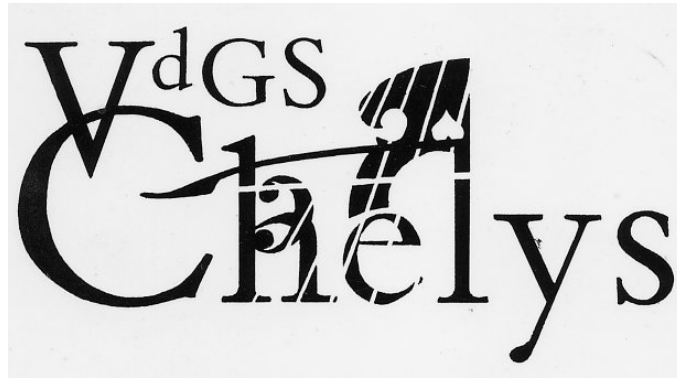




The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

Text has been scanned with OCR and is therefore searchable. The format on screen does not conform with the printed *Chelys*. The original page numbers have been inserted within square brackets: e.g. [23]. Where necessary footnotes here run in sequence through the whole article rather than page by page and replace endnotes. The pages labelled 'The Viola da Gamba Society Provisional Index of Viol Music' in some early volumes are omitted here since they are updated as necessary as *The Viola da Gamba Society Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, ed. Gordon Dodd and Andrew Ashbee, 1982-, available on-line at www.vdgs.org.uk or on CD-ROM. Each item has been bookmarked: go to the 'bookmark' tab on the left. To avoid problems with copyright, some photographs have been omitted.

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ALFONSO FERRABOSCO II: THE ART OF THE FANTASIA

Bruce Bellingham

I should like to pay tribute to Gordon Dodd, whose guidance and advice have been so valuable to me and many others. Partly for this reason, the title of my article is similar to that of his 1976 paper,¹ which I have used as a model for my *imitatio*.

Among composers of many cultures throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a common method of creating new music involved the borrowing or adapting of materials from earlier masters. Artistic emulation was often the basis of pedagogic instruction, but continued as well into the practice of a mature composer whose new piece might have derived its impetus from a composition by an older master. Artistic emulation or imitation could be intended as a kind of competition or as a manifestation of homage to a previous composer. The long tradition of writing new counterpoints, to a *cantus prius factus* continued throughout the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, but the technique of citing a polyphonic model and then proceeding more or less independently, now anachronistically called 'parody' composition, became common in the sixteenth century.

Howard Mayer Brown has warned that 'it is always difficult to be certain that a composer really intended such references in a style so filled with clichés and conventions',² and although his remarks pertained to fifteenth-century Burgundian and French music, they could just as well apply to English instrumental music around 1600. Moreover, the two categories of emulation which he found in fifteenth-century song literature can comfortably be applied to Elizabethan and Jacobean composition: one in which 'the composer has made his new piece structurally dependent on the old, so that both have the same phrase structure, the same or similar pattern of cadences...and similar melodic material' and a second in which 'the composer has more freely borrowed melodic material, not always with reference to the overall structure of the model'.³ The first technique can include the adaptation of a *cantus firmus*, in which a composer glosses an older original with his own counterpoints in order to produce a new transformation. Such a procedure should be familiar in English renaissance instrumental music as the *In Nomine*, whose utilization by many composers before and including William Byrd has been the subject of an admirable anatomical study by Oliver Neighbour;⁴ the last seventeenth-century *In Nomines* were composed by Henry Purcell. It is the second category—the free borrowing (or imitation) of various elements that constitute a conventional musical style, and their adaptation into new artistic expression—with which I shall deal in this article.

The modern literature on imitation is complex and vast, even dealing only with the Renaissance, and its derivation from the classical discipline of rhetoric warrants

¹ G. Dodd, 'Alfonso Ferrabosco II — The Art of the Fantasy', *Chelys*, 7 (1977), 47-53.

² H. M. Brown, 'Emulation, Competition and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance', *JAMS*, 35 (1982), 1-48, at p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴ O. Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (1978), especially Chpt. 2, p.26.

thorough study.⁵ We must be satisfied to refer to Brown's valuable article, in which he bases his observations upon the classical orator Marcus Fabius Quintilian (1st century A. D.) with the remark that 'it is no exaggeration to consider imitation a concept central to artistic production during the Renaissance'⁶ and the conclusion that 'the history of the application of the principles of rhetorical *imitatio* to music remains to be written'.⁷

In our study of Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias, the above observations [2] place the following comment by Joan Wess into a broader context:

There are, of course, different forms that parody can take, from the borrowing of imitative complexes to the transformation of borrowed material in paraphrase, and its presence by no means always indicates a new form in embryo. But parody does invariably reveal a composer's indebtedness to his chosen model, and his wish to comment on it in his own way.⁸

Ex. 1a. Alfonso Ferrabosco I: 'Come dal ciel/Like as from heaven', bars 1-5 (from Wess, 'Musica Transalpina', p. 8).

⁵ Warren Kirkendale cites figures of rhetoric which are still used to describe musical devices: augmentation, diminution, *imitation*, *parody* [my italics], subject, figure, suspension, anticipation, interruption, grave, invention, partita, exposition, recapitulation and transition: see W. Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach', *JAMS*, 32 (1979), 1-44, at p. 38.

⁶ Brown, 'Emulation', 38. He refers to the following passage from Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* (transl. H. E. Butler, London and New York 1921-2), IV, 74-5: 'For there can be no doubt that in art no small portion of our task lies in imitation, since, although invention came first and is all-important, it is expedient to imitate whatever has been invented with success'.

⁷ Brown, 'Emulation', 43. On a broader scale, the renaissance revival of classical Greek and Latin studies has been documented by C. V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, 1985).

⁸ J. Wess, 'Musica Transalpina, Parody, and the Emerging Jacobean Viol Fantasia', *Chelys*, 15 (1986), 3-25, at p. 4.

Instructive in this regard is the debt which English madrigalian and 'non-madrigalian' (Wess's term) borrowers owed to *Musica Transalpina* and particularly to Luca Marenzio and Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder: Wess discusses borrowings [3] and parodies by Wilbye, Dowland and especially John Coprario. Her comparison of Coprario's four-part fantasia C22 (Meyer no. 8) with the elder Ferrabosco's madrigal 'Come dal ciel /Like as from heaven' is especially illuminating: she outlines a structure divided into two sections by a strong full cadence in the middle (bar 26) with each section having an initial 'quotation passage' followed by freely expanded material (see Examples 1a, 1b and 1c).

23

The spring re - new'd his force with her sweet fa -
flow'-ring, The spring re-new'd his force with her sweet fa -
The spring re-new'd his force with her sweet fa -
The spring re-new'd his force with her sweet fa-vour,
vour, the spring re - new'd his force with her sweet fa-vour,
vour, with her sweet fa-vour,
The spring his force re - new - ed The
vour, The

Ex. 1b. Alfonso Ferrabosco I: 'Come dal ciel / Like as from heaven', bars 23-6 (from Wess, 'Musica Transalpina', p. 12)

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piece by John Coprario. Each system consists of four staves: a single treble staff at the top, followed by two joined alto and bass staves, and a single bass staff at the bottom. The music is written in a 17th-century style with various note values, rests, and accidentals. Fingerings are indicated by circled numbers (1a, 1b, 1c) and articulation by a '5' over a note. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4.

Ex. 1c. John Coprario: fantasia a4 (C22), ed. R. Charteris (Fretwork Editions, FE4, 1991, pp 112-7).

10

1c

1a

1c

15

1a

1c

2a

1a

2a

Ex. 1c. (cont.)



Musical score for Ex. 1c (cont.), measures 20-25. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. Measure numbers 20, 25, and 2a are indicated. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Measure 20: Treble staff has a whole note G4. Alto staff has a half note F4 and a half note E4. Tenor staff has a half note D4 and a half note C4. Bass staff has a half note B3 and a half note A3.

Measure 21: Treble staff has a whole note G4. Alto staff has a half note F4 and a half note E4. Tenor staff has a half note D4 and a half note C4. Bass staff has a half note B3 and a half note A3.

Measure 22: Treble staff has a whole note G4. Alto staff has a half note F4 and a half note E4. Tenor staff has a half note D4 and a half note C4. Bass staff has a half note B3 and a half note A3.

Measure 23: Treble staff has a whole note G4. Alto staff has a half note F4 and a half note E4. Tenor staff has a half note D4 and a half note C4. Bass staff has a half note B3 and a half note A3.

Measure 24: Treble staff has a whole note G4. Alto staff has a half note F4 and a half note E4. Tenor staff has a half note D4 and a half note C4. Bass staff has a half note B3 and a half note A3.

Measure 25: Treble staff has a whole note G4. Alto staff has a half note F4 and a half note E4. Tenor staff has a half note D4 and a half note C4. Bass staff has a half note B3 and a half note A3.

Ex. 1c. (cont.)

[7]



First system of musical notation. It consists of four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Treble staff has a circled '3a' above the first measure and a circled '3b' above the second measure. The Alto staff has a circled '3a' above the first measure and a circled '3b' above the second measure. The Tenor staff is empty. The Bass staff has a circled '3a' above the fourth measure. A fermata is placed over the first measure of the Bass staff.



Second system of musical notation. It consists of four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Treble staff has a circled '3b' above the first measure and a circled '3a' above the second measure. The Alto staff has a circled '3a' above the first measure and a circled '3b' above the second measure. The Tenor staff has a circled '3b' above the first measure. The Bass staff has a circled '3b' above the first measure. A fermata is placed over the first measure of the Bass staff.



Third system of musical notation. It consists of four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Treble staff has a circled '3a' above the first measure and a circled '3b' above the second measure. The Alto staff has a circled '3b' above the first measure and a circled '3a' above the second measure. The Tenor staff has a circled '3a' above the first measure and a circled '3b' above the second measure. The Bass staff has a circled '3a' above the first measure and a circled '3b' above the second measure. A fermata is placed over the first measure of the Bass staff.

Ex. 1c. (cont.)



Musical score for Ex. 1c (cont.), measures 35 to 40. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/8. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks. Circled labels 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, and 5a, 5b indicate specific measures or groups of notes.

Measures 35-40:

- Measure 35: Treble staff has a whole note F#4. Alto staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Tenor staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Bass staff has a quarter note F#3, quarter note G3, quarter note A3. Labels: 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b.
- Measure 36: Treble staff has a whole note F#4. Alto staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Tenor staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Bass staff has a quarter note F#3, quarter note G3, quarter note A3. Labels: 4a, 4b.
- Measure 37: Treble staff has a whole note F#4. Alto staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Tenor staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Bass staff has a quarter note F#3, quarter note G3, quarter note A3. Labels: 4a, 4b.
- Measure 38: Treble staff has a whole note F#4. Alto staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Tenor staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Bass staff has a quarter note F#3, quarter note G3, quarter note A3. Labels: 4a, 4b.
- Measure 39: Treble staff has a whole note F#4. Alto staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Tenor staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Bass staff has a quarter note F#3, quarter note G3, quarter note A3. Labels: 4a, 4b.
- Measure 40: Treble staff has a whole note F#4. Alto staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Tenor staff has a quarter note F#4, quarter note G4, quarter note A4. Bass staff has a quarter note F#3, quarter note G3, quarter note A3. Labels: 5a, 5b.

Ex. 1c. (cont.)

The musical score consists of three systems, each with four staves. The first system (bars 45-48) features a treble staff with a whole note G4, a bass staff with a whole note G3, and two inner staves with eighth and sixteenth note patterns. The second system (bars 49-52) continues the patterns with some rests. The third system (bars 53-56) concludes with a final cadence. Circled notes are labeled: '5c' for G4, '5d' for G3, and '6' for F#4.

Ex. 1c. (cont.)

[10] Wess characterised the quotation passages as 'vocal style' (as beginning at bar 26), and she related the free section directly with "'instrumental" textures [that] reassert themselves almost immediately and are retained to the end of the fantasia'.⁹ For our purposes here, we will note that Coprario maintains his imitative points on tonic and dominant. The subject (*la*) has a consequent (*lb*) which is employed as a countersubject, and even a second countersubject (1c), but neither of the consequent countersubjects is employed as independent material, and the counterpoint (predominantly diatonic, with little inflection beyond *ficta* turns to flat 6th and raised 7th), wanders freely into passages that lead to cadences. Cadences are frequent, and usually mark new changes of texture: in the five other

⁹ Ibid., 12.

four-part works these include duo, trio or homophonic passages that can include slower note-values. Among all of Coprario's four-part fantasias, one can observe a further trademark, as well: a variety of sections and materials; in the four-part fantasia C22 on 'Come dal ciel' I count altogether six.¹⁰ Wess used her examples to attempt to draw 'a boundary line between the Italian madrigal and the Jacobean fantasia' and suggested a date for Coprario's fantasia C22 .of around 1598, when he, 'aged little more than 20, could have written these parody fantasias in apprenticeship to his trade, before he embarked on his Italian trip'.¹¹

If some of Coprario's four-part fantasias can be confirmed as being composed in the 1590s, the ten extant manuscript sources do not attest to a broad dispersal of these pieces, and only one, GB-Ob MS Tenbury 302, might have an origin as early as the next decade, after 1600.¹² Apart from that source, all the manuscripts that contain any Coprario four-part fantasias are the very ones that contain the major corpus of early Jacobean four-part repertoire—the fantasias of Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Coprario's contemporary. One of them—F-Pc MS Res. F.770—intersperses six Coprario pieces within the Ferrabosco group and thus attributes their composition to Ferrabosco.

In total, 28 manuscripts contain Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias, the majority embracing what must have been considered by their copyists as a kind of basic core repertoire. For our purpose, let us review the general contents of the most famous, GB-Lbl MS Egerton 3665, possibly copied by or for Francis Tregian around the second decade of the seventeenth century.¹³

In the entire Tregian score, the only series of four-part fantasias comprises the 19 by 'Alfonso Ferabosco it Figliuolo', set off by blank pages and followed, after some separating blanks, by 23 vocal pieces headed 'Madrigalette di Alf. Ferabosco it Giovane'. These latter, known to us only from MS Egerton 3665,¹⁴ clearly reveal the younger Alfonso's familiarity with and mastery of the lighter Italianate style, with their homophonic textures, short sections, frequent *canzonetta* rhythms and occasional 'fa-la' refrains. Instrumental works by other English composers in the Tregian score are all for five parts, grouped together into a large section that includes pieces by Lupo (12, and later 11, among them four with Italian incipits), Coprario (46, mostly with incipits), East (eight, printed in 1610 with Latin incipits), Deering and Ward (again including some with Italian incipits like 'La Rondinella' and 'Leggiadra sei').

Noticeably lacking from the Tregian collection are the four-part compositions by the very composers whose five-part works figure so [11] prominently: Lupo, Coprario, Ward and Deering. A similar profile could be drawn for manuscripts compiled by Merro (Lbl Add. MSS 17792-6 and Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7), Myriell (Lbl Add. MS 29427) and Tomkins (Lbl Add. MS 29996), which are considered to have originated in the early years of the seventeenth century. The

¹⁰ Caroline Cunningham points out that Coprario generally preferred 'variety and novelty' to 'a tenacious insistence on pursuing a single theme, *ricercar-like* [my italics], throughout' See below, p. [71]

¹¹ Wess, 'Musica Transalpina', 21.

¹² See Charteris, *Catalogue*, 59.

¹³ See London, British Library MS Egerton 3665 (The Tregian Manuscript), Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 7a (with introduction by F. D'Accone, New York and London, 1988).

¹⁴ D'Accone points out that of the 11 main sections in which the collection is organized, three are reserved exclusively for works by Alfonso Ferrabosco II and two for copies of printed works by Alfonso Ferrabosco I. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

same observation can be made about the unknown copyist of Lbl MSS Mad. Soc. G.37-42.¹⁵ These part-books contain seven three-part works by Lupo and 20 in four parts by Ferrabosco; then in a section together come 23 five-part works by Lupo, Ward, Ferrabosco II (three In Nomines) and White, and five by Coprario with Italian text incipits. A final section of six-part works features the same composers except Ferrabosco.

Ex. 2. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, *Musica Britannica*, 62, no. 15 (VdGS no. 13), bars 13-18.

The very first of Ferrabosco's fantasias in MS Egerton 3665, fantasia no. 15 (VdGS no. 13), may be the earliest. At least we can date it to 1609, because it was printed then in lyra viol tablature.¹⁶ The beginning motive, wide-ranging with a distinctive octave leap, is soon modified for 'tonal' answers, shifted rhythmically (bars 4-5) and treated to augmentation (bass, bars 6-12) to the point of virtual transformation. A passing descending figure (bar 5) imperceptibly grows in prominence, inclines with its own transformations (bar 7, tenor, bar 8, treble, bar 10, imitated) through the remote tonal area of B major—all with sustained imitations, rapid runs, augmentations and overlapping strettis—and builds [12] rhythmically to a full cadential tonal arrival over bass pedal points (see Example 2, bar 15). A new section with a sudden expressive 'sigh' is projected by a homophonic harmonic shift (from G major to C minor) and descending four-note sequences, possibly derived from the first section (bar 5). These lamentations turn at the dominant D into a chromatically-inflected imitation (bar 18) and another full stop, before the final principal imitative section begins with a duo and employs

¹⁵ This was the principal source for *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Four-Part Fantasias for Viols*, eds A. Ashbee and B. Bellingham, *Musica Britannica*, 62 (1992). The numbering of the fantasias follows the order in this manuscript. VdGS numbering from Dodd, *Index*, 34-7 and numbering from E. H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Kassel, 1934), are also included.

¹⁶ A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. viols* (1609), 32: 'A Fancie for three Viols', transcribed in *Jacobean Consort Music*, eds T. Dart and W. Coates, *Musica Britannica*, 9 (2nd edn, 1962), no. 129.

climactic overlapping transformations of the descending sequential figure. The expressive 'sigh' could be a parody of Dowland's 'Lachrymae', a conventional melodic and harmonic figure traceable to a similar *deNiice* used by Guillaume Dufay which became ubiquitous in sixteenth-century Italian madrigals.¹⁷ Ferrabosco's emulation of such devices occurs within a work farther removed from the type of madrigalesque imitation observed in Coprario's fantasia on 'Come dal ciel': the polyphonic textures are more consistently maintained, with rare recourse to sectional and textural changes.

In the core repertory of four-part works in Jacobean manuscript sources, there is one other composer whose works often appear as a complete group alongside those of Alfonso Ferrabosco II, and that is John Ward. Of the 28 sources of Ferrabosco fantasias, 15 contain most or all of the 23 four-part pieces, and eight of those also contain all six of Ward's four-part 'Oxford' fantasias;¹⁸ in all, 17 manuscripts contain some music by both Ward and Ferrabosco. However, there must be some good reason for the Ward pieces to be lacking in the Ferrabosco manuscripts thought to originate in London circles during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, especially the Tregian and Tomkins scores as well as Lbl MSS Mad. Soc. G.37-42, a source which Andrew Ashbee believes has close associations with the court of James I.¹⁹ Ward may not have been in court service, but he was probably no stranger amongst court musicians. Myriell's collections include music by composers in Prince Henry's employ: Ferrabosco II (who taught Henry to play on the viol), Lupo, John Bull and Coprario (in Prince Charles's service possibly from 1617). Furthermore, if we understand that Ward's role in the Fanshawe household included being 'one of the gentlemen perfectly well qualified both in that [music] and in the Italian tongue',²⁰ we may better understand the style of his four-part fantasias and their relationship to the Ferrabosco pieces. Their noticeable absence from the earliest manuscripts that contain the Ferrabosco corpus can be explained by his being a gentleman outsider; the combination of Ward's and Ferrabosco's fantasias into manuscripts that appear to date from the 1620s and later underlines their superficial similarities and profound differences of style. In fact, as we study the two groups of fantasias closely, their association seems to me to stem mainly from Ferrabosco's Italian name and Ward's Italianate style.

By choosing pieces that bear similar thematic material, we can compare some strong similarities and simultaneously distinguish the stylistic differences between Ward's six 'Oxford' fantasias and their Ferrabosco mates that stand together in so many manuscripts. The Italian models which Ferrabosco emulated are noticeably instrumental idioms: the *canzona* and the *ricercar*. He mastered the [13]

¹⁷ See B. Bellingham, 'Convention and Transformation in Ferrabosco's Four-Part Fantasias' in *John Jenkins and his Time*, eds A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 111-35.

¹⁸ So called because they appear in a number of Oxford sources and to distinguish them from a further 15 four-part fantasias attributed to Ward which occur uniquely in F-Pc MS Res. F.770: see below, pp 52-68.

¹⁹ *Musica Britannica*, 62, p. xxiii.

²⁰ J. Aplin, 'Sir Henry Fanshawe and two sets of early seventeenth-century part-books at Christ Church, Oxford', *M&L*, 57 (1976), 11-24, at p. 14, quoting Fanshawe's daughter-in-law; see N. H. Nicholas, (ed.), *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe* (1829), 13-14.

The image displays a musical score for a piece by Alfonso Ferrabosco II. It consists of four staves, each with a different clef (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass). The music is written in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The score shows a sequence of notes and rests across 25 bars, with a specific section highlighted from bar 19 to 25. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes) and rests, with some notes having accidentals (sharps and flats).

Ex. 3b. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, *Musica Britannica*, 62, no. 10 (VdGS no. 12), bars 19-25.

[15] compositional techniques of writing a motive in two parts which can be combined as subject and countersubject or can progress as antecedent and consequent.²¹ His motives are distinctive in melodic and rhythmic outline, but can be malleable in those as well as intervallic shapes, so that he can compose long sections of polyphony that evolve and grow through harmonic excursions into distant tonal areas. Fantasia no. 10 in *Musica Britannica*, 62 (VdGS no. 12) displays an initial conventional canzona figure. Ferrabosco develops this subject/countersubject material through 20 bars of fluid invertible counterpoint, building to a strong medial cadence (see Example 3a). The second half appears to

²¹ J. Kerman, 'Byrd, Tallis and the art of imitation, in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: a Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. J. LaRue (New York, 1966), 528; O. Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 92.

adapt a thematic transformation into an even more dense and syncopated polyphony of sharply-defined motives, and concludes over sustained pedals with a climax of overlapping fragments relentless to the final cadence (see Example 3b). Such exhaustive pursuit and exploitation of thematic material throughout a composition is more the characteristic of an ensemble *ricercar*: Ferrabosco's instrumental *imitatio* incorporates the adaptation or parody of elements from different models, *canzona* and *ricercar*. Vocal models such as those which Wess found for Coprario seem to be at a greater distance.²² Could this distinction be implied in Thomas Tomkins's comment at the heading in his score of the 20 'Fancies to the Vyolls' by Ferrabosco? It reads:

All of them excellent good, But made only for the Vyolls & organ which is the Reason that he takes such liberty of Compass which he would have Restraynd: If it had bin made for voyces only.²³

Ward appears to have learned these antecedent/consequent techniques well, and perhaps modelled the subjects of his first imitative points on Ferrabosco's: the beginnings of Ward's first four fantasias display such sophisticated artistry in employing the subjects and their complements in fluid combinations. Fantasia no. 1 bears some resemblance in modal melodic character to Ferrabosco no. 10, previously discussed.²⁴ The similarities may be more than coincidental: compare Ferrabosco bar 3 with Ward's subject/countersubject in bar 2 (see Example 4). But then the significant differences in Ward's style begin to distinguish themselves from Ferrabosco's: invariably, all four parts come to a full cadential stop and proceed harmonically in light, tripping *canzonetta* rhythms. Another Ward characteristic is his use of a slower, reflective section that can contrast with a more brilliant rapid contrapuntal climax. Homophonic passages such as those observed in Ward and Coprario—which I believe reveal a madrigalesque influence—occur rarely in Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias. Besides the pause in fantasia no. 15 discussed earlier, no. 16 (VdGS no. 1)—the very next piece in the major source Lbl MS Mad. Soc. G.37-42²⁵—contains a two-bar textural change (bars 33-4) that appears in the same context of momentary reflection between two principal sections of dense polyphony, and fantasia no. 21 (VdGS no. 15) bars 12-15 is a homophonic *canzonetta*-like passage in three parts disguised by imitative entries. Overall, Ward's stylistic features in the six 'Oxford' fantasias are more similar to those of Coprario and Gibbons than to those of Ferrabosco: they derive more directly from English madrigal features in their textural changes, and from Italian 'quilt *canzona*' in the manner of their sectionalism (a trait which can

²² The only Coprario four-part fantasia to display a more rigorous polyphonic exploitation like Ferrabosco's, C19 (*Musica Britannica*, 9, no. 19), is still sectionalized and has a reflective 'madrigalian' slow passage.

²³ Lbl Add. MS 29996, ff 72v-3: facsimile in *Musica Britannica*, 62, p. xxxiii.

²⁴ Although any one of the six could represent these observations, our example is the Ward fantasia a4 no. 1, found in 12 sources: the version illustrated is based upon Och Mus 459-62, copied by Myriell.

²⁵ See note 15 above.

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with four staves (Treble, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The key signature is two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various note values, rests, and a fermata in the fifth measure of the first system.

Ex. 4. John Ward: fantasia a4 (VdGS no. 1), ed. V. Brookes (PRB Productions, edition no. VC015, 1996), bars 1-28.

[17]



Ex. 4. (cont.)





The musical score for Ex. 4 (cont.) is presented in three systems, each with four staves. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The first system begins at measure 20, indicated by a '20' above the first staff. The second system begins at measure 25, indicated by a '25' above the first staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano). The score is written in a standard musical notation style with a common time signature.

Ex. 4. (cont.)



Ex. 4. (cont.)

still be observed in Purcell's fantasias). Therefore we can perceive these pieces as Italianate, composed in the path of a stylistic impetus that ran from *Musica Transalpina* of 1588 through Morley, Coprario and East to the 1620s. Significantly, the composers who maintained their relative independence from this wave included William Byrd, Alfonso Ferrabosco II and John Jenkins.

It should be instructive to observe Ferrabosco's parody of one element which we observed as a trademark of Ward's (see Example 5a). The subject of Ferrabosco's fantasia no. 7 (same numbering in *Musica Britannica*, 62 and VdGS) resembles the melodic shape and light rhythmic character of a *balletto* by Gastoldi or Morley, or the Ward passage just discussed, but the emotional world is profoundly deeper.²⁶ Such a semitone figure is common in many madrigals—as, for example, Monteverdi's 'Ecco mormorar l'onde' (*II secundo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venice, 1590; also in Lbl MS Egerton 3665, no. 332) and Marenzio's 'O voi the sospirate' (*II secundo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venice, 1581; also in MS Egerton 3665, no. 179)—and in madrigalian fantasias such as Coprario's five-part piece C71 (Meyer no. 2)²⁷ that paraphrases Marenzio (see Example 5b, especially bars 12-22).

Wess's observation that 'parody does invariably reveal a composer's indebtedness to his chosen model, and his wish to comment on it in his own way'²⁸ can now be applied to these two examples. Whereas Coprario treats the Phrygian semitone figure as one among a variety of textures and soon cadences into a light, homophonic *canzonetta*-like passage, Alfonso has transformed the Netherlandish vocal convention into an emotive instrumental statement that pursues the polyphonic implications of the modal character in numerous flexible transformations throughout the entire first half of the piece.

We can now adjust our perception of the Jacobean fantasia, at least for four parts. Wess pointed out its hallmarks (which I have drawn up in the comparative table below) and described the following lines of evolution:

²⁶ Bellingham, 'Convention and Transformation', Exx. 3a and 3b, where Ferrabosco's treatment of this *canzonetta* formula is compared with the beginning of Josquin des Prez's great motet 'Miserere mei, Deus' of c1505.

²⁷ Virtually all of the large corpus of five-part Coprario fantasias have Italian text incipits and are included in Lbl MS Egerton 3665: see Charteris, *Catalogue*, 65, 68. It may be significant that the only two without incipits are lacking in MS Egerton 3665; Wess, 'Musica Transalpina', 13, points out that the fantasia C71 is 'notably one of [Coprario's] few...without a text incipit'.

²⁸ See note 8 above.

Once established, this type of fantasia went forward with a single impetus through the works of a generation of composers, spurred on by John Coprario, Thomas Lupo, Richard Deering and John Ward, *acquiring on the way an intellectual injection from the ricercar* [my italics]²⁹

[21]



Ex. 5a. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, Musica Britannica, 62, no. 7 (VdGS no. 7), bars 1-6.

²⁹ Wess, *op. cit.*, 3.

The musical score is presented in five staves. The first staff is in Treble clef, and the others are in Alto, Tenor, Bass, and a fifth staff. The time signature is 5/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. A measure number '5' is visible above the first staff, and '10' and '15' are visible above the second and third staves respectively.

Ex. 5b. John Coprario: fantasia a5 (C71), Musica Britannica, 9, no. 35, bars 1-23.

[23]

The image shows a musical score for a five-part setting, likely a fantasia. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has five staves: a treble staff and four lute staves (two on the left, two on the right). The second system also has five staves. The music is written in a style characteristic of the late 16th or early 17th century, with various note values, rests, and accidentals. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is labeled 'Ex. 5b. (cont.)' at the bottom.

The one composer whom Wess passes over in investigating the beginnings of the Jacobean fantasia is Alfonso Ferrabosco II. His borrowing (or imitation) of canzona and ricercar elements, more consistent maintenance of polyphonic logic, frequent use of double subjects³⁰ and transformation of stylistic conventions into emotive and idiomatic instrumental compositions constitute the 'intellectual injection' into the Jacobean fantasia, and showed the way especially for John Jenkins.³¹

Wess proposed that the term 'madrigal-fantasia' as applied to Coprario's titled five- and six-part pieces 'would now seem ripe for deletion'.³² I would hope that my attempt here to consider the central position held by the four-part fantasias of Alfonso Ferrabosco II will bring an adjustment of her interpretation of the Jacobean fantasia and may justify the retention of the term 'madrigal-fantasia'. For the sake of distinguishing their characteristics and differences, one might even go so far as to suggest the term 'ricercar-fantasia' in describing Ferrabosco's pieces, but in both cases we are dealing with the transplanting of [24] Italian idioms onto English soil and the resultant artistic mutations.

³⁰ A procedure Coprario used sparingly, giving preference to variety and novelty: see above, note 10.

³¹ A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Music of John Jenkins*, I (Surbiton, 1992), 168, 207.

³² Wess, 'Musica Transalpina', 21.

Jacobean Fantasias: A Summary of Stylistic Features

<i>Madrigal-Fantasia</i> strongly contrasting, often rather brief sections	<i>Ferrabosco II Fantasia</i> usually two sections
	extensive, disciplined treatment of one subject in each section; sometimes monothematic
canzonetta rhythms	subjects in two parts: antecedent/consequent subject / countersubject
slow harmonically- elements	consistently polyphonic, with eclectic style
expressive passages	transformed to expressive instrumental idioms
duet and trio sections	duos or trios often start second section
frequent use of brighter modalities/tonalities	strong harmonic progressions balance tonal excursions; diatonic treatment of chromatics
text-generated textures words	instrumental expressive character independent of

Acknowledgements

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MADRIGALS AND MADRIGALIAN FANTASIES: THE FIVE-PART CONSORT MUSIC OF JOHN COPRARIO AND THOMAS LUPO

Derry Bertenshaw

The Jacobean viol consort fantasy falls roughly into two main types: the multi-sectional fantasy and the fugal fantasy. The fugal type usually has between one and three sections, each of which rigorously develops one or more imitative points. It has its formal roots in the fantasies of Alfonso Ferrabosco I and William Byrd, although its instrumental writing belongs to a new age.

The multi-sectional fantasy contains a larger number of often shorter sections, each defined by cadences. Unlike the fugal type, the Jacobean multisectional fantasy denotes a new departure from Elizabethan forms. As Ernst Meyer noted:

The momentous new advance of the composers of the generation that succeeded Morley was the introduction of variety into the fantasia form. The sections were no longer based on subjects of more or less similar character and equally moderate speed, but on definitely different types of themes.¹

More recently, a number of scholars have argued that this type of fantasy began to develop about the beginning of the seventeenth century, having evolved from the five-voiced polyphonic Italian madrigal which was particularly popular in England during the final couple of decades of the sixteenth century.² In his important article, David Pinto remarked:

The appearance of the Italianate madrigal-fantasy after James I's accession may be even more decisive than Meyer suggests, since the type of madrigalian composition it arises from provides an unprecedented technique for attempting free composition. The old combination of graded voices in the five-part ensemble (which forms the bulk of the repertoire; Tr: A: T: Bar: B, the norm for dance and plainsong fantasy) changes to a more brilliant texture of two equal trebles. The seamless web of counterpoint is variegated (as Meyer notes) by contrasting, especially homophonic sections.³

There is a clear correlation between the introduction of variety into the fantasy form and the madrigal which, by its very nature, necessitates varied, contrasting sections in response to the contrasting affections evoked by the text. When Thomas Morley gave advice on how to write madrigals he suggested the

¹ E. H. Meyer, *English Chamber Music* (1946), 142; *idem*, *Early English Chamber Music* (1982), 155-6.

² G. Dodd, 'Alfonso Ferrabosco II - The Art of the Fantasy', *Cheyls*, 7 (1977), 47-53, at pp 48-9; C. Field, 'Fantasia, §1, to 1700', *The New Grove*, VI, 380-88, at p. 387; D. Pinto, 'William Lawes' music for viol consort', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 12-24, at p. 19; *idem*, 'The Fantasy Manner: the seventeenth-century context', *Cheyls*, 10 (1981), 17-28, at pp 24-8; G. Strahle, 'Fantasy and Music in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England', *Cheyls*, 17 (1988), 28-32, at p. 31; J. Wess, 'Musica Transalpina, Parody and the Emerging Jacobean Viol Fantasia', *Cheyls*, 15 (1986), 3-25; A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, I, (Surbiton, 1992), 115-28.

³ D. Pinto, 'William Lawes' music for viol consort', 19.

composer 'shew the verie uttermost of your varietie, and the more varietie you shew the better shal you please'.⁴

The Jacobean multi-sectional fantasy was founded through a gradual evolution from Italianate madrigals to instrumental fantasies modelled on specific madrigals and canzonets and finally to original fantasies influenced by the madrigal style, but not based on any specific models (although some may remain undetected). Throughout this evolution, there is a subtle change in the form and texture of these pieces so that while the instrumental works are still influenced by the madrigal, they are true fantasies, not just madrigals arranged for viols.

The reason why this has not been fully appreciated is because the crucial works in this evolutionary process—the five-part pieces of John Coprario and Thomas Lupo I—present us with many problems concerning their origins, [27] composition and performance. This article attempts to throw some light on these pieces and, in so doing, shows how they mark the transition from madrigal to madrigalian fantasy. Three aspects of this music are examined: chronology, genre and composition.

The five-part pieces of Coprario and Lupo are almost certainly the earliest works of their kind for some of them can be found in US-SM MSS Ellesmere 25 A 46-51 (henceforth referred to as the Ellesmere part-books), the earliest extant source of music by any Jacobean viol consort composer, its copying begun at the end of Elizabeth's reign.⁵ A texted version of Coprario's 'Deh cara anima mia' (VdGS no. 32)⁶ and textless versions of 'Io son ferito amore' (VdGS no. 2), 'Dove il liquido argento' (VdGS no. 45) and 'Occhi miei con viva speme' (VdGS no. 46) can be found in the second layer copied at the end of the 1590s. Lupo's 'Alte parole' (VdGS no. 9) is entered into the third layer, most likely copied a few years later in the early 1600s.

The same piece occurs at the end of the first layer of GB-Lbl Add. MSS 37402-6 (its copying was also begun around the turn of the century) together with the anonymous 'O the vezzosa' which I suggested in a recent article is also by Lupo.⁷ Although the Ellesmere part-books and the first layer of Add. MSS 37402-6 contain no further music by Lupo,⁸ it is very likely that his other textless pieces with Italian incipits—'Il vago' (VdGS no. 5), 'Io moriro' (VdGS no. 18), 'Ardo' (VdGS no. 19) and 'Che fia lasso di me' (VdGS no. 29)—were

⁴ . T. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597, facs. edn, New York, 1969), 180.

⁵ Richard Charteris has dated the first layer to c1600: see 'The Huntington Library PartBooks Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 50 (1987), 59-84. It is almost certain that the part-books were bound and the covers stamped before 1601: this is discussed in a forthcoming revised and expanded version of my thesis 'The Influence of the Late Sixteenth-Century Italian Polyphonic Madrigal on the English Viol Consort Fantasy c1600-1645: A Background Study' (Ph.D., University of Leicester, 1992).

⁶ The VdGS numbers follow the sequence assigned by Charteris which, in turn, is based on Lbl MS Egerton 3665 for the first 46 five-part pieces: see Charteris, *Catalogue*, where the attributed music is numbered C24-C72 and the unattributed music U3-U5 (see note 10 below).

⁷ D. Bertenshaw, 'Another five-part piece by Thomas Lupo?', *Chehys*, 23 (1994), 17-36.

⁸ The second layer of Lbl Add. MSS 37402-6 contains Lupo's five-part pieces VdGS nos 6, 7 and 15 with one inner part lacking: see C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 210-26. See also R. Charteris, (ed.), *Thomas Lupo: The Five-Part Consort Music*, two vols (Fretwork Editions, London, 1997 and 1998).

written about the same time for, as I attempted to show in the same article, they all display similarities in the way they were composed.

John Ward also wrote 13 five-part pieces, five of which carry Italian titles including 'Cor mio, deh non languire' which survives with text underlay. It is highly unlikely that he was the first composer to write such works as none of Ward's music appears in the earliest sources discussed.⁹ This honour probably goes to Coprario, although it is impossible to establish with certainty any kind of comparative chronology of Coprario and Lupo since none of the pieces is dated in any of the sources, and hardly any manuscripts have survived which date from the early 1600s and contain music by Jacobean viol consort composers. The earliest major source is Lbl MS Egerton 3665, one of two full scores possibly copied by or for Francis Tregian the younger in the 1610s, by which time all the five-part pieces by Coprario and most of those by Lupo had already been composed. The exceptions are 11 five-part works by Lupo which do not appear in MS Egerton 3665 (VdGS nos 16, 17, 20-28). These include all the pieces with two basses (VdGS nos 16, 17, 20-25, 27). Since this manuscript is the most extensive Jacobean source of consort music, it is reasonable to suggest that such a large number of pieces (a third of his five-part output) were omitted because they were written after the sources for its compilation had been acquired. Since most of Coprario's five-part pieces including, significantly, all of those with two basses, are included in MS Egerton 3665 it is highly likely that they were written earlier than at least some of those by Lupo. Although six pieces by Coprario (VdGS nos 47-52) also do not appear in this manuscript,¹⁰ their omission is less significant for they appear to be earlier examples of his music written some years before and are vastly different from these 11 instrumental pieces by Lupo.

⁹ Ian Payne has proved beyond reasonable doubt that the vocal music and the five- and six-part consorts attributed to John Ward are the work of one composer, not two, although the question of whether this composer was John Ward the elder or the younger is the subject of continuing debate, as is the identity of Ward the elder; see Andrew Ashbee's review of C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England* in *Mc&L*, 64 (1983), 252-5; *idem*, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, 125; R. Ford, 'John Ward of Canterbury', *Journal VdGSA*, 23 (1986), 51-63; I. Payne, 'John Ward (c1589-1638): The Case for One Composer of the Madrigals, Sacred Music and Five- and Six-Part Consorts', *Chelys*, 23 (1994), 1-16; Robert Ford's correspondence in the *Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain Newsletter*, no. 91, October 1995; and the replies from Ian Payne and Roger Bowers in the *Newsletter* no. 92, January 1996.

¹⁰ These include three anonymous pieces which Charteris has assigned to Coprario, VdGS nos 50-52: see R. Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *RMARC*, 13 (1976), 27-63; Charteris, *Catalogue*, 104-5; *John Coprario, The Five-Part Pieces*, ed. R. Charteris, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 92 (American Institute of Musicology/Hanssler-Verlag, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1981), p. xxvi. This edition incorrectly includes MS Egerton 3665 in the list of sources on p. xxvi for VdGS no. 48. Playing parts to this score are available in three volumes from Fretwork Editions, London.

Table 1. John Coprario: five-part compositions*Section A: works in vocal style**Texted madrigal*

VdGS no.	Title
32	Deh cara anima mia

Textless works possibly composed for voices

VdGS no.	Title	VdGS no.	Title
1	Crudel perche	30	Nel sen della mia Margherita
2	Io son ferito amore	31	Per far una leggiadra vendetta
4	Lume tuo fugace	33	O misero mio core
5	Io piango	34	Gittene ninfe
12	Lucretia mia	35	Ohime la gioia è breve
13	Illicita cosa	36	Se mi volete morto
14	Dolce mia vita	37	D'un sì bel fuoco
15	Passa madonna	39	La primavera
16	Cresce in voi	40	Dolce tormento (1a parte)
17	Voi caro il mio contento	41	Ingiustitia d'amore (2a parte)*
18	Alma mia tu mi dicesti	42	Quando la vaga flori
20	Fugga dunque la luce (1a parte)	43	Lieti cantiamo
21	O sonno; della mia (2a parte)	44	Io vivo in amoroso fuoco
22	Dolce ben mio	45	Dove il liquido argento
23	Qual vaghezza	46	Occhi miei con viva speme
24	Credemi	47	Leno
25	Ite leggiadre rime	49	[untitled]
26	De la mia cruda sorte	50 [†]	[untitled]
27	Dammi o vita mia soccorso	51 [†]	[untitled]
28	Sia maledetto amore	52 [†]	[untitled]
29	Ninfa crudele		

*lacking bass

[†]Anonymous, attributed to Coprario by Richard Charteris*Section B: works possibly composed for instruments*

VdGS no.	Title	Comments
6	In te mio novo sole	2 basses; excessive compass in basses; unvocal figuration
7	Del mio cibo amoroso	
8	In voi moro	
10	Al primo giorno	
11	Chi pue mirarvi	excessive compass in bass (also in alto of no.3)
3	Rapina l'alma	
38	Fuggi se sai fuggire	
9	Luci beate et care	excessive compass in tenor; unvocal figuration
19	Caggia fuoco dal cielo	cannot be fully underlaid with text
48	[untitled]	

[29] We now turn to the matter of genre. As we shall see, Coprario's pieces are mostly textless versions of madrigals, although one survives with text intact. Some of the pieces, however, are instrumental fantasies. On the other hand, Lupo's music survives entirely without text and contains a far higher proportion of fantasies. Tables 1 and 2 list the pieces. They are classified into two sections: (A) vocal and (B) instrumental. (The right-hand column of Section B cites the grounds for classifying this music as instrumental).

Both Coprario and Lupo have so absorbed the Italian madrigal into their five-part music that it is extremely difficult to determine the genre from a superficial examination of style alone (with the possible exception of Lupo, VdGS nos 12, 16, 17 and 28). The only certain way to determine which pieces are vocal is to find out if they can be underlaid with text, as Pinto has

successfully done with Lupo's 'Ardo'.¹¹ Sadly, this is not always possible with some of the other pieces, particularly those of Coprario, as there are too many unknown factors to be taken into account which prevent a text underlay faithful to the composer's intentions. Lbl MS Egerton 3665 is not as helpful in deciding the genre of this music as it at first seems, despite the wealth of Italian incipits, for this manuscript was copied at a time when the madrigals of Coprario and Lupo had been assimilated into the instrumental repertory, leaving few traces of their vocal origins; they carry no texts in the score and only a few of their incipits are underlaid.

Table 2. Thomas Lupo: five-part compositions

Section A: textless works possibly composed for voices

VdGS no.	Title	VdGS no.	Title
5	Il vago	2	[untitled]
9	Alte parole	3	[untitled]
18	Io moriro	30	[untitled] (in 2 parts)
19	Ardo (in 2 parts)	31	[untitled]
29	Che fia lasso di me	32	[untitled]
		–	O che vezzosa*

Section B: works possibly composed for instruments

VdGS nos	Comments
16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27	2 basses; excessive compass in basses (also in tenor of no.21); unvocal figuration in nos 23 and 24; divisions for Tr.1 and basses in nos 16 and 17
1, 4, 8, 10	excessive compass in bass (also in tenor of no. 8)
7, 13	low D in bass
6, 14, 26	excessive compass in tenor
11, 15	cannot be fully underlaid with text
12	opening subject instrumental in character [†]
28	mixolydian mode on A unknown in <i>cinquecento</i> madrigal

*Anonymous, attributed to Lupo by Derry Bertenshaw

[†]cf opening of Alfonso Ferrabosco II, *Almans* a5 nos 1, 4, 9

[30] However, the following examination of clef, compass and types of figuration¹² provides strong evidence that some works were originally vocal whilst others were written for viols. If we look first at Table 1, Section B we find that five of Coprario's pieces are almost certainly instrumental works: 'In to mio novo sole' (VdGS no. 6), 'Del mio cibo amoroso' (VdGS no. 7), 'In voi moro' (VdGS no. 8), 'Al primo giorno' (VdGS no. 10) and 'Chi pue mirarvi' (VdGS no. 11). They all have two F3 clefs signifying two bass parts. From my examination of Italian five-part madrigals from the late *cinquecento* for mixed voices I have not found a single example which uses either two F3 clefs or two F4 clefs.¹³ The basic vocal combination consisted of Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso. If a fifth voice (Quinto) were required, the standard practice was to

¹¹ D. Pinto (ed.), *Thomas Lupo, Two Madrigal-Fantasies (no. 19)* (Corda Music Publications, St. Albans, 1990). See also the underlaid vocal score to my edition of 'O the vezzosa', VdGS Supplementary Publication no. 170.

¹² This examination is restricted mainly to comparisons with the madrigal repertory. The latest research on English pitch and transposition is summarised in the introduction to D. Pinto and R. Duffin (eds), *Thomas Tomkins, Five Consort Anthems* (Fretwork Editions, London and Bermuda, 1994).

¹³ There was some experimentation with scoring with two or more basses in the early *cinquecento*, although these madrigals form only a fraction of the entire repertory. There is little evidence that Coprario was influenced by them. Madrigals written for men's voices only also have two basses (Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 166).

have a second Canto or a second Tenore, but not a second Basso. Morley stated this clearly:

if you would make your song of two trebles you may make the two highest parts both with one cliffe, in which case one of them is called Quinto. If the song bee not of two trebles, then is the Quinto alwaies of the same pitch with the tenor ...¹⁴

The instrumental nature of these pieces is strengthened by their compass, which exceeds that found in contemporary polyphonic vocal music. The usual vocal compass then, as Morley noted, was a tenth or an eleventh.¹⁵ At most, it was a twelfth or thirteenth. A polyphonic vocal part with a compass of almost two octaves is rare in this period. Yet this can be found in all of Coprario's fivepart pieces with two basses, even two octaves and a third in VdGS nos 10 and 11. It is significant that the compass of each voice in his texted music is only a thirteenth at the most.

Furthermore, melodic figuration in Coprario's pieces with two basses involves wide leaps and awkward intervals which lie outside contemporary vocal style (see Examples 1-5).¹⁶ Since all these leaps appear some time in the bass part and consist mostly of perfect intervals, it could be assumed they are merely the result of the chordal harmonic character of these pieces: the frequent cadences would involve the bass part using roots of chords a fourth or fifth apart. However, of the seven extracts given in Examples 1-5, three are not merely bass figures but imitative points which appear in most, or all, of the parts (see Examples 3a, 4b and 5). Two of these (Examples 3a and 5) have the most awkward melodic shapes of all.

awkward melodic shapes of all.

Ex. 1. Coprario, 'In te mio novo sole' a5 (VdGS no. 6). Bass 1, bars 64-5.

Ex. 2. Coprario, 'Del mio cibo amoroso' a5 (VdGS no. 7). Bass 2, bars 51-2.

a) Bass 1, bars 65-6: imitative point (stem).

b) Bass 2, bar 83.

Ex. 3. Coprario, 'In voi moro' a5 (VdGS no. 8).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ The following sources have been used for the music examples and tables. Examples 15, 8b, Tables 5-7: John Coprario, *The Five-Part Pieces*, © American Institute of Musicology/Hanssler-Verlag; Example 6, Giaches de Wert, *L'ottavo libro de madrigals a cinque voci* (Venice, 1586) and Example 7, Giaches de Wert, *L'undecimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1595) in vols. 8 and 12 of *Giaches de Wert, Opera Omnia*, eds C. MacClintock and M. Bernstein, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24 (American Institute of Musicology, 1961-77), © American Institute of Musicology/Hanssler-Verlag (original note values restored); Table 5: Giovanni Bassano, *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Venice, 1587), courtesy of the Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel and Landesbibliothek, Kassel; Example 8a, Tables 6 and 7: Giulio Eremita, 11 *secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1589), courtesy of the Biblioteca Estense, Modena; Example 9a: Giovanni de Macque, *Madrigals a quattro, a cinque et sei voci* (Venice, 1579), courtesy of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna; Examples 9b and 9c: MS Egerton 3665, courtesy of the British Library.



a) Bass 2, bars 75-7.

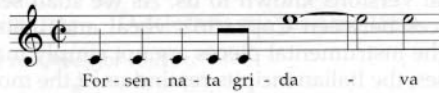
b) Bass 2, bars 87-9: imitative point (stem).

Ex. 4. Coprario, 'Al primo giorno' a5 (VdGS no. 10).



Ex. 5. Coprario, 'Chi pue mirarvi' a5 (VdGS no. 11).

Treble 2, bars 87-9: imitative point (stem).



Ex. 6. Wert, 'Forsennata gridava'. Canto opening.



Ma gri - de - ran per me le piag - ge

Ex. 7. Wert, 'Ma grideran per me' (2a parte di 'Cruda amarilli'). Basso opening.

It could be argued that wide leaps and awkward intervals are also found in the *seconda prattica* madrigals of late Wert, for instance, two of whose most extreme imitative points are given in Examples 6 and 7. But if we compare Coprario and Wert, we notice an important difference: in Example 6 the leap of a tenth is the only interval in Wert's imitative point, whereas Coprario tucks wide leaps into a continuous run of intervals in crotchets and quavers. In Example 7, Wert follows the octave drop with simple notes of the triad, whereas Coprario approaches and quits such leaps by awkward, unvocal sequences of notes. If Coprario's music is intended for voices, he imposes greater difficulties on the singer than even Wert at his most extreme. This is a tall order, for Wert was writing for the virtuoso ensembles at the courts of Ferrara¹⁷ and subsequently Mantua¹⁸ which boasted some of the most brilliant singers in Europe.

So, the cumulative evidence of clef, compass and figuration makes it virtually impossible that the pieces with two basses in their present state were ever intended to be sung. It is significant that the lowest note of VdGS nos 10 and 11 is written *D* which is almost unheard of in the *cinquecento* madrigal;¹⁹ yet the lowest string of the bass viol is usually tuned to this *D*, or *C*.²⁰ Although some consort anthems have basses which plumb the depths, they are doubled by viols and quite often move in longer note values so making it easier for any singer to negotiate the massive ranges. Moreover, it is conventional vocal practice to use the F4 clef for basses descending to *D*, *Eb*, or *E* as in the case of Coprario's own texted madrigal *Udite lagrimosi spirti'* a6, whereas VdGS

¹⁷ For a detailed account of the *concerto di donne* see Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597* (Princeton, 1980), 1, chpts 2-4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 95-101; I. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge, 1980), 1, 126-46.

¹⁹ An exceptional case in the English repertory is Richard Nicolson's 'Sing, shepherds all' in *The Triumphes of Oriana* (1601) although the *D* in the bass occurs only once in an otherwise normal vocal compass of a twelfth and is an example of 'an extremity for the ditties sake' (Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 166).

²⁰ Professor Charteris has acknowledged that 'of all Coprario's five-part works, nos 10 and 11 are quite instrumental in style' (private communication).

nos 10 and 11 are among the five-part pieces which employ the F3 clef normally used for high basses. In Table 1, Section B, I have noted that VdGS nos 3, 9 and 38, which do [32] not require two bass parts, may also be instrumental works for the same reasons of compass and, in the case of no. 9, melodic figuration.

If all these pieces were composed for viols, how do we explain their Italian incipits? Coprario may originally have intended the works to be madrigals and subsequently arranged them for viols. The incipits may be first lines of texts, now lost. This is plausible since all of the instrumental figures in Examples 1-5 are typical of the writing found in early Stuart lyra viol music with its wide leaps and frequent string crossing. Perhaps Coprario elaborated simple vocal lines with these lyra-type divisions.

However, if these pieces were originally madrigals he would have had to make extensive alterations, bordering on recomposition, in order to reach the existing instrumental versions known to us. As we shall see later, there are a number of differences between Coprario's vocal and instrumental parodies which suggest that the instrumental pieces are not simply madrigals elaborated for viols. In some cases, the Italian incipits remind us of the models Coprario used for his own versions; at other times the relationship between incipit and music is more confusing. Whether these pieces were once madrigals recomposed as fantasies (the original vocal versions suppressed or lost) or music originally conceived for viols, there is little doubt that the existing versions are instrumental, not vocal. It is difficult to ascertain precisely the origins of the fivepart pieces as many of the earliest sources are lost and none of Coprario's autograph music survives, save the manuscript treatise *Rules How to Compose*. We do know, however, that he revised this music: the versions of 'Voi caro il mio contento' (VdGS no. 17), 'Alma mia to mi dicesti' (VdGS no. 18), 'Quando la vaga flori' (VdGS no. 42) and 'Lieti cantiamo' (VdGS no. 43), found almost exclusively in GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.437-42, are clearly earlier drafts.²¹

Richard Charteris has argued that all Coprario's five- and six-part pieces are Italian-style madrigals,²² although he conceded that some versions may 'involve rather more than simple transcription', especially VdGS nos 6-11 discussed above.²³ Nonetheless, he has put forward a valuable argument as the six-part and most of the five-part pieces do appear to be vocal in origin (see Table 1, Section A); their clef combination, compass and melodic figuration accord with contemporary vocal practice. Charteris noted that some of the pieces are divided into two *parti*, once again reminding us of their vocal origin (see Table 1, Section A).²⁴ He also located and underlaid the texts to 'Io son ferito amore' (VdGS no. 2), 'Dolce mia vita' (VdGS no. 14), 'Passa madonna' (VdGS no. 15), 'De la mia cruda sorte' (VdGS no. 26), 'Sia

²¹ These are numbered 17b, 18b, 42b and 43b in *John Coprario, The Five-Part Pieces*.

²² R. Charteris, 'John Coprario's five- and six-part pieces: instrumental or vocal?', *M&L*, 57 (1976), 370-8.

²³ *Ibid.*, 377-8. Clifford Bartlett also doubted that all the five-part pieces are madrigals; see his review of *John Coprario, The Five-Part Pieces* in *Chelys*, 11 (1982), 38-9.

²⁴ Charteris, 'John Coprario's five- and six-part pieces', 375-6.

maledetto amore' (VdGS no. 28), 'O misero mio core' (VdGS no. 33) and 'Quando la vaga flori' (VdGS no. 42).²⁵

All of Lupo's five-part pieces with Italian incipits are madrigals for the same reasons. It is likely that a few of the untitled works may also prove to be madrigals once their texts have been located and underlaid (VdGS no. 30 appears to comprise two thematically related *parti*, similar to 'Ardo'). These are grouped in Table 2, Section A. However, if we compare Tables 1 and 2, we find that altogether about two-thirds of Lupo's five-part pieces seem to be instrumental works, compared with only about a sixth of those by Coprario. Yet the final figure of instrumental music by both composers may be even higher, for a few of [33] the pieces which look like vocal music were not intended, it seems, to carry text. I have put these into Section B of Tables 1 and 2 respectively (they are discussed below, p. 42-3). It is possible that Section A of both tables may conceal a few more pieces which, in time, we may discover to be instrumental works for the same reason. What is certain is that the five-part music of Coprario cannot be regarded as a single entity. The same applies to Lupo.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 375, fn. 27. Professor Charteris has informed me that these pieces are included with full underlay in vol. II of his thesis 'John Coprario (Cooper) c1575-1626: a Study and Complete Critical Edition of his Instrumental Music' (Ph.D., University of Canterbury, N.Z., 1976). The Italian exemplars by Anerio, Eremita, Hassler, Marenzio and Vecchi which Coprario used for these texts are identified in vol. IV.

Table 3. Parodies identified in the five-part works of Coprario

Section A: works in vocal style			
<i>Texted madrigal</i>			
VdGS no.	Title	Model	English print
32	Deh cara anima mia	O dolce vita mia (Bassano 1587)	1597A*
<i>Textless works possibly composed for voices</i>			
VdGS no.	Title	Model	English print
1	Crudel perche	Crudel, perchè mi fuggi (Marenzio 1587)	1590
2	Io son ferito amore	Io son ferito, amore (Hassler 1590)	
28	Sia maledetto amore	Sia maledetto amore (Vecchi 1585)	
33	O misero mio core	O misero mio core (a8: Eremita 1589)	
45	Dove il liquido argento (Fuggendo mi strugge)	Fuggi se sai fuggire (Eremita 1589: music only)	1597B
46	Occhi miei con viva speme	Core mio, tu mi lasciasti con viva speme (Vecchi 1585)	
Section B: works possibly composed for instruments			
VdGS no.	Title	Model	English print
19	Caggia fuoco dal cielo	Caggia fuoco dal cielo (Anerio 1586)	
38	Fuggi se sai fuggire	Fuggi se sai fuggire (Eremita 1589)	1597B
48	[untitled]	O voi che sospirate (Marenzio 1581)	
*2a parte only			
Key to printed sources			
Anerio 1586	Felice Anerio, <i>Canzonette a quattro voci...libro primo</i> (Venice, 1586)		
Bassano 1587	Giovanni Bassano, <i>Canzonette a quattro voci</i> (Venice, 1587)		
Eremita 1589	Giulio Eremita, <i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice, 1589)		
Hassler 1590	Hans Leo Hassler, <i>Canzonette a quatro voci...libro primo</i> (Nürnberg, 1590)		
Marenzio 1581	Luca Marenzio, <i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice, 1581)		
Marenzio 1587	Luca Marenzio, <i>Il quarto libro de madrigali a sei voci</i> (Venice, 1587)		
Vecchi 1585	Orazio Vecchi, <i>Canzonette...libro terzo a quattro voci</i> (Venice, 1585)		
1590	<i>The first sett, of Italian madrigalls englished...By Thomas Watson</i> (1590)		
1597A	<i>Canzonets. Or little short songs to foure voyces: selected out of the best and approved Italian authors. By T. Morley...</i> (1597)		
1597B	<i>Musica transalpina. The second booke...</i> (1597)		

[34] How was this music composed? Both composers formed their Italian style by taking certain vocal models and thoroughly reworking them. Tables 3 and 4 give all the parodies²⁶ identified so far. There are doubtless many more which have yet to be discovered. The following detailed examination of some of those listed in Tables 3 and 4 will show how Coprario and Lupo made the transition from parody madrigals to instrumental fantasies on vocal models. Considering Coprario first, Joseph Kerman has identified the untitled VcIGS no. 48 as a parody of 'O voi the sospirate' from 11 *seconda libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1581) by Luca Marenzio. Joan Wess subsequently defined

²⁶ 'Thomas Lupo?', 21-3, fn. 25. A number of scholars have used the term 'imitation' instead, arguing that it is historically more accurate, although it is a matter of debate whether the multi-faceted borrowing of pre-existent material is strictly related to *imitatio* in Renaissance rhetoric: see H. M. Brown, 'Emulation, Competition and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance', *JAMS*, 35 (1982), 148; R. C. Wegman, 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys's *Missa L'Hoinrne arme* - and Some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music', *Journal RMA*, 114 (1989), 189-202. The terms 'imitation' and 'imitative' are used in their contrapuntal sense in this present article.

the precise nature of the relationship.²⁷ The models for VdGS nos 2, 28 and 33 given in Table 3 are among those Charteris identified as the sources for Coprario's texts (see note 25), but as far as I am aware he has not pointed out in print that Coprario also borrowed music from these three models. In addition, it is possible to identify VdGS nos 1, 19, 32, 38, 45 and 46 as parodies.

Table 4. Parodies identified in the five-part works of Lupo

Section A: textless works possibly composed for voices

VdGS no.	Title	Model	English print
5	Il vago	Il vago e lieto aspetto (a6: de Macque 1579)	
9	Alte parole	Alte parole e leggiadrett' accenti (Vecchi 1583)*	
18	Il moriro	Io morirò d'amore (Marenzio 1585)	1588
19	Ardo (in two parts)	Ardo sì, ma non t'amo (seconda parte: Ardi e gela à tua voglia). (Vecchi 1583)	
29	Che fia lasso di me	Chi fia lasso di me (Vecchi 1583)	
–	O che vezzosa [†]	O che vezzosa Aurora (Vecchi 1583)	

Section B: works possibly composed for instruments

VdGS no.	Model
4	Alte parole e leggiadrett' accenti (Vecchi 1583)
11	Il vago e lieto aspetto (a6: de Macque 1579)
15	Lachrimae antiquae (Dowland 1604)

*seconda parte di Occhi soavi

[†]Anonymous, attributed Lupo

Key to printed sources

Dowland 1604	John Dowland, <i>Lachrimae, or Seaven teares figured in seaven passionate pavans</i> (1604)
de Macque 1579	Giovanni de Macque, <i>Madrigali a quattro, a cinque et sei voci</i> (Venice, 1579)
Marenzio 1585	Luca Marenzio, <i>Il terzo libro de madrigali a sei voci</i> (Venice, 1585)
Vecchi 1583	Orazio Vecchi, <i>Madrigali a sei voci...libro primo</i> (Venice, 1583)
1588	<i>Musica Transalpina. Madrigales translated...</i> (1588)

Turning now to the music itself, we find that all the vocal works in Table 3, Section A are closely related to the models upon which they are based. Most of the thematic material is derived one way or another from these models. Yet Coprario has reworked it with such freedom that his parodies end up sounding [35] like new, original music. We can see this clearly in the only texted five-voiced madrigal 'Deh cara anima mia', VdGS no. 32 (see Table 5).

²⁷ J. Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York, 1962), 44, fn. 1; Wess, 'Musica Transalpina', 10, 13-15.

Table 5. Comparison between Bassano, 'O dolce vita mia' and Coprario, 'Deh cara anima mia'.

Part/ line	Bassano, 'O dolce vita mia', <i>Canzonette a quattro voci</i> (Venice, 1587)	Coprario, 'Deh cara anima mia' a5, VdGS no. 32	Section
3 ^a p/7	Bars 67-72 A Imit. Deh dol-ce vi - ta mi - a a Bars 72-8 C Hom. bac-cia-mi tan-to Bac - cia-mi tan - to b c	Bars 1-13 A Double fugue b₁ (b freely inverted) Deh ca-ra a - ni-ma mia 1st Subj. Tr. 1 b Bac-cia-mi tan - to 2nd Subj.	A
3 ^a p/8	Bars 79-82 C Hom. E strin-gi - mi si for - tè nel tuo se-no d	Bars 13-19 T Imit. a₁ (a retrograde) E strin - gi - mi si for - (te nel tuo bel seno) a₂ d (rhythm)	B
2 ^a p/6	Bars 51-3 A Imit. Nel - le tue ca - re e Bars 53-6 C Pol. (e) dol-ce brac - cia io mo - ra f g	Bars 19-23 Tr. 1 Imit. e₁ Nel - le tue ca-re e dol-ce f Bars 23-6 Tr. 2 Hom. c + h g₁ (g embellished) brac-cia io mo - ra	C
1 ^a p/2 (end)	Bars 19-21 C Hom. co - me à te pia - ce h	Bars 25-61 A Double fugue a₃ (a₂ augmented) E co-me à te pia - ce 1st Subj.	D
1 ^a p/3	Bars 21-30 B Imit. Deh por - gi al do - lor mi - o i Bars 30-3 content'e pace (Cadence)	i₁ (i freely augmented) Deh por-gi al do - lor mio 2nd Subj. content'e pace (Cadential figures in double fugue)	

Pinto has made the important discovery that Coprario re-arranged some of the lines of Giovanni Bassano's 'O dolce vita mia', a *canzonetta* in three *parti* from his *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Venice, 1587).²⁸ Since Coprario also borrowed Bassano's music he therefore completely altered the structure of his *canzonetta*. Nevertheless, Coprario's parody is still related to Bassano for, if we look at Table 5,²⁹ we find that most of Coprario's music is derived from his model, there is very little original thematic material. So, using almost the same music, Coprario [36] has reworked Bassano's *canzonetta* so freely that, if we were to hear both pieces together, we would be hard put to recognise they are related. Although Italian madrigalists frequently re-arrange such *canzonetta* texts, it is unusual to find the music also reworked in such a fashion.

²⁸ Pinto, 'The Fantasy Manner', 25.

²⁹ The Bassano column of Table 5 contains only the extracts from 'O dolce vita mia' borrowed by Coprario; these are given in the order he reworked them. The parody 'Deh cara anima mia' in the Coprario column is complete and in the correct order.

Primo Choro

C a b

A O mi - se - ro mio co - re

T B c

Secondo Choro

C

A O mi - se - ro mio co -

T B

O mi - se - ro mio co - re

O mi - se - ro mio co - - - re

O mi - se - ro mio co - - - re

O mi - se - ro mio co - - - re

O mi - se - ro mio co - - - re

re O mi - - se - ro mio co - - re

O mi - se - ro mio co - - - re (Poi)

O mi - se - ro mio co - - - re

Ex. 8a. Eremita, 'O misero mio core' a8: opening.

Unlike *Deh cara anima mia*', the other possible vocal parodies by Coprario I have identified all follow, more or less, the original structure of their models. Yet [37] even here, Coprario has completely transformed the music. A good example is 'O misero mio core' (VdGS no. 33). Even though it is now textless, 'O misero mio core' appears to be a vocal parody of the eight-voiced madrigal of the same name from *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1589) by Giulio Eremita. Although Coprario has freely reworked the thematic material, both pieces broadly share the same structure. Eremita's madrigal comprises five pairs of contrasting homophonic and imitative sections, all of which are interrelated, except for the first pair. The sections in Coprario's parody from bar 27 onwards³⁰ are grouped into three interrelated pairs, although only the final pair consists of contrasting homophonic and imitative writing.

³⁰ Bar numbers refer to the score *John Coprario, The Five-Part Pieces.*

1st Subj.
A [O mi - se - ro

3rd Subj. T.1 [O mi - se - ro

2nd Subj. B [O mi - se - ro

3rd Subj. T.2 [O mi -

a₁ b₁ c₁ a₂ (a₁ inverted)

a₁ b₁ Tr. [O mi-(sero)

mio co - - re]

mio co - - re]

se - - ro mio co - - re]

mio co - - re]

mio co - - re]

Ex. 8b. Coprario, 'O misero mio core' a5 (VdGS no. 33): opening triple fugue

The most obvious difference between the two versions is that one is for eight voices, the other for five. This may account for the fact that Coprario has replaced most of Eremita's homophonic sections with imitative ones. Like a number of books of Italian five-voiced madrigals at that time, Eremita's second book includes a madrigal for eight voices divided into two choirs of four voices each, labelled *Primo Choro* and *Secondo Choro* in the original print.³¹ Typically, 'O misero mio core' relies heavily on homophonic writing which exploits the antiphonal effect of both choirs. If we look at Example 8a we find the homophonic opening phrase, for *Primo Choro* only, is echoed by the *Secondo Choro* and followed by a tutti statement for all eight voices. Coprario, unable to reproduce this massive antiphonal effect with only five voices, has taken the [38] opening canto and basso lines and reworked them into a triple fugue, the third subject being a variant of the first (see Example 8b). By doing this, Coprario has transformed Eremita's polychoral madrigal, although his own plangent opening is nonetheless beautiful and conveys the rhetorical affect of the text.

The Italian incipits in Coprario's music are not as helpful in identifying possible models as they first appear; many of the incipits do not relate to any of the capoversi in the madrigal repertory. Even when a possible textual model can be located there does not always appear to be a thematic relationship. This does not mean that most of Coprario's five-part pieces are not parodies, but rather that his free use of borrowed texts and music makes identification difficult. We have discovered in 'Deh cara anima mia' that he re-arranged texts, altering words or complete lines. It would appear that he even borrowed music from one madrigal and text from another as the following examination of 'Dove it liquido argento' reveals.

³¹ Usually this type of madrigal occurs at the end of the print, but in Eremita's book 'O misero mio core' is the penultimate work.

If we look at Table 6, we find that this piece is based on 'Fuggi se sai fuggire' from Giulio Eremita's second book. They are too closely related for it to be a coincidence: the form, thematic material, textures, even many of the harmonies, are virtually identical.

Table 6. Comparison between Eremita, 'Fuggi se sai fuggire' and Coprario, 'Dove il liquido argento'.

Eremita, 'Fuggi se sai fuggire', <i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice, 1589)		Coprario, 'Dove il liquido argento' a5, VdGS no. 45	
Section	1589)		Section
A	Bars 1-6 C Imit. 	Bars 1-6 A Imit. 	A
	Bars 6-12 C Imit. 	Bars 6-17 A Tr.1 Imit. 	A
	Bars 11-21 C Double-fugue 1st Subj. 2nd Subj. 	Bars 16-27 A Tr.1 Imit. 	A
B	Bars 19-36 C Double fugue 2nd Subj. g 1st Subj. f 	Bars 28-49 A Tr.2 Imit. 	B
	Bars 28-36 Low trio -> tutti C Double fugue 2nd Subj. g 1st Subj. f 	Bars 35-49 Low trio -> tutti A Tr.2 Imit. 	B
	Bars 36-40 C Hom. 	Bars 49-60 A Tr.2 Hom. 	B
C	Bars 40-4 C (Cadence) 	Bars 60-4 A Tr.1 (Cadence) 	C
	Bars 44-56 C Imit. 	Bars 65-73 A Tr.1 Imit. 	C
	Bars 56-60: repeat of 36-40 Bars 60-64: repeat of 40-44 (C and Q interchanged) 	Bars 73-9: varied repeat of 65-73 	C

[39] The only major difference is that Eremita repeated both Sections E and F, whereas Coprario repeated only Section F. Although 'Dove il liquido argento' is textless, it almost certainly originated as a vocal work, for this and the other Coprario five-part pieces in the Ellesmere part-books are grouped with Italian madrigals and marked, like the madrigals, 'A.5.voc'. Since the incipit 'Dove il liquido argento' does not relate to the text of 'Fuggi se sai fuggire', Coprario must have culled his poetry from elsewhere. The variant incipit 'Fuggendo mi strugge' in the Ellesmere part-books provides a clue as it forms the second line ('E fuggendo mi strugge') of 'Io seguio ardente fiamma' from the same publication by Eremita. Could Coprario have borrowed the text of the opening madrigal and set it to music based on the closing madrigal of Eremita's print?

This still does not explain the incipit 'Dove il liquido argento', which does not appear to be related to either madrigal. Finding a satisfactory answer is made difficult by Coprario's habit of reworking borrowed texts and the tendency of scribes to misinterpret his Italian. Nevertheless, considering their early date, the [40] Ellesmere part-books probably come closest to providing us with an insight into Coprario's original intentions.³² Incidentally, it is now possible to establish that the five-part works of Coprario and Lupo in these manuscripts are all parodies.

We are able to compare the difference between Coprario's vocal and instrumental parodies, for I have identified at least one instance where the same madrigal has served as a model for both, although the different Italian incipits conceal this fact. We have discovered that Eremita's 'Fuggi se sai fuggire' was used for Coprario's 'Dove il liquido argento'; it was also used for his five-part piece of the same name, VdGS no. 38 (see Table 7). This piece is almost certainly an instrumental fantasy: the bass part spans almost two octaves and contains a very low entry of the second subject of the opening double fugue in bars 18-20, descending to Eb, which would be out of character for such a light canzonetta-like subject were this a madrigal. This low entry cannot be explained as an 'extremity for the ditties sake', for the opening double fugue, with quavers in full flight, is clearly inspired by Eremita's capoverso 'Fuggi se sai fuggire' ('Fly if thou wilt be flying') although the incipit itself cannot be underlaid satisfactorily.

³² The incipits in Table 1 follow those in *John Coprario, The Five-Part Pieces* which are based mainly on MS Egerton 3665. Whilst some of the variant incipits in other sources are mistakes, others may hold clues which require further investigation.

Table 7. 'Fuggi se sai fuggire'.

Eremita, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1589)

Coprario a5, VdGS no. 38

Section		Section	
A	Bars 1-6 C	Bars 1-22 T	A
	Bars 6-12 C		
B	Bars 11-21 C	Bars 25-9 Tr.1	B
	Bars 28-33 A		
C	Bars 28-33 A	Bars 28-33 A	C

D	Bars 19-36 (Bars 19-27 High trio) 2nd Subj. g 1st Subj. f (Bars 28-36 Low trio → tutti) g 2nd Subj.		
E	Bars 36-40 h Hom. Bars 40-4 i (Cadence)	Bars 33-7 h₁ (retrograde of h) h₁ Imit. Bars 36-59 Double fugue Tr.1 i i₁ (i inverted) 1st Subj. Tr.2 x 2nd Subj.	E
F	Bars 44-56 Imit.		
E	Bars 56-60: repeat of 36-40 Bars 60-64: repeat of 40-44 (C and Q interchanged)		
F	Bars 64-76: repeat of 44-56 (C and Q interchanged)		
	Bars 58-63 Double fugue A 1st Subj. (recalls Section C) 2nd Subj. (recalls Section A) Bars 64-7 → Cadence	Y	
	Bars 67-97 Double fugue Tr.1 1st Subj. A 2nd Subj.	Z	

If we compare the two parodies by Coprario in Tables 6 and 7, we notice that, unlike 'Dove il liquido argento', 'Fuggi se sai fuggire' frequently loses touch with its model. For instance, Eremita repeated the final two sections E and F but [42] Coprario did not. Instead, he substituted, after section E, two formally unrelated sections (labelled Y and Z in Table 7). There is also a brief independent episode between sections A and B (section X). Altogether, well over a third of Coprario's parody does not correspond directly to Eremita's madrigal. Section X, the second subject of the double fugue in E and the first subject of Z all include new thematic material, though it still bears a family resemblance to the type of music found in Eremita's madrigal. Coprario also departed from his model by omitting or completely altering the distinguishing characteristics of Eremita's madrigal faithfully retained in his 'Dove il liquido argento' (compare Tables 6 and 7 in Section D and the treatment of the four-bar cadence in Section E). The difference between these two parodies is so great that it is impossible for this instrumental fantasy to be a reworking of his madrigal. It is an entirely separate work.

In the five-part music of Coprario discussed above, we can see two formal characteristics which mark the transition from madrigal to madrigalian fantasy: greater independence from its model and more thematic unity. Each of these now merits closer examination.

First, in the vocal parodies Coprario derives most of his music from his models and in many cases he more or less follows their structure. He increasingly loses touch with his models in his instrumental parodies. A case in point is 'Caggia fuoco dal cielo' (VdGS no. 19), based on Felice Anerio's *canzonetta* of the same name from his *Canzonette a quattro voci ... libro primo* (Venice, 1586), although Coprario's borrowings are so convoluted that at first it is difficult to recognise the similarity. In this parody Coprario has abandoned the binary form of the *canzonetta* with its repeated sections and written instead a through-composed work three times longer than Anerio's version. This is in contrast to Coprario's vocal parodies, which are no more than twice the length of their models. Since Anerio's *canzonetta* has only three lines of text (no further stanzas are printed below the music) it is virtually impossible to underlay fully Coprario's parody as the music exceeds the text available to him, even if he were to follow Anerio and repeat the lines as ABABCC.³³ It is doubtful Coprario would have added text of his own; an examination of his 'Deh cara anima mia' and 'Udite lagrimosi spirti', which underlay identifiable texts, reveals no substantial additions. This all suggests that his 'Caggia fuoco dal cielo' is an instrumental fantasy. Similarly, the untitled fantasy VdGS no. 48 on 'O voi the sospirate' cannot be underlaid fully as it contains two independent sections of trios leading to tutti (bars 41-58 and 58-79) for which there is no text available in Marenzio's madrigal. Although all parodies interpolate some original music, the difference between Coprario's vocal and instrumental parodies lies in the extent of free sections.

Secondly, Coprario aimed at greater thematic unity by bringing back earlier material in 'Fuggi se sai fuggire' in Section Y, which lie partially re-used in Section Z (see Table 7). Similarly, his own semitonal motif 'x' in Section C and the syncopated figure in bars 31-2 and 35-6 are both re-used to form the second subject of the double fugue in Section E. Similar instances can be found in VdGS no. 48, and Coprario constantly developed his material throughout 'Caggia fuoco dal cielo'. This marks an important departure from the technique of madrigal [43] composers, for in the madrigal each new section of text necessitates new music to match the number of syllables and their stress and to convey the affect of the text; any thematic cross-references are prompted by correspondences in the text. Although thematic development occurs to some extent in Coprario's vocal parodies (see the treatment of motif 'a' in Table 5), it is in the fantasies that it is given free rein.

The status of these five-part pieces as fantasies is strengthened by the fact that free sections and thematic development are key features of his known parody fantasies VdGS no. 2 a4 on Palestrina's 'Io son ferito, ah! lasso', VdGS no. 6 a4 on 'Come dal ciel', *seconda parte* of Vidi pianger madonna' by Alfonso

³³ Although alternative versions of such *canzonetta* texts were often in circulation at this time, it is reasonable to assume that Coprario's source was the version found in Anerio's print, particularly as this is the only known musical setting.

Ferrabosco 1,³⁴ and VdGS no. 6 a3 on his own 'Sia maledetto amore', which itself freely reworks Orazio Vecchi's *canzonetta* of the same name.

These are the main reasons why it is suggested that the five-part instrumental pieces are not simply madrigals arranged for viols. Even if some did originate as madrigals, Coprario must have completely recomposed them to reach the versions known to us, so these versions are, to all intents and purposes, new pieces. Therefore, the remarks Wess made about Coprario's four-part pieces apply equally well to his five-part fantasies:

Coprario's musical legacy was perhaps an important one. To return to the implications of the parody fantasies, it may be that here we are witnessing the boundary line between the Italian madrigal and the 'Jacobean' fantasia—a new departure from the madrigal as the instrumental canzona was from the chanson.³⁵

Indeed, it is in the five-part pieces, not the four-part pieces (which are entirely instrumental), that we first see the transition from madrigal to fantasy.

It is interesting that Lupo's five-part music seems to follow the same path from madrigal to fantasy. As I attempted to show in my recent article, all of Lupo's pieces with Italian incipits appear to be vocal parodies of Italian six-voiced madrigals with their texts removed.³⁶ Lupo generally follows the structure of his models and most of the thematic material, although he freely reworks it, just like Coprario. Since writing my article, I have discovered that at least two of Lupo's untitled pieces are also based on the same madrigals: VdGS no. 4 is based on Orazio Vecchi's 'Alte parole' and VdGS no. 11 reworks Giovanni de Macque's 'Il vago'. These are almost certainly instrumental parodies. The relationship between 'Alte parole' by Vecchi and Lupo and his fantasy no. 4 is clear from the beginning: they all share an ascending octave. The relationship between the different music on 'Il vago' is less clear and is explained in Example 9. Incidentally, this music example reveals how Lupo elevates de Macque's functional harmonic bass line, moving in fifths and fourths, into the important motifs 'a' and 'd'. Lupo includes more original material and aims at greater thematic unity in his instrumental parodies, just like Coprario.

Indeed, both Coprario and Lupo share striking similarities in their working methods. Both composers parody their models with a complexity and freedom rare in the Italian or English madrigal. Coprario's borrowings are the most complex of all (I have a suspicion that personal motives may be behind his extraordinary working methods; this will be discussed elsewhere).³⁷

³⁴ Joan Wess was the first to identify this ('Musica Transalpina', 8). ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁶ Bertenshaw, 'Another five-part piece by Thomas Lupo?', 21-36.

³⁷ See my forthcoming study cited in note 5 above.

Il va - go e lie - to as - pet - to

S C Il va - go e lie - to as - pet - to

A C Il va - go e lie - to as - pet - to

T 8 Il va - go e lie - to as - pet - to

(B & Q tacet)

Ex. 9a. Giovanni de Macque, 'Il vago e lieto aspetto': opening.

2nd subj. Tr. 2 a₁ a

1st Subj. T Il va - go e lie - to as - pet - to

2nd Subj. A Il va - go e lie - to as - pet - to

(Tr.1 & B tacet)

a₁ (a inverted) a

a₁ (c freely inverted) [Il va - go]

Ex. 9b. Lupo, 'Il vago' a5 (VdGS no. 5): opening double fugue.

1st Subj. A a a₁

2nd Subj. T d d₁ d₁ e

(Tr.1 & Tr.2 tacet)

d (d diminished)

1st Subj. B

Ex. 9c. Lupo, fantasia a5 (VdGS no. 11): opening double fugue.

By comparison, Morley's parodies are straightforward paraphrases or simple arrangements. What is most striking is how thoroughly Coprario and Lupo have assimilated the Italian vocal style. They have acquired, through intensive study of madrigals and canzonets, a musical vocabulary of Italianate melodic, harmonic and rhythmic formulae which they re-use time and time again in their five-part music. Yet they display a peculiarly English treatment of the Italian madrigal, one which is shared by the major Elizabethan madrigalists: both composers expand and elaborate their models, they like counterpoint for its own sake and they approach the Italian madrigal from a musical rather than a literary [45] standpoint. These features first appear in their vocal parodies and are more pronounced in their parody fantasies.

It is surprising to find English characteristics in Coprario's five-part pieces for it has long been assumed they were written in Italy during a period of study there. This is based on late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century biographical accounts which speak of a stay in Italy early in his career,³⁸ although none specifically states that any of this music was written there. As far as I am aware, the only known documentation of a visit to Italy is a payment discovered by Lynn Hulse dated 15 January 1616/7.³⁹ Since he was granted permission by

³⁸ Charteris, *Catalogue*, 3-5.

³⁹ Cited in R. Charteris (ed.) *John Coprario, The Two- Three- and Four-part Consort Music*, (Fretwork Editions, London and Bermuda, 1991), p. v. Dr Hulse has informed me she has found no

the Privy Council on 13 July 1616 to travel 'into forraigne partes'⁴⁰ the journey must have been undertaken in the latter half of that year. By this time, Coprario's fivepart music was already complete. Although it is possible that Coprario visited Italy earlier on, the following evidence suggests that the five-part music itself was composed in England.

If we return to Table 3, we find that all the models for his parodies so far identified (with the exception of 'lo son ferito amore') appear in Italian publications which served as the sources for the contents of three of the five Elizabethan anthologies published between 1588 and 1598. 'Englished' versions of three of the models actually appear in the anthologies themselves. Two of these Italian publications yield further correspondences with Coprario's incipits, although no musical relationship can be found (presumably the music is based on other, as yet unidentified, models): Anerio's print contains 'Quando la vaga fiori'⁴¹ and Vecchi's third book 'Lucretia mia', 'Alma mia to mi dicesti' (second stanza of 'Core mio, to mi lasciasti') and 'Voi, caro il mio contento' (third stanza of 'Caro dolce, mio ben').

Coprario's parody of Giovanni Bassano's *canzonetta* 'O dolce vita mia' is particularly significant in assigning an English provenance to this music for it hints at some kind of relationship with Thomas Morley and the late Elizabethan court. Bassano's reputation rests on his instrumental abilities. He was a member and eventual leader of the wind band at St Mark's, Venice,⁴² and wrote two tutors on embellishment.⁴³ By contrast, his reputation as a madrigal composer was slight. The only publication devoted to this music is the 1587 book of canzonets, never reprinted. Two further works appear in Girolamo Scotto's *Corona, il terzo libro delle canzoni alla napolitana a tre voci* (Venice, 1571), again never reprinted, and one in the anthology *De Floridi virtuosi d'Italia il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1585), reprinted with alterations to the contents (Venice, 1592).⁴⁴ This published output is minuscule compared to the major figures of the *cinquecento* madrigal. The music itself is charming but undistinguished, a run-of-the-mill example of what Kerman terms 'a flat *canzonetta* style'.⁴⁵

So, it is more than a coincidence that Coprario should choose to parody the same *canzonetta* which appears in Morley's anthology of 1597⁴⁶ and whose composer was directly related to the English Bassanos, one of several Jewish Italian families who dominated musical life at the English court for well over a century, as recent research has revealed.⁴⁷ Although Coprario held no court

further documents relating to Coprario and Italy, a reflection on the paucity of biographical information on Coprario in general.

⁴⁰ Charteris, *Catalogue*, 28.

⁴¹ Charteris, *Catalogue*, 28.

⁴² D. Lasoeki with R. Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrinnent Makers in England* (Aldershot, 1995), 253-4.

⁴³ *Rivocate, Passaggi et Cadentie* (Venice, 1585); *Motetti, Madrigali et Canzoni francese ... dinzognuti* (Venice, 1591).

⁴⁴ A one-volume edition of all three books of *De Floridi virtuosì d'Italia* was published by Phalese with alterations to the contents (Antwerp, 1600).

⁴⁵ Kerman uses this term when discussing Giovanni Croce's 'Ove tra l'herbe' (*The Elizabethan Madrigal*, 208).

⁴⁶ An 'Englished' version of the *seconda parte* is included in *Canzonets. Or little short songs to foure voyces: selected out of the best and approved Italian authors..*

position at this point in his career, he moved in circles which afforded him access [46] to court musicians; by the early 1600s he was already established in London⁴⁸ and sufficiently well-connected to be in the service, from time to time, of Robert Cecil, no less, until at least 1613.⁴⁹ As Hulse remarked, 'the only advancement open to Cecil's employees lay in royal service'.⁵⁰

It is now possible to construct a scenario for the five-part music of Coprario and Lupo. Swept along by the vogue for the Italian madrigal at the late Elizabethan court and certain sections of the aristocracy closely associated with it, both composers began to write Italian-style madrigals of their own by reworking the Italian music circulating at these establishments. One wonders whether Coprario wrote so many Italianate pieces and altered his surname to impress the influential emigre dynasties of court musicians with his Italian credentials in the hope of gaining a position at court.⁵¹

However, by the time Coprario and Lupo came to compose their madrigals there was a change in performance practice. Gordon Dodd neatly describes the situation like this:

All the best people, with voices grown hoarse from a generation of madrigal singing, were taking up their bows... They appeared to wish for the textures which they had already enjoyed in madrigals: substantial polyphony of independent parts. They knew that their bows and fingers would take them where their voices could not go, that is, into any register and with active instrumental declamation and rhythm. Such was the evident demand. How was it met? Coprario, 'that was plain John Cooper but affected an Italian termination', entered the Age of Plenty with a sack full of Italian-style madrigals⁵² that, seemingly, no-one would sing and no publisher would touch. I can imagine him copying the same music into instrumental *Fantazias* taking away the words if not the titles, and serving up the result as *Fantazias*.⁵³

Viol playing colleagues clearly enjoyed this new Italianate music and wanted more of the same kind. To satisfy this demand, Coprario and Lupo returned to their parody madrigals and wrote new instrumental fantasies based *both* on these vocal parodies and their Italian models. They also wrote fantasies which have no vocal counterparts in their own music. Initially, these kept within the

⁴⁷ P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), chpts 4, 5 and 7; D. Lasoeki with R. Prior, *The Bassanos*; Giulio Ongaro, 'New Documents on the Bassano Family', *EM*, 20 (1992), 409-13. Source material on court musicians is calendared in A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Snodland, 1986-91; Aldershot 1991-6).

⁴⁸ R. Charteris, 'A Postscript to *John Coprario: A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Introduction* (New York, 1977)', *Cheyls*, 11 (1982), 13-19, at pp 13-14.

⁴⁹ Charteris, *Catalogue*, 9-20.

⁵⁰ L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)', *Journal RMA*, 116 (1991), 24-40, at p. 29; see also R. Charteris, 'Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605-1613', *RMARC*, 12 (1974), 115-36; *idem*, 'Autographs of John Coprario', *M&L*, 56 (1975), 41-56.

⁵¹ Professor Charteris has offered the following observation: 'It is my suspicion that Coprario visited Italy early in his career, returning there later in life. Whether the five-part works were actually composed there or in England is a moot point, though the number of his Italian pieces is so considerable that it suggests some or all of them were written in Italy, though it is also possible that they might have been written in England with an Italian patron, or an English patron who was a devotee of Italian culture, in mind' (private communication).

⁵² These are the pieces listed in Table 1, Section A.

⁵³ Dodd, 'Alfonso Ferrabosco II', 48-9.

range of vocal music,⁵⁴ but very soon began to explore the capabilities of the viol.

These fantasies bear all the hallmarks of early Stuart viol consort music: they are tailored for the viol, the part-writing has a new freedom and athleticism and the polyphony is closely-woven, fast-moving and composed in longer unbroken spans than in vocal music which has to make allowances for singers to draw breath. This new type of polyphony (an intensification of the contrapuntal style of the *canzonetta-madrigal*) is achieved through stretto and also through the diminution of subjects both of the vocal parodies and their models. Examples of diminution can be found if we compare motifs 'b₁' with 'b₂' in Tables 6 and 7, Section A, Coprario column, and motifs 'd' with 'd₁' in Examples 9a and 9c.

Most importantly, these pieces display a freedom which is the ethos of the fantasy. We see the concept of fantasy in the freedom with which Lupo, and especially Coprario, rework their models in their vocal parodies (the exception is the music of 'Dove il liquido argento' which is a paraphrase). But it is in their instrumental parodies that this new fantasy style takes flight. Since they are no longer bound by the external structure of a text and the constraints of a vocal [47] compass, Coprario and Lupo are free to follow or abandon their models as they please. It is only a small step from paying lip service to their models to writing original fantasies in the same idiom. This, it is suggested, is how the madrigalian fantasy originated.

Having said all this, it must be pointed out that the madrigalian fantasy never really breaks free of its vocal origins. It never becomes a fully independent instrumental form, unlike the fugal fantasy. The madrigalian fantasy, by its very nature, is associated with rhetoric and the affections of secular vocal music, particularly the *seconda prattica* madrigal. This fascinating subject will be explored at a later date.⁵⁵

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Professor Richard Charteris for reading the typescript of this article and offering a number of comments. I am most grateful to the Librarians and Governing Bodies of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna, the Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel and Landesbibliothek, Kassel, the British Library, London, the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Huntington Library, San Marino, for permission to refer to material in their collections.

NOTES TO MUSIC EXAMPLES AND TABLES

1. With the exception of Exx. 6 and 7, all the music in the examples and tables is barred after every two minim beats, irrespective of its original mensuration signature, for ease of comparison.
2. Motifs are identified by lower case letters; motifs which are reworked are also assigned a subscript number according to the degree of transformation, e.g. d, d₇, d₂, etc.

⁵⁴ These include Coprario, VdGS nos 19 and 48, and Lupo, VdGS nos 11 and Lupo, VdGS nos. 11 and 15.

⁵⁵ This is discussed in my forthcoming study cited in note 5 above.

3. Italian spelling and punctuation follow the editions cited in note 16. Editorial texts have been underlaid in Examples 8b and 9b; these are enclosed within square brackets. Text has been omitted from Tables 6 and 7.

4. In Tables 5-7, bar numbers refer to the beginning and end of a section, even if this occurs in the middle of a bar. In imitative sections, the initial entries are quoted and in homophonic sections the highest sounding part. For imitative points the unaltered stem only is given.

5. The following abbreviations are used:

Hom.	-	Homophonic
Pot.	-	Polyphonic
Imit.	-	Imitative
Subi.	-	Subject
Tr.	-	Treble
C	-	Canto
A	-	Alto
T	-	Tenore
B	-	Basso
Q	-	Quinto
S	-	Sesto

THE FOUR-PART FANTASIAS OF JOHN WARD: ONE COMPOSER OR TWO?

Virginia Brookes

The authorship of the 21 four-part fantasias attributed to John Ward has been a subject of speculation for some years. Meyer's catalogue lists only six fantasias found in a number of Oxford sources (the 'Oxford set'), but a further 15 fantasias (the 'Paris set') and five four-part In Nomines occur alongside the Oxford works in F-Pe MS Rés F.770 (c1650).¹ Strover notes that 'there is a marked difference in style between the Oxford and the Paris groups of fantasias', and writes, 'The absence of many characteristics, and especially of [Ward's] more usual contrapuntal style, suggests that the works [of the Paris group] are early products.' Strover then goes on to point out that their inclusion in a single, late source makes this unlikely and suggests that they might possibly be by Ward's son.² I hope to show that there is good reason to distinguish between the six Oxford fantasias and the remaining 15 and that they were the products of two composers, probably not contemporaneous.

F-Pe MS Rés F.770, a consort music score with no surviving associated partbooks, contains between pp 255 and 326 a series of 26 consecutively-numbered works attributed to John Ward. Five In Nomines (nos 1-5) and the first 15 fantasias (nos 6-20) are stylistically similar and are unique to this source,³ whereas the six Oxford fantasias (nos 21-26) are in a completely different style and are found in 18 other sources.⁴ The attributions 'J. Ward', 'Jo(h)n Ward' or 'JW' appear not only at the beginning of each piece, but also at the top of nearly every page, though in spite of the single attribution the compositions appear to be by two different composers. The unique pieces are rather mechanical workings of often very complex contrapuntal ideas, specifically instrumental in style and with an unsophisticated freshness and clarity about them, whereas the six final fantasias, whilst containing much agile instrumental writing, also contain passages of poignant lyricism charged with the emotional intensity found in many madrigals. The score-book itself, a huge volume meticulously copied by a single scribe identified as 'LA.', contains, in addition to the Ward pieces, music by Lawes, Ferrabosco II, Gibbons, Coprario and Locke. Locke's

¹ E. H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Kassel 1934), 162. In Dodd, *Index*, the 'Oxford' fantasias are numbered 1-6; the In Nomines and fantasias unique to the Paris score-book are numbered 1-20 in a separate series following the sequence of the manuscript. VdGS numbering for the two sets of fantasias is used throughout this article.

² M. C. T. Strover, 'The Fantasias and In Nomines of John Ward' (B. Litt., University of Oxford, 1956), 1.

³ John Ward, *Seven 'Paris' Fantasias for Four Viols*, ed. V. Brookes (Albany, CA, 1993) contains VdGS nos 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 20; John Ward, *Eight 'Paris' Fantasias for Four Viols*, ed. V. Brookes (Albany, CA, 1993) contains VdGS nos 6, 7, 10-13, 16 and 18.

⁴ John Ward, *Six 'Oxford' Fantasias for Four Viols*, ed. V. Brookes, (Albany, CA, 1992, rev. edn 1996).

Broken Consort bears the date '1661' and it is likely that 'LA.', who may have been the court violinist John Atkins, compiled the whole collection shortly after the Restoration.⁵ Though the musical text of this manuscript is particularly clear and accurate, there are some misattributions: for example, the six Coprario fantasias are amongst those assigned to Ferrabosco. A comparison of the variant readings of the six Ward fantasias which occur elsewhere fails to reveal any particular affinity between the Paris book and the other sources.

The biographies of the several John Wards associated with Canterbury Cathedral during the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries are extremely confused. A John Ward, son of John Ward, was baptised at St. Mary Magdalen, Canterbury, on 8 September 1571. Cathedral records show that a John Wade was a chorister there between 1580-81 and a lay clerk between 1599 and 1605.⁶ This is presumably the Ward whose birth date is given in *Grove*⁷ but it is unlikely that he was the composer of the madrigals or consort music. A John

[53]

⁵ *John Coprario: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. R. Charteris, *Musica Britannica*, 46 (1980), 182-3; P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), 275-6.

⁶ Canterbury Cathedral Library: Drafts of the Treasurer's and Receiver's yearly accounts 1576-1605.

⁷ M. W. Foster, 'Ward, John', *The New Grove*, XX, 210-11. A birth date of 1571 makes it unlikely that Ward's madrigal collection should be described in the dedication as 'the *primitiae* of my muse'.



Plate 1. John Ward: Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 6. Detail from F-Pc MS Rés. F.77C

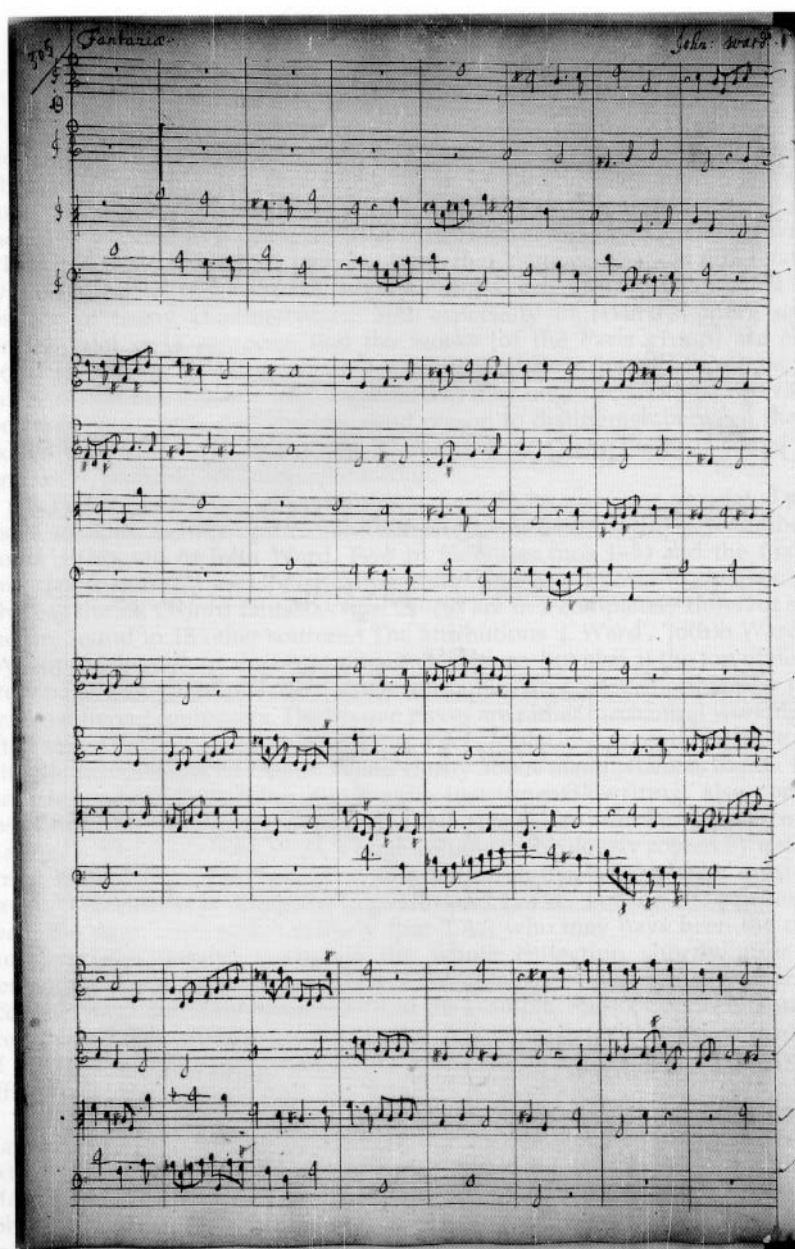


Plate 2. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 19, ascribed to John Ward. Detail from F-Pc MS Rés. F.770.

[55] Ward[e] who took holy orders c1602-3 was a minor canon in 1607: he copied music for the cathedral,⁸ and held the living of Halstead, Essex, from 1610 to his death in 1617. These John Wards probably have no connection with the composer's family.⁹ The heraldic visitation of Essex in 1634¹⁰ shows that a William Warde, born in Yorkshire, had a son John, who came into Kent and lived at Canterbury. This is the John Ward who seems most likely

⁸ J. Meadows Cowper (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Cocks 1607-1610* (Canterbury, 1901), 59, 70, 84, 96, 101.

⁹ For another view see R. Ford, 'John Ward of Canterbury', *Journal VdGSA*, 23 (1986), 51-63.

¹⁰ W. C. Metcalfe, (ed.), *The Visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilly, 1634* (1878-9), 1, 518.

to have been the father of the composer. The visitation records that his son, 'John Warde, now of Ilford in com. Essex, one of the Attorneys in the Exchequer for S[i]r Thomas Fanshawe' had married Thomasen Clee of London and himself had a son named John, who was still a minor. Thus three generations of John Wards apparently stem from William Warde, the composer's grandfather.

Ian Payne postulates a birth date of c1589 for the composer.¹¹ This is borne out by the dates (1598-1604) of the only John Ward to have been a chorister at Canterbury Cathedral¹² as well as by the dedication in Ward's *Madrigals* of 1613,¹³ which describes them as the first fruits (*primitiae*) of his muse. Dr Payne's lucid biographical sketch of the John Wards, father and son, need not be repeated here. It will be sufficient in this context to remind readers that John Ward served as household musician to Sir Henry Fanshawe of Ware Park in Hertfordshire, to whom he dedicated his collection of madrigals. On Sir Henry's death in 1616 Ward was given the post of attorney to his successor Sir Thomas Fanshawe, a post which Ward held until his own death in 1638. In his capacity of attorney Ward would have moved in the advanced musical circle centred on St. Paul's Cathedral, at the hub of which was the music copyist and compiler Thomas Myriell.¹⁴ As Or Payne points out, 'It was probably this exposure to musical life in the capital, and to the forward-looking musical circle of Thomas Myriell in particular, that hastened this change from his already highly Italianate madrigalian style to a more up-to-date, adventurous, idiomatic manner of writing for viol consort.'¹⁵

Dr Payne has shown conclusively that the composer of the madrigals was also the composer of the five- and six-part fantasias,¹⁶ and the purpose of this present article is to attempt to show a similar connection between the madrigals and the four-part Oxford fantasias, whilst demonstrating that the Paris fantasias and In Nomines attributed to Ward could not have been composed by the same man. It is the six Oxford fantasias which stylistically most closely resemble the four-part madrigals. In both the fantasias of this set and the madrigals the overall structure is the same, and consists of contrasting material separated by well-defined cadences. The initial imitation is more approximate in the madrigals, but in the fantasias Ward uses both single-subject and subject-and-countersubject counterpoint with practised skill. The lyrical and reflective passages in both the vocal and the instrumental works are remarkably similar, being based almost entirely on stepwise falling phrases expressive with suspensions. Homophonic declamatory passages punctuate the music, often preceded by a simultaneous rest in each of the parts, and, particularly in the fantasias, these sections are

¹¹ See I. Payne, 'John Ward (c1589-1638): the Case for One Composer of the Madrigals, Sacred Music and Five- and Six-part Consorts', *Chelys*, 23 (1994), 1-15.

¹² Canterbury Cathedral Library: 'Canterbury Cathedral Choirboys 1541-1988' (typescript list compiled in 1989 by Anne M. Oakley).

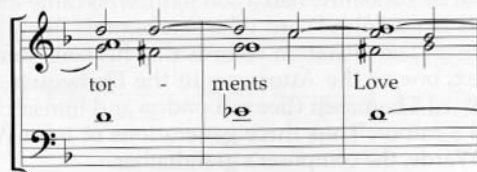
¹³ John Ward, *The First Set of English Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 & 6 parts; apt both for Viols and Voyces. With a Mourning Song in memory of Prince Henry* (1613); see John Ward, *First Set of Madrigals (1613)*, ed. E. H. Fellowes, rev. T. Dart (1968).

¹⁴ See C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650* (Ann Arbor, 1982), chpt. 2. 15. Payne, 'John Ward', 2.

¹⁵ Payne, 'John Ward', 2

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 3-14.

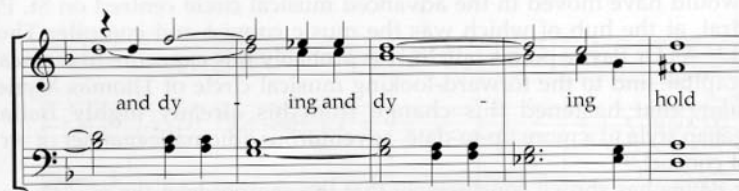
based on a tonic-dominant relationship which sometimes progresses through a circle of fifths and leads on occasions to keys as remote as B major. Chromatic inflexion of a note, in the madrigals used for dramatic effect to colour a significant word, is [56] also apparent in the fantasias. Compare, for example, the eb' which colours 'torments' (Example 1a) and the d in the bass of fantasia no. 2 (Example 1b). In both cases it is a minor chord on the subdominant in first inversion which gives this particular major/minor shift its poignancy.



Ex. 1a. 'Love is a dainty' (*First Set of Madrigals* no. 10, p.45).



Ex. 1b. Oxford fantasia VdGS no.2, bars 17-18.



Ex. 2a. 'Sweet pity, wake' (*First Set of Madrigals* no. 9, p.40).



Ex. 2b. Oxford fantasia VdGS no.1, bars 22-5.



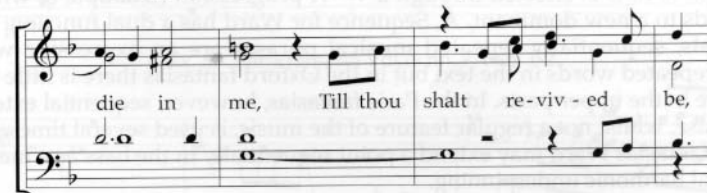
Ex. 3a. 'How long shall I?' (*First Set of Madrigals* no. 12, p.55).



Ex. 3b. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 4, bars 39-40.

Ex. 4a. 'Love is a dainty' (*First Set of Madrigals* no. 10, p.44).

Ex. 4b. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 4, bars 19-20.

Ex. 5a. 'O my thoughts, surcease' (*First Set of Madrigals* no. 8, p.36).

Ex. 5b. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 3, bars 30-31.

Some reworkings of passages from reflective or lyrical sections of the fourpart madrigals may be seen in the fantasias. The falling phrase which moves stepwise with two or more parts in thirds is one of the hallmarks of Ward's madrigals, and in Examples 2a and 2b it may be seen how he transfers the idea to [58] the fantasia where it is extended to provide a substantial 13-bar section. The interlocking downward sequential figure, often used in the madrigal to set a grief-stricken phrase of the text (Example 3a), is also transferred to the fantasia, where in no. 4 it becomes a duet rather than a trio (Example 3b). Declamatory sections of homophony feature prominently in each of Ward's Oxford fantasias, often preceded by a simultaneous rest in all parts, for greater impact. In madrigal no. 10, 'Love is a dainty', there are several similar sections, rhythmically vigorous and each asserting the tonic/dominant of the prevailing harmonic scheme (Example 4a). In the fantasias the homophonic sections have the same rhythmic vitality but take on more sophisticated key relationships, sometimes travelling through a partial circle of fifths. In fantasia no. 3 (bars

13-14) the chord progression is d-a, B-F, d-D, and in fantasia no. 4 (bars 19-20) a perfect cadence onto E and a rest in all parts is followed by a series of chords which alternate between E and B majors until, with a deft d-natural in the first treble, Ward passes smoothly into the surer waters of G major, with confirming cadences (Example 4b). Ward transfers other typically madrigalian devices to the fantasias: for example, in fantasia no. 3 a short reflective section ends with a perfect cadence on the first beat of bar 31, and from this cadence springs immediately a light, tripping canzona-like section which could equally well set the text of madrigal no. 8 (Examples 5a and b).

Dr Payne observes that 'even in his madrigals Ward is master of the interrupted cadence to effect a change of key'¹⁷ and this observation can also be extended to the four-part Oxford fantasias. For example, in no. 4 (bars 43-44) a shift from A to D is effected through a V⁷-vi progression (Example 6) which in turn leads to a new dominant, A. Sequence for Ward has a dual function: in the madrigals, sequentially repeated musical phrases are an expressive way of setting repeated words in the text but in the Oxford fantasias there is little use of sequence in the upper parts. In the Paris fantasias, however, sequential extension of a phrase, whilst not a regular feature of the music, is used several times. In the Oxford fantasias Ward may extend a point sequentially in the bass as a means of structural harmonic underpinning.

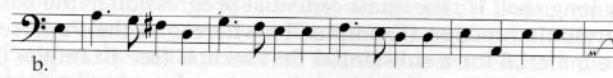


[59]

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 7.



Ex. 7a. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 5, bars 20-21.



Ex. 7b. 'How long shall I?' (*First Set of Madrigals* no. 12, pp 52-3).



Ex. 8a. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 1, bars 1-2.



Ex. 8b. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 7, bars 1-2.



Ex. 9a. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 8, bars 1-3.



[60] In Oxford fantasia no. 3 (bars 32-34) the five-note point is extended sequentially to carry the harmonic progression C-G-d-A, and in no. 5 (bars 20-21) the extended counterpoint is the foundation for a series of chord progressions which travel from A to E and B en route to a cadence onto E (Example 7a). In madrigal no. 12, 'How long shall I?', the quasi-cadential progression in the bass performs the same harmonic function (Example 7b) whereas in the Paris set a similar phrase is the material for a substantial first section (see Examples 11 and 12). The four-part madrigals and Oxford fantasias share a common harmonic structure for their final cadences: a dominant pedal provides the bass for the progression V-Ic-V leading to the final tonic. In the fantasias this cadence is often extended by repetition while the final entries of the point are being worked out.

In trying to prove that one composer wrote the madrigals and the six Oxford fantasias it is, however, only in the reflective and declamatory sections of each that common melodic ground may be found. The active sections of the

fantasias, especially as the set progresses, are specifically instrumental and involve wideranging parts, particularly in the bass, with agile leaping and arpeggiated figures. No. 6 in particular includes some fairly challenging string writing. In the four-part madrigals chromaticism verges on modulation but still retains its modal flavour, whereas in the fantasias there are some extended passages of real modulation which often venture into remote key regions. There is masterly handling of subject and countersubject in some of the opening sections and a heightened awareness of tonal structures which suggests that these four-part fantasias, whilst from the same pen as the madrigals, are works of greater maturity.

It will now be my task to try to establish that the 15 Paris fantasias could not have been composed by the same man as the six Oxford ones. The first and most obvious question is why, if one man composed all 21 fantasias, six have circulated widely but 15 have remained unique to only one source, and a late one at that. The second is why there should be so many consistent stylistic differences between the two sets.

The Oxford set is for treble, two tenors and bass and the Paris set for two trebles, tenor and bass, though some of the second treble parts are rather low and sit more comfortably on the alto viol. The range of the bass parts in the Oxford set is between the two outer strings, but in the Paris set the bass part lies between F and g". In the Oxford set two pieces have a key signature of two flats, one of one flat and three have no signature; in the Paris set one has a signature of one flat and fourteen have no signature. Whilst the Oxford set is constructed in sections of vividly contrasting material separated by well-defined cadences the Paris set relies less on contrast and more on continuous activity, with most of the internal cadences overlaid with counterpoint so that the divisions between sections are often unclear. The declamatory homophonic sections, so often preceded by a complete rest, which are one of the defining characteristics of the Oxford fantasias are entirely absent from the Paris set, as are the lyrical passages laced with suspensions. Indeed, the madrigalian influence so strongly marked in the more reflective sections of the Oxford set is not apparent at all.

[61] It will be of some interest to take a close look at the first sections (those in which the first point or points is or are worked out) of fantasias from either set. In the Oxford set four have a subject and countersubject worked simultaneously and two have a single subject; in the Paris set nine use a single subject and six a subject and countersubject. In the Oxford set the initial points tend to be short and, as the set proceeds, move from a vocal style to a specifically instrumental one; in the Paris set the initial points are mainly constructed from the same sort of material, which relies heavily on running quaver figures. These points tend to be very long and are worked out in strict imitation which imposes a certain rigidity on the music. Some of the longer of these points are in two sections, separated by a rest. Compare, for example, the opening material of an earlier fantasia in either set, each with subject and countersubject (Examples 8a and b).

The arrangements of entries and tonalities in each of these two compositions is representative of the other compositions in each set. The first striking difference between the arrangements of entries in this exposition section is that entries in the Oxford compositions, whether of a single subject

or subject and countersubject, almost always follow at the distance of the point. The one exception to the rule in this set is no. 1, where the countersubject enters with the subject, but only after the initial solo statement of the point. This arrangement also applies to most of Ward's five- or six-part fantasias. In the Paris set with its much longer points, entries, whether of a single subject or subject and countersubject, are usually concurrent in adjacent parts in pairs, so that the single subject pieces usually, open with a canonic duet repeated at the octave (Example 9a) and those with subject and countersubject open with a statement of the subject in canonic duet, followed by a canonic duet of the countersubject (Example 9b).

Table 1

Oxford fantasia no. 1				Paris fantasia no. 7			
<i>First set of entries</i>							
Subject		Countersubject		Subject		Countersubject	
III	G			II	G	I	D §
IV	G	II	G *	IV	G	III	D §
I	G						
<i>Second set of entries</i>							
Subject		Countersubject		Subject		Countersubject	
II	C			I	D	II	G §
III	G	IV	G *	III	D	IV	G §
IV	C	I	G *				
I	C	II	C *				
*simultaneous				§concurrent			

Table 1 shows the layout of the melodic material in the first section of an early fantasia from each set. The figure in Roman numerals gives the voice part and the letter the note of entry. In a simultaneous entry the two points start together whilst in a concurrent one they follow each other at a short distance. From this table it is easy to appreciate the symmetrical layout of the opening material which is the hallmark of the Paris fantasias and the more flexible [62] working of the Oxford pieces.

A brief look at the penultimate piece in each set will reveal that these characteristics persist throughout the sets (Table 2 and Examples 10a and b). In both these fantasias the first section uses but a single point. It is interesting to notice that the later Oxford pieces become more specifically instrumental, whereas there is little change of style as the Paris set proceeds.

Table 2

Oxford fantasia no. 5

Paris fantasia no. 19

First set of entries

II	A	I	E	*	IV	D	III	A	§
IV	A	III	E	*	I	D	II	A	§

Second set of entries

I	C	IV	A	*	IV	A	III	E	§
II	G	I	E	†					
IV	E	III	B	*					
IV	A	III	C	*					
II, I, III				‡					

*at the distance of the point

§concurrent

†at a greater distance

‡each on E, stretto, at half the distance of the point



Ex. 10a. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 5, bars 1-3.



Ex. 10b. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 19, bars 1-4.

The trademark of the Paris set is the consistent use of long imitative points designed to work in pairs, whether as a single subject or subject and countersubject. The result of this is that the compositions are shot through with canonic imitation. The Oxford set has no canonic imitation, though Ward uses it in his six-part fantasias. Paris fantasia no. 14 provides a good example of the way in which the closest of imitation dominates the Paris set (Example 11).



Ex. 10. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 12, bars 1-2.

Ex. 10b. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 31



Ex. 11. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 14, bars 1-5.

[63] The canonic imitation in this fantasia, coupled with sequential extension of the point, eventually produces a double canon of dense texture and complex rhythm. This opening statement is repeated exactly at the octave on the last minim beat of bar 3, above which the second part of the point (that which follows the rest) is heard again. This section ends in bar 8 with a perfect cadence on A from which grows directly a repeat of the opening material but this time on treble 2 followed by treble 1 starting on e' and a' respectively. On the final crotchet of bar 11 the sequential extension of the second part of the point begins its long descent in canonic form to close the first section of the piece with another perfect cadence on A (Example 12). Bar 31 introduces yet another canonic idea which is repeated in bar 32 by treble 1 and tenor. A further round of entries in bar 34 (bass and treble 2) and bar 36 (treble 1 and tenor) complete this section. There are few reflective moments amongst the busy counterpoint of the Paris set, but half way through this fantasia, between bars 27 and 30, there are some bars of repose completely lacking the lyrical and expressive quality of comparable passages in the Oxford set (Example 13). Compare these bars, which use a similar falling phrase, with Example 2b from the Oxford set.

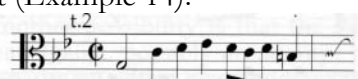


Ex. 12. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 14, bars 12-15.



Ex. 13. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 14, bars 28-30.

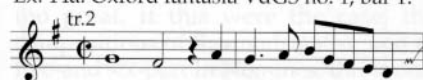
[64] The Oxford fantasias contain a greater variety both of mood and melodic material than those in the Paris set. Typically in the Oxford set, the first section is based on the working of a short point whose entries are mainly accompanied by free counterpoint. Only towards the end of the first section is there any stretto. A clearly defined cadence usually marks the end of this section, sometimes followed by a rest in each part which serves to introduce a contrasting idea, often in a declamatory homophonic style. A more lively section follows, based on entirely new material which may include a working of the point in thirds and sequential extension of the point in the bass. This section is sometimes followed by a rest in all parts before the introduction of a lyrical passage which often includes poignant suspensions. The compositions usually end with a lively [65] section. The Oxford set is progressive, in that the first fantasia opens with a vocal-style point and, as the set continues, the melodic material becomes more specifically instrumental. Compare, for example, the opening material of the first and the last piece in each set (Example 14).



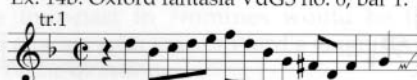
Ex. 14a. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 1, bar 1.



Ex. 14b. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 6, bar 1.



Ex. 14c. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 6, bars 1-2.



Ex. 14d. Paris fantasia VdGS no. 20, bar 1.

In the Paris set the bass functions almost entirely on equal contrapuntal terms with the rest of the voices, whereas in the Oxford set the bass tends to have more independence and is often used as the source of harmonic stability. The final cadence of the Oxford set is always perfect and always involves a dominant pedal. In the Paris set the final cadences are more varied: five of them are plagal with little cadence figures in pairs of thirds, and those which are perfect mainly include the delayed leading note on the penultimate chord. Whilst the imitation in the Paris set is almost obsessively exact, it becomes extreme in nos 12 and 20, where there are exact repetitions of several bars. In no. 12 bars 20-22 are repeated in bars 23-25, and in no. 20 bars 21-29 are repeated in bars 32-40. This is no copyist's error as the approaches to the repeated sections are staggered and the repeats obviously intentional. In the Paris set the interrupted cadence is also used in order to effect a change of key, for example in no. 20, bar 9, where the bass progression from d to eb allows a swift and assured change of harmony from D to Eb majors. Similarly in Paris fantasia no. 6 a chord of A major in bar 19 is followed by a stepwise rise in the bass to bb and then c' which leads to a perfect cadence onto F at the beginning of bar 20. The ear is surprised but not displeased by this rather unexpected key change. The organised nature of the counterpoint in the Paris set dictates key schemes which operate mainly in blocks related to the idea being worked out. The usually long first sections are rooted in sturdy tonic/ dominant harmony and it is only later in the music, when the counterpoint becomes less rigid, that less obvious key relationships are explored.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the strong sense of tonality of the Paris fantasias they do not reach the remote regions which are explored in some of the Oxford set, where shifts from one tonal centre to another tend to be organic and grow from a logical progression of related keys which travel via the next dominant, often pivoting on a 6/4 chord. There are no abrupt shifts to seemingly unrelated keys, but plenty of major/minor contrast, particularly when a cadence is followed by a complete rest and a new homophonic section starts in the minor mode. Example 15 is typical of the reflective sections of the Oxford fantasias, where shifting tonal centres are supported on a strong bass line, and similar passages (but without the rest in no. 3) are found in each of the six fantasias. Such passages, however, are totally absent in the Paris set.



Ex. 15. Oxford fantasia VdGS no. 3, bars 10-13.

[66] The *In Nomines*¹⁸ have many of the same characteristics as the Paris fantasias with close imitation giving rise to sections of repetition, canonic imitation, and a plagal cadence figure identical with those in the fantasias. However, they are far more cautious in their excursions into other keys, always remaining close to the one flat of each key signature. They might well be fledgling compositions from the same pen.

I would like to suggest that whilst the Oxford set was probably composed during the second half of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Paris set seems more likely to be of late-Caroline origin. I would also suspect that the Paris set was composed by a man who had received a thorough musical training but had yet to establish his own personal idiom, and real eloquence is inhibited by an over-careful regard for the rules of counterpoint. In a simple case of misattribution one might expect to find that the correctly attributed pieces had been copied first and the attribution then mistakenly extended to other works, but here we have 20 possible misattributions preceding the correct ones. Were they all assigned to John Ward in the associated part-books? One explanation, of course, is that there was another, later composer also named John Ward. Might this have been the son of the madrigalist?

We know that Ward the madrigalist had a son, also named John, the eldest of five children not all of whom survived infancy. We may surmise the date of Ward senior's marriage by the date of baptism (1606) of his wife, Thomasen Clee, who [67] might have been expected to be married by about 1624. Their firstborn might therefore have a birth date of about 1625 and, had he been a musician, could have been composing by about 1645. This would make him a contemporary of Matthew Locke, whose music is also represented in the Paris score-book. Another possibility is that the Paris fantasias were late works by Ward the madrigalist, possibly an attempt to break with the madrigalian tradition and experiment with a new, more up-

¹⁸ John Ward, *Five In Nomines for Four Viols*, ed. V. Brookes, (Albany, CA, 1992).

to-date style of instrumental composition. I do not think this is possible as the stylistic differences between the two sets are just too great. If this were the case, the four-part In Nomines would be the compositions of the madrigalist, and to anyone who knows Ward's magnificent five-and six-part In Nomines, this is out of the question.

The purpose of this article was to suggest that the Oxford and Paris sets of four-part fantasias are by two different composers. The identity of the second may always remain a mystery.

Acknowledgements

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[69]
 VARIETY AND UNITY IN THE FANTASIAS
 OF JOHN COPRARIO

Caroline Cunningham

'If a point be long and tedious ... you must invent another point to goe with him...'¹

Apart from Thomas Morley, John Coprario was the only English composer of consort music for viols to write a theoretical treatise. Throughout *Roles how to Compose*, the work he put together in c1610 for his student John Egerton, the future Earl of Bridgewater, he makes it clear that variety is an essential element in composition. A close examination of his output, now that we can study and perform all of his music,² underlines the importance of variety in Coprario's works, for example in the rich array of different types and combinations of instruments he employs:

Works	Genre	Instruments
C1-6	fantasias	Tr, T
C7-16	fantasias	Tr, 1', B
C17-23	fantasias	Tr, A, T, B
C24-72	fantasias	2Tr, A, T, B
C73-80	fantasias*	2Tr, A, 2T, B
C81-92	fantasias	2B, organ
C93-108	fantasia suites	Vn, B, organ
C109-116	fantasia suites	2Vn, B, organ
C122-3, CU7		fantasias 3lyras
C156-176	villanelle+	2Tr, T or B

*all but two with Italian titles

+with Italian titles

Since a great many of these pieces have Italian titles, and thus some close connection with vocal madrigals and villanelle, yet another element of variety can be seen. Stylistically, other details in the music itself point to a composer who had many options to choose from, but who came back repeatedly to the techniques of what in the final section of the *Rules* he called 'maintayninge a fuge', even in his villanelle³ and madrigalian fantasias. Coprario's first example

¹ John Coprario, *Rules how to Compose*, f. 39r. The treatise is now at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (facsimile edition by M. Bukofzer, Los Angeles, 1952).

² Players and scholars alike are indebted to the meticulous and patient work of Richard Charteris whose editions include: *John Coprario, The Two-, Three-, and Four-Part Consort Music*, Fretwork Edition, 4 (London & Bermuda, 1991); *John Coprario, The FivePart Pieces, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 92 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1981); *John Coprario: The Six-Part Consorts and Madrigals*, Boethius Editions, 3 (Kilkenny, 1982); *John Coprario: Fantasia Suites, Musica Britannica*, 46 (1980); and *John Coprario: Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Eleven Pieces for Three Lyra Viols, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 41 (Madison, 1982).

³ Coprario's 21 villanelle for two trebles and either a tenor or bass viol (C156-76) are not listed in Dodd, *Index*: they form nos 107-127 in the 'Tregian' manuscript, Lbl MS Egerton

(*Rules*, f. 36v) shows a canzona-like fugue theme introduced in the alto voice, followed at the distance of a minim by the superius entrance.⁴ At the beginning of the second bar the top two voices are joined first by the bass and then by the tenor, also entering a minim apart. As a composer, theorist and teacher Coprario recommends this procedure when he says on f. 36r of the *Rules*:

for to [sic] sooner you bring in your parts with the fuge, to [sic] more better will it shewe

He even goes on to give two more examples of the same type of fugue. There can be no doubt that this first procedure is by far the most commonly used in Coprario's consort music.

Next Coprario demonstrates a way to use a longer and more varied subject in which the second voice enters a full bar after the first, and the tenor a bar-and-a-half later, with the bass voice bringing in the subject in the next bar. His concern that this procedure might be too taxing to the listener is reflected in the [70]comment that care must be taken so that 'the fuge is nott long, nor tedious, for other it would be too single before all parts are brought in' (f. 38v).

Finally, the third type of fugue Coprario recommends is a double one, with the second and fourth voices presenting a countertheme to the main subject (as was suggested in the excerpt from the *Rules* cited at the start of this article).

Coprario himself used this approach more sparingly but to great effect in his madrigalian five- and six-part fantasias. In the *Rules* he claims that

this fashion of maintayninge of double fuges is most usd of excellent authors for in single fuges there can no such great art be showed, but onlie in. the invention therof...(f. 40)

Coprario also stresses the need for using a variety of fugue subjects, saying in his opening paragraph that, after presenting the first fugue, 'you maie convenientlie come to a close, and so leave the fuge, and go to some other ayre, or else some other fuge' (f. 36v). In other words, variety and novelty are highly desirable aims for a composer, rather than a tenacious insistence on pursuing a single theme, *ricercar*-like, throughout. Exceptionally, in the three-part fantasia in G minor (C15), Coprario does limit himself to one fugal subject used thirty times in various different ways.

Since the number of Coprario's fantasias is large I have selected a rather arbitrary focus: those pieces which take as a starting point the repeated-note canzona-like opening the composer used not only in his three examples in the *Rules*, but also in many of his fantasias for various different combinations. For instance, even Coprario's early three-part villanella 'Questi capelli' (C156), copied into the 'Tregian' manuscript Lbl MS Egerton 3665, uses this type of theme as its starting point, although in a homophonic setting. The piece proceeds later to short imitative passages alternating with what Coprario might have referred to in his treatise as 'some other ayre' within the first of three sections of the villanella (see Example 1). The lower voice plays

3665. For a facsimile with introduction by F. D'Accone see *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 7a (New York and London, 1988).

⁴ See C. Cunningham, 'John Coprario's "Rules how to Compose" and his Four-Part Fantasias: Theory & Practice Confronted', *Chelys*, 23 (1994), 37-46, at p. 42.

both a contrapuntal and a supportive role, in much the same way as the bass viol does in the fantasia suites from later in the composer's output.

A sharp contrast of treatment, but a very similar opening theme, is used in the three-part fantasia in A minor (CIO), which features a lively, trumpet-like start, with the bass viol answering the tenor entrance on the last beat of the first bar, to be answered in its turn by the treble viol at the beginning of bar 4 as the composer recommends in his first rule (see Example 2). Seven more fugues follow the first one, sometimes short-spanned, as with the second and third fugues, sometimes longer, as with the fifth. The sixth fugue is irregular, each voice treating the same basic imitative material in its own individual way, whereas in the seventh fugue the top two voices enter at a distance of only one quaver, to be joined by the bass a full two-and-a-half bars later. The final fugue presents a combination of a short descending three-note pattern followed by a longer, more rhythmically-varied and wider-ranging figure which for the first time in this piece uses semiquavers. Throughout the 58 bars of this work, the texture is consistently contrapuntal, but each fugue subject has been carefully chosen to contrast with the ones immediately preceding and following it.

Treble Viol 1

Treble Viol 2

Tenor Viol

5

10

15

20

1. 2.

Ex. 1. Villanella 'Questi capelli', C156: complete.



Ex. 2. Three-part fantasia, C10: bars 1-7.

Since Coprario does not describe these additional ways of putting together a longer imitative work such as the fantasia in his *Rules*, it is only by analysing his music that one can appreciate his skill. He joins together leisurely imitative sections with faster-moving fugues. As a matter of fact, the first overlapping example from the *Rides* seems to apply throughout the A minor three-part fantasia and may partly explain why the piece gives the listener a satisfying sense of unity. This first method of constructing a fugue is one on which Coprario relied over and over again in many of his fantasias.

The five-part fantasia 'Al primo giorno' (C33), which some writers are inclined to think of as a fantasia-madrigal and others as just a madrigal without its text, follows quite carefully Coprario's first example from the *Rifles* with overlapping entrances from superius down to bassus over a space of five bars (see Example 3).

Ex. 3. Five-part fantasia 'Al primo giorno', C33: bars 1-11.

The *Rules*' third example, involving double counterpoint, springs to mind with the next point of imitation in this piece, where theme and countertheme are closely overlapping. A more open, madrigalian texture can be found in the trios and quartets of the middle section of this fantasia. But certainly the long, elaborate fifth fugue bears all the hallmarks of an instrumental rather than a vocal piece, with no fewer than nine entrances of the final theme in a consistently contrapuntal, densely-woven, five-part texture. As Joan Wess has noted:

While Coprario certainly makes use of ... paraphrase [of preexistent vocal material, illustrated by showing the connection between the four-part fantasia C22 and Ferrabosco I's madrigal 'Come dal ciel'], he also introduces a freedom in the interpolated sections, which, because he is moving away from the vocal [74] idiom, offers contrasting, more instrumental textures, as was the case with Gabrieli.⁵

David Pinto has summed up this extraordinary amalgamation of vocal and instrumental idioms as follows:

For composers on the verge of a purely instrumental style, [the fantasia] could not have been more opportune, since it gave them license to

⁵ J. Wess, 'Musica Transalpina, Parody and the Emerging Jacobean Viol Fantasia', *Chelys*, 15 (1986), 3-25, at p. 19.

merge usually incompatible dialects into an absolute language of greater potential resource.⁶

There seems little doubt that Coprario's works with written-out organ parts date from c1620, when he was at the centre of the group which came to be known as 'Coperario's musique'.⁷ When one looks closely at the fantasias for one or two violins, bass viol and organ, it is striking that Coprario manages in these new more Baroque textures to incorporate all three of his abovementioned ways of 'maintayninge a fuge' and several others as well. In contrast, only three of the twelve fantasias for two bass viols and organ, C88, C90 and C91, use the fugal techniques consistently, the last two employing canzona-like themes. In the fantasia in A minor for violin, bass viol and organ (C98) the

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Violin, Bass Viol, and Organ. The music is in 3/2 time and A minor. The organ part starts with a fugal opening. In bar 8, the violin and bass viol enter, creating a dense contrapuntal texture. The score is divided into two systems, with bar numbers 5, 10, and 15 indicated.

Ex. 4. Fantasia for violin, bass viol and organ, C98: bars 1-15.

[75] keyboard instrument presents the fugal opening with closely overlapping entries of the canzona theme, to be joined seven bars later by the violin and then in bar 8 by the bass viol, also in close overlap (see Example 4). The contrast of instrumental timbres makes this a particularly interesting effect. In another of these late works for two violins, bass viol, and organ (C116) a brief change from tonic major (D) to tonic minor two-thirds of the way through the piece, accompanied by a more homophonic and dance-like texture, followed by a return to the opening densely contrapuntal texture and major key, provides a new kind of variety (see Example 5). In most of the other two-violin fantasia-suites the contrasting section comes in the form of a triple-metre galliard-like section. Of course this procedure had many earlier

⁶ D. Pinto, 'The Fantasy Manner: the seventeenth-century context', *Clielys*, 10 (1981), 17-28, at p. 28.

⁷ P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), chpt. 9.

precedents in the output of William Byrd, especially in his two six-part fantasias.

Ex. 5. Fantasia for two violins, bass viol and organ, C116: bars 1-14.

[76]

Ex. 5. (cont.)

Coprario greatly expanded his working out of the possibilities of fantasia treatment in these late pieces with organ and drew on three contrasting and varied timbres: the agile, wiry violins (in parts which any good treble viol player could also manage), the solid supporting foundation of the bass viol (which John Playford of course claimed Prince Charles could play 'exactly

well')⁸ and the chamber organ (probably played by Orlando Gibbons, as another member of 'Coperario's musique').

With all this variety of types of fugue, timbre, and connection with vocal forms, where is the unity? To my ear, that is where the magic of Coprario's music lies. He has found multifarious ways, very difficult to describe, of moving logically and climactically through a fantasia, using many different 'fugus and ayres', giving each voice a chance to participate in a fugal imitation, and offering both points of tension and repose in a steady progression towards the final conclusion. Gordon Sandford describes some of the smoothly skilful ways Coprario joins one fugue to another, introducing the new imitative idea just as the previous one cadences, thus always ensuring the continuity between sections of the work.⁹

If the composer avoids the sudden jarring contrasts used by his student William Lawes as well as the sometimes too-predictable fantasia organization we find in John Ward's pieces, there is nonetheless always something striking and different in the character of each of Coprario's fugues to lead the player on in the certain knowledge that he or she will have a chance to participate in every one of them. In any case, we can certainly agree with Richard Charteris that:

besides bearing the stamp of first-rate craftsmanship, Coprario's music ranges from moments of impassioned and declamatory eloquence to those of charm and dignity, all delightfully coloured by piquant contrasts, teasing wit and harmonic unorthodoxies.¹⁰

[77]

Acknowledgements

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⁸ J. Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 12th edn (1694), 8; see also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 213.

⁹ G. Sandford, 'Coprario's cadence: some thoughts on Coprario's four-part fantasia, C21', *Chelys*, 22 (1993), 44-8.

¹⁰ Charteris, *Catalogue*, 34.

[78]
REVIEWS

William Young, *Twenty-nine Pieces for Solo Viol*, edited by Ulrich Rappen; Christoph Schaffrath, *Duetto in D minor for Two Bass Viols*, edited by Lynn Tetenbaum and Donald Beecher (Dove House Editions, Viola da Gamba Series nos 46 and 48). £7.20, £9.60.

The works for solo viol by William Young are part of a manuscript rediscovered by Ulrich Rappen in the Library of the Music Society in Warsaw (PL-Wtm, shelf mark R 221 /inv 377). They are a welcome addition to solo viol music in staff notation, and it is to be hoped that the rest of the manuscript, containing works by Dubuisson and Hotman, will follow soon.

The repertoire consists of preludes, allemandes, courantes and sarabands, some with ornamented variations. Occasionally a 'courante' may turn out to be a saraband really, suggesting that the titles were not intended to be taken as strictly as they would have been in the French style. Pieces are in the order of their keys (d, g and a minor, G major, d minor and D major), with plenty of chords, and not too difficult. Unfortunately they exhibit little of the quality marking out the compositions attributed to Young in the Manchester tablature (GB-Mp MS BRm 832 Vu 51) or his trio sonatas. Unlike the editors, I do not think they are in the least influenced by French models, but betray vestiges of Dutch and German thinking, such as irregular metrics, or harmonic surprises which lack the finesse of both Jenkins and Sainte-Colombe and seem affected and clumsy, like a lot of German viol music of the period.

The degree of source approximation achieved in the edition seems doubtful, considering the altered clefs. The two customary modern ones are used, as opposed to the mentioned original four which are not even specified, although the original clefs might contain information about changes of position as well as many other things. Sentences such as 'obvious scribal errors have been silently put right, and the few necessary conjectural reconstructions of corrupt passages have been duely (sic) noted at the bottom of the page' (which, in fact, is not the case) must seem somewhat questionable in view of a passage which reads:



As there is no way of comparing the editorial adaptation and the original, the inquisitive reader is snookered. Musically it does not make sense, and a critical commentary would be in order.

Schaffrath's duetto is very pretty and a lovely new item on the menu for accomplished players. Formerly in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (D-Bds), the source is now in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (D-B) as part of the old 'Amalienbibliothek' (no. 498). The tessituras of the two parts differ: not only is the second viol, requiring a seven-stringed instrument, generally below the first, but it is also more difficult.

[79] Although it may certainly be good to have the Dove House editions, I cannot but feel ill at ease with them and all their 'silent' modernizations of clefs. Schaffrath's original violin clef (to be read an octave lower) has also been abandoned in favour of bass and alto clefs. Is this really inevitable? Could such an edition not serve both documentary and practical ends, especially for those who do not, as I do, live within walking distance of both libraries? The editors could have saved everyone the trouble of checking at least some aspects, not only for reasons scholarly, but practical too, to encourage players to become more self-reliant and flexible. When we were babies, we did not mind our parents mashing up and tasting our food. Arrived at adult state, we would resent it. I cannot see why we should accept pre-digested musical sustenance, particularly where first publications are concerned. I would therefore be much indebted to the editorial staff of Dove House Editions for reconsidering their policies. After all, tethered, a toddler will never learn to run or dance.

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT

Phillippe Lescat and Jean Saint-Arroman (eds), *Viole de Gambe: Méthodes et traités, dictionnaires, préfaces des oeuvres, correspondences* (Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 1997). £29.60.

This book is an excellent idea. It is an absolute indispensability not only for any violist, but for anyone with any interest in Baroque music, for never has it been made so effortless to read, and refer to, the original sources. It contains almost all French manuscript and printed viol sources in carefully touched-up facsimiles, close to their original sizes. Some of those sadly absent are the index of the 'Concerts a deux Violles Esgales' by Sainte-Colombe (F-Pn, Res. Vma ms 866), the viol sections of Mersenne's *Harmonicorum libri XII* (Paris, 1648), the letter written by Sarrau de Boynet about the pardessus (1738), and the relevant entries in Sebastien Brossard's *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris, 1703/5).

The five chapters are sorted in accordance with what field they cover: tutors (e.g. Rousseau, Loulie); coverage in comprehensive works (e.g. Mersenne); forewords (e.g. Marais, Demachy); encyclopedic entries; and varia (e.g. the one surviving side of the correspondence between Forqueray junior and the Prince of Prussia). All these texts are unabridged. In the case of small formats, several original pages have been printed on one page together.

It must be said that French sources are probably ideal for getting such a project off the ground, because they are both plentiful and explicit. Entries in encyclopedic works are particularly rewarding, because they allow us to follow up who gleaned bits of information from whom, and in what measure the perception of the viol underwent changes. Other countries ought to follow without delay, but the matter may be more involved there: it is not every country that can present a Mersenne or a Marais, and elsewhere allusions are often scant and unclear. What makes an international survey so important is that French traditions are not to be thought of as segregate, but as corresponding with the rest of Europe.

[80] The editors are very reticent. Apart from some bibliographical detail, there is no comment, not even concerning some almost illegible passages. An index of names at the end would not have been amiss, simplifying cross-references. But notwithstanding such minor shortcomings, this volume would certainly deserve something better than a paperback edition, more or less a calf-skin folio edition. Perhaps such a convenient and accommodating form of access to the sources, might help my colleagues to be better matches in discussions in the future.

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