

## NOT TO BE TAKEN

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Giovanni coperario

a facsimile editor of a manuscript from
the llRrany of the earl of BrIdgewater
(ceca 1610) now in the huntington lIBRaRy
san marino, california with an introduction
By
manfred f. bukofzer

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# introduction 

## life and works of

## GIOVanni coperario

The author of the Rules how to compose enjoyed a high reputation in the 17 th century as a composer of instrumental and vocal music. That he was also a theorist seems to have been completely unknown at the time since his treatise remained unpublished. He was praised and remembered especially for his fantasias or fancies for viols which Playford, many years after the composer's death, called "incomparable." It was during the lifetime of Coperario that the Renaissance tradition of the English madrigal and the ayre for voice and lute (or viols) gave way to the stile muovo of Italian music. While madrigal and ayre had arisen originally under the influence of Italian and French music the impulse emanating from Italy after 1600 was felt as an entirely new departure. Although musical life flourished in Eng. land, Italy was nevertheless recognized as the musical center of Europe. This is tacitly acknowledged in the fact that the English musician John Cooper deemed it advisable or even advantageous to Italianize his name to the highssounding Giovanni Coper, ario. We do not know whether he had the intention of passing himself off as a born Italian, but he certainly succeeded in confusing later historians who mistook him for one.

Of what is known about the life of Coperario only very little can be said to be definite. The year of his birth has been conjectured as c. 1570. It has been claimed, on undisclosed evidence, that he was a Londoner. ${ }^{1}$ Since the days of Burney and Haw, kins nearly all reference works report that Cooper changed his name in Italy where he is supposed to have studied. Plausible as this assumption is, especially in view of his numerous compositions with Italian titles, it must be noted that we have no documentary proof for a sojourn in Italy. Roger North in his Musicall Gramarian ${ }^{2}$ makes no reference to

[^0]an Italian journey but states curtly that Coperario was "plain Cooper but affected an Italian termina" tion." Even less substantiated is Jeffrey Pulver's report that Coperario participated in the performance of an early opera in Italy. Pulver's story grows taller as he recounts it: he speaks in one version ${ }^{3}$ of "one of the earliest references to Opera," and in another version ${ }^{4}$ of "the production of the first Opera in Italy" which would mean presumably the performance of Dafne in Florence. The information is based entirely on hearsay and should not have been allowed to enter the columns of a biographical dictionary unless presented with the greatest reservations. The published excerpts from Italian archives do not mention Coperario. More important than the inconclusive argument ex silentio is the fact that if Coperario was familiar with the modern recitative of the Florentine opera, his own music certainly shows no trace of it. It is true that some of his vocal compositions call for solo voice and lute accompaniment, but to confuse the style of these ayres with that of the monody would perpetuate an error of long standing.

The first plainly established fact in Coperario's life is the publication of the Funeral Teares in 1606, written in memory of the Earl of Devonshire. We learn from it that Cooper was in some way associated with a noble patron and had by this time adopted his "Italian termination." In 1607 he was paid for some songs he had composed for a feast of the Merchant Taylors in honor of James I. In the following years he contributed music to several masques and thus came in contact with the prominent poets and musicians of his day. Direct evidence of his friendly relations with Thomas Tomkins comes to light in the dedication of one of Tomkins's madrigals (Songs, 1622) to "Master John Coprario." There has been some doubt whether he wrote music for Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn (1612), but two tunes entitled Cupararee or Gray's Inn Masque ${ }^{5}$ remove that doubt. Coperario's employment at the court of James I must have begun some time before 1612 since he was music instructor to Prince Charles, the

[^1]future Charles I, and to Prince Henry, who died in 1612. Upon the "untimely death of Prince Henry" Coperario wrote his Songs of Mouming (1613) to poems by the versatile Thomas Campion, poet, doctor of medicine, composer, and writer on the theory of English "Poesie" and music. ${ }^{\text {b }}$ Coperario and Campion collaborated in the same year also in the masque honoring the Earl of Somerset. Further proof of their association comes to light in the Rules how to compose, as will be shown at the end of this introduction. The last two pieces printed during the lifetime of Coperario are two anthems in William Leighton's Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrouful Soule (1614). Four fancies appeared posthumously in the Durch collection $X \times$ Konincklyche Fantasien (1648). The court records for 1626 indicate that Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger succeeded Coperario as Composer of Music to the King. It can be safely assumed that Coperario died in that year.

New information about Coperario's position at the court can be gathered from a petition to Charles I in 1625 in which one John Woodington states that he had been employed "in Coperario's music" for three years. ${ }^{7}$ Coperario must have been in charge of a special group of musicians known by his name within the King's Music. Furthermore, he entertained some relations with the household of Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland. This we glean from a household account which records paymient to Coperario for a lyra viol in $1614 .{ }^{8}$ It may also be mentioned that one of the catches of Dr. Boyce ${ }^{9}$ refers to one "John Cooper." Whether the person alluded to is the composer can be decided only on the basis of the complete text.

Coperario was the teacher of William Lawes, who is best known for his instrumental works. It has often been claimed that Henry Lawes, too, was the pupil of Coperario, but there is no positive evidence for this statement. ${ }^{10}$ However, the Rules how to compose establish at least an indirect relation between the two musicians.

At this point it seems appropriate to give a brief description of the treatise. ${ }^{11}$ The manuscript consists of forty unnumbered folios ${ }^{12}$ written by one

[^2]hand. It belonged originally to the library of John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater, and passed later into the possession of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. By permission of the Huntington Library the manuscript (call number EL 6863) is reproduced here in facsimile in its original size. The original binding in limp vellum is inscribed "Gio:Coprario" ${ }^{13}$ and "J. Bridgewater" in the hand of the owner. Originally, the title page read only "Rules how to Compose." The name of the author was subsequently supplied at the top of the page by J. Egerton who entered his own name under the title. After he had been made Earl of Bridgewater (in 1617) he signed the book once more by his new name in justifiable pride. This accounts for the sig. nature "J. Bridgewater" written in bolder letters but with fewer flourishes. The double signature proves that the manuscript must have been in Egerton's possession before 1617 and thus gives the latest possible date for the compilation of the treatise. The watermarks of the paper can be dated between 1594 and $1614 .{ }^{14}$ On the basis of this evidence the manuscript has been assigned the date of c. 1610.

The Rules are written in a very clear, yet quite characteristic, hand, obviously in fair copy. There are but few scribal mistakes. The vertical lines separating the examples are drawn by ruler and the layout of the music betrays careful planning. It has not been possible to determine whether or not the treatise is an autograph since no authenticated specimen of Coperario's handwriting has been available for comparison. A manuscript collection of fancies in the British Museum ${ }^{15}$ is listed in the catalogue as "apparently autograph," but no reasons for this as. sumption are given. If the claim be true, our treatise cannot be an autograph because it is written in a different hand. The Coperario manuscripts in the Library of Congress (ML 96 C 7895) are described also as autographs in the Annual Report for 1920 and 1938 respectively, but again it is not stated on what grounds the claim is made. ${ }^{15 a}$ Since the handwriting differs from that of the "apparent autograph" in the British Museum and from that of our

[^3]treatise a delicate situation arises. Obviously only one of these manuscripts can be an autograph though conceivably none of them is. The question can be settled only on the basis of some more reliable evidence.

The circumstance that the treatise belonged to the Bridgewater library adds one more facet to the biography of Coperario. In all likelihood the treatise was written for or at the request of Egerton. Eger, ton in turn establishes the link between Coperario and Henry Lawes since the latter was charged with the musical instruction of the Egerton children. Very possibly Lawes saw and read Coperario's treatise in the Bridgewater library though it is unlikely that he made use of it in his instruction. The Rules deal with four-part writing, suspensions, and imitation-topics that would be decidedly oldfashioned to a composer of continuo songs. As a representative of a younger generation of English composers Lawes had an entirely different outlook toward Italian music. While Coperario accepted its superiority without question Lawes made some bitter comments on his countrymen for being "so sated with what's Native, that nothing takes their eare but what's sung in a Language which (commonly) they understand as little as they do the Musick.. ${ }^{116}$ To prove his point he set to music a table of contents in Italian which made "a strange medley of Non-sense," and passed it off as a rare Italian song. With this practical joke Lawes went perhaps to more trouble than the occasion warranted, but it is indicative of his attitude. It would not have occurred to him to Italianize his name.

What rank does Coperario hold as composer? A fair answer to this question can be given only after all of his music has been thoroughly examined. If the impression gathered from a few key works can be trusted he would seem to belong to the very essential group of composers who are responsible for keeping high the level of the average production. He is in other words a first-class second rater. This evaluation may have to be revised as reprints of his music become more plentiful. In the absence of a complete bibliographical survey his total output can only be guessed at. The bulk of his music exists only in manuscript, the instrumental fancies forming the largest single group of compositions. A detailed catalogue of sources containing fancies can be found in Meyer, ${ }^{17}$ but it excludes compositions for the key, board. From the numerous manuscripts that would complement Meyer's list only the following may be

16 Preface to Ayres and Dialogues, 1653, quoted by Evans, op. cit., p. 198. $17 \mathrm{E} . \mathrm{H}$. Meyer, Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts, Kassel, 1934, p. 135. See also the thematic catalogue on pp. 149-152.
mentioned:
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 26459-6018
British Museum, Royal MS 24 k 3
Add. MS 31416
Egerton MS 2485
Egerton MS 3665
Library of Congress, MS ML 96 C 7895
New York Public Library, Drexel MS 5624
Library of Western Reserve University, Musical Fragments
(bound into a copy of David and Lussy, La Notation Musicale, Paris, 1882)
Several of these items have not previously been discussed in the literature about Coperario. Egerton MS 3665, which has only recently been acquired by the British Museum, is an extremely big collection of English origin, containing madrigals and fancies by Italian and English composers. Coperario is represented by a group of twentyone villanelle for three voices and a group of forty-six fancies for five parts. ${ }^{19}$ The manuscript in the Library of Congress consists of two sets of part-books (five each), the first presenting twenty four fancies with Italian titles and a few untitled compositions (all by Coperario), the second containing fifteen fancies by Thomas Lupo and five by Coperario. Both sets duplicate many of the keyboard versions found in Egerton MS 2485. The manuscript pages bound into a copy of David's and Lussy's Notation musicale in the library of Western Reserve University are of little practical value because of their frag. mentary state, but they do include sections from one or more fancies by Coperario. ${ }^{20}$

More than a hundred fancies by Coperario are known to exist, but modern reprints are as scarce as the originals are numerous. ${ }^{21}$ The style of the fancies is still essentially polyphonic. With its imitative texture, equivalence of parts, and careful treatment of the dissonance it partakes in the tradition of Renaissance music. Yet there are also indications of a more progressive style or, if one wishes, of the dissolution of the older style. The parts frequently form augmented triads in first inversion, or favor such melodic progressions as diminished and aug, mented intervals. There is an unmistakable shift of emphasis from contrapuntal to harmonic combinations which are sought for their own sake. The harmonic richness is heightened by occasional passages

[^4]in somewhat nervous rhythms which differ from the even pulse of Renaissance music. In short, it is the stirring and imaginative music of a transition period, not yet quite set in its goals and on the point of breaking away from the moorings of tradition.

The colorful harmonic combinations in Coperario's music are not his personal property. They belong to the English idiom of the period and abound in the music of the English madrigalists, especially that of Weelkes. Coperario's vocal compositions, less numerous and apparently less known in his day than his fancies, have not yet been accorded the attention they deserve. They seem to have been widely distributed in manuscripts of the time, of which no systematic survey has yet been made. The villanelle that have come to light in Egerton MS 3665 disclose a new side of Coperario's vocal music. Another little-known collection of Italian madrigals in the Huntington Library (EL 25 A 46.51) contains nine Italian compositions for five and six voices by the composer. Some of these have only an Italian incipit, the remainder of the music being without text. Since the incipits recur as titles of fancies these versions may throw some light on the relation between vocal and instrumental compositions and on the question which of the fancies are arrangements of vocal models and which are originals. Coperario's madrigals have not been included in the volumes of The English Madrigal School nor do any of his songs appear in The English School of Lutenist Song Writers. This omission is deplorable. ${ }^{22}$ It is true that the Funeral Teares appear to be duets rather than solo songs. However, Coperario informs us that in all compositions but the last dialogue the second voice is only optional and "may be added if any shall affect more fulnesse of parts." The Songs of Mourning, however, are straight solo songs.

The manifold problems of Coperario's vocal music cannot be discussed here, but one point, small in itself, but of symbolic significance, should be made. The fourth song of the Funeral Teares is a setting of In darkness let me dwell-the same poem that inspired John Dowland to one of his best songs. Dowland's setting appeared in print four years after that by Coperario in The Musical Banquet (1610). The two songs begin in almost identical manner and there can be hardly any doubt that the earlier setting served Dowland as a point of departure. Numerous other parallels, especially with regard to the

[^5]declamation of words, furnish interesting material for a comparative study of how two song composers dealt with the same text. However, in the last analysis the resemblances in certain details are less important than the dissimilarities in approach. Dowland rises far above Coperario in musical eloquence, imagination, and poignancy. The comparison illum inates in a flash their fundamental difference in ar, tistic temperament.

## the rules how to compose

The Rules how to compose show us Coperario from a hitherto unknown side, that of musical theory. It will become evident upon reading the treatise that its author was a practical musician rather than a theorist. His illustrations make much better musical sense than those usually found in theory books, but clear organization and systematic presentation of ideas are not exactly his forte. There is a strange disproportion between the abundance of musical examples and the brevity, if not insufficiency, of the verbal explanations. The Rules are nevertheless an interesting and in many respects unique document of musical theory, not only for what is discussed but also for what is taken for granted. And we shall discover the apparent paradox that some of the fundamental concepts that are taken for granted are not, as one would assume, traditional, whereas those which are treated at length are not entirely new. This strange mixture of traditional and new ideas is, in fact, the outstanding characteristic of the work.

The treatise falls into five parts which, in modern terminology, may be summarized in the following manner:
I. Intervals and Melodic Progressions (fols. 1v-4)
II. Harmonic Progressions (fols. 4v-11)
a. Root Progressions
b. Chords of the Sixth
III. Diminution or Division of Parts (fols. 11 v -18)
a. In one part
b. In the bass (four parts)
IV. Suspensions (fols. 18v-36)
a. On a rising bass
b. On a falling bass
c. Special Suspensions
d. Syncopation
V. Imitation (fols. 36v-40)
a. With overlap
b. Without overlap
c. With countersubjects

It will be seen that the topics are not always as clearly kept apart as the above outline suggests; sometimes certain subjects are briefly touched upon in one part and taken up again in another, or they appear out of order within one part.

## I. Intervals and Melodic Progressions (fols. 1v-4)

The treatise opens with two tables listing the possible combinations of consonant intervals or "concords" first from the bass upward and then from the treble downward. This tabulation of inter, vals differs from countless similar tables in earlier treatises in one significant point. Renaissance theo rists always relate the intervals, even those of the bass, to the tenor, the primary and central voice. This practice may be seen in Zarlino's Istitutioni Harmoniche ${ }^{23}$ and Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597) ${ }^{24}$ Although he wrote only a little more than a decade before Coperario, Morely presents strictly the Renaissance view in this matter. The idea of counting intervals from the bass upward-now the "normal" proce-dure-marks a turning point in contrapuntal theory. On its very first page the treatise breaks with Renaissance tradition by shifting the emphasis from the tenor to the bass. It is quite consistent with this novel approach if later on in the treatise the order of examples is determined by bass progressions. The same principle is observed in the early writings on thorough bass which have otherwise little in common with the Rules. We shall have occasion to return to this point in the further discussion.
The tabulation is followed by a list of consonant and dissonant intervals, called here "perfect" and "imperfect chords." ${ }^{25}$ There is no connection between this list and the next rule in which Coperario, suddenly turning to part-writing, proscribes parallel octaves and fifths. Skipping back to intervals he then gives rules for "what chords parts are to use" or for what is now called the spacing of chords. Here again the wording implies that the bass is considered as the voice of reference.

The section on "How to com from a discord" (fol. 3) discusses dissonances in terms of melodic progressions. Of special interest is Coperario's remark that "in diatonic songs" a sharpened note in the bass calls for a sixth, not the octave and fifth.

[^6]The rule is stated in a rather obscure manner, but it makes very good sense. It means that whenever the bass contains a leading note it must be harmonized by a sixth chord because the triad in root position would be diminished. The bass may function as leading note by virtue of its position in the diatonic scale, as $f$-sharp in the key of G, or may become a leading note "accidentally" by the insertion of a sharp, as $c$ sharp in the key of $G$ or $b$ natural in the key of $F$. ${ }^{26}$ It is interesting to note that two early theorists of the basso continuo, Bianciardi (1607) and Sabbatini (1628), state the same rule. ${ }^{27}$ The direction that bass notes with a sharp demand automatically sixth chords (even if no figure is given) is in spite of its primitive and purely empirical nature a very efficient guide for the realization of unfigured basses. Modern editors have often sinned against the rule in their realizations.

Coperario then pursues the question of accident als further and shows how they should be applied to melody: an ascending line calls for sharps (and naturals), a descending line for flats. This consideration of the direction of the melodic line indicates that Coperario has not yet abandoned the modal concepts of the 16 th century. Melody is to him something flexible, something that has not yet crystallized in one key. However, he specifically exempts from his rule melodic progressions in "chromatic songs" which by their very nature destroy the modal characteristics. His distinction between diatonic and chromatic songs is important as it gives theoretical recognition to two styles of writing which the madrigalists were practicing at the time. Indeed, in chromatic songs the accidentals have ceased to be what their name implies; they have become essentials which cannot be omitted. As if to prove this point Coperario is careful throughout the treatise to supply all accidentals.

The rules about accidentals contain also the direction that the third should be made sharp (=major) if the bass moves to a cadence or halfcadence. The manner in which the bass progres sions are specified can be easily misunderstood. The skip of "a sharp third" downward means a skip of a third down to a note with a sharp, as from $a$ to $f$. sharp. A sharp third descending is therefore a minor third (see also fol. 32); conversely, a sharp third ascending, as from a to c-sharp, would be a major third (see also fol. 23). The confusion resulting from this ambiguous, if logical, terminology is compounded further by the reference to "making

[^7]the third sharp" which has a different meaning altogether.

On fol. 3v Coperario begins the discussion of part writing, or rather a limited aspect of it. This would have been the proper place to deal with "unlawfull" consecutives. Instead, he takes up similar motion between parts, especially what is now called "hidden" or "covered" parallels in the outer voices. Most of the rules are conventional and selfexplanatory, but his advice to avoid skipping from the octave to the sixth is very uncommon and more restrictive than usual. He gives no reason for the restriction nor does he mention the fact that in the example the sixth appears to a "sharp" bass note. Since no hidden parallels are involved the rule belongs to an altogether different category. If stated without qualifications it can be understood only as a special case of the much more general rule that skips in similar motion are less good than those in contrary motion. In this connection is should be pointed out that contrary motion is not even mentioned in the treatise.

The final section of the first part (fol. 4) illus. trates typical cadences with suspensions. This matter is treated again and much more fully in the part dealing with suspensions. However, the main purpose of the passage under discussion is to show the use of the cadence in two parts to which the suspension is an incidental, though indispensable, corrollary. It may be anticipated here that certain examples of this section appear also in another treatise of the time, which will be discussed at the end of the introduction.

The first part of Coperario's treatise is less clearly organized than the other parts. It gives the impression of a rather diffuse compilation written without a definite idea of what to include and what to omit.

## II. Harmonic Progressions <br> (fols. $4 \mathrm{v}-11$ )

The title of the second part, "What chords parts are to use in Contrapoinct," raises a point of terminology. Counterpoint means writing in note-against-note style, all notes being of equal value (usually a semibreve). The theorists of the Renaissance keep alive the original meaning of the term which is derived from punctus contra punctum, and Coperario follows their footsteps. Part writing in note-against-note style, especially in four voices, looks on paper like chordal or harmonic progressions, ${ }^{28}$ but it would be ill advised to call them

[^8]homophonic or monodic, as certain modern writers do. Chords in the modern sense did not exist in Renaissance theory; they were combinations of in tervals, and there was not even a clear term for triad since "chord" or "accordo" meant interval. Zarlino and most of his fellow theorists concentrate on counterpoint in two parts and deal with that in three or more parts merely by way of extension. The preoccupation with two part counterpoint, which not even by implication could be termed "chordal," proves how misleading it is to apply terms suggesting chordal concepts or melody and accompaniment.

Coperario stays essentially within the framework of Renaissance theory, yet he differs from preceding writers in two vital points: (1) he completely dispenses with two part counterpoint and exemplifies in four parts only, and (2) he regulates the progressions by means of the bass instead of the tenor. These innovations are historically important as they give concrete evidence of how harmonic or chordal thinking gradually encroaches on the concept of intervallic combination. In Coperario's treatise note-against-note writing is seen in the process of becoming harmonic writing-"counterpoint" in the old sense changes before our eyes to "harmony." It is for this reason that the contents of the second part can be summed up under the modern heading of "Harmonic Progressions." It must be kept in mind, however, that Coperario has as yet no clear or consistent conception of how a bass functions in a harmonic setting. A glance at the examples convinces us that the order of bass progressions follows melodic rather than harmonic considerations. Coperario moves us step by step from the smaller to the larger intervals as though the bass were a tenor. A modern theorist would probably start with such "natural" bass progressions as fourths and fifths.

The characteristic mixture of progressive and retrospective features again calls to mind the early theorists of the basso continuo who take a very similar attitude. In his broadside Breve regola per imparar a sonare sopra il basso (1607) Bianciardi presents his examples in the order of bass progres sions rising successively from the second to the sixth. ${ }^{29}$ It is difficult to say whether or not this parallel is due to a direct influence. The harmonic ap, proach was in the air and could have been adopted quite independently by Coperario. But even if he was conversant with the early Italian documents on thorough bass the point is that he applies the harmonic approach to music without continuo either

[^9]by a misunderstanding or in a deliberate attempt to reconcile two opposed concepts in an eclectic manner.
Part II can be subdivided into two sections, the first dealing with what now is called root progressions (fols. $4 \mathrm{v}-9$ ), the second with chords of the sixth (bols. $9 \mathrm{v}-11$ ). Taken as a whole the second part forms in some ways a logical sequence to the first one. In the first part the composer shows among other things how intervals can be combined to form chords; now he shows how such combinations may be connected to form harmonic progressions. He de scribes the progressions by giving first the movement of the bass, the most important voice, and then the movement of the treble (for which he affects the term canto). The remaining voices must take whatever intervals are left over to fill in the harmony. The emphasis lies clearly on the outer voices and on the principle of structural contour which was to become so essential in baroque music. The reference to "the inner parts" on fol. 8 v confirms that Cop' erario recognized the functional difference between outer and inner voices.

The examples of section IIa illustrate mainly the usual root progressions which need no further comment. ${ }^{30}$ But they include also a succession of "thirdrelated" chords which always involve a crossrelation (fol. 5v, Ex. 1). Such progressions were


Example 1
nothing uncommon in the 16 th century, especially with Flemish and English composers, but in the second part of the century certain composers began to avoid them and the theorists followed suit. Zarlino, who views cross relations with obvious displeasure, forbids their use in two-part writing altogether and allows them most reluctantly in more than two parts only in case of necessity. ${ }^{31}$ What is remarkable about Coperario's example is the fact that he treats it so casually like any ordinary progression and loses no word of caution about its use. Moreover, he places the cross-relation in the outer voices where it

[^10]is most audible. Such conspicuous employment of cross-relations is characteristic of English music which abounds with harmonic effects of this sort and, as we shall see presently, with clashing dissonances. At this place the composer cannot hide his English background,-in other words, Mr. Cooper speaks louder than Signor Coperario.

Section IIb which carries the title "How to use a 6 in Contrapoinct," illustrates the use of sixth chords. Here again the progressions are described in terms of intervals though their effect is chordal. The unit of the beat has shifted now from the semibreve to the minim, and the composer expressly remarks that the rules apply only to movement in notes shorter than the semibreve. In a first group of ex amples the sixth chords alternate with triads, and in a second group two sixth chords are shown in succession. The sixth chords appear always on minims. We find two examples of cross-relation, again in the outer voices (Ex. 2). Their harmonic


Example 2
effect is even more striking than before because of the faster tempo. It is curious that Coperario seems to consider them as perfectly regular while he takes exception to a much more innocuous progression on fol. 10a. ${ }^{32}$ Here the transition from a third to an augmented fourth in similar motion is marked as "faultie" and a corrected alternate version is given. The apparent contradiction between laxness in one case and strictness in the other seems to indicate that in this particular instance the composer was concerned more with the horizontal aspects of part writing than with the vertical result. This in turn is inconsistent with his basically harmonic approach.

## III. Diminution or Division of Parts <br> (fols. 11v-18)

Part III, "Of Division," teaches how simple progressions can be made more elaborate by ornamentation. The art of melodic embellishment or diminution was an adjunct to part writing in the contrapuntal theory of the time and was sometimes taken

[^11]up in separate books. ${ }^{33}$ The embellishments had not yet crystallized in a set of stereotyped figures and consisted of freely inserted passing notes which did not essentially modify the musical texture or the function of the structural intervals. The inclusion in the treatise of a section on division is not in itself remarkable. It is again the treatment of the subject which is in certain respects unusual. The material falls into two sections, (a) division in one part, and (b) division in the bass (four parts). The first of these deals in quite conventional manner with the division of single intervals, (the third, fourth, and fifth) in one voice. The musical illustrations lie in treble range, but the text makes clear that they apply just as well in any other range. Compared with other treatises on division Coperario's selection of intervals is very limited. Other writers cover far more ground and include examples ranging from the repeated note to the octave. Moreover, his embellishments are extremely modest in comparison with the flamboyant passaggi of certain Italian falsettists. ${ }^{34}$

In the second section Coperario approaches his subject in a different and unprecedented manner. Although the examples of the first section would apply to the bass too he adds a separate series of four-part examples illustrating division in the bass. To single out the bass in this context is a very unusual procedure which once more testifies to Coperario's interest in the harmonic approach. Some of the examples give the impression of figurative harmony, that is to say, of harmonic progressions animated by melodic movement. While the aim is not consistently and perhaps not consciously realized it remains nevertheless true that the point of departure is a harmonic progression which by means of division is made to resemble contrapuntal texture. This is a noteworthy reversal of emphasis. In Renaissance music melodic elaboration was merely an optional ornament of a contrapuntal structure; now it is on its way to become a structural element of composition.

The third part completes and complements the material treated in the two preceding parts: after the formation of chords (Part I), and the connection of chords (Part II), the animation of chords by melodic movement would come in natural sequence.

[^12]However, this outline holds only in the most general and broad terms since it considers only the progressive side in Coperario's discussion.

Turning now to the examples we should note first that the various forms of divisions may be applied in a slow as well as a fast tempo. Most examples appear in parallel versions in semibreves and minims respectively. There is one significant restriction concerning the use of dotted notes "in a songe" (fol. 13 v ) which implies that dotted rhythm in very short note values was permissible only in instrumental music and was considered unidiomatic for the voice. Such rhythms are indeed found very commonly in keyboard works, but they do occur also in vocal compositions and in the examples offered by Conforto.

The four-part examples illustrating the breaking of the bass begin with simple progressions in which treble and bass move together in parallel motion with the inner parts holding-a grouping that stresses the structural contour of the setting. The divisions create numerous dissonances of short duration which are admissible as passing or neighboring notes. In certain cases, however, they go far beyond the normal practice of passing notes. The illustrations on fols. $16 \mathrm{v}-17$ show that Coperario pays little attention to the fact that there may be several dissonances in a row (Ex. 3b). He obviously regards the ornamental notes as purely melodic, and therefore unessential, elaborations of the underly, ing harmonic progression which he is careful to put down first in its unornamented form (Ex. 3a). The


Example 3
free ornamental notes which can be called "passing" only in a wider sense since they "pass" from one dissonance to another, may lead to further harmonic complications, as shown in Ex. 3c. Here the tenor employs a stereotyped cadential formula, known as the "consonant" fourth, but more accurately described as the "cadential fourth" (this
term will be adopted henceforth). The idiom consists of a fourthree suspension prepared on the weak beat either in a six-four combination (Ex. 3d) or by moving stepwise to a dissonant fourth (Ex. $3 e$ ). In both cases the resolution is normal. It will be seen that the complication in Ex. 3c arises from the fact that the idioms of Exs. 3b and 3 e are employed simultaneously. Each one is commonplace in itself, but their combination causes the parts to rub hard against one another. Such "frictions" would gen' erally be avoided in written counterpoint, but would be permissible in performances with improvised embellishments and in improvised counterpoint. Coperario's examples codify to a certain ex, tent the practice of improvised elaboration. In addition, they often point to idioms found in instrumental music. Some of the more complex examples strongly resemble intavolature of vocal compositions. An early example of this practice may be seen in an organ intavolation by Andrea Antico (1517) which is based on the frottola Per dolor mi bagno by Marchetto Cara. ${ }^{35}$ The opening progression of the frottola assumes an obviously instrumental character in the intavolation (Ex. 4). The resemblance


Example 4
with Coperario's illustrations (see Exs. 3a and 3b) leaps to the eye, and in this connection it may be well to remember that Coperario's fancies include instrumental arrangements of vocal compositions.
The longest and most elaborate example of the section (fol. 18) illustrates the use of division in several voices in alternation. Here again the music looks instrumental and at the same time fairly contrapuntal (Ex. 5). It is, in fact, the most genuinely contrapuntal example we have seen so far, because of the imitation between bass, tenor, and treble (there is, in addition, a brief snatch of imitation in the alto). It is interesting that Coperario accounts for the passage not in contrapuntal terms but on the basis of filled-in intervals. From these we can ex. tract the underlying progressions which are given in schematic form in Ex. 6. Coperario makes no

[^13]mention of the irregular resolution of the suspended $f$ in the next-to the-last measure of Ex. 5. The $f$ is resolved by a quarter note instead of a half note and


Example 5
the note of resolution (e-flat) clashes therefore with the $b$-natural of the treble. For a moment it forms a fleeting augmented triad in first inversion-the favorite cadential idiom in early baroque music.


Example 6
The schematic reduction in Ex. 6 shows how this dissonance is derived from a perfectly normal use of the cadential fourth.

## IV. Suspensions <br> (fols. 18v-36)

We come now to the longest and at the same time most rewarding part of the treatise. It deals with suspensions and syncopated notes which Coperario groups together under the misleading title "Of Lig, atures." His use of the term is at variance with the commonly accepted meaning. Ligature is a term of mensural notation denoting a figure of two or more notes written in one, and this is the only sense in which it is employed by Morley and others. It could be argued that Coperario may have thought of the analogy between ligature and tie, but the explana-
tion seems lame because he avoids ties and places the held-over notes directly on the bar line. Moreover, ligature refers always to at least two notes, tie to only one note which is split by the bar line. Whatever it was that moved Coperario to choose his title-confusion or an unsuccessful parading of learning-, in the body of the text he abandons the precious term and speaks plainly of "holdings."

The fourth part can be divided into four sections. Section IVa (fols. $18 \mathrm{v}-25 \mathrm{v}$ ) deals with suspensions on a bass rising in the order of intervals from the second to the sixth. Section IVb (fols. 26.31 v ) continues with suspensions on a bass falling in the order of intervals from the second to the fifth. ${ }^{36} \mathrm{We}$ see that the organization by bass progression obtains in the first two sections as in the foregoing parts. In section IVc (fols. 32-34) Coperario singles out for discussion certain uncommon suspensions and special idioms. They include the "false" (diminished) fifth, the sixth and fifth used together, the sixth in conjunction with the cadence, and the seventh in the approach to the cadence. The section is only loosely organized. For example, the sixth in the cadence does not, strictly speaking, come under the heading of suspensions at all, as it is not itself a suspension (though it serves to prepare one). The idiom of the joined sixth and fifth appears first in the examples of section IVa (fol. 21v) before it is made a special issue. On the other hand, we look in vain here for a discussion of the diminished seventh which would logically complement that of the diminished fifth. Instead, the diminished seventh is taken up in section IVb. Section IVd, finally, sets down rules for progressions in which the bass moves in syncopes "against the time." This section, too, belongs to suspensions only improperly since the "holdings" of the bass may look like suspensions but need not necessarily be dissonant.

The examples of the fourth part would be worthy of a detailed study, but it must suffice to summarize the salient points. Above all, Coperario is concerned more about the context in which suspensions may occur than about the type of suspension used. His method of presentation differs from that of most other writers. While the latter usually take up the various types of suspensions one by one (the seventh, the fourth, the second below, etc.), Coperario sets up a musical context by specifying a particular progression of the bass and then goes on to show how it can accommodate suspensions. Since most cases admit of more than one kind of suspension he is forced to repeat the same suspensions over

[^14]and over again. In his purely empirical approach he presents a bewildering number of possibilities which the student would have a hard time to remember. This method may not be good pedagogically but it is certainly sound from the musical point of view because it calls for a great variety of concrete examples.

As to the harmonic context of the suspensions it is significant that Coperario does not make the customary distinction between what is now called "good" and "bad" suspensions and that he seems oblivious of the vast difference between the smoothness of the one and the harshness of the other. He accepts the dissonances and rich harmonies caused by uncommon suspensions without a word of comment and peppers his examples with dissonant ca dential idioms and cross-relations which stand more in need of explanation than the suspensions he purports to illustrate. In his evident delight in pungent harmonic combinations Coperario differs radically from Morley and other writers. None of the earlier theorists, not even those of the basso continuo, have admitted so wide a range of harmonic possibilities. He codifies and tacitly sanctions the characteristic harmonic licenses of the contemporary English madrigal. His free dissonance treatment testifies to the disintegration of the harmonic concepts of Renaissance music and this fact makes the fourth part of the treatise a unique document of supreme his torical interest.

The very first illustration of section IVa (fol. 18 v ) is indicative of Coperario's approach. He be gins with an unusual suspension of the ninth, one of the "bad" suspensions (Ex. 7). Its dissonance is


Example 7
all the more pronounced as the suspension is a minor ninth and forms at the same time a diminished fifth with the alto. Only after he has discussed the holding on the ninth does Coperario turn to the more usual suspensions of the fourth and the seventh. But even his examples of "normal" procedures are made complex by his desire to produce striking harmonic combinations. Sometimes they are noteworthy not so much for their dissonances as for the direction of harmonies. A case in point is the deceptive cadence in which, as Coperario puts it, the bass
means "to change the ayre, ${ }^{37}$ and to deferr a close" (fol. 20). More often, however, the examples are extraordinary because of their free treatment of the dissonance. Coperario arrives at the dissonance not arbitrarily but by extending the established procedures and traditional idioms in an ingenious manner. The dissonances arise not from the suspension proper (which conforms to rule), but primarily from the notes surrounding the suspension. For ex' ample, on fol. 21 (Ex. 8) Coperario resolves the


Example 8
seventh in the first measure quite normally to the sixth, but at the same time introduces the passing note $f$ in the bass so that in effect the seventh resolves to another dissonant combination. The first beat of the second measure brings yet another dissonance, the augmented triad in first inversion which we have met before and shall meet many times again. It is prepared here by a suspension of the e-flat, held over from the preceding measure. When the e-flat is correctly resolved down the treble has already taken the fourth to the bass as part of the idiom of the cadential fourth which leads to the cadence and to the final resolution. Each one of the idioms just described is normal in itself, but if used in conjunction, as they are here, they result in a row of no less than five dissonances on successive beats-an amazing illustration of continuous friction produced by logical conduct of each voice. And all this is incidental to an innocent example of a suspended seventh, so incidental in fact that the attendant frictions are not even mentioned!

It should be observed that the unit of the beat in Ex. 8 is the quarter note and that the harmony changes at the same pace. The importance of what we now call harmonic rhythm was clearly recog, nized in Renaissance theory. Vicentino distinguishes three types of suspensions or "syncopes," sincopa major, minor and minima, which corres pond to our suspensions of the whole note, half note, and quarter note. ${ }^{38}$ By the latter half of the

[^15]16th century the slow sincopa major in whole notes had become antiquated and was used only for special purposes. The suspension moving in half notes was the most common of the three and is found especially in the motet and Mass. The fast suspension in quarter notes belonged primarily to secular music and appears in madrigals and instrumental compo sitions. Several theorists of the time actually explain the difference between sacred and secular styles on the basis of slow and fast suspensions. ${ }^{39}$ Coperario does not expressly refer to the distinction but he presents his examples often in a slow and a fast version. He sometimes specifies the note value at which the bass should move and thus sets the proper pace for the various types of suspensions. Not all types lend themselves to being written both ways.

The illustration of fol. 21v (Ex. 9) ${ }^{40}$ purport to


Example 9
exemplify the use of the sixth instead of the fifth over a rising bass, but they actually show the sixth and fifth joined together (six-five chord) to which Coperario devotes a separate section later on. The next set of examples on fol. 22 (Ex. 10) demon'


Example 10
strates how the sixth may alternate with the fifth in the familiar chain of chords in root position and first inversion. The example is remarkable not for the point illustrated, but for the dissonant approach to the cadence by means of an augmented triad which appears on the strong beat without preparation.

[^16]Even more striking are the progressions on fol. 23 (Ex. 11) which would be unthinkable in normal Renaissance practice. Here the bass rises a "sharpe


Example 11
third" and causes the suspended interval to become a diminished fourth (between the outer voices). Characteristically, Coperario ignores the fact that the suspension is a diminished interval though he takes pains to point to the much less startling diminished fifth in the tenor.

Section IVb also contains a number of unusual progressions. The most important of these is the diminished seventh which appears, like the diminished fourth, in connection with a "sharp" note in the bass (fol. 26v, Ex. 12a). If the passage is compared


## Example 12

with the beginning of Weelkes's madrigal O care, thou wilt despatch me (Ex. 12b) it will become clear how closely the Rules mirror the practice of the English madrigal. ${ }^{41}$ Coperario restricts the use of the diminished seventh to slow suspensions. If the bass moves in shorter note values (fol. 27) the harmonic rhythm is too fast for such dissonances and will tolerate only sixth chords.

In case the bass falls many seconds in succession two kinds of progressions are possible in slow as well as fast tempo, (1) a chain of suspensions (fol. 27 v ), or (2) a chain of alternating sixths and fifths (fol. 28). Although the second kind involves syncopes rather than suspensions proper Coperario speaks of holdings. ${ }^{42}$ A special case of the first kind is illustrated on fol. 28v (Ex. 13). Here the bass

[^17]falls conjunctly in semibreves to some very harsh and awkward suspensions in which the tone of resolution is present in another voice. Such disso


Example 13
nances would be justified in a madrigal only "to sig. nifie hardness, cruelty or other such effects" which "exasperat the harmonie." ${ }^{13}$ This is the only place of the treatise where Coperario cautions against the use of dissonance, if only by the remark that "this waie is used butt seldome." He fails to draw attention to the unusual harmonic context of the suspensions. The same is true of the following examples. The suspended seventh on fol. 29 (Ex. 14) is regu-


Example 14
lar in itself and would not call for comment, were it not for the fact that it appears as double suspension in conjunction with a diminished fifth.

The last item discussed in the section (fol. 31v) is what Coperario calls "a staie" in the bass. This unusual term refers to the prolongation of the bass note by means of a dot. The "stay" should not be confused with the syncope. In contrast to the latter the note making a "stay" enters on the strong beat and is held to form a half-cadence.

In section IVc Coperario takes up some special combinations individually. The first of these is the suspension of the diminished fifth (fol. 32) which arises, like the other suspensions on diminished intervals, from a "sharp" interval of the bass (Ex. 15). Coperario chooses to illustrate only one kind


## Example 15

of diminished fifth, namely that created by the sharpened leading note of the minor mode. He ig

[^18]nores that the major mode, which is the one usually discussed by the theorists of the Renaissance. The musical examples combine the diminished fifth with some violent cross relations in which the conflict between mode and key can very closely be observed. They are further proof of Coperario's "Englishry."

The next combination is the fifth and sixth used together or what is now called the six-five chord (fol. 32 v ). In spite of its brevity this passage is of great significance for the development of contrapuntal theory. The six-five suspension differs from all others in that its dissonance lies between the upper voices only and does not involve the bass. Its most common form, shown in Ex. 9 above, outlines a harmonic progression which in the course of the 17th century developed into the stereotyped cadence $\mathrm{II}_{5}^{6}$ - V - I. At the stage at which we observe it with Coperario it is still a dissonant contrapuntal combination requiring preparation. The circumstance that Coperario deems it necessary to single it out for discussion is it itself noteworthy. Most of his predecessors pass over it in silence in the tacit and perfectly valid assumption that it is sufficiently covered by the general rules governing suspensions. Morley makes at least a brief, if specific, remark about the combination calling it "the best manner of closing. ${ }^{י}{ }^{44}$ Indeed, although it may be found also in intermediate and sequential progressions, it has usually the function of leading up to the cadence, and it is this cadential function that made it later so valuable an element in the harmonic cadence. That Coperario discusses the combination more fully than any other theorist before his time could be taken as another sign of the growing interest in harmony. On the other hand, he accounts for it by intervals and in a cumbersome and confusing fashion, as will be evident to anyone who reads his directions without looking at the music. We find here, as in previous parts of the treatise, a conflict between certain progressive harmonic concepts and the conservative categories in which they are explained. The time was not yet ripe for the appropriate terms and Coperario was certainly not the man to develop them. At any rate the section shows that special treatment of the sixfive suspension was justifiable from the standpoint of Renaissance theory, though it may not have been the orthodox procedure.

In the examples two types are distinguished, one which resolves to a cadential fourth (Ex. 16a), and another which resolves either directly to a cadence (Ex. 16b) or to an intermediate progression or half.

[^19]cadence (Ex. 16c). The first type is selfexplanatory but the rules for the second type warrant some comment. Coperario stipulates that the first note of the bass must be stationary. This is an entirely un-


Example 16
essential provision because the bass could just as well move a step upward, as it usually does in the preparation of the six-five suspension and as Coperario himself admits in an earlier illustration (Ex. 9 ). As described by Coperario the second type is merely a special and moreover decidedly uncouth solution of a progression that Ex. 9 gives in its most common form. The real difference between the two types lies not in the way they are approached, as Coperario believes, but in their respective resolutions to either a six-four combination or a five three combination. While Coperario is correct in saying that the two types are "cleane contrarie" to one another, his criteria are irrelevant and confused. He nevertheless deserves credit for being the first theorist to recognize the distinction.

It may be pointed out parenthetically that the sixfive suspension receives scant attention, if any, even in modern textbooks of 16 th century counterpoint. In Knud Jeppesen's book ${ }^{45}$ which is based in exemplary fashion on the music itself, though mainly that of a single composer, the combination appears sev, eral times in the examples, but it does not exist as far as the text is concerned. R. O. Morris ${ }^{46}$ refers to the combination without specifically naming it, and his explanation is not satisfactory in all points. The book by A. T. Merritt ${ }^{47}$ offers a succint discussion of the suspension and a clear example of its common form. What is probably the most extensive treatment to date may be found in the textbook by G. F. Soderlund ${ }^{48}$ who devotes to it no less than six chap-

[^20]ters. Here we meet again with the distinction between the regular form of the chord and its combination with the cadential fourth which we know already from Coperario. Soderlund concludes his discussion with a review of exceptional cases, but some of these are improperly classified as six-five chords.-

To return now to Coperario's treatise: next on the list of special idioms is the use of the sixth instead of the fifth in the cadence (fol. 33). The heading of the section gives no clear idea of the importance of the topic. Coperario demonstrates that the sixth may prepare a cadential fourth, but what he does not say is that this preparation may bring about an augmented triad in first inversion. Here is further proof of Coperario's interest in pungent harmonies: as many as three out of his four illustrations make use of this dissonant cadential idiom which may be approached with or without preparation and may occur in slow as well as fast tempo (Ex. 17). In addition, they throw some light on the


Example 17
origin of the idiom. Giovanni Gabrieli was one of the first composers to give it wide currency, and his treatment suggests that it was conceived as an extension of the cadential fourth. Coperario's treatise now confirms this interpretation from the theoretical side. The idiom is of particular interest as it admits within the framework of the traditional four three suspension an unprepared dissonance on the strong beat, introduced for its strong harmonic effect and the additional force it imparts to the cadence. It is one of the most characteristic formulas of early baroque music and plays a far more important role than the dominant seventh chord.

This remark brings us to the next idiom, the seventh in the cadence (fols. $33 \mathrm{v} \cdot 34$ ). At this point a discussion of the dominant seventh chord in ca dential position might be expected, but the examples soon convince us that the chord was as yet far from
having a strictly cadential function. It leads up to the cadence without appearing in the cadence proper. Neither here nor at any other place of the treatise does the dominant seventh ever partake in the penultimate chord. The four three suspension still holds an unchallenged monopoly of the final cadence. In the examples the dominant seventh is always prepared. Again, Coperario says nothing about the noteworthy harmonic context: two versions of essentially the same music are given, one with a conspicuous cross relation (Ex. 18a), and another with a chromatic progression (Ex. 18b).


Example 18
The two notes forming the cross relation appear in the second version in the same voice and thus cause the chromatic step. Another example (Ex. 18c) is remarkable for the clash between e-natural and $e$-flat, a friction involving a simultaneous cross-relation, so typical of English music.

Section IVd, which concludes the fourth part, takes up syncopation in the bass (fols. $34 \mathrm{v}-36$ ). Coperario himself stresses the difference between the former sections and the present one by stating: "Hetherto the other parts have heldd uppon the Bass, now the Bass holds uppon the rest of parts." This would seem to be an appropriate place for the discussion of the only regular suspension not previously dealt with, namely the suspended second in the lowest voice resolving to the third below. Actually, however, the combination is not even alluded to though it appears incidentally in one of the ex amples. Coperario is concerned mainly with the circumstance that the bass "goes against the time" or
the tactus and cares little whether or not the resulting syncopes are dissonant. Only if the bass descends can it form a normal suspension, yet even under this condition the strangest combinations may result. The first illustration (Ex. 19) shows some


Example 19
very peculiar dissonances. It would be far fetched to justify them as suspensions because the laws of suspensions are honored here more in the breach than in the observance. A more plausible explanation would be to regard them as survivals of the archaic syncopation dissonance. This may be seen in the fact that normal and consonant progressions could be restored if the outer voices were pushed back a half note. The other examples demonstrate various forms of consonant syncopation with its familiar alternation of fifths and sixths in sequence. The illustration on fol. 35v (Ex. 20) has little in


Example 20
common with the general topic of the section as the dissonances shown here arise from passing minims, not from syncopation.

By way of conclusion our attention may be directed to a small, if diverting, point in Coperario's language. On fol. 35 the tenor is said to come in "a halfe note" after the bass, in other words half a semibreve later. While the term is evidently bound up with the unit of the tactus it nevertheless coincides with modern American usage. What is more, Coperario does not stand alone in this respect: Charles Butler avails himself of the same term in the same context. ${ }^{49}$ Thus two reputable Englishmen are seen to adopt a word which our British confreres object to so ardently as utterly foreign and unEnglish. At the risk of making them "quaver" the point must be made that for better or for worse the term has most respectable and unexceptionable Eng. lish ancestors.

49 The Principles of Musik, London, 1636, p. 64. In another context Butler as well as Morley speak of whole notes and half notes in the sense of major and minor seconds.

## V. Imitation

(fols. 36v-40)
The fifth and last part of the treatise is entitled "How to maintayne a Fuge" and discusses a topic that evidently can be taken up only after suspensions have been covered. As before, Coperario makes no effort to be pedagogical. He starts in directly with imitation in four voices which a beginning student would find very difficult. Several of Coperario's terms call for an explanation. First the term fugue itself: it could mean either canon or imitation, but is employed here only in the latter sense. A motive used in imitation was known as "point" -a translation of the Italian punto. ${ }^{50}$ A composer writing in imitation could thus literally be said to "make a point." The entry of the consequent voice or the reiteration of the point in the various voices was termed "report." Coperario speaks of it only once in passing (fol. 39v), but Butler gives a full definition. ${ }^{51}$

Coperario's rules of imitation are as brief as they are general and would hardly be suitable for the tyro in their lack of specific directions. Nevertheless Coperario covers more ground than is immediately apparent since he manages to touch on three kinds of imitation. He advises the student to examine the voices and see which of them may begin first. The


Example 21
entries should follow each other in quick succession "for to sooner you bring in your parts with the fuge, to more better will it shewe." The remark implies

[^21]that closely spaced imitation or what we now call stretto was regarded as a nicety of composition. In the music of the 16th century overlap of points had an important function not only in climactic sections of the composition but also in the opening statement. Coperario illustrates his "point" by grouping the four voices in two pairs which state the same music at different times (Ex. 21). In each pair the consequent voice enters before the first one has finished stating the subject. This imitation with overlap obtains in all examples of the first section (fols. $36 v^{-38}$ ). The consequent voice may enter with the first part sounding either the octave, fifth, third, or unison. These intervals should not be confused with the intervals at which the voices may imitate. Copcrario says nothing about the latter, but in his ex' amples he admits imitation at no other intervals


Example 22
than the octave (unison) and fifth. If a point is brought in twice in succession (fol. $37 \mathrm{v}-38$ ) the imitative entries should be set off by a rest. This is
sound advice since such a rest is indeed "a great grace to a part, and to a fuge." In his illustration Coperario makes use of the same motive as in Ex. 21 and presents it in expanded form with slightly changed counterpoint.

The second kind of imitation, that without overlap, may be written if the points do not lend themselves to more compact treatment (fols. 38 v -39, Ex. 22). It is technically easier than the first kind, and Coperario's wording suggests that he thinks of it as a somewhat inferior solution to be adopted only faute de mieux. A note of warning is added that the subject must not be long lest the distances between the entries grow too wide and the music become tedious or "too single."

If the subject proceeds in slow note values, or if it is unsuitable for overlap "because of the hardness of the report" a third kind of imitation, that with countersubjects, may be employed (fols. 39v-40). This type is called "double fuge." The rules do not add anything new except for the direction that the countersubject should be set off from the main subject by a short rest (Ex. 23). ${ }^{52}$ It should be noted


Example 23
that, contrary to expectation, the two subjects are not invertible (note the fifth after the second bar line in Ex. 23). Coperario does not even raise the question of invertible counterpoint although he ex. tols the writing of "double fuges" as a sign of "great art." In his final remark about imitation he

52 In the transcription the bar lines have been adjusted to an even $4 / 2$ time which Coperario uses himself toward the end of the example. The partitions of Coperario's score do not represent bar lines in the modern sense although they may often coincide with them.
strikes a somewhat nostalgic tone revealing that the end of a certain musical phase had been reached: "there hath so many been made alreadie, as that hardlie one shall invente a single reporte to be easilie, and sweetlie brought in, butt it hath alreadie bene invented before."

The examples of the last part are more complete and self-contained than any of the other parts. It must be admitted, however, that the part writing is at times more labored than fluent and when the composer speaks of "forcing the parts to agree" his de" scription may be just a shade too literally true. The musical examples look very much like the opening sections of fancies. Although the fancy is never mentioned it seems fairly clear that Coperario had the fancy in mind when he wrote the part on imita tion. Also the themes with their characteristic repeated notes in the rhythm of the canzona suggest the fancy. It remains to be seen whether any of the examples in the treatise are borrowed from actual compositions.

## summary

If we look back over the treatise as a whole we discover a number of fundamental discrepancies both in subject matter and method of presentation. The first three parts deal with elementary topics while the last two go into special fields in a specialized manner. If the treatise was intended for the instruction of beginners it would serve its purpose only moderately well since too many things are taken for granted, not to mention the four-part examples which presuppose a solid knowledge. Needless to add, if we consider what is really involved in composition the Rules no more teach "how to compose" than most treatises on the subject do. A student was expected to grow up in and with music and constantly refer to his practical experience. A good case could be made for the thesis that the Rules are a textbook for the teacher, that they give a summary compiled for Coperario's own use in the instruction of Egerton (or possibly Prince Henry). This thesis would explain the omission of such topics as could be easily supplied by oral instruction.

More significant than the discrepancy in subject matter is the conflict of ideas which comes to light in the manner of presentation and which reaches down to the roots of Coperario's position. We have seen that new concepts appear in traditional guise and vice versa. What makes the treatise so impor tant historically is the novel approach to certain principles of composition. Emphasis on the bass is as it were the leitmotiv which is sounded at the very
beginning and which later on governs the order of the examples. We witness harmonic concepts in statu nascendi and see how they gradually pervade the musical thinking of the time. The rise of harmonic interest becomes even more apparent in the central part dealing with suspensions. No theorist before Coperario has codified suspensions in so rich a harmonic context. Unfortunately, he hardly ever discusses or justifies the unusual and often highly dissonant combinations, but merely sets them down. It is only the examples that make the treatise an advanced document of musical theory. There is no hint that Coperario was really conscious of a radical change of principles such as that proclaimed by Monteverdi in his programmatic statement about the seconda prattica. ${ }^{53}$ The progressive ideas appear as it were only in their molting stage. They must be seen against the conservative countercurrents of which we list only the following: (1) Coperario has as yet no conception of chords and accounts for them as combination of intervals; (2) he considers the dissonance mainly in terms of suspensions (though he includes unprepared dissonances in his examples); and (3) his discussion of imitation shows continued interest in polyphonic texture (though the second part of the treatise points in the opposite direction). In the three points just outlined Coperario's attitude is essentially that of a Renaissance composer in spite of the fact that some of his musical examples militate against such classification.

These observations bring us to the decisive point: Coperario was evidently not yet in the position to resolve the conflict between progressive and traditional ideas and this inability reflects the conflict of his own historical situation. Coexistence of contradictory concepts is the hallmark of transition periods. What is true of Coperario's musical style is equally true of his treatise. Both betray the signs of a transition period. If Coperario is accused of wav ering between two epochs he certainly stands convicted. But his inconsistency applies to his music as well as his theory so that in his inconsistency at least he was consistent.

## campion and

coperario
It has been the purpose of the foregoing commentary to describe and assess Coperario's contribution to musical theory. In the course of the dis-

[^22]cussion certain theorists have been cited who may have influenced Coperario, but in no case could a direct dependence be proved. There are, however, some very striking, and certainly unexpected parallels between Coperario`s Rules and A New Way Of Making Fowre Parts in Counter-Point by Thomas Campion ${ }^{54}$ which can be explained only by direct borrowing. Campion's little pamphlet has remained relatively unknown in the shadow of his more famous works. Its date of publication is uncertain, ${ }^{55}$ but since the author was an almost exact contemporary of Coperario-he died six years before the latter in 1620-it may have been written at about the same time as the Rules. We recall that Coperario and Campion must have met at the very latest in 1612, the year Prince Henry died, but their acquaintance may go back many more years. How ever this may be, there can be no question that their treatises are directly related. This fact can be explained in three possible ways: (1) they may have worked out certain topics together; (2) the one may have borrowed from the other; or (3) both may have borrowed independently from a third source, at present unknown.

Campion admits in his New Way (p. 218) that he is dependent to some degree on the German theorist and composer Sethus Calvisius, the author of several important treatises. ${ }^{56}$ No title is mentioned, but the work in question can be easily determined: nearly all examples of the third part (pp. 219ff.) are copied verbatim from Calvisius's main treatise MEiOHOIIA sive Melodiae condendae ratio (1592). Since it was customary to borrow without express acknowledgement it is not surprising to find that certain other passages are not original, but go back to Zarlino as well as Calvisius. However, none of these recurs in Coperario's treatise.

The correspondence between the Rules and the New Way comes to light most clearly in two passages. The first of these is the brief section at the bottom of fol. 3 v advising against falling from the octave to a sixth in similar motion. The last two of Coperario's examples exactly duplicate those cited by Campion (p. 220), but Campion's text differs somewhat. It reads: "Note here that it is not good to fall with the Base, being sharpe in $F$ from an eight unto a sixt." This explanation adds an important qualification to what Coperario has loosely stated as a general rule. Campion forbids the progression only in those cases where the bass is sharp. With

[^23]this restriction the rule makes much better sense than in Coperario's version and it is quite possible that Coperario omitted the qualification by mistake.

The second parallel is found on fol. 4 of the Rules and pp. 210-211 of the New Way. It should be noted that the two parallel sections stand directly together in the Rules as though they were continuous, whereas they come at widely separated places in the New Way. The concordance applies this time not only to the examples but also to the wording. The first five examples of cadences of fol. 4 are identical with those given by Campion. The latter presents them in a different sequence and adds an alternate version without ornamental resolution, but the music is nevertheless the same. Campion's version of the text runs: ". . . the Base intends a close as often as it riseth a fift, third or second and then immediately either falls a fift, or riseth a fourth. In like manner if the Base falls a fourth or second: and after falls a fift, the Base insinuates a close, and in all these cases the part must hold, that in holding can use the fourth or eleaventh, and so pass either into the third or tenth." It will be obvious upon comparison that the one version merely slightly paraphrases the other. Certain single words have been changed, e.g. "insinuates" takes the place of "means to," either in the desire for elegant variation or perhaps even in an attempt to cover up the sameness of wording.

There are a few other and less conclusive analogies which the reader may discover for himself and which need no discussion here as they do not essentially change the picture. Much more significant is another parallel in a very fundamental matter: the treatises agree in considering the bass as the principal voice of the musical setting. This is indicated externally in the fact that Campion, too, groups his examples in the order of bass progressions. But as to the recognition of the bass Campion leaves Coperario far behind. He begins his treatise with a brief discussion of the four parts in the course of which the bass is described as "the foundation of the whole song" (p. 195). This passage is taken straight out of Zarlino ${ }^{57}$ and Calvisius. Campion then continues on his own and pursues the idea in a most radical manner: "Having now demonstrated that there are in all but foure parts, and that the Base is the foundation of the other three, I assume that the true sight and judgement of the upper three must proceed from the lowest, which is the Base." He inserts a little historical aside to the effect that in former times the tenor was the principal voice and

57 Zarlino (op. cit., III, 58, p. 239) calls the bass "fondamento dell' harmonia," but, unlike Campion, he draws no conclusions from this designation and still regards the tenor as the central voice.
"theame" ${ }^{\text {"58 }}$ to which the other parts had to be adapted. But to Campion this practice is contrary to the "true nature of Musicke." "I will plainely con' vince by demonstration that contrary to some opinions the Base containes in it both the Aire and true judgement of the Key, expressing how any man at the first sight may view in it all the other parts in their originall essence" (p. 195). This is indeed a new and revolutionary thought, stated in strong language. Campion seems to be fully aware of his break with tradition. He justifies the elevation of the bass to the rank of the principal voice by a reasoned account and does not merely imply it by way of examples, as Coperario does in the Rules. Thus Campion draws a distinct line between his own concepts and those of the musical Renaissance.

To complete the picture, another and even more astonishing passage relating to inversions must be quoted. Campion recognizes not only the inversion of intervals (p. 201) ${ }^{59}$ but also that of chords, at least in principle. In his discussion of "sharp" notes in the bass he makes the following pronouncement: "if the Base shall use a sharpe, as in $F$ sharpe; then we must take the sixt of necessity, but the eight to the Base may not be used, so that exception is to be taken against our rule of Counterpoint; To which I answere thus, first, such Bases are not true Bases, ${ }^{60}$ for where a sixt is to be taken, either in $F$ sharpe, or in $E$ sharpe [natural], or in $B$ or in $A$ the true Base is a third lower, ${ }^{60} F$ sharpe in $D, E$ in $C, B$ in $G, A$ in $F$, as for example [Ex. 24]" (p. 204).


Example 24

Thus spake Campion anticipating in essence the doctrine of the inversion of chords. To be sure, he states it purely in terms of intervals, yet his assertion that the lowest note of a sixth chord is not the real bass, the true fundamental being a third lower, gives theoretical recognition to the principle underlying the doctrine. Campion was ahead of his time by more than a century, and his idea was to remain without consequence historically until it was rediscovered by Rameau. How Campion arrived at

[^24]the idea is a mystery which calls for a most careful scrutiny and re-examination of his treatise.

To return now to the comparison of the New Way with the Rules: it is obvious that while they both stress the function of the bass they do so in very different fashion. Compared with Campion's radicalism Coperario's position seems almost weak and conciliatory. In spite of this difference, however, the treatises are undoubtedly directly related and thus raise the question who borrowed from whom. Unfortunately, all inferences that can be drawn in this matter rest on shaky foundations and are inconclusive. Campion talks in the first person singular and is not a little proud of himself when he says for example: "might I be mine own Judge, I had effected more in Counterpoint, then any man before me" (p. 201). The passage refers to his "infallible rule" of counterpoint, not to his recognition of the bass, but in general his is not the language of an imitator. His ideas are so highly original and radical that one is tempted to assume that only a musical amateur, such as Campion was, would rush in where theorists fear to tread, not fully realizing the revolutionary effect the ideas could have. Campion is certainly the more articulate of the two; he presents a logical explanation while Coperario dispenses with verbal comments and operates mostly with examples. These observations seem to support Campion's claim to priority. If this be true, it must have been Coperario who borrowed. In this case the Rules would lose much of their originality. Coperario may have copied some examples from two different places of the New Way and put them down in the Rules in direct succession. Of course, the or der of examples proves nothing in itself, but under the above premise it would find a simple explanation.

However, there is another consideration which cannot be said to speak in favor of Campion. The two treatises stand in a reciprocal relation with regard to progressive and conservative features. Campion is definitely more explicit and advanced in his theoretical statements about the leading function of the bass, but when it comes to practical music he is no match for Coperario. All that he teaches in his "infallible" method is the plain note-against-note setting ("counterpoint") by means of an arithmetical rule of thumb which automatically assures contrary motion in perfect triads. His musical examples are extremely conservative and hardly equal even the second part of the Rules. In addition, Campion takes exception to cross relations which he defines as four notes "the one being considered crosse with the other" (p. 220). He faithfully echoes the conservative ideas of Zarlino in as much as his examples
are copied literally from Calvisius who in turn merely paraphrases what Zarlino says about the subject.

Coperario, on the other hand, is much less radical in his theoretical recognition of the bass, but much more progressive in his musical examples. The unresolved conflict of ideas which characterizes the Rules is no less pronounced in the New Way. Campion's treatise, too, shows the signs of a transition period, but the emphasis is exactly reversed: Campion holds the stronger position with respect to the-
oretical recognition, Coperario with respect to practical application. Now, if one assumes that practice precedes theory, as it usually does, Coperario may have the priority after all. We do not have at present enough historical information to arrive at a definite conclusion. Whatever the final decision may be, the one treatise certainly complements the other, and now that the Rules are available for study we are put in the position to understand more fully the contradictory trends in musical theory at the beginning of the 17 th century.

## manuscript



$$
\begin{array}{r}
15 \frac{38}{85} \\
\ldots
\end{array}
$$

$-9$

Giotami chrario.
-Rulas
how to Congrofe


Concords fiom the buff uppwand


Dlafolve? $\begin{array}{lll}3 & \text { Gfant } \\ 5 & \text { Gaprive } \\ \text { Bfolmi: }\end{array}$


Hhamire, the
3,
Esdfant
Eyani
Hant...


Concords from canto downeward
Ffout $\left\{\begin{array}{lll} & \begin{array}{l}3 \\ \text { the }\end{array} & \text { oladive } \\ \text { ?ftami } \\ \text { ftamive. }\end{array}\right.$
Elami $\left\{\begin{array}{lll}\text { the } & 3 & \begin{array}{c}\text { Efolfant } \\ \text { stamive } \\ \text { 4jolvent }\end{array} \\ & 6 & \text { efor }\end{array}\right.$
Olafolre $\begin{array}{lll}\text { the } & 3 & \text { Brabmi } \\ \text { ysolrent } \\ \text { Efant. }\end{array}$

Efolrent $\begin{cases}3 & \text { Elami } \\ \text { the } & 5 \\ & 6 \\ \text { Bforibuit }\end{cases}$
A unifon is good fo it be in a minion, or a chrocfett Gutt a unifon is better fo the one hold, and the other be going from thence.

Bervact charif the


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { imperfuct chords }
\end{aligned}
$$

Two eigfits, and two fifts, ore their oftaves are unlawfull.

What chords parts are to vfe if Cinto ufe the 8 , flto ufes the 's, Tenor othe 3 .
if Canto ufe the 12 , Alto vfes the io, Tenor the 8
if "Lanto ufe the io, flto vfes the 8 . Teror the $s$.
if Canto vfe the, flto yfes the 3 , Tenor thuyt ufe the urijon with the Bafs, or elf's Alto maie ife we the Lirifor with Carto, and then Jenor mult vfe the 3 .

How to com from a Difcord if you ufi a 4 , or 11 , your neyff note inuft be a 3 , or is. if you bfe a 9, your next note mugt be the 8 . if you vfe a 7 , your neyt note muft be the d. if you vfe $a=$, your nyut rote mugt be the 3 . jt you ufi a falfe fift, your ryxt note must be the 3.

If Bafso ufe a fharpe the 8 is nott to be taiken in Diatonic forgs, butt the o underneath the is, or elfs the urifor of the 3, Neither is the $s$ to be ofd, butt the $b$ in fteed' of the $s$.
if the fong be flatt in Rfabmi afcerd with Elami tharpe, ard defcerd with Elani flate, except it be a 5 , or $i z$.
if Bofso rifc a $z$, $t$, or fall a s, or a Gharpe 3 then the is, or 3 if it afcend fiould be made ffiarbe.
N. port ought to defcend with ffaut, Golfaut; or Gotrent fharpe, neither inght you to defcend with Bfabmi fharpei, if the forg be flatt in Bfabmi, excupt chromatic fongs in the Which of necefsitie you fhall be forced, by the reafon they will Jufcend fharpe, and vfe either s, or 8. Buit in fongs Diataric you muft ghame to defiend with fharbos in ffovt, Cfolfart, Gfolvent, and Bfabmi fravpe fo: the fong. be flate in Bfabmy.

Rules of rifing, un falling one with another it is rot pood to rife with the Baps from a $I z$ vito an $\otimes^{\prime}$, or from are lento a $s$.
Neither is it good to fall with the. Gaff from an $s$ ute a $=$, or from is $s$ unto ax $\theta$ is for Example.


How ought to churns for to rife with the Hals from a b, vito an 8 , likewife you marie doe well in fhunning, to fall with the Bafs from an $s$ vito a b. as for example.

if Bafso meancs to make a clofe.
The Bafs meares to made a clofe whin he rifes a $s, z$, or 3 , and then falli a $s$, or vifes a 4 . -rikcwife if the Bafs fall a 4 , $\because=$, and then fall a $s$. he meares to ufe a clofe, then that part must hold, which in holding. cax ufe thic ", or $t$ with 'the Bafs in the noct note rifing; or falling-, and thex you mayt ufe rither the 3 , or io. as for oxample
here the is is yfd


The Gidfing configts in the 4 , or $I I$

W-hat chord's forts are to ufe in lontrapoinet. if the B.ofi rife $1=$, Canto Lemuends a io, rext inn $A$, flto finge an $s, n a y$ as, Tenor firft an $\theta$, if ci.onito uf two io toycthir, Alto ofer an $E^{\prime}$, noyt is:, Tend vifer a s, ruyt a 3 ..
it cuxto vfe a $E$, wed acyt $a$ io, Alto mu/t vfe the io, ard thin an $s$, Teisor minft ufe thic 8 , uegt the 5 . if cunto iff the is, und nicyt thic 12 , Alto mugt the $R$, nept the io, Tonur mupt uf the io nyt the $\dot{g}$.

if the Bafs fall $=$ Canto maic finft offe the 8 , nuyt the io, fitto thes, ncyt the 8 , texor the 3 , neyt the 5 .
if Canto firft vfe the io, and neyt the 12 , ftto demaund, firpt thic 8 , napt the io, Jenor tiles, neyf the 8 . if Canto offc two io together, Alto fivpt demands the 9, neyt the 8 , Fenor the 3 , or 9 , neyt the's. if Canto firft vfe the 12 , noyt the is, Alto vifes firft the io, next the ir, Tenor ufes the s, nyet the is.

 etut a io, flef muis ife the, nuyt the 8 , Fenor Wer the 3 , matt the:
it canto vie firpt thi io, nut the i2, tho ufes the 8 , nuxt the is, Tenor the:, nutt the 8 .
if cinnto offe two io together, Alto firgt ifes thes, rey! the 8 , Tenor the 3 , neyt thes.
if la lo firft offe the 12 , rext the is, Alto firft ufes fhe is, neft the iz, Tenor thie 8 , neyt the io.

if the Bafs rife a 3 Canto maie firft vife the is, nest the 8, AlAo firtt the 8, neyt thic $\xi$, Jinor firf thes, ncyef thic 3 .
if Canto firt ofe the 12 , rext the is, Alto firgt ofes the io, neyt the $B_{1}$ Jenor the 8 , next the . if Cunto ofe two is together. Alto firft of as the 8 , nepf thes, Tenor ufes thes, next the 3 .
if Canto vof firpt the 15 , next the 12 , it to ofes the i2, neyt the io, thenow veg firt the io, nuyt the 8 .

if the $\operatorname{ifg}$ fall a 4 Lixto firtt maic ule an 8 , Mots the is, Alto the s, ryyt the s, Finor the 3, neft thes: if cirt. rirt ufe the is, nuet the $=$, tho muft iffe the $s$, neyt the io, Finor the $s$, next thice. if cinuto fioft off tfic ; next the is, Alto mupt ofe the inuft the 8 . Tinen muft fit off the linifan warth the Bifs, reyt thes.
if inixto ufe firft the iz, neyt the is, flto vestrie io, next the $=$, tenor ufes the 8 , nyet the is.

if the Buff rife a i Canto firpt marie of e the io, nowt the 8, At to the 8, next the s, Jenor the,
next the 3.
if Canto jiugt iffe the is, rust thee io, Alto: Ines the io, next the 8, Tenor the 8, next the $s$.
if canto fingt vg the is, next the in, Alto veges the in, net the io, Tenor this io, nut the $\theta$.
if canto first of g the io, next the $R$, Alto. vies the in, next the io, Tenor the e, neut the

if the Buff fall a s, y a m. vic utc thicfunc: chords, the which you vie when the Bupsrifes


if the Bugs rife a s, you mace off the fame chords, the which you vf when the Bags falls a $t$.

if the gaff fall an $\mathcal{B}$, you marc lett Canto rife from the 8 unto the 17. Alto macc rife from the; unto the is ,o he hold his $s$, Finer mail rife from the 3 unto the $1=$. Or effs you macc let your baits stand fill, as late Canto the $B_{1}$ next the' is, Alto the s, neat. the in, Tenor the 3, neat the is.

The Bags falling it is note good for the inner ports for to fall with finn, butt when. canso falls ic porte mic rife, and it will if hew well.

if the Ears rife an $g$, Canto firpf marc off the is and merit the o, or clos Molding, the is next mic off the is, Alto firpt of es the in, next the 's, Tenor ufes the io, next the 3 .

The Goofs vising, it is notes good for any other porte for to rife with him, butt when Raps rifer another forte marie fall, and it will ac well

A) fiw to ifc a $b$ in Contrapoincf
ff in contrupsict is ifad when the Bafr falls a 3, er rifá a $3^{3}=$, ar $t$.
if the Biff jall a 3 and then rige $a=$, Canto firtmaie rife a $i$, Gayt the 13, flto the B, nyat thic io, Jener the s, negt the if laxts firgt ufe the 12 , next the 15 , Alto muft ufe the is, nakt the 13 , Tenor the 8 , neget ithe is.
if canto ufe tight the 8, neyt the is, Alto mugt ufe thes, rute the 8, Tenor the 3, neyt the 6 .
If Conito vfe two is together, $A l t o$ muft vfe finft the 3, next the 8, Jenor the 3, nyet the 'b.


Thefe vules fhewing how to flc a $b$ in Contrapoindt are ontie to be offorved in minims and chrocatete, in femibreves you mugt nott ofe the fam.
if thee Bugs rife a 3 and then fall a $z$ Canto finger maid vf a is，next the io，At ho the io，nett the 8 he must divide，and then fe the io，tenor the 8 ，nut this $s$ ． if Canto fe the is，next the in，Alto must urge the 13， next the io，Tenor the in neget the 8 he muff divi作，and then fe this io．
if canto ufe two is together，Alto fingf marie ye The 8 next the $s$ ，Tenor the b，next the 3.


The lags example is faultie，and the fault is between Canto，and Alto in the． 3 note：Alto rides with Canto wing a falfe $t$ ，wherefore you must of e divide the fecond note in tho，and cane hire for to rife unto the io，and then com flown，and off the io，as it appeareth in the fig example．
if the Bafs rife ciunds for t nstes together, Canto maic afeend with nim iffing ah is, tito finft muft if an 8 cecondile a b, thirdfic a 3, neyct a s Jenor firgt a s, fecondfic an 8 , thirdlia a $b$, ngeff a 3. it Canto finft vfe the is Fciondlic the is, thivalie the io, next the 8 , Atto mupt ife io for three notes together, und then vfc the s, penor mugt vfe the sfinflye $\int_{1}$ Eunduic the 8 , thirdtie the o, neyt the 3 .

if the Bugs rife a $t$, or fall a $s$ and then fall o $z$, next rife a 3 , Canto find maid of the 17 , and fecondlic, and thirdfie vf two 13 together, and next the io. Alto firgt ufics the $r$, fecondicthe io and thirdlie the io, next the 8, Tenor fingt Ufes the B. Jecondlie the 3, thirdtic the 8, and next the s. if the Bags fall a s' the fam is litecuife to be offerved, os if the Bags fhould rife a $t$.

of Divifion.
If axie parte rife a 3 you maic divide the figt roste into equall notes of proportion, or elfs you maie hold the firf note with a pricke.

-
if anie part fall a $3^{3}$ then you mare divide the first note into equal notes of proportion, or els you marie hold the fingt note with a prisage....

if runic part rife a $t$, you marc divide your first note into three notes, the fingt note divided mug be halle, ami the other two mast be the other hate. or elis you maid hold the fink with a pricks, and then the reft mut be the quarter.


If anie part fall a \& you marie divide the first note into three notes, and the finft note mutt be hate, and the reft mut be the other halfe, or els you maine hold the firft with a prickle, and lett the other two be the quarter.

if anie burt rife a $s$, the fingt note mace be divided into foure notes, or els you macc fold the finch and the third with prickles. 'butt if they rife in quavers you marc rot vic them with a sricke in a forge.


If any bart fall a s you maie livide the fingt Chite ingo foure notes, or elfs you maic hold then, efpeciallie the firft, and thind note with pricikes, efleest it be in quavers.


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { if the bi.f rige ing in fergian caut maie rige }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ofe thes }
\end{aligned}
$$

If the Baps fall a 3 in Aevifion, Canto marie fall with him in is, filo must hold first his s, next We the 8, Tenor must hold firgt the 3, and next tue the $s$.

if the Gus fall a t dividing firs firft note, Conto mai foll with him wing io, and the regt' of parts marie hold, or fare go it be without faults.

if the Bays rife a 4 dividing his first note Canto marie of tenths, and fall with firm, the reft of parts must hold.

if the Bafs fallafifte in dicvilion, and com nott unto a clofe, you mupt of in the reff of barts to fett Unto the finf 'rote of the Bafs untill he com to his fift note, and if tie Bafis defcend foure chrocchets you maie v/e in the reft of parts a fimibreve, if quavers "then a minim, or


Or ells if the Bats fall a $s$ in devifion lett the part uskich ages the s unto the find note vfe the 8 unto the third note of the Refs.
if the Bafs rife a s' in division lett Canto ye e the 15 , and hold and then Elbe the io, flo must ifc the に, and rept the 8 , tenor the io neget the $s$.

if the Bags wife fcmibreves forme of parts marie divide, and que from the 3 in the $s$, or from the $s$ in to the $C_{8}$, or from the 8 into the $s$, or from the s into the 3, or rife from the 8 vito the 15 , and fo they marie divide their fenibreves either into crocheters, or quavers.
ef Livatures
if thic B.fkrife in =hom the
if the Bafs rije 3 , or + Ceronds, or ofter a ${ }^{m}$, rifc a 3 or fall a 4 , or a 3 the part which vées the is mugt hold, and neyt vficthe 8 . This dolding is uppon a 9 .


The is mugt fold when the Bafs afeends 3 ory
cconds, and then Ills mancs to made a kinde $\int$ cconds, and then mancs to made a kinde. of clofe uppor the third a feeroing note.:

if the Raps rife a $z$ how the 12 , or $s$ imaic hold.
if the Bags rife a Sonde and then rife a 4 , or fall a $s$ : or if the Bags rife a 2 , and then fall "4, or $s$, or a gharpe 3, lett the bart hole l which ufes the nz, or $s$, and then off the io.

- his holding is upton the 4 , and 11 .


The is, or s holds when the Bags rites, and will have his fecond afecriing note to be made a clofe.
if the İforiffe a $=$ how the di. macc isth.
If the Baps rife $a=$, and thee rife aust fey "FLap $=$ : at if the Bags infer=, and then vibe A 3 , or fall $a=$ lift the bart hold which li w the 8 , of ${ }^{25}$, and then if fe a $b$, or 13 , It it the fiefs wife two $=$, and then fall as $s$. This fildiring is upon a $>$.

if the Baps rift a $=$
how the $\theta$ mic hold
if the Bags rife a $z$, and then fall a $t$ meaning for to charge the ayre, and to defer a $\log _{\mathrm{c}}$ lett the 8 hod, and then vie the b.

This holding is upton a $>$.

if the Baps rec $a=$ m minis, ard then till a the $g$, on is macc hold $d^{\prime}$ and of conto the thin note of the Bugs citfien the $\leftrightarrows^{\circ}$ is.

Core the z hider wing $a>$

Here the io holds vfing a $y$.
NB

if the bafs ifend thiee fecouds in minims, or Ehrocclicat; the 1 s, or 9 maic hild, and Hhen iff urvo the thirl rate of the $1=$ or $s$.

Tfic hilfing is uffon $a>$

if the Buff, rife two $=$ in minims, or Chrathetes, ind then fall as, yaw maze eve wino the fund note of the sups at for

if the bafs rife mury eceonds lect the part Hhiif ofe, the $s$ fivide, and ther ufe ab; and $\int_{0} \hat{h}_{1} l d$ as it apfenctin in the Texor in the following cyample.

if the Bufs rife a 3 , axf then vife $a=$, $N$ fil $a=, a+$, or a s lett your put which vferthe $=$, or 5 diuife, and then ife i 6, or halding, thefran he mugt ofe the io, or 3 .

This holdind is lopon the $K$, and $t$.

if the Bails rife a sharpe 3, the part Which of as the 12 mint divide, ard then of the 13 , holding the gate the must next of the io. The part which fififis tic $g$ muff hold and then defend with the file fife unto the 3 .

This folding, is upon the 11 .

if the Gafs rifi a $t$, and then fall a $=i \pi$ if thic bifs ne a $t$ and then rifes ansther $=$, tall a ilarle 3 , or as the part Which wie; the io muit inde, ind then vge the i, is it appearetf ix thic two fingt foores: butt, in the tincer laft the io hald's axd then vfer the b falina loune to a 3 mading a clofc. Thir Coldirg is iffor the 7 .

if the Bags rife a 4 , and then fall a 3 the part which ufes the is, or 17 mic hold, and then vic the 13 , or 6 .

This holding is upon the 7 .

if the Bap rife a $s$ and then fall a $\equiv 1$, or, or vile a $=$, or $t$ Lett the port which ufos the 15 , or a hold, and then Ifc a io, or 3 .

This relying is upon the $\|$, and't.

if the Bofs rife a $\%$ the part which Hes the 12 mut fold, and then off the 13

His holding is when the $>$.

if the Buff rife a $z$, and then a 3 neat falls i $\stackrel{i}{=}$ makes a clofe Canto is fig to use the is, ard then the 13

if the Bags foll a $z$, art then rife a $t$, or $s$ or fall a 3,4 , or $s$, the io or 3 muff fold next life the io, or 3 agayne.

The folding is upon the $t$, and 11 .

it the Bafs tali a tharpe $=$ in familucus and then rifi $a=$ litt the prit, which ifo the 5 , or $1=$ divide ad $4=a \operatorname{in}$, ar 13 holding. thefan he maff iffe a. or or 13 egayne.

+ tir halding is uppon a falfact.

if the Bugf fall aflesper $=$ in menems,
 as




if the Bags foll many fecond's in Semibreves - minims, the part which vies the s must divide, and then ifc the t, holding the fain you must off the of agriyne, ixtill yip com untie the taft note of the Bays and then the part that if the the the 8 ,

The holding is upper the $\rightarrow$.


Ov if the Bafs fall manie ficords you maie buinn to decide with the $b$, and then ife the $s$, holding, thegam yox mugt vfe the of agnync
the holding is vepon the 6

if the Bafs tall manie $=$ in femitreves Canto maie nold ving, io, and Fenor will beqinn luith a $s$, axd then vfc a 8 .

This waic is vfd butt feldome.
This idflaing is iffor the $\mathbb{N}$.

if the Bags fall a 3 and then foll a $z$, or rife a fhaibe $z$, the part which Ufes thee $s$, or 12 , must hid, ard then use the $\gamma$, or 13 .

This ĥdleing is upper the $>$.

if the buff fall in 3 ir minims chrocukets ind the life i 2 the part which infer the 12 , or 5 must fold, and ny afc a $i=$, or $s$ require unto the 3 note of the Bags

This haling, ix loon a $>$

if the Bogs foll a 4 , the part which fIfes the s mut hold, and then wee the io.

This fol ting is upon the $"$, and 4 .

if the Bafs t.ll a s, une then fall a $=$, is rife a fraipic $=$ the 3 , or is mugt hald ana thex vfe thic $b$, or 15 .
Sonctimes, you maic chofje efpectiallic if the Bafs fall as in mixims, or choockets, and then rift a 3 as it appcaratio in Canto in the lagt cyamble.

This folding is uphon the 7 , and iq.

if the Bafs fall a $s$, and then rifes a 3 to make a clofe the io, or 3 maie kold, and neyt offe the 13, or b, ffe or elg the 3 , or is, and then cume wito the 6 , or 13 agayne. This notding is ifforon the 14, and 7 .

it the Buff fall a $t$, or rife a $s$ meaning for to made i frail the 8 , or is must hold, and neat inf the 3 , or io.
if the Bali fall $a=$, the io, or 3 mut hold. if tine Gaff, rife $a=$, then the in, or $s$ mint hold. if the Buff $\mathrm{i}^{i} \mathrm{c}$ a as the 17 , or b mut hold. IWis holding. configts effeon the $q$, and 1 :


Flow to use a pale fit.
If the Bags fall a Sharpe 3, and thenvife a 2 , the part which of es the 3 , or io mut hold and then con unto the io, or 3 agayne! if the Bags rife a charge $z$, and then rife another $z$, the bart which Ifs the 6, or 13 must hold, and then ie the 3 , or is'. This building is uffon the fuller. $s$.


How to fe i $s$, and? together.
if the Bags rife $a=$ "then the $b$, or 13 must hold, and then off the u, or $t$ then kidding thefom you must fife the is, or 3 , the office 6 max rife $a z$, wand regt the. if the Bags fall a 3 the io, or 3 maid hold i and then Use the 4 , or 4 to com unto the 7 , or io ante, folding the offer 3 must wife $a=$, and next ye the $s$.
if the Ba ff rife a 4 then thee part which of es the 8 or is mut hod is, and then vet the II, or $t$ to com untothes, or io 'hiding, the part which for the io must the i of e the next tie's.


In the two lags. fores you mut note the bald holding Oof his firft note, ant the next is a minim. fin the fins. (of the two lagt examples) the Bags riffs ar, and then falls a $s$.
jo the lat the Bags rifts a $t_{0}$, and in the fe two the $b$; and s $s$ are off both togethicr in feverall parts, and cleane contravie to the other three firgt eyamples.

How to vie the $b$ in tues of a $s$ in a clofe. The $b$ in tied of the $s$ is mort commontic off if the Bags rife to his clofe with ceconds, or fall $a=$ as it appearath in the thine core..


Tow to ife a $>$.
iff the bafs fall $a=3$, or $s$, or rife $a=$, or $\mathrm{A}+$ : mearing to make a clofe, that part which in whing can ufe the 7 , or ${ }^{4} 4$ with the Bafs in the nuyt uste vifing, on falling, and neyt the ! and ther thic $s$.



What chari's are to be ufa?
When the Bags depend feconds, and goes a a. ring the time hiding. his notes.
if the Bay's delicend isconds late Cants ufa all io, and tito, and Tenor mont que as many \# ind 6 together to themfelves is pofsibly they frail be at le.


Hetferto the other parts have held upon the Buff, now the Bags hold's vapor the regt of parts.

Another waic if the Baffle fall manic uneven Seconds. Canto fill mutt gov io with the Bali, and Tenor comes after the Bags a halfenote, firgt ufing a $s$, and then a b. Alto will be' forces to tare many wniton, with the wit of farts, by the reafor of his going thorough ill the parts.

if the Buff defend feionds, and hold his Five t note, and the rept bc min its, you maia afcend in Canto cither from the $1=$, io, or 8 Unto the is ard id infill you can ufe the 17, and then deject with the Bags in 17..


What chords are to be vel, when the Bags afiends feconds, and goes agringt the time, holding fins notes.
if the Buff ifunai fecondis, lett Canto off all io, and ofeexd with Rim, and Tenor must firgt fe the 5 , and next the 6 , and must foe with the time contraivie to the Bafoce time.


When How to maintayne a fuge.
your bents, have chopin your forge, yo wite bexamine all to joiner, and foe whin of them the the free, first, for butter, witt it shews. After the lading. part your forges cither meat be brought in upton's, 8,3 or vanfon, and then look -0 your two leading parts, wive you mail bring in the3 bout, and trier you mut licit trim, torch goctoguther, until the 4 part be brought in, being brought it in you inns contrive it fo as that you main convenrientic come to a clofe, and fo leave the fugs, and goo to fores other ayre, or effs fore ot fer fugue.


After the fins point is finiftid by the Balls, or before if it pogsible, if you will maixtayne another, then what part Soever $h_{e}^{2}$ leader the regt of parts mugt helpe to full, and you mut make a Bags of purgofe for to agree with the leaning fuge, and lett once paint regt after an sher, fo there bc three parts foil going.

Ansther Example.

if you will twit ufa the fuge in all the Fists, thence you inuit after the Baps once hath infer the fug e, frame him of pruygeve according to the five whirin yon wile the frae, with all you muff offorve, that your pate main reft regt before his coming in with the fuge, which is a great grace to a part, and to the frigg.

if a point be loug, ond tedious by the vea fon you ife cmibrever, and mixims or cles by the fiardixes of the report to be brought in indfen luye, you mugt juvent nouther point to goee with hime, firgf you muft negt, and then com in uffor 5,3 , or $B$, or unifon, woth any other you mugt rist com in, axd then you muft ufe 3 , and $b:$ a $s$, and 8 you maie fe fou com unto a 3 , or $b$ jagtantity agayne: then oor mugt frane two parts in fuck forte, that fo foone as flatl the fofsille to bring in your other two rygting parts.


This faction of marixtayning of double fuges is most vid of Eyacllent authors, for in fingte fuges there can $n^{0}$. fuch great art be fhewed, butt onlie in the juvention ther anf: Befines' there hath fo many bene made atreadie, as that hardlie one chafl juvente a fingle reporte to be eafilie, and frucetlic brought in, butt it hath alreaqie bene jnventef beforc..

Arother Example.



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[^0]:    ${ }_{1}$ E. H. Meyer, English Chamber Music, London, 1946, p. 149. 2 Roger North, The Musicall Gramarian, ed. Hilda Andrews, London, [1925], p. 10. North revised and enlarged the text later in his Memoires of Musick, ed. E. F. Rimbault, 1846.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ Jeffrey Pulver, "Giovanni Coperario alias John Cooper," in The Monthly Musical Record, 57 (1927), p. 101. 4 Jeffrey Pulver, A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music, 1927. 5 British Museum, Add. MS 10444.

[^2]:    6 Campion was a member of Gray's Inn and it may be there that the collaboration between the two began. 7 Walter Lincoln Woodfill, Music in English Social History, c. 1535 c. 1640 , University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. Dissertation 1940 (typewritten), p. 196. The reference may be found in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Reports, Cowper Mss XXIII, 195. 8 Woodfill, op. cit., p. 255. Bolton Mss of the Duke of Devonshire, Chats worth, Derbyshire, No. 95, fol. 242v. 9 British Museum, Add. MS 31463 , fol. 54 v . 10 See the cautious remark by Willa McClung Evans, Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of Poets, The Modern Language Association of America, New York, 1941, p. 24, note 15. 11 The Rules have been discussed previously only in Evans, op. cit., p. 24, and Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, New York, 1947, p. 383.

[^3]:    12 For the sake of reference the folios have been numbered in our facsimile. 13 Note the spelling "Coprario" which is used not only in this treatise but also in the Funeral Teares and Songs of Mourn. ing, printed presumably under the supervision of the composer himself. The spelling "Coperario" is fairly frequent in the music manuscripts of the time, and since it has been generally adopted by later writers it has been retained here even though the other spelling may be the more authentic one. 14 The watermark agrees with No. 481 of Edward Heawood, Watermarks, 1950. The specimen in Heawood is dated 1602 , but similar examples are mentioned from 1594 to 1614 .-I am indebted for this information to Mr. Herbert C. Schulz, Curator of Manuscripts at the Huntington Library. 15 Add. MS $31416.15 a$ The Annual Report for 1938 (p. 135) draws attention to the annotation "This fancie I have prickt in other booke" at the head of one Coperario's fancies. It is temptting to assume that the " $I$ " of the annotation was the composer, but one cannot rule out the possibility that it was a copyist.

[^4]:    18 Quoted in Meyer, op. cit., p. 25, but not in his list. ${ }^{19}$ Bertram Schofield and Thurston Dart, "Tregian's Anthology," in Music and Letters XXXII (1951), p. 205. ${ }^{20}$ For a brief description of the manuscript insertions see Bukofzer, "A Notable Book on Music," in The Broadside, published for the Associates of the Libraries of Western Reserve University [Cleveland, O.] No. 1, 1940. ${ }^{21}$ For examples see Meyer, English Chamber Music, p. 262, and Gerald Hayes, King's Music, London, 1937, p. 60.

[^5]:    22 The songs $O$ sweet flower and So parted you may be found in English Ayres, Elizabethan and Jacobean, ed. by Peter Warlock and Philip Wilson, Oxford University Press [1931], vols. IV, p. 18 and V, p. 16 respectively. - For a brief discussion of Coperario's songs see Peter Warlock, The English Ayre, London, 1922.

[^6]:    23 Here quoted after the first edition, Venice, 1558 ; III, 58, p. 241. 24 Reprint of the Shakespeare Association, London, 1939, p. 129. Morley's table is no more than a literal translation of the passage in Zarlino. It is one of the numerous instances where Morley helps himself to the ideas of others. 25 Note that in this period "chord" always means interval.

[^7]:    26 Coperario always cancels a flat by means of a sharp which does double duty as sharp and natural. ${ }^{27}$ Cited in F. T. Arnold, The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough Bass, London, 1931, pp. 75 and 111.

[^8]:    28 Such passages were commonly employed in Renaissance music for purposes of emphatic and solemn declamation.

[^9]:    29 Arnold, op. cit., p. 75. There are some other, but less striking similarities.

[^10]:    ${ }^{30}$ Two slips of the scribe must be corrected: in the description of the first example on fol, 4 v the text reads incorrectly "tenor first an 8 , next a 3 " instead of "first a 5 ;" and in the third example on fol. 5 the lower of the two alternate notes must read $b$-flat, not $d$ (which would make consecutive fifths with the bass). 31 Zarlino, op. cit., III, 30, p. 179. The passage is now easily accessible in English translation in Source Readings in Music History, ed. Oliver. Strunk, New York, 1950, p. 238.

[^11]:    ${ }^{32}$ This folio contains another error in the text: line 2 should read "Canto first maie use a 13 " (not 15).

[^12]:    ${ }^{33}$ A brief survey of these books and the literature on the subject may be found in Bukofzer, "On the Performance of Renaissance Music," in Proceedings of the Music Teachers National Association, Series 36, 1941, p. 225. See also Imogene Horsley, "Impro" vised Embellishment in the Performance of Renaissance Polyphonic Music," in Journal of the American Musicological Society, IV (1951), p. 3. ${ }^{34}$ See for example Giovanni Luca Conforto, Breve et facile maniera d'essercitarsi a far passaggi, Rome, 1603 (?), facsimile reprint ed. J. Wolf in Veröffentlichungen der Musik' Bibliothek Paul Hirsch, No. 2, Berlin, 1922.

[^13]:    35 Both the vocal and instrumental version of the music appear side by side in K. Jeppesen, Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento, Copenhagen, 1943, App. 9*.

[^14]:    36 Note that the descending intervals do not go beyond the fifth as in Renaissance theory the skip of the sixth downward was not normally allowed.

[^15]:    37 In this context "ayre" is the equivalent of "mode." 38 L'Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna prattica, Rome, 1555 , fol. 29v. The term sincopa, used also by Zarlino and others, indicates that the theorists of the time thought of suspension in terms of rhythm rather than harmony. The length of the sincopa was always defined by the sum of preparation plus suspension proper. Hence the note values mentioned in the early theorists are twice those of modern terminology (syncope of the semibreve $=$ half-note suspension).

[^16]:    ${ }^{39}$ See for example Pietro Pontio, Ragionamento di musica, Parma, 1588, p. 154, and Morley, op. cit., p. 132. 40 The first note of the bass on fol. 21 v is obviously a scribal error and must be disregarded.

[^17]:    41 Weelkes's composition contains also a passage with a diminished fourth corresponding to Ex. 11 (compare the last statement of "deadly dost thou sting me"). A progression even more reminiscent of Coperario's example occurs in the second part of Tomkins's madrigal Weep no more at the words "Ay me, I die." Another madrigal by Tomkins, Too much I once lamented, begins exactly like O care, thou wilt by Weelkes (Ex. 12b) with a diminished seventh. ${ }^{42}$ Note that the equivalent of suspension is used in the sense of syncope while it is usually the other way around (see note 38). The exchange of terms indicates that syncope and suspension were not yet clearly differentiated.

[^18]:    43 Morley, op. cit., p. 177.

[^19]:    ${ }^{44}$ Morley, op. cit., p. 143. He exemplifies the idiom by a progression in semibreves though it is much more commonly used in minims.

[^20]:    45 Counterpoint, translated by Glen Haydon, New York, 1939. 46 Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century, Oxford, 1922, pp. 37 and 40. 47 Sixteenth-Century Polyphony, Cambridge, 1939, p. 150. 48 Direct Approach to Counterpoint, New York, 1947, chapters 38.43 . See also the review of the book by Joseph Kerman and his remarks concerning the six-five chord in Journal of the American Musicological Society, I (1948), p. 40.

[^21]:    50 Vicentino, op. cit., fol. 79v. 51 Butler, op. cit., p. 72.

[^22]:    ${ }^{53}$ Monteverdi's proclamation and the commentary of his brother may be found in translation in Source Readings, p. 405.

[^23]:    54 Reprinted in Campion's Works, ed. Percival Vivian, Oxford, 1909. The page numbers quoted in the following refer to this edition. 55 Vivian tentatively suggests a date of c. 1617 , but gives no definite reason for his assumption. ${ }^{56}$ For a general sur, vey see K. Benndorf, "Sethus Calvisius als Musiktheoretiker," in Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft X (1894), p. 411.

[^24]:    58 This is an early instance where "theme" is used as a musical term in the English language. The only earlier instance recorded in Murray's New English Dictionary is Morley, op. cit., p. 86, but with Morley the word is still a metaphor borrowed from rhetoric. The term was known also in Italian, see Zarlino, op. cit., III, 55, p. 228. ${ }^{59}$ The passage is not entirely clear; Campion refers to intervals that are found "in sight" under the bass and read an octave higher,-a practice highly reminiscent of English discant. 60 Italics not in the original print.

