creative psychology' which lies behind or is implied by the music. This calls for a very wide range of scholarly reference and necessitates a close examination of all factors which might contribute either directly or indirectly to the creative process in music. The difficulty of fantasy research thus stems from its huge scope and complexity, but this is an acknowledgement of its central importance as a field of study. It should be added that in recent years scholars in the literary and visual arts have profitted in many valuable and unexpected ways from research into the philosophy, aesthetics, and history of fantasy.[9] This is despite all the problems, already identified, which such research presents. It

remains for scholars of musical history to follow their
initiatives and develop appropriate research methods and
techniques which can yield satisfactory results.

The present study was never intended to address the
subject of fantasy at all. The author began on a project
of analysing the Renaissance fantasia, in purely stylistic
terms, with the intention of placing that genre in a wider
context of the historical evolution of musical style. This
attempt at producing a wider perspective led in turn to a
different approach when questions were asked about the
fundamental nature of the fantasia. As a species of
instrumental music which originated in Italy and spread
throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, it has been
studied as well as any other compositional form of the
time. But what has not been properly investigated is its
relationship to fantasy theory of the Renaissance. The
fantasia differs in an elemental way from all other
compositional forms in that, as its name suggests, it is
the purest musical expression of the creative side of
fantasy. It is therefore an invaluable avenue by which the
musicologist can become directly acquainted with concepts
of musical fantasy in earlier periods of history. The
fantasia should be regarded as musical document of
considerable historical importance, for it is, in a sense,
a living definition of how past cultures conceived the
very essence of musical creativity. In it contain the
vital signs and messages which promise to shed light on

many issues of central importance to the art of music, such as the psychology of musical imagination and invention, theories of composition, and the aesthetics of musical style.

In musical analysis, it is a well-known fact, almost a dictum of musicology, that only those patterns or ideas which are looked for, are indeed ever found. The problem of looking for 'evidence of fantasy' in a composition has already been raised, and this again begs the question of how an appropriate analytical methodology for fantasy can be arrived at. Here the present author gained much inspiration from research into literary fantasy, and grew towards the belief that many ideas from this field can also be found to apply to music. (Ultimately it was discovered that the subject of fantasy offers many fascinating links between literature and music.) One must begin with a firm understanding of the philosophy and theoretical basis of fantasy, for without this its significance in music cannot be fully established. One cannot make assumptions about what musical fantasy meant in Renaissance England without first having studied fantasy theory in that period. The problem is that Renaissance fantasy theory is a highly complicated area of research, and one which is not very well understood. But since it is so very central to the subject of this thesis, a separate study had to be devoted to it before turning to the music itself. Part II is addressed primarily to fantasy theory

in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, but rather than being a separate or isolated study, its purpose is to establish the necessary context for what follows, and to introduce a number of general ideas whose specifically musical ramifications are explored in later chapters.

In having prepared this work, heavy reliance has been placed on primary source material (very little secondary source material exists), and this is used to steer the discussion in Part III, on the philosophy and aesthetics of fantasy in English music of the period in question. Since this is an area of scholarship which is almost entirely new, it was felt necessary to document it as fully as possible. The documents themselves span the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the cut-off date being 1700. The thesis therefore addresses itself not only to the 'Renaissance' period but to the 'post-Renaissance' or 'Baroque' period as well, and a decision to have it this way was partly based upon the difficulty of setting meaningful dates of demarcation between one period and the next. It was also based on the belief that, at least in the area of musical philosophy, the above terms are actually of little value when discussing English music of these two centuries. Part IV brings the focus away from the general and on to the specific. Its aim is to relate the findings of earlier chapters to the subject of musical composition. It is here that the fantasia is dealt with, and there are three final chapters which look at the ideas

and works of three individual composers whose contribut-
ions were felt to warrant special study. The approach
throughout has been to rely as much on the written word as
the music itself, in the belief that this defines what to
look for in the music. Without such a reliance, any
investigation of the fantasy side of music runs the risk
of degenerating into the vague, the inconclusive, and the
speculative.

Bibliographical note: All primary source publications are
published in London unless otherwise stated.

NOTES : INTRODUCTION

1. Willard L. Sperry, Wordsworth's Anti-Climax, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935, p.160.

2. See for example C.N. Manlove, Modern Fantasy: Five Studies, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1975; A. Sheikh and John T. Shaffer, The Potential of Fantasy and Imagination, New York, Brandon House, c.1979; Stephen Prickett, Victorian Fantasy, Hassocks, Harvester Press, 1979; Christine Brooke-Rose, A Rhetoric of the Unreal: Studies in Narrative and Structure, especially of the Fantastic, Cambridge University Press, 1981; Roger C. Schlobin (ed.), The Aesthetics of Fantasy, Literature and Art, University of Notre Dame Press and Harvester Press, 1982; T.E. Apter, Fantasy Literature: an Approach to Reality, London, Macmillan, 1982; and Anne Wilson, Magical Thought in Creative Writing: the Distinctive Roles of Fantasy and Imagination in Fiction, Stroud, Thimble Press, 1983.

3. C.N. Manlove, 'On the Nature of Fantasy', in Schlobin, op. cit., p.22.

4. Ibid., p.16.

5. Roger C. Schlobin, op. cit., p.x (Preface).

6. In David Cairns (ed.), The Memoirs of Berlioz, London, Panther Books, 1969, pp.39, 143 and 151-53.

7. Ibid., pp.195 and 59.

8. Ibid., p.220.

9. See note 2 above, and Martin Kemp, 'From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasy': the Quattrocento vocabulary of creation, inspiration and genius in the visual arts', in Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Berkeley, University of California Press), vol.8 (1977), pp.347-98; and David Summers, Michelangelo and the Language of Art, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981 (Part One concerns Michelangelo and fantasy).

P A R T   I

PART I: THE PROBLEM OF THE FANTASIA

> 'Attempts to define the fantasia
> in particular terms fail ...'[1]

Interest in the subject of musical terminology during the last few decades has prompted a number of musicologists to look into the fantasia, which is perhaps one of the most problematic musical forms to have evolved during the Renaissance. Efforts have been made to document the use of the term 'fantasia' in selected periods of musical history, with the hope of evolving a definition which may help explain its specific musical meanings and characteristics. Special interest has centred on the solo and ensemble fantasia of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries for three main reasons. Firstly, this is the earliest period in its history, and particular attention must obviously be placed on its origins. Secondly, that period was with little doubt the most illustrious in the fantasia's history, since it then emerged as one of the principal instrumental forms and was cultivated in many European countries by a great number of composers. Thirdly, there are particular problems in approaching the early fantasia which relate to its lack of a static form. In fact, far from being a fixed form, the fantasia was in reality a highly changeable form, and its complicated history makes difficult the task of pinpointing a common

1

theme, or themes, which might lead towards a satisfactory definition.

. The third of these problems is encountered in a number of other Renaissance instrumental forms such as the ricercar, but with the fantasia it is especially challenging. This is partly because the word 'fantasia' (together with its etymological equivalents and variations in a number of European languages: see Appendix I) did not originally have a musical connection at all, and neither did it appear to become a specialized musical term in the sense of denoting a particular, definable set of musical ideas or characteristics. Put in the most general way, the fantasia was a musical form whose identity was not determined by purely musical factors but instead by a concept which lay outside music, namely the concept of fantasy. If such a hypothesis is true, the task of investigating the fantasia is very difficult indeed, because it means that the necessary range of reference is vastly broadened. This is what prompted Gregory Butler to make the following conclusion:

> In order to acquire a fuller understanding of some of the more enigmatic musical terms, such as fantasia, one must ... go further afield in tracing the extramusical applications of such terms. [2]

To do full justice to the extramusical approach, 'fantasia' should not even be treated as a term per se, since this implies a specialized, musical application, but instead simply as a word, which does not. It is therefore necessary to recognize 'fantasia' in the first place as a

general concept, and only secondly in terms of its specific musical applications.

With regard to its musical applications, a number of terminological studies of the early fantasia have been undertaken.[3] Böetticher, Lesure and Meyer contributed articles on the fantasia to Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (vol.3, columns 1762-68, 1768-71, and 1771-81 respectively). Margaret Reimann contributed the article 'Die Fantasie des Barockzeitalters' in the same work (vol.3, columns 1781-90), and in 1953 produced the study 'Zur Deutung des Begriffs Fantasia' in Archiv für Musik-wissenschaft.[4] In his doctoral thesis of 1960, H.C. Slim included an admirably detailed appendix, 'Meanings of fantasia, ricercar and prelude to 1600'; this makes use of sources uncovered in preceding studies and adds further, previously unknown ones.[5] More recent is Christopher Field's article on the fantasia (to 1700) in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, which gives a short introductory section on terminology.[6] At least as important as these are studies of the fantasia repertory itself, for they reveal by stylistic analysis the specific musical characteristics of the fantasia in different phases of its history, and in the hands of different composers. The main disadvantage of this approach, however, is that it often only leads to confusion, in view of the enormous stylistic diversity which is encountered.[7]

A survey of the findings of representative termino-logical and stylistic studies might include John M. Ward's

general observation of the fantasia for vihuela de mano,
based on his analysis of this repertory:

> The sixteenth-century fantasia, if it can be charac-
> terized in any summary fashion, was a relatively
> free, monothematic or polythematic, more or less
> polyphonic, two or more voiced, sometimes highly
> ornamented or toccata-like music of greatly varying
> length occasionally based on borrowed music (parody)
> but more often newly invented. Perhaps the single
> common feature is some (often very little) use of
> imitative polyphony, though there are even excep-
> tions to this. [8]

For Slim, whose terminological study has already been
mentioned, the answer lay not in terminological analysis
but in the stylistic development of the fantasia genre.
This was especially so considering the difficulties which
inevitably arise from conducting a terminological study,
in particular what he believed was a lack of any truly
specific common thread in literary sources. Concluding his
analysis of the solo ricercar, fantasia and prelude during
the first half of the sixteenth century, he wrote that:

> In 1551, to amplify the remarks of several contempor-
> ary writers, an instrumentalist still looked for,
> and sought with his fantasy, that is, his creative
> power, but the resources, styles and conventions
> were different from those in 1507. The thread that
> runs through all these pieces is not a dependence
> upon, but a utilization of, vocal music. The process
> of playing a ricercar or fantasia did not so much
> involve a passive adaptation as it called for an act
> of re-creation according to the player's skill and
> imagination. [9]

Both Ward's and Slim's studies concerned the fantasia for
solo instrument, and extra complexities are introduced
when the fantasia for ensemble is considered. Christopher
Field, summarizing the terminology of both types during
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, gave a number of
specific observations in place of a single definition. One

of these observations was that subjective license and 'musical imagination' were essential to the fantasia; another observation was the fantasia's freedom from words, which allowed it to develop into an often highly complex composition in which the composer could demonstrate his contrapuntal ingenuity; another was the emphasis in England on diversity of material; and finally, there is to be observed the widespread existence of the so-called 'parody' fantasia which modelled itself on pre-existing polyphonic compositions.[10]

Field's summary demonstrates quite pointedly that the fantasia was not characterized by a single, hard and fast musical idea or technique. None of the techniques employed was exclusive or unique to it; all were in fact employed in other compositions. Paradoxically, perhaps the only general observation which can be made is that the fantasia was a composition whose chief characteristic was that it encompassed a very wide variety of techniques. It is also paradoxical that as one of the foremost instrumental compositions of the Renaissance, the fantasia's freedom from words might be isolated as a distinguishing feature, since all instrumental compositions obviously shared this freedom. Yet the element of freedom is supposedly a foremost characteristic of the fantasia genre. But what this indirectly points to is a close relationship which, as Slim noted, seems to have persisted between the fantasia and polyphonic vocal forms. This relationship however, sheds no immediate light on the precise nature of the Renaissance fantasia.

To compound matters, 'fantasia' was used interchange-ably with a range of other terms for the titles of various instrumental compositions. Slim's list of sources of instrumental music from the first half of the sixteenth century, in which alternative titles were given for the same compositions in different published or manuscript sources, clearly bears this out.[11] It shows that 'fantasia' was frequently used interchangeably with 'ricercar', and was also often equated with other terms such as 'pre-ambel', 'carminum', 'preludium', 'hortus' and 'tiento'. Indeed, it appears that there was little, if any, formal distinction between any of these terms, especially between 'fantasia' and 'ricercar'. In later sources 'fantasia' was increasingly used as an exclusive title for compositions, but even so, it was also equated at different times with 'voluntary', 'automaton', 'capriccio', 'canzon' and 'fuga'.[12] This again raises the question of whether 'fantasia' (or other names for that matter) should right-fully be regarded as a generic term.

'Bonissima fantasia'

There exist many early literary sources in which 'fantasia' is not referred to as a specific type of composition, but more generally as a musical invention, method or idea. This has either been ignored or only poorly recognized by musicologists, and it is another reason why much terminological confusion has surrounded the fantasia. First of all it needs to be understood that

'fantasia', in its original meaning, actually referred to one of the faculties of the mind. When Pietro Pontio mentioned the word in his treatise Ragionamento di Musica, he did so without any direct reference to music at all. Quoting Plutarch, he stated that the elements which comprise music's unity and harmony are mirrored by the harmony of the soul's faculties. Thus the tetrachord, believed from ancient Greek times to be one of the basic elements of music, is mirrored in its intervallic structure by the intellect, reason, 'phantasia', and the physical senses which comprise the soul.[13]

The nature of this faculty of fantasy is discussed fully in Part II, but the most important observation to be made here is that the word 'fantasia' came to refer generally to any product of that faculty or to any process, whether imaginative, inventive or creative, which was believed to take place in it. A clue can be found in Johannes de Grocheo's treatise Ars musice. Addressing the subject of the musical modes, Grocheo stated that Lambertus (author of Tractatus de musica) and others, expanded the number of modes from six to nine, 'basing their fantasy on the nine natural instruments'.[14] By this is meant simply idea or intuitive thought. Fantasy was thus a faculty responsible for intuition and insight, as opposed to strictly rational mental processes. But more importantly, as shall be seen, it was a faculty where all creativity was believed to take place.

In late fifteenth-century Italy there are already signs that the word 'fantasia' was being applied to creative products of a specifically musical kind. Yet this does not alter the fact that it was still being applied to any product, musical or otherwise, of the creative and intuitive mind. Significantly, when writers referred to 'fantasia' in the context of music, they did so not in reference to a particular type of musical composition, but to the general notion of musical invention. This is demonstrated by a number of peripheral sources. The earliest known is a letter (dated 5 February, 1492) sent by a courtier, Ercole Albergati Zafarano, to the Marchese Francesco Gonzaga, which refers to a certain 'magna fantasia' which had been promised by the musician Filippo Lapacino. It would appear from the context that the composition was to have been vocal.[15] Another letter (c.1500), from Gian at Ferrara to his master Ercole d'Este, duke of the city (d. 1505), reported that Isaac 'has composed a motet on a fantasia called La me la so la se la mi lo'.[16] Here 'fantasia' obviously refers to a musical idea or theme rather than a completed composition. It is noteworthy that during this period in Italy, 'fantasia' was also used to denote the inventive or creative powers which were employed by artists when painting pictures, and even by makers of musical instruments.[17] In these contexts it seems to have meant much the same as 'inventione', a word which commonly appears in sources of this period.

The words of Luis de Milán, the famed exponent of the vihuela da mano, are especially instructive, for in his treatise El Maestro (Valencia, 1536) he explains that

> any work in this book in which ever mode it is, is entitled fantasia, in the sense that it only proceeds from the fantasy and industry [fantasia y industria] of the author who created it.[18]

For Milán, 'fantasia' seems not to have denoted a prescribed type of composition of fixed procedure, but simply a piece of musical invention. Contrary to modern assumption, it was not a generic composition. Thus compositions called 'fantasias' were not necessarily all of the same mould: in fact they could differ very significantly from each other. Thus, Milán was able to compose a fantasia (no.21, in the seventh mode) whose 'spirit copies the spirit of the pavans that they play in Italy'. The same goes for six later fantasias in El Maestro which, 'since they copy [the pavans played in Italy] in everything, we call them pavans'.[19] These words perfectly illustrate the problem of dealing with the fantasia as a generic composition: to assume that it was a generic composition is obviously to falsify its original meaning.

But Milán's words may help to explain the existence of the so-called 'parody fantasia', in which the composer modelled a new composition on an existing one (usually a motet, chanson or madrigal). He did this by extracting the essential idea of the original, such as the opening theme or polyphonic texture, and transforming it according to his own subjective creativity. In this case, 'fantasia'

refers to a musical image which serves as the source of his imaginative powers. Thus Milán's fantasias, mentioned above, make imaginative use of the pavan as their starting point. This idea of fantasia, meaning musical image, is obviously the key to understanding Claudius Sebastiani's advice to young instrumentalists in his treatise Bellum musicale. He says 'fantasia' can be taken from an existing song or motet when working out a new composition, such as a mass, 'in such a way that everything they [the students] play seems to present the song or said motet'. He also recommended that a song or motet can be ornamented towards its ending if 'they interpolate a fantasia culled from the same song'.[20]

The skill which Sebastiani mentions of adding ornamentation or 'glosa' to an existing composition, related more than anything else to the art of improvisation. There was in fact no other art which so comprehensively tested the mastery of the solo instrumentalist than did improvisation, since it demanded fullest use of all his musical knowledge, experience and ability. Great importance was placed in the sixteenth century on being able to spontaneously compose and perform a perfectly conceived composition, and this is evidenced by the many treatises from that century which were addressed either in part or in whole to the art of improvisation. (In addition to those already mentioned, there were Adrian Coclico's Compendium musices, Nuremberg, 1552, and Sethus Calvisius' Melopoeia, Erfurt, 1592.) Since improvisation was so

highly regarded, many compositions were written in improvisatory style so as to give the impression that they had been spontaneously created. The idea of fantasia was intimately associated with improvisation, and because the art of improvisation was often referred to as the 'art of fantasia', finished pieces of an improvisatory character were often called 'fantasias'. Whether a fantasia was genuinely improvised or not, the same basic idea was implicit: the performer first had to muster his inventive powers, by seeking an initial musical idea and then submitting his entire musical skills to the task of realizing that idea to form a complete composition.

Antonfrancesco Doni, in <u>Dialogo della musica</u>, provides evidence of just how closely the above process came to be associated with the idea of fantasia. Remarking on the lute playing of Anton de Lucca, Doni observed that 'Lucca seeks with fantasia upon the lute and brings forth wondrous things'.[21] Pontus de Tyard wrote similarly, though with much more detail, of the lutenist Francesco da Milano's playing at a banquet in his home city of Milan:

> The tables being cleared, he chose one, and, as if trying his tuning, sat down at the end of it to seek out a fantasia [rechercher une fantaisie]. No sooner had he excited the air with three strokes than conversation which had started up among the guests was silenced; and, having constrained them to face where he sat, he continued with such ravishing skill that little by little, making the strings languish under his fingers with his divine touch, he transported all who were listening into so blandishing a melancholy that ... they were left deprived of every sense apart from hearing.[22]

A close connection between playing fantasia and the art of improvisation is also revealed by examining sixteenth-century documents and treatises which address themselves to that art. One is a set of instructions (c.1550) for organists who competed for positions at San Marco, Venice. It states that they were required to improvise 'a correct fantasia' on the opening of a Kyrie or motet, 'without confusing the voices, as if four singers were singing'.[23] Obviously there was more to improvisation than simply coming up with a new or original musical idea. The organists had to be able to demonstrate skill at extending an idea while properly observing the rules of counterpoint. This is made clear in Juan Bermudo's El libro llamado declaración de instrumentos musicales (Osuna, 1555), when he states that vihuelists should not attempt to play fantasia until they possess the necessary knowledge and experience: 'Although they know counterpoint, ... they should avoid playing fantasia too soon'.[24]

Another work for vihuelists was the Arte de tañer fantasia (Valladolid, 1565) by Tomás de Santa Maria. As with Bermudo's Declaración this work primarily concerned the art of improvisation, and it repeated the point that the musician must have under his command all the skills of music before he should attempt playing fantasia. In particular, this meant acquiring a full understanding of all the various aspects of imitative technique, such as the proper handling of subjects and their answers. Santa Maria writes that in this technique

consists the art of fantasia which, above all, has
to be known because in all the things only art makes
the master, and thus it follows that all those who
in their craft are ignorant of the art are imperfect.[25]

The art of fantasia, according to Santa Maria, also
required complete knowledge of consonance and dissonance
in two-, three- and four-part writing. The only way to
master the art was to 'practise it many times every day
and with great perseverance and never with despair', and
to commit as much music to memory as possible.[26] Only then
can the musician achieve 'a wealth and abundance of
fantasia'.[27]

Adherence to rules of counterpoint was essential, but
at the same time there remained something inescapably
intangible about playing fantasia. This was because it
related to the art of improvisation, an art always charac-
terized by brilliance and daring. In no other capacity
could the musician show quite the same degree of pure
invention, of the kind which marvelled and even astonished
an audience. The twin demands placed on the musician of
flawless technique and free, creative impulse, certainly
sorted out the masters from the students. Not many
musicians measured up in either regard, as Heinrich Finck
observed of organists in Germany:

> When the organists want to give a demonstration of
> their art on organs or other instruments, they take
> refuge in various dodges and produce empty noise
> wholly devoid of charm. In order the more easily to
> cajole the ears of untrained listeners and to arouse
> admiration for their own digital skill, they some-
> times permit their fingers to run up and down the
> keys for half an hour at a time and hope in this
> manner, by means of such an agreeable din, with
> God's help to move mountains, but they bring forth
> only a ridiculous mouse. They pay no heed to the

requirements of Master <u>Mensura</u>, Master <u>Tactus</u>, Master <u>Tonus</u>, and especially Master <u>Bona fantasia</u>. For after they have fumbled around monophonically for some time with great speed on the keys, they finally begin to form a two-voiced <u>fuga</u>, and with both feet working in the pedal, add the other voices. However, to the ears, such music I would hardly call correct, but to those who have senses and are able to discriminate, as pleasant as the whining of an ass. [28]

The 'Bona fantasia' to which Finck refers was an essentially undefinable and intangible attribute which differed from musician to musician, because it depended solely on the individual creative <u>ingego</u>. When Diego Ortiz wrote of improvisation on the <u>violon</u> and cembalo in his <u>Trattado de glosas</u> (Rome, 1553), he remarked that 'I cannot demonstrate fantasia to you because each plays it after his own fashion'.[29] Likewise, Diruta referred to what he called 'bonissima fantasia' in organ improvisation. It was a rare quality which the performer possessed (if he was lucky) and which could be exploited to artistic ends, but only if he possessed the necessary technical means of doing so. If he did not, his 'bonissima fantasia' would simply be lost.[30]

In treatises on composition, music theorists usually referred to fantasia in connection with the subject of free counterpoint. In Gioseffo Zarlino's <u>Le istitutio harmoniche</u>, pieces 'tutto composto di fantasia' are for example, to be clearly differentiated from those using pre-existing subjects.[31] The same differentiation also applies in Lodovico Zacconi's <u>Prattica di musica ii</u> and Vincenzo Galilei's <u>Fronimo</u>.[32] It is interesting to note that Zacconi refers to 'bonissima inventione' in the works of Orlando di Lasso, for it would appear to mean much the

same as Diruta's 'bonissima fantasia'. Zacconi used the
expression in reference to qualities of 'modulatione' and
'arte' which he felt were especially praiseworthy.[33] For
other theorists, 'fantasia' meant a freely invented
musical idea or a _fuga_ in improvisation. In _Bellum
musicale_, Claudius Sebastiani commented on the playing of
instrumentalists, pointing out that 'It will be fitting
and very pleasing, if when they have finished a fantasia
or fuga, they begin another fantasia at the octave'.[34] Or
it could refer to any unspecified imitative composition,
vocal or instrumental, which gave wide scope to free
invention. Zarlino stated that after the student has
mastered the basics of four-part composition, he can

> move on to more ambitious undertakings and ...
> compose other vocal fantasies: such as motets,
> madrigals, and other beautiful songs, upon an
> original subject, a cantus firmus, or an existing
> voice part. [35]

Likewise Nicola Vicentino referred to 'various fantasias
_da_ _sonare_, & _da_ _cantare_, based on cantus firmus, figurat-
ion, various canons, and numerous fugues'.[36] He freely
equated 'fantasia' with masses, psalms, hymns, motets,
madrigals, canzonas, and other compositions in four parts.[37]

In these contexts, fantasia is quite obviously not a
musical term but rather a loose designation for any form
of arbitrary inventive creation. As stated earlier, it was
applied to any art, not just music. An example of
'fantasia' being applied arbitrarily to poetry and song
can be found in _Orlando furioso_. In this epic poem,
Ariosto describes a banquet, attended by Ruggiero and

Alcina, during which the guests were entranced by the delightful sounds of instruments, love song, and vivid poetry. The verse is worth giving in full:

> Around the table citaras, harps and lyres,
> And diverse other delightful sounds
> Made the air turn vibrant
> From sweet harmonies and happy concent.
> Nor was there lacking song, speaking
> Of Love's pleasures and passions,
> Or with inventions and poems
> Representing free fantasies.[38]

This verse has something in common with Tyard's previously quoted description of Milano's lute playing, for it likewise places the idea of fantasia in the context of after-dinner musical entertainment. Also, both sources relate fantasia to the captivating effect of sensual pleasure, and to the notion that the passions can be moved by artistic representation. Incidentally, the idea that the mind should engage in imaginative, recreative entertainment during an evening of repast goes back to ancient Greek times. Aristotle thought that the pleasant and sensual quality of instrumental and vocal music made it suitable for special occasions, and noted that 'this is why people with good reason introduce it at parties and entertainments, for its exhilarating effect' (Politica VIII, v, 1-2).

Returning to Zarlino, it can be seen that he meant two opposite things when he referred to the idea of fantasia. On the one hand he used the phrase 'belle fantasie' when he described the manner in which inventive composition seeks to 'imitate the ancients'. However, he

also used the word in a vastly different meaning when he spoke of the 'fantastic new things' which he said find no favour at all with 'connoisseurs of the precious and good'.[39] The context implies that Zarlino was thinking in particular of the 'chromaticists' who, in his opinion, flouted and contravened the accepted rules of counterpoint. Since they chose not to observe propriety, this automatically meant their inventions lacked all worthiness.

These sources all show that 'fantasia' originally had a much broader meaning than is now generally recognized. Of interest in this connection is the term 'phantasticus stylus'. It is one which has an obvious bearing on any discussion of 'fantasia', and yet it has been largely overlooked in modern terminological studies. (For example, it is not to be found in either Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegerwart or The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.) Reference to 'phantasticus stylus' first appears in Athanasius Kircher's Musurgia universalis (Rome, 1650), and it is described as a style which is suitable for instrumental music. Kircher calls it 'a free and loose method of composition, without words, but subject to drawn harmonies [harmonico adstrictus] showing ingenuity, and hidden harmonical procedure, clever harmonical ending, [and] connected fugues as customarily taught'.[40] Sébastien de Brossard saw that there was on the one hand a 'stilo phantastico', or free manner of instrumental composition in which the composer is not restricted by the usual restraints; and on the other, that species of composition known as the 'fantasia' in which 'the composer

is not tied to a particular meter and can range over all
sorts of modes, etc.'.[41] The first embraced the second, but
'stilo phantastico' also embraced other species of instrum-
ental composition such as the ricercar, toccata and
sonata.[42] Thus the existence of the later term 'phantas-
ticus stylus' is a further reinforcement of the need to
consider 'fantasia' in the widest possible context.

Stylistic Considerations

Two questions can now be answered. The first is that
'fantasia' was perhaps not such an 'enigmatic' term as
Butler suggests. It was used in the same general yet
unambiguous manner that 'invention' is used today, and
with much the same meaning. The second question, concern-
ing the stylistic variation of compositions which were
called 'fantasias', is now no longer a problem at all. The
fantasia's identity was not determined by fixed stylistic
criteria but rather, if anything, by the opposite. It was
simply a composition which gave fullest scope to the
composer's inventive powers.

Of course, it would be insufficient to define it
thus, and not see if the definition squares with what can
be observed first-hand from the compositions themselves.
This must be done by way of close and careful analysis of
a large number of individual works, to ascertain the types
of stylistic procedure which were adopted. Such a task,
considering the vastness of the repertory, is of course
beyond the scope of a single study such as this. However,

it is worth briefly delineating the main observable stylistic boundaries within which fantasia composition is known to have existed during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Warren Kirkendale has observed that there were two fundamental stylistic categories to which the fantasia and related compositions belonged. These other compositions are given as the intonatio, preambulum, preludio, ricercar, tastar, tiento and toccata, all of which are classified by him as being preludial in function.[43] One category is characterized by a style which is free and improvisatory, consisting of chordal passages interspersed with scalic runs. It was ideally suited to the lute, vihuela da mano and keyboard instruments. Entirely different, the style of the second category was wholly polyphonic and relied exclusively on point-of-imitation technique. Typically, pieces belonging to this category comprised a number of overlapping sections, each organized around separate but sometimes related thematic subjects or 'soggetti'.

A comparison of two representative compositions for lute will clearly demonstrate the differences between the two different styles. Adrian Le Roy's 'Petite fantasie dessus l'accord du Leut' is an excellent example of the free type of fantasia.[44] As the title suggests, this composition was used to check the tuning of the instrument, and it begins in the same manner described by Pontus de Tyard of Milano's fantasia playing, given earlier. A quotation of the opening bars shows how this is done. The piece

begins with the lowest string (G), moves on in series to each successive higher string (c,f,a,d', and g'), and then follows the reverse order from the uppermost string down-wards.[45]

Against each open string is played an octave (or a fifth in the case of the g') on another string, thereby making it possible to check the tuning. And since the composition is presumably played in a rhythmically free manner, the lutenist has time to make a few quick, minor adjustments if necessary. When this is over with, he embarks on a few 'warm up' passages of scales, figuration, and _style brisé_:

A completely different approach is shown in the Fantasia no.5 from Francesco da Milano's <u>Intabolatura di lauto di diversi ...</u> (Venice, 1536).[46] For the most part this is a two-part composition in imitative style, and the immediate difference is its greater length (57 as against 25 bars), and its greater overall complexity. It begins in strict canon at the fifth for the first seven bars:

After several bars of freer imitative writing, the following theme is repeatedly heard over a length of a dozen bars:

The theme reappears later in the composition (bars 41-42 and 53-56), and even though other ideas are also introduced (imitation at the seventh in bars 27-32 and chordal writing in bars 46-52), this reappearance provides a unity and coherence which is wholly absent in the preceding composition.

How these two contrastingly different styles came to be used side by side in fantasia composition is an intriguing and difficult question. It has no immediate answer. The problem is that the two styles seem to be based on opposing ideas. The improvisatory style is free and rhapsodic, calling for a loose style of performance. The contrapuntal or imitative style is organized around structural principles, and the presence of more than one independent vocal line at any given time necessitates a metrically strict performance. As can be seen in the works of a great many lute composers of the period, the two styles were actually often employed in the one composition. Of course, a separate but related question is how a strict and highly organized type of composition came to be associated with the notion of free 'musical fantasy'.

The problem of stylistic duality does not only apply to the fantasia: it applies equally to the ricerar. The existence of two distinct species of ricercar - the free and the imitative - has been, in the words of Warren Kirkendale, 'one of the more baffling problems in the history of music'.[47] A partial explanation is offered by what he describes was a process of 'motetization' which

transformed much instrumental music during the early years of the sixteenth century. It came about through the application to instrumental composition of contrapuntal principles taken from vocal models, in particular the motet. For the fantasia, ricercar, preambulum and prelude, which all originated as improvisatory compositions, this meant that a marked change of style occurred. They abandoned the earlier free style and adopted motet-style polyphony. Kirkendale emphasizes the fundamental nature of this change by describing it as 'one of the most significant in the history of music'.[48] It occurred first in Italy and Spain, in which countries the Franco-Flemish school exercised a very strongly felt influence. In the case of Italy, this is reflected by the publication in Italian cities of motets by Gombert from 1539 onwards.[49] As Slim has shown, the imitative style was felt particularly strongly by the Spanish lute and vihuela composers Luis Milán, Luys de Narváez, Alsonso Mudarra and Enriques de Valderrábano; and by the Italians Francesco da Milano, Pietro Borrono, dal'Aquila, and others.[50] An important by-product of this process of motetization was the development of the ensemble fantasia and ricercar in the composers Annibale Padovano, Antonio Gardane, Giuliano Tiburtino, Adrian Willaert, Giovanni Bassano and Giaches de Wert. There was a late flowering of the ensemble fantasia in France with Claude le Jeune, Du Caurroy and Charles Guillet; and an even greater flowering at the same time in England.

Kirkendale has put forward an elegant and convincing theory to explain why this stylistic duality existed in the ricercar. It also applies to the fantasia insofar as the two terms were frequently used interchangeably for the same compositions, and insofar as the fantasia is also essentially a preludial composition. The evidence he puts forward suggests that the ricercar was understood as a musical counterpart of the proem or exordium in oratory. There were two methods open to the orator when he addressed an audience. One was to win its attention by means of boldness and brilliance of speech. This was the method which Aristotle compared in Ars rhetorica with the prelude of the flute player: Kirkendale equates it with the free, improvisatory type of ricercar.[51] The other was the insinuatio method advocated by Cicero and the neo-stoics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In it the orator proceeds without brilliance and rather conceals his intentions of presenting a particular case by means of subtle and dignified argument. This method can be equated with the disguised entries in fugal imitation, and also with the stilus gravis, both of which typify the imitative ricercar. [52]

Towards a Concept of Fantasia

The problem of the fantasia's stylistic duality is resolved upon returning to the general concept of 'fantasia' as revealed by the primary sources. As will be recalled, 'fantasia' was closely connected with the idea

of musical invention, and particularly improvisation on a solo instrument. To use the words of Pontus de Tyard, the performer 'sought out a fantasia' upon his instrument, but it is possible to see that he could do this in one of two ways. The process could either be one which was purely spontaneous, forcefully impressing and captivating the aural sense of the listener, as in the account of Francesco da Milano's playing. This conforms with the previous observations of the free fantasia. Or it could be a more studied approach which relied on a comprehensive knowledge and memory of all the rules of counterpoint. This second approach related to the later idea of fantasia as fugue (Sebastiani) or as didactic counterpoint (Zarlino, Zacconi and Galilei), and it agrees perfectly with the imitative fantasia, and hence also the ensemble fantasia.

The secret of the fantasia lies in Luis Milán's words that this type of composition 'proceeds only from the fantasy and industry' of the composer. His words also bring into perspective the later term stilo phantastico, as well as the idea of fantasy in music generally. As mentioned before, the fantasy was understood as one of the faculties of the mind, and to learn more about this and what its implication were for music, it is necessary to understand how the faculty was believed to operate. This turns out to be a very large and complex area involving a body of literature which has in the first instance little or no direct bearing on music. An attempt must be made,

however, to present a reasonably comprehensive overview of the philosophical theories of fantasy which existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The problem is that the subject of fantasy was discussed from a great many different angles, and was according to its very nature, polemical. In its history as a philosophical concept, it was marked by differing and often conflicting opinions in the fields of moral philosophy, physiology, religion, aesthetics and literary criticism.

To come to terms with this problem, the present study devotes a separate set of chapters to the psychology of fantasy in English philosophy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It should be said at the outset that much philosophical literature was devoted to the questions of art and aesthetics, and because fantasy was a philosophical concept of major importance, it held a vital key to both questions.

NOTES – PART I : THE PROBLEM OF THE FANTASIA

1. John M. Ward, The 'Vihuela de Mano' and its Music (1536-1576), doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1953, p.210. His point is that in its long history, the fantasia has encompassed a wide range of styles, and therefore stylistic generalizations are not possible.

2. Gregory G. Butler, 'The Fantasia as Musical Image', The Musical Quarterly, vol.60, no.4, (October 1974), p.615.

3. The list of studies given here comes from H.C. Slim, The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy c.1500-1550 with reference to parallel forms in European lute music of the same period, doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, pp.1-11, 392-93 and 397; and the article 'Fantasia to 1700' by Christopher D.S. Field in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Macmillan, 1980, vol.6, pp.391-92.

4. Vol.10, pp.253-74.

5. Slim, op. cit.; the section on 'fantasia' occupies pp.399-411.

6. Op. cit., pp.380-88.

7. A good bibliography of stylistic studies of the fantasia can be found in the New Grove article, op. cit..

8. John M. Ward, op. cit., p.211.

9. Slim, op. cit., p.377.

10. Field, op. cit., pp.380-81.

11. Slim, op. cit., pp.394-96.

12. Field, op. cit., p.381.

13. Ragionamento di Musica, Parma, 1588, p.3.

14. Ernst Rohloff (ed.), Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo (Media Latinitas Musica, II), Kommissionsverlag Gebrüder Reinecke, Leipzig, 1943, p.54. The quoted translation is based on Albert Seay (trans.), Johannes de Grocheo, Concerning Music (De Music) (Colorado College Music Press Translations, no.1), Colorado Springs, 1967, p.23.

15. In Slim, op. cit., pp.399-400.

16. Ibid., p.400.

17. See the letters by Lorenzo da Pavia to Isabella d'Este in Clifford M. Brown, Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia. Documents for the History of Art and Culture in Renaissance Mantua (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, no.189), Librairie Droz S.A., Genève, 1982; for example letter no.45 (27 August, 1501) which mentions a 'bela fantasia' by the painter Giovanni Bellini; no.66 (10 September, 1502) on Bellini again; and no.15 (3 August, 1497) which states that 'All my fantasia consists in making musical instruments from wood'.

18. Charles Jacobs (ed.), Luis di Milán: El Maestro, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1971, p.296.

19. Ibid., p.301.

20. Bellum musicale, Strasbourg, 1563, f.5.

21. Dialogo della musica, Venice, 1544, f.6.

22. Solitaire second, Lyons, 1555. In Cathy M. Yandell (ed.), Pontus de Tyard, Solitaire Second, Librairie Droz, Genève, 1980, pp.192-93. The translation comes from Field, op. cit., p.381.

23. In F. Caffi, Stori della musica sacra nella gia capella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797, Venice, 1854-55, vol.1, p.28.

24. In Slim, op. cit., p.404.

25. In Ward, op. cit., pp.223-24. Also Slim, op. cit., p.407.

26. In Ward, op. cit., pp.224-25.

27. Ibid., p.224.

28. Practica musica, Wittenberg, 1556. In Slim, op. cit., pp.404-5. Elsewhere in the treatise Finck mentions in relation to figuralis cantus 'those bona fantasias (as they are recently called)': in Liber tertius, 'De Modo Cognoscendi. Tonos in sigurali Cantu' (there are no page numbers).

29. Slim, op. cit., p.403.

30. Il transilvano dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, et istromenti da penna, Venice, 1593, p.36. Ibid., p.408.

31. Le istitutio harmoniche, Venice, 1558, pp.200-1.

32. Lodovico Zacconi, Prattica di musica, seconda parte (Venice, 1622), p.220. Vincenzo Galilei, Fronimo: dialogo nel quale si contengono le vere ..., Venice, 1568, pp.77-78.

33. Zacconi, Prattica di musica. [Prima parte], Venice, 1592, p.50 (the page is incorrectly numbered as 54).

34. In Slim, op. cit., p.405.

35. Zarlino, op. cit., p.261. This translation is based on Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (trans.), Gioseffo Zarlino: The Art of Counterpoint, part three of 'Le Istitutione harmoniche', 1558, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1968, p.227. The original phrase is 'cantilene di fantasia'.

36. L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica, Rome, 1555, f.72'.

37. Ibid., p.79'.

38. Canto Settimo, 19: in Adriano Salani (ed.), Lodovico Ariosto, Orlando furioso (2 vols), Edizione Florentia, Florence, 1922, vol.1, p.30. In John Harington's English translation the last lines were given as: 'And in some song of love and wanton verse/Their good or ill successes did reherse'. From Robert McNulty (ed.) Ludovico Ariosto's 'Orland furioso' translated into English theoretical verse by Sir John Harington (1591), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972, p.83.

39. Zarlino, op. cit., pp.267 and 290, The original word is 'fantastiche'.

40. Musurgia universalis, Rome, 1650, i, p.581.

41. Brossard, Dictionaire de musique, Paris, 1703. Similar definitions were given in Johann Gottfried Walther's Musicalisches Lexicon, Leipzig, 1732, which defined 'stylus fantasticus' as 'a manner of composition which is free of all constraints'. Brossard's definition was repeated in James Grassineau's A Musical Dictionary, London, 1740: see page 290 of the present work.

42. Brossard, op. cit..

43. Warren Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach', Journal of the American Musicological Society, vol.32 (1979), p.7.

44. It was included in Le Roy's A brief a. easy instrution to learne the tablature vnto the lute, published in London, 1568, in a translation by J. Alford (a second edition, with a translation by 'F. Ke., Gentleman', was printed in 1574), and given the title 'A little fantesie for the tunying of the Lute'.

45. The examples come from the edition in Pierre Jansen (ed.), Adrian Le Roy. Fantaisies et danses: extraites de A briefe and easye Instruction (1568) (Corpus de Luthistes Francais), Éditions du National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1975 (2nd edn).

46. Given in Peter Schleuning, The Fantasia I, 16th to 18th centuries (in the series Anthology of Music), Arno Volk Verlag Hans Gerig KG, Cologne, 1971, pp.36-37. The present examples come from this edition.

47. Kirkendale, op. cit., p.2.

48. Ibid., p.13.

49. Ibid., p.14.

50. Slim, op. cit., pp.286 seq. and 294 seq..

51. Kirkendale, op. cit., pp.3-4.

52. Ibid., pp.18-34.

P A R T   II

PART II: FANTASY AND PSYCHOLOGY

'Tell me where is Fancy bred,
Or in the heart, or in the head?' [1]

Fantasy in England was first and foremost a psycho-
logical concept.[2] Its evolution during the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries, together with its transference to
poetry and music, make an interesting case of how in the
history of the creative arts, psychology is a factor of
major importance. It is one which the scholar cannot
afford to ignore if he hopes to adequately come to terms
with the artistic conditions of a given historical period.
How the artist perceives his surroundings, how he forms
ideas and conveys them, and the way in which he perceives
art itself - these subjects are all essential to the
psychology of creativity. History shows that they are
never static, just as art itself is never static, and in
many ways their evolution is the cause and agent by which
artistic change takes place.

It is therefore important to recognize that psych-
ology is fundamental to any study of creativity and
aesthetics in art. No truer could this be than with the
notion of artistic fantasy. Earlier concepts of fantasy
markedly differ from those of the present day in a number
of important respects, principally because psychological
theory itself has undergone numerous changes. There was,

in earlier times, little in common with the modern view of fantasy as a purely abstract phenomenon which, on occasion, can produce miraculous artistic results. Fantasy was understood in the first place as a mechanism of the mind, one which could be carefully studied, and one whose operations could be fully accounted for. In Renaissance psychology, it was one of the faculties in the hierarchy of the soul. Its operations and products, even if they caused wonder, always had a reason. Unlike today, fantasy was not considered a vague or indefinable concept, either in terms of psychological theory or in terms of artistic creativity.

For a subject of wide implications, psychological theory in sixteenth and seventeenth century England has received surprisingly little attention. Those scholars who have addressed the subject in any depth, have done so from the standpoint either of poetry and drama, or the history of philosophy. No musicologist has so far looked into the possible connections which may have existed between psychology and music, let alone between fantasy and music. This is all the more remarkable since the great upsurge in musical activity which took place in Renaissance England (particularly as part of the rebirth of all facets of art which occurred during the Elizabethan period) must have come about, at least in part, through major changes in the psychology of artistic creativity.

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER 1:   CLASSICAL THEORIES OF FANTASY

The idea that the psyche is made up of a number of manifestly different and often conflicting forces, is as old as philosophy itself. Philosophers have always argued what these forces are, how they interact to form thoughts, and how they control human behaviour. Classical philosophy has always assumed that the mind is an organisation comprising individual parts, each being relatively indepen- dent self-regulating 'faculties'.[3] Each faculty is responsible for different tasks, and together they are supposed to work in harmony as a whole. Some of these tasks, however, are intrinsically more important than others, and the faculties are therefore separated in order of importance by being placed within a hierarchy. This hierarchy is in a literal sense the integrity of the mind, and may be compared with the ordered structure of a parliamentary or legal institution.

In classical faculty psychology, cognitive activity takes place in the intellective faculty. Here ideas are evaluated and judged good or bad, true or false. All other faculties fall under its jurisdiction, those immediately below being the fantasy and memory, which are supposed to relay images to the intellect. These images originally come from the five physical senses.

In this hierarchical system a duality arises whose existence owes primarily to the contrasting and often

opposing operations of the intellect and the fantasy. One maintains order while the other acts to threaten order. The fantasy is closer to the senses and is therefore advantaged by having a more direct link with the external world of reality, but on the other hand it is unable to clearly distinguish between what is actually real and what appears to be real. Furthermore, it freely combines and recombines images, for example as happens in dreams, in ways which have no place at all in reality. The intellect is fundamentally different because it can only perceive reality indirectly. Herein lies its chief disadvantage, for it relies on the fantasy to provide it with all the raw materials from which truth can be ascertained. This means that knowingly or unknowingly, the fantasy perceives or at least receives truth before the intellect does. This gives the fantasy an importance which belies its lower station and its frequent failing as a representer and carrier of the truth. What follows in this chapter is a brief summary of the main theories of fantasy from Plato to Aquinas (the reader is referred to the Bibliography for a list of more comprehensive studies in this area).

Plato was the first to use the word φαντασία ('fantasia' or 'phantasia') in philosophical discussions of how truth is perceived and conceived. This word derived from φαίνω, 'to appear' or 'to be apparent' or 'to come to light', and it in turn gave rise to φαντάζω, meaning 'to take a definite appearance' or 'to take shape (as of a spectre)' or 'to give oneself an appearance'. From this

came the noun φὰντασμα (phantasma) which meant the appearance of something or a mental state as opposed to reality.[4] Plato's inquiry into the nature of perception led him to the conclusion that reality, and reality as perceived by the individual, do not always correspond.

In earlier writings Plato understood fantasy as a perceptory function of the mind which presents to it visual (or other) images as they appear in the senses. These images could depart significantly from the real objects which they were supposed to represent, and therefore the fantasy, unable to determine what is real and what is false, was regarded as part of the irrational or lower soul. It was a source of deception and error, if left unchecked. In The Republic, Plato's uncompromising view is that any work of art which attempts to imitate real objects is automatically suspect, since imitations will always and unavoidably depart from their source, even if in the smallest degree: 'May we not call these 'appearances' [φάντασμα], since they appear only and are not really like?'. Plato adds: 'There is a great deal of this kind of thing in painting, and in all imitation' (The Republic X, 236). By this he meant poetry as well.

In later writings such as Philebus, Plato's view was somewhat moderated. He still maintained that fantasy and fantastic imitation should have no place in the thinking soul, since as mere pictures in the mind, they can no more than imperfectly reflect the material world. Nevertheless, as the only source by which the thinking soul can be

informed of the material world, fantasy must be given a prominent place in the process of gaining knowledge. Close scrutiny must always be exercised to eliminate its undesirable products, such as dreams, delerium and madness, but its other products should be valued. Plato believed that God-given wisdom was received by man through the fantasy and that this wisdom has a natural pre-eminence over all other thoughts. Thus illuminated, the fantasy can in its highest capacity, create precious visions of which their contemplation is itself a thing of beauty. Of all men the poet is especially privileged, because he has direct access to these visions, as Plato relates in Phaedrus:

> Beauty itself, shining brightly, it was given unto them to behold ... being chosen to be eyewitnesses of visions [φάσματα] which are altogether fair .... These are the Things which our Souls did then see in pure light.

and:

> The power of the lower soul leads the inspired poet also to contemplate an analogous spiritual phantasm - spiritual Beauty which is Truth made visible (Phaedrus 250C).

The belief that creative impulses originated outside man had many far-reaching implications. It presented the mind, in particular the creative mind of the poet, as a receptor of higher powers and higher visions of truth. But important though the fantasy was, it could never claim superiority over the thinking soul. This was due to its inherent and inescapable passivity. Lacking any form of self-critical regulation, it possessed none of those qualities of purpose or discretion which characterized the

thinking soul. So on the one hand was fantasy's unique capacity for perceiving truth; on the other was its inherent fallibility. This dualism, highlighted by Plato, was to become the central focus of many later philosophers.

Aristotle's theories were at least as influential as those of his illustrious predecessor. His beliefs, strongly founded on the writings of Plato, did not however begin from the premise that fantasy should automatically be distrusted. His empiricist outlook allowed him to regard all perceptions, that is, all mental processes which have their origins in the real world, as potentially valuable sources for human understanding. He believed that fantasy, rather than being regarded as a distorter of reality, should instead be acknowledged as the first place in the soul where impressions of real phenomena are made. It is then up to the intellect to determine whether these impressions, authentic as they may seem, do in fact conform with the truth.

Aristotle differentiated between two types of fantasy. The one described above applied to the lower soul and was responsible for dreams, passions and on occasion, derangement of the mind. Just as powerful was another type which belonged to the higher soul and had more to do with the formation of concepts or ideas. This 'deliberative fantasy' (βουλευτικń), as he called it, played an important role in higher, cognitive processes of the soul. It was able to select and integrate what was sent to it from the lower fantasy, and thereby assist the intellect:

'Hence we have the power of constructing a simple image out of a number of images' (De anima III, xi, 2).

This deliberate fantasy, then, performed the valuable function of informing (rather than troubling) the higher soul with sense experiences: 'As without sensation a man would not learn or understand anything, so at the very time when he is actually thinking he must have a phantasm [φαντάσματι] before him' (De amina III, viii, 3). A single image, distilled from a multitude, of sense stimulations, can be presented to the mind's 'eye' and deliberated upon by rational processes:

> under the influence of the phantasm [φαντασμάσιν] or thoughts in the soul you calculate as though you had the objects before your eyes and deliberate about the future in the light of the present (De anima, III, vii, 6).

As a 'material realist', Aristotle was firm in subordinating even the deliberative fantasy to the intellect. At no stage did he allow it to assume the lofty, visionary proportions which were attributed to it by Plato. Nowhere is the suggestion that visions (φάσματα) can by themselves provide an intimate understanding of the truth in the same way that strictly rational thought can.

In the writings of the Roman orators, fantasy was also subordinated to the intellect, but there was no clear agreement as to whether fantasy's place was nearer to sense perception or to cognition.[5] Cicero and Quintilian complicated the picture when they equated φαντασία with the Latin imaginatio, and this resulted in an overlapping

in meaning of two similar but etymologically unrelated words.[6] It also resulted in a persistent confusion as to what each respective word was supposed to mean, and hence a confusion as to the precise nature of the faculty which they were supposed to denote.[7]

In the rhetorical arts, fantasy (or imagination) was an indispensable tool because of its power of being able to conjure vivid images in the mind and then to influence the will. The orator for example, could use images to help make his speech more persuasive. In Academica (I, xi, 40-42) Cicero highlighted the importance of what he termed the 'cataleptic fantasy' or 'grasped image' (φαντασία καταληπτική), to be distinguished from the immediately perceived image. The latter provoked voluntary mental responses of either assent or dissent, while the grasped object was that which was deemed to be true.

Quintilian was no less concerned with the useful role which fantasy plays in rhetoric. He thought that a skilled orator can create in the minds of his listeners such vivid experiences that they appear at the time to be quite real. An orator, or writer, is therefore obliged to cultivate a keen sensitivity of real experience so that his imaginative powers are intensified. These powers owe their existence to the 'euphantasiotos' (εὐφαντασίωτος), or well-regulated fantasy, as distinct from the unrestrained and capricious manifestations which emanate from the same faculty. What this type of fantasy does is to engage a

process resembling rational thought to make good use of the manifold images which are supplied to it.

The account Quintilian gives of 'euphantasiotos' in his <u>Institutio oratoria</u> had so many later implications for the creative arts that it deserves to be given in full. It begins with the assumption that feelings of sensations and emotions are crucially important in decisions made in a court of law, since those decisions ultimately rest on what appears to be the most convincing explanation:

> Accordingly, the first essential is that those feelings should prevail with us that we wish to prevail with the judge, and that we should be moved ourselves before we attempt to move others. But how are we to generate these emotions in ourselves, since emotion is not in our own power? I will try to explain as best I may. There are certain experiences which the Greeks call φαντασίας, and the Romans <u>visiones</u>, whereby things absent are presented to our imagination with such extreme vividness that they seem actually to be before our very eyes. It is the man who is really sensitive to such impressions who will have the greatest power over the emotions. Some writers describe the possessor of this power of vivid imagination, where by things, words and actions are presented in the most realistic manner, by the Greek word εὐφαντασίωτος; and it is a power which all may readily acquire if they will. When the mind is unoccupied or is absorbed by fantastic hopes or daydreams, we are haunted by these visions of which I am speaking to such an extent that we imagine that we are travelling abroad, crossing the sea, fighting, addressing the people, or enjoying the use of wealth that we do not actually possess, and seem to ourselves not to be dreaming but acting. Surely, then, it may be possible to turn this form of hallucination to some profit. [8]

There are many observations which can be made from this seminal statement, chief among them being the noteworthy lack of suspicion of fears which the subject of fantasy had traditionally aroused. Instead of debating fantasy's worthiness or unworthiness in terms of moral philosophy,

Quintilian advocates its practical usefulness in terms of
the art of communication and persuasion, that is, rhet-
oric. Also, he gives precedence not to questions of
strictly objective truth but to what might be described as
subjective plausibility. In other words, he allows and in
fact legitimizes the intellect to be swayed and influenced
by the fantasy. This implies that the skill by which an
orator can persuade is as important as the correctness or
otherwise of the verdict: his skill is almost an end in
itself. Quintilian was widely read in European countries
during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[9] and his
influence was felt particularly in England (see chapters 3
and 4). His words were seen to justify fantasy as the
basis of an explicitly creative doctrine in many arts.

Saint Augustine also emerged as an important author-
ity on fantasy. He viewed fantasy as a place where images
were reproduced rather than produced, as distinct from the
senses. But he also divided it into three classes based on
a scale of increasing proximity to higher forms of
thought. The first of these was the mind's capacity to
make images (he however chose not to refer to this as
fantasy); to the second belonged pictorial representations
which come from the writing, reading and criticism of
history and fiction (fantasy proper); and the third was a
species of fantasy which served the intellect by supplying
it with ordered schemes of thought as, for example,
representations of the universe, figures in geometry and
musical harmonies (see page 106).[10]

The influence Augustine exercised during the Middle Ages period was considerable. Both he and Aquinas (1225-74?) believed that the fantasy had a power of being able to take a number of sense-images and change them, either by reducing them or compounding them. The second process led to the idea of the 'combinatory fantasy', a special type of fantasy which could create visions that had absolutely no place in reality. Many philosophers of the Middle Ages speculated on the strange and bizarre creatures which could be formed in the combinatory fantasy.[11] One image, that of the golden mountain, was mentioned in the Summa Theologica of Aquinas, and this recurs a number of times in later treatises (see pages 60-61).

Philosophers of the Early Christian period and the Middle Ages were strongly influenced by ideals of the Christian church, and they invariably saw fantasy as antagonistic to proper spiritual guidance and well-being. A distinction emerged, for example with Avicenna (980-1037), between the fantasia and the imaginatio, and this was the first step in the development of highly elaborate schemes and classifications of the faculties in the later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. The scheme adopted by Avicenna made a primary division between the external senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch) and the internal senses. The latter comprised the fantasia (the same as sensus communis, where sense impressions are first received), imaginatio (or vis formalis, where impressions are then retained), imaginativa (or cogitativa, where

impressions are divided or combined according to its wishes), _extimativa_ (where rational processes take place), and _memoralis_ (where impressions are stored). To add further complexity, these senses were assigned to various physical locations in the brain, from the front to the middle and to the rear ventricles.[12]

Such elaborate schemes were not agreed upon by all authorities. For example, Aquinas made no distinction between fantasy and imagination.[13] For him fantasy was the same as Avicenna's _imaginativa_ and was the place where intellectual thought took place. There, sense impressions or _phantasmata_ formed the basis of human thought, since in order to contemplate the universal 'man' or 'horse', the intellect must first have before it images of men and horses taken from reality, that is, from the senses.[14] There is an obvious similarity between this interpretation and that given by Aristotle in _De anima_ of the 'deliberative fantasy'.[15]

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 2:   PHILOSOPHICAL THEORIES IN ENGLAND

The main classical authorities for psychological theory during the Renaissance were Aristotle and Avicenna. Galen was another important authority, in England as well as in other countries, but his influence was mostly confined to the area of psychopathology (for some details of his influence in England see Appendix I). Avicenna's systematic model of the soul, based on Aristotle and Galen, provided the foundation of a tradition of faculty psychology which persisted throughout the sixteenth century in Italy, France and England.[16] This explained sensory perception, cognitive thought and all other mental functions, in terms of the separate and unrelated operations of the soul's constituent faculties. An equally strong tradition grew out of Plato as a result of a Neoplatonic revival which took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to this tradition, which gave paramount importance to the unity of the soul, mental acts were fundamentally indeterminate and indivisible in their nature.

Continental Background

These two philosophical traditions were radically opposed to one another, and gave rise to unending controversy surrounding many matters, including the role of fantasy in thought processes. Upholders of the Aristotel-

ian tradition maintained that the mind is deceived by fantasy. Platonists, on the other hand, regarded fantasy as the sole means by which the mind is informed of higher truths, because it mediates between the heavens and man.[17] A Platonic view of fantasy was established in Italy partly through the writings of Marsilio Ficino (see page 107 onwards), and more decisively with the publication in 1501 of Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's De imaginatione. This work rejected Avicenna's elaborate faculty psychology, and put forward a view that the fantasy (referred to either as phantasia or imaginatione) conforms with the intellect and illuminates it with a type of knowledge which incorporates the essential unity of truth. Unlike Ficino, who attributed supernatural powers to the fantasy, Pico instead considered it purely from the viewpoint of ethics and its relevance, or otherwise, to Christian life.[18]

The Platonic view of fantasy gained further support in Carolus Bovillus' De sensibus (1510), Niccolò Leonico Tomeo's commentary on Parva Naturalia (1530), the writings of Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), and Tommaso Campanella's Del senso delle cose (c.1604).[19] It appears that Platonism contributed to the demise, in the sixteenth century, of the long tradition of faculty psychology which had held strong during and after the Middle Ages, but there were other factors which helped bring this about, including an increasing scepticism of the anatomical validity of Avicenna's faculty model of the brain. Other works which appeared in Italy on the subject of fantasy were Pietro

Pomponazzi's De incantationibus (c.1520), various writings of Paracelsus and Thomas Erastus, Thomas Fienus' De viribus imaginationis (1608), and Hieronymous Nymannus' Oratio de imaginatione (1613). In these works a further controversy arose as to the nature of fantasy and its importance in the mind of man.[20]

A largely independent tradition seems to have arisen in France during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In that country the emphasis was on fantasy's connection with the passions. The passions were understood to be uncontrollable motions of the soul which, being either good or bad in their influence, necessitated the constant intervention of judgment. Fantasy, being implicated in the formation of passions, was regarded as fundamentally inclined to error. This view was propagated by Pierre de la Primaudaye in his L'Académie Francoise (1577), Guillaume Du Vair's Philosophie morale des stoiques (1585?), Ambroise Paré's Introduction ou entrée pour parvenir à la vraye cognoissance de la chirurgie, the extremely influential De la Sagesse (1601) of Pierre Charron, the writings of Montaigne, and Les passions de l'âme (1649) of Descartes.[21]

An Overview of Trends in England

Pico della Mirandola's De imaginatione was known in England by at least one writer (Reynoldes; see page 84), but by far the greatest influence came from France. La

Primaudaye's <u>L'Academie Françoise</u> was translated from the French and published in England in 1586, as was Charron's <u>De la Sagesse</u> in 1606. Descartes' philosophy of volition (the passions) and human will also exercised an influence in England, from the middle decades of the seventeenth century onwards.[22] A further influence seems to have come from Spain, by virtue of the very widely read and popular book <u>Examen de Ingenios</u> (1575) by Juan de Dios Huarte Navarro. This work, published in an English translation in 1594, approached psychology from the novel perspective of the applicability and suitability of the mind's faculties to specific disciplines of thought and professions. His approach, as shall be seen, was adopted with particular enthusiasm by Francis Bacon.

Whereas in Italy faculty psychology declined and eventually disappeared in the sixteenth century, it lived on in England with writers such as Stephen Hawes and Thomas Elyot. But as in France, the subject of fantasy gained philosophical prominence at a comparatively late stage, and English writers showed the same preoccupation with the passions as did the French. Both Bacon and Hobbes were impressed by the power of fantasy, and they regarded it as the main controlling force behind the will. Their assessment of the importance of fantasy was therefore somewhat reserved, since will can operate as easily against the interests of reason as it can in its favour. The same reserve was felt by John Davies of Hereford, Thomas Wright, Edward Reynoldes, Timothy Bright and Robert

Burton, all of whom likewise stressed the connection between fantasy and the passions.

It is immediately apparent that from the 1580s onwards, fantasy quickly became a philosophical issue of considerable importance. A similar level of controversy became associated with it as had already happened decades previously in Italy, and there was a similar division of opinion between those whose view was essentially Platonic, and those who leaned more towards Aristotelian principles. A most interesting feature of the fantasy debate in England is that it directly concerned artistic creativity. From Hawes onwards, the idea of fantasy was closely connected with poetic invention, but with Puttenham this connection was considerably reinforced. He established a concept of creative invention based on Plato and Quintilian, which assumed the existence of a higher species of fantasy, one which brought the poet closer to truth. Reynoldes and Hobbes also supported this concept. Bacon, who likewise recognized the importance of fantasy in poetry, believed that its role in the poetic art was to 'make vnlawfull Matches and diuorses of things'. That is, he thought it tricks the mind in the same way as do the illusory and hallucinatory fantasies of which Aristotle wrote.

In the following pages, a number of studies have been consulted including Ruth Leila Anderson's Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays,[23] Clarence De Witt Thorpe's The Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes, with

special reference to his contribution to the psychological approach in English literary criticism,[24] Katherine S. Park's The Imagination in Renaissance Psychology,[25] Lisa Jardine's Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse,[26] and E. Ruth Harvey's The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[27] It should be emphasized, however, that no comprehensive history has yet been written on theories of fantasy and imagination in England, and that the above studies are very selective and limited in their scope. Therefore, the present study aims at combining their researches, and drawing into the discussion a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers who have so far been ignored (Hawes, Perkins, Walker, Sterry, and the author of Anthropologie abstracted), or whose significance may not have been fully brought to attention (Bright, Reynoldes and Burton).[28]

Fantasy in Transition : Thomas Elyot

An English interest in the psychology of fantasy began at least as early as the fifteenth century. A tradition grew up from scholastic psychology and literary traditions, and its existence is evidenced in the writings of such early literary figures as Nicholas Trevet (c.1258-c.1328) and Reginald Pecock (c.1395-c.1460).[29] Pecock, in Donet, gave the five faculties of the mind ('þe v inward bodili wittis') as 'Comoun witt, ymaginacioun, ffantasye, Estimacioun, and mynde'.[30] This is similar to the five-part

models which Avicenna, Aquinas and Albertus Magnus had developed during the Middle Ages, except that Pecock gave no provision to the memory.

The first English writer to devote much attention to fantasy appears to have been the poet Stephen Hawes (see 'Poetic Sources'), but the first writings of a truly philosophical nature were those of Sir Thomas Elyot (c.1490-1546). He did much to popularize subjects which had been traditionally confined to scholastic circles, and also to further the cause of English as an alternative to the customary Latin in printed books. His views clearly reflect his interests in moral philosophy and lexicography. In The castel of helth, first published in 1539,[31] he recognized two main phenomena in the physical being. One was the 'Power Spiritual' which related to bodily movement and stirrings of the affections ('anger, indignation, subtiltie and care'); the other concerned voluntary motion and the mental capacities to ordain, discern and compose.[32] Of the capacity to ordain, that is the capacity to arrange or order, are the three faculties of imagination (in the forehead), reason (in the 'brain' or middle of the head), and remembrance (in the 'noddle' or back of the head).[33] Absent from this scheme are common sense and memory, but Elyot was not ignorant of these faculties. In his Dictionary, for example, he mentions that images are first conceived in the common sense (see Appendix I).

More of a problem is whether Elyot viewed imagination and fantasy as one or two separate faculties, and how he

thought they differed from memory. A partial answer may be found in the second dialogue in his book <u>Of the knowledeg</u> [sic] <u>whiche maketh a wise man</u>.[34] This has Plato and Aristippus (a philosopher in the circle of Socrates) in dialogue about, among other things, the subjects of invention, 'witte', and whether animals are capable of thought. Plato demonstrates the power of imagination by relating the story of a Londoner who went blind in his youth and was still able to find his way around unaided, thanks to the visual images which he had retained in his mind. This proves that an image (or 'simularre') is

> formed and imprinted in the principall sense, which is the herte [that is, the seat of the mind[35]]. And whan the thyng self is remoued out of sight, that impression that remaineth is called imaginacion, who committeth it forthwith unto memorie, whiche undoubt-edly is not only in men but also in beastes, for they discerne the tyme present, and that which is passed, but the tyme to come thei know not, and Memorie is onely of the tyme passed. And therfore the beastes, that thou spakest of, do perceiue the diuersitee of things by Imaginacion and Memory, conceiuyng and reteinyng in the herte, which is the principal sense or fontaine of senses, the image of the thynge that is sensible.[36]

Imagination is thus synonymous with the Greek sense of fantasy as a picture in the mind of an object first perceived by the senses. It receives and, for a time retains, sense impressions and therefore acts as a kind of memory, but whereas in the imagination sense impressions gradually fade, they are properly stored for future recall in the memory. This idea of imagination (or fantasy) as a temporary memory has its origins in Greek philosophy. Epicurus, for example, believed that fantasy (φαντασία)

was the result of a combination of sensation with memory[37] (see also the discussion of Hobbes).

In the 1538 edition of Elyot's Dictionary, the Latin 'imaginatus' is defined as that which is 'fygured or fourmed into an ymage'. According to his definition of 'phantasia' in the 1545 edition, the fantasy is where the images are subsequently kept (see Appendix I). It is perhaps surprising that Elyot's interest in lexicography did not encourage him to evolve a more clearly defined and unambiguous classification of the mind's faculties.

The later years of the sixteenth century and the early years of the next century were, apart from anything else, a time of increasing religious uncertainty in England.[38] Accompanying this was a wave of conservative religious thinking which cast fantasy in a bad light. An example is provided by William Perkins (1558-1602), who in his youth was noted for reckless behaviour, drunkenness and profanity, but who in later years reformed his character and became a noted theologian (he was sympathetic to the puritan cause). In 1607 he published A treatise of mans imaginations which exposed the natural evil of man and offered means for his salvation. His consistent view was that 'natural imagination' always leads to evil thoughts and can only promote atheistic tendencies in man.[39]

Bacon and Aristotelian Fantasy

One of the major philosophic treatises to appear at
this time in any European country was Francis Bacon's Of
the proficience and advancement of learning, in 1605.[40] Its
chief objective was to arrive at a proper classification
of knowledge and to defend learning from a variety of
'corruptions'. Bacon (1561-1626) viewed imagination[41] as
one of the three main 'means' of learning, along with
reason and memory. He believed that all parts must be
fully engaged in any pursuit of knowledge, but that each
one naturally pertains to a particular branch of know-
ledge.[42] While reason and memory pertained respectively to
philosophy and history, imagination pertained to poetry,
since in it the freedom and manipulative capabilities of
that faculty were employed to the full. Imagination, wrote
Bacon, is 'not tyed to the Laws of Matter' and therefore

> may at pleasure ioyne that which Nature hath
> seuered: & seuer that which Nature hath ioyned, and
> so make vnlawfull Matches & diuorses of things.[43]

This enabled poets, he believed, to create 'fained histor-
ies' which exceed in terms of goodness and greatness that
which is ordinarily encountered in nature. This contrasts
with history, which aims to record events as they really
happen.[44]

Bacon proposed a simple bipartite scheme of the
mind's faculties. Understanding and reason constituted one
part, and together they were supposed to propose ideas to
the mind. The will, appetite and affection constituted the

other, and they were responsible for actively putting ideas into motion. Belonging to neither part was imagination: it was an intermediary agent which served both parts in all stages of conception and execution of thought. Janus-faced, it fulfilled two opposite functions at the same time, 'for the face towards Reason, hath the print of Truth. But the face towards Action, hath the print of Good'.[45] Imagination acted like a messenger, moving from stage to stage, but it also possessed its own degree of authority. This is where Bacon invoked Aristotle's governmental analogy of the fantasy as a citizen who, within the jurisdiction decreed by the magistrate, is free to do exactly as he pleases. (This is unlike the bondman who is explicitly required to serve and obey his lord and master.) A convenient relationship therefore existed between the magistrate's maintenance of laws and propriety, and the citizen's pursuit of individual objectives, which are ultimately to be considered more worthwhile. This relationship, by parallel, also existed in the mind:

> For we see, that in matters of Faith & Religion, we raise our Imagination above our Reason, which is the cause why Religion sought euer accesse to the Minde by Similitudes, Types, Parables, Visions, Dreames. And againe in all perswasions that are wrought by eloquence, and other impression of like Nature, which doe paint and disguise the true appearance of thinges, the cheefe recommendation vnto Reason, is from the Imagination. [46]

In his discussions of the faculties of the mind, Bacon repeatedly cites Aristotle, and indeed many of Bacon's concepts owe their origins to De anima. In particular is the concept that imagination has the power to

evoke a kind of reflective thought, since it can freely recall and review images for consideration which have previously been fixed in the memory. A parallel may be drawn between this idea of imagination and Aristotle's 'deliberative fantasy' (see earlier). Simple images can be compounded together or divided, 'according to the pleasure of the mind',[47] and this is a process which is epitomized by the poet's manufacture of 'fained histories'. In this process, sensory images which derive from the outer world evolve into complex and wonderful constructs which inhabit the inner mind. It is totally dependent on these basic sensory images, for without them 'there can be no imagination, not even a dream'.[48] With the 'deliberative fantasy' of Aristotle the reverse happens, however. In this case the intellect is presented with a single, simple image which is the essence or distillation of many sensory images having previously been collected together in the lower fantasy.

The free-ranging disposition of the imagination is what defines its role in the mind. Knowledge can only be imparted with the help of reason, but discursive thought or decisive action of any sort necessitates the full employment of imagination. Thus all wilful decisions and voluntary acts stem from it. Even so, reason is required to supervise all such operations. The art of rhetoric, which receives much comment from Bacon, requires the use of what he calls the 'imaginative or insinuative reason', being the marriage of imagination with reason 'for the better moving of the will'.[49]

But when imagination is divorced from reason and sides exclusively with the will, the possibility is left wide open that it will conspire against learning and corrupt all understanding. In the worst case, imagination is a force which has to be actively restrained or even stifled altogether. Indeed, Bacon lists 'fantastical learning' as one of the 'three vanities in Studies, whereby learning hath been most traduced'.[50] This incidentally introduces the question of nomenclature, because for Bacon 'fantastical' invariably refers to the inferior nature of the imaginative faculty. This inferior nature is manifested whenever truth or essential forms in knowledge are misrepresented, as happens when the mind is more intent on being entertained than educated.[51] Bacon believed that fantastic creations of the mind fundamentally defy logic. They are referred to by him as 'fantastic suppositions' and 'unsound fancies' which have no place in the proper pursuit of knowledge.[52]

The power of the imagination obviously impressed Bacon. A self-evident truth for him was that its power often exceeded the individual's desire for knowledge. He put this down to man's inherent and instinctive fascination, itself a product of his unstoppable imagination.[53] This is where magic and the supernatural entered the picture, for if allowed to concentrate too intently on a single image, the imagination's full potential is instantaneously released, and this unfailingly leads the individual away from the true edicts of God.[54]

One of Bacon's major contributions to psychology was to dispense with the rigidly conceived and simplistic faculty doctrines which existed up until his time. This is not to say, however, that these doctrines disappeared altogether as a result of him. Popular books on moral philosophy and related subjects continued to present simple, much-repeated formulas of how the faculties were thought to operate.[55]

The Unresolved Dialectic of Hobbes

Writing half a century later was Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). He introduced a new dimension to the subject of fantasy, one which reflected the increasingly empiricist age in which he lived. Definitions and purely logical analysis were for him most important. In the words of one writer, he succeeded in demythologizing not only fantasy but poetry and the holy scriptures as well.[56] In Hobbes' central work, the Leviathan of 1651,[57] he devotes a whole chapter to the imagination and its functions, even if the theories he developed were incidental to his main enquiries. An immediate problem is that while definitions of 'imagination' and 'fancy' are stated in the chapter, a curiously uncritical use of these terms is also to be observed throughout the Leviathan. The problem relates in particular to Hobbes' sensory retentive theory of imagination. In this, the perceived object is first of all represented as a sensory image, and is then retained for a certain length of time in the imagination. Hobbes thought

that this must be self-evident:

> For after the object is removed, or the eye shut,
> wee still retain an image of the thing seen, though
> more obscure than when we see it. And this is it,
> the Latines call Imagination, from the image made in
> seeing; and apply the same, though improperly, to
> all the other senses. But the Greeks call it Fancy;
> which signifies apparence, and is as proper to one
> sense, as to another. IMAGINATION therefore is
> nothing but decaying sense; and is found in men, and
> many other living Creatures, as well sleeping, as
> waking. [58]

Whereas the terms 'imagination' (that is, imaginatio) and 'fancy' (φαντασία) are here used synonymously, a distinction is made between them in The elements of law. In this work, 'imagination' is taken to mean images of the mind, while 'fancy' (or 'phantasy') relates to phantasms of the mind.[59] (The two words overlap in meaning to the extent that phantoms are indeed mental images.)

Hobbes quoted a traditional view that images are formed in the physical senses and then transferred to the common sense, fantasy, memory, and finally, to the judgment.[60] However, his own view differs in certain important respects. As the above passage from the Leviathan indicates, he regarded fantasies as progressively decaying visual images. Like Aristotle, he thought them to be motions which remain after the object is removed from sight,[61] except that the motions must always decrease with time.[62] Like Elyot a century earlier, Hobbes therefore saw fantasy as a type of memory: indeed he actually states at one point that the two are identical.[63]

At the same time, Hobbes was also prepared to equate imagination with thought itself, and this was one of his more daring moves. He described thought as the mental discoursing that is prompted by a succession of images which originate from the senses.[64] Passion is needed first of all, however, otherwise the chain of thought becomes incoherent, as happens in dreams.[65] Some confusion arises when Hobbes actually likens 'fancies' to dreams and separates both from sense and visions,[66] but this is at least consistent with the earlier view that fancies are like phantasms of the mind.

Overall, Hobbes was critical of the imagination. He felt that the faculty was only to be commended if it was constantly withheld under the discipline of judgment, since it lacked all forms of natural discretion.[67] Like wit, it was only capable of discerning similarities between objects, whereas reason by contrast could discern differences and unconformities.[68] Reason was thus intrinsically superior, and was the chief means by which harmony and balance are maintained.

It is surprising then, that Hobbes could go on to postulate a Platonic unity between fantasy and judgment. He did this not in purely philosophical terms but in his discussion of the art of poetry. Indeed, Hobbes seemed to have been of the belief that as far as this art is concerned, philosophical argument must be to a certain extent temporarily suspended (or even transcended). In poetry, thought Hobbes, the two philosophical opposites of

fantasy and judgment can be observed to work in a uniquely perfect harmony. He wrote: 'Judgement begets the strength and structure, and Fancy begets the ornaments of a Poem'.[69] In a truly remarkable statement which appears in his Answer to D'Avenant, Hobbes describes the singular creative power of fantasy, and how, by evoking higher truths, it must ultimately be counted as the noblest virtue in man:

> the Fancy, when any work of Art is to be performed, findeth her materials at hand ... and needs no more then a swift motion over them ... So that when she seemeth to fly from one Indies to the other, and from Heaven to Earth, and to penetrate into the hardest matter, and obscurest place, into the future, and into her self, and all this in a point of time; the voyage is not very great, her self being all she seeks; and her wonderfull celerity, consisteth not so much in motion, as in copious Imagery discreetly ordered, and perfectly registred in the memory; which most men under the name of Philosophy have a glimpse of, and is pretended to by many that grossely mistaking her embrace contention in her place. But so farre forth as the Fancy of man has traced the wayes of true Philosophy, so farre it hath produced very marvellous effects to the benefit of mankind. All that is beautiful or defensible in building; or mervellous in Engines and Instruments of motion; Whatsoever commodity men receive from the observation of the Heavens, from the description of the Earth, from the account of Time, from walking on the Seas; and whatsoever distinguisheth the civility of Europe from the Barbarity of the American salvages [sic], is the workmanship of Fancy, but guided by the Precepts of true Philosophy. But where these precepts fail, as they have hitherto failed in the doctrine of Morall virtue, there the Architect (Fancy) must take the Philosophers part upon her self.[70]

What Hobbes presents here is an account of inventive fantasy, the type of fantasy of which Puttenham had earlier given lavish praise (see pages 72 and 146). It is a free agent which acts on its own impulse and is the source of all human inspiration. Inventive fantasy, which works towards a preconceived goal, is naturally different

from the baser form of fantasy, one which Hobbes could only describe as a 'kind of Madnesse'.[71]

Such a differentiation, although implicit in his writings taken as a whole, was not actually made by Hobbes. Nevertheless, he did make a distinction between 'simple imagination' and 'compound imagination'. In this the former recalls whole objects as first perceived by the senses, such as a man or a horse. The latter rather combines together parts of such objects to produce new and fictitious entities, for example a centaur.[72] Another such entity quoted by Hobbes in The elements of law is a golden mountain, an image that was often used in philosophical tracts to illustrate impossible forms, derived from nature, which can acquire a reality through imaginative processes of the mind.[73] Implied in this idea of compound imagination, says one scholar, is an artistic process, and certainly the above passage from Hobbes Answer to D'Avenant bears this out.[74] Also, Hobbes may have been influenced in his notion of compound imagination by Bacon's similar account of poetic imagination.

Hobbes saw himself as an authority on the subject of sensory perception and cognition, but his theory of fantasy, conservative in its conception, has been described as 'tantalizingly undeveloped'.[75] Certainly, his various attempts to elucidate the theory do not reveal a total consistency. Nevertheless, Hobbes stands as a central figure in the distinguished line of English philos- ophers and essayists who dealt with the subject. He also

stands as one of the last in this line, because by the middle of the seventeenth century the subject of fantasy had already suffered a decline in philosophical importance. It appeared less frequently in literary sources and even then, usually only in hollow repetitions of what had already been written decades earlier.[76]

After Hobbes : a Growing Distrust of Fantasy

Important later contributions were made by Walker, Sterry, and the anonymous author of Anthropologie abstracted, or The idea of humane nature reflected. This book was published in 1655 at a time when philosophic discussions were being increasingly focussed on the idea of freedom of the individual, and the problems that this entailed.[77] Accordingly it gives primary consideration to the free, 'rational' soul, which controls understanding and will. But as with Bacon, its author recognizes that the soul, unless it is informed of external objects by the fantasy (being the most important part of the sensible soul), is cut off from the outside world and can no longer properly operate, 'for while she remaines immured in this darke Monastery, the body, shee never understands without the assistance of the Phantastic'.[78] Again, De anima is the authoritative text. Reference is made to a particular section of that work in which Aristotle begins with the statements 'actual knowledge is identical with the thing known' and 'it is from something actually existent that all which comes into being is derived'.[79] The importance of

the fantasy, therefore, is that it provides a vital bridge between the soul and the sensible world.

Further enquiry into this matter leads the author to Aristotle's distinction between the passive and active intellects.[80] The understanding, he explains, is the 'eye of the mind', and it engages phantasms from the sensible soul, and 'surveyes and illustrats' them so that they are invested with the appearance of materiality. The active intellect is the place where this happens. It recognizes the materiality which is implicit in phantasms, and is thus able to illuminate them in order to make them intelligible. They are then passed to the passive intellect where intellection itself takes place.[81] This follows Aristotle's explanation that the active intellect reveals the potentiality of qualities which otherwise remain undiscovered, so that they may lead to 'actual knowledge'. This is exemplified by light: thus the phenomenon of radiance 'converts colours which are potential into actual colours'.[82] But whereas Aristotle refers to 'qualities', the author of Anthropologie abstracted refers to 'objects' and 'phantasms'. This creates some terminological confusion because Aristotle's notion of active intellect is taken to mean the same as his notion of deliberative fantasy,[83] when in De anima the two are at no time equated.

Of a less speculative and entirely more practical nature is the pedagogical treatise Of education, first printed in 1673, by Obadiah Walker (1616-1699).[84] Walker

was interested in philosophical issues only insofar as they related to educational theory, but the subject of psychology had special relevance for him. Like Huarte and Bacon, he believed in the principle that particular faculties of the mind naturally befitted particular activities or vocations. These faculties Walker gave as the wit, judgment and memory.[85] Fantasy is not mentioned because Walker chose to incorporate it in wit. Defined as the quick apprehension of things, wit is encountered in two different forms, 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary'.[86] The latter is of interest because it is the type which belongs to 'imaginative persons'. These persons' lives are dominated by their 'fancies', meaning that, being 'so volatis and skipping from one thing to another that they cannot fix long upon any one subject'.[87] This happens when a person suffers from melancholy or madness, both of which conditions are brought about by an overactive fantasy or an unwary judgment. Persons so afflicted, says Walker, 'are called Phantastical', and the best cure for them is to carry out exercises in mathematics and geometry or to take part in debates.[88]

Walker isolated two further characteristics of wit, both of which stem from its actions of 'fancy' and invention. The first is perspicacity, described as 'the consideration of all, even the minutest, circumstances'; the second is versability, described as a process by which wit 'conjoyns, divides, deduceth, augmenteth, diminisheth, and in summe puts one thing instead of another'.[89] Versability is therefore much the same as Hobbes' compound

imagination and Bacon's description of poetic imagination. And like these, Walker's versability is fundamentally a creative and artistic operation. This is why he goes on to proclaim that wit is the mother of all new inventions, while in learning, it 'is the great Nurse of Poetry, Oratory, Musick, Painting, Acting, and the like'.[90] Walker is careful, however, not to confuse versability with the higher operations of thought in the intellect, which it may at times resemble. Comparing the two operations of wit and judgment, he asserts that despite its swiftness of operation, the former is chiefly only concerned with appearances, whereas the latter is more profound and is concerned rather with questions of reality.[91]

Platonic Fantasy Revived : The Spiritual Theory of Sterry

The posthumously published A discourse of the freedom of the will, 1675, by Peter Sterry (d.1672) must be reserved for the final place in this study. An unjustly neglected work of considerable literary distinction, it can be regarded as the most important religious-inspired contribution to English theory of fantasy in the seventeenth century. A Platonist, Sterry wrote expansively on the spiritual aptitude of the mind, and in particular on the natural affinities shared between the mind and universal concepts of harmony and unity. He described imagination (the word 'fantasy' does not appear) as the kingdom of the sensitive soul and its 'first and highest faculty'. He also believed it to be the fountain of man's liberty.[92]

For Sterry the imagination's importance stemmed from the fact that, according to certain philosophers, it was the point of origin of 'the universal image'. This image, he explains, 'comprehends <u>all</u> <u>corporeity</u>, the <u>visible</u> <u>Heavens</u> and Earth, in it self'.[93] It is possible that Sterry had in mind the universal <u>phantasmata</u> which Aquinas believed formed the basis of all rational thought. He supported the idea that the imagination also has 'a <u>commanding</u> <u>power</u> upon this <u>universal</u> <u>Image</u>, and all the <u>parts</u> of it, having the <u>force</u> of all <u>magick</u> in its self, to alter the <u>motions</u> of the <u>heavenly</u> <u>bodies</u>, and the <u>Constitutions</u> of the <u>Elements</u>',[94] an idea which particularly recalls Agrippa. The universal image provides the cornerstone to Sterry's concept of spirituality in the imaginative process. He ascribed to the imagination a unique and almost divine power of being able to perceive the external or material form of an object. But more than this, it could comprehend the object's fullest and most far-reaching significances. Thus imagination

> not only takes in and <u>enjoys</u> the <u>sensitive</u> <u>forms</u> of all the <u>objects</u> of <u>sense</u>, <u>uniting</u> and <u>varying</u> them according to its own pleasure, but also ... it <u>espouseth</u> in it self the <u>spiritual</u> and <u>corporeal</u> <u>world</u> to each other, receiving the <u>impressions</u>, the <u>similitudes</u>, the illapses of the <u>invisible</u> <u>Glories</u> as the <u>Originals</u> into their <u>sensitive</u> <u>Image</u>, and <u>heightning</u> the <u>sensitive</u> <u>Image</u> to a greatness and <u>glory</u> <u>above</u> it self by this communion with its <u>invisible</u> <u>patterns</u>. [95]

Inseparable from the operations of the imagination is the 'sensitive appetite' which, representing desire and inclination in the mind, likewise has its origins in the sensible object, and helps in the mental realization of

its outward form in the soul. Sterry writes that the appetite and imagination 'mutually influence, excite, and govern each other' in this process. [96]

Whereas most writers drew on Aristotle's writings for an understanding of the fantasy, Sterry (and others who shared his spiritual outlook) drew on the writings of Plato and the Neoplatonic school. Essential to his outlook is that knowledge - spiritual knowledge as distinct, say, from empirical knowledge - is gained primarily from imaginative insight rather than deliberative or rational cogitation. According to the Platonist view, no amount of deliberation can quite equal the intuitive awareness which enables complex higher truths to be fully comprehended. The more complex the truth is, the more difficult it is for the intellect to fathom it, but imagination suffers no such difficulty; that is, unless it is faced with an exceedingly and dauntingly complex object such as a myriagon (or ten-thousand-sided figure). Such an object, thought Robert Boyle, succeeds in confounding all human understanding. [97]

CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER 3: POETIC SOURCES

Fantasy was a highly characteristic aspect of English poetry during the Elizabethan and Jacobean age. More than simply a theme or idea, it formed an essential part of the poet's outlook and psychology. While philosophers debated the mechanisms and relative merits of fantasy as a faculty, poets were directly involved with, and therefore most interested in, the special capabilities which it was believed to possess. Their concept of fantasy was one which related directly to artistic creativity, and was therefore less related to moral and other philosophical issues. All of the poet's inventive powers derived from fantasy, and as a faculty it was more important to him than reason, which was the principal faculty of the philosopher.

Poets reflected on the world as they imagined it to be, in contrast to the objective world which concerned the philosophers. Their perception was entirely individualistic, coming not only from the perspective of a passive observer of events, but of the active participator as well. In this perspective, the inner world of subjective thought was at least as important, and usually more important, than the outside world of objective truth. Further, poets were irresistably attracted to the conflicts which inevitably arise when these two opposite worlds cease to correlate. They were drawn into the 'fantasy-reason debate' because they were forced to speculate on what the precise nature of fantasy was.

The Medievalism of Hawes

This speculation began very early in the sixteenth century. The earliest poetic source of interest is by Stephen Hawes (fl. 1502-21, d.1523?), poet and courtier to Henry VII. While groom of the chamber to the king in 1506, he wrote the highly popular The pastime of pleasure, a story in verse about the adventures of Grande Amoure.[98] As the subtitle indicates ('cōteining the knowledge of the seuē sciences, & the course of mans life in this worlde'), the work is partly didactic and deals with Amoure's instruction from the seven daughters of the Tower of Doctrine, who correspond with each subject of the quadrivium and the trivium. It also concerns his adoration of the lady La Bell Pucell. Thus in a worldly scenario of life and love, Hawes combines both fictional adventure and useful knowledge for the reader. The story takes its course through various branches of moral philosophy, and one such branch is the organization and proper functioning of the mind.

The psychological concepts related by Hawes essentially belong to medieval thinking, and therefore represent the point of departure from which all later concepts evolved. Hawes offers a model of the mind which resembles that of Avicenna's from the eleventh century. A division is made between the five physical senses or 'gates' (sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch) and the internal faculties or 'inwarde wittes', also five in number:

> These are the fiue wittes, remouyng inwardly
> First commen witte, and then ymagination
> Fantasy, and estimation truely
> And memory, as I make narration
> Eche vpon other, hath occupation [99]

In the verses that follow, the functions of each of these wits are set down. The common wit (the same as the sensus communis) is seated in the front part of the brain and receives everything sent from the senses, but also exercises some judgmental power in choosing matters which call for consideration, finding in them similarities and differences. That the common wit is capable of certain cognitative ability, says Hawes, 'may not be denied'.[100] Imagination draws out the matter further and, by a variety of means, unfolds all its significances and pertinences. This process culminates in the fantasy (which Hawes also refers to as the 'fansy'),[101] which brings the matter 'to finishment with good desire, and inwarde judgement'. No matter how varied the matter is or whatever its magnitude may be, the estimation must then carefully weigh up and fully comprehend it: this is done by quantifying it in all its characteristics, by for example, attaching various numerical values to it, 'to bryng the cause, vnto perfect utterance'. The estimation's findings are subsequently retained in the memory where, despite the passage of time, they remain in uncorrupted form until a later point when the mind is finally and decisively able to prove the matter right or wrong.

The five-part model of the faculties, with its separation of the fantasy and imagination, is thus close

to Avicenna with the obvious main difference being that Hawes has apparently swapped the names of the faculties which they originally denoted in Avicenna's model. Each of the five faculties represents a particular stage in the overall cogitative process, and it is interesting that Hawes characterizes each as a truly separate entity which together form a lineal as opposed to a hierarchical scheme as traditionally held. This meant that the usual opinion of fantasy (or imagination) as a lawless or capricious faculty, is not so apparent. Indeed, Hawes regarded each of the five faculties as indispensable when it came to poetic invention. Here is where Hawes departs from medieval thinking, because he is not as much concerned with classification of the faculties as he is with high-lighting their importance in the sphere of literary creativity. This point will be taken up in Part III.

Puttenham and Platonic Fantasy

The shift in thinking which seems to have occurred during the sixteenth century is made abundantly evident upon turning to George Puttenham (c.1529-1590). He is the reputed author of The arte of English poesie, a book to which many later works of literary criticism and poetics were indebted.[102] It appeared in 1589 but may have been written earlier, perhaps even as early as 1565,[103] being only a decade after the last printing of The pastime of pleasure. Yet the ideological difference which separates the two works could hardly be greater. Whereas Hawes

essentially belongs to medieval tradition, Puttenham clearly belongs to the Renaissance. Rigidly conceived faculty doctrine finds no place in The arte of English poesie, and Puttenham gives an account of fantasy which is conceptual rather than structural; that is, it is considered from the viewpoint of its unique attributes and capabilities, rather than its mechanistic role in relation to the other faculties of the mind.

To this end Puttenham ignored Avicenna and the rest of scholastic psychology, and turned instead to Plato. In his writings and those of the Neoplatonists, Puttenham found the justification he sought for fantasy's full employment in the inventive arts, in particular in poetry. Additionally, he revived the 'euphantasiotos' of Quintilian, being that powerful means by which the orator could heighten the effectiveness of his art. Puttenham invoked this term in his praise of poets and other great men (see page 146). The following account of high fantasy, not to be confused with the low fantasy which Plato condemned in The Republic, especially resembles the visionary, inspirational fantasy in Phaedrus:

> For as the euill and vicious disposition of the braine hinders the sounde iudgement and discourse of man with busie & disordered phantasies, for which cause the Greekes call him φανταστικός, so is that part, being well affected, not onely nothing disorderly or confused with any monstrous imaginations or conceits, but very formall, and in his much multiformitie uniforme, that is well proportioned, and so passing cleare, that by it, as by a glasse or mirrour, are represented vnto the soule all maner of bewtifull visions, whereby the inuentive parte of the mynde is so much holpen as with out it no man could deuise any new or rare thing. [104]

Implicit in this, the highest praise that fantasy ever received by an English author, is the Platonic notion that beauty and truth are identical and stem from the operation of the fantasy. What Puttenham succeeded in doing was to powerfully set forth for the first time in England a concept of creative fantasy. It was based on the idea that fantasy reflects what it receives like a mirror reflects light: but just as mirrors are of 'many tempers and manner of makinges', reflected images can either be distorted or truthful. That is, they either 'shew figures very monstrous & illfavored' or 'exceeding faire and comely'.[105] Puttenham maintained that poets, like statesmen and men of science, employ a fantasy which can faithfully reflect all facets of the external world and perfectly represent its natural beauty. The importance of <u>The arte of English poesie</u> lies in the fact that it expounded, in psycho-logical terms, a philosophy of fantasy which was the key to the new poetry of the period (see page 138). The impact of this theory was to be especially felt by Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes and other later philosophers.

Shifting Contexts of Fantasy : John Davies of Hereford

In an altogether different way, John Davies of Hereford (1565?-1618)[106] also shows how fantasy became a subject of increasing interest and attention. In his case this interest is reflected by the sheer prolixity of his poetic writings on the subject, rather than any substan-tial contribution to its theoretical understanding. At

times too, this very prolixity leads to confusion as to what Davies actually saw as the theoretical basis of fantasy. Nevertheless, his accounts as a whole reveal that it had become, by the turn of the seventeenth century, a subject of considerable poetic interest. His long philosophical poem Mirum in modum, published in 1602, addresses a wide range of subjects in a manner which makes them accessible and understandable to the popular reader. But the aim is clearly also to entertain, and it is probably for this reason that certain inconsistencies arise.

The three 'faculties' which constitute the soul are named the animal, vital, and natural. Of the animal there are three parts, namely the motive which concerns bodily movement, the sensitive which incorporates the external or physical senses, and the principal which houses the internal senses. These internal senses are the imagination, the reason, and the memory.[107] To avoid confusion, Davies adds that imagination, fantasy, and common sense are sometimes grouped together as one internal sense; his decision, however, has been to clearly distinguish between them. Common sense, located in the forehead, is where images apprehended by the external senses are combined; they are then sent to the fantasy (or fancy) which reforms them; what the imagination does is not stated. This makes the internal senses five in number if reason and memory are added. The combined scheme thus follows what is stated by Hawes in the The pastime of pleasure, a work of similar scope and approach, and one which Davies very probably used as a model.

In the proper order of operations fantasy is answerable to reason, the seat of knowledge and intelligence in the mind. If its operations are ever judged as irregular, reason swiftly overrules and rejects them. The danger, however, is that reason may on occasion be confounded by imagination or overthrown by fantasy. Due to this danger, Davies reveals a basic distrust of fantasy throughout Mirum in modum, and repeatedly portrays the mind as forever caught between the two conflicting forces of fantasy and reason. The one is motivated by desire and appetite while the other constantly strives to maintain order and propriety. The searching spirit of man in the present age, though regarded by Davies as commendable, is enough to set the two in conflict:

> Yet this breeds bate twixt Reas'n and Fantacie:
> For Fantacie beeing neere the outward Sences:
> Allures the Soule to loue things bodily;
> But Reason mounts to higher Excellences,
> And mooues the spirit her nimble wings to trie,
> In pursuite of diuine Intelligences,
>   Who is the iawes of Fantasie doth set
>   A Snaffle, to o're-rule her wilde coruet.

By reforming what it receives, fantasy can also deform what it receives, and this gives rise to what Davies describes as the 'Pow'r fantasticke',[108] which constantly agitates the mind and causes frightening dreams when the rest of the body is at rest in sleep. This power parodies nature by imitating its patterns, but also by adding to and subtracting from them in ways which trick the mind. By allowing evil spirits to penetrate it, the whole body is in turn impaired and thrown into confusion: manifestations of this range from giddiness to sexual desire.

But fantasy has another side, one which Davies believed should be prized above all other virtues. When the soul is in harmony with itself and fantasy poses no threat, it becomes the mind's eye, seeing all, delivering joy, wonder and ravishment, and raising the soul to a 'heau'n of high content'. The following verse reiterates Puttenham's glowing commendation of fantasy, and recalls his assertion that the inventions of poets and men of science originate entirely from that one faculty:

> For she enwombes worldes of varietie,
>   Of Sunne-bright Beauties and celestiall Sweetes,
>   Vnited all in perfect sympathie,
>   Whereas the Minde with diuerse Pictures meetes,
>   Which Fancie formes, and from the Fancie fleetes.
>   From whence proceedes all maruellous Inventions,
>   Which doe produce all Artes and Sciences
>   That Doubts resolue, and doe dissolue Dissentions
>   Touching the vniuersall Essences,
> Subject t'our inwarde, or out outward Senses.

Such is the paradox, then, that it can be judged to be so worthy and yet in other contexts regarded as completely undesirable.

Many of the ideas in Mirum in modum were stated again in its companion work, Microcosmus, published in Oxford in 1603. Here, Davies divides the soul into the will, understanding, and appetite:[109] this division differs from those given in Mirum in modum. The appetite comprises three subdivisions, namely the natural, the sensitive, and the voluntary. It is to all three that fantasy belongs, but most particularly it belongs to the voluntary. This is because whereas the other two relate to physical desire (such as hunger and thirst), the voluntary relates to

mental desire. This type of desire, says Davies, is brought on by motions of the heart which heighten fantasies, or thoughts that 'lurke in secresie'.[110] Judgment is supposed to control the appetite and hence guard against these fantasies; but it cannot do this constantly, for in sleep or in sickness it ceases to operate, thus allowing the fantasies to take over. Again, the 'powre fantasticall' is what causes this to happen. It stimulates the fantasy which, lacking any powers of judgment, freely creates dreams and visions which torment the soul.[111]

Evidently Davies could not reconcile fantasy's good qualities with its bad qualities. In Sonnet no.6 of <u>Wittes pilgrimage</u> (?1605) he presents a virtuous picture of fantasy, but whereas he did this in Platonic terms in <u>Mirum in modum</u>, he now does it in Aristotelian terms. Fantasy is recognized as the essence of human thought, for it places before the higher soul for deliberation the image of real things gained from the senses:

> Let <u>Fancy</u> <u>offer</u> to <u>Intelligence</u>
> The <u>Shade</u> <u>of Shapes</u>, whose Substances thou dost <u>loue</u>;
> So, <u>Sence</u> <u>shall see</u>, without the <u>Seeing</u> Sence [112]

This interpretation concurs with Aristotle's notion of the 'deliberative fantasy'. In marked contradiction is Sonnet no.26 in which Davies' critical assessment of fantasy is further elaborated. He invokes the opinion of the 'Accademicks' who he said distrusted that faculty and believed it to be no more than a propagator of falsity and conceit: this is probably a reference to Plato in <u>The Republic</u>. Rather, judgment is to be upheld at all times because it

is the only faculty which can be relied upon to understand and maintain the truth. Davies' contrasting attitudes towards fantasy arise primarily from the different contexts in which it is considered. If the context is knowledge itself, then fantasy's positive qualities are usually emphasized, but if the context concerns moral philosophy, then its negative qualities are emphasized. In this respect Davies seems to epitomize his era, in which sharply polarized opinions of fantasy existed alongside each other, mutually reinforcing each other.

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 4:   THE PASSIONS AND AFFECTIONS

Davies, as has already been pointed out, connected the fantasy in Microcosmus with the motions of the heart. Accepted belief stated that the fantasy stirred the heart and caused passions or affections to flow from it. This explains how fantasy came to be closely linked with both phenomena. After all, such expressions as 'phantasticke passion' are commonly encountered in this period.[113] The heart, in addition to being the fountain of blood, was a wellspring of powerful and sometimes uncontrollable influences. These could be triggered by the fantasy if that faculty was not properly regulated.

Thomas Wright

The above theory was put forward by Thomas Wright (dates unknown) in his treatise The passions of the minde, published in 1601.[114] He described the passions as 'perturbations of the mind' since they trouble the soul, corrupt the judgment and seduce the will.[115] They result from certain spirits or humours, having been conveyed from the fantasy (which Wright calls the imagination) to the heart, being magnified there by further spirits. The process is described thus:

> First then, to our imagination commeth, by sense or
> memorie, some obiect to be knowne, conuenient, or
> disconuenient to Nature, the which being knowne (for
> Ignoti nulla cupido [That which is unknown is not
> desired]) in the imagination which resideth in the

former parte of the braine,[116] (as wee prooue when wee imagine any thing) presently the purer spirits flocke from the braine, by certaine secret channels to the heart, where they pitch at the door, signifying what an obiect was presented, conuenient or disconuenient for it. The heart immediately bendeth, either to prosecute it, or to eschew it: and the better to effect that affection, draweth other humours to help him, and so in pleasure concurre great store of pure spirites; in payne and sadnesse, much melancholy blood in ire, bloud and choller; and not only (as I sayde) the heart draweth, but also the same soule that informeth the heart residing in other partes, sendeth the humours vnto the heart, to performe their seruice in such a woorthie place [117]

Before listing and describing the various passions, Wright notes that they have a special affinity with the external senses since they share a 'conformitie and likenesse' with one another.[118] Both can act in defiance of the reason, from which they both differ and by which they must be controlled.[119]

Edward Reynoldes and Neostoic Fantasy

The passions received further consideration from Edward Reynoldes, bishop of Norwich (1599-1676). In 1640 he wrote and had published <u>A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man</u>, a work which divides the passions into different types. Sensitive passions, which belong in both man and beast, are located in the fantasy, memory and the common sense. These Reynoldes describes as 'motions of prosecution or flight'.[120] Middle passions are only found in man and pertain to the understanding, since they are rational and resemble acts of reason. Quoting Aristotle, Reynoldes says that these passions, although belonging to the 'sensitive appetite' (cf. Sterry, page

66), they nevertheless answer directly to the under-
standing and can therefore be called reasonable.[121]

Of the many passions which occur, that of delight
relates especially to the fantasy. Reynoldes believed that
it is founded in that place, and takes the form of
pleasures which are gained from the variety encountered in
nature.[122] This is interesting because it establishes in
scientific terms (of the day) a connection between fantasy
and variety, a connection which had important implications
in artistic endeavour, as Reynoldes himself appreciated
(see page 191). He explains that the passion of delight is
caused by

> the Change and Variety of good things, which the
> diversity of our natures and inclinations, and the
> emptinesse of such things as we seeke Delight from,
> doth occasion, where Nature is simple and uncompoun-
> ded, there are, and the same operation is alwaies
> pleasant; but where there is a mixed and various
> Nature, and diversity of Faculties, unto which doe
> belong diuersity of inclinations, there changes doe
> minister Delight: as amongst learned men, variety of
> studies; and with luxurious men, variety of
> pleasures. [123]

This is not the only passion which concerns fantasy,
however. That of sorrow, although belonging to the memory,
is said to occur when a grievous event of the past is
resurrected, causing anxiety, anguish, and repentance,
which Reynoldes explains as 'Fancy and Suspition'.[124]

Earlier parts of the treatise deal directly with the
faculties themselves. The memory is understood as respon-
sible for more than simply the retention of impressions
gained from the outward senses. It is also capable of

actively searching for impressions, and in this process, exhibiting acts of understanding. That is why Reynoldes characterizes memory as 'a joynt-worker in the operations of Reason'.[125] For Reynoldes to have linked the memory and reason is in fact unusual, since it is more common to link (though not equate) the fantasy with reason. But Reynoldes could not link these two because he viewed the former as one of the common and inferior faculties. Dealt with at length, its functions as well as its failings are described in detail, but again unlike many other writers, and not withstanding the previous point, Reynoldes believed that its failings are ultimately outweighed by its virtues.[126]

Fantasy's extraordinary quality, says Reynoldes, is its quickness both of action and its ability to form thoughts. In this respect no other faculty can match it. What he means by thoughts in this context are spontaneous ideas, more like impulses of the will than cogitations of the reason (or 'understanding'). The latter, however, rely on the fantasy insofar as they must start with 'the Phantasmata or images in that facultie' before they can proceed.[127] It is therefore incorrect, according to Reynoldes, to ascribe to the fantasy (or 'imagination') any true act of apprehension. But he adds that such an act,

> though it may seeme to be the most peculiar worke of Reason, yet the Imagination hath indeed the greatest interest in it: For, though the Act of Apprehending be the proper worke of the Vnderstanding, yet the forme and qualitie of that Act (which properly makes it a Thought in that strict sense, wherein here I take it) namely, the lightnesse, volubilitie, and suddennesse thereof, proceeds from the restlesnesse of the Imagination. [128]

Being so restless, the fantasy does not cease operating when the mind is asleep. On the contrary, its quick and spontaneous operations are most characteristically in evidence in the dreaming state. By contrast, reason is slow and deliberate, and can only operate in wakefulness. It is bound by what Reynoldes describes as 'the severitie of Truth',[129] and here is its major shortcoming, because the mind is always less entertained by 'a severe and sullen Argument' than by 'some plausible Fancie'. This is because the latter delights and persuades, whereas the former can only instruct and dictate.[130]

The last point is where Reynoldes shows an obvious leaning towards the view of the Roman orators that fantasy is intimately connected with will. He believed that will is a voluntary, free-thinking part of the mind and that, out of all the mind's faculties, it is most easily influenced by the fantasy, since it lacks reason's power of judgment. To the will fantasy is able to deliver useful objects, but more than this, it can create pleasure at the same time due to the heightening of desire.[131] The beauty of this is that desire, allured and sharpened, greatly facilitates the carrying out of inspired thought by favourably disposing the mind to natural acts of insight. Fantasy alone instils desire in the mind, as it instils delight, and is therefore the chief means by which creative problem-solving can be enacted. This is why Reynoldes observes that products of the fantasy have

> a kind of delightfull libertie in them, wherewith
> they refresh and doe as it were open and unbind the

> Thoughts, which otherwise, by a continuall pressure
> in exacter and more massie [that is, more sub-
> stantial] reasonings, would easily tyre and despaire.[132]

Reynoldes was more inclined to view fantasy in a
positive light than many other writers because, as a
supporter of neostoic principles, he found a place for it
in the rhetorical arts and valued its role in artistic
creation. But, as a moral philosopher, he was not blind to
its pitfalls. These he put in three categories: error,
levity, and fixedness.[133] In all, it is fantasy's wilful and
wayward tendencies which are most to blame, but they
unavoidably arise from the lack of any self-regulating
capacity in that faculty, causing it to over-extend itself
unless reason does not step in and take command. Fantasy's
errors are to be found in the delusions that sometimes
occupy and trouble the mind, as may be observed in melan-
cholic persons. Quoting Pico della Mirandola's De imaginat-
ione, Reynoldes attributes error to four causes: 'the
varietie of tempers in the Body', 'the imposture of the
Senses', 'the government of the Will', and 'the ministry
of evill Angels'.[134] These are all passive causes. By
contrast are those active causes which arise from levity.
Fantasy's quickness can on occasion get the better of it,
creating mistaken opinions which have no place in the
reason.[135] Fixedness is also an active cause, and arises
when the mind singles out and fixes its undivided atten-
tion on a given object, leaving no chance of reason's
intervention. This results in excessive fears, melancholic
torments, and madness. Ironically, when the mind suffers

these conditions even fantasy is no longer able to operate normally, since its speed and variety of operation are completely stifled.[136]

CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 5: MELANCHOLY

A disease both natural and cultivated, melancholy was
an extreme manifestation of the error of fixedness which
Reynoldes described. Dominated by an unruly fantasy, the
mind slips into a state of heaviness and sluggishness that
eventually immobilizes the operations of all its facul-
ties, including the fantasy. Reynoldes believed melancholy
was a disease,[137] but since it came to be cultivated in high
art - notably in 'metaphysical' poetry - it might better
be described simply as a condition. The melancholic was a
victim primarily of himself, and his torments were brought
about by internal psychological conflicts rather than any
external cause.

Timothy Bright

The first English work on the subject was <u>A treatise</u>
<u>of melancholie</u> by Timothy Bright (1551?-1615),[138] published
in 1586. The main proposition in this work was that
melancholy is a physiological disorder which hinders the
proper functioning of the mind's faculties, and throws
their normal processes into disarray. The illness he -
called 'melancholic madness'[139] was caused by the very
nature of the melancholic humour which, as one of the four
humours of the body, was understood to be the thickest
part of the blood. This humour Bright described as
'grosse, dull & of few comfortable spirits'.[140] It differed

from choler[141] ('subtle, hote, bitter, and of fretting and biting quality')[142] because it was thought to undermine purity and subtlety. Its effect was to defile both the body and the mind by creating delusions.[143] The melancholic humour settles in any part of the body, thus accounting for the diversity of its physiological manifestations. For example, no other humour was thought to create such a variety of passions. Bright noted that it could verily move the subject 'to embrace or refuse, to sorrow or ioy, anger or contentednes'.[144]

A person is driven into acute melancholy when the melancholic humour settles in his spleen, where its vapours irritate the heart and rise up to the brain. There they override the sensitive faculties and present to the fantasy a range of 'terrible obiects', which are construed into 'monstrous fictions' by the fantasy and which in turn pollute the brain.[145] Since none of the faculties can operate normally any longer, the person is continually subject to passions and affections.[146] Most of all, however, it is a wayward fantasy which afflicts him, and this it does with 'phantasticall apparations' from the common sense. It

> compoundeth, and forgeth disguised shapes, which giue terrour vnto the heart, and cause it with the liuely spirit to hide it selfe as well as it can, by contraction in all parts, from those counterfeit goblins, which the braine dispossessed of right discerning, faineth vnto the heart. [147]

According to Bright, sleep and bodily indisposition also bring about these fantastic apparitions. This is evidenced in dreams, which he described as 'the images of outward

things, which hang in the common sense' and are 'presented to the fantasie'.[148]

Robert Burton

A highly influential work, and one which based a lot of its material on Bright's treatise, was <u>The anatomy of melancholy</u> (Oxford, 1621) by Robert Burton (1577-1640).[149] Making use of many contemporary and earlier authors, it is a veritable compendium of Elizabethan and Jacobean thought. As with his predecessor, Burton presented a medical analysis of melancholy which relied on faculty psychology. And here again, the fantasy played a central role. Interestingly, Burton defined it as an estimative or cogitative faculty which is able to examine all that is sent to it by the common sense, but which can also retain and recall things as well.[150] It can even invent new images of its own, derived from previously existing ones, and can do this in an infinite number of ways.[151]

Following not only Bright but a good many other writers, Burton observed that the fantasy is normally kept under control by the reason (which he called the rational soul), but is freed in sleep and sickness. Then it is able to pursue its own peculiar ends, and create in the mind endless 'strange, stupend, absurd shapes'.[152] This is because it is highly susceptible to, and easily influenced by, the disturbing influences which come from various humours and vapours in the body, vented during illness.[153] Burton believed that melancholy was the fantasy's most

forcible manifestation, 'producing many monstrous and prodigious things, especially if it be stirred vp by some terrible obiect, presented to it from cōmon sense, or memory'.[154] Fantasy is prone to misconstrue the true nature of an object and, by heavily fixing the mind's attention on it, exaggerate it out of all proportion. The affections are then stirred up by the resulting images (conveyed to the heart via 'certaine secret channels'). These affections closely resemble the fantasies which cause them; indeed Burton determined that they pertain directly to the faculty of fantasy.[155] Its unique force draws repeated comments from him, and it is interesting that he could on one hand blame it for the disease of melancholy while on the other point to 'the wonderful effects and power of it'.[156] He observed that its force is so strong that some melancholics are actually driven to death by their vivid, morbid imaginings.[157]

NOTES – PART II: FANTASY AND PSYCHOLOGY

1. From Portia's song in Shakespeare's <u>The Merchant of Venice</u> 3.2.63–64.

2. It should perhaps be noted that the scientific term 'psychology' was not used until the late seventeenth century.

3. By 'classical' philosophy is primarily meant the legacy left by the Greek, Roman and early Christian tradition of philosophy.

4. From Murray Wright Bundy, <u>The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought</u>, University of Illinois, 1927 (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol.12, nos 2 and 3), p.12. Bundy shows that Aristotle, in <u>De anima</u> (III, iii, 14), proposed an etymological origin in the noun φαος, 'light'; this is however believed to be incorrect. Many later authorities assumed Aristotle was correct: see for example the Greek lexicon of Suidas (10th century) which bases its definition of φαντασία on Aristotle (Ada Adler, <u>Svidae Lexicon</u>, Lipsiae in Aedibvs B.G. Tevbneri, MCMXXV, p.697).

5. A number of Stoic philosophers, including Sextus (3rd century A.D.) and Alexander of Aphrodisias (c.200 A.D.), believed that <u>phantasia</u> was an imprint (<u>typosis</u>) in the soul. See J. von Arnim (ed.), <u>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</u>, 4 vols, Teubner, Stuttgart, 1964 (first published 1904), vol.2, pp.22–24.

6. See Bundy, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.158.

7. For a discussion on the confusion of 'fancy' and 'imagination', see the entry <u>Fancy</u> (by A.S.P. Woodhouse) in the <u>Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics</u> (enl. edn), Macmillan, 1974, pp.270–71.

8. <u>Institutio oratoria</u> VI, ii, 28–30.

9. See Clarence D. Thorpe, <u>The Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes</u>, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940, pp.51–52.

10. Bundy, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp.158–60.

11. For example, the scholastic philosopher Albertus Magnus wrote of the doubled-headed man and the 'being with a human body, the head of a lion, or the tail of a horse'. See Bundy, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.190.

12. See E. Ruth Harvey, <u>The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance</u>.

(Warburg Institute Surveys, vi), The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1975, pp.21-54.

13. Thorpe, op. cit., pp.37-38.

14. Harvey, op. cit., pp.53-59.

15. A contemporary of Aquinas, Albertus Magnus (1206?-1280) seems to have belonged to an earlier tradition, and he maintained that the soul consisted of a number of organs of apprehension, these being the sensus communis, imagination, opinion, fantasy, memory and reason. Imagination (called virtus imaginativa) retained as images the form of external objects presented to it; it also combined images to construct opinions, either harmful or helpful. Fantasy, operating between the imagination and memory, compared, united and divided images in its service to the reason. See Thorpe, op. cit., p.37.

16. Katherine S. Park, The Imagination in Renaissance Psychology, M.Phil. dissertation, University of London, 1974, p.7.

17. Ibid., pp.127-130.

18. Harry Caplan (transl.), Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola: On the Imagination (Cornell Studies in English, XVI), Cornell University, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930. See chapters IV and VI, pp.33-44.

19. Park, op. cit., pp.64-66.

20. This controversy is comprehensively documented by Park.

21. Ibid., pp.151-55 and 165.

22. See for example Kenelm Digby's two treatises The natvre of bodies and The natvre of mans sovle, both published in 1645.

23. In University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, vol.3, no.4, 1927. Republished by Russell & Russell, 1966.

24. Op. cit. (note 9).

25. Op. cit. (note 16).

26. Cambridge University Press, London, 1974.

27. Op. cit. (note 12).

28. These last three writers are of course well known literary figures of the English Renaissance, but their contributions to the psychology of fantasy have not been properly investigated.

29. See the Middle English Dictionary, edited by Hans Kurath, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan; entry fantasie, vol.5, p.400. See also Appendix I of the present work.

30. Ibid., in 1(a).

31. There were many other editions, from 1541 to 1610. The 1610 edition was consulted for the present study.

32. Ibid., pp.15-16.

33. Ibid., p.16.

34. First published in 1533; the 1534 edition was consulted (there are no page numbers).

35. The classical meaning of 'heart' was defined by William Perkins in the following passage:

   The heart in Scripture is taken sundrie waies: sometimes for that fleshie part of man in the middle of the bodie, which is the fountaine of vitall blood: sometime, for the soule of man: sometime, for the faculties of the soule: and sometime for the middle of any thing ...

   Perkins himself took it to mean 'the vnderstanding facultie of the soule, whereby man vseth reason'. In A treatise of mans imaginations, Cambridge, 1607, pp. 18-19.

36. This discussion particularly recalls Philebus, 33C-34C, in which Plato distinguishes sensation, memory, fantasy and recollection.

37. C. Bailey, The Greek Atomists and Epicurus, Russell & Russell, New York, 1964 (first published, 1928), pp. 271 ff. and 486.

38. A great many books were written with an aim of upholding religious belief in the face of growing aetheism; it was customary for them to ponder the predicament of the 'distressed soul'.

39. Perkins, op. cit., pp.22, 145, etc..

40. It appeared as part of The twoo bookes of Francis Bacon: Of the proficience and advancement of learning, diuine and humane, 1605.

41. He preferred this word rather than 'fantasy'. In Book 2 of The advancement of learning, the Latin phantasia is translated as 'imagination' whenever an English equivalent is necessary.

42. This was an idea which Bacon borrowed from Huarte's Examen de Ingenios. In this work, Huarte stated that

to memory belonged grammar, languages and arithmetic; to understanding belonged physics, logic, philosophy, music, poetry and eloquence (that is, all subjects which are governed by laws of harmony and proportion); and to imagination belonged reading, singing, preaching and playing chess. He also stated that oratory and wisdom are closely connected with the imagination. See the English translation by R[ichard] C[arew], published in 1594, pp.102 seq..

43. Bacon, op. cit., p.17'.

44. Ibid., p.17' and 18.

45. Ibid., p.47.

46. Ibid., p.47.

47. From Descriptio globi intellectualis. In The Works of Francis Bacon, edited by J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis and D.D. Heath, Longman, London, 1860, vol.5, pp.503-4.

48. Ibid., p.504.

49. The advancement of learning, Book 2. In Works, op. cit., vol.3, p.409.

50. The advancement of learning, Book 1, 17' (due to irregular pagination, this is incorrectly given as 16' in the original copy).

51. Ibid., Book 2, pp.21 and 26.

52. See Aphorisms, Book 1, numbers 6,15 and 60. In Works, op. cit., vol.4, pp.48,49 and 61.

53. 'Fascination is the power and act of imagination intensive upon the body of an other'. From The advancement of learning, Book 4, In Works, op. cit., vol.4., p.400.

54. Book 2. In Works, op. cit., vol.3, p.381.

55. See for example Samuel Purchas, Microcosmus, or the historie of man, 1619: 'when the Sense presents a pleasing Object, without due examination, the REASON is by the Fancie tickled, & inclines the WILL to entertaine it; first, by a Passion of Liking, then of Loue, as the most Honorable Affections': p.217. And David Person, Varieties: or, a surveigh of rare and excellent matters, 1635, p.218.

56. John Guillory, in Poetic Authority: Spenser, Milton, and Literary History, Columbia University Press, New York, 1983, p.15.

57. Originally titled Leviathan; or The matter, forme and power of a commonwealth, ecclesiasticall and civill.

58. C.B. MacPherson (ed.), <u>Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan</u>, Penguin Books, 1968, p.5 (original page number).

59. <u>The elements of law</u> I, iii, 1. The relevant passage is quoted in Clarence D. Thorpe, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 9).

60. <u>Leviathan</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.8.

61. <u>De anima</u> III, ii, 3: 'sensations and images [φαντασίαι] remain in the sense-organs even when the sensible objects are withdrawn'. See also Appendix I of the present work in the discussion of Elyot.

62. <u>Leviathan</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.8. Hobbes believed that everything in the physical universe is ultimately explicable according to the motions of bodies and particles (this was his theory of phenomenonalism): John Laird, <u>Hobbes</u>, Oxford University Press, London, 1934, pp.123-24.

63. 'This <u>decaying sense</u>, when wee would express the thing it self, (I mean <u>fancy</u> it selfe,) wee call <u>Imagination</u>, as I said before: But when we would express the <u>decay</u>, and signifie that the Sense is fading, old, and past, it is called <u>Memory</u>. So that <u>Imagination</u> and <u>Memory</u>, are but one thing, which for divers considerations hath divers names'. <u>Leviathan</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.5.

64. Ibid., chapter 8. See also F.S. McNeilly, <u>The Anatomy of 'Leviathan'</u>, Macmillan, New York, 1968, p.30.

65. Hobbes, <u>ibid</u>., pp.9 and 34.

66. <u>Ibid</u>., p.6. Note too, that Hobbes elsewhere does 'not always regard 'imagination' as excluding sensation': Laird, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.266.

67. Hobbes, <u>ibid</u>., p.33.

68. <u>Ibid</u>., p.32. See also Hobbes' <u>Answer to D'Avenant</u> (in William D'Avenant, <u>A Discourse upon Gondibert, an Heroic Poem, with an Answer to it by Mr. Hobbes</u>, Paris, 1650), p.131.

69. <u>Answer to D'Avenant</u>, <u>ibid</u>., p.130.

70. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.131-32.

71. <u>Leviathan</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.8.

72. From chapter I of <u>Leviathan</u>, in Thorpe, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.82.

73. For example, Aquinas in <u>Summa Theologica</u>, and Huarte in <u>Examen</u>. See Thorpe, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., 83, and Bundy, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 4), p.190.

74. Thorpe, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp.82-84.

75. Richard Peters, in Hobbes, Penguin Books, Harmonds-worth, 1956, p.102.

76. An example of this is Thomas Tryon's A treatise of dreams & visions [1689], which gives the following account:

> The Phantasie doth more fully examine the species perceived by the common Sense, whether of things present or absent, keeping them longer, and thence making new and compounded Images or Conceits of its own. Its Objects are, all the species communicated thereunto by the common Sense, whereby ... it fancies many other things, as Centaurs, Chimaera's, and a thousand odd Forms which never really had beeing in the Nature of Things; yet it is to be noted that the parts thereof must always consist of such thing[s] of wich we have seen, or heard of ...

On p.17. This account probably derives from Hobbes.

77. Fantasy came in for condemnation by such religious writers as John Sharp, archibishop of York (d. 1714). See his Sermon about the government of the thoughts, 1694 (2nd edn), which talks about 'the frightful Blasphemous Fancies' which can torment even pious persons (pp.20 and 27).

78. Anthropologie abstracted: or, The idea of humane nature reflected, p.13.

79. Ibid., p.14; De anima III, vii, 1.

80. De anima III, v, 1-2.

81. Anthropologie abstracted, pp.20-24.

82. De anima III, v, 1. The same analogy is used in Anthropologie abstracted, p.20.

83. See page 36 of the present work.

84. A very popular work, it reached its sixth edition in 1699.

85. Of education, p.97.

86. Ibid..

87. Ibid..

88. Ibid., p.98.

89. Ibid., p.122.

90. Ibid., p.125.

91. Ibid., p.122.

92. <u>A discourse of the freedom of the will</u>, p.3.

93. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.3-4.

94. <u>Ibid</u>., p.4.

95. <u>Ibid</u>., p.4.

96. <u>Ibid</u>..

97. Robert Boyle, in his <u>Discourse of things above reason</u> (1681), refers to the 'intuitive idea' which is formed by the imagination and which allows the essential characteristics of an object to be understood: p.39. These are, in the examples of a triangle or square, the angles and number of sides. But in the case of a myriagon these characteristics are impossible for the mind to conceive, and the intellect, aided by the imagination, can only create 'a dark and peculiar kind of Impression': p.40. Boyle's example of the triangle or square comes from Boethius who said that 'any one seeing a triangle or square easily recognizes what he sees'. In De institutione musica libri. See (Oliver Strunk (ed.), <u>Source Readings in Music</u> History from <u>Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era</u>, W.W. Norton, New York, 1950, p.80.

98. The original title is <u>The pastime of pleasure, or the historie of Graunde Amoure and la bell Pucel</u>. It was published in 1509 by Wynken de Worde and reissued in 1517, 1554 and 1555.

99. Chapter 24, second verse (no page numbers are given).

100. The idea that the common wit is more than simply a receptor or bond of the senses and is responsible for ordinary, normal, or average understanding without which man is insane, was established early in the sixteenth century. See entry 'Common sense' in the <u>Oxford English Dictionary</u>. It had its origins in an early belief, stretching back as far as Aristotle, that the <u>sensus communis</u> was a faculty of mental perception: see <u>De anima</u> III, i, 5-7. Galen regarded it as the reasoning mind: see Rudolph E. Siegel, <u>Galen on Psychology, Psychopathology, and Function and Diseases of the Nervous System</u>, S. Karger, Basel, 1973, pp.139-144. Siegel also mentions that Descartes regarded it likewise.

101. See Appendix I on the meanings of 'fantasy' and its contraction, 'fancy'.

102. A polemical work in defence of poetry, it was published anonymously. Although Puttenham was almost certainly its author, conjecture remains as to whether Lord Lumley wrote it (see the facsimile edition in <u>The English Experience</u>, Da Capo Press,

Amsterdam, vol.342) or 'Richard P.', presumably Puttenham's brother.

103. See The arte of English poesie, ed. by Gladys D. Willcock and Alice Walker, Cambridge, 1936, pp.xliv-liii.

104. The arte of English poesie, p.14.

105. Ibid., p.14.

106. A poet and writing-master, John Davies of Hereford is not to be confused with the Irish poet Sir John Davies (1569-1626), John Davies the lexicographer (1570?-1644), or John Davies the translator (1627?-1693).

107. This scheme departs from what is briefly stated in the Dedication, in which the faculties or 'virtues' of the soul are given as the understanding, the will, and the memory. (There are no page numbers.)

108. This term was first used by Thomas Elyot in the 1545 edition of his Dictionary. See Appendix I.

109. Microcosmus: the discovery of the little world, pp. 40-32.

110. Ibid., p.42.

111. Ibid., pp.60 and 72. See also pp.168-81.

112. (There are no page numbers.)

113. Robert Allott, Englands Parnassus, 1600, in the poem 'Desire', p.56.

114. It was enlarged in 1604 and reprinted in 1621 and 1630. Its author should not be confused with Thomas Wright the Roman Catholic controversialist or another by the same name who wrote The glory of God's revenge, 1685.

115. The passions of the minde, p.14.

116. Cf. page 49 of the present work. Batman, in Batman vppon Bartholome his booke De proprietatibus rerum (1582), also placed it in the foremost ventricle of the brain. Other writers such as Sir John Davies, Robert Burton and the poet Phineas Fletcher placed it in the middle ventricle. See Anderson, op. cit. (note 23), p.15.

117. Ibid., pp.82-83.

118. Ibid., pp.14-15.

119. The 'passions and sense are like two naughtie seruants, who oft-times beare more loue one to an another, than they are obedient to their Master'. Ibid., pp.14-15.

120. A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man, p.37.

121. Ibid., p.38.

122. Ibid., p.113.

123. Ibid., pp.209-10. For this passage, Reynoldes cites Aristotle's Ethics lib.7, c. vl and lib.10, c.4.

124. Ibid., p.221.

125. Ibid., p.13.

126. Ibid., chapter 4, entitled 'Of the Fancie: Its offices to the will and reason, volubilitie of thoughts, fictions, errors, levitie, fixednesse'.

127. Ibid., p.23. His account of fantasy's characteristics is based on the miscellany Noctes Atticae of Gellius (b. c.A.D. 130), the Latin author, and Saint Augustine's Civitas Dei. Both works are cited as marginalia by Reynoldes.

128. Ibid., pp.23-24.

129. Ibid., p.21.

130. Ibid., p.19.

131. Pleasure was defined by Thomas Rogers in A philosophicall discourse, entituled, The anatomie of the minde (1576) as joyfulness and 'a certaine mouing in the sense' (based on Cicero), pp.3' and 4.

132. Ibid., p.22.

133. Ibid., pp.26-30.

134. Ibid., pp.26-27. See De imaginatione, chapter 7: 'Accordingly, the variety of imaginations depends – apart from the Cause of all things, God – on the very temperament of the body, on the objects perceived by sense that affects us, on our judgment, and on the ministration of the good and bad angels'. In Caplan edition, op. cit. (note 18), p.51.

135. Ibid., pp.28-29.

136. Ibid., pp.29-30.

137. So too did Timothy Rogers, a theological writer whose puritanical views led him to regard melancholy as

destructive to religious adherence. See <u>A discourse</u> <u>concerning trouble of mind and the disease of melan-</u> <u>cholly</u>, 1691.

138. He was a medical doctor and the inventor of modern shorthand.

139. <u>A treatise of melancholie</u>, 1613 edition, p.2.

140. <u>Ibid</u>., p.122.

141. That is, the substance bile.

142. <u>Ibid</u>., p.122.

143. Bright said that it causes 'many fearfull fancies, by abusing the braine with ugly illusions'. <u>Ibid</u>., p.122.

144. <u>Ibid</u>., p.123.

145. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.124-25.

146. <u>Ibid</u>., p.125.

147. <u>Ibid</u>., p.126.

148. <u>Ibid</u>., p.144.

149. <u>The anatomy of melancholy</u> was signed and dated in the year 1620. Many of its passages on the causes and effects of melancholy owe their origin to Bright; for example, its page 121 reads similarly to page 124 of <u>A treatise of melancholie</u>.

150. <u>Ibid</u>., p.35. He quotes the <u>Physiologia</u>, lib.5, c.3 of <u>Fernelius</u> (or Jean Francois <u>Fernel</u>; 1497-1558).

151. <u>Ibid</u>., p.36.

152. <u>Ibid</u>., p.35.

153. <u>Ibid</u>., p.36.

154. <u>Ibid</u>..

155. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.121 and 48.

156. <u>Ibid</u>., p.122.

157. <u>Ibid</u>., p.126.

P A R T   III.

PART III.   FANTASY AND MUSIC

> '... then let us take the wings
> of Midnight Fancie, and soe
> make Seraphic flights ...' [1]

As the preceding chapters have shown, fantasy was a large and important subject in English philosophy. The following chapters attempt to show that it was equally large and important in many areas of musical thought, and in artistic creativity generallly. One point needs to be made first of all. No writer, however hesitant he may have been to accept a place for fantasy in moral philosophy, could claim that creativity stemmed solely from the intellect. The intellect was understood to play a necessary role in all forms of creativity, because it was the mind's highest faculty. But even so, its importance was overshadowed by fantasy, since that faculty was universally recognized as the place of origin of all creative ideas.

Looking into this area further raises a fundamental question concerning the 'theory' of art, as it existed in this time. In the Renaissance, an age which is distinguished by and celebrated for a wealth of creativity in all the arts, no truly self-complete or autonomous theory of artistic creativity in fact existed. There were of course principles that artistic creativity should seek to emulate the perfection found in nature, and that it should as a

secondary function seek to edify and enlighten the mind. However, these were not true 'aesthetic theories' because they concerned the 'utilitarian' purpose or context of art, and because they did not go further by addressing what in later periods became known as art's 'essential nature'. The notion of art for art's sake, for example, clearly had no place in the Renaissance. As a product of both the fantasy and the intellect, art had to satisfy the same basic requirements that all branches of learning (including the sciences) had to satisfy. Those require-ments were to answer to 'universal truth' and rationality, to nourish and educate the mind, and to serve as a guide to the individual in terms of his beliefs, aspirations and conduct.

For this reason, the artistic role of fantasy was not a separate issue, but one which was inextricably connected with philosophy, psychology and morality. There was in fact no such thing as 'artistic fantasy' _per se_, and herein lies an important difference between the Renaiss-ance and later ages. Nevertheless, there were signs that an independent concept of artistic fantasy was emerging. During the second half of the sixteenth century in England, there grew an unprecedented wave of interest in the whole idea of fantasy, and this interest threatened to undermine the classical concept of art, and to replace it with something altogether new and different. These signs first appeared in the 'fantasy poetry' of the Elizabethan period, and in certain types of music in the same period.

The story of how both arts were transformed by the new interest in fantasy is an interesting one, because it raises many important issues connected with artistic thought in the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

The role of fantasy in music was complicated to start with, by the accepted psycho-acoustic theories of the time. At the most basic level, fantasy related to the very nature of how musical sound is perceived. From the earliest times, music was thought to possess powers which could be put to good or evil use, hence its age-old association with magic and the supernatural. How its power originated was always a matter of speculation, but Aristotle believed that music influenced the soul by imitating, through patterns of sound, the natural affections of man. His theory was expressed in the following way:

> rhythms and melodies contain representations of anger and mildness, and also of courage and temperance and of their opposites, and the other moral qualities that most closely correspond to the true natures of these qualities (and this is clear from the facts of what occurs – when we listen to such representations we change in our soul); and habituation in feeling pain and delight at representations of reality is close to feeling them towards actual realities (Politica VIII, v, 6).

The power which music was believed to exert over the soul came about through music's natural and mysterious properties, regardless of the fact that in a song, the soul of course also responds to whatever affections the words may express. The 'songs of Olympus' which Aristotle mentions, testify to this:

for these admittedly make our souls enthusiastic,
and enthusiasm is an affection of the character of
the soul. And moreover everybody when listening to
imitation is thrown into a corresponding state of
feeling by the rhythms and tunes themselves, even
apart from the words (VIII, v, 5). [2]

Aristotle ascribed much of music's power to the various
melodic modes which were believed to possess specific
affective qualities. It was said, for example, that the
mixolydian mode depresses and saddens the mind, the dorian
calms and relaxes it, while the phrygian inspires enthus-
iasm and action (VIII, v, 9).[3] The concept of imitation,
in which music imitates and stirs the affections of man,
was fundamental to the function and purpose of music, but
the way in which this concept was applied was rather
different from its application to the other arts.
Aristotle viewed epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyrambic
poetry, and 'most flute-playing and lyre-playing' as modes
of imitation, but he pointed out that all these arts
differ from one another in the actual manner of their
imitations.[4] What he meant by this is a little unclear,
but an important difference would appear to be that music
imitated the affections themselves, whereas the other arts
first described in words or portrayed in colours those
things which were to be imitated. Only then did these
imitations evoke affective responses in the mind. This
difference is at once apparent when Aristotle turns to the
subject of imitation in painting and poetry. He writes:

good portrait-painters, who reproduce the distinc-
tive features of a man, and at the same time,
without losing the likeness, make him handsomer than
he is. The poet in like manner, in portraying men
quick or slow to anger, or with similar infirmities

of character, must know how to represent them as such, and at the same time as good men, as Agathon and Homer have represented Achilles.[5]

It is reasonable to conclude that the type of imitation which was employed in music was more direct and immediate in its effect than in any other art.

Every type of art by necessity had to rely on fantasy, because that faculty was the mind's representer of all things. It conveyed objects or affections to the knowing part of the mind in forms which had every appearance of being real. This was fantasy in the original Greek sense as referring to the unique mental power of capturing and conveying to the intellect the living essence of all things which are real. It shall be seen in the next chapter that fantasy had a central role in the psychoacoustics of musical perception, and that a number of different theories were advanced to explain this role.

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER 1 : THE NATURE OF MUSIC

According to ancient belief, sound was produced, transmitted and received by a series of physiological and psychological interactions. Much mystery surrounded the exact nature of the processes involved, but some things were regarded as fact. Sound, as motion of the air, was perceived by the physical sense of hearing just as light and other stimuli were perceived by sight and the other senses. However, as has just been seen, sound had the capacity of immediately and directly influencing the faculties of the soul. By contrast, any other types of stimuli had to be conveyed as discrete images from one faculty to another before their influence was brought to bear. Plato believed that in hearing, sound 'passes through the ears, and is transmitted by means of air, the brain, and the blood, to the soul'.[6] The special power which music was thought to possess prompted Cassiodorus to speculate that musical sound 'enters our ears and alters our spirits, and as queen of the senses drives out other thought'.[7]

Fantasy played a vital role in the communication of musical sound. Aristotle believed that the vocal organs produce sound by the impact of air on the windpipe, and that this impact is caused by the soul animating that organ. For sound, as distinct from noises like coughing, he said it is necessary 'that the part which strikes' (that is, the windpipe) 'should be animate and that some

mental image [φαντασίας] should be present'.[8] This is consistent with Aristotle's concept of 'deliberative fantasy' which he said is the starting point of all cognitive processes (see pages 37-38).

Saint Augustine, who profoundly influenced psychological concepts of fantasy during the Middle Ages, himself employed the word in three classes of meaning (see page 41). The third class of fantasy was that which served the intellect, and is exemplified in music by musical harmonies. These, like numbers and geometrical figures, are essentially rational, and in order that they may be fully comprehended by thought, they first need to be represented in the mind in the form of an image. Saint Augustine explained this in a letter he wrote to Nebridius:

> As for the third class of images, it has to do chiefly with numbers and measure; which are found partly in the nature of things, as when the figure of the entire world is discovered, and an image consequent upon this discovery is formed in the mind of one thinking upon it, and partly in sciences, as in geometrical figures and musical harmonies (Epistola vii).[9]

This concept places fantasy very close to the intellect and, like Aristotle's account of the production of vocal sound, it closely follows his notion of 'deliberative fantasy'.

Music of the Spheres

The subject of musical sound became increasingly associated with spiritual magic during the Renaissance. Much of this was due to the rise of Platonism and the new

respectability, in some quarters, of magic as a discipline of learning. As already stated, music was believed from early times to be a magical power, but whereas the classical Greek writers tried to understand its mechanisms in simple terms of cause and effect, many Renaissance writers were inclined towards a more metaphysical interpretation, stressing what they felt was the inherent mystery of musical sound. Their interpretations were drawn from a wide variety of sources, from spiritual magic to astrology, and yet at the same time they were based on classical philosophy as well. Music of the spheres was a concept which related to the harmonious sound which was supposed to be produced by the motion of heavenly bodies rotating in their celestial spheres. Its origins may be traced to Plato's Republic (the vision of Er in x, 617) and Timaeus (37A), and the Enneads of Plotinus; but as a branch of music theory, it was first set down by Boethius in De institutione musica libri v.[10] In the Renaissance the concept reached a culmination in the writings of the German philosophers Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) and Johannes Kepler (1571-1630).[11]

Most writers invoked the music of the spheres concept in order to stress the changeless and harmonious relationships which were believed to exist in music. They were the same relationships which were believed to exist in the heavens. However, there was one writer who took a different and somewhat unconventional approach. This was the humanist philosopher and Platonist Marsilio Ficino (1433-

99). A writer of considerable influence later in the Renaissance, he attributed great power to the fantasy. This was a direct outcome of his special interest in supernatural forces, coupled with his religious interpretation of the Neoplatonic concept of spiritual truth. In <u>Theologica Platonica</u>, he presented a concept of fantasy which directly linked celestial music with the idea of spiritual truth:

> When our mind, desiring to discover what God is, consults [its corporeal faculties], fantasy [phantasia], bold instructor and artisan, forges a statue from the five materials that the external senses have presented to it as the most beautiful of all things .... Therefore fantasy [phantasia] offers us a light so brilliant that no brighter one can be seen, so huge that there is no larger, ... clothed in countless colours and revolving in a circle. Because of the circular movement, it resounds with sweet harmonies which fill and charm the ears. It emits the most fragrant perfumes, abounds in the most delicious tastes and is marvellously soft, delicate and pleasant to the touch. Such is God, proclaims fantasy [phantasia].[12]

The 'Music Spirit Theory' of Ficino

Whereas music of the spheres was a 'theory' which explained the universal aspects of music, there was another, the 'music spirit theory', which tried to explain its purely metaphysical aspects. It appears to have derived from Aristotle's account of the production of sound (given earlier), but this account was combined with the notion that air, when moved (as happens in music) behaves as a psychic medium of influence. There was one other essential component of the theory, and this derived from the Neoplatonic concept of the unified soul and

spiritual truth. Specifically, it was the idea that musical sound has an immediate and profound effect on the mind of the hearer, since music possesses certain magical qualities which are able to bring about a type of divine insight in the mind of the receptive listener.

It seems that Ficino was the first to expound this music spirit theory, and it may well be that he originated it. He cited the famous story of David who relieved Saul of melancholia with skilful and magical playing of the harp.[13] For Ficino, this attested to the singular power of music over the human mind. His explanation went the following way:

> Nor is this surprising; for, since song and sound arise from the cogitation of the mind, the impetus of the fantasy [phantasiae], and the feeling of the heart, and, together with the air they have broken up and tempered, strike the aerial spirit of the hearer, which is the junction of the soul and body, they easily move the fantasy [phantasiam], affect the heart and penetrate into the deep recesses of the mind.[14]

The role of the fantasy here is interesting. It was a faculty which was normally understood to respond to images sent to it from the outer senses or the common sense. In music however, its role was different, because it was invested with a spiritual power. Fantasy was the driving force behind music's creation, and it was in the position of directly influencing the mind whenever music was heard.[15]

Musical sound was in the first place a motion of the air, and as such, it was able to directly move the body and soul. From this premise Ficino postulated that musical sound, 'more than anything else perceived by the senses,

conveys, as if animated, the emotions and thoughts of the singer's or player's soul to the listeners' souls'.[16] By comparison, light was less effective in its motions and was 'usually perceived only as an image [imaginem]'. Correspondingly, it had a diminished effect on the soul.[17] Thus Ficino wrote:

> But musical sound by the movement of the air moves the body: by purified air it excites the aerial spirit which is the bond of body and soul: by emotion it affects the senses and at the same time the soul: by meaning it works on the mind: finally, by the very movement of the subtle air it penetrates strongly: by its contemperation it flows smoothly: by the conformity of its quality it floods us with a wonderful pleasure: by its nature, both spiritual and material, it at once seizes, and claims as its own, man in his entirety.[18]

Agrippa

Ficino's writings exercised a surprisingly strong influence on musical theorists of the sixteenth century. For example, his writings were probably in large part responsible for the renewed interest in the concept of music of the spheres during that century.[19] The music spirit theory was restated (without acknowledgement to Ficino) by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535) in that writer's famous De occulta philosophia of 1531.[20] This work was known in England by a translation which appeared in 1651,[21] but it was probably widely read there for a long time earlier than this, in the original Latin. Agrippa was as similarly impressed as was Ficino by the powerful and calming effects of musical sound. He argued that the passions are strongly moved by musical

harmony, and that music can bring about altered bodily states. For him, as for Ficino, music's power derived principally from the force that the fantasy could exert on the body. In his view the voice had a greater effect than any instrument, but vocal and instrumental consorts were equally strong, that is, if proper tuning was first carried out. His statement, given here in the English version of 1651, can be seen to closely follow Ficino's, quoted earlier.

> Singing can do more then the sound of an Instrument, in as much as it arising by an Harmonial consent, from the conceit of the minde, and imperious affection of the phantasie and heart, easily penetrateth by motion, with the refracted and well tempered Air, the aerious spirit of the hearer, which is the bond of soul and body; and transferring the affection and minde of the Singer with it, It moveth the affection of the hearer by his affection, and the hearers phantasie by his phantasie, and minde by his minde, and striketh the minde, and striketh the heart, and pierceth even to the inwards of the soul, and by little and little, infuseth even dispositions: moreover it moveth and stoppeth the members and the humors of the body. [22]

A Platonist and firm adherent of the celestial music concept, Agrippa also maintained that the harmony of music is mirrored by the harmony of the faculties of man.[23] This was his 'mind concept' of music, and it differed from Ficino's music spirit theory and music of the spheres by seeking to place the whole of musical art within the order and framework of the mind.[24] But it was similar to music of the spheres insofar as Agrippa obviously regarded the mind or soul as a microcosm of the universe. His view was that this order was one of unity and harmony, not one of separation and hierarchy, and therefore he gave equal importance to the fantasy as to the reason, believing that

they aided and illuminated one another, rather than existing in a state of mutual and perpetual conflict.[25] This placed Agrippa somewhat out of step with mainstream philosophy, and his view of fantasy as the 'power of judging' and a place of intellectual thought, was definitely unorthodox.[26] Even so, he was not totally uncritical of the fantasy, since he could find no praise for musicians whose imaginations are carried away by their activity, and who 'extol themselves far above the Rhetoricians' in their efforts to move the passions and affections.[27]

The Importance of the Passions in England

English writers made little contribution to the theoretical side of music psychology. Nevertheless, they continually extolled the magical and powerful effects of music by citing the famous stories of Apollo, Arion, Pythagorus and David, as demonstrable proof of these effects. A favourite story was one told by the late twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century Danish historian Saxe Grammaticus. This story concerned the musician Ericus, who was in the service of King Bonus of Denmark, and who was reputedly so skilful upon his instrument that he

> could put his hearers into what passion he listed,
> and make them either sad, merry, or franticke: and
> being vrged to make proofe of his skill, at the
> first he draue [sic] them into so great a melan-
> choly, that they sate drooping, like men much
> oppressed with sorrow. Then changing his Melodie,
> they beganne to looke vp more cheerefully, to laugh,
> and immediately to breake forth into many merry and
> Apish gestures. But at the next Straine, hee put

them all into such a fury, that much mischiefe was
done: and if the place had not before-hand beene
cleared of Armes, and prepared for that purpose,
greater danger [would] have followed.[28]

The same story was quoted by Charles Butler in The prin-
ciples of musik,[29] and also by John Playford in A breefe
introduction to the skill of musick.[30] Virtually all
writers upheld the ancient belief that music was, in a
number of different ways, inseparably bound to the
passions. In doing so, they tacitly acknowledged that
fantasy played a central role in music. From The praise of
musicke (1586) onwards, writers on music stated a belief
that the passions could be moved by using the appropriate
known techniques. It was believed that particular musical
devices had specific effects on the passions; there was no
arbitrariness involved in this process at all. Theorists
cited the ancient modes (or 'moods' as Morley called them)
as evidence for the direct relationship which was supposed
to exist between the intervallic arrangement of a melody,
and the listener's affective response to that melody.
Thomas Mace gave detailed accounts of the 'humours' or
'conceits' which he thought his lute compositions in
Musick's monument (1676) possessed. These accounts make
fascinating reading, and they undoubtedly reflect a way of
listening to music which was very characteristic of the
time.

An important parallel of this was the systematic
classification in rhetorical handbooks of the various
figures of speech and tropes which were available for use
by orators and poets. These figures were based on the

oratorical principle, derived from Quintilian, that the listener can be more greatly moved and swayed if the orator first activates in him an appropriate affection. To this end, Quintilian recommended that the orator employed fantasies or visions, so that he could first of all imagine a particular affection in his own mind (see page 39). A precise psychological theory therefore existed which could explain the emotional effects of oratory. The same theory was equally applicable to other arts, including music.[31] But it applied especially to music since that art seemed to exercise a more direct effect on the passions, and did not always require words or other symbolic means to excite them.

In France, the passions were considered an essential part of musical language. Descartes drew attention to the way different tempi in music cause a whole range of passions to be excited, from languor and sadness to fear, pride, joy and courage.[32] This was in his Musicae compendium, known in England through an anonymous translation of 1653. The English seem to have shared the outlook of the French, but they took an independent path by going one stage further and combining the theory of the passions with the concept of fantasy. This is demonstrated by many writings which deal with music's affective qualities. An example is the following observation by George Jeffries, recorded in one of his autograph manuscripts:

> The Italians use 4. words in their vocall musick to expresse their Fancy.
> Presto   - speed. to hasten the Time

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Adagio   - slow. to prolong
Fortis   - strong. to sing louder
Piano    - To sing softlier        33
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Both Thomas Ravenscroft and Martin Peerson connected fantasy with the passions and humours.[34] So too did Roger North in his description of the art of playing voluntary on the organ. The most important requisite for any organist, in his opinion, was his ability to represent passions which could move the audience. To do this, the organist must imitate the passions musically, by whatever appropriate means, thereby 'instilling a sence of those passions' in the minds of the listeners. North believed that there was no limit to the variety of passions which could be musically represented, and he left the task of making the choice completely to the organist's 'fancy' or 'imagination'. Thus the organist

> may put in execution all the various states of body
> and mind, by a musicall imitation, ... that his
> humour or capriccio, as well as good understanding
> and sence, shall in his fancy conjure up ... There
> is no end of the varietys of imitation in musick, so
> I leave that to imagination [35]

This excerpt comes from North's essay on the art of organ voluntary. Discussion of his ideas on fantasy and improvisation will be left until later (see pages 259-60).

Agrippa's 'Mind Concept' of Music in England

The earliest musical treatise in England to propose a psychological and physiological basis for musical sound was The praise of musicke, published in Oxford in 1586. This rare, valuable and highly interesting work was

published by an anonymous author (he may well have been John Case; see page 413) with an aim to restore the dignity of music, particularly church music, in the face of what was seen as its recent and rapid decline. The author proposed a theory, which he said derived from Quintilian, and he hoped it would reclaim music to the eminent position which it was given in ancient times.

His theory, similar in many ways to that of Ficino and Agrippa, assumed that harmonious music was made up of three parts, and that each part was equivalent to one of the three 'interior parts & affections of the soule'.[36] These parts are given as the reasonable, the irascible, and the concupiscible. They are supposed to exist in a hierarchical relationship in which the first, being the worthiest and the possessor of all the soul's authority, rules over the other two, while the second in turn rules over the third. This model was borrowed from medieval psychology, in which the three parts of the soul (also known as faculties) were physically located in the brain, heart and liver, respectively. The first (after the Latin rationalis) was the psychic faculty, the second (irascibilis) was the vital faculty, and the third (concupiscibilis) was the natural faculty or 'vegetative soul'.[37] Although there is no provision for the fantasy in this model, that faculty was directly implicated because it was understood as belonging to the reasonable faculty. This can be seen from one of the discussions in The praise of musicke about music and harmony, described below.

The author illustrated the application to music of the medieval classification of the three parts of the soul, by using the example of a three-stringed instrument. The harmonious relationship between the parts of the soul, he claimed, was reflected by the pitch intervals between the strings:

> For looke what proportion is betweene the parts reasonable, & irascible, such is there in Musicke between that string which is called hypate [the uppermost string[38]], & that which is termed Mese [the middle string], causing the melody called diatessaron: and looke what proportion is between the parts of irascible & cōcupiscible, such is there between Mese & Nete [the highest string] making that sound which is named Diapente: so that as those three partes of the soule consenting in one, make an absolute and perfect action: so of these three in Musicke, is caused a pleasant and delectable Diapason.[39]

Although it is not clear how this theory derives from Quintilian,[40] the above passage can nevertheless be shown to have derived from Zarlino, Agrippa, Boethius and, earlier, from Aristoxenus. The last of these writers drew attention to the intervals between the hypate, mese, paramese and nete, and theorized that the soul is related to the body as harmony is related to these musical notes.[41] These relationships were later systematized by Boethius. He set out diagrammatically the proportions of diatessaron, diapente, diapason, and budsapason, between an expanded range of pitches, given by their Greek names.[42] Zarlino reproduced these proportions in a diagram of his own, and explained that just as the proportions of diapason, diapente, and diatessaron constitute a perfect harmony (whereby the first is the sum of the second and third), the three faculties of the soul constitute a

similarly perfect harmony. Thus the intellect, comprising the mind, fantasy (l'Imagination), memory, thought, opinion, reason and science, corresponds to the diapason; sensibility, comprising the outward senses, corresponds to the diapente; and behaviour corresponds to the diatessaron.[43] Zarlino may have been prompted by Agrippa's mind concept of music, specifically by his belief that musical proportions such as diapason, diapente and diatessaron are parallelled by the harmony which exists between the faculties of the soul.[44] Those faculties of the soul given by Zarlino are similar to the ones given in The praise of musicke, and indeed the passage quoted above was probably drawn directly from Zarlino. That treatise can therefore be regarded as the first appearance in England of Agrippa's mind concept of music.

The mind concept of music was to some extent only incidental and only of minor importance in Renaissance theories of music. Certainly, there were some writers, like Henry Hawkins, for whom it was a subject of little more than idle curiosity.[45] But this should not mask its symbolic significance in Renaissance musical thought, for it gave absolute primacy to the idea that music is a perfect expression of natural order.[46]

It helped propagate the view that music must properly reflect, and emanate from, a harmonious integration of the soul's constituent parts. Herein lies the importance of The praise of musicke, because there were two crucial ramifications as far as fantasy was concerned. Fantasy was

to be regarded either as a necessary part of this harmonious integration or, in total contrast, as a threat to that integration. In other words, it could be taken as a faculty whose role was fundamental to the whole nature of music, as indeed the Platonists did. Or it could be viewed as a corrupting force which undermined music's position as a 'universal' art. The praise of musicke took the latter line as part of its defensive arguments in support of the classical dignity of music. It took exception to what it described as the cunning but foolish musicians who choose to flout music's natural order by pretending to be skilful on their instruments, when clearly they possess no skill at all. They are to be regarded as 'dangerous or phantasticall', since they do nothing more than corrupt their art with 'vaine and fantastical deuises' (cf. Zarlino on page 17).[47] On the other hand, it also took the view that harmonious music has a beneficial effect on improperly regulated minds, and that such minds can be fully restituted by listening to harmonious music for a sufficiently long time.[48] Above all, the book advocated that young people should play music, because this prevents idleness and restrains their naturally unruly affections.[49]

Fantasy Denied

The view of fantasy as a corrupting force in all facets of life was particularly prevalent amongst older and more conservative members of Elizabethan society. This is increasingly in evidence the further fantasy is traced

as a general concept in music, the literary arts, moral philosophy, and many other fields as well. But on the other side, it is equally evident that fantasy was gradually assuming a central and highly important role in matters of creativity. The fact that an author could be moved to state such strong opinions as is the case in The praise of musicke suggests that a controversy which arose out of this dichotomy was on the boil. There were, by inference, a substantial number of younger musicians who, during the 1570s and 80s, were creating a radically new understanding of music in which fantasy was more important than reason. This is probably what gave rise to the many bitter arguments about whether music was in a state of renewal or decline. Indeed, the author of The praise of musicke was himself cautious enough to state that he preferred not to enter into a debate on the question of whether music's development during recent time should be regarded as positive or negative.[50]

Solo music for lute, which William Byrd evidently chose not to publish when he held the Royal patent for music publishing, may have been viewed as contentious by the conservatives, along with street music and other types of music which could be interpreted as light or lascivious. Increasingly, the sensuous side of music was singled out for debate. This happened simultaneously with the emergence of a popular view that music is, more than anything else, a pleasurable and affective art. Such a view was, of course, intimately connected with the growing

secularization of music. A product of this trend was that the traditional view of music as an art which edifies and appeals to the reason, was increasingly declining. The development towards a purely sensual aesthetic influenced all future generations of musicians. It was reflected, for instance, by the emphasis on sonority in the instrumental combinations of the consort. Composers began to pay much more attention to the different sonorities which could be produced. Examples are the mixed or 'broken' consort of Morley and Rosseter (see page 449) and, of a later date, the 'Royall' and 'Harpe' consorts of William Lawes.[51]

Music's sensual side could not longer be denied. This was after all the age when music's ravishing power over the senses was given the highest praise. There was no better demonstration of its power than the oft-quoted story of Orpheus, who was believed to have performed the incredible feat of taming wild beasts, and even trees and rivers.[52] However, music's sensual power was not always considered favourably. Music, at least according to some, was now viewed as a purely sense-orientated, and therefore an inferior art. Samuel Daniel, author of 'A defence of ryme' (?1603), had this to say:

> When we heare Musicke, we must be in our eare in the vtter-roome of sense, but when we intertaine iudge-ment, we retire into the cabinet and innermost withdrawing chamber of the soule[53]

His argument was that fixing one's attention on the mere sound and exterior qualities of words in poetry ('the outside of wordes') is insufficient, since the art of

poetry had more to commend itself than this. The implication is that music was no longer regarded by the majority as an art which was capable of disposing the mind to truth and goodness, and was instead regarded as no more than a purely pleasure-orientated recreation.[54]

Daniel's view would have certainly found favour with conservative religious thinking of the time. The religious conservatives drew a hard line against what they perceived was a highly dangerous element in music, namely fantasy. As early as 1556, English Calvinists in Geneva were criticizing the over-elaborate musical practices which they observed being used by hired singers in Catholic churches. These practices, probably in the form of overly intricate counterpoint and stylus ornatus (see page 199), resulted in what they could only feel was a disfigured type of music. They described it as a 'strange language' which could only 'tickle the ears and flatter the fantasies'.[55] The Calvinists' message found many later echoes. A century later in England, Matthew Poole called into question singing practices in the Protestant Church. For him, 'musical sounds' and 'curiosity of voice' (that is, mannered singing) can only

> tickle the fancy with carnal delight, and engage a man's ear and most diligent attention upon those sensible motions and audible sounds, and therefore must necessarily in great measure recal him from spiritual communion with God. [56]

Poole also stated the opinion that wordless music was fundamentally meaningless. The singing of psalms, as he saw it, was a rational act which, because it gave pre-

eminence to the word, 'expresseth in a Melodious Manner the Conceptions of the Mind'. This was in contrast to the purely instrumental type of music, which could not possibly seek to articulately express either the affections of the words, or the 'Serious Conceptions of the Soul' that the words were also supposed to communicate.[57]

Fantasy and Religious Ecstasy

In spite of these criticisms, there was an equally strong view that music had an inherent power and capacity to unify and uplift the mind. Thomas Wright, whose treatise on the passions has already been discussed (see page 79 onwards), was not worried by the view that music's sensual appeal might distract the mind from devotion. He emphasized music's positive effect on the passions and pointed to, for example, the mournful, sorrowful effect of penitential psalms, and the 'doleful tunes which issue from languishing lovers'.[58] He did not disagree with the use of instrumental music in church, and thought rather that the attractive sound produced by an instrumental consort served as a 'sensuall obiect' for the worshipper. This object aided devotion because it could focus the worshipper's imagination in a concentrated way, and thereby transport his mind into a state of religious meditation.

Wright believed that the sound of instruments helped younger members of the congregation to contemplate the 'sweetnesse' and 'blessednesse' of the deity. Older and

more devout people, he adds, are 'persuaded rather by reason than induced by sence', but they too could benefit from music. In their case, music complemented serious devotion by offering a 'sacred sensualitie' which led the soul to spiritual comfort and consolation.[59]

> For musicke hath a certaine secret passage into mens soules, and worketh so diuinely in the mind, that it eleuateth the heart miraculously, and resembleth in a certaine manner the voices and hermonie of heauen [60]

This statement particularly recalls Agrippa's mind concept of music. Wright assumed, as did Agrippa, that fantasy can exist in harmony with the rest of the soul, despite its occasional tendencies to lawlessness (which, it should be remembered, were acknowledged not only by Wright but by Agrippa and Reynoldes as well). Further, he assumed that fantasy is an illuminating force which brings the soul closer to what it seeks most of all, that is, divine truth. This was what Sterry meant when he wrote in glowing terms of the 'universal image' (see page 66). Most religious writers who were prepared to view fantasy in a positive light, such as Sterry, had Platonic views on spiritual truth and human knowledge. And like Plato himself, they regarded fantasy as the psychic source for both of these things.[61]

It would be wrong to suggest that fantasy was exclusively associated with religious or spiritual concepts. The same idea that fantasy could unify and uplift the mind was just as applicable to secular music. For example, Thomas Salmon advised that while practising an instrument keeps

the body warm and invigorated, listening to music profits the soul by healthily stimulating the fantasy and uplifting the mind:

> after the hearing [of] some brisk Airs, or melodious Consort, the mind is raised, the fancy enlivened, care and sorrow suppressed, and an inclination produced ready to dispatch any employment. [62]

According to Salmon, this was proof of music's 'noble power' and its positive influence over the soul.

Nevertheless, since many who wrote generally on the subject of fantasy did so from a religious standpoint, the idea of fantasy became closely linked with religion, and particularly the experience of religious ecstasy. Examples of this are encountered in the writings of Humphrey Sydenham, Charles Hickman, Joseph Brookbank, and George Wither.[63] Wither believed that music not only exercises a therapeutic effect on the soul, but it 'hath also diuine raptures, that allure and dispose the soule vnto heavenly meditations, and to the high supernatural apprehension of spirituall things'. However, for him the precise nature of music's 'secret power' defied all explanation.[64] On the other hand, Wither disapproved of the excessive liberty taken by some church organists in the way they were observed to 'runne on too fantastically in their voluntaries'. He actually recommended introducing fines for such misconduct, and any other malpractice which brought into the church the 'distracted and ridiculous fashions of the time'.[65] Like Wither, Hickman regarded music as an important adjunct to religious devotion. In the following

statement extolling music's virtues, the implication of fantasy is clear:

> 'Tis this that fits us, not only for the Operations of Reason, but is an Inlet also to Divine Visions, and Revelations. It carries such extasies, and Raptures, with it, as elevate the Soul of man into a higher Region, teach him Seraphical Flights, and give him a clearer Insight into the things above.[66]

The same implication lies behind the writings of Sterry. It will be recalled that Sterry wrote extensively on the central role of fantasy in cognitive thought. He saw fantasy as the spiritual agent of the mind, one which transports the mind to contemplative heights above corporeity, and towards what he believed was the essential truth in all known things. Like fantasy, music (as distinct from mere sound) is removed from physical sense and achieves its effect by engaging and transporting the mind. A parallel is what happens when sleep shrouds the senses and awakens the fantasy in dreams.

> As musick is conveyed sweetest, and furthest upon a river in ye Night: so is ye Musick of ye heavenly voice carried most clearly, pleasantly to ye understanding, when all ye outward senses ly wrapt up in darkness, and ye depth of night.[67]

For Sterry, music was an art which befitted worship because in it was the purest expression of spiritual harmony. This he called 'the Divine Circle of Musick or Harmony within which lies all Harmony and Musick in all its most delightful diversity of Modes or Figures'.[68] He, like Wither and Hickman, believed that music's power to ravish was its most wondrous and most divine quality.[69]

Fantasy and 'Aerial Spirit'

While the mind concept of music was important in the context of religious worship, it was perhaps less so in the secular sphere. It seems to have lost favour as the result of a decreasing interest in the classical concept that music is both a science and an art. In his essays on music, Roger North (1653-1734) expressed mixed feelings about the musical developments which he had witnessed during his lifetime. He recognized that during the Restoration, the secular music which was fashionable actually appealed more to the senses than reason, and he concluded that had Plato been alive to hear this music, he would have undoubtedly censured it as 'more agreeable to vice, than to vertue'.[70] Nevertheless, the mind concept was not completely forgotten. At the beginning of the play Musick: or A parley of instruments (during the first entertainment), a variation of the mind concept is invoked. The three parts of man - the rational, sensitive, and vegetative (that is, the reasonable, irascible, and concupiscible) - are compared to the 'Trinity of Consorts'.[71] Later (during the third entertainment), a character called Strephon offers an answer to the mysterious question of how consort music is 'begot' and 'nourisht'.[72] He says:

> In the Harmonious Sphere:
> Musick Camelion-like does fare,
> By fancy its begot, and lives by Air. [73]

This, together with the comment that consorts 'pierce through the Fancy, and tickle the Ears',[74] particularly recall Ficino and Agrippa, both of whom stressed the

importance not only of fantasy but as well the 'aerial
spirit', in which music joins together the body and soul.
'Aerial spirit' was the subject of a poem by Sir Philip
Wodehouse (or Woodhouse; d.1689) on his friend James
Cooper, a musician and a composer of 'ayre'. Explaining
what is meant by 'ayre', the poem tells that

> Ayre is an element, expous'd and thin
> not easily compresst or gurdl'd in
> so not to be compos'd. If it be so
> Let Ayre-composure, for a Fansy go
> for but A Phansy t'is tun'd
> turnd into Ayre
> To feed an idle eare, wth empty far^e

Being the highest and noblest of the four elements, air is
naturally the psychical medium of music. It enables the
fantasy to 'soare above thy Pitch' and inspire a composer
to create a variety of compositions, from corantos and
'zecchons' (secondas?) to sarabands.[75] But the best
examples of 'ayery' music, according to John Playford's A
breefe introduction to the skill of musick, were madrigals
and canzonets. These epitomized the intrinsic nature of
the 'Aeolick Mood', and, with their 'fancy and Ayery
sounds', they resemble the pleasant sound of rushing wind.[76]

Similar to Wodehouse, but perhaps less obscure is the
following definition of air in music given by Roger North:

> In the first place it seems that Air is in great
> measure derived from the accidentall flights of
> fancy in some masters, and appropriated by others in
> a course of imitation.[77]

North was writing in an era which increasingly espoused
rational, logical thought, and his views were conditioned
accordingly. (This suggests that he belonged more to the

age of Enlightenment than the preceding age of 'abstract' theorizing.) Along with others of his time, he rejected the spiritual theories of music which had held firm earlier on, and which had given much scope to the idea of fantasy in music. Unlike other writers such as Mace, who liked to compare music with language in terms of its effect on the mind, North insisted that the two were completely unrelated, since

> Musick is taken from Nature it self, and depends on body in a phisicall sence, even as ye mathematicall sciences doe, and takes place finally in our Imagination, & fancy.[78]

He believed that music is entirely rational as opposed to spiritual in its operation, but notwithstanding this, he claimed that music surpasses all other arts because it can exercise a fundamental influence on the spirits.[79] This he explained by a theory of sensation and perception according to which the 'processe of sound is represented to our imaginations'[80] as 'phantasmes'.[81] These phantasms are sound images, such as the consonances in melody, whose origin is 'mechanical', that is, physical. However, as images in the fantasy, they take on a new, incorporeal existence while at the same time preserving the essence of the original sound.[82]

To conclude, it can be said that the subject of fantasy was absolutely central to the psychology of music. This was because the powerful and often magical effect which music could reputedly exert on the mind, was seen to be closely related and connected with the operations of the fantasy. Thus far, the psychological nature of music

has been enquired into, but to learn more about fantasy and music, the discussion must turn now to poetry. Earlier on, it was said that the first signs of a flourishing interest in fantasy appeared in poetry. And in Part II it was seen that a number of important philosophers, notably Bacon, Reynoldes and Hobbes, based their theories of fantasy on artistic principles derived from poetry and the other rhetorical arts. It therefore remains to investigate what role fantasy played in poetry, and to see how musical thought was influenced accordingly.

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 2 : THE DEVELOPMENT OF FANTASY IN POETRY

In Phaedrus, Plato put forward a view that the poet, when truly inspired, can observe nature in its perfect entirety, and is able to contemplate the very nature of truth itself (see page 36). This view had a profound effect on attitudes towards poetry during the Renaissance. Poets were set apart from philosophers and historians because they were acknowledged as having at their command different, and perhaps even superior, mental powers. Their goal was also to represent the truth, but whereas according to Bacon the philosopher relied on reason and the historian on memory, the poet relied on the purely inspirational and largely indeterminate powers of fantasy.

The problem which many saw, including Plato and Bacon, was that although fantasy enabled the poet to gain access to truth, it was essentially an irrational, and certainly an unreliable, faculty. Therefore poets, unlike philosophers or historians, were as equally likely to arrive at falsehood as truth. Consequently, the art of poetry was often criticized as fundamentally irrational. Poets and their supporters were continually forced to justify their art to the world, and this they did first of all by trying to justify fantasy. In terms of the history of poetry, an important outcome was a slow but gradual development towards a theory of imagination in poetry, and hence in all art. Another important outcome was that poetry and other arts were now free to develop towards

genuinely 'artistic' goals, rather than continue to 'scientifically' imitate nature. Fantasy was thus a cornerstone which promised art's philosophical independence from science.

Aristotle's Ars poetica, probably unknown in Renaissance Europe until it was translated into Latin in 1498 by Giorgio Valla, became the central text for literary theory in the sixteenth century.[83] One of its most important contributions was to answer Plato's objections in The Republic that the products of imitative art, as 'phantasms', must be viewed as fabrications and distortions of reality (see page 35). The treatise did this by reaffirming the poet's main role of reflecting the truth by ideal imitation, as a previously quoted passage bears out (see page 103). What this in fact meant was that the poet searched for a higher truth, and chose to express that rather than commonplace fact. As Spingarn notes, poetry as defined in Ars poetica, 'deals not with particulars, but with universals', and it 'aims at describing not what has been, but what might have been or ought to be'.[84] He shows that this concept was crucial for Renaissance literary theory, and that its profound influence was felt in Minturno's De Poetica of 1559, Sidney's An apologie for poetrie of 1595, Tasso's Lettere autobiografiche, and other similarly important works.[85] Aristotle's concept of ideal imitation gradually developed into a doctrine of poetic theory in a number of treatises from the middle decades of the century. Some of these were

written by Daniello, Robortelli, Varchi, Fracastoro, and Capriano. All of these writers regarded poetry as a purveyor of the essential truth, and as a high art whose purpose was to ideally represent life in all of its most meaningful facets.[86]

Fantasy was considered to be the sole source of invention in the creative mind. No more was this an accepted fact than in poetry. Boethius, who in De musica divided musical art into three classes, gave as the second class what he called the 'invention of songs'. He wrote of this class that the poet relies on a purely spontaneous and discursive mode of thinking, that is, he is 'borne to song not so much by speculation or reason as by a certain natural instinct'.[87] This natural instinct was fantasy, and it subsequently became synonymous with invention, inspired thought, and even the theme of love in Italian poetry of the Renaissance. The poems 'La caccia col falcone' (verse eleven) and 'La capricciosa' by Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492) use the word fantasia with all these different meanings.[88] In the epic poem 'Orlando furioso' (published in 1516 and 1521), Lodovico Ariosto describes 'l'alta fantasia' as a guiding light which leads the individual along new paths to love and ecstasy.[89] By contrast, 'fantastico' and 'fantasma' are monstrous visions, false images and apparitions which lead the mind astray.[90] This is also the meaning in Torquato Tasso's heroic epic poem 'Gerusalemme liberata' (1581).[91]

Fantasy and the Petrarchan Sonnet

Fantasy became an important theme in poetry, because as a psychological concept, it allowed the poet to highlight the differences between two different species of reality. One of these species referred to the external, universal world, and the other referred to a reality which exists only in the mind of the individual. The two species were quite separate, and they often existed in a state of irreconcilable conflict with one another. Petrarch and his followers were especially interested in blurring the boundary between them, and subtly transposing one with the other, so as to bring a situation to life as truthfully as possible. However, in the final analysis it was the second species which most interested them. Thus the psychological predicament of the individual was often more important than the actual events which contributed to his predicament in the first place. And thus perception and reflection were considered more revealing than action or reaction.

The archetypal example of this was of course love poetry. A large part of the vogue for Petrarch's sonnets in the sixteenth century was a direct outcome of a poetic connection between the themes of amore and fantasy. In the Canzoniere, the most prominent poetic idea is not actually the beauty of Laura herself, but rather the beauty of the image which she projects into the mind of her worshipping admirer. Likewise, the poetic substance is not so much a product of his repeated longings for her and her continued

aloofness (though these are real enough), but rather the inner psychological predicament which unfolds in the admirer's mind as a result of this outward scenario. And the pre-eminent poetic device is irony. Irony is created from the close juxtaposition of observed truth and imagined truth, neither of which is more resolvable or conclusive than the other. The admirer is caught by his love for Laura, and suffers the torment of this love never being realized. His mind oscillates between brief moments of ecstasy and prolonged bouts of melancholy. Both conditions are creations of the fantasy, which is to say that his mind has in effect been cut off from the real outside world. Laura the real woman has ceased to exist, for she is now only a figment of his imagination.

The irony that love and sorrow, and hope and disillusion go hand in hand, is essential to Petrarchan verse. It is the same irony which is created in the mind when fantasy first imagines and then deceives. The figures of speech used by Petrarch often reflect this, for example 'icy fire', 'bitter sweetness' and 'living death'. The Petrarchan sonnet, widely cultivated in the sixteenth century in Italy by Francesco Berni, Giovanni Rucellai, Gian Giorgio Trissino, Luigi Alamanni and others, was highly influential in other countries. Spanish poets, who immediately adopted Italianate lyric verse with much vigour, explored the possibilities that fantasy offered with a particular intensity. With Juan Boscán (d.1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (d.1536) in the early decades of the century, themes of estrangement and dejection were pursued

in the contexts of serious introspection and cultivated melancholia. In their poems, and in later ones by Fray Luis de León (d.1591) and Luis de Góngora (d.1627), 'fantasia' is associated with longing for the past, anguish over the present, and other such themes.[92]

French poets too were interested in the idea of fantasy. The group of classical reformists known as the Pléiade aimed for a literate and refined style of poetic language after the manner of the Greek and Latin poets. In much of the Pléiadistes' work, the Petrarchan influence is strongly felt, and this influence accounts for much of the sophisticated expression which is often to be observed. Philippe Desportes (1546-1606) was a minor poet of the Pléiade but one who cultivated the Petrarchan idiom with particular enthusiasm. His cycle Les amours d'Hippolyte is especially notable for its melancholic expressions of the estranged lover. One poem in this cycle, called 'Fantaisie', likens the heartache of estrangement to burning flames and the all-consuming heat of the sun.[93] In the seventeenth century, the idea of fantasy took on very different poetic meanings. The so-called 'libertin' poets, comprising Théophile, Saint Amant, Tristan and other lesser known figures, showed no interest in the grand sentiments of their classical forbears, and chose instead a more personal, free-thinking and imaginative approach. Their poetry indulged in the pleasures of the senses and depicted nature from quaint, small-scale and often capricious perspectives. But it was the generation of the true French Baroque poets such as Auvrey, Le Moyne and

Corneille, which developed the idea of fantasy to its full. For them, fantasy represented subtle metamorphoses of an original image and the creation of illusions, but it was often also synonymous with wonder and strangeness. As with the _libertinage_ the tone was frequently paradoxical, the content strongly individual, and the mood distinctly playful. Examples are Auvrey's 'Le porceau imaginaire', Le Moyne's 'Son fantasque cerveau' and 'Un fantosme', and Corneille's 'L'illusion'.[94]

However, in no other country did fantasy become such a prominent theme as it did in England. Here the vogue for Italianate lyric verse also reached its height towards the end of the sixteenth-century, but a fascination for themes of fantasy can be traced to much earlier than this. In Chaucer and other Middle English poets, fantasy was already associated with desire and amorous longing. For example, John Gower (d.1408), in his long narrative poem _Confessio amantis_, equated fantasy with melancholy and unrequited love.[95]

It was not until Thomas Wyatt (d.1542) that fantasy was seriously explored as an identifiable theme. An understanding of fantasy lent his works a degree of sophistication which is only rarely encountered before or during his time, and one which foreshadows the great flowering of English lyric verse later in the century. As though to cast it in the strongest possible relief, he invested fantasy with an existence of its own so that it became a separate thinking entity, almost like a mind within the

mind: 'My fanzy, alas, doth me so bynd /That I can se [sic] no remedy', he concludes in the poem 'Dryuen by dissyr', before deciding that to avoid pain it is better to follow will.[96] The next step beyond this was to personify fantasy, and this is witnessed in the poem 'If fansy would favor' when Wyatt remarks: 'Ffansy doeth knowe how to fourther my trew hart'. However, its lusting and flitting precocity gives cause to question its overall trustworthiness, and to cast doubt on whether or not it can be counted as a true friend.[97] Wyatt shows that without recognizing the unpredictable force which fantasy can exert over the mind, the individual is mentally paralysed and no longer has the ability to make rational decisions. This is what happens until the realization finally comes, as in 'It was my choyse', that the mind has indeed been misled.[98] Wyatt's near contemporary Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (d.1547), viewed fantasy as an enemy in his poem 'The fansie of a weryed Louer'. In this, fantasy is responsible for the unease and restlessness which afflict the melancholic, and for which the only cure is faith itself.[99]

The New Lyric Poetry

The last three decades of the century experienced a spectacular resurgence of interest in lyric verse, and during this period, interest in the Petrarchan sonnet and sonnet-sequence was especially intensive. The Canzoniere of Petrarch were translated into English by Thomas Watson,

a poet who exemplified the spirit of the Renaissance in his use of Italian poetic forms and Latin prosody. The Petrarchan sonnet-sequence reached its culmination in Sidney's Astrophel and Stella (1591), but no less significant were the many fine lyric poems which reproduced the same themes and sentiments on a much smaller scale. Their popularity is evidenced by the stream of lyric anthologies which began with A hundreth sundrie flowres in 1573 and The paradise of dainty devices in 1576, and which continued unabated for the remainder of the century.

English lyricism developed a sophistication of approach which owed considerably to Italian literary culture, but it was also a direct outcome of an independent interest in the endless poetic possibilities offered by the idea of fantasy. Many poets discovered that these possibilities perfectly expressed the themes of pastoral love, its wonder, its ironies, and its disillusions. As a single concept, fantasy embraced all that these themes had to offer. The 'fantasy poets', as they might be labelled, showed an incessant and even obsessive interest in it, and playful use of the word 'fancy' is frequently encountered in their verse ('charming fancy', 'flaming fancy', 'idle fancy', 'fancy fond', 'fancy fair' and 'fancy free'). Nicholas Breton, Thomas Lodge, Robert Tofte and Thomas Jordan were four poets for whom fantasy was a prominent and recurrent theme.[100] The first of these deserves particular attention.

Breton (1545?-1626), a prolific writer of lyrics, pastorals and prose, stands out as unique in his fascination for fantasy. His poetic style epitomizes the new, highly-mannered literary approach which achieved enormous popularity from the late 1570s onwards. His style might be criticized as indulgently self-orientated, but it was deliberately so, and was intended merely to charm the reader by presenting him with a varied mixture of narrative, dialogue and isolated verse. His was a type of recreational poetry which differed markedly from the serious poetic style generally favoured by his more accomplished contemporaries. What Breton succeeded in doing, perhaps more than any other English poet, was to bring the time-honoured ideal of courtly love into the context of pure imagination. There can be little doubt that his work was considered novel and fashionable, and neither can there be much doubt that it found greatest favour amongst the nouveau-riche leisured class of readership which preferred to view poetry simply as a recreational art.

A floorish vpon fancie (1577) is an imaginary adventure of truly epic proportions and whimsical significance.[101] Indeed, its subtitle reads: 'As gallant a Glose upon so triflinge a text, as euer was written'. Briefly, it has a young gentleman in pursuit of a young damsel named Fancie by way of a symbolic conquest of her physical being. She is represented as a fort (the 'Forte of Fancie') which he attempts by stages, and with great

deliberation, to invade. He manages to enter her bed-chamber, where on one side the walls hang with 'hope' and on the other with 'dark depair'; he also notices 'strange pictures' gracing the bed. But before anything can happen, she discovers his presence and promptly evicts him. Then follows a number of short epilogues in which, languishing in pain, he bitterly resolves to live henceforth 'in despight of Fancie'.[102] The final doleful poem, in which all is lost, is titled 'A Farewell to Fancie'. The farewell theme was a popular one at this time, and was used by George Gascoigne and others.[103]

The scenario of infatuation followed by rejection recurs throughout Breton, but most notably in Brittons bowre of delights (1591) and The arbour of amorous deuices (1597).[104] It was also the inspiration behind a 'fantastick loue-letter' which appeared in his prose collection of 1632.[105] In this letter, the young audacious admirer, anxious to receive female favours, obtains from the lady of his love a firm but polite reply of refusal, and all this does is confirm the unreality of his propositions. The nature of much fantasy literature like this is that it reflects, and appears to be generated by, a dream-like state of highly personal reverie. This accounts for the prolixity and variety of invention, the symbolic and some-times ambiguous or mysterious content, and the rambling form which are usually very much in evidence. Such is the case in Breton's poems 'A straunge Dreame' and 'The Authors Dreame of straunge effects'.[106] The latter for

example, is a convoluted adventure on the Island of Invention, concerning the meeting of friends Wit, Reason and Wisdom, and foes Will, Rage and Folly. The enigmatic female entities called Fancy, Love and Frenzy, from whom secret indulgences are asked, owe no allegiance to either side.

As part of Breton's extreme preoccupation with the sensual was his continual quest for gratification of the self. Will, volition and delight in variety were intimately tied up with his personal concept of fantasy. In Choice, chance and change, or conceits in their colours (1606), he invites the reader to select according to that humour which most pleases, from the poetic 'conceits of diuerse colours' contained in the collection.[107] Breton was of course aware that his aesthetic of pure sensual indulgence was entirely contrary to accepted views of the proper function of poetry. This is why he could draw attention (and not without a strong element of irony) to what he termed 'Poets fancie', and proclaim:

> Goe tell the Poets that their pidling rimes,
> Begin apace to grow out of request ...
> Forbid the Poets, all fantasticke humors.[108]

This was ironical indeed, for Breton indulged more than any other poet in 'fantasticke humor'. His indulgence was reflected even in the very titles of the poems in his collections, for example the love poem 'Fantasma' (which is actually by J. Canand),[109] and an epigramme called 'A pretie fancie'. Both were included in The arbour of amorous deuises, and the latter also appeared in the Bowre

of delights. It would seem that during this period, it was fashionable to call poems of a more personal, intimate or imaginative type 'fancies'. This name clearly differentiated such poems from those of a more serious and religious nature, and set them well apart from any other poetry which disclosed a moral point of view. 'Fancy poetry' belonged to a completely separate category, because it was preoccupied wholly with the individual and the imaginative, as opposed to the truly universal. [110]

The significance of Breton is twofold. Firstly, he appears to have helped create a fashion for this new type of poetry, because he urged other poets to freely explore and express 'fantasticke humors'. He helped break new ground in literature because his approach gave unprecedented license for the writer to express a multitude of subjective feelings. Secondly, his approach may also have helped to break new ground in music, for a number of important changes in musical attitude followed closely in the wake of his 'fantasy poetry'. A specific case can be made to suggest that the later works of Breton, which exhibit a marked transition to a more serious, introspective, and often melancholic expression, were an influence on the composer John Dowland (see Part IV).

Thomas Watson (d.1592), was one of several others who experimented with this new 'fantasy poetry', but he was a more accomplished poet than Breton. He may have been as significant as Breton in the development of fantasy in music, because there is good evidence that he knew William

Byrd, and that he was a direct link in that composer's evolution towards a new, fantasy-based, secular musical style. This new style is evident in his part songs and instrumental works, but most notably in his fantasias (see also Part IV). Watson's last and best-known collection, The tears of fancie. Or, loue disdained (published posthumously in 1593) is a cycle of 55 fourteen-line sonnets. The tone, as it always is with Watson, is serious and penetrating, and it differs greatly from that of Breton's in the works described above. True to the Petrarchan sonnet tradition which he did much to establish in England, is his subtle juxtaposition of conflicting sentiment, and his use of oxymoron as a prominent figure of speech (as for example 'vain hope' and 'brittle joy'). Many of the individual sonnets convey a strong sense of irony by associating both pleasure and pain with love. Watson does this by invoking the idea of fantasy, as in nos 8, 35 and 41. Others, such as no. 36, are dominated by a tearful, more resignatory mood. The lachrimae idea, in poems such as these, grew from Watson's preoccupation with the theme of melancholy, but there were many other poets of course who showed the same preoccupation, and Breton was most certainly one of these in his later years. Melancholy manifested itself in highly mannered portrayals of the forlorn lover, and frequently incorporated distinctly religious overtones.[111]

In Defence of Fantasy: the Platonic View

Paradoxically, the period of greatest poetic achievement in England was also the period in which poets fell into greatest disrepute. It is difficult to comprehend how this could have come about, but a lot of it was probably due to the fact that poetry had undergone rapid and profound changes. That fantasy was implicated is demonstrated by the fact that poets were often drawn into the fantasy-reason debate. Critics accused them of debasing their art by disregarding the precepts of reason and proper judgment. Indeed, the debate which erupted concerning the place of fantasy in poetry, was probably a major contributing factor to the great philosophical interest in the subject of fantasy shown by so many English writers.

In The pastime of pleasure, Hawes praised the poets of antiquity and stated that it was their marvellous and fecund imaginations which allowed them to create their 'feigned fables'. The problem he saw was that in such poetry, reason is obscured and that the poet is, in effect, pronouncing 'trouthe, under clowdy fygures'.[112] Hawes relates this idea in a chapter entitled 'Invention, and a commendation of Poetes', the subject of which is itself significant because it indicates that criticism against poets was evidently being brought to bear very early in the sixteenth century. Hawes credited the imagination with the power of being able to draw forth all invented matter in poetry, and he also said that fantasy serves to ratify, exemplify, extend and bring the matter

to its conclusion. He added that fantasy must work together with a 'good estimation' and a 'retentife memory', if it is not to become unruly.[113] But it was clear to Hawes that whereas the poets of antiquity enjoyed considerable fame, those of the English Renaissance were, along with actors, usually considered disreputable.[114] The word 'fantastick' was applied to all such people, usually scornfully (see Appendix I).

Later in the century, at a time when a number of treatises in defence of poetry appeared (by Sidney in 1595, Webbe in 1586, and Puttenham in 1589), the need was increasingly felt to either dissociate fantasy from poetry or to fully justify it as an essential element of the poetic art.[115] This was no doubt a reaction to the popular view that poets were 'fantasticks' and no better than, or even different from, madmen. It will be remembered that in A midsommer nights dreame (5.1.7-8), Theseus remarks that 'The lunatic, the lover, and the poet are of imagination all compact'. It is therefore little wonder that poets felt defensive. Puttenham, for one, was moved to write:

> the phantasticall part of man (if it be not dis-
> ordered) [is] a representer of the best, most
> comely, and bewtifull images or apparences of things
> to the soule and according to their very truth ...
> Wherefore such persons as be illuminated with the
> brightest irradiations of knowledge and of the
> veritie and due proportion of things, they are
> called by the learned men not phantastici but euphan-
> tasioti, and of this sorte of phantasie are all good
> Poets, notable Captaines strategmatique, all cunning
> artificers and enginers, all Legislators, Polititi-
> ens, & Counsellors of estate, in whose exercises
> the inuentive part is most employed, and is to the
> sound and true judgement of man most needful.[116]

Puttenham did not contest the harmfulness of 'disorderly' fantasy, but he was at considerable pains to differentiate this from 'formall' fantasy (see page 72). The latter type is, according to the preceding passage, an illuminative and inventive faculty whose operations are fundamental not only to poetry, but to all higher human endeavour. Puttenham's concept owes greatly to the visionary and inspirational qualities which Plato originally ascribed to fantasy, especially in relation to poetry (see page 36). His other authority was Quintilian, whose euphantasiotos (referred to above) was an important and influential concept concerning rhetorical invention. The euphantasiotos was a higher type of fantasy which allowed the orator to persuade his listeners towards truth by actively engaging their imaginations, and guiding them voluntarily to a particular point of view (see pages 39 and 40).

Puttenham's exposition was a major step in establishing Platonism in England as a philosophical basis for poetry, and it found many later echoes. One can be found in John Davies' description of fantasy as a well-spring of 'Sunne-bright Beauties and celestiall Sweetes' and the place from which 'proceedes all maruellous Inuentions, which doe produce all Artes and Sciences'.[117] Platonism was an essential part of the concept of poetic sublimity, and this concept went back as far as Longinus.[118] Hobbes, whose idea of elevated fantasy was shown to correlate closely with Puttenham's 'formal fantasy' (see page 60), thought that the sublimity of a poet directly proceeded from his

fantasy. He described sublimity as the 'poetical Fury' which 'flies abroad swiftly to fetch in both Matter and Words'.[119] This idea was later reiterated by William Temple, and his words were in turn borrowed by Thomas Pope Blount.[120] It should be noted that the Platonically-derived concept of _furor poeticus_, referred to by Hobbes and others, had achieved considerable earlier importance in literary criticism.[121] Intrinsic to it was the belief that creative powers can only be fully unleashed when the poet enters a state of mental fervour.[122]

The Aristotelian View

An alternative philosophical justification for poetry was provided by the Aristotelian interpretation of fantasy, as propounded by Bacon. He, like Hawes a century earlier, revered poetry as the art of making 'fained history' (see page 53). This idea stemmed from Aristotle's concept of ideal imitation, and it can be explained by comparison with what was meant by true history. The following passage comes from Of the proficience and advancement of learning:

> The vse of this FAINED HISTORIE, hath beene to giue some shadowe of satisfaction to the mind of Man in those points, where in the Nature of things doth denie it, the world being in proportion inferiour to the soule: by reason whereof there is agreeable to the spirit of Man, a more ample Greatnesse, a more exact Goodnesse, and a more absolute varietie then can bee found in the Nature of things. Therefore, because the Acts or Euents of true Historie, haue not that Magnitude, which satisfieth the minde of Man, Poesie faineth Acts and Euents Greater and more Heroicall; because true Historie propoundeth the successes and issues of actions, not so agreable to

> the merits of Vertue and Vice, therefore <u>Poesie</u>
> faines them more iust in Retribution, and more
> according to Reuealed Prouidence, because <u>true</u>
> <u>Historie</u> representeth Actions and Euents, more
> ordinarie and lesse interchanged, therefore <u>Poesie</u>
> endueth [sic] them with more Rareness, and more
> vnexpected, and alternative Variations.[123]

Many others, from Sidney to Jonson, expressed the same 'theory' of poetry,[124] and it later came to be associated with Hobbes' concept of compound imagination (see page 61). For example, the anonymous author of <u>Regular and irregular thoughts in poets and orators</u> wrote of the active and flighty thoughts which emanate from the poet's fantasy: 'by a tumultuary compounding of Notions' the poet can 'create fictitious Objects' to entertain the reader.[125]

The 'Chiefest Possession' of the Poet

There were some poets who strongly disapproved of fantasy, such as John Dryden,[126] and there were some anti-Platonists who objected to the ornate literary style which was the hallmark of poetic fantasy.[127] But most whose outlook was primarily creative, regarded fantasy as their most valuable asset, indeed their 'chiefest possession'.[128] Spenser could justify it by stating his preference for verse which is 'cloudily enwrapped in allegorical devices', rather than that which is written in a plain and disciplined style, since artificiality always satisfies, delights and pleases.[129] Thomas Carew spoke of 'rich and pregnant phansie', emphasizing its importance as a poetical source of all invention.[130] For Edward Reynoldes, fantasy (which he usually referred to as the imagination

or fancy) was 'a Facultie boundlesse, and impatient of any imposed limits', and he described poetry, eloquence and mythology as 'the Arts of rational Fancy'.[131] This 'rational Fancy' may be compared with Puttenham's 'formal fantasy', for they are both concerned primarily with creative invention. Reynoldes acknowledged that fantasy assists the rest of the mind 'in matters of Invention', that is, it supplies all the materials from which new works can be created.[132] It also quickened and raised the mind with 'a kind of heat and ranterie' which results in a state of ecstasy, 'whereby it is possessed with such a strong delight in its proper objects, as makes the motions thereof towards it, to be restlesse and impatient'. The state of ecstasy, he says, is what inflames the poet to produce works of rapturous beauty and nobility[133] (a view which is remarkably similar to that of Hobbes). This is what was meant by the notion of l'alta fantasia in Dante, Boccaccio[134] and Ariosto, and the notion of elevated fantasy, which Hobbes believed was so essential to heroic poetry.[135]

Related to these beliefs was the image of fantasy as a soaring spirit which transcended the ordinary and the reasonable, and led the poet to divine inspiration. This image was repeated by many poets and writers. For example, Miton wrote of the poet 'soaring in the high region of his fancies'.[136] And Thomas Rymer described fantasy in poetry as 'like Faith in Religion', for 'it makes far discoveries, and soars above reason, but never clashes or runs against it'.[137]

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that poetic fantasy was a subject which drew considerable comment, and often conflicting opinions, from a great many writers. Indeed, fantasy proved to be a much more provocative subject in poetry than it was in any other area, including music and the visual arts. But the subject of poetic fantasy in poetry had a direct bearing on its development in music, and this happened simply by virtue of the close ties which existed between the two arts. How poetic ideas of fantasy were transferred to music, and what their ramifications were for music, are questions to be answered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER 3 : PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS IN MUSIC

There occurred in England during the second half of the sixteenth century a revival of the ancient belief that poetry and music were related together as sister arts. This revival, to be viewed as the English equivalent of the German tradition of Musica Poetica theory, had a strongly reciprocal effect on both arts. The lyrical side of poetry, that is, its song-like character and its quality of sound, came increasingly to the fore. Conversely, much attention was given to the poetical and rhetorical nature of music. It became customary for literary and musical theorists to draw as many parallels as they could between the two arts, and for them to demonstrate that they shared many salient features in common.

There were many writers who contributed to a shared theoretical and philosophical understanding of the two sister arts, but one who deserves special mention is George Puttenham. He likened verse to 'a kind of Musical vtterence', and gave the following account of why he believed literary art and music were so similar:

> For the eare is properly but an instrument of conuey-
> ance for the minde, to apprehend the sence by the
> sound. And our speech is made melodious or harmonic-
> all, not onely by strayned tunes, as those of
> Musick, but also by choice of smoothe words. [138]

Part of Puttenham's scholarly approach was to use musical terminology to aid his discussions of the technical side of poetry. One chapter title in Book II of The arte of

English poesie is a good example of this: 'Of Proportion in Concord, called Symphonie or rime'. Conversely, musical theorists were just as inclined to invoke poetic analogies in their discussions about music. Many of their remarks related to text setting. For example, Charles Butler emphasized the importance of words in music since they 'resemble' and move the affections, whereas the bare notes can only delight the ear (cf. Poole's remarks on page 122). But Butler also believed that the composer's task is to fully integrate the text with the music, 'shewing that Musik is made as wel by Poesi as by Melodi'. He goes on to say:

> And therefore it is, that the moste powerful Music-
> ians (such as were Orpheus and Arion: yea such as
> was that Divine Psalmist) were also Poets. And such
> sholde our Musicians be, if they wil be complete:
> For he that knoweth bothe, can best fit his Poesi to
> his own Musik, and his Musik to his own Poesi.[139]

In particular, it was a perceived similarity of music's melodic structure with rhyme and versification in poetry, which further enhanced the already strong affinity between the two arts. There were a number of continental author- ities to which English writers could turn in relation to this issue, and one was Johann Heinrich Alsted.[140]

Some mention must also be made of the many references to music and rhetoric. Writers such as Bacon and the two Peachams made specific comparisons between various rhetor- ical figures and musical devices, and they did this to reinforce the view that music could move the affections even without the presence of a text.[141] Again, this stemmed from the belief that music was actually a language, and

that it dealt with musical sound in just the same way as poetry and oratory dealt with words.

The Transference of Poetic Fantasy to Music: Edward Reynoldes

This is the background which enabled creative fantasy, first a literary concept, to be applied to music. It was an inevitable result of the strong poetic interest in fantasy which had begun in the late 1570s. And just as the subject of fantasy had met with a sharp polarization of opinion amongst literary scholars, it met with the same polarization amongst musical scholars. Similar arguments which had been hotly debated in poetry were advanced in music, and the study of these arguments offers further insight into how the two arts were very closely linked during, and for a number of decades following, the Elizabethan period.

A transference of the concept of creative fantasy from poetry to music was made possible by the theory that music, like its sister art, could move the passions. Music's rhetorical or persuasive power was believed to stem directly from the operations of the mind's fantasy, and as an art, it was regarded by many as exclusively belonging to that faculty (just like poetry). As shall be seen, however, this contention sparked considerable debate. Edward Reynoldes was one writer who approached the issue of fantasy and music in theoretical terms. It was seen earlier, in Part II, that his psychological concept

of fantasy was largely framed from the point of view of creative ideals. Other writers, by comparison, were more concerned with questions of ethics and morality. Reynoldes preferred the idea that for men of civil society, virtue could be wrought

> by the ministrie rather of the <u>Fancie</u>, than of rigid <u>Reason</u>; not driving them thereunto by punctuall Arguments, but alluring them by the sweetnesse of Eloquence; not pressing the necessitie of Moralitie, by naked inferences, but rather secretly instilling it into the Will, that it might at last finde it selfe reformed, and yet hardly perceive how it came to be so. [142]

Specifically referring to the rhetorical arts, he adds:

> And this was done by those Musicall, Poeticall, and Mythologicall perswasions; whereby men in their discourses, did as it were paint Vertues and Vices; giving unto spirituall things Bodies and Beauties, such as might best affect the Imagination. [143]

A liberal thinker of his time (see also chapter 4), Reynoldes believed that artistic pursuits should be ideally both recreative and instructive. Greatest learning, he thought, comes when the mind is actively, and at the same time pleasurably, engaged in a given task. Music, and other creative expressions of the fantasy like prose and poetry, naturally have 'a kind of delightfull libertie in them, wherewith they refresh and doe as it were open and unbind the Thoughts'.[144] As such, they can forge in the mind a 'happie mixture of <u>utile</u> & <u>dulce</u>'.[145] His idea that art has a dual role of bringing both profit and pleasure naturally owed a lot to the theory of classical rhetoric. It owed particularly to the teachings of Cicero and Quintilian, who both stressed the need for the

orator to win approval and assent from his audience by appealing to fantasy as well as reason.

Thomas Mace

The classic work Musick's monument by Thomas Mace offers further opportunities of examining how poetic ideas of fantasy might have been transferred to music. One of Mace's strongest convictions was that music communicated like a language to the listener. Indeed, he thought of music as a genuine language, and it is clear that he believed that music, along with poetry, was more closely connected with fantasy and the affections than reason. For him, music was capable of evoking the same sort of affective responses as were evoked by poetry. One instance was oxymoron, that is, the association of contradictory ideas. This was a favourite device in poetry, especially in the hands of the Petrarchists (it has already been seen that Lodge was fond of it), and it involved placing opposite qualities in close juxtaposition. Poetry was very much the language of irony, and irony was one of the sources of its mysterious power as a language. So too was this the case in music. Mace pointed to the 'Contra-Qualities, in whole Nature, viz. The Good, and the Evil; Love, and Hatred; Joy, and Sorrow; Pleasure, and Pain; Light, and Darkness; Heaven, and Hell' and so forth, as a prelude to a discussion of what he described were the mysteries of music and the sources of its wonder.[146] Whatever Mace meant by this, there is good reason to believe that composers learnt how

to use affective devices like oxymoron from poetry. An example will show this.

The madrigalist was the musical counterpart of the sonneteer (and probably in some cases the same person), and he frequently indulged in placing opposite affections or ideas in immediate proximity. In one of John Wilbye's madrigals, 'I live, and yet methinks I do not breathe', the opposite qualities conveyed by the words are rein-forced by the music.[147] Thus on the word 'sing', there is a smooth diatonic phrase in quavers (one of the few such phrases which occur in the piece). However, for the word 'sigh', there are crotchet rests in all parts, placed appropriately before that word is heard. Similarly, the word 'love' is allowed to briefly dwell on a consonant, major chord, whereas for 'hate', there is a fleeting dissonance caused by an E and D heard simultaneously in the upper two voices:

The technical name for this device was not oxymoron, however. It was a rhetorical figure called 'synoeciosis (contrapositum)' or the close conjunction of contraries, and it is mentioned by the rhetorician John Hoskyns in his Direccions for speech and style, circa 1599. Hoskyns

certainly saw its musical significance, for he wrote of
this figure that it is 'a fine course to stir admiration
in the hearer[s] and make them think it a strange harmony
which must be expressed in such discords'. He also
referred to it as 'music made of cunning discords'. [148]

As one who regarded poetry and music as sister arts,
Mace evidently believed that fantasy was the chiefest
possession of composers, just as it was for poets. The
following passage, similar to and possibly prompted by
that of Butler's given earlier, clearly reflects this
view. It is an elaboration of the tenet that the poet and
the composer should think alike in their respective arts:

> The Poet therefore and the Composer ought both to be
> so much of the same Understanding in each Art, that
> these, or such like Observations might guide them
> both. And doubtless he is to be look'd upon as the
> most exquisite Poet, who is thus able to command his
> Fancy. [149]

Mace advocated that the composer continually exercise his
fantasy if he is to fully realize his inventive powers. An
example of what he meant by this may be found in his
account of a short, preludial composition for lute,
'Authors Mistress', which he composed. The composition
originated one evening while he was in the middle of
writing a love-letter to his mistress.[150] The letter
concerned the subject of marriage, and Mace tells the
reader that writing it demanded several breaks,

> At which Times, (My Lute lying upon My Table) I
> sometimes took It up, and Walk'd about My Chamber;
> Letting my Fancy Drive, which way It would, (for I
> studied nothing, at that Time, as to Musick) yet my
> Secret Genius, or Fancy, prompting my Fingers, (do

what I could) into This very Humour; So that every
Time I walk'd, and took up My Lute, (in the Interim,
betwixt Writing, and Studying) This Ayre would needs
offer It self unto Me, Continually; In so much that
at the last, liking it Well, (and lest It should be
Lost,) I took Paper, and set It down [151]

(The composition itself is discussed on pages 242-44.) It
is evident from this account that Mace understood musical
fantasy as synonymous with musical invention. But equally
evident is the fact that fantasy in music, for Mace at
least, was a poetically-derived concept. The theme of his
piece 'Authors Mistress' is obviously love, and as has
already been shown, this theme was central to the idea of
fantasy in English poetry. A further confirmation of the
poetic connection concerning fantasy comes later on in
Musick's monument. Mace inscribed a miniature poem called
'A Recreative Fancy' around the rose-holes of his
'dyphone', a double lute which he himself invented, to
explain the nature of this unique instrument. [152]

Musical 'Flights of Fancy'

The poetic symbol of fantasy as a free-flying,
soaring spirit became an enduring musical symbol in the
seventeenth-century (for example see Wodehouse, page 128).
It especially came to symbolize the archetypal lutenist
who, with inspired fantasy, could spontaneously strike up
strains of mellifluous melody on his instrument. The
themes of love and melancholy were central to this symbol.
A poem by Henry Vaughan (d.1695) called 'The World', looks
through the eyes of a melancholic lover at how worldly
existence can cause so much discontentment, and how

celestial peace and eternity are denied by it. All the
lover can do is turn to music for solace, because in music
celestial harmony is ideally represented:

> The doting Lover in his quietest strain
> Did there Complain,
> Neer him, his Lute, his fancy, and his flights,
> Wits sour delights [153]

These words perfectly convey what poets and musicians
alike believed was the essence of creative invention. They
believed that it originated in the fantasy and came
spontaneously as a single, inspirational 'act'. It was
music of an improvisatory type such as preludes and
fantasias, which most epitomized this, because those
compositions were conceived and performed simultaneously,
again as a single, inspirational 'act'. This type of music
was believed, on occasion, to set the mind on a higher
plane, and to bring the soul closer towards divine meditat-
ion and heavenly truth. (This again raises the subject of
religious ecstasy.) Richard Crashaw's poem 'Musicks Duell'
delightfully presents the idea that music which originates
purely from the fantasy is capable of ravishing the soul,
and raising it to a high plane of meditative thought. He
relates the story of a lutenist who decides to pit his
skills against those of a nightingale. As the story
unfolds the lutenist gradually asserts his inventive
superiority:

> The Lutes light <u>Genius</u> now does proudly rise,
> Heav'd on the surges of swolne Rapsodyes.
> Whose flourish (Meteor-like) doth curle the aire
> With flash of high-borne fancyes: here and there [154]

The nightingale, which of course represents invention in nature, is capable of producing beautiful song, but it is no match for the higher capabilities of the human mind. Succumbed by the wondrous sound of the lute, the nightingale dies.[155] Not all music could deliver the mind to ecstasy, however, and here a differentiation should be made between music which only aimed at exciting the senses, and that which attempted to unite the soul and lift it to a higher state of consciousness. The latter type was the inspiration behind Milton's 'At a solemn Musick'. In this poem, the captivating and enchanting sounds of the sirens lead the soul to contemplate higher things:

> Blest pair of Sirens, pledges of Heav'n's joy,
> Sphere-born harmonious Sisters, Voice and Vers,
> Wed your divine sounds, and mixt power employ
> Dead things with inbreath'd sense able to pierce,
> And to our high-rais'd phantasie present
> That undisturbed Song of pure concent,
> Ay sung before the sapphire-colour'd throne
> To him that sits thereon ... [156]

A New Aesthetic in Music: Controversy Begins

In Chapter 1 it was observed that a difference of opinion emerged on the question of whether fantasy was to be viewed as an essential part of the psychology of music, or instead, as a corrupting force which detracted from its true ideals. The debate which ensued proceeded along very similar lines to the same debate in poetry. This is no wonder because the issue in question was whether fantasy had any role or validity in art generally. The many

treatises which set out to defend poetry and music did so for many reasons, but one of considerable importance was whether poets and composers should follow the dictates of fantasy or reason. The praise of musicke of 1586 has already been mentioned. This work took a critical stand against the whole idea of fantasy in music, on the grounds that fantasy encapsulated what its author believed were all the negative and corrupting attitudes towards music which were prevalent at the time. It should be noted that many poems were written in defence of music, and in these a positive affirmation of the role of fantasy is implicit. The first was Nicholas Whight's 'A Commendation of Musicke and a Confutation of them which Disprayse it' (?1563). This poem was followed by Richard Edward's 'In Commendation of Musick' in The paradyse of dainty deuices (1576), Humphrey Gifford's 'In Praise of Music' in his Posie of Gilloflowers (1580), Sir John Davies' 'Hymne in Prayse of Musicke' in Davison's A poeticall rapsodie (1602), and other similar poems. [157]

These poems were the outcome of a rapidly changing musical climate during the Elizabethan period, and they reflect many of the fundamental issues which were raised. As happened in poetry, there also seems to have been in music a basic shift in aesthetic emphasis away from the rigid and formal, towards the affective and the sensual. Many composers began to explore secular forms with as much enthusiasm as they had previously shown with sacred forms, and there was ever-increasing interest in the musical

setting of lyric poetry. A direct factor in this development was the formation of a new class of musical public which tended to look upon music primarily as a recreational art. This class was a product of the new age of prosperity which accompanied the tremendous boom in foreign trade and commercial development during the 1570s and 80s. Instead of music being the possession of only an elite, trained few, it was increasingly becoming the possession of an entirely new breed of musician, the amateur. He was prepared to spend time and money on all sorts of leisurely pursuits, and he viewed music as a pleasurable pastime which should yield immediate satisfaction with a minimum of labour. There were two immediate consequences, firstly that an unprecedented demand was created for music of a type which was easy yet appealing, and secondly, that composers were forced to adjust to this demand if they were to find success in the rapidly expanding area of music-printing and publishing. This is what prompted the flood of light part-music (much of it secular), lute ayres, instrumental music, and 'plain and easy' manuals on the rudiments of music, instrumental performance and composition.

It is perhaps surprising that composers and music theorists did not feel compelled to comment and express their opinions on this seemingly adverse set of new circumstances. After all, the result was to profoundly and permanently change the course of music in all its facets. Perhaps the change occurred too slowly and gradually to

evoke any response. Nevertheless, a hint of how composers may have felt, is expressed in the Epistle of Thankfulness in Mace's Musick's monument. In this the author gratefully acknowledges the subscribers who made possible that work's publication, and he makes a revealing comment about public taste and public acceptance of works of art:

> For Artists Thus to strive, as I've done Here
> (For Publick Good) in making Art appear
> Delightful; Lovely; Facile; Acceptable
> Unto the Weaker Sort; who are made Able
> Now, to Enjoy such Things, as formerly were Hard [158]

It was public taste, not the composer's own artistic sense, which was now the final arbiter in all works of art, and this may have forced many composers to compromise their work, or at least considerably modify it, to suit the purchasing public. There were of course other, younger composers who, being more attuned and responsive to the new conditions, took change in their stride and were actually at the forefront of musical developments. These composers made it their business to keep abreast of the new and highly influential vocal and instrumental forms from Italy and, later in the seventeenth century, the 'alamode' concert and theatre music of Corelli and Lully. Equally, they were probably familiar with poetic trends of the day, for poetry was the vanguard of the arts, and it led the way in the development towards a new, publicly-orientated artistic aesthetic. The old image of a composer as a man of learning, of courtly connections, and of social standing, was now giving way to the image of the musical 'fantastick'. He was a self-owned and fancy-free

musician who went about with lute in hand singing lyrics of love and other 'feigned' verse.

The Case against Fantasy in Music

This new artistic aesthetic gave unprecedented scope to fantasy in music, just as it had already done in poetry. This can be deduced from the adverse reactions which were expressed by those who preferred to condemn the intrusion of fantasy into music, and who disapproved of current musical practices so violently that they were moved to cast slurs against music itself. The debate began in earnest with the publication in 1579 of Stephen Gosson's The schoole of abuse. This work attacked poets, musicians and actors (called 'players'), and indignantly described them all (in the subtitle) as 'Caterpillers of a Commonwelth'. Gosson could not deny the worthiness of music in ancient times, and to the contrary, he agreed that the sound of music is indeed capable of performing wonderful miracles. Nevertheless, he was firmly opposed to the popular notion that musical instruments should just 'tickle the eare'.[159] This he saw as a perversion of the true purpose of music, as espoused in ancient times, of performing miracles for the wholesome benefit of mankind. Consequently, he damned all those 'daunces, dumpes, pauins, galiardes, Measures, fancyes' and 'newe streynes' which in his opinion exemplified this perversion.[160] The list of compositions he gives is in fact rather indiscrim- inatory, and may only reflect a personal dislike for

instrumental music, but it would seem that to him, those compositions were characterized by immoderation and excessive variety. He levelled particular blame against those 'fantasticall heades' who, having meddled with Dame Music, 'so disfigured her lookes' and 'defaced her beautie', that she was in danger of perishing altogether. [161]

Gosson's provocative words elicited a response from Thomas Lodge in his Reply to Stephen Gosson's schoole of abuse. In defense of poetry, musick and stage plays, probably printed in the following year. In this work, Lodge protested against Gosson's harsh criticisms and maintained that music is a noble art. He said that it delights the ear and 'maketh our heart to scypp for ioye'. [162] He thought it ridiculous to outrightly condemn dumps, pavins, galliards, measures and 'fancies', and contrary to Gosson's assertion, Lodge believed that their purpose is definitely not to perform miracles. Such compositions were, he said, composed with very different ideas in mind. For example, a dump 'fauoreth Malancholie', [163] while a measure is for dancing. [164] Lodge does not proceed to explain the purposes of the other compositions (it would have been interesting to know what he thought about the fantasia). But there was one point on which both Lodge and Gosson agreed, and that was that music's highest aim should always be to teach 'consonance of the minde' and contribute towards the understanding of unity. [165]

Gosson was obviously a diehard conservative whose outspoken views represented an older section of Elizab-

ethan society, one which totally rejected the idea that music should ever appeal as equally to the fantasy and senses as it does to the reason.[166] With time, this section may have become increasingly atypical of Elizabethan society, but the fact remains that the conservative view lost none of its assertiveness. In the footsteps of Gosson came the notable Phillip Stubbes, author of The anatomie of abuses (1583). He delivered another trenchant attack on what was seen as a highly frivolous and fashion-conscious public. Stubbes protested at length, for example, about the way young people chose to parade around in a bewildering variety of attire. He also registered his disapproval of acting, dancing and music, either in public assemblies or conventicles.[167] Stubbes warned the reader that music of an improper kind can lure the listener, and lead him unknowingly towards mischief and vice. He felt that one must therefore remain forever suspicious of music's powerful effect on the mind. Thus he writes:

> So sweet Musick, at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake, and quasie, and inclined to all licenciousness of life whatsoeuer.

Excused from this, of course, was music which properly accompanied religious worship. This was the only true music, Stubbes believed, because it succeeded in driving away the 'fantasies of idle thoughts, solicitude, care, sorrowe and such other perturbations and molestations of the minde'.

It appears that during the early 1600s, musicians belonged to two well-defined and separate categories. There was a younger generation of musicians who were purveyors of the new fantasy aesthetic, and there were the more conservative and mostly older ones who clung to classical principles as represented by the great tradition of Tudor church music. William Byrd, John Bull and Orlando Gibbons clearly belonged to this second category: they were indeed the mainstay of the Tudor tradition in the troubled times of the turn-of-century. Their works for virginal in the printed collection Parthenia were praised by George Chapman for their art and dignity, in one of the commendatory verses by him in the second edition (1613) of that collection. Chapman compared the compositions of these masters with those of the young 'Phantastique Tasters' who disregarded tradition and instead followed the whims of fashion and the dictates of fantasy:

> Let all our moderne mere Phantastique Tasters,
>   (Whose Art but foreigne Noveltie extolls)
> Rule and confine theyr fancies; and prefer
>   The constant right and depthe Art should produce,
> To all lite flashes, by whose light they err;
>   This wittie Age hath wisedom least in use;
> The World, ould growing, Ould with it grow Men;
>   Theyr skylls decaying, like theyr bodies strengthe;
> Yonge Men to oulde are now but children,
>   First Rules of Art encrease still with their lengthe:
> Which see in this new worck, yet never seene;
>   Art the more oulde, growes ever the more greene.

Critiques of the 'vanities of the age' (as was the typical expression), regularly appeared at this time, and invariably made scathing reference to the 'fantastic' nature of young people. Considerable objection was levelled at their undisciplined behaviour and extravagant

apparel.[168] Musically, they were criticized for favouring only the new, the different, and the fashionable. One notable critic was Richard Brathwait who, in The English gentleman, presented a typical picture of youth in England,[169] and regarded its fault as an inclination towards sense and passion rather than reason.[170] For example, he drew particular exception to

> our Common-Fidlers, who cannot play a stroake, to gaine a world, without motion or wagging of their head, as if they had rare Crotchets in their braine [171]

It should perhaps be added that Brathwait made a special point of expressing his admiration for the 'effeminate sound' of the lute, which delights the ear and inspires the mind to virtue.[172]

Brathwait's sentiments were echoed with passion by Mace. Saddened by the passing of the musically brilliant Jacobean period, he decried the 'Phantastical' and 'Giddy' fashions which had overtaken England in later times.[173] The dance suites for massed strings after the French courtly manner, for him epitomized the absurd fashions of Common-wealth England. They were, he thought,

> rather fit to make a Mans Ears Glow, and fill his Brains full of Frisks, &c. than to Season, and Sober his Mind, or Elevate his Affection to Goodness. [174]

Other later critiques can be mentioned. In the preface of Thomas Shadwell's comedy play The humorists (1671), the poet is urged not to regard pleasing the reader as the final criterion for his work. If he is to properly succeed, he should learn from the mistakes of the 'Fidler

or Dancing Master, who delight the fancy onely without improving the Judgement'.[175] Likewise William Temple, in 'An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning' (1690), observed that music's ancient virtues had been in recent times usurped by 'Notes that fell into the fancy'.[176] And the noted music publisher John Playford regretfully declared in A breefe introduction to the skill of musick that

> Musick in this Age ... is in low esteem with the generality of People, [and] our late and Solemn Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental, is now justled out of Esteem by the New Corants and Jiggs of Foreigners, to the Grief of all sober and judicious Understanders of that formerly solid and good Musick: Nor must we expect Harmony in Peoples Minds, so long as Pride, Vanity, Faction, and Discords, are so predominant in their Lives. [177]

Such a statement was perhaps ironic from one who, as a printer, was mostly interested in popular music such as dance music, ayres, songs and ballads, rather than anything more dignified or serious.

The 'Canonici' in England

Those for whom fantasy had absolutely no rightful place in music believed that music was a purely rational art. Their view stemmed from the idea that in music there were present the same orders, hierarchies and proportions which were present throughout the universe. Isidore of Seville was one early writer who attempted to correlate the proportions in music with those of the universe.[178] There developed from very early on an increasing interest in music and numerology, and the view that all other

facets of music must be likewise essentially rational. In this scheme, fantasy was obviously a profoundly disruptive element. Those who needed confirmation of this could turn to Plato's Timaeus, and find what might have easily (but perhaps incorrectly) have been interpreted as a rebuttal of fantasy in music:

> Music too, in so far as it uses audible sound, was bestowed for the sake of harmony. And harmony, which has motions akin to the revolutions of the Soul within us, was given by the Muses ... not as an aid to irrational pleasure, as is now supposed, but as an auxiliary to the inner revolution of the Soul, when it has lost its harmony, to assist in restoring it to order and concord with itself. [179]

Or they could turn to Plutarch's De musica, which likewise upheld rationality in music:

> Thus, to speak in the broadest terms, the ear and the mind must keep abreast of each other when we pass judgment on the various elements in a musical composition; the ear must not outstrip the mind, as happens when sensibilities are hasty and in headlong motion [180]

But according to Johannes Aventinus, they turned to Pythagoras, and were to be distinguished from the followers of Aristoxenus who believed that the aural sense should be the final judge in all musical matters. These two groups were given the respective names of 'Harmoniaci' and 'Canonici'. Aventinus explained:

> The followers of Aristoxenus (who are also known as the 'Harmoniaci') only follow the judgment of the ears in examining music. The Pythagoreans, rejecting entirely the judgment of the senses as being false and untrustworthy, reduce everything to mathematics; this group is called the 'Canonici'. [181]

Aventinus also referred to a third group, the followers of Ptolemy, who 'took the middle road, combining the opinions

of both, and taking into account both senses and numbers'.[182]

The view of fantasy as a disruptive element was not helped by the generally low reputation of musicians in Elizabethan England. Indeed, the two things often went hand in hand. One of the verses in Gascoigne's 'The greene Knights farewell to Fansie' reads:

> At Musickes sacred sounde my fansies est begonne,
> In concordes, discordes, notes and cliffes in tunes of
>   vnisonne:
> In <u>Hyerarchies</u> and straynes, in restes, in rule and
>   space,
> In monacordes and mouing moodes, in <u>Burdens</u> vnder base:
> In descants and in chants I streined many a yel,
> But since Musicians be so madde, <u>Fansie</u> (quoth he),
>   <u>farewell</u>.[183]

The ideals of harmony and propriety disallowed fantasy as an integral part of musical art. This is why Butler, who described music as 'profound Mathematik', could state that a 'skilful and expert Composer' must possess 'a moste excellent Wit, Memori, and Judgment' as well as talent. Notable here is the lack of any reference to fantasy.[184] Neither is it mentioned by the composer and poet Thomas Campion, who likewise stressed the importance of symmetry and proportion in music;[185] nor by Henry Hawkins, who in <u>Parthenia sacra</u> (1633) gave pre-eminence to rational thought in music according to his analogy of the harpist (see footnote 45). It seems that the notion of music as a purely rational art was widely supported in England. Indeed, the English prided themselves in maintaining order and propriety in music, whereas the ancient Greeks, it was believed, had given too much scope to fantasy and had allowed music to become excessive, elaborate and

contrived.[186] On the other hand, there were others, like Thomas Ravenscroft, who deplored the present state of music and wished to see music restored to its former laws and precepts. He scathingly attacked all those unworthy musicians whose 'fancies and arrogancies' blinded them to the fact that music's 'heart of Greatnes' was being undermined by their misplaced values.[187]

The Case for Fantasy in Music

In spite of this conservative background, fantasy was gaining increasing acceptance in music, and was coming to be regarded by many as essential to musical composition. They could see how it had become essential to poetry, and believed there was no reason why its place in music could not be justified in exactly the same way as it had been in poetry. This attitude marked the beginning of fantasy as a creative force in music, and opened the way for the development of a completely new concept of music. It was a development which was founded not upon the precepts of order and rationality, but on the radically different notion of 'free, creative invention'. It signalled a new aesthetic in music, one which borrowed directly from lyric poetry. The supporting evidence for these conclusions can be found by exploring how the poetic concepts of furor poeticus, 'formal' fantasy, and invention found direct equivalents in music.

Just as poets acknowledged fantasy as the fountain of all their invention, so too did musicians. Furthermore, it

would appear that the idea of fantasy as invention was directly borrowed from the poets. When the composer John Gamble praised Thomas Stanley, whose poems he had set in his volume of Ayres and dialogues (to be sung to the theorbolute or base-violl) (1656), he made an analogy between the way the poems and the music had been composed. He said that in the course of his musical study he had attempted to 'imitate the flowing and natural Graces, which you have created by your fancie'.[188]

More on the idea of fantasy and musical invention will be explored in Part IV, but it is of interest to point out here that the name 'fancy' was given to musical compositions just as it was given to poems. This was significant because it declared the work to be purely the product of imagination and fantasy. The earliest instances of it being used as a title of literary works date as far back as 1530, but not until the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods was it used in a characteristic way in poetry. Those poets who did use it were Breton, Tofte, Alexander and Jordan.[189] In music 'fancy' was either used as an alternative name for the instrumental fantasia or, less commonly, as the title of any composition of a truly inventive character. Sometimes however, it was applied to compositions whose themes related directly to the poetic idea of fantasy (see pages 252-55).

Perhaps a few useful generalizations can first be made. When composers referred to 'fancy' in discussions about composition, they usually meant inclination, choice

or desire, and the musical products of these things. The words of Christopher Simpson provide an example. In 'breaking the ground' with a series of divisions, he said that the violist was entitled to pursue a single point for as long as he wished, or exchange it with another, or combine it with a number of other points. In other words one proceeds 'as best shall please your fancy'.[190] Likewise, the composer can invert a point (a technique known as 'arsin and thesin'), mix it with the original, or think of further combinations. Simpson ends by saying that 'every man' is 'master of his own fancy'.[191] Similarly, Thomas Salmon said that 'the power of Phansie', or the power to invent, is what enables the composer to 'make Air, or maintain the point of a Canon'.[192] Mace's account of his piece 'Authors Mistress' has already been given, and he too clearly understood fantasy as the source of all initial musical ideas. He conceded that 'the unbounded, and unlimited Braveries of Fancy, or Invention' may yield compositions of uneven barring, but he also felt that such compositions can nevertheless sometimes possess excellent form.[193] In performance fantasy was important also, because it is what decides when a phrase ('sentence') should be played loudly or softly, fast or slow, or in other particular ways. Like Simpson, Mace adds that the performer should decide according to what might 'best please your own Fancy'.[194] Much the same was later said by North about instrumentalists.[195]

Musical Parallels of Puttenham's 'Formal Fantasy'

Significantly also, the 'formall' fantasy of which Puttenham spoke so eloquently in his defence of poets, found a direct parallel in music. Like many other writers, Mace recognized that music was being subjected to unduly fierce criticism by what can only be referred to as the anti-fantasy brigade. He regretted having witnessed the decline of music, and having seen it become a 'Low Inferiour Despicable Thing'.[196] This is what forced him to write 'An Epistle to all Ignorant Despisers' of the 'Divine Part of Musick'. The poem ends with the following lines:

> This Art Excelleth All without Controul;
> The Faculties It moveth of the Soul:
> It stifles Wrath, it causeth Griefs to cease;
> It doth excite the Furious Mind to Peace:
> It stirs up Love, Increaseth Good Desires;
> To Heav'n alone, its Center, it Aspires.
> It kindles Heav'nly Raptures, and doth make
> That Soul that's thus enflam'd for to partake
> Of Heav'nly Toys. [197]

Thus Mace's defence of music was in effect a vindication of fantasy's place in music. He contended that the most excellent music is able to transport the mind 'into High Contemplation', a state in which it can partake in 'Divine and Heavenly Raptures', and where body, soul and spirit are fully united.[198] This sort of music, such as fantasias intermingled with dances and ayres, represents to the mind

> so many Pathettical Stories, Rhetorical, and Sublime
> Discourses; Subtil, and Accute Argumentations; so
> Suitable, and Agreeing to the Inward, Secret, and
> Intellectual Faculties of the Soul and Mind; that to
> set Them forth according to their True Praise, there
> are no Words Sufficient in Language; yet what I can

best speak of Them, shall be only to say, <u>That They</u>
<u>have</u> <u>been</u> <u>to my self</u>, <u>(and many others)</u> <u>as</u> <u>Divine</u>
<u>Raptures</u>, <u>Powerfully</u> <u>Captivating</u> <u>all</u> <u>our</u> <u>unruly</u>
<u>Faculties</u>, <u>and Affections</u>, <u>(for the Time)</u> <u>and</u> <u>dispos-</u>
<u>ing</u> <u>us</u> <u>to</u> <u>Solidity</u>, <u>Gravity</u>, <u>and</u> <u>a</u> <u>Good</u> <u>Temper</u>;
<u>making</u> <u>us</u> <u>capable</u> <u>of</u> <u>Heavenly</u>, <u>and Divine Influences</u>. [199]

Implicit in this well-known passage is the same dualistic
presentation of fantasy which characterizes Puttenham's
equally well-known passage concerning poetry. This dualism
recurs throughout a great deal of philosophical writing
dating from this general period. On the one hand, there is
'unruly' fantasy, while on the other there is a higher
fantasy which represents truth to the soul. This second
species is what Mace referred to as 'good fancy' or 'true
and uniform Fancy', in his discussion of how to compose
music for the lute. It was essentially the same as Finck's
'bona fantasia', Diruta's 'bonissima fantasia' and
Zarlino's 'belle fantasie' (see pages 14 and 16). In all
of these, fantasy is understood as a faculty which not
only takes charge of the principal matter of musical
invention, but carefully considers the final invented
product, judges it, and decides whether it requires amend-
ment. So, if the phrasing of a composition proves to be
asymmetrical (a typical manifestation of unrestrained
fantasy), the result will not be satisfactory to those
composers who 'have a <u>True</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Uniform</u> <u>Fancy</u>'.[200] This most
useful and worthy species of fantasy therefore possesses
certain powers of judgment, and operates in full accord-
ance with, not counter to, the rules of composition. Mace
advises that the most consistent method of composing is to
adhere strictly to the rules and follow the guidance of

'Good Fancy', and he concludes that the results will always equal the achievements of pure, natural aptitude.[201]

Mace was not alone in presenting these thoughts, for North also ascribed to fantasy the ability to freely invent and at the same time observe strict propriety. Like Mace, he believed that fantasy was in the highest sense a power which could happily pursue its own ends without having to be checked by any rational considerations. For example, North praised John Jenkins for his 'fluent and happy fancy', or to paraphrase this, his fecund and felicitous invention.[202] In like manner, he described the art of voluntary as the breaking of the initial 'accord-notes', using

> what elegance and variation the fancy suggests or capacity admitts: sometimes slow, and often very swift and coming off slow, always observing strictly a proper consonance with the key note, and placing the emphasis accordingly[203]

In total contrast is the capricious type of fantasy which lends much variety of embellishment to the performance, but has complete disregard for questions of unity or propriety. But its creations are not always to be despised, however, because the resulting 'disorder upon the key' will nevertheless sound 'rich and amazing'.[204]

'Musical Fury'

The art of voluntary had special significance because, of all types of music, this was the type which relied most heavily on fantasy. Indeed, it would be true to say that it relied exclusively on fantasy. The perfor-

mer had little time to weigh up new ideas or deliberate upon what he had already done as a preliminary to what he should do next. Instead, he was involved in a process of continual creation whose intensity had to be maintained, undiminished, at the highest level. It could be compared with the idea of furor poeticus, in which full rein was given to the fantasy in simultaneous acts of poetic insight and invention. Butler placed great importance on what he described as the 'rare faculti' of being able to set words to music, and felt that it was insufficient for the novice composer to merely think in simple terms of what might be or might not be allowable according to the given rules. Composing song demanded that such a rigid method gave way to pure inspiration. For Butler, this was epitomized by the art of voluntary. Here is what he says in full:

> so full of difficulties and hidden mysteries is this faculti of Setting; that all these helps concurring, wil not suffice to the framing of a god [sic] Lesson; ... unles the Author, at the time of Composing, be transported as it were with som Musical furi; so that himself scarce knoweth what he doeth, nor can presently giv a reason of his doing: even so as it is with those that play voluntari: of whome therefore the French-man sayth, Leur esprite est en le boute des doits: Their sowl is in their fingers ends.[205]

Such a statement is remarkable from one who, as has been pointed out earlier, refused to accept that fantasy had any place in music alongside judgment, memory or wit. The above passage, even though it does not specifically mention fantasy, is effectively an acceptance of fantasy insofar as that faculty was clearly the only one which was capable of transporting the mind with 'musical fury'.

Poetic Themes of Fantasy in the Madrigal and Ayre

If 'musical fury' was one identifiable case of how poetic ideas of fantasy were transferred to music, another relates to the themes which were being explored by the lyric poets. In particular, there was the theme of love, so characteristic of the sonnet in the Elizabethan period. It gave birth to the love song, which was perhaps the fullest expression of all that fantasy stood for at the time. There is no doubt that the love song was immediately associated in the public mind with the idea of fantasy. A reflection of this can be found in what Anthony Munday had to say in the preface of A banquet of daintie conceits. Furnished with verie delicate and choyse inuentions, published in 1588. This publication consisted of verse only, composed by Munday and designed to be substituted for the words of a number of existing songs, which he identifies. Munday was in fact apologetic about the poems he had composed, and even more apologetic about the fact that he was not in the least skilled in music. But he was also aware of the public's expectation that any new publication would only be greeted enthusiastically if it presented themes of a popular kind. Munday's verses were actually rather old-fashioned and conservative. Thus he advised the reader that although the verses are 'not fantasticall, and full of loue quirkes & quiddities', they are 'yet stored with good admonitions and freendly documents'.

In England's helicon (1600), one of the later anthologies of lyric poetry, the lute is a recurring symbol of amorous desire. The reason is that the lute had by then acquired a popular image as a serenading instrument. 'Thus Fancie strung my Lute to Layes of Loue' is a line which comes from one poem in the collection, 'An excellent Pastorall Dittie', which deals with the 'farewell fancy' theme.[206] Lodge, as it has been shown, was one of many poets for whom fantasy was an especially important theme. He wrote that examples of amorous expressions can be found in the 'Sonettoes, Canzones, Madrigals, rounds and roundelayes, that these pensiue patients powre out'.[207] Butler similarly referred to the 'pleasant songs and sonnets of love, and such like fancies', which often exploit the delicate and effeminate characteristics of the Ionian mode.[208] Later in the seventeenth century, a critic named Musgrave stated that in songs, sonnets, madrigals, roundelays and similar forms, the expression should be 'easie, and the Fancy high'.[209] Finally, Edward Phillips observed that lyric poetry, which 'consists of Songs or Airs of Love', is 'most apt for Musical Composition, such as the Italian Sonnet, but most especially [the] Canzon and Madrigal ... and the English Ode'.[210]

Composers' interest in themes of fantasy is amply demonstrated by their choice of lyrics in madrigal and lute ayre publications. It is significant that Francis Pilkington chose for one ayre in his First booke of songs or ayres (1605) a verse from Lodge's Rosalynde, because

that work stands out prominently as a notable example of 'fantasy poetry' (see footnote 100). This is the song 'Down a down, thus Phillis sung', and like others in Pilkington's collection, it connects fantasy with amorous desire. There were many other publications of a similar vein, such as John Dowland's ayres of 1597 and 1603, John Bartlet's Booke of Ayres (1606), Richard Alison's An howres recreation in musicke (1606), Thomas Weelkes' Ayeres or phantasticke spirites for three voices (1608), Robert Jones' A musicall dreame (1609) and The Muses gardin for delights (1610), Thomas Vautor's Songs of divers ayres (1619), and the numerous ayres and ballads published by Playford later in the century. For other composers, the light and witty vein which generally applies to these collections is substituted for a more searching analysis of the fantasy idea. The earliest of this type were William Byrd's song collections of 1588 and 1589 (see Chapter 6). A later collection was John Coprario's Funeral teares (1606), and particular attention should be drawn to the song 'Deceitful Fancy' in which the image of a past life (that of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, 1563-1606, after whom the song cycle was composed) takes on a tormenting, illusory reality in the listener's mind. This idea is a subtle variation on the 'farewell fancy' theme, which was so frequently employed in poetry of a more reflective or moral inclination.

For modern listeners, the madrigal and ayre are often regarded as the quintessential musical expression of the Elizabethan period. And yet what is generally forgotten is

that such music-poetic compositions received strong censure from many quarters when they first appeared. This was because they glorified secular, not sacred themes. The Petrarchan ideal demanded that the lady-love be worshipped almost as a deity. The risk for composers, as with poets, was to be denounced for profanity, and to be labelled by the critics as 'fantasticks'. To prevent this they often included a selection of sacred songs in their secular collections. Thomas Campion did this in his <u>Two bookes of ayres</u> ([1610]). The first part of this collection comprises 'diuine and morall songs', and the second comprises 'light conceits of louers'. On the other hand, Thomas Tomkins tried to nullify any possible criticism that the lyrics in his <u>Songs of 3.4.5. and 6. parts</u> (1622) were excessively light, by giving an assurance that his songs were 'sutable to the people of the world, wherein the rich and poore, sound and lame, sad and fantasticall, dwell together'.

The New Aesthetic Reinforced

The interest that composers demonstrated in the poetic idea of fantasy must have added strength to the new and fashionable belief that music's main purpose was recreational, not educational. Indeed, the move towards fantasy expression probably had a lot to do with the growing secularization of music. For example, an important outcome of the madrigal and ayre was an unprecedented emphasis on the purely sensual and affective qualities of

music. The fundamental change taking place was the denial of music as an elitist, inaccessible and erudite art. 'Certainely, it is more for <u>pleasure</u>, then any <u>profit</u> of <u>Man</u>' wrote Owen Feltham about music in his popular book of morals.[211] This would have been regarded by many at the time as a controversial statement, but there must have been many more who would have agreed with it. These people were the 'Harmoniaci' of England, to use the nomenclature of Aventinus.

To observe how this change in outlook took place, and to ascertain what its full significances were, it is necessary only to read what some composers wrote in the prefaces of their published works. Composers were increasingly directing their attention to the amateur musician, and all could see that he was impatient with the conservative polyphonic style so beloved by composers of the Tudor era. What he wanted instead was a more immediately satisfying style, the sort of style which was a true musical counterpart of the 'fantasticke humors' composed by the lyric poets. Some musicians were more eager than others to supply it, for example Thomas Ravenscroft. His music was eminently light, simple and tuneful, and it consciously avoided even the barest hints of traditional church polyphony. In his <u>Melismata. Musicall phansies</u> (1611), the title of which is itself significant, Ravenscroft classified the songs according to the following headings: 'Court Varieties', 'Citie Rounds', 'Citie Conceits', 'Country Rounds', and 'Country Pastimes'. These headings

give a good idea of what the music was like. Ravenscroft's preceding collection, <u>Pammelia. Musicks miscellanie. Or, mixed varietie of pleasant roundelayes, and delightfull catches</u> (1609), is even more significant because the preface reads like a manifesto of the English 'Harmoniaci'. It was his belief that music's 'melodious gifts' had previously been insufficiently exploited by composers. He assured the reader that this failing had now been overcome with the publication of his own compositions. He could also give an assurance that the reader's love of 'sleight and light fancies' would be amply rewarded by trying out the songs he was presenting. In his none-too-modest opinion they possessed

> Good Art in all, for the more musicall, good mirth and melodie for the more Iouiall, sweet harmonie, mixed with much varietie, and both with great facilitie. Harmony to please, varietie to delight, facilitie to inuite thee. Some toyes yet musical, without absurdity, Some very musicall, yet pleasing without difficulty, light, but not without musickes delight, Musickes pleasantnes, but not without easines; what seemes old, is at least renewed, Art having reformed what pleasing tunes injurious time and ignorance had deformed.

Again, it is important to recognize that while these views satisfied the musical expectations of a large number of amateur musicians, they must have been highly controversial for others. Publications of the newer types of madrigals and ayres seem to have been met with fierce criticism, as can be deduced from what John Ward wrote in the preface of one of his madrigal publications. He informed the reader that madrigals had 'bred many Censors', and he was forced to make the following plea to

those who still had open minds about his works:

> should they proue distastefull with the quaesie-
> pallated, or surfeited [with] delight, yet with the
> sound (unsubiect to such disease of Humor, and
> appetite) I presume they will pleasingly rellish,
> and (with your equall selfe) mainteine me against
> the corrupted number of Time-sicke humorists.[212]

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 4 : VARIETY

According to Renaissance philosophy, the fantasy was
a faculty which was capable only of finding similarities
between objects or images, not their differences. It was
thought that reason was the only faculty which possessed
the intellectual power of being able to discern differen-
ces and judge relative worth. The problem was that fantasy
was believed to be led by the superficial appearance of an
object, rather than its underlying truth. It could super-
impose or combine images in new and vivid ways, but it
could not determine whether the resulting compounded
forms, like the oft-quoted centaur or the 'golden
mountain', were real or false. Such compounded forms as
these were indeed wonderful creations of the mind, but
they were also fundamentally irrational because they did
not conform to the laws of nature.

The bottom line of this philosophical argument was
that all creations of the fantasy should be regarded as
irrational and therefore as undesirable. This applied to
dreams, hallucinations and other 'deceptions' of the mind,
but it also applied to 'fictitious' works of art. Both
Plato and Aristotle outrightly condemned all art which
could be shown to have departed in any way from reality or
the truth. The Stoic philosophers, however, were notice-
ably less severe in their attitude, and the reason was
that their concept of oratory allowed a certain element of
the imaginative to flourish in art. The aim of oratory was

to persuade the listener towards a particular viewpoint which the orator obviously thought was truthful, and he was allowed to use whatever means he liked to achieve this end. An essential part of oratory was to instil in the listener's mind a positiveness and receptivity to what the orator had to say, and this meant engaging not only his intellect but also his 'voluntary soul', that is, his imagination or fantasy.

In De oratore, Cicero stated that the matter or substance of an oration will not by itself be sufficient, unless it is properly and sensitively adapted to the personal requirements of the listener. He stated that the orator must learn to present the substance in a pleasingly diversified manner, 'so that your hearer may neither perceive the art of it, nor be worn out by too much monotony'.[213] For Cicero, the task of gaining a listener's approval and winning him over to a particular point of view could only be accomplished if he was truly pleased and delighted by what he heard. Orations which received the highest praise were therefore those which incorporated a variety of styles and employed the stylus ornatus to good effect. For as Aristotle had written in Rhetorica, 'Change in all things is sweet'.[214] Cicero explained the importance of variety as a principle in oratory in terms of the observation that the world consists of abundant natural diversity, and that this diversity is always a constant source of pleasurable sensation:

> Among natural objects, as it seems to me, there is
> none which does not comprise in its own kind a
> multiplicity of things that are different from one
> another and yet are esteemed as having a similar
> value: for instance, our ears convey to us a number
> of perceptions which, while consisting in sounds
> that give us pleasure, are nevertheless frequently
> so different from one another that you think the one
> you hear last the most agreeable; also our eyes
> collect for us an almost countless number of pleas-
> ures, whose charm consists in their delighting a
> single sense in a variety of ways; and the rest of
> the senses enjoy gratifications of various kinds,
> making it difficult to decide which is the most
> agreeable. Moreover this observation in the sphere
> of natural objects can also be transferred to the
> arts as well.[215]

Cicero's stylus ornatus is particularly noteworthy, because it specifically aimed at exciting and gratifying the senses. To retain his attention for long, the orator had to supply the listener with continual variety, but at the same time be careful not to satiate or offend him. Varied inflections of the voice, judicious use of gesture, and an occasional element of novelty, are what constituted the stylus ornatus.[216] Cicero compared the utterance of the voice with the sound of a harp, whose strings cover a range of pitches and can be played quietly or loudly, quickly or slowly, softly or harshly, or in many other ways.[217] All these modes of expression, he thought, should be used by the orator in stylus ornatus. He also said that ornate singing can be a useful source of inspiration for the orator, since 'how much more delightful and charming are trills and flourishes than notes firmly held'.[218]

A similar view was put forward by Quintilian in his Institutio oratorio, a work which also stressed the importance of modifying a speech to suit different circum-

stances. Quintilian advised that the orator must have at his command a number of different styles of speech for all possible needs and occasions, and that he must carefully choose the most appropriate one, according to the particular requirement of an occasion. But he should not adhere to a given style for too long, because this invariably causes the audience to lose attention:

> Thus in one and the same speech he will use one style for stirring the emotions, and another to conciliate his hearers; it is from difference sources that he will derive anger or pity, and the art which he employs in instructing the judge will be other than that which he employs to move him. He will not maintain the same tone throughout his proems, narrations, arguments, digressions, and perorations. He will speak gravely, severely, sharply, with vehemence, energy, fullness, bitterness, or geniality, quietly, simply, flatteringly, gently, sweetly, briefly or wittily. [219]

Poetic Variety

In Cicero's view, poetry was different from oratory because it gave overriding importance to the very sounds of the words. The simple difference was that while oratory aimed at convincing the listener, poetry aimed at inducing sensual pleasure. Thus Cicero believed that poets 'pay more attention to the object of giving pleasure to their readers than to their subject'.[220] Poetry was not to be downgraded for this however, because it appealed to 'a second sort of judgment of the ears', one which instinctively recognized the innate pleasurableness of sound and rhythm.[221]

The idea that poetry should entertain and please was strongly maintained in the Renaissance. Variety was seen as the chief means of satisfying the reader, for it enabled his attention to be constantly and willingly maintained. Pontanus and Vida were two writers who promoted this view in the early sixteenth-century. In _De arte poetica_ of 1527, Vida believed that the poet has open to him an unlimited multiplicity of expressive devices, just as there is infinite variety of things in nature, and therefore he should always be able to charm the reader.[222] Julius Caesar Scaliger identified variety in his _Poetices libri septum_ (1561) as one of the essential criteria in poetry, along with three others - insight, vividness and winsomeness. He advised that the poet 'must take pains to temper all with variety [varietas], for there is no worse mistake than to glut your hearer before you are done with him'. Poetry he believed should, like good food, create pleasure and not distaste.[223]

This positive appraisal of variety was shared by many English writers, for example Edward Reynoldes. One of life's perpetual sources of delight, he thought, was the variety which is encountered in nature.[224] He believed, like Scaliger, that the infinity of nature was matched by the infinity of man's soul, and that man had creative access to this infinity through his fantasy. That faculty's freedom of operation allowed it to create new objects, compose old ones in different ways, and place them in entirely new contexts. These procedures accounted for 'all Poeticall Fictions, fabulous Transmutations, high Meta-

phors, and Rhetoricall Allegories', as well as the ornaments of a speech.[225] Variety was actually listed as one of the 'relative figures' of speech by John Barton.[226] It was considered an important ingredient in poetry by both Ben Jonson and William Alexander.[227] In a poem entitled 'Variety', Donne remarked that 'Pleasure is none, if not diversified'.[228] Likewise, Hobbes named 'Amplitude and Variety' as one of the main virtues in heroic poetry, explaining that it is the source of a 'multitude of Descriptions and Comparisons ... such as the Images of Shipwracks, Battles, Single Combats, Beauty, Passions of the mind, Sacrifices, Entertainments, and other things'.[229]

The subject of variety received an enormous amount of comment in England, in relation not only to poetry but to many other areas as well. A wide reading of English Renaissance literature reveals that it was possibly one of the most important aesthetic themes of the period, and it is certainly one whose significance has been largely unrecognized by modern scholars. 'This age of ours [is] more giuen to varietie then any other former tyme whatsoeuer', observed Richard Rowlands. This writer noticed for example, that 'people in former ages were nothing so curious or delighted with varying their speech, as of late ages they are grown to bee'.[230] Many writers thought that this interest in variety was a reflection of the diversity of man's dispositions, or could be put down to the fact that 'all things in the world are tempered and conserued by unlike, and contrarie things'.[231] Other writers who

commented on the idea of variety, either as a natural occurrence in the world or as a virtue in the creations of man, were Henry Peacham (the younger), Spenser, Robert Boyle and the preacher Robert South.[232] One theory which attempts to explain why the concept of variety was so important concerns religion, and it relates to the strong tradition of Christian optimism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Writers such as Myles Coverdale (in The old faith, 1541) and Richard Hooker (Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie, 1594), plus a string of others in the latter half of the seventeenth century, all gave tributes to the multifarious handiwork of the divine creator. For them, variety was nothing less than a virtue as it was fundamental to the natural order of the universe.[233]

Variety was prized as a novelty in works of art because it introduced in them a new dimension of expressive richness and enjoyment. It was a dimension which had hitherto largely been ignored. William Painter commended literary works of art which possessed abundant variety, since 'they recreate, and refresh weried mindes, defatigated eyther with painefull trauaile, or with continuall care, occasioning them to shunne and auoyde heauinesse of minde'.[234] Once variety was 'discovered' by poets, it quickly became cultivated by them. The proliferation of poetic miscellanies and anthologies during the Elizabethan period is a firm indication of just how important creative variety became in that time. But equally indicative was the custom in the prefaces of literary publications of

giving paramount emphasis to the diversity of their contents, and the fact that titles often linked the two ideas of variety and fantasy.[235]

This link with fantasy was not simply coincidental, for variety was an inevitable product of any creative operation of that faculty. To create infinite possibilities and variations was indeed fantasy's most singular and characteristic talent. But only literary minds with the greatest insight could in fact see this. Shakespeare was of course one, and the opening speech by Duke Orsino in Twelfth Night clearly bears this out. In it are evocations of a great many things, from the sensual delight of music ('the food of love'), to the colour and fragrance of flowers and other purely sensual images. They are all products of fantasy: 'so full of shapes is fancy', the Duke observes (1,1,14). His words bring to mind the following lines from Milton's masque Comus, spoken by Adonis, who gets lost in the mysterious depths of the woods:

> A thousand fantasies
> Begin to throng into my memory
> Of calling shapes, and beck'ning shadows dire[236]

Perhaps the most remarkable exposition of poetic variety is Mercutio's 'Queen Mab' speech in Romeo and Juliet (1,4). It is an extraordinary tour de force of the imagination, and consists of a seemingly endless stream of unexpected and recondite images strung together in a disconnected fashion as in a dream. The speech is too long to quote here, but Mercutio's final observation is particularly revealing:

> ... I talk of dreams,
> Which are the children of an idle brain,
> Begot of nothing but vain fantasy;
> Which is as thin of substance as the air,
> And more inconstant than the wind (1,4,96-100)

One last notable example of literary variety, from Spenser's <u>The faerie queene</u>, should be given. It concerns Arthur's and Guyon's visit to the magical chamber of Phantastes in the tower of Alma's castle (the scenario recalls Breton's story of the 'Forte of Fancie'; see page 140). In that chamber, their minds are instantly overtaken by a flood of vivid visions:

> His chamber was dispainted all within,
>   With sundry colours, in the which were writ
> Infinite shapes of things dispersed thin;
> Some such as in the world were neuer yit,
> Ne can deuized be of mortall wit;
> Some daily seene, and knowen by their names,
> Such as in idle fantasies doe flit:
>   Infernall Hags, <u>Centaurs</u>, feendes, Hippodames,
> Apes, Lions, Aegles, Owles, fooles, louers, children,
>   Dames. (Cant. IX, li)

The verse which follows this one invokes Saint Basil's image of buzzing swarms of bees to represent the overpowering and intoxicating effect, like drunkenness, of a highly stimulated fantasy.[237] Both verses highlight the marvellous and strange nature of the fantasy, but they also point to its illusory and fundamentally unsound influences on the mind.

Musical Variety

In musicology, much attention has traditionally been directed towards the stylistic changes which took place in Italian music around the year 1600, whose combined effect

was to bring about that period in musical history known as the 'Baroque'. It is generally assumed that other countries, including England, experienced the same sorts of changes, only that they occurred somewhat later and to a somewhat less pronounced degree. While it is quite true that some musical techniques which characterized the Italian baroque, such as basso continuo and stile concertante, found a place in English music during the later Jacobean and Caroline periods, a genuine equivalent of the Italian stile moderno (or moderna prattica) never appeared in England. Neither was there a real parallel in that country of the division between the stile moderno and the stile antico (the English had no equivalents of the terms themselves; see however page 447). But the fact is that English music experienced profound changes during the turn-of-century period, and in general terms, these changes were not far removed from what was happening in Italy.

These changes need careful consideration. In Italy, there was an accelerating interest in the dramatic possibilities of music, and the idea that contrast could be employed as a structural principle in music. However, neither of these developments can be said to have truly applied to English music. This is because, despite the strength of their interest in Continental music and especially in Italian music, English musicians never developed a real taste for the dialectic in musical expression. Their temperament tended to prefer unity and

continuity in music rather than 'argumentation'. They differed greatly from the Italians in this respect, but where the English were prepared to move, was in the direction of variety. They discovered that variety added a new dimension to their particular aesthetic, and its 'discovery' marks an important cornerstone in English music of the Renaissance. The purpose of the remainder of the present chapter is to examine this development in some detail, and to see how closely it depended on the concept of fantasy.

Musical sources of the period mention a lot about variety, so much so that it seems to have become one of the most important principles in composition. As in poetry, the idea of musical variety had its roots in the stoic tradition that oratory must first of all please and delight the listener, if he is to be fully receptive to a speech. The wide support of this concept in England indicates that the country was entering a neostoic phase during the Elizabethan era, as had already happened in Italy. An interest in musical variety was only one manifestation of this phase. Another was the flourishing interest in the practice and ideals of classical rhetoric.[238] The two were connected, however, because English treatises on rhetoric repeatedly stressed variety as an essential ingredient in the rhetorical arts.[239]

The English were not the only ones to have espoused variety in music. Indeed, it is probably true to say that the stoic principle of variety was central to Renaissance

music theory generally. A brief survey of theoretical writings from other countries will show this. By the end of the fifteenth century, the word 'varietas' was often used in discussions about the nature of music. Furthermore, there is direct evidence in the writings of Johannes Tinctoris that the concept of musical variety derived from the art of oratory. This can be seen in the following passage from his Liber de arte contrapuncti of 1477. Beginning with a quotation from Horace's Poetics, Tinctoris then borrowed the words of Cicero:

> 'One who sings to the kithara is laughed at if he always wanders over the same string' ... Wherefore, according to the opinion of Tullius [Cicero], as a variety in the art of speaking most delights the hearer, so also in music a diversity of harmonies vehemently provokes the souls of listeners into delight .... Also, any composer or improvisor [concentor] of the greatest genius may achieve this diversity if he either composes or improvises now by one quantity, then by another, now by one perfection, then by another, now by one proportion, then by another, now by one conjunction, then by another, now with syncopations, then without syncopations, now with fugae, then without fugae, now with pauses, now without pauses, now diminished, now as written .... Every composed work, therefore, must be diverse in its quality and quantity, just as an infinite number of works show, works brought out, not only by me, but also by innumerable composers flourishing in the present age. [240]

Tinctoris mentioned a number of specific compositions which he believed were exemplary in their use of variety.[241] Another writer who described the methods by which variety can be achieved in musical composition was Johannes Lippius, in his Synopsis musicae novae (Strasbourg, 1612). He thought that variation in the use of consonances created tasteful variety, as also did an admixture of ascending and descending intervals in a melody.[242] Another

method, borrowed directly from oratory, was to create an ornate style in a composition. This style, said Lippius, 'produces a more fractured, more florid, and more coloured harmonic piece by using beautiful ornaments' just as might be done by an artful orator.[243] An idea existed from the time of Gaffurius onwards, that no matter how much variety was created, endless more could still be achieved by virtue of what was believed to be an infinity of musical possibilities. For as Gaffurius himself wrote, the 'modes and other musical elements can be varied ad infinitum'.[244]

An English interest in the musical idea of variety began at a much later date, but it quickly developed along very similar lines. By the time The praise of musicke was published (1586), it was already a major concern for many composers. The anonymous author of that work upheld the view that music's intrinsic sweetness was a natural and wholesome source of pleasure, since it 'doeth refresh the minde and make it better able to greater labours'.[245] Why this should have been so was a question which intrigued him greatly, and he could only suggest that the answer somehow related to the diverse effects which music was known to exercise on the mind. A reflection of this diversity was the variety of different types of songs. For example, some are 'chast and temperate: some amarous and light, othersome warlike, others peaceable, some melancholike and dolefull, other[s] pleasant and delightfull'.[246] Therefore, there was in music a wide variety of qualities which corresponded to an equally wide variety of human

affections. However, there is also in The praise of musicke a continual undercurrent of suspicion directed at what its author believed was a trend towards an over-exploitation of the purely affective qualities of music, and this is what motivated him to remark that simplicity, not excess, is the most important goal in composition.[247] Nevertheless, this did not prevent him from advocating the principle of variety. He reasoned that

> because as the rainebow being not of one colour is therefore more sightly to the eye, so Musicke being not of one kind is therefore more welcome to the eare[248]

Rather than detracting from unity, being the most important attribute in a composition, variety actually enhanced it. This belief was consistent with the Renaissance Christian concept that the divinely created universe was limitless in its manifest variety but all as one in its inner harmony. All things naturally created were equally perfect and were equal manifestations of the perfection and unity of the universe. In music, this concept was represented in many ways, for example by the beauty of multiple voices singing in harmony. The same effect could be achieved by adding further string parts to a basic three-part texture:

> For string hath beene added to string, part unto part, precept unto precept, one thing to an other so long til at length no one thing so much as uariety hath made musick a perfit & uniform body. Nowe besides al this who knowes not that as generally so many men so many minds, so specially sundrie musiciās driue sundry crotchets, & diuersity of maisters maks diuersity of methods.[249]

Louis Le Roy and, from a later period Peter Sterry, were two others who felt that variety and unity were absolutely reconcilable in music. They believed in the tenet that like all arts and sciences, music follows the universal law that there is order and harmony in nature's diversity.[250] Sterry believed that the changes which the soul undergoes in its response to music 'are all most <u>orderly</u> and <u>harmonious</u>', and 'all together make up one most ravishing Harmony of Divine Beauty and Musick'. This is because 'Unity spreadeth it self through all this diversity of Forms and Changes'.[251] Thus for Sterry, there was no underlying antithesis between unity and variety, and this is interesting because it runs counter to an established belief inherited from ancient Greek and early Christian culture, that the two natural forces of order and chaos exist in a perpetual state of antagonism. For Sterry and others (see Bacon's passage from <u>Sylva sylvarum</u> on pages 203-04), there was no reason why discords or any other elements of nonuniformity should not be freely admitted into music, as long as they served to enhance rather than detract from its harmony. For this to happen, they must be an essential part of the original conception of any composition, so giving them a rightful place in the natural scheme of things. Sterry explained it in terms of the inspired acts of creation which enable a musician to emulate in musical sound the spiritual or divine unity of nature. He wrote that

> The Flats and Sharpes, the Bases and Trebles, the Concords and Discords of Musick, are all comprehen-
> ded by the spirit of the Musician in one Act of

> Harmony, by its proper force, [which] first invented
> and formed all Musical Instruments, prepared them
> for it self through all the diversity of touches and
> motions, actuated them, [so] that it might compleat-
> ly figure and display upon them and upon all things
> round about them, it self, in its own full sweet-
> ness, according to all those rich varieties,
> virtually and eminently comprehended within it self,
> in one simple Act. [252]

This was one philosophical justification for the use of
variety in music. Another was the universal agreement that
the judicious and proper use of discord in counterpoint is
a principal means of heightening the effect of harmony.
Thomas Morley was one who definitely advocated this as a
technique (see Part IV). Another who advocated it was John
Farmer, and he could see the curious paradox behind it.
Thus he remarked in the preface of his First set of
English madrigals to 4 voices of 1599: 'I so much loue
perfect harmony, as I earnestly entreate all the professed
in Musicke to fly discord amongst themselves'.

The main justification for variety in music, however,
was the neostoic belief that an all-important requisite in
any art is to maintain interest by constantly offering new
and different things. Above all, the fantasy had to be
entertained with variety, because it was the faculty which
controlled the will. The turn-of-century period in England
seemed to applaud variety in art more than any other
single criterion. It quickly became intolerant of the old
artistic order which had always taught moderation, discip-
line and uniformity. Within a short space of time, these
concerns had been completely tossed aside and replaced by
the new 'doctrine of variety'. Looked at in this way, the

Elizabethan period was as much a period of major artistic change as it was one of major artistic achievement. A new life was breathed into music: composers discovered all the different ways that variety could be created and could look upon them as having a rightful place in composition. Thomas Ravenscroft praised 'the many <u>Diuersities</u>, which the <u>Nature</u> of <u>Compositions</u> giue vs',[253] and later on, Thomas Salmon remarked more generally that of all the 'many Recreations which sweeten the life of man, and with a pleasing variety refresh his wearied mind; none can plead more advantages, or more truly justifie it's [sic] practice, than Musick'.[254]

Central to the subject of musical variety was the idea of fantasy. In 'The Nature of Music' it was seen that fantasy was intimately linked with the concept of the passions and affections. In the late sixteenth century, increasing importance was given to music's power of being able to excite particular affections in the listener. A belief that music could do this was not unique to England, but what perhaps made the English different was their emphasis on the variety of affective responses which a single composition could evoke. This variety was an outcome of their interest in fantasy, since fantasy was the controlling force behind all the affections in man. The English view was well expressed by John Playford:

> Musick is of different effects, and admits of as much variety of Fancy to please all Humours as any Science whatever. It moves the Affections sometimes into a sober Composure, and other-times into an active Jollity. [255]

The composer was encouraged to follow the dictate of his
fantasy and could therefore incorporate as much variety of
affections in a composition as he liked. This could be
done in a number of ways, as Francis Bacon explained in
the following passage from Sylva sylvarum:

> There be in music certain figures or tropes; almost
> agreeing with the figures of rhetoric, and with the
> affections of the mind, and other senses. First, the
> division and quavering, which please so much in
> music, have an agreement with the glittering of
> light; as the moon-beams playing upon a wave. Again,
> the falling from a discord to a concord, which
> maketh great sweetness in music, hath an agreement
> with the affections, which are reintegrated to the
> better after some dislikes; it agreeth also with the
> taste, which is soon glutted with that which is
> sweet alone. The sliding from the close or cadence,
> hath an agreement with the figure in rhetoric which
> they call praeter expectatum; for there is a
> pleasure even in being deceived. The reports and
> fuges have an agreement with the figures in rhetoric
> of repetition and traduction. The tripla's, and
> changing of times, have an agreement with the
> changes of motions; as when galliard time and
> measure time are in the medley of one dance.[256]

In practical terms, this meant that structural prin-
ciples of unity, organicism and dynamic balance (being
examples of 'ordered' composition) took second place to
the principle of continual change, and to the idea that
the constituent parts of a composition can be essentially
unrelated. This is not to say that unity was now ignored,
but that priority now definitely favoured variety. Thomas
Mace believed that the composer, if he is good enough,
will show as much wit and variety as he possibly can,
without going so far as to transgress the accepted rules
of composition. To break the rules was plainly wrong. He
put it this way:

> For you may carry on, and maintain <u>several</u> <u>Humours</u>,
> and <u>Conceits</u>, <u>in</u> <u>the</u> <u>same</u> <u>Lesson</u>; provided they have
> some <u>Affinity</u>, or <u>Agreement</u> <u>one</u> <u>to</u> <u>the</u> <u>other</u>: But
> That does require some <u>Experience</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Judgment</u>
> also; and more than some <u>of</u> our <u>Late</u> <u>Composers</u> <u>of</u>
> <u>These</u> <u>Times</u> <u>shew</u>, <u>who</u> <u>make</u> their <u>Lessons</u>, <u>as</u> I <u>have</u>
> <u>known</u> <u>Boys</u> <u>to</u> <u>make</u> <u>their</u> <u>Jacks</u> <u>of</u> <u>Lent</u>; <u>Their</u>
> <u>Doublet-Sleeves</u> <u>of</u> <u>several</u> <u>Colours</u>, <u>and</u> <u>both</u> <u>differ-</u>
> <u>ing</u> <u>from</u> <u>the</u> <u>Skirts</u>, <u>and</u> <u>the</u> <u>Body</u> <u>differing</u> <u>from</u>
> <u>All</u>, (<u>and</u> <u>yet</u> <u>all</u> <u>very</u> <u>Good</u> <u>Stuffs</u>, <u>Cloth</u>, <u>or</u> <u>Silks</u>,
> <u>had</u> <u>they</u> <u>been</u> <u>properly</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Judiciously</u> <u>plac'd</u>;)
> <u>which</u> <u>kind</u> <u>of</u> <u>Ridiculous</u> <u>Composures</u>, <u>have</u> <u>no</u> <u>Good</u>
> <u>Order</u>, <u>or</u> <u>Compendious</u> <u>Artifice</u> <u>in</u> <u>Them</u>; <u>but</u> <u>are</u> <u>made</u>
> <u>up</u> <u>at</u> <u>Random</u>, <u>by</u> <u>Hab-Nab</u>, <u>without</u> <u>Care</u>, <u>Skill</u>, <u>or</u>
> <u>Judgment</u>. [257]

In effect the composer had to satisfy two conflicting requirements. On one hand, he had to give as much scope as he could to free musical invention, but on the other, he had to try to maintain a convincing sense of unity, and this meant only accepting those ideas which happened to relate formally to one another. In practice, it must have been realized by many composers that variety and unity were to a large extent two mutually exclusive principles in composition. It was a difficult task to satisfy them both at the same time. It was easier with a purely contrapuntal composition, because the possible variety of thematic transformations and manipulations was counter-balanced by the fact that the composition was generated by only one or a few themes. But what Bacon and Mace were addressing was the question of incorporating more than one affection in a given composition, and doing this by linking together a number of different sections, each having its own independent meter, proportion and character.

One solution was to construct a set or suite of independent but complementary pieces, such as dances. Each

would have its own undisrupted character and internal unity (made possible by the use of fixed rhythmic schemes, symmetrical phrasing and so forth), and together they would give far greater scope to variety of mood than any single composition ever could. The compositions would complement each other because they would all belong to the same key. In this way the two requirements of variety and unity could be completely satisfied. The discovery of suite form was a major turning point in the development of instrumental music, not only in England, but in other countries as well. Its advantages enabled the dance suite and sonata to gradually flourish at the expense of the older canzona and fantasia, and to become two of the most important forms of chamber music in the Baroque.

In England, the solution of suite form probably originated from two independent sources. One was largely a commercial requirement which obliged composers to incorporate as much variety as possible in their lute song, madrigal and other publications, if they were to be successful. Indeed, composers usually made a special point in the prefaces and titles of their publications of drawing attention to the variety of their contents.[258] An example is the preface from Ravenscroft's A briefe discourse of the true (but neglected) use of charact'ring the degrees in measurable musicke, published in 1614. In it the composer is at pains to highlight the different types of dances and songs which he included in this publication. He asks his readers to

accept of my good will, and (with me) take in good worth, these various Sprightfull, Delightfull Harmonies, which now I bring them. Their Composure I dare warrant, 'tis not onely of Ayre, made for some small tickling of the outward Sence alone, but a great deale more solide, and sweetly vnited to Number, Measures, and Nature of the Ditty. The earnest affections which a man hath, in the vse of such Recreations as they are made for, are so fully exprest in them, for Tact, Prolation, and Diminution, that not onely the Ignorant Eare must needs be pleased with them, for their Variety of sweet Straynes, and the Humorous Fantastick eare satisfied, in the Iocundity of their many Changes, but also the Iudicious hearer will finde that in them, which passes the Outward sence, & strikes a rare delight of Passion vpon the Mind it selfe, that attends them.

Another example is the preface of Robert Jones' A musicall dreame, published in 1609, which explains that the songs in that collection originated in the 'extravagant humors' of his own dreams and fantasies. Jones' subsequent volume, The muses gardin (1610), invites the musician on a tour of musical delights in a garden whose variety of flowers, fruits and colours promises constant enjoyment. In some publications the element of randomness from one composition to the next is subtly modified so that the impression of a unified and integrated cycle is created. There are some, though perhaps rare, examples of published song collections in which the contents actually form genuine song cycles, that is, one large and extended work. One notable example of this are the Funeral teares of Coprario, published in 1606.[259]

The second source was the practice of joining together a number of dance pieces to form a set or suite. The pavan-galliard pairing was an obvious precursor of the

dance suite, but so too was any dance collection in which the performer freely picked and chose, in whatever order he liked, from the pieces presented before him. An example of this practice comes from Ravenscroft's treatise mentioned above. It contains a number of 'dauncing pieces' which he confidently describes in the preface as possessing 'much more _variety_ and _change_ then any other _Composition_'. English musicians were also encouraged by the newly emerging dance suite in France. This is evident from Roger North's account of the rise to popularity of the 'sett', as he called it, during the reign of Charles I (see page 366). The account shows that the French dance suite was adapted to English needs by using the fantasia as the opening movement, thus substituting it for the usual intrada, paduana or sinfonia. Closely related to the suite was the sonata _da camera_, and it was equally governed by the principle of variety. So too was the sonata _da chiesa_, for its constituent movements were each supposed to represent a particular affection or passion, and together they were intended to produce as much variety as possible. North described this type of sonata in the following passage. Significantly, the word 'fancy' appears in reference to the inventive powers of the composer, specifically to his ability to musically represent a range of different affections. North writes:

> in our comon Sonnatas for Instruments, the entrance
> is usually with all the fullness of harmony figur-
> ated and adorned that the master at that time could
> contrive, and this is termed _Grave_, and sometimes,
> but as I take it, not so properly, _Adagio_, for that
> supposeth some antecedent nimble imployment, and a

share of ease and repose to come after. But to
returne, this <u>Grave</u> most aptly represents serious-
ness and thought. The movement is as of one so
disposed, and if he were to speak, his utterance
would be according, and his matter rationall and
arguing. The upper parts onely fullfill the harmony,
without any singularity in the movement; but all
joyne in a comon tendency to provoke in the hearers
a series of thinking according as the air invites,
whether Magnifick or Querolous, which the sharp or
flat key determines ... When there hath bin enough
of this, which if it be good will not be very soon,
variety enters, and the parts fall into action, and
move quick; and the entrance of this denouement is
with a <u>fuge</u> ... This hath a cast of buisness or
debate, of which the melodious point is made the
subject; and accordingly it is wrought over and
under till, like waves upon water, it is spent and
vanisheth, leaving the musick to proceed smoothly,
and as if it were satisfyed and contented. After
this comes properly in the <u>Adagio</u>, which is laying
all affaires aside, and lolling in a sweet repose:
which state the musick represents by a most
tranquill but full harmony, and dying gradually, as
one that falls asleep. After this is over Action is
resumed, and the various humours of men diverting
themselves (and even their facetiousness and witt)
are represented, as the master's fancy at that time
invites, wherein the instrument or ingredient of the
connexion with humane life is (sometimes the touch
or breaking, but chiefly) the measure; as a <u>Gavott</u>,
which is an old French dance; and so <u>Minuets</u>,
<u>Courants</u>, and other dancing expressions. There is
often the <u>Andante</u>, which is an imitation of walking
<u>equis passibus</u> [equal steps]; there is a <u>Ricercata</u>,
which is to imitate a looking about for a thing
lost; and divers imitations of men's humours well
knowne to the performers, so need not be described,
and for the most part concluding with a <u>Gigue</u> which
is like men (half foxed) dancing for joy, and so
good night. [260]

According to North, the sonata was not a composition which
was ever determined by set procedure. Its varied sequence
of movements and the different affections which they
represented, were purely the product of 'the master's
fancy'. As a musical form, the sonata was essentially no
different from the dance suite, because it relied more
than anything else on the composer's ability to hold a

series of images in the mind, whether they were particular affections or dance types (not necessarily two different things), to represent them musically, and to create from them a pleasingly varied composition. North's belief of the function of music was little different from the beliefs of his predecessors. He thought that to properly stimulate the mind, music must engage the fantasy by producing variety. This view permeates a great deal of his writings.[261]

NOTES – PART III

1. From a poem entitled 'To the Two Partners of My Hart, Mr John Wheeler & Mr Symon Ive' by Francis Quarles, in Longleat MS, Parcel 4, Item 30. The author wishes to thank Ruth Kelly for drawing his attention to this poem.

2. This passage incorporates a correction suggested by H. Rackham, without which the original makes no sense: 'even apart from the rhythms and tunes themselves'. H. Rackham (ed. and trans.), Aristotle: The Politics, William Heinemann, London, MCMXXXII, p.657.

3. In The Republic III, 398-99, Plato gave similar descriptions of a number of modes. He said generally that the modes imitate qualities of bravery, weeping, and temperance, and when used in music they induce these qualities in the mind of the listener.

4. Ars poetica, 1447[a].

5. Ars poetica, 45/1454[b]. Plato's discussion of poetic imitation in The Republic III, 393, presents a similar viewpoint.

6. Timaeus, 67A.

7. From a letter by Cassiodorus to Boethius. This extract and that from Timaeus are both taken from James Hutton, 'Some English Poems in Praise of Music' in Mario Praz (ed.), English Miscellany: a Symposium of History, Literature and the Arts, published for the British Council by Edizionidi Storia e Letteratura, Rome, 1951; vol.2, pp.17-18 and 21.

8. De anima II, viii, 11.

9. Quoted in Murray Wright Bundy, The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought, University of Illinois, 1927 (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol.12, nos 2 an 3), p.159.

10. Also libri i; in Oliver Strunk (ed.) Source Readings in Music History from Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era, W.W. Norton, New York, 1950, pp.80 and 84.

11. Their works which dealt with this subject were, respectively, De occulta philosophia libri ii, Antwerp, 1531, and Harmonices Mundi libri v, Linz, 1619.

12. Theologica Platonica IX, 3. Quoted in Katherine S. Park, The Imagination in Renaissance Psychology, M.Phil. dissertation, University of London, 1974, pp. 135-36.

13. 1 Samuel 16:17,18 and 23.

14. Ficino in a letter to Antonio Canisiano. Quoted in D.P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame and London, 1975 (first published in 1958), p.6. In analysing aspects of Ficino's views on music, Walker gives special attention to his 'music spirit theory' and highlights its apparent uniqueness in sixteenth-century music theory: see chapter 1.

15. Ficino sometimes made a distinction between a lower imaginatio and a higher phantasia of will and inten-tion: see Paul Oskar Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, New York, 1943, pp.235 and 369 seq..

16. From Ficino's commentary on Timaeus, Opera omnia, p.1453. In Walker, op. cit., p.9.

17. Ibid..

18. Ibid.. The other senses - smell, taste and touch - are said by Ficino only to titillate the sense organs.

19. See James Hutton, op. cit. (note 7), pp.21 and 25. Also Otto Kinkeldey, 'Franchino Gafori and Marsilio Ficino', in Harvard Library Bulletin, vol.1 (1947) pp.379-82; Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Music and Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance', in Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music, vol.1 (1946), pp.255-74; and Walker, op. cit., pp.25-29.

20. Op. cit. (note 11), libri ii, chapter 25. Other writers to have observed a connection between Ficino and Agrippa are Hutton, op. cit., and Walker, op. cit..

21. Agrippa's work appeared under the title Three books of occult philosophy written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa, of Nettesheim. The translator was 'J.F.'.

22. Ibid., Book II, p.257.

23. Ibid., Book II, chapter 28.

24. Agrippa's theory was an extension of the long-held view that the nature of music corresponded with the nature of man. This view can be traced at least as far back as Aristoxenus: see page 117. Related to it was a belief that Boethius held. Quoting Aristotle in De institutione musica libri i, he reasoned that musica humana 'joins together the parts of the soul itself' and thereby reconciles irrationality with rationality: in Strunk, op. cit. (note 10), p.85.

25. Ibid., Book III, pp.492-95. Agrippa went so far as to equate the faculties with various celestial bodies and the four elements. For example, fantasy and wit

belonged to mercury, imagination to water, reason to air, the intellect to heaven, and the senses to the earth: Book II, pp.277-278.

26. *Ibid*., Book I, p.137. He described the fantasy as 'the last impression of the understanding' which belongs 'to all powers of the mind, and forms all figures, resemblances of species, and operations, and things seen, and sends forth the impressions of other powers unto others'.

27. *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium atque excellentia Verbi Dei declamatio*, Antwerp, 1531, published in an anonymous English translation as *The vanity of arts and sciences* in 1676, pp.54-59.

28. In George Wither, *A preparation to the Psalter*, 1619, p.81.

29. Published in 1636; p.6.

30. 1655 edition, pp.25-26.

31. The physician and writer Thomas Fienus (born in Antwerp) used this theory to explain the effects of poetry, speeches, painting and music on the human body and soul. This was in *De viribus Imaginationis*, published in 1608. See Katherine S. Park, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.94-95.

32. *Renatvs Des-Cartes excellent compendium of musick: with necessary and judicious animadversions thereupon. By a person of honour*, 1653, p.6. The passage reads:

    Now, concerning those various Affections, or Passions, which Musick, by its various Measures can excite in us; we say, in the Generall, that a slow measure doth excite in us gentle and sluggish motions, such as a kind of Languor, Sadnesse, Fear, Pride, and other heavy, and dull Passions: and a more nimble and swift measure doth, proportionately, excite more nimble and sprightly Passions, such as Joy, Anger, Courage, &c.

    Earlier on, Descartes says that the purpose of music is 'to delight, and move various Affections in us': p.1.

33. In British Library Add. MS 10338, f.1. The author expresses his gratitude to David Pinto for having referred him to this manuscript source.

34. See the 'Apologie' prefacing Ravenscroft's *A briefe discourse of the true (but neglected) use of charact'ring the degrees by their perfection, imperfection, and diminution in measurable musicke*, 1614; and also Peerson's dedicatory poem at the start of the same publication.

35. John Wilson (ed.), Roger North on Music: being a selection from his essays written during the years c1695-1728, Novello, London, 1959, pp.139-40.

36. The praise of musicke, Oxford, 1586, p.44. Harmonious music is described as 'the symphony & concent of Musicke'. At the time, this was the accepted meaning of the word symphony. For example, the Glossographia (first published in 1656) of Thomas Blount, a dictionary which incorporated specialized terms belonging to a number of subjects including music, defined it as 'harmony' and 'consent in tune or time, a tuneable singing without jarring'.

37. Plato, in The Republic IV, 435-442 and Timaeus, 69-72, propounded a doctrine of three souls along these lines. Medieval physiologists, however, chiefly relied on the teachings of Galen (c.A.D.130-c.200), the Greek physician. His concept of the psychological role of the three faculties is discussed in Margaret T. May, Galen on the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body (2 vols), Cornell University Press, New York, 1968, vol.1, p.45.

38. In ancient Greek music, hypate referred to the two lowest tetrachords.

39. The praise of musicke, op. cit., p.45.

40. In the Institutio oratoria (I,x,22) Quintilian wrote that music, as an expressive aid in oratory, played a role in the three basic elements of that art: gesture, the arrangement of words, and the inflections of the voice.

41. In the Elements of Harmony. See Strunk, op. cit. (note 10), p.27. Aristoxenus' theory seems to follow early Pythagorean doctrine. Aristoxenus later became an opponent of Pythagorean-based views, and supported the criteria of practical musical judgment, taste and imagination.

42. A facsimile of the diagram is reproduced in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, edited by Friedrich Blume, Barenreiter-Verlag, Kassel and Basel, 1949-1951, vol.2, cols 52-53.

43. Le istitutione harmoniche I, p.17. In a later discussion, Zarlino listed the parts of man as numbering six; they were essence, life, motion, sense, memory and the intellect (p.24).

44. De occulta philosophia libri ii, chapter 25. Agrippa also equated the celestial bodies with the seven Greek notes from mese to hypate-hypaton given in Boethius' diagram.

45. Hawkins restated the old idea that the constituent parts of the human soul can be represented by the strings of a musical instrument: 'And Man is a Harp; the Powers and Faculties of the Soule, the strings; the Reason, the Harper .... If Reason then playes wel his part, which makes the honest man, Oh what a harmonie there is in al, & especially where the tongue and hart agree togeather?'. From Parthenia sacra, or the mysterious garden of the sacred Parthenes, 1633. Quoted in Gretchen Ludke Finney, Musical Backgrounds for English Literature: 1580-1650, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, [1962], p.44.

46. Note also Thomas Campion's theory that the four vocal ranges equated with the four natural elements: the treble with fire, the mean or counter-tenor with air, the tenor with water, and the bass with earth. In A new way of making fowre parts in counter-point, by a most familiar, and infallible rule, London [1610] (there are no page numbers).

47. The praise of musicke, op. cit., from 'To the Reader' and p.64.

48. Ibid., pp.61-62.

49. Ibid., pp.66-67. Robert Allott also advocated this in the chapter 'Of Musique & Dauncing' in his Wits theater of the little world, 1599, pp.96'-101'. He believed that youths benefitted from music because its harmonies 'stirre vp to commendable operations and morall vertues, tempering desires, greediness, and sorrowes': p.96'.

50. The praise of musicke, op. cit., p.64.

51. Instrumentation in the 'Royall' consort consisted of two violins, two bass viols and two theorboes, while that of the 'Harpe' consort comprised a violin, bass viol, harp and a theorboe. The fascination for different instrumental combinations was a distinctive feature of the play Musick: or, A parley of instruments, 1676. It opened with a 'Symphony of Theorboes, Lutes, Harps, Harpsicons, Guittars, Pipes, Flutes, Flagallets, Cornets, Sack-butts, Hoboys, Rechords, Organs, and all sort of Wind-Instruments'. Other, smaller, consorts were used later on in the play.

52. Richard Brathwait proclaimed that it was up to 'a sense-ravishing Orpheus to eternize the Musitian': in The English gentleman, 1630, p.128.

53. In G. Gregory Smith (ed.), Elizabethan Critical Essays (2 vols), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1904, vol.2, p.381.

54. Certainly, poets made great use of the images which this called to mind, such as the 'soft trembling' of voices and the silver sound of instruments (for

example Spenser's The faerie queene, canticle XII, verse 71) and the viol's 'warbling voice' (for example Edward Benlowes' 'A Poetic Descant upon a Private Music-Meeting', a poem in his The summary of vvise-dome, London, 1657).

55. From the Psalter by Thomas Sternhold entitled The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments, Geneva, 1556. In Peter Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660, Cambridge University Press, 1967 and 1978, p.373.

56. From A reverse to Mr. Oliver's sermon of spiritual worship, 1660. In Finney, op. cit. (note 45), p.70.

57. From a letter by Poole concerning the place of instrumental music in church, 1698. In Finney, op. cit., p.72.

58. The passions of the minde, enlarged edition of 1604, p.163.

59. Ibid., p.165.

60. Ibid., p.164.

61. For example, Ficino (who translated the complete works of Plato into Latin) praised Plato's 'wonderful love of truth' in which 'purity and entirety are the same thing': Michael J.B. Allen, Marsilio Ficino: the 'Philebus' Commentary. A critical edition and translation, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1975, p.356. Ficino gave the following account of fantasy (which he called imagination), and it clearly derives from Plato:

> By means of resolution the sight seizes the one simple image [imaginem] of colour. The image has been cut off from colour itself which is multiple and compound. In the process the image is both divided from the colour and joined to the sight. Similarly, by way of resolution the imagination [imaginatio] conceives of the pure image from the visual image. And by resolution the intellect conceives of the species which has been freed from the particular phantasm [phantasmate]. So the intellect knows the universal before knowing the particular.

Ibid., p.226.

62. An essay to the advancement of musick, 1672, pp.9 and 6.

63. See extracts from their writings in Finney, op. cit. (note 45), pp.66-68. For a discussion of these and other sources see chapter 3, 'Music and Ecstasy: a Religious Controversy', of her book.

64. In Finney, p.66.

65. A preparation to the Psalter, op. cit. (note 28), pp.85-86.

66. From Hickman's sermon for Saint Cecilia's Day, 1696. In Finney, op. cit., p.68.

67. From a letter to Sterry's son, Peter. In Vivian de Sola Pinto, Peter Sterry, Platonist and Puritan, 1613-1672. A Biography and Critical Study with passages selected from his Writings, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1934, p.184.

68. A discourse of the freedom of the will, 1675, p.91.

69. Ibid., p.83.

70. In Wilson's edition of North, op. cit. (note 35), p.290.

71. Musick: or A parley of instruments, op. cit. (note 51), pp.1-3.

72. This is the same question asked by Portia in her song in The Merchant of Venice 3.2.65, except that she asks of fancy and not of consort music.

73. Musick: or A parley of instruments, op. cit., p.8. The source for these lines was undoubtedly the epigram 'Upon Musicians' in Archibald Armstrong's A Choice banquet of witty jests, rare fancies and pleasant novels, 1660. It says that musicians 'may be compar'd unto Camelions, because they live by Air': p.25.

74. Ibid., p.11.

75. Wodehouse was an enthusiastic musician and a friend of both Matthew Locke and John Jenkins. The above poem comes from a personal notebook, titled 'Anagrams and Toyes' on Wodehouse's friends and relations. (It is now in the private collection of James M. Osborn of Yale University). See Wilson, op. cit., p.348. This is poem number 198. The present author is indebted to Dr Andrew Ashbee for drawing his attention to it.

    Owen Feltham described music as 'wanton'd Ayre, and the titillation of that spirited Element', although the subject of fantasy is not raised by him in this connection. Resolves (4th edn), 1631, p.273.

76. John Playford, A breefe introduction to the skill of musick, 1655 edition, p.24.

77. From his essay 'What is Ayre?', in John Wilson's edition of North, op. cit. (note 35), p.68.

78. From the 'Introduction' to an essay on music in British Library, Add. MS 32531, f.6'.

79. Ibid., f.7'.

80. From the essay Of sound, yᵉ manner & yᵉ effect in British Library, Add. MS 32544, f.191.

81. Of Phantasmes, British Library, Add. MS 32545, ff.240-303'.

82. Ibid., ff.240-242'.

83. J.E. Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance (7th impression), Columbia University Press, New York, 1924, pp.16-18.

84. Ibid., p.18.

85. Ibid., pp.20-22.

86. Ibid., pp.25-42.

87. De musica libri i, in Strunk, op. cit. (note 10), p.86.

88. Attilio Simioni (ed.), Lorenzo de' Medici: opere (2 vols), Scrittori D'Italia, Laterza & Figli, Bari: Gius, 1913, vol.2, pp.23 and 296. A question remains as to whether the poem 'La capricciosa' was written by Lorenzo or some other poet.

89. See Canti Quattordicesimo 65 and Tredicesimo 7. In Adriano Salani (ed.), Lodovico Ariosto: Orlando furioso (2 vols), Edizione Florentia, Firenze, 1922, vol.1, pp.321-22 and 285.

90. For example, Canto Ventisettesimo 9. Ibid., vol.2, p.66.

91. Romualdo Zotti (ed.), 'Gerusalemme Liberata' di Torquato Tasso (2 vols), sixth edn, Dulau and Co., 1842, vol.2, pp.75, 81, 203 etc..

92. See for example 'Ahi van ansias mias' by Boscán in James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse, 13th century - 20th century, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1918, p.82. Also 'Después que no descubren' by Luis de León and 'Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea' by Luis de Góngora in Willis Barnstone, Spanish Poetry, from its Beginnings through the Nineteenth Century: an Anthology, Oxford University Press, London, 1970, pp.300 and 328 seq..

93. See Albert-Marie Schmidt (ed.), Poètes du XVIᵉ siecle, Editions Gallimard, 1953, p.801.

94. See Jean Rousset (ed.), Anthologie de la poésie baroque francaise (2 vols), Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1961, vol.2, pp.37 and 95-97.

95. Confessio amantis 3.126: 'It is a Malencolie, /Which groweth of the fantasie /Of love'. In G.C. Macaulay (ed.), John Gower, Complete Works (4 vols), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899-1902, vol.1, p.229.

96. No.228 in Kenneth Muir (ed.), Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1949, pp.239-40.

97. No.43, ibid., pp.33-34.

98. No.121, ibid., pp.111-112.

99. Songes and sonettes, written by Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other, 1587 (original edn 1557), p.18.

100. For Lodge, fantasy was linked with passion: see for example Rosalynde. Euphues golden legacie, 1590, pp.10 and 10'. In his poem 'Truths complaint over England', it was linked with fashion: see An alarum against vserers, 1584, p.39. Tofte's Laura. The toyes of a traueller. Or the feast of fancie (1597), written during that author's travels in Italy, is a Petrach-inspired sonnet cycle whose main theme is the adoration of Laura. In it fantasy is the fuel which fires the heart and drives the admirer to foolish desire. In Tofte's Alba. The months minde of a melancholy louer (1598), fantasy is connected with conceit and vanity, and in Jordan's Poeticall varieties: or, varietie of fancies (1637), it is connected with the theme of amore. To this group of poets can be added William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, whose Aurora. Containing the first fancies of the authors youth (1604) sprang from 'the idle rauings of my brainsicke youth' (sonnet 1).

101. The author thanks Felicity Hughes for drawing this poem to his attention.

102. (There are no page numbers.)

103. In Gascoigne's The posies (1575), fantasy is a 'worthlesse weede' which commits fraud and deceit. See the poem 'The Continuance of the Author, vpon the fruite of Betters'. This is followed by 'The greene Knights farewell to Fansie' in which fantasy's fickleness in all facets of life is fully expounded. In William Carew Hazlitt (ed.), The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne (2 vols), printed for the Roxburghe Library, MDCCCLXIX, vol.1, pp.407-13.

104. The nature of its contents is made evident by the subtitle: 'Wherein, young Gentlemen may reade many pleasant fancies, and fine deuises: and thereon, meditate diuers sweete Conceites, to court the loue of faire Ladies and Gentlewomen'. The statement reveals that Breton's readership was exclusively male, and this is itself significant because the idea of fantasy, with poets like Breton, acquired distinct sexual overtones.

105. The collection was titled Conceited letters newlie laid open or, a most excellent bvndle of new wit.

106. In respectively, A floorish vpon fancie (1577) and The will of wit, wits wil, or wils wit (1597).

107. One of the lute ayres in The first booke of songs or ayres of 4. parts (1605) of Francis Pilkington, entitled 'My choice is made and I desire no change', also revolves around the idea of fantasy and volition.

108. (There are no page numbers.)

109. It appeared in J. Canand's The fantasies of a troubled mannes head, 1566.

110. Another example of 'fancy' as a poetic terminology is to be found in the title of an early collection of poems by Breton. This is The workes of a young wyt trust vp with a fardell of pretie fancies, published in 1577.

111. Some of the so-called metaphysical poets deserve mention in this regard. Thomas Carew's 'Elegie upon the death of John Donne' and John Wilmot's 'The Mistress' and 'A Song' are notable for their refined expressions of the fantasy theme. See Helen Gardner (ed.), The Metaphysical Poets (2nd edn), Oxford University Press, London, 1974, pp.115-16, 272 and 273.

112. The pastime of pleasure, 1509, chapter 8, verses 2 and 3.

113. Ibid., chapter 8, verses 4-11, and chapter 24, verses 9-12.

114. A good example of the harsh criticism often incurred by poets can be found in the essay 'The reprehension of the author, and of all Poets', given as an example of narratio in Richard Rainolde's A booke called the foundacion of rhetorike, 1563. Poets are censured for producing 'forged inventions', and more generally, for relying on imagination instead of observation: pp.25-25'.

115. Philip Sidney, reacting to the charge that poetry
     draws the mind 'to the serpent's tail of sinful
     fancies', admitted that some poetry is 'phantastikē',
     that is to say, it infects the fantasy 'with unworthy
     objects' rather than 'figuring forth good things'. An
     apologie for poetry: in D.J. Enright and Ernst de
     Chickera (eds), English Critical Texts, 16th Century
     to 20th Century, Oxford University Press, London,
     1962, p.32. William Webbe counselled that whether the
     poet imitates reality as truly observed, or whether
     he chooses instead to invent or feign it, his work
     should always 'beare such an Image of trueth, that as
     they [the readers] delight they may likewise profit'.
     He quoted Homer's words: 'Let things that are faigned
     for pleasures sake, haue a neere resemblance of yᵉ
     truth'. A discourse of English poetrie, 1586 (there
     are no page numbers).

116. The arte of English poesie, p.14.

117. Mirum in modum, 1602 (there are no page numbers). In
     The scourge of folly of 1610, there is an epigram
     called 'Against unnatural poets' in which Davies
     admits that a poet who possesses a 'Strong Imagin-
     ation' will receive greatest help from the muses.
     Nevertheless, he also says that some poets who claim
     to have strong imaginations are really deceiving
     themselves: p.26.

118. Longinus (c.A.D. 213-273), who was associated with
     the Neoplatonist school of Greek philosophy, was the
     reputed author of the remarkably influential work On
     the Sublime. 'Its general aim is to point out the
     essential elements of an impressive style [of
     literary writing] which, avoiding all timidity,
     puerility, affectation and bad taste, finds its
     inspiration in grandeur of thought and intensity of
     feeling, and its expression in nobility of diction
     and in skilfully ordered composition': J.E. Sandys,
     History of Classical Scholarship (2 vols), Cambridge,
     Cambridge University Press, 1903, vol.1, p.282.

119. The virtues of an heroic poem, 1675. In J.E. Spingarn
     (ed.), Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (3
     vols), Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1963
     (first published Oxford, 1908), vol.2, p.70.

120. Preserving Hobbes' essentially Platonic view, Temple
     wrote in his essay Vpon poetry (1690) that in poetry,

     there must be an universal Genius, of great Compass
     as well as great Elevation. There must be spritely
     Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thousand Produc-
     tions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into
     every Corner, and by the Light of that true
     Poetical Fire discovering a thousand little Bodies
     or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them,

unseen to common Eyes, and which could not be discovered without the Rays of that Sun.

In Spingarn, 1963, op. cit., vol.3, p.81. This passage is also indebted to Hobbes' Answer to D'Avenant (see pages 58-59 of the present work). It was subsequently quoted by Thomas Pope Blount in De re poetica (1694), p.60.

121. In Girolamo Fracastoro's Navgerivs, sive de poetica dialogvs, there is an illustration of the furor poeticus idea: 'And then he [Navagero] observed that he was, as it were, carried out of himself. He could not contain himself, but raved like those who take part in the mysteries of Bacchus and Cybele when the pipes are blown and the drums re-echo'. In the edition and translation of this work by Ruth Kelso, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol.9, no.3 (August, 1924), p.65. In Phaedrus 244C, Plato referred to the poetic madness 'of those who are possessed by the Muses, which taking hold of the delicate and virgin soul, and there inspiring frenzy, awaken lyrical and all other numbers'.

122. For example, Boccaccio said that fervour 'sharpens and illuminates the powers of the mind': C.G. Osgood (ed.), Boccaccio on Poetry, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1930, p.40.

123. Of the proficience and advancement of learning, 1605, pp.17'-18.

124. Ben Jonson described poetry as the skill or craft of making fiction, but he added that reason must supply the 'forme of the worke': in Timber, or discoveries (1620-35?). See J.E. Spingarn, 1963, op. cit., vol.1, p.51.

125. Regular and irregular thoughts in poets and orators, 1697, p.2.

126. According to Thomas Pope Blount, Dryden thought the fantasy was 'a Faculty so wild and lawless, that, like an high-ranging Spaniel, it must have Clogs tied to it, lest it out-run the Judgment'. In De re poetica (1694), pp.102-3. Also, Sir Richard Blackmore criticized Spenser's The faerie queene on the grounds that it did not follow 'sober rules' but instead a 'boundless, impetuous Fancy'. He particularly objected to the use of 'Allegories so wild, unnatural and extravagant, as greatly displace the Reader'. Preface to King Arthur. An heroick poem (1697), in E. Greenlaw, C.G. Osgood and F.M. Padelford, The Works of Edmund Spenser: a variorum edition (10 vols), John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1932-47 vol.1, p.314 (Appendix I). Similar opinions were expressed by Joseph Glanvill in an essay concerning preaching

(1678), and also by the author of <u>Regular and irregular thoughts in poets and orators</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>.

127. Samuel Parker condemned metaphor and allegory, because he believed that they 'do not express the Natures of Things ... but only some similitude observ'd or made by Fancy'. <u>Censvre of Platonick Philosophy</u> (1666), in Donald F. Bond, ''Distrust' of Imagination in English Neo-classicism', <u>Philological Quarterly</u>, vol.14, 1935, p.57. Bond shows that other writers, including Bacon and William Pemble, had similar views: pp.56-57.

128. Margaret Cavendish Newcastle, <u>Natures picture drawn by fancies pencil to the life</u>, 1671, p.686.

129. From a letter to Sir Walter Ralegh which Spenser prefixed to <u>The faerie queene</u> in 1590. In John Buxton, <u>Elizabethan Taste</u>, Macmillan, London, 1963, p.239.

130. 'An Elegie upon the death of the Deane of Pauls, Dr John Donne', in Helen Gardner <u>op. cit.</u> (note 111), p.116.

131. <u>A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man</u>, 1640, p.24.

132. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.18.

133. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.18-19.

134. <u>L'alta fantasia</u> also came to be used in the visual arts from the end of the Quattrocento and meant inspired or creative thought. See David Summers, <u>Michelangelo and the Language of Art</u>, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981, pp. 103-143.

135. <u>The virtues of an heroic poem</u> (1675). In J.E. Spingarn, 1963, <u>op. cit.</u>, vol.2, p.70.

136. In Spingarn, 1963, <u>op. cit.</u>, vol.1, p.194.

137. From <u>The tragedies of the last age</u>, 1678: in Spingarn, vol.2, p.185. These words were later quoted by Thomas Pope Blount, <u>op. cit.</u> (note 120), p.18.

138. <u>The arte of English poesie</u>, 1589, pp.206-7. William Webbe made similar observations in <u>A discourse of English poetrie</u>, 1586. He expounded the relationship between eloquence, poetry and music, and quoted Terence's definition of the art of poetry as 'artem musicam' (there are no page numbers).

139. <u>The principles of musik</u>, 1636, p.95. Earlier on, Butler speaks of 'Musicall Poems' and the 'two sociated Sisters', music and grammar. Quoting Quintil-

ian in Institutio oratoria I, iv and x, he remarks
that 'Grammar cannot be perfect without Musik' and
'that Grammar is under Musik', since in classical
times the two were taught in conjunction with one
another: in the Epistle Dedicatory. Also worth noting
is the fact that Tobias Hume referred to the pieces
in his songs of 1607 as 'poeticall musicke' (in the
title page).

140. Johann Heinrich Alsted's Templvm mvsicvm was publish-
ed in an English translation by John Birchenshaw in
1664. In it is a statement that rhyme and verse in
poetry have a strong 'affinity with Musick': in
Alsted's Epistle Dedicatory.

141. Francis Bacon, Of the proficience and advancement of
learning, 1605, Book 2, p.21'; and Sylva sylvarum,
1627, p.38. See also Lisa Jardine's, Francis Bacon:
Discovery and the Art of Discourse, Cambridge Univer-
sity Press, London, 1974, chapter 12. Henry Peacham,
The compleat gentleman, 1622, p.103. Henry Peacham
the Elder's The garden of eloquence, 1593 (first edn
1577), makes musical analogies with a number of
rhetorical figures. See Gregory G. Butler, 'Music and
Rhetoric in Early Seventeenth-Century English
Sources', The Musical Quarterly, vol.67, no.1 (1980),
pp.53-64, for a detailed discussion of this subject.
Additional sources not mentioned by him include the
dedicatory poem by 'A.C.' to John Wilson's Cheerful
ayres or ballads, 1660, in which the composer's
musical skill is compared to 'ravishing Rhetorick'.
There is also a poem at the end of Wilson's Select
ayres and dialogues, 1659, in which music is
described as 'miraculous Rhetorick! that speak'st
Sence Without a Tongue, excellent Eloquence'.
Margaret Cavendish Newcastle, op. cit. (note 128),
stated that 'In Poetry is included Musick and Rhetor-
ick, which is Number and Measure, Judgment and Fancy,
Imitation and Invention', p.312. Bacon also claimed
that rhetoric and fantasy were closely connected. For
example, he wrote that fantasy (or 'imagination')
'pertaines to Rhetoricke', and defined the role of
the latter as the application of reason to fantasy
'for the better moouing of the will': Of the profic-
ience and advancement of learning, Book 2, p.66'.

142. Reynoldes, op. cit. (note 131), pp.20-21.

143. Ibid., p.21.

144. Ibid., pp.21-22.

145. Ibid., p.21.

146. Musick's monument, 1676, pp.264-65.

147. The words are:

> I live, and yet methinks I do not breathe,
> I thirst and drink and thirst again;
> I sleep, and yet I dream I am awake;
> I hope for that I have and want;
> I sing and sigh; I love and hate at once.
> O tell me restless soul, what uncouth jar
> Doth cause such want in store, in peace such war?

148. Direccions for Speech and Style, manuscript treatise, c.1599. Quoted in G. Butler, op. cit. (note 141), pp.56-57.

149. Mace, op. cit., p.2.

150. This was in or around the year 1637 when Mace was at Cambridge and she was staying in Yorkshire. Mace, op. cit., p.122.

151. Ibid..

152. The instrument had two separate sets of strings running in opposite directions across the belly: one set used English tuning, while the other used French. Ibid., p.206.

153. In Gardner, op. cit. (note 111), p.249.

154. From Steps to the temple. Sacred poems, 1646, p.107.

155. Birdsong was thought to represent an ideal in nature. Newcastle, op. cit. (note 128), used it to illustrate how discord, when properly applied, actually makes harmony more pleasing. She gave a delightful description of birds forming choirs amongst the trees which 'sing such perfect Notes, and keep so just a time, that they do make a most ravishing Melody: besides, the variety of their Tunes are such, that one would think Nature did set them new every day': p.428.

156. In Louis L. Martz (ed.), The Meditative Poem: an Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Verse, Stuart Editions, New York University Press, 1963, p.268.

157. See Hutton, op. cit. (note 7) for discussions of these poems.

158. Mace, op. cit..

159. The schoole of abuse, 1579, p.7'.

160. Ibid., p.8.

161. Ibid., p.10'.

162. Lodge, p.27.

163. Lodge was probably thinking of the dump in literary sources (the lamenting song), rather than the compos-

ition in variation form for keyboard, lute or viol (to which Gosson may have been referring). The distinction between these two types of dump is made clear in John M. Ward's article, 'The Dolfull Domps', Journal of the American Musicological Society, vol.4 (1951), p.111.

164. Lodge, op. cit., p.28.

165. 'The Deafe Mans Dialogue', in The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge (1580-1623?) (4 vols), Russell and Russell, New York, 1963, vol.2, p.88.

166. Gosson's conservativeness is also reflected by the fact that he condemned 'banquetting, playing, pyping, and dauncing, and all such delightes as may winne us to pleasure or rock us in sleepe'. Ibid., p.16'.

167. The anatomie of abuses, 1583, chapter 'Of Musick' (there are no page numbers).

168. For example, Thomas Gainsford wrote the following: 'The fantastick courtier is an antick, inuentor of fashions; and so subject to newfanglenes, that ere a sute of apparell is worne on his backe, hee is diuising another to please with varietie'. In The rich cabinet, furnished with varietie of excellent discriptions, etc., 1616, p.19. Newcastle, op. cit. (note 128), observed that 'Men imitate each other's fantastical Garb, Dress, and the like': p.182.

169. Remarking on the vanity of youth, Brathwait observed that 'especially, when Youth is employed in ushering his Mistresse, hee walkes in the street [as] if hee were dancing a measure. He verily imagins the eyes of the whole Citie are fixed on him ... He walkes, as if he were an upright man, but his sincerity consists only in dimension ... Now I would be glad to weane this Phantasticke from a veine of lightnesse, and habituate him to a more generous forme'. The English gentleman, 1630, pp.5-6.

170. Ibid., pp.27-52. Brathwait used Saint Basil's image of buzzing bees to describe the way the 'passions rise up in a drunken man' and distract his mind: p.78. His book was intended, in part, to educate young people to the dangers of pursuing fantasy as an ideal in life. The same can be said of James Cleland's 'Ηρωπαιδεία, or the institution of a young noble man, 1607, and Baltasar Gracián y Morales' The courtier's Manual oracle (an English translation of the original Spanish), 1685.

171. Brathwait, op. cit., p.87.

172. Ibid., p.98.

173. Mace, op. cit., p.232.

174. Ibid., p.236.

175. In Spingarn, 1963, op. cit. (note 119), vol.2, p.153.

176. Ibid., vol.3, p.56.

177. A breefe introduction to the skill of musick, 12th edn, 1694 (1st pub. 1654), p.[45].

178. In the Entymologiarum. See Strunk, op. cit. (note 10), pp.99-100.

179. Timaeus 33-37, 47c-D.

180. The authorship of De musica is uncertain, and any firm attribution to Plutarch must remain questionable. Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. de Lacy (eds), Plutarch's Moralia, in fifteen volumes, William Heinemann, London, MCMLXVII, vol.14, pp.435-37.

181. T. Herman Keahey (trans.), Johann Turmair - Johannes Aventinus. Musicae Rudimenta, Augsburg 1516 (Musical Theorists in Translation, vol.10), Institute of Medieval Music, New York, 1971, p.6.

182. Ibid..

183. In Hazlitt, op. cit. (note 103), p.413.

184. Butler, op. cit. (note 139), 'Epistle Dedicatorie'.

185. Observations in the art of English poesie, 1602, p.2.

186. William Holder, discussing the differences between the monophonic style used by the ancient Greeks and the 'symphonic' music of his own time, remarked that:

> This way of theirs seems to be more proper (by the Elaborate Curiosity and Nicety of Contrivance of Degrees, and by Measures, rather than by Harmonious Consonancy, and by long studied performance) to make great Impressions upon the Fancy, and operate accordingly, as some Histories relate: Ours more Sedately affects the Understanding and Judgment from the judicious Contrivance, and happy Composition of Melodious Consort. The One quietly, but powerfully affects the Intellect by True Harmony: The Other, chiefly by the Rythmus, violently attacks and hurries the Imagination.

In A treatise of the natural grounds, and principals of harmony, 1694, pp.127-28. A similar opinion was expressed by Roger North:

> It appears that the Ancienter musitians affected this scale [of diatonic intervals], as most magnifick, and proper for heroicks, or the tragicall songs in praise of Baccus. But when the versifying vein turned fantasticall and affected variety, and

> lyricks in comon musick, and comicks in the theaters, came in use, the other scales followed, and perhaps were at first invented for such melodys as had less of harmony, and more of passionate whining than suited with the diatonic intervalls, which difference will be manifest to those who will please to make a comparison of them.

In Wilson, op. cit. (note 35), p.331.

187. A briefe discourse, op. cit. (note 34), pp.[2]-[3].

188. In the dedication. Alexander Broome, in a dedicatory poem to Stanley in the same volume, praised his 'Fancie ... and all that springs from thence!'.

189. See notes 109 and 110. The titles 'fantasy' and 'fancy' were also applied to works of prose, the earliest being the anonymous Fantasy of the passyon of the Fox, published in 1530. Others included A pleasant fancie called The passionate morrice dance (also anonymous) of 1593 and, of a later date, Robert Johnson's Essayes, expressed in sundry exquisite fancies of 1638, and Jean Ogier de Gombauld's Endimion. An excellent Fancy, interpreted by R. Hurst (about the man in the moon) of 1639.

190. Christopher Simpson, The division-violist: or, An introduction to the playing upon a grovnd, 2nd edn, 1665 (1st pub. 1659), p.56.

191. A compendium of practical musick, 2nd edn, 1667 (1st pub. 1665), p.72.

192. A vindication of an Essay to the advancement of musick, from Mr. Matthew Lock's Observations, 1672, p.22.

193. Mace, op. cit. (note 146), p.127.

194. Ibid., pp.130 and 133.

195. He remarked that ensemble players must all properly conform to one another, but a lutenist or other soloist 'may soften and lowden according to his fancy'. In Wilson, op. cit. (note 35), p.219.

196. Mace, op. cit., p.272.

197. Ibid., p.31.

198. Ibid., p.19

199. Ibid., p.234.

200. Ibid., p.127.

201. Ibid., p.138.

202. Wilson, op. cit. (note 35), p.21.

203. Ibid., p.143.

204. Ibid..

205. Butler, op. cit. (note 139), p.92.

206. Hyder E. Rollins, England's Helicon, 1600,1614 (2 vols), Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1935, vol.1, pp.68-69.

207. In Rosalynde, op. cit. (note 100), p.31'.

208. Butler, op. cit., p.2.

209. From his Essay on poetry, quoted in Thomas Pope Blount, op. cit. (note 120), p.71.

210. From the preface of Theatrum poetarum, 1675. In Spingarn, 1963, op. cit. (note 119), vol.2, p.267.

211. Feltham, op. cit. (note 75), p.273.

212. Preface of The first set of English madrigals, 1613.

213. De oratore II, xli.

214. Rhetorica, 1371a.

215. Ibid. III, vii.

216. Ibid. III, xxv and xxxvii.

217. Ibid. III, lvii.

218. Ibid. III, xxv.

219. Institutio oratorio XII, x.

220. From De oratore, XX.

221. Ibid., xlix.

222. For a quotation of the relevant passage from De arte poetica see Harold S. Wilson, ''Nature' in Renaissance Literary Thought', in Journal of the History of Ideas, vol.2 (1941), p.434. A passage by Pontinus, also relating to variety in poetry, is quoted on the same page.

223. In F.M. Padelford (trans.), Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics (Yale Studies in English, 26), Henry Holt, New York, 1905, p.53.

224. A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man, 1640, p.209.

225. *Ibid.*, p.24.

226. See note 239.

227. Jonson, in *Timber, or discoveries* (1620-35?), dis-agreed with the view that variety 'breeds confusion', and thought rather that it refreshes and restores the mind. Alexander, in *Anacrisis, or a censure of some poets ancient and modern* (1634?), compared poetry 'to a Garden ... and the Variety of Invention to the Diversity of Flowers thereof'. Both in J.E. Spingarn, 1963, *op. cit.* (note 119), vol.1, pp.35 and 182.

228. Herbert J.C. Grierson (ed.), *Donne: Poetical Works*, Oxford University Press, 1977 (1st pub. 1929), p.101.

229. *The virtues of an heroic poem*, 1675; in Spingarn, 1963, *op. cit.*, vol.2, p.75.

230. *A restitution of decayed intelligence: in antiquities concerning the English nation*, Antwerp, 1605, p.197.

231. Louis Le Roy, *Of the interchangeable course, or varietie of things in the whole world* (translated from the French by Richard Ashley), 1594, p.5'. See also Richard Brathwait, *The English gentleman*, 1630, p.51; and Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman*, 1622, p.86.

232. See H.V.S. Ogden, 'The Principles of Variety and Contrast in Seventeenth Century Aesthetics, and Milton's Poetry', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.10 (no.2), April 1949, pp.159-60. His view that contrast was a truly separate principle from variety is unconvincing, since most of the sources cited, though they point to the many opposite qualities encountered in nature, do so in order to highlight nature's fundamental diversity, not its contrariety.

233. This theory is put forward by Ogden, *ibid.*, pp.160-67.

234. *The palace of pleasure, with pleasaunt histories and excellent nouelles*, 1566, 'To the Reader'.

235. For example: *A hundreth sundrie flowres* (1573); 'H.C.', *The forrest of fancy. Wherein is conteined very prety apothegmes, and pleasaunt histories, both in meeter and prose, songes, sonets, epigrams and epistles, of diuerse matter and in diuerse manner* (1579); John Norden, *Vicissitudo rerum An elegiacall poeme, of the interchangeable courses and varietie of things* (1600), and *A store-house of varieties, briefly discoursing the change and alteration of this in this world* (1601); Nicholas Breton, *Choice, chance and change, or conceits in their colours* (1606), and *Cornu-copiae* (1612); Thomas Gainsford, *The rich cabinet, furnished with varietie of excellent discrip-*

tions, exquisite charracters, witty discourses, and delightfull histories (1616); Thomas Jordan, Poeticall varieties: or, varietie of fancies (1637); Robert Johnson, Johnsons Essayes: expressed in sundry exquisite fancies (1638); and Dudley North, The forrest of varietys (1645).

236. Lines 205-7; in Douglas Bush (ed.), Milton: Poetical Works, Oxford University Press, 1966, p.119.

237. See the 'Address to Youth' (sermon 22) by Saint Basil (c.330-379). Brathwait also referred to this image: see note 170.

238. In the period 1570 to 1599, twice the number of rhetorical handbooks and treatises were published in England than had appeared beforehand. From 1630 onwards, the number rose considerably. See the checklist of rhetorical sources in Gerald P. Mohrmann, 'Oratorical delivery and other problems in current scholarship on English Renaissance rhetoric', in James J. Murphy (ed.), Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983, pp. 68-83.

239. For example, John Barton listed variation as one of six 'relative figures'; the others were repetition, graduation, correction, allusion and composition. He described variation as 'a pleasant fruitfulnesse of words, added onely for varieties sake', and gave a number of single-sentence examples from the holy scriptures: The art of rhetorick concisely handled, 1634, p.24.

240. From chapter 1. In Albert Seay (ed. and trans.), Johannes Tinctoris (c.1435-1511) The Art of Counterpoint (Liber de arte contrapuncti), Musicological Studies and Documents, 5, American Institute of Musicology, 1961, pp.139-40.

241. These were the masses 'L'homme armé' by Dufay and 'Et vivus' by G. Faugues; the motets 'Clangut' by Johannes Regis and 'Congaudebant' by Busnois; and the chansons 'La mistresse' by Ockeghem and 'La Tridaine a deux' by Firminus Caron. Ibid., p.140.

242. Benito V. Rivera (trans.), Johannes Lippius. Synopsis of New Music (Synopsis Musicae Novae), Translations no.8, Colorado College Music Press, Colorado Springs, 1977, pp.46-47.

243. Ibid., p.49.

244. Practica musicae (Milan, 1496), III, i. In Clement A. Miller (trans.), Franchinus Gaffurius, Practica

<u>Musicae</u>, Musicological Studies & Documents, American Institute of Musicology, 1968, p.118. See also Guillermus de Podio, <u>Ars musicorum</u> (Valencia, 1495) vi and viii, chapter 17, 'De canone'. And Lodovico Zacconi, <u>Prattica di musica</u> i (Venice, 1592), III, lvi, and ii (Venice, 1622), lxi, a chapter entitled 'De i varii, e diuersi effetti Musicali'.

245. <u>The praise of musicke</u>, p.71.

246. <u>Ibid</u>., p.54.

247. He made the comment, for example, that in earlier times 'three colours did serue for painting, and three instruments for playing': <u>ibid</u>., p.12.

248. <u>Ibid</u>., p.6.

249. <u>Ibid</u>., p.11.

250. Le Roy, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 231), p.6.

251. <u>A discourse of the freedom of the will</u>, 1675, p.83.

252. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.22-33.

253. From the preface of his treatise, <u>A Briefe discourse</u>, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 34).

254. <u>An essay to the advancement of musick</u>, 1672, p.1.

255. From the preface of <u>Choice ayres, songs, & dialogues</u>, 1675 (2nd edn). The same idea is expressed in much of the verse in this publication, for example the following lines from Robert Smith's 'Some happy soul': 'Are your delights in what you see, /Of wonderful varietie? /Or can your Joys arise from pleasant things; /Your taste, or smelling, to your fancy brings?': p.19.

256. From <u>Sylva sylvarum</u>, 1627. In <u>The Works of Francis Bacon</u>, collected and edited by J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis, and D.D. Heath: Longman, London, 1859, vol.2, pp.388-89. It should not be thought that Bacon advocated variety unreservedly, however, because in <u>Of the proficience and advancement of learning</u> (1605) he cited it as one of the follies which constituted what he termed 'fantastical learning': see Book I, pp.16'-26. And yet he conceded that it was essential to painting: see pp.40-40'.

257. Mace, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 146), p.117. By 'Hab-Nab' Mace meant a composition which was composed 'without the least <u>Praemeditation</u>, or <u>Study</u>, and meerly <u>Accidentally</u>; and as we use[d] to say, <u>Ex tempore</u>, in the <u>Tuning of a Lute</u>': p.151.

258. For example, Anthony Munday's The banquet of daintie conceits either to the lute, bandora, virginalles or anie other instrument, 1588; Thomas Ravenscroft's Pammelia. Musicks miscellanie. Or, mixed variety of pleasant roundelayes, and delightfull catches, of 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Parts in one, 1609; Robert Dowland's Varietie of lute-lessons: viz. fantasies, pauins, galliards, etc.,1610; John Playford's A music-all banquet, 1651; and [Henry Playford's] The banquet of musick, 1688.

259. This set has in fact been described as the 'first true song cycle in the English language': from Anthony Rooley's record notes to the Florilegium recording of Coprario's Funeral teares, Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre, DSLO 576, 1981.

260. In Wilson, op. cit. (note 35), pp.117-18.

261. He explained, for example, that the composer is in a similar position to a painter, except that he is

> furnisht onely with sound and time. But yet with these he is enabled to shew caracters as the painter doth, and to make his measures and harmony to resemble thoughtlyness of others so much that by a reciprocation of effects, the musick shall excite in the hearers a similar course of thinking, be it serious, executive, grave, in haste, or merry &c; and by these varietys obviate tedium, and at last leave the hearer in such humour as the composer is pleased the musick shall conclude with.

> P.116. See also North's philosophical essay Of Pleasure, (British Library, Add. MS 32526 (f.108 seq.), in which he remarks that 'Variety or plenty of sensations, is a great addition to the pleasure of life, wch will be granted since nothing is so hunted after, in that wee like diversion of play, common to all creatures': f.111. In a similar essay, Of pleasure and pain (f.19' seq.), he relates this view specifically to music, explaining that 'a single sound is like a plain object of sight, carrying no more then a single sensation, whereby wee perceiv our being. But when sounds come to be compounded, and, (as we thinck) combined then is the exaltation, which so much engageth our attention': f.32.

P A R T   IV

PART IV: FANTASY AND COMPOSITION

> '... with a linen stock on one leg
> and a kersey boot-hose on the other,
> gartered with a red and blue list;
> an old hat, and The humour of forty
> fancies pricked in't for a feather' [1]

From the preceding chapters it is clear that the subject of musical fantasy raises a considerable number of issues about the psychology and aesthetics of English music in the Elizabethan, Jacobean and later periods. Obviously, fantasy was a subject of far-reaching significance, and it is one which provides the scholar with a fruitful if unusual avenue for investigating these general issues. The results of these investigations are of interest in their own right, but it is also worth looking in detail at the specific question of how the idea of fantasy influenced musical composition. This requires an examination of the theoretical basis of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composition in terms of the actual procedure of 'musical invention', and a knowledge of the stylistic modes by which fantasy was expressed in music. By means of combining historical, theoretical and stylistic analyses of the purely inventive and imaginative side of composition, a concept of 'musical fantasy' can be evolved. This is the task of the next seven chapters.

Perhaps the best way of introducing the first of the chapters, 'Different Types of Musical Fantasy', is to make one preliminary observation. The term 'musical fantasy'

was not actually used by any English writer in the period in question. There was no single type or style of music to which the term could be usefully applied, and therefore there was no need for such a term. The term 'phantasticus stylus' or 'stilo phantastico' only appeared in England in the eighteenth-century, and this was the initiative of music lexicographers, not musicians or writers on music. In reality, there were a great many aspects to fantasy in musical composition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and this is perhaps the reason why such a specific term did not appear then. Chapter 1 shows how diverse these aspects were, and the three following chapters examine the fantasia in detail and place it within the context of themes already raised. The last three chapters aim at more specific analysis by looking at the works of three particularly important composers: Dowland, Byrd and Morley.

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER 1 : DIFFERENT TYPES OF MUSICAL FANTASY

Fantasy as Image

'Abstract' is a word which should be used with the greatest caution when speaking of music of the Renaissance period. The differentiation between 'representational' music (such as programmatic music) and 'abstract' music, might be perfectly valid in the context of nineteenth-century music, but it is almost entirely out of place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In these earlier times, all music, save perhaps didactic composition, was representational for the reason that all art was representational. Music stemmed directly from the Aristotelian notion that art should aim at imitating nature. And yet it has often been a practice in musicology to refer to the existence of a musical genre of 'free instrumental forms' which developed during the Renaissance, comprising the canzona, ricercar, fantasia, prelude and related compositions.[2] One writer has called them 'abstract' in the sense that they lie outside the realm of vocal music, but utilize the methods and techniques of vocal music in a context which is purely determined by the skill and imagination of the composer.[3]

Nevertheless, the word 'abstract' can be very misleading when looking at this family of compositions. A convincing case has been put forward by Warren Kirkendale, that the ricercar, far from being abstract', had a clearly

understood, literary-derived function (see pages 22-24). The word 'abstract', he suggests, 'may be a twentieth-century misnomer' for not only the ricercar but for all other preludial-type compositions (including the fantasia, preambulum, toccata, tiento, tastar, intonazione, and so forth), because 'these pieces, ... in function at least, must be regarded as concrete'.[4]

Part of the problem is that, according to widely-accepted thinking, a gradual process of emancipation was taking place during the Renaissance period. The theory states that instrumental music broke away from vocal music and established its own independent identity, presumably based on 'abstract' musical principles. This process was hampered, so the theory goes, by an ancient belief that music's function was to express the word in song, and that without a text it was powerless to express anything. Thus one writer who discussed the fantasia of the early seventeenth century, proclaimed that 'inventive freedom in instrumental music had still not surmounted the barrier of textlessness, which stood in the way of personal declaration of emotions, and was still concentrated completely on emotional designs'.[5]

An acquaintance with writings from the time puts a new light on this question. Many writers based their ideas on the Aristotelian concept of music as a representer of the affections (this concept is related on pages 102-104). Music was no different from any other art in that it could move the listener in the same way that real experience

could. All music, wrote Thomas More in <u>Utopia</u> (1516), 'whether it is played on instruments or sung by the human voice, so imitates and so expresses the natural affections', that it 'penetrates, and sets on fire the hearts of the listeners'.[6] Roger North set down essentially the same view almost two hundred years later, when he addressed the question of music's purpose by comparing the composer with the painter. The composer, he wrote, is

> furnisht onely with sound and time. But yet with these he is enabled to shew caracters as the painter doth, and to make his measures and harmony to resemble thoughtlyness of others so much that by a reciprocation of effects, the musick shall excite in the hearers a similar course of thinking, be it serious, executive, grave, in haste, or merry, &c [7]

The composer did this by using his imagination or fantasy. Thus all composers, just like all painters, 'at first imploy their imaginative power about forming the exact idea and scheme of their intended piece'.[8] What this 'exact idea' might be was purely a matter for the imagination, and North was not concerned whether or not it manifested itself in the final composition as a definite representation of something real. The essential point was that composing by ideas, if it can be called that, always yielded superior results. North explained:

> if the master hath a due sense and understanding of his subject, it is enough to <u>intend</u> these representations; and if they doe not rigidly answer, yet they will signifie more than if nothing att all was intended or thought on; which is the case of many a shallow composer. [9]

Instrumental music, then, was essentially no different from vocal music, except that it was obviously less capable of 'rigid answering' to the 'exact idea' than was

music which had a text. The 'barrier of textlessness', mentioned before, was therefore no barrier at all, but actually an opportunity and incentive for the composer to make fuller use of his powers of fantasy. Without any words to guide him, the composer had to imagine a subject before he could begin composing. This is exactly what North meant when he wrote that the composer must first 'conceive in his mind a subject' and then 'furnish a series of musick, with proper ornaments suiting it'.[10] The difference between instrumental and vocal music is made clearly apparent in the following passage:

> now coming to the Instrumentall kind of Musick, wee are much more at a loss than before [with vocal music]; for the vocall hath the subject provided, but for the other, the master must feigne a subject, as well as forme his musick to it.[11]

The words of More and North might imply that instrumental music and vocal music were somehow fundamentally different, in terms of the question of imagination. Yet vocal compositions were 'imaginative' too, insofar as the music was an imaginative representation of the words. For instance, Johannes Lippius wrote in 1612 that 'the musical text provides a soul, as it were, to the harmonic piece', and that the 'harmonic piece is the image of the text'.[12] Charles Butler was thinking along the same lines when he remarked on the likeness of music and poetry by stating that the composer must, in setting a text or 'dittie' to music, think as a poet does in order to match music with word as closely as possible. He referred to the composer as a philosopher, because he must deal with ideas:

> This numerous Ditti, or Rhyme applyed to the Note,
> the Philosopher eqalizeth to the Melodi it self, for
> Resembling and Moving manners and affections ... And
> afterward he maketh it a Parte of Musik: shewing
> that Musik is made as wel by Poesi as by Melodi ...
> And therefore it is, that the moste powerful Music-
> ians (such as were Orpheus and Arion: yea such as
> was that Divine Psalmist) were also Poets. And such
> sholde our Musicians be, if they wil be complete:
> For he that knoweth bothe, can best fit his Poesi to
> his own Musik, and his Musik to his own Poesi. [13]

It is important to appreciate the wider significance of this concept of musical composition. It belonged to the psychological theory of fantasy as expounded by numerous philosophers from Plato and Aristotle onwards. This was discussed in Part II, but one philosopher who was not mentioned there, and who deserves mention in the present discussion, was the Greek rhetorician and philosophical critic Longinus. He was the reputed author of the treatise On the Sublime. Like Cicero and Quintilian, he understood the fantasy in terms of its capacity to produce vivid pictorial images in the mind, especially in oratory and poetry. The orator or poet could so totally enthral the listener's imagination that it would respond to the images as if they were real. Longinus therefore understood the creative process as involving the manipulation of images to produce an intended response in the listener. The following passage from On the Sublime states just this:

> Images, moreover, contribute greatly, my young
> friend, to dignity, elevation, and power as a
> pleader. In this sense some call them mental repres-
> entations. In a general way the name of image or
> imagination [φαντασία] is applied to every idea of
> the mind, in whatever form it presents itself, which
> gives birth to speech. But at the present day the
> word is predominantly used in cases where, carried
> away by enthusiasm and passion, you think you see
> what you describe, and you place it before the eyes

of your hearers. Further, you will be aware of the fact that an image [φαντασία] has one purpose with the orators and another with the poets, and that the design of the poetical image is enthralment, of the rhetorical-vivid description. Both, however, seek to stir the passions and the emotions.[14]

The treatise goes on to cite many examples of imagery in famous literary works in support of this theory of rhetorical fantasy. The same theory was championed in Renaissance England, as is demonstrated by the writings of Francis Bacon and others. It has already been shown that Bacon associated fantasy with literary invention and rhetoric. He quoted the Aristotelian belief that 'Words are the Images of Cogitations', and he placed much importance on the role of memory in rhetorical practice, because it had the singular power of recalling images. Of particular interest is Bacon's idea of emblem. He described emblem as one of two necessary considerations in the art of memory (the other was 'praenotion'). In his words, 'Embleme reduceth conceits intellectuall to Images sensible, which strike the Memorie more'.[15] From this can be inferred the significance of that ubiquitous Renaissance pictogram, the emblem. It was a pictorial representation (or 'pictura-poesis'), headed by a motto or 'inscriptio', whose purpose was to symbolically call forth a particular idea, whether moral, allegorical or educative. To understand the message of an emblem required use of the fantasy, for it alone had the power of investing the emblem with its original meaning.[16]

The emblem idea can be usefully applied to many instrumental 'character' pieces of the Renaissance. A

profusion of dances and small miscellaneous pieces have interesting but enigmatic titles, often in Latin. An example is the set of <u>Pauans, galliards, almains, and other short aeirs both grave, and light</u>, of 1599, by Antony Holborne. Many of the pieces in this collection have Latin or Italian titles, such as 'Bona speranza', 'Amoretta', 'Patiencia' and 'Paradizo'. There are others with English titles such as 'The Marie-golde', 'The fruit of love', 'The Choise' and 'The night watch'. It is tempting to look for clues in the music which might shed light on these titles, but more often than not there are no actual clues to be found. Some pieces, like 'The Fairie-Round' and 'Hey Ho Holiday' (both being galliards), are rhythmically lively and frolicsome, while 'The Sighes', 'The image of Melancholy' and others of the pavan mould, are generally slow and serious. Thus the overall mood of the music agrees with the basic 'humour' of the title, but the fact is that anything more specific has to be imagined. Perhaps then, these compositions have an emblematic function. With their 'inscriptios' and accompanying miniature musical sketches, they are the musical equivalent of pictographic emblems, and their significance can only be realized by the active participation of the listener's fantasy. Emblem theory offers a useful avenue for interpreting some fantasia compositions, for example Thomas Morley's duet fantasias (see Chapter 7).

Emblem theory also helps to explain the significance of some of the lute pieces in Thomas Mace's <u>Musick's</u>

monument of 1676. This book contains many miniature pieces
for lute, composed by Mace himself, for which he gives
explanatory notes to aid the intending performer. One such
piece is called 'Authors Mistress' (or 'My Mistress'), and
the amorous story behind its conception is quoted on page
158. The piece itself could hardly be more trifling, since
it comprises just two strains in a mere 16 bars. Neverthe-
less, Mace affirms that in all its respects it is entirely
fitting to its subject, namely his mistress, whom he later
married:[17]

In Mace's words the piece 'doth Represent, and Shadow
forth ... a True Relation' of its subject, and does this
in three ways: in its 'fugue', being the affected melodic
motif which repeatedly returns; its form or 'shape', being
even-barred and symmetrical; and its humour, as indicated
by the 'Loud' and 'Soft' markings, the slurs and the
graces or 'stings'. Here then is the interpretation he
gives:

> The Fugue, is Lively, Ayrey, Neat, Curious, and Sweet, like my Mistress.
> The Form, is Uniform, Comely, Substantial, Grave, and Lovely, like my Mistress.
> The Humour, is singularly Spruce, Amiable, Pleasant, Obliging, and Innocent, like my Mistress. [18]

As if to answer doubts that such a specific and detailed representation is actually possible in music, or that the lutenist needs to know all the above details before he can successfully play the composition, Mace adds the following:

> This Relation, to some may seem Odd, Strange, Humorous, and Impertinent; But to Others, (I presume) It may be Intelligible, and Useful; in that I know, (by Good Experience) that in Musick All These Significations, (and vastly many more) may (by an Experienc'd; and Understanding Artist) be Clearly, and most Significantly Express'd; yea, even as by Language It self, (If not much more Effectually.) [19]

Mace also realized that the capacity to interpret such a composition in the intended way, depended as much as anything on the performer's mood at the time, for this could greatly influence his perception of the music. [20] There are many other pieces in Musick's monument, most of them movements of suites, for which Mace is equally specific and particular about matters of 'fugue', form and humour. It may be that Mace's approach was considered by some as quaint and perhaps also eccentric, but this would have been mainly because his ideas were, by his own admission, old-fashioned. There was apparently less interest in the notion that music and language were closely linked (one of Mace's chief contentions) when he wrote his book, than there was in his earlier years as a musician. However, this is not to say that music was in the process of becoming more 'abstract' during the course

of the seventeenth century, because it has already been
seen that North's ideas were fundamentally the same. What
it does suggest is that music no longer had to be represen-
tational in order to be intelligible. As far as North was
concerned, the 'exact idea' behind a composition did not
need to be fully represented in the music; it only needed
to be 'intended' by the composer.

There was one particular type of instrumental music
which relied more than anything else on mental images.
This was the fantasia, so-called because it involved the
creative use of the fantasy. North's words that in instrum-
ental music 'the master must feigne a subject' could
hardly be more applicable to this species of composition.
Creations of the fantasy were always in the nature of
'feigned fables' (to use Stephen Hawes' words from The
pastime of pleasure), because what they did was mimic
something real. It is therefore a mistake to suppose that
the fantasia was an abstract artform. This is quite
evident on returning to Lippius. In the Disputatio musica
seconda (Wittenberg, 1609), he makes this interesting
comment:

> Since the text must especially give essence to the
> harmonic cantilena, one must, if it is not in fact
> pronounced verbally, as in the case of instrumental
> and sometimes vocal music, have a text in [the] back
> of one's mind, like a mental speech, no matter how
> varied and vague, as often happens in the so-called
> popular fantasies [vulgaribus Phantasiis]. [21]

The significance of this passage has been addressed by
Gregory Butler, whose theory that the fantasia was a
pedagogical composition designed to unconsciously rein-

force the musical memory and skill of the student, received attention in Part I. His interpretation of this passage is that Lippius is pointing to a certain incomprehensibility or subconscious element behind the fantasia which somehow relates to its function as a teaching aid. In Butler's words, this type of fantasia (to be equated with Phalese's term 'automata') can be defined as 'a piece of mechanism with concealed motive power endued [sic] with spontaneous motion, the result of an unthinking routine or action performed unconsciously or subconsciously'.[22] It is more likely that Lippius is reiterating the belief that an instrumental composition has to be based on an imagined text, particularly in the case of the fantasia, if the result is not to sound incomprehensible. A composition is not necessarily less comprehensible for being textless, he believed, due to the very nature of harmony. Harmony is the embodiment of unity and proportion, but according to Lippius, it was also a carrier of expressive qualities in a composition, just as words could be. Thus he says that listeners 'will somehow understand from the harmony itself what it is intended to express and what affection it is inclined to express most'.[23] The point about the fantasia is that despite its being a long, complex and varied composition, it is solely reliant upon the expressive qualities of harmony, and it is therefore a good example of how even a feigned text which is 'varied and vague' can nevertheless be successfully utilized in music.

There remains one aspect of the subject of fantasy as image which has so far not yet received attention. There was of course a whole genre of instrumental music for which the idea of a feigned text was completely irrelevant, namely dance music. Yet instances are encountered in dance music of a direct parallel of this idea. Among the many keyboard pavans composed by William Byrd is one entitled 'Pavana Fant[asia]'. In the same vein are the 'Fantastic Pavan and Galiarda' by John Bull, and the 'Alman Fantazia (Meridian)', whose authorship is uncertain but can be ascribed to either Bull or Giles Farnaby. There also exists a number of dances, mainly almains, for two violins and bass viol by Thomas Lupo, which are called 'fantasies' in the manuscript sources. These works should not be confused with the fantasia proper, for they are in no way related to that species of composition.

Neither, however, are they dance music in the real sense. Much so-called dance music was not intended to be danced to, and might be better described as 'stylized dance music', or music composed after the manner of dance. This was especially the case in suites, for in these the various dance movements were according to North 'not unsuitable to' but 'rather imitatory of, the dance'.[24] This description applies to the works mentioned above, since they seek to represent an imaginative abstraction of the original dance types. Simply, they belong to the imagination, not to the dance floor. Byrd's 'Pavana Fant[asia]', occurring as no.261 in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, comprises three regular four-bar strains, each of which is

followed by its own separate variation. The variations
follow the same basic harmonic plan of the preceding
strain, and occupy the same length of eight breves, with
the exception of the last one, which occupies thirteen.
(This plan obviously makes the work impossible for
dancing.) The variation sections represent varied 'images'
of each of the three main strains, and are filled out with
a variety of scales (especially the second and third
ones), richer chords and a plethora of passing notes:

First strain

Variation

It should be pointed out that Byrd's other keyboard pavans
follow the same general plan, and therefore this work
should not be regarded as exceptional in any way. But this
does suggest that they all belong together as a group,

along with many other 'dance' pieces by Byrd, and can be described as 'fantastic imitations' of dance music. The 'Alman Fantazia', by Bull or Farnaby, is another such composition, for it too is composed in the same variation form.

Bull's 'Fantastic Pavan and Galiarda' also follow the same variation plan, but they differ from that composer's other dance pairs in terms of their extraordinary richness of invention. Here again, the essential musical character of the original dance is what matters, because it provides the starting point for the composer's imagination. Only in the most minimal degree do the 'Fantastic Pavan and Galiarda' actually sound like dance pieces, and they are most definitely not meant for dancing. The slow, processional rhythms and serious quality of the archetypal pavan are the musical inspiration behind the first piece, while the sprightly rhythms and stirring mood of the archetypal galliard are the inspiration behind the second. But there is a strong element of remove to be observed in both compositions, for the essential character – the musical image – of each archetype, can only be glimpsed at behind the profusion of musical ideas which fix one's attention from the start.

The 'Fantastic Pavan' begins with the usual arrangement of slowly-pulsating chords which support an expressive melodic line, but once the listener has been reminded of the pavan archetype, Bull quickly moves in the direction of pure musical invention. This is best shown by

comparing the first strain of this pavan with the first
strain of a 'model' pavan, the 'Pavana' in a by Byrd from
the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (number 174[25]; it is an
arrangement of a consort pavan by Antony Holborne).[26] The
differences are obvious:

Byrd 'Pavana'

Bull 'Fantastic Pavan'

Notice that the second example is twice as long as the first and, with a gradual move from rhythmic simplicity to complexity, it introduces an element of variation even before the first true variation is heard. Bull's 'Fantastic Pavan' is thus well removed from the original idea of a pavan, yet it is still aurally dependent on it. An analogy may be drawn between this type of composition and the parody fantasia, which takes as its musical image a short but recognizable portion (usually the opening) of a pre-existing composition and uses this to initiate a free flow of invention (see page 336 onwards). In the variation sections themselves, Bull substitutes many of the longer note values with flourishing scales and the chords with arpeggios, while adhering to the basic harmonic plan of the preceding sections. Thus he follows the same procedure as observed in Byrd's 'Pavan Fant[asia]', and similar dance music. The whole composition occupies 96 bars, the same length as Bull's 'Melancholy Pavan', and the second and third of his 'Quadran Pavans'; it is only eclipsed by 'Quadran Pavan' no.1 (194 bars). All of these works are monumental testaments to both the classical beauty and the intense expressivity of the pavan, as well as to the imaginative, creative powers of the composer.

Texted Vocal Music

A discussion of all the many and varied manifestations of the idea of musical fantasy in English music of this period would not be complete without some mention of texted vocal music. While it is true that fantasy found a natural home in instrumental music, there exists a small group of part-songs which, by the titles of the publications in which they appear, show that there was no rule which excluded fantasy from the domain of music set to words. They are Thomas Weelkes' Ayeres or phantasticke spirites for three voices of 1608, Thomas Ravenscroft's Melismata. Musical phansies. Fitting the court, citie, and countrey humours of 1611, and Thomas Davidson's Songs and Fancies, printed in Aberdeen in 1662. These collections actually share very little in common with each other, and nothing sets them apart musically from dozens of similar published sets of songs. Where the idea of fantasy comes into play is not so much in the music itself, but in the words and more especially, the great variety in the types of songs which each collection contains.

Ravenscroft was undoubtedly one of England's most 'progressive' composers, not because he was necessarily a musical innovator (for he was not that), but because he was a strong proponent of the new idea of variety. This was seen in Part III, Chapters 3 ('The New Aesthetic Reinforced') and 4 ('Musical Variety'). A look at the contents and accompanying words of his 1611 set reveals that the collective title 'phansies' is used simply to

draw attention to the large and diverse range of songs which Ravenscroft composed for it. The songs are 'harmlesse Musicall Phansies', reads the dedication; all of them are intended to delight and none of them is meant to offend.[27] Ravenscroft assures that there is among the 23 songs presented, something to please every singer. He writes:

> To the Noblest of the Covrt, liberallest of the Covntrey, and freest of the Citie.
> You may well perceiue by the much variety herein composed, that my desire is to giue contentment in this kinde of Musick to the skilfull, and most iudicious of all sortes. And being little or much beholding to some of each rancke, I studie and striue to please you in your owne elements. Now if my paines proue your pleasures, you shall still keepe mee in paines to please you.

The songs range in disposition from three to five voices, and fall into five broad categories: 'Covrt Varieties', 'Citie Rovnds', 'Citie Conceits', 'Covntry Rovnds' and 'Covntry Pastimes'. Thomas Davidson's 1662 set is even more diverse, for it is an anthology of over 60 songs, featuring a number of composers (no names of composers are given). Again, it is scored for three to five voices. The contents comprise pastorals, canzonets (including 'Now is the month of Maying' by Morley), melancholic and love songs (including 'Flow my tears' by Dowland), and a number of serious, devotional songs. The theme of fantasy is succinctly expressed in the opening lines of the seventh song: 'The thoughts of men do daily chāge, /as fantasie breeds in their breasts'.

The _Ayeres or phantasticke spirites_ of Weelkes are a unique collection for that composer, because the songs in it are deliberately light in both poetic and musical content. Some are of a topical or political nature (for example 'Ay me, alas, hey no'), while others are witty, trivial, fanciful or even nonsensical (for example 'Tan ta ra ran tan tant'). All avoid sophistication and rely for their effect on the simplest of means. Like the dancing of 'fantastick Spirits' in _The tempest_ (see page 273 on-wards), these songs are pure entertainment, and they appeal to the senses, not to the higher mind. A sensuous element emerges in many of them, for example sexual desire (in 'Some men desire spouses' and 'Four arms, two necks, one wreathing'), and the stimulative effect of tobacco ('Come sirrah Jack ho!'). The first song in the collection perhaps best describes the free-born, go-as-you-please idea of fantasy:

> Come let's begin to revel't out
> And tread the hills and dales about,
> That hills and dales and woods may sound
> An Echo to this warbling round.
>
> Lads merry be with music sweet,
> And Fairies trip it with your feet,
> Pan's pipe is dull, a better strain
> Doth stretch itself to please your vein.

Weelkes sets these lyrics in the most uncomplicated manner, with the three voices chasing each other in simple imitation, using bright-sounding melodies which aptly convey the meaning of the significant words. Here is the cantus part of the song (the repeats are omitted):

Come, come let's be-gin, let's be-gin to re — — vel't out, and tread the hills and dales a — bout, and dales a — bout. — That hills and dales and woods — may sound, an E — cho an E — cho to this warb — ling round.

Improvisation and the Voluntary

Improvisation was an essential part of every music-ian's performing ability because it simultaneously tested his powers of invention, his technical skill, and his musical memory. Improvised music, such as the voluntary and the art of playing divisions, usually took the form of extended contrapuntal designs which incorporated as much variety as possible. Sometimes, however, it could be short and freer in style as in the case of the prelude (see page 287).

Christopher Simpson's treatise, The division-violist: or, An introduction to the playing upon a grovnd (1659), describes in elaborate detail how to 'break the ground', to descant upon it, and to play 'mixt divisions'. The performer needed to be thoroughly versed in each of these types of division before he could become a master of 'Figurate Musick', as Simpson termed it.[28] Playing divis-ions required 'Excellency ... of his Hand' and 'quickness of Invention',[29] and the latter depended on the readiness and excellence of the performer's 'fancy'. Instantaneous decisions were made by the fancy in breaking the ground, such as which types of division should be used at a given

time. Always, the fancy's operations were unpredictable
and chance-like. Simpson remarks of the types of division
just mentioned:

> These several sorts of Division are used upon the
> Bass-Viol, very promiscuously, according to The
> Fancy of The Player or Composer [30]

The result should always be a highly varied succession of musical ideas and procedures, because only in this way is the performer able to show the richness and diversity of his powers of musical invention. 'Variety' is a word which crops up repeatedly in Simpson's treatise. He wondered with amazement, for example, at the 'infinite variety' of harmony which can be achieved through inventive use of music's simplest elements, namely the consonant and dissonant intervals.[31] His description of the different things which the division violist can do from the promptings of his own fantasy, shows how central was the principle of variety in division playing. Thus after playing the ground, the violist can then 'break' it by introducing quicker note values, or play slow descant to it and follow this with rapid motions of division using a theme or 'point', or use more slow descant and perhaps some 'binding-notes'. Simpson goes on:

> After this you may begin to Play some Skipping
> Division; or Points, or Tripla's, or what your
> present fancy or invention shall prompt you to,
> changing still from one variety to another; for
> variety it is which chiefly pleaseth: The best
> Division in the world, stil continued, would become
> tedious to the Hearer; and therefore you must so
> place and dispose your Division, that the change of
> it from one kind to another may still beget a new
> attention [32]

Clearly the performer was striving for something quite opposite to unity or formality of design, for such improvisations as Simpson describes were a direct musical expression of the 'flight of fancy' idea. So too, it may be added, were the 'random', 'confused' and 'shapeless' preludes which Thomas Mace said should begin a suite for the lute.[33]

Similar ideas were put forward by Roger North on the subject of voluntary playing by organists (see also pages 114-15). In an essay entitled 'The Excellent Art of Voluntary', North considered fugue to be the most demanding and challenging aspect of improvisation.[34] However, he wrote that the fugue should 'not be too long winded' for the whole point of organ voluntaries is to demonstrate as much variety as possible. If it is a good fugue, the fantasy will have been sufficiently enlivened so as to enable freer improvisations to immediately follow. Thus after the fugue,

> other compositions fall in, and the fuge hath served to lead the fancy, which becoming warm will produce surprising passages, and those perhaps be lost as soon as observed, and no possibility found to retreive [sic] them.[35]

This was music improvised in the heat of the moment, produced not by deliberate thought, but by 'Musical furi', as Charles Butler termed it (pages 178-79). Again, like Simpson, North continually stressed the importance of variety in improvisation. Even in the fugue itself there was scope for 'infinite invention and judgment', so that no fugue should ever sound dull or confused.[36]

The other point of interest in North's discussion of
the art of voluntary relates to the idea that any musical
invention of the fantasy consists of 'images'. This idea
was raised earlier in the chapter in an attempt to show
that all music, whether vocal or instrumental, was at its
deepest level, representational. This was no less the case
in improvised music, because the musician quite clearly
imagined a whole variety of different 'states of body and
mind' while he played, and the different musical inven-
tions which he produced were in fact 'musicall imitations'
of these states.[37] There did not need to be any unifying
links in the train of invention, because the fantasy,
guided by its own impetuousness, jumped from one idea to
the next; hence the term capriccio. North explains that
the musician's 'humour or capriccio, as well as good
understanding and sense' enables 'his fancy [to] conjure
up' an unending variety of different ideas. For example,

> He will be grave, reasonable, merry, capering and
> dancing, artificiall, melancholly, querolous,
> stately and proud, or submissive and humble, buisie,
> in haste, frighted, quarrell and fight, run, walk,
> or consider, search, rejoyce, prattle, weep, laugh
> insult, triumph; and at last, perhaps, vanish out of
> sight all at once; or end in very good temper, and
> as one layd downe to rest or sleep.[38]

North concluded that 'There is no end to the varietys of
imitation in musick' and that, since the fantasy cannot be
taught but must be left to its own devices, the musician
must be content to let that faculty take full control of
what he does.[39] Only then will his powers of invention rise
to the task of producing worthwhile music.

It is significant that the terms 'voluntary' and 'fantasia' were sometimes used interchangeably in music of an improvisatory character, because it reinforces the notion that both compositions stemmed from the 'warmed fancy'. For example, three of Byrd's keyboard fantasias in <u>My Ladye Nevells Booke</u> were given the title of voluntary, but they are structurally identical with the named fantasias, and only differ in being less floridly written.[40] Mace equated the terms 'fantasia' and 'voluntary' in his discussion of music for the lute.[41]

Looking at some examples of the English keyboard voluntary reveals just how varied these compositions were. To attempt a 'structural analysis' of them is really to overlook the obvious, because in truth they have no structure at all, in the sense of a logical flow of ideas or some preconceived formal design. Such compositions gain their effect from the complete absence of such considerations, because they present a continually varying stream of ideas with no order at all. But another mistake would be to think that a deliberate attempt has been made to create disorder, or the impression of disorder.

In his discussion of the fantasia, Peter Schleuning set down as one of the fundamental principles of that genre the concept of aesthetic 'disorder'. He postulated that there is an attempt at creating the external impression of disorder by introducing numerous individual shades of meaning or feeling, but that beneath this level are concealed methods of organization and underlying processes

of musical interrelation. These are what create a deeper impression of unity.[42] There is a measure of truth in this theory, for as North stated, music which is too capricious or 'bizearre' must be viewed as unsound and misguided. He thought that the composer must know how to 'steer his fancy', and prevent it from running loose and creating an 'impertinent and frivolous' babble.[43] However, there was a difference, as he saw it, between a disorderly fantasy which simply created disordered sound and the 'fluent and happy fancy' which created worthy music (see page 177). North's contention was that the latter type needed no ordering at all, and should be allowed to create as much variety as it pleased. He did not elaborate on what he meant on the one hand by acceptable variety, and 'improper change' on the other, but presumably the latter had a tendency to upset the 'air' or harmony of a composition by violent modulation, or to introduce excessively strange leaps or rhythms to a melody, or to do other similar things which 'spoile the designe'.[44] The point was that acceptable variety lay somewhere in between the two extremes of dullness, as observed when the composer is concerned with nothing other than utmost propriety, and absurdity, when he sets out to create as much interest as possible but succeeds only in breaking all the rules.

A happy balance between the two extremes is to be observed in the so-called voluntaries by Byrd in My Ladye Nevells Booke. The following is a breakdown of the different sections of one of them, called 'A voluntarie: for my ladye nevell'.

Section 1

Bars 1–6: chordal with some free counterpoint and suspensions: G–G

Section 2

Bars 7–16: fugal; G–G

Section 3

Bars 16–29: fugal with close succession of entries; G–G

Section 4

Bars 29–41: imitative; G–C

Section 5

Bars 41–43: chordal; C–G,

Section 6

Bars 43–55: imitative; G–D

Section 7

Bars 55–63: imitative;
–G

Section 8

Bars 64–78: predominantly
melody-chordal in texture;
d–G

No untoward modulations are encountered, and the sections
flow smoothly from one to the next without any alarming
breaks (the Voluntary in a from the same book is still
smoother and less sectional in construction).

An example of what can happen when variety is taken
to an extreme is 'A Voluntary for yᵉ Duble Organ' by
Christopher Gibbons. This composer was noted by North for
his bold and desultory approach to composition (see page
365). The voluntary exists in two different versions, one
of which is considerably longer, occupying 80 extra bars
(it departs from the other version from bar 49 onwards).[45]
The longer version (192 bars) is in fact incomplete, and
it is impossible to know just how much longer it origin-
ally may have been. The impression of variety is
immediately conveyed by the numerous changes of registrat-
ion which are indicated in the score. There are a dozen
changes in the shorter version, and 34 in the longer one;
the latter has indications for cornet and trumpet stops in
addition to 'Little Organ', 'Great Organ' and 'Double

Organ'. The music is freely contrapuntal throughout, and is mostly written in three voices. It consists of an apparently limitless succession of motives, phrases and points of imitation. Interspersed in this flow are various scalic passages, dotted rhythms, arpeggios, chords, and even (at the first 'trumpet' marking in the longer version) a short burst of homophony. Rather than each successive idea being developed into a discrete section all of its own, as was seen above in the voluntary by Byrd, the ideas appear to flow in a rapid, continuous and completely unpredictable fashion. The composition presents a kaleidoscopically varied train of musical invention to the listener, but the result in formal terms is a highly conspicuous degree of randomness and, it might be said, haphazardness.

Fantasy as Bizarre and Strange

Such pieces as the preceding voluntary by Christopher Gibbons are very characteristic of a distinctively new taste and fashion in music which belonged to the post-Jacobean era. It increasingly exerted an influence in all branches of music, and can be neatly summed up by the words 'bizzarrie', 'fantasticall', 'stravaganze', and 'cappriccioso'. These words repeatedly crop up in musical writings and even musical titles of the time.[46] For example, they were used with particular fondness and relish by Roger North, and he always associated them with the whims of musical fashion, especially the English love

of Italian music. Also, he never disguised his own prefer-
ence for music which was 'all humour, and very bizzare',
such as John Jenkins' 'Cryes of Newgate'.[47]

Prolific variety and the incorporation of new and
exciting effects is what typifies the style of this music.
There is also an element of the pictorial, the dramatic,
and the theatrical (or to use an anachronistic term, the
melodramatic). Thus in another of Jenkins' 'programmatic'
works, called the 'Newarke Seidge', the siege of the city
of Newark in 1644 is musically re-enacted, with spectac-
ular effect.[48] In the third strain, the decisive action
between the Parliamentarian forces of Sir John Meldrum and
the garrison of Royalists led by Sir Richard Byron, is
described in the following way (the keyboard part is
omitted):

These sorts of effects were not confined to 'programmatic' music, however, because the practice of adding division passages to all music, even dance pieces, became very popular in England. Jenkins was one who happily went along with this fashion. North remarked that his compositions

> were coveted because his style was new, and (for the time) difficult, for he could hardly forbear devis-ions, and some of his consorts was [sic] too full of them; and if that, as the moderne caprice will have it, be a recommendation, his compositions wanted it not. [49]

The air (almain) from Suite no.6 in F for two trebles, two basses and organ by Jenkins, is a case in point. It contains a wealth of divisions in all parts, except for the organ accompaniment, but no passage is more impressive than this one, featuring the two basses:

Musicians of an older generation would have been offended by such exaggerated and magniloquent gestures as seen here, and they would certainly have rejected any sugges-tion that this is what was properly meant by 'musical fantasy'. But this did not alter the fact that fantasy was now virtually synonymous with bold and unrestrained musical expression.

This new understanding found a natural home in music for the theatre. North related that musicians during the reign of Charles I 'had their bizzarrie' in the form of

consort music for the masques. He tells the reader that 'Ben. Johnson, in one of his Masques, mentions a consort of 12 lutes', and he had to conclude that even in this early time, music had its ''stravaganzarias'.[50] The masque Oberon required '20 lutes for the Prince's dance', while in 'Love freed from Ignorance', there were '12 Musitions that were preestes that songe and played', in addition to '12 other Lutes'.[51] The play Musick: or, A parley of instruments, published in 1676, called for an enormously diverse and extravagant collection of instruments for its instrumental pieces (see page 215, footnote 51).

Masques frequently made use of the 'modern' theme of fantasy as bizarre and strange in their stories and characters. One of the commonest places to do this was in the grotesque dramatic preludes, known as antimasques, in which the audience was presented with extravagant and outlandish dramatic scenas. A couple of examples will bear this out. In The triumphs of the Prince d'Amour of 1635, the audience is confronted, for their amusement, by a 'giddy fantastic French lover' in the second of anti-masques. This character gazes into a window in which he sees a woman (his prospective mistress), whereupon

> his humour is discern'd by strange ridiculous cringes, and frisks [are observed] in his salutes, with which he seems to invite her acquaintance: having divers notes of levity in his habit, and wearing his mistress' fan tied with a ribbond in his ear.[52]

Bizarre and grotesque stage designs were also a common feature of the English masque. In Brittania triumphans (1638), the audience was treated to a wonderful spectacle

comprising a 'large freize with a sea triumph of naked children, riding on sea horses and fishes, and young tritons with writhen trumpets and other maritime fancies'.[53] Earlier in the same masque, the character Bellerophon is seen riding Pegasus, and is heard to exclaim:

> Through thick assembled clouds, through mists
>   that would
> Choke up the eagle's eye, I, in my swift
> And sudden journey through the air, have seen
> All these fantastic objects ... [54]

In the 'mock Romanza' which comes later, a battle ensues between the Giant and the Dwarf. The ferocity of the struggle prompts the appearance and intervention of the prophetic magician Merlin. He pronounces:

> My art will turn this combat to delight
> They shall unto fantastic music fight. [55]

At this the combatants fall into dance and depart. Unfortunately, very few musical items from <u>Brittania triumphans</u> survive, and the only clue as to what this 'fantastic music' might have sounded like, are pieces from other masques which represent fighting. Examples might be 'The first of the Temple Anticke' and its companion piece, 'The second', both of which were probably used in the Temple masques of 1617, 1619 or 1621.[56] These pieces differ from the usual masque dance in their great melodic and rhythmic activity, and this makes them suggestive of mock battle (the changes of key and meter also add to the sense of general confusion):

Presumably a large number of instruments of the louder type (perhaps including the shawm, trumpet and sackbut) would have joined in for music such as this, for it was customary in masques to alter the instrumentation so that the music reflected the drama as effectively as possible.[57]

A fascinating theatrical representation of the idea of fantasy is to be found in The triumph of peace of 1634, whose music was composed by William Lawes and Simon Ives. As in all other masques, the initial scenes take the form of elaborate antimasques which aim at pure spectacle and delight for the audience. During the first antimasque, seven pantomime figures, called Opinion, Confidence, Novelty, Admiration, Fancy, Jollity and Laughter, appear on stage and partake in witty dialogue. Of them all it is Fancy who arouses the greatest curiosity. The other characters direct all their attention to him in an effort to find out more about who he really is. They wonder at his 'strange shape', and they describe him variously as

> An owl and bat, a quaint hermaphrodite,
> Begot of Mercury and Venus, Wit and Love [58]

The owl denotes omniscience, the bat mystery, Mercury the creature's speedy and capricious nature, and Venus its peacefulness, while its likening to a hermaphrodite symbolizes the self-sustaining and fecund powers of creation which it is supposed to possess. Fancy is thus a personification of the inventive faculty of the mind, namely the fantasy. His words to Opinion, Jollity and Laughter reflect this, for as they try their hand at preparing an entertainment for the antimasque, he mocks their 'dull and phlegmatic inventions'.[59] On the other hand, charmed by their admiration for him, he willingly agrees to take the task upon himself, and goes on to plan an evening's entertainment of farcical humour, jests and dance. To demonstrate how wonderfully abundant his invention is, he instantly creates a tavern scene at the request of Opinion.[60]

The music which probably accompanied this scene was the four-part consort piece 'The Fancy', by Simon Ives. Also surviving in a keyboard version in Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book, in which it bears the title 'Simphony' (in another keyboard source it is called 'Ann Pit's Maske'), this work was almost certainly used in The triumph of peace, and it must have been the music which depicted the character Fancy.[61] In the past, a certain amount of confusion has surrounded this composition and, because of its name, it has sometimes been thought to be a fantasia. However, given its theatrical context, it is most definitely not that. It is a dance piece, and in its simple form

of two repeated strains, it is no different from other dance music from masques of this period.[62] Where it is distinctive, however, is in its numerous octave leaps caused by the repeated appearance of the animated initial theme. Elsewhere, there are many sprightly rhythms, and the piece displays a surprising degree of variety in its short length of 16 bars. Here are its distinctive melodic features:

Bars 1-4 (alto)

Bars 9-12 (alto)

Bars 13-15 (treble)
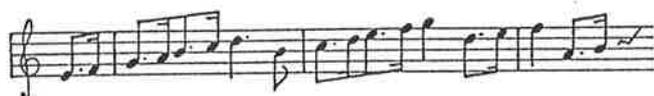
By these simple means, Ives is able to musically represent something of the inventive, witty and mercurial character of Fancy.

A theatrical interest in the possibilities of fantasy continued into the Restoration, and was in fact strengthened by the gradual transition from masque to semi-opera and opera. The English predilection for the scenic as opposed to the genuinely dramatic in theatrical presentations, was undoubtedly a factor. This is because contemporary views always favoured the imaginative possibilities of the

former over the intellectual possibilities of the latter.
In the prologue of Thomas Shadwell's Psyche, performed in
1675, the narrator begins by addressing the question of
what sort of poetry should be composed for theatrical
productions, and his words clearly reflect what the
audience of his day was used to expecting:

> His bus'ness now is to shew splendid Scenes,
> T' interpret 'twixt the Audience and Machines.
> You must not here expect exalted Thought,
> Nor lofty Verse, nor Scenes with labour wrought:
> His Subject's humble, and his Verse is so;
> This Theme no thund'ring Raptures would allow,
> Nor Would he, if he could, that way pursue.
> He'd ride unruly Fancy with a Bit,
> And keep within the bounds of Sense and Wit,
> Those bounds no boystrous Fustian will admit. [63]

Productions such as Psyche were as much a visual spectacle
as a theatrical or musical entertainment, and indeed it
was probably the visual element which mattered most of
all. Spectacular machines and contrivances, extravagant
stage sets, rich costumery, and elaborate choreography –
these were what won the audience's approval and captured
its imagination. Music, singing and acting were obviously
important too, but the emphasis was on the total
spectacle, and no single component was supposed to out-
weigh the rest, for the effect would have been spoilt
otherwise. It was undoubtedly because the English masque
was traditionally understood to be a form of royal enter-
tainment that it continued to be so lavish in its standard
of production. In the reign of King James I, masques
contained 'as much variety and novelty as could be
contrived to please the Court', wrote North. [64] His descrip-
tion of these early masques as 'enterteinements' and

'diversions' which 'consisted of consorts, singing, machines, short dramas, familiar dialogues, interludes and dancing',[65] also held true for the Restoration semi-operas. Nouveau-riche middle class audiences, for whom they were now presented, expected a similar type of entertainment, that is, aimed at pleasurable diversion and sensual delight.

Variety was an indispensable part of this, as can be seen from Shadwell's preface to Psyche. He repeatedly assures the reader of the 'variety of Diversion' presented in the scenes of his new work, and the 'variety of Musick' provided by its composer, Matthew Locke.[66] Indeed, the emphasis on variety in masques was sometimes felt to go too far. North drew attention to what he believed was a serious failing in Psyche and similar 'ambigue enterteinements',[67] and this was their tendency to 'break unity, and distract the audience'. The simple difference as he saw it, between semi-operas and the later, truer operas, was that the former operated on the principle of dramatic variety, while the latter operated on the principle of dramatic unity. From the following account of audience taste, it is clear which principle he himself preferred:

> Some come for the play and hate the musick, others come onely for the musick, and the drama is pennance to them, and scarce any are well reconciled to both. M^r [Thomas] Betterton (whose talent was speaking and not singing) was pleased to say, that 2 good dishes were better than one, which is a fond mistake, for few care to see 2 at a time of equall choice.[68]

But this was only after all a matter of taste, or at least changing taste. North's view belonged to his own time,

that is, the time during which he wrote his memoirs (the 'Notes of Comparison between the Elder and Later Musick and somewhat historical of both', from which the above quotation comes, dates from c.1726), not to the Restoration.

Shadwell's 1674 production of The tempest, with music by Locke, Pelham Humphrey, John Banister, Pietro Reggio and James Hart, provides much valuable insight into what fantasy had come to represent by the Restoration. One aspect is variety. Enormous variety is evident: there are scenes of stormy, tempestuous seas (Act 1), of a wild island (Act 3), a Masque of Devils (Act 2), and a Masque of Neptune (Act 5), plus a wealth of minor scenes. Its success lay more than anything else on the visual delight which it presented to the audience. One commentator wrote enthusiastically of its scenic novelty and extravagance, and directed particular praise to 'one Scene Painted and Myriads of Ariel spirits; and another flying away, with a Table Furnisht out with Fruits, Sweetmeats and all sorts of Viands'[69] (see below). This variety was reflected in the many different dance pieces which Locke composed for the production, including a 'Galliard', 'Gavot', 'Sarabrand', 'Lilk', 'Rustick Air', 'Minoit', 'Corant' and 'A Martial Jigge'. Many of these dances were novel and highly fashionable at the time, and of course this element of novelty was much prized by audiences of the day.

One of the more intriguing scenes in The tempest occurs with the meeting of Alonzo, Antonio and Gonzalo on

part of the uninhabited island where a storm has wrecked their ship (Act 3, scene 3). In Shakespeare's play, 'several strange Shapes' bring in a banquet of food for the weary travellers, and they 'dance about it with gentle actions of salutation'. Their strange appearance and behaviour transfixes the company, and while they dance, 'solemn and strange music is heard'. In Dryden and Davenant's 1667 adaptation of the play, these Shapes become 'fantastick Spirits', and after they have danced, two of them bring in a table laden with meat and fruit. The music for this dance (probably by Locke), is entitled 'The Fantastick', and it survives in the form of a medley-type composition which begins in the bold manner of a French overture (in common time), follows with seven bars of $\frac{6}{4}$ and four bars of ¢, and finishes with a two-strain Corant in tripla proportion. The change of meter introduces an impression of variety in the music (which was no doubt also a theme in the matching choreography), and it is the resulting element of surprise which so aptly expresses the idea of fantasy. The overture is interesting because, rather than establishing a mood of dignity and solemnity, its purpose is to cause wonderment and amazement. It does this by exaggerating the dotted rhythms which are normally associated with the French style of overture, and introducing into it strange and unusual harmonies. The home key is g, but all sense of stability or predictability is lost through a deliberate evasion of that key and an apparent shift mid-way to B flat, the relative major (also the key of the $\frac{6}{4}$ section which follows):

It is appropriate that after the dance of the fantastic Spirits, a banquet with 'all varieties of Meats and fruits' should be held, because both music and repast could be regarded, to borrow North's phrase, as 'ambigue enterteinements' (see footnote 67).

Just as fantastic are the 'amazing sounds' (Antonio's words) of the Masque of Devils, composed by Humphrey. It occurs in one of the preceding scenes (II, iv) in The tempest. These 'amazing sounds' come from underneath the stage and conjure an appropriate atmosphere of devilish delight. Tritones appear in the melodic lines of the recitatives (for example when the Third Devil sings 'Hell upon burning' in bars 58-59). The melodic lines of the choruses are deliberately strange in outline, and they match the forbidding theme of the words (the tenor line is missing in the original):

The song of the Fifth Devil, composed by Reggio, is the most striking of the solo pieces in the Masque of Devils because it contains terrific energy and vigour. It is delivered in powerful, strident tones by a devil who

suddenly appears before the company on stage. He frightens
them with fiendish invocations of the wrath of the natural
elements. The song's melody, with its exaggerated movement
and expressive effects, perfectly encapsulates the novel
aesthetic of Baroque fantasy. The trills on the words
'quake' and 'shake' are obvious examples of word painting,
and their purpose is to add a diabolical and alarming
effect to the song:

Such impassioned outbursts as this might have thrilled
many members of the audience, but they received censure
from others. North was one who objected to the 'excess in
the style of opera musick', particularly the 'Manner of
the musick fiery', which he said only aimed at 'starting'
the audience.[70]

However, North did not mind this novel style in dance
music, or whenever energetic action on the stage was to be
represented musically.[71] He would no doubt have been well
pleased by Locke's instrumental pieces for The tempest. In
them the composer shows his 'robust vein' to the fullest

possible extent.[72] The 'Curtain Tune' which occurs at the beginning of Act I is another good example of Baroque fantasy. The curtain opens to a scene depicting 'a Tempestuous Sea in perpetual Agitation' from which, raised by the forces of magic, loom 'many dreadful Objects'. They are represented as 'several Spirits in horrid shapes flying down amongst the Sailors'. The drama reaches its climax when the sailors' ship sinks and, having been enveloped in darkness, 'a shower of Fire falls upon 'em', and the sky erupts with bolts of lightning and claps of thunder.[73] Locke's famous overture is heard while all this is happening on stage. It is characterized by dramatic build-ups and stark contrasts, as the markings in the first violin part indicate: 'soft', 'louder by degrees', 'violent', 'soft', 'lowd' and 'soft and slow by degrees'. Interestingly, the formal pattern of this composition is similar to many of Locke's consort fantasies, because it alternates just as they do between slow sections with suspensions and heavy chromaticism, and faster sections of energetic movement and forceful rhythms (see pages 382-84). The following excerpt comes from the middle of the 'Curtain Tune', and demonstrates well the sort of dramatic, fantastic effect of contrast which Locke wished to create. Note too the wild, extravagant gestures in the quick section, for these are typical of the mannerist expressive idiom of the day, and are similar to what can be found in many consort fantasies by Locke and his contemporaries (see page 355 onwards):

Whereas in earlier times fantasy was equated with pleasing variety in music, it had now come to mean 'violent variety', in other words the sort of variety which deliberately sets out to upset and surprise the listener's natural sense of musical expectation. Locke's melodies operate on exactly the same principle, for despite their simple tunefulness, they frequently make use of odd and teasing rhythms. Locke achieves a strong element of rhythmic surprise by alternating between triple and duple stresses in the corantos and galliards, and he also does it by avoiding rhythmic repetition in the melodic line, and by juxtaposing different rhythmic patterns to create an almost haphazard result. An example will show how this

is achieved. It is a bar-by-bar breakdown of the rhythms
in the first violin part of the 'Rustick Air' from Act I.
Notice that in addition to the continual variety of rhythm
(especially in the first strain), the two strains are
unequal in length:

First Strain   Second Strain
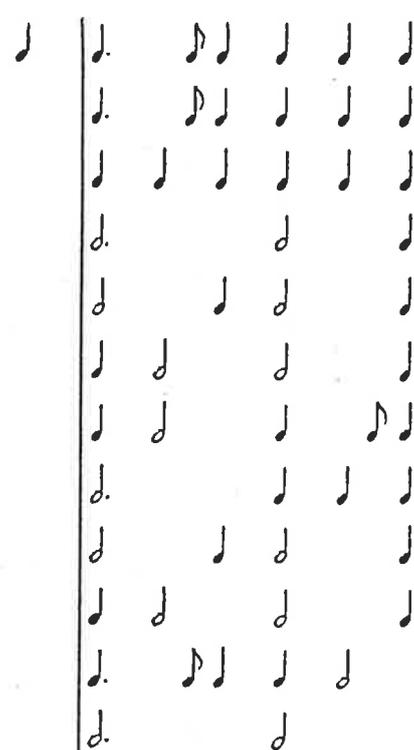
It is by means of subtle techniques such as rhythmic
variety, that Locke succeeds in infusing a new vitality
and strength into the simple dance models which he uses,
in this case the old-fashoned coranto.

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 2 : THE ENGLISH FANTASIA
I. TERMINOLOGY

The fantasia's transplantation to England from the Continent in the middle years of the sixteenth century, and its subsequent patterns of development, permit an ideal opportunity to observe in detail what fantasy meant in musical composition in that country. The circumstances of its arrival and initial cultivation might first be considered. Elizabethan musicians possessed a particularly free and pragmatic attitude towards foreign music. If they liked it they adopted it, and they transformed it so that in the end it became entirely a possession of their own. If this is true of the madrigal, as Joseph Kerman has made abundantly clear,[74] it is perhaps even more true in the case of the fantasia. What is so interesting is that the fantasia's transplantation in England coincided with, and was probably a direct outcome of, the particular fascination for fantasy which grew in England from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. Had there not been such an active interest in the creative possibilities of fantasy, the fantasia may never have found a home in England at all, and it would most certainly not have reached the position of eminence which it did in the field of instrumental music. Indeed, the quite extraordinary popularity of the fantasia in late Elizabethan England onwards, can really ony be explained in terms of the central place in creative thought which fantasy had by then come to occupy.

In order to place the fantasia in this larger perspective, it is necessary to find out what 'fantasia' actually meant in England, that is, how it was defined, what its musical characteristics were, and how it was understood to differ from other musical forms. Only by enquiring into these questions and obtaining answers, can any theory be made about its more general, creative significance. This chapter aims at bringing together all the primary sources which deal with the terminology of the English fantasia, and also at offering some possible interpretations.

The problem of dealing with 'fantasia' as a musical term was raised in Part I, and the conclusion there was that it is better understood as a general concept rather than a specialized term. 'Fantasia', or the equally common 'fancy', did not automatically denote a particular type of composition. It was found earlier that some English compositions which were called 'fancies', did not conform in any way to what is understood today as the 'instrumental fantasia'. These were the 'phansies' of Hume (1605), the Ayeres or phantasticke spirites of Weelkes (1608), the Musicall phansies of Ravenscroft (1611), and the Songs and Fancies of Davidson (1662); they are all vocal compositions. While they might be irrelevant in a discussion of the true 'instrumental fantasia', they nevertheless highlight this problem of terminology. Interestingly also, they point to an important relationship which existed between the fantasia proper and vocal music. But an equally vexing problem is that 'fantasia', by its very

nature, automatically denoted a certain element of unconformity and arbitrariness, and this poses special difficulties in approaching it as an identifiable and definable musical form.

By the time Thomas Morley wrote A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597), the fantasia proper was already a thoroughly anglicized composition. His description of it in that treatise makes no reference at all to its Continental origins, and does not quote or paraphrase the words of any Continental theorist. While in Italy and Spain 'fantasia' meant in the first place an improvisatory composition for solo instrument (see pages 10-14), it had no such meaning as far as Morley was concerned. He understood it as a textless composition for an ensemble of voices or, more commonly, of instruments. As his description shows, he viewed it as a highly varied, though primarily contrapuntal type of composition:

> The most principall and chiefest kind of musicke which is made without a dittie is the fantasie, that is, when a musician taketh a point at his pleasure, and wresteth and turneth it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seeme best in his own conceit. In this may more art be shown then in any other musicke, because the composer is tide to nothing but that he may adde, deminish, and alter at his pleasure. And this kind will beare any allowances whatsoeuer tolerable in other musick, except changing the ayre & leauing the key, which in fantasie may neuer bee suffered. Other things you may vse at your pleasure, as bindings with discordes, quicke motions, slow motions, proportions, and what you list. Likewise, this kind of musick is with them who practise instruments of parts in greatest vse, but for voices it is but sildome vsed. [75]

There is in this description the same emphasis on skill, invention and propriety as is observed in the writings of Bermudo, Santa Maria and Finck, and it is true that in England as elsewhere these qualities, epitomized in fantasia composition, were admired above all others.[76] But Morley gives greater weight to the elements of individual choice and variety than does any Continental writer. His outlook reveals a typically English orientation, since the English idea of fantasy related very much to these two concepts, whereas in Italy by comparison, it related to the notion of ingegno.[77] The importance of the above passage by Morley is twofold; firstly, that it is the earliest complete account of the fantasia in England; and secondly, that it describes the fantasia during what was probably its most formative phase of development, that is, when composers began approaching it in new and often highly original ways.

Derived from Morley was the definition given by Michael Praetorius in Syntagma musicum iii (Wolfenbuttel, 1618 and 1619). He equated fantasia with capriccio, and said that in it one must fashion a succession of short 'fugues' which have no underlying text, so that 'one is neither bound to the words; one creates many or few [voices]; one digresses, adds, subtracts, turns, and wends as one will'. In doing all these things, one is able to show all manner of 'art and artificiality'. One can also use discords, proportions and so forth, provided that the 'Modum' and the 'Ariam' are not departed from.[78] An important chracteristic of the fantasia was therefore its

freedom of musical invention, a freedom which can only exist in the absence of words. Of course, any instrumental form automatically conferred this freedom on the composer, but the essential feature of the fantasia was that it was actually vocal in style, but could freely make use of an unlimited range of purely musical ideas, since the composer was not required to express the meanings of a prescribed set of words. Marin Mersenne wrote: 'And when the musician is free to employ whatever inspiration that comes to him, without expressing the passion of any text, this composition is called Fantaisie or Recherche'.[79] It is worth observing that the French and English shared a similar concept of musical fantasy, since both gave prime importance to the notion of volition and will. This was certainly the concept of fantasy to which the French theorist Antoine Parran subscribed. On the subject of composition by 'harmonic numbers', he gave this advice to the novice musician: 'you compose according to your fantasy [fantasie] all that you wish'.[80]

Another writer to have borrowed from Morley was Christopher Simpson. Again, individual choice and variety are emphasized by him, along with the requirement that invention is to be consistent at all times with the rules of composition. The following passage also demonstrates the continued importance in the English fantasia of contrapuntal technique and vocal style, as represented by the madrigal:

> Of Musick design'd for Instruments ... the chief and
> most excellent, for Art and Contrivance, are
> Fancies, of 6,5,4, and 3 Parts, intended commonly
> for Viols. In this sort of Musick the Composer
> (being not limitted to words) doth imploy all his
> Art and Invention solely about the bringing in and
> carrying on of ... Fuges, according to the Order and
> Method formerly shewed. When he has tryed all the
> several wayes which he thinks fit to be used
> therein; he takes some other Point, and does the
> like with it: or else, for variety, introduces some
> Chromatick Notes, with Bindings and Intermixtures of
> Discords; or, falls into some lighter Humour like a
> Madrigal, or what else his own fancy shall lead him
> to: but still concluding with something that hath
> Art and Excellency in it. [81]

The crucial words are 'what else his own fancy shall lead
him to', for they (like Milán's statement on page 9)
reveal conclusively that musical invention was indeed
understood as a product of the mind's fantasy, and that
this faculty was of paramount importance in fantasia
composition. For Simpson, fantasy was the store of one's
musical preferences, and the seat of one's musical inven-
tion. He repeatedly states that in such matters, the final
arbiter is always the 'fancy of the composer' (see pages
255-57).

In The division-violist: or, An introduction to the
playing upon a grovnd (the first edition of which was
published in 1659, the second in 1665), Simpson compared
the procedure of inventing divisions for three bass viols
with the manner of composing 'Fancies'. He writes that
fancies are composed,

> beginning commonly with some Fuge, and then falling
> into Points of Division; answering one another, some-
> times two against one, and sometimes all engaged at
> once in a contest of Division: But (after all)
> ending commonly in grave and harmonious Musick. [82]

Here the idea of variety is therefore emphasized again.

Conspicuous by its absence is any mention in the sources of the solo fantasia, and the fact is that in England this type was overshadowed in importance by the ensemble type. The only useful reference is by Thomas Mace, who, in Musick's monument, describes the lute 'fancy' (also referred to as 'fansical play' or 'voluntary') as a 'more Intelligible' type of music than the prelude. He says it follows the latter in the normal order of a suite for lute. In it the lutenist,

> (if He be a Master, Able) ... may more Fully, and
> Plainly shew His Excellency, and Ability, than by
> any other kind of undertaking; and has an unlimited,
> and unbounded Liberty; In which, he may make use of
> the Forms, and Shapes of all the rest.[83]

Herein is an important difference between English and Continental traditions, because Mace unequivocally differentiates between the fantasia and the prelude. Whereas Milano and others used the fantasia to test the tuning of an instrument to exercise the fingers and to ready the audience (see pages 11 and 19), these functions were generally reserved in England for the prelude.[84] However, as if to contradict his own observations, Mace included a long 'Fancy-Praelude, or Voluntary' for theorboe in Musick's monument, and it combines features of both the prelude and fantasia in the one composition.[85]

According to Roger North, the lute suite in the Jacobean and Caroline periods began with a fantasia, not a prelude. He described it as a composition which 'had some ayre', that is, variety and liveliness.[86] So too had the

fantasia for viol consort since, unlike the In Nomine, it was not a pedagogical composition.[87] Even so, the earlier ones were apparently less varied than the later ones, and this can be deduced from North's comments on John Jenkins. North believed that 'He was a great reformer of musick in his time, for he got the better of dullness of the old Fancys, and introduced a pleasing air in everything he composed, interspersing [in them] frequent devisions and triplas'.[88] North's theory was that the English consort fantasia (which he liked to regard as a precursor of the more modern sonata) was modelled upon the Italian fantasia, which he thought originated from instrumental adaptations of madrigals ('songs in Italian') and motets. These had a certain element of variety in them, but fantasias composed by the Jacobeans made greater use of fugue and suspension, and incorporated much more variety.[89] Their style was one of scholarly counterpoint,[90] but their form was always variable:

> The method of the old Fancys was to begin with a solemne fuge; and all the parts entered with it one after another, and often in different keys, which is the best garniture of fuges; and then followed divers repeats, retorts, and reverts, of which art the audience was little sensible, and ... must be passed upon account of industry and striving to do well ... And then entered another fuge, intended to be more ayery, and performed much quicker ... and when that was spent, a tripla perhaps, or some freer aire; ... and [they] concluded often with a Lenvoy'e as they called it [91]

For more sources on the terminology or definition of the English fantasia it is necessary to turn to dictionaries. Those general dictionaries which included musical terms were compiled and published later than the period in

question, but there are two interesting exceptions. The first dictionary in England to have mentioned the fantasia was Randle Cotgrave's A dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (1611). In the definition of the French word 'fantasie' are added the words: 'also, the Musicall lesson, tearmed a Fancie'.[92] The next dictionary was a later edition of Edward Phillips' The new world of English words. In its earlier editions, Charles Coleman (first edition, 1658), and John Berkenshaw and Matthew Locke (1671 edition) were called upon to contribute musical terms and to provide brief definitions, but not until Henry Purcell's additions were posthumously incorporated in the fifth, 1696 edition did the following entry appear:

> Fancy, a Piece of Composition full of Harmony, but which cannot be reduc'd under any of the regular kinds.

By this, Purcell meant a highly contrapuntal composition whose structure or procedure did not conform to any standard pattern.

What follows are the definitions given by some eighteenth-century English music lexicographers, not because they necessarily shed much light on the English fantasia of the preceding two centuries but simply in the interest of completeness. These lexicographers were describing a composition which, by then, had virtually disappeared from England, but their definitions were in fact taken from fairly recent Continental sources, and thus they have little bearing on the English fantasia tradition. One definition which may have been original is

given in A Short Explication of such Foreign Words, as are made use of in Musick Books, published in 1724:

> Fantasia, is a Kind of Air, wherein the Composer is not tied up to such strict Rules as in most other Airs, but has all the Freedom and Liberty allowed him for his Fancy or Invention, that can reasonably be desir'd.[93]

This was repeated in John Hoyle's Dictionarium musica of 1770, along with the following entry:

> PHANTASTIC, is applied to a composition that is composed in a free, easy, and gentle manner, proper for instruments.

James Grassineau's A musical dictionary of terms of 1740, being at the time the most comprehensive musical dictionary to have appeared in England, was an expanded translation of Brossard's Dictionnaire de musique (Paris, 1703). The following definition is thus based on that of Brossard (see page 17):

> FANTASIA, Fancy, is a sort of composition wherein the composer tyes himself to no particular time, but ranges according as his fancy leads, amidst various movements, different airs, &c. this is otherwise called the capricious style; before sonatas were used there were many of this kind, some of which remain even now.[94]

There are also the following two duplicate entries, again after Brossard:

> PHANTASTIC Style, is a style proper for instruments, or a free and unlimitted kind of composition, subject to no rules, governed by no design, and not at all premeditated.
> STYLO Phantastico, is an easy humorous manner of composition, free from all constraints, &c. Before sonatas were introduced, they had a kind of piece which they called Phantasia, which was very like our sonata.

CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER 3 : THE ENGLISH FANTASIA
II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The large body of fantasias for the consort of viols which emanated from late Renaissance England was, for Ernst Meyer, one of the major musical contributions of the 'golden age'.[95] During this age (which covers the later Elizabethan years and the greater part of James I's reign), the consort fantasia became the most widely cultivated instrumental form, and it rivalled and ultimately even eclipsed in importance the madrigal and other popular vocal forms. Aside from the In Nomine, there was for a very long time no other instrumental form outside dance music which could offer real scope to the purely creative invention of the composer. And even so, the In Nomine, despite its size and usual contrapuntal complexity, was on the whole a much more specialized composition than the fantasia. The importance of the fantasia in England can therefore hardly be underestimated. Very few composers did not contribute to the genre. Weelkes and Ravenscroft did not, while Farnaby only left fantasias for the keyboard. For a number of prominent composers, including Ferrabosco the younger and Coprario, the ensemble fantasia formed the major focus of their creative endeavours. For Bull, it was rather the keyboard fantasia which was important, just as it was for Sweelinck. Whereas in the hands of most Continental composers (excepting Sweelinck) the fantasia was a minor instrumental form, hardly to be differentiated from

the ricercar, it became in England the pinnacle of all instrumental composition.

The purpose of this chapter is to look at what were the implications to the English fantasia of the indigenous concept of musical fantasy. It might be supposed that the fantasia's course of stylistic change was determined, or at the very least influenced by, the historical development of that concept. To find definite answers to this proposition, it is necessary to consider firstly the fantasia's transition from a transplanted form emanating from Italy (and other Continental countries), to a thoroughly indigenous form which reflected indigenous artistic conditions. Secondly, it is necessary to consider what specific musical features or styles might have come to be associated with the general concept of musical fantasy, and therefore with the fantasia.

In looking at the fantasia's history and evolution, a number of curious problems emerge. Given its undoubted importance as an instrumental composition, it is more than surprising that extremely few examples were ever published. Little more than thirty viol consort fantasias found their way into print, and the number of lute and keyboard fantasias is similarly small. By comparison, the number of fantasias which existed in manuscript was clearly enormous, running into the many hundreds. Moreover, those fantasias for viol consort which were published, can on the whole be judged as atypical of the genre. A full picture of music printing during the period in question

would require careful study of the printing monopolies exercised by Byrd from 1575 to 1596 (in league with Tallis until his death in 1585), Morley from 1598 to 1603, and Barley from 1606 to 1613. Working under royal patent, they were able to decide what went into print and what did not, and it could be that collectively they discriminated against the fantasia. However, a more likely answer is that the cost of setting up music type negated the commercial profitability of printing long and complex part-music such as fantasias. To maximize saleability, priority was given to vocal music, for this could always double up as instrumental music and therefore go towards satisfying the needs of instrumentalists as well. Nevertheless, Orlando Gibbons succeeded in having a set of nine three-part fantasias published in London in c.1620[96] and, along with other fantasias by Coprario, Lupo and Daman, in Amsterdam in 1648.[97] Morley included nine two-part, individually titled fantasias in his First booke of canzonets to two voyces, published in 1593 and again in 1619; and Michael East included eight five-part and a dozen four-part fantasias in, respectively, his third and seventh sets of madrigals of 1610 and 1638. Unlike the Gibbons pieces, however, these were all hardly true instrumental works, because they were intended to be sung as well as played.[98] Other fantasias which were published include one for three lyra viols by Ferrabosco the younger, in his Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. viols of 1609; two for trio and cittern by Holborne in his Cittharn schoole of 1597; one by John Dowland for lute in the Varietie of lute lessons, publish-

ed by his son Robert Dowland in 1610; and another for lute by Thomas Robinson in The schoole of musicke, published in 1603. These few examples surely belie the enormous popularity which the fantasia enjoyed over a period of many decades.

This peculiar background must have contributed in many indirect ways to the fantasia's musical identity.[99] Because it existed outside commercial concerns, it was untouched by commercial demands, and this had several important implications. Composers were not obliged, as they were with other music (particularly vocal music), to automatically follow the dictates of musical fashion. They could make the fantasia as conservative or as fashionable as they pleased. Usually, however it was the former: a taste for the old and familiar, occasionally spiced with the new, seemed to prevail. This presents a paradox, because fashion and innovation were two of the most characteristic ingredients of artistic fantasy in England, as has already been shown. It is possible that the fantasia was mainly the possession of a musical cognoscenti and the devoted enthusiast, rather than the typical musician of the day. They were people who had the means of being able (through the necessary contacts, including the composers themselves) to procure music in manuscript rather than in published form. In matters of musical taste and preference, they were probably more conservative than innovative. But rather than working against the fantasia's favour, this situation worked for it, insofar as the fantasia did not fall victim to musical change as quickly

as other forms did. In fact, its longevity, in an era of rapid musical change, stands as one of its most surprising attributes. On the other hand, it is also quite evident that in the hands of the younger generation of composers - the Jacobeans, and a few later composers such as William Lawes, Christopher Gibbons and Matthew Locke - the fantasia became a genuinely original and often overtly experimental composition. To this extent, it lived up to its name as a type of music which represented the freely creative, the fashionable, and later, the bizarre.

This picture, if it is correct, means that any attempt at charting the fantasia's 'stylistic evolution', in terms of its progressive responses to processes of general stylistic change, cannot afford to be too historic- ally deterministic. Thus it must not be assumed that the fantasia's 'stylistic evolution' (if that is the right phrase) can be explained simply in terms of a gradual shift away from the 'Renaissance style' to the 'Baroque style', for there are obviously many other factors which complicate the picture.[100]

An even more immediate problem concerns chronology. Because the vast bulk of the fantasia repertory survives only in manuscript, the dating of individual works, and the arriving at an overall chronology, are made consider- ably more difficult than might otherwise be expected. Many Elizabethan manuscript sources of consort music were, in actual fact, retrospective anthologies which were collec- ted together by music antiquarians of the day (an example

being Edward Paston), and it is therefore likely that the compositions were probably composed much earlier than is suggested by the date of the manuscripts themselves.[101] A minimum of such information, together with only the sketchiest knowledge of how music in manuscript was disseminated and circulated, are severe handicaps in trying to piece together a precise picture of the fantasia's history. How many manuscripts have been lost is another question, and one whose answer may never be known. But if Roger North's remarks are anything to go by, the number must be large, for while many 'old musick books' apparently survived into his lifetime, he observed that they often met their end by being torn up to make kites or to be lit and used for 'singeing pullets'.[102]

There is yet another problem and it concerns the fantasia's very uneven history of cultivation in England. Its rise to prominence in the 'golden age' obviously had a lot to do with the fact that a generation of young composers, which flourished at this time, contributed greatly to the rise of instrumental music. These composers, born in the 1570s and 80s, directed much creative energy towards instrumental forms such as the fantasia, the In Nomine and dance music. Coprario, Ferrabosco the younger, Tomkins, East, Bull, Gibbons, Lupo, Ward and White, all belonged to this generation and composed numerous fantasias. Their combined contribution accounts for a large proportion of the surviving English fantasia repertory. But because all were of a very similar age, few were still alive by the end of James I's reign, and this

meant that the fantasia suffered a sudden decline. Coupled with this factor were the very negative repercussions on all aspects of musical life caused by the outbreak of Civil Wars in the 1640s. The middle decades of the seventeenth-century were a low point in the fantasia's history, just as they were for all other musical forms. Thus the fantasia's decline after the Jacobean period was brought about in large part by external factors, and it would be wrong to suggest that there was some innate musical reason why the fantasia eventually fell victim to change. It is often assumed, for example, that because it never truly departed from the idiom of vocal polyphony, it 'belonged' to the Renaissance and was incapable of adapting itself to the new, influential styles of the Italian Baroque.

The reason why this assumption is not justifiable is that the English fantasia amply demonstrated itself as one of the most adaptable and versatile of all musical forms. Whereas other compositions had brief lifespans, that of the fantasia was impressively long (spanning a hundred years), even if its importance was seriously diminished in the post-Jacobean period. Clearly, had it not been so ready to adopt new ideas and styles, it would certainly not have survived as long as this. A highly adaptable composition, it aligned itself at various times with the textless polyphonic song, madrigal, canzonet, sonata, and dance suite. The solo fantasia for keyboard and lute was different again, for it preserved the freely spontaneous style of the early fantasia in Italy and Spain. Thus, in its history, the English fantasia encountered a wide gamut

of styles, far wider than was the case with any other instrumental composition.

The significance of this fact seems to be generally overlooked, but it is perhaps the secret to understanding the singular nature of the English fantasia. It was a musical form which allowed composers to experiment with new styles, but which at the same time preserved its essentially conservative contrapuntal heritage. In it, old and new happily coexisted, and this made it stylistically unique and also guaranteed it a survivability which was denied to other musical forms of the period. It grew to perfectly reflect the English musical character, which at this time displayed an active interest in, yet only a passive receptiveness to, foreign trends and influences. In the end its native conservativeness won out, for despite its periodic associations with the 'alamode', it finished in much the same way as it started, that is, as a textless composition which was written in the idiom of vocal polyphony.

An interesting fact is that the English fantasia was commonly known from the earliest stage as the 'fantasie' and its contracted form 'fancy' (see Appendix I), and not just as the 'fantasia'. The fact that it was known by these forms is further evidence that it was understood from very early on as a native musical form, not a transplanted one. The reason for this is that soon after its introduction to England, it lost contact with the fantasia tradition on the Continent, and evolved along a

completely independent path. This path was the English aesthetic of fantasy. What follows is an account of the English fantasia's history, divided for convenience into three chronological sections: the early, middle and late periods.

Origins and Early Period

Unfortunately, Morley's account in 1597 of the fantasia (see page 283) provides no information on its origins in England. However, Morley's final words that it 'is with them who practise instruments of parts in greatest vse, but for voices ... but sildome vsed', may be taken as an indication of the early English fantasia's heavy reliance on the polyphonic vocal tradition.[103] This immediately raises an important question, for while the Continental fantasia had made wide use of vocal polyphony in the sixteenth century (see pages 22-24), it had rarely been a composition that was actually written for voices.[104] How the situation came to be different in England is difficult to answer, but it is obviously important when investigating the fantasia's introduction to that country.

The answer may be that the fantasia was not introduced to England in a 'recognized' manner. Compare the case of the madrigal. It can be seen from the various publications of foreign madrigals which appeared in England, that this composition was 'officially' introduced to the English musical public. The first was Nicholas Yonge's Musica transalpina volume of 1588; the second was

Thomas Watson's <u>Italian madrigals englished</u> of 1590. The result was that the madrigal was recognized as having derived from Italy. This did not happen with the fantasia, because virtually no Continental examples were ever published in England (see page 311). The fantasia's entrance on to the musical scene took place in an altogether more indirect and obscure manner.

It might have been brought across by foreign musicians. When the Flemish violists Hans Hossenet and Hans Highorne arrived in England in 1526 to serve as court musicians to King Henry VIII, the fantasia for instrumental consort was still very much in its infancy in Europe. Surviving sources can only suggest its existence at this time; they cannot conclusively prove it.[105] By the time six Italian violists arrived in the mid-1540s from Venice, Milan and Cremona, also to serve the King, it had very probably taken root. After all, the first published examples appeared in Italy shortly afterwards: the <u>Fantasie et recerchari a 3 voci</u> (Venice, 1549) of Giuliano Tiburtino and Willaert, and the <u>Fantasie recercari contrapunti a tre voci</u> (Venice, 1551) of Antonio Gardane.[106] Thus it could be that these Italian violists were responsible for its introduction to England.

A more likely theory however, is that both the solo and ensemble fantasias owed their introduction to the efforts of one musician, Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder (1543-1588). He was an Italian courtier, madrigal composer and noted instrumentalist from Bologna. After having

travelled to Rome in 1559, he arrived in England to serve the young Queen Elizabeth I in 1562 or thereabouts. He was granted an annuity by the Queen, but left England in or around 1578; it is widely believed that he was acting as a secret agent for the Queen on the side. Although a composer of only the third rank in Italy, he achieved particular success in England, and became known as a highly skilled master of counterpoint and a violist and lutenist of some distinction. Morley referred to him as a 'great musician, famous and admired for his works', and made particular note of his 'deep skill' in madrigal composition.[107] Henry Peacham the younger made similar remarks.[108] It seems that Ferrabosco may have been one of only very few musicians, native or foreign, who became widely known by the English public. He was the only one whose name was ever included as an entry in an English dictionary, and this was Blount's Glossographia of 1656. Ferrabosco's entry reads:

> Alphonso a famous Musician, who invented a partic-
> ular way of playing on the Viol [lyra-way?], which
> still retains his name.

The admiration which he received was in large part due to the fact that Italian culture was greatly revered by the English, and Ferrabosco was the only Italian musician of any outstanding note who was stationed in England. Even so, it has been shown by Kerman that his influence on the early development of the madrigal in England is strangely disproportionate to the artistic merit of his own works. They are stylistically indebted to Lassus, and they reveal

that his knowledge of the Italian madrigal tradition was limited and conservative; his knowledge may only have advanced as far as de Rore. In particular, they display a restricted harmonic vocabulary and very rarely make use of expressive rhythmic devices, chromaticism or contrast which, by the middle of the century, had become typical of the Italian madrigal.[109]

A parallel situation seems to have existed with Ferrabosco's relationship with the fantasia, in respect of both the solo and ensemble varieties. It should be said at the start that his contribution to the ensemble fantasia was extremely limited. There is a four-part 'Fantasya' of which only the cantus part survives in Add. MS 32377 in the British Library.[110] The same composition also exists in a keyboard version, called 'A fancy', in Add. MS 30485,[111] although which came first is difficult to say. There are other ensemble works including a duo, two trios on 'ut re mi', and two six-part compositions, one of which is for 'sei Bassi';[112] they all exhibit a scholarly, if dull and characterless style of counterpoint.

The above fantasia is interesting for its unusual design and for the likely possibility that it represents a personal approach to fantasia composition, quite independent of traditions from Ferrabosco's homeland. The Italian ensemble fantasia (and for that matter the polyphonic solo fantasia) was essentially no different from the polyphonic ricercar, in that both were continuously contrapuntal compositions and both were meant to show the composer's

contrapuntal ingenuity.[113] Ferrabosco's 'Fantasya' is differ-
ent for a number of reasons. After a long opening section
of imitative counterpoint follows a series of four shorter
sections, each of which is based on a different musical
idea. The first comprises upward scales in thirds, the
second has a dance-like 'tripla', the third consists of
imitation at the third and fast, quaver passages, and the
last sees a return to the strict contrapuntal style of the
opening. These are the beginnings of each section in order
of appearance (from the keyboard version):[114]

Similar in varied design is another keyboard 'fancy' by Ferrabosco in Add. MS 30485. It is a composition which, on account of its passages of rapid scales accompanied by simple chords, cannot have been originally composed for voices or viol consort. It begins in canonic imitation at the fifth, moves from this to a chordal style interspersed with rushing scales in both hands, and then to a concluding dance-like tripla. This tripla is similar to the one in the previous composition except that it is longer and contains a repeat.[115] The sections begin as follows:

Where Ferrabosco took his idea of sectional form from is unclear, for there appear to be no other fantasias like these two up to this time. One possibility is that he borrowed the idea from the Italian madrigal. Kerman observes that Ferrabosco had a tendency in the madrigal to adopt a homophonic style after a full cadence midway through. This practice was unusual and archaic, reminiscent of Palestrina's early works and more distantly, the old ballata tradition.[116] Changes to triple meter can also be seen in some of Ferrabosco's madrigals, such as 'Godea Tirsi gl'amori' (or in its English title, 'Thirsis enjoyed the graces'), which appeared in Musica transalpina.[117] Ferrabosco's use of homophony in the fantasia would seem to have been borrowed directly from the contemporary Italian madrigal and frottola, rather than the motet style of much 'free' instrumental music. Alternatively, he may have been influenced by the Continental canzona (little known to English musicians), which at this time was becoming increasingly sectional and varied in structure. There are many examples of chansons with homorhythmic movement, which were adapted as instrumental 'canzone'. For example, Willaert's 'Dessus le marche daras', which has a homorhythmic tripla on the words 'De largent on vous donra, sentin, senta, sur le bon bras', was published in keyboard form by Pierre Attaingnant in 1529, in a collection entitled Six gaillardes et six pavanes. The keyboard version preserves the homophonic tripla.

More orthodox are Ferrabosco's fantasias for lute and bandora, since these employ the same integrated mixture of contrapuntal style and 'free' style encountered in the fantasias of Milano, de Rippe, and a score of other lutenists from the Continent. For example, his Fantasia no.2 for lute (the same as Fantasia no.2 for bandora) begins with two-part imitation at the fifth in a similar manner to the Milano fantasia discussed on page 20:[118]

As with the Milano fantasia, there is a trend, after this opening, towards a 'loose' type of counterpoint which favours the upper melody and relegates the other 'voices' to the role of simple chordal accompaniment. Both pieces also make use of running scales, and these are introduced as a means of adding extra interest and variety, while of course giving scope for virtuosic display:

Milano

Ferrabosco
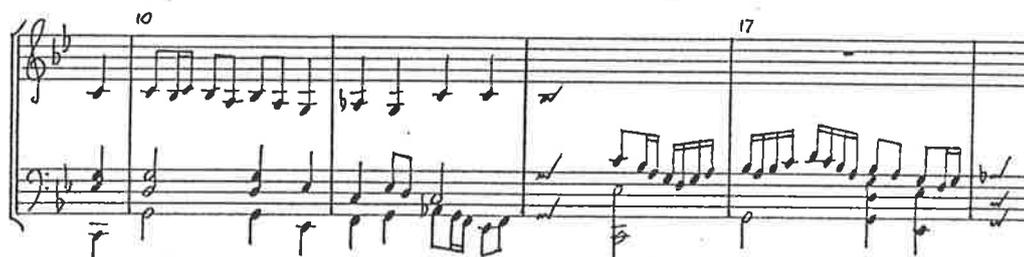
What this seems to indicate is that Ferrabosco had two contrastingly different approaches to the fantasia, one unorthodox and the other orthodox. Besides possibly having personally introduced the form into England, or at the very least having given it a strong initial impetus, he also encouraged its development by presenting to English musicians different possibilities of what could be done in fantasia composition. One possibility involved well-schooled and skilful use of counterpoint, another involved freedom and variety, and another involved a spontaneous and display-orientated style on the solo instrument.

A curious fact about Ferrabosco is that his conservative and essentially motet-derived style of counterpoint[119] had a special affinity with contemporary Tudor church polyphony. Largely devoid of the expressive immediacy and pungency so characteristic of Italian vocal music of the time, his style closely approximated to the restrained and often purely musically conceived approach of much English church music. It may be for this reason that an association quickly grew between an understanding of fantasia as 'pure, perfect counterpoint' and the native tradition of composing exercise-like textless polyphonic pieces such as the 'sol-faing song' and the In Nomine. These polyphonic pieces appear to have been widely cultivated during the 1550s, 60s and 70s, perhaps having originated during the reign of Mary I (1553-58) when Catholicism and papal authority were being restored in England. As Kerman has pointed out, this was a formative period for composers

such as Mundy, Parsons and Robert White, as well as the older generation of Sheppard and Tallis.[120] In textless polyphonic music they found an ideal outlet for experimenting with a range of contrapuntal techniques for use in liturgical music. These techniques included cantus firmus, canon, and counterpoint using hexachordal themes. Not having to base the music around a text, they could develop such techniques in abstract isolation. Edwards believes that these pieces were usually intended for voices (hence the name 'songe') but were commonly played on instruments (probably the viol family) as well.[121] There was no convenient generic name for these pieces, except in the case of the In Nomine, and this may be the reason why the title 'fantasia' or 'fancy' was occasionally applied to them, since this disclosed their abstractly musical nature and free form. This would explain how a tradition of vocally inspired and vocally performed fantasias (cf. Morley) emerged in England at the time.

The following table gives the names and details of the earliest composers in England who are known to have written fantasias:

COMPOSER	DATES	FANTASIA OUTPUT
Edward Blanckes	c.1550 – 1633	1 a 5
Alfonso Ferrabosco I	1543 – 1588	1 a 4 [in kbd version]; 1 for keyboard; 4 for bandora, 5 for lute
William Byrd	1543 – 1623	3 a 3, 4 a 4, 1 a 5, 3 a 6; 9 for keyboard
William Daman*	c.1540 – 1591	1 a 3
John Baldwin	before 1560 – 1615	1 a 3 'to a ground'
Thomas Morley	1557/8 – 1602	9 a 2, 1(2) a 5 ('La fantasia'); 1 for keyboard
Newman	fl. c.1583	1 for keyboard
Peter Philips	1561 – 1628	1 for keyboard, 1582
Renold	?	1 for keyboard
Jeams Harding (or Harden)*	active 1581 – 1625; d.1626	2 for keyboard
Christopher Tye	c.1505 – ?1572	1 a 5 [= Rubum quem]
Robert White	c.1538 – 1574	6 a 4

* Probably both originally from the Netherlands (Daman is known to have arrived in England in the 1560s)

From this table it can be seen that the fantasia was, in its early phase, a form of only minor importance. It was hardly a distinct form either, since 'fantasia' was actually little more than a title which was occasionally given to pieces in a repertory of essentially homogenous polyphonic music. The only exception was the solo fantasia, which developed along the lines of Ferrabosco's lute example above. Nevertheless, it is useful to look at another early specimen, a short 'fancye' from the Mulliner Book (compiled c.1550-75) by Master Newman, a composer whose identity and dates remain uncertain. A keyboard composition, it is nevertheless entirely based on the established polyphonic vocal style (perhaps indicating that it was originally a vocal composition). It is written in three parts and consists of mostly long, flowing, overlapping phrases in imitation. The upper part has a certain degree of melodic or thematic independence, and this may indicate that it was borrowed from another composition (Marco Antonio Cavazzoni's 'Salve virgo' has been suggested[122]). The beginnings of its three thematic sections are given here:[123]

In pieces such as this, the presence of a rest invariably indicates the end of one melodic phrase and the beginning of another. The whole construction mimics the effect of texted vocal music in terms of the length and layout of musical phrases, and shows that the composer was well versed in the mechanics of polyphonic text setting.

Whereas in Italy and other countries (except perhaps in France) the solo fantasia predominated over the ensemble type, the reverse was true in England. Only when Byrd began composing examples for keyboard and Dowland examples for lute can it be said that the idea of the solo fantasia had truly become established. Before Dowland, English lutenists showed an active interest in lute fantasias by foreign composers, as the following table of compositions from two manuscript sources of lute music shows,[124] but this interest stopped short of using them as models for their own compositions.

Willoughby Lute Book (c.1575)

No. 1   'ffantaci de narboyes' [Luys de Narvaez]

    4   fantasia by Milano   [Ness no.2]

    5   " " " "   ["   no.3]

Marsh Lute Book (c.1595)

No. 8   fantasia by de Rippe   [Vaccaro no.3]

   48   " " " Milano   [Ness no. 3]

   62   " " " "   ["   no.28]

   65   fantasia by Fernyers   [? Diego Fernández]

   66   " " " de Rippe   [Vaccaro no.12]

   68   " " " Milano   [Ness no.39]

   84   " " " "   ["   no. 5]

   92   " " " "   ["   no.30]

To the above list may be added Adrien Le Roy's 'Petite fantasie dessus l'accord du Leut', published in England in 1568 (see page 19). Other lute fantasias by Diomedes Cato, Jakub Reys, Howet, and Lorenzini were included, along with a virtuosic example by Ferrabosco, in Robert Dowland's Varietie of lute lessons of 1610.

The reason why the fantasia failed to flourish in England is obviously because conditions were not wholly conducive to its development. Perhaps the demonstrative, display-orientated approach of the free fantasia was not entirely in keeping with English musical sensibility, and perhaps neither was the often rigorous and highly disciplined approach of the imitative fantasia. But there was an equally important reason: no concept of musical fantasy existed in England during the period of the fantasia's introduction. It was seen in Part III that such a concept only began to appear in the late 1580s, significantly

later than this period. But until it happened, fantasy was largely an irrelevant concept in English music, and therefore the fantasia had no reason to be cultivated. In effect it was waiting around for the right conditions to happen.

These conditions did of course ultimately arise, and may have had a lot to do with two of the leading composers of the time, Robert White and William Byrd. They seem to have been the first English composers who experimented with the fantasia and to have evolved a successful approach to composing it. They made the fantasia a more distinctive composition by basing it on the idea of variety. Ferrabosco had done this in some of his fantasias, by avoiding unified design and by joining together a number of heterogenous musical elements to produce a distinctly sectional design. What prompted him to do this is not at all obvious, and it may only have been the result of his generally idiosyncratic approach to composition. But whatever the reason, White and Byrd followed up his example and transformed the fantasia into a composition of highly variegated structure, incorporating homophony, dance and folksong elements, and variation form within an overall fugal and contrapuntal framework. In doing this they made the fantasia the authentic expression of an English concept of artistic fantasy, and set the course for the fantasia's rapid future development in England. White's contribution is discussed in Chapter 4, and that of Byrd's in Chapters 4 and 6.

Middle Period

Instrumental music appears to have suffered a decline during the 1580s and early 90s. One of its greatest champions, Ferrabosco, had left England, and by now interest was being increasingly directed to secular vocal music, especially the consort song, lute song, and the madrigal. It might be suggested that the rise to popularity of these forms caused composers to turn their attention away from instrumental music. However, it is just as likely that instrumental music was still composed, but that most of it has simply not survived the passage of time. The turn-of-century was a period of dramatically changing musical taste, and it may be that earlier instrumental compositions were regarded as unfashionable, and that no effort was made to preserve the manuscripts which contained them. In any case the new and popular consort song satisfied the needs of intrumentalists and singers alike, because it called for an accompaniment of viols. Also, there is plenty of evidence to show that madrigals were just as often played instrumentally. Publications of madrigals allowed for this alternative by stating so in their titles. And there exist many manuscripts of madrigals and motets without the words copied out, implying that the pieces were played on instruments, sung wordlessly, or sung to solmization syllables. As evidence of the widespread practice of singing wordlessly, Morley condemned it by stating: 'I see not what passions or motions it can stirre vp, being sung as most men commonlie sing it: that

is, leauing out the dittie and singing onely the bare note, as it were a musicke made onelie for instruments'.[125] This indicates that there was little concern for the literal meaning of vocal music, and that there was more concern for its 'musical' meaning. Some of the implications of this will be explored later.

One thing is sure, however. By the time Morley was writing his treatise on composition, the fantasia was no longer a truly 'vocal' composition. It was still vocal in style, but from now on it was designed to be played by instruments. Herein lay the fantasia's uniqueness. It was without question a 'free' form in the sense that the composer was not restricted by the requirements of text-setting, but so too of course were other instrumental forms. What made the fantasia different was that, with few exceptions, it always maintained very close links with the tradition of vocal polyphony. In fact, one of the most interesting developments in its history was the relationship it shared with the madrigal and motet. After apparently having fallen into neglect, the consort fantasia was revived by the practice, mentioned above, of playing vocal compositions (such as these) on instruments. Roger North went so far as to claim that the English consort fantasia actually originated from the procedure of transcribing Italian vocal works for consort performance:

> In some old musick books, I have found divers formed consorts, with a Latin or Itallian epigrafe; being either the initiall words of songs, or names of familys, as La Martinenga, Piccolhomini, and the like. These I guess were songs for many voices

composed and printed in Italy, and here transcribed for the use of instruments, (for composers then were raritys), and without doubdt, however devested of their significant words (if they ever had any) were very good musick. And it was from the Italian model that wee framed those setts of musick, which were called Fancys, and in imitation of them inscribed Fantazia. 126

Examples of this are the five-part fantasias of John Coprario. There are forty-nine in number and all but one of them have Italian titles. Six of the six-part ones are called fantasias, as indeed are various others by Thomas Lupo and John Ward. Research has shown that a number of these works did in fact originate from texted vocal works;[127] further research will no doubt uncover more examples.

The most important change that the fantasia underwent in the middle period was a shift away from the didactic and towards the 'recreational'. In the middle phase, it came to occupy an equivalent role in instrumental music which the madrigal had by now come to occupy in vocal music. Roger North made a distinction between 'Lessons', which were consorts designed to suit the modest capabilities of students, and 'Fancys', which were intended for those who had acquired all the basic skills of composition.[128] The fantasia was also different from the In Nomine, a pedagogic composition,[129] because it was intended purely and simply for the purposes of recreation. Together with the newer 'airs', it formed the repertory of the new and fashion-orientated 'Consorts of pleasure', according to Lord North (Roger's grandfather). For musicians in these consorts, such compositions were only supposed to 'tickle

the ear' and to fill the 'Ear, not the Soul' with 'affected Elegance and Conceits'.[130] Roger North still maintained that the fantasia had always been essentially an old-fashioned and staid composition,[131] but it is quite clear that unlike the In Nomine, it had largely freed itself from the former style of church polyphony, a style which he could only describe as 'interwoven hum-drum'.[132] This underscores a finding in Part III that there emerged in late Elizabethan times a sensory concept of fantasy, which was itself an important factor in the growing secularization of music.

There is another level at which the idea of fantasy operated in the middle-period fantasia. Instrumental music had the unique 'problem' of not being able to communicate to the listener as directly or as intelligibly as vocal music, because it lacked words. This problem was raised in chapter 1, and it was found that while in vocal music the meaning was conveyed literally, in instrumental music the meaning had to be imagined. For this to be possible, the music had to be constructed from images or topoi which represented meaning through recognizable configurations of sound. Many of these images were borrowed from vocal music, especially music of a type which employed techniques of word painting. The madrigal was of course a perfect example, and because many madrigals used this technique highly explicitly, they could be played instrumentally or sung wordlessly and still to a large extent retain their general meaning. Here lies an interesting

line of enquiry into why madrigals were commonly used as instrumental music in the Renaissance. Michael Fütterer has examined this question and shown that the imaginative process was central to the practice of adapting sixteenth-century Italian madrigals for instrumental use. His thesis is that the texts of the madrigals were imagined by the performer by virtue of <u>topoi</u> which were present in the music.[133] If the words were already known by the performer, it was a simple matter of remembering them and investing the music with its original meaning. If not, then his imagination was called into play to create a freely imagined text.

The above theory is particularly useful when looking at the English fantasia. The fact that the name 'fantasia' was given to instrumental transcriptions of madrigals is significant because it attests to the central role which was played by the fantasy. Indeed, it explains very well the historical connection between the madrigal and fantasia, and why the two flourished at the same time. The theory would suggest that instrumental performance of madrigals did not come about through a shortage of instrumental music, but because they offered more scope to the imagination than existing instrumental music did. It is an interesting paradox that the nature of instrumental music may have been profoundly changed, as will be seen in the case of the fantasia, as a result of its exposure to vocal music. To be balanced against this theory is the earlier suggestion that madrigals were played instrumentally

simply because the words were considered less important than the music. There is convincing evidence to support this suggestion.[134] It seems to be generally true that the English were more interested in the purely musical side of the madrigal than were the Italians, perhaps as the result of a carry-over from the earlier tradition of the textless polyphonic 'songe'.[135] However, if it was the new range and intensity of expression in madrigals which interested them, this automatically presupposes that musicians listened to madrigals not as pure, 'abstract' music but as representational music, insofar as they recognized partic- ular 'ideas' or affections being expressed. These were musical 'images', and when strung together they formed an imagined text.

The presence of textless madrigals and fantasias alongside one another in manuscript sources is signific- ant, because in fundamental terms the only thing which differentiated the two compositions was the 'fantasy factor'.[136] Once 'fantasia' had come to mean nothing more than a madrigal with an imagined as opposed to a literal text, it was a simple step to begin composing genuinely textless compositions which exploited the expressive capabilities of the madrigal in a completely liberated way. These are what have come to be known as 'madrigal fantasias'. A confusing thing about these compositions is that they usually also refer back to the old tradition of the contrapuntal fantasia and textless polyphonic 'songe'.

An analysis of a typical madrigal fantasia will show how the genre operates. It is the second of the six-part fantasias by John Ward, a composer who is noted equally for his madrigals as his fantasias.[137] Like many of his other fantasias, it contains a number of sections, each of which is characterized by its own particular 'affection'. The nature of each section can be revealed by making comparisons with the typical procedures found in madrigalian composition, in which musical expression was of course completely governed by the meaning of the words. The first section is fugal and is therefore no different from the opening of a conventional fantasia, but its lively and bright-sounding theme sets a mood of joy which is quite unlike the usual quiet serenity and detachment of typical opening themes. When similar themes to this appear in madrigals they express a mood of lightness and merriment:

Ward Fantasia a 6 no.2

Wilbye 'Stay, Corydon thou swain', a 6

Weelkes 'O care, thou
wilt despatch me' (Part
1), a 5

mirth on-ly help can bring, mirth on-ly help can bring me

The first section reaches a clearly defined cadence and is
followed by a series of non-fugal sections, the first of
which consists of syncopated descending lines. These
suggest the idea of movement and pursuit:

Ward

Wilbye 'Stay, Corydon thou swain'

if thou fol — low her she'll fly — — from thee,

thou fol — low her, — she'll fly — from thee from thee,

Then, after three repeated chords (implying an emphatic
statement or question of some kind), there comes a passage
of long, suspended notes with pointed use of accidentals,
creating an effect of 'exasperated harmony' and 'lamen-
table passion', to use Morley's words (see page 475). The
last few bars are given here:

Similar passages abound in the English madrigal repertory, invariably always in the context of personal anguish, torment and melancholy. Here are two examples:

Morley 'Leave, alas, this tormenting'

Wilbye 'Draw on sweet night'

The penultimate section returns to the optimistic and cheerful note of the start, and does this by echoing its upward quaver scales and lively imitation. The composition ends with a coda which expresses goodwill and consent:

Ward

Weelkes 'Take here my heart' a 5

In its five different sections, Ward's fantasia ranges over a variety of affections as if dictated by a secret, underlying and purely imaginative verse of poetry.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis; firstly, that in works such as this, form and content are the outcome of a literary-derived mode of expression which is concerned primarily with arousal of the affections or passions. The earlier concept of the fantasia as a piece of 'abstract' counterpoint has now been replaced with a newer concept connected with the power of fantasy to stir the motions of the heart. As was seen in Part III, this concept was especially important in England, and it is no surprise that it exercised a basic influence on the fantasia. The second conclusion is that for the madrigal fantasia to be fully understood, it requires the active participation of the imagination. It requires an 'imaginative leap' to unlock the hidden meanings of the music by bringing together a range of music-word associations to form a word-picture, or image, in the mind. There is a certain element of privacy and secrecy in this process, for a word-picture can only be implied and never plainly stated (as in a madrigal), and the listener is essentially free to attach whatever personal significance he likes to the suggestions of the music. Much lyric poetry of the period was based on the idea of fantasy, such as the poems of Breton, and so too was much madrigalian verse (see Part III, chapter 3). However, the essential privacy of this idea was somewhat negated in the madrigal due to the overt, explicit and therefore 'unsecretive' manner in

which it was presented. No such problem existed with the madrigal fantasia. Its manner of presentation relied purely on the power of suggestion, and its 'hidden meanings' belonged entirely to the individual interpretation of the listener.

The extent of the fantasia's receptivity to the madrigal is revealed by examining the fantasias of a number of other composers who belonged to the Jacobean generation. These include John Coprario, Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Lupo. The madrigalian influence is obvious in some of their works, but it operates more subtly in others. The most innovatory step was to abandon the convention of beginning with a long and complex fugal section and instead begin with homophony. This gives a directness and immediacy which is foreign to the concept of fantasia as well-crafted counterpoint, but entirely characteristic of the madrigal (note also that the tactus is now in semibreves, not breves):

Coprario Fantasia a 6 no.1

Coprario Fantasia a 6 no.2

Lupo Fantasia a 6 no.5

The two Coprario fantasias given here may in fact have originally been madrigals. Another typical manifestation of madrigalian influence is the use of antiphonal interchanges between high and low registers of the consort. This is one of numerous examples which can be cited:

Lupo Fantasia a 5 no.12

There are in the madrigal repertory, occasional instances of homophonic sections in triple meter, usually when the words relate in one way or another to the idea of dance. When in Weelkes' madrigal 'On the plains fairy trains', the nymphs 'come in quickly, thick and three-fold' to present a dance, the meter changes to triple time and all voices engage in the same light, galliard rhythms:

Weelkes 'On the plains fairy trains'

Invested with the capacity to present images to the mind, the fantasia could now make use of such tripla sections to convey the idea of dance, that is, to create an imaginative representation of a dance as distinct from a real one. Coprario's Fantasia a 6 no.4, titled 'Risurgente madonna' (possibly indicating that it was originally a madrigal), contains two very short homorhythmic triplas which are like fragments or fleeting reminiscences of the galliard. Only the uppermost voice is given here:
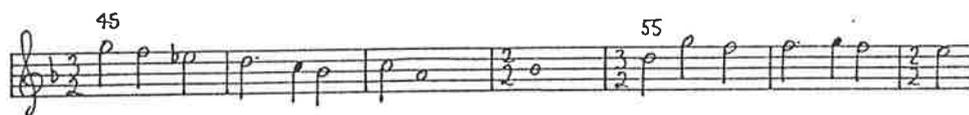
The galliard 'tripla' became a feature in the fantasias of a number of composers, perhaps most notably William Byrd (see Chapter 6). Orlando Gibbons was another, as is demonstrated by the following examples from his three-part fantasias for the 'Great Dooble Base':

Fantasia no.2

Fantasia no.3

Fantasia no.4

The idea of dance could also be conveyed in the opening of a composition. William White's Fantasia a 5 no.2 is an example of this. Its bright-sounding theme with its simple and direct rhythm, is remarkably like an almain:

Indeed the whole composition follows the almain vein, by virtue of the frequent symmetry of phrase, the predominating homophony of texture, and a complete absence of elaborate, extended counterpoint.

Other techniques which were borrowed from the madrigal are of a more subtle nature and relate to phrase structure. It may be that composers who were immersed in the art of text-setting automatically thought in terms of vocal-length phrases and other such considerations when they were faced with composing music for instruments. Instead, it may be that they deliberately aimed at imitat-

ing the effects of madrigalian expression. Whatever the explanation, there exist a great many instances in the Jacobean fantasia of phrase structure having been determined by quasi-textual considerations. Some examples will show this. Phrases are of a length which is consistent with the usual length of a line of set verse, that is, between seven and twelve syllables, with an average of eight or nine. The brackets indicate the maximum number of syllables which can be accomodated by each melodic phrase:

Gibbons Fantasia a 3 no.9

Gibbons Fantasia a 3 (for double bass) no.2

Gibbons Fantasia a 3 (for double bass) no.5

Gibbons Fantasia a 6 no.3

Coprario Fantasia a 3 no.4.

The last of the above compositions is interesting, for while it is imitative throughout, it dispenses with the regular fugal method. Rather than consisting of a series of subjects which are imitated, it consists of a series of melodic phrases which are repeated once in each part. It may be another example of a composition which was originally a madrigal. In any case, the above examples indicate that during Jacobean times there was a tendency for phrase structure to approximate with that found in the madrigal, whereas previously, phrases had followed the extended imitative procedure of the motet. This difference is most in evidence when the phrases are completely broken up to produce rapid interchanges between the voices, and arresting effects of homorhythm. This is another typical madrigalian technique, and it was used to give sharp emphasis to single words. In fantasias, its effect can be very striking when it appears, and the listener is left to

consider in his own mind what the effect is supposed to represent or express. Again, it is his powers of imagination or fantasy which are called into play (the organ part in the Jenkins fantasia is omitted):

Coprario Fantasia a 6 no.2.

Gibbons Fantasia a 6 no.3

Jenkins Fantasia a 4 no.9

(As noted before, the Coprario fantasia may have origin-
ally been a madrigal.) If 'songs without words' is a
literal definition of the early polyphonic fantasias of
Ferrabosco I and others, it also aptly fits these
madrigal-styled fantasias of the middle period. They are
clearly vocally inspired and in every respect they
resemble madrigals, with the difference that the listener
must provide his own imagined text. In a sense they are
'fictitious madrigrals', to borrow Bacon's Aristotelian
concept of poetic fantasy, for the composer freely brings
together a variety of expressive effects in whatever order
his fantasy chooses. The end product is a madrigal-like
composition whose underlying text is not real but is
fictional. However, it was not simply a matter of 'guess-
ing' what the phantom text might be, because its essence
was fundamentally indeterminate and indefinable. The way
expressive effects were combined did not have to agree
with any notion of order or reason, meaning that the
result could indeed be highly disordered or improbable.
Unlike the madrigal, which was concerned with 'literal
reality', the madrigal fantasia entered an abstracted

reality based on fictional transcendence of the explicit and specific. When Reynoldes wrote of the 'fabulous Trans-mutations' which arise from literary fantasy (see page 191), he was describing perfectly the nature of the madrigal fantasia.

Another dimension can be added to this question of how the fantasia relates to the Baconian concept of combin-atory fantasy. Expressive devices, of whatever type, can be looked upon as musical images which are taken from the original context and combined in new and 'fictitious' ways. These images do not have to have been derived from the madrigal for they can have originated from any source. The incorporation of tripla sections, reminiscent of dance, has already been mentioned. Other images include folksong, bell-ringing and borrowed or 'prototypic' themes. Byrd used the 'Greensleeves' tune, albeit much altered, in the second of his six-part fantasias (see page 442). Orlando Gibbons used another popular tune, 'De Rommelpot', in the third of his three-part fantasias with the 'Great Dooble Base'. This tune occurs midway through, after a tripla, in the treble part:

The folk-dance melody 'Rufty-tufty' appears briefly in Gibbons' Fantasia a 4 no.1.[138] Another probable use of folk-song occurs in the third of Gibbons' published three-part fantasias. Its opening theme, remarkable for its extended length, is no less remarkable for its folk-dance quality:

The point about this composition, as with the other examples mentioned, is that it captures the essential quality of folk music, that is its simple rhythms and lyricism, to create a familiar aural reference and therefore lend a distinctive character to the whole composition. Numerous echoes of the tune are heard both before and after its actual quotation, but these echoes are more like indirect, fleeting recollections than abstract thematic elaborations. The sound of bells is another example of the contrived use of musical images in the fantasia. Bell themes were often used in instrumental music, and well-known examples are Byrd's keyboard composition 'The Bells' (in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book), and the popular 'Lady Katherine Audley's Bells' and 'Bell Pavan' by John Jenkins. In fantasias, bell sounds were sometimes used towards the end in sequential, overlapping 'peals' to evoke feelings of joyfulness and celebration:

Coprario Fantasia a 6 no.2

Gibbons Fantasia a 3 no.2

Jenkins Fantasia a 5 no.6

More in the vein of true pictorial or descriptive representation is one of the two keyboard fantasias by John Mundy in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. It comprises sections titled 'faire wether', 'lightning', 'thunder', 'calm wether' and 'a clear day'. These sections make for a highly distinctive design. Especially noteworthy are the striking effects used to musically describe lightning and thunder:

Lightning

Thunder

Christopher Simpson took the nature idea further in his series of descriptive suites based on the four seasons, for treble and two bass instruments with basso continuo. Each suite comprises an opening fantasia followed by an ayre and a galliard, and together they form a vivid depiction of the sights and sounds of nature's seasonal cycle.

More complex is the question of borrowed or 'prototypic' themes. It has been observed by various scholars that in some fantasias the opening themes have come from other compositions. For example, John Jenkins made use of the head-motif of Palestrina's 'Vestiva i colli' in one of his six-part fantasias,[139] and the theme from Gibbons' sacred hymn 'O Lord in thee is all my trust' in his Fantasia a 5 no.4.[140] The possibility that Master Newman's fantasia from the Mulliner Book is a parody has already been mentioned. Recent research has exposed further instances of borrowed themes: Coprario's Fantasia a 4 no.6 is based on the madrigal 'I saw my lady weeping' Part 2 by Ferrabosco the elder; Ferrabosco the younger's Fantasia a 6 no.6 is a reworking of Wert's 'Chi salira per me'; and Jenkins' Fantasia a 6 no.5 comes from Ferrabosco the younger's 'Zephyrus brings the time' (the text of which is a translation of Palestrina's 'Zefiro torna').[141] A parallel

exists with the fantasia repertory for lute. The head-motif of John Dowland's Fantasia no.7 (no.1 in <u>Varietie of lute lessons</u>, 1610) was used by Holborne in three of his fantasias. The same head-motif also appears in fantasias by Milano, Molinaro and Howet, as well as various other lute pieces and songs, suggesting that it was widely known and used by musicians over a long period.[142] Another of Dowland's lute fantasias was based on a theme from Farnaby's canzonet 'Some time she would and some time not'.[143]

What all these examples point to is the possibility that pre-existent themes were used as musical images in fantasia composition. They literally provided the starting 'point' for the imaginative process in a new composition. Their purpose was to remind the listener of something he already knew (a 'prototypic memory') and extend it in the form of a series of newly invented musical ideas, some of them obviously derived from the original composition, others not obviously so. To fully substantiate this theory, much evidence would be required to find out how widespread the practice of borrowing themes really was. Such a task obviously requires a great deal of research, but an attempt has been made in the present study to locate a number of thematic concordances in the English fantasia repertory which have not already been brought to attention. Concordances which have been identified are given in Appendix II. These probably only constitute a small fraction of the concordances which exist, but together they give some indication of how common it must

have been in the fantasia to take an existing theme and use it as the basis for a new composition. Parody technique was of course an established and widely used technique in the Renaissance. In the fantasia, it had a special significance because it perfectly represented in musical terms the inventive and imaginative capabilities of fantasy. But whereas the madrigal fantasia represented the Aristotelian concept of combinatory fantasy, the parody fantasia fitted in more with the neostoic concept of oratorical fantasy. In this, the orator took in his mind an image and used it as the creative source for his speech. The image was a mental representation such as a vision which, when contemplated upon, would bring forth a train of spontaneous thoughts, images, associations and descriptions. Stoic philosophers agreed that this process belonged to the 'well-ordered' fantasy and that it was just as important to poets as to orators.[144] This idea proved influential in English poetry from the late sixteenth-century onwards, as Part III showed, and there is every reason to suggest that it found a direct musical parallel in the fantasia of the same period. The same idea may have applied to other forms which used parody technique as well.

In a parody composition the theme of the original composition is presented as an image or 'simularre', to quote Thomas Elyot. In terms of faculty psychology, it was taken from a <u>locus</u> in the memory[145] and given over to the fantasy. There it set in motion a process of spontaneous invention, whereby the parody model would serve as a

perpetual source of new musical ideas. Thus all points of imitation in the new composition owed their origins to the parody model. An example is John Jenkins' Fantasia a 4 no.4, which uses the opening theme of Lupo's Fantasia a 6 no.6. The original head-motif is given here along with some of its many derived forms in the new composition:

Lupo

Jenkins

Particularly noteworthy is the harmonic adventurousness in the last third of the Jenkins fantasia, in which the theme is transposed to many different and often chromatic starting pitches. The differences in its many statements make this a particularly inventive composition. Each statement is a subtle variation of the original, representing it in different ways, while at the same time truly referring back to and preserving its essential form. This follows exactly what Sebastiani prescribed in fantasia improvisation in <u>Bellum musicale</u> (see page 15). However, not all 'parody' fantasias remained faithful to the original. Most simply used it as a starting point from which the musical fantasy could pursue its own independent direction (a musical 'flight of fancy'), to result in a composition whose form or procedure followed no set plan. In this case, the parodied theme served only to activate the fantasy, to unleash its free inventive powers, so that the listener could be taken on a journey from the familiar and tangible to the unfamiliar and imaginary. Compositions like this answered to a rather different concept of fantasy, one which concerned the principle of variety (see the next chapter).

The concept of fantasy as musical image is obviously of fundamental importance to the Renaissance fantasia.[146] It provides a common conceptual thread which unites the English fantasia as a genre in its middle phase, when a stylistic thread is often frustratingly absent. This brings the discussion to one other group of fantasias

which is indeed stylistically separate. These might be called a 'constructivist' species of fantasia because they employ special techniques such as hexachordal themes, cantus firmus, ostinato and even ground bass. It might on the face of it seem strange that the fantasia, often understood as a free form, might adopt disciplined and systematic techniques such as these. However, the fantasia was from the very outset associated with the notion of pure, abstract counterpoint, and the composer was always free to use whatever means were available to test his skill in this direction. But more importantly, each of these techniques served as a 'fixed idea' which, rather than confining the composer's inventive powers, gave considerable impetus to them. It was an accepted belief of the time that infinite variety could be achieved by the most limited or restrictive means, and this was the conceptual basis of the In Nomine, canon, variation form, and ground bass compositions. The fixed idea was in fact another form of musical image: it served as the stimulus to the composer's inventive powers, that is, to his fantasy.

The use of hexachordal themes in English fantasias may have been the result of a Netherlandish influence. Peter Philips, John Bull and possibly also William Byrd are known to have had connections with the Netherlands, brought about by their adherence to the Catholic faith. This put them into contact with the music of Cornet and Sweelinck, whose large keyboard fantasias presented new

levels of contrapuntal ingenuity, and placed large tech-
nical demands on the performer. Both composers wrote
fantasias 'sopra Ut re mi fa sol la', and used the
hexachord in a variety of different ways, including fugal
imitation and ostinato. Bull and Byrd composed similar
works but did not actually title them 'fantasias'. Alfonso
Ferrabosco the younger composed a pair of hexachordal
fantasias for consort, and it exists in both four- and
five-part versions (there being an extra treble part in
the latter), along with a conflate version for keyboard.[147]
The hexachord is assigned to the treble voice and func-
tions as a cantus firmus: in the first of the pair it
ascends while in the second it descends. The compositions
are altogether remarkable for their chromaticism, since
each statement begins on a different note of the chromatic
scale. In Part II the hexachord begins on E, and by
degrees it falls to A, giving rise to unprecedented modul-
ations in the surrounding counterpoint. This is much like
the first of Bull's three 'Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la'
compositions for keyboard, in which the rising and falling
hexachord begins on every note of the chromatic scale. A
similar symmetrical pair of fantasias, but based instead
on the minor pentachord, was composed by White; these are
his Fantasias a 5 nos 1 and 3. In the first of these,
called 'Diapente', the pentachord ascends, while in the
second (untitled) it descends.

The fantasia and the In Nomine are generally regarded
as two separate species of composition,[148] but in spite of

this there are some instances of fantasias having been
based on the In Nomine theme. Conversely, there are some
In Nomine compositions which were loosely called fantas-
ias. An example of the former is the Fantasia a 6 no.7 by
Ferrabosco the younger. It uses the 'Gloria tibi Trinitas'
melody not as a cantus firmus confined to one voice but as
a theme which appears sequentially in complete form in all
voices, from top to bottom (hence the words 'In Nomine
through all parts' in one of the sources, BL Add. MSS
39550-4). The melody is even used as a point of imitation
at some places. In each of its appearances the rhythm is
different, but the relative pitches of the original essen-
tially remain unchanged:

It is as if the In Nomine melody has been transformed into a series of subtlely changing images, removed from the original by clever and inventive manipulation, yet still recognizably derived from it. Dowland composed a pair of 'Farwell' pieces for lute, the first of which is a fantasia (no.3) on a chromatic hexachord. The other is a fantasia (no.4) on the In Nomine theme, but because the theme's role is that of a cantus firmus, Diana Poulton commented that the composition 'is, in fact, an In Nomine'.[149] Even so, its pairing with what is actually a regular fantasia suggests that Dowland may have thought otherwise. A parallel exists with Purcell. His fantasias and In Nomines, so-titled, were grouped together under the general heading of 'fantazia' in his autograph score (BL Add. MS 30930). It is also true that his five-part fantasia 'Upon one Note' is a genuine cantus firmus composition, since the middle voice holds a middle C from beginning to end.

It is more unusual to find ostinato and ground bass in the fantasia. One of Bull's keyboard fantasias, composed before he left England for the Netherlands, comprises two halves, the first of which is in two-part free imitation, and the second of which consists of a single line of improvisatory descant over a basso ostinato. The ostinato figure, of leaden quality, is repeated a dozen times. Here is the beginning:
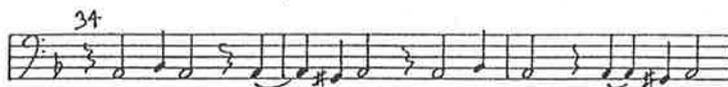
Above this is a string of brilliant scalic passages in
quavers, triplets and then semi-quavers. These passages
follow their own free direction, in total contrast to the
static left hand. John Baldwin's 'Coockow as I me walked',
whose alternative title is given as 'A fancie iij voc.
upon a ground', is a uniquely different composition. It is
based on the following ground bass:

This is not simply a ground bass composition, for it is in
fact a parody fantasia. The ground, actually a melody, is
derived from the head-motif of Dowland's Fantasia no.7 for
lute, given at the beginning of Appendix II.

The above discussion hopefully indicates how impor-
tant was the concept of musical image in the fantasia
during its height in the Jacobean period. It now remains
to show how this concept gradually became supplanted by
completely unrelated concept of fantasy. In Part III it
was found that fantasy was often associated with fashion,
innovation and originality, and this fact automatically
made the fantasia receptive rather than resistive to
stylistic change. Whereas its cousin the In Nomine
remained essentially static, the fantasia was predisposed
towards experimentation, and evidence of this was already
seen in its association with the madrigal. The importance
of this predisposition needs to be emphasized, because it
can be seen to have been the major factor in the fantas-
ia's remarkable stylistic transformations in the later

Jacobean and Caroline periods. Had things been different, there is every reason to suppose that the fantasia would have slipped into rapid decline, as happened to the lute ayre and lute music generally, the In Nomine, and the madrigal. The decline of the last two forms had an effect on the fantasia, for it then increasingly adopted a separate path of development, one which had little in common with either the sacred or secular styles of vocal music. Rather, the fantasia moved in the direction of a purely instrumental style of composition.

Paradoxically, this development partly owed its origins to vocal music. With their extraordinary complexity of rhythm and proportion, early compositions such as Tye's 'Sit Fast' and Morley's 'Christes crosse' placed considerable technical demands on the singer, and were probably more easily performed instrumentally. They set the scene for later compositions which were ostensibly vocal in style but which were more naturally suited to instruments, due to length of phrases, wideness of intervals and rapidity of scales. Morley's two-part fantasias, loosely styled as canzonets, were singable (see Chapter 7), but others which followed in their footsteps were not. Passages such as the following, from Orlando Gibbons' Fantasia a 2 no.3, amply illustrate this:
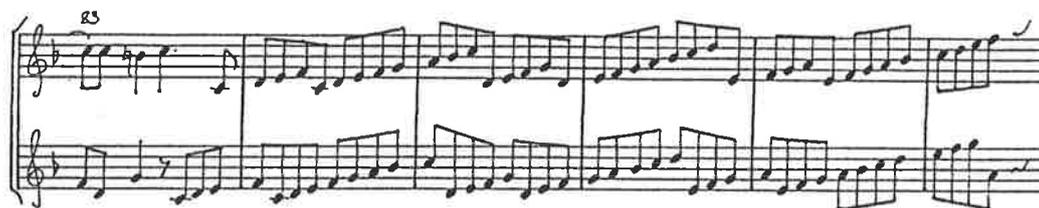
There was no clear separation between vocal and instrumental music, and as Oliver Neighbour suggests, singers who were 'accustomed to the exceptional range and wide skips of English vocal writing would have been prepared to follow the composers quite a long way, if only for the sake of exercise'.[150] It was inevitable, however, that two separate repertories of vocal and instrumental would eventually emerge, and that the fantasia would become increasingly a part of the latter. This process happened as a result of a gradual widening of the pitch ranges of each part, from a tenth or eleventh to a thirteenth or more. In the Gibbons fantasia mentioned above, the two parts both have ranges of a sixteenth. It also happened as a result of the intrusion of increasingly 'awkward' part-writing, designed to test the felicity of the performer. A good example comes from Ward, a composer previously noted for his madrigalian style of writing. It is his Fantasia a 4 no.6., in which the opening point in the tenor is immediately followed by an echo in inverted form:
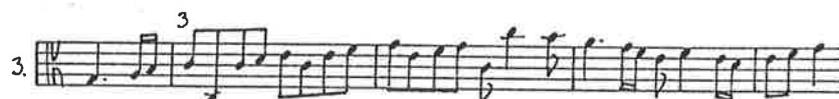
Of this work Lord North wrote that it 'stirs our bloud, and raises our spirits, with liveliness and activity, to satisfie both quickness of heart and hand'.[151] Jenkins, whose three sets of consort fantasias were probably written in or around 1625,[152] is usually noted for his

restrained, serene expression, but he too was capable of producing some very lively opening points, for example this one from his Fantasia a 4 no.13:
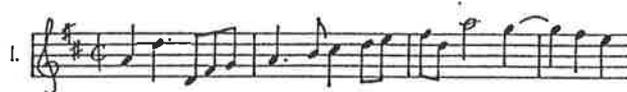
Even more novel were virtuosic passages which were designed to either unseat the novice or allow the master to command all the attention. With a consort of proficient players there was the chance of 'playing off one another' in friendly rivalry (cf. Simpson's remarks on page 286):

Gibbons Fantasia a 3 no.5

Jenkins Fantasia a 4 no.12

Lupo Fantasia a 4 no.10
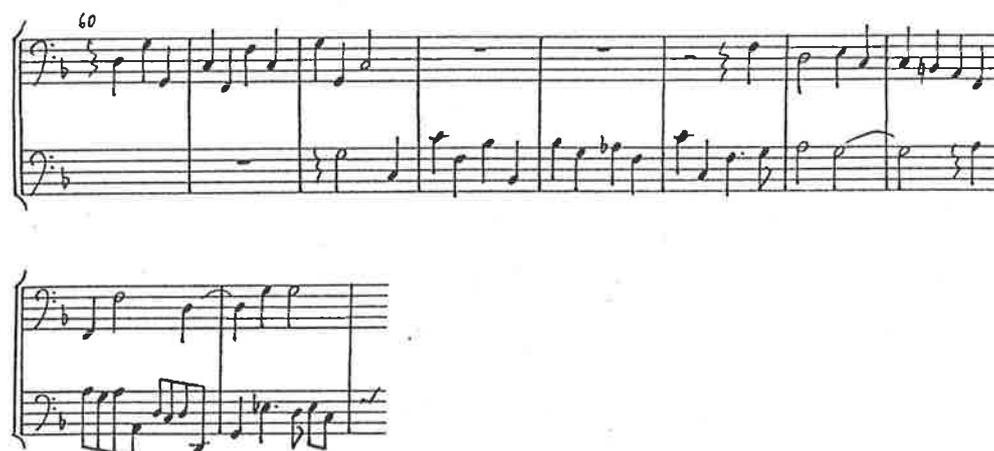
In William White's Fantasia a 6 no.2, the two trebles are juxtaposed against one another in an extended solo section, then likewise the tenors, and finally the basses. The whole sequence lasts 23 bars, a quarter of the piece's length.

This development caused a shift to occur from the old principle of vocal polyphony to the new principle of the solo sonata and trio sonata. In these new instrumental forms, full scope was given to virtuosity. This was made possible by a simplification of the texture and a greater independence between treble and bass, the former being more soloistic and the latter more supportive and harmonic. In some Jacobean fantasias, variety is achieved by inserting trio sonata-like episodes in between the main outer sections of polyphony:

Gibbons Fantasia a 3 no.5 (for double bass)

Also symptomatic of a move away from the traditional polyphonic framework, is the grouping together of pairs of instruments to form melodic-harmonic combinations:

Lupo Fantasia a 4 no.4

The unusual instrumentation in the above composition (it lacks a tenor) is one of many different new combinations which were increasingly being used: for example two bass viols, three equal instruments, treble and two basses, and so on.[153] Organ accompaniment was commonly used, for that instrument could play 'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All'.[154] Also, the violin was probably now beginning to supplant the treble viol as the highest member of the consort. During Roger North's lifetime the treble viol had of course been completely replaced by the violin, but he said that this had only been a later development, that is, post-Jacobean.[155] However, the violin was being used for the first time in some fantasias and suites before this time, for example in the works of John Coprario (d.1626). His pieces for two violins, bass viol and organ were the logical outcome of a trend towards the new solo and trio sonata concept, because they dispensed altogether with the customary equal-voiced viol consort. Coprario, 'who by the

way was plain Cooper but affected an Itallian termination',[156] reputedly travelled to Italy, and while he was there, he must have become acquainted with the new instrumental 'canzone da sonar' and 'sonate'. These compositions were increasingly in vogue with a generation of composers who wrote mainly for the violin, including Salomone Rossi (who in 1607, published two collections of 'gagliarde' and 'sinfonie' for two solo instruments and basso continuo, Biagio Marini (whose Opus 1 of 1617, titled <u>Affetti musicali</u>, comprised sonatas, canzonas, sinfonias and dances for one or two violins or cornetts supported by basso continuo), and Giovanni Paolo Cima (who published solo violin sonatas and a <u>Sonata a 3 per violino, cornetto, e violone</u> in 1610). Returning to England, Coprario emulated their example and composed pieces of a similar mould, but instead of calling them 'canzonas' or 'sonatas' he called them 'fantasias'. The former were unfamiliar terms to the English, and in any case the latter was perfectly suited, because at this time in England the word fantasy was commonly associated with innovation and fashion. His were 'alamode' compositions <u>par excellence</u> because they represented the very latest development in instrumental music, direct from the Italians who were acknowledged by all as the most innovative musicians in Europe. With wide leaps, fast scales and ornamental passages, they were obviously virtuosic works both for the violinist(s) and the bass violist (who, as in the sonatas of Cima, takes an equal role). Like the contemporary Italian sonata, the form of Coprario's violin fantasias

tends to be highly sectional, with the emphasis on variety. The one from Suite no.9 in C for violin, bass viol and organ, comprises three main sections: the first, being the longest, is imitative and in duple meter; the second is a short dance-like interlude in triple meter; and the third is a loosely imitative coda in duple meter. It should be noted that the organ part is entirely separate (it is fully written out) and can be heard solo in many passages and at other times in dialogue with the string parts. Here are the openings of the main sections:

An almain (or 'air') and galliard (or 'ayre') follow this fantasia, as indeed is the case in all of Coprario's suites. The effect of this is to further emphasize the idea of variety. It is interesting to note that Lupo actually called many of his almains and airs for three and four parts 'fantasias'. This indicates how loosely the term was used at this time, and indicates how closely the name had now become associated with instrumental as opposed to vocal music.

Whereas in the earlier period the fantasia was a minor and relatively obscure composition, it was now one of the most important musical forms. This is illustrated by the fact that it had now far eclipsed the In Nomine, whereas in former times the opposite had been the case. The following table gives a summary of the principal fantasia composers of the middle period:[157]

VIOL CONSORT	a2	a3	a4	a5	a6
John Bull	1?				
John Coprario	18[1]		7	49	7
Richard Dering				8	6
Michael East	8	29	12	8	
Alfonso Ferrabosco II		3[2]	24	2[3]	10
Thomas Ford				6	
Orlando Gibbons	6	18	2		9
Thomas Lupo		25	13	32	12
Martin Peerson				1	6
Thomas Ravenscroft				4	
Thomas Tomkins		14		1	4
John Ward			21	12	7
Wiliam White	2	1		3	6
John Wilbye			3		

VIOLIN

| John Coprario | 16 | for violin, bass viol and organ (in suites comprising fantasia, almain, galliard) |
| | 8 | for 2 violins, bass viol and organ (in suites comprising fantasia, almain, galliard) |

KEYBOARD

John Bull	13	(2 are preceded by preludes)
Giles Farnaby	11	
Orlando Gibbons	10	(1 for double organ)
John Mundy	2	
Peter Philips	4	
Thomas Tomkins	6	

LUTE OR SIMILAR

John Dowland	7			Robert Johnson	2[4]
	3	for lute		Daniel Bacheler	1
Antony Holborne	2	for bandora			
	2	for cittern			
	2	for trio doubled by cittern			

NOTES: 1 12 are for 2 bass viols and organ
        2 for lyra viols
        3 Hexachord Fantasia, parts 1 & 2
        4 1 is for lute duet

Most of the above composers were born between the years 1570–1580, and most died between 1625 and 1635 (Ward and Wilbye died in 1638, Farnaby in 1640). By 1640, only East (d.1648), Peerson (d.1651), Tomkins (d.1656) and White (d. before 1667) were still alive. This factor contributed significantly to the fantasia's decline in the post-Jacobean period.

Later Period

The sudden departure of so many fantasia composers was compounded by the fact that few younger composers emerged to replace them. As a result, the fantasia tradition declined seriously. The keyboard and lute fantasias fell into extinction, and with the gradual disappearance of the viol consort, the fantasia gradually lost its traditional basis as a polyphonic composition. It mainly survived as a composition for violin or violins and keyboard continuo, that is, in the form of the Italianate fantasia suite as pioneered by Coprario. However, by the middle of the seventeenth century this type had also largely become an anachronism.

A parallel situation had already taken place earlier in the century in Italy with the canzona. With Frescobaldi, Merula, Marini and others, the canzona had been greatly modified from its origin as a polyphonic vocal composition to become a virtuosic violin composition and precursor of the sonata. However, the term 'canzona', like 'fantasia', continued to be linked with the old contrapuntal style of sixteenth-century vocal music. This association probably caused 'canzona' to be dropped in favour of 'sonata', just as 'fantasia' eventually gave way to the same term in England. For example, while Roger North was prepared to admit that the fantasia suite became a prototype of the violin sonata, the inescapable fact for him was that the former composition represented the old, while the latter composition denoted the new.

Ironically, the fantasia was now being struck down by the very thing which it had previously come to symbolize: musical fashion. Thomas Mace bears this out many times, for he was writing in a time of transition, when fashion had all but swept the fantasia aside. He regretted that musical practice and taste was now determined by 'Phantastical, Giddy, or Inconsiderate Toyish Conceits'. And he lamented that 'Brave New Ayres', played by ten or even twenty violins (whose sound he described as 'rather fit to make a Mans Ears Glow, and fill his Brains full of Frisks, &c. than to Season, and Sober his Mind, or Elevate his Affection to Goodness'), had displaced music for the consort of viols, in which 'no one Part was any Impediment to the Other' and which disposed the listener 'to Solidity, Gravity, and a Good Temper'.[158] Simpson could also see that there was a fundamental difference between the old contrapuntal music of last generation, epitomized by the fantasia, and the new, lighter music of his generation. It was, as Mace realized, mainly a question of changing musical taste and fashion. Simpson noted that the fantasia 'is now much neglected by reason of the scarcity of auditors that understand it, their ears being better acquainted and more delighted with light and airy music'.[159]

These words of Simpson and Mace were written during the Restoration, when private music societies had acquired a strong taste for foreign music, particularly from France and Italy (for example by the composers Cazzati and Vitali), and when fantasias were receiving the censure of

the king.[160] However, before and even during the Restoration, fantasias continued to be played both in London and in the country, and even in the court of Charles II.[161] One composer of fantasias who was championed by private music societies in Oxford from the mid-1650s was John Jenkins.[162] A composer who reached an impressively old age (his dates are 1592-1678), he composed music of a more traditional mould than his contemporaries, but he did make concessions to changing musical taste. One genre which illustrates this is the fantasia suite for one or two violins, bass viol (sometimes two bass viols) and organ, of which Jenkins wrote numerous examples (one set is dated 1674). These open with a fantasia and usually follow with an almain and then an ayre, galliard or corant. Another indication of Jenkins' progressiveness was his move towards a bolder and more vigorous style in the viol consort fantasia. His works in this genre, wrote North, 'followed in the track of the most celebrated masters' and 'consequently [their] style was, as theirs, solemn and grave'.[163] In spite of these words, there are three four-part fantasias by Jenkins which inject a new spirited expression into the genre. These are numbers 15, 16 and 17, and it has been conjectured that they might have been composed later than the others.[164] They are highly elaborate compositions both in variety of counterpoint and breadth of design.

A good example is no.15, because it presents a considerable expansion of the typical Jacobean fantasia. The

composition appears to have been based on Ward's Fantasia a 4 no.1, and a comparison with the original will reveal how this expansion occurs. As can be seen below, the openings are similar except that Jenkins has transformed Ward's theme into a major tonality and that it is followed by rather more contrapuntal energy (the organ part of the Jenkins fantasia is omitted):

Ward Fantasia a 4 no.1

Jenkins Fantasia a 4 no.15

Ward moves on to new themes and ideas, such as the grouping of instruments by pairs, a homorhythmic episode, an extended section of pungent, falling suspensions, and a fugal coda. The direct, madrigalian expression and clarity of design are, however, completely absent in Jenkins' parody. It dwells on the opening theme for much longer, drawing out fully its contrapuntal potentialities. With Jenkins' typical attention to detail, it also incorporates a reference to a subsidiary motive in the original, at the same point:

Ward

Jenkins

Jenkins chooses to bypass Ward's madrigalian episodes and instead moves onto the coda theme:

Ward

Jenkins

As is indicated by this comparison, Jenkins focusses
attention on the essential rhythmic feature of the
original, and uses it to build a section which completely
eclipses Ward's coda, both in length and contrapuntal
complexity. Also, it modulates to the very sharp key of F
sharp major in the last dozen bars, something which Ward
would never have done. The true nature of Jenkins'
fantasia is revealed by what then follows. Departing
entirely from the original composition, it embarks on an
extended free section beginning in the very flat key of A
flat major. Now the style of writing is purely and unmis-
takably instrumental, with a mixture of very long and very
short phrases, wide leaps, and fast, often complex
rhythms. The following passage illustrates this well:

Compositions such as this fantasia can be regarded as
mannerist, because their expression is derived from class-
ical models, in this case traditional vocal-style writing,
but achieves its effect by expansion and exaggeration of
what is possible using strictly classical means. Boldness
and virtuosity take the place of restraint and simplicity.
The aim now is to produce an intensified manner of express-
ion which relies on progressiveness of style and an
undisguised element of daring or unpredictability.

No other composer so epitomized this new approach than William Lawes. A pupil of Coprario, he was well-schooled in the Jacobean art of fantasia like Jenkins, but unlike his contemporary, he went on to personally transform that art through adventurousness and experimentation. Dudley, third Baron North (grandfather of Roger North) may have been thinking of Lawes when he wrote in a letter to his brother, dated 24 September 1638, that 'Our modern fantasies in musick and your Court-masking tunes have taken up a change in aire and spirit, and are the better accepted'.[165] Lord North's words were indeed significant because the fantasia, if it was ever to survive in these rapidly changing times, had to quickly modernize itself. It had to adopt more 'aire and spirit' or be labelled and rejected as an anachronism. Never a traditionalist, Lawes was just the composer to bring about the necessary changes to 'modernize' the fantasia.

The consort suites of Lawes, such as the Royall Consort, the Harp Consorts and the five-and six-part fantasia suites 'for the Violls', represent a highly original manipulation of traditional fantasia design. His approach is at once bold and extrovert, forsaking smooth melodic contours and abstractly 'clever' counterpoint. He bases his style on the extravagant and virtuosic possibilities offered by contemporary instrumental technique, such as the art of playing divisions. As with Jenkins, the design is, on the surface, traditional. Most of Lawes' fantasias begin in the customary fugal manner, but the

themes which are used signal that something is basically different. Again, this can be shown by means of comparison. The quiet decorum which pervades Ward's In Nomine a 5 is encapsulated in its opening theme, a melody reminiscent of the In Nomine cantus firmus:

On the other hand, Lawes' fantasia in the six-part suite in g is patently forceful and modernistic in spirit. For a moment its opening theme sounds similar to the theme above, but through its insistence and adventurousness the overall effect could hardly be more different:

Such elaborate, grandiose statements as this abound in Lawes. He parodies convention by being self-consciously different, and defies what is normally to be expected in a fantasia. More extreme is the opening of the first fantasia in the six-part suite in c:

Angularity of line, odd mixtures of intervals and rhythms, and an ambiguous sense of tonality are the characteristic ingredients of Lawes' instrumental style, and in his fantasias they result in a unique and curious blend of the majestic and the grotesque. Clearly operating behind this kind of music is a concept of fantasy which relates to strangeness, bizarreness and evocativeness of spirit.

As is to be expected, Lawes also makes full use of
all the possibilities afforded by sectional structure. An
extraordinary diversity of material is to be found in his
fantasias, and one example is in the first of two fantas-
ias in the six-part suite in F. Out of its slowly rising,
nebulous opening emerge simple lyrical fragments which
perhaps recall folksong (see especially the third part).
The resulting effect is highly original (the organ part
has been omitted):

This gentle, spacious and drifting vein reaches a conclus-
ion after twenty-one bars, and is followed by a genuinely
fugal section (fugue is of course normally encountered at
the beginning of a fantasia, not later on) with a tradit-
ional canzona-like subject:

Spectacularly long descending quaver passages are heard after this (bars 36-47), and they build up to a striking series of terse three-note declamations. The paired voices violently clash with one another, for example the E flat against the E naturals in bar 49:

Passages like this are obviously derived from madrigalian expression. The tension subsides after this and the composition concludes on a peaceful note with descending semibreves (falling by thirds) and restful melodic writing, mirroring the opening.

Surprisingly, Lawes' vigorous approach drew no response from Roger North, and in fact the only comment he could make was that 'Mr Laws [sic] was a more aiery and smooth composer than his contemporaries, but had not the clever stile and air of his successor Mr Jenkins'.[166] Such a comment appears somewhat wide of the mark in the light of what has been observed about Lawes' fantasia style, but one composer who in North's opinion clearly represented

the new and most fashionable instrumental style was
Christopher Gibbons, son of the famous Jacobean master
Orlando Gibbons. North had seen fantasia suites by this
composer and described them as 've[ry] bold, solid, and
strong, but desultory and not without a litle of the
barbaresque'.[167] Christopher Gibbons was therefore another
composer for whom musical fantasy meant adventurousness
and bizarreness. His style can be seen to be close to that
of Lawes. Quoted here is the opening theme from the
fantasia in his Suite no.4 for two trebles (violins), bass
and organ (the organ part is omitted). Its grand and
impressive sweep covers two octaves:

The same theme incidentally, is to be found in the
fantasia from the same composer's Suite no.6. In the above
composition there are chords with augmented and diminished
fifths which create a deliberate strangeness of harmony.
Gibbons' most daring touch is to add augmented seconds,
sevenths and ninths in the part-writing:

Also worthy of mention are the following antagonistic
alternations between the trebles near the end:

With exciting effects such as these, new life was breathed into the fantasia during the Caroline and Commonwealth periods. But rather than promising a renewal of this very traditional genre of instrumental music, the manneristic fantasias of this time were actually symptomatic of its decline. No matter how modern they sounded, they relied for effect on parodying and distorting the traditional expressive language of the original. The fact is that they looked backwards as much as they looked forwards.

Other fantasias in this final period were composed by Martin Peerson, John Hingeston, John Hilton, Simon Ives, Matthew Locke and Henry Purcell. Following on from Coprario and Lawes, they often used the fantasia as the opening movement in a suite. Mace wrote of 'Fancies of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts to the Organ; Interpos'd (now and then) with some Pavins, Allmaines, Solemn, and Sweet Delightful Ayres'.[168] The suite (or 'sett') was widely cultivated during Charles I's reign, according to North:

> During this flourishing time, it became usuall to compose for instruments in setts; that is, after a Fantazia, an aiery lesson of two straines, and a tripla by way of Galliard, which was stately, Courant, or otherwise, not unsuitable to, or rather imitatory of, the dance. Instead of the Fantazia, they often used a very grave kind of ayre, which they called a Padoana, or Pavan; this had 3 straines, and each being twice played went off heavyly, especially when a rich veine failed the master. These setts altogether very much resembled the designe of our sonnata musick, being all consistent in the same key; but the Lessons had a spice of the French [169]

As North's words seem to indicate, the fantasia suite was in truth a hybrid form which temporarily gave English

instrumental music a new and fashionable flavour, by styling it after the Italian sonata _da camera_. However, there was a limit to how far this compromise could be taken. The fantasia was always regarded as a contrapuntal composition, and no matter how 'aiery' it was made, it forever represented a compositional style which belonged to the past. Besides, the tide was turning away from native musical forms in the continual quest for the new and the different. North's memoirs give a good indication of how ruthlessly the fantasia was cast aside by English musicians in favour of Italian and French instrumental music. The fact is that the fantasia was no longer a viable form. It was inconceivable, for example, that the young Henry Purcell might have ever felt encouraged to publish his magnificent and masterfully written set of three fantasias a 3, nine a 4 and the five-part 'fantazia upon one note'. On the other hand, his violin sonatas found a ready market in print. His admission that these sonatas lacked originality may amount to false modesty, but there is no doubt that their popularity was in large measure due to their self-consciously Italianate style.[170]

There was another, more general reason why conditions no longer favoured the fantasia. Literary sources show that the concept of artistic fantasy was rapidly diminishing in importance during the second half of the seventeenth century. Its gradual decline in poetry was the result of a shift in creative thought away from the imaginative towards the rational. This is reflected by the

increasingly negative comments which poetic fantasy elicited from literary critics and poets (see Part III, notes 126 and 127). Ideas of illusion, allegory, melancholy, unrequited love and so forth, which had previously been favoured in lyric poetry, were increasingly regarded as either hackneyed or unconducive to true and realistic literary expression. The age of the 'fantasy poets' had well and truly passed. Fantasy and theories of the imaginative process had little place in this new age, the 'Age of Reason'. In music, fantasy was not the central point of discussion which it once was. The difference in artistic outlook between North, who epitomizes the new age of empiricist, 'rational' thought, and Mace, who represents the previous, Renaissance age, largely boils down to their respective philosophical positions in the fantasy-reason debate. Comparing their writings goes a long way in chronicling the decline of fantasy as an artistic force in English music during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Thus the fantasia was both stylistically and conceptually out-moded by the time of the Restoration. Its complete demise thereafter was as rapid as it was inevitable. With it went the last remaining link between the 'golden age' of Renaissance England, and the new 'Frenchified Age' (as Lord North termed it[171]) in which cultural pragmatism glorified foreign music and swept virtually all native music aside.

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 4 : THE ENGLISH FANTASIA
III.   THE IMPORTANCE OF VARIETY

In this chapter one facet of the fantasia will be examined in further detail, for it alone holds the key to a proper understanding of the English fantasia. Variety was a principle which governed all matters of form and content in the fantasia, but more than this, it served as its underlying aesthetic. When Lord North wrote of variety as 'the praise and perfection of Musick', and that variety of invention 'is infinite', he summed up perfectly the entire thinking behind the fantasia.[172] The aim of this chapter is to examine how the idea of variety came to be associated with the genre, and how it operated.

The last chapter showed that the earliest ensemble fantasias in England were probably textless polyphonic 'songs'. In terms of their contrapuntal writing they were entirely built on point-of-imitation technique, and in this respect they were no different from the motet. Well-handled counterpoint and seamless continuity of design were the main considerations. However, even in its early history, the fantasia showed signs of breaking out of this mould. It seems that composers were interested in discovering different ways to overcome the well-loved but undeniably restrictive 'epical evenness' of the motet style.[173] It was observed that Ferrabosco I was already experimenting with the form before it was fully established in England. His new ideas, whether born of artistic

unorthodoxy or creative originality, helped pave the way for a future development of the genre which was to ultimately separate it from all others. Specifically, it was his tendency to vary the fantasia design and turn it into a sectional composition which mapped the course for its future development.

Part III showed that by the 1580s, a concept of artistic variety had begun to fundamentally alter musical thinking, and that this was probably a response to similar changes which had already occurred in poetry. Thus the stage was set for the fantasia. Besides Ferrabosco there were two other composers who began experimenting with the idea of variety in the early fantasia: these were Robert White and William Byrd. White was highly innovative and forward-thinking in his fantasias, all of which must have been composed at an early date indeed because he died in 1574, some four years before Ferrabosco left England for the last time. There remains a question as to whether his fantasias and other textless pieces (including six In Nomines and a five-part 'Songe') were originally written for voices or for instruments, since many of them, including the six fantasias a 4, survive only as lute intabulations.[174] The intabulations are incomplete and are based only on the three lower parts. Nevertheless, they show that White's fantasias are for the most part polyphonic and vocal in style. It would also appear that the extra degree of contrapuntal elaboration in the fantasias, compared with the other pieces, is consistent with the

concept of fantasy as skilful contrapuntal invention. Some of them are regular in design, relying on continual imitation and a certain degree of thematic unity, for example numbers 1 (using a hexachordal theme) and 3. Others are irregular and lean towards the idea of variety, for example numbers 2 and 4, and to a lesser degree numbers 5 and 6.

Variety is achieved by incorporating sections of homophony in the middle of a composition. This technique was observed in two fantasias by Ferrabosco, but whereas that composer used it to create a dance-like effect, White used it in a more abstract, structural manner, to create a foil for the surrounding polyphony. The change of texture is often accompanied by a change of key, and by this means he brings about a variety of mood in the one composition (changing the key was too abrupt and disruptive for a composer like Morley, who ruled that it should never be permitted). Fantasia no.2 begins with an extended fugal section in which each voice states the following subject twice:
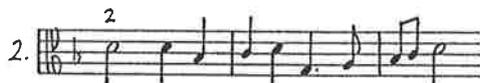
A full close is reached in bar 30 and the second half of the composition begins after a rest marked with a fermata (known in England then as a 'mark' or 'arch').[175] A new chordal section is then heard and the key shifts from g to the relative major of B flat (the top part is lacking):

Following this is an episode of free counterpoint, then a
return to the chordal style, and finally another section
of free counterpoint. Harmonic adventurousness is a partic-
ularly prominent feature of this work. There are cadences
on the dominant, further shifts to the relative major, and
modulations to the submediant. At times the changes of
harmony are particularly sudden and unexpected, as the
following passage shows. After a cadence on the dominant,
it moves through the dominant minor to F and B flat:

Passages such as this establish a strongly episodic charac-
ter in the second half of the composition. Fantasia no.4
is written in a similar vein but consists of three
sections, the first fugal, the second chordal, and the
third fugal. Once again, the opening fugal section ends on
a decisive cadence, this time on the dominant. And like-
wise, it is succeeded by a new and varied section whose
orientation is purely harmonic:

To include a chordal episode such as this in a composition which is in all other respects consistent with the traditional concept of motet polyphony suggests that White was consciously deviating from normal set procedure because his idea of musical fantasy demanded it. With White the English fantasia parts company with the motet, and moves in the same direction as the Italian canzona. Just like that composition, the fantasia was vocally derived in style and hereafter became increasingly dominated by the principle of variety.

There is an interesting possibility that the keyboard medley exercised an influence on the fantasia's later development. Of all compositions for keyboard, the medley exploited the principle of variety to the fullest. It consisted of a heterogenous mixture of elements and made no attempt at formality or unity of design. There are two examples of medley in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book: one by Edward Johnson (no.243) and another by Byrd (no.173). Both are highly sectional compositions and contain snatches of popular tunes. The one by Byrd begins with a simple chordal arrangement of the tune 'All in a garden green', and varies it by introducing a series of scales accompanied by chords. The second section consists of another, even livelier tune, again followed by a variation consisting of scales. The third section derives from Janequin's chanson 'La guerre', and thus the composition preserves the original sense of medley as combat. The fourth section is based on trumpet call, and the fifth

section is a version of 'The Bells of Osney'. There are two remaining sections, both of which probably also derive from popular sources; as with the previous sections they are each followed by a variation on the initial tune.[176] The medley by Johnson, known as the 'Old medley', is probably earlier than Byrd's, but it follows exactly the same pattern of a series of unrelated tunes (also seven in number), each followed by its own variation.

Looking at Byrd's output of keyboard fantasias, a trend seems to emerge away from the extended and continuous ricercar style as represented by Sweelinck, towards a more sectional and varied style. How much of a role the medley may have played in this is impossible to ascertain, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that the medley, with its emphasis on variety, pointed the obvious direction in which Byrd believed the fantasia should go. The fantasia in G no.2, from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, was referred to by Tomkins as Byrd's 'old fancy' and it is very likely an early work.[177] His longest fantasia, it is an intensely contrapuntal work based on a series of five long points, each of which is subjected to elaborate imitation. Each fugal section is neatly and unobtrusively welded into the next, so that the feeling of slowly-unfolding development remains undisrupted. However, even in this early work an interesting stamp of originality is apparent. The last three points are progressively more active and the imitative treatment becomes freer and more energetic, and the overall style becomes increasingly improvisory. Then, as

if prompted by pure whim, Byrd immediately moves on to a tripla section in coranto style:
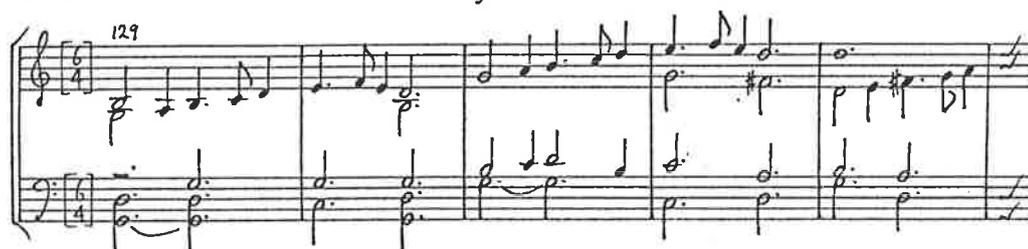
The work concludes with an improvisatory coda consisting of progressively faster scales:

After having dispensed with the principle of continuous point-of-imitation, Byrd evidently felt freer to turn the keyboard fantasia into a more characteristic composition. He did this by simultaneously loosening its structure and varying its contents. His other works in the genre are essays in the different ways in which this was possible. The fantasia in a, also from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, possibly also an early work, moves on to two extended improvisatory sections after its imitative opening has finished. A coranto-style tripla is then heard, followed by more colourful improvisations. The composition is divided into four clear sections, and only

the first contains point-of-imitation. Other fantasias by Byrd which contain dance-like triplas are the one in G no.3, the one in C no.2, and the one in d from My Ladye Nevells Booke.

The second of these is perhaps the most varied of all Byrd's fantasias. It begins with what is effectively a short, improvisatory prelude in loosely imitative style. Then comes an almain-like episode in chordal style, some free imitation, a lengthy improvisatory section, a brief passage of stretto imitation, and finally a free and decorative coda. The diversity of material can be seen from the opening bars of each of these six sections:

This composition relies for its effect on the essential unrelatedness of its composite sections, just as the medley does. In truth, it is like a miscellany of different musical ideas, and the interest of each idea is heightened by its uniqueness within the overall design. Some of Byrd's consort fantasias follow the medley idea even more literally. Just as the medley customarily makes

use of popular tunes, so too does the big Fantasia a 6 no.2. It simultaneously quotes the well-known tune 'Greensleeves' and the Romanesca bass line; then it passes to an entirely separate galliard, with variations, and concludes with an imitative coda (see Chapter 6).

Attention has already been given to the relationship which grew between the consort fantasia and the madrigal. This relationship also hinged on the idea of variety because it was chiefly from the madrigal that the fantasia learnt to convey a variety of different affections to the listener. Madrigals relied extensively on the technique of word illustration, but the point of this was to produce as much musical variety as possible by following every nuance of meaning in the text. This is the conclusion which must be drawn from reading Morley. He advised the student of composition that in madrigals one should 'shew the verie uttermost of your varietie' since 'the more varietie you shew the better shall you please'.[178] Whether madrigals were sung or played made little difference because the variety was in-built and could exist independently of the words. Many instrumentalists would have preferred playing madrigals rather than other types of music simply because, as Christopher Simpson later put it, 'variety it is which chiefly pleaseth'.[179]

This is how the madrigal fantasia came into being. It exploited in instrumental terms the variety of expressive effects which had made the madrigal such a popular musical form. An analysis of one of Ward's more madrigalian

fantasias, his Fantasia a 6 no.7, has already been made. It was shown how the composition used changes in note values, direction of line, choice of intervals, and harmony, to create a 'fictional narrative' in the listener's mind, mimicking the madrigal. It deliberately sets out on a different path from the more traditional, didactic fantasias whose main concern was 'pure, perfect counterpoint'. There are dozens of others like it which begin in the traditional manner with long and often elaborate fugues, but move on to sections of drawn-out suspensions and long note values, homophonic episodes, dance-like triplas, passages of antiphonal interchange, 'or what else [the composer's] fancy shall lead him to' (in the words of Simpson). There is never any set pattern because the whole idea is that each composition finds its own solution to the problem of evolving a unique and satisfyingly different design.

Examples of just how varied the design could be are Orlando Gibbons' published set of fantasias a 3 for treble, bass and double bass. His keyboard fantasias are remarkably unified and continuous in conception, but these consort fantasias lie at the opposite end of the spectrum. Fantasia no.4 is typical. It begins with a double fugue, follows with some lively upward scales, dotted rhythms and two changes of proportion, and ends with two sections of contrasting tempo:

The marking 'Long' is in the original. Markings such as 'faster', 'soft' and 'away' occur in other compositions in this set. They indicate that the differences in mood between one section and the next are meant to be brought out as much as possible by the performers. Gibbons was by no means unique in adding markings to the music, but he was probably one of the first to do so. Ravenscroft did the same in his fantasia a 5 no.1: this piece has in it the indications 'Softe', 'Verrie Softe', 'Long tyme & Softe', and 'Verye Lowde'. Locke and Purcell were also very particular in this regard. Both of their fantasias frequently contain markings such as 'brisk', 'slow' and 'drag' so that the distinctive character of each section can be appropriately emphasized.

It is interesting to see how this concept of variety changed during the course of the fantasia's development in the seventeenth-century. What changed was not so much the concept itself but the way it was applied. Originally, variety was supposed to enhance the musical interest of a composition, but by the time of William Lawes, variety was an element which was supposed to surprise or even shock the listener with the deliberately incongruous. Lawes composed fantasias which satisfied the bolder tastes of the post-Jacobean period, and they gained their impact

from exaggerated and manneristic expression. With Lawes, the principle, of variety becomes the principle of contrast. Contrast is very much a dynamic force in the conception of his compositions. His themes and contrapuntal writing manage to combine, albeit in often strange ways, the irreconcilably different demands of vocal polyphony and instrumental virtuosity. His structures place entirely different musical ideas side by side simply for the sake of dramatic effect. Rather than the ideas complementing each other by their differences, they exist in a state of wilful contrariety. But whereas this might have undermined the artistic merit of his compositions, it turned out to be their singular strength because Lawes had an unerring instinct for creating effective large-scale structures of bold conception. Thus the fantasia no.1 in the Suite a 6 in F, discussed in the last chapter, is essentially a rounded form despite the utter contrariness of its contents. The two outer sections mirror each other and act as solid pillars for the rest of the composition.

Considering what Lawes did to the fantasia, composers after him could not look back to the Jacobean concept of formal variety, for it was now almost meaningless. In the later fantasias, contrast is generated by alternating slow, harmonically-orientated and often chromatically expressive sections, with fast, fugal and rhythmically energetic sections. An example from Locke will demonstrate this. In the fantasia from Suite no.1 in g for two violins, bass viol and three theorboes from Part I of the

Broken Consort, there are four clearly differentiated and contrasting sections. The first is a slow, halting introduction with suspensions (this section is repeated), the second is a brisk fugue, the third is another slow section again with suspensions, and the fourth is another brisk fugue (the theorboe part, which doubles the bass viol, is not shown here):

The similarity in layout to the Corellian sonata _da_ _chiesa_ is more than coincidental. What this composition conclusively demonstrates is North's repeated claim that in its

later development, the fantasia came to resemble the sonata. The four-movement sonata da chiesa, with its stark alternations of grave and allegro, relied on the structural principle of contrast, whereas the sonata da camera, with its succession of stylized dances, relied more on variety. In Locke's suites, many of which begin with a fantasia, the theme of variety is postponed until the following dances are heard. Thus he combines the essential elements of both sonata types within the one plan. His fantasia suites are therefore an interesting, hybridized solution to the problem of musical form.

Purcell's fantasias follow in the footsteps of Locke, since many of them also resemble miniature, self-contained sonatas da chiesa. The main difference between Purcell and his predecessor is that he managed to bring out even more effectively the contrast between the alternating grave- and allegro-styled sections. His slow sections are characteristically infused with a heavy chromatic pungency, creating a level of expressive intensity which is unique in the fantasia repertory. His fast sections are brilliant and can be extremely energetic. It is interesting to speculate as to how the fantasia in this late period came to be associated with the sonata da chiesa, and not the sonata da camera. There is no reason why Locke or Purcell could not have expanded upon the Jacobean idea of using proportional changes and dance music to create a miniature dance suite in the fantasia. Perhaps it was asking too much to incorporate self-contained dances of binary form,

particularly dances of the newer French type, in what was still regarded as a contrapuntal form. Being contrapuntal, the fantasia could not successfully exploit dance music to the extent that was required. The fantasia's contrapuntal stamp was also the cause of its eventual demise. Purcell was interested and of course highly skilled in the art of counterpoint (his interest and skill find a perfect marriage in his set of fantasias and In Nomines), but 'alamode' taste in Restoration England was offended by the aesthetic of order, unity and continuity which governed that art. The Restoration ear, accustomed to the 'stravaganzarias' of French dance music, could only think of fantasias as the dullest type of music. It was probably for this reason that Purcell never went on to compose further ones, as he had originally planned.

CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 5 : JOHN DOWLAND AND MELANCHOLIC FANTASY

So far no mention has been made of one of the most distinctive artistic manifestations of the English fantasy concept, namely melancholy. As will be recalled from Part II, a definite physiological and psychological connection was believed to exist between this condition and the irascible workings of the fantasy. Melancholy was a deleterious condition of both the mind and body which was brought on by an overactive fantasy, because its powers of imagination were directly responsible for stirring up the blood's melancholic humour. The person automatically fell victim to all manner of unnatural thoughts, desires and visions, for melancholy caused the hierarchy of the mind to be completely disrupted. The fundamental problem was that fantasy then ruled over reality.

The fact that Elizabethans were highly preoccupied with the syndrome of melancholy, has prompted many scholars to theorize about its significance as a cultural or psychological trait of Elizabethan society. One theory suggests that Elizabethan society experienced a state of pessimism and despondency in the 1590s. The theory explains that this state was caused by a series of problems including the continual fears of Spanish repris-als after the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the minor political revolts at home, the demise of a number of prominent statesmen (Walsingham in 1590, Hatton in 1591, William Cecil in 1598, and the Earl of Essex by execution

in 1601), the declining health and death of Queen Elizabeth, and the outbreak of plague in 1603.[180] However, these were only contributing factors: the real cause might have been far deeper than the political level. Melancholy was primarily a condition of the individual, not of society, and neither did it have anything to do with the position of the individual in society. Elizabethan melancholy was not like modern-day angst. The melancholic entertained no rationally-derived grievances against the world or humanity. Rather, his inner morbidity coloured and distorted his outward perceptions and deprived him of the normal powers of judgment. However, it is quite true that the Elizabethan period, as brilliant and buoyant as it was, seemed to propagate a certain self-doubt and pessimism. Commentators of the age put this down to what they saw was an alarming spread of atheism and a decline in moral standards. They felt that the increased leisure time of many individuals was accompanied by, and indeed the cause of, personal restlessness and spiritual uncertainty.[181]

There was another side to melancholy which calls for a rather different interpretation. At the time, melancholy was medically regarded as a disease, but to a large degree it was also a cultivated condition of the mind. Robert Burton wrote that it is 'a most delightsome humour', and his lengthy treatise on the subject is more a testament to its abiding fascination for scholars such as himself than to its medical complexity. His view recalls a similar remark by Castiglione, who described melancholy as a

'passion of great delite'.[182] Burton was most interested in the psychology of melancholy: he went on to write that melancholics habitually

> walk alone & meditate, & frame a thousand phātas-tical Imaginatiōs vnto thēselues. They are never better pleased thē whē they areso [sic] doing, they are in Paradise for the time, & cannot wel endure to be interrupt[ed] ... [The melancholic] may thus continue peradventure many yeares, by reason of strong temperature, or some mixture of busines, which may divert his cogitations: but at the last <u>laesa Imaginatio</u>, his phantasy is crased [183]

The classic melancholic was a dreamer, a star-crossed lover, a poet, or perhaps a wandering musician. He was a languishing, dispossessed soul who passively indulged in his own vivid imaginations, and preferred to cast reality aside. It is quite possible, and indeed quite likely, that the melancholic condition was brought on by taking narcotic drugs. The physician Richard Saunders suggested this when he wrote of

> Certain sleepy stupifyng medicaments, as Poppie, Henbane, Mandrakes, Tithymale, or Lettice, Helle-bore, Opium, and such like simples, which are able easily by their vaporous repletion, to overcharge the brain. [184]

This would help to explain the hallucinatory experiences - the visions, dreams, uncontrollable thoughts, delusions and other perturbations of the mind - which habitually afflicted the melancholic. Thus it would appear that the condition was at least partly self-induced. The melan-cholic was to be despised for his madness, but the truth is that he evoked fascination more often than he evoked derision. There were many vivid literary characterizations of the Melancholic Man by writers of the day;[185] but always

more evocative were the stylized melancholic outpourings
of poets, typically from the outlook of the estranged and
forlorn lover.[186]

What is generally forgotten is that the subject of
melancholy was transferred to discussions about music.
Some types of music were considered undesirable for the
melancholic to listen to because they only exacerbated his
condition, whereas other types were believed to exercise a
positive and beneficial effect. In the latter case there
were many authoritative sources which could be drawn upon,
because, according to classical Greek beliefs, music had
potentially more therapeutic power than any other art, and
it could magically relieve many individuals from mental
suffering. Ficino was one early scholar of the Renaissance
who perpetuated this belief. He believed that music, along
with wine, incense and herbs, could help remedy a person
who is stricken with melancholic suffering. This belief
hinged on his 'music spirit theory', as outlined in Part
III. He writes:

> finally, if the vapours exhaled by merely vegetable
> life are greatly beneficial to your life, how
> beneficial do you think will be aerial songs [cantus
> aerios] to the spirit which is entirely aerial,
> harmonic songs [harmonicos harmonico] to the
> harmonic spirit, warm and thus living to the living,
> endowed with sense to the sensitive, conceived by
> reason to the rational? [187]

The author of The praise of musicke would have agreed with
these words. He quoted famous stories, including one told
by Chameleon Ponticus, of how melancholics could ease
their condition by playing music. The sweet and delightful

sound of a cittern, for example, was in fact the perfect antidote,

> for as euerie disease is cured by his contrarie, so musicke is as an Antipharmacon to sorrow: abandoning pensiue and heauie cogitations, as the sunne beames do the lightsome uapors ... Musicke aswageth and easeth the inordinate perturbations and euill affections of the mind. [188]

A number of later writers including Timothy Bright, Thomas Robinson, Thomas Wright, George Wither, and Burton, expressed similar views. [189] Bright believed that just as bright and lively colours raise the spirits, so too does music which 'carrieth an odde measure' and is easily discernible by the ear. However, for melancholics who had a knowledge of music, he advised that the music that they should listen to should have 'a deeper harmonie'. [190]

Against this, music's negative effects had to be considered. Music was of course believed to be an art which moved the passions, and melancholy was generally understood to be one of the most extreme passions. Therefore, music also had the unfortunate propensity of throwing the melancholic individual further into morbid depression, for it could sometimes heighten and reinforce his state. Invariably it was music of the serious rather than the cheerful kind which did this. For Bright, music of the former type included fantasias, perhaps because they, as compositions which were very much connected with the whole idea of fantasy, inflamed that faculty and provoked its negative and insidious effect on the mind:

> [That] which is solemne, and still: as dumpes, and fancies, and sette musicke, are hurtfull in this

> case, and serue rather for a disordered rage, and
> intemperate mirth, to reclaime within mediocritie,
> then to allure the spirits, to stirre the bloud, and
> to attenuate the humours [191]

This passage, incidentally, seems to be derived from the words of Thomas Lodge, a writer whose differences of opinion with Stephen Gosson concerning the worth of modern music (epitomized by the types of music mentioned above by Bright) were documented in Part III. Thus on the face of it Bright was only echoing the sentiments of Lodge, but at another level he was pointing to something far more significant than the issue of whether modern music was worthy or not. It was the fact that music, like its sister poetry, was developing at this time into what might be described as an art of cultivated melancholy. This development was a fundamental part of music's growing secularization because it served to promote the idea of spiritual alienation. The madrigal was another species of composition, besides those others mentioned by Burton, which came into this question. It was, in Burton's opinion, the sort of music which was composed only by 'some idle phantasticke, who capers in [amorous] conceit all day long'.[192] He explained that

> Many men are melancholy by hearing musicke, but it
> is a pleasant melancholy that it causeth, and there-
> fore to such as are discontent, in woe, feare,
> sorrow, or dejected, it is a most present remedy, it
> expells cares, alters their grieued minds, and
> easeth in an instant. [193]

This 'pleasant melancholy', as he puts it, was brought about by listening to music of a more directly passionate than cheerful character. Such music could actually seek to represent in stylized fashion the heavy passions which preoccupied and afflicted the melancholic individual. It

achieved its therapeutic result by channelling these passions away from their source, nullifying or tempering their effect on his soul, and leaving him in possession of more 'comfortable' spirits. Therefore, the music could itself be heavy and serious in content. George Puttenham put it well with this remark: 'Lamenting is altogether contrary to rejoicing, every man saith so, and yet it is a peece of joy to be able to lament with ease'.[194] There were some compositions, such as madrigals and fantasias, which in fact made an art out of musically representing melancholic passion. Wright was another one who could see this. He accepted without question the traditional view that music 'mooueth men to mirth and abateth the heauie humour of melancholie', but he wanted to know why it was that music could actually represent and entertain that heavy humour.

> What are Hieremies lamentable threens, but a sorrowful song breathed ouer the citie of Hierusalem? What are Dauids penitentiall Psalmes, but monefull [sic] anthemes inclining the soule to sorow for sinne? What are funebriall accents, but ruthful lamentations for our friends eclipsed? What else are those dolefull tunes which issue from languishing louers, but offsprings of pensiue furies, and origens of more vehement melancholie fits? All poeticall fained fables, or sophisticated histories, are loaden with these wailing verses and swanlike, or rather swinelike voices, occasioned by mournfull despaire, and feeding the same.[195]

Artistic expressions in the melancholic vein all belonged to the world of fantasy because they originated exclusively from that faculty, hence Wright's reference to 'poeticall fained fables', a phrase which agrees perfectly with Hawes' and Bacon's concept of imaginative literary works.

One example of 'feigned stories in verse' (as it is labelled in the original) comes from Margaret Newcastle's anthology, <u>Natures picture drawn by fancies pencil to the life</u>. This is the second verse of the poem, 'A Song', and it deals with music:

> With mournful Thoughts my Head shall furnisht be,
> And all my Breath sad Sighs, for love of thee:
> My Groans to sadder Notes be set with skill,
> And sung in Tears, and Melancholy still.
> Languishing-Musick to fill up each Voice
> With Palsied trembling Strings, is all my choice. [196]

Similar sentiments were penned by John Ford and John Mennes. [197] Many such verses were used by composers for song settings, including Byrd and Daniel. [198] John Dowland was another, and a number of the poems he set further demonstrate the connection which existed between melancholy and fantasy. From <u>The first booke of songes or ayres</u>, published in 1597 (and again in 1600, 1603, 1606 and 1613), is the song 'Come, heavy Sleep'. Its words reveal a highly intense and morbidly-orientated spirit of personal dejection, and they introduce the idea that the afflictions of the melancholic individual are of a purely imaginary and fictitious kind:

> Come, heavy Sleep the image of true Death;
> And close up these my weary weeping eyes:
> Whose spring of tears doth stop my vital breath,
> And tears my heart with Sorrow's sigh-swoll'n cries:
> Come and possess my tired thought-worn soul,
> That living dies, till thou on me be stole.
>
> Come shadow of my end, and shape of rest,
> Allied to Death, child to his black-fac'd Night:
> Come thou and charm these rebels in my breast,
> Whose waking fancies do my mind affright.
> O come sweet Sleep; come or I die for ever:
> Come ere my last sleep comes, or come never.

The subject of Dowland and melancholy has received some recent attention,[199] but as yet the connection of fantasy has not been addressed or explored. It turns out that this connection reveals an interesting side to the composer, his ideas and his music. In particular, it helps towards a fuller appreciation of his instrumental works. The set of 'seaven passionate pauans' collectively titled Lachrimae; or Seaven teares (published in 1604) provides a good place to start. These pavans, for viols ('or violins') and lute, constitute a single unified cycle because each begins with the same motif. This motif was first used by Dowland in his solo lute pavan 'Lachrimae', and the song 'Flow my tears' from The second booke of songes or ayres of 1600:

Flow, my tears

The obvious question is why Dowland chose to thematically link all seven pavans together. The reason is more than simply a concern for abstract unity; it relates to the very substance of what the music expressed. In his dedication to Queen Anne, Dowland wrote the following:

> And though the title doth promise teares, unfit guests in these joyfull times, yet no doubt pleasant are the teares which musicke weepes, neither are teares shed alwayes in sorrow, but sometime in joy and gladnesse. Vouchsafe them (worthy Goddesse) your Gracious protection to these showers of Harmonie, least if you frowne on them, they bee Metamorphosed into true 'teares'.

These words suggest that Dowland sought to express in the Lachrimae pavans a 'pleasant melancholy' (to use Burton's

phrase) rather than the outright, painful melancholy of real-life suffering. The pavans may therefore be described as a stylized musical evocation of melancholic passion. How Dowland manages to achieve this stylization is by casting them in a minor tonality and imparting a dolorous quality to melody and harmony. He goes further than this, however, because either consciously or unconsciously he depicts musically a condition of the mind which Edward Reynoldes called 'fixedness' (see page 84). Reynoldes described this in relation to the adverse operations of the fantasy, and it was, he believed, one of its three main 'corruptions'. True melancholy was ascribed to another corruption, levity, but it will be seen that the following passage concerning fantasy and fixedness also refers to melancholy. Reynoldes points to

> that heavinesse and sluggish fixednesse, whereby it [the fantasy] is disabled from being serviceable to the Vnderstanding, in those actions which require dispatch, varietie, and suddennesse of execution: from which peremptorie adhesion and too violent intension of the Fancie on some particular objects, doth many times arise not onely a dulnesse of Mind, a <u>Syncope</u>, and kind of benumnednesse of the Soule, but oftentimes madnesse, distraction, and torment: Many examples of which kind of depravation of the Phantasie in melancholy men, wee every where meet withall; some, thinking themselves turned into Wolves, Horses, or other Beasts; others, pleasing themselves with Conceits of great Wealth and Princip-alities; some, framing to themselves Feares, and other Hopes; being all but the delusions and waking Dreames of a distempered Fancie.[200]

This was the same type of melancholy which Owen Feltham mentioned in his chapter on music. Music's power over the mind, particularly its ability to evoke particular moods and affections, is what prompted the writer to make the following observations:

> For as the Notes are framed, it can draw, and
> incline the minde. Liuely Tunes doe lighten the
> minde: Graue ones giue it Melancholy. Lofty ones
> raise it, and aduance it to aboue. VVhose dull blood
> will not caper in his veines, when the very ayre hee
> breathes in, frisketh in a tickled motion? VVho can
> but fixe his eye, and thoughts, when hee heares the
> sigh, and Dying groanes, gestur'd from the mourne-
> full Instrument? 201

These two passages are an invaluable guide for what to look for in the 'Lachrimae' pavans. In effect these compositions form a single extended and unified composition, and, with an undiminished intensity from beginning to end, they bring about a sustained level of 'impassioned concentration' in the listener's mind. While in other contexts fantasy meant variety, here in the 'Lachrimae' pavans, it meant constancy. In particular it meant the periodic repetition of the distinctive head-motif which unites them all, and which is framed in a pattern of four tearful descending notes. This repetition fixes the attention on the image of tearfulness, and induces a heaviness of thought which is of the same type that Owen and Feltham described. Only the subtlest changes mark one pavan from the next:

Lachrimae Antiquae (Old Tears)

Lachrimae Antiquae Novae (Old Tears Renewed)

Lachrimae Gementes (Sighing Tears)

Lachrimae Tristes (Sad Tears)

Lachrimae Coactae (Enforced Tears)

Lachrimae Amantis (Lover's Tears)

Lachrimae Verae (True Tears)

It is surely more than coincidence too, that Reynoldes'
reference to syncope should also find parallels in
Dowland's music. These parallels occur in the frequent
dotted and tied notes ('bindings' to use Morley's termin-
ology) which create an intensification of harmony due to
the resulting dissonances against previously-heard conson-
ant notes. They also create a heaviness and a certain
languid quality in the melodic line, and are most
pointedly in evidence in the openings of 'Lachrimae
Gementes' and 'Lachrimae Tristes'. Another more general

observation can be made about the music. Together the pavans bring forth only 'fictitious tears' because the music relies chiefly on artifice to achieve its end. The 'lachrimae' motif, although it became closely associated with Dowland through these compositions, was not actually composed by him. What he did was to consciously use it as a symbol, one that was universal in its emotive suggestion and emblematic (just as the Latin titles are) in its musical function. In this sense the pavans are one step removed from their actual source, true melancholy, and are instead artistic representations of that source. They are indeed the musical equivalent of Wright's 'poeticall fained fables'.

The discussion must turn now to his lute compositions because if anything they are even more characteristic expressions of Dowland's melancholic fantasy. One theme which emerges is irony, for two of his melancholic lute works are in fact light-hearted galliards. These are the 'Galliard to Lachrimae' and the 'Melancholic Galliard'. Irony and humour are encountered in a lot of music from this period; witness the almain called 'A Piece without Title' and the curiously titled jig 'Tarleton's Riserrectione', also by Dowland. Then there is Farnaby's joke-piece 'Nobody's Gigge' and Bull's self-mocking quip (again a jig) entitled 'Doctor Bull's my selfe', both of which were composed for the virginals. In an opposite and completely serious vein are Dowland's lute fantasias. These are large, contrapuntal works of improvisatory style, which are closer in character to the continuous

free-form fantasias of Bull and Sweelinck than the sectional ones of Ferrabosco I, Robert White and Byrd. What is particularly interesting about them is their poetic vein of expression, and this is hinted at by the suggestive titles given to some of them, including 'Forlorne Hope Fancye' and 'Farewell'.

It is this poetic vein which invites a different approach to their analysis. There is some justification in fact, to suggest that the seven lute fantasias of Dowland share the same melancholic humour which pervades much introspective verse of the period. Nicholas Breton, one of the notable poetically-inspired 'fantasticks' of this time, indulged in the theme of melancholy perhaps more than any other poet, and the reason is that it came naturally to a person of his introspective and hyper-sensitive temperament. It is useful to briefly look at some of his work in order to point towards a possible direction which Dowland pursued. Some of Breton's poems were discussed in Part III, but these were youthful works. Later on in life his feverish imagination acquired an increasingly introverted propensity and his poetry acquired an intensified mood of disconsolation and despondency. His Melancholike humours of 1600 and The passion of a discontented mind of 1621 should be viewed as a natural progression from the adventurous and provocative spirit of his earlier work. With their sometimes quasi-religious outlook, they reflect an oversensitized mind which is immersed in and tormented by melancholy. Breton is still

the forlorn lover, but he is now also an outcast with
nowhere to turn, except to retreat further into an inner
world of quiescent fantasy. The poems in <u>Melancholike</u>
<u>humours</u> are autobiographical elegies of a 'heartsicke
soule' and a 'spirit spoiled'. One of them, titled 'An
extreame Passion', expresses this inner world by means of
musical conceit:

> Oh hart, how canst thou hold so long, and art not
>   broke ere this?
> When all thy strings are but the straines that
>   cosort strikes amisse.
> You must thou make thy musicke still, but of that
>   mournfull straine,
> Where sorrowe, in the sound of death, doth shew her
>   sweetest vain:
> Or, where her Muses all consent, in their consort
>   to trie
> Their sweetest musicke in desire to die, and can
>   not die ...
> Some haue their musickes hermony to please
>   their idle eares,
> While of the song of sorrow, still, my soule the
>   burthen beares. [202]

This was not the first time, by the way, that Breton had
invoked musical images in melancholic supplications such
as this. There are other examples, including one poem from
a much earlier date in which a 'doleful discourse' is
delivered by a melancholic Muse on the subject of the
'luckelesse louer'. It includes these lines: 'My Musicke
now, is beating on my breste, /and sobbing sighes, which
yeelde a heauy sounde'.[203]

It is reasonable to suppose that Breton's melancholic
poems, with their musical allusions, were known by
Dowland. Furthermore, they may have held a special fascin-
ation for him. The titles he chose for some of his lute

compositions seem to indicate this. Just as in Melancholic humours, in which there is a poem ('A solemne farewell to the world') beginning with the words 'Oh forlorne fancy', there is a 'Forlorn Hope Fancy' by Dowland. Likewise, the poem entitled 'A farewell to loue', in which Breton bids despairing farewell to love, wit, will, beauty, and other virtues, finds a parallel in the 'Farewell' fantasia by Dowland (which exists in two versions). It can be noted too, that Breton's poem 'A dolefull fancy' is connected by title to the pavan 'Semper Dowland Semper Dolens', which exists in versions for both consort and solo lute.[204] Finally, there is an elegy written on the death of S.P.S. Knight, in Brittons bowre of delights (1591), called 'Amoris Lachrimae'; this is paralleled of course by Dowland's 'Lachrimae' pavans. Even if these parallels are pure coincidence (it may be that the 'Forlorn Hope Fancy', 'A farewell to loue' and 'Farewell' were composed before Breton's Melancholic humours were written), they neverthe- less suggest that the two men shared very similar outlooks in their respective arts. They go a long way in proving that the theme of melancholy is indeed central to Dowland's lute music. More specifically, they help establish that Dowland was interested in expressing partic- ular kinds of melancholy. These are the passionate, irreligious themes of unrequited love, and the themes of spiritual disillusion and self-sacrificial morbidity. They may be contrasted with the 'melancholy of malcontent' which stems from political or religious grievance, and the

intellectual variety as typified by Shakespeare's characterization of Hamlet.

The suggestion of a possible connection between Dowland and Breton is strengthened by the fact that Dowland is known to have used some of Breton's poetry in his songs. The song 'From silent night' in Dowland's fourth book of songs, A pilgrimes solace (1612), uses stanzas from a long poem in The passions of a discontented minde, a collection of poetry, first published in 1601, which has been ascribed to Breton.[205] Also from that same set of songs is the trilogy consisting of 'Thou mightie God', 'When Davids life' and 'When the poore Criple', which has been found to be based on a sonnet from Breton's Soules harmony (1602).[206] This poem, as with the one from The passions of a discontented minde, is typical of Breton's later introspective vein, and combines a stylized representation of the melancholic with solemnly religious overtones. Its intense, sombre mood evidently captured Dowland's imagination, and it is indeed probable that he felt a close affinity with its keenly sensitive expressive mode.

In musical terms, Dowland's lute fantasias are improvisatory in style and character. They provide the closest insight of any of his compositions into his creative, musical mind because they are the nearest thing to hearing Dowland himself improvise at the lute. They perfectly combine spontaneous inventive genius with total mastery of the instrument, and as such they bear testimony to the

complete musical accomplishment of the composer. Their inspiration is the Platonic type of fantasy, which is a pure, creative impulse behind all acts of 'musical fury'. This type simultaneously brings together all facets of beauty, form and essence to create what Plato called in poetry 'an analogous spiritual phantasm', or in other words the vision or perfect representation of true experiences in art (see page 36). In Dowland's fantasias, just as in those of Milano, these spiritual phantasms are motions of the heart which overtake the senses and the mind. Milano's improvised fantasias were so ravishing in their effect that they transported the mind into an experience of intense melancholy (page 11). The same might be said of Dowland's fantasias. The following words by Thomas Campion (from his published collection of Latin verses) in praise of Dowland, could well have been written with the fantasias in mind:

> O Dowland, unawares thou stealest my poor mind,
> The strings thou pluckest quite overwhelm my breast.
> The god who with such divine power
> Directs thy trembling fingers,
> Among the great gods he should hold the leading place.[207]

The same could be said of these lines from a sonnet by Richard Barnfield:

> Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
> Upon the lute doth ravish human sense [208]

It is to miss the point to attempt an analysis of the structure or organization of the seven known fantasias by Dowland. This is simply because, as compositions written in a purely improvisatory style, they do not follow any

preconceived plan or method in the way that other composit-
ions do. Their form is arbitrary, their length is
variable, and in all other respects there is no common
thread which unites them as a group (except for their
reliance on counterpoint). However, some observations on
their expressive ideal are worth making. It will be suffic-
ient to look at two of the eleven fantasias which are
attributed to Dowland in the sources. The 'Forlorne Hope
Fancye' (Fantasia no.2) and 'Farwell' (no.3) are linked
together by a common theme, the chromatic hexachord, and
form a pair just as do the two hexachord fantasias for
consort by Ferrabosco I. The first work gives the theme in
descending form, similar to the opening of Sweelinck's
'Fantasia crommatica', while the second gives it in
ascending form (being an exact inversion of the Sweelinck).

The innate pathos of this theme admirably suited Dowland's
purposes, and its continual utterance amid a constantly
changing contrapuntal texture (17 times in no.2 and 14
times in no.3) focusses the listener's imagination in the
same concentrated way as happens in the 'Lachrimae'
pavans. And just like those pavans, the two fantasias can
be seen as an artistic representation of the melancholic
'fixednesse' described earlier by Reynoldes. The constant
repetition of the theme engenders a perpetual seriousness

and heaviness of thought which excludes any form of light relief. To help towards a further understanding of the 'Forlorne Hope Fancye', the first verse of Breton's poem entitled 'A solemne farewell to the world' may be quoted:

> Oh forlorne fancy, whereto dost thou liue
> To weary out the senses with vnrest?
> Hopes are but cares, that but discomforts give,
> While only fooles doe climbe the Phoenix nest.
> To heartsicke soules, all joyes are but a iest.
>   Thou dost in vain, but striue against the streame,
>   With blinded eyes to see the sunny beame. [209]

The feelings despair and hopelessness expressed in this verse are perfectly represented by Dowland's use of the descending chromatic hexachord. Unlike the 'Lachrimae' pavans, the intent here is to capture the essence of melancholy itself rather than merely the tearful symptoms of its condition. However, where the music departs from the poetry is in its highly vivid ending which breaks away from the preceding counterpoint and places the original theme against a spellbindingly brilliant free part. This is the sort of 'improvisation' which was supposed to leave the listener in a state of raised emotion, frenzied wonderment and ecstasy. The final bars join together two statements of the theme in the bass to form a continuous chromatic line covering almost one octave:

Mood and character profoundly change when the theme is inverted in the companion piece 'Farwell'. Gone is the oppressive sadness of the preceding fantasia; now enters a mood of resolve and hopefulness. It is as though the spirits are being slowly raised from their former down-castness, towards a kind of heavenly contemplation. Such an interpretation is not totally far-fetched, because once again an interesting parallel exists in the poetry of Breton. Many of the poems in Melancholike humours have a transcendental quality of finality in them. Worldly worries are cast aside, sins are repented for, human follies are spurned, and all that is left for the soul is quiet meditation. In the poems 'A conceited fancy', 'A solemn fancy' and 'A fantastick solemne humour', the soul enters into a quasi-religious mysticism in which the idea of fantasy seems to represent the final and glorious abstraction which the soul undergoes after worldly existence (cf. 'Fantasy and Religious Ecstasy, pages 123-26). In 'A solemne conceipt', 'A farewell to loue' and

'A farewell to conceipt', the soul bids its last farewells before departing. All these experiences, of love's passions and life's tribulations, are one by one ceremoniously repudiated. Fantasy is seen as the deceiver which underlies them all, and it too is finally rejected:

> Farewell then (vnkindly) fancy,
>   In thy courses all too cruell:
>   Woe, the pride of such a iewell,
> As turnes reason to a franzy. [210]

Through repeated hearing of the rising chromatic hexachord in the 'Farwell' fantasia, Dowland seems to be replicating in music what Breton does in the poetry. All the different statements of the theme represent as it were a transcendence over each and every one of life's melancholic experiences. There is no fiery end to 'Farwell' because, by the last statement of the theme, there is nothing left to resolve. It is appropriate that in the other 'Farwell' piece by Dowland (Fantasia no.4) he should have used the 'In Nomine' cantus firmus as a foundation for the surrounding web of counterpoint, because it imparts the same mood of quiet religious meditation which is found in Breton's poetry.

It may be concluded that of all composers in the English Renaissance, John Dowland was the most personal and possibly also the most artistically original in his approach to musical fantasy. His was an approach born of a poetically-inspired view of the world, and his compositions, whether speaking of the 'Lachrimae' pavans or the lute fantasias, evoke a melancholic experience which in

many ways is an intensely poetic one. If some of the greatest poets of the age gained their inspiration from the idea of melancholy, so too did the composers, and among them Dowland is certainly the one who stands supreme.

CHAPTER 6

CHAPTER 6 : WILLIAM BYRD AND FANTASY IN TRANSITION

Proclaimed after his death in 1623 as 'Brittanicae Musicae Parens', Byrd was the most important composer in a transitional period which saw the end of one musical age and the beginning of another. He was the last and most distinguished in a long line of Tudor composers, including Cornysh (d.1523), Taverner (1545), Redford (1547), Tye (1572) and Tallis (1585), all of whom composed primarily for the church. The generally accepted view of Byrd is that because he was the main inheritor of the Tudor tradition of church music, and because of his commitment to the Catholic faith, he tended to be conservative in his musical outlook. There is a large measure of truth in this generalization, but it ignores another side of the composer. Byrd was one of the first composers to devote a considerable proportion of his creative attention to instrumental music, though it must be said that he had no interest in music for the lute. And even if he never developed a personal liking for the madrigal, he was at least perfectly able to demonstrate his ability at madrigal composition (in 'This sweet and merry month of May', which makes use of Italianate expressive devices).[211]

The fact is that Byrd was more of an innovative musical thinker than is generally recognized. In the field of fantasia composition, his contribution is especially important in light of the fact that he gave it more attention than any previous English composer had. He alone

made it in Morley's words the 'most principall and chief-
est kind of musicke which is made without a dittie'.[212] He
did this by reversing the In Nomine's long-standing pre-
eminence over the fantasia, and indeed after Byrd, the In
Nomine was never any more than a minor form of composition
(it was not even mentioned by Morley). But he also did
this by changing the whole character of the fantasia, from
a relatively anonymous sol-fa composition written in the
polyphonic style of the church, to a highly distinctive
composition infused with strongly secular elements.
Aspects of Byrd's keyboard fantasias have already been
discussed (in Chapter 4), and it was found that he was an
important figure in reshaping that species of composition
according to the new aesthetic of variety. He did the very
same thing with the consort fantasia. Byrd's importance is
measured by the fact that he laid the foundations for the
secular fantasia of the Jacobean period, and also by the
fact that he probably did more than any other composer in
working towards a truly English concept of musical fantasy.

A view is sometimes stated that Byrd was less interes-
ted in the expressive relationship between poetry and
music than many of his contemporaries were. This view is
based on the fact that Byrd consciously avoided the
madrigal and lute song. He had little time for Italian
music, and this is also believed to indicate his dislike
for word painting and other poetically-derived techniques
of musical expression. It is probably true that he was not
especially fond of the standard procedure in madrigal

composition of stringing together a series of musical 'conceits', for all this could do was mirror the obvious. Certainly, he seems to have drawn a strict line against the more frivolous poetic and musical outpourings which typify the period. And he was probably well aware that many of the foremost madrigal composers in England were in fact surprisingly uncritical in their attempts to relate music to word, as Kerman has shown.[213] The truth is that Byrd approached in a different way the question of music's relationship with poetry, and he saw differently the nature of the poetic influence on music. His views on these questions related very much to the subject of fantasy.

Byrd's Response to Poetic Fantasy

As a church composer, Byrd was naturally conditioned in his outlook by the long English tradition of vocal polyphony which he inherited. This tradition was based on an abstractly musical aesthetic in which expression of the word was not always the most important concern (hence the proliferation of textless polyphonic songs by church composers in the 1570s). The same went for music outside the church, as seen in the relatively plain and bland strophic songs of Mundy, Carlton and Alison, and the restrained consort songs of Strogers and also of Byrd himself. The poetry used in these songs is old-fashioned and usually restricted to moral subjects, and it tends to be uniformly serious in tone.[214] Byrd probably began compos-

ing his consort songs during the early 1570s, soon after he arrived in London, and as a whole they are conservative in approach and modest in their expressive range.

What may have caused Byrd to later adopt a different approach was his acquaintance with the 'new poetry' of the 1570s and 80s.[215] He was at least as well in touch with poetic trends as any other musician, as can be inferred from his connections with one of the leading 'new poets', Thomas Watson. He was similar to Byrd in one notable respect, and that was his abiding scholarly artistic temperament. This temperament is reflected in his interest in Latin, Italian and French verse (he composed a Latin version of the <u>Antigone</u> of Sophocles (1581), and followed this with a Petrarchan 'sonnet' cycle in English, <u>The Hecatompathia or passionate centurie of love</u>, published in 1582). A lover of music, he was also important in introducing the madrigal to England, and he did this by translating and adapting Italian madrigal verse. In 1590, he published <u>The first sett of Italian madrigalls Englished, not to the sense of the originall dittie, but after the affection of the noate</u>. Of the 28 works included in this unique collection were 'two excellent Madrigalls of Master William Byrd, composed after the Italian vaine, at the request of the sayd Thomas Watson'. These were two settings, one for four voices and the other for six, of 'This sweet and merry month of May', mentioned above. The verse was very probably composed by Watson. Another piece of information which points to a possible collaborative

friendship between the two figures is that there exists a poem by Watson called 'A Gratification unto Mr. John Case for his learned Booke lately made in the prayes of Musick'. The verses were first printed in broadside form in 1586 as 'A Song in Commendation of the author of the Praise of Musicke. Set by W. Byrd'.[216] Finally, Kerman has suggested that Watson was the author of some of the poems chosen by Byrd for his <u>Psalmes, sonets & songs of sadnes and pietie</u> (1588).[217]

This background is interesting because it tells that Byrd was in direct contact with a poet who, as Part III showed (see pages 143-44), was a notable exponent of one of the most characteristic themes of the new poetry, and that was the theme of fantasy. Watson's fantasy was serious and intellectual, and derived from that most classic cycle of fantasy poetry, the <u>Canzoniere</u> of Petrarch. Its main ingredients were the themes of illusion, unrequited love, and the personal responses which these elicit. Watson's verse is no less formulaic than the verse of other sonneteers, but he did not succumb to the hedonism of Breton or the light-minded, indulgent trivia of a good many minor poets of the day. Without being overly high-minded and moralistic in tone, Watson achieved a classical elegance and sophistication which endeared the reader and did not impose on him ideologically. This combination of qualities also characterizes the poetry in Byrd's <u>Psalmes, sonets & songs</u>, and furthermore, Byrd appears to have deliberately chosen texts which

directly relate to the idea of fantasy as epitomized in Watson's poetry.

The theme of fantasy repeatedly occurs throughout the collection. In the song 'If women could be fair', written by Edward, Earl of Oxford, one is given cause to ask why men choose to fawn and flatter women, when all this ever leads to is their own undoing. Men are tempted into folly by women who, 'like haggards wild', are the personification of fantasy because they are constantly 'scorning after reason to follow will'. But fantasy is also like love itself because it misleads all those who yield to it. This is the theme of 'Ambitious Love', a song which warns that if allowed to run its full course, love will create 'a thousand torments' since it always acts 'contrary to reason'. A serpent, a sea of sorrows, a school of guile, a maze and a siren's song are some of the images in the song 'Farewell, false love' (whose words are attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh); these images are used to illustrate and highlight the deceptive nature of love. On the other hand, 'Where Fancy fond' (known also in an earlier consort song version) is a song of praise for fantasy, for it associates that faculty with pleasure, delight and beauty, by contrasting it with the unyielding and unhopeful properties of reason.

Of all the songs in the collection, the one which stands out as the most classical example of fantasy poetry is 'Of gold all burnished' (in two parts). It is a Petrarchan-inspired adoration of an idealized lady-love,

and consists of a string of images which recall the
Canzoniere, such as ruby red lips and golden curls of
hair. It takes on the nature of an inner discourse or
monologue which, despite constant references to the real
object, is actually nothing more than pure fantasy. Thus
'her perfect beauty' is the summation of only 'fancies
dream'. If it is true that Watson was an author of some of
the verses in Psalmes, sonets & songs, it seems quite
plausible and indeed quite likely that he wrote the words
of this song.

Byrd's other printed collections of English music,
the Songs of sundrie natures (1589) and the Psalmes, songs
and sonnets fit for voyces or viols (1611), also include
verses based on the theme of fantasy. What is interesting
about the last collection is that it contains two fantas-
ias, one for four voices and the other for six.
Furthermore, they differ from many of his other (and
presumably earlier) polyphonic fantasias insofar as they
seem to sum up Byrd's musical response to the idea of
fantasy. It is necessary to understand what was the nature
of his response, and this is made possible by looking
selectively at the songs in the three collections
mentioned thus far. They display a particular musical
approach to the fantasy idea which is directly equivalent
to Watson's approach in poetry. This approach is based on
the principle that music is an art which gives rise to
pleasure, delight and beauty, and that it does this
through variety, which is the very antithesis of reason
and unity.

Byrd's collections comprise a wide range of different types of songs, many of them secular (such as sonnet settings and pastorals), and this indicates his preparedness to view music as a recreational art as opposed to a strictly devotional art. As an astute businessman, Byrd of course knew that musical publications were most successful if they were directed to a wide market. Even so, an interesting parallel can be drawn between Byrd's song collections and the popular poetic miscellanies of the time, whose purpose was to entertain and please the reader, rather than educate him or dispose him to a particular moral outlook. Furthermore, many of the verses in these miscellanies also revolved around the idea of fantasy. This new approach reflected a view that art needs to flatter the mind by appealing to and immediately gratifying the senses and fantasy, rather than continually exhorting to reason. Byrd's collections are part of this poetic tradition of fantasy because their purpose, as with the popular poetic miscellanies, is to give pleasure through variety. The <u>Psalmes, sonets & songs</u> contain, in Byrd's own words (from the 'Epistle to the Reader'),

> Musicke of sundrie sorts, ... to content diuers humours. If thou be disposed to praye, heere are Psalmes. If to be merrie, here are Sonets. If to lament for thy sinnes, heere are songs of sadnesse and pietie.

The fact that this collection was printed a second time, probably in 1590, is a measure of how popular it was, bearing in mind that most music publications never went beyond their first edition.

As is to be expected, those songs of a religious or biblical nature are less varied and more unified in their content than the secular songs. Fugal method is employed in the majority of Byrd's sacred settings because it is one of the most rational and unifying musical processes, and because it suitably conveys the solemnity and serious-ness of the words. Thus in 'Blow up the trumpet' (from the 1611 collection; the words come from Psalm 81), which begins joyously and in homophonic style, a fugue enters on the words 'and upon our solemn feast day' (bars 26-33). When variety is introduced, it is always present for a purpose, and not for its own sake. Homophony is reserved for words which express joyousness, as happens in 'Blow up the Trumpet'. Another example is 'Arise, Lord, into thy rest' (1611; words from Psalm 132). In this song the voices engage in antiphonal interchanges, and then finally come together in homorhythm on the words 'And let the Saints rejoice' (from bar 75 onwards). Alternatively, homo-phony is used to give extra weight, strength and unanimity to the words, for example in 'O Lord, who in thy sacred tent' (1588; words from Psalm 15), when the words read 'the truth doth speak with singleness' (bars 64-68). When this is followed by the words 'all falsehood apart', the voices appropriately split into two antiphonal groups (bars 69-74). Change of meter, potentially one of the most disruptive influences (short of changing the key), is also used by Byrd, but here again its appearance is dictated by the words. The song of praise 'Sing ye to our Lord' (1611; words from Psalm 149) moves from the customary duple meter

to a lively tripla section, when the daughters of Sion are entreated to 'rejoice in their King' (bars 37-43 and 54-68). Another such tripla occurs in the song 'Come, let us rejoice unto our Lord' (1611; words from Psalm 95), on the words 'let us make joy to God our Saviour' (bars 12-20 and 22-28).

In the secular songs the impression of variety is far greater. The mood is, on the whole, lighter and more clearly aimed at recreation and diversion. When fugue is employed, it is of a lighter, more concise type, and this is consistent with Byrd's simpler, more direct approach to imitation. Often however, the texture is predominantly homophonic. 'Of gold all burnished' (1589), which was previously identified as a classic example of fantasy poetry, starts homophonically, and its rhythms are always simple and direct. There is only a modicum of imitation in this song, and it occurs when the words are repeated. For variety, there are repeated shifts between duple and triple meter. The song 'What is life' (1611) is even simpler. It begins with two-bar homorhythmic alternations between the upper and lower voices (unusually, the two pairs of voices sing separate lines of the verse), and moves on to a new, mainly tutti section till the end.

Change of meter is perhaps Byrd's principle means of creating an impression of variety. The song 'O you that hear this voice' (1588; words from Sir Philip Sidney) is particularly interesting in this respect. It is in effect a sequel to 'Where Fancy fond' (mentioned earlier), which

pits fantasy against reason in a court of law. The debate between them continues in this song and is finally resolved: common sense, arbitrating between the two opposing sides, is able to find favour with both. Duple meter operates when the debate is introduced, but when the case for beauty and music is presented, triple meter takes over for the remainder of the song. Rhythms become light and each voice becomes more melodic. Hence beauty, as a manifestation of fantasy, is represented by joyfulness and elegance. Triple meter also operates in 'If women could be fair' (1588). It is a song which praises the beauty of women, while warning men of the hazards and folly of pursuing them. Similarly, a tripla accompanies the words 'For pleasure of the joyful time' (bars 28-33) in the song 'This sweet and merry month of May' (1590), and the words 'And with blithe Carols' (bars 11-15) in 'Come, jolly swains' (1611). These examples suggest that Byrd was less interested in the typical madrigalian procedure of musically illustrating individual words, than he was in the general meaning of whole phrases or verses. It may have been this fundamental difference of approach which prevented Byrd from ever joining the ranks of the madrigalists.

Byrd's Fantasias

It must have seemed odd to Byrd that the name 'fantasia' should ever have been associated with a continuously contrapuntal style of composition. Byrd himself composed fantasias in the 'church style', but these were

probably early works which date from the years immediately after he moved from Lincoln to London in 1570 and became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. However, with his later exposure to the 'new poetry' and in particular the poetic concept of fantasy as variety, he completely changed his approach to fantasia composition. Although very little is known about the chronology of his ten consort fantasias,[218] a general stylistic trend is apparent through them, and this trend is away from the 'epical evenness' of the church style and towards something far more varied and immediately appealing. The later works are in fact so remarkable for their diversity that Byrd may himself have had occasional misgivings about their consequent lack of unity. Together, they chart a miniature history of the fantasia from its inception in England to its full flowering as an instrumental genre.

Among Byrd's earliest extant polyphonic works are two textless pieces called 'fantasias', which also exist in separate texted versions. One is a four-part fantasia in G, known only by a surviving treble part. It appears to differ only minimally from the four-part motet 'In manus tuas, Domine' in Byrd's Gradualia ac cantiones sacrae of 1605. The other is the first of two large six-part fantasias in g, and this too survives in incomplete form. It has been revealed that the second work is essentially the same composition as the motet 'Laudate, pueri, Dominum' from the Cantiones of 1575. This motet in turn derives from the anthem 'Behold, now praise the Lord', which Byrd never

published. These concordances are conclusive proof of the early English fantasia's association with vocal music, but there are questions as to whether the fantasia versions came first, or whether they were instrumental adaptations of the vocal works identified above.

In his study of Byrd's instrumental works, Oliver Neighbour concludes that because the four-part fantasia in G is so very motet-like, it is no wonder that Byrd should have chosen to arrange it as a motet by simply adding a text.[219] Differences between the two versions amount to no more than minor rhythmic details, which result from the fact that the text underlay in the motet demands some repeated notes for the words to be properly fitted to the music. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that the fantasia is a textless version of the motet, and that the process of adaptation allowed for a certain amount of rhythmic simplication. This is indeed the conclusion when the following two passages are compared:

'In manus tuas, Domine' (treble 1)

Fantasia a 4 in G (treble 1?)

A comparison of the surviving treble part in the fantasia with the two treble parts of the motet reveals that, for some inexplicable reason, it swaps from one to the other

at bar 34. Since the part ranges are identical and neither is ever more melodically important than the other, the result is actually inconsequential. It may only have been a mistake on the part of the copyist who prepared the part-books in which the fantasia appears. The theory that the motet came later is unconvincing when it is considered that Byrd would surely have wanted to swap the parts for a reason, or else he would have left them unaltered, and yet no reason is apparent. The following passage is where the swapping takes place:

'In manus tuas, Domine' (trebles 1 and 2)

Fantasia a 4 in G (treble 1?)

The case of Fantasia a 6 no.1 is rather more complic-ated. In his edition of Byrd's consort works, Kenneth Elliott remarks that the motet 'Laudate, pueri, Dominum' 'appears to be an adaptation of this piece for voices'.[220] However, he gives no reason for discounting the possib-ility that the converse is equally possible. According to Neighbour, only one conclusion is possible, and that is that the fantasia came first. He writes: 'There can be no doubt that the textless version is the earlier', for 'the bad match' between words and music 'requires fresh words

to be fitted to a musical repeat'.[221] Kerman, in his study
of Byrd's motets, was also drawn to the same conclusion.[222]
It is true that the text of the motet is composed from
three different psalms. The words for the first section
come from Psalm 112 (lines 1-2), for the second section
from Psalm 120, and for the repeat of the second section
from Psalm 124 (line 4). Such a composite text is normally
not encountered in Byrd, and does indeed suggest that the
motet came second. If this is so, the fantasia is definite-
ly an early work, since it must have been composed before
1575. However, none of the previously-mentioned scholars
seem to have known that there is a third version of the
same work; this is the unpublished anthem 'Behold, now
praise the Lord'. Only the tenor part of this anthem
survives, but it provides sufficient clues to draw a
rather different conclusion on the question of chronology.
This is despite the fact that unfortunately, direct compar-
ison with the fantasia is impossible, because the tenor
part of that work does not survive.

There are reasons for suggesting that the anthem was
composed first, and that the fantasia came last. The
second, repeated section of the music makes prominent use
of a rising interval at the beginning of each vocal entry.
This interval, sometimes a fourth and sometimes a fifth,
would appear to fit the words of the anthem better than
those of the motet. The anthem reads 'Lift up your hands
in the sanctuary, lift up your hands and praise the Lord',
while at the same place the motet reads 'Auxilium meum a

Domino, qui fecit caelum et terram' (My help is from the
Lord, who made heaven and hell). The strong, upward
melodic line is a perfect musical reflection of the mean-
ing of the anthem's words, whereas it has no bearing on
the motet's words (a comparison of the two phrases can be
seen on page 425). Comparing both settings with the
fantasia leads to the suggestion that the latter was an
adaptation of the motet. Looking at another entry in the
second section, the fantasia is seen to follow the motet
rather than the anthem in the rhythmic value of its
up-beat:

'Behold, now praise the Lord'
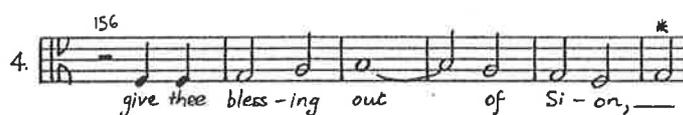
'Laudate, pueri, Dominum

Fantasia a 6 no.1

*This note is given in the Fellowes edition (vol.xvi, pp.138-39); the
above concordances show that it may instead be an A.

A point raised in Chapter 3 needs restating here, and that
is the likelihood that many of the early consort fantasias

were not instrumental at all, but instead vocal composit-
ions which were intended to be sung to sol-fa syllables.
It is therefore possible that this so-called 'fantasia' is
simply a textless version of the motet, just as the
four-part fantasia in G seems to be a textless version of
the other motet. Furthermore, a process of rhythmic and
even melodic simplification can be observed in its part-
writing, just as was observed in the previous fantasia. In
this process, some details of part-writing which are
dictated by the requirements of text-setting in the texted
version, are redundant in the textless adaptation, and are
therefore eliminated. The following passage from the
fantasia is a good example because it contains four fewer
notes than the original, and it considerably alters the
third entry of the theme by delaying it for three minims
and lowering its range:

'Behold, now praise the Lord' and 'Laudate, pueri, Dominum'*

*Possible reconstruction of text underlay based on surviving tenor part.

Fantasia a 6 no.1

The most reasonable conclusion then, is that the fantasia post-dates both the anthem and the motet; in other words it must date from after 1575. It is quite possible that Byrd himself never intended turning one of his texted vocal works into a textless 'fantasia', and it may be that the adaptation was done by somebody else. It is therefore unwise to draw any definite conclusions based only on the two examples so far looked at, except to say that 'fantasia' in this early context was little more than a name which was applied to textless vocal pieces, and that it did not strictly represent a genre of its own.

A better understanding of Byrd's individual approach can be gained from the 'didactic' fantasias. These works, close to the Continental ricercar in style, suggest that Byrd thought of the fantasia as a personal 'testing ground' for point-of-imitation technique. 'Fantasy' for him seems to have referred to the skill and mastery which was required to create an inventive composition based on minimal thematic material. 'Fantasia' itself meant a vocal composition, in the sense of having been composed in the true style of vocal polyphony and intended for voices or suitably 'vocal' instruments such as viols. The only difference was that the usual constraint of text-setting was absent. A comparison may be made with Byrd's textless hymn settings, for example the three four-part settings of 'Christe qui lux', and the misereres. Their counterpoint is slow, even and conjunct, like the fantasias, and the flow from one thematic section to the next is smooth and

undisturbed, again like the fantasias. Musical invention manifests itself in subtle ways. Each time a given theme or point is restated by the same voice, it is subjected to a process of variation in pitch and rhythm. Fantasia a 3 no.1 in C comprises only three themes, and the third theme is heard in a total of five varied forms in the bass voice:

The aim is to introduce as much variety as is necessary to create a continual sense of change, but not so much as might threaten the overall sense of unity. In the second of two four-part fantasias in d ascribed to Byrd,[223] the

sense of unity is enhanced by the similarities between its four constituent themes:
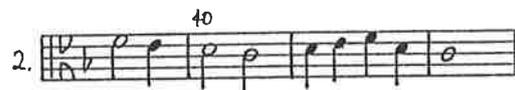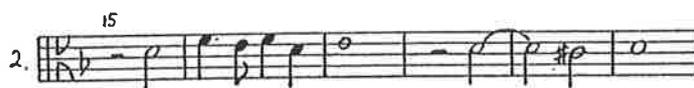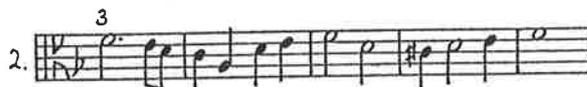
A concern for unity led Byrd to explore different ways of structuring his compositions. An interesting variation on the cantus firmus principle is the 'ground' technique, as exemplified by his Browning a 5.[224] In this work the melody 'The leaves be green' is continually passed from voice to voice throughout the composition. The very same principle operates in the first of the two four-part fantasias in d attributed to Byrd, mentioned above. It is based on a simple eight-note theme which spans the hexachord and serves as the melodic basis of the composition:

This 'ground' is shared amongst the four voices and heard seven times. Around it is constructed an ever-changing web of rhythmically complex counterpoint. Byrd achieves this by introducing a different countersubject against each new statement of the 'ground', and the countersubjects serve as points of imitation for the remaining voices:

The variety exhibited in the above series of points is far greater than in the preceding fantasias, but this is because a counterbalancing unity is securely laid by the 'ground'. In this respect, the Fantasia a 4 in d no.2 is similar to the In Nomines, except that in the latter compositions there is only one cantus firmus part. The greater contrapuntal complexity of this fantasia places it

somewhat apart from Byrd's usual vocal style and, like the five-part In Nomines (particularly numbers 4 and 5) and the impressive 'Prelude [and Ground]', it may be intended or at least better suited for instrumental performance. But whether vocal or instrumental, the overriding fact is that the composition displays a perfect balance between the usually conflicting demands of musical unity and variety.

Byrd's other consort fantasias mark a gradual but fundamental shift towards a new and distinctively original approach. They show that he lost interest in the 'didactic' fantasia and looked at the whole idea of musical fantasy in an increasingly original and creative way. He was no longer interested in the old-fashioned notion that fantasy should be equated with intellectual skill, in terms of cleverly-wrought counterpoint. Byrd could see that fantasy now meant something very different from this: in contemporary poetry it was not associated with the esoteric but with the popular. Byrd must have concluded that it was no longer valid for compositions of only didactic significance to be called fantasias. He could see that the fantasia had to be restyled as a popular composition, that is, one which brought secular elements into what was originally an ecclesiastical frame-work, and one whose appeal went much further than it ever had done.

Byrd now allowed musical variety to assume dominance over unity. Whereas he had previously sought ways of

preserving a sense of unity in the face of potentially disordered contrapuntal invention, he now abandoned the question of unity altogether, and allowed the fantasia to pursue unfettered the goal of free invention. This decision offers the key to understanding Byrd's magnificent later consort fantasias. Byrd's first step in this new direction may have been Fantasia a 3 in C no.2, a composition which is similar to the Fantasia a 4 in d no.2, except for one fundamental regard. It also consists of a succession of seven different subjects which merge motetlike from one section to another, to form a continuous flow. However, there is no cantus firmus or ground which links the subjects together. Furthermore, the subjects themselves each have their own individual stamp and, with the exception of numbers 6 and 7, there is no thematic relatedness at all between them. Indeed, they appear to have been styled in such a way as to create as much internal melodic and rhythmic variety as possible, and to make for a sectional rather than a continuously-structured composition. For example, the insistent trochaic rhythm which characterizes subject number 3 is counterpoised by the smooth, even pulse of subject number 4. The following is a list of the seven subjects, showing the distinctive rhythmic ideas which belong to each one:

Notable is the modulation to A in the fifth imitative section (bars 21-22), for it stands out markedly from the otherwise smooth and unified harmonic flow of the composition.

Once the impression of variety takes precedence over matters of unity, a composition takes on an entirely different character. In fact, it dictates a new way of listening to the music, one in which the element of predictability gives way to an element of unpredictability. The natural progression from a composition such as the above is to consolidate and enhance the impression of variety, by dispensing with the smooth transitions and seamless flow from one thematic section to the next, and thereby enabling each section to more effectively develop

its own independent character. This is what can be
observed in Fantasia a 4 in g and Fantasia a 4 in a. The
second work is the smaller of the two. It begins in a
regular, imitative manner, but after the opening point has
been exhausted (at bar 33), a much freer polyphonic style
is adopted, incorporating much rhythmic and textural
diversity. There are syncopated rhythms between pairs of
voices, diminished note values and antiphonal effects
within the consort. This is how the new section begins
(the upper part, lacking after bar 26, has been reconstruc-
ted by Elliott):[225]

A novel feature is the repeated coda. It takes its
thematic material from earlier on (bars 57-68), but as a
section, it is clearly separated from the rest of the
composition by rests in all voices:

Separate codas were to become an increasingly prominent feature of Byrd's fantasia style, as shall be seen.

On a larger scale is Fantasia a 4 in g, a work which was presumably a favourite of Byrd's, because he included it, along with Fantasia a 6 in g no.2, in the Psalmes, songs and sonnets of 1611. With regard to its dating, Neighbour writes that it must have been composed in about 1590 or slightly earlier, because it resembles the keyboard fantasias in C no.2 and in d, as well as the 'Voluntary for my Lady Nevell', both of which date from that time.[226] Concomitant with its greater length is a greater degree of sectionalization. The opening is built on two main themes, one moving in crotchets and the other moving in breves. Later, another theme enters (bar 31), and it is imitated throughout the consort. All that has happened until now constitutes one uninterrupted section, for after a tonic cadence is reached in bars 54-55, a freer style of polyphony takes over, in the same way as was witnessed in the preceding composition. From here on, the emphasis is on lightness and vitality of movement, and this is achieved through the use of rhythms and antiphonal effects which are very similar to its companion work:

The motet style has been left far behind when, a little
later, a passage of homorhythm appears, and the predominat-
ing minor tonality is replaced by the bright sound of the
tonic major and its dominant:

Then comes the coda, and this is built on the same theme
which Byrd used in the coda of Fantasia a 4 in a. And
likewise, this coda is repeated. A commonality between the
two works serves to link them in the same way as the two
six-part fantasias in g belong together as a pair.

Byrd's fondness for homorhythm and trochaic meter
also found expression in the final passage of the Browning
a 5 (it occurs from the end of the seventeenth to the
nineteenth statements of the Browning theme), and it was a
natural step for him to expand such passages into dance
sections in triple time. This is what he did in the later
consort fantasias, just as he did in his keyboard fantas-
ias. He evidently felt that there was no better way of
adding interest through variety than by countering the
predominating fugality of the fantasia with the joyfulness
of dance. It should be appreciated that this was a rather
daring move, because the fantasia was traditionally one of
the most solemn and restrained compositions.

In this respect, the Fantasia a 5 in C is a daring work, for it contains an extended and highly colourful tripla section. His longest fantasia for consort, this work also exists in a keyboard version called 'A lesson of Voluntarie', in <u>My Ladye Nevells Booke</u> (strengthening the case that as instrumental genres, the fantasia and voluntary were very closely related). Neighbour postulates that since this collection was completed in 1591, the work was probably written in the 1580s.[227] No less remarkable is the fact that it features a canon at the fourth between the upper two parts (thus Tomkins, who copied out the work in his volume of keyboard transcriptions, titled it 'Mr Birdes Fantasy Two pts in one in the 4th Above').[228] This canon is maintained throughout, at the constant displacement of three breves. For half its length, the fantasia proceeds in the orthodox manner of an imitative ricercar, but the character gradually changes as snatches of folk-song are heard within the complex web of polyphony. Here again, Byrd is out on a limb because the element of popular song was quite foreign to the fantasia. He may even have been the first English composer to make use of this element in the fantasia. The snatches of folksong lodge in the listener's mind until bar 163, when they come together and the 'Sick' tune materializes in complete form. Here is an example of a musical image being presented to the listener in gradual stages, and it is as if the imagination is invited to actively participate in the process of gradual musical 'discovery'. Neighbour has shown that in its second full statement, the quotation of

'Sick' differs little from Holborne's version of the same
tune, 'Sicke sicke and very sicke', in his The cittharn
schoole of 1597:[229]

Byrd
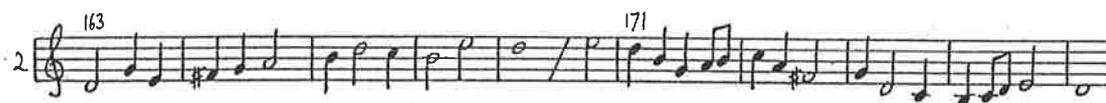
Holborne

Characteristic of Byrd's later fantasia style is his
medley vein, and this is created in the same work when the
'Sick' tune breaks spontaneously into a dance-like tripla.
Here is the opening of this tripla (the time signature is
marked 3.1 and 6.1 in the sources):

The appearance of this tripla section gives rise to a
lively, rhythmically-orientated counterpoint which
persists for the remainder of the work. Neighbour also
notes that at the end of the section (in bars 206-218),
there is a variation of an earlier quatrain passage

(occurring in bars 120-130) and, later on, further reminis-
cences of the 'Sick' tune.[230]

The diminutive Fantasia a 3 in C no.3 should be
mentioned at this stage, because it offers further insight
into Byrd's interest in the idea of dance. A composition
of unique brevity for Byrd, this fantasia causes immediate
speculation. For example, Neighbour attributes its opening
theme and aspects of its part-writing to the influence of
Willaert.[231] Also, the unusual liveliness of the theme,
together with the fact that the three parts occupy a
higher tessitura than usual, give this piece an unmistak-
able flavour of dance. For a dance-like vein to be
apparent in the opening short fugue and persist to the
end, rather than to be reserved for a tripla section
midway through, makes this fantasia unique in Byrd's
output. The fantasia seems to have been conceived as an
'imaginative re-creation' of the galliard dance. This is
because the opening theme, with its skipping rhythms and
airy movement (the note values are halved), particularly
recalls that dance, even though the meter is duple, not
triple. Moreover, there is an obvious thematic similarity
between it and the opening theme of the Galliard a 6 in C.
Comparison suggests that the fantasia is in fact a deliber-
ate parody of that work:

Fantasia a 3 in C no.3

Galliard a 6 in C

This is not all, for there are other thematic similarities which are seen to emerge between the two compositions:

Fantasia

Galliard
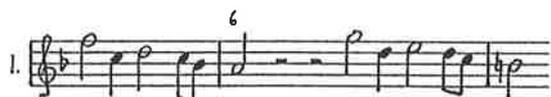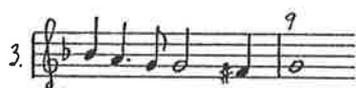
Fantasia

Galliard

Fantasia

Galliard
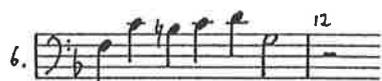
More generally, these comparisons indicate that Byrd now conceived the fantasia as a genuinely instrumental composition, and no longer a vocal one.

It is also evident that Byrd regarded the fantasia as a very free type of composition which could incorporate a heterogeneity of elements. The two Fantasias a 6 in g support this conclusion. They were without much doubt the last fantasias he wrote for consort, and they are clearly his most original and inventive ones. Indeed, they display such an astonishing richness of ideas that they are almost structurally overbalanced. Certainly, they are diametrically opposed to Byrd's earlier concept of the fantasia as a didactic vocal composition. The variety and degree of sectionalization in Fantasia a 6 in g, no.1 are so pronounced that the last two sections, the galliard and coda, give every appearance of having been added later. There are indeed justifiable grounds for drawing this conclusion, because one manuscript version (Tenbury 379-84[232]) is shortened and omits altogether the galliard and coda. However, Neighbour is probably correct in arguing that if the work post-dates Byrd's other consort fantasias, its distinctive and ambitious design was probably original and not the result of later revision.[233] In view of Byrd's increasing interest in lengthy, heterogenous structures, such a hypothesis would appear to be well founded.

An obvious antecedent for the two six-part fantasias in g was the Fantasia a 5 in C. All three works share many similarities of construction, including the fact that the canonic arrangement between the two trebles in the latter work operates to a certain extent in the former ones. For example in the galliard of Fantasia a 6 in g, no.1, the

second treble plays only the three main sections, while
the first plays only the repeats. In fact, throughout this
work and its companion, the two trebles frequently operate
as a pair and participate in many question and answer
dialogues. There are also unmistakable hints of folksong
in the motivic shapes which develop out of the opening
fugue. Thus the fugue is progressively transformed into a
loosely polyphonic texture which is dominated by tuneful
fragments. Some of these fragments are quoted here. Notice
that the fragment at bar 24 derives from the opening fugal
subject.

Some of these fragments are made into points of antiphonal
interchange between the upper and lower parts of the
consort. With the repetition of phrase which is created by
this procedure, a feeling of natural symmetricality is
lent to the melodic fragments. Dance rhythms also occur,
and here again, the repetition of phrase by means of

antiphony creates a sense of natural symmetricality which
is normally never encountered in counterpoint:

By this stage, the fantasia has moved so far away from the
conventional mould that it can never return. Byrd intro-
duces the 'Greensleeves' tune at bar 164, sharing its two
halves between the two trebles, and accompanying it with a
'Romanesca' bass line (hints of which, as Elliott
observes, have already been heard in bars 121-28).[234] 'Green-
sleeves' is converted from triple to duple meter, and it
is shortened and simplified in the following way to sound
almost like a quick dance, instead of a folksong:

Greensleeves, 1st strain

Fantasia a 6 in g, no.2

Greensleeves, 2nd strain
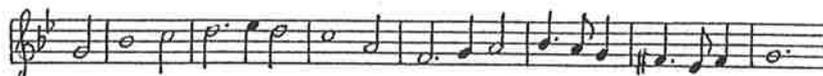
Fantasia a 6 in g, no.2

A variation of the melody is then heard, and after this comes a completely self-contained galliard in three strains. This is its beginning:

The coda, with its strong lines and bold harmonies (moving from the subdominant to e and F, and ending with a tonic pedal) is surely part of the original plan, in view of the presence of similar codas in earlier fantasias by Byrd (there is also such a coda at the end of the 'Prelude [and Ground]' a 5).

There are numerous similarities to be observed between the Fantasias a 6 in g, no.2 and no.3, and it has been suggested by more than one writer that the latter may actually be a revision of the former.[235] If it is true that one work is a recomposition of the other (the similarity of the respective opening themes strongly suggests this), it must have been in the order stated, because Byrd chose to include no.3, not no.2, in his 1611 set of songs. This in turn raises a very interesting question, because the main difference between the two works centres on the issue of variety and unity. It may be that Byrd later felt that no.2, with its markedly sectional form, had veered too far in the direction of variety. Byrd may have attempted in no.3 to restore a more satisfactory balance, because this work avoids sharp constrasts and smooths out the transitions from one section to the next. For example, in no.3 the galliard is approached by way of a long tripla from bars 57 to 79, cadencing at bar 80, and this welds the galliard more successfully into the overall structure. (Had the 'Greensleeves' tune been set in triple time in no.2, perhaps the problem of sudden metrical change would never have arisen in the first place.) Also, the galliard itself is now written in six parts, not five, and this too leads to a greater sense of unity. In another apparent attempt at exercising more control over form, Byrd establishes a degree of thematic unity in no.3 which is absent in no.2. He does this, as Neighbour has found, by deriving a greater amount of melodic material from the g triad.[236] There is another respect in which no.3 is formally the

more conservative of the two works: its opening imitative section is much longer than that in no.2, and its use of antiphony is minimal. These differences tend to make no.2 look more than a trifle audacious, even if it is the one which is immediately most appealing. Manuscript sources reveal that no.3 was probably written around 1590, that is, well before it was published. No.2 probably came shortly before this, and the five-part fantasia was probably also composed around this time.

CHAPTER 7

CHAPTER 7 : THOMAS MORLEY AND THE NEW FANTASY

Without question, the most influential figure in English music during the 1590s was Thomas Morley. In that decade he contributed directly to a profound change in English music, and this was partly as a result of his unrivalled success and dominance in the field of music printing. But it was also in large measure due to his personal influence and the abiding respect which he earned from all musicians. In the last decade of his career, he produced a string of eleven publications which placed him in the forefront of both vocal and instrumental composition. Even so, his single most remembered achievement was his famous treatise A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke, published in 1597. It is hardly possible to overestimate the influence which this work must have exercised on musicians and composers not only of Morley's own lifetime, but also of several later generations. The treatise established Morley as a leading authority on the theory of musical composition, and this, together with the fact that he was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, made him one of the most revered musical figures of the age.

Morley's opus reveals that he was a uniquely innovative and enterprising composer. His publications of canzonets (for three voices in 1593, two voices in 1595, four voices in 1597, and five and six voices in 1597), ballets (for five voices in 1595) and madrigals (for four

voices in 1596), can be seen to have forged a radically different type of composition in England. It was based on the very newest, light style of madrigal which appeared in Italy with such composers as Gastoldi, Ferretti and Anerio. Morley introduced and adapted this style to English requirements, and in so doing showed a remarkable insight into English taste and sensibility. In his Introduction, he repeatedly differentiated between what he termed 'light music' and 'grave music', and these terms can be regarded as a loose English equivalent of the Italian designations 'musica antica' and 'musica moderna'. For Morley, light music was the newest and most popular type of composition, and he saw himself as the one who virtually single-handedly introduced it to England. Described by him as 'ayreable musicke', the light style was lively, lyrical and usually vocal, but above all else, it was supposed to be immediately pleasing to the ear.[237] The grave style belonged to the church and 'learned' composition, and was typified by the motet. It was the type of music which all composers were taught from early on, as indeed was Morley, whose teacher was Byrd. However, grave music held little interest for him, and although at no time did he openly reject it (the remarkably scholarly Introduction would otherwise have never been written), it is clear from his own works that he reacted against it. Any other composer might have received censure for trying to promote light music in England, but at no time did this ever happen to Morley. Instead, he succeeded in achieving its respectability in the field of English secular music.

The turn of the century period in England was an especially formative one, and many of the changes which occurred stemmed from the emergence of an amateur class of musician. Wishing to cultivate skills in music without having to devote his entire life and energy to it, the amateur musician was responsible for bringing about a rapid secularization of music. More than this, his taste for the new and fashionable caused light music to gain rapid ascendancy, and grave music to slip into serious decline. As a composer and music publisher (he held the royal patent for music printing from 1598 until his death in 1603), Morley was able to capitalize on these developments because he himself preferred to regard music as a recreational art, and one which belonged to all people, not merely a trained, educated elite. As such, he was a man who breathed the spirit of the Renaissance perhaps more than any other English musician. The <u>Introduction</u> establishes him as a popularizer of musical knowledge in the best sense of the word, and reveals that he was more in touch with the requirements and interests of the typical musician than any other musical authority. The fact that Morley wrote his treatise in English is alone significant. He explains 'to the curteous Reader' that 'our vulgar tongue' is 'most in practise' among 'our contrimen', even though it 'hath beene in writing least known', unlike the more traditional and scholarly Latin.[238]

It becomes apparent through a study of Morley's compositions and writings that he possessed a clearly

defined concept of artistic fantasy, and that this concept was central to his creative outlook. In his writings, he establishes fantasy as a vital, generative source and as an important aesthetic concern in all aspects of musical composition. This aesthetic touches on his practical approach to composition, and is especially relevant to his fantasias. It should be noted at the outset that Morley's actual contribution to the fantasia repertory was small and, compared with some other composers, it is of only minor importance. However, this should not disguise the fact that he seems to have profoundly influenced the fantasia's development in England. A similar case exists with the madrigal. Kerman has shown that even though Morley did not actually compose any true madrigals (his so-called madrigals are more like canzonets), he was a major influence on the madrigal's development in England.[239] But before looking at his fantasias, detailed consideration should be given to his personal concept of musical fantasy.

Morley's Doctrine of Musical Variety

Morley's pioneering publication, The first book of consort lessons made by diuers authors for six instruments (published in 1599[240]), occupies an important place in instrumental music of the late Elizabethan period. A collection of dance pieces composed by a number of prominent composers of the time (among them Richard Alison, John Dowland, Peter Philips, and possibly also Nicholas

Strogers and Giles Farnaby) it was, as the title page of the first edition reads, intended for the 'priuate pleasure' of a certain, unnamed gentleman and his friends. Morley's dedication is of particular interest because it is an unequivocal statement of his attitude towards secular composition. Morley is sensitive of the need to please, satisfy and at the same time educate the willing musician, and he attempts to do this by presenting a compilation of dance pieces which is neither too long and complex, nor too unfamiliar and obscure. He makes the collection as varied as possible so as to flatter rather than discourage the musician, and he realizes that the best way of doing this is to appeal to his fantasy. In Morley's description of the pieces in the collection, he invites the musician to embellish and ornament them freely, to his own satisfaction. He goes on:

> The songs are not many, least too great plenty should breede a scarcenes of liking: they be not all of one kinde, because mens fansies seek after variety: they bee not curious, for that men may by diligence make use of them: and the exquisite Musitian may adde in the handling of them to his greater commendation.

The Consort lessons comprise three pavan-galliard pairs, three additional pavans, three additional galliards, two masks, an almain, coranto, and five other miscellaneous pieces (there is an extra pavan in the second edition of 1611). Variety also determines the nature of the instrumentation, which is specified in the title page as lute, pandora, cittern, bass viol, flute and treble viol. This was the so-called 'broken consort', whose unique sonority

was the result of a combination of blown, plucked and bowed instruments, coupled with the fact that the plucked instruments used both gut and metal strings.

If variety was a prominent feature of the Consort lessons, it was also an important conceptual principle behind Morley's A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke. Indeed, 'variety' is one of the most frequently used words in that work. Morley's repeated advice that the student of composition must employ variety in order to achieve the best results, is part of his general attitude that decisions of what is best are not determined by fixed rules, but instead by the fantasy of the individual person. For example, Morley urges the student to make full use of 'shift or varietie' if interest ever wanes through excessive sameness. This is not to say that rules can be broken whenever it is wished, but that the rules are flexible and are designed to accommodate variety, not to exclude it. In fact, the student should make as much use of variety as possible, in order to obviate the 'tediousnesse' which results from unimaginative use of his available resources. Variety, says Morley, is especially important in descant and at cadences to prevent the over-use of conventional proced-ures.[241] For Morley to have placed so much importance on individual choice and variation rather than unquestioning adherence to fixed procedure, indicates that he was forging a new and liberated approach to musical composit-ion which defined musical art in an entirely different

way. The <u>Introduction</u> set composition on a new path because in that work Morley established fantasy as a central consideration, whereas in the past all matters had been confined to judgment.

Morley firmly believed that variety was infinite in composition, regardless of how restrictive the rules might be. For him, rules never restricted the composer. They instead defined a framework which gave rise to a limitless range of possible outcomes. Music was like nature in this regard; it was governed by known, universal laws, yet at the same time infinite in its manifest diversity. To illustrate this idea in music, Morley took the example of plainsong and fugal composition. He stated that if the composer chooses to explore what can be done using a single, ordinary point, he will quickly find that there is no end to the invention which can be achieved through descant, proportion and other techniques; indeed, 'he might vpon it find varietie enough to fil vp many sheets of paper'.[242] Observing a piece of model fugal writing composed by his Master, the pupil Polymathes remarks admiringly that there are to be observed 'so many and diuers waies of bringing in the fuge' and so many ways of treating it, that

> at a word I can compare it to nothing but to a wel garnished garden of most sweete flowers, which the more it is searched the more variety it yeldeth.[243]

In Morley's opinion, monothematic writing was a purely didactic procedure, and he did not advise the student to adopt it in other than didactic composition. This was

because he believed that a monothematic piece, while it might contain much variety of fugal invention, could not contain sufficient variety of a general musical character for it to always please the listener. English composers habitually erred in this regard, thought the Master:

> we are so tedious that of one point wee will make as much as may serue for a whole song, which though it shew great art in variety, yet is it more then needeth, except one would take vpon them to make a whole fancy of one point. And in that also you shall find excellent fantasias both of maister Alfonso,[244] Horatio Vecci, and others. But such they seldome compose, except it either bee to shewe their varietie at some odde time to see what may be done vpon a point without a dittie, or at the request of some friend, to shew the diuersitie of sundrie mens vaines vpon one subject.[245]

The Master much preferred 'the Italians and other strangers ... who taking any point in hand, wil not stand long vpon it, but wil take the best of it and so away to another'.[246] The same went for cantus firmus composition, as exemplified by the In Nomine. All the Master could say about this approach to composition was that 'Great maisteries vpon a plainsong' may impress the listener for a while, but they do not make 'the sweetest musicke'.[247] At the same time, Morley had a profound respect for the motet and monothematic fantasia, because they represented to him the pinnacle of didactic counterpoint. Ironically, at one stage he condemned the opposite type of music, that is, light music, on the grounds that this was nothing more than a fashion (present not only in England but generally 'through the world') which drew the mind away from 'the consideration of heauen and heauenlie things', and caused musical art to 'tumble headlong into perdition'.[248] But

these words seem to have the authoritative voice of orthodoxy behind them, rather than Morley's own voice. Perhaps Morley was echoing the views of Byrd, for it may be that at some time the latter admonished his pupil for favouring music of the lighter and more varied kind.

This contradiction in Morley's writings is fully borne out when he deals with the fantasia. The passage quoted above characterizes that form as a monothematic composition of a didactic mould. It is reinforced by a statement made elsewhere, in relation to the pavan, that the composer 'must insist in following the point ... in a fantasie'.[249] However, when Morley addresses the fantasia directly, it is almost as if he is describing a completely different type of composition. His detailed description, quoted in full on page 283, distinguishes it as a fugal composition in which all manner of variety is permissible (except for changing the 'ayre' or the key). The composer's 'conceit' and 'pleasure' took the place of any adherence to fixed method or procedure. In terms of the variety of invention which was possible, the fantasia was the freest and most varied of all compositions. It began with a fugal section in which the theme could be freely augmented, diminuted, or modified in other ways. The fugue was followed by other sections featuring suspensions, changes of motion, changes of proportion, and other compositional devices. Nonetheless, the fantasia had to remain continuously contrapuntal from beginning to end, for its 'ayre' was characteristically 'grave', like the motet and

pavan. Indeed, the motet, pavan and fantasia are referred to by Morley as 'grave music', in contradistinction to the madrigal, canzonet, neapolitan, villanelle, ballett, vinate, giustiniana, pastourelle, passamezzo, and galliard, all of which are categorized as 'light music'.[250]

The fantasia evidently posed something of a problem for Morley. He understood fantasy in music as pertaining to variety, and this must have caused him to question the traditional concept of fantasia as a strictly mono-thematic, didactic composition. It made more sense to him to look upon the fantasia as a freer composition, so this is how he chose to define it. Thus in Morley's writings an important change can be witnessed in the whole concept of what fantasy in music was supposed to represent, and consequently, what type of composition the fantasia was supposed to be. No longer, as far as he was concerned, was fantasy to be connected with intellectual skill and mastery of contrapuntal technique (the sixteenth-century concept of 'bonissima fantasia');[251] now it was connected purely with pleasurableness and variety. What Morley was in effect doing was up-dating the concept of musical fantasy. After all, his description of the fantasia as a composition which 'will beare any allowances whatsoeuer tolerable in other musick', and in which 'the composer is tide to nothing', is remarkably consistent with Bacon's Aristotelian-derived concept of combinative fantasy, especially as it related to the imaginative process in poetry. Formulated at around the same time, this concept

characterizes the fantasy as a faculty which freely joins
and severs images taken from nature, forming objects which
are not consistent with the natural laws. Thus in the
fantasia, musical devices (images) extracted from all
available musical sources, were drawn together to create a
'compounded' composition which was at once highly indeter-
minate in form and highly varied in content.

Techniques for Creating Variety: I Polymotivicism

Before looking any closer at Morley's approach to the
fantasia, it is necessary to consider in detail how, in
terms of specific compositional methods, he thought
musical variety could be achieved. Morley believed that
interest is maintained not by sudden contrasts or extravag-
ant juxtapositions, but rather by subtle and continuous
musical change. Not one who was naturally drawn to fugal
writing, Morley preferred compositions which did not limit
themselves to a single theme. One such composition was the
bicinium, an unaccompanied duet for equal or unequal
voices (or instruments), which was probably pedagogical in
function. Some bicinia were monothematic in design, but
many were instead polymotivic, consisting of a series of
'points' of varying character. Polymotivic design in fact
suited the bicinium well, for two voices could not sustain
a single point for as long or as effectively as three or
more voices could. Also, if it is true that bicinia were
used for training young musicians, as is generally
believed,[252] a varied and therefore more interesting design

was naturally most desirable. This variety would also have been positively beneficial, because it meant that young musicians were more thoroughly tested on their singing ability, including their proficiency at sight-reading.

Typical examples of the polymotivic bicinium can be found in Orlando di Lasso's Motetti et ricercari a due voci, (Venice, 1585), and his Bicininia, sive cantiones suavissimae duarum vocum, (Antwerp, 1601; significantly, the title 'fantasia' is applied to some compositions in this publication). The compositions are made up of a dozen or so melodic phrases in both voices, each phrase being treated in a canonic or quasi-canonic manner. The appearance of a cadence and rests usually always signals the entry of a new phrase. Here are the openings of each phrase in one of Lasso's bicinia (cantus):[253]
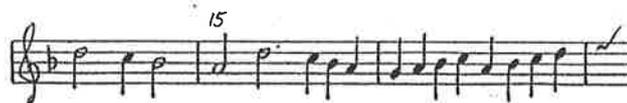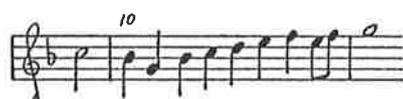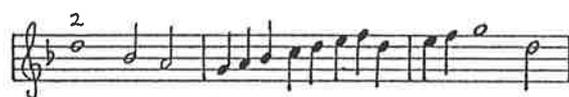
Most activity is usually reserved for the final phrases. This actively takes the form of quick scales, one voice 'chasing' the other, and it is a feature of the above composition as the last phrase shows.

The bicinium became important in England mainly as a result of Morley. For him it was an indispensable part of his pedagogical approach to music, and he included a set of six untitled bicinia in A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke. He included another set of nine in his Canzonets to two voyces of 1595, and these he collec-

tively called 'fantasies'. To have called them this was not entirely original, for it appears that bicinia were sometimes given this name on the Continent (for example those of Lasso mentioned above, and Pulti's collection of two-part <u>Scherzi, capricci et fantasie per cantar</u>, Venice, 1605). However, it was an innovation as far as English music was concerned. It established a new species of fantasia in that country, one which was purely and simply based on the principle of variety.

II Thematic Alteration

The technique of monothematicism was widely used in textless polyphonic music, because it offered a means of containing contrapuntal invention within the bounds of thematic unity. Even if the technique did not instinctively suit Morley, he nevertheless acknowledged that it was an alternative and perfectly valid way of creating variety in a contrapuntal composition. He also demonstrated that he could master the technique himself, as will be shown shortly. There was no doubt in his mind that endless variety could be created from a single, well chosen theme. His only reservation was that the variety was necessarily all of one type, and could not sustain the listener's interest for very long. Even so, Morley understood that monothematic composition required a unique balance between free inventiveness and strict adherence to an unvarying formula.

Only the most masterful composers could properly attain this balance. One such composer, in Morley's opinion, was Orazio Vecchi who, along with Ferrabosco senior, composed 'excellent fantasias ... of one point' (see earlier). It is known that Morley was familiar with the music of Vecchi, and one composition which he surely knew was a four-part monothematic fantasia from Vecchi's Selva di varia ricreatione of 1590, a collection of madrigals, canzonettas, dance-songs, and polychoral pieces. Morley was fimiliar with this collection because he had borrowed the text from one of its madrigals, 'So ben mi c'ha bon tempo', to replace the words of his own ballet 'Now is the month of maying' in the Italian edition of his 1595 set of ballets. The fantasia is a particularly fine example of how a simple, hexachordal theme can be spun out to form a lengthy and varied composition. Vecchi subjects the theme to augmentation, diminution, inversion and rhythmic alteration:

Original

Inversion

Augmentation x 2

Augmentation x 8

Diminution

Rhythmic alteration

Inversion and rhythmic alteration
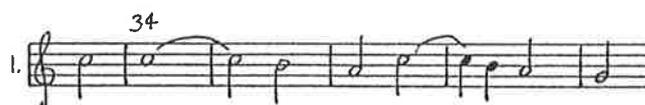
In addition, there are numerous allusions to or echoes of
the original theme, many of them being made up of hexa-
chordal scales.

There are two possible interpretations of this type
of fantasia. One is that it reflects the concept of
musical fantasy as skilful contrapuntal invention, refer-
red to by Diruta as 'bonissima fantasia'. The other
relates to a more psychological concept of fantasy, where-
by the opening theme of a composition performs the role of
a musical image which is manipulated and transformed by
the imaginative process. This was discussed in a previous
chapter in connection with the parody fantasia. Turning to
Morley, however, an entirely separate concept of musical

fantasy is encountered. Monothematicism for him was simply another technique for creating variety. This is revealed in part three of the <u>Introduction</u>. Therein, Polymathes composes a four-part exercise on the following theme (which consists of the first notes of 'Now Robin lend to me thy bow' and 'Non nobis, Domine'): [254]

However, Polymathes is unable to rise to the occasion, and can only come up with one modest variant of the original:

After correcting the exercise, the Master remarks that for it to be improved, it would require greater variation in its use of 'imitation'. His own attempt on the same theme produces a wealth of variants, all in the space of a mere 31 bars: [255]

Rhythmic alteration
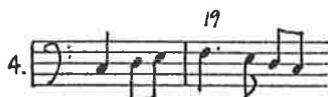
Pitch alteration
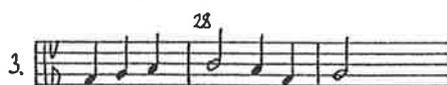
Fragmentation
and diminution

Augmentation

Inversion
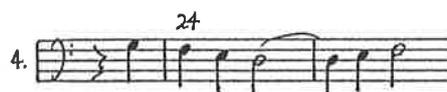
Both the students, Polymathes and Philomathes, agree that the Master's example amply demonstrates 'skill vpon one point'. Polymathes observes:

> Because there be so many and divers waies of bring-
> ing in the fuge shewed in it as would cause any of
> humor bee in loue with it, for the point is brought
> in in [sic] the true ayre the parts going so close
> and formally that nothing more artificiall can bee
> wished: likewise marke in what maner any part begin-
> neth and you shal see some other reply vpon it in
> the same point, either in shorter or longer notes
> also in the 22. barre when the Tenor expresseth the
> point, the base reuerteth it [end of bar 23 to bar
> 25: see above], and at a word I can compare it to
> nothing but to a wel garnished garden of most sweete
> flowers, which the more it is searched the more
> varietie it yeldeth.[256]

The number of possible variants which can be created from
a single theme are infinite, so the Master believed. His
exercise, being so short, could only hint at this 'law' of
composition. However, it succeeded in demonstrating that
the technique of thematic alteration offers to the
composer innumerable ways of producing variants. The
Master modestly explains that his exercise uses only a
'common point' which is

> no more then commonly handled, but if a man would
> study, he might vpon it find varietie enough to fil
> vp many sheets of paper: yea, though it were given
> to all the musicions of the world they might compose
> vpon it, and not one of their compositions be like
> vnto that of another.[257]

Earlier in Morley's treatise, there is a set of bicinia
which are essentially the same as his published fantasias
a due, and one of them is monothematic and makes extensive
use of thematic alteration (see later). This fact contrib-
utes further to the conclusion that Morley saw a definite
connection between the concepts of fantasy and variety in
composition.

III Canon and Descant

One of the ways in which composers learnt to produce variety from a given subject was to begin with a plainsong and to construct a series of freely invented canons in two voices around it. Although Morley does not apply the technique of canon to fantasia composition, it is neverthe-less of interest in assessing the full extent of his interest in the subject of variety. Perhaps the only reason why he did not use it was that he found this technique of 'two parts in one upon a plainsong' too laborious. In his opinion, the best musical invention came not from painstaking effort, but from spontaneous acts of fancy. This is why he did not wholeheartedly recommend the technique to the student:

> For if a manne shoulde thinke to set down euerie waie [of making two parts in one upon a plainsong], and doe nothing all his life time but dailie inuent varietie, he should lose his labour, for anie other might come after him, and inuent as manie others as he hath done. 258

However, other composers evidently felt differently from Morley, for example Ferrabosco senior and Byrd. As Morley relates, they competed with one another in compos-ing forty different ways of setting two voices against the _Miserere_ plainsong. In so doing they strove 'to surmount [one] another, without malice, enuie, or backbiting: but by great labour, studie and paines, ech [sic] making other censure of that which they had done'. Morley adds that both men could have gone on to compose 'infinite more at their pleasure'.259 Although their respective 'forty waies'

were entered in the Stationer's Register in 1603, they do not survive to the present day, and may in fact never have been printed. Ferrabosco and Byrd were not the only composers to have treated canon as a purely didactic exercise. Highest praise had to go to George Waterhouse (d.1602), who managed to outdo all others in this rarified and esoteric form of composition. According to Morley, he,

> vpon the same plainsong of <u>Miserere</u>, for varietie surpassed all who euer laboured in this kinde of studie. For hee hath alreadie made a thousand waies (yea and though I should talke of halfe as manie more, I should not be farre wide of the truth) euerie one different and seuerall from another.[260]

Morley hoped one day that Waterhouse's mammoth achievement might appear in print, but this, not surprisingly, never happened.

An idea of what was entailed in the technique of setting two-part canons to a plainsong can be gained from looking at John Farmer's <u>Divers and sundry waies of two parts in one, to the number of fortie, uppon one playn song</u>, published in 1591. Over the plainsong the two parts enter into a series of strict canons, each of which is different for a number of reasons. These can be summarized as follows:

1) the canonic parts are given different ranges with respect to the plainsong
2) the canonic parts begin in alternate order and at different intervals
3) rests of various lengths separate the two canonic entries
4) the normal canonic procedure is altered so that one voice is a retrograde-inversion of the other (for example numbers 37 and 39)
5) the plainsong is heard in retrograde form, and one of

the added parts only uses semibreves with pitches which correspond to the first half of the other part (number 38)

6) the plainsong is repeated in retrograde, and one of the added parts is a retrograde version of the other.

According to Morley, a number of composers wrote similar sets of canons, including Parsley, Tallis, Redford, Thomas Preston, Hodges, John Thorne (d.1573), and William S(h)elbye. In their sets the student can 'find such varietie of breaking the plainsongs, as one not verie well skilled in musicke, should scant descerne anie plainsong at al'.[261] Another composer was William Bathe, whose A briefe introduction to the skill of song (published in London in the 1580s) includes '10. sundry waies of 2. parts in one upon the plain song'. All such sets are, of course, purely didactic and explore only some of the many combinations of canonic writing which are possible over a fixed melody. Realizing this, Morley reminds the student that what he needs to know are not rules, but music's combinational possibilities. Hence, 'the Authors vse the Canons in such diuersitie that it were folly to thinke to set down al the formes of them, because they be infinet'.[262]

Morley shows what some of these combinational possibilities are in his discussion of the art of descant. Incidentally, canon, in Morley's understanding, was the practice of adding a free melody to a given plainsong.[263] Learning this art involved a working knowledge of melodic construction, consonance and dissonance, and all the different ways of imparting a pleasant sense of variety to the music. One important way was to choose from a variety

of different rhythmic schemes, and Morley gives the follow-
ing examples of what can be done in dupla meter:

An alternative method is to simultaneously employ both
dupla and tripla meters, creating what was known as propor-
tional meter or sesquialtera:

To demonstrate the possibilities of proportional meter,
Morley included in his treatise the composition 'Christ's
Cross', whose extraordinary complexity is a product of its
continually varied use of sesquialtera (Alec Harman's
transcription of it, realizing the changes of proportion
in modern notation, shows how fearsomely difficult this
composition is to perform).[264] But in the Master's opinion,
'Christ's Cross' only gives a small idea of what can be

done through the use of different proportions. He concludes by saying to the student: 'There be manie other proportions ... and manie you may see elsewhere. Also you your selfe may deuise infinite more, which may be both artificiall and delightfull'.[265]

A final aspect of descant writing may be briefly mentioned. To go one step further in achieving variety, Morley suggests that 'figuration' can be employed. This is when the plainsong is sung to different rhythms so that the breve values can be divided into a number of smaller note values, or when long note values alternate with smaller ones, or when the same rhythmic values in the descant are adopted.[266] With these added techniques a great many more possibilities are made available to the composer, and what he finally ends up choosing must depend entirely on his own creative inclination 'for, as so manie men so manie mindes, so their inuentions wil be diuers, and diuerslie inclined'.[267]

Musica Combinatoria

The above discussions suggest that Morley was bound to a particular theory of musical composition which derived from the mathematical concept of infinity. This theory, later defined by Brossard as 'Musica Combinatoria', rested on the belief that music consisted of basic elements such as rhythmic and pitch values, and that these elements could be combined in an infinite number of ways

to produce variety.[268] Brossard's definition is worth quoting:

> Musica Combinatoria, that part which teaches the manner of combining the sounds; that is, of changing their place and figure in as many manners as possible. [269]

The principle belonged to musical theory, but its purpose was entirely practical: to systematically show the many different and fruitful avenues in which the composer could apply his imagination.[270] Among the theorists known to have shown how the principle applied to composition are Glareanus, Mersenne and Kircher.[271]

In Book VIII of Kircher's Musurgia universalis, the subject of 'Musurgia combinatoria' is analysed at considerable length and in considerable detail. Kircher explains the principle by showing how many different permutations are possible if the letters in the word 'Amen' are re-ordered, and then by showing that the number of permutations vastly expands (in exponential series) if the word-length is increased.[272] In the same way, a group of notes can be combined in different ways, and the total number of ways depends proportionately on how many notes are present in that group. Four separate pitches, for example, can be combined in 24 different ways (4 factorial),[273] but with nine the total rises steeply to 362,880 (9 factorial).[274] However, in reality it is much more complicated than this, because different rhythmic values can be assigned to each note. With this added variable factor, the number of possible permutations soars to astronomic

levels. It can quickly be seen that in the context of a musical composition, there are virtually unlimited permutations which a subject or theme can yield, especially if other variables are introduced, such as different starting pitches. What this proved to Kircher and to other theorists was that the means of producing variety can in themselves be extremely simple, but used in conjunction with one another, they can offer an unrealizably vast number of possibilities.

Although Morley makes no mention of the principle of musica combinatoria, it clearly underlies his concept of variety. Each of his techniques for producing variety, such as those given earlier, rely on the principle and illustrate its fundamental importance as a theoretical basis of musical invention. For Morley, the important point was not that invention might have any theoretical basis as such, but that in its practical basis it relied on nothing other than the composer's fantasy. The principle of musica combinatoria is of special interest insofar as it suggests that fantasy did not operate in a random or haphazard manner, but instead (at least in some applications) in a predetermined and calculating way. The type of fantasy which operated in monothematic composition, by subtly altering a given theme, was distinctly intellectual in its process.

IV Intervals and Cadences

To complete this survey of the technical aspects of Morley's doctrine of musical variety, two further matters need to be briefly considered. One concerns intervals (or 'cords' as Morley called them), of which there are two kinds: concords, such as octaves, sixths, fifths and thirds; and discords, such as sevenths, fourths and seconds.[275] While the former are 'correct', their continual use is not desirable if the result is not going to sound excessively mellifluous and uninteresting. To counter this, the concords should be interspersed now and then with discords, provided that they are utilized properly. Their effect is actually to heighten the sweetness of the concords and 'make the descant more pleasing'.[276] Here, Morley was entirely in agreement with Zarlino, and he could do no better than quote in translation a passage which the latter had written on this very subject:[277]

> euen as a picture painted with diuers cullours doth more delight the eie to beholde if then if it were done but with one cullour alone, so the eare is more delighted and taketh more pleasure of the consonants by the diligent musicion placed in his compositions with varietie then of the simple [that is, perfect] chords [and modulations (& delle modulationi)] put together without any varietie at all. [278]

The way a dissonance was properly used was to approach it by way of a suspension (or 'binding'). To illustrate how this was done, Morley gives a number of examples of cadencial preparation .involving different treatment of suspensions, most of which make use of the seventh or fourth degrees, resolving them to the sixth or third

degree respectively.[279] At the end of part three of the
Introduction, there is a lengthy catalogue of different
cadences (or 'closes') which show, among other things,
that a wide range of cadences can be created by varied use
of suspensions. Any voice can carry the suspension (but it
is usually the cantus); the cadence can be perfect, plagal
or medial; and in minor keys the tierce de Picardy (to use
an anachronism) can be used.[280]

V Variety of Passions

If the principle of musica combinatoria only gave
scope to an intellectual type of fantasy, the principle of
musical illustration of the text gave scope to fantasy in
its genuine form. So Morley would have believed, because
for him there was always more freedom for the fantasy to
pursue musical variety when guided by the meaning of
words, than by the dictates of abstract, musical prin-
ciples. It was evidently his belief that in the final
analysis, these principles actually constrained the
fantasy and consequently limited variety. In music set to
verse, however, none of these principles applied. There
was only one principle which operated in this case, and
that was the primacy of word over music. Morley put it
thus: you as a composer must 'dispose your musicke accord-
ing to the nature of the words which you are therein to
expresse'.[281] The beauty of this principle was that it
enabled the composer to create as much variety as he
pleased.

Morley was one of the first English composers to see that the variety inherent in poetic verse could become a source of musical variety. This was particularly true in the case of the madrigal, or 'louers musicke', as he described it. Madrigalian verse was the most varied type because it was directly concerned with the vicissitudes of the soul and the fluctuations of the passions. In Morley's own words, madrigals are set apart from all other music because they are 'full of diuersity of passions and ayres'. For example, while a motet may consist of only a single point, a madrigal may consist of many and varied points. Indeed, 'the more varietie of points bee shewed in one song, the more is the Madrigal esteemed'.[282] Morley gives an idea of how different the passions or conceits which are expressed by the composer can be:

> you must in your musicke be wauering like the wind, sometime wanton, somtime [sic] drooping, sometime graue and staide, otherwhile effeminat, you may maintaine points and reuert them, vse triplaes and shew the verie vttermost of your varietie, and the more varietie you shew the better shal you please. [283]

His 'Rules to be obserued in dittying' are intended to guide the composer in choosing the most appropriate ways of musically expressing the meanings of the subject and the individual words in any piece of madrigalian verse.[284] What he gives may be summarized in tabular form:

MUSICAL TECHNIQUE	WORDS AND AFFECTIONS	APPROPRIATE MUSICAL PROCEDURE
General	'gaue matter' 'merrie subiect'	– 'graue kinde' – 'merrie' kind
Harmony	words signifying 'hardnesse', 'crueltie' and 'bitternesse'	– harmonies should be 'somewhat harsh and hard'
	words signifying 'complaint', 'dolor', 'repentance', 'sighs' and 'teares'	– harmonies need to be 'sad and doleful'
Part movement	'hardnesse' and 'crueltie'	– 'you must cause the partes [to] proceedes in their motions without the halfe note, that is, you must cause them [to] proceed by whole notes, sharpe thirds, sharpe sixes and such like' – 'you may also vse Cadences bound with the fourth or seuenth, which being in long notes will exasperat the harmonie'
	'lamentable passion'	– 'vse motions proceeding by halfe notes', also 'flat thirdes and flat sixes, which of their nature are sweete'
	'crueltie, tyrannie, bitternesse and such like'	– natural motions (i.e. without accidentals): 'these motions be more masculine causing in the song more virilitie'
	'passions of griefe, weeping, sighes, sorrowes, sobbes, and such like'	– accidental motions (i.e. with accidentals): these 'make the song as it were more effeminate & languishing'
Tempo	light subject	– 'you must cause your musicke [to] go in motions, which carrie with them a celeritie or quicknesse of time, as minims, crotchets and quauers'
	lamentable subject	– 'the note must goe in slow and heauie motions, as semibreues, breues and such like'
Word illustration	'matter signifieth ascending, high heauen, and such like'	– 'you must make your musicke ascend'
	'dittie speaketh of descending lowenes, depth, hell, and others such'	– 'you must make your musick descend'
Rests	words signifying sighing	– you can use crotchet or minim rests

The whole idea of the madrigal was that its variety of passions should please and delight the listener. There was another type of music which shared exactly the same approach, and this of course was the fantasia. The fact that these two essentially unrelated compositional forms might be so similar in this regard suggests that Morley perceived a connection between them. This connection was brought about by the fact that both were based on the idea of fantasy. The presence or absence of words really made no difference. As will be seen, Morley's idea of fantasy was probably poetic in origin, thus explaining the nature of its significance in relation to the song.

In the style of verse Morley chose for his songs, fantasy is always a capricious element which causes change in the heart or mind, and which single-mindedly pursues its goal of self-satisfaction regardless of any other

considerations. In the solo song 'Who is it that this dark night', from The first booke of ayres of 1600, fantasy represents irrationality which leads the individual to estrangement and personal ruination. In 'Can I forget what reason's force', from the same collection, fantasy is again pitched against reason since all it does is offer the mind delight and contentedness. Unfortunately, the song 'Fantasticke loue, the first part' (the second part is 'Poore soule'), which would perhaps be the most illuminating of all, no longer exists because the sole surviving copy of The first booke of ayres, in which the song appears, has missing pages. However, its theme may have been little different from what can be observed in another song by Morley, the three-part canzonet 'O sleepe fond fancie', which he included amongst the musical examples in part three of the Introduction. The verse is worth quoting here because it perfectly typifies the poetic image of fantasy during Morley's time (the same verse was set as a madrigal by John Bennet in his Madrigalls to foure voyces of 1599):

> O sleep fond fancie,
> My head alas thou tyrest
> of that which thou desirest.
> Sleepe, I say fond fancie,
> and leave my thoughts molesting,
> Thy masters head hath neede of sleepe and resting.

The completely independent, restless spirit of fantasy is what set it apart from the mind's other faculties. What also made it different was the fact that it directly involved the passions and, guided by nothing other than self-interest, presented a continual stream of different

passions to the mind. This, then, provides the basis of Morley's concept of fantasy and variety as it applied to music. It applied as equally to the fantasia as it did to the madrigal (and canzonet) because neither composition was supposed to be unified or rational in conception, or intellectual in its musical processes, at least as far as Morley preferred to look at it.

Morley's Fantasias

The preceding discussions provide the necessary background for understanding Morley's approach to the fantasia. From the Baconian concept of fantasy as 'fained history' and 'fictitious form', Morley created for himself the idea that the fantasia may refer for its basic material to 'real' musical or extra-musical images, in whatever order or context, making it simply and literally a piece of musical imagination. From the mathematically derived concept of musica combinatoria and the poetically derived concept of fantasy and the passions, he was able to make the fantasia a highly varied composition both in its intellectual and affective content. These aspects can be seen in his nine duet fantasias, the five-part 'La fantasia' and its untitled companion piece, and also the fantasia for keyboard. To this list may be added the six 'songs' or 'duos' included in the Introduction, because these pieces closely resemble the duet fantasias, as will be shown later. The list is not a large total of compositions to draw any conclusions from, but as with the

madrigal, Morley's importance with regard to the fantasia is belied by his manifestly small contribution to the genre.

The first question which has to be asked is what exactly Morley considered the fantasia to be, as a separate genre, because this is not immediately clear. His dozen or so fantasias are remarkably diverse and can hardly be grouped together under a single generic banner. Furthermore, none of them agrees with his definition of the fantasia in the Introduction. The duet fantasias are no different from the Continental bicinium, but they are also very similar to his a 2 canzonets; the five-part fantasias are similar to his a 5 and a 6 canzonets; and the keyboard fantasia (no.124 in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book) is written in a free, improvisatory and completely unvocal style. None is truly fugal, and yet in his definition, fugue is the most important ingredient. About the only things which they have in common are freedom from words and an element of subjective licence.

It is probable that Morley defined the fantasia not as he conceived it from his own perspective as a composer, but as he observed it from his perspective as a scholar. The Introduction probably contains a lot of information which was passed down to him from his teacher William Byrd, whom he described as 'my louing Maister'.[285] This may well be the case here, because the definition actually applies more convincingly to Byrd's fantasias than it does to Morley's. Nevertheless, by giving the fantasia pride of

place in his discussion of compositions 'without a dittie', Morley elevated it to a level of importance which it had never previously enjoyed. In addition, many composers of the younger generation would have derived their understanding of the fantasia directly from what Morley wrote in the Introduction.

The Two-Part Fantasias

For Morley to have included nine fantasias in The firste booke of canzonets to two voyces (published first in 1593 and given a second edition in 1619[286]) is, on first consideration, rather strange. The canzonet, which was airy and entertaining in style, was one of Morley's favourite types of light music for voices, but the fantasia represented the furthest extreme of 'grauity and goodnes' in music for instruments.[287] No other composer could have published a collection of such apparent unconformity. However, Morley had no difficulty because the fantasias he composed for this collection were deliberately unconventional. In truth, they are just as light as the canzonets themselves. Simple and 'slight' though they may be,[288] they are skilfully wrought and artful compositions, and are of special interest for the simple reason that they were the first English fantasias to ever have been published. The fact is that they owe absolutely nothing to the English fantasia tradition, and are styled along the lines of the canzonet and bicinium.

A basic comparison between the fantasias and canzonets contained in the collection shows how similar they are. The same keys (mostly minor) are used, the voices are both equal and unequal in relation to each other, and the vocal ranges themselves are no different:

FANTASIAS a 2

No	Title	Key	Mode	Key Signature	Bars*	Vocal Ranges	Voice Pairing
1.	'Il Doloroso'	F	transposed 11	b	90	10th, 11th	Unequal
2.	'La Girondola'	g/G	transposed 1	b	56	12th, 11th	Equal
3.	'La Rondinella'	F	transposed 11	b	66	13th, 11th	Unequal
4.	'Il Grillo'	C	11	–	64	11th, 12th	Unequal
5.	'Il Lamento'	g	transposed 1	b	74	11th, 11th	Unequal
6.	'La Caccia'	F	transposed 11	b	66	11th, 11th	Equal
7.	'La Sampogna'	C	11	–	84	9th, 11th	Unequal
8.	'La Sirena'	d/g/G	transposed 1	b	64	14th, 14th	Equal
9.	'La Tortorella'	g/G	transposed 1	b	72	11th, 12th	Unequal

CANZONETS a 2

No	Key	Mode	Key Signature	Bars*	Vocal Ranges	Voice Pairing
1	F	transposed 11	b	55	13th, 13th	Equal
2	F	transposed 11	b	60	12th, 12th	Equal
3	F	transposed 11	b	48	11th, 12th	Equal
4	F	transposed 11	b	45	11th, 11th	Equal
5	g/G	transposed 1	b	69	11th, 11th	Equal
6	g/G	transposed 1	b	48	11th, 11th	Equal
7	g/G	transposed 1	b	69	11th, 11th	Unequal
8	G	7	–	39	12th, 12th	Equal
9	G	7	–	53	11th, 11th	Equal
10	C	11	–	67	10th, 13th	Unequal
11	C	11	–	56	9th, 11th	Unequal
12	C	11	–	51	9th, 9th	Unequal

*in breves, including repeats

One difference is that the fantasias are somewhat longer, and this raises the matter of their internal construction, because it is the only respect in which the fantasias are demonstrably different from the canzonets. In the latter compositions, all musical considerations of form and phrase construction are determined by the requirements of

text-setting. This is to say that the rhythmic make-up and overall length of musical phrases are governed by the metrical plan and length of textual phrases. By contrast, phrases in the fantasia can be as long or short or as rhythmically varied as the composer wishes, and this lends these compositions a much greater overall flexibility of construction. It is also true that there are noticeably more running scales, in quavers, and more otherwise rhythmically active passages in the fantasias than the canzonets, perhaps indicating that the former are supposed to be played on instruments and not sung (see, however, the comment below). This does not mean that the fantasias depart radically from the canzonets, but rather that subtle differences of construction distinguish the two types. So while the number of integral phrases (beginning as points of imitation) is often similar, variety of both rhythm and melody is often more in evidence in the fantasias. The following comparison makes this clear:

Fantasia no.3 'La Rondinella' (cantus)

Phrase

1.   (8 bars)

2.   (9 bars)

3. (4½ bars)

4. (8 bars)

5. (7 bars)

6. (5 bars)

7. (8 bars)

8a. (7 bars)

8b. (8 bars)
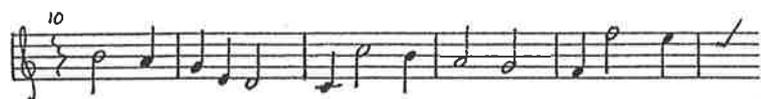
Canzonet no.2 'When lo, by break of morning' (cantus)

Phrase

1.   (5 bars)

2.   (7 bars)

3.   (6½ bars)

4.   (6 bars)

5.   (2½ bars)
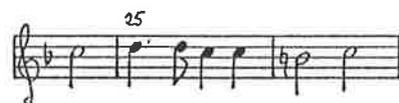
6.   (9 bars)
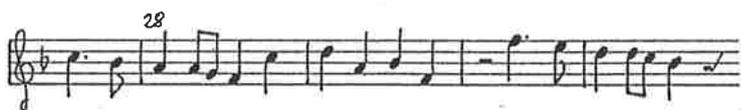
7.*   (4½ bars)
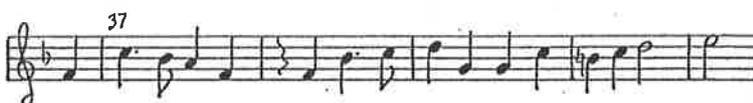
8.*   (7½ bars)
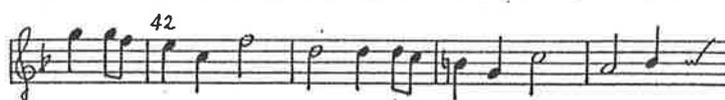
*phrases 7 and 8 are repeated

Nevertheless, it is remarkable how similar in style the fantasias are to the canzonets. Melodic writing is essentially the same, and there is also a tendency for the fantasias to follow the canzonets in the dividing of phrases into two approximately equal halves. This happens in the canzonets because a given line of text is often repeated. In the fantasias, it may indicate that the composer is unconsciously guided by a 'phantom text' (see for example the last two phrases of 'La Rondinella'). Again, certain smaller groups of notes are repeated at different starting pitches in the fantasias, after the manner of the canzonas, in which certain words are given added prominence through repetition (see phrases 2 and 4 of 'La Rondinella'). These observations, together with the fact that the fantasias are also seen to contain repeated sections (written out) like the canzonets (for example nos. 1, 4, 7 and 9), lead to the suggestions that the fantasias are best thought of as textless canzonets, and that they may have been intended to be sung wordlessly or to solmization syllables. In other words, the assertion that they are 'compositions for strings' may be entirely unwarranted. [289]

The notion of 'phantom texts' is worth pursuing further, because it can be seen that the fantasias, with their descriptive titles, employ many of Morley's expressive devices for the madrigal, as outlined earlier. The titles are like emblematic Italianate mottoes, because they announce the subject matter or the underlying humour

of each composition. Morley possibly found a model in Gastoldi's <u>Balletti a cinque voci</u> (Venice, 1593), which contains light (texted) vocal pieces with such titles as 'Il contento', 'Il Piacere', 'L'Ardite', 'La Sirena' and 'Caccia d'Amore'.[290] After all, Gastoldi was a composer who is known to have exercised a considerable influence on Morley's development towards a concept of light music.[291]

In Morley's 'Il Doloroso' (Sorrowful One), the opening theme is heard in augmentation in the upper voice, and it acts as a cantus firmus for the theme in the lower voice. This agrees with the composer's advice that long note values are appropriate for a sad subject.

The same arrangement is heard later in the piece (bars 22-26 and 34-37), and also in the beginning of the similarly dolorous 'Il Lamento' (The Lament), except that in this piece the minor mode of g helps to further establish a mood of sadness. In both pieces, the frequent use of suspensions adds to the mood by creating a general heaviness in the part movement, and causing dissonances which represent pain. Notable too, are the minor thirds and sixths in the melodic writing of 'Il Lamento', for these intervals are specifically stated by Morley as representing grief and sorrow:

On the other hand, there are other pieces in which the subject calls for lightness and celerity of movement, and a playfulness between the two parts. Such is the case in 'La Caccia' (The Chase), especially towards the end, when a progressive shortening of the note values culminates in a spirited passage in which the two parts 'chase' one another:

Another example is 'La Rondinella' (The Swallow), in which the rapid scalic activity is easily imagined as the swift and agile movement of birds in flight. A similar type of movement in 'La Girandola' (The Fountain) can be interpreted as a pictorialization of the spray and cascading of water in a fountain. In all three pieces, the greatest activity occurs towards the end, and this is the same with many similar bicinia compositions of the period (as noted before). Musical onomatopoeia occurs in 'Il Grillo' (The Cricket) which, like Josquin's song of the same name, imitates the rapid chirping noises of that insect. In 'La Tortorella' (The Turtle Dove), the hooting calls of doves can be heard in question and answer:

Curiously, 'La Sampogna' (The Bagpipe) and 'La Sirena' (The Siren) contain no obvious or distinctive musical effects which might depict their respective titles. Furthermore, it should be noted that none of the nine fantasias is quite as extensively pictorial as may be expected. The illustrative devices which do exist are merely there to trigger the listener's imagination, rather than convey the subject in the most musically 'literal' way possible. Perhaps it is for this reason that the titles, where they occur at the head of each piece (but not in the table of contents), are followed by question marks. One is asked to use one's imagination to create a mental picture using the music only as a starting point. This could well be the reason why Morley chose to call the pieces 'fantasias', when in terms of musical style and procedure, they are obviously closer to the canzonet than the fantasia proper.

Another aspect of these small pieces should be considered. Their simple and immediate charm is largely the result of their rich variety of contrapuntal invention. It seems that Morley was keen to show just how much variety could be incorporated within such modest dimensions. If the fantasias resemble the canzonet, they also resemble the bicinium, and this is because Morley (like his Continental contemporaries) probably understood the latter composition as an exercise piece, in which contrapuntal variety was the most characteristic feature. As has already been seen, his fantasias consist of a series of

various melodic phrases, each of which is headed by a
different motive or point. Although monothematicism was
not uncommonly employed in the bicinium, Morley eschewed
it in favour of polymotivicism, the technique which he
felt allowed for greater variety. The breakdown of melodic
phrases in 'La Rondinella' on page 481 shows that similar
note values, melodic contours and patterns of intervals,
are used throughout (thus making a family of phrases), but
that each phrase nevertheless has its own individual
character. Notwithstanding this, the recurrence of a
single motive does occasionally occur, as for example in
'Il Lamento'. In this piece, a point of imitation which
appears soon after the opening is restated a number of
times in original and modified forms:

(and again up a
4th at bar 12)

However, this piece is an exception. In all other cases
Morley chooses to create variety by continually changing
his points of imitation. Thus, by way of the principle of

polymotivicism, Morley was able to evolve an approach to fantasia composition which paralleled the trend towards sectionalism in the ensemble fantasias of Robert White, Byrd and other composers. It may be added that Michael East and Gibbons took up Morley's example of the poly-motivic duet fantasia, and developed it further so that it became a brilliantly kaleidoscopic and technically very demanding type of composition. In their case, the style of writing is purely instrumental, not vocal.

As a postscript to this discussion, the six 'songs' (as they are collectively called) or 'duos' (as they are individually titled) which are included at the end of part one of the Introduction, need to be considered. This is because they show obvious similarities to the duet fantasias. The fact that they were intended by Morley as exercises in singing further strengthens the case that the fantasias are indeed vocal compositions.[292] The following table shows that the duos are more varied in length than the fantasias, but are no different in terms of vocal ranges and voice pairing. The choice of keys is also similar: thus the duos have key signatures of either one or no flats, just like the fantasias.

DUOS

No	Key	Mode	Key Signature	Bars*	Vocal Ranges	Voice Pairing
1	F	transposed 11	b	60	11th, 12th	Unequal
2	F	transposed 11	b	56	11th, 11th	Unequal
3	g/G	transposed 1	b	71	11th, 11th	Equal
4	G	7	—	53	11th, 12th	Unequal
5	a/A	9	—	82	12th, 11th	Unequal
6	F	transposed 11	b	104	11th, 11th	Equal

*in breves, including repeats

Furthermore, the duos follow the ABB form favoured in the fantasias, for numbers 1, 2, 3 and 6 of the duos follow this form, as do numbers 1, 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the fantasias. The difference is that the duos, while they also consist of a succession of approximately equal-length melodic phrases in imitation, show more evidence of thematic unity. Numbers 3, 5 and 6 show a moderate degree of thematic unity, while number 4 shows the greatest. The latter composition is in fact completely monothematic, with 34 statements of the theme in only 53 bars. The theme itself, similar to that used in Palestrina's hymn 'Aeterna Christi munera', is even more similar to the opening melody of 'The Batchelars Delight' by Richard Alison. This is an instrumental composition which Morley included in the second edition (1611) of The first book of consort lessons. Here are the two themes:

Morley

Alison

Which composition came first is not easy to say,[293] but
whatever the case, Morley submits his theme to an impress-
ive wide range of variation, using virtually every
available technique of thematic alteration:

Number*		Treatment
1		augmentation (x4)
2		original
3		inversion, up a 5th, rhythmic alteration
4		augmentation (x4)
5		original
6		original
7		augmentation (x8)
8		original
9		augmentation (x4)
10		inversion, up a 5th
11		original
12		inversion, up a 5th
13		inversion, augmentation (x4)
14		rhythmic alteration (same as 3)

Number*		Treatment
15		up a 5th, sharpened leading note
16		inversion, up a 5th, rhythmic alteration
17		minor 3rd, up a 2nd
18		metrically displaced
19		up a 4th, augmentation (x2)
20		rhythmic alteration (up a 2nd)
21		up a 4th
22		up a 4th, augmentation (x8)
23		inversion, up a 4th, rhythmic alteration
24		inversion, up a 2nd, rhythmic alteration
25		inversion, up a 6th, rhythmic alteration
26		inversion, up a 5th
27		inversion
28		inversion, up a 4th

Number*		Treatment
29		inversion, up a 7th
30		inversion, up a 3rd
31		metrically displaced, down a 3rd
32		up a 2nd
33		metrically displaced, fragmented
34		metrically displaced, fragmented
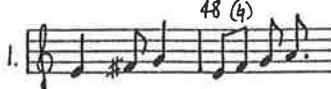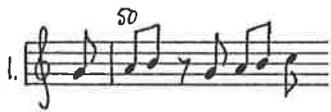
*including opening original statement

(The opening of this duo, with the theme heard simultaneously in augmentation and original form, is very similar to the openings of 'Il Doloroso' and 'Il Lamento'.) More than anything else, this duo is a practical example of the *musica combinatoria* principle described earlier, for it aims at showing how pitch transposition, inversion and rhythmic manipulation are ways of varying a theme, and how they can be used in combination with each other to further compound the available possibilities.

A question remains as to whether Morley possibly thought of these duos as fantasias. One of them, no.5, has a tripla section of eight bars towards the end, and its

light rhythms recall the idea of dance in just the same way as do some of the fantasias by Ferrabosco I and Byrd. In any case, it was not an uncommon practice on the Continent to refer to bicinia, and other didactic pieces for two voices, as fantasias. This was pointed out earlier. More in the genre of true didactic composition is a two-part piece of counterpoint by Zarlino in his Istitut- ioni harmoniche, which was composed 'entirely in the fantasy manner, in the third mode' (tutto di fantasia Terzo modo).[294] The same piece reappeared in Lodovico Zacconi's Prattica di musica seconda parte (Venice, 1622), and is called in that work a 'Fantasia a due', and described as an 'exercise in counterpoint' (fatta per essercitio di Contrapunto).[295] Morley knew Zarlino's Istitut- ioni harmoniche well, and it is entirely plausible that his own duos, the same in principle as Zarlino's fantasia, were likewise conceived 'in the fantasy manner'. It is a curious paradox then, that Morley might on the one hand have regarded the fantasia as a didactic composition, while on the other, have regarded it as an equivalent of the canzonet and therefore as a species of 'light music'.

The Five-Part Fantasias

A pair of consort works, one of them bearing Morley's name (no.2), are included in a set of manuscript part- books of Italian and English music (much of it being instrumental transcriptions of vocal music), now held in the British Library (Add. MSS 37402-6, passim[296]). The

first is called 'La fantasia', while the second only
carries the inscription 'tow trebels'. So far, these works
have failed to attract any musicological attention other
than the most cursory of comments, and this is surprising
because no other works like them are known to have been
composed by Morley. For instance, Philip Brett could only
note that the anonymous work (no.1) 'may also have been
written by Morley', and that 'both may derive from vocal
models'.[297]

There is a reason why the two works may have been
neglected. Both look decidedly unpromising for a composer
of Morley's calibre. This is because the upper part begins
with eight and seven repeated g's respectively. Also, the
second composition has a defective bass part which gives
the appearance of poor harmony, but this is because the
copyist made many mistakes, mainly by omitting a number of
notes. This makes it difficult to properly assess the
compositions, but an edition has been included in Appendix
III which attempts to reconstruct the missing notes. In
edited form, both compositions work entirely successfully,
and any claim that they are unsatisfactory student
exercises can be discounted.[298]

Since the two works are very similar, there is every
justification in attributing no.1 to Morley. And for the
same reason, no.2 can be regarded as a fantasia even
though it is not given this title (it is henceforth
referred to as Fantasia a 5 no.2). However, any expectat-
ion that they might follow Morley's description of the

fantasia is met with immediate disappointment, for neither shows any more relation to that description than the duet fantasias do. Brett is probably quite correct in suggesting that they derive from vocal models, and, just as with the duet fantasias, the model in question appears to have been the canzonet. Once again, this makes it difficult to establish whether Morley regarded the fantasia as a genre of its own, or whether he merely thought of it as a miscellaneous category of textless or instrumental music. However, the second conclusion fails to take into account the possibility that the title 'fantasia' might in this case refer to imaginative process (as was observed with the duets), and was not intended to be taken as a generic denotation. Whether or not this is true, a close look at the two works reveals that they definitely stem from the idea of fantasy as variety.

Initial comparisons show that the fantasias are longer than the five-part canzonets in Morley's publication of <u>Canzonets or little short aers to five and sixe voices</u>, 1597. However, they are written in the same keys and their part ranges are the same:

FANTASIAS a 5

No	Title	Key	Mode	Key Signature	Bars*	Part Ranges (tr b)
1	'La Fantasia'	G	7	-	113	11th, 9th, 9th, 9th, 9th
2	('Tow trebels')	G	7	-	136	10th, 9th, 11th, 9th, 9th

CANZONETS a 5

No	Title	Key	Mode	Key Signature	Bars*	Voice Ranges (tr b)
1	'Fly Love, that art so sprightly'	E/a/A		-	58	8ve, 8ve, 11th, 11th, 11th
2	'False love did me inveigle'	g/G	transposed 1	b	84	10th, 8ve, 11th, 11th, 11th
3	'Adieu, you kind and cruel'	G	7	-	71	8ve, 12th, 12th, 11th, 11th
4	'Love's folk in green arraying'	C	11	-	67	11th, 8ve, 11th, 10th, 11th
5	'Love took his bow and arrow'	F	transposed 11	b	58	8ve, 10th, 10th, 12th, 10th
6	'Lo, where with flowery head'	F	transposed 11	b	45	8ve, 8ve, 9th, 11th, 9th
7	'O grief ev'n on the bud'	F	transposed 11	b	38	7th, 7th, 11th, 10th, 11th
8	'Sovereign of my delight'	C	11	-	60	10th, 12th, 8ve, 9th, 11th
9	'Our Bonny-boots could toot it'	F	transposed 11	b	45	8ve, 10th, 12th, 11th, 11th
10	'Ay me! the fatal arrow'	g/G	transposed 1	b	36	8ve, 7th, 8ve, 7th, 10th
11	'My Nymph the deer'	G	7	-	49	11th, 9th, 8ve, 11th, 12th
12	'Cruel, wilt thou persever?'	Eb/g/G		b	44	7th, 9th, 8ve, 11th, 8ve
13	'Said I that Amarylis?'	g/G	transposed 1	b	42	9th, 8ve, 9th, 11th, 12th
14	'Daman and Phyllis squared'	g/G	transposed 1	b	44	10th, 7th, 10th, 8ve, 8ve
15	'Lady, you think you spite me'	g/G	transposed 1	b	54	10th, 7th, 8ve, 8ve, 9th
16	'You black bright stars'	G	7	-	58	6th, 9th, 8ve, 8ve, 8ve
17	'I follow, lo, the footing'	G	7	-	82	9th, 11th, 13th, 10th, 10th

*in breves, including repeats

Differences emerge when looking at matters of style and construction. Whereas the duet fantasias were found to conform closely to their matching canzonets in terms of phrase structure and imitation, the same cannot be said of the five-part fantasias. The increase from two to five parts affords a much wider scope for variety in the way the parts are constructed, and in the way they relate together as a whole. The vocal idiom is preserved intact, but there is a much greater overall flexibility, and also a shift of focus from text-setting and word expression to more purely musical considerations. This shift of focus is what makes these compositions more varied in content and more ambitious in length.

To show how the works are stylistically closer to Morley's five-part canzonets than to the conventional consort fantasia, a few comparisons can be made. Both of them begin chordally, not fugally, just as many of

Morley's four-, five- and six-part madrigals and canzonets do. Compare for example, the opening phrases of 'La Fantasia' and canzonet no.16, 'You black bright stars'. In particular, note the similarities of harmonic movement, cadential movement, and the relatively static top line:

'La Fantasia'

'You black bright stars'

Fantasia a 5 no.2 begins in much the same way, with a similarly static top line, and similarly direct and straightforward homorhythmic movement:

The second half of the cantus melody, incidentally, resembles the opening of Byrd's 'Yet of us twain' (the second half of 'Wounded I am', in his 1589 collection of songs), as a comparison with that song reveals:

After their openings, the two fantasias are found to contain considerably more free invention and counterpoint than the canzonets. This can be illustrated by listing the melodic phrases of the cantus parts in 'La Fantasia' and 'You black bright stars', and observing firstly the greater number of phrases in the former composition, secondly their greater variety of length, and thirdly the variety of their individual treatment within the five-part texture:

'La Fantasia' (cantus)

Phrase		Context
1		Part of a loosely homophonic texture
2		Free imitation
3		Free imitation
4		Free imitation
5		Part of homophonic texture
6		Part of homophonic texture
7		Part of homophonic and antiphonal texture
8		Part of homophonic texture
9		Part of loosely homophonic texture
10		Point of imitation in all parts
11		Free imitation in all parts
12		Part of loosely homophonic texture
13		Part of loosely homophonic texture
14		Loosely contra-puntal ending
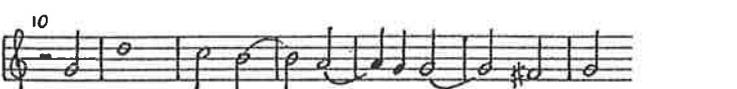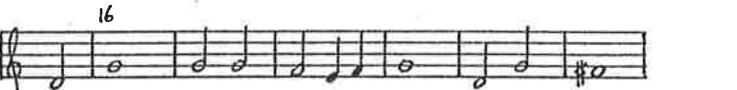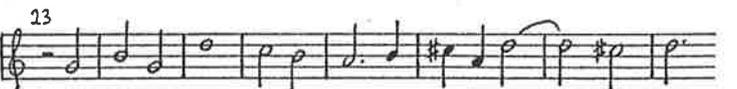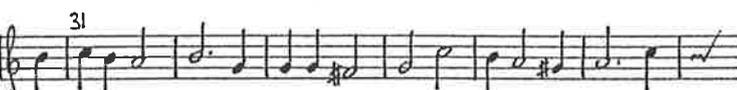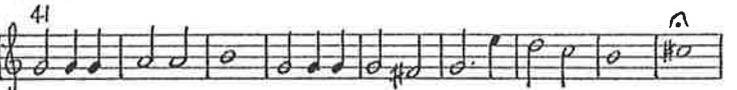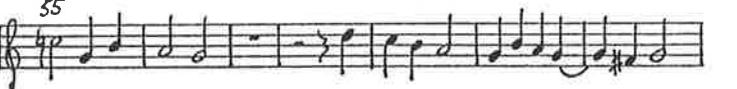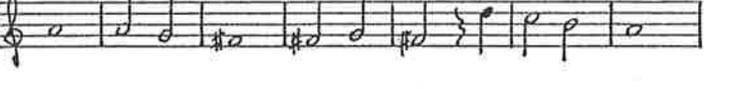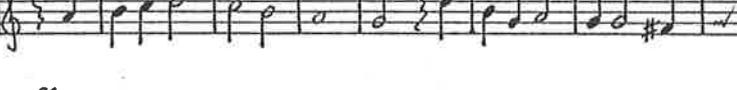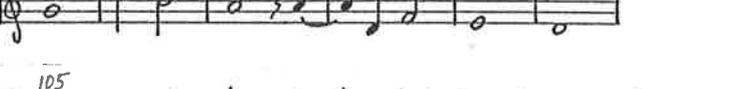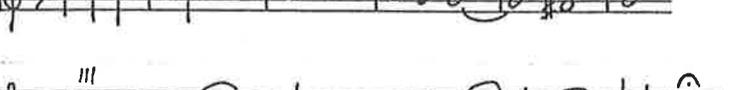
'You black bright stars' (cantus)

Phrase		Context

1
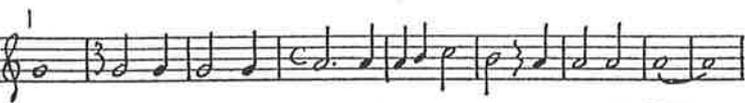
Part of homophonic texture

2
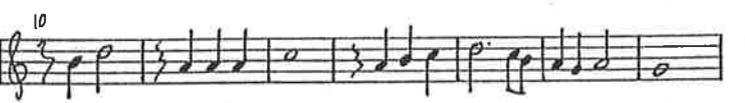
Imitation in all voices

3

Part of homophonic texture

4
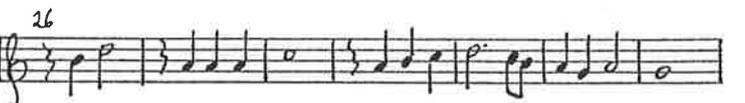
Imitation in all voices (same as 2)

5

Part of homophonic texture

6
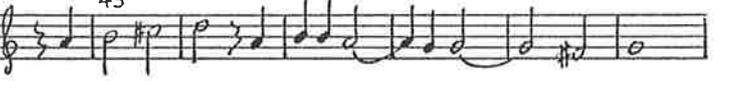
Imitation in all voices (repeated)

It should be noted that the style of imitation in both fantasias is very free, and often involves only a few parts at a time, usually the upper three or four. This is in marked contrast to the much stricter and more rigorous fugues which characterize the conventional fantasia. A similar breakdown of Fantasia no.2 would show that neither composition is in the least related to the conventional fantasia. Conversely, their loose and varied structure departs from the simpler and usually more coherent structure of the canzonets. (In 'You black bright stars', for example, the structure consists of a simple alternation between homophonic and imitative sections.) Even so, it must be concluded that they are close to the canzonets in terms of lightness of style and directness of expression.

Why Morley used the title 'fantasia' may be for the very same reason that he used it for the nine duet fantasias. The two works are styled after the manner of vocal music and, to repeat a previous observation, they occur in a manuscript of vocally-derived instrumental music. As such, they are in Baconian terms 'fictitious' vocal music, because they give every appearance of being vocal despite the fact that they lack the basic ingredient of a text. The other reason relates to their obvious emphasis on variety. There is no attempt at producing a unified structure in 'La Fantasia'. No two melodic phrases are the same, and the variety from one phrase to the next is highlighted by the continual change of texture between homophony and imitation. Fantasia no.2 is different in that it is a more consistently imitative composition, and insofar as some attempt at thematic unity is evident (the gentle, arch-like phrase in bars 6-13 of the cantus seems to make various reappearances throughout the composition). However, as if to counteract this, a sprightly tripla is incorporated half-way through the work, and the unmistakably dance-like flavour of this tripla is obviously intended simply for the sake of pleasant diversity:[299]

These two fantasias are, according to Morley's termin-
ology, best described as 'light music', and once again
there is a distinct possibility that he intended them for
voices, not instruments. If this is so, it only strength-
ens the view that Morley approached the idea of the
'consort fantasia' in a highly unconventional and innovat-
ive way.[300] More generally, it reinforces the conclusion
that Morley was without doubt one of the most libertarian
of English composers in terms of his compositional out-
look. To close then, a study of Morley's music from the

angle of fantasy reveals to a very full extent his stature not only as a musical thinker, scholar and reformer, but as a genuinely creative artist of his time.

NOTES - PART IV: FANTASY AND COMPOSITION

1. Biondello reporting to Baptista on the appearance of Petruchio's servant, Grumio, in Shakespeare's The taming of the Shrew 3.2. The emphasis is original.

2. See for example W. Bötticher, Studien zur solistischen Lautenpraxis des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, Habilitationsschrift, University of Berlin, 1943. He speaks of the 'Freie Formen (Praeludien, Tokkaten, Preambeln, Ricercari, Sonatinen, Overturen, Canzone, Fantasien u.a.)' of these centuries: pp.150-67.

3. H.C. Slim, The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy c.1500-1550 with reference to parallel forms in European lute music of the same period, doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1961, p.377.

4. Warren Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach', Journal of the American Musicological Society, vol.32 (1979), p.2.

5. Peter Schleuning, The Fantasia I, 16th to 18th centuries, translated from German by A.C. Howie, Cologne, Arno Volk Verlag, Hans Gerig KG, 1971, p.9.

6. Quoted in B.V. Rivera, German Music Theory in the Early Seventeenth Century: the Treatises of Johannes Lippius, UMI Research Press, 1980, p.170.

7. John Wilson (ed.), Roger North on Music: being a selection from his essays written during the years c.1695-1728, London, Novello, 1959, p.116.

8. Ibid., p.118.

9. Ibid., p.140.

10. Ibid..

11. Ibid., p.115.

12. B.V. Rivera (trans.), Johannes Lippius: 'Synopsis of New Music (Synopsis musicae novae)', Colorado Springs, Colorado College Music Press, 1977, p.43.

13. Charles Butler, The principles of musik, 1636, p.95.

14. On the Sublime, XV. In W. Rhys Roberts, Longinus on the Sublime. The Greek text edited after the Paris Manuscript with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles and Appendices, Cambridge University Press, 1899, pp. 82-85.

15. Francis Bacon, The twoo bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficience and advancement of learning, diuine and humane, 1605, Book 2, pp.58'-59.

16. See Peter Daly, Emblem Theory, Liechtenstein, KTO Press, Nendala, 1979.

17. The 'Authors Mistress' appears on page 121 of Musick's monument, 1676.

18. Ibid., pp.123-24.

19. Ibid., p.124.

20. Ibid..

21. In Rivera (1980), op. cit. (note 6), p.170.

22. Gregory G. Butler, 'The Fantasia as Musical Image', The Musical Quarterly, vol.60, no.4 (October, 1974), pp.610-11.

23. In Rivera (1980), op. cit., p.171.

24. Wilson (ed.), op. cit. (note 7), p.295.

25. It originally appeared, incorrectly, as number 173, but Francis Tregian corrected the numbering in his copy of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. See Oliver Neighbour, The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd, London, Faber and Faber, 1978, p.178.

26. It is an arrangement of no.35 from Holborne's five-part Pauans, galliards, almains, and other short aeirs for viols, etc., 1599. See again Neighbour, p.178.

27. There is a two-line motto on the title page which states: 'To all delightfull, except to the Spitefull,/ To none offensiue, except to the Pensiue'.

28. Christopher Simpson, The division-violist: or, An introduction to the playing upon a grovnd, 1665 (2nd edn), p.36.

29. Ibid, p.27.

30. Ibid., p.28.

31. Ibid., p.23.

32. Ibid., p.56.

33. See note 84.

34. Wilson (ed.), op. cit. (note 7), p.138.

35. Ibid..

36. Ibid., p.139.

37. Ibid., p.139.

38. Ibid., pp.139-40.

39. Ibid., p.140.

40. Neighbour, op. cit. (note 25), p.222.

41. Mace, op. cit., p.128.

42. Peter Schleuning, op. cit. (note 5), pages 5 and 6 of the Introduction.

43. Wilson (ed.), op. cit. (note 7), p.70.

44. Ibid..

45. See Clare G. Rayner (ed.), Christopher Gibbons: Keyboard Compositions (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, 18), American Institute of Musicology, 1967.

46. One of the sonatas by Carolus Hacquart (1649-1730), a Netherlandish composer, for two violins, alto gamba and basso continuo (published by Universal Edition, no.13064), contains a movement called 'Bizzaria'. It features very jumpy, jerky figures and sudden switches from piano to forte and vice versa. Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710) wrote some 'Bizzarria' pieces for keyboard, and these are characteristically short, rhythmically agitated pieces.

47. Wilson (ed.), op. cit. (note 7), p.345.

48. See the notes to Gordon Dodd's edition of this work, in Supplementary Publication no.25, Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1966.

49. Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.345.

50. Ibid., p.295.

51. See Wilson's footnote 27, ibid..

52. In Murray Lefkowitz (ed.), Trois Maques à la cour de Charles Ier D'Anglettere: The Triumph of Peace, The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour, Brittania Triumphans. Livrets de John Shirley et William Davenant, Dessins d'Inigo Jones, Musique de William Lawes, Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970, pp.131-32.

53. From the description of the opening scene, ibid., p.188.

54. Ibid..

55. Ibid., p.202.

56. Andrew J. Sabol, Four Hundred Songs & Dances from the Stuart Masque, Providence, Brown University Press, 1978, pp.587-88 (nos. 175 and 176).

57. See Sabol's introduction, ibid., p.20.

58. These are the words of Confidence speaking to Opinion: ibid., pp.67-68.

59. Ibid., p.68.

60. Ibid., p.70. A similar creature to Fancy appears in the opening scene of Thomas Carew's masque Coelum Britanicum of 1633. As the curtain rises this creature, called Mercury, is seen descending from the heavens. In appearance he was equally wonderful:

    his habit was a Coat of flame colour girt to him, and a white Mantle trimm'd with gold and silver; upon his head a wreath with small fals of white Feathers, a Caduseus in his hand, and wings at his heeles.

    This is from the published libretto of 1640, pp.210-11.

61. See ibid., pp.597-98 (no.236).

62. In his discussion of 'The Fancy', Lefkowitz points to the ambiguity of this title and concludes that the piece is not in fact a fantasia: op. cit., p.22.

63. In Michael Tilmouth (ed.), Matthew Locke: Dramatic Music (Musica Britannica, vol.51), London, Stainer and Bell, 1986, p.93.

64. Wilson (ed.), op. cit. (note 7), p.343.

65. Ibid..

66. In Tilmouth, op. cit., p.xix. J.B. Draghi also composed music for Psyche.

67. Wilson notes that 'an ambigu' was a banquet with a medley of dishes served together': op. cit., p.285 (footnote 3).

68. Ibid., p.307.

69. In Tilmouth, op. cit., p.xvii.

70. Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.275.

71. Ibid..

72. Ibid., p.348.

73. In Tilmouth, op. cit., p.27.

74. The Elizabethan Madrigal: a Comparative Study, American Musicological Society, 1962.

75. A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke, 1597, pp.180-81.

76. For example John Coprario, amongst whose output of consort fantasies are many examples of double fugues, wrote that such a device shows 'great art' and invention, and 'is most usd of Excellent authors'. Rules how to compose, (? before 1617) p.40. In Manfred F. Bukofzer, Giovanni Coperario. Rules how to Compose. A facsimile edition of a manuscript from the library of the Earl of Bridgewater (circa 1610) now in the Huntington Library San Marino, California, Los Angeles, 1952.

77. See Martin Kemp, 'From "Mimesis" to "Fantasia": the Quattrocento vocabulary of creation, inspiration and genius in the visual arts', in Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies (University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London), vol.8 (1977), p.361 seq.. And David Summers, Michelangelo and the Language of Art, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981, Part One: 'Fantasy', pp.33-284.

78. Syntagma musicum iii, VIII, p.21.

79. Harmonie universelle, Paris, 1636-7, II p.164.

80. Traité de la musique théorique et pratique, Paris, 1639, p.76.

81. A compendium of practical musick in five parts, 1667, p.115.

82. Christopher Simpson, The division-violist: or, An introduction to the playing upon a grovnd, 2nd edn, 1665, p.59.

83. Mace, op. cit. (note 17), pp.128-29.

84. Mace describes the prelude as 'a Piece of Confused-wild-shapeless-kind of Intricate-Play, (as most use It) in which no perfect Form, Shape, or Uniformity can be perceived; but a Random-Business, Pottering, and Grooping, up and down, from one Stop, or Key, to another; And generally, so performed, to make Tryal, whether the Instrument be well in Tune, or not': ibid., p.128.

See however Farnaby's Fantasia in D (Fitzwilliam Virginal Book no.296), which is a keyboard equivalent of Le Roy's 'Petite fantasie dessus l'accord du Leut', except that it is longer.

85. _Ibid_., pp.210-16.

86. Wilson (ed.), _op. cit._ (note 7), pp.295 and 342. North equated 'air' with variety in his discussion of the _In Nomine_: p.340.

87. _Ibid_.; compare pp.296 and 339.

88. _Ibid_., p.296. See also p.11.

89. _Ibid_., pp.289-90 and 340-41.

90. 'And their descant was studyed harmony; and all ... full and industriously woven': _ibid_., p.294.

91. _Ibid_., p.290.

92. The spelling is changed to 'Fancy' in the 1673 edition.

93. It appears on p.30.

94. Related to this is the capriccio or caprice, defined by Grassineau as a composition 'wherein the composer gives a loose to his fancy, and not being confined either to particular measures or keys, runs divisions according to his mind, without any premiditation [sic]; this is also called _Phantasia_'. The prelude is similarly defined. By comparison, the sonata is a larger composition and 'is properly a grand free harmonious composition, diversified with great variety of motions and expressions, extraordinary and bold strokes and figures, &c. and all this according to the fancy of the composer, who without confining himself to any general rule of counterpoint, or any fixed number or measure gives a loose to his genius, and runs from one mode, measure, &c. to another, as he thinks fit'.

95. Ernst H. Meyer, _English Chamber Music_, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1946 (1st edn), p.128.

96. Uncertainty has for a long time surrounded the publishing date of the _Fantazies of three parts_. Various dates have been given, from 1606 to 1630, and it has also been thought that the publication received two separate printings. However, Thurston Dart suggested that there was a single printing, around the year 1620: 'The Printed Fantasies of Orlando Gibbons', in _Music and Letters_, vol.27 (1956), p.342.

97. The title of this publication was _XX Konincklycke Fantasien_ ('Royal Fantasias').

98. For a discussion of the Morley pieces see Chapter 7. The subtitles of the two East volumes unequivocally state how the pieces in them were supposed to be

performed. The third set (1610) contains, in addition to texted pieces, 'Fancies ... to 5. and 6. parts apt both for viols and voyces'. The seventh set (1638) contains 'duos for two base violl: so made, as they must be plaid and not sung. Lastly, ayerie fancies of 4. parts, that may be as well sung as plaid'.

99. The same situation existed with the In Nomine, no doubt also for the reason that its inherent length and complexity would have likewise made it very expensive to publish.

100. A pioneering study though it was, Ernst Meyer's book, op. cit., suffers from having adopted this deterministic approach.

101. See Warwick Edwards, The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music, doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1974, p.3.

102. Wilson (ed.), op. cit. (note 7), pp.289-90.

103. Morley, op. cit. (note 75), p.181.

104. There are, however, a number of sources which suggest that vocal performance was an option to the customary use of instruments. These include the Fantasie et recerchari a tre voci (Venice, 1549) of Tiburtino and Willaert, and the Fantasie a tre voci (Venice, 1585) of Giovanni Bassano. Both publications contained the rubric 'for singing and playing on instruments of any kind': in C.D.S. Field's article on the fantasia in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Macmillan, 1980, vol.6, p.382. It should not be forgotten that this rubric commonly appeared in the subtitles of many publications during the period, and may only have been added as a matter of course. From Spain is Pisador's Libro de musica (Salamanca, 1552) in which appear various notes in red: these notes are intended, as the composer prescribes, to be sung to solmization syllables. Similarly, there is Daza's El Parnasso (Valladolid, 1576) in which one part of each fantasia is highlighted 'with little dots, so that those who wish can sing it': in Field, p.383. Lastly is the collection of bicinia, Scherzi, capricci et fantasie per cantar (Venice, 1605), by G. Pulti, the title of which clearly indicates vocal performance. See also Sebastiani's reference in Bellum musicale to the singing of 'fantasia' on page 15.

105. There is a three-part composition with an imitative opening preserved in MS 2856, Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, entitled 'Ile fantazies de Joskin', which may be the earliest surviving example of the name having been applied to music for an ensemble of instruments. See also the letter by Gian de Ferrara to Ercole d'Este concerning a four-part cantus firmus composition by Isaac, mentioned on page 8.

106. The conditions which gave rise to the ensemble fantasia and other forms (such as the instrumental chanson), and led to their culmination in the works of Willaert, Tiburtino, Ruffo and Conforti, are the subject of Dietrich Kämper's extended article, 'Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien', which occupies the whole of <u>Analecta Musikologica</u>, vol.10 (1970).

107. Alec Harman (ed.), <u>Thomas Morley, A Plain & Easy Introduction to Practical Music</u>, W.W. Norton, New York 1973 (2nd edn), pp.148 and 294.

108. Ferrabosco was praised for his 'iudgment and depth of skill', which Peacham thought 'was inferior vnto none': <u>The compleat gentleman</u>, 1622, p.101.

109. Kerman, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 74), pp.74 <u>seq</u>..

110. The front page reads: 'A Volume of <u>Preludiums</u>, <u>In Nomines</u>, &c, by Alfonso Ferabosco (the elder), W. Byrd, R. Parsons, Shephard, Tye, W. Mundy, and other Composers of that time', with the given dates 1560 and 1585 (the last date was possibly added in later). On the back cover appear the dates 1585, 1589, 1588, and 1584.

111. Part of the original title page is preserved on the inside front cover: 'Extracts from Virginal Book – Lady Nevill's. Tallis. Byrd. Bull. Tie.' and 'Lady Nevil's Music Book'.

112. See Gordon Dodd, <u>Thematic Index of Music for Viols</u>, The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1980-.

113. Kämper, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 106), pp.127-31. Note also that the titles 'fantasia' and 'ricercar' were often used interchangeably: see pages 6-7 of the present work.

114. British Library, Add. MS 30485, ff.43'-45'.

115. The composition occupies ff.49-49'.

116. Kerman, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.87.

117. It occurs as no.42 of that collection.

118. The following quotations come from Nigel North's edition of <u>Alfonso Ferrabosco: Collected Works for Lute and Bandora</u> (in two parts), Oxford University Press, London, 1979, part 2, pp.5-7.

119. This is discussed in detail by Kerman, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 109), p.86 etc..

120. Joseph Kerman, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd, Faber and Faber, London, 1981, pp.23-25.

121. Edwards, op. cit. (note 101), p.78. This is indicated in the title of the manuscript collection Add. MS 31390 from the British Library: 'A book of In nomines & other solfainge songes of v: vi: vii: & viii parts for voyces or Instruments'.

122. See Edward E. Lowinsky, 'English organ music of the Renaissance I', in The Musical Quarterly, vol.39 (1953), p.389.

123. From Denis Stevens (ed.), The Mulliner Book (Musica Britannica, vol.1), Stainer and Bell, London, 1951, p.9.

124. The information in the table comes from Jeffrey Alexander and Robert Spencer (eds), The Willoughby Lute Book, Boethius Press, Kilkenny, 1978; and Robert Spencer (ed.), The Marsh Lute Book, Boethius Press, Kilkenny, 1981.

125. See Harman's edition of Morley's Introduction, op. cit. (note 107), p.179.

126. Wilson (ed.), op. cit. (note 7), p.289. Compare the following passage (pp.340-41):

> ... the earlyer consorts were composed for 3, 4 and more parts, for songs in Itallian or Latine out of the psalmes; of which I have seen divers and mostly in print, with the names of the patroni inscribed. And in England when composers were scarce, these songs were copied off, without the words, and for variety used as instrumental consorts, with the first words of the song for a title.

127. See David Pinto, 'The Fantasy Manner: the Seventeenth-Century Context', in Chelys: Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society, vol.10 (1981), pp.24-25. And Richard Charteris, 'John Coprario's Five- and Six-Part Pieces: Instrumental or Vocal', in Music and Letters, vol.57 (1976), pp.370-78, together with the introduction to his edition, John Coprario: the Six-part Consorts and Madrigals, Boethius Press, Kilkenny, 1982.

128. Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.296.

129. Ibid., pp.339-340.

130. Ibid., p.4.

131. Ibid., p.25.

132. Ibid., p.11.

133. Das Madrigal als Instrumentalmusik: Versuch einer aufführüng-spraktischen und geisteschichtlichen Neu-interpretation des Cinquecento-Madrigals (vol.119 of Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, ed. Heinrich Huschen), Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg, 1982, pp. 107 seq..

134. Kerman, diss., op. cit. (note 74), shows that in England the madrigal was less of a literary entity than a purely musical one, compared with its Italian counterpart. For example, he noted that Thomas Watson's translations of Italian madrigals (in his collection of 1590) are poor and unliterary, suggesting that most interest was centred on the music: pp.57-58. Indeed, Kerman went on to observe that Watson's attitude was 'typical of the entire Elizabethan madrigal development': p.9.

135. Ibid., pp.11-12.

136. In a set of autograph part-books (British Library, Add. 40657-61), William Lawes copied out madrigals of Monteverdi and Marenzio, without their words, and fantasias of Coprario, Lupo, Bull, Ward, Ferrabosco, William White, and Simon Ives.

137. The numbering of works by Ward and other composers follows that given in Dodd, op. cit. (note 112).

138. John Harper (ed.), Orlando Gibbons: Consort Music (Musica Britannica, vol.48), Stainer and Bell, London, 1982, xvi.

139. See Andrew Ashbee, 'The six-part Consort Music of John Jenkins: an editor's view', in Chelys, vol.7 (1977), p.58.

140. Pinto, op. cit. (note 127), p.21.

141. Joan Wess, 'Musica Transalpina and the English Viol Consort', a talk given to the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, Art-Workers' Guild, Queen's Square, London, 2 June, 1984.

142. John M. Ward, 'A Dowland Miscellany', in Journal of the Lute Society of America, vol.10 (1977), pp.5-153. See also Diana Poulton, John Dowland, Faber and Faber, London, 1972, p.112.

143. See the Introduction to Giles Farnaby. Canzonets to four voices (1598), edited by Edmund H. Fellowes and revised by Thurston Dart (The English Madrigalists, vol.20), 1963, p.x.

144. See the section 'Classical Theories of Fantasy' in Part II. Longinus also stressed the importance of images in oratory and poetry: see pages 240-41.

145. In the Renaissance, a theory of memory was put forward by such writers as Gulielmus Gratarolus and Petrus Tommai, according to which the faculty of memory was a repository for storing images. Each image was assigned to a particular locus, and the power of recall depended on the ability to find that locus by means of catechesis or association. Tommai explained that memorizing

> consysteth of places and magnytudes. The places be as cardes or scrolls or other thynges for to wrytte in. The ymages be y[e] symylytudes of the thynges that we wyll retayne in mynde ... The places are the wyndowes set in walles, pullers, & anglets, with other lyke

The art of memory, translated by R. Copland, 1548, pp. 2'-3. See also John Willis, The art of memory, so far forth as it dependeth upon places and idea's, 1621.

146. Gregory G. Butler gave a clue as to its importance in his article, op. cit. (note 22), on pp.602-15. He correctly observed that 'fantasia' referred to the imagination and meant 'product of the imagination' (pp.606-7), and put forward a theory that the significance of the fantasia, from early times up to the eighteenth-century, lay in its connection with fugal composition. The fugal subject, he says, was a musical image which, through repeated hearing in sequential imitation, was reinforced as a locus in the memory. He concluded that in the sixteenth-century, locus and image (hence fantasia) have

> become so nearly identified with one another that the purely technical distinction between them has disappeared; thus in fact the fantasia is a locus (p.609).

However, the evidence which is cited (from Sebastiani and Lippius) is at best only suggestive, and Butler has missed the point that in psychological theory of the time, memory and fantasy were usually clearly differentiated, and that their functions were believed to be entirely separate. The fantasia's significance was concerned with what happened in the fantasy, not the memory: thus it was concerned with the imaginative process, not the storage and recall of images.

147. Edward Lowinsky attributed the pair of compositions to Alfonso della Viola in 'Echoes of Adrian Willaert's chromatic 'Duo' in 16th- and 17th-century compositions', Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk, Princeton, 1968. However, Dodd, op. cit. (note 112), observes that it seems 'equally likely, on further reflection, that such a fantasy, in a sixteenth-century idiom, but passed off by Alfonso [Ferrabosco] II as his own, could have been inherited from his father's old brief-case'.

148. In his article on the fantasia in The New Grove Dictionary, Christopher Field asserts that 'the In Nomine should not be regarded as a species of fantasia, though the two genres came to be cultivated in close relationship': op. cit. (note 104), p.387.

149. Diana Poulton, John Dowland, Faber and Faber, London, 1972, p.115.

150. Oliver Neighbour, op. cit. (note 25), p.28.

151. In Wilson's edition of Roger North, op. cit., p.5. The work is unmistakably recognizable from the words 'a double C, fa ut, piece of Mr Wards 4. Parts'.

152. At the earliest they were composed in 1615, but the five- and six-part ones may have been composed as late as 1630 and the four-part ones as late as 1640. See the Introductions to Andrew Ashbee (ed.), John Jenkins: Consort Music for Viols in Four Parts, Richard Nicholson (ed.), John Jenkins: Consort Music in Five Parts, and Richard Nicholson and Andrew Ashbee (eds), John Jenkins: Consort Music for Viols in Six Parts, all published for the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain by Faber Music, 1978, 1971 and 1976 respectively.

153. See Field, op. cit. (note 104), p.388.

154. Mace, op. cit. (note 17), p.234. North, in Wilson's edition, op. cit. (note 7), observed that consorts during his grandfather's time 'were usually all viols to the organ or harpsichord': p.11.

155. Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.11. Elsewhere North noted that during the reign of Charles II the treble viol had lost favour to the violin: p.351.

156. Ibid., p.288.

157. The table is adapted from that in Field, op. cit. (note 104), p.387.

158. Mace, op. cit. (note 17), pp.232, 236 and 234.

159. Phillip J. Lord (ed.), Christopher Simpson: 'A Compendium of Practical Music' (reprinted from the second edition of 1667), Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1970, p.78.

160. Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.351:*

    'King Charles II ... had an utter detestation of Fancys': p.350.

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*North also mentions the composers Becker (from Sweden), Sheiffar, Vuoglesank (both from Germany), Porter and Farinell (both from France).

161. North recalled that 'during the greatest part of that King's reigne, the old musick was used in the country, and in many meetings and societies in London': ibid., p.351. On one occasion Charles II's Under-Secretary, Sir Joseph Williamson, organized a 'successful entertainment' of fantasias and other English music, but was ridiculed for his efforts by the King: pp.300 and 350.

162. Andrew Ashbee, op. cit. (note 152), p.viii.

163. Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.344.

164. Ashbee, op. cit., p.viii.

165. Quoted in the Introduction of David Pinto (ed.), William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five and Six Parts, Faber Music, London, 1979, p.vii.

166. From one of his early notebooks: see Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.299.

167. Ibid..

168. Mace, op. cit. (note 17), p.234.

169. Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.295. It should be noted that the practice of forming a suite of dances around a fantasia was also present in lute music. The source for this is again North. He wrote the following account beginning with lute music in the time of James I (p.342):

    at that time the Lute was a monopolist of the ayery kind, and the masters, gentlemen, and ladyes for the most part used it. And the lessons for that instrument were usually broke into straines, two to a lesson, were it Ayre, Courant, &c; but for Pavans or more serious lessons, three. And then the musick masters fell to imitation of these, for after the Fancys, in which they had some ayre, they added a suit of lessons called Ayres, Galliards, or other conceipt.

    Another source is Mace, for in his Musick's monument he provides a lengthy description of how a suite ('sett') for lute should be ordered by beginning with a prelude, proceeding to a 'Fancy, or Voluntary', and then a string of dances and miscellaneous pieces (pp.128-129). The book also contains a number of suites composed by himself, none of which however features any fantasias (pp.121-185).

170. The two sets of sonatas for two violins, bass, and basso continuo were printed in 1683 and 1697. In the preface of the first set, Purcell tells the reader that he had 'faithfully endeavour'd a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian Masters; principally, to

bring the seriousness and gravity of that sort of Musick into vogue, and reputation among our Country-men'.

171. From Lord North's letter to Henry Loosemore, of 28 August, 1658: in Wilson (ed.), op. cit., p.4.

172. Ibid..

173. Meyer, op. cit. (note 95), p.155.

174. See Irwin Spector (ed.), Robert White: the Instrumental Music (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol.12), A-R Editions, Madison, 1972.

175. See Phillip Lord's edition of Christopher Simpson, op. cit. (note 159), p.13. The sign indicated a point of confluence in the parts and required that the performers 'must pause, or reste without discretion': see the 1574 English translation of Adrian Le Roy's treatise on the lute, A briefe a. easy instrution to learne the tablature vnto the lute, p.70.

176. Neighbour, op. cit. (note 25), p.166.

177. Ibid., p.233.

178. Morley, op. cit. (note 75), p.54.

179. Simpson, op. cit. (note 28), p.56.

180. G.B. Harrison, 'An Essay on Elizabethan Melancholy', appended to his edition Nicholas Breton: Melancholic Humours, Scholartis Press, London, 1929, pp.49-54.

181. See André Du Laurens, De morbis melancholicis tractatus, in Latinum conuersus studio T. Moundefordi, 1599; Andrew Kingsmill, A most excellent and comfortable treatise, for all such as are troubled in minde. And also a conference betwixt a Christian & an afflicted consciēce, 1577, 1578 and 1585; Luke Rochfort, An antidote for lazinesse, or a sermon against sloth, 1624; Thomas Sparke, A short treatise, very comfortable for all troubled in theyr consciences, 1580; and John Hayward, Sanctuarie of a troubled soule, 1604.

182. Original English translation by Thomas Hoby (1561) of Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier; introduction by W.H.D. Rouse, London, Dent, 1928, repr. 1956, p.61. Quoted by Wells (see note 194), p.523.

183. Robert Burton, The anatomy of melancholy, Oxford, 1621, p.251.

184. Richard Saunders, Physiognomie, and Chiromancie ...
The subject of Dreams ..., 1653, p.216. Opium was
also mentioned by Burton, but the difference was that
he recommended it as a sedative and as a cure for
'fearefull dreames': pp.476-78.

185. See for example the description by Sir Thomas Over-
bury in G.B. Harrison, op. cit. (note 180), p.69.

186. Two examples are Robert Tofte's Alba. The months
minde of a melancholy louer, 1598, who uses Breton's
'Fancies Fort' theme; and John Ford's play, The
lovers melancholy, 1629, which was delivered publicly
at the Globe theatre.

187. Quoted in D.P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic
from Ficino to Campanella, University of Notre Dame
Press, Notre Dame and London, 1975 (1st pub. 1958),
pp.5-6.

188. Anonymous, The praise of musicke, Oxford, 1586, pp.
60-61.

189. Timothy Bright, A treatise of melancholie, 1613 edn
(1st pub. 1586), pp.300-301; Thomas Robinson, The
schoole of musicke, 1603, Timotheus' statement to the
Knight (there are no page numbers); Thomas Wright,
The passions of the minde, 1604 edn, pp.159-60;
George Wither, A preparation to the Psalter, 1619,
p.81; and Burton, op. cit., onwards from p.372.

190. Bright, op. cit., p.301.

191. Ibid..

192. Burton, op. cit., pp.374-75.

193. Ibid., p.375.

194. George Puttenham, The arte of English poesie. Quoted
in Robin Headlam Wells, 'John Dowland and Elizabethan
Melancholy', Early Music vol.13, no.4 (November
1985), p.523.

195. Wright, op. cit., p.163.

196. Margaret Cavendish Newcastle, Natures picture drawn
by fancies pencil to the life, 1671 (2nd edn), p.30.

197. See 'The Song' in John Ford's play The lovers melan-
choly, 1629, p.77; and the poem 'Of Melancholy' in
[John Mennes], Recreation for ingenious head-peeces,
1650 (there are no page numbers).

198. See Wells, op. cit. (note 194), p.523.

199. Anthony Rooley, 'New light on John Dowland's songs of darkness', _Early Music_ vol.11, no.1 (January 1983); and Wells, _op. cit._.

200. Edward Reynoldes, _A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soule of man_, 1640, p.29.

201. Owen Feltham, _Resolves_, 1631 (4th edn), pp.274-75.

202. In G.B. Harrison's edition of _Melancholike humours_, _op. cit._ (note 180), pp.17-19.

203. Nicholas Breton, _The workes of a young wyt, trust vp with a fardell of pretie fancies_, 1577. In Jean Robertson (ed.), _Poems by Nicholas Breton (not hitherto reprinted)_, Liverpool University Press, 1952, pp. 23-24.

204. An alternative origin for the title of this pavan is suggested by Diana Poulton. It is a passage from _The Diary of John Manningham, 1602-1603_ (Camden Society Publication, vol.99 (1868), p.99):

    > Dec. 7, 1602 out of a little book intitled _Buccina Capelli in laudem Juris_ [which does not survive]:

    >> Lawe hath God for the author, and was from the beginning ... Doleo quia semper dolens dolere nescio. Quo modo nisi per dolores sanabitur, qui per delectationes infirmatur? Doce me salutarem dolorem? [I sorrow, because ever sorrowing, I know not how to sorrow. He that is made sick through delights, how shall he be healed, save by sorrows? Teach me a salutary sorrow.]

    See Poulton, _op. cit._ (note 149), pp.118-19.

205. _Ibid._, pp.302-3.

206. _Ibid._, pp.306-8.

207. Thomas Campion, _Poemata_, 1595. Quoted with the original Latin in Poulton, p.46.

208. Richard Barnfield, _In divers humours_, 1598. Quoted in Poulton, p.51.

209. In Harrison, _op. cit._ (note 180), p.20.

210. Last verse of 'A solemne conceipt'; in Harrison, p.25.

211. Kerman, diss., _op. cit._ (note 74), pp.110-11.

212. Morley, _op. cit._ (note 75), pp.180-81.

213. Kerman, diss., _op. cit._, e.g. pp.155, 163 and 179 (concerning Morley).

214. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.12–13.

215. The term 'new poetry' is taken from Kerman, pp.10–12 and 101.

216. See Sidney Lee, <u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>, London, Elder and Co. (various dates).

217. Kerman, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp.10 and 104–5.

218. Neighbour, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 25), p.20.*

219. <u>Ibid</u>., p.92.

220. Kenneth Elliott (ed.), <u>The Collected Works of William Byrd</u>, vol.17, London, Stainer & Bell, 1971, p.157.

221. Neighbour, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.62.

222. Kerman 1981, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 120), p.84.

223. In the manuscript source, Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a. 405, the two works are each titled '4 voc Fantasia M Bird' (both titles appear in the altus parts). This source dates from the late sixteenth-century, but Neighbour believes that the ascriptions were added later and are therefore to be regarded with suspicion. He maintains that the compositions are atypical of Byrd, but concedes elsewhere that the dominant bass pedal in the second piece is a madrigalian feature 'that only Byrd could have written': <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p.89.

224. It is reasonable to call the melody a 'ground' even though it is not confined to the bass, for there exists a keyboard version of this Browning which has as its original title 'The leaves bee greene, A Ground, Mr Will. Byrd' (British Library, Add. MS 29996, f.153').

225. Elliott edition, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. (note 220), pp.11–13.

226. Neighbour, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp.92–93.

227. <u>Ibid</u>., p.74. Neighbour makes a detailed comparison of the two versions, and finds that the one for consort incorporates several changes. On the question of chronology, Kerman puts forward a different proposition and suggests that the composition is representative of Byrd's early style. Evidence of this, he

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*Related to the question of chronology is the problem of numbering Byrd's consort fantasias. The present study follows the numbering used in the work–list at the end of the article on Byrd in <u>The New Grove Dictionary</u> (see note 235).

says, is its wooden imitative style, which is more typical of a period in English music when composers had not yet fully assimilated the smooth, continuous style of imitation from the Continent: op. cit., p.59.

228. Paris, Conservatoire, Rés. 1122.

229. Neighbour, op. cit., p.78.

230. Ibid., pp.78-79.

231. Ibid., pp.95-96.

232. The same is true for the version in Tenbury 341-4. In another for keyboard, BL Add. MS 29996, the coda is missing. The coda was also left out in Add. MSS 17786-91, and was added at a later date.

233. Ibid., pp.83-84. Nevertheless, Neighbour speculates (p.83) that since the galliard is essentially written in five parts, it was never originally intended to be included in a six-part composition. Only in the repeat of the third strain (all the repeats are written out), do both trebles play at once and make the texture one of six parts. However, this is to ignore the fact that throughout the work the two trebles often play in alternation and not constantly together. As stated elsewhere, Byrd was fond of sharing melodic material between the two trebles by means of alternation.

234. Elliott, op. cit. (note 220), p.ix.

235. Elliott (ibid., p.viii) stated that no.2 is an earlier version of no.3. Neighbour (op. cit., p.84) believed that Byrd was not entirely happy with the highly sectional form of no.2, and that no.3 represents an attempt at overcoming this problem. Along the same lines, Kerman pointed to the two works as an example of Byrd's 'tendency to go back to a problem that he had not quite mastered in one piece and attack it in another': in The New Grove Dictionary, op. cit., vol.2, p.545.

236. See Neighbour, op. cit., p.84.

237. Morley, op. cit. (note 75), p.150.

238. From the Preface, ibid.. Morley's Introduction was not the first to be written in English, but as the first detailed and scholarly treatise on both the theoretical and practical aspects of music to have been published in England, it was perhaps a bold step for Morley to have written it in English and not Latin. Earlier musical 'treatises' on music were William Bathe's A briefe introduction to the skill of song (1596?) and the anonymous Pathway to musick, contayning sundrie familiar and easie rules (1596).

239. Kerman, diss., op. cit. (note 74), pp.129-146. Kerman argues that Morley was important in having helped introduce English musicians to the newer types of Italian madrigal and canzonet, and that he was a major factor in causing the English madrigal to develop along the lines of these compositions.

240. Another edition, corrected and enlarged, appeared in 1611. It was not followed, as might be expected from its title, by a second volume. However, Philip Rosseter's Lessons for consort, published in 1609, was a natural sequel because it consisted of similar compositions and was scored for the same unique combination of instruments as specified by Morley.

241. Morley, op. cit. (note 75), p.82.

242. Ibid., p.162.

243. Ibid..

244. In spite of these words in praise of Alfonso Ferrabosco senior, Morley was better known for his criticisms of that venerable master. Henry Peacham the younger had this to say about Alfonso: 'what he did was most elaborate and profound, and pleasing enough in Aire, though Master Thomas Morley censureth him otherwise'. In The compleat gentleman, 1622, p.101.

245. Morley, op. cit., p.162.

246. Ibid..

247. Ibid., p.98.

248. Ibid., p.179.

249. Ibid., p.181.

250. At one point Morley also categorized the pavan as 'light music': ibid., p.132.

251. See page 14 of the present work.

252. See the article 'Bicinium' by B.A. Bellingham in The New Grove Dictionary, op. cit., vol.2, pp.692-94.

253. The composition appears as no.4 in Walther Pudelko (ed.), Orlando di Lasso: sechs Fantasien für zwei ungleiche Instrumente besonders für Blockflöten (Hortus Musicus, no.19), Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1969.

254. Harman, op. cit. (note 107), p.263, footnote 4.

255. The exercise is given on pp.160-61 of A plaine and easie introduction.

256. Ibid., p.162.

257. Ibid..

258. Ibid., p.115.

259. Ibid..

260. Ibid..

261. Ibid., p.96.

262. Ibid., p.115.

263. Ibid., pp.89 seq..

264. Harman, op. cit. (note 107), pp.78-84.

265. Morley, op. cit., p.92.

266. Ibid., p.90.

267. Ibid..

268. The author wishes to express his thanks to Jamie Kassler for pointing out the importance of 'ars combinatoria' in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical theory, and suggesting its possible relevance to the question of fantasy and variety in English musick during Morley's time.

269. Sébastien de Brossard, Dictionnaire de musique, Paris, 1703.

270. Leonard G. Ratner, 'Ars Combinatoria, Chance and Choice in Eighteenth-Century Music', in H.C. Robbins Landon, Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1970, p.350.

271. Ibid., p.346.

272. Athanasius Kircher, Musurgia universalis, Rome, 1650, Lib.VIII, pp.3-5.

273. Ibid., pp.8-9.

274. Ibid., p.12.

275. Morley, op. cit., p.71.

276. Ibid., p.73.

277. Zarlino, Le istitutione harmoniche, Venice, 1558 and 1573, p.217.

278. Morley, op. cit., pp.150-51.

279. *Ibid.*, p.74.

280. *Ibid.*, pp.132-42.

281. *Ibid.*, p.177.

282. *Ibid.*, p.172.

283. *Ibid.*, p.180.

284. *Ibid.*, pp.177-78.

285. *Ibid.*, p.115.

286. The collection was also printed in Italy, but no copies of that edition have survived.

287. Morley, *op. cit.*, p.181.

288. Field's *New Grove* article on the 'Fantasia', *op., cit.* (note 104), p.387.

289. This quotation comes from Edmund H. Fellowes (ed.), *Thomas Morley: Canzonets to Two Voices* (The English Madrigal School, vol.1), Stainer & Bell, London, 1913 (rev. 1956). Philip Brett believed that the fantasias 'are not specifically designated as instrumental' and his conclusion was that 'they were no doubt primarily intended for use as solmization songs': entry on Thomas Morley in *The New Grove Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, vol.12, p.581. Yet in the list of works which accompanies that entry, they are categorized as instrumental, not vocal: p.584.

290. Similar titles are to be found in Gastoldi's *Balletti a tre voci* of 1594, for example 'Il Balerino', 'Il Costante' and 'Il Passionato'.

291. See Kerman, diss., *op. cit.* (note 74), pp.138-45.

292. The Master advises Philomathes to practise the exercises so that he can make himself into 'a perfect and sure singer', and also so that he can familiarize himself with the gamut and the rules of proportion. However, Brett wrongly categorizes the pieces as instrumental (see note 289), along with the three-part 'Aria' which follows them in Morley's *Introduction*.

293. On the face of it, Morley's was the earlier of the two compositions, considering the fact that even if 'The Batchelars Delight' had been composed early enough to have been included in the first edition (1599) of *The first book of consort lessons*, it would still have been predated by the duo (which must have been composed before 1597). However, just because it did not appear in that edition is not to say that it

was necessarily composed later. After all, it would seem unlikely that Alison took a theme for a popular composition from a didactic work. The truth may be that both pieces derived from a still earlier composition, possibly by Daniel Bacheler himself (b. ?c.1574, d. after 1610).

294. *Istitutioni harmoniche*, op. cit. (see note 277), p.200. It is actually in the first mode.

295. It appears on page 201.

296. Composers represented in the collection include Marenzio, Ferrabosco I, Monteverdi, Vecchi, Pallavicino, Croce, Luzzaschi, Anerio, Byrd, Tallis, Tye and Munday. The five part-books are oblong octavo and were compiled after 1601, the date of the latest known compositions. See Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, vol.III: Instrumental Music, Treatises etc.*, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1965, pp.222-24.

297. Brett's entry on Morley in *The New Grove Dictionary*, op. cit., vol.12, p.581.

298. A performance of both compositions, using the edition in Appendix III of the present work, was given by the University Waits in the Elder Hall, University of Adelaide, on 9 August, 1986.

299. It is possible to argue that the upper line of the tripla section is melodically related to the arch-like theme which unifies the rest of the composition.

300. Morley's keyboard fantasia in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book calls for a different interpretation. A long and virtuosic composition (of 104 bars), it is continuously improvisatory in style. There are numerous scales, flourishes and written-out trills, supported by simple, chordal accompaniment. Morley uses only a modicum of imitation or homorhythm. The piece belongs to the tradition of preludial-style lute and keyboard fantasias, and is essentially no different from Andrea Gabrielli's *Fantasia allegra* of 1596.

C O N C L U S I O N

CONCLUSION

The study of fantasy in music offers the opportunity to discover perhaps some of music's most mysterious, secretive, and 'irrational' aspects. Quite apart from the results which may or may not be obtained, this raises basic questions concerning methodology in all musicological enquiry. It is surely a mistake to view music as a purely rational art in which everything answers to logic. Logical patterns and processes do of course exist, and it is perfectly possible to examine them by means of conventional analysis, but this should not obscure the fact that a much more important dimension in music needs to be considered, one which lies well beyond the reaches of conventional analytical procedure. This is music's free, wandering spirit of invention and inspiration, or in technical phraseology, its paralogistic component. Clearly the dimension of fantasy is not normally revealed in terms of perceived structural relationships and layers of order. It has more to do with the basic level of ideas, and the initial creative impulse behind a composition. This makes it one of the more fascinating and perhaps more difficult aspect of music to investigate.

The most impressive fact gained from the present study is that during the Renaissance, there developed an extraordinarily sophisticated philosophy concerning the place of fantasy in all the arts. No other age enquired as

deeply into fantasy as a phenomenon of artistic creation, partly because that age recognized fantasy as an essential part of the human mind and man's perceptions of the world. Whereas in later ages a basic conceptual division emerged between the intellect and the emotions, or the logical and the aleatoric, the fundamental division in the Renaissance was between reason and fantasy. In psychological theory this was one of the most fundamental and important inheritances from the Classical age, and it also happens to be one of the chief cornerstones in the history of philosophical thought.

The central question in England, as in other countries, was how the phenomenon of artistic creation could be explained in terms of the ancient fantasy-reason debate. This was where writers could come to no unanimous or definitive answer. Most writers were polarized between the Platonic and Aristotelian interpretations of fantasy, according to the opposing philosophical traditions which had been built on those authorities through the centuries. The division of opinion was epitomized by the opposite philosophical leanings of the two most important English writers, Bacon and Hobbes, who subscribed respectively to the Aristotelian and Platonic standpoints. The same division of opinion also existed in other countries, but where England deviated from Continental philosophic tradition, except for France, and this was in its emphasis on the connection between fantasy and the affections. English writers went much further than any others in attempting to

correlate the operations of the fantasy and the affections, and this underlies much of their theorizing on the subjects of art and aesthetics.

If the eighteenth-century can be described as the Age of Reason, when the quest for empirical understanding in philosophy and 'moral-sense' in religion became all-embracing, the period up until Hobbes may, for the sake of comparison, be described as the Age of Fantasy. It was an age which saw the rise of fantasy as a guiding principle in all the arts, but most especially in poetry and music. (Indeed, the issue of fantasy served to link the two sister arts closer than ever before.) Many of the artistic developments which occurred in the Elizabethan period were directly ascribable to the new climate of opinion which gave unprecedented scope to inventive fantasy. In music, the pre-eminent example was the fantasia, and it is no coincidence that the period of its cultivation in England followed very closely the rise and fall of fantasy's acceptance as a philosophical concept in that country. The central key to understanding the English fantasia is the fact that, for all its scholarly perfection of counter-point, it was actually a formless composition in which a sense of improvised musical invention was always present. It was the one species of composition in which the composer could do more or less as he liked, providing that he stayed within a traditional contrapuntal framework. For Purcell it was an 'irregular' composition; for Mace it was the freest of them all and one in which the composer could

'make use of the <u>Forms</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Shapes</u> <u>of</u> <u>all</u> <u>the</u> <u>rest</u>'.

The challenge which awaits is to work towards a comprehensive analysis of the fantasia in other countries and in other periods of its history. By analysing it from the perspective of fantasy theory, a picture might be built up of the complex dynamics which control and shape the general concept of musical fantasy. It might be found, for instance, that the concept is entirely relativistic and that it changes markedly in response to a wide variety of factors which underly artistic expression. Or it might be found that musical fantasy is a more or less static concept which is usually defined the same way. Whatever the case, this type of research must always be of central significance for it offers a way of looking at the history of music which relates directly to music's nature as a creative art. It deals with some of the fundamental ideas and expressive ideals which govern musical language, and it does this by addressing itself primarily to the psychology of musical creation. It proceeds from the premise that in all art, logic is ultimately transcended by what might be described as a higher and more complete order of 'pure expression'.

Herein lies the limitation of much musicological enquiry which only seeks after the logical in musical analysis. Most perspectives of enquiry and methods of analysis stress the phenomenological; that is, they proceed from an ideology which comprehends only the manifestly significant and denies the existence of any

dimension of musical expression which is not immediately connected with the rational. The same problem is witnessed in much literary criticism, and this had led one writer to conclude that in literary analysis the phenomenological 'strikes at the very essence of creative thought and affirms a tyranny of rationality, which recognizes everything, except itself, as unreal and ephemeral'.[1] But whereas fantasy research has already gained wide recognition in literary criticism, it has received none as yet in musicology. Through a closer and more intimate examination of the fantasia this situation will surely change.

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1. Roger C. Schlobin, in his preface to The Aesthetics of Fantasy Literature and Art, University of Notre Dame Press and Harvester Press, 1982, p.xiv.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I : AN ETYMOLOGY OF 'FANTASY'

The English word 'fantasy', together with its equival-
ents in other European languages,[1] derived originally from
the Greek φαντασία ('fantasia' or 'phantasia') which, as
shown in the chapter 'Classical Theories of Fantasy' (Part
II), meant an appearance or illusion. However, its
etymological history was complicated when the stoic philos-
ophers freely translated the original Greek with the
etymologically unrelated Latin word 'imaginatio'. For
example, Cicero and Quintilian used 'imaginatio' in prefer-
ence to 'phantasia', and in the Christian era, Augustine
avoided the latter word altogether. These observations
account for the predominance of 'imaginatio' in philosoph-
ical writings of the Middle Ages.[2]

This background helps to understand the history of
the word 'fantasy' in England. By the second half of the
fourteenth century, it appears to have already become well
established in the English language. By the year 1500 it
had acquired a range of meanings which can be summarized
as follows:

1) The faculty of the soul concerned with the apprehen-
    sion and recall of sensory images, the formation of
    ideas, the devising of works of art, and musing about
    the past or speculation about the future.

2) A mental image or notion produced by that faculty.

3) A deluded notion or false supposition.

4) An apparition, figment, illusion, or other 'appearance' of reality.

5) A product of the creative imagination or fancy; an artistic or artful creation.

6) Preference or liking as directed by caprice rather than reason.

7) Desire, amorous fancy, or longing. [3]

The first of these derived from scholastic psychology and literary traditions, [4] while the last three probably derived from popular usage. It was sometimes taken to mean the same as imagination, that is, the process whereby images of external objects are presented to the mind for apprehension and thought. [5] Interestingly, the contraction to 'fantsy' or 'fansy' occurred at an early stage: its earliest recorded appearance, in the Paston Letters, can be dated to 1462. [6]

An important source in following the history of the word 'fantasy' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the large number of word books and dictionaries which were printed, especially after 1570. However, several points need to be made with regard to these sources when presenting an etymological history of any word. The earliest such sources, few in number, were alphabetical word lists which simply quoted Latin words with their equivalents in the vulgar; they did not attempt to give any definitions at all. The early lexicographers were classical scholars who saw their role as establishing the classical foundations and historical origins of the popular tongue, and therefore their findings did not

always reflect common usage. Also, a great many later dictionaries freely plagiarized one another and made little attempt at keeping abreast of what changes may have been occurring to the popular meanings of words. It is noticeable too that many dictionaries were compiled with scant attention to detail, although there are some, notably Thomas Cooper's Thesaurus, which stand as remarkable lexicographic achievements of their time.

However, the importance of these sources should not be overlooked. They fulfilled a pedagogical function besides being works of reference, and they therefore influenced rather than merely reflected word usage. In the case of the word 'fantasy', they established a more technical meaning based on classical etymology. They may also have initiated the alternative spellings of 'phantasia' and 'phantasy' which can be taken as an assertion of the Greek root, as distinct from the Latin 'fantasia' (see for example Hobbes, page 58).[7]

The earliest word books in England equated 'fantasy' or 'fantazye' with the latin 'fantasia'.[8] The word was variously described as 'lemur', meaning radiant one or source of light,[9] and 'sotelte in hert', meaning subtlety or contrivance of the mind.[10]

Sir Thomas Elyot, in the 1545 edition of his Dictionary, was the first to present a precise English definition of the Latin word:

> Phantasia, is dyuersely taken of phylosophers and physitions. Galenus interiorum. 3. The affections is called Phantasia, is none other thi[n]g but the corruption of understandynge. Aristoteles de animal. 2, say a meuynge from the actual sense. Also Phantasia, is of the treasure or power anymall, keper of the fourmes or fygures fyrue [fyrste] conceyued in the commune sense or perceyuynge.

Galen (c.A.D. 130-c.200), the Greek physician and anatomist, was a widely read authority and many of his writings were known in England. His idea of fantasy related to a concept of sense perception which he developed from Aristotle. By 'phantasia' Aristotle meant mind-picture, and by 'phantasion aisthetikon' he meant the seat of perceptory pictures in the mind. But there was a secondary meaning, the one referred to by Elyot, which related to the ancient Greek φàντασμα (phantasma), meaning illusory appearance (cf. page 34). Galen used it in this sense when he spoke of abnormal visions and hallucinations which were caused by fever, other illnesses, or dreams.[11]

Elyot's reference to De anima should not have been to Book II but to Book III, which concerns perception and the soul. In this Book, Aristotle defines fantasy as 'a species of motion ... produced by actual sensation' in which a motion resembles the sensation which causes it (III,11). Elyot's phrase 'power anymall' derives from Aristotle's statement that 'because fantasies remain in us and resemble the corresponding sensations, animals perform many actions under their influence' (III,15). The above definition reappeared in a number of later dictionaries, including Richard Huloet's Abcedarium Anglo-Latinum of

1552 and Thomas Cooper's <u>Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae</u> of 1565.

Other similarly technical definitions, citing classical authorities, are encountered in the more scholarly based dictionaries, one such definition being 'a vision, appearance, or representation' (Gulielmus Morelius, <u>Verborum Latinorum cum Graecis Anglicisque coniunctorum commentarii</u>, 1583,[12] and 'the Image of things conceyued in the minde' (Cooper).[13]

Less technical and more popular definitions began appearing during the 1570s and later, in the increasing number of non-Latin and polyglot dictionaries which were published. These equated 'fantasy' with 'the mind of a body' and the general notion of inventiveness (Anon., <u>A dictionarie French a. English</u>, 1570 [1571]);[14] with will, pleasure and desire (John Baret, <u>An aluearie or triple dictionarie, in Englishe, Latine, and French</u>, [1573]); conceit, humour and imagination (John [Giovanni] Florio, <u>A worlde of wordes, or dictionarie in Italian and English</u>, 1598); and opinion, affection, judgment, devise and invention (Cotgrave).[15] These were not new meanings, since they had already acquired currency in the fourteenth century (see earlier), but they nevertheless suggest that a broadening and diversification of meaning took place, probably soon after 1550. The adjective 'fantasticall' and the noun 'fantastick' (in reference to a person whose fantasies are exaggerated and extreme) were neither new, having entered the English language by the early four-

teenth century, but they too seem to have become more colourful words in this later period. For example, 'fantastical' was defined as 'humorous, new-fangled, giddie' and 'skittish' (Cotgrave);[16] 'idle headed' and 'foolishly conceited' (Cawdrey, 1613);[17] and 'fond, conceited' and 'full of light imaginations' (Percivall).[18] Some lexicographers included popular expressions such as 'made or painted fantasically' and 'to fill with, or feed on, idle fancies' (Cotgrave);[19] 'to live after his own fancy' (Gouldman);[20] and 'to fill or feed an idle fancy' (Holyoake).[21]

Until around the middle of the seventeenth century, 'fantasy' remained the more technical expression, 'fancy' the more colloquial. After that time, however, the latter became the more technical of the two words (see Part II).

Whereas many connotations and nuances of meaning were attached to 'fantasy' and 'fancy', the same was not true of 'imagination'. This word was usually defined simply as a 'conceaving in the mind'.[22]

NOTES – APPENDIX I

1. French 'fantasie'; German 'fantasia', 'fantasie' and 'phantasie'; Italian 'fantasia' (pl. 'fantasie'); and Spanish 'fantasia'.

2. Murray Wright Bundy, The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought, University of Illinois, 1927 (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol.12, nos 2 and 3) p.158.

3. Derived from the five headings under fantasie given in the Middle English Dictionary, edited by Hans Kurath, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1952, vol.5, pp.400-01. This gives the Old French 'phantasie', in addition to the Latin 'phantasia', as a source of origin. The usual English spellings at this time were 'fantasie' and 'fantesie'.

4. Ibid., p.400.

5. Ibid..

6. Ibid..

7. This may account for the spelling of 'phantasm' and 'phantom', words which are very close in meaning to the Greek root word.

8. Promptorium parvulorum, 1490.

9. Catholicon Anglicum, 1483.

10. Ortus vocabulorum, 1500. This also gives 'phantasma' as a 'species visionis', that is, a type of vision or appearance.

11. Rudolph E. Siegel, Galen on Psychology, Psychopathology, and Function and Diseases of the Nervous System: an analysis of his doctrines, observations and experiments, S. Karger, Basel, 1973, pp. 132 and 157-172.

12. Also in Thomas Thomas, Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae [1587]; and Randle Cotgrave, A dictionarie of the French and English tongues, 1611. Morelius cited Cicero and added the following: 'Zeno supposed and thought that the senses were ioyned or knit together, by a certaine meanes, as it were outwardly offered, which he termed a phantasie'.

13. Also in Thomas, Cotgrave, Francis Holyoake (Dictionarium etymologicum Latinum, 1640), Thomas Blount (Glossographia, 1656), Francis Gouldman (A copious dictionary, 1664), and others.

14. Also in L.H.[?] <u>A dictionarie French a. English</u>, 1570 [1571]; and Cotgrave.

15. See also Robert Cawdrey, <u>A table alphabeticall of English wordes</u>, 1604 and 1613 (3rd edn); Richard Percivall, <u>Bibliotheca Hispanica</u>, 1591; Florio, <u>Vocabulario Italiano & Inglese</u> (enl. by Giovanni Terriano), 1659; Holyoake 1677 edition; and Guy Miege, <u>A dictionary of barbarous French</u>, 1679.

16. <u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>..

17. <u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>..

18. <u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>., 1623 edition (enl. by J. Minsheu).

19. <u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>..

20. <u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>..

21. <u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>., 1677 edition.

22. For example: Thomas, op. cit.; John Bullokar, <u>An English expositor</u>, 1616; and Henry Cockeram, <u>The English dictionarie</u>, 1623.

APPENDIX II: THEMATIC CONCORDANCES IN THE ENGLISH FANTASIA

Many of the following concordances were found by consult-
ing the Thematic Index of Music for Viols, compiled by
Gordon Dodd (The Viola da Gamba of Great Britain, 1980-).
A majority of the incipits quoted in this source lack time
signatures, hence their omission here.

John Dowland
Fantasia no.7

Alfonso Ferrabosco I
Fantasia a 6 no.1
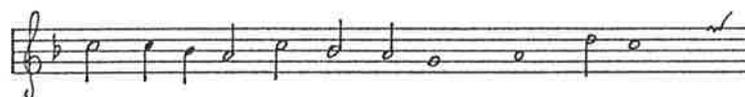
Thomas Brewer
Fantasia a 4 no.1

Thomas Lupo
Fantasia a 3 no.12

John Coprario
Fantasia a 5 no.10
'Al primo giorno'/
'In un boschetto'

Thomas Lupo
Fantasia a 5 no.30

John Ward
Fantasia a 5 no.1
'Dolce Languir'

Christopher Simpson
'April', for tr, b, b,
and b.c.

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John Coprario
Fantasia a 4 no.5

John Coprario
Fantasia for 2
basses no.10

John Coprario
Fantasia a 5 no.7
'Del mio cibo amoroso'

John Coprario
Fantasia a 3 no.4

John Dowland
Pavan 'Lachrimae
Antiquae Novae'

John Coprario
Fantasia a 5 no.45
'Dolce il liquido argento'/
'Fuggendo mi strugge'

Thomas Tomkins
Fantasia a 5 no.9

William Byrd
Fantasia a 6 no.2

Michael East
Fantasia a 5 no.3
'Vidi'
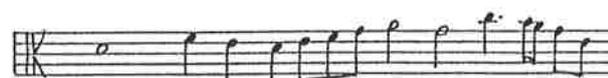
William Byrd motet
'Peccavi super numerum
arenae maris'

pec — ca — vi

Michael East
Fantasia a 5 no.2
(1610) 'Peccavi'
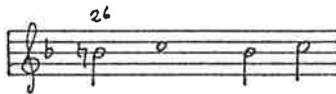
Alfonso Ferrabosco II
Fantasia a 4 no.5.
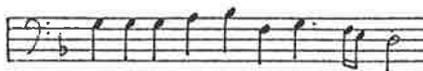
Alfonso Ferrabosco II
Fantasia a 4 no.20
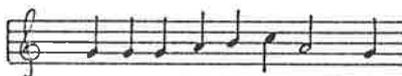
Orlando Gibbons
Fantasia a 3 no.1

John Ward
Fantasia a 6 no.5

Orlando Gibbons
Fantasia a 3 no.8

Orlando Gibbons
In Nomine a 5 no.3
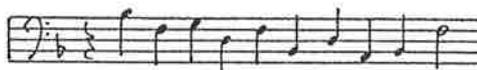
Orlando Gibbons
Fantasia a 2 no.4

545

Thomas Lupo
Fantasia a 4 no.1

John Jenkins
Fantasia a 3 no.4

Thomas Lupo
Fantasia a 6 no.6

John Jenkins
Fantasia à 4 no.4
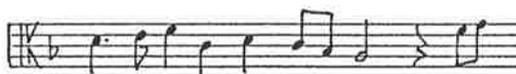
John Ward
Fantasia a 4 no.16

Orlando Gibbons
Fantasia a 3 no.3
(with Double Bass)
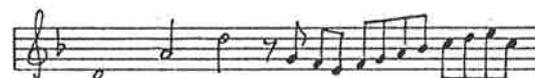
Richard Mico
Fantasia a 4 no.16

Orlando Gibbons
Fantasia a 3 no.7
(with Double Bass)
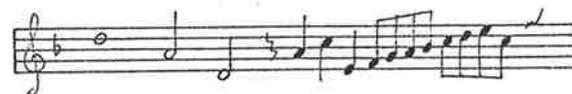
Benjamin Hely
Ayre for solo bass viol

Thomas Tomkins
Fantasia a 3 no.5

Christopher Simpson
'September', for tr,
b, b and b.c.

John Ward
Fantasia a 5 no.6

John Jenkins
Fantasia a 4 no.6

John Ward
Fantasia a 4 no.6

William White
Fantasia a 6 no.2

John Ward
Fantasia a 4 no.6

John Jenkins
Fantasia a 4 no.15

John Jenkins
Air a 4 no.10, for tr,
tr, b, b and organ

John Ward
Fantasia a 4 no.9

Orlando Gibbons
Fantasia a 6 no.2

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Orlando Gibbons
Fantasia a 3 no.2.

Henry Purcell
Fantasia a 3 no.12.
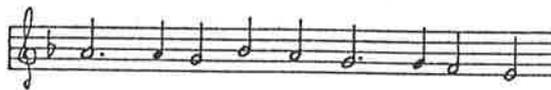
John Jenkins
Pavan a 5 no.1.
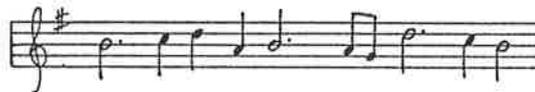
Henry Purcell
Fantasia a 4 no.5.
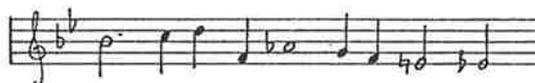
APPENDIX III: TWO UNPUBLISHED FANTASIAS BY MORLEY

The following five-part consort pieces appear in a set of part-books in the British Library (Add. MSS 37402-6, passim) which mainly consists of instrumental trans-criptions of late sixteenth-century madrigals and other vocal music. See page 494 for details. The following table gives the location of the two pieces in the part-books, plus original titles and original ascriptions:

PART-BOOK	FIRST PIECE	SECOND PIECE
Add. MS 37402, 'ffirst Treble'	'la fantasia' : ff 52'-53	f 53'
Add. MS 37403, 'yᵉ second. Treble'	'fantisia' : ff 51'-52	ff 52'-53
Add. MS 37404, 'Contratenor'	'La fatisia' : ff 72'-73	ff 73-73'
Add. MS 37405, 'medeus'	'fantasia' : f 51'	f 52 : 'morley' appears at end
Add. MS 37406, 'Bassus'	'la fantasia' : f 56	'tow trebels' : f 56'

The copyist inadvertently copied the second treble part into the contratenor part-book, and the contratenor part into the second treble part-book. Also, a number of notes from the second piece were left out, especially from the bass part, and these had to be identified and replaced to make the present edition complete.

EDITORIAL NOTES:

1. Given as minim not semibreve.
2. Given as dotted minim not dotted semibreve.
3. Given as middle C.
4. Originally black notation in 3, returning to ¢ at bar 61.
5. Given as G.
6. Given as G minim.
7. Given as E minim.
8. Given as breve rest.
9. Given as G minim.

La fantasia

? Thomas Morley

BL Add MSS 37402-6, passim

Thomas Morley

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

The purpose of the following bibliography is two-fold. Besides citing most of the works consulted in the preceding text, it aims at a comprehensive listing of works in a number of particular subject areas. In the interest of clarity it has been arranged in sections, some prefixed by brief explanatory notes indicating, among other things, whether a listing is comprehensive or not. It should be noted at the outset that very little has been written on general questions of aesthetics in English music of the Renaissance, and there have been very few attempts at documenting and interpreting primary literary sources on music. The subject of fantasy (or imagination) and music in this period, or in any other for that matter, has received still less consideration, and indeed is yet to emerge as a subject of serious enquiry in historical musicology.

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