The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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Music Review 2:

Michael East. ***Eight Fantasies of Five Parts*** **(1610) £1.50. London, Stainer & Bell** [PDF]

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The Fantasies of Thomas Lupo[1]

JOHN M. JENNINGS

[3] Charles Burney wrote in his *A General History of Music*:

> Simpson in his *Compendium,* speaking of fancies, says that 'this kind of Music (the more is the pity) is now (1667) much neglected, by reason of the scarcity of auditors that understand it;'. . . He instances as the best composers of fancies, in England, Alfonso Ferrabosco, Coperario, Lupo, Mico, White, Ward, Dr Colman and Jenkins.[2]

Of these men, Ferrabosco, Coperario, Lupo and White—together with Gibbons—are most often quoted as composers of seventeenth-century English consort music. But perhaps the least known of these today is Thomas Lupo, one of the most prolific fantasy composers of his time and one of the least represented in recent publications of such music.

Thomas Lupo, the composer,[3] was one of seven members of the Lupo family who served successively in the music of the English court for over a hundred years, from 1540 until the Civil War in 1642. Thomas's father and two of his uncles had migrated from Italy just after 1540, at a time when Henry VIII—himself a competent musician—was encouraging continental instrumentalists, especially Italians, to settle in England and help raise the standard of the Royal Music.

In 1515, some twenty-five years before the first Lupo musician arrived in England, Sagudino (secretary to the Venetian ambassador) had visited the English court and noted that there were many fine singers but few good instrumentalists.[4] However, the King's introduction of expert players helped to improve the standard of instrumental performance. By the end of Henry's reign in 1547, Italian musicians greatly outnumbered all other foreign instrumentalists.[5]

[4] 'Ambrose (Lupo) de Milano'[6] Thomas Lupo's uncle, was one of the early viol players to migrate from Italy and was appointed with five other Italians as one of the 'vialls' on 1 May 1540, with a wage of one shilling a day.[7] Ambrose served a term of fifty-four years in the court, as his name appears in the livery accounts for the Coronations of Edward VI and

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[1] This article first appeared in *Musicology* III (1968-1969) and is reprinted by kind permission of the Musicological society of Australia.
[2] Ed. F. Mercer (New York, 1957), Vol. ii, p. 285.
[3] A discussion on whether one or more Thomas Lupos were composers is contained in the last portion of this article.
[4] J. Izon, 'Italian musicians at the Tudor court', *Musical Quarterly,* XLIV (1958), 329-37.
[5] Izon, p. 333, and J. Pulver, 'The viols in England', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, XLVII (1920), 1-21.
[6] A grant, dated 3 September 1596, for William Warren, appoints him a 'musician for the Violin for life, in the room of Ambrose de Milan *alias* Lupo *Calendar of State Papers (C.S.P.), Domestic, Addenda 1580-1625,* p. 377.
[7] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII,* Vol. XVI, 1540-41, p. 194.

Elizabeth as well as the Michaelmas accounts and New Year gift lists until 1591; from Lady Day 1594 William Warren had replaced the deceased Ambrose as a 'musician for the violins'.[8]

Two of Ambrose's brothers, Joseph (Josepho) and Peter (Pietro),[9] were also court musicians. Joseph's name appears in court records for livery warrants, New Year gifts and the like from 26 November 1563[10] until about 1615, while Peter was employed at first with the Duke of Leicester from 1567, and after 1570 as a Queen's musician.[11] Records show that he was one of four Lupo musicians in the band for Elizabeth's funeral in 1603,[12] and the last time his name appears is in the list of New Year gifts for l605.[13]

The next generation of Lupos consisted of sons of Joseph (Thomas senior) and Peter (Thomas junior)[14] and a third Lupo, Horatio, possibly the son of Joseph and brother of Thomas senior. In May 1591 'Thomas Lupo, son of Joseph Lupo', was 'elected in place of Francesco de Venice, late deceased', at 20d a day, with £16 2*s* 6*d* p.a. for 'livery and apparel', being appointed for life by a warrant dated 4 May 1592.[15] Nearly twenty-nine years later, on 16 February 1621, a warrant was made out to the Treasurer of the Chamber of King James Ito pay 'fortie marks by the year' to Thomas Lupo, appointed 'composer for our violins, that they may be the better furnished with

[5] variety and choice for our delight and pleasure in that kind'.[16] It is interesting to note that this was the first time a composer to the *violins* had been appointed and it reflects the increased number of violins in the Royal Music. In the band for the funeral of King James I we find among the 'Musitions for the Violins' Mr Thomas Lupo, 'composer'.[17] Thus it seems as though Thomas maintained his position as violinist after his appointment as composer, which tends to disprove the suggested existence of a third Thomas Lupo.[18]

On 13 January 1628, just before his death, Thomas wrote to Nicholas (Secretary Edward Nicholas?) begging him 'to put the Duke (of Buckingham?) in mind of his promise' to give his son the next vacant

[8] From a warrant dated 28 August 1596, *C. S. P. Domestic, 1595-97,* p. 271.
[9] S. Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1909), Vol. XII**,** 'Lupo or Lupus, Thomas', pp. 284-5.
[10] H. C. de Lafontaine, *The King's Musick* (London, 1909), p. 18.
[11] See W. L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society* (Princeton, 1953), p. 63.
[12] In the band for the funeral of Elizabeth there were the two brothers, Joseph and Peter, and their two sons, the two Thomases — Lafontaine, p. 45.
[13] J. Pulver, 'Lupo Family', *A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music,* London, 1927, p. 311; Woodfill, p. 63, suggests he ended service about 1608.
[14] 'Thomas Lupo, son of Joseph Lupo', was appointed in 1591 (see next note) and must therefore be senior in service to his cousin, 'Thomas, son of Pietro Lupo', appointed seven years later, 'from Midsummer, 1598 *'—C. S. P. Domestic, 1598-1601,* p. 345.
[15] See T. Dart, 'Two new documents relating to the Royal Music, 1584-1605', *Music & Letters,* XLV (1964), 19.
[16] Lafontaine, p. 53.
[17] Lafontaine, p. 57.
[18] See Woodfill, p. 311, note 113.

Purser's place, and Thomas assures Nicholas £30—three-quarters of his yearly income—if he procures his son a warrant.[19] Six months later, however, a warrant of £40 to Theophilus Lupo, on 20 June 1628, grants him the position of one of his Majesty's musicians 'during life', 'in place of Thomas Lupo, his father, deceased'.[20] Thomas must have died some time before 26 April as Estienne (Stephen) Nau is granted £40 as composer for the violins in place of the deceased Thomas, and in May of that same year we find a petition by Robert Johnson, one of the King's musicians, 'for the place of the composer to the lutes and voices, one of the places held by Thomas Lupo, lately deceased'.[21] Therefore, it may be concluded that Thomas served in the King's Musick as a violinist from 1591 until his death in early 1628, while from 1621 he was composer as well, both 'for our violins' and for 'the lutes and voices'.

The cousin to the composer, Thomas junior, served at court from midsummer 1598 as a 'musician for the violin'[22] until the Civil War, and he is mentioned in early seventeenth-century accounts as a musician to the Prince of Wales as well as to the King.[23] Thomas is not mentioned in the Michaelmas livery accounts of 1630-41 inclusive, although his name appears in the list of his Majesty's musicians in 1631 as a 'low-tenor' in the 'musicians for the violins'.[24] A warrant was made out on 10 July 1634 to pay Thomas Lupo and eleven others £126 each as arrears 'for attendance on His Majesty yearly at Windsor during the time of the installation of Lords there' for the seven years

[6] from 1627-33.[25] Therefore, Thomas may have been employed part-time for special occasions between the years 1630-40 whenever larger ensembles were required, such as at the Windsor Installations, and re-employed permanently in 1641, or else his name may have been omitted from the Michaelmas accounts for other reasons. Of course, another Thomas may have been engaged in 1641, eight years after Thomas junior's last performance at Windsor, but this cannot be accurately determined as there is at present no record of his appointment to the King's Musick. However, we do know that a Thomas Lupo died some time during the Interregnum, as we find at the Restoration that Phillip Beckett was appointed in 'Lupoe's place, Thomas Lupo, for a violin' on 16 June 1660.[26]

The best chronicled of all the Lupo musicians is Horatio—possibly the least important member of the family—whose baptism may be that recorded in the Parish Register of St Olave, Hart Street, London, on 5 November

[19] *C. S. P. Domestic, January 1627-February 1628*, p. 512.
[20] *C. S. P. Domestic, March 1628-June 1629,* p. 401; Lafontaine, p. 65.
[21] Lafontaine, p. 64, and *C. S. P. Domestic, March 1628-June 1629,* p. 144.
[22] *C.S.P.Domestic, 1598—1601,* p. 345; see note 9, p. 4.
[23] His name appears in the accounts of 1612 (a musician of Henry, Prince of Wales) and 1618 (a musician of Charles, Prince of Wales) as well as in the monarch's list for viols and violins—see Woodfill, pp. 301-3.
[24] Lafontaine, p. 76.
[25] Lafontaine, p. 89.
[26] Lafontaine, p. 114.

1583 as the son of Joseph Lupo, 'Queene's musitioner'.[27] If so, he was a brother to Thomas senior. He was employed by Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset, when twenty-four years old, as his name appears in the Sackville Papers, along with nine other instrumentalists, for wages paid on 4 April 1608.[28] This must have been a distinguished group of instrumentalists, as four of them became king's musicians later on, Horatio being granted a place of 'Musician on the Violin for life' on 6 February 1612,[29] a position he held until late 1626. He was buried in St Martin-in-the-Fields on 23 October of that year.[30]

The only representative of the third generation of this family was Theophilus Lupo, who succeeded his father, Thomas senior, as a 'Musician'[31] upon the latter's death in early 1628. On 15 July 1628 state papers include in the list of musicians 'for the lute and voices', who are discharged from paying the five subsidies lately granted by the parliament, a Theophilus Lupo, only one month after he had been appointed in his father's place, presumably as a 'violinist'.[32] He must have retained two positions—as singer and instrumentalist or as violinist and lutenist—because in an order concerning music for the violins dated 12 April 1631, directed to Mr Nau (Thomas senior's

[7] successor as composer), Theophilus is listed as a 'countertenor'.[33] Like Thomas junior, he also died during the Interregnum: we find that on 16 June 1660 Humphrey Madge was appointed in place of Theophilus Lupo, deceased.[34]

The Lupo family served in the King's Musick for a century but little is known of their lives. Their consistent good work and long service (ranging from fourteen years for Horatio to fifty-four years for Ambrose) was rewarded, two of them (Ambrose and Joseph) leading the viols and violins during the last years of their service. Along with other members of the King's Musick the Lupo family enjoyed the privileges of royal employment. Their normal wage was good for those times—£40 a year, with £16 2s 6d for liveries making up a total allowance of £56 2s 6d.[35] As servants in ordinary, musicians were in daily attendance to the monarch and they benefited from many privileges: for example, they were not to be chosen for

[27] W. B. Bannerman (ed.), *The Registers of St Olave, Hart Street, London, 1563-1700* (Harleian Society, London, 1916), Vol. XLVI, p. 11.
[28] Susi Jeans, 'Seventeenth-century musicians in the Sackville papers', *Monthly Musical Record,* LXXXVIII (1958), 182-3.
[29] *C.S.P. Domestic, 1611-18, P.* 118.
[30] J. V. Kitto (ed.), *The Register of St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, 1619-1636* (Harleian Society, London, 1936), Vol. LXVI, p. 225.
[31] *C.S.P. Domestic, March 1628-June 1629,* p. 401.
[32] Lafontaine, p. 66.
[33] Lafontaine, p. 76.
[34] Lafontaine, p. 114.
[35] Various accounts and papers.

various offices, such as churchwardens and constable, and they were excused from any subsidies or other taxes.[36]

Foreign musicians had much influence in the court and as a consequence they helped introduce music from Italy and the Continent into the country of their adoption. They had considerable influence on the standard of performance of music on bowed instruments throughout England, and by the mid-seventeenth century English viol players had little to learn from abroad.

Playing in instrumental consorts was popular in the seventeenth century. Nearly every English household of culture had its 'chest of viols', often mentioned by contemporary writers. Groups of amateur and professional musicians would meet in the evenings and play; Anthony Wood, writing about his own life at Oxford towards the middle of the seventeenth century, maintained that:

> All the time that A. W. could spare from his beloved studies of English history, antiquities, heraldry and genealogies, he spent in the most delightful facultie of musick, either instrumental or vocal: And if he had missed the weekly meetings in the house of Will(iam) Ellis he could not well enjoy himself all that week after.[37]

The kinds of music performed can be gauged from accounts by Thomas Mace, who writes that:

> ... for our *Grave Musick, Fancies* of 3, 4, 5 and 6 *Parts* to the *Organ;* Interpos'd (now and then) with some *Pavins, Allmaines, Solemn, and Sweet Delightful Ayres; ... so Suitable, and Agreeing to the Inward, Secret, and Intellectual Faculties of the Soul and Mind; . . .*[38]

[8] In the presentation of fancies, Mace recommended that the pieces should be

> ... *Performed,* upon so many *Equal, and Truly-Seiz'd Viols;* and so *Exactly Strung, Tun'd, and Play'd upon,* as no *Part* was any *Impediment* to the *Other;...* [but that]... each *Part Amplified,* and *Heightned the Other; The Organ Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All.*[39]

If an organ continuo was employed, then the instrument should be preferably a table organ, placed in the middle of a room and

> ... *Equally Heard to All; but especially to the Performers Themselves,* who cannot well Perform, without a *Distinct Perceivance Thereof.*[40]

The developed state of viol playing in England during the early seventeenth century encouraged the composition of consort music. The form of the fantasy was never rigidly determined, but it took its initial form from Italian models. Roger North writes:

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[36] See Izon, pp. 334-6.
[37] P. Bliss (ed.), *Wood's Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1813), p. xxxiv.
[38] *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), Facsimile edition (Paris, 1958), p. 234.
[39] Mace, p. 234.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

> In some old musick books, I have found divers formed consorts, with a Latin or Italian epigrafe; being either the Initiall words of songs, or names of familys,... These I guess were songs for many voices composed & printed in Italy, & here transcribed for ye use of Instruments... And it was from ye Italian model that we framed those setts of musick, which were called Fancys, & In Imitation of them Inscribed Fantasia.[41]

Burney suggested that the instrumental copying of these styles

> seems to have arisen from the calling in these instruments to reinforce the voice-parts with which they played in unison, in performance of *motetti...*[42]

The character of the *canzon alla francese,* with its typical minim-crotchet-crotchet beginning, and of the *ricercar,* both instrumental pieces written in more or less strict imitation, is reflected in early English examples of *fantazias.* But alongside them there was a continued development of the peculiarly English *In Nomine.* These *In Nomine* pieces are *cantus firmus* compositions for instruments, based on Taverner's setting of the words 'In nomine Domini' in the *Benedictus* of his mass, *Gloria Tibi Trinitas.* These pieces were 'descants upon plaine song', as North explains.

> The Descant was the working of the parts attending [the accompanying counter-points], with Intire regard to the Harmony, not onley of the plain song, but also of each other,...[43]

This *cantus firmus* consort music became popular and led to consort music based on other chants and themes, either secular or liturgical, such as the *Miserere.*

And so, with the freeing of instrumental music from their vocal models, with the invention of original themes, with the tempering of

[9] the *canzona* and *ricercar* influences by the developing individualism and independence in composers, there was produced a relatively free form of composition, which in the hands of the English composers developed into a thoroughly English form of composition—thefancy. For Morley, in his *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music,* the 'Fantasia is

> the most principal and chiefest kind of music which is made without a ditty [chant (or some other) *cantus firmus*] ... a musician taketh a point at his pleasure and wresteth and turneth it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seem best in his own conceit... . In this may more art be shown than in any other music because the composer is tied to nothing, but that he may add, diminish, and alter at his pleasure.[44]

For Roger North, fancies had

> a strange tranquill harmony in them—nothing of hurry, but as a temperate air flowing.., and keeping time just needful to keep the performers together.[45]

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[41] *Musical Gramarian*, ed. H. Andrews (Oxford, 1925), p. 6.
[42] Burney, Vol. II, p. 283.
[43] North, p. 7.
[44] Ed. R. Harman (London, *1952),* p. 296.
[45] J. Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p. 11 n.

One of the most prolific composers of this *fancy* style was Thomas Lupo, who was held in high regard by the younger generation of writers. North mentions Lupo along with Alfonso Ferrabosco, Mico, Coperario and Lawes, 'all musitians of fame under King Charles I;[46] Burney includes Lupo along with Dr Bull, Robert Johnson, Cutting and Thomas Forde in the list of musicians 'who merit some notice',[47] and he reminds us that Lupo has much instrumental music

> …particularly Fantasies for lutes and viols, of which many have been preserved in the collections made by the nobility and gentry who then patronized the art.[48]

A glance through Ernst Meyer's index of seventeenth-century consort music[49] reveals that apart from anonymous works—between about twenty and thirty each of three- to six-part fancies—few composers surpassed Lupo for quantity. Except from such prolific composers as Coperario (with his forty-nine in five parts), John Jenkins (innumerable; according to Meyer at least twenty-seven in three parts and twenty-two in four parts), and Alfonso Ferrabosco junior (twenty-three in four parts), few composers wrote more than ten examples of each kind. Ascribed to 'Thomas Lupo' are twenty-five fancies in three parts, thirteen in four parts, thirty-three in five parts and twelve in six parts—although it is difficult to determine which one of the two musicians of that name wrote these pieces. To try to find .an answer to this, we shall first examine the works to see if there

[10] are two definite styles of composition, and then the contents of all sources to see if there are two definite groupings of the fantasies.

A survey of all Lupo fantasies shows that the works for larger groups are written in a more conservative style, whereas some of the smaller combinations are in a more modern style. The older type of fancy—seen in nearly all the à 5 and à 6 and many of the à 3 and à 4— follows a common pattern. Several ideas (sometimes as many as six) are introduced during the course of the piece. Each motive is developed polyphonically and the music either broadens out, coming to rest on a formal cadence before a new theme is introduced, or else the new theme appears while the development of the old subject is drawing to a close. This forms an overlap which binds the composition together and gives it continuity.

One of Lupo's favourite opening gambits uses two subjects, especially in five-part works where over half of them start as a kind of 'double fugue'—of course without necessarily the tonic—dominant alternation of subject and answer as in the later fugue (Fig. 1).

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[46] *Ibid*., p. 21.
[47] Burney, Vol. II, p. 262.
[48] Ibid., p. 263. No 'Fantasias for lutes' by Lupo have survived into this century.
[49] E. H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jab.* (Kassel, 1934), pp. 132-50.

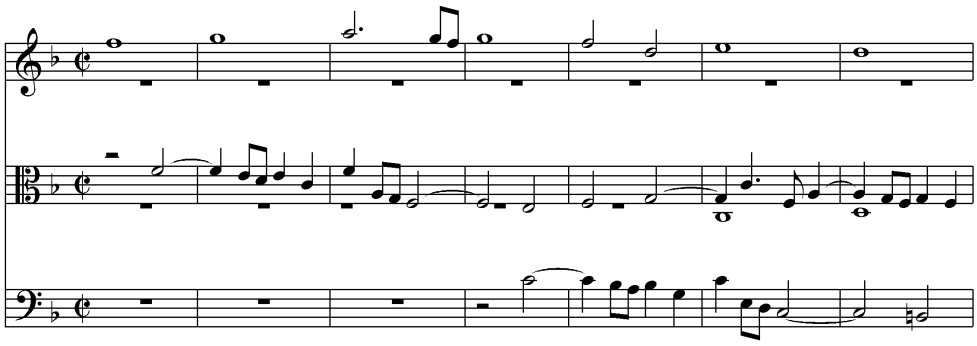

FIG. 1. *Thomas Lupo, Fancy, à 5 (Meyer No. 26)—the opening.*

With four parts or more, complete and full-sounding harmonies can be formed much more conveniently than three parts will allow and so we find much more homophonic writing and a stronger use of dissonance through suspension in such pieces. These homophonic sections give variety and relief to an otherwise continuous web of polyphonic sound (Fig. 2).

Most of the larger-scale works are in the fairly typical fancy plan, but two are written in two balancing sections. Such an example is the five-part fancy entitled *Ardo* in Tregian's anthology.'[50] Five of Lupo's five-part fancies contain titles but none of them has survived in madrigal or motet collections and all appear in groups of works called *Fantazias.* These may be based on madrigals or transcriptions of madrigals and their structure and part-writing would support this.

[11] In other words, are these pieces intended for vocal or instrumental performance? Are they 'apt for voyces or viols'?

However, whatever its origin, the 'fantasia' *Ardo* is certainly very effective when played. The uncommon balance of the. two parts and the use of suspensions, the feeling for harmonic progression and the inevitability of much of the writing mark this piece as a fine example of seventeenth-century English music, vocal or instrumental.

Of special interest are the à 5 and à 6 'division' fancies which give prominence to two or three instruments of the ensemble with more florid, ornamented and mildly virtuoso parts.'[51] These reflect the skill of English seventeenth-century viola da gamba players as seen in many sonatas written for the instrument later in the century. In the six-part fancies, the two *concertante* bass parts are accompanied by four slower-moving upper parts, while in the fantasies in five parts a florid treble line—probably intended for violin—and two basses surround two slower-moving middle voices. For most of the time, textures are dominated by the 'soli' which develop their

[50] British Museum, Egerton MS 3665, p. 328, No. 79 (Meyer No. 19).

[51] *à 5*: Meyer, No. 16 and 17—in Oxford, Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. c. 64-9, Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 473-8, Dublin, Marsh, MSS Z3 .4.1-6; *à 6*: No. 9 and 10—in B.M. Add. MSS 39550-4, Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. E. 437-42, Christ Church, MSS 2, 402-8, and Marsh, MSS Z 3.4.1-6.

own figures with characteristic scalic flourishes and arpeggios and lead up to some fine climaxes at cadence points (Fig. 3).

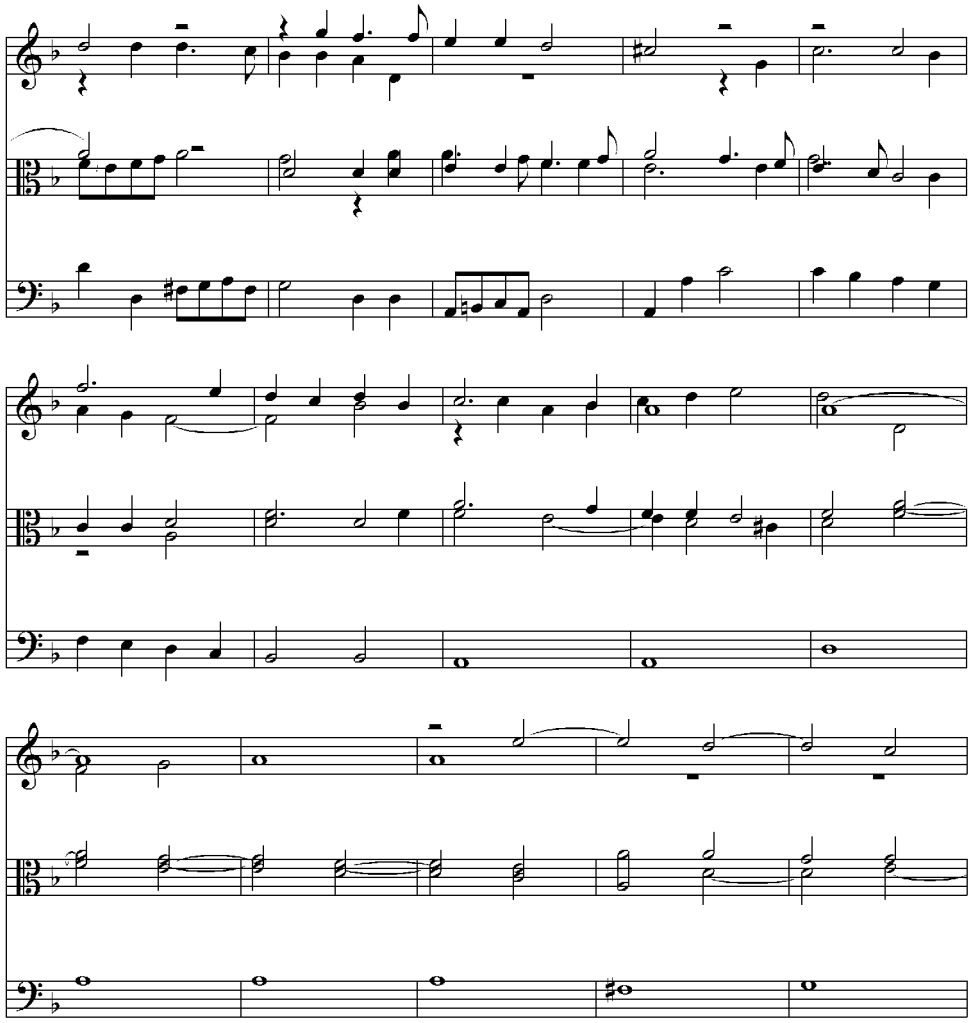

FIG. 2. *Thomas Lupo, Fancy, à 5 (Meyer No. 9)—bars 10-24.*

An examination of Lupo's three-part fancies shows eighteen works in similar style. Some have interesting characteristics, such as the

[12] fantasia on one subject[52]—a modified form of a subject used by other composers including Ferrabosco junior and Gibbons.[53] During the course of the Lupo work, the subject appears in slightly altered forms, with contrapuntal episodes of free or related material. Other works[54] are slow and melancholy and explore the dark, sombre tone colours of the instruments with continually shifting harmonies and expressive use of false relation. The two fancies for three equal instruments—one for three trebles, the other for

[52] No. 10.
[53] Such as Ferrabosco à 4, Meyer No. 20; see also Jenkins à 4, No. 1.
[54] Such as No. 14 à 3.

three basses[55]—are noteworthy. The unusual scorings and the continual close scoring and crossing of parts give the pieces great intensity.

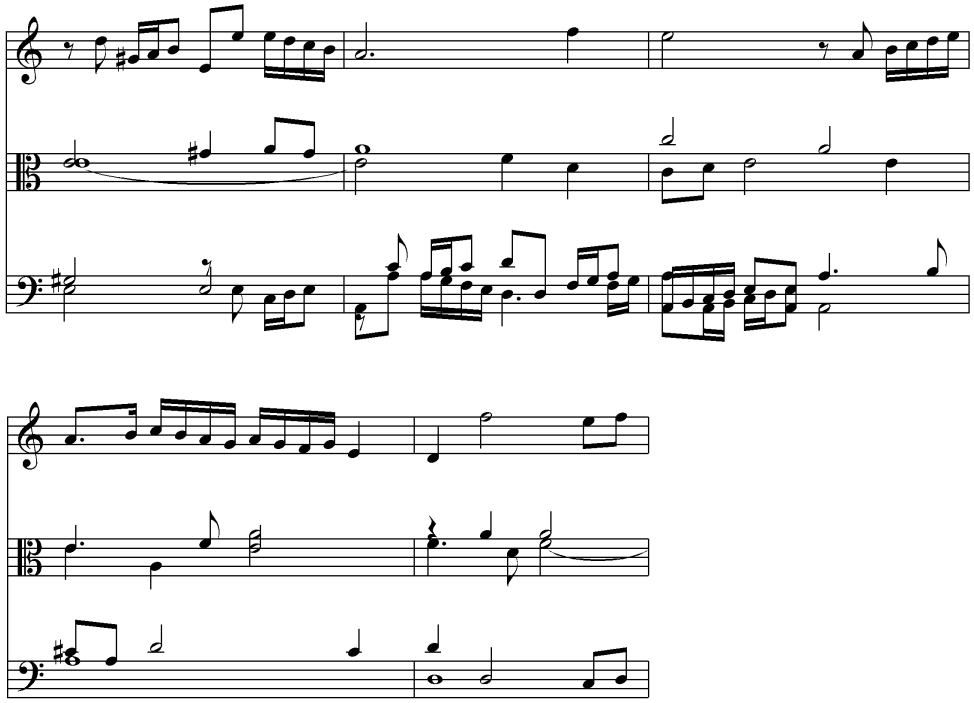

FIG.3. *Thomas Lupo, Fancy, à 5 (Meyer No. 16)—bars 19-23.*

Although most of the three-part fancies are similar in concept to the works for larger ensembles, there are seven compositions in a more modern style.[56] These works are rather like embryo sonatas, and they illustrate the influence of the Italian trio-sonata style in their scoring and phrasing. Written for two trebles and bass, these were most probably intended for two violins and viola da gamba, and possibly continuo, if Dart's proposition is accepted.[57] The placing of an independent bass line below two upper parts which dovetail and interweave is very characteristic of these examples, with a more instrumental, less vocal, style, more homophonic writing, a more clearly defined rhythm and a sectional structure, some[58] using alternating sections of triple and duple metre (Fig. 4). Six four-part 'fancies'[59] are influenced by this style; they display a more homophonic

[13] texture than their fellows, relieved by incidental imitation, and with a more regular phrase structure.

[55] No. 15: for three trebles—in Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. D. 245—7, Christ Church, MSS 2 and 401-2, Tenbury, MS 302; for three basses (not catalogued by Meyer)—in Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. D**.** 245-7 and Tenbury, MS 302.
[56] Nos. 16-21, 23.
[57] See T. Dart, 'The printed fantasies of Orlando Gibbons', *Music & Letters,* xxxvii (1956), 342-9.
[58] Nos. 16-17, 20-1.
[59] Nos. 5-7, 11-13.

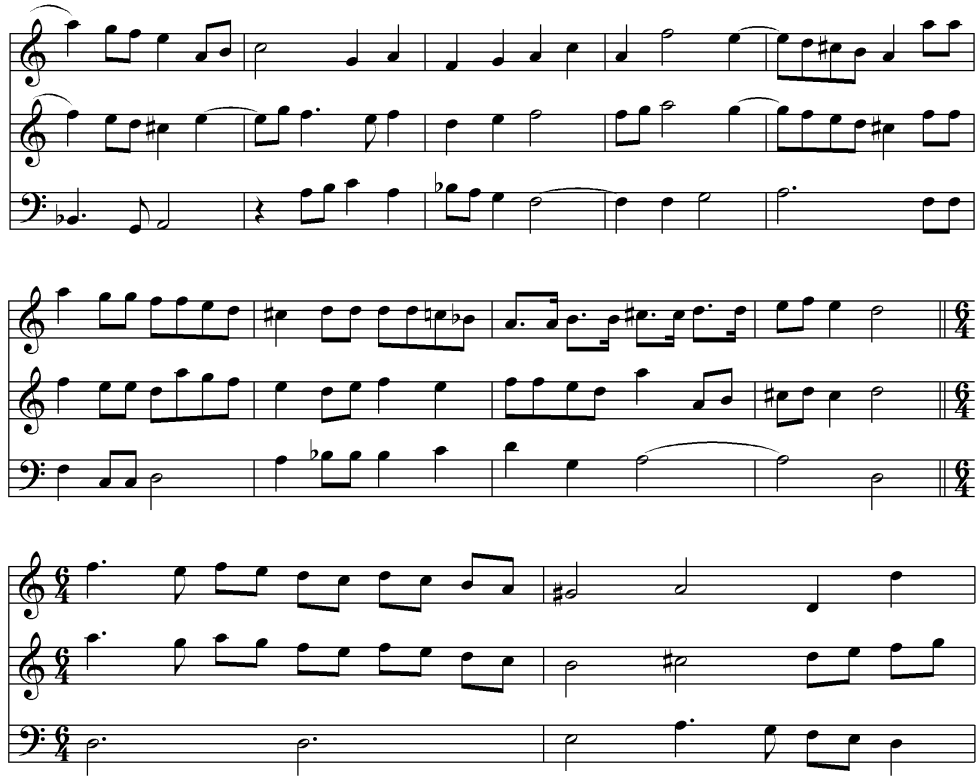

FIG. 4. *Thomas Lupo, Fancy, à 3 (Meyer No. 16)—bars 5-15.*

How are these works grouped in the manuscript sources? All sources for Lupo fancies are fairly late, the only dated ones being Bodleian Mus. Sch. C.64-9, dated 1641, and the Amsterdam 'publication *XX Koninckly cke Fantasien om op 3* of 1648—both well after Thomas senior's death (1628) and about the time of Thomas junior's death (between 1642 and 1660). One manuscript which is earlier is Tregian's anthology, which must have been completed before Francis Tregian's death in 1619.[60] However, many other manuscripts may be dated (approximately) from their contents and from their water-marks. But as most of the other manuscripts contain works by Gibbons, Ives, White, Ward, Coleman and Jenkins (among others), these should be dated as being generally after 1630.

An examination of the manuscripts containing the five-part fancies shows a clear separation of their contents. Twenty-two of these pieces are contained in the Tregian anthology, which we have seen may be dated pre-1619. Fourteen other manuscripts contain five-part fantasies found only in Tregian,[61] while the fourteen fantasies not in Tregian or earlier manuscripts are found together in manuscripts from Rowe Music Library, Cambridge, Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, the Bodleian Library and a Library of Congress collection;[62] we may be justified in dating their contents as post-

[60] See T. Dart and B. Schofield, 'Tregian's anthology', *Music & Letters,* xxxii (1951), 205-16.

[61] The most complete of these include B.M. Add. MSS 17792-6; Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. E. 437-42; Christ Church, MSS 2, 403-8, 423-8, 716-20.

[62] Rowe, Mus. Lib. MSS 114-17; Marsh, MSS Z3.4.1-6; Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. C. 64-9; Library of Congress, MSS ML 96. C. 7895.

1619. A similar separation of fancies in manuscript appears 'in the three-part and, to a lesser extent, in the four-part pieces. With those à 3, for example, seven

[14] manuscripts[63] have older-style fancies whereas two manuscripts[64] have the nine more modern-style pieces.

Such features as style and the distribution of works in the sources might lead us to divide these works among the two Thomas Lupo musicians, identifying one group of pieces with one Thomas and the other group with the other, most probably the pieces in an older style to Thomas senior (appointed as the 'composer to our violins') and the newer style to Thomas junior. But it seems strange that when examples from both sets and both styles are found together, as in the collection of three-part fancies—such as Christ Church 2, Rowe 114-17, Tenbury 302 and Marsh Z2. 1. 12(1) manuscripts—there should be no distinction made of the author of the compositions. The five-part fancies by Thomas Lupo in the Tregian anthology are the work of a capable composer. As we know the date of Tregian's death—1619—we know as well that these examples were written at least two years (probably more, from their position in the manuscript) before Thomas senior was appointed 'composer', an appointment which would have been given to a proficient and respected, or at least highly favoured, composer. Therefore, it would seem most probable that Thomas senior was the composer of the pieces preserved as written by 'Thomas Lupo' and that he was well enough known as the court composer for the scribes to consider it unnecessary to indicate in their copies that Thomas 'senior' was the author.

It is as well to bear in mind that despite the classification of Thomas senior and junior, the two men were of the same generation, even though Thomas junior lived for nearly twenty years after Thomas senior s death. Thus it would seem a little unreal to allocate the 'older' style or 'earlier' fancies to Thomas senior and the more 'modern' style of later works to Thomas junior. Along with the publication of Lupo and Coperario in *XX Koninckl*ycke *Fantasien* in 1648 there is a reprint of Orlando Gibbons' nine fantasies, originally published about 1620. Both sets—the Lupo and the Gibbons—have fantasies in both the conservative and the more modern, 'Italianate' style. In his discussion of 'The printed fantasies of Orlando Gibbons,[65] Thurston Dart points out that the works printed in 1648—appropriately and deliberately called 'Twenty *Royal* Fantasies' in the Dutch title— were presumably composed for the Private Music of King James I, at a time when Gibbons, Coperario and Lupo played chamber music with Prince Charles. According to Dart, the musicians of the privy chamber included

[63] B.M. Add. MSS 17792-6, 29427, 34800; Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. D. 245—7; Christ Church, MSS 423-8, 459-62; Marsh, MSS Z3.4.7-12.
[64] Bodleian, MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9; Christ Church, MSS 473-8.
[65] *Music & Letters,* xxxvii (1956), 342-9.

> [15] ...Thomas Lupo playing violin, Orlando Gibbons at the 'privy organ', Giovanni Coperario and Alfonso Ferrabosco on the lyra viol or the violin, John Dowland as a lutenist and Prince Charles playing his part 'exactly well' on the bass viol.[66]

Therefore, we may conclude from all this that the fancies written by Thomas Lupo were written by one man, Thomas the elder. The more modern-style pieces could well have been composed as companion pieces to the Gibbons set but not published until 1648, significantly placed alongside examples by Coperario (d. 1626) and Orlando Gibbons (d. 1625). The grouping of all fancies by Thomas Lupo in some manuscripts without distinction of author; the appointment of Thomas senior as composer after the composition of many fine works found in Tregian; the possible pairing of Gibbons and Lupo fancies—all this evidence makes it improbable that there were two composers of the same name in the Lupo family. What is reflected in these eighty-three fancies, therefore, is the development of one man's composition from the older multi-voiced, more vocally conceived fancies to consort pieces written in the more modern, more instrumental, almost sonata style. This reflects the growing influence of the new Italian instrumental style upon the instrumental music of early seventeenth-century England. However, the healthy English polyphony of those times (which managed to preserve an independent existence well into the 1600s) received ample use in the instrumental compositions of one of the more prolific composers in England of the seventeenth century—Thomas Lupo.

[The list of sources for Lupo's Fancies which originally followed this article has not been reprinted as it is available in substance in the Provisional Index published in the Viola da Gamba Society Bulletin, XXVII (1967)—Ed.] (Now superseded by the VdGS Thematic Index)

[66] *Loc. cit.,* p. 348.

Tobias Hume—a short biography

COLETTE HARRIS

[16] Tobias Hume is perhaps the only composer of his time to have followed two such different professions as that of soldier and musician. He called himself 'gentleman', a label increasingly used by the professional classes from the middle of the sixteenth century, but it is unlikely that he had private means. He regarded himself primarily as a soldier ('I doe not studie Eloquence, or professe Musicke, although I doe love Sence, and affect Harmony: My Profession being, as my Education hath beene, Armes, the onely effeminate part of me, hath beene Musicke'), but the two published volumes of his music make him, in addition, a professional composer.

His vivid literary style, the titles of his pieces, and the legend that he went mad in later years, together with the almost total neglect of his music, have led to Hume's being dismissed as an eccentric, whose music is bound to be as eccentric as himself, and therefore lacking in interest. Hume's addresses to the reader rather herald a new era of pamphleteering—compare Matthew Locke's similar writings in the middle of the seventeenth century. The titles of the pieces would have caused no particular comment at the time: one only has to compare similar titles in the works of Holborne and Farnaby in England, Gaultier in France, and many others in these two countries.

Whether Hume really went mad at the end of his life, or simply became slightly senile will never be known. I would incline to the latter view. In 1629 he entered the Charterhouse almshouse as a poor brother. As the minimum age for admission was 60, Hume was probably born around 1569, for it seems likely he would have entered the institution at the earliest opportunity. By the time of his *Petition* of 1642[1] which contains the only evidence of his supposed insanity, Hume was about 73, extremely old compared with the average of the time. That he slightly elevated his military rank, and possibly also the closeness of his relationship with the Lords he mentions is not entirely surprising in one so old. To most people who have come down in the world, and especially to an old man, now living in quiet retirement after an adventurous life, the past acquires a little extra gilt, and dreams become difficult to separate from reality.

Almost nothing is known about Hume's life. The only source, apart from his own writings, is the Charterhouse records, which have

[17] yielded only the date of his entry to the Charterhouse and of his death. The only other known, extant material, is contained in the two books of music,[2] and two non-musical documents—a letter from the composer to King Charles, written most probably in the late 1620s, asking for permission

[1] *The True Petition of Colonel Hume* (London, 1642).
[2] *The First Part of Ayres* (Windet, London, 1605) and *Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke* (Windet, London, 1607).

to go to Sweden for two years to fight in the Swedish army,[3] and the *Petition* of 1642.

From these 'autobiographical' sources we learn that Hume was a soldier, who had 'served in many farraign Countreyes as a Captayne', and that he had fought in the Swedish and Russian armies. He also cites people who can vouch for him, including 'the Lord of Pembroke, the Lord Craven, and many other Lords and Knights and Gentlemen'.

Lord Pembroke was the dedicatee of *The First Part of Ayres.* Many other members of the nobility had pieces dedicated to them in the second book, *Poeticall Musicke,* of which the first part is dedicated to Queen Anne. There is evidence that the copies of the second part of this book were dedicated to a number of patrons—two of the four extant copies are dedicated respectively 'to the truly noble knight... Sir Christopher Hatton' and to 'The Earl of Arundel'.[4] There is a statement at the end of the last piece of the book, 'Hunting Song', that 'This was sung before two Kings'. As it was very probably performed by the composer himself, could not this event have taken place during the visit of the King of Denmark to James I's court in 1606? This might also explain why several of the pieces in *Poeticall Musicke* are dedicated to the King of Denmark (e.g. The King of Denmarkes Delight).

If Hume were a mere soldier it is difficult to understand his presence at court—perhaps he was well known enough to be there simply as a viol player, or perhaps he was employed in a diplomatic capacity. His final sentence in the letter to King Charles ('If it please your Majestie to send any letters by the petitioner unto the kinge of

[18] Sweathen [Sweden], they shalbe safely delivered to his Majesties owne handes...') corroborates this, as he would hardly have been likely to write such a thing were he not known to be in the habit of acting in the capacity of a courier between courts. As a diplomat he would also have had the opportunity of meeting the members of the nobility referred to in the *Petition.*

[3] Letter 'To the Kings most Excellent Majestie', in the *Calendar of State Papers,* Domestic, Charles I, Vol. CLXXIX, no. 7.

[4] Only two extant copies contain both parts of the 1607 book, which were originally bound together. The one in the British Museum seems to have been given to Queen Anne herself, since it contains a note written by the composer on the reverse side of the title page begging her to have his music performed. Both these books lack tables of contents—no attempt was made to provide a complete one— and ofnit the second title page and dedication, leaving three pages blank. This indicates that the format is later than that of the two-volume version, and very little care has been taken to make it seem as if it had originally been intended to have this format. The only additions in this format are some woodcuts, to fill in some of the pages. It is characteric of the carelessness which both Hume's books of music show in the number of printing mistakes they contain. Perhaps Hume was not available to read the proofs.

Nothing else is known of his life, except that he died on 16 April 1645. Soldier, composer, viol-player, and possibly diplomat, he must have been a remarkable man. His music does not deserve the lack of interest hitherto shown in it. This neglect is partly due to the music being written in French tablature, and therefore being inaccessible to most modern musicians. Tablature, however, is far easier to learn than staff notation; much of Hume's music is not only within the technical limitations of many players, but also, with the exception of about ten pieces out of well over a hundred, uses the normal viol tuning. There are pieces for from one to four viols, many of them musically very pleasing, so may I make a plea for more viol players to learn tablature and start playing this music?

Chelys, Vol. 3 (1971), article no. 3.

As Others Saw Us

JAMES WHITTAKER

[19] A man's fame in his own lifetime is often very different from his renown in later ages. This is as true of English composers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as of other men. By the same token, what was known about them to German musicians in the eighteenth century is very different from what we know about them in the twentieth century. This is brought home to us very quickly when we scan Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* published at Leipzig in 1732 and reproduced in facsimile by Bärenreiter in 1953. Walther's *Lexicon* was written very much in the spirit of Grove's *Dictionary,* and he probably knew most of the German musicians of his time whose names appear in it. Composers' names are followed by their degrees and titles, and both their secular and sacred works are listed. In a volume with two columns to the page, Mattheson has 5 columns to himself; Telemann, 2; Palestrina, 1; Handel, a half; and J. S. Bach has a half, while his predecessor in Leipzig, Kuhnau, has 3.

The English do not fare quite so well. We find that 'Tallisius (Thomas) published in quarto, with Wilhelm Bird, five- and six-part *Cantiones Sacrae* at London in 1571.' But when we turn to his pupil we find 'Bird, or Vogel, an English composer and lover of canon.' Things look up a bit when we see that

> Morley (Thomas), English court musician at the end of the sixteenth century, published outstanding compositions in his own tongue, as songs of three parts, madrigals of four and five parts, balletts of five parts, and an *Introduction to Music.* His *Musicae Practicae,* which Joh. Caspar Trost translated from the English, is mentioned in the *Weissenfelsisclie Orgel-Beschreibung.*

Looking further, we read that 'Douland or Dooland (Johannes), an outstanding English lutenist, published various works for the lute about the year 1619', and that 'Lawes (Henry), an Englishman, set selected psalms in his own tongue into three-part music, which Will. Lawes edited, and published them in quarto at London in 1648. See Hyde *Catalog. Bibl. Bodlejanae.'*

Turning to the Gentlemen Italianate, we find that 'Coprarius (Johannes), an Englishman, set six-part fantasias for violins'. With Ferrabosco the author finds himself at a loss. He lists three of them, Alfonso, Constantino and Matthis, but thinks that the second and third may be one and the same. Alfonso is listed with no dates as an

[20] Italian composer and seems to be the father, not the son. Even the native stock baffles the author on occasion. He says that

> Ravenscroft (Thomas) published in quarto *Melismata or Musicall Phansies* at London in 1611. See Th. Hyde *Catal. Bibliothecae Bodlejanae.* In the

> *Catalogue de Musique* of Roger, p. 32, is another *Music-Auctor* of this surname, also called Redieri, who published two works for 2 violins, violoncello, and continuo.

Not mentioned by the author are Campion, Deering, Jenkins, Kirbye, Locke, Lupo, Mace, Ward and Wilbye. Neither is Purcell, but his teacher gets a little puff: 'Blow, a doctor of music in England.' Although Thomas Campion's name is missing, we do learn that

> Campion (François), a French theorboist and guitarist, also ordinary member of the Opera at Paris, published from his own work in 1705: *Nouvelles decouvertes sur la guitarre, contenantes plusieurs suites de pieces sur huit manieres diferentes d'accorder.* We also have from him a *Traité d'accompagnement & de composition, selon la Regle des Octaves de Musique. Ouvrage generalement utile pour la Transposition, á ceux qui se messent du Chant & des Instruments d'accord, ou d'une partie seule, & pour apprendre á chiffrer la Basso Continüe.* It comprises only one and a half sheets besides a table of half a sheet, and the author dedicated it to the Marquise de Beroutte.

One might wonder whether there is some family connection between François and Thomas who took his M.D. degree at the University of Caen, had a lifelong love of lute music, and wrote a treatise on composition.

We should not imagine that the author lacks any exact knowledge about English composers, for

Wilson (John), a musician in England born at Faversham in Kent, was a doctor of music in 1644, a professor of music at Oxford in 1656, died at Westmünster the 22. February 1673 in the seventy-ninth year of his life, and left in English:

> *Psalterium Carolinum, Arias,* and other beautiful musicalia. The aforesaid *Psalterium Carolinum* was printed in folio at London in 1660 and really carries the following title: *The Devotions of his late Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings, rendred in Verse and set to Musick for three Voices and an Organ or Theorbo* by John Wilson, Dr. and Musick-professor in Oxford.

We also read that

> Simpson (Thomas), an Englishman and violinist to the Prince of Holstein-Schaumburg, published in quarto at Hamburg in 1621 a work entitled: *Tafel-Consort, all kinds of merry tunes for 4 instruments and ageneral bass, some his own, some by others as...*

The names include P. Phillipps, Joh. Douland, Robert Johnson, Eduard Johnson, and Joseph Scherley. Another work published at Frankfurt in 1611 is mentioned as full of pavans, voltas, and gaillards. Turning to modern times, we find that

> [21] Simpson (Christopher), a more recent Englishman, published a work in octavo consisting of five parts in his own tongue at London in 1670 with the following title: *A compendium or introduction to composition shewing the*

rudiments of song, the principles of composition, the use of discords, the forme of figurate descant, and the contrivance of canons.

The author also mentions the name of this journal and says that

Chelys, from greek χέλνς**,** latin *testudo,* was that musical instrument which Mercury made from the shell *(testa,* whence the latin word *testudo* arose) of a tortoise or other shell and, according to some opinions, is said to have been first strung with only four or, as others believe, even seven strings which made it resonate by means of a sounding board. In Vinc. Galilei's *Diologo della musica antica e moderna,* pp. 126 and 129, is to be found the form mentioned above as well as the one made from the upper parts of a goat's head together with its horns between which a crossbar was placed and the strings fastened to it. It should be noted herewith that the words *chelys, testudo, lyra,* and *cithara* often mean the same thing to poets, but such instruments differed in size, as in our day a clavichord and a clavicymbel, so that whoever wants to succeed with the latter ought first to learn the former. Thus also in those days whoever wanted to study the *cithara* must first begin on the *lyra,* because the latter did not need so much force and was easier than the former to pluck. See Galilei, *loc. cit.* p. 62.

Vincenzo was, of course, the father of Galileo.

The Chest of Viols Reconsidered

GORDON DODD

[22] It will doubtless be agreed that authentic sizes and tunings of viols are required for the solo, division, obbligato and lyra repertoires, because composers must have had particular fingerboard locations in mind. But consort music—the prerogative of the domestic amateur—is not tied to fingerboard locations. It is flexible and resilient, and often takes the form of Universal Music, playable on anything from mouth organs to the symphony orchestra. Domestic consort players, free from the responsibilities of satisfying audiences or of compliantly jumping through instrument-teachers' hoops, can study their own convenience when matching instrument to consort part.

Percy Grainger said of viol consort music that it exercised the brain more than it troubled the hand. In other words, composers exactly met the domestic amateurs' requirement, namely the maximum musical return from the minimum technical effort. That value/effort ratio is highest, in my opinion, when consort-players are able to live secure and happy lives on all sizes of viol—with consequent access to all parts of the fantasy—within the compass of their frets and mainly in the first position. This desirable state cannot be fully enjoyed with Mace's basic chest, and one way of reaching it is to simplify the tunings a little and to think about introducing one or two more sizes. The scheme I describe below is beginning to meet my personal needs; it is at least possible that others may find it beneficial.

My first move was to get rid of the awkward and anomalous F-string on the tenor viol. As a beginner on the treble and bass, which have similar tunings, I had noticed that tenor-players seemed to live blinkered lives, apparently imprisoned by their tuning and clef; my first attempt to take up the tenor showed me that it was as hard for me to get in as for them to break out. The simple expedient of letting the F-string down to *e* completely solved the problem; I had, in effect, a small bass, and interchange was made easy. That experience was the foundation of a simple scheme in which there were to be only five kinds of string: and A, **C,** D, B and G, only one kind of major third: C to E.

I had also found, as a beginner, that whereas consort parts rarely exceeded two octaves in range, they frequently drove me above the

[23] top fret while completely neglecting the bottom string or two; from the point of view of design, there seemed to be something wrong with Mace's chest. I thought it likely, however, that if a viol were designed so that its appropriate consort part strayed no higher than about f-fret on the top string, it would comfortably and symmetrically accommodate the part as a whole, and the player would rarely, if ever, have to leave the first position.

Taken together, these concepts resulted in the following table, which lists all the relevant combinations of the five chosen strings, from which the practical possibilities can be selected. I submit that none of it departs in any way from the true nature of the consort viol; all intervals are the familiar fourths and major thirds, and all instruments have frets.

PARDESSUS *g″ d″ a′ e′ c′ g**	Exists. Useful for Lawes A 6, particularly in the C-major Aire which treble-players find so hazardous.
SMALL TREBLE *e″ c″ g′ d′ a e**	This tuning accommodates the many treble parts that rise to *b”’-flat* or *b”’.* Acoustically, it could suit some of the smaller existing treble viols.
TREBLE *d″ a′ e′ c′ g d**	Exists.
C ALTO *c″ g′ d′ a e c**	Exists, but the F-string is here lowered to *e.* Enters the treble-tenor gap from the treble end with treble-like tone. Suits many high alto parts such as those in four-part Purcell.
CONTRATENOR *a′ e′ c′ g d A**	Enters the treble-tenor gap from the tenor end with a tenor-like tone. Ideal for the part—’ contratenor’ may be a suitable name—which the scribes habitually set in mezzo-soprano (C2) clef in five- and six-part music. The five-string version that I have made accurately fits the altus part (which often rises to *e”***)** of Lawes A6 in C.
TENOR *g′ d′ a e c G*	Exists, but the f-string is here lowered to ***e.*** At its best when the two tenor parts in six are equal, and set in alto (C 3) clef. as in Peerson.
BARITONE *e′ c′ g d A E*	Acoustically, the ideal tuning for the twenty-four-inch viols. Musically, appropriate to the many high bass parts that the scribes set in baritone (F 3) clef.
TENOR-BASS *g′ d′ a e c G D*	This seven-string layout gives exceptional versatility, and any consort tenor or bass part can be played on it. I have made a tenor—bass viol with a string length just short of 24 inches, the longest at which I thought it possible to tune up a string. Although I do not claim to be able to play the E minor divisions on page 62 of 5impson’s *Division- Viol,* I am aware that some of their more frantic difficulties completely disappear when a fretted g’-string is available.
BASS *a e c G D A′**	Exists, in six- and seven-string versions. The bottom string of six is often let down to ***C.***

* Bottom strings so marked may be omitted.

[24] LARGE BASS *c′ g d A E C*	Might such a tuning clarify, or further deepen, the mysteries of Mersenne’s lowering of the pitch and of Simpson’s 30-inch viol?

VIOLONE VARIANTS Each to his taste.
a e c G D A′
g d A E C G′
e c G D A′ E′
d A E C G′ D′

Two points that arise from this table may be usefully amplified. Firstly it seems clear that the 24-inch viol is an exceptionally versatile instrument. It can be fitted up as a tenor, baritone, bass or tenor-bass. Because its open strings can range from *g′* to *D,* it can be properly strung for the extended lyra-viol tunings such as fhfhf (eights) or ffhfh (‘fivftes’) that span two octaves and a fourth between open strings. Also, I now believe that this is the optimum size of viol, acoustically speaking, for a seven-string layout.

Secondly, a piece scored in graded parts ideally needs a graded chest of viols. In six parts, it is normal for the trebles and basses to be equal pairs, and for the inner parts to be on average about a tone apart. An interesting exception is something like Orlando Gibbons’ six-part Pavan and Galliard, whose parts are truly graded from top to bottom and might go well on, say, small treble, treble, contratenor, tenor, baritone and large bass. We may never see a consort like that, but it is a fascinating thought.

Further simplifications are possible. One that has been suggested to me is the modern-string layout with tuning in fifths. Another—astonishingly straightforward—is the lyra-viol tuning fhfhf (eights) and its ‘inversion hfhfh, where there need be only two kinds of string: for example, *D* and *A.* However, there would be problems of stringing and technique, and a perceptible departure from the true nature of the consort viol.

Very few people will wish or be able to lay in a chest of viols as comprehensive as the one that has been discussed, and not even the most ardent amateur maker will be inspired to build one of everything. There must be a choice; when Mace said ‘Your best provision...’ he implied choice. My standard chest, with which to live a reasonably secure and happy life in almost any company, would comprise four—pardessus, treble, contratenor and tenor-bass; a bass would be an optional addition. The criteria by which this choice is made are an amateur’s convenience, value/effort ratio, and contribution to domestic consorts; audiences and impresarios, who require their performers to have been through the mill and up the *gradus ad Parnassum,* have nothing whatsoever to do with it.

A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke, with a Calendar of the Main Events of his Lfe.

ROSAMOND E. M. HARDING

pp. xxxix+ 179. £7.00. Blackwell, Oxford, 1971

[25] The welcome appearance of this book, the fruit of some thirty years' research, is a tribute to remarkable perseverance and dedication. After untold postponements and frustrations (it was optimistically described in the 1954 edition of *Grove* as 'awaiting publication'), it has now at length been published privately; the result is an informative, comprehensive, and at times maddening volume, combining a documentary biography, a catalogue of Locke's compositions (with musical *incipits,* notes on the texts set, particulars of all sources and modern editions, and comments by early writers), a summary of pieces by other composers which he is known to have copied out, a list of his writings, a cautionary parade of seventeenth-century namesakes, a discography, and some handsome illustrations (I particularly like the scenic designs for the fourth entry of *The Siege of Rhodes,* the background against which Locke's music was performed, with the composer appearing in the role of Admiral). It will be of guidance to students and performers of Commonwealth and Restoration music and an inevitable companion to future research in this field.

A reference work of this sort tends to be judged by its users not only on the fullness and precision of the information which it brings together, but also on the clarity with which this is organized. Miss Harding has clearly worked unsparingly to assemble a mass of exact information; and it is perhaps chiefly on the score of clarity and conciseness that her catalogue may be felt to fall short of being, in these days, of rigorous methodology, a model of its kind. On the other hand it cannot be called colourless. One can almost picture the author listening with delight while a Cambridge colleague plays through her latest transcriptions, or slipping round to the post with another letter to the Garter King of Arms. And however irritated one may be by the quaint attachment to antique lettering, as in 'ffauconbridge' (astonishingly, nobody seems to have pointed out that **'FFLUMINA'** is impossible), one can hardly fail to be disarmed by the cryptic heading, 'Notes to some other Matthew Lockes'.

Fussy presentation, awkward layout, diffuseness, naivety and

[26] quixotism are, in any case, faults which might have been mended by a good press reader, and little is to be gained by singling out instances. Nevertheless it may be helpful to offer comment on potentially confusing points, beginning with the biographical calendar. This contains the results of an impressive amount of original genealogical research, although one could wish that, in the interests of compendiousness, inconclusive traces had more frequently been consigned to footnotes. Hawkins' statement that Locke became 'master or director of the king's music' on Lanier's death in 1666 (to be succeeded in about 1673 by Cambert), which Miss Harding regards as

'unproved', cannot stand up to serious consideration. In November 1666 Grabu was sworn in as master of the English chamber musick in ordinary to his Majesty in the place of Nicholas Lanier, deceased' (elsewhere he is often known by the short title 'Master of the Musick'); in September 1674 Grabu's place 'was disposed of to Mr. Staggins', in whose absence Locke was officiating in May 1677. I find the attempt on pp. xxix-xxxii to distinguish significantly between the titles 'Organist of Her Majesties Chappel' and 'Organist to the Queen' confused (which he held by June 1663). Doubt is cast by Miss Harding on the date of Locke's death, which she appears eventually to place between March 1678 and 1682; yet the weight of the evidence which she assembles points unwaveringly to a date no later than the beginning of September 1677. Purcell, appointed Composer in Ordinary on the 10th of that month in succession to his 'Worthy Friend', is unlikely to have been far wrong (even if he was relying on memory) in stating, in the heading to the elegy published in 1679, that he had died 'in August, 1677'. One suspects, without going into it closely, that Cummings was misled in dating the issue of Letters of Administration to 30 June 1677; note 10 on p. xxxv seems to bear this out. The main piece of evidence which worries Miss Harding is an entry in the Lord Chamberlain's records of 5 March 1678, concerning a new violin costing £12 'signed by Mr. Mathew Locke in the absence of the master of the music'; it is not difficult to suppose, however, that authority for payment failed to come through until months after Locke had approved the purchase. In contrast to the scepticism shown over his death, Miss Harding firmly gives his date of birth as 1622, though on the evidence of the Oxford portrait he could equally well have been born in 1621.

In the catalogue itself, the enumeration of works is not always entirely clear or consistent. Item 3, for example, is not a single work but a collection of fourteen separate anthems; the situation has been further confused by misprinting the subsidiary numbering '1-14' in the margin against item 2. The anthem *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?* (5) is included under the heading 'Three voice parts

[27] with continuo', although the description indicates that there are four voice parts. There is an unnatural subdivision of keyboard music into 'Harpsichord' and 'Virginals' categories, and it is not clear why one *almand* (66) is assigned to 'Organ' in preference to other keyboard instruments. The two six-part canons (127-8) and the lost string and wind music for the Coronation procession of Charles II (129) sit rather uneasily under the heading 'Sackbuts and Comets'; but the principle of grouping non-vocal compositions according to instruments is maintained until we reach a section disconcertingly entitled 'Instrumental Music: Manuscripts in the U.S.A.'. Lost works are given numbers in square brackets, including such items as 'some things of Mr. Locke's for two flageolets' which Pepys tried with Greeting on 13 August 1668 (but not, for some reason, the anthems by Locke listed on p. 16); works of doubtful authenticity have none. *The History of Sir Francis Drake* and *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* appear, unnumbered, amongst the main 'opera' entries (p. 51), though logic

suggests that they should either have been given numbers in square brackets or transferred to the 'doubtful' works; and if they are to be included at this point, it is difficult to see why *The Tempest* should not. Two items which should have square brackets are 112 and 129.

It would have been advantageous to have devised a system of marginal cross-references for pieces found in more than one version which worked equally well both ways. It is helpful to have the two versions of *Lord, let me know my end,* for example, labelled respectively '2' and '9 (2 a)'; but it might have been still more helpful to have written '2 *(cf* 9)' and '9 *(cf.* 2)'. There is no marginal cross-reference between items 108 and 114 (though the relationship is recorded in the text; closer comparison might have brought to notice slips in the transcription from the cittern tablature), or between 102 and 132.7.2 (a case of a keyboard arrangement from the *Little Consort*), or between 59.18-20 and 131.12.2-4 (a 'suit of Ayres' in *Cupid and Death* which also appears in the two-part consort 'For seaverall Freinds'), or between 137.2 and 255.2 (though this affinity too can be, gleaned from the text). An unnumbered entry on p. 105 for 'Five Pieces of Incidental Music' is anomalous and confusing; these five pieces are in fact identical with item 255. It also seems perverse to number an ayre and courante for cornetts and sackbuts twice (117-18 = 120-1). There is a misprint in the cross-reference against the first *simphonia* of *Super flumina Babylonis* (27), which should read '(134.19a & 20a)'.

Locke's revisions to his consort music present some problems which the appending of elaborate tables and indigestible textual notes does

[28] not wholly succeed in clarifying. It would be unfortunate if the work which encouraged Roger North to rank Locke with King Cleomenes of Sparta (136) came to be generally known, as a result of this catalogue, as 'A Concert off 4 Parts'; if 'original spellings are the order of the day, there is Locke's own title (reproduced as plate iv), 'Consort of Fower Parts'. Miss Harding regards the Royal College of Music holograph as 'the oldest score in Locke's hand' of this work; my own view, and that of Professor Tilmouth, is that it was made *after* the work had been copied into Locke's great score-book (British Museum, Add. 17801), but *before* the latter text had been brought (as a result of numerous small changes) into its final state.[1] One of the more valuable uses of this book is likely to be in the identification of instrumental movements; it is for this reason regrettable that for *incipits* of five dances from an early version of the two-part consort we must look, not in the main body of the catalogue, but in a note on the reverse of the appended 'Table I', and that no *incipits* at all are given of three other movements belonging to that version, of which Miss Harding observes that they 'have been so altered that they are barely recognizable'. Also omitted are *incipits* of an ayre and saraband added to the two-part

[1] C. D. S. Field, 'Matthew Locke and the consort suite', *Music & Letters,* LI (1970), 24n.; M. Locke, *Chamber Music: II,* ed. M. Tilmouth *(Musica Britannica,* xxxii), 1972, p. 108; M. Tilmouth, 'Revisions in the chamber music of Matthew Locke', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* xcviii (1971-2), p. 96.

consort in one of the few manuscripts which has, partially at least, slipped through Miss Harding's net (British Museum, Add. 33236). In the notes to Table I there is speculation on the possible significance of the different patterns of treble and bass clefs used in the Christ Church manuscript of this consort; but comparison with other productions of the same copyist, Francis Withey, suggests that these variations were entirely decorative. The *Flatt Consort* (133) is once again subdivided into 'twelve suites of two items each', although (as I have tried to show elsewhere)[2] this does violence to Locke's plan; here, also, we must look to the appendix (Table III, note 3) for the *incipit* of the canonic *jigg* which seems originally to have stood in the place of the fourth saraband.

In the sections devoted to works of doubtful authenticity will be found some pieces which are definitely by Locke, and others which equally definitely are not. Works included range front the once celebrated *Macbeth* music, published as Locke's in 1770 but now generally accepted as Leveridge's (to which thirteen pages are devoted), and a setting for bass and guitar of Hamlet's soliloquy, to the Locke items in the 1685 *Catch that Catch Can.* It is here, above

[29] all, that the catalogue would have profited from a greater exercise of critical judgement; the reader deserves to be told on what grounds, and with what confidence, a particular piece has been attributed to Locke. The 'doubtful' saraband presumed to be for cornetts and sackbuts (p. 132) is in fact a movement from the *Consort of Fower Parts* (136.3 .4); and at least one of the 'spurious' pieces listed on pp. 134-8 is a version of a piece ascribed with certainty to Locke elsewhere in the volume.

In all this patient assembling of material few stones have been left unturned. One small quotation worth adding would have been Pepys's description of the *Song of Thanksgiveing* (15), celebrating victory in the St James's Day fight of 1666, as 'a special good Anthemne'; and a surprising omission from the bibliography is Professor Lefkowitz's article 'Matthew Locke at Exeter'[3] which amongst other points might have led to the filling out of the remarks (p. xxiv) concerning Wake's musical career at Exeter. One feels, a little sadly, that in some respects Miss Harding's research has been overtaken by that of others—notably, in the study of the consort music and its sources, by that of Professor Michael Tilmouth. Nevertheless it is good to have, at last, this comprehensive catalogue of the whole range of Locke's work, with so much ancillary information packed between the covers, and we must be grateful to the author for making her findings available in this full and permanent form.

CHRISTOPHER D. S. FIELD

[2] *Music & Letters*, LI (1970), 20-1.
[3] *The Consort*, XXII (1965), 5-16.

WILLIAM BYRD. *Collected Works.* Vol. 15.

Consort Songs for voice and viols.

Edited by Philip Brett. £4.75. London, Stainer & Bell, 1970

[29] It is now generally recognized that in spite of the superficially madrigalian nature of Byrd's three published volumes of songs (1588; 1589; 1611), in reality much of their contents, albeit proportionately less in successive volumes, represents an entirely different form—the consort song. To give them a proper assessment it has been necessary to reconstruct them in the form in which they were conceived from the 'part-song' versions with their often uneasy underlays and various dependent rhythmic alterations. Judged as madrigals they are being judged by the wrong standards; as consort songs they may be reckoned as representing one of the most subtle and refined developments

[30] in song, which is not to claim that they are esoteric—they deserve and will amply reward performance.

With the publication of Philip Brett's new edition of the consort songs from manuscript sources we have not only an excellent performing edition but also one conforming to the highest scholarly standards. The preface perhaps deserves a mention in its own right as an introduction to the consort song as developed by Byrd.

Compared with Fellowes' edition thirteen new pieces are included, but eight of the original ones are now considered spurious or of doubtful authenticity. Of the latter group four are relegated to an appendix: the remaining four are not lost for they were transferred to the same editor's *Consort Songs, Musica Britannica* XXII.

Over a quarter of the songs, being incomplete, have been reconstructed using contemporary arrangements for lute or keyboard where they exist, and words have been supplied where there were none. The songs fall into four groups, the first three of which reflect the contents of the 1588 set—the grave 'songs of sadness and piety', the lighter 'sonnets and pastorals' and the 'funeral songs'; to these is added a selection of later songs. We should be particularly grateful to have these placed before us again as a reminder that contrary to the implication above that Byrd turned from the consort song he continued to develop a form in which he was a consummate master.

MICHAEL HOBBS

MICHAEL EAST. *Eight Fantasies of Five Parts* (1610)

£1.50. London, Stainer & Bell

[30] Imposing collections like the *English Madrigalists,* now coming out in a revised edition, are inevitably somewhat beyond the purse of the majority, and the usual style of madrigal offprints is not suited to performance on viols for various reasons. Much to be welcomed then are the eight fantasies by Michael East, copied directly from the score of Vol. 31[A], *Third Set of Books* (1610) (ed. E. H. Fellowes, revised T. Dart), in the form of a set of pads. Here are found the attributes of a good playing edition; original note-values, clefs to viol players' liking, bar-lines in acceptable numbers and no 'interpretation' superimposed. On this last point, however, it seems a pity that 'break' signs to signify some phrasing have been retained from the collected edition, as this tends to indicate too much of a hiatus to a player who cannot already perceive the phrasing, and is an encumbrance to others. The copying is clear and neat, though some might find the hand a little small for sustained use.

These fine pieces from the earlier end of the great English fantasy

[31] tradition have a freshness and spontaneity together with a mastery of technique which make them eminently enjoyable in performance. Italianate in character and vocal in the individual part-writing, the quasi-religious titles, such as *Peccavi* and *Triumphavi,* are reflected in their opening themes. Since there is a wealth of music both for viols alone and 'apt for Viols and Voyces' in the *English Madrigalists,* we look forward to more in this attractive format.

JOAN WESS