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French court-aires, with their ditties Englished: how language influences text settings in the 17th century French *air de cour*

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between text and music in the seventeenth-century French *air de cour*. Understanding how words and music combine to produce a song has occupied musicians, poets and thinkers for centuries. The multi-faceted relationships that can form between words and music makes the task of achieving such an understanding complex and never ending, but nevertheless important to pursue because of the centrality of song as a mode of human expression.

For the basis for this examination I use a collection of airs translated into English and published in 1629 as *French Court-Aires with their Ditties Englished* by Edward Filmer. This 'Filmer collection' is ideal for such a task, comprising of the translated airs the originals of which are readily available for the purposes of comparing the two. But, the Filmer collection also presents its own confounding set of questions about the motivations of its author and, although well-known to scholars of the *air de cour*, its apparent neglect into the present day.

In the first half of the thesis I set out to understand Filmer's motivations to produce his collection and speculate on its likely reception. I place the *air de cour* genre, the Filmer collection and Filmer himself in their historical and social contexts and find that the collection was not likely to have been well received. Filmer's 'Englished' airs are no longer the highly stylised vehicles for courtly display, as they would have been known to the dedicatee of the collection, Henrietta Maria, nor are they the varied, gently expressive airs known by English audiences. Instead, they fall somewhere between cracks, unlikely to appeal to either audience.

In the second half of the thesis I examine the French and English texts of the airs in the Filmer collection and the different relationships they form with the music. I explore the different treatments of text in the text-setting styles evident among the airs in the Filmer collection and analyse Filmer's translations – his approach to translation and different ways the relationship of a translated song text with its music can be viewed. I use an alternative method of song analysis to explore how the interaction of poetic and musical style is critical to the *air de cour*. Finally, I turn to the field of linguistics to reveal how the music of the *air de cour* is influenced by the French language and the implications this has on the extent to which Filmer's attempt to translate the airs – and not just their texts – into English could ever have succeeded.

Although this is a study dedicated to one small collection of airs, the principles that have guided it and the methods of analysis used could be applied to offer insight into the nature of song in general.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature:

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Date: 3 March 2018

Acknowledgements

Contents

Preface

At the heart of the present work is a case study based on a collection of nineteen *airs de cour* that were translated into English and published in London in 1629 by Edward Filmer in a collection entitled *French court-aires, with their ditties Englished*. The copy used throughout was obtained through Early English Books Online, based on an original copy held by the British Library (STC (2nd ed.) / 10869).

Where possible, all musical examples are drawn from among the airs contained in the Filmer collection. The titles of these airs are followed by a number in brackets indicating the order in which they appear in the collection.

All translations are by the author unless otherwise stated in the text.

Introduction

This is a thesis on the nature of the relationship between text and music in the *air de cour.* The *airs de cour*, a genre of French secular song that flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, are small-scale, strophic songs that can be arranged for solo voice with lute accompaniment or for between three and five voices. *Airs de cour* were composed for the French royal court – the most notable composers of the genre were Pierre Guédron (b. 1564 – d. 1620), Anthoine Boesset (b. 1586 – d. 1643), Etienne Moulinié (b. 1599 – d. 1676), Michel Lambert (b. 1610 – d. 1696) all court composers – but it is thanks to printed collections, produced for private, domestic consumption, that they have been captured in such large numbers and are able to be studied so easily at this distance.

The 19 airs contained in the 1629 publication, *French court-aires, with their ditties Englished*, by Edward Filmer, offer the ideal basis for an examination of the relationship between text and music. It appears to be a unique example among extant publications of an attempt to translate French *airs de cour* texts into English and we have ready access to the original versions with which to compare them.

Although his name may not be well-known, the author had (or aspired to) influential connections. Filmer dedicated his collection of 'Englished' airs to Henrietta Maria, Charles I's French Catholic Queen, and it bears a commendatory poem by Ben Jonson, one of the most celebrated poets and playwrights of his time. One cannot help but wonder at the motivations of someone as relatively obscure as Filmer to produce such an unusual collection dedicated to such a prominent person.

Why study the Filmer collection?

Although the collection is well-known to present day scholars of both the *air de cour* and English song, it has been largely over-looked for anything more than a cursory mention. One Masters' thesis – D. Till, *A transcription and critical study of Edward Filmer's French Court-aires English'd*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1967 – may be the most complete study, however, it appears to be lost. My catalogue searches and library enquiries have been unsuccessful in locating it. In his thesis on the French lute song, Jonathan LeCocq (1997) cites Till's thesis and an unpublished modern edition of the Filmer collection prepared by Robert Spencer. While this edition does not appear to have been published subsequently, Spencer's papers are held at the Royal College of Music and his edition may still be among them, however, they do not appear to be catalogued.

LeCocq provides a brief descriptive survey of the contents of the Filmer collection in his thesis (1997), noting the French sources for the airs and minor differences in metre markings and lute intabulations. He reflects on the "retrospective nature" of the Filmer collection which comprises airs that were published in France between 12 and 19 years earlier, and suggests this may be indicative of English taste at the time but also notes "the limited extent to which the *air de cour* was disseminated in England" (Le Cocq 1997: 163-64). On the texts, LeCocq simply remarks that the "translations are fairly free, but little more successful for that" (Le Cocq 1997: 162). He does not develop this observation further as a detailed critique of the settings is not the aim of his work.

Georgie Durosoir, in her comprehensive book on the *air de cour* in France from 1571 to 1655 (1991), quite fairly describes Filmer's contribution to the *air de cour* genre as "peripheral" (Durosoir 1991: 9). The feature of most interest to Durosoir is that the Filmer collection contains two versions of each air: four or five part vocal parts and solo voice with lute tablature (Durosoir 1991: 290). Modern editions prepared by both Durosoir (Durosoir 2009) and André Verchaly (Verchaly 1961 / rpt 1989) make liberal references to the Filmer collection for alternative sources of vocal parts but neither address themselves to the English texts.

In her thesis on the stylistic language of the English madrigal, Megan Kaes Long (2014) includes a comparison of the different aesthetic and poetic priorities apparent in English madrigals and French *airs de cour*. Long includes a brief examination of the Filmer collection and concludes that the challenges Filmer would have grappled with in preparing the translations for his collection capture not only inherent differences in the French and English poetry, brought about by differing metrical structures, but also their differing treatment of texts: "the *air de cour* sets texts of high literary merit and treats the music as a vehicle for text declamation, the English madrigal sets generally poor *poesia per musica* with fastidious attention to text setting" (Long 2014: 350-51). Long rightly identifies this as one of the underlying problems with the Filmer collection, however, does not delve further to explain why or describe its effects.

The airs in the Filmer collection appear to have inspired performers even less than researchers. I have identified a recording of just one of the airs.[1] Recent scholars and performers appear to have passed their judgment on the collection by remaining silent. And perhaps this has been for the same reasons that I believe makes it worthy of study: these

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[1] *Sylvia, not long since halfe-affrighted*, on *Douce Beauté*, The Boston Camerata dir. Joel Cohen. Erato 3984-21656-2 (1998).

French court songs, Englished, seem to be neither French air nor English song. But why? What is it about Filmer's attempt to transform these airs that leaves them somewhere in between?

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The thesis that follows falls into to two parts: context and content of the Filmer collection. In Part one I look at the broad cultural and social influences present at the time the Filmer collection was published. I place the Filmer collection into its historical context in order to understand what might have motivated Edward Filmer, beyond artistic ends, to go to the considerable effort and expense of producing his collection and I speculate on how the intended audiences might have received it.

Chapter 1.1 provides a brief introduction to the historical influences on the French *air de cour* genre beginning with the sung poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth-century *troubadours* and *trouvères* and their tales of love and woe. I survey the emergence of the *formes fixes,* songs built on the structure of the poems to which they are set, over the following centuries and the rise of polyphony but the persistence of the dominant treble voice to carry the melody and narrative – particularly in secular song. All of this existed long before the arrival from Italy of the humanist ideal of recreating the sung poetry of the classical world that was occupying the minds of the scholars of the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* during the last decades of sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth century. An understanding of these differing but complementary influences will inform the later examination of the *air de cour* in the rest of this thesis.

In the next two chapters (1.2 and 1.3), I compare, the French *air de cour* and the contemporary range of English secular song. I consider the courtly purpose of the *air de cour* at the French royal court and the musical forms it takes to fulfil that function. The subtle variety that is present in the *air de cour* when examined closely, however, begins to look more like carefully cultivated uniformity when compared to the messy assemblage of secular song that appeared in England at the same time. I also compare the way music found its way to domestic audiences in Paris and London, via the print trades in those two cities. Although both trades were governed by ostensibly similar patent systems, differences in the extent to which these were enforced and the apparent prestige of printed works, had an effect on how a collection such as Filmer's might have been received both by its dedicatee and the supposed intended users of the book.

I turn to consider Filmer's motivations for producing his collection in chapter 1.4 by looking at Filmer himself as well as those whose names appear alongside his: the dedicatee, Henrietta Maria and Ben Jonson, who provided a commendatory poem for the collection. I also look closely at Filmer's lengthy preface to the collection and consider both his stated motivations for producing the collection and what can be inferred from it. This examination builds an impression of who Edward Filmer was, what status he might have occupied in society, why he may have dedicated his collection to the Queen and how it might have been received.

In Part Two, I argue that the neglect of the Filmer collection could be explained by understanding the role language plays in the making of the *air de cour* as a genre and why, when that language is changed from French to English, the songs themselves change. The relationship between text and music is complex and multi-faceted, and no less so in the airs of the Filmer collection. In addition to this outward relationship with music, text has multiple dimensions itself: it is a translation (with another equally complex relationship with its source text), it is poetry (which conveys mood and aesthetic themes as well as feelings) and it is language (which, in addition to conveying meaning, carries physical properties of sound). Therefore, no single method of analysis could ever be adequate to the task of exploring all of these elements – and so I have not restricted myself to just one.

In chapter 2.1 I establish the importance of text and language in the *air de cour* and look at examples of how composers have explicitly tried to engage with the aural reality of text through different styles of text settings, namely *musique mesurée* and *récit*. I also explore how and why French and English poetry differ across three key features of poetry: metre, rhyme and poetic style. This description provides a basis for the further analysis of Filmer's airs and their French originals that follows.

In chapter 2.2 I assess Filmer's approach to translation. I begin by surveying the translation practices that existed in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to determine whether Filmer's translations could be considered typical or unusual by contemporary standards. I then turn to Filmer's translations to assess them according to criteria used in two differing case studies of translated song, both examining Italian madrigals translated into English in the late sixteenth century. This analysis arrives at two contradictory results – the translations could be deemed both 'good' and 'bad', depending on the criteria used – and also neatly illustrates the importance of factoring in the relationship between text and music when considering song translation. Questions remain, however, at the end of this chapter about what, in addition to the meaning of the text, needs to be translated in order

to successfully adapt a song from one language to another, which I address in the final two chapter of this thesis.

A means of examining the nexus of text and music is crucial to understanding the notion of song, but sophisticated methods of analysis are scarce. In chapter 2.3 I explore the French airs and Filmer's English versions of them using the notion of 'conceptual blending', to focus on the amalgam of the aesthetics of the poetry and the music as a key unifying force in the relationship between the text and music in the *air de cour*. It reveals something of a disconnect between text and music in the airs of the Filmer collection and this offers one kind of explanation for their unsatisfying effect. However, this approach does not necessarily account for the text as language expressed through physical sounds and how the differences between the sounds of French and English could affect the text's relationship with the music on that level.

In the analyses presented in the final chapter 2.4, I go some way towards providing an explanation for the relationship we can often hear and 'feel' between language and music, but that the approaches used in the earlier chapters was not able to adequately explain. Why do we 'feel' this 'something', what is 'it' and, how is 'it' encoded in the music? Because of the importance placed on language by the composers and poets of the *air de cour* and by modern-day scholars, I have turned to the field of linguistics for methods of analysis to help answer these questions. I consider differences between natural speech and declaimed poetry and how this may be reflected in music and compare how the language is supported by the different text setting styles present in the *airs de cour* genre. Understanding the dialogue between the two aural mediums of text as spoken language and music provides yet another piece of the puzzle of the Filmer collection and its effect on those who have come across it over the centuries.

We know from the preface to his collection, that Filmer intended only to change the language but otherwise intended to leave the songs 'in-tact'. While this study will allow me to say whether Filmer achieved his intended outcome, it will also offer insight into a broader question about the nature of song. What I argue in this work is that there is a gap between Filmer's ambition for his collection – to bring French court-aires to English ears – and the extent to which he was able to achieve it. Indeed, I question the extent to which it is even possible to bridge such a gap.

Part one – finding the context for the Filmer collection

1.1 – *by your incomparable Voice*: the not so new fashion for solo song

The late sixteenth-early seventeenth-century French *air de cour* appeared at the same time that many poets and composers were under the influence of a strand of humanist scholarship concerned with recreating the persuasive power of the poetry and music of the ancient Classical past. These ideas began coming to the attention of composers in the century prior, with the translations by Florentine philosopher Marsilio Ficino (b. 1433 – d. 1499) of Plato, which led to their wider dissemination, previously only available to learned scholars of ancient Greek ('Humanism', Grove Music Online, Haar n.d.-b). Along with his translation and interpretation of Plato, Ficino "expounded theories of the effect of music on the human 'spiritus'… [and was concerned with] the ethos of ancient musical doctrine" ('Ficino, Marilio', Grove Music Online, Haar n.d.-a) that would come to underpin early Renaissance musical humanism.

Ficino's writings also laid the philosophical ground work for the *Academia degli Umidi*, established in 1540, which would later become the *Accademia Fiotentina*, and where, from 1567, Girolamo Mei (b. 1519 – d. 1594) produced a series of treatises in which he summarised the classical writings on Greek music. Mei posited that the theatre of the ancient Greeks exerted great persuasive power over its audiences because, crucially, the dramatic verses were sung throughout ('Mei, Girolamo', Grove Music Online, Palisca n.d.): the theory being that the combined effect of the music and words together held a greater power over the audience than either of them in isolation – an idea that would inspire the monodies of Caccini and the operas of Peri and Monteverdi, with their desire for clarity of text and expression of the most powerful of human emotions.

In France, these humanist ideas inspired a different kind of song. As well as their preoccupations with classical poetics, French humanists were attempting to reconcile ancient classical mythologies and comparatively recent Christian theology (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 3). According to Yates, one of the more compelling linkages was found in the relationship between music and poetry, based on the premise extolled by Ficino that these arts were divinely inspired[2] and, when combined to create songs about love, prepared the

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[2] Ficino linked the rebirth of ideas from the classical period – in particular the liberal arts such as music and poetry – to religious rebirth. Ficino theorised that artistic creativity led people into deep contemplation and that by seeking such a state of contemplation people would also delve into their own souls and thus become closer to god (Yates, 1947 (2nd edn. 1988): 4) and thereby imbuing great moral value to such artistic pursuits.

human soul for the contemplation of God because "love for a person is a preparation for the love of God, and even "profane" love poetry has its place in the contemplative scheme" (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 5-6).

A concerted effort to realise these ideas received the imprimatur of the French King when the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* was instituted by royal decree in 1570. The stated objective of the *Académie* was to reinvent "both the kind of poetry and the measure and rule of music anciently used by the Greeks and Romans" (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 21). The poets Jean-Antoine de Baïf and Joachim Thibault de Courville led the work of the *Académie* and, although driven by the same desires as their Italian contemporaries, these French academicians – and the composers who were either directly or indirectly influenced by them – instead aimed to achieve harmony between text, particularly poetry, and music more at the structural level, rather than at the surface level of words and melody, on the assumption that the meaning of the text will be able to flow forth and 'speak for itself' if the music supports its underlying structure.

Although as Yates observes, *"On one point, however, they were all agreed, and this was that in ancient times there had existed a very close union between the arts of poetry and music. Plutarch implies all through his essay on music that music and poetry are indistinguishable. Plato disapproves of the two arts being separated. And the French academicians held the belief that the most important way of bringing classical influence to bear upon modern music is by re-establishing this close relationship between words and tune"* (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 46). Their methods will be surveyed in Chapter 2.1.

In the context of this study on the relationship between text and music in the *airs de cour*, it is tempting to consider only this contemporary philosophical environment these songs were born into. The Humanist ideals of achieving unity between text and music and maintaining textual clarity through simple melodies sung by a solo voice, can readily explain the important characteristics of the *air de cour* genre. But this history does not fully account for all the characteristics of the genre – such as its connection with popular dance rhythms and poetic forms – and belies the deeper roots of the *airs de cour* that run closer to their home in the centuries-old courts of the French kings than the ducal courts of Florence. Indeed, Georgie Durosoir (1991) suggests that to understand how the *air de cour* "could take root in the soil of the *chanson* and gradually drain the interest of musicians [one should] observe the musical environment in which the first collections of airs first appeared" (Durosoir 1991: 27).

Indeed, long before the humanists and their idealised neo-Classical notions of sung poetry found their way to France in the sixteenth century, there had been a long tradition of singing poets, the earliest records of which date from the twelfth and thirteenth-century *troubadours* of the south and the *trouvères* of the north. Their courtly performances of sung strophic poems, telling stories of faithful but silent lovers, sung in a rhythmically free declamatory style,[3] would have strong echoes centuries later in the *air de cour*.

Before the second half of the sixteenth century the *air de cour* genre itself began to appear in printed collections. Jeanice Brooks (2000) dates the emergence of the *air de cour* from around 1540 – some thirty years before the term *air de cour* would first appear in print – when songs exhibiting all of the characteristics of the genre began appearing although they were called *chanson* or *voix de ville* (Brooks 2000: 1). Despite the apparent bias towards polyphonic arrangements in printed music coming from the Parisian presses during the mid to late-sixteenth century, Brooks (1998) highlights that manuscript sources provide evidence of a preference for "hearing a good treble voice alone" because of the focus it brings to the relationship between text and music and the opportunity it allows for fine ornamentation (Brooks 1998: 31).

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[3] The notation in the surviving manuscript sources of the *troubadour* and *trouvères* repertories indicates pitch but does not articulate rhythm. Modern-day performers must, therefore, somehow decide on the accentual and rhythmic arrangement of the melodies, either in a fixed metre, possibly resembling a folk song, or a free rhythm, more like declaimed poetry (van der Werf 1972: 36). After a careful examination of the available evidence, Van der Werf concludes that "the vast majority of the chansons were performed in what may be called a free rhythm largely dictated by the flow and the meaning of the texts. Somewhat more specific might be the term declamatory rhythm indicating that these songs were sung, or recited, in the rhythm in which one might declaim the poem without the music" (van der Werf 1972: 44). Similarly, although more equivocally, Arlt suggests the performer be guided by the declamation of the poetry which in some instances will suggest or duple or triple metre, or "freer groupings" according to the melody (Arlt 1989: 56).

1.2 – *These Forraine Compositions*: the *air de cour* in performance and in print

Together with its deep historical roots, the *air de cour* was also a genre that was very much of its time. The *air de cour* existed in two forms that played to two different audiences – live performance at court and print editions for private music making. The following examination of its dual existence will reveal much about the important influences and characteristics of the genre and contribute to my later discussion of Filmer's selection of airs for his collection and his eventual transformation of them into 'French court-aires Englished'.

1.2.1 The *air de cour* at the French royal court

The *airs de cour* in the Filmer collection were produced during the reigns of two French kings and one very powerful woman: Henri IV reigned in France from 1589 before being assassinated in 1610. His queen consort, Marie de Medici, then acted as regent during the minority of her son, the future Louis XIII, before political discontent emboldened the sixteen-year-old Louis and his supporters to seize power from his mother in 1617. He would go on to reign until his death in 1643.

The King's music

The encumbent of the important position of the *surintendant des musiques de la chambre du roi* was responsible for choosing the music and making the logistical arrangements for all balls, ballets and smaller scale entertainments at court. In 1613 that post was occupied by Pierre Guédron, seventeen of whose works feature in the Filmer collection. Born around 1564 in Normandy, Guédron attained his early musical education as one of the singers of the chapel of the Cardinal of Lorraine at the Puy d'Evreux, until at least 1583, when there was a reference to his voice breaking. Although records of when he joined the royal household have been lost, once there he succeeded in attaining numerous prominent court posts including *Compositeur de la Chambre du Roi* in 1601 and *maître de la musique de la chambre de sa majesté* in 1604. His responsibilities as court composer included performing for the King and court and composing airs for courtly entertainments and *ballets de cour*. He also published many collections of airs and it is because of this legacy that Guédron is remembered and acknowledged as the most significant composer of *airs de cour*.

In the introduction to her collected edition of Guédron's airs, Durosoir (2009) recognises two distinct periods in Guédron's musical output. The four years between the publication of Guédron's second polyphonic collection of airs in 1608 and his third in 1612 marked a "pivotal period" where he moved from "songs with naive or *risqué* poems composed on

timbres"[4] to the development of his " 'courtly' style, in which verse deals in the main with noble passions" and "the declamatory treatment of the *dessus* voice" (Durosoir 2009: XLIX). As the airs in the Filmer collection encompass both of these periods, it is worth pausing to examine them in more detail.

The dedications and accompanying laudatory poems of Guédron's printed collections suggest that changes in Guédron's personal and professional status at court could explain the change in his musical style. Durosoir (2009) observes that the simple prefatory material included in Guédron's first printed collection of 43 airs in 1602 suggests that, even though he had achieved a significant musical post at court as *maître de la musique* to the King, he still knew few people of influence who were prepared to commend his work. His second collection, printed in 1608, which contains 31 of the same airs from the 1602 collection, emblazoned with Guédron's court title as *Maître et Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy* and includes a dedication to the King, suggesting that Guédron had begun to establish his reputation at court and certainly had designs on building it further.

Durosoir cites Guédron's 1612 publication as the one that marks him as "a true courtier" (Durosoir 2009: LI) and singles out two auspicious events to make her point. The first appears to be directly related to the timing of the 1612 collection which appeared 18 months after the assassination of Henri IV and coincided exactly with the end of the period of official mourning. Guédron not only dedicated the collection to Marie de Medici, the King's widow, just as she was emerging from her official mourning, he also dedicated the first three airs to members of the royal family: Marie de Medici, Louis XIII and Elizabeth, Marie de Medici's eldest daughter. The second event appears more indirectly related to the timing of Guédron's third publication. In 1609, the highly esteemed court composer Eustache Du Caurroy died. He had been the *Compositeur de la Chambre du Roi* since 1595, before Guédron took over the post in 1601, and in 1599 had become the *Compositeur de la chapelle royale*. In addition to a number of secular chansons, Du Caurroy composed 53 sacred motets and at least four masses, one of which was played at the funeral of Henri IV ('Du Caurroy, Eustache', Grove Music Online, Gaillard et al. n.d.).

Durosoir proposes that Du Caurroy's death "provided Guédron with the opportunity of distinguishing himself as a 'royal' composer" (Durosoir 2009: VXXIV). By the 1612 publication, Guédron had occupied preeminent musical positions at court for several years and, without the need to maintain any deference to his distinguished predecessor and with

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[4] A *timbre* is a pre-existing melody with a new text set to it.

the official mourning period for the king over, Guédron was at liberty to make his own mark. Among the airs in the Filmer collection, ten of the seventeen by Guédron date from the period after 1612 and could therefore be said to represent Guédron's fully-fledged courtly style and these will be looked at more closely in Chapter 1.4.

Second only to Guédron was his son-in-law Anthoine de Boesset, three of whose airs are included in the Filmer collection. Born in Blois in 1586, Boesset would ultimately follow in his father-in-law's foot steps to three of his court positions. The first of these was in 1613 when, as part of his marriage contract to Jeanne Guédron, Boesset was appointed as *Maître des enfants de la musique de la chambre du roy*. He then attained the position of *Maître de la musique de la reine* in 1617 and, in 1623, achieved the highest musical position at court, *Surintendant de la music de la chambre du roi*. Boesset also held several administrative positions including *Sécretaire de la chambre du roy*, appointed in 1620 and in 1634 was appointed as the *Conseiller et maître d'hotel ordinaire du roy*.

Music performance at court

The music of Guédron, Boesset and others performed an important social and political function at the royal courts. One reason, proposed by Brooks (2000) and echoed by Kettering (2014), for the increasing importance of music at court was the gradual separation of the nobility from martial pursuits. The court, rather than the battlefield, became the arena for noblemen to vie for patronage. Prior to the sixteenth century valour was held to be the most important virtue of noblemen, and the battlefield the arena for its display (Brooks 2000: 118). Later in the sixteenth-century, with changes to the practice of warfare, there was less reliance on the nobility to play an active military role. They were compelled to pay for it instead. French monarchs, desperate to finance the almost constant warfare waged within France and with its neighbours, also bestowed an increasing number of noble titles upon those with an ability to pay for them. This, in turn, led to a growing number of wealthy 'urban' nobles (Kettering 2014: 70-71) all competing for notice and favour.

The shift from the chivalric virtue of battlefield valour towards the humanist virtue of study and the acquisition of knowledge sparked a long running debate among writers of the time on the various merits of 'arms' and 'letters'. Brooks (2000) examines this in detail for the influence it would have on elevating the role of music and poetry at court and among the nobility. The proponents of 'arms' harked back to those battlefield days of earlier times. 'Arms' were superior to 'letters' because the latter existed only to record the victories of wars. It was therefore more important for the young nobility to concentrate of the art of war

than to master subordinate skills: they needed to be in the business of making history, not writing it down, or so the argument may have gone. Meanwhile, the defenders of 'letters' argued for the merits of a nobility capable of understanding and of being understood through the written word. 'Letters' were in fact superior to 'arms' because the glories of war would be forgotten were it not for mastery of the skill of letters to record the glorious victories for posterity, making an education in the arts of more value to the young nobility. Ronsard, who dominated court culture in the second half of the sixteenth century, appeared to subscribe to this argument. Poets can sing of many topics, among them war, while war can only achieve on thing (Brooks 2000: 121).

An alternative argument, and perhaps the more reasonable position, was that 'arms' and 'letters' were mutually dependent, and neither one should be favoured over the other – an approach adopted in the humanist educational curriculum – indeed, as the century progressed "attempts to reconcile the two domains were increasingly prevalent" (Brooks 2000: 123).In *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (*The Book of the Courtier*) – which first arrived in France during the reign of Francois I (r.1515-1547) – Baldassare Castiglione, steeped in the humanist traditions of Renaissance Italy, advocated for the education of the nobility noting the aesthetic advantages in addition to the moral imperatives in support of education: the cultivation of grace is just as important as brute force for enabling them to achieve their ambitions (Brooks 2000: 124). The tutor of the young Louis XIII, Fleurance Rivault, argued for the benefits of an education that addressed both the practical and the contemplative for a fully rounded life, that "arms and letters were partners and not rivals" (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 281); although in a reversal of earlier arguments some felt that Rivault's curriculum for the King privileged mathematics and fortifications and the expense of *les belles lettres* (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 281). Yates suggests that Rivault's stance differs from those of the earlier Ronsard and Desportes, but align with that of his English contemporary Francis Bacon.

The Ballet de cour *and the* air de cour *in public*

Another avenue for display at court was dance, as Betty Bang Mather observes "courtiers practiced daily to promote their health and polish their technique. Dance was featured at all court entertainments as a not-too-distant reminder of battlefield skills, from the simple left-right pair of steps of marching soldiers (or "military dancers" as Thoinot Arbeau called them) (Mather 1987: 22) to the truly dance-like steps of a pair of fencers. "It dominated the court ballets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" (Mather 1987: xii).

A powerful influence behind the practical use of music and dance for display at the French royal court was the Florentine Catherine de Medici – who came to France in 1533 as a fourteen year old to marry the future Henri II (reigned 1547 – 1559). Brooks states that Catherine de Medici understood "magnificence as an element of governance" and cites a well-known letter in which she advises her son Charles IX to always keep his courtiers and entourage entertained with *divertissements*" (Brooks 2000: 10), in part to divert their energies from more nefarious activities – "make them joyous upon two days [a week], less otherwise they find them occupations more dangerous"[5] – but also as means of projecting and maintaining royal power and splendour. Brooks goes on to suggest that music was one of the devices available to the monarch to create the presence of the court. At this time the court's location was not fixed, therefore a monarch could not rely upon a grand building in a commanding physical setting, full of luxurious furniture, fine paintings and awe-inspiring statuary to project the grandeur and power of the crown: "The fluidity of the court's physical space in fact encourages us to consider how music – a portable art that articulates place through performance – could help to establish the court's location wherever it happened to be" (Brooks 2000: 12).

By 1600, the year that Marie de Medici became Henri IV's second wife, the French royal court had established a regular pattern of migration between the Louvre in Paris, during the winter months, and visits to Fontainebleau, Saint Germain, Chantilly and Versailles in the Summer (Kettering 2014: 69).[6] Extant sources of music and court records indicate that Marie de Medici's enthusiasm for music and entertainment meant that production continued (if at reduced rate). Following the murder of Henri IV in 1610, Marie de Medici went into a prolonged period of mourning (Batiffol 1908: 133), which included forty days secluded to the Louvre, and a period of 18 months deep mourning – forbidding all festivities and entertainments at court. However, she ordered certain nobles to present ballets away from court every Sunday: "The number of ballets played at the courts or houses of particular

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[5] A letter from Catherine de Medici to her son Charles IX, quoted in Batiffol, *Marie de Medici and the French court in the XVIIth century*, 1908. Trans. Mary King. p.68. The date of this letter is not given, although Battifol reports that it was written by an "old Queen Catherine de Médicis".

[6] The prominence of music at the court reduced, however, during the reign of Henri IV, who came to the throne after many years of civil war and had spent much of his life in Calvinist military camps. While far from considering the King unintelligent or uneducated, "contemporaries noted the roughness of his court as compared to the style and elegance of earlier days" under the last of the Valois Kings (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 276), preferring instead a more informal atmosphere (Batiffol 1908: 110). On ascending to the throne, the King and his chief minister Sully were primarily concerned with restoring the crown's finances and consequently "there was little money to be lavished on poets and musicians" (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 276).

nobles from 1611 to 1614 rose to more than forty-eight; and for 1615 five *livrets*[7] have been saved" (McGowan 1963: 85). Guédron is known to have contributed to 59 *ballets de cour* between 1613 and 1620 while Boesset was directly involved in composing works for at least 25 *ballets de cour* (Durosoir 1991: 214), indicating a less active role in this type of entertainment than Guédron. Royster suggests that with the growing sense of security in Louis XIII's position, soon after the end of his regency in 1617, and the decline in the need for the King to project his authority through that medium, courtly entertainments could become just that (Royster 1972: 171). Even so, both in Paris and the provinces, the courtly entertainments of *ballets de cour* and *mascarades* were still considered to be "indispensable" (Durosoir 1991: 23) for courtly diversion and princely display.

The air de cour *in private*

While the political function of grand court ballets is easily understood and clearly visible in historical accounts, the social function of more intimate or even private music making is less visible to us at this distance. The sources from which scholars such as Brooks, Durosoir and Yates draw convey the prestige value of musical ability for the courtiers of the time, but it appears that little was recorded about private musical practice. That courtiers were keen to display their grace and good taste through their musical abilities in the hope of attracting favours from their superiors we know (Brooks 2003b: 172). From Théodore Gérold's 1921 survey of the art of singing in seventeenth-century France, we learn that "almost all of the composers [of *airs de cour*] were also singers, and often singers of repute; they performed their own works and taught amateurs" (Gérold 1921: 1). For example, in addition his composing activities, Guédron was also a celebrated singer and singing teacher ('Guédron, Pierre', Grove Music Online, Le Cocq n.d.). There was an audience and a market then for singers and singing tuition.

In addition to the changed role and persona of the nobleman at court, there had also been an increasing number of women at court, a trend encouraged for their so called "civilising influence" (Brooks 2000). Gérold adds that memoires, letters and *romans* from the period also "attest to the role music played in noble and elegant society" of the time (Gérold 1921: 2). Le Cocq continues this line of thought and cites numerous poems that invoke the image of "a lady amateur accompanying herself on the lute", although he concludes there is likely to be an element of hyperbole in some of the more rapturous accounts, these references

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[7] Booklets containing the text of the *Ballet de cour* and often descriptions of the staging and performers.

indicate that the "refined art of lute-song" was a desired accomplishment for the Renaissance lady (Le Cocq 1997: 56, 59) as much for the refined and noble courtier.

Jeanice Brooks (2000) cites poetry of the period as well as civility books as evidence that women were performing airs at court and that musical skill was recognised as an attribute for the female courtier, "her song among the ornaments and graces that embellished her physical beauty" (Brooks 2000: 199). However, Brooks tempers this advantage by pointing out that there were mixed feelings among the writers of civility books at the time about the extent of participation in musical performance that women at court should enjoy as opposed to taking the more passive role of audience. Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme – courtier and soldier under Charles XI and writer of a lengthy memoir in which he recalled the many men, and in particular women, he knew at court – followed Castiglione's lead in believing that "the desire to please their mistresses encourage men to perform feats of valour in battle they would not otherwise undertake" (Brooks 2000: 194); while Juan Luis Vives saw the conversation shared between men and women at court as "playing with fire, so to give them cause to burn against the other" (Brooks 2000: 195). These fears arose because of the cultural link between "verbal freedom and sexual availability" and that the act of speaking, let alone singing, could bring a woman's virtue into question: "like speech, song was fraught with problems for feminine virtue" (Brooks 2000: 196). Concerns of this kind notwithstanding, women played important political and cultural roles at the French royal courts, most significantly represented in the rise of the 'salon culture' and the *précieux* aesthetic.

1.2.2   The *air de cour* in print: sources for the Filmer collection

Its courtly origins notwithstanding, the *air de cour* arguably owes its dissemination and historical preservation to the output of the Parisian publishing firm operated by Pierre Ballard (b.1581 – d. ca-1639). The Ballard printing firm produced a series of sixteen printed collections from 1608 to 1643, containing 742 airs in arrangements for solo voice with notated lute tablature accompaniment accounting for many of the approximately 3,000 extant *air de cour*.

Edward Filmer most likely sourced the airs for his collection from these printed editions, rather than manuscripts, as the opening lines of the dedication to the collection attest. In referring to the royal protection the *airs* have enjoyed in their native country Filmer makes an early reference to *"their first Publishers…"* and throughout the collection he gives explicit credit to Gabriel Bataille as the arranger of the lute tablature which Filmer faithfully

transcribes for his collection. Filmer's reference to royal protection and Bataille's lute tablature arrangements points directly to the series of *airs de cour* collections published under royal privilege from 1608 by Ballard as the source of the solo voice versions of the airs in the Filmer collection.

The Ballard firm

Established in 1551 by Adrien Le Roy and Robert Ballard and originally known as Le Roy & Ballard, this firm was awarded the letters patent as printers of the King's music, *imprimeurs de musique du Roy* in 1553 (Brooks 2000: 26) bestowing on them a monopoly over music printing in France which the firm would hold for the next 200 years (Thomson and Wagstaff 2017) . When Le Roy died in 1589 Ballard continued to operate the business under his own name.

A music printing monopoly

The monopoly afforded by the royal patent was jealously guarded by Robert and later his son, Pierre Ballard: a strategy which may have made good business sense, but which was not necessarily good for musical diversity or technical innovation. Durosoir suggests that the firm's tenacious protection of their privilege deterred composers from approaching other printers and effectively silenced those composers the Ballard firm chose not to publish – "[t]he intimidation that Ballard used on all occasions, to deter competition, demonstrated their effectiveness and composers, if they do not turn to Ballard, simply renounced to print their works" (Durosoir 1991: 192). Durosoir concludes that the firm's devotion to the *air de cour* excluded and constrained composers who did not choose to write in the "conventional mould", in particular those composing motets or pieces for lute (Durosoir 1991, p.195).

The Ballard firm's music printing monopoly may have also prolonged the production of polyphonic arrangements of airs long after the public taste had shifted towards arrangements of songs for solo voice (Durosoir 1991: 78). Alternatively, Durosoir speculates, composers, or their printer, may have continued production of polyphonic versions of *airs de cour* because they wanted to preserve a connection with the great composers of polyphony from the previous century, such as Le Jeune and Du Caurroy. Either way, it is difficult to believe the Ballard firm would persist with such an enterprise if there was little commercial interest in the product.

The relatively late appearance of the basso continuo in French printed works[8] could leave the modern-day scholar with the impression that French music-making at the time was single-mindedly, and anachronistically, obsessed with strophic secular song, particularly when viewed next to Italian contemporaries for example. Le Cocq (2005), however, readily argues that performance practice was not dictated by the printed polyphonic arrangement of the works and that a continuo practice existed in France long before it appeared in print.

In addition to the stifling effects of the music printing monopoly, the relatively small music-buying public was not able to provide the critical mass required to make potentially risky new ventures economically worthwhile (Brooks 2003b: 171). However, by the late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century the number of young nobles at court, eager to display their good breeding through the competent performance of elegant music, was growing and the first of Ballard's collections of airs with luth tablature appeared soon after. This change in population at court created a market for music that was comparatively easy to perform and did not require the players to extrapolate harmonies from single *superius* and bass notes (Brooks 2003b: p.172). Durosoir similarly notes that the lute tablature versions are "more accessible" (Durosoir 1991: p.79).

The Ballard printed collections

In 1608 – the same year that he formally entered into a business partnership with his mother, Lucrèce Dugué, who had run the business since the death of her husband Robert Ballard in 1588 – Pierre Ballard purchased a new set of music type. The new, "ultra modern" round note-head notation (Le Cocq 1999: p.272) was a great improvement on the block type with diamond notes heads which were notoriously difficult to align text underlay and lute tablature. Le Cocq (1999) links this purchase with the appearance in 1608 of what would become the first in a series of sixteen books containing a collection of *airs de cour* by numerous composers for solo voice and set to accompanying lute tablature entitled *Airs de différents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth*. According to Le Cocq the collections were the means of achieving several ends for not only Pierre Ballard, but also the arranger and intabulator, Gabriel Bataille, with whom Le Cocq believes Ballard would have shared the task of selecting contents of the collections. For Ballard, his *airs de cour* collections present to the music-buying public a new genre: the accessible and attractively presented lute-air, as

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[8] Durosoir (1991: 196) identifies numerous examples of isolated fragments of bass line either explicitly or apparently intended to be played by lute appearing in printed collections of airs from 1612. The first mention of *basse continue* was in Boesset's seventh book of airs from 1630, but it was not until the publication of Constantijn Huygens' *Pathodia sacra*, a collection of sacred airs published by Robert Ballard in Paris in 1647 that an entire collection included a printed continuo bass line.

opposed to the traditional polyphonic *chanson* style contained separate part books; for Bataille, the opportunity to showcase his skills could have helped him gain a musical position at court (Le Cocq 1999: p.273), which he eventually did obtain in 1614 as the *Maître de la Musique*.

Brooks (2003b) also identifies Ballard's purchase of new music type as crucial break from the past dominated by polyphonic *chansons* published in separate vocal part books. She extends Le Cocq's line of thought on Ballard's motivations however, to challenge our received wisdom that France was a late adopter of monody, because of its relatively late appearance in Ballard's 1608 publication. Far from signalling the introduction of a 'new' style of the performance, Brooks suggests that the Ballard-Bataille collections of *airs de cour* for solo voice with lute tablature were in fact a belated representation in print of a long-practised style of performance. Brooks puts forward several arguments to support this proposition: that accounts of performances from the French royal courts describe singers accompanying themselves on the lute, or viol or lirone (Brooks 2003b: p.169), and; that from the 1580s onwards text settings become more frequently unmeasured (that is do not exhibit regular metric pulse and would therefore be more challenging for an ensemble of amateur singers to coordinate) and the inner parts of the polyphony "show signs of increasing neglect", suggesting that they were not expected to be performed as notated (Brooks 2003b: p.170).

Edward Filmer and the Ballard collections

The populatiry of these collections may be guessed at by the fact that a number of them were issued in second editions. That they also appealed to English book collectors is evident by their appearance in library inventories in England, including that of the Filmer family. A collection of musical manuscripts and printed music books obtained in 1945 by Yale University from the Filmer family estate included the first six Ballard collections, printed between 1608 and 1615 and from which 14 of the 19 airs in the Filmer collection originate. Although we can be reasonably certain that Filmer's collection is based on the Ballard printed editions, it is not known whether he owned or borrowed these collections of French airs and there is no evidence to suggest the editions found in the Filmer family library were the actual copies that Edward Filmer used to compile his collection (Ford 1978: 825).

Certainly from the latter part of the sixteenth century, personal libraries are known to have comprised books acquired from the small but growing book markets of London, Oxford and Cambridge but also included books from continental Europe, collected during their owner's travels, or those of friends. Leedham-Green observes, however, that by the early

seventeenth century the need for individuals to source books directly from overseas declined as English book sellers began including them among their wares (Leedham-Green and McKitterick 2002: 327). It is therefore readily conceivable that Filmer, his family or an associate could have obtained a sizable collection of printed French *airs de cour* during a visit to Paris or even, with relative ease, from London.

Alternatively, Filmer could have sourced them from a contact at Henrietta Maria's court – although there is no evidence of this. Henrietta Maria brought with her from France eleven musicians. Among them was François Richard (b. c. 1580 – d. 1650), a lutenist and composer of *airs de cour*. Richard was among those of Henrietta Maria's household who was ordered to return to France soon after their arrival in 1629. He was appointed *compositeur de la musique de la chambre du roi* soon after his return and would also publish two collections of *airs de cour* in 1637 as well as numerous airs in collections during the 1620s. These court musicians would certainly have been aware of – if not intimately familiar with – the works by the two most prominent court composers featured in the Filmer collection, and would have brought with them a library of secular as well as sacred French music. Although, it might be supposed that much of this would have been in manuscript form – being so much closer to the source of production – rather than having to rely on the printed editions.

Table 1.2.1 shows the most likely sources for the airs in the Filmer collection. The left hand column headed "Nº" indicates the order in which the airs appear in the Filmer collection, the right hand columns list the solo voice and polyphonic collections the airs were first printed in. It shows that the airs were sourced from between 11 to 13 different collections.

Table 1.2.1 – Printed sources for the airs in the Filmer collection

Nº	Title (& author of the text)	Sources	
		Voice and lute tablature	Polyphonic
6	Ou luis-tu, Soleil de mon ame? (anon)	1608 – Tb1	1602 – Gd1 or 1608 – Gd2
15	Vous, que le bon heur r'appelle (anon)		
7	Qu'Aminte fut heureux! (anon)		1608 – Gd2
11	Si le parler et le silence (anon)		
8	Las! Pourquoy ne suis-je nee (anon)	1611 – Tb3	1612/13 – Gd3
3	Que n'este vous lassees (Malherbe)		
5	Quel espoir de guarir (anon)		
9	Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie (Guédron ??)	1613 – Tb4	
19	Aux plaisir, aux delices Bergeres #	1614 – Tb5	1617/18 – Gd4
13	Ce petit Monarque des cœurs (anon)		
4	O ! grands Dieux, que de charmes! (anon)		
1	Adorable Princesse (Maynard)	1615 – Tb6	
12	C'est trop courir les eaux (attr. Durand)		
10	Las! fuiras-tu toujours (anon)	[no extant solo voice version, apart from Filmer]	
2	Enfin, la voyci (anon)	1617 – Tb7	
17	He bien! Marebelle (anon)		
16	Puis que les ans (attr. Guédron)		1617 – Disc, or 1618 – Gd5
14	Arme toy, ma raison*		1617 – Bo1
18	Je voudrois bien o Cloris*	1615 – Tb6	

* Composed by Anthoine Boesset, all other airs composed by Pierre Guédron
\# The Filmer collection does not include the tablature for this air, see chapter 2.1 for further discussion of this.

The titles of solo and polyphonic collections have been abbreviated for reasons of space. The year of publication appears first, followed by the abbreviated title: "Tb1" refers to 'tablature', and indicates it is the first in the series of the *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth* collections. Similarly, "Gd1" refers to Guédron and indicates it is the first of Guédron's series of polyphonic collections of airs, often entitled along the lines of *Airs de cour, mis à quatre et a cinq parties, par Pierre Guédron*. The full list of collection titles, and their contents, referred to in table 1.2.1 can be found in appendix two.

Dedications in the Ballard prints

An indication of the differing purpose of the solo voice and polyphonic publications is the choice of dedicatee. Just as the production of a *ballet de cour* was a visible sign of royal power and a noble's participation in one was the embodiment of allegiance or attainment of a certain rank, the appearance of a royal dedication in a printed collection of *airs de cour* was a sign of association and established a seductively tangible, and more readily attainable, link to royalty and prestige for the possessors of such a collection.

Although the *airs de cour* by definition possess courtly associations, not all of the Ballard printed collections carry explicit dedications to royalty or nobility. The solo voice and lute

collections do not carry any dedications to prominent personages, such as the King or Queen. However, anthologies devoted to a single composer and arranged for multiple voices, including the first two *livres* by Guédron, do carry royal dedications. Table 1.2.2 lists the polyphonic collections represented in the Filmer collection and the dedications that they carry.

Table 1.2.2 – dedications in the polyphonic collections of airs represented in the Filmer collection

Polyphonic Collection*	Dedication
1602 – Gd1, 4vx	Au lecteur – P. Ballard
1608 – Gd2, 4vx	AU ROY [...], épître dédicatoire à Henri IV, signée P.[ierre] Guédron
1612/13 – Gd3, 4vx	A LA REINE [...], épître dédicatoire à Marie de Médicis, signée P.[ierre] Guédron
1617/18 – Gd4, 5vx	AU LECTEUR [...], épître signée P.[ierre] Ballard
1618 – Gd5, 5vx	AU LECTEUR., avertissement signé P.[ierre] Ballard
1617 – Disc, 5vx	AU ROY – Durand
1617 – Bo1,	AU ROY – Boesset

* the collection titles are abbreviated, as described above for table 1.2.1. A complete list of collections represented in the Filmer collection can be found at appendix two.

The absence of dedications to significant personages in the solo voice and lute collections strengthens the idea put forward by Le Cocq that these collections were intended for more practical purposes, while the polyphonic collections, more often dedicated to royalty, were as much symbolic gestures of flattery and allegiance as functional music scores (Le Cocq 1997: p.115). Brooks also contends that the collections containing airs set for solo voice with lute tablature were for more practical or domestic use. They represented a wider range of composers and airs, offering the widest possible appeal, and were easier to perform. Meanwhile the multiple-voice part books devoted to a single composer were more prestigious publications, perhaps produced with less expectation that they would have broad popular appeal or utility.

In chapter 1.4 I consider Filmer's choice of dedicatee in Henrietta Maria and how it compares with established practice in these *air de cour* publications as well as publications of English music during the same period.

1.2.3 Variety of forms and styles

The single generic denomination of the *air de cour*, rigidly bound by *précieux* aesthetic conventions, belies a surprising degree of subtle variation that composers employed over a period of over 70 years, from their first appearance in print in 1571 to at least 1643 when the last of the famous Ballard collections of *airs de cour* was printed. Within these aesthetic

conventions there was scope to vary the form and texture of airs depending on the texts being set, as well as their arrangement, either primarily as a song for solo voice or polyphonic ensemble. The melody could equally be a *timbre* or an original composition. The mood could range from boisterous drinking songs to courtly and refined airs; the joyous expression of reciprocated love to the despair of the unrequited, all on the turn of a page. The genre spans occasional chamber works, closely associated with a real event or person, to airs from the *Ballets de cour*, sung by fictional characters in a dramatic setting. Although all performance at court was, to some extent, a public utterance, it seems that some airs were intended for private or more intimate occasions.

For an equally long period, however, all of this variety was yet firmly bound by rigid aesthetic principles. As the following description will illustrate, the structural, rhythmic and harmonic resources of the genre were employed in a carefully controlled, conventional way. This overview of the generic styles and characteristics of the *airs de cour* will also provide a basis with which to consider Filmer's selection of airs for this collection and the extent to which it is representative of the genre as a whole.

Form and texture

As already observed, the *airs de cour* are preserved in a variety of formats: polyphonic voice arrangements; accompanied solo voice; vocal duos and, occasionally, the inclusion of obbligato instruments. This textural variation produces marked differences in colour, dynamic, expressive potential and perception of harmony.

The strophic form, on the other hand, is an almost ubiquitous feature of the genre. Durosoir suggests that the strophic form rose to favour among composers of the *airs de cour* after the single strophe sonnet form used in the *chansons* of the previous century retreated from view (Durosoir 1991: p.42). On the other hand, Brooks (2000) highlights the appeal that strophic song had to the sixteenth and seventeenth-century courtier, particularly when performed as a self-accompanied solo, because of its immediate associations with classical models (Brooks 2000: p.122). Above all, the strophic form presents the performer with the opportunity to display their wit and good taste through playful and inventive ornamentation and variation over the successive strophes.

The number of strophes can vary between one and twelve strophes, but Durosoir puts the average for all of the airs in the Bataille collections at between three and six strophes (Durosoir 1991: p.132). Neither Georgie Durosoir nor Patricia Ranum (2001) associate a particular rhetorical meaning with greater or fewer strophes in an air. Ranum makes a

connection between the length of an oratorical 'period' – a "complete thought" in the form of a sentence or a brief paragraph that tends to exhibit circular reasoning – and the seriousness or 'sublimeness' of the subject matter: "The longer the period, the less intimate its message tends to be" (Ranum 2001: 76-79). Although Ranum does not say that her 'oratorical period' is equivalent to a poetic strophe, a similar logic could apply: the more strophes, the more serious the theme. Durosoir remarks that *airs de cour* simply exhibit the same "profusion of strophes" – up to fifteen – that was characteristic of poetry at the time (Durosoir 1991: 63). She also observes that the number of strophes in the airs of Guédron's third book (printed in 1617) remain as variable as those in his earlier books (Durosoir 1991: 97), indicating that Guédron's rise in courtly circles did not have a bearing on the length of the poems he chose to set to music – if there was an association between the number of strophes and the themes or sentiments expressed in the airs, one might expect to see a change because, as already remarked upon earlier in this chapter, the character of Guédron's airs did otherwise change between these books as he established himself in the role of court coomposer.

Among the airs contained in the Filmer collection the average number of strophes is six, with no apparent connection between the number of strophes and the mood of the text. In other words a light-hearted air is just as likely to have a high number of strophes as a serious air and vice versa. For example, *Why, alas! cry'd out my mother / Las ! pourquoy ne suis-je née* (no.8) in the Filmer collection, is a lament with twelve strophes, while *With what wings can I flie / Quel espoir de gaurir* (no. 5) is also a lament, but it only has four strophes.

Focussing his attention on the structure of the strophes, Le Cocq (1997) shows that the number of lines in a strophe changed over time. Le Cocq observed that the collections printed between 1608 and 1611 show a preference for airs that set quatrains, that is, strophes with four lines, while from 1613 and in particular after 1617, the printed collections show a distinct change of preference in favour of the sixains, strophes with six lines. He suggests that this change could have resulted from the increasing number of professional musicians composing *airs de cour*; and their preference for the refrain device, where the first three lines of the strophe vary and the last three are repeated to the same melody throughout the air. He also suggests this could be an example of the common principle of "composers finding ways to make pieces longer" (Le Cocq 1997: 174-76). The selection of airs in the Filmer collection does not reflect this pattern. Filmer chose his airs collections that were printed before 1617, and the majority of airs from collections printed in 1611 and 1614. They could therefore have tendency towards four-line strophes, however, the

majority of the airs (twelve out of nineteen) in the Filmer collection are sixains; a perhaps unsurprising fact, given the professional, courtly composers of the airs.

Airs de cour generally exhibit simple melodies, often encompassing the range of the speaking voice. The airs in the Filmer collection span a range from a minor 6th (*Adorable Princesse / Bright Abstract of us seven*) to an 11th (*Si le parler et le silence / If key of speach or locke of silence*). Melodic movement in the airs is often stepwise or on leaps of no greater than a fourth and occasionally a fifth. Fifteen of the nineteen airs in the Filmer collection stay within the octave range. The melody for *Que n'êtes vous lassées* (no.3) is typical of most airs and covers the interval of a minor seventh and ventures beyond the interval of a fifth only once.

The use of a *timbre* is also a common device, although perhaps one that is not associated with the most fashionable or prestigious of airs. Of Guédron's printed output, Durosoir (2009) observes that he uses *timbres* only in his first three books (1602, 1608 and 1612). Shortly after the appearance of the 1612 collection Guédron was appointed the *surintendant des musiques de la chambre du roi¸* the most important music position at court, his use of *timbres* ceased, preferring instead to present only original works, perhaps in an effort to project a certain sense of originality and exclusivity about himself and his music.

The majority of the extant repertoire exists in both polyphonic and solo versions. On examining the works of Pierre Guédron, of the 185 extant airs, 120 appear in both polyphonic and solo voice with lute accompaniment, forty-six appear in only a polyphonic version and nineteen only for solo voice with accompanying lute. This may be by design, or it may simply be because the other version has been lost. It may also have been the case, as already remarked upon, that commercial imperatives of the printer and the perceived prestige associated with continuing to produce polyphonic works drove the continued appearance in print of the polyphonic *air de cour*, long after performers adopted the solo voice arrangements for performance as the more common practice.

Harmonic language
As outlined in the previous chapter, the *airs de cour* flourished at a time when composers of vocal music were turning away from the Renaissance tradition of highly contrapuntal polyphony towards simpler homophonic texture. The harmonic language employed by these composers tended towards the diatonic rather than modal which could still be heard in other vocal music, such as sacred polyphony.

Coeurdevey (1996) identifies a number of characteristics that signal diatonic rather than modal thought in early seventeenth century *airs de cour*, for example, the relationship between the superius and bass lines. In 'modal' airs the bass line tends to follow the *superius* note against note, while in 'tonal' airs the bass line displays greater independence (Coeurdevey 1996), suggestive of a greater influence of the functional harmony natural to the lute than to the more traditional compositional styles founded on vocal polyphony. As already observed, Le Cocq (2005) suggests that the basso continuo may have been practiced in France long before it appeared in print in 1647. He traces appearances of un-texted bass lines back to Guédron's second book of airs, printed in 1612, and also identifies a sketch, possibly in Guédron's own hand, of *Qu'este vous lassées* (no.3), written as a simple melody and bass that dates from 1610 (Le Cocq 2005: 192-94).

The *air de cour* texts also exhibit a variety of moods; from the *vaudeville* or *voix de ville*, based on popular 'songs of the street', and the *airs à boire* (drinking songs) to the highly refined *précieux* poems set to an elegant dance metre that cleaverly avoid strong or genuine emotions, or a heart felt lament over a doomed or unrequited love. In the earlier of the Ballard collections, there was a great variety of these moods, however, by the later collections, tastes had seemingly settled on the elegant dance tunes (Durosoir 1991: 160).

Airs de cour do not exhibit the expressive extremities that had become fashionable in Italy, whether extreme 'mannerist' chromaticism, or affective harmonies and intervals of Italian monodists. Their aim was to achieve a kind of naturalism, not the distortion of nature implied by 'mannerism'. While Guédron's airs show signs of being influenced by this Italian trend – and he may well have heard Giulio Caccini perform when he visited the French court in 1604-05 – any influence this music may have had over him did not persist. As Durosoir observes, the airs of Guédron "appear as a compromise between the legacy of centuries of polyphonic composition and the increasingly demanding trend of the emerging harmonic language" (Durosoir 1991: 78).

In a study of the first ten syllables of 1,000 airs, Le Cocq (1997) found that the majority of airs (over 700) exhibited a relatively fast harmonic tempo (between seven and ten harmonic changes within the first ten syllables) due to the syllabic nature of the text settings (Le Cocq 1997: 177), however he observed that the treatment of dissonance was "largely conventional" (Le Cocq 1997: 178). Le Cocq suggests that the generation of harmonic interest is achieved through "tonal ambiguity rather than through genuine modulation". *Que n'este vous lassée* (no.3) from the Filmer collection, for example, exhibits such harmonic movement. In the first three phrases moving from I -> V -> iii, then cycling through a series

of dominants (V) to the end. While this cycling creates a sense of harmonic movement it is not in a particularly alarming or adventurous way.

Treatment of metre: musique d'air et légère *and quasi measured*

An important distinctive feature of the genre is the treatment of rhythm and metre, reflected in two commonly recognized types of airs, unmeasured and measured airs. Measured airs exhibit a regular metric pulse while unmeasured airs do not. Speech rhythms and the stress patterns discernible in declaimed poetry, poetic themes and dance metres are significant determining factors in the rhythmic treatment of the text and the regularity of the musical metre in *airs de cour*.

In his thesis *The French lute-song 1529-1643*, Jonathan LeCocq (1997) added a subset to these types, called quasi-metric, which he defines as a piece in which an otherwise consistent metrical pulse is disrupted in some way, often by the addition of a beat at the cadence but also through syncopation or other accent at particular moments in a phrase (Le Cocq 1997: 180). I have adopted LeCocq's classifications here because of the frequency with which this category of airs occurs.

Unmeasured airs: *musique d'air*

The term *musique d'air* was often used to describe airs with irregular metre and was closely associated with the rhythms of spoken text. Le Tour, in 1593, observed that an air *en musique d'air* was characterised by "…bar lines [at the ends of phrases] and is [sung] without metre…"[9] (Le Cocq 2000: 4). Mersenne, in *Harmonie universelle* (1636-7), commented that "The song that one calls *Vaudeville* is the simplest of all airs, and is applied to all types of Poetry that are sung note against note without metre, and only according to the longs and shorts which are found in the line [of text], that which one calls *mesure d'Air*…" (quoted in Le Cocq 2000: 3). The term appeared again in 1639, contrasting with *musique légère* to describe "the kind of air 'in which the beat, or common movement, is not given in metre: but one beats almost each note, and is called *Musique d'Air*' " (quoted in Le Cocq 2000: 3). Durosoir, on discussing the airs of Guillaume Tessier (active 1580–82) describes those *en musique d'air* as "those where the free rhythm supports the declamation and proper movement of the lines" (Durosoir 1991: 65). Elsewhere, when surveying *airs de cour* specifically subtitled *récits* Durosoir, again, observes a connection between rhythmic and metrical freedom and text declamation (Durosoir 1991: 147).

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[9] 'La musique où tu trouveras des barres est sans mesure: l'autre se chante avec mesure'

In the example shown in figure 1.2.1, drawn from among the airs in the Filmer collection, although shown here in its original French version, the opening line of *Ou luis tu soleil de mon ame* (no.6) by Guédron provides an example of the unmeasured *musique d'air*. The text concerns the darkness that descends upon the soul when the light of love has been extinguished.

Figure 1.2.1 – Ou luis tu soleil de mon ame? (no.6) by Pierre Guédron

(A*irs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth. Par Gabriel Bataille*. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1608)

No metre is indicated at the beginning of the air and the metric pulse shifts between duple and triple at least twice in the first phrase. The first line is relatively long, consisting of eight syllables plus a mute 'e'. Durosoir observes in passing that longer poetic lines of seven or eight syllables and above lend themselves to supple unmeasured settings (Durosoir 1991: 42), although this cannot be confirmed from among the airs in the Filmer collection as all types of airs – measured and unmeasured – have line lengths that commonly range between six and eight syllable.

Measured airs: musique légère…but not always

Measured airs have a regular metric pulse. The music and texts are often but not exclusively light-hearted. A term often associated with light-hearted measured airs is '*musique légère*'. An early appearance of the term was in Parran's *Traité de la Musique théorique et practique* (Paris, Ballard 1639) where he used it to describe "light and gay music, similar to the air, in which a common metre is given"[10] (Le Cocq 2000: 4).

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[10] "…musique légère et gaye, approchant de l'air, où se baille la mesure réglée commune".

Among the airs in the Filmer collection, Guédron's *Aux plaisir, aux delices bergeres* (no.19) is an example of the light-hearted metrical air. The example in figure 1.2.2 shows that the triple metre is indicated in the score, and the four-bar introduction from the accompanying lute and the entry of the voice with an anacrusis creates a strong triple metric pulse. The text advises the young to enjoy life and love while you can as everything passes all too soon until 'only regret remains'.

Figure 1.2.2 – Aux plaisirs, aus delices bergeres *(no. 19), by Piere Guédron*

(*Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth par eux mesmes.*
Septième livre. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1617)

However, measured airs are not always light-hearted and light-hearted airs are not always measured and Le Cocq cautions us that that *musique légère* is "usually metrical (though with many exceptions)" (Le Cocq 2000: 4). While Brooks (2000) suggests that the term has more to do with the metre of the air than the character of the text, citing Le Roy, (1571), who uses the word *legieres* in relation to the music only and not the character of the texts (Brooks 2000: 14).

The quasi metrical

As LeCocq (1997) explained, quasi metrical airs are characterised by the disruption of the metrical pulse at cadence points or through a "combination of syncopation with natural accentuation of the text" (Le Cocq 1997: 180). Figure 1.2.3 illustrates an example of a 'quasi metrical' air found in the Filmer collection.

Figure 1.2.3 – Adorable Princesse (no.1), by Pierre Guédron

(*Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth par eux mesmes*.

Sixième livre. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1615)
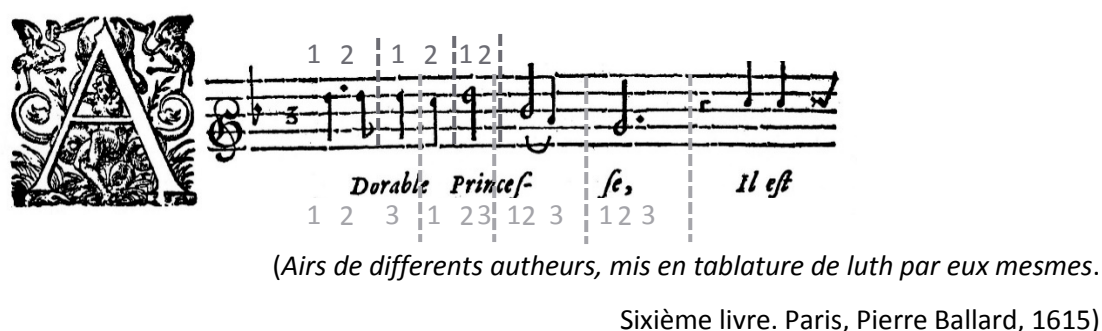
Despite the triple metre marked at the beginning of the piece and that the rhythm can be divided into a regular triple bars, as illustrated by the numbers and bar lines extending below the stave, the rhythm and text accents of this opening line also produce a strong duple pulse, as illustrated by the numbering and bar lines extending above the stave, first by the placement of the accented third syllable '*-ra'* of *Adorable* on what should be the third (weak) beat of a triple metric group, then by the final syllable *-ble* an unaccented syllable – on the first beat of the next triple unit, resulting the characteristic syncopation of quasi metrical airs. The arrangement of accented and unaccented syllables could align more satisfactorily with the music if counted in duple metre but only until the cadence point on the last two syllables of *Princesse*, at which point the rhythmic notation indicates that the metre must switch to a triple pulse.

"The quasi-metrical air could be seen as a direct descendent of the innovations of La Grotte" (Le Cocq 1997: 187) – that is "La Grotte abandons the rhythmic formulae of the dance-based *voix de ville* in favour of rhythmically much freer settings typical of the chanson, with long-note openings, variety of note values, melisma, and syncopation…[La Grotte's airs could be] the first considered response of a composer attempting to reconcile simple, strophic, and very possibly instrumentally-accompanying song with humanist goals" seeing as "…simple dance tunes have to a large extent been abandoned for rhythmically more sophisticated settings that highlight the structure and, to some extent, accentuation of the text" (Le Cocq 1997: 186).

Dance metre

Le Cocq (2000) suggests it is "natural" to associate measured airs with dance metres because both carry a regular metric pulse and because of the dance-based origins of the *air de cour* in the *voix de ville* (Le Cocq 1997: 197). Le Cocq cites both the preface to Le Roy's 1571 collection of *air de cour* and the preface to Jean Boyer's 1619 collection of airs, in which

explicit reference is made to his use of the melodies from "five or six '*courantes de differents autheurs*'" (Le Cocq 2000: 5) as examples that this natural association was made in earlier times as well as our own. Betty Bang Mather similarly observes that "much of the concert music played at court bore dance titles" (Mather 1987: xii).

Two common dance metres include the *courante* and the *sarabande*. Mersenne describes the courante as 'the most common of all the dances practiced in France'. It was a popular *danse à deux* in the early part of the seventeenth century (Mather 1987: 2) and Le Cocq states over 50 airs published in Paris between 1608 and 1643 show the influence of the courante rhythm with its characteristic hemiola effect, including Pierre Guédron's, *Bien qu'un cruel martire* (1608) U | − U | − U | U − | − (Le Cocq 2000: 5-6). Other characteristics of the courante include often being marked in three, a quick tempo and setting eight syllable lines (Mather 1987: 232-4).

Mather characterises the *sarabandes* of the early seventeenth century as "light and gay" and often being marked in three. The *sarabande* becomes more common in *airs de cour* after 1630. Mersenne describes the rhythm as U U U − U and with a more regular phrase structure than the courante (Le Cocq 2000: 11).

Le Cocq concludes that "while it is easy to identify airs with a dance character, there is little reason to assume that an established form underlies such airs…We can say, however, that dance forms had an important impact on the *air de cour*, and especially on songs *en musique légère*, throughout most of its early history" (Le Cocq 2000: 16). Similarly, Ranum (2001) concludes that "like all airs" dance air lyrics "imitate what were perceived to be natural speech patterns… [but] …its phrasing can never stray very far from the stresses imposed by the dance and its steps" (Ranum 2001: 37). Similarly, Durosoir observes that some of Guédron's *récits de ballets* "are characterised by dance rhythms, and seem to suit the collective expression of a dancing 'troupe' accompanied by chorus" (Durosoir 2009: LXXVI).

That dance metres exert some influence over *air de cour* is generally accepted by authors on this subject, though the factors underlying this influence are less discussed. Perhaps because one would expect knowledge of these dances to be a normal part of court life it is simply not remarked upon.

The air in transition: 1600-1620

The Ballard publications afford the opportunity to observe a gradual change in the *air de cour* genre, including a notable period of transition after 1620. Verchaly characterizes the

Ballard collections published between 1608 and 1643, and particularly those printed before 1620, as "a retrospective panorama of the genre around the year 1600", with airs appearing in solo and polyphonic versions and "some airs which present all the characteristics of 'accompanied monody'"(Verchaly 1953: 212). From 1600 to 1610, Verchaly suggests the genre remained fairly static, during a period of "reflection" among French composers which he attributes to the visits of Italian composers Rinuccini and Caccini to the French royal court in 1601 and 1605 and the publication in 1600 of *chansons* by Claude Le Jeune aiming to realize the work of the *Académie de poésie et de musique* to fit classical metres to French verse and musical text settings. From 1608, the appearance of airs with bawdy texts becomes less frequent and the number of laudatory and occasional airs increases (Verchaly 1953: 218).

Durosoir observed the "variety and diversity" of the early collections of *air de cour*, those published from the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth, had diminished by the 1620s (Durosoir 1991: 44).[11] The younger generation of composers had no direct exposure to the musical experiments of poet Jean-Antoine Baïf (b. 1532 – d. 1589) and the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* to impose classical Latin poetic metres on French poetry and set them to music (Durosoir 1991: 160) – of which more will be said in Chapter 2.1. For example, the majority of the airs in the fourteenth book in the Ballard series of *air de cour* arranged with lute tablature, printed in 1628, are by Anthoine Boesset – with a small number also by François Richard and Paul Auget, whose airs Durosoir characterises as lighter than Guédron's and those of his generation – and although Boesset was undoubtedly the stylistic successor to Guédron, he was still a product of his own times and produced airs reflective of a court society that was more light-hearted than that inhabited by Guédron (Durosoir 1991: 232, 37). This break from the past meant that while composers freely introduced greater dramatic expression of emotions and pervasive dance rhythms, particularly in the *ballet de cour*, which greatly influenced the *airs de cour* (Durosoir 1991: 82), stylistically,the genre became more uniform than in the past.

The selection of airs in the Filmer collection and its date of publication straddle this point of change. The dates of the airs in the Filmer collection range between 1602 and 1617 and

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[11] Gérold (1921) argues that French singing went through a period of development between 1630 and 1640, after relative stability in the decades before. He puts this down primarily to generational change, observing that "the influential teachers of the first period of the air de cour are dead, Guédron in 1625, Maudit in 1627, Gabriel Bataille in 1630" (Gérold 1921: 97). Leaving the way open for the next generation of composers of airs such as Anthoine Boesset (b.1587 – d. 1643) and Etienne Moulinié (b. 1599 – d. 1676) and later still Sébastian Le Camus (d. c.1610 – d. 1677) and Michel Lambert (b. c.1610 – d.1696) to make their own distinctive contributions.

therefore take in the period of retrospection, while they were not assembled into Filmer's collection until 1629, by which time the *airs de cour* in France had become more expressive and more driven by lively dance metres, although the poetic themes and expressions were less varied (Durosoir 1991: 219).

Filmer may have deliberately chosen older airs for his collection in the belief that Henrietta Maria, the dedicatee, would find comfort in the more familiar melodies of her father and mother's court, or he could equally have been restricted to what was available to him and not have been able to choose from the latest publications. Whether Henrietta Maria found the airs in the Filmer collection comforting or old-fashioned, in comparison with the more lively and more expressive French airs of the time, should also be considered in conjunction with the English airs that she would have been hearing at the same time.

1.3 – *Denisons of mine owne Countrie*: Song in England and the Filmer collection

At the same time as printed *airs de cour* were flourishing in France, there was a comparable burgeoning of song publication in England. The following chapter surveys English song and the business of selling it in print – including the small number of songs in foreign languages printed in London – to paint a picture of the environment into which the French *air de cour* and the Filmer collection existed.

1.3.1 The art and craft of English song

From the second half of the sixteenth century there was a growing interest in domestic music-making, "grown from the various seeds in the court, the church, the schools, and some homes…" (Doughtie 1986: 45), and helped along by the burgeoning print music trade. In his study of the literary characteristics of the texts of late sixteenth early seventeenth century English airs (or ayres), Daniel Fischlin (1998) poses several tantalising questions about the performance context of these ayres which could equally apply to the airs in the Filmer collection: "Did the audience listen quietly? How was a performance structured…Were performances 'structured' at all? What were the relations between accompanist and singer, if they were in fact different people? Were these songs intended for an audience beyond the singer and accompanist and perhaps a few other people…?" (Fischlin 1998: 249), to quote just a few.

In posing these questions, to which of course, he offers no definitive answers, Fischlin is attempting to reconcile the apparent contradictions he sees in the lyrics of the ayres, contemporary iconography of performances and recent research on performance practice; the former implying or illustrating that the airs are a means of expressing the intensely personal in intimate or secluded spaces, the latter (drawing on the principles of oratorical and gestural rhetoric) implying they were necessarily intended for public display. He ultimately concludes that there was an element of "radical newness" brought about by the English lute ayre because it was intended for private music-making, in distinct contrast to the purpose of much music before: it marked out "a private performative space apart from the public dimensions of theatre, courtly entertainments, or sacred music, all of which were intractably associated with public spectacle and function" (Fischlin 1998: 264). This also marks the English air as different to the French *air de cour*.

Also in contrast to France, where the relatively uniform genre of the *air de cour* reigned, in England there were various secular song styles that appeared in manuscript or print

between the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth: the part-song, the consort song, the madrigal, and the lute air. The following brief overview of early English secular song ranges from when Edward Filmer would have been receiving his earliest instruction in music, around the 1590s, to when his own collection appeared in 1629. While some of these categories are not mutually exclusive, they provide a useful basis for comparison with the *air de cour* genre. This comparison will situate the Filmer collection in its local contemporary culture and perhaps help us, in the present day, imagine how the works in the Filmer collection, these French airs in the guise of English song, may have been understood.

Part song

The English part song dates from at least the mid-sixteenth century, was usually strophic and by the end of the century was often composed or arranged for five voices, although these arrangements, particularly in print editions, were designed for flexibility. In his *Two Bookes of Ayres* printed in 1613, Thomas Campion advises the reader that "These ayres were for the most part framed at first for one voice with the lute, or viol, but upon occasion, they have since been filled with more parts, which who so please may use, who like not may leave" (Campion 1613). Edward Doughtie (1986) describes the earliest exemplars of English part song in print, the airs of Thomas Whythorne, as "plain, angular, sententious, with words and music meeting mainly on the formal level, and then not always gracefully" (Doughtie 1986: 46).

While the texture of the airs could be homophonic or polyphonic, compelled by differing aesthetic views, the setting would still always be based on the prevailing humanistic wish for textual clarity. On the one hand exponents of the homophonic approach felt that the music should simply act as a coat hanger for the words while on the other, it was felt that the repetition of words and phrases, common in polyphonic music, made it more likely to stick in the listener's mind. "Other secular songs of the period before Whythorne are musically similar to anthems in the way that they range from simple four-part homophonic pieces to fairly complex examples of imitative polyphony; even in the latter, however, there is usually some regard for the articulation of the text" (Doughtie 1986: 44).

Consort song

Consort songs appeared from the mid-sixteenth century and were usually performed with one voice and a consort of three, four or five viols. Other characteristic features of the style include:

- a regular, iambic verse, often in poulter's measure[12] or fourteener[13]
- use of alliterative verse
- rhyming lines are end-stopped and coincide with cadences
- musical phrases match metrical poetic units, rests appear at caesuras and line endings
- musical elaboration generally restricted to the viol parts, rather than the melody line.

The close formal relationship between the verse and music, as exemplified by verse line endings coinciding with musical cadences, was particularly characteristic of the earliest consort songs and tended to be indicative of relatively understated emotional expression. While the verse may treat a wide range of subjects (Stevens 1960: 81), Doughtie states that "consort songs that do not take dramatic licence show even more close parallels with the abstract qualities of these verse forms" (Doughtie 1986: 65), observing too that this practice has correspondences with medieval song forms such as psalms and ballads.

The texture of early consort songs is typically contrapuntal, with some later examples having a more homophonic, chordal texture that could conceivably be sung by voices or played on a harpsichord or lute. These later consort songs coincided with a revival of interest in viol playing, around 1600, and together with new consort songs, relatively simple arrangements of lute airs would "continue to appear in manuscripts until the middle of the seventeenth century" (Doughtie 1986: 69), suggesting an extremely broad and long-held appeal. Their broad appeal may also be a factor in their flexibility and adaptability in performance. Elizabeth Kenny (2008) suggests that these tune and bass arrangements need not be viewed as a prescriptive signal of instrumentation, but rather "a summary of the song's essential features" (Kenny 2008: 288); meaning that a rendition of the song could be created by the available musical forces, whatever they may be.

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[12] A couplet comprising a 12 syllable line that rhymes with a 14 syllable line.
[13] A poetic line consisting of 14 syllables

English Madrigals

The madrigal appeared briefly and relatively late in England compared to its Italian forerunner, with about 50 printed editions appearing between 1588 and 1627 ('The English Madrigal', Grove Music Online, Kerman n.d.). It was usually through composed and set to a single verse English sonnet. It would be arranged for three to five voices and exhibited dramatic word painting and affective harmonies.

The response of English composers to this Italian genre was one of "adaptation rather than slavish imitation…The English madrigal, for all its foreign antecedents, developed as a truly English form" (Duckles 1965: 5). Unlike the Italian original, Greer finds that the English madrigal "was more a musical phenomenon" than literary one[14] concluding that "most English madrigal verse is of slight literary value" (Greer 1992: p.139).

In her study of English madrigals, Megan Kaes Long (2014) concluded that the genre divides into roughly two kinds, largely driven by text affect where light, lively subjects were treated with fast music that is commonly notated in what was then more 'modern' black notes, homophonic texture and diatonic harmonies. Whereas grave subjects were set to slow music in white notation and often with more 'old fashioned' contrapuntal texture and model harmonies (Long 2014: 218). Thomas Morley's preference for texts with lighter themes, where the music becomes the dominant feature, influenced later composers (Doughtie 1986: 102). The themes of the texts treated by Morley were largely conventional pastoral and amatory which "may perhaps make the reader overvalue the novel, the odd, the quirky", occasionally they take a narrative style (Doughtie 1986: 105). Morley's madrigals are of particular interest in the context of Filmer for his use of translations of Italian texts and these will be looked at further in Chapter 2.2.

Lute air

The English lute air resembles the French *air de cour* in many respects but there are some important differences. Denis Stevens (1960) cites a few rare examples of lute song dating from middle of the sixteenth century but dates the period in which they flourished from Dowland's first book of airs published in 1597 (Stevens 1960: 81). Lute airs are commonly strophic settings of a text with multiple verses. The melodic structure of each verse usually falls into two phrases of unequal length, separated by a cadence. Melodic lines are shaped by accent patterns of the text. A bass line provides the foundation of the harmonies, while

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[14] The Italian madrigal had its foundation in a literary movement, where notable poems were set by multiple composers, each trying to outdo the other to evoke the affect of the text.

inner voices generally serve purely as a chord filler rather than having an independent horizontal character. Performance was often flexible, ranging from solo voice and lute (with optional bass viol) to a three or four voice texture and performers could support the thematically varied texts through subtle nuances of musical expression during performance.

The early lute song appeared with lute tablature printed underneath the vocal line and with the three lower vocal parts printed on the facing page, with more and more airs appearing in solo voice version only over time (Stevens 1960: 84). Although this was not a new practice in some parts of continental Europe, Dowland's lute airs featured a deliberately composed accompaniment (Doughtie 1986: 123) – rather than just a tune and chords, so characteristic of the *airs de cour*.

Like the *air de cour*, however, the aesthetic of the English air or lute air "entails variety within a small compass and an opposition between *brevitas* and *multum in parvo*" (Fischlin 1991: 20); the subtly distinct rhetorical notions of either using a minimum of words to express a single idea or, loading a lot of meaning or imagery or both into a short piece. According to Doughtie, the style of the verse in the lute air was often more modern, compared with that used in the consort song, and would have more "literary substance" than the verse used in madrigals (Doughtie 1986: 123). Greer also remarks that the quality of the verse in these airs is higher than that of the English madrigal (Greer 1992: 154).

The subjects treated in the lute air are mostly concerned with love, but can also range from religion to royal flattery as well as occasionally bawdy subjects. Their treatment of love includes both courtly love and a more natural, pastoral love which "tends to be distinctly English rather than Arcadian, and names such as Jamie, Bessy, Kate and Will as well as the eternal Daphnes and Corydons" (Greer 1992: 154). Beyond the Petrarchan subjects of their texts, similarities with the *air de cour* continue as both commonly appear as homophonic settings of strophic texts that also exist in arrangements for solo voice and lute (Doughtie 1986: 124). Plaints, treating pathetic or tragic subjects – after the Italian fashion of the *lamento* – were also common and would feature affective intervals to heighten the expressiveness (Stevens 1960: 85).

Between 1621 and 1650 few printed lute song books appeared. Extant sources of vocal music during this period are almost entirely from manuscript collections. Few of these contain lute tablature and most commonly consist of a melody line and an unfigured bass line. It was during this time that the declamatory song began to appear in England (Duckles 1965: 7). Modelled on the Italian monodies, declamatory songs feature a recitative-like vocal

line, with short repeated notes and affective intervals, over a slow-moving continuo bass. This type of song came into its own in the playhouse where songs could evoke character on contribute to dramatic atmosphere (Greer 1992: 166).

An early precursor to the English declamatory style can be seen in the later airs of Dowland, such as, 'Tell me, true love' from *A Pilgrims Solace* (1612). Despite its strophic form, the setting permits highly expressive delivery of the text. For example, the setting of the fourth line, *In men on earth of women's minds partaking*, illustrated in figure 1.3.1, the striking leaps in the melody line allow for a range of vocal colours to be used for expressive effect as to the changes in rhythmic tempo from a relatively fast first half of the phrase generated by the dotted crochet – quaver figure followed by another separated by a minim compared to a slower second half of the phrase produced by two minims.

Figure 1.3.1 – line four from Tell me, true love *by John Dowland from* A Pilgrimes Solace *(1612)*

In men on earth, or wo- iens minds partaking.

(excerpt from *A Pilgrimes Solace* (London: William Barley, 1612))

Vincent Duckles (1965) suggests the influence of Italian monody was not fully felt in England (or expressed in the English language) until Nicholas Lanier (b.1588 – d.1666) returned from his trips to Mantua, Venice, and Rome, first in 1625 and then again in 1627.[15] Lanier entered royal service as a lutenist in 1610 and was later appointed as the first Master of the King's Music by Charles I in 1625 ('Lanier, Nicholas', Grove Music Online, Spink n.d.). He returned from this second trip in the Spring of 1628 and shortly after this his declamatory *Hero and Leander* appeared – a *drama per musiche* in miniature in which words and music are wedded together.

Stylistic approach to texts and text settings

Just as in other places in Europe during the late sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries, one preoccupation that runs through many of these genres of English secular song was the desire to achieve clear expression of text. English humanists were inspired, as their French counterparts were, by the debates of the Florentine Academicians, as highlighted in Chapter

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[15] Although Italian monody had undoubtedly been heard earlier: Robert Dowland included in *A musical banquet* (1610) Giulio Caccini's *Amarilli mia bella* and *Dovrò dunque morire* illustrative of Italian monody.

1.1, and similarly conducted experiments in adapting classical models of versification to the vernacular language. As well as exhibiting differing forms and textures, the song styles surveyed over the previous pages adopted differing approaches to text and expressing emotion. These song styles are summarised in table 1.3.1.

Table 1.3.1 –Genres of English song in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Genre	Form		Texture		Themes/ Expression
	Strophic	Through composed	Solo voice	Multi-voice	
Part song (mid 16th C)	✓			✓	Varied themes
Consort song (1570s→1620s)	✓		✓ (w viol consort)		Sombre themes; Understated musical expression
Madrigal (1590s)		✓		✓	Dramatic word painting & musical expression
Lute *ayre* (1590s →1650s)	✓		✓ (w lute)	✓	Varied themes, musical sophistication & expression

By the time the Filmer collection appeared, English composers were making an effort to "convey or *represent* human speech under the influence of passion" (Duckles 1965: 6) in their songs, revealing a preference for emotional content and expressive potential of a text over its exclusively literary merits. Duckles goes on to remark, in relation to the poetry for Nicholas Lanier's declamatory song *Hero's complaint to Leander* (c.1628), the mere fact of lacklustre poetry need not result in a failed song (Duckles 1965: 19-20). Duckles also makes the point that "the drama in these eighty lines of comparatively undistinguished verse would not attract more than a passing interest without the added element of Lanier's music. The music provides life to the words, and takes its own life from the words; the two are inextricably bound together" (Duckles 1965: 20). Doughtie, too, suggests that perhaps composers of English airs more often set texts not intended to stand as poems in their own right (Doughtie 1986: 8). Long (2014), similarly, remarks that the English tended to be more concerned with expression of emotion rather than with poetic form – at least in the context of the English madrigal. Although Fischlin (1998) tempers this apparent preference for expressivity by reflecting that "composers of both the music and the poetry of the ayre crafted their works in conformity with the conventional congruities that were seen to exist between the two": namely rhyme/harmony and syllabification/number (Fischlin 1998: 221).

Doughtie adopts the terms 'formal' and 'expressive' to describe what he sees as two different approaches to setting texts: The formal style of text setting closely mirrors the poetic form and metre of the text (Doughtie 1986: 20). While this can have the effect of distancing the audience from the emotion conveyed directly through text, when a text treats brutal or violent subjects this sense of distance can have a powerful aesthetic and emotional effect – the extremes are levelled out into a statement that is reserved and understated and the words shine through on their own. The expressive style of text setting channels musical resources to enhance the emotions conveyed in the text (Doughtie 1986: 21). The expressive approach is "intimate, emotional and dramatic". It focuses the musical resources on bringing the emotions of the text to the fore.

Fischlin, in his 1998 study of the literary characteristics of the texts of English ayres, effectively recognises Doughtie's 'formal' and 'expressive' modes of text setting, but does not make a distinction between them. Instead, Fischlin describes an approach to text setting in which the very observance of textual form enables expression: "the crucial literary elements that define the ayre's lyrics, whether excellent or mediocre, are those elements that facilitate musical setting…[and yet]…the musical adaptation ideally must not limit the expressive potential of the lyrics chosen for setting" (Fischlin 1998: 25). He further adds that it is only through the expressive potential of music that certain passions, otherwise unable to be expressed through language, can be realised: "The consistent recourse to "passion" in the ayres, especially in terms that explicitly point to the failure of language to be commensurate with the source experience itself, suggests an aesthetic in which one's precepts are put "out", something that the ambiguous signifying codes of music reinforce" (Fischlin 1998: 72). So, for Fischlin, full expression can only be achieved through observance of form which enables the musical setting. We will return to this subject in Part two where we will consider what differences exist between Filmer's approach to text setting (albeit via translation) and that exhibited in the French originals.

1.3.2   Cum privilegio: William Stansby and early music printing in London

The printing of secular music in England was comparatively late and slow to develop because it did not attract the guaranteed audience one might expect for sacred music; compared to printing sacred music, secular song printing "was expensive, and not lightly ventured upon" (Maynard 1986: 39). The music-buying public did not immediately turn to printed sources for new music. Indeed they were wary of the new, instead favouring well-known ballads and psalm tunes (Smith 2001: 160), and the enterprising printers of London, no doubt aware of this preference, were cautious about investing in an endeavour with an uncertain return.

Commercial concerns were, however, eventually assuaged and the London trade strove to make up for lost time, printing 42 collections of lute songs (either for solo or multiple voices) between 1596 and 1650 (Spink 1974: 261-64). Although it is noteworthy that this figure still pales in comparison to the 95 publications produced in Paris during the same period.[16]

The printing of music was an expensive exercise, requiring the skills of specialist printers who not only had access to music founts but also had sufficient musical literacy to know how to use them. William Stansby, the London printer whose name is emblazoned on the title page of the Filmer collection, would have been one of a select few London printers capable of producing a work of this kind.

By the early seventeenth century, a patent system had controlled the printing of music by royal assent for over fifty years. From the mid sixteenth century the psalm book patent controlled the printing of psalm books, and from 1575, Elizabeth I bestowed the music patent to control the printing of all other kinds of music. The patent could be awarded to either a printer or to a musician, who would then have to contract the services of a printer to produce the books. This was the case in 1575 with William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, the first holders of the music patent. Neither of these musicians had any experience or expertise in printing. For that they relied on Thomas Vautrollier, who was then in possession of the only fount of music type in Britain (Krummel 1975: 16). But it was not until the death of Vautrollier in 1587, when Thomas East took over as printer for Byrd and Tallis, that print production of English music took off. "East's enthusiasm and drive could be seen to be directly responsible for the flourishing of the English madrigal publications from the late 1580s to the end of the century" (Chan 2002: 128).

The succession of James I after the death of Elizabeth I saw a suspension of monopolies bestowed by patent with a proclamation in May 1603 to suspend "all grants and charters of monopoly" (Krummel 1975: 27). However, this period of liberalization was short lived and before the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century William Barley initiated legal action against other printers producing music, arguing that he was by then the 'rightful' holder the of patent after the death of Thomas Morley (Krummel 1975: 30).

Amost despite the imposition of the patent system, intended to control and limit competition in the print trade, there were a number of printers producing music editions during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in London. Table 1.3.2 sets out music printers and patent holders, what they were permitted to print and when they were

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[16] Based on the chronology of *airs de cour* collections listed in Durosoir (1991).

awarded. As Krummel's (1975) chapter on the subject makes clear, the politics of the music patents is complex, and the following table overlooks much of the intrigue and machinations for the purposes of simply illustrating the approximate number of approved and competent music printers active prior to and at the time that the Filmer collection was produced.

Table 1.3.2 – Music printers and patent holders*

Year	Patent holder –> associate printer (and notable apprentices)	Patent	Comments
1553	William Seres	psalm	
1559	John Day	psalm	
1575	William Byrd and Thomas Tallis –> Thomas Vautrollier (Richard Field; Thomas East)	music	Awarded the music patent for a duration of 21 years (due to expire 1596)
1584	Richard Day –>John Wolfe –> John Windet	psalm	1603 Relinquished the patent
1588	William Byrd and Thomas Tallis –> Thomas East	psalm & music	Active since 1565. 1588 Acquired Vautrollier's music founts; Notable for printing John Dowland
1584	John Wolfe (John Windet)	Psalm & music?	1592 Became 'Printer to the City of London'
1592	John Windet (William Stansby)		1592 Wolfe assigns the printing of psalms to Windet, described as his associate 1600? Became 'Printer to the City of London'
1597	Peter Short	psalm	successor to Seres' patent
1598	Thomas Morley –> William Barley	music	Awarded the music patent for a duration of 21 years (due to expire in 1619)
1602 - 1606	monopoly inactive	music	Morley died in 1602 James I suspends the patent
1606 – 1613/14	William Barley (John Browne; Matthew Lownes; Thomas Snodham)	music	The patent recommences following Barley's successful legal action to reclaim the privilege after Morley's death
1609	William Stansby		1609 Begins printing in his own right 1625 Acquired property of Snodham
1613/14 1614	John Browne (bookseller) Matthew Lownes (bookseller) Thomas Snodham (printer)	music	1613-14 Assumed Barley's privilege; jealously protect the rights it bestows. 1619 Patent expires. No record of renewal
1619	Music patent due to expire, no record of it being renewed		
1629	Stansby prints the Filmer collection		
1641	Music patent system formally abolished, although unsuccessful attempts made in 1660s to re-establish it		

* The content of this table is drawn from Krummel (1975).

Table 1.3.2 shows that the last music patent was issued in 1598 and was valid for a duration of 21 years. By 1629 it would have expired and there is no record of another being issued, suggesting that the conditions for music printing had liberalized. Patents and monopolies notwithstanding, a printer still had to possess, or be able to employ those with, a certain degree of musical literacy in addition to the rights and the material wherewithal to produce a music book. Entry into this skilled workforce would remain tightly controlled until the final abolition of the music patent in 1641.

To illustrate the quality of music printing at the time, Krummel identifies numerous examples of errors in music books, from missing vocal parts (printed by Morley-Barley around 1599) to an erroneous first note in Robert Dowland's *A varietie of Lute Lessons* (printed by Thomas Adams in 1610) (Krummel 1975: 23). The Filmer collection, by contrast has been set with accuracy. Stansby was evidently a skilled and accurate printer, even despite a punishment for bad workmanship he incurred in 1635. Jonathan Le Cocq carried out a close comparison of the airs of the Filmer collection with their French originals (1997: 161-63) and did not detect any errors, although he highlighted deliberate changes to tablature for reasons of style and instrument, for example, the adaptation of an accompaniment from an eight course to a ten course lute.

Books bearing William Stansby's name as printer first appear in 1609, having commenced his training as an apprentice to the printer John Windet in 1590 (Bracken 1985: 215-16). William Stansby died in 1638, although the register of the Stationers Company [17] indicates that Richard Bishop paid £700 for the business some time before that (Hill 1972: 9). Today, William Stansby is most notable as the printer of the first collected works of Ben Jonson in 1616, *Workes of Beniamin Ionson*. Perhaps it was Jonson who suggested Stansby as printer for Filmer's collection?

Given the relative infrequency that music books were printed in London at this time, it has been suggested that it is most likely that the Stationer's Company would have owned sets of music type for recognized music printers to borrow (Hill 1972). Hill points to the use of worn type, resulting in a consistently poor quality of printing observable in almost all English printed music from the early seventeenth century, as indicative both that firms were using the same type sets and that there was a lack of interest in replacing them (Hill 1972: 9-10). Although, Krummel implies that Stansby had his own music set (Krummel 1975: 88).

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[17] Further can be read on this subject in Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: a History, 1403-1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960) and; *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1590-1990*, ed. Robin Meyers and Michael Harris (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1997).

Even though Stansby would have gained experience in printing music when apprenticed to John Windet in the 1590s, he does not appear to have printed a lot of music in his own right, most likely owing to the operation of the patent system at this time. In his review of music printing by Stansby, Cecil Hill (1972) concluded that music represented only a small proportion of Stansby's output, and has identified at least 20 titles for which he had a privilege (Hill 1972: 11-13). Of those, just eight are extant and are listed in table 1.3.3.

Table 1.3.3 – Extant music titles printed by William Stansby

	Composer / Author	Date	Title	Other details*
1	William Corkine	1610	Ayres, / to Sing and Play / to the Lvte and / Basse Violl. / With Pauins Galliards, Almaines, and / Corantos for the Lyra / Viole.	Upright folio x Stationers
2	Various	1611	MELISMATA / Mvsicall / Phansies. / Fitting the Covrt, Citie, and Covntrey / Hvmovrs. / to 3, 4, and 5. Voyces.	Upright quarto ✓ Stationers
3	Sir William Leighton Knight	1614	The Teares or / Lamentacions of / a sorrowfvll / Sovle: / Composed with Musicall Ayres and Songs, both / for Voyces and diuers Instrumentes.	Upright folio x Stationers
4	ED: FILMER, Gent:	1629	FRENCH / Covrt-aires / With their Ditties Englished, / Of foure and fiue Parts.	Upright folio x Stationers
5	Martin Peerson	1630	Mottects / or / Grave Chamber / Mvsique. / Containing Songs of fiue parts of seue- / rail sorts, some ful, some Verse and Chorus.	Upright quarto x Stationers
6	Thomas Morley	1631[18]	Canzonets / or Little Short / Songs to three / Voyces	Upright quarto ✓ Stationers
7	Walter Porter	1632	Madrigales / and / AYRES. / Of two, three, foure and fiue Voy- / ces, with the continued Base, with / Toccatos, Sinfonias and / Rittornelllos to them.	Upright quarto x Stationers
8	Michael East	1638	Bassvs. / the / Seventh Set of / Bookes, / Wherein are Duos for two Base Viols, so composed, though there be but / two parts in the eye, yet there is often / three or foure in the eare.	Upright quarto x Stationers

* 'x Stationers' = the publication was not entered into the Stationer's Guild register
 '✓ Stationers' = the publication was entered into the Stationer's Guild register

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[18] Morley's *Canzonets* was first printed by Thomas Este in 1606, as an assignee of William Barley. Stansby's print, without the original dedication to Lady Mary, the countess of Pembroke, would suggest there was sufficient popular demand for this title to warrant a reprint. Indeed the fact that the publication was entered into the Stationer's Guild register indicates that Stansby believed the title was profitable enough to want to register his interest in it.

This small sample makes it difficult to place the Filmer collection into context with other Stansby publications, and as will be discussed, collections of other 'Englished' tunes were also quite uncommon, limiting even further the opportunities for comparison with similar repertoire. However, a comparison of the extant Stansby music publications held at the British Library indicates that the Filmer collection is printed in a larger paper format (upright folio) than all but one of the books, William Corkine's *Ayres, to sing and play to the lute…*(1610). Like most of the other collections reviewed, it was not entered into the Stationer's Guild register, which could indicate that the Filmer collection was not produced for commercial purposes and, therefore, that Stansby did not anticipate a need to protect his exclusive rights to it from the encroachment of other printers.

The Filmer collection is printed in the 'table layout' format pioneered by John Dowland in this *First Booke of Songes* in 1597 ('John Dowland', Grove Music Online, Holman n.d.). Instead of the use of quarto part-books, common for the *airs de cour* collections printed in France at the time, the 'table layout' was a single folio book with the parts printed around the four edges of the page. Singers in domestic settings could gather around the four sides of a table with the song book opened flat in the middle and read their part the right way up.

Stansby's use of the 'table layout' was a sign of modern printing practice compared to the part-book format which persisted in France, highlighted in the previous chapter. However, the printer of the Filmer collection may not have had the logistics of performance solely in mind, despite the implied practicality of the layout. *He ! bien Ma rebelle/Sayeth! May hard Jewel* (no.17) and *Je voudrois bien o Cloris/Know, my deare Idoll Cloris* (no.18) have both been arranged over two double pages, or four pages in total, with the *superius* accompanied by the lute tablature, and the *quintus* parts for each air appearing on one double spread, and the remaining voice parts for both airs on the following double spread. This approach may have been necessary because of the length of the piece and number of parts but it defeats the purpose of the table layout format as it requires either the purchase of two books or the copying of several parts on to a separate piece of paper in order to view all of the parts at the same time.

In his exploration of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century London book trade, McKenzie (2002) acknowledged that "the economics of [book] production can rarely be exact" because of deficiencies in our knowledge of important factors such as the cost of paper, pricing and edition quantities (McKenzie 2002: 555). Although it may be impossible to know how many copies of the Filmer collection were printed, the need to seek out a specialist printer, the accuracy of the type setting, the choice of large paper size and the arrangement of parts for

some songs suggests that it was produced with prestige rather than economy or practical performance in mind. Despite the expense to which Filmer must have gone, the modern-day scholar should be cautious about overstating the significance of such a print object.

Of course, as modern-day observers of the music of the past we have an unavoidable reliance on printed and manuscript sources to understand a composer's output and the changing of musical tastes. The production of printed music was expensive and required specialist skills and as a result there is a potential to overstate the significance of composers whose work appears in print. A cautionary case in point against this assumption can be found in Kenny (2008), who argues that manuscript songs and play-songs (songs composed for performance as part of theatrical plays) may be a more reliable sign of a composer's contemporary significance and professional success than printed editions. Kenny concludes that "[s]uccess in the theatre led more reliably to the offer of a court post than book dedications" (Kenny 2008: 286). Important people of influence, "potential patrons and potential purchases of other musical services" assembled at the theatre – especially the private theatre (Kenny 2008: 286) and presumably took a greater interest in what happened there than what came off the presses of the London printers.

Kenny compares the professional trajectory of several English composers of the period with their record of producing printed editions and found that composers with few printed publications to their names but who were known to have been active in the theatre succeeded in obtaining positions in aristocratic and even royal households more readily than those whose printed output was higher. For example, in the sphere of printed editions, Philip Rossiter is often viewed as a "somewhat junior partner" to his close contemporary Thomas Campion. However, he was also a "virtuoso player, an inventive composer and equally inventive theatrical entrepreneur" and in 1610 obtained a patent to train the 'Children of the Queen's Revels' while Campion achieved no such conspicuous appointments.

John Danyel (b. 1564–d. after Dec. 1625) produced just one printed collection, in 1606 dedicated to Anne Green whom he had been engaged to teach music. Despite attracting much praise for the quality of the work, it would appear that "as far as he was concerned, it was a one-off", instead valuing his role as a 'player' in the Prince's men at least equally highly. He subsequently obtained several lucrative court posts and patents, entering royal service in 1612 and from 1617 was a musician to Prince Charles, with a salary of £40 per year, and from 1625 among the Lutes and Voices of Charles I. Meanwhile, John Dowland, one of the most important and prolific composers of printed English airs, earned just over £2

per year as one of the musicians of the lute, and after finally obtaining his long sought-after post at the English court in 1612, stopped producing printed editions (Kenny 2008: 286).

The apparently low cachet of the English composers whose work appeared in print stands in stark contrast to the positions occupied by the French composers represented in print in France. The Ballard firm printed the work of the already famous court composers, most notably Pierre Guédron, Anthoine Boesset, Etienne Moulinié, and as observed in Chapter 1.2, those composers whose work or position, or both, did not confirm to the printer's exacting requirements were consigned to obscurity and thereby conserving the tangible link between royal prestige and the printed product. Printed editions in London simply did not carry the same prestige as they did in Paris. It is therefore possible that the dedicatee of the Filmer collection and its intended purchasers did not attach the same level of value to it as the collections of the French originals enjoyed.

1.3.3   Printed and manuscript collections of foreign language songs in England

Among the numerous song collections printed in England, there is only a small number of tunes by foreign composers. These tunes may retain their original texts or they may have had English texts subsequently adapted to them – either based on a translation of the original text or an entirely new, unrelated text fitted to the existing melody. The Filmer collection represents one of the larger collections of this type.

The most well-known collection is Robert Dowland's *A Musicall Banquet*, printed in London for Thomas Adams in 1610. This collection contains three French airs (two by Pierre Guédron, one anonymous) three Spanish airs (all anonymous), and four Italian airs (two by Giulio Caccini, one by Domenico Maria Megli (often spelt Melii) and one anonymous). *A Musicall Banquet* also includes a tune composed by Guillaume Tessier that was originally intended for Ronsard's text '*Le petit enfant amour*'. In *A Musicall Banquet* this tune is set to the text 'In a grove most rich of shade' by Sir Philip Sidney (Maynard 1986: 84 fn.22). Around 1582,[19] the French composer Charles Tessier – who was perhaps father of Guillaume ('Tessier, Guillaume', Grove Music Online, Dobbins n.d.) – arrived in England and in 1597 had produced his *Le Premier Livre de Chansons et Airs de cour tant En françois qu'en Italien & en Gascon a 4 & 5 parties*, printed in London by Thomas East. Tessier dedicated this collection to the Lady Penelope Rich, a skilled musician and the recipient of numerous poems and

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[19] The date is uncertain. See Jeanice Brooks, 'Tessier's Travels in Scotland and England', *Early Music,* 39/2 (2011), 185-94., for a discussion on Tessier's likely movements around England and Scotland.

songs either written for her or about her.[20] If, as Frank Dobbins muses, Tessier hoped be might secure employment in her household as a music tutor, she was evidently not in need of any instruction because no such appointment is known to have been made. But Lady Penelope or her brother Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex may have subsidised the printing of Tessier's collection (Dobbins 2006: xv). Efforts to establish himself in Britain appear, ultimately, to have been unsuccessful because by at least 1603 Tessier had returned to France – perhaps not least due to the fall from grace and execution of the Earl of Essex in 1601.[21]

There exist at least five published collections of vocal music by foreign composers with translated texts, and those that have survived date from the last decades of the sixteenth century. These are Nicholas Yonge's collection of translated Italian madrigals, *Musica Transalpina*, printed by Thomas East in London in 1588; Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished, not to the sense of the original dittie, but after the sense of the note*, also printed by Thomas East in 1590; a second collection under the title *Musica Transalpina* by Yonge from 1597 and once again printed by Thomas East; Thomas Morley's *Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Four Voices*, printed by Peter Short also in 1597; and, Morley's *Madrigals to Five Voices* printed in 1598 by Thomas East. Table 1.3.4 provides a breakdown of the composers presented in these collections. Kerman (1951) observes that taken together, these collections presented 150 Englished madrigals to the music buying public in just a ten year period.

Table 1.3.4 – Collections of Englished madrigals by composer

Year	Collection title (translator/collator)	Composers
1588	*Musica Transalpina* (Nicholas Yonge)	**57 Madrigals** 13 x Luca Marenzio & Alfonso Ferabosco 4 x Giovanni Ferretti & Giovanni Petraloysio Prenestino (more commonly Palestrina) 3 x Gironimo Conversi (more commonly Girolamo) 2 x William Byrd, Baldessar Donato, Noe: Fagnient, Stefano Felis., Orlando di Lasso & Filippo di Montte 1 x Lelio Bertany 1 x Giovanni de Macque

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[20] Lady Penelope is widely believed to have been the muse of poet Sir Philip Sidney. John Coprario (b.1570-80 – d. 1626) dedicated his song cycle *Funeral Teares* (1606) to her and John Dowland's *A Varietie of Lute Lessons* (1612) includes 'My Lady Rich's Galliard'.
[21] Lady Penelope vigorously defended her brother in a letter to Queen Elizabeth I. This intervention was not only unsuccessful but seriously damaged her own position at court (Wall, 2004).

Year	Collection title (translator/collator)	Composers
		1 x Rinaldo del Melle (more commonly, Mel) 1 x Gianetto Palestina(more commonly Palestrina) 1 x Giovan Battista Pinello 1 x Mare' Antonio Pordenone 1 x Cornelio Verdonch (Flemish composer Cornelis Verdonck) 1 x Giaches de Vuert (Franco-Flemish Giaches de Wert)
1590	*Italian Madrigalls Englished, not to the sense of the original dittie, but after the sense of the note* (Thomas Watson)	**28 Madrigals** 23 x Luca Marenzio 2 x William Byrd 1 x Girolano Converso 1 x Giovanni Maria Nanino 1 x Alessandro Striggio
1597	*Musica Transalpina* (Nicholas Yonge)	**24 Madrigals** 6 x Alfonso Ferrabosco 3 x Giovanni Croce 3 x Luca Marenzio 3 x Lucretio Quintiani 2 x Giulio Eremita 2 x Benedetto Palavacino 1 x Antonio Bicci 1 x Andrea Feliciane 1 x Giovanni Maria Nanino 1 x Horatio Vecchi 1 x Stephano Veturi
1597	*Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Four Voices* (Thomas Morley)	**21 Madrigals** 6 x Felice Anerio 5 x Giovanni Croce 3 x Horacio Vecchi 3 x Bassano 2 x Thomas Morley 1 x Viadano
1598	*Madrigals to Five Voices* (Thomas Morley)	**24 Madrigals** 5 x Alfonso Ferrabosco 4 x Rugiero Giovannelli 3 x Giovanni Feretti 2 x Peter Phillips 2 x Horazio Vecchi 1 x Giulio Belli 1 x Giovanni di Macque 1 x Luca Marenzio 1 x Thomas Morley 1 x Battista Mosto 1 x Alessandro Orologio 1 x Hippolito Sabino 1 x Stephano Venturi

Nicholas Yonge (b.? – d.1619) was a singer at St Paul's cathedral between 1594 and 1618 and published two collections of Italian madrigals in 1588 and 1597 ('Younge, Nicholas',Grove Music Online, Brown n.d.). Yonge dedicated his 1588 collection to the right honourable Gilbert, Lord Talbot (b.1552 – d.1616), who would become the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury. Shrewsbury was a patron of the arts and among other activities provided the necessary patronage and protection to a theatre company named after him (Parry 2002: 126). The collection contains thirteen pieces each by Alfonso Ferrabosco and Luca Marenzio, six by Palestrina and one by William Byrd, in the Italian style. In a brief preface, Yonge explains that he collated and published this collection of translations by "diverse excellent authors" in part to sate the appetites of "men delighted with varietie" but also to bring the music of the Italian madrigals to the attention of those who did not speak the language because, "they doe either not sing them at all, or at the least with litle delight."

Thomas Watson (b. c.1556 – d.1592) was a poet and translator who published his own translations of 23 Italian madrigals by Luca Marenzio in 1590. Watson dedicated his collection to the "most esteemed and honourable, Lord Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex." As he states in the title of his collection, Watson did not necessarily attempt to retain the "sense of the original dittie" but rather he set out to match his texts to the "sense of the note." Given this apparent emphasis on the music, it is noteworthy that Kerman (1951) concludes that Watson must have been an amateur musician, or at least not as familiar with Italian repertoire as Yonge – the purported professional singer. Kerman argues that Watson relied on only three of the most famous collections of Italian madrigals to source material for his collection while Yonge referred to ten, and that he did not include the "musicians musician" Ferrabosco among the composers represented (Kerman 1951: 129) to make his point that Watson was an amateur.

Thomas Morley's (b. 1557/58 – d. 1602) printed output commenced relatively late in his life with the first of his eleven publications appearing in 1593. Among them are two collections of madrigals that feature a large number of works by Italian composers to which he supplied Englished texts. *Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Four Voices* was printed in 1597 and dedicated to Sir George Carey, Knight-Marshall of her Majesty's household, among other titles.[22] Morley's canzonets are densely and expansively contrapuntal and bear little resemblance to their Italian counterparts. They have been criticised for pushing too far

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[22] In the same year John Dowland dedicated his first book of airs to Sir George Carey, describing him as the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's house. Diana Poulton suggests Dowland may have served in Carey's household (Poulton 1972: 49).

"what is ideally a pithy, epigrammatic style" ('Morley, Thomas', Grove Music Online, Brett and Murray n.d.).

This small number of surviving examples of foreign language song in print suggests only a limited interest among consumers. Although Scott notes that Yonge's 1588 publication is well printed with few errors and enjoyed two editions, suggesting that it met with some degree of popular success (Scott 1975: 876) and Doughtie too suggests that Yonge, Watson and Morley could have been inspired by the promise of commercial gain (Doughtie 1986: 99). Kerman gently suggests that it may not be coincidental that the publications by Watson and Yonge prominently feature a reference to pieces by William Byrd who was at that time holder of the monopoly patent for printing music (Kerman 1951: 130). Chan highlights that "in England, the market [for music books] was, as a consequence of its smallness, far more closely tied to the practices of particular individuals or groups of performers" (Chan 2002: 129). She cites the publications by Watson and Yonge as examples of idiosyncratic work motivated by individual interest rather than the likelihood that they held any popular appeal. This observation could equally apply to the Filmer collection, leading further towards the conclusion that it was likely to have been of marginal interest to the music-buying populace.

Manuscript collections

At this time when music printing was an expensive exercise, requiring the skills of specialist typesetters, it is not unsurprising to find unusual repertoire, not likely to have broad popular appeal – perhaps including songs in languages other than English –, being circulated by manuscript for a select audience (Chan 2002: 127). Indeed, sources from the Filmer family's own library attests to the practice of sharing music in this way. Their collection of manuscripts dating from late in the reign of Elizabeth I include part songs by Ferrabosco, as well as "motets, madrigals, and chansons by Lasso, Marenzio, de Monte, Palestrina, Wert and other continental musicians" (Ford 1978: 816).

Manuscript sources of French *airs de cour* from around the time of the Filmer collection, however, are not numerous. From the Filmer family library, French airs, some by Lully but most anonymous, only appear in a later manuscript dating from at least 1679 (RISM 900001449) and therefore cannot be associated with Edward Filmer or his collection. A search of the RISM database has revealed only one manuscript collection,[23] dated c.1620, which contains 25 airs with French titles, shown in table 1.3.5. The provenance is unknown.

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[23] Held at the British Library (shelf mark: Add MS 17991; RISM 806490223).

The RISM database describes these airs as French drinking songs. All but one are listed as anonymous, however, three are in fact by Pierre Guédron and two of these appear in the Filmer collection, shown in bold in the table below.

Table 1.3.5 – anonymous English manuscript music collection c.1620

Manuscript music, untitled RISM ID no.: 806490223
1.   **Anonymus: C'est trop courir les eaux; D minor** [Guédron]
2.   Anonymus: Entre les roses et les soucis; G minor
3.   Anonymus: C'est Anne si belle [Guédron]
4.   Anonymus: Permettez-moi de mourir; D minor
5.   Anonymus: Source de mes langueurs; A minor
6.   Anonymus: Apprenez o beaux yeux; C major
7.   Anonymus: Puisque par vos beautés; C major
8.   Anonymus: Absent de vous; C major
9.   Anonymus: Dieux que d'aimables attraits; C major
10.   Anonymus: Me veux tu voir mourir; D minor
11.   Anonymus: Beauté qui me voyez mourant; C major
12.   Anonymus: O sort que je me plains; G minor
13.   Anonymus: Je fuis vôtre beauté; D minor
14.   Anonymus: Ne veux tu pas t'arrêter; F major
15.   Anonymus: À peine vois-je personne; G minor
16.   Anonymus: Un jour étant joyeux; C major
17.   Anonymus: Beaux yeux doux tyrans; D minor
18.   Anonymus: Chère Phillis qui vous oblige; G minor
19.   Anonymus: Brûlez sans cesse pour vos charmes; G minor
20.   Anonymus: Petit enfant; G minor
21.   **Anonymus: Enfin la voyci; A minor** [Guédron]
22.   Anonymus: Jeunes tyrans; A minor
23.   Anonymus: Ruisseaux pleins de malheurs; C major
24.   Anonymus: Cruel honneur qui m'oblige à partir; D minor
25.   Campis, Pierre de: Chansons

My searches have not revealed any manuscripts that contain airs attributed to any of the most important composers of French *airs de cour*, chiefly Pierre Guédron, Anthoine Boesset and Etienne Moulinié. While conclusions based on an absence of results must always be cautiously drawn, it would appear to be reasonable to conclude that the Filmer collection is unusual among printed and manuscript collections.

That it is also likely to have attracted limited public interest does then beg further questions about Filmer's motivations to produce his collection. An exploration of the people whose names also appear in the collection may shed further light on the circumstances leading to its publication.

1.4 – *Being now Naturaliz'd for her owne Subjects:* Filmer's motivations and his selection of airs

Edward Filmer's aspirations for his eccentric collection can only be wondered at when perusing the other names that appear alongside his in the prefatory material. Among those named are its dedicatee, Queen Henrietta Maria and, the elderly Ben Jonson.[24] Filmer describes his gesture to the Queen as his "first court-sute [sic]" suggesting that, at 40 years of age, he was a relative new-comer to the art of making an impression at court. The court was a place where every gesture meant something to someone. In such a context, Filmer himself and the notable people he chose to associate with are of interest for understanding the motivations behind his collection. Filmer's preface and his selection of airs must also be closely scrutinized for what they may reveal about his intentions.

In this chapter, I will piece together Edward Filmer's family and social circles to shed light on the social or political factors that may have been an influence on him. I survey Filmer's selection of airs for his collection to ascertain whether the broader context of their composition may have furthered, or perhaps even thwarted, his attempts to flatter the Queen. Finally, I will examine the lengthy preface to the collection and what Filmer himself says about the collection with the aim of understanding his motivations behind it.

1.4.1 – Edward Filmer: an aspirant of favour

The court operated on a system of exchange and allegiance. A courtier would offer service and loyalty to a powerful noble or member of the royal family, in exchange for material or social favour. In previous centuries such a gesture could be made through physical feats on the battle field or by one's ability to raise an army. From the time of the court of Elizabeth I, however, performance in the social environment of court – participation in witty informed conversation and the effortless carriage of oneself in society – was more highly prized than physical or martial prowess (Whigham 1983: 626-30). Aspirants of favour were using their literary talents – "well-turned sonnets, graceful compliments and effusive book-dedications" (Bates 2002: 346) – to distinguish themselves and proclaim steadfast loyalty to their important superiors.

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[24] Ben Jonson was the author of some 30 courtly entertainments, and the first royal poet laureate in all but name. Although John Dryden was the first to hold the then newly created position of Poet Laureate in 1668, in February 1616, James I granted Ben Jonson a pension of 100 marks per year "in consideration of the good and acceptable service done and to be done" (Donaldson 2011, p.322), effectively establishing the role.

It was in this atmosphere of flattery and favour, Perry argues, that court culture and patronage "shaped literary production" and that to understand these products one needs to understand the social situation that inspired its creation (Perry 2002: 13). We may never be able to know what, if anything specfically, Filmer was hoping for in return for his public offering to Henrietta Maria, but following Perry's example, an exploration of Edward Filmer and his family's position in English society may provide some insight into his motivations. Similarly, an understanding of Henrietta Maria herself and her court will help shed light on how she may have received Filmer's gesture of a collection of Englished *airs de cour*.

The dedicatee: Henrietta Maria

Filmer's dedication to Henrietta Maria is a bold declaration of loyalty to the nineteen-year-old queen of England who, by 1629, had been in England for just four years. Henrietta Maria's early years in England had not been easy, either personally or politically. Even before they were married, the impending union of Charles and Henrietta Maria provided yet another flash-point for political and religious tensions between protestant England and Catholic France and Spain. James I had initially pursued a union between his son Charles and Spain in an attempt to end the Thirty Years War. These negotiations had included concessions for Catholics in England as well as the restriction of some Puritan activity, much to the displeasure of some English Protestants. The so called Spanish match was eventually abandoned, when it became apparent that it would not achieve the desired political outcomes for either party,[25] and the English subsequently set their sights on a match with France.

The marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria was founded on no less fraught negotiations of religious toleration for English Catholics and French support for England over continued hostilities with other European sovereigns. The French marriage negotiators insisted that the religious concessions obtained from the Spanish negotiations be retained. The English agreed but, crucially, required that this agreement remain in secret articles, aware that if these concessions became widely known (which they inevitably did) they would antagonise Protestant groups whose support of the English crown was needed to

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[25] The conventional reason cited for the abandonment of the Spanish Match occurred when it became apparent to Charles that the Spanish believed he would convert to Catholicism and extend greater toleration for Catholics in England – terms that he, and certainly the English Parliament, would not accept. However, Pursell (2002) has argued that the match was abandoned due to Charles' belief that it would not assist with the restoration of his brother-in-law, Friedrich V the Elector of Palatine to the crown of Bohemia. Following a failed up-rising in Bohemia, Friedrich and Charles' sister Elizabeth Stuart had had to seek refuge in The Hague, at which time the Spanish took over these lands in Germany and Upper and Lower Palatine.

finance costly martial exploits. By the end of the negotiations, "the French believed they had obtained the suspension of penal laws and sought to use this victory to win credit in Rome and among English Catholics" (Smuts 2008: 13-15). Once they were finally married, however, and after initial good impressions, the relationship between Charles and Henrietta Maria faltered during their early years together, and English parliamentarian's suspicions festered over the presence of a Catholic Queen – and sister to the French King no less.

Soon after their arrival in England in 1625, Henrietta Maria and her household of French political and religious advisers found themselves at the centre of an impossible tussle of domestic and international interests revolving around the activities of the King's favourite George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham. On the one hand was a long-running dispute between Buckingham and the largely Protestant parliamentarians. They had been opposed to Buckingham's past exploits (including his suspected Spanish sympathies, and his role in agreeing to concessions for the French as part of the negotiations for the marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria), they were hostile towards his recent activities (he was widely viewed as being responsible for English defeats at Cádiz and Rhé (Donaldson 2011: 401)), and were also suspicious of his plans for the future (there were persistent fears of a resurgence of Catholicism in England). Smuts cites reports from the Queen's almoner, Bishop Mende, that in August 1625 Buckingham had met with Parliamentary leaders and, in an attempt to deflect attention away from suspicions surrounding his handling of funds intended for the royal fleet, offered to "'chase the French [out of England] and renew persecution of Catholics'" (quoted in Smuts (2008), p.16). The primary target of such action was, of course, understood to be Henrietta Maria's French attendants. Of Buckingham, Bishop Mende concluded that "'we have no worse enemy'" (Smuts 2008: 17).

On the other hand, the French court believed that in order to pursue its interests in England Henrietta Maria's court would have to keep Buckingham on side; so much so that Louis XIII wrote to Mende in September 1625 stating that "'one of the principal affairs is to consider by what means one can oblige the Duke'" (Smuts 2008: 17). These tensions finally came to a head in August 1626 when Charles ordered Buckingham to drive many of the Queen's trusted French advisers and household staff back to France in the belief that they held undue influence over her. Charles invited Buckingham to install his own wife, mother and several members of his wider circle, including his mistress, Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, in the Queen's household as replacements, to make sure that "her political network largely overlapped his own" (Smuts 2008: 19).

Into this mix of competing interests Henrietta Maria also had to reconcile the counsel from her mother and no less than the Pope who, before her leaving for England had instructed her to remain true to her Catholic faith while also being a faithful wife to her Protestant husband and King (Smuts 2008: 15). Britland (2006) provides a translation of a letter that Marie de Medici wrote to her daughter prior to her departure: *"It's one of God's plans for you. [He] wants to make you another Bertha[26] in our time. [She was] a daughter of France like you, and queen of England like you, and through her holy life and her prayers, obtained the gift of faith for her husband and for his Island into which you are about to enter"* (Britland 2006: 52).

Forever on show: a court performer

Aside from her mere presence and confessional status, Henrietta Maria would further disconcert her new court by her actions, in particular through her use of public performance and courtly entertainment to control her environment and pursue her own agenda. From her very first night in England, Britland (2006) recounts an incident that illustrates how Henrietta Maria chose consciously to distance herself from the English (protestant) people she was to live amongst. The English court had assembled at Dover to welcome Henrietta Maria and celebrate her safe arrival in England after a rough crossing of the channel. The evening's entertainment included dancing, but in which Henrietta Maria would not participate, instead withdrawing to a private room where she was later observed, by Charles himself, to be dancing with her attendants, away from the rest of the court. Britland characterises this episode as "a definite attempt by both her French attendants, and the queen consort herself, to maintain her religious and national integrity, and this is achieved through a policy of non-participation" (Britland 2006: 31). In a similar vein, Henrietta Maria would not participate in Charles' protestant coronation ceremony (Britland 2006: 37) and she would often simply not speak to people and when she did it would not be in English.

Just as her refusal to perform when expected was laden with meaning, so too were Henrietta Maria's acts of performance (Smuts 2008: 21) which she used as an opportunity to further project the principles and attributes she valued most.

Henrietta Maria's first theatrical courtly performance in England was as Artenice in the pastoral romance, *Les Bergeries* by Honarat de Bueil, seigneur de Racan, staged in February 1626. The primary purpose of the production was to celebrate the love and fidelity shared

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[26] Like Henrietta Maria, Bertha was also a French princess, who married an English King. In the sixth century, Bertha became Queen of Kent – before England had a single monarch – and converted her husband, King Ethelbert to Christianity.

by the new royal couple (Britland 2006: 48) and also to suggest the journey of the Queen's court from France "to its present location at the feet of the English king", which it did with the help of a clever system of shutters, designed by Inigo Jones, seamlessly changing the painted backdrop from a bucolic French village to the finery of Somerset House and the Thames (Britland 2006: 42). Yet, the symbolism of the young French Catholic embodying "the figure of a woman who turned from a cloistered life to follow her vocation in the world" (Britland 2006: 52) cannot have been lost on Protestant Caroline court.

Another significant example of courtly performance was the masque *Tempe Restored*.[27] This piece is widely recognised for being the first time women's voices were used in a court masque and as such has been the subject of multiple modern studies.[28] These draw out the complex layers of meaning attendant on the performance of a significant public figure like Henrietta Maria. The piece comprised an anti-masque in which Circe, sung by a Madame Coniack,[29] was variously thrown into a wild temper and desperate lament upon the discovery that her lover, whom Circe put under a spell and held against his will, had escaped from her palace. Circe's courtiers, an assemblage of beasts, then performed a series of dances in grotesque imitation of the ordered and refined courtly dance so often performed by their noble audience. The disorderly display in the antimasque contrasted with the masque proper which began with the character of Harmony, sung by a Mistress Shepherd, whose song ushered in Divine Beauty, danced by Henrietta Maria. Divine Beauty made her entrance from above the stage, descending in a golden chariot, and proceeded to lead a dance of noble and ordered refinement surrounded by her attendants.

In her 2003 article on Henrietta Maria's performance in *Tempe Restored*, Melinda Gough reflects on the history and norms of women's participation in courtly theatrical performance. In particular, Gough counters the view that Henrietta Maria's notions of performance propriety, founded on the supposed norms of the French court, were more liberal than those she encountered at the English court. Gough observes that restrictions on

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[27] Performed on 14 February 1632 at the Banqueting House at Whitehall, *Tempe Restored* was the second of two large-scale masques performed during that winter season. Although the music is lost, it is thought to have been composed by Nicholas Lanier (Tomlinson 2005, n.18, 54).

[28] Melinda Gough (2003), ' "Not as myself: the Queen's voice in *Tempe Restored*', *Modern Philology*, 101(1), 48-67; Sophie Tomlinson (2005), *Women on Stage in Stuart Drama* (New York: Cambridge University Press); Karen Britland (2006), *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

[29] Thought to be a professional French singer from Henrietta Maria's own chapel, the identity of Madame Coniack and her exact role or relationship to Henrietta Maria is disputed. Booth (1997) first posited Madame Coniack as a chapel singer. More recently, Britland (2006) instead suggests that she was one Elizabeth Coignet, one of Henrietta Maria's ladies, who accompanied her to chapel and sung with her during services.

speech and song in the French *ballet de cour* were as restrictive towards class and gender as those prevalent in England, noting that "typically royal and aristocratic men, too, neither sang nor spoke in court ballets…the genre was designed, above all, to display royal magnificence in dancing, an art form unto itself" (Gough 2003: 60). At the time when Henrietta Maria arrived in England it was accepted that women would participate in the stately main dances of the English court masque, but never in more active dances and certainly never took a role, spoken or sung (Gough 2003: 50). For Gough, the real innovation of *Tempe Restored* is to be found in the relationship between the voiced role of Harmony and the silent role, of Divine Beauty, danced by Henrietta Maria. Harmony enters, singing the words 'Not as myself, but as the brightest star…', heralding the entrance of the Queen from above in the role of Divine Beauty, Gough suggests that through the voice of Harmony "the voice of an otherwise silent queen was heard—in another woman's song" (Gough 2003: 59); that the character of Harmony is actually the 'ventriloquised' Queen's voice (Gough 2003: 61).

Sophie Tomlinson (2005) places Henrietta Maria's theatrical activity on a continuum "of authoritative female self-fashioners" (Tomlinson 2005: 5) that include Queens Elizabeth I and Anna of Denmark (married to James I and VI), play-wright Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, and poet Katherine Philips who followed after the restoration. Elizabeth I recognised that as Queen she was an actor playing a part for 'all the world to see', although even she "was not immune from moralistic prohibitions on women's self-display" (Tomlinson 2005: 5). Tomlinson argues, however, that it was Elizabeth's status as an unmarried monarch that protected her performance from attracting the criticism that would be later levelled at Queen Anna of Denmark.

As a royal spouse, Anna's physical acts of self-assertion and realisation were interpreted as direct challenges to the accepted position of the wife's body as "subordinate to her husband's head" (Tomlinson 2005: 3). Although this disapproval did not prevent Anna from participating in at least eight court masques between 1603 and 1611. One such performance was the *Masque of Queens* by Ben Jonson in 1609 in which Anna and her ladies-in-waiting portrayed an army of noble, heroic queens who silently enter to triumphant cornets in an orderly dance, in distinct contrast to the earlier appearance of a band of witches, whose "copious physicality" and "disorderly sound" was played by professional male actors in drag (Tomlinson 2005: 32). Tomlinson states that Jonson "deals a presumptive blow to those detractors disposed to seeing female performance as inherently infamous" by presenting

the grotesque female form portrayed by men and the noble heroism that only a true woman was capable of (Tomlinson 2005: 31).

If Queen Anna went some way towards legitimising the female body in performance, Henrietta Maria did so for the female voice – most particularly in *Tempe Restored*. Like Gough, Tomlinson similarly identfied Harmony as the implied voice of the queen (Tomlinson 2005: 52) but singles out an incident between Circe and the warrior goddess Pallas – in the masque sung by a tenor or countertenor in drag – as "an unprecedented moment in masquing history". After a heated exchange between the characters, Circe rebukes Pallas with the command: 'Man-maid begone'. In this moment Circe not only "asserts herself as an actress and female performer" over a male performer, she also "distinguishes herself from the ambiguously gendered transvestite actor and singer. Her proud femininity reveals this masculine Pallas as a fraud" (Tomlinson 2005: 57).

In a further reading of the political intentions of *Tempe Restored*, Britland (2006) argues that the main objection at the time to Henrietta Maria's performance had more to do with the perceived impropriety of the *queen*, rather than 'simply a woman', being engaged in such a production (Britland 2006: 46). To emphasise her point Britland posits that Madame Coniack and Mistress Shepherd – the two lead performers in the piece – were not professional singers, "but in fact a gentlewoman and a child" (Britland 2006: 98). Britland interprets *Tempe Restored* as engaging "with the limits of *permitted* female performance" (Britland 2006: 98). Henrietta Maria used this court performance to engage with European politics, "…a means of promoting women as the instigators of social harmony conceived along Catholic lines…Henrietta Maria's Divine Beauty was to show them how to lead their lovers towards goodness" (Britland, p.110). As such Henrietta Maria and her husband were represented a "facilitators of harmony, both nationally and internationally" in a conflict involving her French relations and Spain (Britland 2006: 105).

Britland suggests that Henrietta Maria's early performances at court were a strategic attempt "to attract like-minded courtiers to her side to fill the void left by the departed French" (Britland 2006: 36). The complex web of meanings attendant on Henrietta Maria's performance – as illustrated by the multiple readings by Gough, Tomlinson and Britland – suggests that she would have carefully considered what every act of performance might communicate and to whom she was attempting to communicate.

Increasing self-assurance and influence

The removal of Henrietta Maria's French attendants in 1626 at the instance of Charles represented a golden opportunity for those eager to find openings to influential or valuable court positions. While Buckingham took full advantage of the situation, as much to gain control as influence over the Queen and her court, the addition of his mistress Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, to Henrietta Maria's household may have had unintended consequences.

Malcolm Smuts (2008) touches on the relationship that developed between Lady Carlisle and Henrietta Maria and the influence she may have had in developing greater self-assurance and independence in the young Queen. With Lady Carlisle, Henrietta Maria attended private suppers with women outside of the favourite's network and control and from which the Duke's wife and sister were also excluded (Smuts 2008: 19). Lady Carlisle was renowned for her "sharp wit and skill in collecting male admirers through whom she wielded political influence", making her "the ideal person to teach the young queen how women might attain power and influence in English court society" (Smuts 2008: 20).

From around 1628 Henrietta Maria's relationship with her husband also began gradually to improve and with it her position of influence and growing power. In August of that year, Buckingham's enemies finally chose to take decisive action against him and Buckingham was assassinated. The King turned to Henrietta Maria for consolation after the death of his favourite, although Smuts suggests their relationship had begun to improve earlier in the year – indeed, she became pregnant sometime after June 1628 although the baby would be born prematurely in March the following year – and the outward signs of the King's regard and Henrietta Maria's "wifely devotion and fecundity" in turn "increased her potential influence, especially as a broker for others seeking royal access and favour" (Smuts 2008: 20).

Hibbard (2000) similarly attempts to trace Henrietta Maria's transition from a distrusted, marginalised young foreign queen to the centre of power and attention at the English court. Hibbard places less emphasis on the removal of Buckingham than on the removal of Henrietta Maria's French attendants, which she concludes "was almost certainly a necessity" (Hibbard 2000: 28), for her ultimately successful acceptance into the sphere of influence around her husband's court. The question of who would fill the void left by the departed French was an important one: perhaps Filmer believed there was a place for him.

The gift of a collection of *airs de cour* would appear to be a well-chosen one. It is likely that Henrietta Maria was familiar with the airs in the Filmer collection, or at least airs very like them, from the time she spent at the court of her brother, Louis XIII, prior to her arrival in England. We know few details of Henrietta Maria's early education (Hibbard 2008: 116). What is known, however, is that she was educated in music – in particular singing – dancing, riding, courteous speech and manners, religious observation and discrimination in the visual arts, and reading and writing (in French only) but it would seem not much other book learning. Hibbard suggests we can infer the rest of Henrietta Maria's preparation for her future role in life from the activities of her mother, Marie de Medici who was a great patron of the arts and instilled in Henrietta Maria "firm ideas about how a court should function and be housed" (Hibbard 2008: 117).

Henrietta Maria had spent most of her early years and received her formal education at St Germain, before taking up residence at the court of Louis XIII in Paris in 1622. On 5 March 1623 Henrietta Maria performed in the ballet *Le Grand Ballet de la Reyne, représentant les fêtes de Junon la Nopcière*. Charles I, travelling back from the unsuccessful negotiations of the Spanish Match, was present for this performance and it was the occasion of their first meeting and falling in love, or so the apocryphal tale goes (Mattia 2007: 40-45). Henrietta Maria is also believed to have performed in another ballet in February 1624, the *Ballet de la Reyne danse par les Nymphes des Jardins* when the English ambassador-extraordinary Henry Rich, Lord Kensington charged with "sounding out" a match between Henrietta Maria and Charles I, was present (Gough 2002). Lord Kensington would later write to the Duke of Buckingham and Charles himself about Henrietta Maria's appearance and grace while dancing during this performance (Gough 2002: 438-9).

In his dedication to her, Filmer suggests that Henrietta Maria is familiar with the works in the collection: "…*to preserve them in their first Degree and Safetie, I have thought meet to Arme them with the Majesticke Patronage of a Queene of their former Acquaintance*…". The music of two important court composers is represented in the Filmer collection, Pierre Guédron and Anthoine Boesset. We know Henrietta Maria would have had a "former acquaintance" with Boesset's music, as he composed the music for two of the ballets she performed in in 1623 and 1624 (Durosoir 1991: 243-44). It seems likely that she would also have been familiar with the work of Guédron, given his earlier prominence at court and her involvement in the musical activity of court.

Henrietta Maria's active participation in the *ballets de cour* may explain Filmer's choice of material, a collection of *airs de cour*, to dedicate to the Queen, rather than say, translations of French poetry on their own. However, the motivation behind Filmer's choice of dedicatee is less apparent. Was Filmer known to Henrietta Maria? Was he trying to gain attention and favour? Had he already received notice and was making the gesture of the dedication to the Queen out of gratitude? Gesa Steadman (2013) cautions us against assuming too much from a dedication, as these are "notoriously unreliable indications of patronage since many writers hope for patronage by dedicating their works to noble persons, rather than actually receiving any" (Steadman 2013: 34). We should not therefore suppose that Filmer's dedication to Henrietta Maria is an indication that any patronage had been received or that there was necessarily a reasonable hope that any patronage would be forthcoming.

The Filmer collection would also appear to be unusual among the other dedications Henrietta Maria received. Steadman observes that of the nineteen book dedications Henrietta Maria received during her life, the majority are contained in books that are either devotional or practical in nature, such as on language or gardening, or "concentrate on religious themes, most notably of Catholic interest" (Steadman 2013: 34). Perhaps Filmer wished to identify himself as one of Britland's 'like-minded' courtiers ever at her majesty's service but we certainly cannot assume he had already come to the notice of the Queen.

"This my first Court-sute"

A close inspection of the dedication may suggest plausible explanations for some of the questions about Filmer's motivations but definitive answers are impossible to find.

Transcription of the dedication to Henrietta Maria from the Filmer collection

<div align="center">

TO THE QUEENE.

</div>

MADAME,

Out of a civill regard and speciall care not to wrong Strangers, I have attempted to furnish these Forraine Compositions with a fortune equall to what they had at Home. Courtiers they were borne, (as being begot of purpose to serve in those Chambers where your Majestie had your high Beginning) and, in that Quality, have bee'n committed, by their first Publishers, to the Tutelarie Shadow of the most Crowned Branches of your thrice-Christian Stemme. My wishes are that they should not suffer in their Condition by means of my good Opinion of them, which hath made mee Studie to make them Denisons of mine owne Countrie. And therefore, to preserve them in their first Degree

*and Safetie, I have thought meet[30] to Arme them with the
Majesticke Patronage of a Queene of their former Acquaintance,
and of a fortune somewhat resembling their owne; who having
nobly Favoured them in the time of their greatest Securitie
amongst their Naturall and Potent friends at home, will, as is
humbly hoped, resolutely undertake to Protect them now, in the
time of Need, from the Affronts and Dangers incident to the life
of Aliens, and vouchsafe them (being now as it were Naturaliz'd
for her owne Subjects, and taught the Language wherein by her
nearest People shee is pray'd for) a more Princely measure of
Countenance and Affection, then formerly, when shee could not
call them hers by so Soveraine an interest. Heerein, Sacred Lady,
if it may please you, in their behalf, to Seale with an indulgent
Eye the Grant of this my first Court-sute,[31] they shall bee so farre
from needing to envie the Domesticke Estate of their more
incommunicable Kindred left behind them, that rather it may bee
presaged that the fame of their new happinesse here abroad,
will awake and stirre up some of the great Remnant of their
Courtly Race to crave the Conduct of some second and more able
Guide to put them in the way for the like Outlandish[32] Adventure.
This, and greater Miracles, your Grace may easily effect with the
leaste Musicall Honour daigned at any time by your
incomparable Voice unto these your first-Devoted. The most
harmonious Rectour[33] of the immortall Quire[34] instruct and
perfit[35] your Highnesse for the bearing of a Celestiall Part in the
everlasting Hallelu-I A H. So prayeth,*

Madame
YOUR MAJESTIES,
Thrice-humbled, and thrice-obedient
Subject
EDWARD FILMER

In her anthology of Elizabethan dedications and prefaces, Clara Gebert (1933) noted the use
of conventional language used to express the author's humility and to flatter the dedicatee.
She adds that while often effusive, these sentiments were "commonly received as given,
lightly and conventionally" (Gebert 1933: 15). In his dedication to Henrietta Maria, Filmer
adopts a similarly conventional mode of humility and flattery. Filmer makes his humble
approach to Henrietta Maria "*Out of a civill regard and speciall care not to wrong Strangers*".

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[30] *meet* – OED: "In a meet, fit, or proper manner". *I thought it proper to arm them with royal
patronage…*
[31] *first Court-sute* – not an exact match in OED but this seems to come close: "attendance at court and
personal service…due from a tenant to his lord".
[32] *Outlandish* – OED: "Of or belonging to a foreign country; foreign, alien; not native or indigenous."
[33] *Rectour* – OED: "A leader of a choir."
[34] *Quire* – OED: choir
[35] *perfit* – OED: "To make perfect or faultless; to bring to perfection. Also in weakened sense: to bring
nearer to perfection, to improve".

He self-deprecatingly hopes that the airs "*should not suffer in their Condition by means of my good Opinion of them*". Filmer notes Henrietta Maria's "high beginnings" at the French royal court and his belief that she can effect miracles "*with the leaste Musicall Honour daigned at any time by your incomparable Voice*". Filmer finally declares his position on the divine rights of kings: "*the Tutelarie[36] Shadow of the most Crowned Branches of your thrice-Christian Stemme*" and later referring to her as a "Sacred Lady".

In addition to conventional expressions of humility and flattery Gebert (1933) observed that dedications were often accompanied by statements of gratitude towards the dedicatee. Filmer's dedication to Henrietta Maria is revealing because it does not contain such declarations. Their absence would suggest that he did not produce his collection in return for any particular favour already received from Henrietta Maria or her court but was perhaps hoping for such a favour in the future. This supposition is supported by a line from one of Filmer's own texts. Verse 9 of *Why, alas cri'ed out my mother* (no.8) suggests – using the author's own capitalisations – the presence of a hitherto silent devotee:

> *Thus, though wall'd from Sea of pleasure,*
> *Yet this small Current through the sluce doth crown'd*
> *That MY AFFECTIONS TONGUED MEASURE*
> *IN SILENCE SPEAKES ALOWD.*

Gebert goes on to argue that by the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a growing reaction against this practice of hyperbolic flattery (Gebert 1933: 17). However, she does not suggest there was any such movement against the practice of effusive expressions of gratitude towards a benevolent benefactor. Filmer's dedication to Henrietta Maria, exuding conventional forms of flattery may, ultimately, have sounded hopelessly anachronistic at least to the English members of Henrietta Maria's court. And it could be assumed that any such impressions would have been conveyed to the Queen.

Filmer also draws particular attention to the foreignness of the airs and Henrietta Maria's foreignness, by establishing a parallel between the French *airs de cour* that he has Englished and Henrietta Maria: the French princess who is now Queen of England. He expresses the wish that the *air de cour*, "these Forraine Compositions", and by extension Henrietta Maria herself, will be received in England with the same fortune they enjoyed at home. In what becomes a somewhat laboured metaphor Filmer lays out his own personal 'welcome mat' to

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[36] *Tutelarie* (tutelary) – OED: "Of supernatural powers: Having the position of protector, guardian, or patron; *esp.* protecting or watching over a particular person, place, or thing". By using this term, Filmer is ascribing to the notion of royal position being divinely ordained. That the *airs de cour* in France were subject to royal patronage that was divine.

the Queen. Through this close association between the French *airs de cour* (now Englished) and the French Queen of England, Filmer ultimately suggests that he would have her undergo the same transformation. Filmer has "Naturaliz'd" the *air de cour* just as he would wish Henrietta Maria will become: "*being now as it were Naturaliz'd for her owne Subjects, and taught the Language wherein by her nearest People shee is pray'd for*".

Filmer's wish for Henrietta Maria's successful and complete integration into the English court and English ways, however innocently expressed, was likely to have been at odds with Henrietta Maria's intentions. Britland (2006) argues that becoming "Naturaliz'd" in the English language, let alone English customs or religious devotion, was something that Henrietta Maria actively eschewed. An entreaty such as Filmer's, particularly at this time, could have been viewed, at best, with disinterest, simply because it did not align with the Queen's current priorities or, at worst, an impertinent presumption, even a threat to her aims to maintain her French (and Catholic) identity.

Ben Jonson

The preface to the Filmer collection concludes with a short commendatory poem by Ben Jonson.

<p style="text-align:center">To my worthy Friend, Master Edward Filmer,
on his Worke published.</p>

> What charming Peales are these,
> That, while they bind the senses, doe so please?
> They are the Mariage-rites
> Of two, the choicest Paire of Mans delights,
> *Musique* and *Poesie*:
> *French* Aire and *English* Verse here wedded lie.
> Who did this Knot compose,
> Againe hath brought the *Lillie* and the *Rose*;
> And, with their Chained dance,
> Recelebrates the joyfull Match with *France*.
> They are a Schoole to win
> The faire *French* Daughter to learne *English* in;
> And, graced with her song,
> To make the Language sweet upon her tongue.

<p style="text-align:center">Ben Jonson</p>

In his poem Jonson succinctly invokes a multifaceted image of union, tying the notion of music and poetry unified through song, and the specific example of such union through French song and English verse, together with the 'chained dance' of the French lily and the English rose – a common symbol for the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria,

suggesting that the former are pleasing metaphors for the latter. Jonson's use of the Royal couple's union is all together safer symbolic territory than Filmer's use of the notion of 'assimilation' in his dedication, as one might expect from one so well versed in the intricacies of courtly life. Jonson, however, treads on what could have been considered sensitive ground – although much more lightly than Filmer – when he suggests that perhaps Henrietta Maria may have wished to consider learning English: a notion which could have been interpreted as an impertinent criticism by those remaining French courtiers who perhaps felt under siege by the encroachment of the English courtiers.

With his generous contribution to his friend Filmer's endeavour, Jonson gives the appearance that he may also have been attempting to restart his court career through this small gesture. As court poet Jonson was required to officially celebrate the reigns of first James I and later Charles I and support their policies through deed and thought, even if his natural sympathies lay elsewhere but, by the 1620s cracks were beginning to show. One such example of this disjuncture occurred in 1621, when in deference to the king, Jonson wrote *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* in an attempt to represent the ever unpopular Duke of Buckingham in a positive light. In this masque, the gentlemen of the court play gypsies with the Duke as the captain of the gypsies. At one point in the drama the gypsy captain reads King James' fortune and declares that not only is James the 'the arbiter of war and peace' but that 'James the Just' is also able to make the fortunes of his subjects. As Donaldson observes, in the context of the pressure parliament was attempting to apply at that time, to persuade the King to start a war against Catholic Spain and arrange a marriage for Charles with a coreligionist instead of pursuing a union with the Spanish *infanta*, this speech was an assertion to all that it was James that made the fortunes of those around him and he would not be swayed by them. "During these contentions Jonson was awkwardly placed. He is likely to have felt some sympathy with the arguments of his patriot friends in the Lords and Commons and – never a lover of Spain – to have had little trust in the likely success of current negotiations with Madrid; yet he clearly shared James' wish to avoid if possible any military engagement in Europe" (Donaldson 2011: 391).

Jonson's diplomatic tightrope walk continued in late 1623 when the relations between the English, Spanish and French courts unexpectedly shifted due to the breakdown in marriage negotiations with the Spanish which necessitated a juggle of planned court entertainments. The masque *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* was originally intended for performance on Twelfth Night (January) 1624 to celebrate what should have been Charles' triumphant return from successful marriage negotiations with Spain, but as the negotiations

had failed, Charles had opened the way for negotiations with the French. The risk of giving offence to either or both the Spanish or the French ambassadors or of exposing embarrassing inconsistencies in Charles' foreign policies was clearly deemed too high to continue with at that time. After several changes to the text, the planned performance was ultimately abandoned. Jonson eventually reworked *Neptune's Triumph* as *The Fortunate Isles and their Union* – performed in January 1625 using the sets and costumes prepared for *Neptune's Triumph* – in anticipation of Charles' marriage to Henrietta Maria (Britland 2006: 19). Donaldson suggests that by the 1620s perhaps Jonson was simply growing weary of it all: " 'Let me be what I am', he wrote in evident exasperation about this time in a poem that expresses a further unease with the world of the court in which he had now lived 'twenty year'" (Donaldson 2011: 393).

Jonson's friends and associates may also have presented a problem for his court masters. One of Jonson's close friends was the antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, who kept a significant library at his home which Jonson and others drew upon (Donaldson 2011: 358). Cotton was one of a number of increasingly vocal critics of the Duke of Buckingham and the power he had held. Following the assassination of the Duke in August 1628, poems and ballads celebrating the actions of the assassin, John Felton, were in circulation. In October of 1628, Jonson was questioned over the verses and one poem in particular, *To his confined friend, Mr Felton*, as a suspected author (Donaldson 2011: 401). Although he was not found guilty, the air of suspicion may have hung around him. In November 1629 Charles, perhaps mindful of the urgings of Villiers some years prior, ordered the closure of Robert Cotton's library, "which he perceived as a meeting place for dissidents and source of historical evidence potentially damaging to royal interests…At a time when the respective powers of the crown, Church and Parliament were being sharply debated, any scholarly enquiry into the historical origins and consequent legitimacy of contested rights, privileges, and procedures could be seen as politically inspired" (Donaldson 2011: 360). Jonson's known association with Cotton may have meant that he was viewed with equal suspicion.

By 1629, Ben Jonson was around 55 years old and had, sometime in the year before, experienced a stroke-like affliction which had left him physically and (apparently) mentally weakened: "The onset of this illness 'made a deep impression upon his body and his mind' according to Edward Hyde, the future Earl of Clarendon" (Donaldson 2011: 399). Jonson would, however, write four more masques, including two for the royal court,[37] before his

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[37] *Love's triumphs through Callipolis* "the King's masque" in 1631 and *Chlorida* "the Queen's masque" in 1632. These two are the only masques Ben Jonson wrote for the royal couple, but they set the tone

death in 1637. Despite writing the masque *Chlorida* for the queen in 1632, Henrietta Maria appointed Aurelian Townshend as the royal masque writer in that same year – and in a gesture that was unlikely to have escaped Jonson's notice, Townshend was paid £10 more than him (Britland 2006: 90). Donaldson characterises Jonson's fame in the last decade of his life "not with the production of printed books…but with the private circulation of his poems in manuscript" amongst a select group of friends and patrons (Donaldson 2011: 413), suggesting a retreat from public life rather than a wish to re-enter it. Viewed in this context, Jonson's contribution to Filmer's collection may not have carried the prestige he might have hoped for.

Edward Filmer and family

Edward Filmer (b. 1589 –d.1648), the second son of Sir Edward Filmer (b. 1566 – d.1629), was born on the family estate at East Sutton in Kent. Apart from the Filmer collection itself, Edward Filmer has left only a faint impression on the historical record. There are, however, several surviving documents that serve to illustrate Filmer's social position as well as his interests and provide tangible, if at times circuitous, links to the royal courts and the theatrical and scholarly circles of early seventeenth century London.

Among the Filmer family papers is a document written on folio sized paper inscribed on both sides in Edward Filmer's clear cursive hand that shows us the kind of education he received. It is a declamation in Latin – excerpts from the opening and closing lines appear in figure 1.4.1 –, entitled 'Stat pro Ratione Voluntas' (*The will stands in place of reason*). The title is an aphorism based on a phrase from Juvenal's *Satires* commonly used in debates on whether Papal or Princely will should make laws over judicial reason. Its exact interpretation varied between Roman, medieval and early modern periods and this is a topic of some debate (Pennington 1993), however, its presence here shows that Filmer was at least exposed to and engaged with an idea that would be increasingly contested as the seventeenth century progressed: the divine right of kings. The declamation continues with a quotation from Horace *Ars Poetica* – line 137 'Fotunam priami cantabo, et nobile bellum' (*I will sing of the fortunes of Priam…*).

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for others that followed by depicting the "amorous reciprocity" inherent in the union of the royal couple as a symbol of domestic, civil and state peace and fecundity (Britland 2000: 82). Jonson was also commissioned by William Cavendish, the Earl of Newcastle to write two masques for performance at his estate. The first was *The King's entertainment at Welbeck* performed on 21 May 1623, during Charles I progress to Scotland. The second in 1634 was *Love's welcome at Bolsover*, to honour a visit by Charles I and Henrietta Maria to his country estate (Britland 2000: 94).

Figure 1.4.1 – images of the beginning and end of Filmer's 1608 declamation in Latin

Opening lines:

Closing lines:
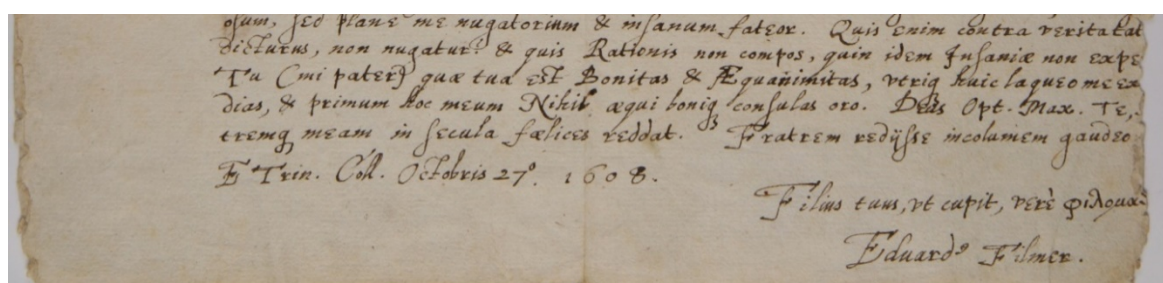
Document number U120/C7/1. Reproduced by kind permission of the Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone.

Edward Filmer signed it from Trinity College, Cambridge on 27th October 1608, when he would have been around 18 years of age. This document shows that Filmer was the recipient of a standard education for the son of a late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century English gentleman.

Beginning with petty school, where students learnt to read and write in English as well as learning the catechism (Brink 2002: 4), Filmer would have then moved up to the grammar school where he would have progressed to reading and writing in Latin, and sometimes Greek and Hebrew, as well as learning Greek and Roman history (Brink 2002: 6). The appearance of the capital letters at the beginning of the declamation demonstrates Filmer's proficiency of what was considered to be more advanced skill in writing, only embarked upon once mastery of writing in lower case had been achieved (Calabresi 2002: 10). Details of a normal day at a late sixteenth century grammar school can be found in Ian Donaldson's survey of the curriculum that Ben Jonson would have been exposed to as a student at the Royal College of St Peter in Westminster (or Westminster School as it is more commonly known) during the 1580s. It reveals a school day commencing at 6am and ending at 6pm, during which lessons for the earlier years concentrated on Latin grammar, only later

progressing to the rules of rhetoric, with opportunities in upper grades for study of Greek and Hebrew as well as some provision for music. Translation of the classics into prose and poetry and memory training were also "essential" educational tools. Donaldson adds that a student's "survival and advancement [at the Westminster school] depended upon his ability to perform confidently before an audience" (Donaldson 2011: 70-6).

It is likely that Filmer did receive some musical training. A collection of music manuscripts belonging to the Filmer family dating from the late sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century attest to the family's interest in music. In a summary of the manuscripts, Robert Ford (1978) describes Edward Filmer as "a professional musician" (Ford 1978: 814), and while this seems unlikely, if not impossible – a 'true gentleman' of the time would have avoided being seen as a professional anything – musical skill was a desirable accomplishment for a courtier (Bates 2002; Whigham 1983). Even allowing for the conventional self-deprecation of seventeenth-century authors, Filmer himself makes no claim to musical skill. In his preface to the collection Filmer he states that: "*For touching the Musicall part of this Booke, I have onely exercised by* Judicative *strength in the Choice and Collection of the Aires, which is not sufficient to raise on a man the surname of Musician.*"

Edward Filmer's older brother Robert Filmer (b. 1588 – d. 26 May 1653) was a scholar of some note and his writings and connections may provide some further insight into Edward's life and beliefs. Robert Filmer had preceded his younger brother to Trinity College, Cambridge, and although he matriculated at Easter 1604, was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1605 and was called to the bar in 1613 there is no record of his ever practicing law (Burgess 2009).

In London, Robert Filmer resided at the Porter's Lodge at Westminster Abbey and was a prominent figure among intellectual circles of early seventeenth-century London. He had connections with important figures such as William Camden (Burgess 2009), and would have been able to introduce his younger brother Edward into these circles. Camden was also a mentor to Ben Jonson and this connection provides one of a number of ways Edward Filmer could have come in to contact with Jonson.

If Edward shared the political beliefs of his older brother we could learn more about Edward from the writings of Robert which show he was fiercely loyal to the crown. Robert Filmer wrote a defence of the divine right of kings, *Patriarcha* which was published posthumously in 1680, although, based on dating of a manuscript copy by the University of Chicago, it is believed to have been written around 1630 (Burgess 2009). According to the Dictionary of

National Biography, the family estate was looted by Parliamentary troops and other properties in Kent and Westminster were being heavily taxed (Burgess 2009). Charles II would go on to bestow a baronetcy on the family in recognition of their loyalty to the crown during the civil wars (Ford 1978: 814). A grand-son of Robert Filmer, another Edward (b.1651/2–d.1703), left a number of publications, including a blank verse play *The Unnatural Brother* (1697) and a defence of the theatre from accusations of immorality, *A Defense of Plays, or, The Stage Vindicated*, published posthumously in 1707 (Burns 2013).

In March 1629, Edward Filmer was made an esquire of the King's body, an event which unequivocally places him at court and provides a plausible explanation for his gesture to the Queen. Meanwhile, his family situation suggests a reason for its timing. In 1627 Charles I made a proclamation ordering the nobility and gentry back to their country estates to provide "natural good order" through "hospitality and good governance". While such orders were not new (similar proclamations had been made since the 1590s), Charles lent additional weight to his by also ordering a census of all gentry in London and prosecuted those found to be in contravention of the proclamation (Sharpe 1987: 9 (n.34),15). In accordance with the King's proclamation, Robert Filmer took up residence at the family estate in Kent following his father's death in November 1629, and became increasingly involved in county affairs as a sheriff, justice of the peace and an officer in the county militia. It was perhaps on his removal to Kent, that Robert enlisted his brother Edward to maintain his lodgings at Westminster and connections in London. Certainly Edward Filmer was still resident at Westminster in 1640 as evidenced by the documented oath of allegiance to his Majesty the King signed by one Edward Filmer of Westminster (State Papers SP 16/470 f.152). This oath was made shortly before Parliament reconvened on 3 November 1640 and which, after eleven years of personal rule by Charles I, would become known as 'the Long Parliament'.

Perhaps it was Robert Filmer who, in anticipation of the death of his elderly father and the resulting change in his circumstances and responsibilities on his family estate, arranged for his brother Edward to be sworn in as an esquire of the King's body in March of that year. "Within the setting of royal courts and other great households – the normal arenas of high politics – access, intimate personal contacts, cultural fashions and codes of deportment deeply structured how power worked" (Smuts 2008: 37) – Given the Filmer family's fierce loyalty to the King, Filmer's seeking out of attention and favour at the Henrietta Maria's court may have been part of a larger strategy pursued by his highly politicized brother Robert.

According to the warrant assigning Filmer as an esquire, dated March 1629, a copy of which can be seen at figure 1.4.2, Filmer would have "cause to enjoy all such privileges as to any of his Majesty's servants do belong". In practice an esquire would often also hold another position in the royal household such as groom, however there does not appear to be any record of Edward Filmer holding any such position in the household of Charles I.

Figure 1.4.2 – Edward Filmer, an esquire of the kings body by warrant of the Lord Chamberlain
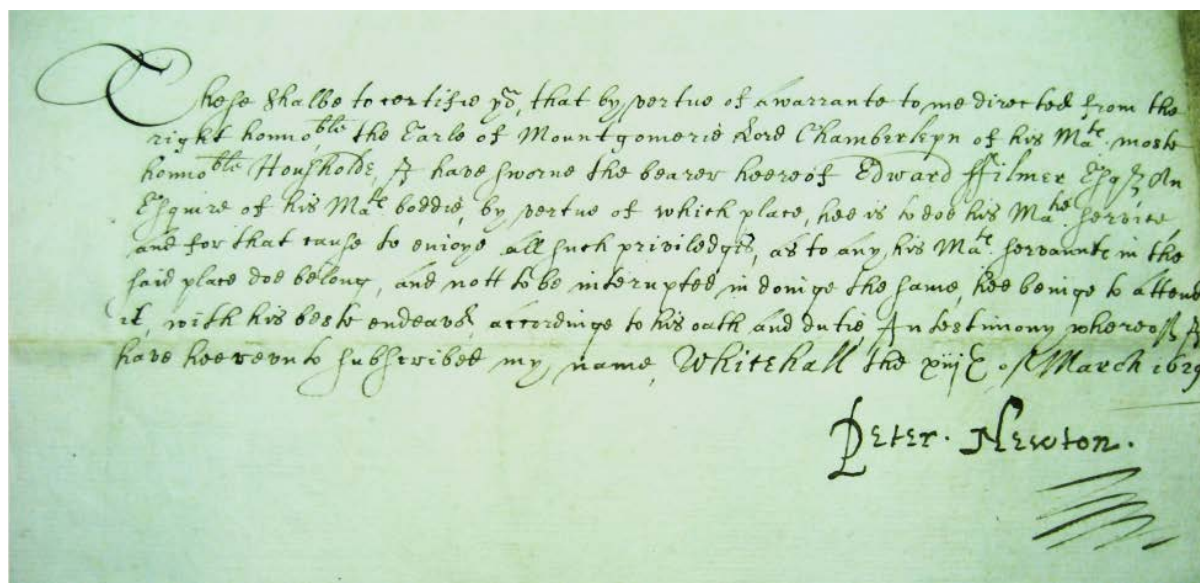
Document number U120/C7/2. Reproduced by kind permission of the Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone. Transcription of the above reads:

> These shal be to cortisre yd, that by virtue of a warrante to me directed from the
> right honuo[ble] the Earle of Mountgomerie Lord Chamberleyn of his Ma[te] moste
> honou[ble] Householde, I have sworne the bearer heereof Edward Ffilmer Esqr an
> Esquire of his Ma[se] boddie, by virtue of which place, hee is to doe Ma[tie] service
> and for that cause so enioye all such priviledges, as to any his Ma[te] servannte in the
> said place doe belong, and nott to be interupted in doinge the same, hee beinge to attend
> it, with his beste endeavor accordinge to his oath and dutie An testimony whereoff AB
> have heereunto subscribed my name, Whitehall the xiijth [13th] of March 1629
>
> *Peter Newton.*

The warrant also contains two names that could connect Edward Filmer with Henrietta Maria's court and Ben Jonson. The first is that of the Lord Chamberlain, who at that time was Philip Herbert, the first Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke (b. 1584 – d. 1650). The position of the Lord Chamberlain had control over arranging all routine and ceremonial functions at the both the King and Queen's courts, it was also responsible for the licensing of some plays in the city of Westminster. Philip succeeded his brother William as Lord Chamberlain, and was recommended to Charles by his father, James I (Sharpe 1996: 162). Charles appointed Philip to be among the group to accompany Henrietta Maria from Paris to England in 1625, although it would appear that she did not like him and would later recommend his dismissal as Lord Chamberlain (Smith 2004). Personal inclinations aside,

Filmer had evidently come to the attention of a person with direct influence over the King and Queen's households.

The second name is Peter Newton, who signed the warrant, although this signature and the rest of the script do not match, suggesting that a professional scribe produced the document for Newton's signature. Newton provides another link to the courtly circles and to Ben Jonson which is embodied in another document he signed, this one seeking the release of a number of household staff to make ready a space in Whitehall for the performance of Jonson's the *Masque of Auguers*, which played twice on the 6 January and the 5 May 1622. If Filmer had anything more than a passing official connection with either of these men, they also could have provided him with entrée into courtly circles.

The only other documented trace of Edward Filmer is in the *Calendar of State Papers – Domestic Series Charles I 1634-35 and 1635*. These papers record seven appearances that Edward Filmer made at the Court of High Commission between June 1634 and June 1635 on behalf of Sir John Astley (b. c. 1569 –d. 1640), another person who provides a link back to courtly theatricals and Ben Jonson.

Sir John Astley is known to have performed in at least two court masques, including *Hymenaei* by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. *Hymenaei* was presented on 5 January 1606 to celebrate the marriage of Robert the third Earl of Essex to Lady Frances Howard (second daughter of the then Lord Chamberlain, Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk) (Dutton 1990: 295). Astley went on to become the Master of Revels at the court of James I. He succeeded the previous incumbent, Sir George Buc (Buck), on 29 March 1622 reportedly due to the latter's descent into madness. The office of the Master of Revels oversaw the production of courtly entertainments, including hiring the acting companies as well as practical aspects of court masques, such as lighting (Dutton 2008). Astley's incumbency was short lived. Although he retained the position until his death in 1640, he sold the duties and rights of the position to Sir Henry Herbert (baptised 1594, d. 1673) on 22 July 1623 for £150. Dutton (1990) suggests this short tenure may have been due to tensions between the Lord Chamberlain at that time, William Herbert[38], Earl of Pembroke, and the influential Howard family with whom Astley had an affiliation (Dutton 1990: 299). Astley felt the effect of these tensions, experiencing difficulties extracting funds from the exchequer to pay for the court entertainments he was responsible for producing (Davidson and Sgroi 2010).

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[38] In a plot twist worthy of Shakespeare, William Herbert, who was a steadfast patron on Ben Jonson, signed a patent on 5 October 1621 which authorised the reversion of the position of Master of the King's Revels to Jonson on the death or removal from office of Buc and Astley (Dutton 1990). Astley's move side-stepped this reversion and effectively blocked Jonson from obtaining the position.

In 1625 Astley became a member of Charles I's privy chamber and in the same year a number of legal disputes commenced over fishing rights and, in 1627/8, navigation proposals for the river Medway in Maidstone. While these appear to have been resolved by 1629, in 1634 he was accused of incest with his wife's niece, Anne Bridges (or Brydges), resulting in a number of appearances at the Court of High Commission (Davidson and Sgroi 2010). It was during these proceedings that the assistance of Edward Filmer was enlisted.

The Court of High Commission operated between 1580 and 1641 and was originally established to hear cases relating to doctrinal heresy but, by the 1630s the court predominantly heard "suits for alimony, divorce, desertion, abuse…adultery, incontinency and other moral offences, both of clergy and laity…simony, plurality, drunkenness and other irregularities of the clergy" (Usher 1913: 256-57). The court was the chief means through which royal proclamations could be enforced and was a significant source of revenue – through the ordering of fines – during Charles I's period of personal rule (Jones 1971: 105).

Filmer appeared on behalf of Astley on seven occasions: January of 1634/5 Astley's "cause [was] promoted by Edward Filmer" (Calendar of State Papers, 1634-1635, p.489). Between 5 and 12 February 1634/5 Filmer appeared on another three occasions to "answer articles", on the third occasion challenged the authority of the court and was required to give a bond for his appearance (Calendar of State Papers, 1634-1635, p.547). Filmer appeared three more times in April 1635 before the proceedings were concluded with Astley's acquittal in June 1635 (Calendar of State Papers, 1635, p.180, 184, 189, 192, 198, 201, 221). Filmer's overt support of Sir John Astley provides another connection between court circles, and Ben Jonson in particular, and Edward Filmer.

These faint traces left in the historical record can only hint at the real person and open the door to limitless imaginings. But we know that he resided in Westminster and held a position at court. His brother Robert would have been able to introduce him to a circle of people which included Ben Jonson and, if not through his brother, could have become acquainted through his connection with Sir John Astley.

While avoiding the temptation to fill in the blanks through further speculation, there are grounds – albeit some are tenuous – to conclude that Filmer had connections with intellectual and theatrical circles of London and maintained a position as an esquire on the periphery of the court of Charles, if not Henrietta Maria's. It was reasonable for Filmer to suppose that his collection of airs could have been a welcome gift, given Henrietta Maria's interest in this repertoire and her desire, indeed need, to secure sympathetic allies in her

court. But, with its none-too-subtle message of assimilation, I believe it would not, in reality, have been well-received.

Ultimately, it would seem that Filmer's hopes for Royal favour were not realised. By 1629, Henrietta Maria's position, personally and politically, had strengthened and despite Filmer being made an esquire of the King's body in March 1629, there is no evidence of Edward Filmer playing an active role anywhere, let alone at Henrietta Maria's court.

1.4.2 – Filmer's selection of airs

Every gesture of the courtier was loaded with meaning. There can be no such thing as "face value" in a place where "a state of mind secretly preoccupied with interpretive matters become common" (Whigham 1983: 629). If Filmer did indeed inhabit, or aspire to inhabit, this environment, he might have expected that the motives behind every choice he made about this collection would be questioned and a judgement formed by its intended audience, regardless of the actual intent of the author. In this survey of Filmer's selection of airs I will ascertain the presence of layers of meaning beneath the surface of the airs. Through his careful choice of airs that have connections to certain important personages, Filmer directly refers to, or indirectly hints at, members of the French royal family, including Henrietta Maria's mother, Marie de Medici, her father, Henri IV, her brother Louis XIII and his wife, Anne of Austria. Finally, I will consider how the airs in the Collection compare to what English audiences would have been accustomed to.

From the French to the English court

All of the nineteen airs in the Filmer collection are associated with the French royal court by virtue of their courtly composers, Pierre Guédron and Anthoine Boesset. But a closer examination reveals that some airs in the collection have more than just this general connection. Indeed, Filmer appears to have selected at least three airs because of an explicit connection with notable members of the French royal family which Filmer perhaps wished to exploit.

For the first air of his collection Filmer chose an air that was originally sung in honour of Henrietta Maria's mother Marie de Medici. *Bright abstract of us seaven*, or by its original title *Adorable Princesse*, originated from the *Ballet de Monsieur le Prince de Condé*, performed at the French court in 1615. The air was sung by the character of the Sun who directly addresses Marie de Medici, who was presumably in the audience, indeed she is named in the eighth verse, and Filmer retains this reference to Marie in his translation:

Original French	Modern literal translation	Filmer's text
L'art de la flaterie	The art of flattery	Flatt'ries best Common-places
Aux graces de **Marie**	To the graces of **Marie**	Cannot of **Maries** graces
Ne pût rien adjouster :	Can alter nothing:	The least augmenting make:
Sa gloire s'est haussée	Her glory is itself raised	To reach her estimation
Où l'humaine pensée	Where human thought	All humane speculation
Tasche en vain de monter.	Tries in vain to rise up.	In vaine doth undertake.

The character of the Sun continues to praise and flatter the Queen mother, in a manner that she would no doubt have been accustomed to hearing, over the course of a very generous ten verses. The overriding theme is that the Queen mother outshines the sun itself.

Adorable Princesse was first printed in the sixth book of *Airs de differents autheurs mis en tablature de luth* (Paris, 1615), where it appeared with a dedication to Marie de Medici, and this is most likely how Filmer became aware of the provenance of this air. It then appeared in a polyphonic arrangement in Guédron's *Troisieme Livre d'airs de cour a quatre et cinq parties* (Paris, 1617). This third book of Guédron's airs was the first of his collections dedicated to both Louis XIII and the Queen mother. The title page of this collection lists Guédron's courtly positions as *Intendant des Musiques de la Chambre du Roy et de la Reyne Mere*. Guédron appears to have attained the latter position in 1617 ('Guédron, Pierre', Grove Music Online, Le Cocq n.d.). Marie de Medici was still regent to the young Louis XIII in 1615 but by April of 1617, the political machinations of Marie and her close adviser Concino Concini had become too much for Charles d'Albert, a trusted mentor to the now 16 year old King, and action was taken to remove the Queen mother and her circle to allow Louis to claim the full rights of his throne. Guédron's position at both courts during this period was therefore a doubly significant one. By choosing to place this air first in his collection Filmer shows respect to Henrietta Maria by singling out an air that explicitly pays homage to Marie de Medici – who was restored to the good opinion of her son by 1621 – and perhaps because of their shared name, the praise of the mother could be extended to the daughter.

The second air *At length heere she is*, originally *Enfin la voyci* also appeared in a *ballet de cour* performed at the French court. Although the title of the ballet is unknown, it was performed in February or November of 1616 and Louis XIII danced the role of Pantalon (Durosoir 2009: 227). The air conveys a similar sentiment as *Adorable Princesse* but only over three verses and instead of the sun being outshone, it is the sky that cannot compete with the subject's beauty. The second verse of *Enfin la voyci* tells of a woman whose majesty the sky cannot compete with and whom Mars, or the King, is in love:

Original French	Modern literal translation
Le ciel n'a jamais joint à tant de beauté	*The sky has never reached so much beauty*
Une si douce majesté	*Such a sweet majesty,*
Qui dans les cœurs inspire tour à tour	*Which in hearts inspire in turn*
Le respect et l'amour.	*Respect and love.*

Enfin la voyci appeared in print arranged for four voices in Guédron's *Troisieme Livre d'airs de cour a quatre et cinq parties* (Paris, 1617) along with *Adorable princesse*. It was arranged for solo voice and lute accompaniment and printed in the seventh book of *Airs de différents autheurs* (Paris, 1617). The air was dedicated to the Spanish Infanta, Anne of Austria (b. 1601 – d. 1666),[39] who would become Louis XIII's queen, and Henrietta Maria's sister-in-law.

In his collection, Filmer notes that the air is:

> *To ANNE the French Queene, new come from Spaine, at her first*
> *meeting with the King her husband: and applicable to our Sacred*
> *MARIE, at his Majesties first sight of her at DOVER*

Filmer is referring to the shared experience of Henrietta Maria and her sister-in-law Anne who had also been brought to a foreign land as the young bride of a king. *En fin la voyci* appears in Guédron's third book (*Troisieme livre…*) (Paris 1617) carrying the dedication 'to the Queen' but nothing further about an association with her arrival from Spain. Filmer evidently had access to this multiple-voice publication to have been able to faithfully transcribe the vocal parts as well as the lute tablature, and so would have been aware of its original dedication; but as it is not accompanied by any other information it is not clear where Filmer could have obtained the additional background about this air. Filmer's choice of *Enfin la voyci* enables him to pay his respects to English Queen's sister-in-law as well as display a degree of 'inside' knowledge of Henrietta Maria's French family.

The third air with an explicit royal connection appears twelfth in the Filmer collection. It originates from an earlier ballet and was staged to celebrate the successful marriage negotiations for Marie de Medici's eldest daughter Elizabeth (b. 1602 – d. 1644), then only thirteen years old, to marry the future Philip IV of Spain (b. 1605 – d. 1665). *Too much we range the waves* originated as *C'est trop courir les eaux* from the *Ballet de Madame (ou Ballet du Triomphe de Minerve*) also performed before Louis XIII and Marie de Medici, first on 19 March 1615. The air, sung by the *Tritonides*, or sea nymphs, forms part of a procession

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[39] Marie de Medici negotiated with Philip III of Spain the double marriages of their eldest children: her eldest son Louis and her daughter Elizabeth with the eldest children of Philip III, Anne and the future Philip IV. They were betrothed at eleven years of age and married by proxy on 24 November 1615, both fourteen years old.

of Machlyennes and shepherds who, with song and dance, announce the triumphant arrival of Minerva. A contemporary description of the appearance of the Tritons survives:

> "*After the fourth part of the Ballet, the Tritonides appeared.... In the sea there was a music of Tritons, and after them came the chamber music of the king, dressed as Tritonides, head, shoulders, and Hips covered with artificial reeds of gold and silk, and the rest of the satin coat covered with gold foil*" (Pierre Chevalier, 1615, quoted in Durosoir 2009: 117).

Filmer accompanies this air with the subtitle, *The Aire of* Tritonides*, in a Masque before this* LEWIS *the thirteenth and his Mother, at Madame his Sister's taking leave to goe into* SPAINE, which shows that he was aware of the origins of this air and its connection to the Queen's sister.[40]

Both of these airs, *Enfin la voyci* and *C'est trop courir les eaux* commemorate the migration of a royal princess – a leave taking and an arrival – an experience Henrietta Maria would have been acutely familiar with. Filmer's singling out of these airs could indicate an awareness of – and even some sympathy for – Henrietta Maria's situation and experience. However, it is not clear why Filmer would then place this air in the middle of the collection rather than following on from the other airs referencing Henrietta Maria's family at the beginning of the collection. Despite this, Filmer is clearly attempting to honour Henrietta Maria by paying homage to the principal members of her family – her mother the Queen mother of France, her brother the King and her sister-in-law the Queen – through the deliberate choice of these three airs.

Perhaps Filmer wished to carefully match Guédron's approach to the ordering of airs for his 1612 collection. Guédron dedicated the collection itself to Marie de Medici and each of the first three airs are individually dedicated to the members of the French royal family:

1. *Je voudrais bien chanter ta gloire et tes louanges* – A la Reyne (Marie de Medici)
2. *Vois-je pas un soleil s'élevant* – Au Roy (Louis XIII)
3. *Cette Princesse dont le nom* – Pour Madame (Elizabeth of France, sister of Louis XIII)

If so, Filmer's carefully contrived arrangement may have been inadvertently stymied by the choice of his third air. *Why have my Thoughts conspired* appears in the Filmer collection unremarked upon, as it does in both printed versions in its original French, *Que n'este-vous lassées*; the solo voice version of which appears in the third book of *Airs de différents autheurs* (Paris, 1611), and the four part version in the Guédron's *Second Livre d'airs de cour*

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[40] Tritonides are the daughters of Triton, the Greek god of the sea. This air may even represent an oblique reference to Catherine de Medici (b. 1519 – d. 1589), Queen consort to Henri II of France, who was associated with the goddess Pallas, also a daughter of Triton (Yates, 1949, p.250).

a quatre et cinq parties(Paris, 1612). However, the French poem that Pierre Guédron set to music is associated with a piece of Royal intrigue involving Henrietta Maria's father Henri IV making it an uncomfortable choice for inclusion in Filmer's collection, particularly so prominently placed after airs celebrating Henrietta Maria's mother and sister-in-law.

In January 1609, the fifty-five year-old Henri IV, soon to be father of Henrietta Maria – she would be born in November of that year – instructed his court poet François de Malherbe to compose a series of poems (these became the *Alcandre Cycle*) which he wanted to send to a young woman he was becoming infatuated with. Henri had seen the fifteen year-old Charlotte de Montmorency (b.1594–d.1650) rehearsing her part for the *Ballet de la Reine* (performed in late January 1609) and was attempting to woo her. The pursuit of a young unmarried girl, even by the king, was considered somewhat scandalous so the King arranged a marriage between Charlotte and the son of his first cousin, Henri de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé (b.1588–d.1646) to give his pursuit an acceptable veneer of respectability. The Prince, however, had no intention of becoming a cuckold and in order to evade the King's advances left Paris in August 1609 and established himself and his new wife in a self-imposed exile in Brussels,[41] where they arrived in November 1609, or so the famous story goes (Durosoir 2009: LXII, 547; Shoemaker 2007: 112).

It is difficult to establish what Filmer might have known about this poem at the time he published his collection. As already mentioned, the musical publications make no reference to the history of the texts' composition. Similarly, the first publication of the poem in 1615 does not make any mention of the Royal context surrounding it, although the subtitle to the cycle is surely a reference to it: *Il plainct la captivite de sa Maistresse* [he laments in the captivity of his mistress], but this is a sentiment expressed commonly enough in poetry of this period.

The first history of Henri IV's pursuit of Charlotte to appear in print for public consumption appears to have been the *Historiettes* of Tallemant des Réaux, first published in 1657. The connection between the King's pursuit and Malherbe's poems in the *Alcandre cycle* is certainly documented in a collection of Malherbe's surviving correspondence, first published in 1822, in which he noted that Henri IV had commanded from him an elegy for Charlotte de Montmorency (Durosoir 2009: 547). Most subsequent retellings of this history by more modern scholars ultimately rely on these sources. One of the most complete accounts was compiled by Charles Samarin (1950) in which he revisits the incident, in what he calls "part

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[41] At that time it was the ruling seat of the Spanish Netherlands (a conglomeration of states of the Holy Roman Empire in the Low Countries), and therefore on, at times, uneasy terms with France.

family drama and court scandal [in which a] loveless union is imposed on a teenager by an all-powerful rival for unedifying purposes" (Samarin 1950: 53-54). As well as considering previously unseen letters – thought to be copies of letters written by Charlotte herself – Samarin also refers to contemporary reports made by foreign ambassadors in Brussels at the time and sent back to their home courts (including the papal nuncio in Flanders, Guido Bentivolglio, and Pierre Pecquius, ambassador of the Archduke Albert in Paris).

Among the official reports not consulted by Samarin where those send to the English Secretary of State, Robert Cecil first Earl of Salisbury from William Trumball, the English diplomatic agent in Brussels.[42] One such report is dated 29 November 1609, very soon after their arrival in Brussels, and details of the Prince of Condé and Charlotte's flight out of France. According to Trumball, the Prince and Charlotte left Paris under the pretence of a hunting trip and Charlotte was unaware of her husband's intention of not returning. The prince persisted in his deceit: On Charlotte expressing a wish to return home, the Prince observed they were closer to one of his houses at Maret and that they would visit it before returning. Trumball also recounts the ultimately unsuccessful attempts by the French court to retrieve the pair from Brussels by their enlisting the help of the Archduke. Trumball's report provides tangible evidence that the incident was known about at the English court at the time. The degree of detail and the extent of knowledge that may have existed as a result of personal communications can be debated elsewhere; what this brief exploration confirms is that it is at least conceivable that a well-informed courtier, with the right connections, could have known something of this incident.

Smuts describes a court society where "access, intimate personal contacts, cultural fashions and codes of deportment deeply structured how power worked" (Smuts 2008: 37). A courtier's success, even survival, was dependent on "their skill in managing human relationships and their ability to call into play affinities that sometimes extended across national frontiers" (Smuts 2008: 37). In this environment, so attuned to subtle connections and affiliations, the awareness of which could only come from an intimate knowledge of the lives of the people concerned, any perceived misstep due to ignorance of these concealed connections would immediately signal you as an outsider. Filmer's choice of such an air, with

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[42] Trumball had been secretary to the former English ambassador to Brussels, Thomas Edmondes, but when Edmondes was appointed as ambassador to France in September 1609, Trumball stayed on as the English 'agent' in Brussels. As the middle son of a Yorkshire tenant farmer, appointing Trumball was seen as a cheaper alternative to reinstating an ambassador and he was known to be "cautious, discreet, diligent, honest" (Anderson, 2008). Trumball's report of the Prince of Condé and Charlotte is contained in the State Papers Foreign (National Archives Online Catalogue: SP 77: Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Flanders. Vol. 9: 1608-1610 Kew, UK: The National Archives of the UK, 2017).

associations that, at the very least, may have been embarrassing, if not disrespectful, to Henrietta Maria would have been viewed by the Queen's circle of friends and advisors as a serious misstep. Filmer could have been actively rejected or simply overlooked and ignored as a consequence.

Discovering whether Filmer could have been aware of the context of the air *Que n'este vous lassée* when he included it in his collection could say a lot about his motivations and his judgement, or both. I am inclined to think he must have known something about its significance simply because it seems like too much of a coincidence that this very air should appear third in the collection when the first and second have been so obviously and carefully chosen for their close connection with Henrietta Maria. But if that is the case, why would Filmer think that inclusion of a setting of a text her father sent during an unsuccessful pursuit of a young woman, not much older than Henrietta Maria herself, would be a flattering gesture? It seems like an odd choice at best and an extremely misguided one at worst. Or perhaps, in the end, Filmer simply chose this air because the text had been written by Malherbe, Henri IV's famous court poet.

Ballet de cour

The three airs examined earlier for their explicit dedications to French royalty – *Adorable Princesse* (no.1), *Enfin la voyci* (no.2) and *C'est trop courir les eaux* (no.12) – also all originated from *Ballet de cour*. There are another two airs in the Filmer collection which were originally composed for *ballets*, although Filmer either did not feel the need to draw attention to these origins or was not aware of them. *O grand Dieux, que de charmes* (no.4) originated from the *Ballet de la Sérénade*, first performed in 1613, although the air was not printed with any mention of its origins in a ballet de cour and very little else is known about this ballet (Durosoir 2009: 441).

Puis que les ans (no.16) a short *air de ballet* from the *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud*, first performed at the French court in January 1617. Filmer does not provide any indication that he was aware of the origins of this air, however, several of the printed sources directly or indirectly associate it with a *ballet de cour*. The solo voice source – *Airs de cour de différents auteurs*, Paris 1617 – carries the heading *Ballet du Roy*, but does not indicate which ballet it is from. One of the sources for the polyphonic version of this air, *Discours au vray du ballet danse' par le roy, le dimanche XXIX jour/ de janvier. M. VI.e XVII./ Avec les desseins, tant des machines & apparences differentes,/ que de tous les habits des Masques.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1617, clearly indicates which *Ballet de cour* it originated from. The other possible

source for the polyphonic version of the air is Guédron's fourth book of airs for four or five voices, published by Ballard in 1618. It carries the subtitle, *ballet du roy*, but again, does not indicate which ballet it originated from.

McGowan (1963) describes a turbulent political climate in the lead up to the staging of the *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud* – that would in April of that year culminate in Louis, under the guidance of Charles d'Albert, seizing power from his mother and her Italian adviser Concini – with the threat of war coming from disgruntled nobles, disenfranchised protestants in the south and continued agitations from the Spanish: "The willingness to re-establish in the State a stable harmony under a strong king (which inspired the invention of the *Ballet de Renaud*) only takes on its true significance when one considers this political instability recognized and felt by all Frenchmen or foreigners" (McGowan 1963: 103). The *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud* was just the second time since his majority that he had danced in a ballet– the first being in 1616 when he danced the role of Pantalon (McGowan 1963: 104) in the unknown ballet from which *Enfin la voyci* (no.2) came – and in it he embodies a king that is "a kind of spectacular remedy to political instability" (McGowan 1963: 109). Given the significant historical context surrounding this ballet and that Filmer does not include any mention of it in his collection, it is most reasonable to conclude that he was not aware of it. It also suggests that he sourced this air from Guédron's fourth book from 1618 rather than the *Discours au vray du ballet…* of 1617.

Aside from those airs apparently chosen for their associations with members of the French royal family and court, the rest of the contents of the Filmer collection resist thematic analysis. Stylistically, the airs include those inspired by declamation and dance metres and while love is the universal topic of virtually all *airs de cour*, the themes present among the airs in the Filmer collection range between the *précieux* to more sincere expressions of love or yearning for love.

Declamation and dance

Only two of the 19 airs in the Filmer collection, *Bright Abstract of us seaven / Adorable Princesse* (no.1) and *O! what muster of glances / O ! Grands Dieux que de charmes* (no.4), make explicit reference to the term *récit* in their original French version although Filmer does not retain this descriptor. Four others airs in the collection have relatively complex rhythms or use of rests, characteristic of the declamatory airs, *Quel espoir de gaurir* (no.5) and *C'est trop courir les eaux* (no. 12) by Guédron and *Arme toy ma raison* (no. 14) and *Je voudrois bien o Cloris* (no. 18) by Anthoine Boesset. This style of text treatment will be examined in more detail in part two of this thesis.

As canvassed in Chapter 1.2, dance was an integral part of court life and significant influence on the *air de cour*. Among the airs in the Filmer collection, several exhibit dance metres, of particular note are the *sarabande*-like *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* (no. 9) and *Aus plaisir, aux délices bergères* (no.19). Both exhibit a regular triple metre and are lively and gay (Mather 1987: 295). They also exhibit the harmonic progression I – IV – V – I, which is characteristic of *sarabandes* (Mather 1987: 291).

Poetic themes

The texts of the *air de cour* are closely associated with the social and literary aesthetic of the *précieux*, characterized by "a society that is refined, elegant, eager for novelty, intent on pursuing its own refined tastes" (Durosoir 2009: LXI-LXII) (this aesthetic will be explored further in chapter 2.1). Within the bounds of the *précieux* style, the poetry of the *airs de cour* is almost entirely preoccupied with notions of love (Durosoir 1991: 43-44). Nested within this uniformity of style and subject, however, all the shades of this most varied of emotions can be found. The themes of love range from the distant adulation of an unreachable object of desire; the inconsolable, rejected lover contemplating the future alone; through to the earthy pleasures enjoyed between *les bergers* and *bergères*.

The airs in the Filmer collection reflect this variety to some degree, although there is an emphasis towards airs with an adulatory tone and few examples of light, playful airs. For example, *O! What muster of glances / O ! Grand Dieux* (no.4) and *Since our round Yeare / Puis que les ans* (no. 16) convey an adulatory tone, directed towards love and beauty. *Silvia not long since, half-affrighted / Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* (no. 9) and *To your sports and delights / Aux plaisir, aux delices Bergères* (no. 19) are the only two airs expressing a light-

hearted mood. A summary of the moods expressed in the airs of the Filmer collection is contained in table 1.4.1.

Table 1.4.1 – summary of moods among Filmer's selection of airs

	Title (& author of the text)	Earliest printed edition*	Purpose	Mood
1.	Adorable Princesse (Maynard)	1615 – Tb6	Récit de ballet	Adulatory
2.	Enfin, la voyci (anon)	1617 – Tb7	Air de ballet	Adulatory
3.	Que n'este vous lassees (Malherbe)	1611 – Tb3	Air – occasional	Doomed love
4.	O ! grands Dieux, que de charmes! (anon)	1614 – Tb5	Récit de ballet	Adulatory
5.	Quel espoir de guarir (anon) (1611)	1611 – Tb3	Air	Lament
6.	Ou luis-tu, Soleil de mon ame? (anon)	1602 – Gd1	Air	*Précieux* love
7.	Qu'Aminte fut heureux! (anon)	1608 – Tb1	Air	*Précieux* love
8.	Las! Pourquoy ne suis-je nee (anon)	1611 – Tb3	Air	Lament
9.	Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie (Guédron ??)	1612/13 – Gd3	Air	Light
10.	Las! fuiras-tu toujours (anon)	1617/18 – Gd4	Air	Complaint
11.	Si le parler et le silence (anon)	1608 – Tb1	Air	*Précieux* love
12.	C'est trop courir les eaux (attr. Durand)	1615 – Tb6	Air de ballet	Adulatory
13.	Ce petit Monarque des cœurs (anon)	1614 – Tb5	Air	*Précieux* love
14.	Arme toy, ma raison*	1615 – Tb6	Air	*Précieux* love
15.	Vous, que le bon heur r'appelle (anon)	1602 – Gd1	Air	*Précieux* love
16.	Puis que les ans (attr. Guédron)	1617 – Tb7	Air de ballet	Adulatory
17.	He bien! Ma rebelle (anon) (1617)	1617 – Tb7	Air	Doomed love
18.	Je voudrois bien o Cloris* (1617)	1615 – Tb6	Air	*Précieux* love
19.	Aux plaisir, aux delices Bergeres	1614 – Tb5	Air	Light

* The full list of collection titles, and their contents, can be found in appendix two.

In this selection of airs Filmer shows a preference for those that have explicit associations with significant members of Henrietta Maria's French family – although at least one has unintended, indeed unfortunate, associations – as well as airs that express adulatory or noble themes. As has already been observed in chapter 1.2, Filmer's selection of airs could also have been seen as rather old-fashioned and restrained by comparison with the lighter, more expressive French airs that were appearing in more recent Parisian publications at the time the Filmer collection was printed, but the close connection of some of them with prominent members of the French royal family does not appear to be accidental and may have won out over considerations of fashion.

1.4.3 – The preface: what Filmer says about this own work

Filmer's preface is a record, in his own words, of what he thought and understood about the task he undertook and offers us a direct connection to a person who otherwise left very little on the historical record. An examination of the preface is also revealing for what it can tell us about the philosophy and methods he brought to bear on the preparation of his texts.

Before turning to the content of the preface, the length of the prefatory material is worthy of note. Filmer's dedication and preface runs to five pages and includes the royal garter crest, a full page dedication to Queen Henrietta Maria, a closely printed two page explanation of his approach to making the translations, a 'letter to the reader', or the "musicall users of this booke", and concludes with the commendatory poem by Ben Jonson. By contrast, a review of a selection of 25 collections of airs published in London between 1600 and 1650 (listed in table 1.4.2), reveals that the average number of pages of prefatory material is less than two – most often comprising a short dedication, ranging from a sentence or two to half a page, and a brief 'letter to the reader', of similar proportions.

Table 1.4.2 – Prefatory material in collections of songs printed in England between 1600 and 1650

Year	Composer – title	Description of preface material	Pages*
1600	Dowland – *Second book*	Dedication - Lady Lucie, Countess of Bedford Dedicatory acrostic poem - Lucie Bedford Letter to the reader	2
1600	Jones –*First book of airs*	Dedication - Sir Robert Sidney Letter to the reader	2
1601	Jones – *Second book of airs*	Leter to the reader	1
1603	Dowland – *Third and last book*	Crest Dedication - John Souch, Esquire Letter to the reader	3
1604	Dowland – *Lachrimae*	Dedicatory poem - Queen Anne Dedication - Anna, Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Letter to the reader	3
1605	Hume – *Ayres French, Pollish, and others together*	Dedication - William, Earl of Pembroke Letter to the reader	2
1605	Jones – *Ultimum vale or the third book of airs*	Dedication - Henry, Prince of Wales Letter to the reader - "to the silent reader"	2
1606	Danyel – *Songs for the lute viol and Voice*	Dedicatory poem - Mris Ane Greene	1
1606	Morley – *Canzonets or Little Short Songs to three voyces*	Dedication - Lady Marye, Countess of Pembroke	1

Year	Composer – title	Description of preface material	Pages*
1607	Hume – *Poeticall musicke*	Letter to the reader Dedication - Philip Earl of Arundel etc.	2
1608	Weelkes – *Ayeres of phantasticke spirites*	Dedication - Edward, Lord Denny, Baron of Waltham	1
1609	Jones – *A musicall dreame or the fourth booke of ayres*	Dedication - Sir John Leninthorpe Letter to the reader - "to all muscall murmurers"	2
1610	Corkine – *Airs to sing and play*	Dedication - Sir Edward Herbert and Sir William Hardy	1
1610	Dowland – *a musical banquet*	Dedication - Sir Robert Sydney Letter to the read Commedatory poem - Henry Peacham	2
1610	Jones – *The muses gardin for delights of the fifth book of ayres*	Dedication - Lady Wroth Letter to the reader - "friendly censurers	2
1611	Ravenscroft – *Melismata, Musicall phansies fitting the court citie and countrey humours*	Letter to the reader - "the true favorers of musicke" and "the noblest of the court, liberallest of the countrey and freest of the citie"	3
1612	Corkine – *The second booke of ayres, some, to sing and play*	Dedication - Sir Edward Dymmocke, the King's chamion	1
1612	Dowland – *A Pilgrims solace*	Dedication - Theophilus Walden Letter to the reader	2
1613	Campion – *books one and two*	Dedicatory poem - Francis, Earl of Cumberland Letter to the reader	2
1617	Campion – *books three and four*	Dedicatory poem - Sir Thomas Mounson	1
1619	Morley – *First booke of canzonets*	Dedication - Lady Periam	1
1620	Peerson – *Private musicke*	Dedication	1
1630	Peerson – *Mottets or Grave Chamber Musique*	Crest Dedication - Robert, Lord Brooke	2
1632	Porter – *Madrigales and ayres*	Dedication - John, Lord Digby of Sherburne, Earle of Bristow Letter to the "practitioner"	2
1650	Wilson – *Cheerfull Ayres of Ballads*	Letter to the reader Commendatory poems	2

* The number of pages shown in this table do not include title or contents pages

Filmer is evidently conscious of the length of his preface and, after almost 2,000 words (1,932 words), he begs the reader that "*I may not too much Disproportion this small Building, by making the Porch of Preface too Bigge to correspond with the Little Roomes*

within…". Yet he continues on for another 612 words to recommend his work to his "Home hearted unaffecting Countrie-men… as a Worke naturaliz'd chiefly for their sakes" whom he hopes will accept this "homely threed". This voluminous preface is another way in which the Filmer collection stands out as unusual among other collections of printed music being produced at the same time.

Although the dedicatee and many members of her court were native French speakers – and the rhetorical turn of phrase in Jonson's commendatory poem would have us believe that Henrietta Maria herself would take these airs "to learne English in" – the preface would indicate that Filmer assumed that the practical users of the book would be native English speakers rather than the almost exclusively French-speaking Henrietta Maria or other French-speaking members of her court: "*I here expose to the users of my Naturall Tongue this small labour*".

Filmer begins his preface with a reflection on music and literature and how proficiency in those arts has added to the condition of gentility since classical Roman times. While he adopts the humble mode of expression that was characteristic of his age, he quietly, and equally characteristically, asserts his status as a gentleman: "Literature and Musicke were [in classical Roman times] counted the two Mentall Touchstones of a Gentleman…yet sole Scholler or Musician, unless elevated by Academicall Degrees, are held now but Lowe and *illiberal* Conditions". While this may imply that Filmer is critical of this state of affairs, he goes on to conclude his introductory remarks by stating that a gentleman "ought to bee Slave neither to Booke or Fiddle", and assures the reader that he does not rise above the level of "mediocratie" in either of these fields. Such expressions of humility were part of a well-established practice. Gebert (1933) described the conventional humility expressed in the dedications of Elizabethan books as a symptom of the "exquisite perception of rank [that] pervaded everything the Elizabethan did" (Gebert 1933: 11).

Excerpt from the beginning of the preface to the Filmer collection

<div align="center">

PREFACE

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> *Though, in the highest times of the most Imperiall Citie of the World, Literature and Musicke were counted the two Mentall Touchstones of a Gentleman (for Wrastling was held but a Corporall one, and therefore, by the Comicke reciting the parts fit for a Gentleman, put in the last place:* Fac periculum in Literis, in Musicis, in Palestra[43]*) yet sole Scholler or Musician, unless elevated by Academicall Degrees, are held now but Lowe and*

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[43] "Make attempt in the letter, in the Music, in the *Palestra* (wrestling school/gymnasium)"

> *illiberal Conditions. So that a* Nihil egregiè[44]*, or a* Nequid nimis[45]
> *is that which preserves such, as are hereunto addicted, in a*
> *freedome requisite to Gentilitie, which ought to bee Slave neither*
> *to Booke or Fiddle. Farre therefore from a desire of testifying*
> *that my endevours in these kinds have soared above the pitch of*
> *mediocratie, I here expose to the users of my Naturall Tongue*
> *this small labour, as whereby may onely be discovered a Gentle*
> *tincture of my mind in either, but a Deep die in neither of the*
> *fore-named Qualities.*

Despite his self-professed lack of musical proficiency, Filmer continues that he has been "generally more taken with the Musicall part then the Poeticall" and therefore privileges fidelity to the original music over making rhythmic accommodations for the text. Filmer promises the reader that he has exercised no more musical judgement than in the selection of the airs and changed nothing of the meaning of the texts, only the language.

Filmer's stated approach to the music and text is unusual. When compared to other composers' stated approaches to text settings, Filmer's decision to prioritise musical fidelity over textual accommodation and to not adapt the existing musical material to his English texts is not common. For example, Robert Jones' *First booke…* printed in 1600, Jones explains that he actively moulded his music to the text:

> *"Ever since I practiced speaking, I have practiced singing; having had noe other*
> *qualities to hinder me from the perfect knowledge of this faculty…presuming*
> *that if my cunning failed me in the Musicke: yet the words might speake for*
> *themselves...my chiefest care was to fit the Note to the Word."* (Robert Jones,
> *First Booke of Songes and Ayres in foure parts with Tableture for the Lute*.
> London, 1600)

Meanwhile, in the preface to his first and second books, printed together in 1613, Thomas Campion explains that he had "chiefely aymed to couple my Words and Notes lovingly together" (Campion 1613: 'to the reader'). Campion observes that English syllables are "loaded with Consonants as that they will hardly keepe company with swift Notes, or give the Vowell convenient liberty", highlighting the challenge posed by this feature of the English language and showing that he had an intimate appreciation for one of the difficulties that confront singers in English: how to achieve sufficient vocal sound on the vowel to allow the note to sound while also articulating the consonants to maintain clarity of the text . Although a detailed examination of Campion's airs has not been undertaken here, these remarks at least suggest that Campion would be sensitive to the text in his compositions and adapt his music accordingly when setting texts to music.

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[44] "There is eminently"
[45] "Neither anything"

Although much later than the Filmer collection, remarks from Henry Lawes (b. 1595 – d. 1662)[46] that appeared in his *Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues* printed in 1655, reveal a similar sensitivity and sympathy to the nature of English prosody and a desire to 'shape' his music to it, along with a recognition that others do not do so, to the detriment of the song:

> *"Yet the way of* Composition *I chiefly posess (which is to shape* Notes *to the* Words *and* Sense*) is not hit by too many : and I have often been sad to observe some (otherwise able) musicians guilty of such lapses and mistakes this way",* and elsewhere he add that *"if English words which are fitted for Song doe not run smooth enough, 'tis the fault either of the* Composer *or* Singer*"* (Henry Lawes*, The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues, for one, two, and three voyces*. London, 1655).

Lawes was sure to put his principles into practice, writing a number of what Spink (2000) describes as strophic declamatory songs where the second and subsequent strophes are altered slightly to accommodate the text accents as appropriate (Spink 2000: 23).

Such concern with adapting music to text is something Filmer explicitly does not attempt to do:

> "*For touching the Musicall part of this Booke, I have onely exercised by Judicative strength in the Choice and Collection of the Aires, which is not sufficient to raise on a man the surname of Musician*".

Perhaps Filmer's protestations of a lack of music skill were more than mere conventional humility and, in fact, a sign that he lacked the confidence, as much as the skill, to make the necessary rhythmic adjustments to the airs in order to accommodate his English texts. Although he expresses a similar degree of humility concerning the poetry – "*for the Literature or Poetrie of the ditties, I have no more then new-colour'd their Forme, by changing their language, I have not invented the subject, or made the Matter; wherein consists the maine Essence of a Poet, as being the Worke from whence he receives more properly his Denomination*" – Filmer's act of translation has involved more creative invention (as will be seen in Chapter 2.2) than what he has been prepared to exert over the music. However, he assures us that as translator, he has not diverted from the original "Plot and Scope of the Author" but merely had "some little share in the Apparell of Dresse, though not in the Bodie, of the work".

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[46] Although this printed collection of 1655 appears later than the Filmer collection, as a member of the Chapel Royal from 1626 and one of the 'lutes and voices' to Charles I from 1631, Henry Lawes was actively composing songs, among other music, throughout this period until the proclamation of the Commonwealth (Spink 2000: p.94). Many of his works circulated in manuscript during this time only appearing in print after the Restoration (Spink 2000: p.9) suggesting that his airs and the views he expression about his compositional practices may be considered as contemporary with Filmer.

While Filmer expresses the hope that his Anglophone compatriots will take pleasure in performing and listening to this French music that he has helpfully adapted to their native tongue, he is conscious of certain difficulties associated with his chosen endeavour. In the third paragraph of the preface, Filmer elaborates that his remaining steadfastly faithful to the music can result in a mismatch of poetic metres:

> *Now, because translated Ditties and Originals differ chiefly in this Preposterous Point, that, whereas the Musicall Notes are fitted to the Originals, the Translations are, contrarily, to be fitted to the Musicall Notes, I have bee'n forced, by this new Taske, for the even Accord with the Musicke, in divers Aires, to alter the Naturall first Cast of the Verse, and to ordaine, in the proper place of an* iambicke *Foot, a dissonant* Trockaicke*, as more sutable to the nature of the Note* (Filmer collection, preface).

He suggests that such mismatches are unavoidable for two reasons. First, that he, as translator, must fit his texts to pre-existing melodies while the composer of the music was able to fit his melodies to the texts ("…*whereas the Musicall Notes are fitted to the Originals, the Translations are, contrarily, to be fitted to the Musciall Notes…*"). Filmer must either contrive combinations of words that will fit the predetermined rhythmic patterns or risk a mis-accented syllable and, as already observed, he is not willing or not confident to make retrospective adjustments to the musical rhythm.

The second reason is that there is a fundamental difference in timing between French and English syllables, which means that a melody that has been composed based on French poetic rhythm will necessarily be not readily adaptable to English poetic rhythm:

> "…*French syllables as well in Verse as Prose, are pronounced with a more Continu'd Equalitie of sound, then ours. For that Tongue admits seldome of any Tones or Intentions of the Voice (by Grammarians called Accents) unlesse at the End of the Clause, or in the* penultims *of words ending in their* e feminine*. …whereas Ours, more frequent and lively in Accenting all polysyllables, bewrayes presently to the Eare, by Our best Measure, the Accent, the Contrarietie between the* Trochay *and the* Iambicke."

The distinction that Filmer is making between these languages closely resembles what linguists now refer to as syllable timing and stress timing. French is an example of a syllable-timed language where "the time intervals between one syllable and the next tend to be equal", and English is an example of a stress-timed language because, by contrast, regardless

of the number of syllables, the intervals between stresses tends to be uniform (Visch 1999: 223).

Filmer acknowledges that there are these irregularities of metre but asks that "busy examiners" will "forbare censure" until they have sung the tunes: "*…the intent of this Booke being more to please the judicious Hearer of the Tunes, then the critical reader of the Lines, I have chosen rather, wittingly, to tolerate a little roughnesse in the Fluencie of some of the Verses…*". It is likely that only a native English speaker would be sensitive to such a mismatch, again signalling that Filmer believed that native English speakers were going to be the main audience for his collection. The consequences of this timing difference between French and English and the resulting 'roughnesse in the Fleuncie of some of the verses' will be subjected to closer examination in Chapter 2.4.

The fourth and final paragraph of the preface further emphasises the audience Filmer was aiming his collection at, by concluding with the hope that his "Home hearted unaffectating Countrie-men" and also "Roving spirits" who may only be superficially acquainted with French language and music might be persuaded to delve deeper after exploring this collection. Filmer's preface shows that he was aware of and yet accepted the shortcomings of his poetry in the interests of sharing this repertoire with his compatriots.

By his choice of dedicatee and inclusion of a contribution from a high-profile, court-connected supporter, and careful selection of airs Filmer appears to have been aspiring towards notice, if not favour, at Henrietta Maria's court. Although he has made the grand gesture of dedicating his collection to the Queen, the preface to the Filmer collection shows that his imagined practical users of the collection would be native English speakers. The preface also reveals that Filmer was not willing to risk compromising the music – by altering the rhythm to better accommodate the English texts – and an awareness of the resulting mismatches of accent this may cause. These practical considerations will be examined in Part Two of this thesis.

Part one concluding remarks: reception of the Filmer collection

The late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century French *air de cour* emerged as a distant descendant of the ancient and deeply rooted traditions of the *troubadours* and *trouvères*, whose songs have language and text at their core. The world they entered was one in which there was again a fashion for solo song and a focused interest among intellectual circles to achieve a closer unity between text and music.

Recognising that the *air de cour* had a double life in France is important for understanding how it was performed and perceived by difference audiences. As a public-facing courtly entertainment, its royal audience experienced these *airs* for the first time in performances by the very best musicians and often with the composer as one of the participants. Henrietta Maria may have heard Guédron singing and playing his airs and would most certainly have heard Boesset among many other court musicians performing *airs de cour*, either as part of a large-scale *ballet de cour* or in more intimate settings. Beyond the court, amateur musicians discovered the *air* via the more static printed page, and performed them at home, either in small groups or alone, for private enjoyment.

Meanwhile, Edward Filmer, and many of his English compatriots, would have most likely encountered these airs in England in their printed incarnation, perhaps occasionally performed by a French singer but most likely by an English singer – who may, or may not, have known French. It is probable that Filmer received musical training and so could have sung the airs, perhaps while accompanying himself on the lute. Although it is impossible to know how Filmer may have first heard these airs, the difference between Henrietta Maria's experience of the *air de cour* in performance compared to Filmer's must influence their perceptions on the genre. By extension, these different experiences would affect the way in which either Henrietta Maria and her court or English audiences might have heard and appreciated the airs contained in Filmer's collection.

In England, the *air de cour* also had to compete with the great mix of song genres produced by English composers and coming off the London printing presses. It would have been difficult for the inward-looking, relatively uniform *air de cour* to standout against the more varied and overtly expressive English secular song genres. As a print object, also, the Ballard collections of *air de cour* differed greatly in purpose and perceptions of value compared to their English counterparts. In Paris, the music publications from the Ballard firm of works by almost exclusively courtly composers represented an extension of royal prestige. In London, the comparatively loosely controlled music printing trade produced an enormously varied

output of secular songs by composers almost exclusively not in receipt of royal favour. These had to jostle for the attention of the music-buying public and yet, despite the great variety of musical styles, songs of foreign origin were not common.

The nineteen airs that make up the Filmer collection represent the *air de cour* genre in almost all of its diversity, however, the extent to which Filmer made his selections to bring this aspect to the fore is not certain. What does appear certain is that he carefully chose a number of airs in the collection for their explicit association with Henrietta Maria's French family, making it appear to be intended as a grand gesture of loyalty and affection towards the young Queen, more so than a collection intended for practical use. And if this was the case, then perhaps the unlikely commercial appeal ceases to present a problem.

But, if the Filmer collection was indeed a grand gesture only, why then did Filmer feel the need to accompany it with a lengthy, detailed preface apparently directed towards prospective performers, and why was he not more careful when selecting airs to avoid those that may have unhappy or embarrassing associations for the Queen and her court? Although she may have known many of these airs, it seems unlikely that she would have performed the Englished versions in the Filmer collection – if she was even aware of its existence. In the context of her other carefully controlled public performances, Filmer's apparently well-intentioned gift of a collection of, by then, rather old-fashioned French airs Englished carries with it an underlying message of assimilation that I believe Henrietta Maria and her court would not have been at all receptive to.

Regardless of the possible, or even actual, reception of the Filmer collection by its dedicatee, Filmer stated that his purpose was also to expose to his fellow compatriots fine examples of French music, suggesting that they were the intended users of his collection after all and that he does imagine the pieces will be played and sung. To make the airs more accessible to them he has changed only the language of the texts and not the music, a problematic endeavour – the consequences of which Filmer shows that he is aware in his preface to the collection – and yet he chose to persist regardless. After all of these pages it is still a decision that raises more questions than I have been able to find answers to and so they may have to remain. This unsatisfactory condition does not, however, preclude a close examination of the relationship between language, text and music in the airs of the Filmer collection.

The deep roots of the *airs de cour* genre and its contemporary context firmly establish the crucial relationship between text and music in the *air de cour* and hint at particular characteristics that will become the subject of attention in the second part of this thesis.

Part two – the contents of the Filmer collection

In Part 1 of this thesis I surveyed the social and political context in which the Filmer collection was produced and highlighted a number of factors which may have impacted on its successful reception not only at the English court but more broadly among the music-buying and music-playing English public. Part 2 of this thesis is concerned with the content of the Filmer collection and will include a multifaceted examination of the airs in the collection to understand the implications of transforming these French airs into English ditties.

Summary of part two

Chapter 2.1 begins with an exploration of the role of text in the *air de cour* which concludes with a brief survey of the characteristics of French and English poetry of the seventeenth century. This survey focuses on the basic structural features – metre and rhyme – and aesthetic principles which guided these poetries and informs much of the discussion in the subsequent chapters. Filmer's translations are the subject of chapter 2.2 where I consider whether simple fidelity to the source text is sufficient for a translation of an *air de cour* text.

Chapter 2.3 focuses on the aesthetics of the poetry and music and the key unifying force in the relationship between the text and music in the *air de cour*. By examining the airs as each as a unified whole – an indivisible amalgam of text and music – I will consider what happens when, not just the language, but the poetry is changed through translation. The analyses presented in chapter 2.4, the final chapter, go some way towards providing an explanation for the relationship we can often hear and 'feel' between language and music (as sounded phenomena, not just markings on a page) but cannot always explain.

2.1 – *meeters that seeme to faulter in their Pace*: text in the *air de cour* and French poetry

2.1.1 – Use of text: styles of text settings in the *air de cour*

As presented at the very beginning of this thesis, the symbiotic relationship between text and music in the *airs de cour* can be traced back to the earliest surviving sources. The importance of this relationship in the composition and performance of *airs de cour* has long been recognised. This is nowhere more apparent than in the preface to the earliest printed collection of *airs de cour*, the 1571 publication *Livre d'Airs de cour miz sur le luth par Adrian Le Roy*, which followed an earlier collection of *chansons* by Orlande de Lassus. Le Roy wrote "…*if* [the collection's] *musical harmonies are not equal to those of the first* [collection] *at least the texts have come from good forges such as those of Seigneurs Ronsard, Desportes, and others of the most noble poets of our century*" (translation Brooks 2000: 13).

It was not until at least the third decade of the seventeenth century that composers of the *air de cour* began to be swayed by the Italianate interest in the heightened expression of emotions, achieved by matching textual affect with musical harmonies. Even then, French composers married this new fashion with their long-standing tradition of closely observing the metrical form of the poem through attention to correct syllable count and accent. In the first half of the seventeenth century Father Marin Mersenne wrote extensively on rhetoric, declamation and word music relationships in *L'Harmonie universelle, contenant le théorie et la practique de la musique*, published in Paris in 1636 (Ranum 2001: 478). His view was that it was:

> "…*necessary to weigh the entire text and the plan or intention of what it contains, and to where it is taking the mind, in order to devise for it a melody and rhythms that are so appropriate that the text will have at least as much power over listeners when sung as it would if recited by an excellent orator…for this reason the composer should mark all the places in the upper voice where the voice should be stronger or weaker, and where the accents of the passions should be placed…*" (Mersenne, translation Ranum 2001: 9).

Bénigne de Bacilly's *L'Art de bien chanter. Remarques curieuses sur l'air de bien chanter et particulièrement pour ce qui concerne le chant françois* (Paris, 1668), is an important source for understanding how composers and performers thought about the relationship between text and music during this period. Bacilly instructs the singer on correct pronunciation and how to ornament a song correctly without obscuring the rhythm of the text or music. He begins by explaining that:

> *"the human voice, in addition to the fact that it is natural, has the advantage of being able to speak. … As a result, it is not enough to know how to sing well, to know the rules of the vocal art both in terms of theory and practice – but it is also necessary to know how to apply these precepts skilfully to the words that he sings … This is especially true when the singer does not have a perfect knowledge of the language he is singing; that is to say, he is not sure of the proper pronunciations of the words, and above all when he has an imperfect knowledge of the proper length of long and short syllables"* (Bacilly 1668: 245, translation by Caswell, 1964).

Although all of the airs in the Filmer collection pre-date Bacilly's publication by at least fifty years, Pierre Guédron, composer of 17 of the 19 airs in the collection, was unusual among his contemporaries for his early attempts to apply in his airs for the *Ballets de cour* the principles of text setting and expression to which Mersenne and Bacilly allude. Many of these principles are exemplified by Caccini, whom Guédron may have met with and heard perform during the visit Caccini made to the French court in 1604-05, at the invitation of Marie de Medici ('Caccini, Giulio', Grove Music Online,Hitchcock n.d.). Guédron, however, did not persist with this approach to text setting (Durosoir 2009: xlix). More common in his output and that of his contemporaries was a desire to achieve textual clarity without recourse to affective harmonies or melodic intervals.

In his 1921 publication, *L'art du chant en france au XVIIe siecle*, Theodore Gérold observed that *airs de cour* follow the poetic lines, each phrase concluding with a long note coinciding with the end of a poetic line. Gérold added that this phrasing allowed the singer to take leisurely breaths before starting each line. When combined with a relatively narrow melodic range – particularly when compared to Italian contemporaries Caccini and Peri – a low tessitura and generally short duration, Gérold concluded that the *airs de cour* were well-suited to amateur singers (Gérold 1921: 72), although there is no suggestion that performance of the *air de cour* was limited to the amateur. Indeed he later observes that the practice of ornamentation, whether for expressive emphasis or purely decorative ends, would have required a well-developed vocal technique (Gérold 1921: 75).

In addition to affording a degree of vocal ease for the performer, these characteristics of the *air de cour* could enable great clarity of text for the audience. A melody line that followed the poetic line and required modest vocal effort due to a restricted range and low tessitura, would result in a song where the text – both words and poetic form – remained easily audible to the audience. Although Durosoir notes that French composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries appeared to be resistant to the humanist

experiments of the Florentine *camerata* (Durosoir 1991: 5-6), the privileging of the text in the *air de cour* enables the emotion and feeling present in the text to come through, supported by the music, rather than necessarily emphasised by it.

Patricia Ranum, in the *The Harmonic Orator: The Phrasing and Rhetoric of the Melody in French Baroque Airs* (2010), similarly observes that "French baroque music [is] inseparable from its poetry" (Ranum 2001: xiii). She adds that the modern approach "to construct a Europe-wide performance style that will apply to *all* Baroque music…[to inform performance practice of seventeenth and eighteenth-century music]… does not permit French music to attain its maximum cultural and emotional potential" (Ranum 2001: xiii). Ranum's thesis, echoing Bacilly some centuries earlier, is that French baroque airs, their melodies, rhythms and metres, are inextricably linked to the French language and textual rhetoric and that performers must be intimately familiar with these to achieve effective performances of this repertoire.

When William Christie explained what it is to perform French baroque music, he began with the French language: "…there must be a linguistic approach to the music, not only for singers but for instrumentalists as well…For French music to come alive it has to be linked with language" (Christie 1993: 263). He went on to observe that, for singers, this requires an actual change in technique from the Italianate *bel canto* style of legato singing to "a kind of non-legato, very consonant and non-vowel approach" (Christie 1993: 263). Christie suggests that French baroque music is imbued with an underlying 'French-flavour' imparted by the language.

The technical implications of this language-led imperative have been explored in further detail by Sally Sanford (1995) through a comparison of French and Italian singing in the seventeenth century. Sanford too explained that the different techniques described in the sources she refers to "are based primarily on differences in language" (Sanford 1995). For example, four important French treatises on singing (Bacilly 1668, Bérard 1755, Lecuyer 1769, and Raparlier 1772) address themselves to the proper pronunciation of consonants while no such emphasis appears in contemporary Italian or German treatises (Sanford 1995).

These reflections and observations support the conclusion that text is something intrinsic to the *air de cour* and that the performance of the language itself is just as important, if not more so, than the overt expression of the emotional content of the text. Perhaps composers of *airs de cour* were responding to the nature of the poetry, indeed the language, as much as

producing music, and for this to be fully felt, the singer must be aware of it and know how to interpret the composer's musical and notational representation of it in order that the audience can experience it. On looking to the airs themselves, composers appear to have taken two divergent approaches to capturing in music a text, in all its character: commonly referred to as *musique mesurée* and *récits.*

Classical metre: *musique mesurée à l'antique*

A much-discussed influence on the early *air de cour* was the work led by Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Joachim Thibault de Courville and the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* in the late sixteenth century. The product of this work, termed *musique mesurée à l'antique* (and commonly reduced to *musique mesurée*), was an attempt to re-create classical Latin poetic metre in French poetry and song, by imposing classical metres, based on the notion of syllabic quantity,[47] onto musical text settings. Like their Florentine counter-parts, the members of the *Académie* hoped that in adapting Classical metres to French vernacular song texts they would revive the music of 'the ancients' (namely Greeks) and produce music capable of calming the passions of the people (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 44). *Musique mesurée* is most immediately recognisable on the page through its use of just two rhythmic values, often minims and crotchets, and by the presence of irregular musical metre. There are at least two airs in the collection that exhibit the characteristic short-long notation of *musique mesurée*. *Ou luis-tu soleil de mon ame* (No. 6) by Pierre Guédron first appeared in print in 1602. *Qu'Aminte fut heureux* (No.7) also by Pierre Guédron first printed in 1608. I will return to these airs in the linguistic analysis to be presented in chapter 2.4.

There has been some debate surrounding the extent of the influence of *musique mesurée* over the text settings of the *airs de cour*. Because *musique mesurée* involves the imposition of a metric structure that is not natural to the French language, a brief survey of this debate will be instructive when examining the text settings more closely in the later chapters of this thesis. The work of Frances Yates, D.P. Walker and Andr*é* Verchaly dominated the debate

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[47] The term 'quantity' should be treated with caution when used in relation to the French language. French is described in linguistic literature as a 'quantity insensitive' language, meaning that syllable quantity does not govern the placement of stress. This is in contrast to languages such as Classical Greek and Latin which are 'quantity sensitive'. Despite its Latin origins, it is unlikely that French has ever been 'quantity sensitive' (Bullock 1997, p.23-24). Many scholars, however, choose to retain the terminology as it was often used during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was loosely related to long and short vowels within syllables (Ranum 2001, p.100-101). 'Quantity' in this context then refers to the relative prominence of a given syllable due to its greater length (i.e. duration, prominence can also be achieved through variation in pitch or volume) which governs the overall sound patterning of the language.

from the late 1940s to the 1960s. Georgie Durosoir and Jonathan Le Cocq revisited the topic in the 1990s.

Yates suggests that Baïf's *musique mesurée* "was perhaps the most thorough-going attempt ever made to translate into practice the precepts of musical humanism, and so to produce in modern times song which should be 'spells for souls' " (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 42). To achieve this, however, Baïf had to override the natural accents of French poetry and replace them with 'quantity', characteristic of Latin verse, "his object in doing this was to recover a closer union between poetry and music (and therefore more powerful "effects") by making the value of the notes of music exactly correspond to the quantity of the syllables" (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 50). Adherence to these rules often caused him to label an unaccented syllable as 'long', "thus producing misplaced stresses" (Yates 1947 / 2nd edn 1988: 53) that could jar the ear of native French speakers.[48] Yates concludes that while Baïf's metrical experiments are criticised as being "unproductive" from a literary point of view, their significance can be realised when considered in conjunction with music – indeed, as they were originally intended to be (Yates 1947/ 2nd edn 1988: 57). Yates implies that *musique mesurée* airs were more successful in performance than when simply read from the page, perhaps because of the combined effect of the musical and poetic rhythm.

Without directly challenging Yates, D.P. Walker (1948) proposes the idea that there are two kinds of *musique mesurée*-influenced airs. One in which composers may have applied the characteristics of *musique mesurée* consciously, with explicit knowledge of the underlying theories and a deliberate application of them, and unconsciously, creating mere impressions of the real thing; a reasonable supposition when reminded that much of the activities of the *Académie* were kept secret – for the power to sway the minds of others through music should be carefully guarded, lest it fall into the hands of those with nefarious intents. A conscious application of the principles of *musique mesurée* results in the "metre of text [being] emphasised by long notes and the *coupe* and at the end of the line" (Walker 1948: 141). Walker characterises this conscious adherence to the principles of *musique mesurée* as "excellent treatment of text" (Walker 1948: 143), exemplified in airs from a collection by Fabrice Marin Caietain, published in 1578, and *Le Ballet de la Royne*, published in 1582, and

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[48]Bullock (1997), drawing on work from Morin (1996), has since analysed Baïf's phonetic orthography and corpus and concludes that his use of lengthening diacriticals to indicate stress "suggests that he intuitively felt that stress correlated with length in French" (Bullock 1997: 29) and so perhaps Yates is overstating the extent of the jarring effect.

suggests that Pierre Guédron's "great respect for the verbal rhythm of his texts" could have been due to the influence of *musique mesurée* (Walker 1948: 159).

A "superficial or unconscious imitation" of the effects of *musique mesurée* (Walker 1948: 147) results in a rhythm that "is completely free and has no intelligible plan" (Walker 1948: 141). Walker suggests that *airs de cour* published early in the seventeenth century that exhibit a superficial similarity to *musique mesurée* could have been the result of a casual hearing of the earlier *musique mesurée* airs without the necessary knowledge of the theoretical underpinning (Walker 1948: 147). Walker concludes that the composer does not observe any metrical plan of the text and disregards the natural verbal rhythm (Walker 1948: 152).

Like Yates, André Verchaly (1961) concludes that the intellectual literary experiments of the *Académie* "demand music", as the blank verses are "not harmonious" when read. However, he criticises Walker for saying that *musique mesurée* is sensitive to text (Verchaly 1961: 68). Verchaly argues the arbitrary arrangement of long and short syllables, so characteristic of *musique mesurée*, is in defiance of subtle, nuanced accentuation (Verchaly 1961: 68) and is evidence of its poor relationship with the declaimed text. It seems that this difference of opinion stems from the basis of their judgement of what makes successful musical treatment of text: for Walker it is the observance of poetic metre; for Verchaly it is the reproduction of the nuanced accentuation of speech. There will be more said about this in chapter 2.4.

Georgie Durosoir (1991) appears to have some sympathy with Walker's notion of 'unconscious imitation', suggesting that practically all of the musicians of the time felt the influence of *musique mesurée*, while not "applying [it] to the letter" (Durosoir 1991: 63). Durosoir associates the use of longer line lengths (between 7 and 12 syllables) and the suppleness they allow in the melody line with the influence of the *Académie* and *musique mesurée* (Durosoir 1991: 61-62). However, as the seventeenth century progressed, Durosoir notes, influences on melodic rhythm and expression gradually shift away from *musique mesurée* towards dance metres, as airs were increasingly sought only to "charm" (Durosoir 1991: 63) rather than edify.

Finally, Jonathan Le Cocq (1997) downplays the influence of *musique mesurée*, arguing that it was important only so far that it established the conventional use of two note values (short-long) in text settings (Le Cocq 1997: 188). He suggests that the characteristics often ascribed to the influence of *musique mesurée*, such as metrical freedom, could equally be

ascribed to the older and more widely known *voix de ville* (Le Cocq 1997: 187). The term *voix de ville*, or *vaudeville*, was in common use during the sixteenth century. It described a courtly love lyric of several strophes set to a simple tune and was the likely precursor genre to the *air de cour* ('Vaudeville', Grove Music Online, Barnes n.d.). Le Cocq suggests that the influence of *musique mesurée* could not have been felt prior to the late 1580s and 90s, because of the secrecy surrounding the activities of the academies. He adds that the metrical subtlety often associated with the influence of *musique mesurée* can be more readily ascribed to the general characteristics of the older – and more widely known – *voix de ville* genre. He also draws on examples of rhythmic patterns suggested by Royster (1972) as being indicative of *musique mesurée*, and instead proposes that they are also typical of dance metres (Le Cocq 1997: 187).

While there is no easy consensus on the extent of the influence of *musique mesurée*, most of these scholars are agreed that any influence it may have exerted over the *air de cour* had diminished by 1610 or 1620 (Durosoir 1991: 160; Le Cocq 1997: 188-89; Royster 1972; Verchaly 1953: 212-13). Given their French publication dates (between 1602 and 1617), the airs in the Filmer collection could be subject, if indirectly, to its influence and this may affect the extent to which we may expect the musical rhythmic notation to be reflective of natural speech prosody or French poetic metre.

Declamation and récits

The other significant style of text setting was concerned with supporting the declamation of text more so than the metre of the poem. Le Cocq (1997) observes that, "concern for accurate declamation became an issue for composers in the last quarter of the sixteenth century", adding, however, that this "relatively new preoccupation" of attention to word accent may have failed to have the influence it might otherwise have had because of the less "pragmatic" approach to declamation to which Baïf aspired with *musique mesurée* (Le Cocq 1997: 201).

By contrast, Janice Brooks (2000) concludes, in her survey of the very first *airs de cour* from 1571, that all of the musical characteristics of the late sixteenth-century airs she studied support the notion that the clear declamation of text was regarded as crucial to the projection of the subjects expressed in them.

> *"The stock melodic gestures, chord patterns, and rhythmic formulas*
> *are varied in order to reflect the structure and emphasis of individual*
> *poems. This combines with the syllabic delivery of the texts to*

> *enhance the impression that these pieces operated as vehicles for the effective declamation of poetry"* (Brooks 2000: 17).

A number of *airs de cour* explicitly claim a close relationship to their texts where they are described in their printed form as *récit*, although use of the term is not consistent and it did not necessarily carry the same associations with speech-like singing as it does today. Durosoir (1991) suggests that between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the term *récit* refers to a range of both spoken and sung pieces in the *Ballet de cour*. In the late sixteenth century, the term *récit* was used "to designate all pieces declaimed in verse" and not sung at all (Durosoir 1991: 103). And yet, the musical preoccupations dominate the rhythm in the two so-named *récits* by Guédron published as late as 1611 despite their derivation from speech rhythms (Durosoir 1991: 104). From around 1610, sung *récits* begin to appear alongside spoken *récits* and at the same time "…the verbs *reciter* and *chanter* seem to be interchangeable in the contemporary descriptions" (Durosoir 1991: 103). These examples neatly illustrate the inconsistent application of the term.

By the end of the seventeenth century, *récit* has another associated characteristic, "that which is sung by only one voice" (Antoine Furetière, *Dictionaire universel*, edition of 1691, quoted in Anthony 1974: 28). There appears to be little clarity in the literature on the extent to which airs designated as *récits* reflect natural speech rhythm. Durosoir links the nineteen airs by Guédron that were only ever issued for one voice[49] – and so have the freedom to adhere closely to the natural speech rhythms – as a sign of his modernity and characterises them as "sung declamation" (Durosoir 2009: LXXVI). There were many other airs by Guédron, not explicitly designated as *récit* that still exhibit a declamatory style – an approach he developed for the *ballet de cour* (Durosoir 2009: LXXV).

There are two airs among those in the Filmer collection that were described in their original form as *récit de ballet*: *Adorable Princesse* (no.1) and *O! Grands dieux, que de charmes* (no. 4), both by Pierre Guédron. These airs are characterised by the use of relatively complex rhythms, featuring dotted notes and short ornamental figures and irregular metre. Their melodies are also more complex and less immediately 'tuneful' than other airs. There are four other airs in the Filmer collection that exhibit similar features and, although they are not explicitly designated as *récit,* could be described as declamatory airs: *Quel espoir de gaurir* (no.5) and *C'est trop courir les eaux* (no. 12) by Guédron and *Arme toy ma raison* (no. 14) and *Je voudrois bien o Cloris* (no. 18) by Anthoine Boesset. According to Durosoir *Quel*

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[49] None of which appear in the Filmer collection.

espoir (no.5) is "singular because of its declamatory aspect" due to "the presence of a number of silences and the rhythmic organisation of syllables" (Durosoir 1991: 93-94). The extent to which these or other *airs de cour* settings reflect the declaimed text and on the other hand the extent to which it matters to the success of the setting will be explored further in chapter 2.4.

This brief survey establishes the importance not just of text – as the means of conveying meaning and emotion – but the language itself in the *airs de cour* as integral to their composition and performance. The common types of text settings – declamation and *récit*, and even the experiments with classical metre, although they may ultimately be misguided – are reflective of this pre-occupation with language. But texts of the *airs de cour* were, of course, presented as poetry, rather than prose. To further understand this relationship, and to appreciate the impact of changing the language as Filmer did for his collection, the following section provides a brief overview of some of the key differences between French and English poetry in the context of the airs in the Filmer collection.

2.1.2 – The poetry: style, metre and rhyme in French and English poetry

The characteristics of poetry are intimately connected to the characteristics of the language in which the poetry is written and spoken. And the characteristics of the French and English languages have resulted in very different poetries. In this section I compare the treatment of metre and rhyme, and the expression of aesthetics and style in French and English poetry. These elements provide ideal points of reference for understanding the consequences of what Filmer did in his collection. The brief survey that follows will provide a basis for appreciating the effect of change on these interrelated elements, as will be examined in the analyses presented in the remaining chapters.

Metre

Metre and metrical pulse is a feature shared between both music and poetry and can most simply be described as the patterned arrangement of accents in a line.

French poetic metre

In French poetry, metre is based on the number of syllables in a line, more so than the placement of accents within a line, as is the case for English poetry. Although a French poetic line will tend to have one primary accent at the end of the line, the existence of secondary line-stress is contested. Ranum (2001) maintains the conventional position that if a line is greater than six to eight syllables, it will attract a second accent near the middle of the line,

while Roger Pensom (1993) concluded, from his study of Lully's setting of Quinault texts in *Alceste*, that there was evidence of discernible secondary accents. The presence of secondary line stress in the context of song matters because if a musical text setting can be said to adhere to rhythms of spoken or declaimed language, such as in a *récit*, one might expect to see secondary line stress reflected in the rhythmic notation, if such stress exists.

Variation in French poetic metre is achieved by altering line length, or by the use of masculine or feminine rhyme, and can be used to help establish the mood of a poem. Regular poetic metre is created by regular line lengths, as determined by the number of syllables in the line, resulting in a regular pattern of accents. Patricia Ranum's survey of eighteen French airs from the late seventeenth century concluded that airs expressing "simple, unemotional thought usually have a very regular metre" (Ranum 2001: 135). The observation is confirmed among the airs of the Filmer collection: for example, *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* (no.9), a playful romp about the morning sun interrupting Silvia and her lover, establishes a regular octosyllabic sixane pattern – six lines of eight syllables each – although this is cheekily interrupted in the fourth line, which is only four syllables long, announcing the refrain, it nevertheless returns to the octosyllabic pattern for the last two lines of the stanza. The first stanza of the poem, below, shows the predominance of one type of rhyme – the mute *e* feminine rhyme – (marked with an A below) which serves to re-enforce the regularity of the metre by maintaining the same rhyme sound at the end of four out of the six lines in the stanza. The repetition of this rhyme pattern over the three successive stanzas further imprints the metre in the ear of the listener.

Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie[50]	A	8^e
Disoit baise moy je te prie	A	8^e
Au berger qui seul est sa vie	A	8^e
Et son amour,	B	4
Baise moy pasteur je te prie,	A	8^e
Et te leve car il est jour.	B	8

Poetic lines of varying length result in an irregular pattern of accents and an irregular metre. Ranum found that airs expressing more complex or serious ideas or emotions often have texts with irregular metre (Ranum 2001: p.148). Once again, among the airs of the Filmer collection *Las! pourquoy ne suis-je née* (no.8), confirms this observation. The text expresses the profound suffering of one who is deeply in love and yet is overlooked by the object of

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[50] One day, the amourous Silvia / Said, "Kiss me, I beg you" / To the shepherd who alone is her life / And her love. / Kiss me shepherd please / and rise for it is day. Translation by Sigrid Lee.

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their affection. Each line of the quatrain contains a different number of syllables which generates an irregular metrical pattern, as the example below shows.

Las! pourquoi ne suis-je née[51]	A	7e
Que pour souffrir mile et mile tourments ?	B	10
Et pour me voir abandonée	A	8e
De tous contentements ?	B	6

The changing line length has the effect of conveying to the listener a great sense of disquiet in the poet, even more so over the entire length of this poem's 12 stanzas.

Ranum also observes, however, that such changes in metre can be difficult for an English speaker to appreciate: "an unexpected shift in the length of one or more poetic lines affects the rhythmic fibre of the entire poem…to the uninitiated ear, the changes in the syllable count…may not appear to bring a substantial change to the recurrent metrical accents" (Ranum 2001: 146).

English poetic metre

English poetry is described as accentual-syllabic, which means that the arrangement of accents within the line, as well as overall number of syllables governing the line length, determines the organisation of the poetic metrical structure. The significance of line-internal accents in English metre is understandable when one considers that English speech rhythm exhibits more word stress, or accents, than French: "English words, contrary to French ones, do carry variable built-in accents of intensity and must therefore be arranged in verse in such a way as to fit a given metre" (Shaw 2003: 9). [52] The act of artistry and skill for the English poet is to exploit this characteristic by arranging words along with their natural accents into patterns throughout the line to establish a metrical pattern. The poet can instil a sense of expectation and comfort in the listener that comes with a regular pattern, then challenges that sense for emotional effect.

Like their French counterparts in the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*, a number of English poets were drawn to the notion of imposing Classical metres from Greek poetry on poetry written in English with the aim of recreating the persuasive powers of the ancient Greek theatre. In order to elevate their poetry to the ranks of the classical models they all studied, English poets turned away from the forms and prosody of their native verse (Macy 1997: 9),

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[51] Alas, why am I born / To suffer many, many torments? / And to see me give up / On all contentment? Translation by Mary Pardoe.

[52] This difference in stress behaviour in French and English will be examined further in Chapter 2.4.

such as alliterative verse. One of the most influential poets of age, Sir Philip Sidney (b.1554 – d.1586), could see "the implications for English verse of adopting a consistent convention for syllabic quantities, whereby also a basis for alliance with music is provided" (Maynard 1986: 86). For Sidney, the attraction of the challenge to naturalise Classical metre to English verse also lay in "the promise of increased metrical variety" (Maynard 1986: 85). Typically, metric variation in English poetry is achieved by varying the arrangement of poetic feet within the line. "In the long term, the establishment of a metrical basis for English verse proved an enrichment, making possible the play of the varying patterns of speech rhythm against the steady background beat of metre, and the exploration of new ways of patterning poetic sound" (Maynard 1986: 8).

Many poets found the notion of the 'foot', and the system of classical poetic metres built upon it, could be readily adapted to English because of the accentual nature of English speech prosody. In his *Defense of Rime* (1603), the poet Samuel Daniel (b.1562 – d.1619) put forward the view that the accents in English could act as a proxy in the absence of the quantitatively long and short syllables of Greek and Latin and still arrive at the numerical proportions so essential for affective music: "And though it doth not strictly observe long and short syllables, yet it most religiously respects the accent; and as the short and the long make number, so the acute and grave accent yield harmony – and harmony is likewise number" (Daniel quoted in Haslewood 1815: 198). Daniel concluded that "the English verse then hath number, measure, and harmony in the best proportion of music, which, being more certain and more resounding, works that effect of motion with as happy success as either the Greek or Latin" (Daniel quoted in Haslewood 1815: 198).

A poetic foot commonly consists of either two or three syllables, one of which will be accented, the remaining unaccented. A common poetic foot in English poetry is the iamb – a two syllable foot beginning with an unaccented, or short, syllable followed by an accented, or long, syllable (commonly notated as: U –). Other common poetic feet include the trochee (long-short or, – U), the dactyl (– U U), the anapest (U U –) and the spondee (– –). When these feet are combined in the line of poetry, they form a poetic metre. One of the most familiar English poetic metres is the iambic pentameter, a line consisting of ten syllables and grouped into five iambs: U – / U – / U – / U – / U – . Such as example of an iambic pentameter can be observed in Ben Jonson's *And must I sing? What subject shall I choose?*, the tenth poem from his short cycle *The Forest*, first printed in 1616.

> X The Forest
> *And must I sing? What subject shall I choose?*   10

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   U   –  U  –     U   – U   – U   –
```
Or whose great name in poets' heaven use,   10
```
U    –    U   – U  – U   –  U   –
```
For the more countenance to my active muse?   11
```
U   –   U    –  U  –   U U – U    –
```

Each line has five accented syllables – marked by a long dash – with the first two lines arranged in pairs of five iambs which establishes a pattern of accents and an expectation that it will continue. The third line of this short excerpt provides an example of how English poetic metre can tolerate an additional syllable while maintaining the metrical pattern and yet introduce subtle variation: the line begins with three iambs, but then, to fit in an extra syllable there follows a three syllable anapaest before finishing with a final iamb. The addition of a single syllable near the end of this line gives the sense of a hurried skip towards the finish line, an *active muse* indeed.

Rhyme

Like metre, rhyme is an important structural element in poetry providing sonic cohesion and unity (Mandel 1998: 218) but it can also have a significant influence over translation. Once again, however, inherent differences between French and English mean that poets writing in those languages use rhyme to different effect.

Rhyme in French poetry

Kirby Smith (1999) suggests that rhyme in French poetry "provides a punctuation for the syllabically measured lines, giving them a unity, or drawing attention to their integrity" (Kirby-Smith 1999: 52). Similarly, Shaw (2003) highlights the metric role the "well-marked recurring sound patterns" of rhymes play in "creating the effect of a phonetic accent" in French poetry (Shaw 2003: 9). As could be seen in the earlier example of *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* (no.9), the text from *Aux plaisir, aux delices bergeres* (no.19), by an anonymous poet, similarly illustrates how rhyme supports the metre in French poetry:

Aux plaisirs, aux delices bergeres,[53]	A	9^e
Il faut estre du tẽps menageres :	A	9^e
Car il s'escoule et se perd d'heure en heures,	B	10^e
Et le regret seulement en demeure,	B	10^e
A l'amour, aux plaisirs, aux bocage,	C	9^e
Employés les beaux jours de vostre âge.	C	9^e

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[53] To the pleasures, to the rural delights, / We must be careful of the time: / Because it can pass and waste hour / by hour, / And regret only remains, / To love, to pleasures, to the grove / Devote the beautiful days of your age.

This first strophe from the text shows the metrical structure consisting of six lines in pairs of nine and ten syllables all ending in feminine rhymes. The rhyme scheme is made up of three rhyming couplets. The A rhyming couplet aligns with the two nine syllable lines, the B rhyming couplet aligns with the two ten syllable lines and so on. In this way, the rhyme scheme emphasises the metrical structure of the poem by signalling metre changes with different vowel sounds in the rhyme. The dominance of feminine rhyme adds further rhythmic and sonic emphasis to each line ending with the recurring mute 'e' sound.

Conversely, rhyme and metre can be set up in deliberate opposition to each other to create a sense of tension and discord. For example, the rhyme scheme in *O! grands Dieux, que de charmes* (no.4) cuts across the metric changes in line length, although the effect is softened somewhat by the use of 'e' feminine rhymes.

O! Grand dieux que de charmes,[54]	A	6^e
Amoureuses armes,	A	5^e
De feux et de dars,	B	5
Que d'astres propices,	C	5^e
Que de delices,	C	4^e
Et doux regards.	B	4

The A rhyming couplet appears in lines of six and five syllables, while the C rhyming couplet is carried on lines of five and four syllables. Viewed metrically, the five and four syllable lines are doubly disrupted by both the changeable use of e feminine rhyme as well as the shifting rhyme scheme.

Rhyme in English poetry

Rhyme in English poetry occupies a somewhat more contested space than it does in French. This can be put down to the fact that unlike the Romance languages, such as French, English possesses fewer rhymes. In French "the frequency of certain word endings (in the form of suffixes, for example, and grammatical inflections), lend themselves more easily than English words do to the requirements of rhyme" (Shaw 2003: 9). Meaning that a language feature that occurs so frequently and easily in French that poets may take it virtually for granted, in English becomes something much rarer and therefore at easy risk of sounding contrived and ridiculous if the demands of rhyme require it to be used more often than listeners are used to. Although rhymes appear in the earliest examples of poetry in English, their authors

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[54] O great Gods of charms / Love weapons, / Of fire, of arrows, / Of favoured stars, / Of delights, / And sweet looks.

tended to rely on other effects, such as line-internal alliteration, for sonic cohesion rather than introducing a rhyme at the end of a line (McKie 1997).

Even by the late Elizabethan period, when experiments with Classical Latin and more modern Italian forms – both dependent on rhyme – had been well-established, there remained some ambivalence, even overt animosity, towards what was felt to be the overuse of rhyme. McKie suggests that some of this hostility could be due to the fact that the Church adopted rhyme in its hymns because of its "popularity, ease of use, and emotive appeal" and that this was a clear sign of 'vulgarity' which serious, learned poets and their readers should avoid (McKie 1997: 831). In his *Observations on the Art of English Poesie*, printed in 1602, Thomas Campion expressed perhaps an extreme view of rhyme in English poetry, "…the facilitie and popularitie" of which "creates as many Poets, as a hot sommer flies" (Campion 1602: 4). Campion views rhyme as a rhetorical device and, as with any other such device, believes it should be used sparingly "least it should offend the eare with tedious affectation" (Campion 1602: 4). He continues that "there is yet another fault in Rime altogether intolerable, which is that it inforceth a man oftentimes to abiure his matter, and extend a short conceit beyond all bounds of arte" (Campion 1602: 6).

Meanwhile, Sir Philip Sidney expresses a more balanced view of rhyme than Campion, in his *Defense of poesie* (1595 (posth.)). Like Campion, Sidney seeks "to show that it is not riming and versing that maketh a poet…but it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by" (Sidney 1595: 33). However, Sidney also observes that rhymed poetry, or verse, facilitates learning because it makes memorising easier:

> *"So that verse being in itself sweet and orderly, and being best for memory, the only handle of knowledge, it must be in jest that many men can speak against it…no learning is so good as that which teacheth and moveth to virtue, and that none can both teach and move thereto so much as poesy"* (Sidney 1595 (posth.): 34, 35).

Ben Jonson also expressed a strong view on rhyme:

> XXIX A Fit of Rhyme against Rhyme
> …
> *Greek was free from rhyme's infection,*
> *Happy Greek, by this protection,*
>   *Was not spoiled,*
> *Whilst the Latin, queen of tongues,*
> *Is not yet free from rhyme's wrongs,*
>   *But rests foiled. …*

He combined these leaden rhymes with a faltering metre, created by inserting the four syllable line every three lines, often enjambed with the preceding couplets, that interrupts the rhythmic flow they establish and has the effect of a graceless stumble. One suspects Jonson's tongue was firmly in his cheek because he was equally capable of producing rhymes of inspired originality as those in the opening lines of his sonnet to the Lady Mary Wroth demonstrate:

> XXVIII A Sonnet, to the Noble Lady, the Lady Mary Wroth
> *I that have been a lover, and could show it,*
> *Though not in these, in rhymes not wholly dumb,*
> *Since I exscribe your sonnets, am become*
> *A better lover, and much better poet.*
>
> *…*

Another distinct difference between English and Romance languages that emerged as Italian and French poetic forms were adopted into English is the so-called feminine rhyme. In the Italian models these were primarily useful for "lending lightness" to song lyrics or verse composed to resemble song (Maynard 1986: 83). Feminine rhymes appear throughout the texts of the French *air de cour*, as indeed they do French poetry, to add metric variability as well as for sonic effect. However, this is something not as readily available in English, where there are comparatively few word endings that lend the same sonic and rhythmic effect as the much more frequent mute 'e' sound in French, a fact that would cause a challenge for Filmer as will soon be examined.

Style

French poetic style – the *précieux*

The texts found in the early seventeenth century French *air de cour* are associated with the social and literary movement of the *précieux*. Literary scholars have taken some effort to isolate those characteristics unique to the *précieux* style from those of the contemporary baroque or mannerist styles. This was considered necessary because, whether superficial or otherwise, they do share some characteristics, in particular their use of rhetorical devices, which had resulted in confusion. Mourgues (1953), in her detailed examination of metaphysical and baroque poetry concluded that *préciositié* can be typically characterized by refined manners and language, that is at times elaborate, becoming excessive and even seen as ridiculous (Mourgues 1953: 103, 08). In a study of the baroque and mannerist characteristics exhibited by the poet Tristan l'Hermite, Shepard (2001) observes that compared to the baroque, *précieux* poetry tends to be small in scale, while baroque poetry

adopts more grand and longer forms (Shepard 2001: 50). Both Mourgues and Shepard agreed that the *précieux* poet aims to please the reader as compared to the didactic tendencies of the baroque poet (Mourgues 1953: 108; Shepard 2001: 102).

On examining the texts of the *airs de cour*, Georgie Durosoir (1991) found that *préciosité* was conveyed chiefly through the use of stock imagery (Durosoir 1991: 44) and pre-fabricated emotions (Durosoir 1991: 130). A typical synopsis of an *air de cour* text might be: the inconstant, cruel beautiful loved one causes mortal torment or cruel suffering for the lover, who seeks distant places and desolate darkness in which to experience his pain, before finding the only peace available to him in death. Such a typical scenario can be found among the airs in the Filmer collection, of which *He ! bien ma rebelle* (no.17) is an example. The author of the text is unknown but it was set to music by Pierre Guédron.

> *He ! bien ma rebelle,* [55]
> *Ma rebelle he bien,*
> *Mon amour fidelle*
> *N'obtiendra il rien ?*
> *Languiray-je toujours pour l'amour de toy belle,*
> *Languiray-je toujours*
> *Sans espoir de secours.*

After languishing in this fashion for five verses, the poet's predicament remains unchanged by the sixth and final verse and he is apparently prepared to go on enduring his torment because the only alternative is to give up all hope. By the early seventeenth centuries the *précieux* mode of expression had become a pervasive aesthetic ideal after it was established at the royal courts and fashionable salons – everyone sought to emulate it.

English poetic style

By contrast, English poetry during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was going through a period of stylistic change. On the one hand, there were writers who continued to exhibit the elaborate styles of Elizabethan and Renaissance literature (King 1982: 22); on the other there was a "turn to a plainer style" of poetry (Austin 1992: 6).

The courtly, Elizabethan style of the mid to late sixteenth century, expounded by writers such as Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser (b.1552 – d.1599) and Shakespeare (b.1564 – d.1616) (at times), was characterised by a certain formality and dignity achieved through "elegant rhetorical expression" (King 1982: 21) and ornamentation (King 1982: 24) but at the

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[55] Ah well my rebel, / My rebel ah well, / My faithful love / Gains nothing? / Should I always languish for love of you beauty, / Should I always languish / Without hope of rescue.

same time maintained a rather convoluted or loose syntax (King 1982: 26). The use of formal and archaic diction [thee, thou etc.] combined with close reasoning, precise control of emotion and careful deployment of rhetoric (King 1982: 25) were brought to bear for didactic, rather than purely entertaining, ends (Hardin 1972: 47).

Soon after, however, a new generation of satirists and poets were "attempting to imitate what they understood as the vituperation, allusiveness, topicality and purposeful obscurity of classical satire" (King 1982: 20). This new style of expression, epitomised by poets like Ben Jonson (b.1572 – d.1637), was characterised by a tendency towards brevity – a "kind of diligent negligence" (King 1982: 28) – and an immediate and colloquial manner (King 1982: 21). In a comparison between Ben Jonson's use of language and that of the earlier Elizabethan poets, Post (2010) observes that Jonson would avoid or carefully control the "baroque play with language" and that he applied "judicious moderation in the use of verbal ornamentation" and strove for "pure transparency of meaning" (Post 2010: 197-98). These later poets would use "everyday vocabulary and the wide range of references to objects and topics of current interest" (Austin 1992: 7), and consciously avoided the far-fetched metaphors, aphoristic style (King 1982: 28) and the "overly 'eloquent' or 'sugared' diction" of Elizabethan poetry (Austin 1992: 7). The first four lines from one of the elegies found in Ben Jonson's *Underwood*[56] exemplify the use of such directness and brevity:

> XXXVIII An Elegy
> *'Tis true, I'm broke! Vows, oaths, and all I had*
> *Of credit lost. And I am now run mad:*
> *Or do upon myself some desperate ill;*
> *This sadness makes no approaches, but to kill.*
> *…*

During this period of flux it is difficult to ascribe to the court of Charles I a specific overriding aesthetic or cultural milieu. As Kevin Sharpe describes it, "in early modern England there were no institutions at court through which an official culture could be organised, nor did Charles I appear to have had any desire to establish them…there was no official court culture" (Sharpe 1987: 22).

English poets appear generally to have been concerned with finding different ways of expressing a broad range of ideas, whether through the densely-packed, erudite old style or the powerfully direct new style, compared to their French *précieux* contemporaries, who, by reiterating a relatively constrained set of themes and imagery and even vocabulary, were

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[56] Although printed posthumously in 1640, Colin Burrow (n.d.) suggests that this text could date from around the 1620s and 1630s.

attempting to achieve a certain perfection of form. Even among the works of a poet who found favour in the court of Charles I, Thomas Carew, Sharpe argues "there was more to his love lyrics than the celebration of court love games played by the *precieux*" (Sharpe 1987: 122).

This environment of change and a lack of aesthetic hegemony from court must be viewed in stark contrast to the aesthetic and stylistic consistency of contemporary French poetry. It must be wondered at how poetry readers received the output of their respective counterparts. One means of approaching this question is by examining the characteristics of Filmer's poetry to see which it most closely resembles.

Filmer's poetry

Filmer's use of metre was necessarily bound by the line length of the original French poems because they had to fit within the pre-existing bounds of the melody. But, it might yet be expected that he could establish patterns of regular accents within those bounds as might be expected in English poetry in general. In his text *Why, alas! cri'd-out my Mother* (no.8), however, despite Filmer's consistent use of iambic feet, a regular pattern of accents struggles to emerge:

Why, alas! cri'd-out my Mother	8 (7e)
(–) U – U – U – x	
To break my peacefull sleepe of Innocence?	10
U – U – U – U – U –	
And drew the cortin, that did smother,	9 (8e)
U – U – U – U – x	
Mine eies from Lights offence?	6
U – U – U –	

To begin with, the first syllable of the first line, *Why*, is naturally accented but when heard in relation to the other lines, all of which begin with an unaccented syllable, it appears to be out of place – hence my decision to notate it as an accented syllable enclosed within brackets, as a kind of poetic anacrusis and has the effect of disrupting the establishment of a regular pattern from the outset. Secondly, Filmer must retain the original, changeable lines lengths which means that the rhyme at the end of each line is heard at irregular intervals resulting in a variable metric pulse. Finally, his choice of rhymes also has the effect of disrupting the rhythm. The rhyme at the end of *Mother* and *smother* is a 'weak' ending, the English equivalent to the French 'e' feminine, 'mute' syllable –*er*, and such syllables are not technically included in the syllable count of the line because they are considered to be either

floating syllables (not part of a foot) or 'mute' – either way leaving the line ending somehow unresolved.

As touched on earlier in this chapter, there was a degree of sensitivity to the use of rhyme among some seventeenth-century readers of English poetry and Filmer would have to tread carefully in his poems in order not to antagonise them. Unfortunately for Filmer, a possible example of what Campion was protesting against – with his "sommer flies" – can be found in *Silvia, not long since, half-afrighted* (no.9), Filmer's versions of the French text *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie*.

Silvia, not long since, half-afrighted,	A	8e
Because loves theft grew unbenighted,	A	8e
Wak'd the mate where in shee delighted,	A	8e
And thus did say:	B	4
With a kiss let all wrongs be righted,	A	8e
and get up quickly for tis day.	B	8

See! Where young morn beings to enter:
What early wings have late been lent her!
Some sleepless rival may have sent her,
Us to betray:
Hastily kiss then, to prevent her,
And get up quickly for 'tis day.

As with all of the airs in his collection, Filmer retains the syllable count and rhyme scheme of the French models. In this instance, however, this requires Filmer do something that would otherwise be quite unnatural to English poetry. The rhyme scheme of the French text is dominated by weak or 'feminine' rhymes, which are signalled by words ending in *–e* or *–es*. These words endings are relatively common and their effect in the rhyme scheme lends a certain sonic unity. As already observed, the 'weak' ending is comparatively uncommon in English and there are a limited number of ways to produce this effect. Filmer uses the *–ed* ending, afraight-*ed*; unbenight-*ed*; delight-*ed* …. . The effect of the repetition of this otherwise uncommon sound is ultimately becomes a bit ridiculous. In later verses Filmer resorts to using the same word instead of finding rhymes ('her' – in verse two, 'thee' in verse three, and 'mee' in verse five).

Indeed, Filmer was not the first to grapple with this dilemma, particularly in relation to feminine rhymes. Michael Smith (1974, quoted in Doughtie 1986) observed in English verse translations of Italian madrigal texts that the need to find feminine rhymes produced "extraordinary results" (Doughtie 1986: 98): the past participle *–ed* and the gerund or present participle *–ing* or the archaic third-person singular present tense suffix *–eth*

providing the most common feminine rhyme endings. "The resulting style is 'disjointed', 'histrionic', 'exclamatory', and often lacking in the logic or clarity of the original" (Doughtie 1986: 90).

On poetic style, not all poets in the early seventeenth century took Jonson's view: there were still those who resisted the new style and "remained largely committed to Elizabethan forms of verse" (Post 2010: 207) and Filmer could be said to be among their ranks. As the recipient of a gentleman's education during the last decades of the sixteenth century, and evidently a reader of poetry, Filmer would have been raised on the Elizabethan poets. Even though tastes were changing by the time Filmer presented his collection at court, Filmer's poetry bears a closer resemblance to the old style, characteristic of poets such as Sir Philip Sidney, than the newer contemporary style of a poet like Ben Jonson. As noted above, characteristics associated with the older, Elizabethan style include obscure metaphors, archaisms and convoluted syntax and such are the characteristics of Filmer's poetry. For example he tends to use obscure metaphors and rather convoluted syntax, after the older Elizabethan style, and does not often display that 'plain style' (Austin 1992: 6) or that immediate and colloquial manner (King 1982: 21) so often associated with Jonson. For example, verse two of *Why have my thoughts conspired* (no.3), starting from the third line:

> *Why ordaine not the Skies*
> *Out of my Mind to banish*
> *What they have made Vanish*
> *Already from my Eies*

is a round-about way of asking the heavenly fates to allow the poet to forget the one who they saw fit to remove from his life. The original French text, by François de Malherbe, uses similar imagery and yet somehow conveys it more directly:

> *Et que n'oste des Cieux*[57]
> *La fatalle ordonnance,*
> *À ma souvenance,*
> *Ce qu'elle oste à mes yeux.*

Other examples can be seen in line three from verse seven, 'Turnes, from Nettle, Balm-leafe' where the nettle—a stinging plant—represents a negative element contrasted with the positive effect of the soothing 'balm leaf.' In the French version of the text, 'Tourne de mal en bien!' (turn from bad to good) is a literal statement containing no imagery or metaphor. Later, in verse ten, lines two and three, Filmer constructs a convoluted image of the

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[57] And that does not remove from the Heavens / Destiny, / To my recollection / That which it removed from my eyes. Translation by Véronique Duché and Kate Sullivan.

beloved's eyes as particularly tasty dishes, that have not been served up at a feast, leaving the poet unsated: 'Feasts without these dishes / Relish of nought but rue', imagery that is not present at all in the French text. Malherbe uses the simpler and more conventional metaphor of the beloved's eyes as an empire over which the poet sighs. However, he does introduce the idea of sweetness which may explain why Filmer's mind turned to food in his translation:

> *Deux beaux yeux sont l'empire*[58]
> *Pour qui je soupire,*
> *Sans eux rien ne m'est doux ;*

Another obscure metaphor is found in *Wilt thou, untamed alas! / Las! Fuiras-tu toujours* (no.10), verse three, lines one and two:

> *'Tis not a hope, thine Eies will prove my sweete Attournies,*
> *When they shall see my case,*

> *Non, ce n'est point l'espoir que tu sois moins cruelle*
> *En voyant mon tourment,*[59]

Filmer's use of unusual metaphor contrasts not only with the clarity achieved by poets like Ben Jonson, but also with the elegant language of the *précieux* poets. It obscures the meaning and clarity of the otherwise conventional themes carried over from the original text. Filmer's ability to adapt to his role as poet notwithstanding, he in fact occupies the dual role of poet-translator, and with that comes additional challenges and responsibilities that will be explored in the following chapter.

This chapter has aimed to establish the important role of text and language in the *airs de cour* and the varied approach to text-setting which can accentuate either the structure of the poem, the expressive declamation of the poem or the clear enunciation of language itself. It has also set out the distinct differences between French and English poetry and provided an explanation of these, providing a firm basis on which to place the analyses of Filmer's airs and their French originals that comprise the remainder of this thesis.

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[58] Two beautiful eyes are the empire / For which I sigh, / Without them nothing is sweet to me… Translation by Véronique Duché and Kate Sullivan.
[59] No, this is not the hope that you may be less cruel / In seeing my torment… Translation by Véronique Duché and Kate Sullivan.

2.2 *I have no more then new-colour'd their Forme*: Filmer's translations

2.2.1 A growing and changing readership

The Filmer collection appeared during a period of great change in the literary life of England. The introduction of the printing press in England in 1476 followed by increasing rates of education and literacy[60] among the nobility and an emerging mercantile class during the sixteenth century led to an expanded but also changed pool of readers.

Prior to the Elizabethan period private patrons would mostly commission translations of religious, historical or legal works for the purposes of education, edification or business. Although these would continue to appear throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Elizabethan period was a "golden age" of translation as the range of material translated broadened (Stoneman 1982: 5) with a rising number of people seeking out material to read for pleasure. Secular works of poetry and prose abounded, especially those sourced from the Classics – either directly translated from Latin or Greek, indirectly from French translations.[61] "Providing plots for dramatists, translators sought to provide entertainment for the 'lettered ease'…The object was to import valuable works in such a way as to render them widely accessible to a new and expanded reading public" (Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006: 81-82). Indeed, Amos concludes from her study of the title pages and prefaces of Elizabethan printed works, the readers of these works were "all kinds of people, from ladies and gentlemen of rank to the common and simple sort…in many cases an audience far removed from academic preoccupations" (Amos 1920 (1974 ed.): 86).

With this newly emerged reading class and their demands for books there was also a greater variety of people able to produce the written material. Weissbort and Eysteinsson remark that "translation was not an exclusive craft", with works of translation produced by ambassadors (Sir Thomas Hoby (b.1530 – d.1566) translated Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* in 1561) and politicians (Sir Thomas North (b.1535 – d.1602/3) translated Jacques Amyot's French translation of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* in 1579)

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[60] Although we can be certain that there was indeed an increase, the extent is difficult to calculate. For his investigation of writing and literacy in Tudor and Stuart England, David Cressy (2008) took a cautious approach to estimating literacy levels. After a detailed exploration of records of contemporary opinion, rates of book productions, records of book ownership and education practices, he states that the population of England was increasingly literate – a conclusion that he himself describes as "broad, vague and uncontroversial" (Cressy 1980: 53). He finally concludes that as "reading leaves no record" some questions as to the precise numbers will have to remain unanswered.

[61] Tania Demetriou points out that "next to Latin, the early modern world's lingua franca, French is virtually the only significant 'vehicular' or 'pivot' tongue for English translation" (Demetriou 2015: 5).

among others of whom were educated with 'lettered ease' (Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006: 82). Authors who were able to read and write in more than one language, motivated by commerce or scholarship (or perhaps a bit of both), turned to works from other places and other times and translated them into English to feed the seemingly insatiable appetites of the new reading public.

'No flight for thoughts': the conventions of translation at the time of Filmer

The practice of translation was arguably at the centre of two remarkably significant movements during this period: the Reformation and the Renaissance, driven "on the one hand [by] biblical translation, on the other translation of Classical Greek and Roman canons of literary and historical writings" (Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006: 55). Indeed, Edmond Cary goes further, declaring that "[t]he Reformation, after all, was primarily a dispute between translators. Translation became an affair of State and a matter of Religion" (quoted in Bassnett 2014: 65), as biblical scholars of the reformation attempted to go back to the earliest sources to retranslate the bible in vernacular languages without the layers of interpretation that had accumulated during the intervening centuries. And while Cary's assessment may be overstating their role, some translators certainly became martyrs for their craft.[62] With the stakes so high, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw the appearance of a number of accounts of the values and principles adopted by translators when engaged in their work.

Translation of the Bible and psalm texts had been influenced by a respect for the original text combined with repeated critique and comparison with the source. This iterative process resulted in the development of a set of principles to guide translators of religious texts (Amos 1920 (1974 ed.): 90). Bassnett more specifically proposes that the aims of sixteenth century Bible translators could fall into three categories:

1. "To clarify errors arising from previous versions, due to inadequate SL [source language] manuscripts or to linguistic incompetence.
2. To produce an accessible and aesthetically satisfying vernacular style.
3. To clarify points of dogma and reduce the extent to which the scriptures were interpreted and re-presented to the laypeople as a metatext" (Bassnett 2014: 59).

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[62] French humanist Etienne Dolet (1509–46) was tried and executed for heresy after 'mistranslating' one of Plato's dialogues in such a way as to imply disbelief in immortality (Bassnett 2014: 63). The English protestant William Tyndale (b.1494 – d.1536) was hung and burned at the stake for the heresy of producing an English translation of the Bible that was unauthorised by Catholic authorities.

It is arguable, however, that concerns for achieving an accurate rendition of the source text often won out over the interests of style or an easy intelligibility in the target language: "In an age when the choice of a pronoun could mean the difference between life or condemnation to death as a heretic, precision was of central importance" (Bassnett 2014: 59). By the Elizabethan period there was a well-established practice for translating the Bible and psalm texts, based on the notion of 'interlinear', or word-for-word, translation in order to maintain utmost fidelity to the original text (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998: 2), although, this long history was disrupted in the seventeenth century with the appearance of the King James Bible in 1611. As a translation driven more by political and theological imperatives than concern for literary style, Stephen Prickett (2010) describes it as "a deeply conservative text" where the language was "deliberately archaic, latinized, and conservative" (Prickett 2010: 28, 30). Even so, the committee of translators for the King James Bible grappled with the same questions of fidelity to the source (or in the case of the Bible, sources) and reception by the intended audience that every translator before or since has had to face.

Translators of secular prose and poetry were not necessarily bound by the same constraints as religious and academic translators. They could therefore establish a different relationship with source material. Although "later readers, while admiring the conviction of earlier [translations], might sometimes feel that they [Elizabethan translators] were too distant from their sources, domesticating, to the point of falsification" (Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006: 82). The larger and more varied readership during the Elizabethan period led to methods of translation that exhibited a certain "freedom in handling material, with the accompanying vagueness as to the limits of the translator's function" (Stoneman 1982: 12), where the lines between the roles of translator and author begin to blur. Stoneman goes so far as to suggest that for translators of the Elizabethan period, imitation of a source text was "simply one means of rhetorical *invention*" (Stoneman 1982: 12).

This is not to imply, however, that the translator's craft was not consciously bound by some principles. Bassnett observes that George Chapman (1559–1634) in the *Epistle to the Reader* of his translation of Homer's *Iliad* of 1598 "states that a translator must:

1. avoid word for word renderings,
2. attempt to reach the 'spirit' of the original,
3. avoid overloose translations, by basing the translation on a sound scholarly investigation of other versions and glosses" (Bassnett 2014: 64).

As well as capturing the spirit of the original, translators were also conscious of their obligations to their readers which they would go to great lengths to fulfil. In the preface to

his translation of Ovid's *Metamophoses* of 1567 – the first to appear in English and relied on heavily by Shakespeare – Arthur Golding (b.c. 1536 – d. 1606) explains in verse:

> *Through Ovids woorke of turned shapes I have with peinfull pace*
> *Past on until I have made him so well acquainted with our toong*
> *As that he may in English verse as in his owne bee soong* (Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006: 87).

"The translator, therefore, is seeking to bring about a 'transmigration' of the original text, which he approaches on both a technical and metaphysical level, as a skill equal with duties and responsibilities both to the original author and the audience" (Bassnett 2014: 64).

An example of such care can be found in Golding's translation of Caesar's *Commentaries* in which he remarks that although "at first he planned merely to complete Brend's translation,[63] he ended by taking the whole work into his own hands, because, as he said, 'I was desirous to have the body of the whole story compacted uniform and of one style throughout,'" (Amos 1920 (1974 ed.): 129-30). Golding's stated intention indicates that from an early point in time translators were concerned with subtle aesthetic considerations, such as stylistic coherence, more so than the degree of fidelity to the source.

Criticism of the line-by-line literal approach to translation continued in the seventeenth century to the extent that it was "indeed eschewed so long as the sense [was] retained and made accessible" (Stoneman 1982: 13): "I consider it a vulgar error in translating poets," wrote Sir John Denham (b. 1615 – d. 1669) in the preface to his *Destruction of Troy*, "to affect being *Fidus Interpres*," [a faithful interpreter] and wrote again in a letter to Sir Richard Fanshawe (b. 1608 – d. 1666), a fellow poet and translator:

> *"That servile path thou nobly dost decline of tracing word by word, and line by*
> *line. Those are the labored births of slavish brains,*
> *Not the effect of poetry but pains;*
> *Cheap, vulgar arts, whose narrowness affords*
> *No flight for thoughts, but poorly sticks at words."* (Amos 1920 (1974 ed.): 142)

By the time he was making his translations, Filmer could have been exposed to texts exemplifying a range of styles of translation, from literal fidelity to the source to imitation or invention loosely based on the source and, as an educated man, would possibly have been aware of some of the criticism of these styles. Identifying the approach he took for his translations could reveal something more of his motivation by telling us the kind of audience to whom he was directing his collection. Also, an assessment of the extent to which he was

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[63] John Brende (b.1515 – d.1559) started a translation of Ceaser's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* but died before its completion and Arthur Golding undertook to complete it.

able to adhere to that approach will serve as an indication of his competence as a translator and his ability, therefore, to communicate to that audience.

2.2.2 Translations 'fit for purpose': who is the audience and how to address them?

On beginning the task of translating a text, the translator must decide how best to convey his or her interpretation of the meaning of the source text from the original language to the target language. Who the target audience is and what their relationship to the source language and text is will also be determining factors for the type of translation the translator ultimately chooses to use. A primary consideration will be how much priority to give to retaining the authorial voice in the source text over adapting the text to the ear (with reference to the time period and cultural context) of the target audience. The balancing act between literal translation and imitation, source and target, led George Steiner in his 1975 book *After Babel*, to characterize the field of translation studies "not as a science, but an exact art" (Steiner 1975: 295).

Out of this balancing act rises the question of fidelity[64] to the source text. This vexed and complicated question has been weighing on the minds of translators since antiquity and certainly the earliest translators into English were not insensible to it. Stoneman observes that William Caxton's early indirect translation of Virgil's *Aenied* of 1490 "being 'englist from the French *livre des Eneydes*'", the translator was already considering "the principle of fidelity" (Stoneman 1982: 5). This 'principle of fidelity' to the source text could be thought of as being played out on a continuum, at one end is the style of word-for-word, literal translation of the words contained in the source text, at the other is imitation, a style of translation that takes the source text as its inspiration but the translator/author is not bound by it. Bassnett (2014) argues that fidelity to the source text is of limited value when considering translations of historical texts (but I will return to this later), it is nonetheless important to consider because of its ubiquity in discussions of translation. Two translations of Latin works, separated by about 50 years, can be used to illustrate both ends of the 'fidelity' continuum, Christopher Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores* (?1590) and Ben Jonson's translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* (1640).

Marlowe's translation exhibits a "freedom of attitude in which the author is not there to be 'served' and made available, but is to be used to broaden and enliven the range of what the

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[64] Although Low argues the notion of linguistic fidelity when considering translation of song texts can be "undesirable" because it can result in inflexible and unnatural texts which are not ideal for singing (Low 2017: 87).

poets themselves wished to write about" (Stoneman 1982: 10). Marlowe is attempting to translate not only Ovid's themes and tone but style and classical models of poetry, including poetic metres. Stoneman concludes that Marlowe's translation "…marks the beginning of the seventeenth-century florescence in which translation and imitation are both part of the same movement to re-appropriate and absorb classical models in a distinctively English style" (Stoneman 1982: 10).

By contrast, Stoneman suggests that Ben Jonson's translation of Horace is "in the main closely literal, as is usually the case with those of a learned man…Though there is an element of popularisation in the attempt, the chief beneficiaries will be those to whom the work is already familiar" (Stoneman 1982: 11). Jonson privileged translation of the words over form and style. Although Moul (2007) shows in her detailed examination of Jonson's translation that in the hands of a poet with Jonson's skill, even in the closest of translations, room can still be found for invention and interpretation (Moul 2007: 39). Even so, Jonson's Horace has often been criticized for being 'wooden' (Moul 2007: 5), but this may not concern an academic reader who has turned to the translation in order to compare texts or engage more deeply with the content.

The use of translation to 'access' source texts can be found elsewhere. While exploring John Dryden's (b.1631 – d.1700) translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (1697), Lefevere concludes that Dryden would have been translating the text for both aristocratic and bourgeois audiences. An aristocratic reader would probably be well-grounded in the classics as well as Latin, the translation therefore serves to "supplement" rather than "replace" the original (Lefevere 1998: 43). However, a bourgeois reader, most likely without the benefit of a full 'gentleman's' education in the classics, would use the translation to access the content of Virgil's text but also the Latin itself and the accepted discourse on the text, via Dryden's interpretation of the text that would be written into his translation (Lefevere 1998: 44).

2.2.3   Understanding Filmer: an act of cultural and linguistic translation

In his preface, Filmer nominates his "Home hearted unaffectating Countrie-men, Favoures and Practizers of Musicke", as the target audience for his collection. Adding that he hopes they "would courteously entertaine this Recopilation as a Worke naturaliz'd chiefly for their sakes". The native French speaking dedicatee, Henrietta Maria was also apparently an intended user of this collection. Although it seems unlikely that she would have availed herself of it, despite the optimistic rhetoric of Jonson's prefatory poem:

…They are a Schoole to win
The faire French *Daughter to learne* Engliſh *in;…*

So, like Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Filmer appears to have been translating for two audiences. On the one hand, there are the English speakers who were not familiar with the French originals and were experiencing these texts for the first time through Filmer's translations; on the other, is Henrietta Maria, who may have known the French originals and may even have been able to compare these with the translations, although she did not speak English well.

Attempting to make translations for both native and novice English speakers could have generated some tensions for Filmer. If he was translating for Henrietta Maria, possibly familiar with the original texts, Filmer could have adopted the literal approach Jonson took for his translation of Horace and remained close to the original, on the assumption that Henrietta Maria may have wished to compare his translations with the originals. Alternatively, translating for native English speakers, Filmer may have wished to attempt to convey something of the style as well as the sense of the originals to his 'home-hearted country men' – for whom comparison with the originals would not necessarily have been possible, therefore making close adherence to the originals less crucial – in which case he could have adopted a looser style of translation just as Marlowe did for his translation of Virgil. An examination of Filmer's texts may reveal such tensions and whether the interests of one of his intended audiences surpassed the other.

But there is another potential source of tension present in the Filmer collection that we should consider before turning to the Filmer's texts to see how he approached the challenge he set for himself. Filmer was not just translating poetry, he was translating poetry that was set to music and in song there are arguably two sources – the written text and the song itself (generated at the nexus of the text and the music) – adding to the complexity of the translator's task and of those wishing to analyze it. The following case study illustrates the peculiar challenge of translating song and how certain methods of analysis can bring out different features of the work under examination.

Case study: A comparison of the Englished *Italian madrigals of Yonge and Watson*

There are few other extant sources of songs translated into English in print dating from around the time of the Filmer collection, as discussed in Part one. Nicholas Yonge's collection of translated Italian madrigals, *Musica Transalpina*, printed by Thomas East in London in 1588 and, Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished, not to the sense of the*

original dittie, but after the sense of the note, printed by Thomas East in 1590 are the two most prominent, in part because they were the earliest, but also because they are the largest, particularly Yonge's which contains 57 works. Other collections include a second collection by Yonge also entitled *Musica Transalpina* printed in 1597, Thomas Morley's *Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Four Voices* also printed in 1597 and a collection of *Madrigals to Five Voices* also by Morley printed in 1598.

Kerman (1951) conducted a survey of these five extant collections of Englished Italian madrigals with the aim of placing these works into the broader context of the development of Elizabethan secular music. Assessing just the fidelity of the translations to the originals texts, Kerman concluded that the anonymous translations in Yonge's collection "are mechanical, but much more reliable" than Watson's which, although he occasionally "fitted his new words to the music with ingenuity", ultimately "make complete nonsense of musical details in the Italian madrigals" (Kerman 1951: 130).

More recently, Edward Doughtie (1986) reached a similar conclusion, describing the texts of Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* as a "practical translation" that manages to keep a "fairly close fit to the music" (Doughtie 1986: 87-88). While Watson, Doughtie declares, "only intermittently" succeeds in retrofitting the 'sense of the dittie' to the 'affection of the note'. Although, as Doughtie remarks elsewhere, the English were in the habit of setting texts not necessarily intended to stand as poems in their own right (Doughtie 1986: 8), he ultimately concludes that Watson having been liberated from translating the sense of the original poems "one might expect to find better English poetry" (Doughtie 1986: 93-94).

The conclusions reached by Kerman and Doughtie are distinctly different, however, to the one arrived at by Laura Macy (1997). In her comparison of the translations by Yonge and Watson, Macy similarly observed that Yonge produced mainly literal translations while Watson's texts include loose translations, imitation and new compositions. However, she framed her analysis and conclusion around the notion of 'decorum', "a central concern of contemporary literary theory" (Macy 1997: 6), rather than just linguistic fidelity to the source, which we have already seen was a less favoured approach for making translations. Two aspects of poetic decorum that Macy addressed are style and figure. Drawing on George Puttenham (b. 1529 – d. 1590), Macy described style as "the poem's overall appropriateness to its genre" and figure as "the implementation of decorum at the local level…forms of word play which delight and provoke the reader/listener" (Macy 1997: 6).

Citing the contemporary Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, Macy showed that these ideas of style and figure were also readily applied to song: where style equates to the appropriate matching of rhythm and tempo with the subject matter of the text, and figure to the appropriate matching of harmony and melody (including word painting) to the text and individual words. Macy's central question is "whether a musical rhetoric written to fit one text can be appropriated by a completely different one without losing is appropriateness of style and figure – its decorum" (Macy 1997: 13). Crucially, Macy's approach recognises, and goes some way towards accounting for, the extra-linguistic elements of the poetry *and* of the music.

Macy concluded that the effect of these varying approaches is that Yonge's "mostly literal translation retains the general conceit, thus insuring that the overall style is uncompromised" (Macy 1997: 8). However, by privileging the decorum of the musical setting – retention of word-painting and, meter and rhyme, Yonge compromises the "elegance of diction or rhetorical devices of the original that are not explicitly brought out in the music" (Macy 1997: 8).

On the other hand, Watson's texts retain "only the form of the original along with some if its topoi" (Macy 1997: 2). Macy argues further that Watson's texts range from "loose translation to imitation to new composition…his poems are indeed translations – not of the original Italian, but of the music that sets it" (Macy 1997: 13). "In writing a completely new poem, Watson made no attempt to match thee key words that inspired Marenzio's madrigalisms [i.e. word painting], instead, he "read" Marenzio's musical gestures themselves and allowed them to suggest literary images" (Macy 1997: 19). Macy concluded that Waston's "experiment in translating the musical affect directly, without recourse to the original text, was a supreme expression of confidence in the classical unity of poetry and music" (Macy 1997: 19).

As these studies by Kerman and Macy illustrate, the merits of the Yonge and Watson collections shine forth differently depending on the criteria used to assess them. Kerman considered fidelity to the original texts to be the main priority of song translation and that the relationship between the music and text to be irrevocably linked to the thoughts and ideas in the texts. If the translation does not retain those ideas, then the relationship is broken. Macy, however, demonstrates that this relationship can withstand some alteration of the text because the musical figuration, the musical rhetoric, possesses a degree of flexibility – it does not have a fixed symbolic meaning – which means it may be applied to multiple linguistic meanings.

An otherwise objective assessment of the effectiveness of a translation can be diametrically opposite depending on the criteria we use to make our assessment. Kerman's somewhat two-dimensional notion that fidelity to the source text will conserve the relationship to the music represents an instinctive, traditional approach to song and translation while Macy's approach, not reliant on a one-to-one relationship between text and music in either the original or the translated versions, allows for a more holistic analysis of the song as a construct capable of carrying meaning in addition to or distinct from its text alone.

Although the musical aesthetic of the Italian madrigal is very different to that of the French *air de cour*, these analyses of works of contemporary translation provide us with a frame of reference with which to compare and contrast Filmer's approach to translation.

Assessing Filmer's translations

The field of translation studies is broad and complex. According to Susan Bassnett, the study of translations has moved away from a simple evaluation of a translated text to establish "what had been 'lost' or 'betrayed' in the translation process" (Bassnett 2014: 8) towards a discipline that recognises and is concerned with understanding "the relativity of meaning, the importance of the socio-cultural context in which texts are produced and reproduced and the agency of the translator" (Bassnett 2014: 12) among other issues. My assessment of Filmer's translation is to some extent, however, an assessment of loss. This is because the original texts perform a particular function with the music and which, I propose, must be retained in some way in order to maintain the integrity of the song. If Filmer's translation process results in a loss of connection with the music then the song may also be lost.

In order to assess Filmer's translations against the original texts I require some way of defining or categorising his translations. An early attempt to define categories for translation within the continuum of fidelity is the work of John Dryden (b.1631-d.1700) and these continue to be useful today:

i.   *Metaphrase*, or literal translation, for example Ben Jonson's *Ars Poetica*
ii. *Paraphrase*, 'where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his works are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered.'
iii. *Imitation*, which elaborates on the sense and may vary from its original as the variations do from a theme, or may bring the original up to date by contemporary allusions.

(Dryden's preface to his translation of Ovid's *Epistles* (1680), quoted in Stoneman (1982: 3))

Like most categories, their borders are not impermeable; however, they can assist for the purposes of conceptualising the task of translation. In my examination of Filmer's translations, I will focus on his use of meta- and paraphrase, as a 'close' or 'distant' translation of the source, and whether his use of imitation or invention adds to or reduces the content in comparison with the source.

To assist with this comparison I have made literal translations (or used existing translations where available) from the French into modern English all of which can be found in appendix one. For my translations, I have had to consider those questions of linguistic or stylistic 'fidelity' to the source with which all translators of texts have had to grapple, but the task of translating poetry is arguably even more problematic. Every reading of a poem results in at least one interpretation of the work, with layers of meaning emerging after multiple readings. Depending on the skill and the intention of the translator, a very close translation of the poem is likely to capture only that single instance of interpretation. Accordingly, Bassnett argues "against the one absolute, inflexible translation and against the desirability of the close translation which is, after all, merely one restricted reading of a poem" (Bassnett 2014: 101). In favouring a literal translation, that is, however, precisely what I have produced.

My modern English translations are necessarily 'close' and based on one possible reading of the original poem. I have not attempted to make poetry, by capturing the style or tone, metre or rhythm of the originals, as required of Filmer, instead preferring to translate as best I can the literal sense represented by each word – a strategy I am painfully aware is no less fraught with dilemmas or rightly susceptible to criticism. The purpose of my translations is to aid reading of the originals by non-fluent-French speakers/readers (including myself!). They should, therefore, be read in conjunction with the French texts and with an understanding of the aesthetic intent of the genre.

I have also had to consider the question of temporal and cultural translation. As Bassnett observes "[t]he greatest problem when translating a text from a period remote in time is not only that the poet and his contemporaries are dead, but the significance of the poem in its context is dead too" (Bassnett 2014: 94). This problem applies equally to the task of producing my modern translations of the French originals and to evaluating Filmer's translations, where both the French texts and Filmer's are over 350 years away from their original period. To account for this I have provided the historical survey of translation practices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (earlier in this chapter) as well as the

contextual material presented in Part one, and I will use approximately contemporary criteria (Dryden's) for assessing Filmer's translations.

A sense of how Filmer understood the task of translation can be gleaned from his remarks in the preface to his collection in which he compares the act of translation to that of a tailor dressing a person: "the Translater may be said to have some little share in the Apparell or Dresse, though not in the Bodie, of the work". Like a tailor, the translator simply drapes the desired language over the underlying body of meaning. An example of Filmer's style of translation is shown in figure 2.2.1. His translation of the anonymous French text *Si le parler et le silence* (no. 11) exhibits instances of Dryden's category of metaphrase, or literal translation, as well as moments of paraphrase – at times straying some distance from the original – and invention. Filmer often retains key words of lines or stanzas in order to follow the general sense of the original but to this he introduces his own imagery. In this regard it could be said that he is attempting to adapt the French poetry to English poetic style – albeit a relatively old fashioned one for the time. Sometimes these images help convey the original sense, but at other times they can obscure it.

Figure 2.2.1 – Filmer's translation of Si le parler et le silence *(no.11) compared to the original French with a modern English translation*

Original French text	Modern English translation	Filmer's translation
Si le parler et le silence	If both speech and silence	If key of speech, or lock of silence,
Nuit à nostre heur esgalement,	Are harmful to us now,	Strike us with errors or with feares;
Parlons donc ma chere Esperance	We speak therefore my dear hope	Then let eyes use their secret style, whence
Du cœur et des yeux seulement:	With the heart and the eyes only	Hearts may be taught, and yet not ears.
Amour se petit dieu volage	Love, that fickle little God	Love, whose noiseless wing, by stealth / caught us,
Nous aprend ce muet langage.	Teaches us this silent language.	This dumb discourse, as softly taught us.
	(English translation by Jonathan LeCocq)	

Filmer translates the first line of *Si le parler et le silence* quite closely, retaining the key words of 'speech' and 'silence', but instead of the original inclusive conjunctive *et*, Filmer uses *or*. The use of *or* changes the effect of this line and potentially the whole thrust of the poem. In the original, a paradox drives the central motivation of the poem: the lover experiences an inability to speak and an inability to stay silent. The poet establishes this paradox in the first line by saying that both speech *and* silence are harmful. The poet's predicament prompts him to find an alternative mode of communication, hinted at in the fourth line – *Du Coeur et des yeux seulement* (with the heart and the eyes only) – and articulated in the refrain as the lover's silent language – *…ce muet langage* (this silent language [of the heart and eyes]). If Filmer's *or* is interpreted as exclusive (speech *or* silence)

then suddenly, the poet's motivating dichotomy evaporates. If he cannot speak, then perhaps he can just stay silent, and if silence, at some future time, becomes no longer possible, then maybe he will be able to speak. The poet's need to find an alternative to both speaking up and remaining silent is lessened. Alternatively, the reader could interpret Filmer's *or* as inclusive, preserving the original sense of the poem intact, however, if that was Filmer's intention then, arguably, his use of the unambiguous alternative *and* would have been preferable to *or*.

Filmer's choice of conjunction notwithstanding, he is bound by the requirement of maintaining line length which means he must introduce more English words in order to take up the remaining syllables in the line. The equivalent English word for the two syllable French word *parler* is the one syllable word *speech* and the French also includes an article *le* not necessary to English. The same occurs with *le silence*, four syllables in French, but requiring only two syllables in English, *silence*. In this instance Filmer introduces an additional layer of imagery into his poem that is not present in the original: the 'key' of speech and the 'lock' of silence. While the imagery establishes a neat analogy for speech as the key to unlocking silence, it is not present in the original. This alone need not pose a problem, but it arguably has the effect of complicating what was an elegantly simple phrase, resulting in a change to the style and tone of the poetry.

Filmer veers further away from the literal meaning of the text as his translation progresses. The second line, *Nuit à nostre heur esgalement* (literally, *harms our good fortune equally*) connects to the first line to say that both speech and silence could be equally harmful. However, Filmer's line, *strike us with errors or with feares*, elaborates on the idea of 'harm' by vividly illustrating the form this harm might take.

The sense of the third and fourth lines in the original French text is that the lovers express their love through their hearts and eyes:

> *Parlons donc ma chere Esperance*   *We speak therefore my dear hope*
>
> *Du cœur et des yeux seulement:*   *With the heart and the eyes only*

Filmer's text conveys that sense but the speaker has become distanced from the message and the meaning is less clear.

> *Then let eyes use their secret style, whence*
>
> *Hearts may be taught, and yet not ears,*

The original text begins with the first person plural verb *parlons* (let us speak) on the first syllable, representing the poet together with his beloved. The poet is taking an active part of the action of the text. Filmer's translation has the effect of distancing the poet from the act of speaking and lessens the emotional investment present in the original. The 'eyes' are disembodied from both the speaker and the beloved. And once again, Filmer's translation seems wordy ('secret style'… hearts may be taught') when viewed next to the comparatively simple language of the original.

The reference in the fifth line indirectly conjures up the image of the winged Cupid. Cupid's flittering wings appearing as a metaphor for the fickleness or flightiness of lovers:

> *Amour se petit dieu volage*   Love, that fickle little God

Filmer's text makes direct reference to Cupid's wings but also changes the sense of the line from one simply characterising Cupid to one that invokes a literal image of Cupid engaged in the action of catching the lovers:

> *Love, whose noiseless wing, by stealth caught us*,

By the last line Filmer returns to a close approximation of the original text: *muet langage* (silent language) becomes *dumb discourse*, and *Nous aprend* (teaches us) becomes *taught us*.

Overall, Filmer retains the sense of the original text through a close paraphrase of the source text, but often makes literal references to images or ideas that are inferred and introduces additional elements that complicate or confuse the message conveyed in elegant language in the original text.

Following the approach described above I have categorised Filmer's translations for each of the nineteen airs in the collection based on an analysis of the first three stanzas of each text according to Dryden's categories of metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation or invention. I have subdivided instances of paraphrase into 'close' or 'distant' on the basis of whether key ideas or words in a line of the source text were retained in the translation (close) or if they were captured more broadly in the translated stanza as a whole (distant). In relation to invention, I have also assessed whether Filmer has introduced more complex imagery than the original or reduced the content by making a more reductive reading of the metaphors present in the source text.

Filmer's use of such distant paraphrase can be seen in his translation of the anonymouse text *Je voudrois bien ô Cloris* (no.18), as *Know, my deare idoll Cloris*. He consistently retains the key ideas present in each stanza of the original text, for example, in the first stanza the poet of the original text expresses his wish to stay in the arms of his lover but also his sadness in the knowledge that as the day dawns he cannot:

Je voudrois bien ô Cloris que j'adore,	I would really like, o Cloris that I adore,
Entre vos bras faire plus long sejour :	Between your arms to make a long stay:
Mais la voyci cette jalouse Aurore	But here she is this jealous Aurore
A mon malheur qui rameine le jour.	To my misfortune which brings the day

Filmer retains the idea of wanting to stay with Cloris, but being compelled to leave with the dawn:

Know, my deare idoll Cloris ! That all zealous

Here at thine altar I would prostrate stay;

But common morne, of ev'rie lover jealous,

To my disaster brings the star of day,

However, he does so by introducing additional metaphorical imagery – the altar for the lover's arms, the star of day for the dawn – and feelings – zealousness and prostration –that subtly shift the meaning or emphasis of the original. Filmer's zealous prostration at the altar of his lover, compared to the original poet's adoration of Cloris in her arms, changes the relationship from one of earthly – and earthy – warmth and sensation, to a more dramatic, and yet somewhat abstract, affair.

Filmer further distances himself from the immediacy of the feeling and emotion of the original in the second stanza, where in the French, the lover asks the dawn:

Pouquoy si tost importune courriere	Why so early an unwelcome courier
Viens-tu troubler l'aise de nos esprits ?	Do you come to disturb the joy of our/ hopes ?

Meanwhile Filmer appears to have removed himself from the bedroom and has instead become an observer:

Why, with such firie speed, incessant driver!

Bring'st thou a light that obscures Lovers skies

In the third stanza, original poet's rhetorical question posed to the night:

O douce nuit…	Oh sweet night…
…	…
… t'ẽ fuis-tu sçay tu pas que tes õbres	do you flee, do not you know that/ your shadows
Donnent la vie a mes contentements ?	Give life to my happiness ?

becomes an empowered directive under Filmer's influence for the night to fight against the encroaching dawn:

Trustie Night…

…

Fright backe pale Morne; tell her thy shadie covers

Can light us best to Loves secret assailes

Filmer's tendency to introduce complex invention can be seen in his translation of *Quel espoir de gaurir* (no. 5), *With what wings shall I fly*. The anonymous poet in the first stanza of the original poem effectively declares, in simple direct language, that 'death is the only recovery I can hope for from the agonies of love':

Quel espoir de guarir	What hope of recovery,
Puis-je avoir sans mourir,	Can I have other than dying
D'un amoureux martire ?	Of the agonies of loving.

Despite Filmer's close paraphrase of the original – he retains all of the key words and most of the ideas – he introduces several metaphors: the idea of 'wings' to represent 'hope'; the notion of 'flying from disease' as representative of 'recovery'; and instead of an 'agonising love', Filmer experiences 'a love kindled fever'.

With what wings can I fly

From disease, till I die

Of a love kindled fever,

Filmer's language has the effect of obscuring the direct impact of the language present in the original and once again distancing himself and the reader from the emotion and sensation.

The second stanza, the original poet continues to convey the effect of his deep feelings as he asks how he might conceal his love and inevitable death without speaking of it:

> *Quel moyen de celer,*   What means of concealing
>
> *Et mourir sans parler*   and dying without speaking
>
> *D'un amoureux martire ?*   The agonies of love?

In Filmer's version the speaker makes more of an exclamation – *What a hell t'is to burst* – and also introduces the idea of 'thirsting' for love, but this does not have quite the same impact as the death of the original poet.

> *What a hell 'tis to burst,*
>
> *And not tell how I thurst*

By the third stanza, original poet appears to be resigned that death will be the only cure for his agonies that he can hope for:

> *Si la mort seulement*   If death alone
>
> *Peut guarir mon tourmant,*   Can cure my suffering,
>
> *Et l'amoureux martire ?*   And the agonies of loving,

Filmer is similarly resigned but again, he introduces metaphorical imagery to describe the cure brought about by death which becomes a 'soothing sup' from a 'cooling cup'.

> *O! that death's cooling cup*
>
> *Would allow me one sup*
>
> *In this love kindled fever,*

The effect of introducing metaphors where direct and simple language was used in the original is to distance the reader from the emotion in the text. Further commentary of my analysis of all nineteen of Filmer's translations can be found in appendix three, a summary of which is shown in table 2.2.1.

Table 2.2.1 – Summary of Filmer's approach to translation according to Dryden's categories

No.	Air	Metaphrase	Paraphrase		Imitation/Invention		
			close	distant	neutral	complex	reductive
1.	Adorable Princesse Bright abstract		✓	✓		✓	
2.	Enfin la voyci At length, here she is		✓			✓	
3.	Que n'êtes vous / Why have my thoughts			✓	✓		
4.	O grands Dieux / O what muster of glances			✓			✓
5.	Quel espoir / With what wings			✓		✓	
6.	Ou luis-tu / What spell holds			✓			✓
7.	Qu'Aminte / How was Amyntas						✓
8.	Las ! pourquoi / Why, alas					✓	
9.	Un jour l'amoureuse / Silvia, not long since		✓				✓
10.	Las! Furias-tu toujours / Wilt thou, untamed alas!			✓		✓	
11.	Si le parler / If key of speech		✓			✓	
12.	C'est trop courir / Too much we range			✓		✓	
13.	Ce petit monaque / That little same King			✓			
14.	Arme toy / Reason! Arm thy wrong'd			✓			✓
15.	Vous que le / Thou, whom fortune			✓		✓	
16.	Puis que les ans / Since our round Yeare					✓	
17.	He ! bein / Say then						✓
18.	Je voudrois bien O Cloris/ Knowe my deare idol Cloris			✓		✓	
19.	Aux plaisir / To your sports			✓		✓	

The majority of the nineteen airs in the collection exhibit a combination of distant paraphrase and invention, meaning that Filmer generally retained the key words or ideas in each stanza but at times added his own imagery, an approach that was common among contemporary English translators. While there were a number of instances of the

metaphrase style of translation, Filmer would not tend to sustain this for more than a line or two, for example in *If key of speech / Si le parler* (no.11), and he rarely maintains the same approach throughout a poem, often changing the style of his translation within and between stanzas. Although he occasionally makes reductive readings of metaphor, Filmer's use of metaphor and imagery tends to be more complex than the source, perhaps in an attempt to produce a more characteristically English style of poetry but, it often has the effect of obscuring the sense of the original poem. Only on a very few occasions does he actually invent new material, as we saw in the example of *If key of speech / Si le parler* (no.11), often compelled by the compact nature of English compared to French and the need to generate syllables in order to maintain lines of a pre-determined syllable length.

In his preface to the collection, Filmer remarked that he undertook his task as translator "with a Schoole-boyes resolution to dare to aime no further then at such an interpretation, as may render the most exact account, that may bee, of the Syntax of the Originall". The analysis above confirms that Filmer succeeds in what he set out to achieve. He makes paraphrases from the originals – as he might well have been taught to do in school, to show that he understands the source text – and he goes on to invite the reader to compare his translations with the original texts, helpfully included at the end of the collection: "Annexed the French Ditties in the end of the Booke; by the same meanes testifying, to the skilfull in both Tongues, my integritie (as farre as is formerly professed) in their Translations." This approach contrasts with the free, inventive work exemplified by Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores* or Watson's approach in translating the Italian madrigals in his 1590 collection.

Kerman concluded that the relationship between text and music would be sustained if the translation remained faithful to the original text. On this basis, and judging Filmer's translations by the standards of the time, his contemporaries may well have concluded that the relationship between text and music in Filmer's collection, although strained in places, should be largely preserved because he retains the basic ideas of each text. However, this conclusion is somehow unsatisfactory. Performers, listeners and scholars since at least 1629 until the present day have apparently looked for something more than basic linguistic fidelity to the original texts when they have turned to the Filmer collection and seemingly not found it, to judge by the indifference the Filmer collection has been met with.

The question then becomes what is this 'something more' and how can it be assessed. In her study, Macy suggests that an important element to consider in translated songs is the preservation of the relationship of the style and affect of the text – the decorum – with that

of the music. Crucially, these concepts are not necessarily tied to the linguistic sense of the text. Linguistic fidelity to the source text, then, is no longer a sufficient criterion for comparing song translations with their original versions. Kerman's 'traditional' approach to assessment reveals only a certain amount about the song as a whole, but Macy's approach recognises the multi-faceted relationship between text and music that creates a song. And it is this relationship in the airs of the Filmer collection that will be the subject of the next chapter.

2.3 – A Work naturaliz'd chiefly for their sakes: Filmer's transformations

Poetry and music: the song concept

> *Jadis Musciens et Poetes et Sages*
> *Furent mesmes auteurs…*
>
> [When Musicians, Poets and Sages
> were the same authors]
>
> Antoine de Baïf in the preface to Guillaume Costley's *Musique*, 1570

The entry for 'song' in Grove Music Online states that "…nearly all post-Renaissance song may be judged according to its fidelity to the declamation of the text and according to its expressiveness" ('Song', Grove Music Online, Chew et al. n.d.) This definition gives us two criteria when assessing a text setting: fidelity to the declamation and expressiveness. However, it also implies a certain degree of musical subservience to the text: that music should support the declamation of the text and that music should reflect and enable the expression of emotions contained within the text. What it appears to exclude, or at least does not account for, is the kind of equally weighted marriage between text and music so sought after by the members of the *Académie*. The members of the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* believed that music and poetry could combine to create a powerful unified whole. This belief was a central motivating factor in their endeavour to revive the music of the ancients. As briefly outlined in chapter 2.1, in their pursuit of song as a perfect marriage of poetry and music, theorists in sixteenth and seventeenth-century France imagined this song construct would be capable of exerting greater power over the listener than either of its component parts. As we noted in Part one, Ben Jonson also alluded to such a union between text and music in his dedicatory poem included in the Filmer collection when he used it as an analogy for the marriage of the English Charles I and French Henrietta Maria, a union on which so much more than hopes of personal contentment or dynastic longevity rested. According to this standard, an account of the relationship between text and the musical material is crucial for any critical assessment of a song. But, how does one assess such fidelity?

As we saw in the previous chapter, Laura Macy's study (1997) showed that the effectiveness of a song need not be tied to the expression of the meaning contained in a single text. She found that a song translation could still be deemed effective, even if it does not closely adhere to the sense of the original text, by using a method of analysis that views the relationship between the text and the music as a dialogue: the one offering reflections and

remarks in response to the other. The nature of one of the interlocutors may change through translation but there is still potential for dialogue. Macy's study, however, focused on Italian madrigals that had been translated into English, repertoire that is not directly comparable to French *airs de cour*. A distinctive characteristic of the Italian madrigal is the extensive use of melodic rhetorical devices such as word-painting and affective melodic intervals. Macy's analysis relied on identifying individual melodic devices that could apply equally to the imagery used in the original Italian texts and the differing imagery in the translated English texts. The French *airs de cour* do not exhibit such emotionally or pictorially demonstrative devices. Therefore, although instructive for demonstrating that musico-textual relationships need not be viewed as fixed, Macy's approach cannot be applied here. Additional strategies are needed that are not reliant on such a literal relationship if we are to examine further the new airs caused by Filmer's translations.

In his book *Conceptualizing Music*, Lawrence Zbikowski (2002) states that analysts have tended not to satisfactorily account for the song as a single entity. He observes that "with the tradition of song analysis, there have been relatively few attempts to come to terms with how words and music combine to create the phenomenon called 'song'", adding that previous attempts focus on either the text or the music while neglecting the other (Zbikowski 2002: 244).

Zbikowski briefly outlines four such traditional models of song analysis. The first is based on the work of Suzanne Langer, summarized by Kofi Agawu and Zbikowski, posits that song is foremost music: "music wholly absorbs the words" (Zbikowski 2002: 244). The second, based on the work of Lawrence Kramer, posits that words and music can be joined to form a song but they both remain two "irreducible" parts. The third views song as a "compound structure" where words are of primary importance because they carry the 'meaning' and the music simply enhances that meaning. Finally, a proposition from Agawu of song as "process, not product" and a focus not on what a song *is* "but what it *becomes* in its perpetual striving for a concrete mode of existence" (Zbikowski 2002: 245).

Although each of these analyses arrives at very different conclusions of what a song is, they all rely on the concept of a song as a layered, linear construct privileging either text or music, or accepting that they exist as immiscible parts that must be viewed on their own terms. These layered models could be well-suited to looking at the interplay between a given word and the corresponding musical material at a particular moment in the musical phrase, or to map events in the text and music and thereby identify commonalities and conflicts between the parts. However, the component parts of the song remain distinct and separate entities in

these models. They do not enable a conceptualization of the song as a single product of its component parts, nor do they account for the sum effect of text heard *through* music, or music heard *via* text.

In his search for an analytical model capable of accounting for the conditions found in song, Zbikowski turns to the work of rhetorician Mark Turner and linguist Gilles Fauconnier who developed the idea of 'conceptual blending'. Originally conceived to describe the cognitive processes associated with thinking and learning, this model attempts to account for how the human brain can take two, perhaps disparate, ideas and blend them together to create a new unified, coherent concept or entity. The model of a conceptual blend comprises at least four parts, two 'input spaces' providing the content to be blended, a 'generic space'[65] which governs how the 'input spaces' are to be blended, and the 'blended space' where the input spaces combine to form a new imaginative entity, together these form the 'conceptual integration network' (CIN). In the context of a song CIN, the input spaces would be the text and the music, the generic space would provide the basis for how these are to be blended, and the blended space would be the song itself. Figure 2.3.1 depicts Zbikowski's song CIN.

Figure 2.3.1 – a Conceptual Integration Network for a song

(adapted from Zbikowsky (2002): 79)

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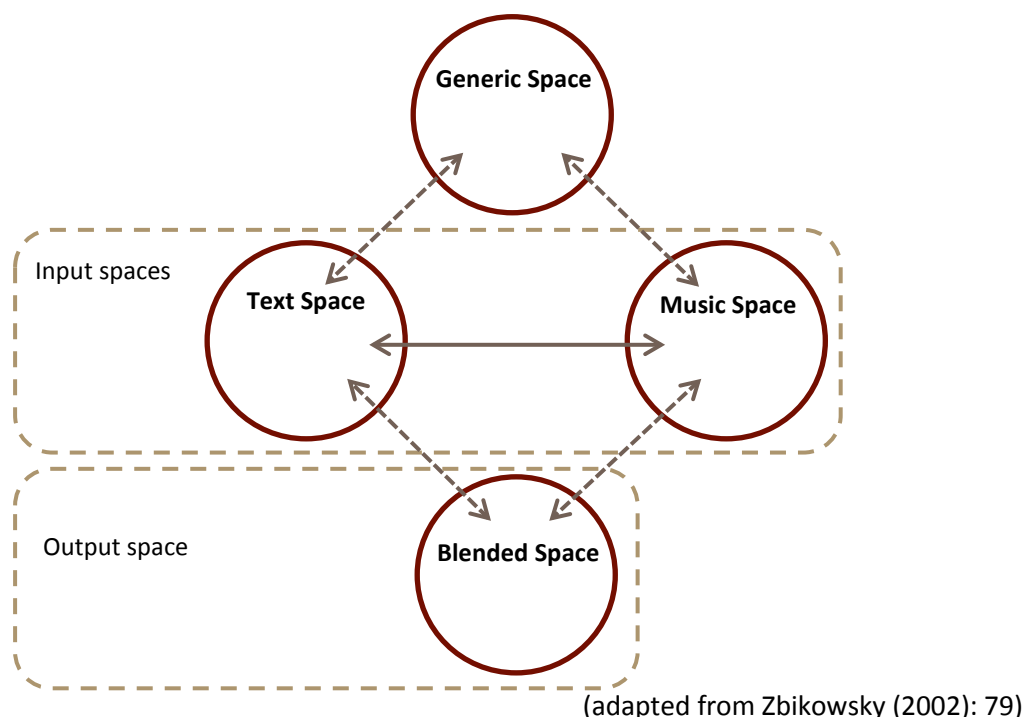
[65] Zbikowsky's example of the generic space is the notion of "contrasting ontological states" (Zbikowsky 2002: 245), or states of being. It is 'generic' in the sense that it is an idea that can be explored and expressed in both literary and musical form.

In this model, it is understood that the input spaces, text and music, possess certain characteristics, such as the harmonic language or control of verbal sonority. These combine to create a 'song space' with new characteristics related to those from the input spaces, using the features detailed in the 'generic space' to govern on what basis the blending occurs. The resulting 'song space' is a blending of its two component parts. The connecting dashed arrows in figure 2.3.1 indicate the transfer of "structural" characteristics. Zbikowski uses double headed arrows "because, under certain circumstances, structure may also be projected from the blended space back into the input spaces", meaning that the ultimate product of the blended input spaces can retrospectively influence our conception of its component parts (Zbikowski 2002: p.79-81). The solid-line arrow between the text and music input spaces indicates that the structural characteristics described in each of the input spaces should correlate to each other, for example, poetic form and musical form.

The aim of Zbikowski's application of the conceptual blending model to song is to describe and explain the effectiveness of word painting, or similar devices, for conveying meaning and emotion from a given text in a musical setting. He assumes that the analyst will use the model on a word-for-word, note-for-note basis. Zbikowski specifically states that the model would not be applicable to strophic songs. The relationship between text and music would be too general because the same musical material applies to different text in each strophe (Zbikowski 2002: p.88).

However, Zbikowski states elsewhere that he is concerned with neither "isolated or very general correlations between music and text but the conceptual blend produced by *an entire song*" (Zbikowski 2002: p.245) (my emphasis). It is on this understanding that I have adapted the model to study the strophic *air de cour*. By turning to the elements of structure and aesthetics, shared by both text and music, I am able to examine the expression and interaction of a certain formal device at a specific point or the realization of an aesthetic mode across an entire work. This approach does not rely on the specifics of single word:note relationships, capable only of informing a narrowly focused analysis (i.e. 'this' note and 'this' word blend to create 'this' effect which is applicable only in 'this' one instance), nor is it so general as to become meaningless (i.e. all words have duration as do all musical notes and will therefore combine in some way based on the shared property of duration). In this way the model of conceptual blending becomes applicable to all types of song, including strophic songs.

The aim of this analysis is to arrive at an understanding of how text and music interact to form an *air de cour* at the level of the genre as a whole, not just restricted to individual

examples, and to understand what role Filmer's translations play in the text-music relationships in the songs in the Filmer collection. For practical reasons my analysis will be based on a single air from the Filmer collection, *Why have my thoughts conspired / Que n'este vous lassée* (no.3).[66] However, I have chosen this air because it is a typical example of its kind. The poetic and musical characteristics as will be drawn out in this analysis and have been described in general in the earlier chapters of this thesis, can be commonly found in most *airs de cour*.

As outlined in figure 2.3.1, I will begin the following analysis with a description of the 'generic space', then the musical characteristics that form the 'music space' followed by the characteristics of the poetry in the French and English 'text spaces', before moving onto consideration of the blended spaces, the songs, created by the music combined with the French and English texts.

Generic space

The generic space is populated with characteristics of genre that are shared in both poetry and music: formal structure and aesthetic principles. These govern how the input spaces will be blended and will be further defined by the characteristics of the input spaces.

Input space: musical characteristics

Part one of this thesis detailed the major musical characteristics of the *air de cour* and these will constitute the music input space, in particular: form, melodic phrase structure and range, harmony, rhythm and metre. *Why have my thoughts conspired / Que n'este vous lassées*, displays characteristic musical features of the *air de cour* genre. It is in strophic form and the melodic lines are governed by the six-line stanzas of the poem. The melodic range and tessitura is typical of most airs, covering the interval of a minor seventh and venturing beyond the interval of a fifth only once. Such a narrow range is common among all of the airs in the Filmer collection with melodies with fifteen of the nineteen airs staying within the octave range.

Rhythmic devices are simple, driven by the syllabic setting of the text. For example, figure2.3.2 shows the common 1:2 or short-long rhythmic contrast that characterizes much of the text-setting style in the *airs de cour*.

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[66] The original air was by Pierre Guédron, with the text by François de Malherbe, and appeared first in print for solo voice with lute accompaniment in 1611 and for four voices in 1612.

Figure 2.3.2 – the third line from Que n'este vous lassées, *by Pierre Guédron, illustrating simple, syllabic rhythmic material*

De troubler ma rai-   son?

(excerpt from *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth. par Gabriel Bataille. troisiesme livre*. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1611, abbreviated to Tb3 hence forth)

Airs de cour often exhibit irregular metre — alternating between simple duple and triple metres, with only five of the nineteen airs in the collection exhibiting a regular metre. *Que n'este vous lassée* is one of these that has a regular metre, but features the equally common practice of blurring the metre at cadence points, as illustrated in the example in figure 2.3.3. In this example I have superimposed bar lines, shown as dotted lines, to demarcate where the metric pulse falls. As this figure shows, a well-established triple pulse is interrupted by two duple bars at '…*ame / Contre…*', marking the end of the end of the fifth line and the beginning of the sixth line.

Figure 2.3.3 – lines five and six from Que n'este vous lassées, *by Pierre Guédron, illustrating cadential metric blurring*

necque bla-   me Rebeller   mon ame Contre   sagua-   rison.

(excerpt from Tb3)

The air also exhibits conventional modal harmony – *air de cour* do not exhibit the extreme chromaticism of the Italian mannerists or affective harmonies and intervals of those influenced by the work of the Florentine Camerata. Figure 2.3.4 illustrates how the harmony in the first three phrases moves predictably from I -> V -> iii, then cycles through a series of dominants (V) to the end. While this cycling creates some harmonic instability it is not overly alarming.

Figure 2.3.4 – harmonic movement in the first three lines of Que n'este vous lassées, *by Pierre Guédron*

(Score reproduced from Durosoir (2009) with my annotations.)

There are also aspects of performance practice, beyond the notated score, that literally embody important qualities of the genre. In her study of sixteenth century airs, Brooks (2003) observes that "it is generally accepted that Renaissance performers played a vital role in the emergence of styles that were not consistently reflected in print" (Brooks 2003a: p.2). This is particularly so in performance of the *airs de cour* where the practice of ornamenting the melody from the second stanza onwards was a prized and highly cultivated skill among performers and was greatly admired by audiences. Writing in the seventeenth century, Bénigne de Bacilly (1668) advised that the careful shaping and highlighting of text through nuanced singing was a means of introducing subtle variation and texture in these airs of otherwise deliberately restricted musical and emotional range. The practice of ornamentation in the performance of the *air de cour* provides the performer with an avenue for subtle expression as well as an opportunity to display the *précieux* qualities of novelty, decorativeness and playfulness.

These musical characteristics generate a music input space comprising, in the vast majority of cases, strophic form with text-governed melodic phrases, use of overwhelmingly conservative harmony, narrow melodic range and, decorative vocal ornamentation and reveals a relatively simple but highly formalised musical vocabulary.

Input space: French Poetic characteristics

As noted in chapter 2.1 the texts found in the early seventeenth-century French *air de cour* are associated with the social and literary movement of the *précieux*, characterized by refined and at times elaborate use of language, in small-scale works. Their aim is to please, rather than enlighten, by finding novelty through constant variation of stock imagery to express a particular set of familiar emotions. As Durosoir has found, these characteristics are consistent throughout the texts of the *airs de cour* (Durosoir 1991: p.44).

Turning again to *Que n'este vous lassée*, its French text can be used to illustrate these observations. The first three of its nine stanzas are shown below.

Que n'estes vous lassées	A	6^e
Mes tristes pensées	A	5^e
De troubler ma raison ?	B	6
Et faire avecque blame	C	6^e
Rebeller mon ame	C	5^e
Contre saguarison.	B	6

Que ne cessent mes larmes
Inutilles armes,
Et que n'oste des Cieux
La fatalle ordonnance,
À ma souvenance,
Ce qu'elle oste à mes yeux.

Ô beauté nompareille !
Ma chère merveille,
Que le rigoureux sort
Dont vous m'estes ravie,
Aymeroit ma vie
S'il m'envoyoit la mort.[67]

---

[67] Why are you not weary / My sad thoughts / Of troubling my reason? / And with that rebuke / My soul rebels / Against healing.
That my tears are ceaseless / Useless weapons, / And that does not remove from the Heavens / The destiny,
To my recollection / That which she removed from my eyes.
O unparalleled beauty! / My dear wonder, / That severe fate / [You would ravish me / if love / Would send me death]. Translation by Véronique Duché and Kate Sullivan.

The rhyme scheme (indicated by letters A to C at the end of each line in the first stanza) overlaps with the metre (expressed through syllable number, indicated by the number at the end of each line). The four feminine rhymes (A and C) occur in lines of changeable length 6e followed by 5e, while the masculine rhyme (B) occurs consistently in a line of six syllables, this interplay creates and simple yet playful form, a quality very much characteristic of *préciosité*.

The poem also exhibits a careful control of sonority. For example, there is a dominance of feminine line endings which, in addition to bestowing a distinctive and recurring rhythm, create soft, melodious sounds – Perhaps intended to convey a sense of submission by the poet to the power of his feelings? Further, in the first stanza, the 'l' sound of *lassées* and the 'tr' sound of *'tristes'* reappears throughout which creates an aural coherence to the text and lends it a sense of refinement.

Finally, the poem as a whole contains the conventional metaphors and themes so characteristic of the texts of the *air de cour* genre. The lover poet is troubled by ceaseless melancholy thoughts because the admired one does not return his affections, but, rather than accept any relief – even through death – he will simply go on suffering as a sign of his deep devotion and because the pain of this love is better than having to live without it at all. Common metaphors and imagery also abound, such as the representation of tears in the second verse as weapons or darts.

Based on these characteristics, the text input space of the *airs de cour* consists of text with a simple form, elegant *précieux* language, stock themes, with carefully controlled sonority. Finally, despite the appearance of strong emotion, these *précieux* characteristics ultimately aim to please and amuse.

Song space: French air de cour

When each of the characteristics of the input spaces is viewed according to the generic space, concordances between them begin to emerge. The guiding aesthetic principles of the text – the aim to please, rather than instruct, and the stylised and conventionalised use of imagery and themes – are similarly expressed in the music through the use of conventional harmonies and an easy mood (i.e. nothing too rhythmically or harmonically jarring).The formal structure of the text space, as exemplified by the refined, formalised language, restricted vocabulary and strict control of sonority, find their musical equivalent in the narrow melodic range and restricted harmony.

The blending of the textual and musical input spaces governed by the generic space just described creates the output 'song space', shown in figure 2.3.5.

Figure 2.3.5 – conceptual integration network for Que n'este vous lassées

Generic space
Aesthetic principles
Formal structure

Music space
Strophic; text-governed melodic phrases
Conservative harmony
Narrow melodic range
Decorative vocal ornamentation

Text space
Simple form
Elegant language; stock themes Controlled, melodious sonority
Aims to 'please'

Song space
Highly disciplined:
- Close relationship between tightly controlled text and conservative musical forces

Refined and subtle distinctions/variations:
- Conventional metaphors and themes with strophic melody enables performer to introduce nuance and novel variation of familiar material

The resulting song space is highly disciplined and refined. The music is designed to highlight and complement the text, but not act as a pictorial 'narrator' to all of the images and emotions contained within it. The close relationship between the poetic and musical phrases and the sense that emotion and expression are dominated by musical and poetic form conveys the sense that the air is highly disciplined. The use of conventional metaphors and themes and the strophic form of melody allows composer and performer to introduce nuance and novel variation in the same way the poet does with the restricted set of themes and imagery. The audience can only appreciate their skill and artful good taste if these are practised on material they are familiar with. The aim of this music is not to convey new ideas or express deep emotion but to display, through the 'play' on textual, musical and vocal form.

Input space: Characteristics of Filmer's poetry

In contrast to the stylistic stability and consistency in French poetry under the influence of the *précieux*, English poetry during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was stylistically varied. The survey in chapter 2.1 described the aesthetic and stylistic changes that occurred during this period as the well-established Elizabethan (1558-1603) tastes gave way to a more open and direct mode of expression under James I and VI (1603-1625), before arriving at the refined elegance of the Cavalier poets under Charles I (1625-1649), all within a generation. Chapter 2.1 also highlighted a number of fundamental differences between French and English poetry due the underlying nature of the languages, especially the behaviour of metre and function of rhyme.

Although it is important to understand characteristics of English poetry of the period through the work of great poets such as Sir Philip Sidney or Ben Jonson, the subject of this analysis is Filmer's own poetry. Filmer was not a professional poet, as he himself attests in the preface to his collection, and his poems do, at times, prove this point. As detailed in chapter 2.1, the characteristics of Filmer's poetry bear a resemblance to the older, Elizabethan poets, in his use of unusual metaphors – a stinging nettle as a metaphor for a bad turn of events – and convoluted syntax – stanza two from *Why have my thoughts conspired* (no.3), for example: *Why ordaine not the Skies / Out of my Mind to banish / What they have made Vanish / Already from my Eies*.

Filmer's translated texts also lose some of the tight discipline present in many of the original poems. As with all of the airs in his collection, Filmer must maintain the syllable count and rhyme scheme in order for his text to fit with the music. This constraint presents a particularly difficult challenge in the case of airs where the rhyme scheme is heavily weighted toward feminine rhymes, such as in *Que n'este vous lassées* (no.3), with four of the six lines carrying feminine rhymes. Although this is an unusual pattern for French poetry, is not difficult to maintain and, as already remarked upon, lends a degree of sonic unity to the poem. In English poetry, however, feminine rhymes are not at all common. When they do appear it is more often for comic effect, such as in limericks. The first stanza of Filmer's text *Why have my thoughts conspired* (no.3), makes rhymes on conspired/tired and accused/refused, among many others. These ultimately affect the sonority of the poem by sounding a bit over-cooked, particularly when the pattern is repeated over several stanzas.

His control of the sonority of the poetic lines is also compromised by the need to maintain the line length and rhyme scheme of the originals. For example, in the original poem,

Malherbe positions the important word in each line at the end, where it receives maximum emphasis both through accent and rhyme.

> *Que n'estes vous lassées*[68]
> *Mes tristes pensées*
> *De troubler ma raison ?*
> *Et faire avecque blame*
> *Rebeller mon ame*
> *Contre saguarison.*

If the audience only heard the words at the end of each line, they would likely still be able to gather what the text was about: weary, thoughts, reason, blame, soul, healing. Filmer, in his version of the text, does not maintain this approach.

> *Why have my thoughts conspired*
> *Never to be tired*
> *With doing reason wrong?*
> *Making my soul accused.*
> *For having refused*
> *Her antidote so long.*

Although there are some parallels with *lassées/tired* and *blame/accused*, he does not place enough the significant, meaning-laden words at the end of each line, leaving us with: conspired, tired, wrong, accused, refused, long. Consequently, although Filmer retains the overall meaning or sense of the French texts, his poetry is not as clear as the original.

Sonority is further compromised by the combination of words he chooses, for example, in line three: 'with doing reason wrong'. The speaker has to move back and forth between the extreme high vowel of [i] to the extreme round vowels of [u], back to [i] and then to the low rounded vowel of [o]. When combined with the liquid [r] and approximate [w] consonants, the result is a very 'chewy' phrase.

Assembling all of these points into the English text input space, Filmer's poem has the same simple form as the French original but, with obscure metaphors and complicated syntax, the elegance of the original is lost. The overall sonority is affected by the conspicuous presence of weak rhymes and awkward vowel combinations. Filmer's use of language also marks him out as a more old-fashioned stylist aiming to instruct rather than simply entertain.

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[68] Why are you not weary / My sad thoughts / Of troubling my reason? / And with that rebuke / My soul rebels / Against healing. Translation by Véronique Duché and Kate Sullivan.

English song

Although Filmer states that he has made no changes to the music of the French airs, translating only the texts into English, the different context in which these French tunes would be heard in England is worth noting.

As surveyed in chapter 1.3, there was a great variety of English secular song genres appearing in print during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The part song, dating from the mid-sixteenth century was usually strophic and set texts expressing varied themes. They often had a five voice texture. Consort songs, from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, were also usually strophic but were most often for solo voice accompanied by a viol consort and set texts expressing sombre themes ('Air (i)', Grove Music Online, Fortune et al. n.d.).

The English madrigal appeared suddenly and virtually fully-formed in a series of fifty printed collections between 1588 and 1627, with the period of greatest activity in the 1590s. The English madrigalists preferred a single sonnet sequence using formulaic pastoral themes, carefully set to a through-composed melody using expressive and dramatic word painting and affective harmonic devices, and adoption of smooth yet lively Italianate style of writing, offered a stark contrast to the often dour consort song ('The English Madrigal', Grove Music Online, Kerman n.d.).

The lute 'ayre' first appeared in the 1590s and persisted in print into the 1650s. They were usually strophic and were intended for flexible performance, with either a solo voice with lute accompaniment, often with an optional bass viol, or a three to four voice texture. The texts covered varied themes and the melodies exhibited varied levels of musical sophistication and expression ('Air (i)', Grove Music Online, Fortune et al. n.d.).

Table 2.3.1 illustrates how the French *air de cour* shares many characteristics with these English genres, such as scale and forces, and even an avoidance of overt displays of high emotion—so characteristic of much contemporary Italian music.

Table 2.3.1 – types and characteristics of English song during late 16th and early 17th centuries

Genre	Form		Texture		Themes/ Expression
	Strophic	**Through composed**	**Solo voice**	**Multi-voice**	
Part song (mid 16th C)	✓			✓	Varied themes
Consort song (1570s→1620s)	✓		✓ (w viol consort)		Sombre themes; Understated musical expression
Madrigal (1590s)		✓		✓	Dramatic word painting & musical expression
Lute ayre (1590s →1650s)	✓		✓ (w lute)	✓	Varied themes, musical sophistication & expression
Air de cour (1570s →1630s)	✓		✓ (w lute)	✓	Varied themes; consistent, understated musical expression

However, there were differences between the English genres and the *airs de cour*, the most critical being the treatment and expression of emotion. English airs allowed for the overt, descriptive expression of emotion through the greater use of through-composed melody and the use of expressive devices such as word painting and affective harmonies while still less so than the extremes of the Italian mannerists, they were more expressive than composers of French airs who eschewed high emotion. Megan Kaes Long (2014) observes that English madrigalists appeared to be less particular about the merits of the texts [than French composers], instead seeking out opportunities to exhibit clever or dramatic word painting while at the same time taking great pains to have the music closely reflect the meaning of the words (Long 2014: 350).

The treatment of text, as well as the type of text, was also different. As Greer (1992) observes, the English lute air differs from the *air de cour* by often featuring repeated words and phrases, and melodic elaboration of short phrases, suggestive of more Italian influence than French (Greer 1992: p.154). The English lute air also adopts only arrangements for solo voice with lute accompaniment (Stevens 1960: p.84) earlier than the *air de cour* and, under the influence of Italian fashion, become more overtly expressive than the *air de cour*.

The Degree of expression notwithstanding, there is something distinctly 'public' implied by the *précieux* aesthetic of the *air de cour*. The English air, on the other hand, according to Daniel Fischlin's (1998) analysis (outlined in chapter 1.3), is primarily intended for private enjoyment, perhaps for the lutenist and singer only, whereas the French *air de cour*

demands an audience, even if an intimate one, to admire the skill, wit and good taste of the poet, composer and performers.

These differences between the French *air de cour* and English airs should be kept in mind as we turn to consider the kind of air created by Filmer's texts and the *air de cour* melodies.

Song space: Filmer's Englished *aire*

Building the song space for Filmer's Englished airs, once again based on the principles bounded by the generic space, reveals that the elements of music and text spaces are mismatched.

Figure 2.3.6 – conceptual integration network for Why have my thoughts conspired
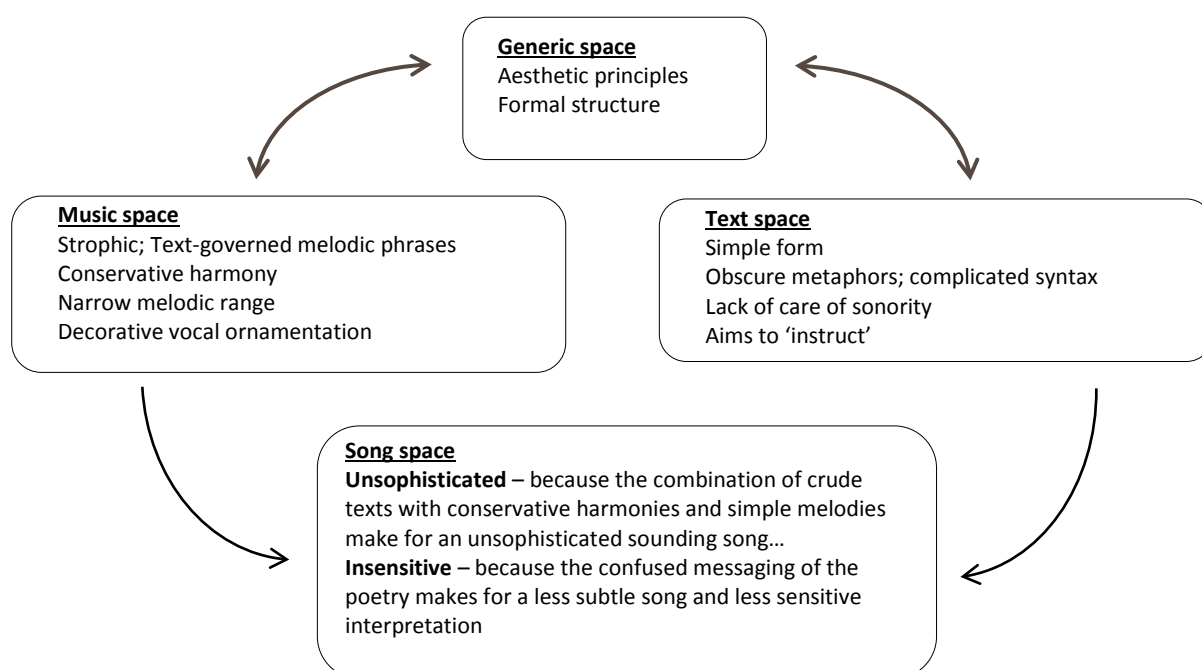
Where once there was continuity of aesthetic principle between 'easy' music comprising conventional harmonies and text that aimed to please through use of conventional poetic themes and imagery, there is now a discord between the old-fashioned, didactic text, with its obscure metaphors, awkward rhymes and convoluted syntax, set to an elegant *précieux* melody. The close alignment between text and music, mediated through the generic space, has been disrupted in Filmer's English versions. Filmer's texts are governed by different principles than those of the French resulting in a loss of connection between the aesthetic and structural principles of the text, so carefully echoed in the music.

The song space, shown in figure 2.3.6, now no longer resembles its original French model, but neither does it resemble other English genres, such as the madrigal, which was very often through composed, or the lute ayre, though often strophic tended to exhibit

adventurous harmonies. The confused messaging in the poetry and the awkward sonority makes for a less subtle song and a less sensitive interpretation of the song.

In the preface to his collection Filmer explains that he has carefully conserved the music, transcribing melody, vocal parts and lute tablature exactly as they appeared in their original French publications, adding only his translated texts. However, the songs that Filmer created in his collection would likely have been quite unfamiliar to English and French audiences alike.

Through Filmer's adaptation of the French texts into English, something has been lost. More than just the meaning of the texts, what has been lost in translation is the character of the poetry and the new meaning generated at the nexus of the text and the music. Filmer's airs fall between the cracks of the expressively formal, tightly integrated French *airs de cour* and the expressively free, formally varied English ayres. By changing the style of the texts in these *airs de cour*, Filmer unwittingly left out an ingredient essential to them. A defining characteristic of these airs is the interplay between simple yet refined musical material and the disciplined text. Without that complementarity between text and music, the music no longer 'makes sense'.

2.4 – *a more Continu'd Equalitie of sound:* Language, music and linguistics

So far the analyses presented in this work have examined the relationship between text and music as it appears on paper. These phenomena could be readily understood by silently reading the words of the texts and the notes of the airs on the page without the need to hear the sounds that they make together. However, it has been argued that the primary existence of song rests in its performance rather than the impression it leaves on the page. In which case, consideration should be given the relationship between text and music as they occur in performance.

At the risk of veering too far off topic at this advanced stage, I will introduce an idea from the area of musical philosophy concerned with the space/s in which music exists to help explain my choice of certain positivist methodologies for this final analysis of the relationship between text and music. Ingarden (1986) distinguishes between a musical work as it exists in performance and its existence as a product of a composer's "creative process" (Ingarden 1986: 17), adding that "one can become acquainted with a work without the aid of a performance by simply reading the score although one cannot in this manner attain the fullness and concretion of acquaintance that are possible when attending a performance" (Ingarden 1986: 18). Ingarden ultimately concludes that "only in actual performance can we, in the fullness of musical experience, perceive the work's qualities" (Ingarden 1986: 143).

On this basis therefore, it is crucial in a study such as this to assess the relationship between text and music 'in action'. Of particular interest to me is whether there is a detectable influence of the French language in the *airs de cour* and to consider what this might mean for Filmer's endeavour.

As already discussed in chapter 2.1, the idea that language has some degree of influence on song has persisted for centuries and was of particular interest to French musical scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I have, therefore, turned to the field of linguistics for methods of analysis based on the sounds of language that may provide the means for gaining an insight into the relationship between language and music when 'in action' during the performance of a song. The following three studies that use linguistic methods to explore the relationship between language and music have informed my analysis.

In *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (1983), Lerdahl and Jackendoff posit that language and music share underlying structures the effect of which is that a listener understands a familiar musical language in ways similar to how they understand their spoken native

tongue. To that end, Lerdahl and Jackendoff adapt a set of analytical methods and structural apparatus drawn from the generative school of linguistics to propose "a musical grammar, a set of rules that collectively describe the abstract musical structures the listener has available and the principles by which appropriate structures are matched with any given piece of music in the idiom" (Jackendoff 1989: 26). If language and music are based on similar underlying structures, this could imply that similar cognitive processes are employed to create and decode them, in which case, perhaps composers of music could be influenced or guided, either consciously or unconsciously, by the structures and patterns of their native tongue and, that this influence could be detectable in the music they compose.

Patel, Iverson and Rosenberg (2006) set out to test Lerdahl and Jackendoff's theory with an empirical phonetic study. Their approach was to compare measurements of natural speech, taken from recordings of spoken French and English, with instrumental music from the late romantic period composed by native speakers of either French or English. For their comparison they used a feature that language and music share: duration. At its simplest, musical rhythm is made up of units of time of differing durations. In similarly simple terms, language comprises words that can be broken down into segments comprising syllables and parts of syllables – vowels and consonants – all of which can be measured on a time scale during speech. Patel et al. found a correlation between English speech patterns, based on vowel duration, and rhythmic patterns in the music composed by native English speakers, and a similar correlation for French speech patterns and music composed by native French speakers. I will return to the results of this study later in this chapter.

Another study, by linguist Rosalía Rodríguez-Vázquez (2010) also identified language-based differences in music, this time by comparing the characteristics of settings of English and Spanish texts in folk and art songs. Importantly, Rodríguez-Vázquez examines texts not just as silent words on a page or as naturally spoken language, but as declaimed poetry. She also considers how composers might set texts both in traditional or folk song and in art song, in recognition that the two genres can treat texts differently. Rodríguez-Vázquez found that text-settings in English tended to display an alignment between verse prosody and musical metre, while in Spanish there tended to be a link between syllable count and musical beat. For the purposes of my study, the Spanish and French languages have enough sufficiently similar properties that the principles Rodríguez-Vázquez articulated for Spanish can be at least tentatively applied to the French texts of the airs found in the Filmer collection.

The Patel et al and Rodríguez-Vázquez studies provide me with different methods for testing whether there are similarly detectable language influences in the *airs de cour* of the Filmer

collection and the effect of that influence on the relationship between the music and Filmer's English texts. I will use the Patel et al. method to assess whether natural prosody of spoken French can be felt in the *air de cour* and spoken English in a sample of English airs, while the Rodríguez-Vázquez method will enable me to determine whether the declamation of the French poetry is echoed in the settings of the *airs de cour* and the English poetry in the English airs.

Music and natural speech prosody

Prosody – patterns produced by stress accent in natural speech – is a reliable feature commonly used by linguists to make distinctions between different languages. French and English exhibit distinctly different speech rhythms based on the patterns of stress caused by the length, or duration in time, of vowels in adjacent syllables. As Ladefoged observes: "In French it seems as if the vowels all have a fairly similar length, whereas in English there are short vowels interspersed with long ones" (Ladefoged 2006: 245). The pairwise variability index (PVI) is one method linguists have developed for measuring this difference. Patel et al (2006) based their study on observable differences in the French and English music as they mapped on to the PVI to reach their conclusions.

Pairwise variability index

Grabe and Low devised the PVI equation to study the "acoustic basis of speech rhythm" (Grabe and Low 2000) and found distinguishable differences between languages by measuring the amount of variation between adjacent pairs of vowels in a given language and comparing these with similar measurements made of pairs of vowels in another language. The PVI equation generates a number based on the degree of durational variation between pairs of adjacent vowels in a given language. Pairs of vowels that are very different, e.g. a vowel of very short duration followed by a vowel of long duration, will generate a higher PVI value than a pair of vowels that are more equal in duration. Linguists can then classify languages according their position along the index. A reliable PVI value for many different languages has since been calculated and Figure 2.4.1, reproduced from Ladefoged (Ladefoged 2006: 246), illustrates the relative differences in PVI between nine different languages. The dark-shaded languages exhibit heavy stress and high variability in vowel length. The unshaded languages have more constant vowel lengths with fewer stressed syllables. The PVI of English, at approximately 57, and French, at approximately 43, as shown in this graph illustrate a significant quantitative difference in vowel length variability between the two languages.

Figure 2.4.1 – Pairwise Variability Index for nine languages

Languages with a higher PVI, and therefore greater variability, are commonly referred to as stress-timed languages, and the languages with lower PVIs and lower variability, as syllable-timed. The crucial distinction between these two categories is the feature that governs the rhythmic timing of the language. In stress-timed languages, such as English, it is the placement of stress in a word. In syllable-timed, such as French, it is the placement of stress in the phrase. As Grabe and Low describe it, "[i]n stress-timed languages, intervals between stresses or rhythmic feet are said to be near-equal, whereas in syllable-timed languages, successive syllables are said to be of near-equal length" (Grabe and Low 2000: 1). Another feature of stress-timed languages is the occurrence of 'reduced vowels' – these are shortened vowel sounds, such as the first and last syllables in a word like 'forever', when said in flowing speech: [fəʔɛvə]. These reduced vowels help to emphasise the accented vowels and can result in pairs of vowels of highly varied durations. In syllable-timed languages, syllable duration tends to be more uniform. They do not exhibit reduced vowels and placement of stress in a word tends to be more dependent of the position of that word in a phrase rather than fixed to a particular word. For example, in French, the final or penultimate syllable in a phrase always attracts the primary stress and most of the rest of the syllables in the phrase are of more equal duration.

Patel et al (2006) found a correlation between the PVI of spoken French and English and that of the instrumental music composed by speakers of those languages. Figure 2.4.2, based on results reported by Patel et al (2006: 3040), shows the difference in PVI for English and

French vowels and music (on the *y* axis) and the overall variability of durations, or the coefficient of variation (CV),[69] on the *x* axis.

Figure 2.4.2 – PVI and CV for English and French vowels and music
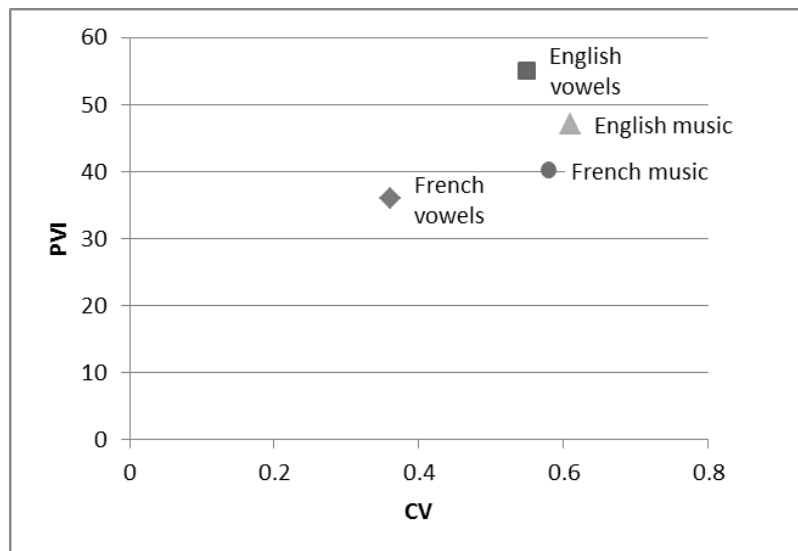
Table 2.4.1 – PVI and CV for speech and music

	PVI		CV	
	English	**French**	**English**	**French**
Speech (vowels)	55.0	35.9	0.55	0.36
Rhythm (music)	47.1	40.2	0.61	0.58

(Results from Patel et al 2006, p.3040)

Patel et al concluded that "…English and French sentences show a highly significant difference in durational contrastiveness (PVI) as well as in duration variability (CV). English and French music, on the other hand, show a significant difference in contrastiveness but not in variability", however, further testing found that "it is highly unlikely that variability differences account for PVI differences in either domain" (Patel et al. 2006: 3040). This analysis confirmed that the results were statistically significant, allowing Patel et al. to conclude that the observed contrastiveness (as measured by PVI) in both speech and music is a real phenomenon and not due to the simple variability of measurements (as measured by CV). In other words, the contrastiveness of vowel duration in French speech is

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[69] The coefficient of variation (CV) is a statistical measure of dispersion or variability among a set of values from the mean. The higher the CV the more dispersed the values are. In the context of vowel durations, a high CV means there is a wide range of vowel durations, from very very short to very very long. A low CV means the range of vowel duration variation is narrower.

comparable to the contrastiveness of rhythmic durations in music composed by native French speaking composers and similarly for English speech and music. Ultimately, the study by Patel et al (2006) supports Lerdahl and Jackendoff's hypothesis that a composer's native tongue has an underlying but detectable influence on his or her music.

Although I have adopted the method developed by Patel et al, I have chosen not to use the PVI for French and English speech they reported in their study. Figure 2.4.3 shows that the PVI for French and English speech from Patel et al. are lower than those reported by Ladefoged (2006) and Grabe and Low (2000),[70] who pioneered the PVI methodology. It also shows Patel et al. arrived at a greater difference between English and French than the other two authors. For the following analysis I have used the PVI reported by Ladefoged as these are slightly more central in value than those of Patel et al.

Figure 2.4.3 – comparison of PVI results reported by three authors

	Patel et al	Ladefoged	Grabe & Low
■ French	36	43	44
■ English	55	57	58
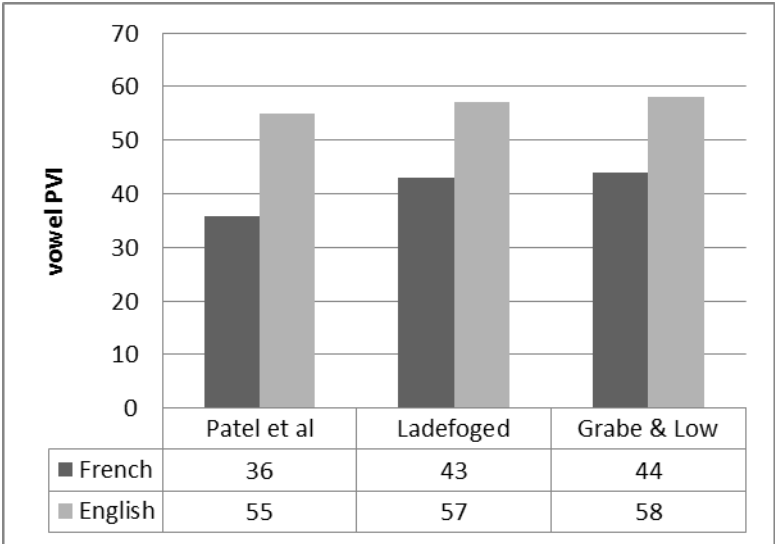
Instrumental and Vocal music; New and Old music; 'French' and 'English' music

Patel et al (2006) chose to test their hypothesis using themes from instrumental music by composers born in the nineteenth century and who died in the twentieth century. They chose this period on the basis that it is commonly recognised as "a time of musical nationalism, when music is thought to have been especially reflective of [the composer's native] culture" (Patel et al. 2006: 3038) and the chosen composers were therefore less likely to be attempting to imitate another culture. However, the rhythmic notation in instrumental music from this period is more complex than that of vocal music composed in the early seventeenth century. It is therefore important to confirm whether a similar

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[70] Ladefoged and Grab and Low did not include a coefficient of variation calculation in their analyses.

rhythmic difference exists between French and English airs composed in the early seventeenth century as that observed by Patel et al. in their study of late nineteenth and early twentieth century instrumental music.

The Patel et al. study also focused on instrumental music rather than vocal music, simply stating that "it might not be surprising if vocal music reflected speech prosody; after all, such music must adapt itself to the rhythmic and melodic properties of a text" (Patel et al. 2006: 3034). While 'it might not be surprising' to find speech prosody reflected in vocal music, I will test the assumption, as a means of obtaining an indication of whether French speech patterns are detectable in the *air de cour* of the Filmer collection and to compare the relationship between the *air de cour* melodies and Filmer's English texts. If there is a close relationship between spoken French and the rhythms of the French airs and a similarly close relationship between English speech and English airs, I would expect to see relatively closely aligned PVI results between the speech and music of each language, as was seen in the results of Patel et al.

English airs comparison

To enable a comparison with the French airs in the Filmer collection, I have selected a sample of five English airs, listed in table 2.4.2. The three airs by John Danyel appeared in Danyel's 1606 publication *Songs for the lvte viol and Voice* (Danyel), dedicated to Mistress Anne Grene. In addition to teaching and playing in theatres, there are surviving records that indicate John Danyel also played at the royal court – he was listed as a musician of the royal household at the time of Prince Henry's death in 1612 and again at the funeral of King James I in 1625 (*Danyel, John*, Grove Music Online, Scott and Greer, n.d.). The two William Corkine airs were printed in Corkine's *Seconde Booke of Ayres, Some, to Sing and Play to the Base-Violl alone: Others, to be sung to the Lute and Base Violl* (Corkine, book 2). Very little is known of William Corkine. A few scant records show a connection to Sir Edward Herbert, that he played with John Dowland in 1612, and in 1617 was given permission to play at the Polish court (Corkine, William, Grove Music Online, Poulton and Greer n.d.).

Table 2.4.2 – English airs used for comparison with French airs de cour

Composer	Title
John Danyel (1584 – c. 1626)	If I could shut the gate
	Time, cruel time
	Why canst thou not
William Corkine (fl.1610 – 1612)	Shall a smile
	'Tis true, 'tis day

This small sample of English airs has been chosen for its comparability with the French *airs de cour* primarily because of their scale, their style of strophic, syllabic text setting and their publication dates. This is in contrast to, for example, John Dowland who having travelled and composed extensively in Europe for most of his career shows signs of influence from Italian madrigals, in particular through word repetition, word painting and use of affective harmonies, devices that were not commonly present in the compositions of his contemporaries in England ('Dowland, John', Grove Music Online, Holman n.d.) nor in the French *air de cour*. Many of Dowland's published collections of airs also appeared a little early for direct comparison with the airs under examination from the Filmer collection.

According to the method described in appendix four I have calculated an average PVI value and CV value for the rhythmic notation for the sample of English airs and the nineteen airs of the Filmer collection. The results, in figure 2.4.4, show that despite the difference in PVI values for both French and English music from the seventeenth century compared to those for French and English music from the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, there remains an appreciable difference between the 'French' rhythms (PVI 44.9) and 'English' rhythms (PVI 53.5) found in the seventeenth century airs.

Figure 2.4.4 – The sample of French and English 17th century airs compared to 19-20th century instrumental music
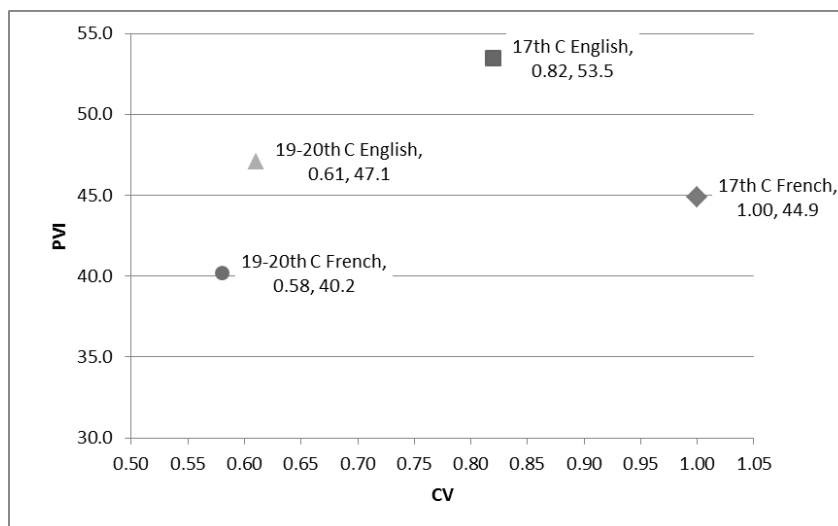
These results confirm that the differences Patel et al. observed in nineteenth and early twentieth century music can also be found in seventeenth century music, even if the overall results are higher. The CV results, as a measure of the range of durational variability, dramatically reflect the difference in rhythmic notation between the two periods. In particular, seventeenth century notation frequently includes long note values, such as minims, semi-breves and breves, tied together at the ends of phrases. This widens the

overall range of durational variation from quavers, with a value of 0.5, up to two tied breves with a value of 8, and results in the significantly higher CV values seen in figure 2.4.4. Due to this feature of seventeenth century rhythmic notation and the way if affects the CV results, the remainder of this analysis will not include CV values even though it was a feature of the Patel et al. methodology.

Musical rhythm and natural speech rhythms

If there is a close relationship between the natural speech rhythms of English and the English airs and a similarly close relationship between the natural speech rhythms of French and the French airs, I would expect to see the PVI value for English airs close to the PVI for natural speech rhythms, and the same for French, as Patel et al found for the nineteenth century music they analysed.

When the rhythm PVI values from the French and English airs are combined with Ladefoged's French and English vowel PVIs drawn from natural speech, as illustrated in figure 2.4.5, the results show an alignment between the rhythms from the French airs and the natural French speech and a similar alignment between the rhythm from the English airs and the natural English speech.

Figure 2.4.5 – Musical rhythm and natural speech comparison
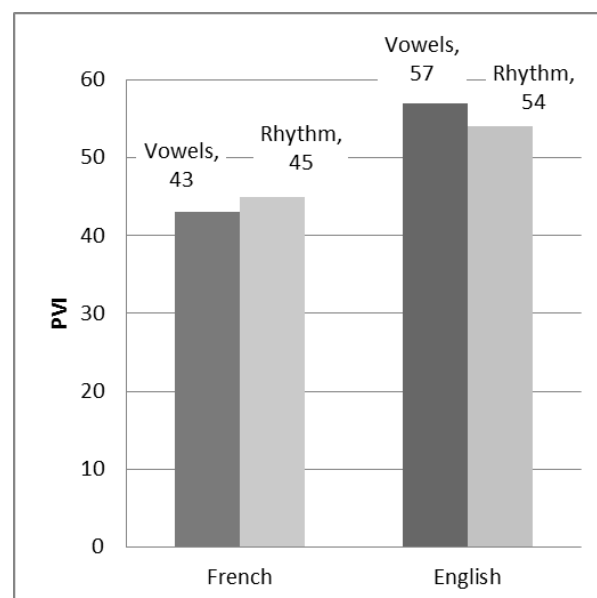
The results in figure 2.4.5 confirm that there is a detectable language influence in the French and English airs under study. This then allows for the possibility, as per Lerdahl and Jackendorf's notion, that the composers of the *airs de cour* were influenced by the subtle prosodic stress patterns of the French language when they were setting the texts for the airs

to music and English composers were similarly influenced by the prosody of the English language. It also means that native French speakers performing and listening to these airs could have been sensitive to these patterns encoded in the songs which may have at least assisted with their comprehension of the text but may also have contributed to a sense of familiarity and ease with the music. Conversely, performers and audiences of Filmer's versions of the airs, which of course combine English texts with what we now know to be underlyingly French melodies, would have experienced a sense of discord as a result of the mismatch between inherent prosodic stress patterns of spoken English overlayed on the subtle patterns of French prosody encoded in the music. While providing an explanation for this sese of discord, this finding, however, does not reveal a lot about the nature of that mismatch. There are limitations on the conclusions that can be drawn from this analytical approach.

Firstly, the analysis produces results averaged across a sample of texts and tunes, meaning that the conclusion that there is a detectable language influence, present in the airs can only be a generalised one. This approach does not enable a description or account of the relationship between a single text and the particular music to which it has been set. Any attempt to identify an example of this generalised relationship requires a methodologically dubious, highly selective choice of data to illustrate the point and so, of course, has not been pursued here. The ultimate consequence of this limitation is that the sense of connection between language and music, that we now know to be present, remains intangible.

Second, the underlying nature of the phenomena under examination through this approach – the relative duration of pairs of adjacent vowels – are not often perceived consciously and are difficult to isolate without the assistance of audio software. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the results so far observed are as a consequence of the composers' conscious compositional decisions concerning the setting of the texts. Indeed, Lerdahl and Jackendoff were quite particularly concerned with the underlying nature of the language influence. The existence of unconscious compositional practice is not problematic in itself, however, Mersenne's notion of an effective text setting, as highlighted earlier, implies a conscious act by the composer: *"[T]he text will have at least as much power over listeners when sung as it would if **recited by an excellent orator**…"* (Mersenne, my bold (translation in Ranum 2001: 9)). The composer has heard the declaimed poetry and attempted to echo it in the text setting. As the emphasis of this chapter is on performance of text, it is important that the analysis be sensitive to such a response by the composer and, in the case of Filmer, the subsequent translator.

Music and poetic declamation

Poetic declamation in both French and English can differ from natural speech in pitch, volume and tone colour but also, significantly for the present study, in the frequency and placement of accents. When the methodology of Patel et al. – which was developed to examine natural speech patterns – is applied to declaimed poetry the apparent close relationship between language and music evaporates. I generated a PVI for the French texts by recording a native French speaker[71] declaiming the texts of the French airs used in the Filmer collection and similarly, I recorded myself declaiming Filmer's English texts. I then calculated an average PVI for both sets of declaimed texts. This process is described in further detail in appendix four.

Figure 2.4.6 – PVI values for French and English declaimed vowels and rhythms
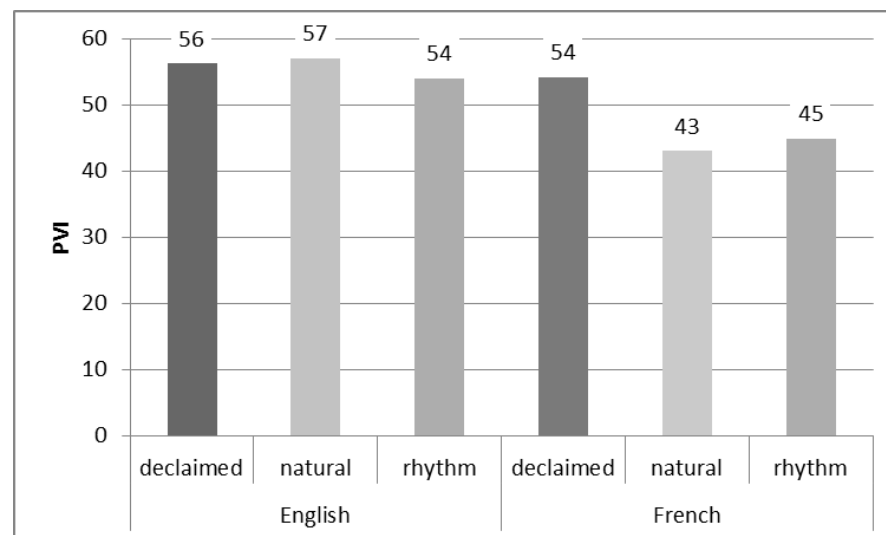
The results in figure 2.4.6 show that at 56 and 54 respectively the PVI results of the English and French poetry when declaimed are closer to each other compared to the PVI results for natural speech. The result of 56 for the declaimed English vowels is in keeping with the natural speech result of 57; however, at a PVI of 54, the result for the declaimed French vowels is closer to both natural and declaimed English than natural French speech which was around 43. The different stress patterns in poetic declamation compared to natural speech account for these results. Declamation of French poetry is characterised by the use of durational accents within a phrase, something not frequently heard in natural speech. This practice increases the durational variability of vowel pairs resulting in a significantly higher PVI value.

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[71] My sincere thanks to Professor Véronique Duché (Faculty of Arts, department of Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, University of Melbourne) for her readings, interpretative insights and assistance with translation of these texts.

In turn, the higher PVI for the declaimed poetry obscures the connection that was observed between the natural speech and rhythm (in particular in the French airs), suggesting that composers, at least of the French airs, were only influenced by the internal, underlying representation of the sound of natural spoken French that he holds in his mind and not by the sound of the declaimed poetry. For the purposes of this study, however, I wish to probe this conclusion a little further.

As detailed in chapter 2.1, several scholars from the seventeenth century and more recently, have highlighted the way the settings of the *air de cour* should emphasise, or at least not obscure, the clear declamation of the text. The following analysis tests whether such a relationship between the texts, as declaimed poetry, and the music of the *airs de cour* of the Filmer collection can be observed in practice. To explore this relationship I have developed an analytical method based on the findings of the Rodríguez-Vázquez study (2010) which, crucially, accommodated text not just as language, but as poetry, in recognition that poetry can behave differently to natural speech – as, indeed, has just been demonstrated. The objective of Rodríguez-Vázquez's study is to see whether a musical text setting is influenced by "rhythmic constraints common to language prosody, verse prosody and music, and whether those constraints are ranked differently from language to language" (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 3).

For the French and English airs of the Filmer collection and the small sample of English airs already introduced this will mean that there should be a discernible connection between the French texts when declaimed and their musical settings. Conversely, it may be expected that there will be a discernible mis-match between the declaimed texts by Filmer when compared with the original musical settings. It could also be expected that the declaimed English texts from English airs should match at least as well as the French texts with their musical settings.

The notion of 'constraint' in the context of Rodríguez-Vázquez's study comes from the field of Optimality Theory (OT). The OT framework proposes a set of universal constraints which govern different phonological and grammatical aspects of language, such as how a plural is formed, or the addition or subtraction of phones from a syllable under certain conditions. The characteristics of different languages require variation in the ordering, or prioritisation, of these constraints (Trask 1999 (2nd ed. 2007): 198-99).

Rodríguez-Vázquez has based her study on the OT framework and the notion of the metrical grid and applied it to English and Spanish poetry, set as both folk song and art song, to study

the extent and nature of the bond between the rhythm of declaimed poetry and musical texts settings. After surveying eight OT studies of text-settings, Rodríguez-Vázquez identified the following set of text-setting constraints (CON) (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 225-26):

a) Metrical CON: MAXBEAT
      a.1) MATCH STRESS
           a.1.1) strong syllables fall on strong beats
           a.1.2) a syllable that falls on a strong beat must be stressed
      a.2) FILLSTRONG: fill the strongest position in the line
      a.3) *LAPSE: avoid sequences with no syllables between any two of the strongest
          positions in the line (i.e. avoid contiguous stresses)

b) Grouping CON:
      b.1) SALIENCY (truncation): non-filling of metrical positions at the end of lines
           b.1.1) Lines are salient
           b.1.2) Couplets are salient
           b.1.3) Stanzas are salient
      b.2) PARALLELISM:
           b.2.1) the cadences ending the units of the maximal analysis of the quatrain
             must be identical
           b.2.2) the onsets of syllables coincide with musical beats

It is not the purpose of this study to test the OT method used by Rodríguez-Vázquez to obtain the indicators of a well-formed text setting but merely to assess the applicability of the indicators she obtained through her OT-based analysis to French song. I, therefore, will not provide further explanation of her method here. A full explanation can be read in Rosalía Rodríguez-Vásquez (2010), *The Rhythm of Speech, Verse and Vocal Music: A New Theory* (Linguistic Insights; Bern: Peter Lang).

By analysing a sample of English and Spanish folk and art song using these constraints, Rodríguez-Vázquez found that the hierarchical arrangement of these constraints varied between text-settings of different languages (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 226) and identified differing patterns of text-settings that were characteristic of either English or Spanish song.

In well-formed English text-settings, for example, there is a strong link between verse prosody and musical metre, meaning that stressed syllables should align with long rhythmic units. While for Spanish text-settings, the alignment of accented words or syllables with long rhythmic units is not prioritised (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 292). In Spanish text settings "…the syllable is the most important unit of rhythm, in such a way that the parallel arrangement of syllables constitutes the essence of rhythmic perception in this language. Stress signals the division between the parallel rhythmic units, but where that stress falls is not important for determining the acceptability of a setting" (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 292).

The link between the number of syllables and musical beats in a phrase, as well as the treatment of line, couplet and stanza endings, were more important for a well formed text-setting in Spanish (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 300). The reason for the different hierarchies found in English and Spanish text-settings can be traced to the differences in the way poetry works in these two languages.

Spanish poetry (and as outlined previously for French poetry in chapter 2.1) is syllabic, meaning that the main organising principle is syllable count and that accent or word stress functions primarily to emphasise the end of a poetic line. English poetry, on the other hand, is accentual as well as syllabic, meaning it is governed by patterns of accents within each line as well as, and at times more so than, syllable count. Due to this similarity between Spanish and French poetry, the Rodríguez-Vázquez indicators of well-formedness should be applicable to French. Therefore I will assess the English airs of the Filmer collection and their French originals to measure the extent to which they conform to the indicators of well-formedness identified by Rodríguez-Vázquez. The results will provide a tangible insight into the nature of the relationship between text, as language, and music in these airs.

For the purposes of my study, I have derived a set of well-formedness indicators from the Rodríguez-Vázquez study. For the original French versions of the *airs de cour* the well-formedness indicators are that:

- the end of couplets and stanzas are supported with a strong rhythmic cadence, such as a long note, and
- poetic line length is conserved by preserving the syllable count through the number of musical beats in a phrase.

While for the English airs, including those in the Filmer collection, the well-formedness indicators are that:

- line-internal accents are conserved, by aligning accented syllables with rhythmic accents, and
- the strongest rhythmic accent in each line is filled with an accented syllable.

I have identified accented syllables through direct measurement of syllable length, as I am particularly concerned with ascertaining whether a direct link between the sound of the language and rhythm of the text-settings can be observed. Adopting a similar approach to that described in appendix four, I used *Praat* to measure syllable durations in the recordings I made of the French texts and Filmer's English texts. I then assessed each line for well-formedness using either the French or English indicators, as appropriate, for each of the 19

airs in the Filmer collection in both their French and English versions, and for the small sample of English airs.

French **air de cour** *texts*

To discover the extent to which each of the 105 French lines that make up the first stanzas of the 19 airs in the Filmer collection conform to both of these indicators, I have assessed each line using the methods described above and documented the results in table 2.4.3.

Table 2.4.3 – Text setting well formedness in French airs of the Filmer collection

Air No.	Metre[72]	Line 1	Line 2	Line 3	Line 4	Line 5	Line 6	Line 7	Line 8
1.	QM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2.	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓				
3.	CM	✓	✘ (e)	✓	✓	✓	✓		
4.	QM	✓	✘ (e)	✓	✓	✘ (e)	✓		
5.	M	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
6.	UM	✓	✓	✘	✓	✓	✓		
7.	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
8.	M	✓	✓	✓	✓				
9.	QM	✓	✓	✘ (e-UU)	✓	✓	✓		
10.	QM	✘ (e)	✓	✘ (e)	✓	✓	✓		
11.	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✘ (-UU)	✓		
12.	M	✓	✓	✓	✓				
13.	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
14.	UM	✓	✘ (e)	✓	✓	✓	✓		
15.	UM	✓	✘	✓	✓				
16.	QM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
17.	M	✘ (e-UU)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
18.	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
19.	M	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✘ (e)	✓	✓

✓ = setting preserves syllable count and rhythmic cadences appear at couplet/stanza endings

✘ = rhythmic cadence non-match, i.e. rhythm does not emphasise line-final syllable

✘ (e) = non-match of a feminine *e* ending

✘ (-UU) = non-match because of a dactylic rhythmic figure (crotchet followed by two quavers)

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[72] Behaviour of musical metre has often been associated with more or less sensitive treatment of the poetic metre (see chapter 2.1) I have classified the metre of each air according to the terms of Le Cocq (1997), introduced in chapter 1.2: Metrical (M); Unmeasured (UM); Quasi Metrical (QM); Cadence Metrical (CM).

As per the well-formedness indicators, a French line is deemed to well-formed when the text-setting reflects the syllable count and crucially, when the musical rhythm matches with the accented line-final syllable (or penultimate syllable in the case feminine *e* endings). My analysis reveals that 93 (or approximately 89 per cent) of the 105 French lines are well-formed according to the well-formedness indicators.

Adorable Princesse (no.1), by Pierre Guédron, is an example of a well-formed text setting. As can be seen in figure 2.4.7a, the number of rhythmic units[73] (counted out above the stave) is matched to the number of syllables in each phrase (counted out below the stave).

Figure 2.4.7a – Adorable Princesse *(no.1) by Pierre Guédron – syllabic text setting*

(excerpt from Tb6 – see appendix one for full title)

Guédron's treatment of line endings in his setting of *Adorable Princesse* also conforms with the well-formedness indictors for French text settings. This is illustrated in the series of bar charts in figure 2.4.7b.

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[73] A rhythmic unit can comprise a single note value or multiple tied notes when set to a single syllable. For example, the tied minim and crotchet set to the second syllable of '*princesse'* is counted as a single rhythmic unit with a value of three crotchets.

Figure 2.4.7b – Comparison of line ending syllable durations and rhythmic units

Line 1
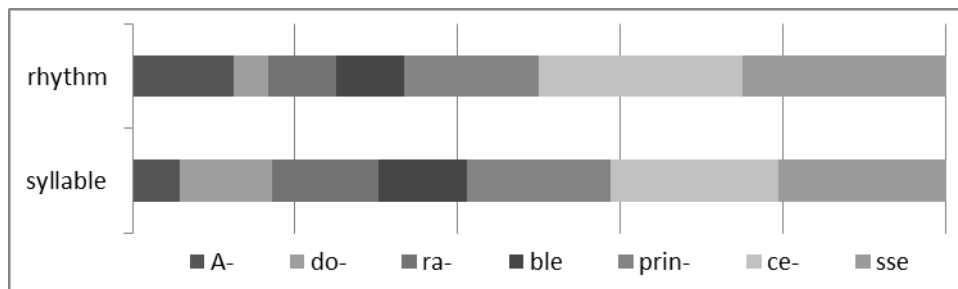
Line 2
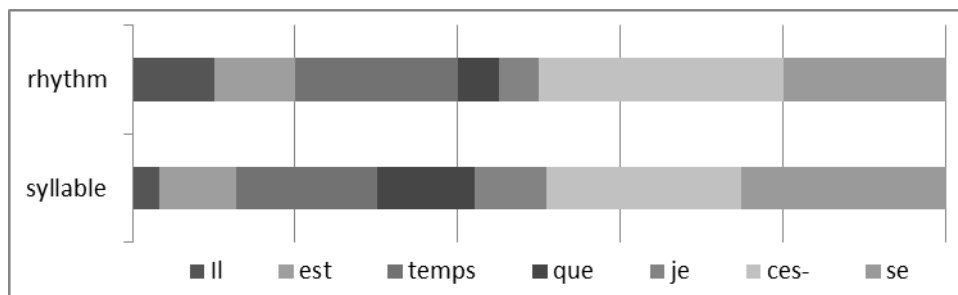
Line 3
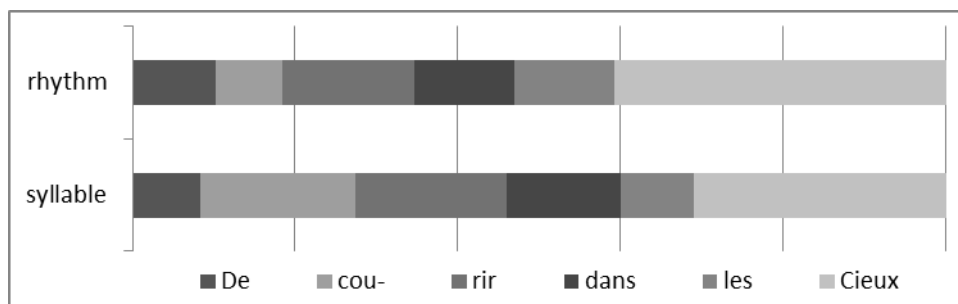
Line 4
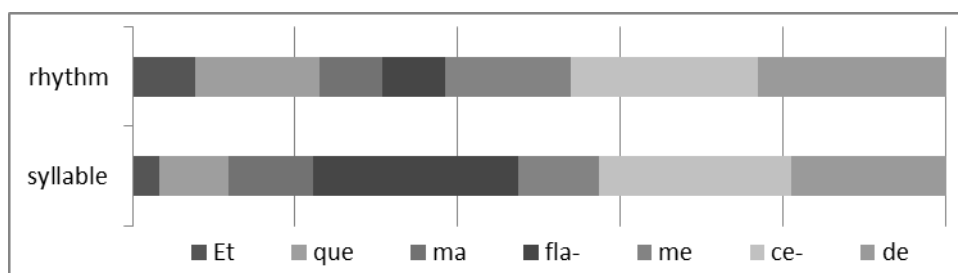
Line 5
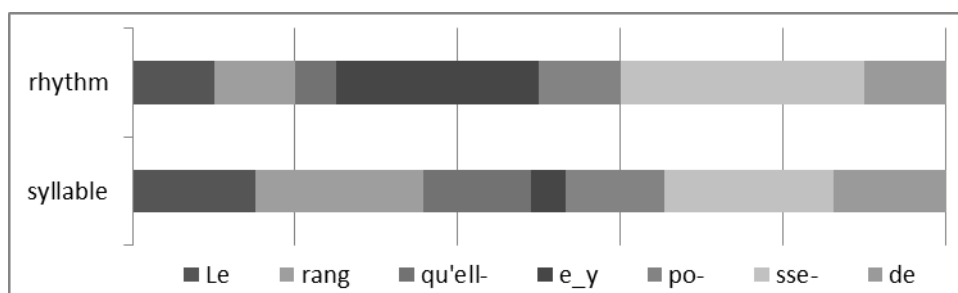
Line 6
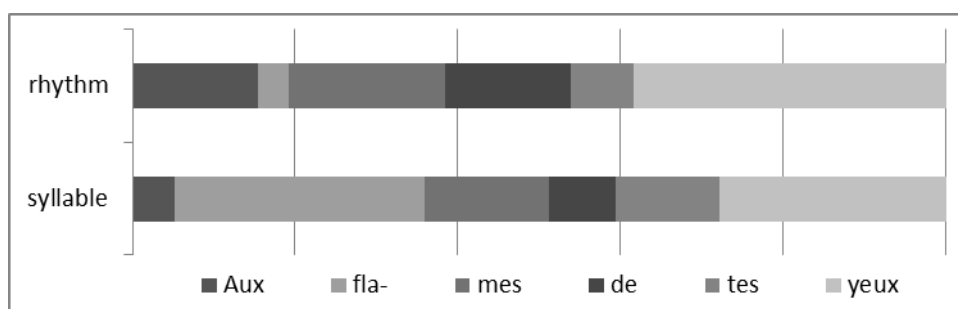
The rhythmic notation, depicted in the top line of each chart, uses one or two long notes values at the end of each line (depending on whether it is a feminine or masculine rhyme) and these correspond to the long duration of the line-final syllables. These figures show how all line endings are emphasised both in the actual declamation of the text as well as the rhythmic settings. The final line of the stanza (line 6) is set to a stronger rhythmic cadence than those of other lines in the stanza.

Due to the small number of non-conforming lines among the sample of 105 lines, generalisations cannot be made easily. However, I can make the following observations: of the twelve non-conforming lines, nine of those involve lines that end with a feminine *e* which typically should to be set to two rhythmic units of long duration. Figure 2.4.8a shows an example of a non-confirming line and figure 2.4.8b a conforming line; and three non-conforming lines feature a dactylic rhythmic figure, such as an example shown in figure 2.4.8c.

Figure 2.4.8a – Lines one and three from Las ! fuiras-tu toujours *(no.10) (soprano part only), an example of a non-conforming rhythmic setting of a feminine* e *ending*

(Score reproduced from Durosoir (2009) with my annotations.)

Figure 2.4.8b – First line from Je voudrais bien o Cloris *(no.18), by Anthoine Boesset, an example of a conforming rhythmic setting of a feminine* e *ending*

(excerpt from Tb6 – see appendix one for full title)

In this example from Boesset's *Je voudrais bien ô Cloris* (figure 2.4.8b), the last two syllables of the line, including the feminine *e* of *j'adore*, have been set to comparatively long minims, rhythmically marking it out from the rest of the line.

Figure 2.4.8c - Line five from Si le parler et le silence *(no.11), an example of a non-conforming line ending using a dactylic rhythmic figure*

(excerpt from Tb1 – see appendix one for full title)

This example, from Guédron's *Si le parler et le silence* (figure 2.4.8c), illustrates a non-conforming line through the use of a dactylic rhythmic figure (– U U) to set the line final word *volage*. The final two syllables of the line are not rhythmically distinguished from the rest of the line, causing the line to run on to the next line without emphasising the line ending as is typical in a well-formed setting.

Perhaps counter intuitively, ten of the twelve non-conforming lines appear in non-metrical airs. It might have been predicted that non-metrical airs would be more likely to support both poetic metre and declamation as this is often the stated reason for adopting a flexible approach to musical metre. As highlighted in chapter 1.2, Mersenne, in *Harmonie universelle* (1636-7), remarks on a certain style of air where the words of the poem "are sung note against note without metre, and only according to the longs and shorts which are found in the line [of text]…" (quoted in Le Cocq 2000: 3). Although the sample is quite small, my analysis does not strongly support this widely accepted view.

Arme toy ma raison (no.14)*,* by Anthoine Boesset, does not consistently emphasise line endings through rhythmic accents. The stanza consists of six lines divided into three couplets. The syllables ending each couplet should be set to stronger rhythmic cadences

than those of the first line of the couplet. However, as the graphs in figure 2.4.8d illustrate, Boesset does not adhere to this rule.

Figure 2.4.8d – First two lines of Arme toy ma raison *(no. 14), by Anthoine Boesset*

Line 1

Line 2
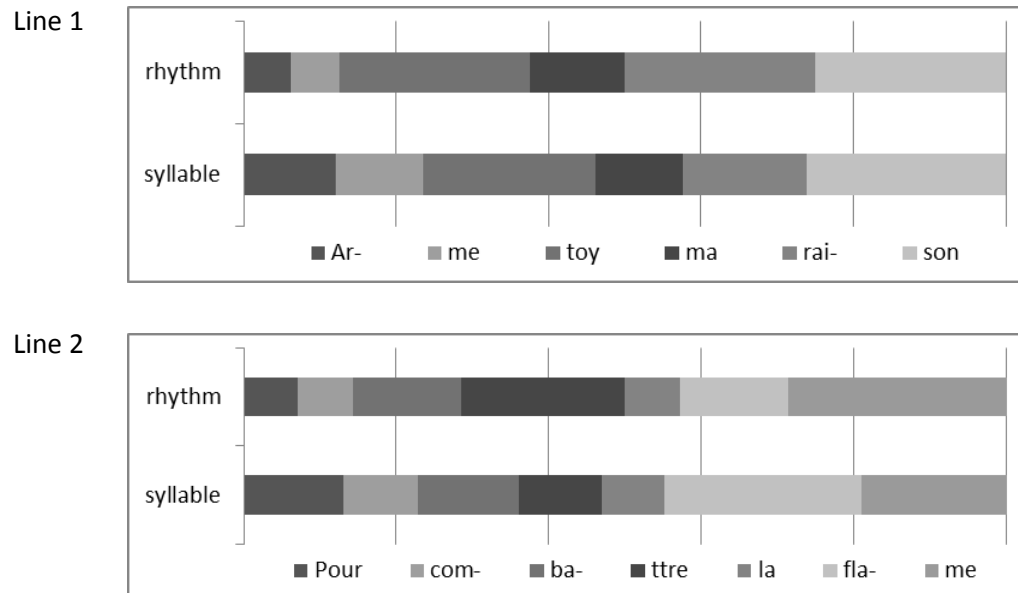
For example, the word *flame* which concludes the first couplet at the end of the second line is given appropriately significant emphasis by the reader of the poem compared to the emphasis given at the end of the preceding line, but Boesset does not adopt the same approach. His setting gives greater emphasis to the syllables at the end of the first line, rather than the second. This finding is perhaps surprising as this air bears the hallmarks of a setting that is influenced by the declamation of the text. I will return for a closer examination of this air at the end of the chapter.

When each air is considered in full, rather than line-by-line, among all of the nineteen airs in the collection, all stanza-final lines are well-formed, as detailed in table 2.4.4, with these lines attracting the strongest rhythmic cadences. Nine of the nineteen airs are entirely well-formed. The remaining then have the majority of the lines in their first stanza that match, leading to the confident conclusion that the majority of these French airs exhibit a well-formed text setting.

Table 2.4.4 – Breakdown of well-formed text settings as complete airs

French airs	All lines match	Most match (> 50%)	Some match (< 50%)	No lines match
UM (3)	0	3	0	0
QM (5)	2	3	0	0
CM (6)	4	2	0	0
M (5)	3	2	0	0
	9	**10**	**0**	**0**

Repeating this process for the English versions of the texts in the Filmer collection, but using the indicators of well-formedness for English settings previously described, reveals a distinctly different set of results. Table 2.4.5 shows that of the 102[74] English lines under study, 36 conform to the indicators for well-formedness while 66 do not.

Table 2.4.5 – Degree of English syllable – rhythm alignment by line

Air number	Metre	Line 1	Line 2	Line 3	Line 4	Line 5	Line 6	Line 7	Line 8
1.	QM	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗		
2.	CM	✓	✓	✗	✓				
3.	CM	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓		
4.	QM	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗		
5.	M	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗			
6.	UM	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓		
7.	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
8.	M	✓	✗	✗	✗				
9.	QM	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗		
10.	QM	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗		
11.	CM	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗		
12.	M	✓	✓	✓	✓				
13.	CM	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓		
14.	UM	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗		
15.	UM	✗	✗	✓	✓				
16.	QM	✗	✓	✗	✓				
17.	M	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗		
18.	CM	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓		
19.	M	✗		✓		✗	✗	✗	✗

✓ = setting aligns line-internal accents with strong rhythms and the strongest accent in each line is filled

✗ = line-internal syllable and rhythmic accents are not aligned, the strong position the line is not filled

Of the 36 conforming lines, the majority (n=27) come from metric (M) or cadencially metric (CM) airs, while only six lines are from quasi metric (QM) airs and three are from unmeasured (UM) airs. This might be expected as the more regular metric pulse in M and CM lines would be more likely to coincide with and support the regular accents in English poetic lines.

A typical example of a non-conforming line can be seen in *Thou, whome Fortune, now turn'd tender* (no.15). As shown in figure 2.4.9a, the longest syllables do not always align with long rhythmic units. The first and last accented syllables in the line are set to accented rhythms

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[74] The 105 lines of French texts has reduced to 102 because I did not declaim lines twice when they were repeated in the text setting. This occurred in two airs: *Puis que les ans / Since your round Yeare* (no.16) and *Aux plaisir, aux delices Bergeres / To your Sports and delights* (no.19).

but, the first syllable of *fortune* and *now* are not. *Now* is also the most accented syllable in the phrase and it is only set to a minim (a relatively short rhythmic unit in this setting).

Figure 2.4.9a – First line from Thou, whome Fortune, now turn'd tender *(no.15)*
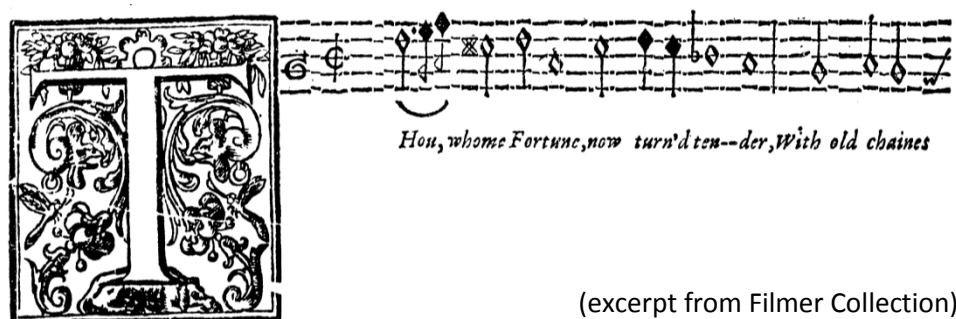
(excerpt from Filmer Collection)
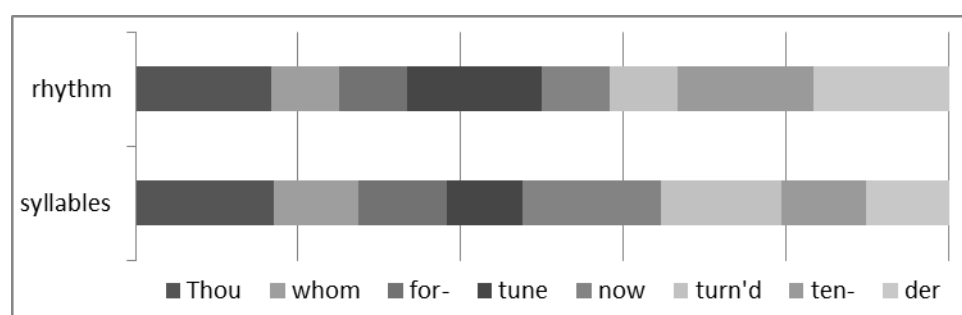
An example of a well-formed setting can be seen in *How was Amyntas blest* (no.7), shown in figure 2.4.9b, where both accented syllables in the line, *was* and *blest*, align with accented rhythms, including the longest syllable *blest*.

Figure 2.4.9b – First line from How was Amyntas blest *(no.7)*
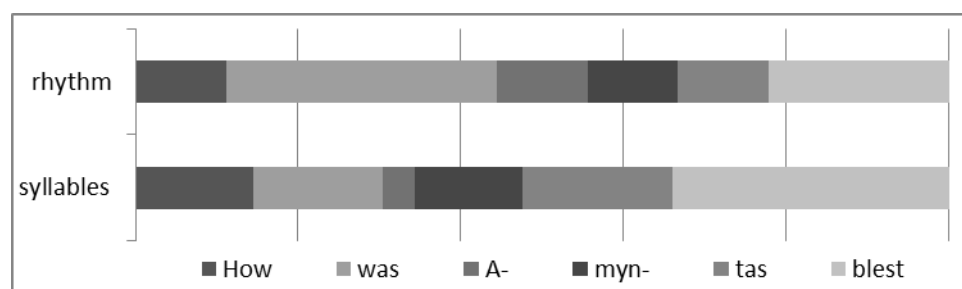
When viewed as whole airs, rather than line-by-line only two airs fully match the indicators, *How was Amyntas blest* (no. 7) and *Too much wee range the waves* (no. 12). Again, these possess a strong musical metric pulse which supports the regular accents of the declaimed poetry. A majority of the nineteen airs (n=12) either do not match at all or have fewer than half of the lines in the stanza matched, as can be seen in the figures presented in table 2.4.6.

Table 2.4.6 – Breakdown of well-formed text settings as complete airs

English	All match	Most match (> 50%)	Some match (< 50%)	No match
UM (3)	0		2	1
QM (5)		1	3	1
CM (6)	1	3	2	
M (5)	1	1	2	1
	2	**5**	**9**	**3**

English airs

When this process is applied to the five English airs previously analysed, the results, shown in table 2.4.7, reveal that 93 per cent of the 31 lines under study conform to the text setting well formedness indicators.

Table 2.4.7 – Degree of English syllable – rhythm alignment by line (English airs)

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6	L7	L8
If I could shut	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Shall a smile	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Time cruel time	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
'Tis true 'tis day	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Why canst thou	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗		

This rate of syllable-rhythm duration match is consistent with the 89 per cent match rate of the French text-settings, seen in table 2.4.3. An example of a well formed setting can be illustrated by William Corkine's *Shall a smile or a guilefull glance*, the first line of which is shown in figure 2.4.10a.

Figure 2.4.10a – First line from Shall a smile or guilefull glance *by William Corkine*

(excerpt from Corkine book 2)
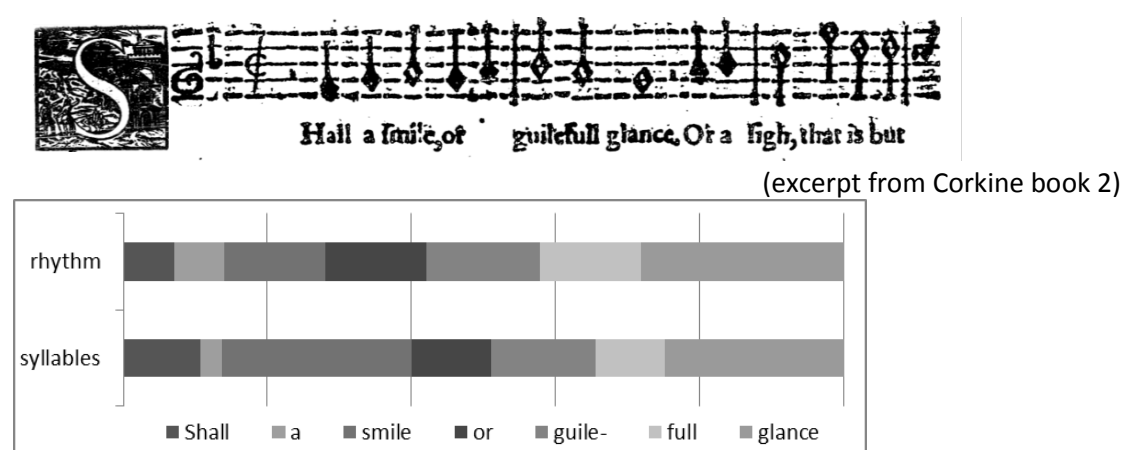
The accented syllables in the line, *smile*, the first syllable of *guilefull* and *glance*, are all set to accented syllables. The most accented syllable, *smile*, is also set to the strongest rhythm in the line. Although the semi-breve at the end of the line is longer than the minim set to *smile*,

this minim is made more prominent by the crotchets before and after it. Also, the position of semi-breve at the end of the phrase means that singers may often not voice its full duration.

Rhythmic and poetic accent patterning

A further illustration of the differing rhythmic treatment of French and English texts can be made by observing the patterning of poetic metre and rhythmic accents. The text for Corkine's *Shall a smile*, the first stanza of which is transcribed below, exhibits a regular poetic trimeter pulse, beginning with a anapest (U U –) followed by two iambs (U –). Three of the five lines also have the weak '–ed' rhyme ending (x), which increases the syllable count of the line but not the number of accents. The metrical accents are annotated beneath each line and the syllable count and rhyme scheme appear to the right of each line.

Shall a smile, or guilefull glace,
  U U –   U – U   –   7A
Or a sigh, that is but fayned,
U U –   U – U – x   8B
Shall but teares that come by chance,
  U U   –   U –   U –   7A
Make mee dote that was distayned?
  U   U –   U   – U – x   8B
No, I will no more be chayned.
  U U – U   –   U   – x   8B

When the metrical accents of the text are compared with the rhythmic notation of Corkine's musical setting, as shown in figure 2.4.10b, the accented syllables are consistently aligned with long rhythmic units.

Figure 2.4.10b – alignment of rhythmic and metric patterning in Shall a smile

Accented syllables are boxed while downward arrows indicate the corresponding accented rhythm in the melody line. Together, these form a regular metrical (poetic) and rhythmic (musical) accent pattern.

Such regular accent pattering can be seen in the rhythmic notation of each of the five English airs examined. Table 2.4.8 shows a transcription of the rhythms as numerical values. The shaded cells of the table indicate where the accents fall within the phrase based on both rhythmic value and metrical pulse. The regular accent patterning present in the music can be seen as regular bands of shading in the table.

Table 2.4.8 – rhythmic accent patterning in five English airs

If I could										
L1	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	4.0
L2	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
L3	4.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0
L4	1.0	1.5	0.5	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	1.0
L5	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	3.0
L6	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.0

Shall a smile								
L1	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	
L2	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.00
L3	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	
L4	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
L5	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	4.0

Time cruel time										
L1	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	4.0
L2	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	6.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	4.0
L3	2.0	0.5	0.5	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	4.0
L4	2.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	4.0
L5	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0
L6	1.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0
L7	2.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.0
L8	2.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	4.0

Tis true, tis day										
L1	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0		
L2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0		
L3	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0		
L4	1.0	0.5	0.5	3.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	2.0		
L5	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	1.0	1.0
L6	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	4.0	2.0

Why canst thou not								
L1	1.0	1.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
L2	1.0	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.0	1.0	2.0
L3	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	2.0	0.5	0.5	1.0
L4	1.5	0.5	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	
L5	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
L6	0.5	0.5	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	

Such patterning is not observed in the French texts. As outlined in Chapter 1.2 *airs de cour* exhibit regular and irregular metrical characteristics, including a range of different irregular metre sub-types (a-metric, quasi-metrical (q-metric) and cadentially metric (c-metric)). I have therefore selected one of each of these types of metres for inclusion in Table 2.4.9. Following the same process with four of the French texts from among the 19 airs of the Filmer collection, irregular patterning of metric and rhythmic accents emerges.

Where the patterning, shown in Table 2.4.8, with consistent vertical bands extending through each line of an air, indicates more regular rhythmic patterning in English airs, the shading in Table 2.4.9 indicates that the rhythmic patterning in French airs moves around from line to line in the same way that accent shifts in French poetic metre.

Table 2.4.9 – rhythmic accent patterning in four French airs de cour

Ou luis-tu											
L1	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0		
L2	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0			
L3	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0			
L4	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0		
L5	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0			
L6	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	4.0			

O grands Dieu											
L1	2.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	1.0	1.25	1.0				
L2	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.25	1.0					
L3	1.0	1.25	1.5	0.5	3.0						
L4	2.0	1.25	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0					
L5	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0						
L6	2.0	1.5	0.5	4.0							

Que n'este vous											
L1	1.25	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0				
L2	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0					
L3	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	3.0					
L4	1.5	0.5	1.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	1.5				
L5	0.5	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.25	1.0					
L6	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	3.0					

C'est trop courir les eaux											
L1	1.0	1.25	1.0	1.25	1.0	2.0					
L2	1.0	1.25	1.0	1.5	0.5	2.0					
L3	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.50	0.5	1.5
L4	0.5	0.75	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.25	1.0	1.25	1.0	1.25	1.0	4.0

For example, the first stanza of *Ou luis-tu soleil de mon ame?* (no.6) from the Filmer collection, transcribed below, exhibits an irregular metrical pulse.

Ou luis-tu soleil de mon ame?   8ᵉ (4) A
 – U – U – U U – X

Ou luis-tu flambeau de mes yeux ? 8 (4) B
 – U – U – U U –

Oubliras-tu toujours les cieux,   8 (3) B
 U U – U U – U –

Et au sein de Thetis ta flame :   8ᵉ (3) A
U U   – U U – U – X

Or'que mon beau soleil ne luit,   8 (4) B
 – U U – U – U –

Le jour ne m'est plus qu'une nuit. 8 (3) B
 U – U U – U U –

The metre varies by both the number and position of line accents as well as subtle changes in line length through the use of feminine rhymes. The stanza begins with two tetrameter lines followed by two trimeter lines then switches back to a tetrameter line before ending with a trimeter line. The changing number of accents in each line is complicated by the changing position of the accent in each line and its interplay with the line length and rhyme scheme. The first two lines attempt to establish a regular tetrametric rhythm through the consistent use of a double trochee followed by a anapaest – interference with this pattern is almost immediately introduced by the use of a feminine rhyme in the first line which adds an additional mute syllable to the pattern. The pattern is further interrupted by the masculine rhyme the end of the second line. While the third line maintains the masculine rhyme, it has only three line accents, instead of four, and begins with an anapaest, disrupting the pattern so far established for how a line should commence.

On setting this text to music, Guédron adopted a similarly irregular musical metre – apparently to emphasise the poetic metre, or at least not to impose regulation where the poet intended there should not be any. The changes in metrical pulse are illustrated in figure 2.4.11a, marked by the broken vertical lines and these changes align with the longest significant syllables in the line, *'tu'*, *-leil'* and *'a-'*, which are boxed. The unaccented syllable *'de'* is also set to a long rhythmic unit.[75]

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[75] Muller found in her PhD study of text settings that for French song, alignment of unaccented syllables with unaccented rhythms was a more important that the alignment of accented syllables (Muller 1996: p.292).

Figure 2.4.11a – First line from Ou luis-tu soleil *(no.6), by Pierre Guédron*

Although support of line-internal accents is not an indicator for well-formedness in French text settings, Guédron's use of irregular metric notation not only supports the poetic metre, it provides a clear visual signal of the shifting metre to the performer who can then emphasise it in performance. He could have notated this rhythm without changing the metre, as can be seen in figure 2.4.11b, however, the necessary use of tied notes would have appeared overly complicated and ultimately obscured the poetic metre.

Figure 2.4.11b – alternative notation for Ou luis-tu soleil *using regular duple metre*

Ou luis - tu, so - leil   de   mon a - me?
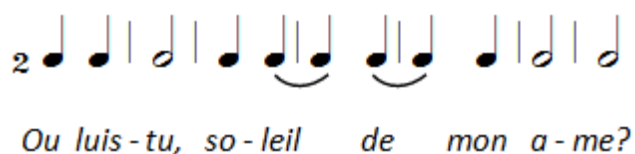
On turning to Filmer airs, the consequence of combining an English text with a tune that was composed for a French text is clear. Filmer's text, *What spell holds thee, Sunne rising*, for the tune *Ou luis-tu soleil* (no. 6), transcribed below, exhibits a different pattern of accents than that seen in the French version of the text.

What spell holds thee, my Sun, from rising?   8^x (4) A
   U   –   U   –   U –   U – X

What half-sphere takes-up thy whole race?   8 (5) B
   U   –   –   U   – U   –   –

Is Thetis green lap the fresh place,   8 (5) B
U   – U   –   –   U   –   –

That so long keeps thee a baptising?   8^x (4) A
   U   – U   –   U –U – X

Now that my sun deigns me no light,   8 (4) C
   U   –   U –   U   – U   –

To me fairest day is black night.   8 (4) C
   U   – U U   – –   U   –

In the first line of Filmer's text the main accents fall on the syllables 'spell', 'thee', 'sun' and the first syllable of 'rising'. As can be seen in table 2.4.10, only the last accent coincides with any of those in the French text.

Table 2.4.10 – Comparison of accent patterning in the French English versions of Ou luis-tu soleil *(no. 6)*

French	Ou –	luis- U	tu –	so- U	leil –	de U	mon U	a- –	me X
English	What U	spell –	holds U	thee –	my U	Sun –	from U	ri- –	sing X

When the accent pattern of Filmer's text is overlaid with the rhythmic notation, as illustrated in figure 2.4.11c, only two accented syllables align with the rhythm, on 'sunne' and the first syllable of 'ri-sing'. The accented rhythms are indicated by downward pointing arrows, the accented syllables are boxed. Filmer may have also been attempting to use word painting by aligning 'hold' with a minim. Alignment of line internal accents with musical rhythm is an indicator of well-formedness for English text settings and this example does not conform to that criterion.

Figure 2.4.11c – First line from What spell holds thee *(text by Filmer, to music by Guédron)*

(excerpt from the Filmer collection)

The vocabulary of rhythmic durations used in the French and English airs is otherwise very similar, each typically using a limited combination of dotted and un-dotted minims, crotchets, quavers and occasionally semi-quavers. The patterning illustrated in Tables 2.4.8 and 2.4.9 suggests that the observed difference in how French and English composers deploy this otherwise similar rhythmic vocabulary is due to the effect of language prosody. From these results we can conclude that the rhythms of the *airs de cour* are truly 'French-flavoured'. They do not exhibit the regular patterning of rhythmic accents seen in the English airs because the French texts do not require such patterning. However this makes them less suitable for supporting English texts because they do not possess that one feature essential for producing well-formed text settings in English.

This syllable analysis provides me with an objective illustration of the extent to which the rhythmic notation of the airs in the Filmer collection aligns with the French and English texts and also what I can expect a 'well-formed' setting of a French or English text to look like.

Syllable duration and *musique mesurée* and *récit*

In addition to assessing the well-formedness of the text settings, this method of analysis enables an examination of the settings of those airs, identified earlier in chapter 2.1, as being influenced by *musique mesurée* and those where the rhythmic notation appears to reflect text declamation or have been labelled *récit*.

Musique mesurée

The two airs in the Filmer collection that resemble *musique mesurée*, as characterised by the relatively simple 1:2 rhythmic notation are Pierre Guédron's settings of *Ou luis-tu, Soleil de mon ame ?* (no.6) and *Qu'Aminte fut heureux !* (no.7). In the analysis above, the settings of both of these airs were deemed well-formed which may be considered a counterintuitive finding given the common criticism of *musique mesurée*. As detailed in Chapter 2.1, these closely guarded experiments by the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* were criticised for the jarring misplaced accents that would arise as a result of trying to impose classical metres on to French poetry. Perhaps Guédron was actually more influenced by the declamation of the poem and may have used the relatively simple style of rhythmic notation in "unconscious imitation" as suggested by D.P. Walker (1948).

Figure 2.4.12a – the melody of Ou luis-tu, Soleil de mon ame? *(no. 6) by Pierre Guédron*

V luis tu soleil   de mon a-   me? Ou luis-tu

flambeau de mes   yeux? Oubliras -   tu toujours les   cieux, Et

au sein de   Thetis   ta flame :   Or' que mon beau so-

leil   ne luit,   Le jour ne m'est plus qu'une nuit.   (excerpt from Tb1 – see appendix one for full title)

Figure 2.4.12a illustrates the characteristic 1:2 rhythmic notation – in this instance a combination of crotchets and minims – commonly associated with airs influenced by *musique mesurée*. The rhythm in the first phrase of *Ou luis-tu, Soleil de mon ame ?* appears to conform closely to the poetic declamation, as shown in figure 2.4.12b. The syllables declaimed with the most stress in the phrase, *tu*, the second syllable of *soleil* and the first syllable of *ame*, are all set to rhythms of relatively long values.

Figure 2.4.12b – relative rhythmic and syllable durations for the first phrase of Ou luis-tu, Soleil de mon ame? *(no. 6)*
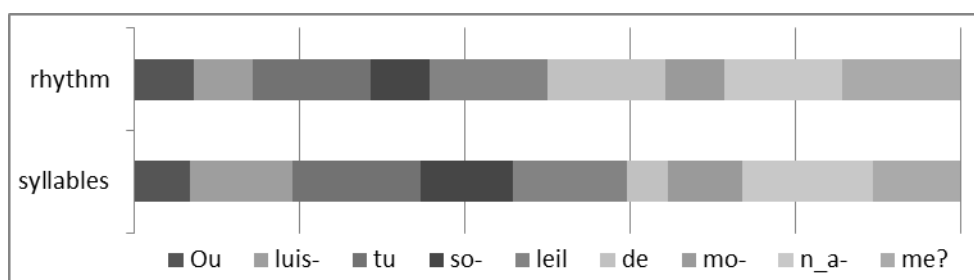
However, by the third and fourth phrases, shown in figure 2.4.12c, the rhythmic support of the accented syllables appears to be weakening – indeed the third phrase does not exhibit all of the well-formedness indicators because the rhythm does not support the final syllable, *cieux* – but the distinctive and strong rhythmic pattern persists: a sign that there is another organising force at work above the poetic metre (perhaps indicative of a classical metre?). I shall return to this point later.

Figure 2.4.12c – relative rhythmic and syllable durations for the third and fourth phrases of Ou luis-tu, Soleil de mon ame? *(no. 6)*
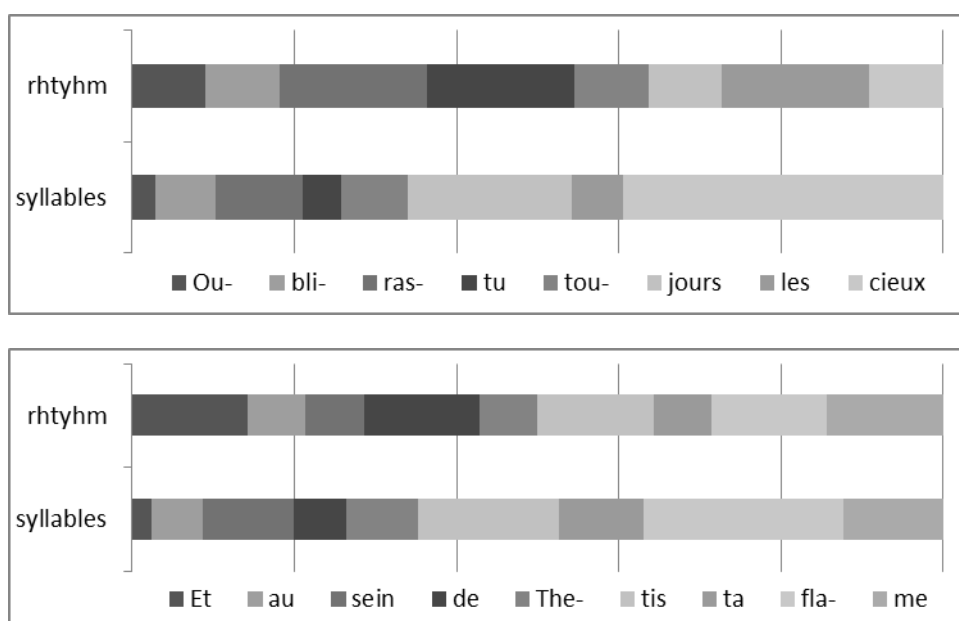
Similarly in *Qu'Aminte fut heureux*, the rhythms in the opening phrase, shown in figure 2.4.12d, align closely to the accented syllables which fall on the second syllables of *Qu'A<u>min</u>te* and *heu<u>reux</u>*.

Figure 2.4.12d – relative rhythmic and syllable durations for the first phrase of Qu'Aminte fut heureux ! *(no.7), by Pierre Guédron*
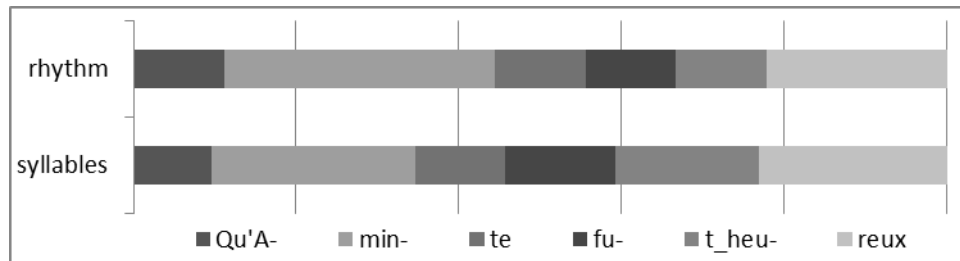
The relatively short poetic lines in this text, alternating between six and four syllables long, with a final ten syllable line, mean there are not many accented syllables in addition to those at the end of each line and these are always supported by the rhythm and so can be deemed well-formed. However, there are instances of short, unaccented syllables attracting long rhythms which some listeners could perceive as 'jarring'. For example, *dont* in line two, and *d'un* in line three, as shown in figure 2.4.12e.

Figure 2.4.12e – lines two and three from Qu'Aminte fut heureux ! *(no.7)*
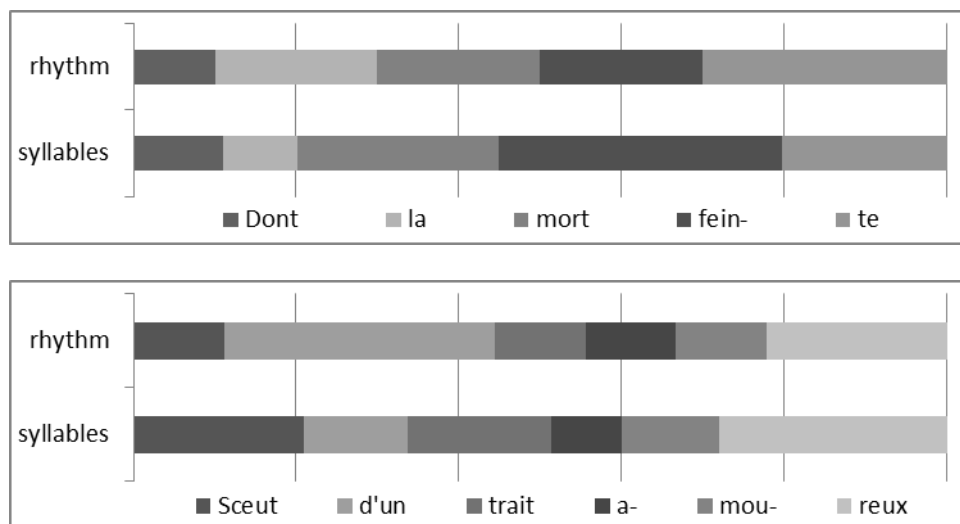
The musical metre of *Qu'Aminte fut heureux* is unstable – the triple metre is disrupted at the long notes at the end of each phrase – as indicated by the broken bar lines in figure 2.4.12f.

Figure 2.4.12f – the melody line for Qu'Aminte fut heureux ! *(no.7) by Pierre Guédron*

However, the air is composed upon a regular rhythmic pattern which is repeated over the three phrases of the air, as illustrated below.

Lines one and two: U – U U U – / U – – – –

Lines three and four: U – U U U – / U – – – –

Line five: U – U U U –   U – – – –

Royster observes that this pattern – which appears in several airs in Guédron's 1608 book from which this air comes – could be the classical paeon 4 foot (U– U U U –) or it could also be inspired by the *courante* rhythm (Royster 1972: 77).

On the question of whether this air is in fact an example of *musique mesurée*, I favour the explanation put forward by Le Cocq (1997), and discussed in chapter 2.1, that the older and more widely known *voix de ville* genre is a more likely influence than the closely guarded *musique mesurée* experiments by the *Academie*. The airs examined here appear relatively early in Guédron's printed output – *Ou luis-tu* appeared in print in Guédron's first book of airs in 1602 and *Qu'Aminte* in his second in 1608 – which places them in the earlier of Guédron's two compositional periods as proposed by Durosoir (2009) and outlined in chapter in 1.2. The airs from this period are associated with "songs with naive or *risqué* poems" (Durosoir 2009: XLIX) – and while the pastoral *Qu'Aminte* and the *préciuex Ou luis-tu* are hardly risqué, they are also unlikely choices of texts for the serious-minded Academicians and so the rhythmic characteristics of this air could be more plausibly ascribed to the influence of *voix de ville* over *musique mesurée*. Either way, Guédron has privileged the preservation of this rhythmic pattern over the declamation of the text.

There are two airs in the Filmer collection labelled *récit*, *Adorable Princesse* (no.1) and *O !*
grands Dieux que de charmes (no.4). As outlined in Chapter 2.1, usage of the term *récit*
during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was not consistent. However, airs
labelled *récit* clearly had a close association with speech – whether sung or actually spoken.

As has already been remarked upon, the setting of *Adorable Princesse* is entirely well formed
according to the well-formedness indicators. When syllable duration and rhythmic notation
is compared, however, there are a number of instances of misalignment, particularly in the
final two lines, illustrated in figure 2.4.13a.

Figure 2.4.13a – lines five and six from Adorable Princesse *(no.1) by Pierre Guédron*

Line 5
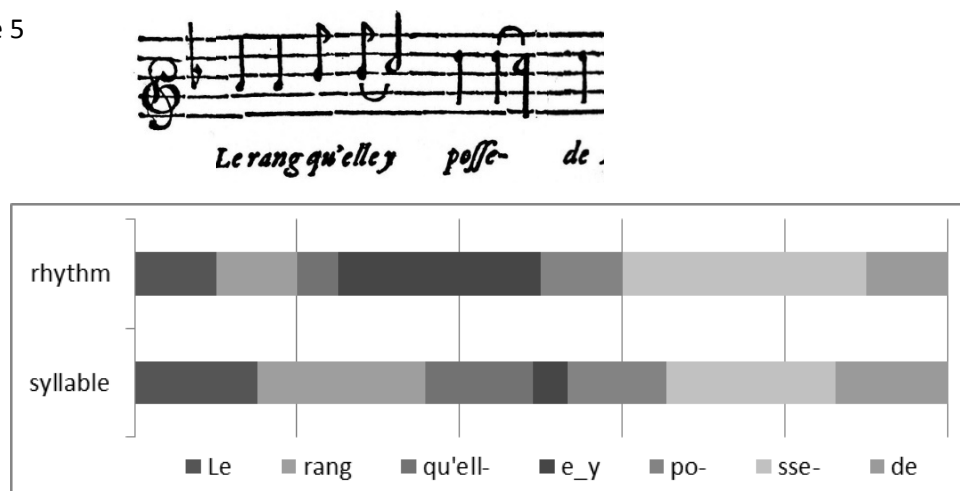
Line 6
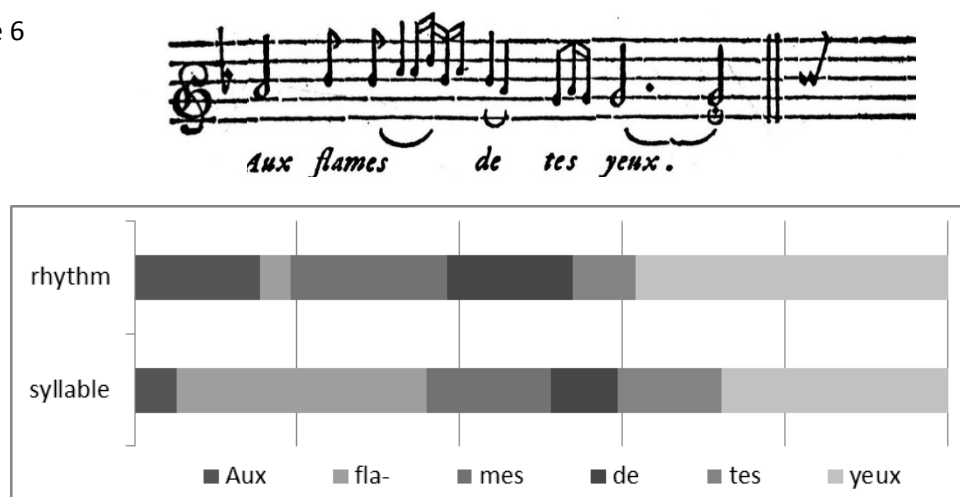
(excerpts from Tb6 – see appendix one for full title)

The unaccented elided syllable between *qu'elle_y* in line five is set to a minim tied to
crotchet, making for one of the longest rhythmic units in the line. While the first syllable of
flames, in line six, is set only to a quaver, one of the shortest rhythmic units in that line.

However, the second syllable of *flames* is set to an ornamented figure which could be interpreted as an example of word painting – a device rarely seen in Guédron's airs.

Concluding remarks to Part two

The analyses presented here go some way towards providing an explanation for the relationship we can often hear and 'feel' between language and music, but cannot always explain. First, they show that there is a detectable influence of language in the *air de cour* and provide tangible examples of when and how that relationship is expressed through musical text setting.

They also show what the effects of changing the language can have on a song, as was the case in the Filmer collection, and thereby provide further explanation for some of the shortcomings of Filmer's endeavour. The different speech patterns between French and English generate different imperatives for a well-formed musical text setting. To paraphrase Rodríguez-Vásquez's conclusion, French and English prosody maintain a different "kind of dialogue" with the music (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 265): French texts primarily ask the music to conserve line length while English texts require the music to echo line-internal accents. For Filmer to truly translate the French *airs de cour* into English he needed to have considered how to translate this subterranean "dialogue" – if at all possible – as well as the text on the surface.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this thesis I set out to understand the motivations behind the production of the Filmer collection and the reasons for its neglect. I pondered whether the key to understanding this lay with the airs themselves that make up the collection and the changed relationship between Filmer's translated texts and the music of the French airs.

Filmer's dual motivations for assimilating the French *air de cour* for an English audience were evident in the lengthy preface to his collection. He wanted to make a grand gesture of welcome and flattery towards the new Queen, the French princess Henrietta Maria, and he wanted to bring these French airs to the attention of his "home-hearted unaffectating countrie men". It is less clear why, despite the numerous practical challenges that Filmer understood were associated with the task he set himself, he persisted with his endeavour.

A collection of French courtly airs translated into English would not have accorded with the Queen's early policy to resist assimilation into English society. As a daughter of Marie de Medici and having spent time at the court of her brother, Louis XIII, Henrietta Maria understood the symbolic power of musical performance in the politically-charged atmosphere of a royal court. From her experience of these airs, in their 'native environment', she would have seen them employed for the purposes of display – of skill, of wit, of power, and of loyalty – as much as diversion. Filmer, on the other hand, had little experience of courtly life – the collection was after all his "first court sute [sic]". He most likely experienced the French *air de cour* in print only via the Ballard publications, which were intended for more intimate performance and appreciation in private homes rather than public display at court. He, therefore, perhaps conceived of these airs only as an entertainment for private enjoyment. With such a disjuncture between author and dedicatee of their experiences and expectations of the purpose of the music, the unavoidable conclusion is that the Filmer collection was doomed from its inception.

Filmer states that the intended users of his collection are to be native English speakers, but positive reception by this group also seems unlikely. The shortcomings, or "roughnesse in the fluencie of some verses" in his transformed airs, might have been able to be overlooked, because his school-boyish translations, in general, retain the literal sense of the original French texts, but that alone is not enough to convey the essence of the air. Filmer's translations fail to capture any deeper sense of those texts, nor do they retain the beauty inherent to the poetic style of the French texts. Filmer's texts are a stark illustration of why it is not enough to just translate the words of poetry and song texts. The relationship that

existed between text and music ends up being diminished. And it is the relationship between poetic and musical style as much as the textual meaning that is a crucial defining element of the *air de cour* genre.

The *air de cour* is also a genre of song with an intrinsic connection to the French language. The final linguistic analysis provides an illustration and explanation of how the prosodic rhythm of the French language and poetry is etched into the fabric of the *air de cour* melodies, and indeed, that the same is true of the English language in English airs. The nature of English predisposes speakers of that language to focus on the accents, necessarily brought out through emotion, to emphasise that when setting texts. While French speakers, drawn to notice line length and when combined with the prevailing *précieux* aesthetic, focus more on form as an expressive device rather than necessarily relying on the overt expression of the emotional content alone. Filmer's English texts simply do not fit the music of the *airs de cour*.

The analyses presented in this thesis have described the numerous challenges Filmer faced in his attempt to translate French airs into English song, and in the course of understanding these challenges I have articulated something of what it is that makes for a song: an artful synergy of text, language and music. I have shown that it is not enough to translate only the words of the song. More than a simple poem set to a pleasant melody, the *air de cour* exists as a dialogue between the text and music. For the airs to continue to exist in Filmer's collection he had to translate something of this dialogue – not just the words he could see before him on the page: without that dialogue, the song evaporates.

The reception of the Filmer collection notwithstanding, Filmer's motivation to flatter is consistent with that of the airs' originators. The poetic and musical means by which he attempts to achieve this end, however, do not retain the tone or style of their originals, nor are they convincing examples of contemporary English lute song. Being neither one thing nor the other, there is little left in the airs to appeal to a prospective audience.

For present day researchers or prospective performers, the Filmer collection has continued to inspire little interest. The collection is well known to scholars in the field of *air de cour* research and yet has only ever received short and dismissive references. Despite its neglect, or perhaps because of it, it has been worth taking the time to explore the Filmer collection, for what it can tell us about what it is that makes the French *air de cour* work as a genre, but more broadly because it also throws into sharp relief what makes English-language song work.

Appendix one – text transcriptions

Filmer's translations, the original French texts with modern English translations are shown below. All translations are by the author unless otherwise stated.

Printed edition titles are abbrieviated. Full titles can be found at appendix two.

1. Adorable Princesse / Bright abstract of us seaven		
Music: Piere Guédron; Text by François Maynard		
Récit de ballet from *Ballet de M. Le Prince de Condé* [*AKA Ballet des Ivorgnes*?], premiered 22 Februrary 1615, dedicated to Marie de Medici		
Printed editions: Tb6, 1615 (solo voice with lute); Gd4, 1617 (4 voice)		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
The sunne:	*Le Soleil:*	*The sun:*
Bright abstract *of us seaven*[76]	Adorable princesse,	Adorable princess
Wand'ring torches of heaven!	Il est temp que je cesse	It is time that I stop
Earths most adored shrine!	De courir dans les cieux,	From running in the sky
'Tis time I leave skie running,	Et que ma flame cede	And that my flame yields
And quit my coach[77] and cunning,[78]	Le rang qu'elle y possede	The rank that it holds
To give thee way to shine.	Aux flames de tes yeux.	To the flames of your eyes.
Thou, unmatch'd Beauties *treasure!*	O beauté sans exemple,	O beauty without example,
Whereby Nature *both measure*	Où nature contemple	Where nature reflects
Of her strain'd skill the hight;	Son pouvoir nompareil :	Her power unequalled
I think thee much beguiled,	Depuis l'heure premiere	Since the first hour
That I the sunne am stiled.	Que tu veys ma lumiere,	That you [*veys* saw?] my light
Since first I saw saw thy light.	Je ne suis plus Soleil.	I am no longer the Sun.
Thine Eye, mounting above mee,	Ton œil qui me surmonte,	Your eye which conquers me
Doth so clearlely reprouve mee,	Me donne tant de honte	Gives me so much to be ashamed of
Whilest I my high course keepe,	Lors que je fais mon cours,	When I make my way,
That when Thetis[79] *last rock'd mee,*	Que pleust à la fortune	That rains down to fortune
I wish that shee has lock'd mee	Que les flots de Neptune[81]	That the flows of Neptune
Up with eternall sleepe.	Me couvrissent toujours.	Always cover me.

---

[76] A reference to the Pleiades. The seven star cluster, named after the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione (Maia, Electra, Alcyone, Taygete, Asterope, Celaeno and Merope)

[77] A reference to Phaeton's ill-fated attempt to drive the sun chariot of his father Helios across the sky.

[78] OED: To direct the steering of (a ship) from some commanding position on shipboard, or a related figure of speech.

[79] Thetis: Greek goddess of the sea, who possessed the gift of changing her shape at will

[81] Neptune: Roman god of freshwater and the sea (Greek counterpart Poseidon)

Though my course, no where ending,	Ma course vagabonde	My wandering course
'Bout Earths *whole Globe runne bending*	En quelque part du monde	In some part of the Earth
To gild the Ball with Ray,	Qu'elle éclaire aux humains,	That she/it lights up to humans
It sees no Weales but wunder	Ne void rien qui n'admire	Neither seen nor admired
At France so happie under	En l'heur de ton Empire	In the fortune of your empire
Thy Scepters painefull sway.	L'adresse de tes mains.	The skill of your hands.
Thy Counsels and thy Watches	Tes conseils, et tes veilles,	Your gatherings and your vigils
Have, by so strange Dispatches,	Ont par tant de merveilles	Are by so many wonders
Her mischiefs beaten-downe,	Ses malheurs abatus,	Ones misfortunes abate
That Angels *Compositions,*	Que les chansons des Anges	That the songs of the angels
Sung by themselves Musitions,	N'auront pas des loüanges	Do not hear praises
Must publish thy Renowne.	Dignes de tes vertus.	Worthy of your virtues.
Onley thy Prudence charmed	Ta prudence a des charmes	Your prudence has charms
Kings, unto Battell armed,	Qui font tomber les armes	Which make [them?] lower the weapons
'Till their hands dropp'd their swaords:	Des mains des plus grands Roys,	From the hands of the greatest Kings
And now each wild mouth, tamed	Et mettent dans les bouches	And put in the mouths
And to they bridle framed,	Des gens les plus farouches	Of the people the most savage
Praise to thy Lawes affords.	La gloire de tes loix.	Glory of your laws
Thou hast shew'n the Now-livers,	Tu fais voir à cet âge	You make [us] see at this age
That the two jarring Rivers,	De la Seine et du Tage[82]	of the Seine and the Tagus
Seine *and* Tage *can bee friends;*	Les discours terminés,	The finished speech,
And mak'st Bellona[80] *grumble*	Et monstres[83] à la guerre	The signs of war
To see her Demons *tumble*	Au centre de la terre	At the centre of the ground/earth
In chaines with Hellish Fiends.	Ses Demons enchainés.	Ones enchained demons.

---

[80] Roman goddess of war
[82] Reference to France and Spain, the Tagus river in Toledo
[83] Guédron CE: *montres* (same meaning)

Flatt'ries best Common-places	L'art de la flaterie	The art of flattery
Cannot of Maries *graces*	Aux graces de Marie	To the graces of Marie
The least augmenting make:	Ne pût rien adjouster :	Can alter nothing:
To reach her estimation	Sa gloire s'est haussée	Her glory is itself raised
All humane speculation	Où l'humaine pensée	Where human thought
In vaine doth undertake.	Tasche en vain de monter.	Tries in vain to rise up.
Powres! *in whose high assistance*	O Dieux, en qui la France,	Oh Gods, in who France,
France *assures her resistance*	A logé l'esperance	Has put hope
Against all future harme;	De sa felicité,	Of its happiness,
Never, of any creature,	Jamais vostre largesse	Ever your generosity
Did you so faire a Feature	Ne mit tant de sagesse	Nor put so much wisdom
With so much Wisedome arme.	Avec tant de beauté.	With so much beauty.
May your Fates *hinder'd paces*	Facent[84] vos destinées	Make your destiny
Grant, that old Times *long races,*	Que le cours des années	That the course of the years
Which make each thing decline,	Qui ne pardonne à rien,	Who forgive nothing
From face so pert, &, never	A ce parfait visage	To this perfect face
May that sweete vantage sever	N'oste point l'adventage	Never remove the advantage
It now holds above mine.	Qu'il a dessus le mien.	That it has over mine.

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[84] Guédron CE: fassent

2. Enfin la voyci, nous voyons ces beaux yeux / At length, here she is; We have got those bright eyes

Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous
Air de ballet
Printed editions: Tb7, 1617 (solo voice with lute); Gd4, 1617 (4 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
At length, here she is; We have got those bright eyes: More shines now our Earth than the Skies: And our Mars, happy in his high desire, Is all flame by this fire.	Enfin la voyci, nous voyons ces beaux yeux, L'amour de la Terre et des Cieux : Dont nostre Mars, en son choix bien-heureux, Est si fort amoureux.	Finally here, we see those beautiful eyes, The love of the earth and heavens: Which our Mars, in his most blessed choice, Is so very in love.
The Spheres, in so Heavenly face, never fix'd High state with so meeke graces mix'd Which, in all hearts about it round, inspires True respect and chast fires.	Le ciel n'a jamais joint à tant de beauté Une si douce majesté, Qui dans les cœurs inspire tour à tour Le respect et l'amour.	The sky has never reached so much beauty Such a sweet/mild/gentle majesty, Which in hearts inspire in turn Respect and love.
At length, both are met; our designs crowned are; Each soul in the joy hath a share: May, in both breasts, this isle of Union give Only one heart to live.	En fin les voyci, nos vœux sont accomplis, Nos esprits d'ayses remplis, Puisse en tous deux par un heureux destin Vivre un amour sans fin.	In the end here, our wishes are fulfilled, Our spirits completely pleased, Enabled in both by a happy fate To live a love without end.

3. Que n'êtes-vous lassées / Why have my thoughts conspired		
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: François de Malherbe		
Printed editions: Tb3, 1611 (solo voice with lute), Gd3, 1612 (4 voice)		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
Why have my thoughts conspired Never to be tired With doing reason wrong? Making my soul accused. For having refused Her antidote so long.	Que n'estes vous lassées Mes tristes pensées De troubler ma raison ? Et faire avecque blame Rebeller mon ame Contre saguarison.	Why are you not weary My sad thoughts Of troubling my reason? And with that rebuke My soul rebels Against healing.
Why, by vaine force of weeping, Am I kept from sleeping? Why ordaine not the Skies Out of my Mind to banish What they have made vanish Already from mine Eies?	Que ne cessent mes larmes Inutilles armes, Et que n'oste des Cieux La fatalle ordonnance, À ma souvenance, Ce qu'elle oste à mes yeux.	That my tears are ceaseless Useless weapons, And that does not remove from the Heavens The destiny, To my recollection That which she removed from my eyes.
Light! that keep'st all Lights under Deare adored Wunder! How would I applaude Fate, That deludes us with distance, If, by his assistance, 'Death would cut-out my Date!	Ô beauté nompareille ! Ma chère merveille, Que le rigoureux sort Dont vous m'estes ravie, Aymeroit ma vie S'il m'envoyoit la mort.	O unparalleled beauty! My dear wonder, That severe fate [You would ravish me if love Would send me death]
What poison'd stabbes of Furie In swell'd breast endure I, To see how danger may (Renting thy youth like Monster) Thine ashes*[85] misconster[86]	Quelle pointe de rage Ne sent mon courage, De voir que le danger En vos ans les plus tendres, Menasse vos cendres	What intense rage Only feels my courage, From seeing that danger In your most tender years, Menace your ashes

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[85] * Perperam vel indignè construere. (Filmer's footnote)…? Wrongly/falsely or/and perhaps/even unworthily arranged

[86] 'misconster' OED: Misconstrue *trans.* To put a wrong interpretation upon (a word, action, etc.); to mistake the meaning of (a person); or *trans.* To take (something) to be something else; to mistake for, misinterpret.

In urne[87] of forraine clay.	D'un sepulchre estranger.	From a foreign tomb.
I bind[88] myself from speaking,	Je m'imposer silence	I impose silence on myself
Though my heart lie breaking	En la violence	In the violence
In conflict with this Hell:	Que me fait ce malheur :	That makes me this sorrowful
But thus I sure augment it,	Mais j'acrois mon martire,	But I expand my suffering,
Because not to vent it	Et n'oser rien dire	And never dare to speak
Makes the fire more rebell[89].	M'est douleur sur douleur.	Is my sadness on sadness.
My bones of flesh are stripped,	Aussi suis-je un squellette,	So, I am a skeleton
And violets, nipped	Et la violette	And the violet
With an untimely cold,	Qu'un froid hors de saison	That an unseasonable cold
Or with a long drought wiped,	Et le sec a flestrie,	Died and withered,
Of my skinne blew-striped	À ma peau meurtrie	To my bruised skin
Doe much resemblance hold	Est la comparaison.	Is the comparison.
Gods! (since the longest-aged	Dieux ! que[93] les destinées	Gods! Would that the Fates
Spleene of Fates enraged	Les plus obstinées	Most obstinate
Turnes, from Nettle, Balm-leafe)	Tourne[94] de mal en bien !	Turn from bad to good!
After so many beatings,	Après tant de tempestes,	After so many storms,
How can just entreatings	Mes justes requestes	My fair requests
Find your tribunal deafe?	M'obtiendront-elles rien ?	Will obtain nothing?
Have yee bee'n stil'd free Judges	Avés-vous eu les tiltres	Have you those titles
Of all wrongs and grudges,	D'absolus arbitres	Of absolute judges
That earthly stomackes feele	De l'estat des mortels ?	Over the state of mortals?
To prove inexorable	Pour estre inexorables	For to be inexorable
When the miserable	Quand les misérables	When the miserable ones
Before your altar kneele?	Implorent vos authels ?	Plead at your alter?

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[87] 'urne' – OED noun – "…vaguely used (esp. poet.) for 'a tomb or sepulchre, the grave'"

[88] 'bind' – OED 15a – "To tie (a person, oneself) up in respect to action; to oblige by a covenant, oath, promise or vow. Const. to, from, an action, to do something"

[89] 'rebell' –OED – 2b. In extended use (freq. of the heart, spirit, will, etc.): resistant; ungovernable; stubborn, in a predictive rather than attributive sense.

I would not shew the glorie Of my war-like storie To the low Hemispheare[90]; Nor, from the deepe descending Of the Worlds steepe ending, More Lawrels fetch to weare. Two sweete Eies are my wishes; Feasts, without these dishes, Relish of nought but rue:[91] Do but, yer Famine end mee, This *Ambrosia*[92] send mee, I am a God like you.	Mon soin n'est point de faire En l'autre Emisphère Voir mes actes guerriers, Et jusqu'au bord de l'onde Où finit le monde, Aquérir des lauriers. Deux beaux yeux sont l'empire Pour qui je soupire, Sans eux rien ne m'est doux ; Donnés-moy cette joye Que je les revoye, Je suis dieu comme vous.	My care is not to make an impression In the other hemisphere To see my acts of war, And as far as to the boarder of the ocean Or to the ends of the Earth, To acquire laurels. Two beautiful eyes are the empire For which I sigh, Without them nothing is sweet to me; Give me this joy That I may see them again I am a God like you. Translation: Véronique Duché and Kate Sullivan

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[93] *Les delices...* (1618): *Dieux !* qui…

[94] "Tourne" – as printed in the 1611 Ballard edition. Lalande 1862 has "tournez" (p.164). *Delices de la poésie francoise* has "tournés"

[90] 'low Hemisphere' nothing specific in OED

[91] Rue: regret, repentance.

[92] OED: In Greek mythology, The fabled food of the gods and immortals (as in Homer, etc.).

4. O grands dieux que charmes / O what muster of glances		
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous		
Récit de ballet from the *Ballet de la Sérénade* (1613)		
Printed editions: Tb5, 1614 (solo voice with lute); Gd4, 1617 (4 voice)		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
O what muster of glances[95] (Cu-pids troop of lances) What fires! And what darts. O! what sparkling dresses! What catching tresses! What temp-ting arts! In this Maze, to conduct us, The sky doth instruct us With directive light: And two chief Suns faces Our troubled paces Dispose aright. The time now doth require us From hence to retire us, And lay-by our lutes: Night, made day by watches, With lovers matches[96] Unkindly sutes.[97]	O ! Grand dieux que de charmes, Amoureuses armes, De feux et de dars, Que d'astres propices, Que de delices, Et doux regards. Donc pour mieux conduire Le Ciel fait reluire Des feux nompareills, Et nos pas timides Ont pour leur guides Deux grands soleils. Quittons la promenade, Cette serênade, Et nos Luths charmans : La nuit solitaire Se rend trop claire Pour des amans.	O great Gods of charms Love weapons, Of fire, of arrows, Of favoured stars, Of delights, And sweet looks. Therefore better to lead Heaven to make shine Of the unparalleled fires, And our timid steps Are their guides Two great suns. We leave the walkway, This serenade, And our charming lutes: The lonely night Makes itself too clear For lovers.

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[95] OED: *glances* – A sudden movement producing a flash or gleam of light; also, the flash or gleam itself.

[96] OED: *matches* – A husband or wife; a consort, a lover.

[97] OED: *sutes* – The pursuit of an object or quest.

And loe! The admired glory	Puis la rare merveille,	Then the rare marvels,
Of our ages story,	Cause nompareille	unparalleled cause
Nurses of all our hopes,	De tous nos souhaits,	Of all our hopes,
Shines, to our amazement,	Commence a paroistre	Begin with walls
From yonder casement,	A la fenestre	At the window
Which now she opes.	De son Palais.	Of his Palace.
Yee beauties (by whose flashes	Beautés par qui les ames	Beauties by whose weapons
No souls burn to ashes,	Ont de vives[98] flames,	Have lively flames,
but flame night and day)	Bruslant nuit et jour :	Burning night and day:
Grace, with fair reflection,	Favorisés belle	Favoured beauty
Our best affection	L'offre nouvelle	The new offering
Shown this new way.	De nostre amour.	Of our love.

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[98] Appears in text as 'vines' – 'n' and 'u' (i.e. v) letters sometimes get inserted upsidedown in the printing process

5. Quel espoir de guarir / With what wings can I fly

Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous

Printed editions: Tb3, 1611 (solo voice with lute); Gd3, 1612 (4 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
With what wings can I fly From disease, till I die Of a love kindled fever, Which I may well endure, / but [but] to make know'n dare never?	Quel espoir de guarir Puis-je avoir sans mourir, D'un amoureux martire ? Que je puis bien souffrir, / mais [mais] que je n'ose dire.	What hope of recovery, Can I have other than dying Of the agonies of loving. Which I must bare, / but of which I dare not speak?
What a hell 'tis to burst, And not tell how I thurst In this love kindled fever, Which I may well endure, but to make known dare never!	Quel moyen de celer, Et mourir sans parler D'un amoureux martire ? Que je puis bien souffrir, / mais que je n'ose dire.	What means of concealing and dying without speaking The agonies of love? Which I must bare, / but of which I dare not speak?
O! that death's cooling cup Would allow me one sup In this love kindled fever, Which I may well endure, but to make known dare never!	Si la mort seulement Peut guarir mon tourmant, Et l'amoureux martire ? Que je puis bien souffrir, / mais que je n'ose dire.	If death alone Can cure my suffering, And the agonies of loving, Which I must bare, / but of which I dare not speak?
Yet 'tis fit the high cause Should enforce these hard laws On my love kindled fever, Which I may learn to endure, but to make known dare never.	Toute-fois il le faut, Le sujét est trop haut De mon cruel martire Que je puis bien souffrir, / mais que je n'ose dire.	Yet it must be so, The object is too high Of my cruel agonies So I must bear, but I dare not speak.
		Translation: Mary Pardoe

6. Ou luis-tu Soleil de mon ame? / What spell holds thee, my sun, from rising?
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous
Printed editions: Tb1, 1608 (solo voice with lute); Gd1, 1602 or Gd2, 1608 (4 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
What spell holds thee, my Sun, from rising?	Òu luis-tu soleil de mon ame?	Where do you shine sun of my soul?
What half-sphere takes-up thy whole race?	Ou luis-tu flambeau de mes yeux ?	Where do you shine fire of my eyes?
Is Thetis[99] green lap the fresh place,	Oubliras-tu toujours les cieux,	Do you always forget the heavens,
That so long keeps thee a baptising?	Et au sein de Thetis ta flame :	And in the breast of Thetis thy flame:
Now that my sun deigns me no light,	Or'que mon beau soleil ne luit,	Now that my beautiful sun does not shine,
To me fairest day is black night.	Le jour ne m'est plus qu'une nuit.	The day to me is more like a night.
Save thy fires from their utter quenching:	Sortez donc mon phoebus de l'onde,	Come out therefore my Pheobus[101] from the sea
Rouse from Neptune's[100] pillows, thy head:	Et nous redonnez un beau jour :	And restore to us a beautiful day:
My flame must out, if thine prove dead	Sans vous ma vie et mon amour	Without you my life and my love
By combat with so long a drenching.	Ne peut voir, ni vivre en ce monde.	I cannot see, nor live in this world.
Now that my…	Or que mon…	Now that my…
Who, but I, can clear this dark riddle?	Qui est celuy-la qui n'espere	Who are those who do not hope
Eyes (though not blind) groping at noon;	De voir quand le soleil nous luit ?	To see when the sun shines for us?
Which, let the sun rise n'er too soon,	Que moy qui demeure en la nuit	That is me who resides in the night
Can never get beyond night's middle?	Absent du beau jour qui m'esclaire.	Absent from the beautiful day which lightens me.
For, whilst my Sun…	Or que mon…	Now that my…
Thy effects have drawn me to thinking	C'est donc vous agreable veue	This is therefore pleasant for you
Now I, like the marigold, live!	Qui me fait semblable au souci ?	Who makes me worry so?
Thy look on me my fight doth give;	Quand je vous voy je voys aussi,	When I see you I see too,
Thine absence sets me straight a winking.	Absent, vostre absence me tue.	Absent, your absence is killing me.
Thus, while my Sun…	Or que mon…	Now that my…

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[99] Thetis green lap – from Greek mythology. Known either as a sea nymph or as the goddess of water. One of the fifty water Nereids. In the reading of the French poem, *au sein de Thestis* ('from the breast of Thetis') suggests the poet is referencing her as the goddess of water and the mother of Achilles, whom she tried to make invulnerable to injury by dipping him in the waters of the river Stix.

[100] Neptune – the Roman God of the sea.

[101] Pheobus – the Greco-Roman name applied to Apollo in his role as the God of light

Yet at length, cheer me with a morrow;	Revenez donc lumiere saincte,	Come back, then, saints,
Burning glad Summer in thine eye:	Vostre œil me promét un esté,	Your eye promises me a summer,
Winter, till then, makes my joy die	Sans vous je me sens tourmenté	Without you I feel tormented
With frosts of fear in shades of sorrow.	D'un hiver d'ennuis et de crainte.	A winter of trouble and fear.
Now that my sun deigns me no light,	Or que mon beau soleil ne luit,	Now that my beautiful sun does not shine,
To me fairest day is black night.	Le jour ne m'est plus qu'une nuit.	The day is only one night.

	7. Qu'Aminte fut heureux / How was Amyntas blest	
	Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous (derived from Tasso's 1573 play *Aminta*)	
	Printed editions: Tb1, 1608 (solo voice with lute); Gd2, 1608 (4 voice)	
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
How was Amyntas blest,	Qu'Aminte fut heureux	That Aminte was happy
Whose death, but fained,	Dõt la mort feinte,	Whose feigned death,
Was meanes to clear the breast,	Sçeut d'un trait amoureux	clears away an amorous feature
That spite had stained,	Dõner atteinte	To give affect
And win the heart that scorn before held gained.	Au cœur où la pitié sembloit esteinte.	To the heart when pity seemed extinct.
Oft, to the graves cold brink,	Alors qu'il soupiroit	While he sighed
His sighs blow'n him;	Presque sans vie,	Almost without life,
While tears, his fruitless drinks,	Et que son cœur mouroit	And that his heart died
Had over flown him:	Pour sa Silvie,	For his Silvie,
Yet Silvia, for his pains, would never own him.	Son amour de malheur estoit suyvie.	His tragic love was sustained.
His love, his truth, his suites,	Son amour, ses douleurs,	His love, his sadness,
His earnest plying,	Ses cris, ses peines :	His cries, his pains,
His gifts, his pen, his lutes,	Ses soupirs et ses pleurs,	His sighs and his tears,
His Deifying	Sa foy certaines,	His certain faith,
Could never break her of her stiff denying,	Ne sçeurẽt onc flechir ceste inhumaine.	Could never weaken this inhuman [person].
'Till, changing truth for lie,	Mais sa mort feinte un jour,	But his false death one day,
He taught love cunning:	Mort salutaire :	Beneficial death:
For, feigning but to die,	Faisant ce que l'Amour	Making this that love
There was no shunning	N'avoit peu faire,	Had not been able to make,
Death's ice, which, at love's flame, set her a sunning.	Blessa d'un trait d'amour son adversaire.	[*Blesser* to hurt?] of a feature of love his adversary.
Why is my harder fate,	Que n'est helas mon sort	That is not, alas, my fate
Which should be wheeling,	Au sien semblable !	To his kind!
So steady in his gate?	Pourquoy rend il ma mort	Why does it pronounce my death
And o way reeling?	Plus veritable ?	Most true?
Which makes my death more true my dear less feeling	Et vous, belle toujours, moin pitoyable ?	And you, always beautiful, less pitiful?

8. Las! Pourquoi ne suis-je née / Why, alas cri'ed-out my mother		
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous		
Printed editions: Tb3, 1611 (solo voice with lute); Gd3 1612/13 (4 voice)		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
Why, alas cri'ed-out my mother To break my peaceful sleep of Innocence? And drew the curtain, that did smother, Mine Eyes from Lights offence.	Las ! pourquoi ne suis-je née Que pour souffrir mile et mile tourments ? Et pour me voir abandonnée De tous contentements ?	Alas, why am I born To suffer many, many torments? And to see me give up On all contentment?
Since 'twas Light begate the Burning Where of mine Eyes, now great, in labour are: But Fire, i'th' birth, to Water turning, Is prodigy of warre.	Mes yeux vous versant des larmes, Cruel remede aux moyennes douleurs : Mais à quoy sont bonnes ces armes Qu à des communs malheurs ?	My eyes shedding tears for you, Cruel remedy for my sorrows: But what is the use of such arms, Except for common misfortunes?
Thus, whilest teares not cure but threaten, Loves painful growth, now at the fatal height, From hopes bare, after long plea, beaten, Appeals to death for right.	Ma peines est si desplorable, Que je ne puis esperer nul secours Sinon par la fin miserable De mes malheureux jours.	My sorrow is so pityable, That I can hope for no relief, If it be not by a wretched end To my unhappy days.
For suspicious envies canker So poisons the red fountaine of my vaines, That all my blood[102] is turned ranker, Then that which Ulcer staines.	Une soupsonneuse envie De mon sang mesme incitant la rigueur, Le rend ennemy de ma vie, Et de mes maux l'autheur.	A mistrustful urge Even my blood prompting harshness, Gives back/returns enemy of my life, And of my wrongs its author.
You ! rich markes of Natures favour, (Which for my Youths grace, shee from Heaven steales) Shall all your sweets but serve to savour Time and Diseases meales?	Vous riches dons de nature Dõt mes beaux ans du Ciel sont honorés, Serés vous du mal que j'endure Et du temps devorés ?	Rich gifts of nature, With which heaven honours my lovely eyes, Will you be consumed by time And by this pain that I bear?

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[102] Elizabethan poets frequently use 'blood' as a metaphor for 'passion'.

What avail my bankes of Roses,	Que me sert-il d'estre belle,	What serves me to be beautiful
Whose blushes make my Wooers red with fire,	Que mile amans me viennẽt rechercher :	That a thousand lovers come to find me:
If, forc'd to wound with sharp opposes,	S'il faut que moy-mesme, cruelle,	I must then myself, cruel one,
I prove to them all-Bry'r	Je feigne estre un rocher ?	Pretend to be a rock?
Though my Thoughts delight to hover,	Bien qu'Amour dedans mon ame	Well that Love inside my soul
With singed wings, about Philanders flame,	De mon Philandre ayt grande la vertu :	Of my Philanders have great virtue.
Yet fear constraneth me to cover	Mon cœur en recelle la flame	My heart contains the flame
Loves fire with Vesta's name.	Par la crainte abbatu.	Destroyed by fear.
If my triumphs be forbidden,	Que me sert donc la victoire	What serves therefore my victory
Why fought my beauties to subdue his heart?	Que mes beautés obtiennẽt sur son cœur,	That my beauties safely get his heart,
What praise get eyes for valour, hidden,	Si la crainte en oste la gloire	If the fear hardens the glory
Whilest tongue plays cowards part?	A mon œil son vainqueur ?	To my eye his victory?
Thus, though wall'd from Sea of pleasure,	Ce seul bien me reconforte,	This my only comfort,
Yet this small Current through the sluce doth crown'd	C'est qu'il ne peut, ny ne doit ignorer	It cannot, nor should it be ignored
That MY AFFECTIONS TONGUED MEASURE	L'affection que je luy porte,	The affection that I carry for him,
IN SILENCE SPEAKES ALOWD.	Qu'on ne peut mesurer.	That one cannot measure.
Hence it is, that he delighteth,	Je sçay qu'une amour extresme,	I know that one extreme love,
With equal warm'th, to keep life in my heart:	Pour moy le rend ardamment allumé,	For me it renders fiercely mad,
And, in gold-weight of love, requiteth	Et que fidellement il m'ayme	And that faithfully he loves me
Much faith with troth as great.	Comme il est bien aymé.	As he is well loved.
Yet, thus tempted with loves plenty,	Mais de nos ames blessées	But for our blessed souls
We, hungry, dare not feed, but with our eyes;	Les seuls regards sont les doux aliments ;	Only looks are the sweet nutrients;
Eyes watch'd with eyes of more then twenty	Regards messagers des pensées	Looks carry the thoughts
Sworn centuries of spies.	Des fidelles amants.	Of faithful loving.
Friend ! whose ears this plaint shall swallow	Vous qui lirés cette plainte	You who read this lament
Down to thy heart (that way to cause a tear)	Que la douleur de mon cœur va tirant :	Drawn from my heart by sorrow,
If thou looke pale to see mee sallow,	Plaignés, non l'amour, mais la crainte	Pity not the love, but the fear
Upbraid not Love but Fear.	Qui me va martirant.	That tortures me.
		Translation: Mary Pardoe (verses 1-3, 5, 12)

9. Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie / Silva, not long since, half afrighted		
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous (perhaps Guédron)		
Printed editions: Tb4, 1613 (solo voice with lute); Gd3 1612 (4 voice)		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
Silvia, not long since, half-afrighted,	Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie	One day, the amorous Silvia
Because loves theft grew unbenighted,	Disoit baise moy je te prie	Said, "Kiss me, I beg you"
Wak'd the mate where in shee delighted,	Au berger qui seul est sa vie	To the shepherd who alone is her life
And thus did say:	Et son amour,	And her love.
With a kiss let all wrongs be righted,	Baise moy pasteur je te prie,	Kiss me shepherd please
and get up quickly for tis day.	Et te leve car il est jour.	and rise for it is day.
See! Where young morn beings to enter:	Regarde la naissante Aurore,	Look! The dawn is rising
What early wings have late been lent her!	Baise moy pasteur que j'adore,	Kiss me shepherd, who I adore,
Some sleepless rival may have sent her,	Qui veut je te prie encore	Must I beg you again
Us to betray:	Par nostre amour :	By our love:
Hastily kiss then, to prevent her,	Baise moy pasteur que j'adore,	Kiss me shepherd who I adore
And get up quickly for 'tis day.	Et te leve car il est jour.	And rise for it is day.
My fear would fain from hence expel thee,	Ma crainte hor d'ici t'appelle,	My fear is calling you out of there,
Before this traitresse light do sell thee	Baise moy pasteur ce dit-elle,	Kiss me shepherd is what she said,
To shame then think not much I tell thee	O dieux ! dit-il, quelle nouvelle	O Gods! Said he, what new
Of they delay;	Pour tant d'amour !	For much love!
With a kiss since I must compel thee	Baise moy pasteur ce dit-elle,	Kiss me shepherd is what she said,
To get up quickly; for 'tis day.	Et te leve car il est jour.	And rise for it is day.
My scruple ought not to bee blamed:	De cela pasteur ne me blâme,	Of this shepherd does not blame me
Love, by this blow, is no whit lamed[103]:	Baise moy plustot ma chere ame,	Kiss me instead my dear soul
Stopp'd flame both rather, more untamed,	Le secret entretient la flame	The secret maintains the flame
Rage then decay:	D'un bel amour :	Of a sweet love:
With a kiss fairly then be framed	Baise moy doncques ma chere ame,	Kiss me therefore my sweet soul,
To get up quickly; for 'tis day.	Et te leve car il est jour.	And rise for it is day.

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[103] OED *whit* and *lamed*: not a bit maimed, made lame

Silvia! What newes is this doth daunt mee? (Quoth Shepheard) Canst thou so much scant mee Of joy, because the Sunne doth haunt mee With jealous ray? But a kisse only wilt thou grant mee To get-up quickly now 'tis day?	Ha ! que dis-tu, chere Silvie ? Baise moy Pasteur je te prie, Le Soleil porte donc enuie A nostre Amour ? Baise moy Pasteur je te prie, Et te leve car il est jour.	Ah, what did you say dear Silvia? Kiss me shepherd I beg you, The sun is wearing To our love? Kiss me shepherd I beg you, And rise for it is day.
His flash, the Worlds beloved wunder, (To us like messenger of thunder) Doth blast Loves arme, and part asunder His sweetest fray; With thy kisse (though but enter'd yunder) Tempting grow'n Flame so fly young Day.	Sa clairté qu'on trouve si belle Baise moy Pasteur ce dit-elle, Se rend importune et cruelle A nostre amour : Baise moy Pasteur ce dit-elle, Et te leve car il est jour.	His light that one finds so beautiful Kiss me shepherd this she said, Goes unwelcome and cruel To our love: Kiss me shepherd this she said, And rise for it is day.
Since then to part I find concerning Now thy advice hath taught mee learning, I will, to shew my sealfe discerning, Rather then stay, Take a kisse in pay of loves earning, And so, farewell; because 'tis day.	Mais puis qu'il faut que je te laisse Baise moy ma chere déesse, Soulage l'ennuy qui m'opresse Par trop d'amour : Baise moy ma chere déesse, Et puis adieu car il est jour.	Because I must leave you, Kiss me my dear goddess, Relieve the suffering oppressing me For too much love: Kiss me my dear goddess, And farewell for day has come
		Translation: Sigrid Lee (verses 1-3, 7) Kate Sullivan (verses 4-6)

10. Las! Fuiras-tu toujours / Wilt thou, untamed alas! Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: poèt non identifié Printed editions: Gd4, 1617/18 (4 voice) [no solo voice version is extant]		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
Wilt thou, untam'd alas! still fly, for feare of charming, Thy breast in my teares floud? Of least, with my moanes lance, that Pittie, herself arming, Should let thy rigour bloud? O! stay; O! stay, *Amarantha*, thy flight; Thy flights blacke wings shadow mee with dreadfull night.	Las! Fuiras-tu toujours de peur d'ouir mes plaintes Et de voir ma langueur ? Crains-tu que la pitié de ces douces attaintes Ne blesse ta rigueur ? Arreste, arreste, Amaranthe tu fuis, Tu fuis, et me laisse en fuiant mile ennuis.	Alas, do you flee always with fear to hear my cries and to see my languor? Are you fearful that pity of these sweet attacks Wounds not your harshness? Stop, stop Amaranthe you flee, You flee, and leave me while fleeing
As, to behold thine eies, and not adore their luster, Were bold impietie: So, to flie (as thou do'st) when Pitties forces muster, Is cowards crueltie. O! stay…	Comme de voir tes yeux sans adorer leurs charmes Est une impiété Criandre comme tu fais de la pitié les armes Est une cruauté, Arreste…	As seeing your eyes without adoring their charms Is an impiety Fear as you do of the pity weapons Is a cruelty, Stop…
'Tis not a hope, thine Eies will prove my sweete Attournies, When they shall see my case, That makes mee spend my cries and steps, in endless journies, To countermand thy pace. O! stay…	Non, ce n'est point l'espoir que tu sois moins cruelle En voyant mon tourment, Qui fait qu'en soupirant Amaranthe j'appelle, Criant incessamment Arreste…	No, this is not the hope that you may be less cruel In seeing my torment, Who sighs Amaranth I call, crying incessantly Stop…
To tell, how thou alone art Nymphe of my devotion, Is all my su'd-for gaines: Thou may'st, to grant mee this, though intermit thy motion, Continue thy didaines. O! stay…	Te dire seulement que mon ame t'adore Est ce que je requiers, Te peux me l'accorder, et conserver encore Tes desdains tous entiers. Arreste…	You say only that you adore my soul Is this what I require You can allow me, and keep again Your disdain whole. Stop…

11. Si le parler et le silence / If key of speech, or lock of silence
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous
Printed editions: Tb1, 1608 (solo voice with lute); Gd2, 1608 (4 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
If key of speech, or lock of silence, Strike us with errors or with feares; Then let eyes use their secret style, whence Hearts may be taught, and yet not ears. Love, whose noiseless wing, by stealth caught us, This dumb discourse, as softly taught us.	Si le parler et le silence Nuit a nostre heur esgalement, Parlons donc ma chere esperance Du cœur et des yeux seulement: Amour se petit dieu volage Nous aprend ce muet langage.	If speech and silence Are harmful to us now, We speak therefore my dear hope With the heart and the eyes only Love, that fickle little God Teaches us this silent language.
Let looks, flying and returning, (fit secret posts for close desires) Whisper each others inward burning, And 'point a time to slake our fires. Love, whole noiseless wing…	Que le regard vole et revole Messager de nos passions, Et serve au lieu de la parole Pour dire nos intentions. Amour…	That look flies back and forth Messenger of our passions And serves in place of words To speak of our intentions. Love…
But, if our prying rivals mutter To see the language of our eyes, By unseen thought our minds we'll utter, As messages are done in skies. Love, whole noiseless wing…	Mais si quelque ame est offence De nous voir discourir des yeux, Nous parlerons de la pensée Comme les Anges dans les cieux. Amour…	But if any soul is insulted To see us converse with our eyes We speak with our thoughts Like the Angels in heaven Love…
Thus, with an armour new-invented Breaking the puffes of Ennies lungs, Guard we our honours shape undented, By poison'd shot of courtiers tongues Whom in ignorance we'll all bury, And, at their tomb, be dumbly merry.	Ainsi par un doux artifice Nous tromperons les courtesans, Et nous rirons de la malice De mîle facheux mesdisans, Qui n'en sçauront pas d'avantage, Ignorant ce muët langage.	So by a sweet artifice We shall deceive the court, And we laugh at the malice Of a thousand wicked slanderers Who will learn nothing more, Ignorant of this silent language. Translation: Jonathan Le Cocq

12. C'est trop courir les eaux / Too much we range the waves

Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: attributed to Étienne Durand

From the *Ballet de Madame* (ou *Ballet du Triomphe de Minerve*), salle du Petit-Bourbon, 19 et 22 mars 1615

Printed editions: Tb6, 1615 (solo voice with lute); Gd4, 1617/18 (4 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
Too much we range the waves, Let's quit these crystal graves: And hunt for Pallas here in this more likely place, For sure in Virtue's Court the Gods leave still their trace.	C'est trop courir les eaux, Sortons de ces roseaux, Et cherchons desormais Pallas en ces beaux lieux, Puis qu'entre les vertus on doit chercher les Dieux.	It is too roam/search the waters, We go beyond these reeds, And we seek from now on Pallas in these beautiful / places Then between the virtues one must seek the Gods.
The groves of our desires Here blaze with holy fires: And those influent[104] lights, that shower on us such beams, Give hope our happiness will flow from their bright / streams.	Voyci les bois sacrés Tant de fois desirés, Et ces Astres divins brillans sur cette cour, Tesmoignent que nostre heur doit estre en ce sejour.	Here are the sacred woods So many times desired, And these brilliant divine stars in this court, Testify that our hour must be in this stay.
Go then! Let's now accost Those eyes that we thought lost: Their beauties to abbord the more we slacke our pace, The lesse we seeme to know the bounty of their grace.	Allons donc, approchons Les yeux que nous cherchons : Tant plus nous differons d'aborder leurs beautés, Tant plus tesmoignons d'ignorer leurs bontés.	We go therefore, we move nearer The eyes that we seek: So much more we postpone approaching their beauties, So much more we testify of not knowing their kindness.
Yee! Great bright sun of France Whose prudent laws good chance Gives breath to tired hearts by sweet restraint of hand, Tell us, if our Minerva does not near you stand?	Grands soleils des François, Dont les prudentes Loix Font respirer les cœurs sous un regne si doux, Dittes-nous si Minevre est point aupres de vous.	Great suns of France, Of whose the wise laws Made to breathe the hearts under a sweet reign, We say if Minerva is nothing next to you.
It lieth sure in you To bless us with her view: For , finding valour here so close by wisdom's side, Well may we judge that she doth also here abide.	Vous avés le pouvoir De nous la faire voir, Et trouvant la Valeur et la prudence icy, Avec grande raison nous l'y cherchons aussi.	You have the power Of making us see, And finding worth and wisdom here, With great reason we seek it there also.

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[104] OED: Flowing in (in early use in astrological sense).

13. Ce petit Monarque des cœurs / That same little great King of hearts		
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous		
Printed editions: Tb5, 1614 (solo voice with lute); Gd4, 1617/18 (4 voice)		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
That same little great King of hearts,8 Overswell'd with custom of taming, To the firie yoke of his darts, The supreme neckes[105] of his humane framing, Would, further, needs attempt to know, If death could suffer by his bow?	Ce petit monarque des coeurs, Glorieux de voir arrestées Sous le joug de ses traits vainqueuers, Les puissances plus redoutées. Voulust essayer si la mort, Flechiroit point sous son effort.	This little King of hearts, Glorious to see, stopped Under the yoke of his victorious features, The most formidable powers. Wanted to try if death, Marked/bended arrow head under his strain.
Rashly thus he, wronging his power, His full quivers brood thick did scatter At his flint heart, which, with steel'd shower, He as fondly assay'd[106] to batter, As winds and waves that, vain, are bent A rock, besieg'd with seas, to rent.	En vain son pouvoir irrité Descochoit mile et mile fleches Sur ce cœur dont la dureté N'estoit pas capable de bresches, Non plus que les flots d'entamer Un roc au milieu de la mer.	In vain his irritated power Shot many arrows In this heart which is hard Not to be capable of breaches, No longer that the streams start/cut in to A rock in the middle of the sea.
In the end (abash'd so great spies, As the Gods, at his shame were merry) He retir'd himself to thine eyes (Damon) [107] there his disgrace to bury. Fatal retreat: for 'tis not safe To lodge a God in such a chase.	Enfin honteux que tous les dieux Fussent tesmoins de sa deffaite, Il se cacha dedans tes yeux, Mon Damon, funeste retraite. Qu'il est dangereux de loger Un Amour qui se veut venger.	Finally, ashamed, that all gods Issue forth witnesses of this defeat, He hides himself inside your eyes, My Damon, fatal retreat. That it is dangerous to accommodate A love which wants to avenge itself.

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[105] OED: *neckes* – Originally: the back portion of the part of the body between the head and the shoulders; the nape; can refer to a part of the body on which burdens are carried.

[106] OED: *fondly* – foolishly; *assay'd* – tried

[107] From Greek mythology. Damon and Pythias. The tyrannical Dionysius is going to execute Pythias for plotting to kill him. Pythias asks to be allowed to return home to settle his affairs but promises to return. Dionysius refuses. Damon offers to take Pythias' place, and if Pythias does not return, Dionysius can execute him, Damon. Pythias does not appear on the day of his expected return but, just as Dionysius prepares to have Damon executed, Pythias arrives apologising for his delay due to pirates. Amazed at the power of their friendship, Dionysius pardons them both.

	14. Arme toy ma raison / Reason! Arm thy wrong'd hands	
	Music: Anthoine Boesset; Text: anonymous	
	Printed editions: Tb7, 1617 (solo voice with lute); Bo1, 1617 (4 voice)	
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
Reason! Arm thy wrong'd hands: Into nothing make tremble The flame, that, martyr'd brands, Makes my soule to resemble. If thy divine target[108] do not shadow my head, A bright eye soone will shine mee dead.	Arme toy ma raison Pour combattre la flame, Qui veut hors de saison Tiranniser mon ame, Si ton pouvoir divin ne me vient secourir Un bel œil me fera mourir.	Arm yourself reason To combat the flame Which wants to [out of season] Torment my soul If your divine power cannot come to assist me A fine eye will make me die.
Hollow eyes (which griefs flood Into fill'd wells runs turning) Express how little good Water yields to souls burning; And that, if thy high arm do not shadow my head, A bright eye soon will shine me dead.	Mes yeux que mon tourment A changés en fonteines, Tesmoignent clairement La grandeur de mes peines. Et que si ton pouvoir ne me vient secourir, Un bel œil me fera amour.	My eyes that are my torment Changed into fountains clearly show The greatness of my pains. And that if your power cannot come to assist me A fine eye will make me die.
With so strong gall[109] doth love My dearest nectar season, That, if brute mouths could move, Tongues of discursive reason, My cries would make them plead for remorse, which is fled The bright eye that would shine me dead.	Je souffre tant de maux En l'amoureux servage, Que si les animaux Parloyent nostre langage, Ils viendroyent à mes cris de pitié requerir Le bel œil qui me fait mourir.	I suffer so many misfortunes In amorous serfdom That if the animals Spoke our language, They would come to me crying demanding pity [of] The fine eye which will make me die.
Yee! Belove'd okes and flints, That my groans oft have broken; Say! If my blazing dints Do not clearly betoken, That, if the skies provide not a shade for my head A bright eye soon will shine me dead	Vous de ma triste voix Le rendés vous aymable, Dittes Rochers et Bois S'il est pas veritable Qu'à faute que le Ciel me vienne secourir Un bel œil me fera mourir ?	You of my sad voices It makes you kind, Speak, rocks and wood If it is not true That to fault the sky comes to help me A fine eye that makes me die?

[108] OED: A light round shield or buckler; a small targe. Also fig. Now chiefly Hist.

[109] OED: 2. fig. Something galling or exasperating; a state of mental soreness or irritation: 1599   Spenser View State Ireland in J. Ware Two Hist. Ireland (1633) 7

15. Vous que le bonheur / Thou, whom fortune, now turn'd tender
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous
Tb1, 1608 (solo voice with lute); Gd1, 1602 or Gd2, 1608 (5 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
Thou, whom fortune, now turn'd tender, With old chaines anew doth greet, Joy thy tribute soul to render At thy Queen's deserving feet.	Vous que le bon heur r'appelle A un servage antien, Mourés aux pieds de la belle Qui vous daigne faire sien.	You that happiness recalls/reminds To an old slave Died at the feet of the beauty Who deigns you make hers. [111]
Honour'd, thou, by loss of battle, With victress bays her brows vaile: Pay, with holocausts of cattle,[110] Thy new entrance to her jaile.	Glorieuse vostre perte Honnorez vostre vainqueur, Qui vous à la porte ouverte De la prison de son cœur.	Glorious your loss/ruin You honour your victor, Who you opened the door Of the prison of his heart.
Blush not, erring, at the glory Got by yielding her thine arms: Thou alone, in all her storie, Art found worthy of her harms.	Heureux venez vous donc rendre A celle qui vous à pris, C'est honneur de se voir prendre A qui tient tout à mépris.	Happily you come therefore to surrender To her who you has won ["taken" the victory]. It is honourable to see oneself beaten [By one] who holds all to contempt.
Her eye, deigning thee ar arrow, Stoop'd from pitch of wonted glance, That thy bravely-kindled marrow Might shine by so rare a chance.	Ainsi vostre ame reprise Finis toute liberté : Glorieuse est l'entreprise Qui guide à l'éternite.	Thus, your soul [again in love] To end all freedom: Glorious is the enterprise Who guides to eternity.
Thy lost soul, thus new-enchained Still thou her eternal slave: Glorious captive, who hath gained Title that desires the grave.	Cét œil r'abaissant sa gloire Vous à blessé de ses traits, Affin que de sa victoire Vous vous honnoriez apres.	It is this eye again lowering its glory You blessed his features, In order that her victory You honour after.

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[110] Exodus 9:6 – all of the Egyptian's cattle died but the Isrealites' cows did not
[111] "who makes him a willing slave of *hers*"

Thraldome stands on happy pillres [pillars?],	Bien-heureuse servitude,	Most happy servitude,
Whose fame, fate-proof, fears no powers	Dont le genereux effort	Which generous effort
Of, her ruins strongest willers,	Peut vaincre l'ingratitude	Can overcome ingratitude
Shakes of death and Lethe's showers,	De l'oubli et de la mort.	Of oblivion and of death.
'Tis a hight worth they aspiring	L'honneur d'un brave adversaire	Honour of a brave adversary
To fall by so lofty eyes:	Honnore vostre trespas,	Honour your death,
Happy he, whose souls expiring	Heureux qu'en mourant peu faire	Happiness that in dying can make
His names birth doth solemnise.	Que son nom ne meure pas !	That his name does not die!
		Translation: Kate Sullivan with Véronique Duché

16. Puisque les ans n'ont qu'un printemps / Since our round year hath but one Spring
Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: attributed to Pierre Guédron
Air de Ballet from *Ballet de la Deliverance de Renaud*, 1617
Printed editions: Tb7, 1617 (solo voice with lute); Disc, 1617 or Gd5, 1618 (4 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
Since our round year hath but one Spring,	Puis que les ans n'ont qu'un printemps,	Since the years have only one Spring
Let love set gloss on this gem of the ring:	Passés amans doucement vostre temps,	Lovers passed sweetly your time,
Autumn, once come, proves our leafs utter fall;	Vos jours s'en vont et n'ont point de retour,	Your days go and have never to return,
Haste to loves feast while your best seasons call.	Employés les aux delices d'Amour.	Devoted to those delights of love.

	17. He! bien ma rebelle / Say then! My hard jewell	
	Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous	
	Printed editions: Tb7, 1617 (solo voice with lute); Gd4, 1617/18 (4 voice)	
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
Say then! My hard jewell,	He ! bien ma rebelle,	Ah well my rebel,
My hard jewell, say !	Ma rebelle he bien,	My rebel ah well,
For thy sparks long fuel	Mon amour fidelle	My faithful love
When shall thy gold pay?	N'obtiendra il rien ?	Gains nothing?
Shall I languish e're more, bloodless by so sharp duel?	Languiray-je toujours pour l'amour de toy belle,	Should I always languish for love of you beauty,/
Shall I languish e're more	Languiray-je toujours	Should I always languish
At de-spair's pale cheek'd door?	Sans espoir de secours.	Without hope of rescue.
Thou know that my spirit	Tu sçays que mon ame	You know that my soul
To thee soled th kneel;	N'adore que toy,	Adores only you,
That no stranger merit	Que nulle autre dame	That no other woman
Can make my zeal reel.	N'a pouvoir sur moy.	Has power over me.
Shall I languish e'remore, kept from right to inherit?	Languiray-je toujours beauté que je reclame,	Should I always languish beauty that I claim,
Shall I…	Languir…	Should I…
Can my bosom, chinking	Quoy ? donc la souffrance	Why therefore suffering
With long drought of grief,	De tant de douleurs,	Of so many sorrows,
Find but endless drinking	Pour sa récompence	For his reward
Of tears for relief?	N'aura que des pleurs ?	He will have only tears?
Shall I languish e'remore, under scorns burden sinking?	Languiray-je toujours sans acune esperance,	Should I always languish without any hope,
Shall I…	Langui…	Should I…
Can my sacrificings	Tant de sacrifices	So many sacrifices
Of sighs in breast's fire,	De mon cœur rendu,	Of my heart I made,
And my early risings	Et tant de services	And so many services
Bargain for no hire?	Seront-ils perdus ?	Will they be wasted?
Shall I languish e're more, broken with despisings?	Languiray-je toujours parmy tant de suplices,	Should I always languish…
Shall I…	Langui…	Should I…

Thy looks, on whose flaming (To my smart) I gaze, Cause a fervent blaming Hearts ice, whilst eye blaze. Shall I languish e're more, tired with slow taming? Shall I…	Ton œil qui m'enflame Causant ma langueur, Crains-tu point qu'on blame Ta longue rigueur ? Languiray-je toujours pour t'aymer ma chere ame Langui…	Your eye that enflames me Causing me langour, Are you afraid that one criticises your long harshness? Should I always languish… Should I…
As my cry grows louder, More in vain I whine: Fy! This is too pouder Cheeks with too long brine. Shall I languish e'remore at the feet that grow prouder? Shall I languish e're more At despaire's pale-cheeked door?	Tant plus je t'appelle Et moins tu m'entends, C'est estre cruelle Trop et trop long temps. Languiray-je toujours pour l'amour ce toy belle, Languiray-je toujours Sans espoir de secours.	So much more I call you And less you hear me, This is to be cruel too too long time. Should I always languish… Should I… Without hope of help

18. Know, my dear idol, Cloris / Je voudrois bien ô Cloris		
Music: Anthoine Boesset; Text: anonymous		
Printed editions: Tb6, 1615 (solo voice with lute); Bo1, 1617 (4 voice)		
Filmer	**Original French text**	**Modern English translation**
Know, my deare idol Cloris! That all zealous, Here at thine altar I would prostrate stay; But common morne, of ev'rie lover jealous, To my disaster brings the star of day, Clo-ris! Farewell; Oh let me dying vanish: Day-light is come my delight hence to banish.	Je voudrois bien ô Cloris que j'adore, Entre vos bras faire plus long sejour : Mais la voyci cette jalouse Aurore A mon malheur qui rameine le jour. Adieu Cloris il est temps que je meure, La nuit s'en va, et l'ennuy me demeure.	I would really like, o Cloris that I adore Between your arms to make a long stay: But here she is this jealous Aurore To my misfortune which brings the day. Farewell Cloris, it is time that I die, Night it goes, and my worry remain.
Why, with such firie speed, incessant driver! Bring'st thou a light that obscures Lovers Skies? Controll thy race; keepe back they beamie quiver; What needs more Day then shoots from these gray eies? / Cloris farewell…	Pouquoy si tost importune courriere Viens-tu troubler l'aise de nos esprits ? Arreste toy, retarde ta lumiere, Suffit-il pas des beaux yeux qui m'ont pris Adieu Cloris…	Why so early an unwelcome courier Do you come to disturb the joy of our hopes? Stop you, slow your light, It is enough [not?] of the beautiful eyes which take me / Farewell Cloris…
Trustie Night! That, in favour of close Lovers, Friendly displayest thy securing vailes, Fright backe pale Morne; tell her thy shadie covers Can light us best to Loves secret assailes. Cloris! Farewell…	O douce nuit de qui les voilles sombres Sont desployés en faveur des amants, Ou t'ẽ fuis-tu sçay tu pas que tes õbres Donnent la vie a mes contentements ? Adieu Cloris…	Oh sweet night of whom the dark shadows Are they spread in favour of the lovers, Or do you flee, do not you know that your shadows They give life to my happiness? Farewell Cloris…
Can it then bee, yee Gods whom I importune, That the Day's birth should make Loves Morning die? And, this first downe of my yet tender Fortune, Must it make wing because fledg'd Night doth flie? Cloris ! farewell…	Jusques à quand, ô dieux, que j'importune Le jour naissant mes plaisirs destruira, Et les effets de ma bonne fortune S'enfuiront ils quant la nuit s'enfuira ? Adieu Cloris…	Until when, oh Gods, that I troublesome The new day my pleasures destroys, And the effects of my good fortune They flee what the night runs off? Farewell Cloris.

19. Aux plaisirs, aux delices bergeres / To you sports and delights, yee blithe lasses!

Music: Pierre Guédron; Text: anonymous
Printed editions: Tb5, 1614 (solo voice with lute); Gd4, 1617/18 (4 voice)

Filmer	Original French text	Modern English translation
To your sports and delights, yee blithe lasses! Catch gray Time by the beard as he passes: Trust not his bald neck; t'will slip-of your collers; And, by his evasion, you'll seem ill scholars. Spend, in bowers and thick groves (loves dark stages) The shining forenoon of your ages.	Aux plaisirs, aux delices bergeres, Il faut estre du tẽps menageres : Car il s'escoule et se perd d'heure en heures, Et le regret seulement en demeure, A l'amour, aux plaisirs, aux bocage, Employés les beaux jours de vostre âge.	To the pleasures, to the rural delights, We must be careful of the time: Because it can pass and waste hour by hour, And regret only remains, To love, to pleasures, to the grove Devote the beautiful days of your age.
Now the years gallant season doth call you To loves hall, go! What ever befall you. Earth from her coat shall snow argent now teareth. And, for it, flowers in a field vert beareth. Spend in bowers…	Maintenant la saison vous convie De passer en aymant vostre vie : Des-ja la terre à pris sa robe verte, D'herbe et de fleurs la campaigne est / couverte. A l'amour…	Now the season invites you To pass in loving your life: Already the earth has taken its green robe, Of grass and of country flowers is covered. To love…
Bugle[112] lae'd are the skirts of the mountains With the fugitive glass of the fountains: Morn, urg'd by Envy, brave Flora opposes, And dares her to see her at vying roses. Spend in bowers…	Le cristal fugitif des fontaines Va bordant les chemins et les plaines : L'Aurore espend au Ciel autant de roses Qu'elle en descouvre en la terre descloses. A l'amour…	The fleeting crystal of fountains Go beside the paths and the plains: Dawn (Aurora) expands over the sky as many roses That she uncovers on the earth. To love…
The fair days, that spring now doth muster, Serve to add, to your youths, heat and luster. New Phoebus, drench'd (but not quench'd) with sea-/ billows, Brings, with the worlds, loves fire from his wet pillows. Spend in bowers…	Du printemps les plus belles journées Semblent estre aux amours destinées : Le Soleil vient, et rapporte de l'onde. Le feu d'Amour, avec celuy du monde A l'amour…	From the Spring the most beautiful days Seem to be destined for love The sun comes, and together from the sea The fire of love, with him from the world. To love…

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[112] OED: A tube-shaped glass bead, usually black, used to ornament wearing apparel. (Formerly also collective, or as the name of material.): 1583   P. Stubbes *Anat. Abuses* (new ed.) i. sig. Evii (note)   Thei vse to garde their Clokes rounde about the skirtes with...Bugles.

Wanton brooks, reeling through flowry valleys.	Les ruisseaux vont aux plaines fleuries	The streams go to the flowery plains
Run and catch and kiss their neighbour allies:	Cajolant, et baisant les prairies :	Coaxing and kissing the meadows:
Mild zephyrs whispers a love-tale to Flora;	Le doux Zephirs parle d'amour à Flore,	The sweet breezes speak of love to Flora,
The birds of like subject, talk to Aurora.	Et les Oyseaux en parlent a l'Aurore.	And the birds speak about it at dawn.
Spend in bowers…	A l'amour…	To love…
Bonfires and dances are each eye's pleasure;	On ne voit que des feux et des dances,	We only see fires and dances
Winged feet to swift tune beating measure:	On n'entend que chansons et cadances,	We only hear songs and rhythms,
Aeolus opens his ears to these wonders,	Et le vent mesme escoutãt ces merveilles,	And even the wind listening to these marvels,
And shuts his mouth from breathing of thunders.	Ferme la bouche, et non pas les oreilles.	Closes the mouth and not the ears.
Spend in bowers…	A l'amour…	To love…
Natures whole army, that guards life's banner,	Ce qui vit, qui ce meurt, qui respire,	Who lives, who dies, who breaths,
By loves colours is made to look wanner;	D'amour parle, ou murmure ou soupire :	Love speaks, or whispers or sighs:
And sure that heart, that his hand makes not tremble,	Aussi le cœur qui n'en sent la pointure.	As the heart which on feeling the size.
Is dead, though the spirits may life resemble.	S'il est vivant, il est contre nature,	It is living, it is against nature,
Spend in bowers and thick groves (loves dark stages)	A l'amour…	To love…
The shining forenoon of your ages.		

Appendix two – printed collections of *airs de cour*

The abbreviations in tables 1.2.1 and 1.4.1 correspond to the full titles of the publications listed below.

Polyphonic arrangements

Bo1 – *AIRS DE COUR A quatre & cinq parties, PAR ANTHOINE BOESSET. Maistre de Musique de la Chambre du Roy.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1617.

Disc – *Discours au vray du ballet danse' par le roy, le dimanche XXIX jour de janvier. M. VI.e XVII. Avec les desseins, tant des machines & apparences differentes, que de tous les habits des Masques*. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1617

Gd1 – *Airs de cour, mis à quatre et a cinq parties, par Pierre Guédron: compositeur en musique de la chamber du Roy*. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1602.

Gd2 – *AIRS DE COUR, A quatre & cinq parties, PAR P. GUEDRON. M.[aître] & Compositeur de la Musique de la Cham.[bre] du Roy.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1608.

Gd3 – *SECOND LIVRE. D'AIRS DE COUR, A quatre & cinq parties, PAR P. GUEDRON. M.[aître] & Compositeur de la Musique de la Cham.[bre] du Roy.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1612.

Gd4 – *TROISI.[ème] LIVRE D'AIRS DE COUR a quatre & cinq parties, Par P. GUEDRON. Intendant des Musiques de la Ch.[ambre] du Roy & de la Reyne Mere.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1617.

Gd5 – *QUATR.[ième] LIVRE D'AIRS DE COUR a quatre & cinq parties, PAR P. GUEDRON. Intendant des Musiques de la Ch.[ambre] du Roy & de la Reyne Mere*. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1618.

Solo voice and lute accompaniment arrangements

Tb1 – *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth. par Gabriel Bataille*. Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1608.

Tb3 – *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth. par Gabriel Bataille. troisiesme livre.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1611

Tb4 – *AIRS DE DIFFERENTS AUTHEURS, MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH. PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE. QUATRIESME LIVRE.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1613

Tb5 – *AIRS DE DIFFERENTS AUTHEURS, MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH. PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE. CINQUIESME LIVRE.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1614

Tb6 – *AIRS DE DIFFERENTS AUTHEURS, MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH. PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE. SIXIESME LIVRE.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1615

Tb7 – *AIRS DE DIFFERENTS AUTHEURS, MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH PAR EUX MESMES. SEPTIESME LIVRE.* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1617

Appendix three – analysis of Filmer's translations

The following analysis uses John Dryden's categories of translation as set out in the preface to his translation of Ovid's *Epistles*.

iv. *Metaphrase*, or literal translation, for example Ben Jonson's *Ars Poetica*

v. *Paraphrase*, 'where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his works are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered.'

vi. *Imitation*, which elaborates on the sense and may vary from its original as the variations do from a theme, or may bring the original up to date by contemporary allusions.

In addition to imitation, I have also considered whether Filmer introduces or subtracts imagery or ideas from the source text, in the form of invention, and how Filmer treats metaphor, by either making a reductive or a more complex reading.

For each of Filmer's translated texts I have compared at least the first three stanzas against a modern English translation[113] of the original French source text and a summarising sentence of the sense of each verse and assigned one or more of the following categories to them:

- Literal translation / metaphrase
- Paraphrase
- Invention
- Introduces complexity/obscure imagery
- Spells out a metaphor / makes concrete what was image/inference

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[113] My sincere thanks to Professor Véronique Duché (Faculty of Arts, department of Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, University of Melbourne) for her interpretative insights and assistance with translation of a number of these texts.

1. Bright abstract of us seaven / Adorable Princesse

Filmer's translation includes both **close** and **distant paraphrase**, with some **invention**.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"The adorable one outshines the sun."* The sun: Adorable princess It is time that I stop From running in the sky And that my flame yields The rank that it holds To the flames of your eyes.	Sense: *"The adored one outshines the suns"* The sunne: Bright abstract of us seaven Wand'ring torches of heaven! Earths most adored shrine! 'Tis time I leave skie running, And quit my coach and cunning, To give thee way to shine.
	A **distant paraphrase** with some **invention** because, although less clear, the sense is the same as the original: the sun (chariot) must make way for a brighter object.	
2.	Sense: *"Your natural beauty overpowers the sun"* O beauty without example, Where nature reflects Her power unequalled Since the first hour That you saw my light I am no longer the Sun.	Sense: *"Your natural beauty overpowers the sun"* Thou, unmatch'd Beauties treasure! Whereby Nature both measure Of her strain'd skill the hight; I think thee much beguiled, That I the sunne am stiled. Since first I saw thy light.
	Filmer's translation is **a close paraphrase** of the French text. The implied change of character in the first verse to Phaeton was perhaps accidental. Line 5 indicates that the character singing the song is once again the Sun.	
3.	Sense: *"Being observed by the beloved is so much to bear, respite is sought by drowning"* Your eye which conquers me Gives me so much to be ashamed of When I make my way, That to lament to fortune That the flows of Neptune Always cover me.	Sense: *"The rebuke of the adored one makes me wish for respite"* Thine Eye, mounting above mee, Doth so clearly reprouve mee, Whilest I my high course keepe, That when Thetis last rock'd mee, I wish that shee has lock'd mee Up with eternall sleepe.
	First three lines are a **close paraphrase** of the source. In the last three lines, Filmer keeps the sense of the source – an appeal to a watery deity for respite – however, he changes the god from Neptune, the Roman god of freshwater and the sea, to Thetis, the Greek goddess of the sea, and veers away from the paraphrase approach he adopted in the first three lines towards **invention**.	

2. At length, here she is / Enfin la voyci, nous voyons ces beaux yeux

Overall, this is a **less close translation** from the original compared to many of the other airs, in particular, because of the introduction of **new ideas and imagery**. Filmer often uses **more complex imagery** than the source text to convey similar ideas.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1	Sense: *"A beautiful, powerful pairs of eyes [of the Queen] have arrived, with whom our God of war is completely in love."* Finally here, we see those beautiful eyes, The love of the earth and heavens: Which our Mars, in his most blessed / choice, Is so very in love.	Sense: *"These beautiful eyes on Earth mean that it outshines the heavens. Our God of war is happily aflame."* At length, here she is; We have got those / bright eyes: More shines now our Earth than the Skies: And our Mars, happy in his high desire, Is all flame by this fire.
	This is a **close paraphrase** of the words but Filmer also **introduces a new idea**, that of the Earth *outshining* the heavens in line two. Filmer also **introduces the metaphor** of fire in line four where the original simply referred to being in love.	
2	Sense: *"The sky cannot compete with the mild majesty which inspires respect and love in return."* The sky has never reached so much beauty Such a sweet majesty, Which in hearts inspire in turn Respect and love.	Sense: *"The heavens never achieved such a mix of stateliness and meekness, which inspires respect and passion in return."* The Spheres, in so Heavenly face, never / fix'd High state with so meeke graces mix'd Which, in all hearts about it round, inspires True respect and chast fires.
	This verse is a **distant paraphrase** because, although Filmer closely retains the ideas in the original he uses quite different words. He also returns to the fire **metaphor**, where the original continues to refer use the word *amour* (love). Although, this time he tempers it by adding the adjective *chast*.	
3	Sense: *"Our wishes are granted by a happy fate to love forever."* In the end here, our wishes are fulfilled, Our spirits completely pleased, Enabled in both by a happy fate To live a love without end.	Sense: *"Our wish to live happily together is granted"* At length, both are met; our designs / crowned are; Each soul in the joy hath a share: May, in both breasts, this isle of Union give Only one heart to live.
	Filmer **introduces a metaphor** for fulfilment our wishes with *our designs crowned are*. He also **introduces a new imagery** associated with the sense of the last two lines. Where the original simply states that the fates have enabled the lovers to live happily ever after, Filmer evokes imagery of two into one, perhaps in reference to the marriage of Henrietta Maria and Charles?	

3. Why have my thoughts conspired / Que n'êtes-vous lassées

Filmer's translation is a **distant paraphrase**. He retains the approximate ideas and sense of the original poem but there are many instances of his veering away from the details of the original.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"My ceaseless thoughts are making me go mad but soul is unwilling to be cured of them."* Why are you not weary My sad thoughts Of troubling my reason? And with that rebuke My soul rebels Against healing.	Sense: *"Why have I long refused the antidote, against reason, despite my ceaseless thoughts making me go mad?"* Why have my thoughts conspired Never to be tired With doing reason wrong? Making my soul accused. For having refused Her antidote so long.
	The first verse is a **close paraphrase**. Filmer retains all of the key words and closely follows the original ideas.	
2.	*"Tears are powerless to undo the fate which removed my love from my eyes and took her to heaven."* That my tears are ceaseless Useless weapons, And that does not remove from the / Heavens The destiny, To my recollection That which she removed from my eyes.	Sense: *"Pointless tears prevent sleep. Why cannot they [the Fates?] take my love from my mind to heaven?"* Why, by vaine force of weeping, Am I kept from sleeping? Why ordaine not the Skies Out of my Mind to banish What they have made vanish Already from mine Eies?
	A **distant paraphrase**. Filmer retains only two of the words and ideas closely: tears and the idea of 'remove from my eyes'. He translates the rest from a greater distance. For example, 'ceaseless' becomes being 'kept from sleeping' and 'useless weapons' becomes 'vaine force'	
3.	Sense: *"The cruel fates which have kidnapped me can have my life it they will send me death."* O unparalleled beauty! My dear wonder, That severe fate [You would ravish me if love Would send me death]	Sense: *"I would thank the seemingly distant Fate if he would end my life before it was due."* Light! that keep'st all Lights under Deare adored Wunder! How would I applaude Fate, That deludes us with distance, If, by his assistance, 'Death would cut-out my Date!
	This verse is an **invention**, clearly based on the source but not retaining enough of the original words or ideas to still be a paraphrase.	

4. O what muster of glances / O grands dieux que charmes

Filmer's translation is mainly **distant paraphrase** and some invention with the inclusion of **concrete interpretation of metaphor** and use of **literal description** of the action (rather than gestural reference to the effect of action).

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"Cupids weapons of love: fire, arrows, stars, delights and looks."* O great Gods of charms Love weapons, Of fire, of arrows, Of favoured stars, Of delights, And sweet looks.	Sense: *"Cupids weapons of love: dresses, hair. Artful temptations."* O what muster of glances (Cu-pids troop of lances) What fires! And what darts. O! what sparkling dresses! What catching tresses! What temp-ting arts!
	Almost a complete **invention** on the theme of original – the weapons of love. Filmer conveys a similar sense, using different words and imagery, and in the process also describes Cupids weapons of love **in concrete terms,** e.g.: A *muster of glances*, or a collection of flashes; A *troop of lances*, for a quiver of arrows; *Sparkling dresses;* Nice hair, and; *Tempting* manners	
2.	Sense: *"Two great suns [eyes, perhaps?] lead us, despite our timidity."* Therefore better to lead Heaven to make shine Of the unparalleled fires, And our timid steps Are their guides Two great suns.	Sense: *"God will guide us through the maze and two suns (eyes, perhaps) make us sure-footed."* In this Maze, to conduct us, The sky doth instruct us With directive light: And two chief Suns faces Our troubled paces Dispose aright.
	A **distant paraphrase**. Filmer retains the ideas conveyed in each line and some of the words. In lines two and three however he **interprets the metaphors** of 'a shining light from heaven' and 'unparalleled fires' as divine guidance.	
3.	Sense: *"We lovers must leave each other because the night is no longer dark enough."* We leave the walkway, This serenade, And our charming lutes: The lonely night Makes itself too clear For lovers.	Sense: *"We lovers must part in case we're seen, because there are so many onlookers at night that it might as well be broad day light."* The time now doth require us From hence to retire us, And lay-by our lutes: Night, made day by watches, With lovers matches Unkindly sutes.
	Filmer makes a **distant paraphrase** of verse three. He retains the idea of parting lovers and night becoming light. However, he does so by delineating a **more literal series of steps** than the original. There are two ideas in the original: 1) The lovers must leave (their walk, their song, their lutes), because 2) The night is becoming clear (night into day; dark into light) Filmer's text contains at least five ideas: 1) time is passing 2) action is required 3) the lovers separate *and* they put down their lutes (two actions) 4) an explanation of *how* the night becomes day 5) a suggestion that the watchers are unkindly trying to catch lovers out.	

5. With what wings/Quel espoir de guarir

Filmer's is a **distant paraphrase** of the original. The effect of **introducing metaphors** where direct and simple language was used in the original is to distance the reader from the emotion in the text.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1	Sense: *"Death is the only recovery I can hope for from this secret love."* What hope of recovery, Can I have other than dying Of the agonies of loving. Which I must bare, / but of which I dare not speak?	Sense: *"How can I escape this fever of love which I cannot tell anyone about?"* With what wings can I fly From disease, till I die Of a love kindled fever, Which I may well endure, / but [but] to make know'n dare never?
	Filmer **introduces two metaphors** in lines one and two: 'wings' for 'hope' and notion of flying from disease as representative of a 'recovery' from one. He also lessens the fierceness of the love-suffering, from 'agonies' to 'fever' and also lessens the speaker's resolution to endure from 'must' endure to 'may' endure. Even so, verse one is a **close paraphrase** because Filmer retains all of the key words and most of the ideas.	
2.	Sense: *"How can I conceal the agonies of a secret love"* What means of concealing and dying without speaking The agonies of love? Which I must bare, but of which I dare not speak?	Sense: *"It is 'hell' not to speak of this love"* What a hell 'tis to burst, And not tell how I thurst In this love kindled fever, Which I may well endure, but to make known dare never!
	Filmer makes a **distant paraphrase**. Only one of the key words, or ideas is retained: the notion of not speaking. In the original version, the speaker asks how he might conceal his death without speaking of it. In Filmer's version the speaker make more of an exclamation: *What a hell t'is to burst*. Once again, he also **introduces a metaphor**, this time for dying: he thirsts.	
3.	Sense: *"If death is the only cure,"* If death alone Can cure my suffering, And the agonies of loving, Which I must bare, / but of which I dare not speak?	Sense: *"Death is the only thing that can relieve me of this love"* O! that death's cooling cup Would allow me one sup In this love kindled fever, Which I may well endure, but to make known dare never!
	Again, Filmer introduces **metaphorical imagery** to describe the cure brought about by death which becomes a 'soothing sup' from a 'cooling cup'.	

6. What spell holds thee, my sun, from rising? / Ou luis-tu Soleil de mon ame?

Filmer's translation is a **distant paraphrase bordering on imitation** because although he ultimately conveys the same themes, he often does so through different imagery and key words.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1	Sense: *"What has extinguished your passionate love? Has someone with the opposite characteristics made you forget about me?"*	Sense: *"What keeps the sun from rising? I am left in the dark."*
	Where do you shine sun of my soul? Where do you shine fire of my eyes? Do you always forget the heavens, And in the breast of Thetis thy flame: Now that my beautiful sun does not shine, The day to me is more like a night.	What spell holds thee, my Sun, from rising? What half-sphere takes-up thy whole race? Is Thetis[114] green lap the fresh place, That so long keeps thee a baptising? Now that my sun deigns me no light, To me fairest day is black night.
	Filmer's **distant paraphrase** conjures up images of a half-sun, emitting a weak and *watery* light over a landscape with the reference to the rising sun. Through his **reductive reading**, Filmer really could just be talking about the weather. While the French original quickly establishes the sun as a metaphor for the poet's lover or the inspiration of this passion. In the French original, the reference to Thetis, the Greek goddess of the sea, in the fourth line acts as the elemental antithesis of the fire and sun introduced in the first two lines. The poet's passion has been extinguished like a flame being suckled by the goddess of water. Filmer dilutes this antithesis by not establishing the sun-fire-light theme as strongly as the French version. He has also **modified the imagery**, from suckling at the breast of the Goddess Thetis, to the, perhaps more chaste-seeming, sitting on her lap receiving a baptism. Filmer translates lines five and six – the refrain – as a **close paraphrase**.	
2.	Sense: *"Return Pheobus and bring back the day. I cannot live without you"* Come out therefore my Pheobus from the / sea And restore to us a beautiful day: Without you my life and my love I cannot see, nor live in this world. Now that my…	Sense: *"If 'you' are dead my flame will go out"* Save thy fires from their utter quenching: Rouse from Neptune's pillows, thy head: My flame must out, if thine prove dead By combat with so long a drenching. Now that my…
	Filmer uses a similar theme as the original to convey the same sense: if the light is not restored (if you do not come back to me) I cannot go on living. However, he **invokes different imagery** and even goes so far as to change mythological characters (although he keeps it in the family) to arrive at the same end. Filmer overlooks the reference to Pheobus in the first line and instead makes reference to Neptune in his second line. Pheobus is the Greco-Roman name applied to Apollo in his role as the God of light. The air was originally published in 1602, just one year after the future Louis XIII became dauphin to the French throne. Louis XIII was later associated with Apollo, including appearing as Apollo in the *Ballet d'Apollon* in 1620, with music by Boesset. It is an interesting choice of Filmer's to distance his translation from the association French monarch, instead choosing Apollo's uncle Neptune.	

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[114] Thetis green lap – As the Greek goddess of water, her lap must necessarily be wet.

3	Sense: *"I am in darkness without you, even though the sun is shining"*	Sense: *"I cannot see at noon although I am not blind"*
	Who are those who do not hope To see when the sun shines for us? That is me who resides in the night Absent from the beautiful day which lightens me. Now that my…	Who, but I, can clear this dark riddle? Eyes (though not blind) groping at noon; Which, let the sun rise n'er too soon, Can never get beyond night's middle? For, whilst my Sun…
	Filmer's use of the riddle and searching in the dark metaphors are more 'concrete' than the original text, which, although still using the metaphor of the sun, light and dark, as absence from the beloved, was speaking of direct experience.	

7. How was Amyntas blest / Qu'Aminte fut heureux

Filmer makes an **imitative translation**. Where the French verse often conveys the feelings of the poet, **Filmer describes actions or events**.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1	Sense: *"Aminte pretended to be dead to make someone feel sorry for him."* That Aminte was happy Whose feigned death, Clears away an amorous feature To give affect To the heart when pity seemed extinct.	Sense: *"Amyntas hopes to win a previously scornful heart because she thinks he is dead"* How was Amyntas blest, Whose death, but fained, Was meanes to clear the breast, That spite had stained, And win the heart that scorn before held / gained.
	Filmer's verse is in **imitation of the French original**. He maintains the general idea of the verse, a pretend death to inspire a change of heart but, in the French verse, this change of heart is pity, in Filmer's it is a hope that she may no longer feel scornful.	
2.	Sense: *"Even as he lay dying, he continued to love Sylvie."* Then that he sighed Almost without life, And that his heart died For his Silvie, His tragic love was sustained.	Sense: *"Silvia could not be persuaded to pity him despite his tears and sighs while on the brink of death"* Oft, to the graves cold brink, His sighs blow'n him; While tears, his fruitless drinks, Had over flown him: Yet Silvia, for his pains, would never own him.
	Filmer makes an **imitative translation**. In Filmer's verse **Silvia rejects him once again**. The French is about what the poet feels for Silvie, not what she feels for him	
3.	Sense: *"His every effort could not bring her around."* His love, his sadness, His cries, his pains, His sighs and his tears, His certain faith, Could never weaken this inhuman [person].	Sense: *"Nor his talk, poetry, or songs"* His love, his truth, his suites, His earnest plying, His gifts, his pen, his lutes, His Deifying Could never break her of her stiff denying,
	Filmer's translation is an **imitation**. While he arrives at the same end, he does not attempt to do so using the same key words of ideas. Filmer introduces notions of being truthful, giving gifts, writing poetry and singing songs. These are **concrete actions and gestures** that he is making to Sylvie. The French original on the other hand focusses on the feelings of the poet about Sylvie.	

8. Why, alas cri'ed-out my mother / Las! Pourquoi ne suis-je née

Filmer **invents** a text based on the themes in the source text. He introduces a number of

metaphors, some quite obscure or stark.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"I am born, suffering torments, give up contentment"* Alas, why am I born To suffer many, many torments? And to see me give up On all contentment?	Sense: *"Mother", drawing the curtain to let in "light's offence", waking the "innocent" from a "peaceful slumber"* Why, alas cri'ed-out my mother To break my peaceful sleep of Innocence? And drew the curtain, that did smother, Mine Eyes from Lights offence.
	An **elaborate depiction** of being born. Introduces multiple ideas of 'the mother', 'the innocent' and 'innocence', and 'light'. Prefigures the symbol of 'the eyes', which appear as the theme of the second verse in the source text. Filmer's verse in **an invention** based on the French original.	
2	Sense: *"Eyes, tears as remedy for sorrows, questions their effectiveness"* My eyes shedding tears for you, Cruel remedy for my sorrows: But what is the use of such arms, Except for common misfortunes?	Sense: *"Light makes the eyes burn…,"* Since 'twas Light begate the Burning Where of mine Eyes, now great, in labour / are: But Fire, i'th' birth, to Water turning, Is prodigy of warre.
	Further develops the ideas of conception and birth as an **elaborate and obscure metaphor** of burning eyes and the resulting watery tears. Filmer's verse is **an invention** based on the French original, he takes the idea of tears, and at a stretch weapons and therefore war, but carries this a long way from where the French version goes. His use of a birth metaphor introduces a layer of complexity not present in the original	
3	Sense: *"Concludes that this is an inconsolable sorrow, that only death can end"* My sorrow is so pityable, That I can hope for no relief, If it be not by a wretched end To my unhappy days.	Sense: *"Tears will not cure this painful love, only death will."* Thus, whilest teares not cure but threaten, Loves painful growth, now at the fatal height, From hopes bare, after long plea, beaten, Appeals to death for right.
	A closer reflection of the ideas in the source text but still does not retain key words and ideas – it is **an invention** based on the French original.	

9. Silva, not long since, half afrighted / Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie

Filmer often retains the ideas in the first and last lines of each verse in **a close paraphrase**. However for the remainder of the verse he **invents ideas** and **adds detail** that is only alluded to in the original.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"Silvia awoke her lover because it was morning"* One day, the amourous Silvia Said, "Kiss me, I beg you" To the shepherd who alone is her life And her love. Kiss me shepherd please and rise for it is day.	Sense: *"Silvia awoke her lover because it was morning"* Silvia, not long since, half-afrighted, Because loves theft grew unbenighted, Wak'd the mate where in shee delighted, And thus did say: With a kiss let all wrongs be righted, and get up quickly for tis day.
	A distant paraphrase, the key ideas of Silvia kissing her lover because it is dawn are retained but Filmer **adds characterisations** of Silvia being 'half-affrighted', 'unbenighted' and 'delighted'. He also **adds detail to the actions taken**, such as Silvia 'waking' her lover.	
2.	Sense: *"Morning has come quickly to betray us (find us out), let's part quickly before this happens"* Look! The dawn is rising Kiss me shepherd, who I adore, Must I beg you again By our love: Kiss me shepherd who I adore And rise for it is day.	Sense: *"The morning light, like a rival lover, has come to betray us"* See! Where young morn beings to enter: What early wings have late been lent her! Some sleepless rival may have sent her, Us to betray: Hastily kiss then, to prevent her, And get up quickly for 'tis day.
	A distant paraphrase, the idea of noticing dawn in retained. In original, Silvia goes on to beg her lover, again, to rise. Whereas Filmer **introduces** a 'sleepless rival' with designs on exposing the lovers.	
3.	Sense: *"Out of fear, I must make you leave with a kiss, or the day light will bring shame on you/us"* My fear is calling you out of there, Kiss me shepherd is what she said, O Gods! Said he, what new For much love! Kiss me shepherd is what she said, And rise for it is day.	Sense: *"Out of fear, I send you away, before the day light will bring shame upon you. Do not think of delaying"* My fear would fain from hence expel thee, Before this traitresse light do sell thee To shame then think not much I tell thee Of they delay; With a kiss since I must compel thee To get up quickly; for 'tis day.
	A close paraphrase. The important ideas of 'fear of shame in being found out' and 'sending of the lover away' are present.	

10. Wilt thou, untamed alas! / Las! Fuiras-tu toujours

Filmer produces **a distant paraphrase** of the original. At times he uses **complex syntax and obscure metaphors** that ultimately obscure the ideas and images of the original.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"Do not avoid my cries for fear that showing pity for me would mean you are less harsh"* Alas, do you flee always with fear to / hear my cries and to see my languor? Are you fearful that pity of these sweet / attacks Wounds not your harshness? Stop, stop Amaranthe you flee, You flee, and leave me while fleeing	Sense: *"Will you still leave me for fear that my moans would pierce your pity for me"* Wilt thou, untam'd alas! still fly, for feare of / charming, Thy breast in my teares floud? Of least, with my moanes lance, that Pittie, / herself arming, Should let thy rigour bloud? O! stay; O! stay, *Amarantha*, thy flight; Thy flights blacke wings shadow mee with / dreadfull night.
	Makes a **distant paraphrase** using quite **complex syntax** which ultimately **obscures the ideas and images** of the original.	
2.	Sense: *"To see your eyes without adoring them is impious, just as fear of pity is cruel"* As seeing your eyes without adoring / their charms Is an impiety Fear as you do of the pity weapons Is a cruelty, Stop…	Sense: *"To see your eyes without adoring them is impious, just as leaving me is cruel cowardice"* As, to behold thine eies, and not adore their luster, Were bold impietie: So, to flie (as thou do'st) when Pitties forces / muster, Is cowards crueltie. O! stay…
	A **close paraphrase** of the first two lines while the remainder of the verse is **more distant**.	
3.	Sense: *"I do not hope that you will be less cruel when seeing my torment"* No, this is not the hope that you may be / less cruel In seeing my torment, Who sighs Amaranth I call, crying incessantly Stop…	Sense: *"I do not hope that you will judge me fairly. That drives me on restlessly"* 'Tis not a hope, thine Eies will prove my / sweete Attournies, When they shall see my case, That makes mee spend my cries and steps, / in endless journies, To countermand thy pace. O! stay…
	A distant paraphrase. Introduction of an **obscure metaphor** in lines one and two of an attorney assessing the case of lover fairly, and taking pity, where the original verse simply expresses the hope that the loved one will be less cruel on seeing the lover's anguish.	

11. If key of speech, or lock of silence / Si le parler et le silence

Filmer retains the sense of the original text through **a close paraphrase** of the source text, but often makes **literal references to images or ideas** that are inferred and introduces additional elements that **complicate or confuse** the message.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"If we cannot speak of our love out loud, we can use a silent language"*	Sense: *"If we cannot speak of love, let our eyes communicate in silence"*
	If speech and silence Are harmful to us now, We speak therefore my dear hope With the heart and the eyes only Love, that fickle little God Teaches us this silent language.	If key of speech, or lock of silence, Strike us with errors or with feares; Then let eyes use their secret style, whence Hearts may be taught, and yet not ears. Love, whose noiseless wing, by stealth caught us, This dumb discourse, as softly taught us.
	A close paraphrase with necessary **invention** to fill out the original line lengths.	
2.	Sense: *"Our looks, instead of words, will communicate our intentions"*	Sense: *"Let's share looks about our desires and use them arrange a time to quench our desires"*
	That look flies back and forth Messenger of our passions And serves in place of words To speak of our intentions. Love…	Let looks, flying and returning, (fit secret posts for close desires) Whisper each others inward burning, And 'point a time to slake our fires. Love, whole noiseless wing…
	A close paraphrase but also 'spells out' the intentions of the lovers.	
3.	Sense: *"No one could be insulted because we converse in the same way as angels do in heaven"*	Sense: *"If we our rivals disapprove with our mode of communication our consolation will be that that is how it is done in the skies"*
	But if any soul is insulted To see us converse with our eyes We speak with our thoughts Like the Angels in heaven Love…	But, if our prying rivals mutter To see the language of our eyes, By unseen thought our minds we'll utter, As messages are done in skies. Love, whole noiseless wing…
	A distant paraphrase. The idea of disapproval in made more literal by reference to 'prying rivals' while the heavenly associations of the original ('Angels in heaven') is made more distant in the Filmer ('done in the skies').	

As an exercise to try to better understand the process of creating a translation of a song text, I have attempted to write my own for the first verse of *Si le parler, et le silence*. In addition to preserving as much of the original meaning of the text, I have also attempted to retain the clarity and directness of expression of the original French text:

> *If spoken word or ghostly silence*
> *Will harm our good fortune also*
> *We speak therefore my dear hope*
> *Only from the heart and the eyes*
> *Love, that little God so fickle*
> *Teaches us this silent language*

12. Too much we range the waves / C'est trop courir les eaux

Filmer's version is a **distant paraphrase** of the original with some complex **invention**.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"We go beyond the waves to seek Pallas in beautiful palaces where one might also find God"* The currents of the waters are too much, We go beyond these reeds, And we seek from now on Pallas in / these beautiful places Then between the virtues one must / seek the Gods.	Sense: *"It is time to leave off the high seas to seek Pallas in this place, where, like the Gods at Virtues court, he will have left his trace"* Too much we range the waves, Let's quit these crystal graves: And hunt for Pallas here in this more likely / place, For sure in Virtue's Court the Gods leave still / their trace.
	Filmer makes a **distant paraphrase** of the original. While he retains the key ideas he also **invents new** ideas and images, such as 'the crystal graves', where the original referred to 'reeds', the idea of 'hunting' for Pallas, instead of simply 'seeking' him, and notion of 'finding a trace' of the Gods in 'Virute's court', instead of 'seeking' the Gods 'between the virutes'	
2.	Sense: *"the sort after woods and stars suggest we're in the right place"* Here are the sacred woods So many times desired, And these brilliant divine stars in this / court, Testify that our hour must be in this stay.	Sense: *"the groves and 'influent' lights suggest good fortune"* The groves of our desires Here blaze with holy fires: And those influent lights, that shower on us / such beams, Give hope our happiness will flow from their / bright streams.
	A distant paraphrase. In the first two lines, the long 'desired' 'woods' become the 'groves of our desires' – a similar but subtly different idea. The remainder of the verse is an invention on the theme of 'divine stars' from the original.	
3.	Sense: *"Let's get closer, the more we delay, the longer we go without knowing them"* We go therefore, we move nearer The eyes that we seek: So much more we postpone / approaching their beauties, So much more we testify of not knowing / their kindness.	Sense: *"Let's capture these eyes lest we lose them"* Go then! Let's now accost Those eyes that we thought lost: Their beauties to abbord the more we slacke / our pace, The lesse we seeme to know the bounty of / their grace.
	This is **a distant paraphrase**. All of the key ideas and images are retained but expressed at times quite differently. For example, in the original the poet 'move nearer' to the eyes they 'seek', while Filmer 'accosts' the eyes he thought he had 'lost'	

13. *That same little great King of hearts / Ce petit Monarque des coeurs*

On balance, the Filmer is **a distant paraphrase** of the original.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1	Sense: "*Love wants to see if he is stronger than death*" This little King of hearts, Glorious to see/show, stopped Under the yoke of his victorious features, The most formidable powers. Wanted to try if death, Marked/bended arrow head under his strain.	Sense: "*Although tamed in human form, Love wants to see if he can conquer death*" That same little great King of hearts, Overswell'd with custom of taming, To the firie yoke of his darts, The supreme neckes of his humane framing, Would, further, needs attempt to know, If death could suffer by his bow?
	This verse is a **distant paraphrase** of the original. He conveys the overall sense of the stanza by retaining the key ideas but not always the words. He also **labours metaphors**, particularly around the imagery of the yoke, by presenting two new associations: the idea of the yoke as a *taming* device and a reference to where the device is worn, on the *neckes*	
2.	Sense: "*Love fires arrows at his heart, just as wind and waves batter rocks at sea*" In vain his irritated power Shot many arrows In this heart which is hard Not to be capable of breaches, Not any more than that the waves cut in to A rock in the middle of the sea.	Sense: "*Love fires arrows at his heart, just as wind and waves batter rocks at sea*" Rashly thus he, wronging his power, His full quivers brood thick did scatter At his flint heart, which, with steel'd shower, He as fondly assay'd to batter, As winds and waves that, vain, are bent A rock, besieg'd with seas, to rent.
	A **distant paraphrase** because, although Filmer retains the sense and many of the key words, **he restates** some of them in subsequent lines. For example, line 2 "*Descochoit mile et mile fleches*" (Shot many arrows), appears first in Filmer's second line as *His quivers brood thick did scatter* and then again in variation from the end of line three and the beginning of line four: …*with steel'd shower / He as fondly assay'd*; line 5 "*…d'entamer*" (cut in to), appears in Filmer first in the same position, at the end of line five as "*…are bent*" then twice in line six as "*…besieg'd…*" and then as "*…to rent.*"	
3.	Sense: "*Love withdraws in defeat, while the other Gods look one, rejoicing his failure*" Finally, ashamed, that all the gods Issue forth witnesses of this defeat, He hides himself inside your eyes, My Damon, fatal retreat. That it is dangerous to accommodate A love which wants to avenge itself.	Sense: "*Love withdraws in defeat, while the other Gods look one, rejoicing his failure*" In the end (abash'd so great spies, As the Gods, at his shame were merry) He retir'd himself to thine eyes (Damon) there his disgrace to bury. Fatal retreat: for 'tis not safe To lodge a God in such a chase.
	Overall, the verse is a **close paraphrase** of the original because Filmer retains key words from each line in his translation. Filmer at times makes a **literal translation**, for example: *Il se cacha dedans tes yeux* = He hides himself in your eyes Filmer phrases it as: He retires himself to thine eyes.	

14. Reason! Arm thy wrong'd hands / Arme toy ma raison

Filmer's translation is a **distant paraphrase** in which he recounts most of the events described in the original but, with less subtlety as he **labours the primary metaphors**.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"A plead to reason to conquer a firey passion"* Arm yourself reason To combat the flame Which wants out of season Torment my soul If your divine power cannot come to / assist me A fine eye will make me die.	Sense: *"A plead to reason to conquer a firey passion"* Rea-son! Arm thy wrong'd hands: Into nothing make tremble The flame, that, martyr'd brands, Makes my soule to resemble. If thy divine target do not shadow my head, A bright eye soone will shine mee dead.
	The author of the original text has planted a subtle thread of contrasting images throughout the text, 'fire', 'water', 'nature', 'silence'. Filmer makes **a close paraphrase**. He **extends** the fire theme introduced in the second line to allusions of heat and light in the fifth and sixth lines.	
2.	Sense: *"My tear-stained eyes are testament to my torment"* My eyes that are my torment Changed into fountains clearly show The greatness of my pains. And that if your power cannot come to / assist me A fine eye will make me die.	Sense: *"Floods of tears cannot quench a soul burning with love"* Hollow eyes (which griefs flood Into fill'd wells runs turning) Express how little good Water yields to souls burning; And that, if thy high arm do not shadow my / head, A bright eye soon will shine me dead.
	The author establishes a water theme in this verse. Filmer makes a **distant paraphrase** with some **invention** (overfilled wells and burning souls). He also **distances** himself from the emotion of the original – the tears are no longer his own. The repetition of lines 5 and 6 throughout, in Filmer's text emphasising light rather than being neutral, clashes with the 'water' theme of this verse.	
3.	Sense: *"I suffer so much in my love that if animals could speak they would ask for pity"* I suffer so many misfortunes In amorous serfdom That if the animals Spoke our language, They would come to me crying / demanding pity [of] The fine eye which will make me die.	Sense: *"If animals could reason it would be powerless in the face of my painful love and they would plead for mercy"* With so strong gall doth love My dearest nectar season, That, if brute mouths could move, Tongues of discursive reason, My cries would make them plead for / remorse, which is fled The bright eye that would shine me dead.
	Filmer makes a **distant paraphrase**. The themes in verses three and four, relate to an idea common in the texts of the *air de cour,* the despairing lover's affinity with nature however **this is obscured** in Filmer's text ('brute mouths' the only reference).	

15. Thou, whom fortune, now turn'd tender / Vous que le bonheur

Filmer makes **a distant paraphrase** with numerous instances of **invention**.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"You are like another lover who died a slave at the feet of his beloved"*	Sense: *"You are happy to surrender enchained at the Queen's feet"*
	You that happiness recalls To an old slave Died at the feet of the beauty Who deigns you make hers.	Thou, whom fortune, now turn'd tender, With old chaines anew doth greet, Joy thy tribute soul to render At thy Queen's deserving feet.
	A **distant paraphrase** with some **complex invention**: Filmer **introduces the imagery** of 'old chaines' to represent the 'old slave' of the original.	
2.	Sense: *"Your loss is glorious, you victor has freed the lover"*	Sense: *"You are honoured by your loss and will happily pay to enter her gaol"*
	Glorious is your loss You honour your victor, Who you opened the door Of the prison of his heart.	Honour'd, thou, by loss of battle, With victress bays her brows vaile: Pay, with holocausts of cattle, Thy new entrance to her jaile.
	A *very* **distant paraphrase** with some **invention**: the victress' veil, 'holocausts of cattle' (!) as a metaphor for some great sacrifice. Filmer changes the sense from the lover being imprisoned in his own heart ('the prison of his heart') to being imprisoned by the beloved ('her jaile').	
3.	Sense: *"You happily surrender to her, by whom it is an honour to be beaten"*	Sense: *"Do not be embarrassed by her victory over you. You have been found worthy of being injured by her"*
	Happily you come therefore to surrender To her who you has won victory. It is honourable to see oneself beaten [By one] who holds all to contempt.	Blush not, erring, at the glory Got by yielding her thine arms: Thou alone, in all her storie, Art found worthy of her harms.
	Although Filmer retains the sense ('there is honour in defeat by this opponent'), he does so through **distant paraphrase**.	

16. *Since our round year hath but one Spring / Puisque les ans n'ont qu'un printemps*

Filmer produces an **invention** based on the first line of the original. Filmer continues the season metaphor by invoking Autumn to represent the 'days going' of the original, however, this has the effect of **distancing the speaker** and the reader from the sentiment of the poem.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"Make the most of Spring as it only comes once a year"*	Sense: *"Make the most of Spring as it only comes once a year"*
	Since the years have only one Spring Lovers passed sweetly your time, Your days go and have never to return, Devoted to those delights of love.	Since our round year hath but one Spring, Let love set gloss on this gem of the ring: Autumn, once come, proves our leafs utter fall; Haste to loves feast while your best seasons call.

This air comprises only one verse.

17. Say then! My hard jewell / He ! bien ma rebelle

Filmer has **freely adapted** the French text with more **immediate, literal images**, more action and physically oriented than the source which is more 'ideas' based.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"The speaker questions the love on whether he will always languish without hope of his faithful love being reciprocated"* Ah well my rebel, My rebel ah well, My faithful love Gains nothing? Should I always languish for love of you / beauty, Should I always languish Without hope of rescue.	Sense: *"The speaker questions the love on whether his love will be returned after their duel or whether he will despair"* Say then! My hard jewell, My hard jewell, say! For thy sparks long fuel When shall thy gold pay? Shall I languish e're more, bloodless by so / sharp duel? Shall I languish e'r more At despair's pale cheek'd door?
	Filmer retains the sense of languishing for a lover without hope of reciprocation through a **distant paraphrase** but he also **introduces** imagery of sparks, gold, blood loss from a duel and the idea of pale despair.	
2.	Sense: *"You know that I will always be devoted to you and no one else but it always be thus"* You know that my soul Adores only you, That no other woman Has power over me. Should I always languish beauty that I / claim, Should I…	Sense: *"You know that I am devoted to you, but shall I receive nothing in return"* Thou know that my spirit To thee soled th kneel; That no stranger merit Can make my zeal reel. Shall I languish e'remore, kept from right to / inherit? Shall I…
	A distant paraphrase that slightly changes the meaning from a question of whether the lover is destined always to yearn for an unreachable woman ('languish beauty that I claim'), to a rather more concrete question of seeking something in return from this particular woman ('right to inherit').	
3.	Sense: *"After all this suffering, tears are his only reward"* Why therefore suffering Of so many sorrows, For his reward He will have only tears? Should I always languish without any hope, Should I…	Sense: *"Can tears give my heart some relief"* Can my bosom, chinking With long drought of grief, Find but endless drinking Of tears for relief? Shall I languish e'remore, under scorns burden sinking? Shall I…
	Filmer **changes the sense** from tears being a poor reward for the lover's suffering ('he will have only tears') to tears offering some kind of relief (albeit poor) ('endless drinking / of tears for relief').	

18. Know, my dear idol, Cloris / Je voudrois bien ô Cloris

Filmer has made a **distant paraphrase** but added a lot of **invention** and results in a **distancing** of the reader from the emotion of the original.

Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"I would like to stay with you, but unfortunately day has come and I must leave"* I would really like, o Cloris that I adore Between your arms to make a long stay: But here she is this jealous Aurore To my misfortune which brings the day. Farewell Cloris, it is time that I die, Night it goes, and my worry remain.	Sense: *"Know that I would stay with you but for the coming day. Farewell."* Know, my deare idol Cloris! That all zealous, Here at thine altar I would prostrate stay; But common morne, of ev'rie lover jealous, To my disaster brings the star of day, Clo-ris! Fare-well; Oh let me dying vanish: Day-light is come my delight hence to / banish.
	A **distant paraphrase**. Filmer retains the key ideas of wanting to stay with Cloris, but changes the relationship from one of earthly – and earthy – warmth and sensation, to a more dramatic, and yet somewhat abstract, affair.	
2.	Sense: *"Why must the dawn come so soon. Slow down I have not had enough of these eyes"* Why so early an unwelcome courier Do you come to disturb the joy of our hopes? Stop, slow your light, It is not enough of the beautiful eyes which take me / Farewell Cloris…	Sense: *"Why must the dawn come so soon. Slow down so as I can stay with these eyes"* Why, with such firie speed, incessant driver! Bring'st thou a light that obscures Lovers / Skies? Controll thy race; keepe back they beamie / quiver; What needs more Day then shoots from these gray eies? / Cloris farewell…
	An **invention**, based very loosely on the idea of a light disturbing a pair of lovers. Filmer's imagery serves to **distance the reader** from the immediacy of the emotion in the original.	
3.	Sense: *"Night, do you know your darkness enables my happiness? Why do you leave?"* Oh sweet night of whom the dark shadows Are they spread in favour of the lovers, Or do you flee, do not you know that your / shadows They give life to my happiness? Farewell Cloris	Sense: *"Night provides sufficient light for lovers. Fight off the morn"* Trustie Night! That, in favour of close / Lovers, Friendly displayest thy securing vailes, Fright backe pale Morne; tell her thy / shadie covers Can light us best to Loves secret assailes. Cloris! Farewell…
	A **distant paraphrase** of the original. Filmer asks the night to fight off the coming morning ('Fright back pale Morne'), while the original poses a question to the night ('do not you know…'). This **shifts the emotional engagement** from rhetorical questioning to one of more empowered directiveness.	

19. To you sports and delights, yee blithe lasses! / Aux plaisirs, aux delices bergeres

Filmer invokes more **complex allegory** than the original text. The effect is that he labours points when they should be fleeting remarks.

| Verse	Source	Filmer
1.	Sense: *"Love while you can else you might regret it"* To the pleasures, to the rural delights, We must be careful of the time: Because it can pass and waste hour by / hour, And regret only remains, To love, to pleasures, to the grove Devote the beautiful days of your age.	Sense: *"Love while you can"* To your sports and delights, yee blithe lasses! Catch gray Time by the beard as he passes: Trust not his bald neck; t'will slip-of your / collers; And, by his evasion, you'll seem ill scholars. Spend, in bowers and thick groves (loves dark / stages) The shining forenoon of your ages.
	The original text cautions against the regret that can come from wasting time. Filmer **converts the reference** to time passing into an allegory of 'father Time' **literally passing**, with his grey beard trailing behind him. This **elaborate allusion** distracts from the main subject of the verse, which is of course, the young lovers in the grove, and the idea of regret mixed in with youthful exuberance is lost.	
2.	Sense: *"Follow the example of nature and embrace love"* Now the season invites you To pass in loving your life: Already the earth has taken its green robe, Of grass and of country flowers is covered. To love…	Sense: *"Winter is giving way to flowers and green fields"* Now the years gallant season doth call you To loves hall, go! What ever befall you. Earth from her coat shall snow argent now / teareth. And, for it, flowers in a field vert beareth. Spend in bowers…
	Introduces the metaphor of the house of love ('love's hall') and extends the metaphor for Spring as a 'green robe' over the earth to include winter as well ('her coat shall snow argent now teareth').	
3.	Sense: *"As dawn approaches fountains and flowers are revealed"* The fleeting crystal of fountains Go beside the paths and the plains: Dawn (Aurora) expands over the sky as / many roses That she uncovers on the earth. To love…	Sense: *"The foot hills beaded with glassy fountains, roses dare to be seen by the dawn"* Bugle lae'd are the skirts of the mountains With the fugitive glass of the fountains: Morn, urg'd by Envy, brave Flora opposes, And dares her to see her at vying roses. Spend in bowers…
	A distant paraphrase. Filmer retains the images of fountains and roses from the original but **introduces the imagery** of the foot of the mountains being 'beaded' with fountains ('buble lae'd').	

Appendix four – measuring text and music using *Praat*

To measure vowel and syllable durations of the original French texts and Filmer's English translations I made two sets of recordings: one of a native French speaker[115] declaiming the texts of the French airs and one of myself declaiming the Filmer texts. Also recorded myself declaiming the texts of English airs.

Syllable and vowel values

Using the specialised linguistics software program, *Praat,* I have taken measurements of every syllable and vowel in the first verse of each of the nineteen airs in the Filmer collection. Figure 1 shows the first line from *Je voudrois bien O Cloris que j'adore* (no.18), by Anthoine Boesset, loaded into *Praat*. The top part of the image shows the frequency of the sound records as measured in Hertz. The middle part shows the sound records depicted as a spectrograph. Just as an x-ray enables you to see inside a body, the grey shadows of the spectrograph, reveal the inside of an utterance.

Figure 1 – Screen shot from Praat
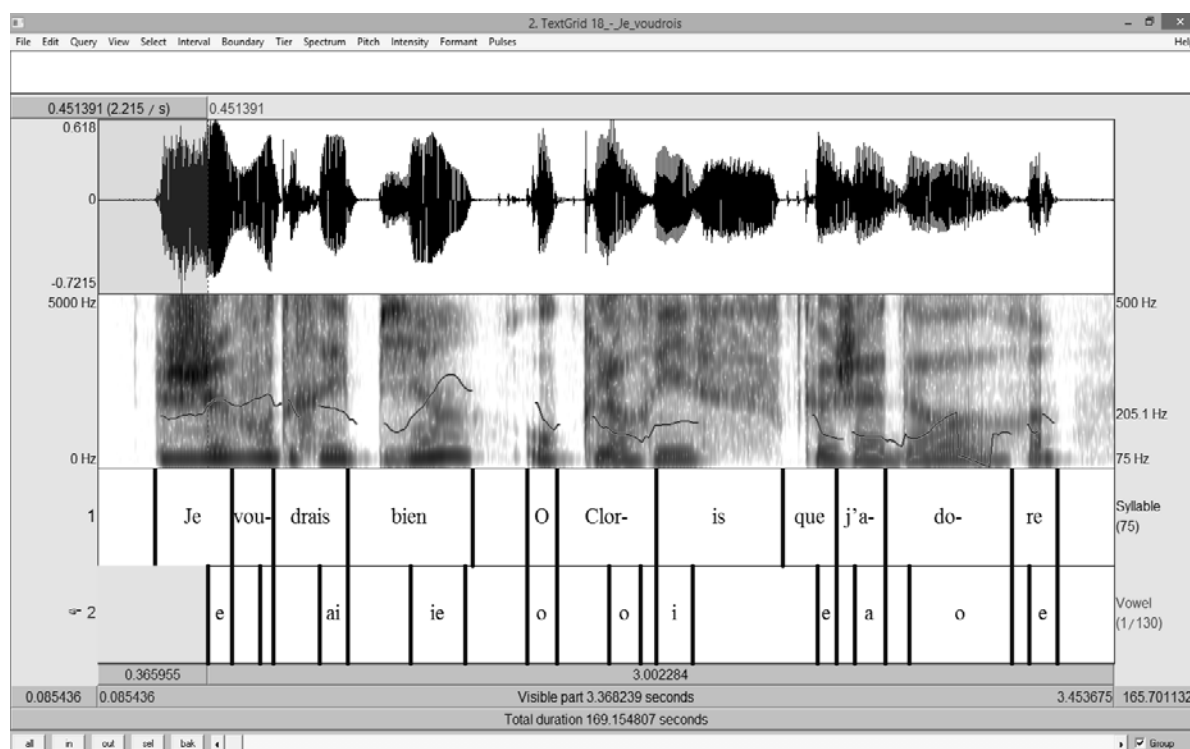
The spectrograph does this by showing where consonants and vowels begin and end. For example:

- a fricative consonant (dark shading upper left)
- different shaped vowels (horizontal banded shading, e.g. –is– of 'Cloris' compared to the –o– of 'j'adore')

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[115] My sincere thanks to Professor Véronique Duché (Faculty of Arts, department of Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, University of Melbourne) for her readings of these texts.

- stopped consonant (white space followed by a sharp vertical line)

The bottom part of the image shows a series of vertical markers I have inserted to delineate syllable and vowel boundaries in this line. The distances between each of those markers presents a longer or shorter fraction of a second. I extract these duration values from *praat* and record them in an excel spread sheet an example of which can be seen in table 1.

Table 1 – syllable and vowel durations recorded from Praat

	Je	vou-	drois	bien	O	Clor-	is	que	j'a-	do-	re
Syllable duration	0.253	0.140	0.245	0.414	0.097	0.329	0.420	0.178	0.161	0.420	0.151
Vowel duration	0.077	0.045	0.094	0.180	0.097	0.105	0.123	0.064	0.102	0.341	0.092

Rhythmic values

To generate numerical values for the rhythm I have applied the simple scale of a crotchet = 1 and counted in 0.5 increments from there, so a quaver = 0.5 and the minim = 2, as per table 2 below.

Table 2 – Rhythmic durations as numerical values

rhythmic symbol	numerical value
♪ (quaver)	.5
♩ (crotchet)	1
♩ (minim)	2

When a single syllable is set to multiple notes tied together, the rhythmic value of each of the tied notes is added together and counted as a single rhythmic unit. For example, in the first phrase of *Je voudrais bien ô Cloris*, by Anthoine Boesset, shown in figure 2 below, the second syllable of *Cloris* is set to a tied quaver and dotted crotchet. These rhythmic values, 0.5 and 1.5 have been added together and counted as a single rhythmic unit of 2.0 corresponding to that syllable. Similarly, the first syllable of *j'adore* is set to a quadruplet of semiquavers, the value of which has been counted as a single rhythmic unit of 1.

Figure 2 – First phrase of Je voudrais bien ô Cloris *(no.18) by Anthoine Boesset*

Following this approach, I generate rhythmic values for the first phrase of *Je voudrais bien ô Cloris*, as shown in table 3.

Table 3 – rhythmic durations for the first line of Je voudrais bien ô Cloris

	Je	vou-	drois	bien	O	Clor-	is	que	j'a-	do-	re
Rhythm	0.5	0.5	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.5	2.0	0.5	1.0	2.0	2.0

I repeated this process for the rhythms and texts each line in the first stanza for each of the 19 airs in the collection. With these raw data I calculated a Pairwise Variability Index (PVI) value for rhythms and the vowel durations in each of these lines. Each of these values could then be combined to obtain an average PVI for all of the French texts and rhythms of the airs in the Filmer collection and similarly for the sample of English airs used for the purposes of comparison. I used a pre-prepared excel spreadsheet to calculate the PVI values, obtained from a CDROM accompanying Ladefoged (2006).

For the first line of *Je voudrais bien ô Cloris / Knowe my deare idoll Cloris*, I calculated the following PVI values for French and English, as shown in table 4.

Table 4 – PVI values for the first line of Je voudrais bien ô Cloris *in French and English*

	Je	vou-	drois	bien	O	Clor-	is	que	j'a-	do-	re	Av. of PVI values	PVI value for line
French vowel duration	0.077	0.045	0.094	0.180	0.097	0.105	0.123	0.064	0.102	0.341	0.092		
PVI value for each pair of vowels		0.5	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.5	1.1	1.1	**0.6**	**62.1**
Rhythm	0.5	0.5	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.5	2.0	0.5	1.0	2.0	2.0		
PVI value for each pair of rhythmic units		0.0	1.2	0.3	1.0	1.2	1.2	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	**0.6**	**62.2**
English vowel duration	0.422	0.194	0.271	0.292	0.099	0.155	0.088	0.081	0.187	0.158	0.099		
PVI value for each pair of vowels		0.7	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.8	0.2	0.5	**0.5**	**46.4**

This procedure was repeated for each line in the first stanza of each air in the Filmer collection. The PVI values for each line were collected and used to calculate the results presented in chapter 2.4.

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