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A Blend of Traditions: The Lute's Influence on Seventeenth-Century Harpsichord Repertoire

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Abstract

The close relationship between the harpsichord and lute traditions is commonly claimed but rarely elaborated upon, and many experts disagree on the manner in and extent to which the two are related. Often, texts covering the early harpsichord literature will limit discussion of the lute's influence to a brief mention of the style brisé, if the important connection between the two traditions is even mentioned all. The lute's impact on the harpsichordists of the seventeenth century is not a facet that can be ignored; rather, an understanding of the lute tradition is essential to an understanding of the harpsichord tradition. Neither can the relationship be isolated to the style brisé, as the influence extends also to other textures, rhythms, harmonic devices, sonorous effects, and genres found within the solo literatures of both the lute and harpsichord. This connection is especially evident in the solo harpsichord works of Francois Couperin, D'Anglebert, Froberger, and Chambonnieres. Ornamentation and broken textures, elements that were evocative of the lute, were incorporated into the already existing keyboard tradition represented by the organ. However, although composers for the harpsichord imitated the style of lutenists such as Gaultier and Pinel, they also transformed it; they developed these lute-like elements in a manner that became distinctly idiomatic to the harpsichord. In this way, the harpsichord idiom that emerged in the seventeenth century was formed by a unique blend of the organ and lute styles.

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T he harpsichord and the lute, though seldom used today, were popular and significant instruments of the baroque musical era. Though the histories of the lute and the harpsichord show extraordinary similarities, music historians have disagreed on the extent to which the two traditions are intertwined. Mechanically, the harpsichord is somewhat of a hybrid between the keyed organ and the stringed lute. Like the organ, the harpsichord is operated by a chromatic keyboard with one pitch per key, which makes the instrument well-suited for polyphony and accompaniment. Although the early harpsichord composers were also organists, much of the solo harpsichord repertoire developed not from the organ style, but from the lute style.[1] Like the lute, the harpsichord is a plucked string instrument that must account for quick sound decay by forms of arpeggiation. The French lute style, especially, had a distinctive use of sonority, ornamentation, and broken textures, referred to as the *style brisé*. The harpsichordists' use of lute idioms extends far beyond the *style brisé*, however, and they did not merely copy lute idioms but, in various ways, incorporated them into their own unique idiom. While it is evident that many aspects of the harpsichord technique descend from the tradition of the organ, the harpsichordists' influence by, adoption of, and transformation of the secular lute style in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were foundational to the harpsichord's own idiomatic style.

For many centuries before the harpsichord, the organ was the primary keyboard instrument. Its early solo repertoire consisted largely of

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[1] John Gillespie, *Five Centuries of Keyboard Music* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1965), 34–35.

transcriptions of vocal music, such as motets and chorales. The first known example of newly composed keyboard music, found in the 1320 *Robertsbridge Codex*, also closely follows the vocal tradition by using parallel movement.[2] The work of Conrad Paumann, with florid, rhythmically varying upper lines, is one of the first to display a true organ style. The rules in his *Fundamentum organisandi* for instrumental counterpoint strayed from the strict style of vocal part writing.[3] The organ style was further developed in the mid-sixteenth century by Paul Hofhaimer, who paired such melodic lines with chordal, complete triads,[4] and by Andrea Gabrieli, who introduced lengthy scalar passages as a melody device.[5] These innovations became significant idioms in the keyboard tradition. Because the early harpsichord composers were also organists, these features were assumed when the harpsichord arrived on the musical scene in the fifteenth century.

It was from the organ tradition that the harpsichord's keyboard technique and compositional style originated, but it was from the lute tradition that the harpsichord took its place in the secular music world. For over 200 years, the lute was the most popular instrument for secular music in Europe.[6] Members of the lute family include all plucked string instruments with a neck and a vaulted body, such as the theorbo, archlute, and mandolin.[7] The lute, or *al-'ud,* originated in Central Asia and was deeply rooted in Arab culture as court accompaniment beginning in the seventh century.[8] The lute became immersed in the musical climate of Italy by the mid-fourteenth century and in Burgundy and Germany by the fifteenth.[9] Like the harpsichord that came after it, the purpose of the lute was originally for accompaniment. Until the early Renaissance, the lute's repertoire was generally confined to song accompaniment and vocal transcriptions, as music was not composed specifically for the lute until the fifteenth century.[10]

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[2] Gillespie, *Five Centuries of Keyboard Music*, 16.

[3] Ibid., 19.

[4] Ibid., 23.

[5] Ibid., 30.

[6] Ibid., 34.

[7] Mary Remnant, *Musical Instruments: An Illustrated History from Antiquity to the Present* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1989), 31.

[8] Douglas Alton Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (n.p: Lute Society of America, 2002), 7–9.

[9] Ibid., 31–33.

[10] Ibid., 38.

For the purposes of song accompaniment, the lute's role became to reinforce a strong bass line and to fill in inner textures. Because of the mechanical construction of the lute, members of a chord cannot be sounded exactly simultaneously. Usually it is the bass string that is played first, leading to a slight arpeggiation.[11] It was common for lutenists to pluck the strings with a plectrum, and the speed of the stroke was sometimes determined by a symbol. A vertical line, called an *ensemble,* directs the performer to strum the chord swiftly, as commonly done on the guitar. Strumming was typically done in a downward direction on strong beats and in an upward direction on weak beats.[12] A diagonal line between notes of a chord, called a *séparé* (Figure 1), gives directions for a slower stroke.[13] Resolution of the chords in a figured bass was left "at the discretion of the performer;" they could use the *ensemble* or *séparé* technique where appropriate.[14] Lute composer Perrine writes that "the particular manner of playing all kinds of pieces for lute consists only in arpeggiation or the separation of voices."[15]

Figure 1: *Séparé* lute symbols in Perrine's arrangement of "Tombeau de Lenclos" by D. Gaultier, mm. 13–15.[16]

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[11] Robin Rolfhamre, "French Baroque Lute Music from 1650-1700," Master's thesis (Agder University, 2010): 29, http://bit.ly/2e5Gx18.

[12] Ibid., 36.

[13] Paola Erdas, introduction to *Pieces de luth en musique avec des regles pour les toucher parfaitement sur le luth et sur le clavessin*, by Perrine (Paris, 1680), ed. Paola Erdas (Bologna, Italy: Ut Opheus, 1995), ix.

[14] David J. Buch, "*Style brisé, Style luthé,* and the *Choses luthées*," *Musical Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (1985): 60–61, doi:10.1093/mq/LXXI.1.52.

[15] Ibid., 58.

[16] Perrine, *Pieces de luth en musique avec des regles pour les toucher parfaitement sur le luth et sur le clavessin* (Paris, 1680), ed. Paola Erdas (Bologna, Italy: Ut Opheus, 1995), 34.

The French style is most significant in the discussion of the seventeenth-century lute style because it was the most idiomatic. Most lutenists wrote only for the lute, and the music was not able to be transferred to other instruments without alterations.[17] A "broken style," or *style brisé*, grew out of both the lute's history of accompaniment and other mechanical considerations. On the lute, the pitch of each string is changed by where the performer presses a finger on the fret, which means that the number of strings is the maximum number of notes that can be sounding at one time. This posed a problem since the majority of pre-Renaissance works for solo lute were polyphonic vocal transcriptions. With layers of individual melodic voices, these were much more difficult to perform on the lute than on the organ with a chromatic keyboard.[18] One particular precursor to the *style brisé* is seen in the genre of the lute duet—one lutenist would pluck the melody with a plectrum on one lute, while the other would improvise a polyphony-like accompaniment by finger-plucking.[19] Finger-plucking also allowed lutenists to efficiently accompany chansons and motets with up to five voices.[20] As these transcriptions were the foundation of the solo lute repertoire until the sixteenth century, lute makers added strings to lutes to facilitate polyphony.[21]

Humanism in the baroque era inspired a wave of interest in the lute as a "classical" solo instrument, even though there are no records of the lute in ancient Greece. Lutenists desired to not only accompany the voice like Orpheus on his lyre, but also to play polyphonic solo music on their lutes with ease.[22] While the old Renaissance lute style characterized by three- or four-voice polyphony was difficult on the lute, the new baroque style only suggested counterpoint by using suspensions. This development of a broken style spaced out the simultaneous sounding of each voice, so that at any one moment there was successive movement in some voice.[23] With only a half-dozen strings to work with, the music needed to be simple and light, but because of the quick delay of sound, the music also needed to have a rhythmic, forward motion. The use of "pseudo-imitative gestures" in dance suites helped to imply, but only partially

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[17] Rolfhamre, "French Baroque Lute Music," 20.
[18] Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 46.
[19] Ibid., 43.
[20] Ibid., 46.
[21] Ibid., 97.
[22] Ibid., 4–7.
[23] Ibid., 33.

realize, every voice in the texture.[24] Though the imitative gestures are approximated in the *style brisé*, the composers meant for it to be heard polyphonically; Jacques Gallot suggested that his solo lute works could be performed by an ensemble since "all the derived parts, upper and lower" are contained in the work.[25]

The *brisé* technique in newly composed solo lute literature is first seen in 1600 by Antoine Franscisque (Figure 2) and was later developed by Robert Ballard, René Mesangeau, and Pierre Gaultier.[26] The *brisé* lute style featured strong basslines, broken textures, and occasional "melodies that are hard to follow."[27] The style was also characterized by a balance of chordal and florid passages, with moderate embellishment.[28]

Figure 2: *Style brisé* in Fransicque's "Pavane d'Angle," mm. 25–30.[29]

Something peculiar to the seventeenth-century French lute repertory is the noticeable use of "asymmetrical phrases, syncopations, anticipations, and delays of the music in all voices."[30] Different figurations were not used consistently throughout a piece but could change between measures or sections. Accents, whether melodic, harmonic, or textural, were spaced out until cadences or places of structural significance.[31] The

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[24] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 55.
[25] Ibid., 57.
[26] David Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in Seventeenth-Century France*, (London: McMillan, 1987), 34–38.
[27] Rolfhamre, "French Baroque Lute Music," 21.
[28] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 60.
[29] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 35.
[30] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 63.
[31] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 33–34.

French style typically conformed to French rhythmic patterns such as *notes inégales* and was usually associated with dances.

The French *style brisé* was a significant aspect of the French lute style that was adopted and transformed by the harpsichordists. In fact, a discussion of the French styles of both instruments most clearly illustrates the development of the harpsichord idiom. The harpsichord, existent by the fifteenth century, was not widely manufactured until the sixteenth century.[32] Additionally, perhaps the lute's prominence in France explains why so little keyboard music was published in France during the sixteenth century, compared to Italy.[33] It seems natural, then, that when the French harpsichordists began to develop their own instrument's idiomatic writing, they would turn for inspiration to the lute, which was considered to be "the noblest instrument of any."[34]

The early harpsichord style was not distinct from the organ's, as keyboard pieces were not yet designated specifically for either instrument. During this period, most of the early works for harpsichord (as paralleled in both organ and lute history) were simply transcriptions of vocal or ensemble pieces.[35] One sixteenth-century collection of vocal transcriptions by Antonio Cabezón, entitled *Obras de musica para tecla, arpa y vihuela,* was arranged generally for polyphonic string instruments, which could include the harp, the Spanish vihuela, and the keyboard.[36] The broadness of this collection suggests that "the stringed keyboard instruments had not developed enough of a basic style to warrant independent compositions of their own."[37]

While the lute's *style brisé* was in keeping with baroque conventions, much of it had been necessitated by the mechanism of the lute. It could be argued that the harpsichord's imitation of the lute was a functional necessity, since both were softer instruments with quickly decaying sound. Yet, while a lute string will sustain a sound until it decays or until the string is plucked again, a harpsichord string can sustain a sound only while the key is held down by a finger. François Couperin solved this

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[32] F. E. Kirby, *A Short History of Keyboard Music* (New York: Free Press, 1966), 15–16.

[33] Per Kjetil Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Gothenburg, Sweden: Göteborg University, 2000), 81.

[34] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 60.

[35] Gillespie, *Five Centuries*, 33.

[36] Denis Matthews, ed., *Keyboard Music* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 28.

[37] Gillespie, *Five Centuries*, 33–34.

problem by using the organ technique of finger substitution; his first prelude in *L'art de toucher le clavecin* is one of the first keyboard works to sustain an arpeggiated texture by notating finger substitution.[38] In this way, the *style brisé* was translated quite naturally to the plucked harpsichord and has even been called by some to be the "proper genius" of the harpsichord.[39]

In the works of the seventeenth-century harpsichordists, the broken style that was "originally dictated by practical necessity is transformed by the artist into an element of taste and style."[40] For example, the early harpsichord repertoire also contains transcriptions of lute repertoire that was written in the *brisé* style. However, more than being just an unoriginal copy, imitation of the lute extended to complex and idiomatic adaptations. Many of their renditions show a use of "creative transcription, in which elusive lute subtleties, far from being slavishly transcribed[,] are enhanced in purely keyboard terms."[41] The technical and stylistic distinction between the two styles is evidenced in these keyboard transcriptions. Lutenist Perrine's keyboard transcriptions of Denis Gaultier's solo lute works have "different ornaments, more suspensions, broken intervals and chords, passing notes, dotted rhythms, and inner voices." Additionally, "rhythms are deleted," "bass notes left out," "arpeggiation and broken intervals omitted," and "entirely new sections added."[42] Perrine apparently thought there was enough of a difference in the harpsichord's mechanism and technique to merit this interpretation. Similarly, Jean-Henri D'Anglebert's harpsichord arrangement of Ennemond Gaultier's "La pleureuse" (shown along with the original lute tablature in Figure 3) incorporates new ideas of motivic interest, such as the passing tones in measures two and three which appear in both the right and left hands.[43]

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[38] Yonit Lea Kosovske, *Historical Harpsichord Technique: Developing* "Le douceur du toucher" (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 85.

[39] Christopher Hogwood, ed., *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 82.

[40] Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, "The Art of 'Not Leaving the Instrument Empty': Comments on Early Italian Harpsichord Playing," *Early Music* 11, no. 3 (1983): 300, doi:10.1093/earlyj/11.3.299.

[41] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music,* 65.

[42] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 66.

[43] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 64–68.

Figure 3: D'Anglebert's keyboard arrangement of courante "La pleureuse" by E. Gaultier, mm. 1–3.[44]

Within the many sources that discuss harpsichord history, the lute's influence is usually contained to the *style brisé*. The *style brisé*, however, was not a term defined by the seventeenth-century harpsichordists; rather, it first appeared in scholarly texts of the twentieth century as a historical term.[45] Is the *style brisé* what François Couperin refers to, then, when he vaguely mentions his use of "*les choses luthées*," or "things of the lute?"[46] Although many harpsichord works were obviously or explicitly written to imitate the lute, it is most likely that "there was not a conscious attempt to create a lute style as such but only a gradual accrual of traits."[47] Perhaps, Couperin may have been referring to genre, texture, form, timbre, sound effects, harmony, ornamentation, or any combination of these, since the harpsichord was obviously influenced by much more than the lute's *style brisé*.[48]

Genre was a large way in which the harpsichord followed the lute. In the seventeenth century, the styles for organ and harpsichord began to greatly diverge, and while the repertoire body for organ was full of liturgical works, fugues, and ricercares, the repertoire body for harpsichord contained mostly dance types and character pieces. For the harpsichord, these genres that were not vocally derived, including preludes, dances, tombeaux, and variations, show a close historical and musical association with the lute.

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[44] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 65.
[45] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 52–53.
[46] Ibid., 57.
[47] Ibid., 60.
[48] Ibid., 57.

Dance genres were extremely important in both the lute and harpsichord traditions. Until the sixteenth century, dance suites were not composed in a standard order, but were rather set in binary form or grouped in contrasting forms, which was characteristic of the lute style.[49] Two lute anthologies published by Ballard in the 1630s were the first to show the standard suite organization of unmeasured preludes, allemandes, courantes, and sarabandes.[50] The organization of suites by diatonic keys, instead of modes, was an innovation of the lutenist Denis Gaultier.[51] Lute performers preferred sets of pieces that were organized by key so that they could keep the same tuning throughout.[52] All of this influenced the keyboard suite style of Jacques Chambonnières, and in general, the French keyboard suites showed a strong connection to the lute's idioms.[53] In comparison to the German suites, they featured rhythms that were less regular, chords that were more delicately arpeggiated, and melodies that were more highly ornamented.[54]

The introduction to a dance suite, the prelude, was an improvisatory piece that served several purposes. It acted as an introduction to another work by exploring the key, and it gave the performer an opportunity to warm up and to tune the strings. In the keyboard repertoire, the prelude also served all of these purposes, including tuning; although today's keyboard instruments are not typically tuned by the performer, early harpsichords, like lutes, required frequent tuning.[55] The lute prelude was already a well-developed genre by 1631.[56] In French lute preludes, the rhythm was subject to the interpretation of the performer, as it was primarily a warm-up piece.[57] (As such, both lute and keyboard prelude types demonstrate a great rhythmic flexibility. Because French lute rhythms were less regular, though, some have suggested that the keyboard's imitation of the lute rests simply in a free concept of rhythm. This is partially true, as the improvisatory nature of unmeasured preludes dictates. This is not, however, to give the impression that the meters of

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[49] Gillespie, *Five Centuries*, 83.
[50] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 38.
[51] Gillespie, *Five Centuries*, 84.
[52] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 38.
[53] Gillespie, *Five Centuries*, 84.
[54] Kirby, *A Short History*, 99–100.
[55] Gillespie, *Five Centuries*, 41–42.
[56] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 40.
[57] Matthews, *Keyboard Music*, 42.

the other genres are to be taken out of time.[58] For the lute, dances were to be played in exact regard for the beat, which exaggerates the interest of the complex, irregular rhythmic effects, such as arpeggiation, syncopation, and hemiola.)[59] The concept of an unmeasured prelude, which contains no rhythmic notation, was first derived from the lute repertoire but was brought to popularity in the keyboard works of Louis Couperin. Because unmeasured preludes contain no time signature or barlines, the composer used other devices like slurs to indicate phrasing.[60] Often, especially at the beginnings of the preludes, an opening chord was arpeggiated slowly for effect.[61] The keyboard preludes of D'Anglebert especially show an inspiration from these lute preludes in their opening chords, chordal basses, few motivic repetitions, and contrast in texture. He often wrote the bass notes in ways that imitate the lute's treatment of bass (Figure 4). While earlier keyboard preludes by Louis Couperin place a changing bass note after the last note of an ascent, D'Anglebert's lute-inspired preludes interject the bass subtly between a rising phrase.[62]

Figure 4: Lute *trait* in an unmeasured prelude by D'Anglebert.[63]

Courantes, in particular, were seen as the "lutenists' masterpiece" because the 'running' nature of the genre adapted well into the lute style.[64] The keyboard "Courante luthée" by Gaspard Le Roux displays many aspects typical of lute courantes. It is in D minor, a common lute key, and it uses free texture, suspensions, and arpeggiation. However, it also shows elements that are distinctly unlike the lute courantes. While lute courantes are brief and frequently use rhythmic devices like hemiola,

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[58] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 66–67.

[59] Ibid., 63.

[60] Matthews, *Keyboard Music*, 42.

[61] Kosovske, *Historical Harpsichord*, 91.

[62] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 92, 100–102.

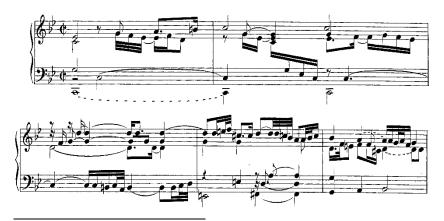[63] Ibid., 100.

[64] Rolfhamre, "French Baroque Lute Music," 32.

Le Roux's is longer and instead uses modulation in a way that reflects a lute tombeau, pavane, or allemande.[65] Rather than directly copying the lute style, he is using various elements of the style and making it his own in the style of a keyboard courante.

Yet another genre that was borrowed from the lute repertoire was the tombeau, a form which was explored by every major keyboard composer.[66] The tombeau was a collection of pieces grouped together as a sort of memorial. The German keyboard composer Johann Jacob Froberger first encountered the genre from the lutenists while on a visit to Paris. Upon the death of the French lutenist Blanrocher, Froberger, who typically composed in the German tradition, wrote a "Tombeau" (Figure 5) that brilliantly uses the French *style brisé*.[67] Froberger's tombeau style evokes sadness by the use of chromaticism, freer rhythm, arpeggiated passages, abrupt starts and stops, and unusual chord progressions—all characteristic elements of the lute.[68] An embrace of dissonance, through acciaccaturas, and of suspensions, through held sonorities, is also drawn from the lute idiom.

Figure 5: *Style brisé* in Froberger's "Tombeau" for Blanrocher, mm. 1–5.[69]

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[65] Buch, "*Style brisé*," 59.

[66] Kirby, *A Short History*, 82.

[67] Matthews, *Keyboard Music*, 53.

[68] Kirby, *A Short History*, 99.

[69] Johann Jacob Froberger, *Johann Jacob Froberger, Organ and Keyboard Works*, vol. 3 of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, ed. Guido Adler (Vienna: Artaria, 1903), 114, http://ks.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/5/5b/IMSLP340232-SIBLEY1802.26145.7602-39087013634110Dreizehn.pdf.

Besides the French style, other national lute styles also contributed to the harpsichord's repertoire. Variation forms, or *diferencias*, were first popular in the Spanish lute (vihuela) style. The compositional technique for *diferencias* involved the variation of a certain motive, bassline, or tune. It seems apparent that Spanish lutenists brought this style to England, and soon after one such group made a visit to England, sets of keyboard variations began to appear for the virginal.[70] The variation became an increasingly significant compositional technique in the English virginal repertory, as seen throughout the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*.[71]

In addition to drawing from the lute genres, harpsichordists were also fascinated by the prospect of imitating lute timbres. In the construction of their instruments, harpsichord makers began to emulate the lute in several ways. While the early instruments had only one manual, or keyboard, the later instruments were built with two manuals that would have either different pitches or contrasting stops. This development corresponded with the increasing importance of the harpsichord in European secular music.[72] A "lute stop," a set of jacks closer to the end of the string, created a sound that is extraordinarily similar to the lute. (The term "lute stop" is also often confused with the "buff (harp) stop," which pressed felt against the strings to create a delicate harp-like sound.)[73] One obscure instrument, the lautenwerck (Figure 6), was made to be a cross between the two instruments. Although it had the keyboard and general mechanics of a harpsichord, its strings were made of gut, it had a rounded, wooden body, and it had specific tunings like the lute, so that its sound was convincing enough to "deceive even an experienced lutenist."[74]

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[70] Kirby, *A Short History*, 52.

[71] Ibid., 57.

[72] Remnant, *Musical Instruments*, 85.

[73] Kirby, *A Short History*, 14.

[74] Howard Ferguson, "Bach's 'Lauten Werck,'" *Music and Letters* 48, no. 3 (1967): 261–262, doi:10.1093/ml/XLVIII.3.259.

Figure 6: Lautenwerck.[75]

While the lautenwerck ended up to be a novel but ultimately insignificant instrument, composers still sought to imitate the lute timbres in the solo harpsichord literature by using different evocative effects. The lute was said to have a "gently melancholy character," called in England "semper dolens."[76] Repertoire that was in keys like D minor, G minor, or A minor was reminiscent of the lute, which was often tuned to D minor.[77] The harpsichord effect called *tirer et rabattre* was suggestive of strumming.[78] This was used heavily by Domenico Scarlatti, who was one of the first to write secular harpsichord music in Spain and often used effects that mimicked the Spanish guitar.[79] Most significantly, pieces that were written in imitation of the lute used a rather low register on the harpsichord. Lute pieces in the French style of the 1630s were often played *sans chanterelle*—without the highest string.[80] This low tessitura, adopted from the lute style, eventually became a hallmark of the harpsichord idiom and was used in works like François Couperin's 1717 "Les baricades mistérieuses."[81]

The lute style also had a distinct treatment of dissonance. "In order to not leave the instrument empty," the harpsichordists followed the lute's example of emphasizing suspensions and striking dissonances repeatedly in order to sustain the sound.[82] From the lute style, the harpsichordists also borrowed harmonic formulas like major 7[th]s,

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[75] Figure courtesy of Andreas E. Beurmann, *Lautenwerck*, http://www.realsamples.de/German-Lautenwerck-Edition-Beurmann/en.
[76] Erdas, introduction to *Pieces de luth en musique*, viii.
[77] Rolfhamre, "French Baroque Lute Music," 25.
[78] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 36.
[79] Ann Bond, *A Guide to the Harpsichord* (Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1997), 179.
[80] Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 39.
[81] Bond, *A Guide to the Harpsichord*, 154.
[82] Kosovske, *Historical Harpsichord Technique*, 91.

suspended 9ths, and augmented 5ths.[83] The campanella scale (Figure 7) used by Pierre Gaultier and Germain Pinel, also referred to as the *baigné* effect, was a scale in which the lutenist played successive notes of a scale using alternating strings so that each note can be sustained into the next.[84] This was imitated by harpsichordists by holding and slurring groups of notes. The final measure of Froberger's "Lamento" (Figure 8) contains an ascending C major scale with four-note groups, which, when divided between the hands, gives the effect of the *baigné* lute technique.[85]

Figure 7: Campanella scale in a lute prelude.[86]

Figure 8: Campanella equivalent in Froberger's "Lamento."[87]

The ornament style developed by the harpsichordists shows both a derivation from and a deviation from the lute style. Chambonnières, for example, used seven out of the eight lute ornaments.[88] D'Anglebert's ornament table also included lute symbols, and this table was later highly respected by J. S. Bach.[89] One ornament particular to the French style

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[83] Ledbetter*, Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 96.

[84] Ibid., 41–42.

[85] Ibid., 91.

[86] Ibid., 42.

[87] Ibid., 91.

[88] Gillespie, *Five Centuries*, 83.

[89] Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 68.

was the *port de voix,* which could be described as a "decorated appoggiatura."[90] For all melody instruments and vocalists, the *port de voix* occurred as an anticipation of the beat.[91] At least five organ treatises of the seventeenth century also indicate such a prebeat performance of the *port de voix.*[92] The lute, however, often played a *port de voix* exactly on the beat.[93] Starting in the 1670s, the *port de voix* showed up in harpsichord ornament tables. The harpsichord ornament, diverging from the organ style, was often placed on the beat, like the lute.[94] Yet, some will suggest that "the well-known and widely quoted onbeat patterns of D'Anglebert and his followers were *not* representative of common keyboard practices of the era in question." They argue that "those [onbeat] patterns were limited to certain masters."[95] However, because all of the composers that commonly used this onbeat ornament, including D'Anglebert, Chambonnières, Couperin, and Le Roux, were also the ones that are most known for imitating the lute in their writing, it follows that this was done in purposeful imitation of the lute. Yet, the harpsichord ornament (Figure 9) also deviated slightly from the lute tradition, often adding an extra sixteenth note to the beginning. Further, it is evident that "some of these same masters used the prebeat side by side with the onbeat style," even developing an inter-measure style.[96] This shows the flexibility of the harpsichordists to adapt and blend traditions.

Figure 9: Inter-measure *port de voix* in F. Couperin's "La covalescente," mm. 5–7.[97]

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[90] Rolfhamre, "French Baroque Lute Music," 40.
[91] Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 53.
[92] Ibid., 70–72.
[93] Ibid., 67.
[94] Ibid., 68.
[95] Ibid., 74.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Matthews, *Keyboard Music*, 47.

The lute eventually went out of fashion in the eighteenth century, for several different reasons. As other instruments, including the harpsichord, were developed, the lute was no longer loud enough to be heard in church, opera, or larger ensembles. Neither could the lute's lyrical character accommodate the popular *Sturm und Drang* style of the eighteenth century.[98] It is also possible that the lute's decline correlated with the rejection of humanism, which had originally prompted great interest in the solo lute repertoire.[99] By the end of the baroque era, the lute had up to fourteen courses to accommodate polyphony, which led to it being very difficult to play.[100] These gut strings were also highly dependent on the weather and required frequent tuning.[101] Perrine, who transcribed a vast collection of lute tablature into keyboard notation so that it might be preserved, attributed the very nature of tablature to the lute's decline.[102] It turns out that keyboard notation conveyed the *style brisé* with even more accuracy and nuance than the lute tablature.[103]

Although the harpsichord later eclipsed the lute and took its place as the most popular instrument on the secular music scene, the harpsichord owes much of its success to stylistic mechanisms adapted from the lute tradition. The harpsichord and the lute, despite their distinctly different origins, fulfilled a similar musical role as a polyphonic accompanying and solo instrument. In turn, the harpsichord's solo repertoire was substantially impacted by the lute's solo repertoire. The harpsichord's use of lute-like improvisatory styles, dance rhythms, sound effects, harmonic progressions, ornamentation symbols, and broken textures demonstrate that, in a significant way, the lute was "the true source of the harpsichord art."[104]

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[98] Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music*, 109.

[99] Smith, *History of the Lute*, 7.

[100] Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music*, 110.

[101] Ibid., 107.

[102] Erdas, introduction to *Pieces de luth en musique*, vii.

[103] Bond, *A Guide to the Harpsichord*, 154.

[104] Kirby, *A Short History*, 79.

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