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Fred Flassig, *Die solistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, Cuvillier Verlag, 1998)

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Thomas Munck

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Olga Adelmann with Annette Otterstedt, *Die Alemannische Schule: Geigenbau des 17. Jahrhunderts im südlichen Schwarzwald und in der Schweiz* (Berlin, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, 1997).

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EDITORIAL

It comes as something of a surprise to realise that our society has acquired a history of its own. I count it a privilege to have met and talked with Carl Dolmetsch and Robert Spencer, but many other leading figures in early music are known to me only through their achievements, amongst them Cecile Dolmetsch, late President of the Viola da Gamba Society, who died on August 9 1997. Even for the middle-aged amongst us it is hard to imagine the determination, independence of mind and moral courage it must have taken to argue the case for early music before it became fashionable, and it is no wonder that the various tributes on Cecile Dolmetsch's 90th birthday in the April 1994 VdGS Newsletter speak as much of a remarkable human being as of an outstanding musician.

There is no need now to repeat the factual content of Richard Noble's splendid obituaries published in *The Guardian* and *The Haslemere Herald*, but every reason to reflect on the immense contribution of Cecile Dolmetsch and others like her to this society and the wider world of early music. Fifty years ago reputable histories of English music swept through Lawes, Jenkins and Locke on their way to Purcell and Handel; French baroque music, in which Cecile Dolmetsch specialised through her dedication to the *pardessus de viole*, was generally known for the operas of Lully and Rameau and the works of a few major clavecinists. As scholars or performers we owe an incalculable debt to those who first taught us to look beyond the high points of the received historical narrative, and should perhaps agree with Bernard of Chartres that 'we are like dwarves on the shoulders of giants, so that we can see more than they, and things at a greater distance, not by virtue of any sharpness of sight on our part ... but because we are carried high and raised up by their giant size'.

ROBERT THOMPSON

[1]
THE COMPOSER'S WORKSHOP:
ALFONSO FERRABOSCO THE
YOUNGER

Christopher D. S. Field

One of the pleasures to be got from studying textual sources is the sense of being privileged to glimpse inside the creative artist's studio where the pen and rastrum, the scissors and paste, the eraser and waste-paper basket live, and where, every now and then, an opportunity arises to compare a composer's first and second thoughts. [i]n the case of music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such opportunities are rather rare, because more often than not the autograph manuscripts that would have provided the evidence have perished. Nevertheless there are welcome exceptions. Study of the part-books given by Cipriano de Rore to his pupil Luzzacho Luzzachi in 1559, for example, has shed fascinating light on how one Renaissance master went about his work, beginning with his use of an erasable *cartella* for making compositional sketches.¹ Purcell's revisions of his own works have recently been subjected to systematic investigation, while from William Lawes and Matthew Locke we have a substantial body of autograph scores and parts which, to a certain extent, provide graphic evidence of revision processes as they actually happened.² Fortunately secondary sources can sometimes be almost as informative as autograph manuscripts would have been, for they may preserve variant readings which can only be satisfactorily explained as having resulted from revision or reworking by the composer. The textual critic then has to look for clues that will provide answers to such crucial questions as which version came first, and why changes were made.

For present purposes we may distinguish two main types of authorial revision. The first is associated with transcription from one medium to another—a process which sometimes prompts the composer to modify the musical fabric in ways that go beyond mere rearrangement. In his preface to *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares* (1604) John Dowland confessed to the 'long and troublesome worke' that had gone into giving the pavans, almaines and galliards in that volume 'their last foile and polishment'. Several of them had

¹ I-Ma MS A.10.sup: see J. A. Owens, 'The Milan Part-books: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore's Compositional Process', *JAMS* 37 (1984), 270-98. Owens's book *Composers at Work: the Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York, 1997) appeared too recently for more than bibliographical citation here.

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originally been composed for solo lute, and some had been turned into songs. In almost every case, however, the version for five viols or violins with lute which Dowland made for the 1604 book incorporated revisions, such as the subtly altered ending of ‘Semper Dowland semper dolens’.³ Most of the airs in William Lawes’s five-part consort sets for viols and organ were arranged from humbler prototypes in two, three or four parts, and here too the composer made changes. In one air-VdGS no. 83 in C major-only the first strain of the original was kept and a grand new continuation was composed.⁴ Lawes’s *Royall Consort* provides further instances of this sort of transcription. Transforming the old version for ‘2 Trebles a Meane & a Base’ into the new version for ‘Two Violins, 2 Base Violls and 2 Theorboes’ meant [2] rescoring nearly 60 four-part airs as well as composing new fantasias and echo airs, and in the course of his rescoring Lawes made several alterations. In the D major corant, VdGS no. 26, for instance, the approach to each of the main cadences was restyled with an up-to-date French elegance, and each strain was extended as a result by one or two bars.⁵

The second type of revision involves no rescoring, but occurs when a composer revisits a work purely in order to correct or polish. Source studies of English consort music have brought to light a number of instances where pieces entered the repertory but were later revised. Two of Tomkins’s five-part pavans—one of which had been anthologized by Thomas Simpson in 1610, and so had been in circulation for thirty years or more—seem to have been revised by

³ J. Dowland, *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares Figured in Seaven Passionate Pavans with divers other Pavans, Galiards and Almands, set fough for the Lute, Viols, or Violins, in five parts* (1604) facsimile with commentary by W. Edwards, Leeds, 1974), sig. A2v (‘To the Reader’). For an edition see John Dowland: *Complete Music*, ed. E. Hunt (1985), nos 1-21. On Dowland’s reworkings see Edwards’s commentary and D. Poulton, *John Dowland* (2nd edn, 1982), 342-71; also *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland*, eds D. Poulton and B. Lam (1974), nos 8, 9, 14, 15, 19, 26, 29, 34, 38, 40, 42 and 52. The reasons for believing that the song texts of ‘Lachrimae Antiquae’ (‘Flow my teares’), ‘The Farle of Essex Galiard’ (‘Can she excuse my wrongs’), ‘Captaine Digorie Piper his Galiard’ (‘If my complaints could pas-[28]sions move’), ‘M. Henry Noel his Galiard’ (‘Shall I strive with wordes to move’) and ‘Sir John Souch his Galiard’ (‘My thoughts are wingd with hopes’) were, with the possible exception of the last, all written after the related lute solos are admirably set out by Robeu Spencer in ‘Dowland’s Dance-Songs: Those of his Compositions which Exist in Two Versions, Songs and Instrumental Dances’ in *Le Conceu des voix et des instruments a la Renaissance: Actes des XXXIVe Colloque International d’Etudes Humanistes* (Tours, 1991), ed. J. M. Vaccaro (Paris, 1995), 587-600.

⁴ D. Pinto, *For the Violls: the Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes* (Richmond, 1995), 75, 80-2, 84, 88-93, 95-8. The three-pau version of the C major Aire is in VdGS Sup. Pub. no. 38, ed. G. Dodd (1966); the five-part version is in *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five and Six Parts*, ed. D. Pinto (1979), 50-2. For sources of the different versions see Dodd, *Index*, s.v. ‘Lawes’, 6-7.

⁵ *William Lawes: The Royall Consort (Old Version)* and *William Lawes: the Royall Consort (New Version)*, ed. D. Pinto (1995); M. Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (1960), 68-87; Pinto, *For the Violls*, 34-69; *idem*, ‘New Lamps for Old: The Versions of the Royall Consort’ in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 251-81.

him in the early 1640s for the Withey family in Worcester. Contrapuntal details were refined, and VdGS no. 6 was transposed up a minor third.⁶ Even Byrd, a consummate craftsman, was not above going back to a composition and improving it. His four-part In Nomine VdGS no. 1, written probably before his appointment to Lincoln Cathedral in 1563, had its ending skilfully strengthened at some stage; and when in 1611 he decided to include two of his finest viol fantasias—both of which had been in the hands of players for two decades—in *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets*, he did not release them to the press without making a few judicious adjustments.⁷ Thomas Lupo's six-part fantasia VdGS no. 3 shows signs of having undergone quite a substantial overhaul. Some years after the composer's death it was copied into part-books belonging to John Browne, Clerk of the Parliaments (GB-Och Mus. 423-8), with a substantially different text of its opening section from that found in other extant sources. The basic structure and the entries of the two 'double fuge' subjects are the same in both versions, apart from an extra entry of the second

⁶ VdGS nos 1 and 6: see *Thomas Tomkins: Consort Music*, ed. J. Irving, *Musica Britannica* 59 (1991), xix and 109; J. Irving, *The Instrumental Music of Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656* (New York, 1989), 167-8 and fig. 15. The Withey part-books are GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.415-18, four survivors from a set of five. The version of VdGS no. 6 published in Thomas Simpson's *Opusculum und neuer Pavanen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1610; ed. H. Mönkemeyer, *Monumenta musicae ad usum practicum* 7, Celle, 1987, no. 7) differs from early manuscript sources such as GB-Lbl Egeuon MS 3665 and Lbl Add. MSS 30826-8 in a number of details, affecting its inner parts (see *Tomkins: Consort Music*, no. 26a). Irving puts these differences down to liberties taken by Simpson with Tomkins's text, but it is possible that Tomkins revised this pavan more than once. It was copied by John Merro into Lbl Add. MSS 17792-6 (*Tomkins: Consort Music*, no. 26b) in yet another version: Irving suggests this may have been made so that the upper parts could be played on violins. In the revised version found in the Withey books the pavan is transposed from A minor to C minor. For the composer's revisions to VdGS no. 1, see *Tomkins: Consort Music*, no. 21 (which follows Merro's text in Lbl Add. MSS 17792-6) together with Appendix 1 (the revised version of the Withey books). VdGS no. 1 also survives in a four-part arrangement (in EIRE-Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6 and Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9; see *Tomkins: Consort Music*, no. 19), but Irving considers it unlikely that this was made by the composer (*Tomkins: Consort Music*, xvii); while VdGS no. 6 circulated in two settings for keyboard, one perhaps by Tomkins himself (in GB-Cfm Mu. MS 168 and GB-Och Mus. 1113; see *Thomas Tomkins: Keyboard Music*, ed. S. Tuttle, *Musica Britannica* 5, 2nd edn, 1964, no. 56), the other by Peter Philips (in S-Uu Instr. mus. hs 408; see Irving, *Instrumental Music*, 218-24).

⁷ O. Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (1978), 39, 86, 92-4; *William Byrd: Consort Music*, ed. K. Elliott, *The Collected Works of William Byrd* 17 (1971), nos 4, 13 and 16. What is clearly the earlier version of the In Nomine is in Edward Paston's partbooks, Ob MSS Tenbury 354-8; the revised version is among the 64 In Nomines that make up the first layer of Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16. For the 'first version' of the six-part fantasia VdGS no. 3 sources are Lbl Add. MSS 37402-6 and the isolated part-book Ob MS Mus. Sch. E.423: the main differences between them and the 1611 print are at bars 42, 74 and 97. Neighbour points out that Tomkins's keyboard score of Byrd's four-part fantasia VdGS no. 1 (F-Pc MS Rés. 1122, pp 16-18: facsimile with introduction by F. Lesure, Geneva, 1982) seems to have been based on a version earlier than that published in 1611. Byrd wrote in *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* of the care he had taken 'both in the Composing and correcting' of the contents.

subject in Och Mus. 423-8 at bar 16, but the subsidiary strands of the texture are not.⁸ In such a situation does one reject the deviant version as corrupt, on the grounds that its text has somehow become falsified through faulty copying, or that it stems from an incomplete exemplar, or that somebody has tried to improve on what the composer wrote? Or does one accept it as significant evidence of what may have been Lupo's first or second thoughts? If so, the readings of Och Mus. 423-8 deserve to be taken seriously. We are on firmer ground with Richard Mico's four-part fantasia VdGS no. 17. There are two versions of this in the autograph part-books GB-Lcm MS 1197, one of which was pasted over the other. Opening and closing sections are the same in each, but Mico entirely recomposed the middle.⁹ Similarly Lawes, after copying his fantasia-suite no. 3 in a minor for two violins, bass viol and organ into his string part-books (GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40), inserted a new section with a flamboyant cadential flourish over a dominant pedal; in another of the same series, no. 6 in D major, he reworked the figuration and texture of the massive scalic sequence that forms the fantasia's middle section.¹⁰) But the most painstaking [3] and self-critical reviser of all was Matthew Locke. In a paper to the Royal Musical Association in 1972 Michael Tilmouth commended Locke's revisions as 'worth considering in some detail, for they reveal a composer with a mind both restless and fastidious', and they continue to provide fascinating material for analysis.¹¹ The *Consort* of

⁸ *Thomas Lupo: the Six-Part Consort Music*, ed. R. Charteris (1993), no. 3. My attention was drawn to the 'substantially different' versions of bars 1-20 by Charteris's edition, though some errors in its critical commentary (pp ix-x) preclude accurate reconstruction of the readings of Och Mus. 423-8 without resort to the original manuscript. On Och Mus. 4238 see A. Ashbee, 'Instrumental Music from the Library of John Browne (1609-1691), Clerk of the Parliaments', *M&L* 58 (1977), 43-59; *idem*, 'The Transmission of Consort Music in Some Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts' in *John Jenkins and his Time*, eds. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 243-70, at pp 253-6. Lupo's fantasia was among late additions made to these part-books around 1640 by 'scribe D', after Browne acquired them. While it would be incautious to claim, without first thoroughly scrutinizing scribe D's Lupo texts, that the version transmitted by Och Mus. 423-8 is a revision of the one contained in such manuscripts as Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42, its handling of harmony seems easier and the texture more supple. In particular its readings in bar 16 avoid some rather crude triadic parallelism as well as introducing an additional entry of a subject.

⁹ *Richard Mico: Consort Music*, ed. A. Hanley, *Musica Britannica* 65 (1994), no. 19 and Appendix 1. See also A. Hanley, 'Mico and Jenkins: "Musicians of Fame under King Charles I"' in *John Jenkins and his Time*, 161-70, at pp 164-5. Proof that Lcm MS 1197 is holograph is to be found in R. Thompson, 'A Further Look at the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Chelys* 24 (1995), 3-18.

¹⁰ *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. D. Pinto, *Musica Britannica* 60 (1991), nos 11a (bars 38-46) and 14a (bars 27-38).

¹¹ M. Tilmouth, 'Revisions in the Chamber Music of Matthew Locke', *PRMA* 98 (1971-2), 89-100. See also C. D. S. Field, 'Matthew Locke and the Consort Suite', *M&L* 51 (1970), 15-25; R. Thompson, 'The Sources of Locke's Consort "For Seaverall Freinds"', *Chelys* 19 (1990), 16-43. There is an appendix giving 'some indication of the extent of Locke's revisions' to the *Flatt Consort* in *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music I*, ed. M. Tilmouth, *Musica Britannica* 31 (1971), 138-42. A thorough study, such as foreshadowed by Rebecca Herissone's paper 'Sketches and Revisions in the

Two Parts ('For seaverall Freinds') and the *Flatt Consort* ('For my Cousin Kemble') were subjected to especially drastic revision, but the *Broken Consort* and the *Consort of Fower Parts* also came under scrutiny. Superfluous cadences were eliminated, cramped passages expanded, contrasts heightened, rhythmic details renotated, entire sections rewritten and ceremonious 'conclusions' added to final movements. Locke's guiding principles, it appears, were to intensify harmonic and melodic expressiveness and clarify the music's grand design.

Previous editors, from Thurston Dart to David Pinto, have noted evidence of similar revising and reworking in the consort music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger;¹² but there has so far been no systematic study of Ferrabosco's revisions. The purpose of the present article is to indicate the kinds of changes made, and to identify some of the textual questions that face an editor of Ferrabosco's consort music.¹³ We possess, so far as is known, no autograph manuscripts of any of this music. What we do have is a quantity of secondary sources—copyists' manuscripts—that range in date from perhaps as early, as 1610, when Ferrabosco was at the height of his fame, to as late as 1690, when he had been dead for sixty years. Naturally some pieces are better represented than others; but in general it is true that 'surviving manuscript sources contain more copies of Ferrabosco's consorts than of any others'.¹⁴ It is from these copies that anything that can be deduced about Ferrabosco's working methods must be deduced. Ferrabosco's revisions embrace both the types distinguished above—rearrangement from one medium to another as well as recension in order to make corrections or improvements. Occasionally a work underwent both types of revision: this is undoubtedly what happened in the case of his 'Ut re mi fa sol la'/'La sol fa mi re ut' ('On the Hexachord'), which survives in two substantially different versions for four viols, and also in a five-part version. For examples of

Music of Locke' (read at a joint meeting of the Viola da Gamba Society and the Lute Society in London on 16 November 1996), is now needed.

¹² *Jacobean Consort Music*, ed. T. Dart and W. Coates, *Musica Britannica* 9 (2nd edn, 1962), 221, 224 (commentary on nos 23 and 51); *Alfonso Ferrabosco II: The Hexachord Fantasies in 5 and 4 parts*, ed. D. Pinto (St Albans, 1992), 4. Warwick Edwards perhaps underestimated the extent of the composer's revisions when commenting in a review of *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Four-Part Fantasias for Viols*, eds A. Ashbee and B. Bellingham, *Musica Britannica* 62 (1992), in *EM* 21 (1993), 641-2: 'Alfonso, with his fluent technique, seems not to have been a compulsive reviser; at least, most variants between sources [of his four-part fantasias] seem to be accountable to errors and corruptions of one kind or another, rather than to a composer's changes of heart'.

¹³ An edition by the present writer of Ferrabosco's five- and six-part Consort music (together with the four-part version of 'On the Hexachord') is in preparation for *Musica Britannica*, a sequel to Ashbee and Bellingham's *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*. A *Musica Britannica* volume devoted to Ferrabosco's lyra viol music is also projected.

¹⁴ *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*, xv. For examples of the composer's handwriting see *ibid.*, xxxii; R. Charteris, 'Autographs of Alfonso Ferrabosco 1-III', *EM* 10 (1982), 208-11.

rearrangement, we may turn first to his lyra viol music. No less than seven of the ‘Lessons for the Lero Viall’ which Ferrabosco published in 1609 exist also in a four-part or five-part scoring for viols or violins.¹⁵ The lessons are an authoritative, precisely dated source which was almost certainly in print before any of the surviving consort manuscripts was copied.¹⁶ None the less, internal evidence suggests that the consort versions of the music were written before the lyra versions, not the other way round; consequently those seven pieces—a fantasia, three pavans and three almaines—must date from before 1609.¹⁷ Example 1 shows the opening bars of the famous ‘Dovehouse’ Pavan in what I believe to be [4] its original five-part form, together with the composer’s arrangement for solo lyra viol (using the *ffhfh* or ‘Alfonso way sharpe’ tuning). Sources for the former include a score generally thought—at least until recently—to have been copied by Francis Tregian, the recusant, during the second decade of the seventeenth century (GB-Lbl MS Egerton 3665), and a copy in William Lawes’s hand in partbooks which belonged to Sir Henry Shirley, who died in 1633 (Lbl Add. MSS 40657-61).¹⁸ In order

¹⁵ A. Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols* (1609; facsimile, Amsterdam, 1973), nos 6a: ‘Almaine’ (cf. Almaine a5, VdGS no. 4); 8a: ‘Pavin’ (cf. Pavan a5, VdGS no. 9); 13a: ‘Pavin’ (cf. Pavan a5, VdGS no. 1); 17a: ‘Almaine’ (cf. Almaine a5, VdGS no. 10); 31a: ‘Almaine’ (‘For two Viols’) (cf. Almaine a5, VdGS no. 8); 32: ‘A Fancie for three Viols’ (cf. Fantasia a4, VdGS no. 13); 33: ‘A Pavin for three Viols’ (cf. Pavan a5, VdGS no. 3). Tablature versions are for solo lyra viol unless otherwise indicated. The work was entered at Stationers’ Hall on 11 May 1609 by the publisher John Browne as ‘a booke called, *Lessons for the Lero Viall* made by ALPHONSO FERROBOSCO’: see E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, III (1876), 409.

¹⁶ There are connections between the *Lessons* and the courtly circle that surrounded Prince Henry. (Ferrabosco was the prince’s instructor in ‘the art of musick’ from 1604.) In dedicating the book to Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, Ferrabosco declared: ‘It is true, I made these *Compositions* solely for your Lordship’. During that summer of 1609 Southampton entertained the 15-year-old prince at Carisbrooke castle and at his Hampshire houses, Titchfield Abbey and Beaulieu Abbey; he was subsequently one of the six challengers who assisted Henry in his *Barriers* on 6 January 1610, served as his carver at the banquet following his investiture as Prince of Wales on 4 June 1610, and was one of the his fellow-masquers in *Oberon* (1 January 1611), for which Ferrabosco composed music. See A. L. Rowse, *Shakespeare’s Southampton* (1965), 197-8, 205; S. Orgel and R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (1973), I, 159, 205; R. Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England’s Lost Renaissance* (1986), 47. Prince Henry’s music tutor, Walter Quin, wrote an Italian sonnet lauding Ferrabosco as Orpheus’s heir which was printed with the *Lessons* (sig. A2v), while Ben Jonson, the poet of the *Barriers* and *Oberon*, contributed a more famous English one (‘When we doe give, *Alfonso*, to the light’).

¹⁷ A. Otterstedt, *Die englische Lyra-Viol* (Kassel, 1989), 78, 134-5 and 148-51; C. D. S. Field, ‘Consort Music I: up to 1600’ in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, III, ‘The Seventeenth Century’*, ed. I. Spink (Oxford, 1992), 197-244, at p. 206.

¹⁸ For a facsimile of the Tregian manuscript with introduction by Frank A. D’Accone see *Renaissance Music in Facsimile 7* (New York, 1988). On its history see R. Reid Thompson, ‘The “Tregian” Manuscripts: A Study of their Compilation’, *British Library Journal* 18 (1992), 202-4; A. Cuneo, ‘Francis Tregian the Younger: Musician, Collector

Ex. 1. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: pavan a5, VdGS no. 1 ('Dovehouse'), bars 1-6.
 (a) Version for five-part consort
 (b) Version for solo lyra viol, tuning *ffl/fl*. (String pitches of *g'/d'/a/d/A/D* assumed).

Ex. 1. cont.

to facilitate comparison, I have translated the tablature into staff notation with an assumed pitch of *g'* for the top string in a manner that aims to make clear the implied part-writing. In the lyra version Ferrabosco was not able to convey all the contrapuntal detail of the five-part texture (see bars 1-3, for instance). Some notes that were originally sustained needed to be repeated, rhythms had to be modified to accommodate counterpoint and harmony (bar 5), and there were occasional changes of melodic figuration (such as the introduction into the treble line of a *b^{-flat}* at the cadence in bar 6, making an

and Humanist?', *M&L* 76 (1995), 398-404. Reid Thompson's full findings are to appear in her forthcoming Ph. D. dissertation (University of Cambridge). The fullest account of the Shirley part-books is in Pinto, *For the Violls*, 11-15 and 32-3.

ornamental discord of a seventh with the implied bass). But the arrangement is on the whole very faithful, and effectively captures the essence of the pavan's gentle beauty. Most of its alterations are a direct consequence of bringing the music under the [5] hand and bow of a single player.



Ex. 2. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, VdGS no. 13 (*Musica Britannica* 62, no. 15), bars 1–4.

(a) Version for four viols.

(b) Version for three lyra viols, tuning *flf* (String pitches of *g'/d'/g/d/G/D* assumed).



Ex. 2. cont.

The boldest of Ferrabosco's lyra transcriptions, and the most instructive from our point of view, is that of the four-part fantasia VdGS no. 13. Warwick Edwards has remarked that this piece has qualities that mark it out as 'possibly the earliest' of Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias: 'With its clear sectional structure, its telling use of homophonic structure (otherwise rarely encountered in Alfonso's music) and in aspects of its melodic and contrapuntal invention, it seems indebted to Byrd's consort music to a greater extent than the other four part fantasias'.¹⁹ Ferrabosco's arrangement for three lyra viols, each using the *flf* or 'eights' tuning, may have been made specially for the 1609 book. The problem he set himself was how

¹⁹ Edwards, review of *Musica Britannica* 62 in *EM* 21, 642.

music conceived polyphonically for four viols, each with its own distinct tessitura (treble, alto, tenor, bass), should be distributed between three equal viols capable of chordal playing. Examples 2-4 illustrate some ways in which he solved it. (In translating tablature into staff notation I have again assumed a tuning of *g'* for the top string.) Example 2 is the fugal opening, in which the third lyra takes the tenor's entry before going on to sketch the treble's at bars 3-4. In Example 3 the paired counterpoint of the upper and lower parts is discarded, and the harmonic rhythm at the junction of bars 8-9 is adjusted; much of the second lyra part is derived from the original tenor line, but transposed up an octave—a device which Ferrabosco also used effectively when [6] expanding 'On the Hexachord' from four parts to five—and related more obviously to the fantasia's opening subject. Only at one point does Ferrabosco's transcription actually modify the structure (Example 4). Here the lyra version is extended by a minim before the entry of the imitative points in bars 26-7, and by a further minim in bar 28. The third lyra part embodies the original tenor's point of imitation, and also that of the alto; but the first lyra, while taking over the treble line, is spared having to climb to a top *f'*' a minor third above the seventh fret.



Ex. 4a. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, VdGS no. 13 (*Musica Britannica* 62, no. 15), bars 26–8. Version for four viols.

Ex. 4b. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, VdGS no. 13 (*Musica Britannica* 62, no. 15), bars 26–8. Version for three lyra viols.

Let us turn now to Ferrabosco's revisions of the second type, starting with his four-part fantasias. The recently published edition of these fantasias for *Musica Britannica* by Andrew Ashbee and Bruce Bellingham provides an exceptionally well-informed and interesting discussion of the sources, and, as one would expect, variant readings are scrupulously recorded.²⁰ In order to determine whether these

²⁰ *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*, xxiii-xxvi, 105-26. Alternative versions for three passages are printed in the *Musica Britannica* text in small notes. Two of these (no. 3 [VdGS no. 6], bar 15, and no. 15 [VdGS no. 13], bars 18-20) occur only in Tomkins's score, Lbl Add. MS 29996. Their status is unclear. The editors observe: 'It is probable that in some instances Tomkins attempted to improve what he considered awkwardnesses in Ferrabosco's part-writing ... or maybe he had access to later revisions by the composer'. The third passage (no. 10 [VdGS no. 12], bars 33-4) is a bit of a puzzle. Here the main text follows Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42,

variants contain evidence of significant authorial revision, however, some decrypting from the textual commentary will be necessary. As their ‘principal source’ the editors took the part-books Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42, observing of the scribe: ‘His texts have previously proved authoritative and, generally we have preferred his readings to all others’.²¹ It seems likely that this scribe was a court musician during the 1620s, so he could well have had access to Ferrabosco.²² One section of his manuscript is devoted entirely to four-[7]part fantasias by ‘Alfonso Ferabosco, iun[ior]’ (omitting VdGS no. 1 and On the Hexachord); other fascicles include the three five-part In Nomines.²³ Even if we are dealing with a copper-bottomed source, however, it is desirable to establish whether the music underwent revision, and, if it did, what stage in its reception history the part-books represent. Otherwise there is a risk—especially where the [8] ‘best text’ method of editing is adopted—of conveying an over-simplified picture of what is in fact a rather complex web of textual transmission.²⁴

Example 5 is an extract from the four-part fantasia VdGS no. 9 where sources differ. The main staves give the reading found in Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42 (which is the text adopted in *Musica Britannica*. Notice how, at the fourth crotchet of the bar, the treble’s

Lbl MS Egerton 3665, Och Mus. 2 and 397-400, Ckc MSS Rowe 114-17 and Och Mus. 517-20. The alternative version, which counters the downward momentum of the canon between bass and treble with stronger inner parts, is found in Lbl Add. MSS 17792-6, Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.437-42 and the organ-book Och Mus. 436; but some sources (Lbl Add. NIS 29996, Och Mus. 468-72, Dm MSS 22.1.12 and 23.4.7-12) combine the alternative tenor part with the main text’s alto part, which produces consecutive fifths.

²¹ See comments on source ‘Mg’: *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*, xxiii.

²² R. Charteris, in ‘A Rediscovered Source of English Consort Music’, *Chelys* 5 (1973-4), 3-6, identified this scribal hand in two other manuscripts. One is Cfm Mu. MS 734, an incomplete set of part-books stamped with the king’s arms, which contains a sequence of six-part courtly masquing airs probably intended for royal wind Consorts by Jeronimo Bassano, James Harden, Robert Johnson and others, including two ‘almandes’ by Ferrabosco: see D. Lasocki, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot, 1995), 199-204. The other is US-LAuc MSS ff 1995 M4, a set of part-books probably dating from the 1620s, which contains three-part fantasias by four of Prince Charles’s musicians—Lupo, Coprario, Gibbons (from his *Fantasias of III. Parts* of 1621) and Robert Johnson—as well as being an early source for four fantasias by Jenkins: see A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, I* (Surbiton, 1992) 276-81; P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 1993), 220-4; D. Pinto, ‘Gibbons in the Bedchamber’, in *John Jenkins and his Time*, 89-109.

²³ Commenting that MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42 may not have been copied under the composer’s personal supervision, Annette Otterstedt observes that he liked to spell his name ‘Ferrabosco’, whereas in the four-part section it is written as ‘Ferabosco’: see her review of *Musica Britannica* 62 in *Chelys* 23 (1994), 81-2. When copying the five-part In Nomines, however, the scribe did use the preferred spelling.

²⁴ For arguments both for and against the ‘best text’ approach see P. Brett, ‘Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor’ in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. N. Kenyon (Oxford, 1988), 83-114; J. Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge, 1996), 62-7, 91-3, 98-109.

preparation of a suspended discord coincides not only with a dissonant passing-note quaver in the bass which anticipates that discord (*g'* against *A*)—a common enough idiom, this—but also with a dotted crotchet *a* in the tenor, creating an awkward discord between treble and tenor. Such part-writing could have prompted the composer to have second

A Och Mus. 517-20

B Other variant sources

Ex. 5. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, VdGS no. 9 (*Musica Britannica* 62, no. 5), bar 6.

[9] thoughts and produce a revised version of the tenor line in order to eliminate the infelicity. The more widely disseminated and elegant of the two variants is shown on subsidiary stave ‘B’. It is found in the Tregian score-book (Lbl MS Egerton 3665); it is also present in a score of these ‘excellent good’ fantasias copied by Tomkins (Lbl Add. MS 29996),²⁵ in the ‘Great Set’ of manuscripts copied by John Lilly and Stephen Bing for Christopher, 1st Baron Hatton (Och Mus. 2 and 397-400)²⁶ and in a copy made for John Browne (Och Mus. 423-8).²⁷ The *Musica Britannica* editors judged the Tregian manuscript’s readings to be ‘quite poor’, despite its early date, and its variants tend to be relegated to the textual commentary.²⁸ Yet Tregian undoubtedly depended on a still earlier exemplar which must have originated near to the time when Ferrabosco was composing and revising these fantasias, and although he sometimes made mistakes there is no cause to think that he invented variants as he went along; On the contrary, concordances show that his version of Example 5 is one that gained wide circulation. It is even possible that Tregian had privileged access to manuscripts within or close to the Ferrabosco family, for his score-books (Lbl MS Egerton 3665 with its sequel US-NYp Drexel MS 4302) include an exceptionally wide range of the younger Alfonso’s music—19 four-part fantasias, the five-part version of ‘On the Hexachord’, two of the three five-part In Nomines, eight pavans, three almaines, Latin motets and Lamentations whose circulation may have been largely limited to the English recusant community, and a unique group of four

²⁵ See comments on source ‘ToS’: Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias, xxi, xxiii.

²⁶ J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 66-90, 349-65.

²⁷ This set of part-books seems to have contained the treble, alto and bass parts of this fantasia when it came into Browne's possession, but not the tenor part, which was subsequently copied by his assistant 'scribe D': see Ashbee, 'Instrumental Music from the Library of John Browne', 49, 52.

²⁸ See comments on source 'TrS': *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*, xxiii, 106.

voice *madrigalette*. Moreover, as Richard Charteris has pointed out, great care was taken by him to distinguish between the work of ‘Alfonso Ferabosco il figliuolo’ (or ‘Altonso Ferabosco Junior) and his father.’²⁹ One possible explanation of Example 5, therefore, is that the Madrigal Society part-books preserve the passage in its original form and that Tregian got hold of an authoritative revision. What then of the variant shown on subsidiary stave ‘A’? This occurs only in Och Mus. 517-20, a set of four part-books whose scribe and provenance are unknown. The handwriting is shaky, but although the set is described in *Musica Britannica* as ‘a poor source’ it contains some unique readings of works by Ferrabosco and Mico which I believe cannot simply be dismissed as corruptions.³⁰ Here it offers an amended version of the

²⁹ Charteris, ‘Autographs’, 208; *idem*, “‘Fuerunt mihi lacrymae’: Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder or the Younger?”, in *Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, ed. R. Charteris (Sydney, 1990), 113-30, at p. 115. On Ferrabosco’s Latin motets, see J. Duffy, *The Songs and Motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger (1575-1628)* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980), 215-66, 303-465; J. Kerman, ‘An Italian Musician in Elizabethan England’ in *Write All These Down* (Berkeley, Cal., 1994), 139-51, at pp 146-8. Bruce Bellingham has suggested that the majority of the four-part fantasias were composed between Ferrabosco’s appointment as an extraordinary groom of the Privy Chamber in 1604 and the death of Prince Henry in 1612: ‘Convention and Transformation in Ferrabosco’s Four-part Fantasias’ in *John Jenkins and his Time*, 111-36, at pp 128-30.

³⁰ *Ferrabosco: Four-Part Fantasias*, xxv. Variants unique to this source are particularly significant in the case of Ferrabosco’s ‘On the Hexachord’ (see below). Circumstantial evidence suggests the scribe may have known Mico. Och Mus. 517-20 includes all Mico’s known four-part fantasias, and within the sequence are two (VdGS nos 18-19) not found elsewhere. Andrew Hanley doubts Mico’s authorship of these two fantasias because they are not in the autograph (Lcm MS 1197) and ‘because they have no obvious stylistic similarity to the 17 fantasias which it does contain’ (*Mico: Consort Music*, xxiii and Appendix 2-3), and in his edition relegates them to an appendix. Nevertheless it seems to me that their style matches that of authenticated fantasias (cf. VdGS nos 1 and 19, or 10 and 18) convincingly enough to justify their attribution to Mico in Dodd, *Index*. In another Mico fantasia, VdGS no. 5, at the point where the tenor part takes up the hexachord plainsong (*Mico: Consort Music*, no. 25, bars 33-6), Och Mus. 517-20 give a version of the treble, alto and bass parts which differs from that in Lcm MS 1197 but could derive from a lost autograph. Closely related to Och Mus. 517-20 is a set of five part-books copied by the same scribe in the same tremulous hand, Och Mus. 527-30 and 1024. This includes In Nomines and pavans by Ferrabosco and Mico, as well as textless madrigals by Marenzio, Pallavicino and Monteverdi and instrumental madrigals by Coprario and Lupo. Mico’s interest in Ferrabosco’s four-part fantasias is confirmed by the existence of a score of them in his hand in Dm MS Z2.1.12 (see Thompson, ‘A Further Look’, 9). Thompson has tentatively identified the scribal hand of Och Mus. 517-20, 527-30 and 1024 with that which copied textless madrigals by Pallavicino and Monteverdi into Dm MSS Z3.4.7-12, immediately following two autograph pavans by Mico (op. cit., 18, note 31). Though I have not had a chance to check this, it may be significant that the same Mico pavans and textless madrigals also occur in Och Mus. 527-30 and 1024. A further clue to the background of Och Mus. 517-20 is the inclusion of ten ‘Aires by Mr Jenkins’, reflecting what may be an early stage in the evolution of the 32 airs for two trebles, two basses and organ: see *John Jenkins: Consort Music of Four Parts*, ed. A. Ashbee, *Musica Britannica* 26 (1969), nos 1-4, 9-12 and 17-18.

tenor part that could perhaps be seen as intermediate between the Madrigal Society and Tregian versions.



Ex. 6. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, VdGS no. 8 (*Musica Britannica* 62, no. 6), bars 37–42.

Ex. 6. cont.

Example 6 is the conclusion of another four-part fantasia, VdGS no. 8. It shows the text of Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42, together with what I suggest is a revised version of the last two bars. This alternative ending is in the Tregian score (Lbl MS Egerton 3665), in the afore-mentioned Och Mus. 517-20, and in the score-book F-Pc MS Rés. F.770. (As we shall see, there are other interesting affinities between these last two sources.) The most notable feature of the second version is the repetition in the alto part at bars 41-2 of a phrase—an extension to the imitative point—previously heard a fifth higher at bars 38-9 in [10] the treble part: this repetition is absent from the first version. There is of course no proof that Ferrabosco was responsible for the changes, but they bring the piece to a pleasingly affirmative close and they appear to date from his lifetime.

Examples 5 and 6 alert us to the possibility that the Madrigal Society partbooks may not necessarily represent Ferrabosco's, final thoughts on these fantasias. Nevertheless it should not be assumed that the text they give had not been revised at all. Example 7a is a passage from VdGS no. 13—the fantasia that Ferrabosco arranged for lyra viols—where the contrary is probable true. In this case the earliest version could well be that preserved in Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E437-42

(an early seventeenth-century set of part-books, later owned by Francis Withey),³¹ in Och Mus. 473-8 (where the fantasia was among the original contents, before the books were acquired by John Browne),³² in Lbl Add. MSS 177926 (part-books copied by John Merro of Gloucester in the 1620s or 1630s),³³ and in a group of inter-dependent manuscripts comprising some folios of EIRE-Dm MS Z2.1.12 (a score of the four-part fantasias in Mico's hand, later acquired by Narcissus Marsh),³⁴ Dm MSS Z3.4.7-12 (part-books whose texts of the Ferrabosco fantasias—probable copied in the 1630s—there amended to correspond to Mico's score after they too came into Marsh's possession),³⁵ Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9 (a set bearing the Signature and date 'George Stratford 1641', whose contents appear to have been partially derived from Dm MSS Z.3.4.7-12)³⁶ and Och Mus. 468-72 (a set in the hand of the Oxford musician William Ellis, who evidently used Mico's score in Dm MS Z2.1.12 as a source).³⁷ All these manuscripts give the 'plain' form of the bass viol part at bars 19-20 shown on the main system of Example 7a. But other manuscripts—including Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42, Lbl MS Egerton 3665 (Tregian's Score), Lbl Add. MSS 40657-61 (the Shirley part-books, in which Lawes copied all but the tenor part),³⁸ Lbl Add. MS 29996 (Tomkins's score), Och Mus. 2 and 397-400 (Hatton's 'Great Set'), Och Mus. 423-8 (Browne's part-books)³⁹ and Och Mus. 717-20—give an elaborated form of this bass part which neatly incorporates an additional entry [11] of the prevailing point of imitation (*d, f#, b-flat, a*) and necessitates a lengthening of the first note of the tenor entry in bar 20. Some of the second group of manuscripts also give the treble part at bar 22 in a decorated form: interestingly they do not include Lbl MS Madrigal Society G.37-42. It is likely that the revisions date from after 1609 (though perhaps not very long after), because Ferrabosco's *lyra* arrangement in the *Lessons*

³¹ R. Thompson, "Francis Withie of Oxon" and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337, *Chelys* 20 (1991), 3-27, at pp 8 and 15 (note 51); *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*, 107; Thompson, 'A Further Look', 7-9.

³² Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music', 266-7.

³³ See comments on source 'Me2': *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*, 106.

³⁴ See note 30.

³⁵ Thompson, 'A Further Look', 1-7.

³⁶ J. Irving, 'Two Consort Manuscripts from Oxford and Dublin: their Copying and a Possible Redating', *The Consort* 42 (1986), 41-9; Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music', 266-9. Alternatively, Ashbee suggests, Dm MSS Z3.4.7-12 and Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9 may have drawn more or less contemporaneously on the same lost source. This hypothesis is supported by C. Miserandino-Gaherty, 'The Codicology and Rastrology of GB-Ob Mus. Sch. MSS c.64-9: Manuscripts in Support of Transmission 'Theory'', *Chelys* 25 (1996-7), 78-87.

³⁷ Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music', 269; Thompson, 'A Further Look', 10-11.

³⁸ Pinto, *For the Violls*, 30-3.

³⁹ See comments on source 'Brl': *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias*, 106. This was one of the fantasias copied out by Browne himself.

follows the plain rather than the elaborated version in both places (Example 7b).

Ex. 7. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a4, VdGS no. 13 (*Musica Britannica* 62, no. 15), bars 18–23.

(a) Version for four viols.

(b) Version for three lyra viols.

A: Lbl MS Egerton 3665; Lbl Add. MSS 40657–61; Och Mus. 2, 397–400, 436; Och Mus. 517–20.

B: Lbl MS Egerton 3665; Lbl MSS Mad. Soc. G.37–42; Lbl Add. MSS 40657–61; Lbl Add. MS 29996; Och Mus. 423–8; Och Mus. 2, 397–400, 436; Och Mus. 517–20; F-Pc MS Rés. F.770.

Ex. 7. cont.

The Madrigal Society part-books contain all three of Ferrabosco's five-part In Nomines. VdGS no. 3, the only one of the In Nomines requiring two bass viols, is given in a version which appears to catch our Orpheus momentarily nodding, for at bars 23–4 there are consecutive octaves between the plainsong and the bass line (Example 8). The reading is unlikely to be a copyist's error, because it involves a

point of imitation which is taken up by the tenor and treble viol in turn, and it is supported by Sir Nicholas Le Strange's Lcm MS 1145,⁴⁰ by Browne's GB-Ckc Rowe MSS 114-17,⁴¹ and by a set of part-books, Och Mus. 527-30 and 1024, written by the 'tremulous' hand which copied Och Mus. 517-20.⁴² Other manuscripts give an emended version of the second bass part which eradicates the offending consecutives, as shown on the subsidiary stave of Example 8. They include Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6 (another set of part-books acquired by Marsh, which probably originated in the 1630s)⁴³ and Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16 (an [12] important collection of In Nomines in which Ferrabosco's three examples belong in the manuscript's second layer, also probably copied in the 1630s).⁴⁴ Not all the readings of Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6 are shared by Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16, so their congruence in this respect is noteworthy. Stratford's part-books (Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9) and Ellis's (Och Mus. 468-72) also give this emended version, but that is not surprising because their source seems to have been Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6 or a lost common original.

All three five-part In Nomines underwent revision, but none more extensively than VdGS no. 1. Yet the overwhelming majority of sources transmit this work in what I suppose to be its unrevised state: they include Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42, Lbl MS Egerton 3665 (Tregian's score-book), Lbl Add. MS 29427 (a partbook of Thomas Myriell),⁴⁵ US-SM MSS Ellesmere 25 A 46-51 (part-books [13] stamped with the initials 'W.H.' which later belonged to John Egerton, 2nd Earl of Bridgewater),⁴⁶ Och Mus. 423-8 and Ckc Rowe MSS 114-17 (part-books from Browne's library), Lbl Add. MSS 39550-54 (another set from Le Strange's library), Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16 (the second layer of the In Nomine collection), Och Mus. 403-8 (Hatton's 'Great Set'), and Och Mus. 527-30 and 1024 (part-books in the 'tremulous' hand). For the revised version we are

⁴⁰ Le Strange's copy was based on lost part-books which belonged to the Stareshmore family, and checked against a lost score-book of Barnard's. See P. Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas Le Strange and John Jenkins', *M&L* 42 (1961), 30-43; *idem*, 'John Barnard's Collections of Viol and Vocal Music', *Chelys* 20 (1991), 28-42, at p. 36; A. Ashbee, 'A Further Look at Some of the Le Strange Manuscripts', *Chelys* 5 (1973-4), 24-41; *idem*, 'The Transmission of Consort Music', 256-8.

⁴¹ Ashbee, 'Instrumental Music from the Library of John Browne', 44-6.

⁴² Och Mus. 527-30 and 1024 may have been a companion set to Och Mus. 517-20. The former belonged in 1733 to Richard Goodson the younger, Professor of Music at Oxford and Organist of Christ Church.

⁴³ Ferrabosco's In Nomine was copied by the principal scribe, Charteris's hand H: see R. Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *RMARC* 13 (1976), 27-63, at p. 37; Thompson, 'A Further Look', 8-9.

⁴⁴ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 7-9.

⁴⁵ C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 5-15, 45-7.

⁴⁶ R. Charteris, 'The Huntington Library part Books, Ellesmere MSS E1, 25 A 46-51', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 1 (1987), 59-84. The set may have been acquired by the 1st Earl of Bridgewater, the owner of Coprario's *Rules How to Compose*.

indebted chiefly to Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6, together with manuscripts which were derived from or influenced by this source.⁴⁷

The image shows a musical score for Example 8. It features a multi-measure rest for the lute (bottom staff) spanning 24 bars. Above the lute, there are two staves for other instruments: Ob (A) and EIRE-Dm (B). The Ob staff (A) shows a melodic line with a sharp sign, and the EIRE-Dm staff (B) shows a similar melodic line. The lute staff has a multi-measure rest with a '24' written above it.

Ex. 8. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: In Nomine a5, VdGS no. 3, bars 22–24.

A: Ob MSS Mus.Sch. D.212–16 [mistake for B?]

B: EIRE–Dm MSS Z3.4.1–6 and affiliated manuscripts

The image shows a musical score for Example 9. It features a multi-measure rest for the lute (bottom staff) spanning 16 bars. Above the lute, there are several staves for other instruments, including a lute (top staff) and various string instruments (middle staves). The lute staff has a multi-measure rest with a '16' written above it. The other staves show melodic lines for the respective instruments.

Ex. 9. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: In Nomine a5, VdGS no. 1, bars 44–56, with variants found in Dm MSS Z3.4.1–6 and affiliated manuscripts.

The relatively poor transmission of this revised text must cause an editor to question its authenticity; but as the character of the alterations is broadly in keeping with that of other revisions which we have been considering I think we can probably accept them as genuine. Example 9 shows the In Nomine's final section. At bars 48 and 50 the purpose of the adjustments was presumably to eliminate the virtual consecutive octaves contained in the 'unrevised' version, but elsewhere (in bars 44–8, for instance, or 53) the aim seems to have been to give a richer, more elaborate texture. There is less evidence of revision in Ferrabosco's six-part fantasias and In Nomines than in his

⁴⁷ There is a stemmatic link from Dm MSS /3.4.1-6, or its lost source, to Stratford's partbooks (Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9) and Ellis's (Och Mus. 468-72). At bar 51 of Example 9 the scribe of Z3.4.1-6 omitted four notes by mistake; these are missing from the Stratford and Ellis books too, but with rests supplied in their place. Merro's part-books, Lbl Add. MSS 17792-6, were emended (by Matthew Hutton?) so as to bring their readings largely into line with the 'revised' version of Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6.

four- and five-part music, perhaps because fewer sources survive.



Ex. 9. cont.



Ex. 9. cont. *These four crotchets seem to have been omitted in error from Dm MSS Z3.4.1–6, with resultant corruption in affiliated manuscripts.



Ex. 9. cont. *Reading of Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212–16 and Och Mus. 403–8, and of two lost manuscripts whose variants are recorded in Lbl Add. MSS 39550–54: 'Pettus 2nd copy' and 'Barnard's book'.

Even so, a few contrapuntally significant variants are found, for example in the fantasia VdGS no. 4 (see Example 10).⁴⁸ What appears to be the earlier state of the text is given by Dm MSS Z3.1.7-12: it lacks the small but telling additions that are found only in Och Mus. 2 and 403-8 (Hatton's 'Great Set') and Lbl Add. MSS 39,550-4 (Le Strange's [14] part-books; the second bass book is lost).

Ferrabosco's revisions appear at their most fascinating and complex in his 'Ut re mi fa sol la' and 'La sol fa mi re ut'. Though often treated in the past as though they were two separate pieces, these were undoubtedly intended as *prima* and *secunda pars* of a single work. In the absence of any overall title in the sources, we [15] shall refer to this work as 'On the Hexachord'.⁴⁹ The two *partes* combine to form a symmetrical design, built on a cantus firmus of eight ascending hexachords (each pitched a semitone higher than the preceding one) in the *prima pars*, and the same eight hexachords, but in reverse order and descending, in the *secunda pars*. Only a breve's rest—or in one case only a semibreve's, an unexplained but obviously deliberate irregularity—separates the hexachords.⁵⁰ The outcome is a tour de

⁴⁸ Alfonso Ferrabosco II: The Six-part Works, ed. D. Pinto (St Albans, 1990), I, 20-4.

⁴⁹ Modern editions: E. Walker, 'An Oxford Book of Fancies', *Musical Antiquary* 3 (1911-12), 65-73, at pp 70-3 (four-part: *prima pars*); *Jacobean Consort Music*, nos 23 (four-part: *secunda pars*) and 39 (five-part: *secunda pars*); E. E. Lowinsky, 'Echoes of Adrian Willaert's Chromatic "Duo" in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Compositions' in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. H. Powers (Princeton, 1968), 213-18 [new edn in Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. B. J. Blackburn (Chicago, 1989), 11, 699-729, at pp 715-19] (five-part: *prima pars*); *Ferrabosco: The Hexachord Fantasies*, ed. Pinto (four- and five-part: complete). The set of instrumental parts published in 1992 to accompany *Ferrabosco: Four-part Fantasias* (*Musica Britannica* 62) includes the complete work (four-part), edited by the present writer; scores of both four and five-part versions will appear in a forthcoming *Musica Britannica* volume. Lowinsky rightly recognised that the two *partes* belong together, though he believed that the five-part version was not by Ferrabosco (see note 57). Dodd, *Index*, following Meyer, lists the work among Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias as VdGS nos 10-11, with the five-part version in its own section as 'The Hexachord Fantasy'. Most sources entitle each *pars* with the solmization syllables of the cantus firmus, and do not use the word 'fantasia'. If it has to be used, there is something to be said for treating the two *partes* together as one bipartite fantasia (like a bipartite motet or madrigal); but it seems to me to reduce the scope for confusion if it can be avoided (cf. Field, 'Consort Music I', 222-3; *idem*, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony' in *John Jenkins and His Time*, 1-74, at pp 5, 24-34). Concerning the proposed title 'On the Hexachord', it may be objected that the term 'hexachord' is not found (in the sense in which we now understand it) in English musical vocabulary of Ferrabosco's day; the earliest occurrences I have come across are in J. C. Pepusch's *A Short Treatise on Harmony* (1730), 76, and James Grassineau's *Musical Dictionary* (1740). Jeffrey Dean has made the attractive suggestion (in private correspondence) that Ferrabosco might have preferred 'On the Six Notes', which is how Morley referred to Guido's *voces musicales*; but he rightly observes that the Latin form *hexachordum* was well established in sixteenth-century theoretical writings on the Continent.

⁵⁰ The effect of the elided semibreve is to make the sharpward shift between the second and third hexachords of the *prima pars* even more rapid. Four- and five-part versions share the irregularity. In Bull's enharmonically modulating 'Ut re mi fa sot

force of esoteric skill whose self-imposed structure necessitates continual mutation between tonal regions remote from one another. In the *prima pars* the tonal shifts are mainly in a sharpward direction, the equivalent of adding seven sharps to the signature each time the cantus firmus passes from one hexachord to the next; in the *secunda pars* they are mainly in a flatward direction, the equivalent of adding seven flats. Altogether there are seven enharmonic passages round the circle of fifths. Ferrabosco must have devoted much thought and effort to the work's composition and revision. If we are correct in dating 'On the Hexachord' to the first decade of the seventeenth century, we may identify some of the models which Ferrabosco must have studied before embarking on such an astonishing voyage of adventure. First, there was the genre of the *canon per tonos* or perpetually modulating canon, in which the capability of continuous circling or spiralling, either flatwards or sharpwards, was implicit. Morley included a flatward example of such a canon (constructed so as 'at everie repetition to fall a note') in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), and Elwav Bevin composed three ingenious sharpward ones ('three parts in one upon the Plain-song ... rising a note at every returne') which, though not printed until 1631 when Bevin was in his eighties, were undoubtedly composed a good deal earlier.⁵¹ Secondly there was [16] Marenzio's 'O voi che so-pirate',

la' (see note 53) hexachord statements fall with unvarying regularity: 13 semibreves always separate the start of one statement from the start of the next. In Ferrabosco's piece statements begin 14 semibreves apart, except for the two which begin 13 semibreves apart. It is unclear whether there was numerological or esoteric significance in this, but it may be recalled that marking the durations in a hexachord cantus firmus was a feature of 'Songs upon the Dial' by Parsley, Edward Gibbons and others. In Parsley's example the cantus firmus is laid out so as to tell the hours from seven to twelve to the notes *ut re mi fa sol la*, and from one to six to *la sol fa mi re ut*, by counting the semibreve *tactus* at each step. At least one editor has been misled into thinking that Parsley's clock 'never strikes five', not realising that one must think of every step as continuing through the subsequent rest and that *la* needs to be re-sounded in the middle of bar 29: see *Elizabethan Consort Music*: I, ed. P. Doe, *Musica Britannica* 44 (1979), no. 44. An anonymous 'Song on the Dial' in Och Mus. 864 is constructed on the same principle: see J. Milsom, 'The Passing of Time', *EM* 25 (1997), 583-8.

⁵¹ T. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), 175; E. Bevin, *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (1631), 33 and 36. Solutions of Morley's canon and one of Bevin's are given in E. E. Lowinsky, 'Music in Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: Origin and History of the *Canon per tonos*' in *Titian, His World and His Legacy*, ed. D. Rosand (New York, 1982), 191-282, at pp 225-6 and 239-43 [new edn in Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance*, I, 289-350, at pp 314-15 and 327-9]. Lowinsky was wrong in supposing that Bevin's cantus firmus was 'probably added later'. This particular plainsong was also used as a basis for canonic exercises by Morley (*op. cit.*, 93-105) and by Tomkins: see J. Irving, 'Thomas Tomkins's Copy of Morley's "A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music"', *M&L* 71 (1990), 483-93. Bevin himself used it repeatedly, both in his autograph collection of canons (Lbl R.M. 24.c.14) and in *A Briefe and Short Instruction*, where it underlies all four of his *canones per tonos* (one flatward and three sharpward). Tomkins incorporated a flatward *canon per tonos* in his three-part fantasia VdGS no. 12: see *Tomkins: Consort Music*, no. 12; Field, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony', 18-22.

first published in 1581. This madrigal contains a deceptive ‘enharmonic’ passage from flats into sharps, in which ostensible augmented sevenths and augmented thirds have to be tuned as pure octaves and perfect fourths. By 1590 it had begun to attract attention in Elizabethan England where, stripped of its Petrarchian text, it was taken up by adventurous viol players.⁵² A third and more immediate precursor was probably Bull’s enharmonically modulating ‘Ut re mi fa sol la’ for keyboard, to which Ferrabosco’s work may be seen as a viol player’s riposte.⁵³ Yet it may fairly be claimed that no composer before Ferrabosco, in England or Italy, had demonstrated in so masterly and exhaustive a fashion the possibilities of circling through all the notes’ (‘girare per tutte le Note’) that were opened up when instruments were tuned and fretted in Aristoxenian equal semitones.⁵⁴ That Aristoxenus’s ideas were talked about and put into practice in English courtly circles is implied by Salomon de Caus’s *Institution harmonique*, dedicated to Queen Anne in 1614, in which he described the fingerboards of lutes and viols as being ‘laid out in intervals of equal semitones’ (‘eslonguees par intervalles de semyttons exgaus’). De Caus spent some years in England where he designed and engineered elaborate gardens for the Queen and Prince Henry, and as Prince Henry’s architect from 1610 to 1612 he would assuredly have known Bull and Ferrabosco.⁵⁵ Charles Butler, citing Aristoxenus, went so far as to regard division of the tone into anything other than equal moieties as ‘a meere fanci, forged onely by Melankholik imaginations’.⁵⁶

Critical appreciation of ‘On the Hexachord’, and understanding of the relationship [17] between its various versions, has unfortunately been vitiated by Edward Lowinsky’s brilliantly argued—but I believe wholly mistaken—hypothesis that its five-part version is not by Ferrabosco but by the sixteenth-century Ferrarese master Alfonso delta

⁵² Luca Marenzio: *Sämtliche Werke*, I, ed. A. Einstein, *Publikationen älterer Musik* iv/1 (Leipzig, 1929), 69-70; Field, ‘Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony’, 9-13.

⁵³ John Bull: *Keyboard Music I*, eds J. Steele and F. Cameron, *Musica Britannica* 14 (1960), no. 17. See Field, ‘Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony’, 22-4.

⁵⁴ Cf. G. Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice, 1588), 212, citing Girolamo Roselli’s lost *Trattato della Musica spherica* in which the advantages of equal temperament were extolled: see K. Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th-Century Italy* (Ann Arbor, 1980), 71-2; Field, ‘Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony’, 8-9.

⁵⁵ S. de Caus, *Institution harmonique* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1615; facsimile, New York, 1969), 11, 55; Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, 106-10.

⁵⁶ C. Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (1636; facsimiles, Amsterdam, 1970, and New York, 1970), 22-3. Butler wrote that ‘dhe Just Hemitone is that, which naturally passeth in dhe Order or Series of dhe Notes in dhe Heptakhords or Septenariz of dhe Scale. So dhat, according to Aristoxenus, dhe Diatessaron consisteth of 2 Tones, and dhe Diapente of 3, with one eqal Semitone’. On Butler’s knowledge about English court music and his admiration for Tomkins—whose interest in enharmonic modulation is clear from his score of Ferrabosco’s ‘On the Hexachord’ (Lb1 Add. MS 29996) and his use of a *canon per tonos* in one of his three-part fantasias (see note 51)—see C. D. S. Field, ‘Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites’ in *William Lawes (1602-1645)*, 197-249, at pp 197-8. Butler’s orthographic symbols for aspirates have here been transcribed according to his own table.

Viola, and his inference that Ferrabosco's contribution (if any) was confined to extracting an 'interior' four-part version from della Viola's five-part original.⁵⁷



Ex. 10a. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a6, VdGS no. 4, bars 13–14, with variants found in Lbl Add. MSS 39550–54 and in Och Mus. 2 and 403–8.

Lowinsky had made the very interesting discovery that the Italian theorist Angelo Berardi mentions 'On the Hexachord' in his book *Miscellanea musicale* (Bologna, 1689) and quotes a short extract from it in his *Arcani musicali svelati* (Bologna, 1690) in order to illustrate one of its enharmonic modulations.⁵⁸ So far as is known, no earlier Italian source contains or mentions the work. Berardi's extract occurs in the context of discussing Aristoxenus's division of the tone into equal semitones, though of the three works that he cites 'On the Hexachord' is the only one that actually requires instruments tuned and fretted in equal temperament for its performance. (The other two are Willaert's 'Quid non ebrietas', a celebrated setting of lines by Horace in praise of wine which had been first performed by singers from Pope Leo X's chapel in about 1519, and Romano Micheli's 'O voi che sospirate', a canonic madrigal on the Petrarch text so strikingly set to music by

⁵⁷ Lowinsky, 'Echoes', 198-236 [1989 edn, 708-28]; *idem*, 'Music in Titian's *Bacchanal*', 225-7 [1989 edn, 316]. Lowinsky's conclusions have been widely accepted: see, for example, D. Kamper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. jahr-hunderts in Italien*, *Analecta Musicologica* 10 (Köln, 1970), 131-2; W. Braun, *Britannia abundans* (Tutting, 1977), 366-7; Charteris, "'Fuerunt mihi lacrymae'", 128-9 (notes 11 and 15); J. J. Dean, 'Hexachord', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, IV, ed. L. Finscher (Kassel, 1996), 291. In the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), s.v. 'Ferrabosco', John Cockshoot states—following Lowinsky—that 'the two Hexachord fantasias a4 are arrangements, possibly by Alfonso (ii), of two fantasias a5 by Alfonso dalla Viola', but in his work-list the latter are assigned to Ferrabosco as '2 hexachord fantasias (Ut re mi la sol fa [sic], 5 viols ... reworkings of 2 of the fantasias a4'; on the other hand James Haar, s.v. 'Dalla Viola', makes no mention of the work at all—quite rightly in my view. The case for Ferrabosco's authorship was outlined by the present writer in a paper, 'Ferrabosco or della Viola? The Authorship of "Alfonso"'s Hexachord Fantasia', at the Ninth Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music (Glasgow, 1981).

⁵⁸ A. Berardi, *Miscellanea musicale* (Bologna, 1689), 61; *Arcani musicali svelati* (Bologna, 1690), 13-15. See Lowinsky 'Echoes', 198-204 [1989 edn., 708-11].

Marenzio, which was published in 1621.)⁵⁹ Berardi calls the piece ‘una Sinfonia artificiosissim à 5. sopra ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la’ and says that it ‘camina conforme gl’insegnamenti d’Aristosseno’ (proceeds in accordance with the tenets of Aristoxenus’), and he names the composer as ‘Alfonso del Violino’. Lowinsky took [18] this to be a garbled reference to Alfonso della Viola, and deduced that the piece was probably composed ‘at the end of the 1540s’ when della Viola was in Ferrara.⁶⁰ An alternative possibility, however, is that Berardi’s knowledge of the five-part version of ‘On the Hexachord’ was based on a manuscript of seventeenth-century English provenance which had found its way across the Alps—through a member of the Ferrabosco family in Bologna, perhaps, or by the hand of one of countless musical travellers to Italy—and that an abbreviated ascription in it to the younger Alfonso Ferrabosco was misinterpreted.⁶¹ Certainly, the textual readings of the extract given in *Arcani musicali* match those of the English sources remarkably, closely. Sharps and flats are notated in exactly the same way, when an enharmonic change occurs, and there is

⁵⁹ In Willaert’s piece the tenor is led to supply imaginary flats which lower notes by a semitone or a tone, resulting in a complete orbit of the spiral of fifths. As Margaret Bent has observed, however, ‘Tuning or temperament only becomes an issue when pre-tuned instruments are involved or have become the focal point for theoretical reference; for unaccompanied singers there is no reason why this ... should not have been performed with pure intonation, Pythagorean in principle, but probably with justly tempered thirds in practice’: see ‘Diatonic ficta’, *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 1-48, at p. 18. The same could also be said of Romani’s canon, which makes a long spiral flatwards and then retraces its path sharpwards, particularly since there is no mention of a chitarrone or other continuo instrument in the source.

⁶⁰ Lowinsky, ‘Echoes’, 200-9 [1989 edn, 709-13].

⁶¹ Berardi evidently had access to a copy of the whole of ‘On the Hexachord’, for he gives the full length of Alfonso’s sinfonia as 230 bars (‘230. battute’), which, using Berardi’s semibreve barring, approximately corresponds to the sum of the *prima* and *secunda pars* (112 + 121). If his manuscript bore a heading and ascription similar to that in Lcm MS 1145—‘Ut.re.me.fa.sol.la/Alfon: Ferra:’—Berardi could perhaps have been misled into thinking that ‘Alfonso da Ferrara’ was meant (which is how Ganassi referred to Alfonso della Viola). See Lowinsky, ‘Echoes’, 226 [1989 edn, 722], note 70, for Nino Pirrotta’s converse suggestion. Concerning the transmission of this piece, Annette Otterstedt comments that ‘whereas the appropriation of Italian compositions by scores of English musicians is well-documented, we know of not a single instance of a work going the opposite way’, adding that ‘Field is a little vague in supposing that English travellers in Italy might have brought it home’: see ‘The Compatibility of the Viol Consort with the Organ in the Early Seventeenth Century’, *Chelys* 25 (1996-7), 32-52, at pp 36 and 51, note 26. While disclaiming having ever made any such supposition, I see little point in speculating precisely how and when Ferrabosco’s piece got to Italy unless new evidence comes to light. Of the visiting violists whom Otterstedt names, however, I would certainly not rule out Nicholas Lanier as a possible carrier. He visited Italy in 1625-6, and again in 1627-8, buying pictures for Charles I but ostensibly travelling as a musician. In between these two visits he was formally appointed master of the king’s music while Ferrabosco—whose wife, Ellen, was Lanier’s aunt—became composer to the king. The question of the carrier taking part in ensemble music is not crucial, for ‘On the Hexachord’ need not have been performed at all in Italy. It would have been enough for a score to be presented to an appropriate recipient, as a token of English musical craft at its most conceptually adventurous.

not the divergence that one might expect to find if Berardi had been drawing on a textual tradition which went back independently to mid-sixteenth-century, Ferrara. The premise that this is the sort of *musica reservata* that Alfonso della Viola might have written is itself a questionable one. No consort music survives by him with which to compare our piece; but enough is now known about his teaching of the viol to suggest that Lowinsky's picture of him as a leading proponent of Aristoxenian equal temperament is wide of the mark. Like Ganassi, it seems that della Viola took care to distinguish between 'major' and 'minor' semitones when placing his frets, and normally, tuned the bottom string of his bass viol to *E*.⁶² In 'On the Hexachord', on the other hand, the bass must have its bottom string tuned to *D* and its frets set in equal semitones in order to play the notes *D*, *D*[#] and *E-flat*. This alone would be enough to cast doubt on the attribution to della Viola.



Ex. 10b. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: fantasia a6, VdGS no. 4, bars 19–20, with variants found in Lbl Add. MSS 39550–54 and in Och Mus. 2 and 403–8.

[19] In order to explain the presence of 'On the Hexachord' in so many seventeenth-century English sources, Lowinsky conjectured that a copy of the five-part version could have been brought to England from Italy by Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder in 1570–71.⁶³ No such speculation is needed, of course, if the piece was actually composed in

⁶² See K. M. Spencer and H. M. Brown, 'How Alfonso della Viola Tuned his Viols, and how he Transposed', *EM* 14 (1986), 520–33. The instructions (which appear to have been written down by a pupil of Alfonso's) are in US-NH Misc. MS 243, which Spencer and Brown date to between about 1560 and 1573—a dozen years or more after the date assigned by Lowinsky to 'On the Hexachord'. They indicate that the outer strings of six-string viols were to be tuned as d' and d (treble), a' and A (tenor) and e' and E (bass). Pieces with a *cantos mollis* signature of one flat should be transposed up a tone, which allows the playing of a written D, but *cantos duris* pieces—the category to which 'On the Hexachord' belongs—should not. On viols fretted in unequal semitones such transposition would shift the range of available written notes flatwards by two hexachords without any alteration to the fretting, enabling players (as Spencer and Brown put it) to 'avoid what will feel like distant keys' and improving 'the chances of good intonation'. On viols tuned and fretted in equal temperament, on the other hand, there would be no palpable advantage.

⁶³ Lowinsky, 'Echoes', 222–3 [1989 edn, 720]; 'Music in Titian's *Bacchanal*', 225–7 [1989 edn, 316].

England some 35-40 years later by his son. Acknowledging that ‘at first glance’ the manuscript testimony in favour of assigning the five-part as well as the four-part version to the younger Ferrabosco ‘appears overwhelming’, Lowinsky applied his forceful forensic gifts to impugning this testimony.⁶⁴ Yet it remains robust. Apart from Berardi, all surviving sources of the five-part version are English and date from between about 1610 and 1645. First, there is Tregian’s score-book (Lbl MS Egerton 3665), in which the piece is placed at the head of a section devoted to Ferrabosco’s five-part consort music and explicitly ascribed to ‘Alfonso Ferabosco Jun.’. Secondly, there is Le Strange’s set of part-books (Lcm MS 1145), in which it was originally given the ascription ‘Alfon: Ferra:’; but Sir Nicholas himself, who checked the texts with lost sources belonging to the Staesmore family and Barnard, subsequently added the distinguishing abbreviation ‘Jun.’ after the composer’s name, just as he did above the five-part In Nomine VdGS no. 3. Finally, there is the Hatton ‘Great Set’ (Och Mus. 2 and 404-8) which largely lacks titles and ascriptions, but in which the piece is placed among other consort music unquestionably by Ferrabosco. Though Lowinsky brushed aside the idea of ‘establishing the identity of our hexachord fantasia on the basis of a stylistic analysis of the fantasias of the younger Ferrabosco’,⁶⁵ (it is relevant that there is music by him, such as the [20] four-part fantasia VdGS no. 21, which shows skill in modulating to and from remote tonal regions comparable to that found in ‘On the Hexachord’, and in which the same notational conventions govern the use of enharmonic respellings whenever the more distant *musica ficta* hexachords are brought into play.⁶⁶ It is particularly unfortunate that Lowinsky’s arguments have led others to suggest that Ferrabosco may have been guilty of plagiarism. In the preface to his *Lessons* (1609) Ferrabosco publicly complained that some of his pieces in that book had been misattributed to, and claimed by, ‘false Parents’. The notion that he, of all composers, would have sought to ‘pass off as his own’ a work of this magnitude unless it was really his, or that musicians in Jacobean and Caroline England would have gone on ascribing it to him, is fanciful and deserves to be quashed.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Lowinsky, ‘Echoes’, 220-6 [1989 edn, 719-22].

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 227-8 [1989 edn, 722-3].

⁶⁶ Field, ‘Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony’, 14-29.

⁶⁷ Cf. Dodd, *Index*, s.v. Alfonso Ferrabosco II, where it is suggested that ‘the Hexachord Fantasy ... in a sixteenth-century idiom, but passed off by Alfonso II as his own, could have been inherited from his father’s old brief-case’. In his preface ‘To the World’ (*Lessons*, sig. A2v) Ferrabosco obliquely alluded to his own adoption by Gomer van Oosterwijk in 1578: ‘As it is the errour, and misfortune of young Children, oftentimes to stray, and loosing their dwellings be taken up by strangers; and there lov’d and own’d: So these [lessons], by running abroad having got theirs false Parents; and some that, to my face, would challenge them; I had beene a most unnatural] Father, if I had not corrected such impudence, and by a publique declaration of them to be mine (when other meanes abandon’d me) acknowledg’d kind.’

Reinstating the younger Ferrabosco's authorship of the five-part version makes it possible to examine afresh the genesis and metamorphosis of 'On the Hexachord'. A crucial clue to the relationship and chronology of the different versions, but one which has been little noticed and of which Lowinsky was apparently unaware, is that the four-part version itself underwent extensive reworking at some stage.⁶⁸ As a result we have in effect not two versions, but three—two four-part (which we shall call Versions 4A and 4B) and one five-part (Version 5). Once again it must be stressed that we depend entirely on secondary sources, and that, along with all autograph material, other links in the chain of transmission have been lost. Version 4A was widely distributed, though most if not all of the sources we possess date from after Ferrabosco's death in 1628. They include a short score in Tomkins's hand (Lbl Add. MS 29996); two sets of partbooks from Browne's library (Och Mus. 473-8 and Ckc Rowe MSS 114-17); Hatton's 'Great Set', comprising a score and organ part copied by Bing and string parts copied by Lilly (Och Mus. 2, 397-400 and 436); a set of part-books acquired by Marsh (Dm MSS Z3.4.7-12); another acquired by Francis Withey who, finding this piece incomplete, copied out the remainder himself (Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.437-42); a set copied by Matthew Hutton (GB-Y MSS M3/1-4(S)); and another post-Restoration copy, probably based on Och Mus. 397-400 (Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.568-9). For Version 4B, in contrast, we depend principally on the 'tremulous' hand of Och Mus. 517-20. This source alone gives the version in its entirety. Its text of the *prima pars* is largely corroborated by Pc MS Rés. F.770, a score-book copied by a scribe with the initials I. A. who has tentatively been identified as John Atkins, a violinist in Charles II's private music,⁶⁹ but unfortunately I. A.'s score stops at the end of the *prima pars*. A copy from him of the *secunda pars* would have been useful, for it is there that Versions 4A and 4B chiefly diverge from one another.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ David Pinto's introduction to *Ferrabosco: The Hexachord Fantasies* is an exception; it contains some typically shrewd observations, although I do not altogether agree with his conclusions about priority. I first drew attention to the existence of the 'third' version in my 1981 paper 'Ferrabosco or della Viola?' (see note 57).

⁶⁹ This identification was first proposed in E. L. Fairley, 'Studies in the Music of Matthew Locke' (M. Mus., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1941), 22, though other scholars subsequently arrived independently at the same conclusion and recognized that F-Pc MS Rés. F.770 is in the same hand as US-R MS Vault fML96.L814: see R. Charteris, *John Coprario: A Thematic Catalogue of His Music with a Biographical Introduction* (New York, 1977), 47-8; P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), 275-6 and note 66. For illustrations see V. Brookes, 'The fourpart fantasias of John Ward: one composer or two?', *Chelys* 26 (1998), 52-68, plates 1 and 2.

⁷⁰ Comparison of Versions 4A and 4B shows substantial reworking in four of the 57 bars which make up the *prima pars*, whereas in the *secunda pars* the number is 26 out of 60. Pc MS Rés. E770 must have been copied from part-books, not a score, because a breve's rest was omitted from the top part at bar 23 and the cantos firmus continued out of step with the lower parts thereafter. Presumably this is why the piece was left unfinished. I am very grateful to Dr Jane Gosine (née Lowe) for

Ex. 11. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: 'On the Hexachord' (2da pars: La sol fa mi re ut), bars 94–103, versions 4A, 4B and 5.

Notes beneath square brackets are represented in the sources by their enharmonic equivalents (e. g. $c\sharp$ instead of $d\sharp$) and have here been editorially respelt.

Why was 'On the Hexachord' so sedulously reworked? A main reason must surely have been the Greenwich-born composer's desire to show fellow-musicians through this monumental work how the circle of hexachords was capable [21] of being circumnavigated with wonderful variety and grace. Adjustments to harmonic progressions account for most of the differences between the two four-part versions. It is notable that where these differences occur, Version 4B is usually much closer to Version 5 than is Version 4A. This is the case in bars 95–101, as may be seen from Example 11 which juxtaposes all three versions for comparison (with Version 4A at the top and Version 4B in the middle). The passage includes the sixth of the enharmonic modulations, and in tonal terms forms part of a long flatward progression that extends from bar 78 (about one third of the [22] way through the *secunda* pars to the end of the work. The appendix below plots the pattern of Example 11's spiralling hexachordal mutations in graphic form. Notice particularly how, in bars 96–100 Version 4A moves further and more swiftly flatwards than either Version 4B or Version 5.

examining and transcribing the text of this manuscript for me when she was in Paris in 1986.

The image shows three systems of musical notation. Each system includes a vocal line with the notes SOL, FA, and MI, and three instrumental staves. The notation is in a 16th-century style, featuring a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The instrumental parts are written in a style that suggests a five-part setting, with the vocal line likely representing a sixth part.

Ex. 11. cont.

Though its interpretation is by no means straightforward, such evidence ought to help us to determine which version came first and which came last. Was Ferrabosco unhappy with his precipitate modulatory scheme in version 4A of Example 11, and are the other versions his attempts to improve upon it? David Pinto considers that ‘Ferrabosco’s four-part had no simple priority of the five-part version in their final forms’, and describes Version 4B as ‘a preparatory draft’ from which both Version 4A and Version 5 diverged.⁷¹ I am inclined however to [23] see Version 4B as an intermediate draft, rather than a preparatory one, in which alternative tonal solutions to certain passages, and fresh thoughts about texture and counterpoint, were tried out before the piece was expanded into its version for five viols. It does not much matter whether the idea of producing a five-part version was already in Ferrabosco’s mind before he began Version 4B, but the fact that so few sources of Version 4B have come down to us suggests that he ultimately regarded it less as a replacement for Version 4A than as a sketch for Version 5.

Version 4B is again close to Version 5 in the final bars (110-17) of the work. After all the remote and restless tonal journeyings that have gone before, Ferrabosco seems to have wanted to conclude Versions 4B and 5 with a more decisive and jubilant sense of homecoming than Version 4A. Harmonically he [24] achieved this by shifting the

⁷¹ *Ferrabosco: The Hexachord Fantasies*, 4.

emphasis towards tonic (C) and dominant in bars 111 and 113, followed by a very strong perfect cadence at 114-15, and by underpinning the final tonic pedal at 115-17 with reiterated alternation between sub-dominant minor and tonic.⁷² Elsewhere all three versions sometimes pursue slightly different harmonic paths, as in bars 79-83 where the fifth enharmonic modulation takes place (Example 12). Here, interestingly enough, Version 5 has points in common with both of the four-part versions: its bass line in bars 80-81 confutes ideas from each, displacing by half a bar some of the material of Version 4B.⁷³ In the *prima pars* Versions 4A and 4B diverge significantly only in bars 30-33; at this point Version 5 keeps closer to Version 4A, though with modifications to the bass line in 31-2.

Ex. 11. cont.

Version 5 differs from the two four-part versions in having an additional treble viol part above the cantus firmus. Internal evidence as well as common sense seems to support the assumption that it was conceived essentially as an expansion of Versions 4A and 4B.⁷⁴

⁷² The relevant passages of Versions 4A and 5 may be found in *Jacobean Consort Music*, nos 23 (bars 53-60) and 39 (bars 54-61); also in Ferrabosco: *The Hexachord Fantasies (pars secunda, bars 53-60)*.

⁷³ The text of Och Mus. 517-20 is corrupt at this point, but seems emendable.

⁷⁴ The practice of expanding a four-part piece into a five-part one was not uncommon in the sixteenth century. Examples from Tudor Consort music include the anonymous addition of a second tenor part to four-part *In Nomines* by Taverner and Tallis: see *Elizabethan Consort Music: I*, nos. 24 and 25. It must however be stressed that Ferraboso added treble viol part in 'On the Hexachord' is not all optional one.

Lowinsky took a different view, of course: he believed that the four-part versions of the *prima* and *secunda pars* were later arrangements in which the treble viol is left out', with many of its passages being absorbed into the first tenor viol part. As a result, he opined, the four-part arrangement has a first tenor with very crowded and often jagged lines'.⁷⁵ Statistical analysis of Version 4A does not bear out this impression of a disproportionately crowded first tenor part. It is true that between its first entry and the end of the *prima pars* the first tenor does rest for a slightly shorter time in total than the second tenor (5½ minims as opposed to eight); but in the *secunda pars*, the figures are reversed (nine minims as opposed to five). Perhaps more significant is the fact that in Version 5 this close parity between the tenor parts breaks down, with the first tenor resting for considerably longer in total than the second tenor (22 minims as opposed to 16 in the *prima pars*, and 30½ as opposed to 16½ in the *secunda pars*), while the treble spends a still larger proportion of its time resting (30 minims in the *prima*, 43 in the *secunda pars*). This seems consistent with our belief that Version 5 came last in the work's genesis, and that its treble part was partly- formed from material previously given in Versions 4A and 4B to the first tenor, rather than vice versa. A rough survey indicates that the treble part of Version 5 was derived from the first tenor in 42 of the work's 117 bars. There are also ten bars in which there was derivation from material originally allotted to the second tenor: an example of this can be seen in bar 84 (Example 12). Usually Ferrabosco transposed phrases up an octave when transferring them to the treble, but there are a few places (bars 68-71, for instance) where they remained at the original pitch. As a result of all this transference there had to be a good deal of adaptation of the tenor parts in Version 5. There were also many places, however, where the lower parts were altered little or not at all, and where new material had to be devised for the treble viol. Its nature was usually to descant above [25] the cantos firmus, but where the latter has high entries with descending hexachords in the *secunda pars* Ferrabosco took care to place the treble beneath it. Addition of a treble part to the fugal entries at the beginning of the *secunda pars* resulted in the overall lengthening of Version 5 by a semibreve. Imitation does not have much structural importance in 'On the Hexachord', but Ferrabosco found neat ways for the treble to imitate fleeting motives from other parts—for example in bar 80 of Example 12, where a five-note figure is taken over from the [26] bass viol. All this helped to give Version 5 not only a richer texture, but also a more open and luminous one, than either of the four-part versions.

⁷⁵ Lowinsky, 'Echoes', 219 [1989 edn, 719].

* Superfluous crotchet *c'* and minim *d♭* in source (dittographic error).

Ex. 12. Alfonso Ferrabosco II: 'On the Hexachord' (2da pars: La sol fa mi re ut), bars 79–84, versions 4A, 4B and 5.

Notes beneath square brackets are represented in the sources by their enharmonic equivalents (e. g. *e♭* instead of *d♯*) and have here been editorially respelt.

At one point the revisions in Version 5 suggest that Ferrabosco also had more speculative considerations in mind. This is at bars 10–15, where the first of the work's sharpward enharmonic modulations takes place.⁷⁶ In Version 4A the cantus firmus here consists of the *d-flat-b-flat* hexachord (that is, with *f'* as *mi* and *g-flat* as *fa*. Though the lower parts are at first still notated in sharps, enharmonic alteration to flats follows swiftly at bars 11–12. In Version 5 the harmonic progression is virtually identical, but its sharpward thrust is graphically emphasized by replacing the *d-flat-b-flat* hexachord in the cantus firmus with the *c♯-a♯* hexa-[27]chord (that is, with *e♯'* as *mi* and *f♯* as *fa*. Many Renaissance theorists did not recognise the latter hexachord because it introduced the note E $\sharp$; but with instruments tuned in equal temperament there was no obvious reason not to admit it as an alternative tray of notating the *d-flat-b-flat* hexachord.⁷⁷ In bar 11

⁷⁶ Field, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony', 26–8. Versions 4A and 5 of the passage in question are quoted there as Ex. 1.8.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 6–8. The substitution of the *c♯'-a♯'* hexachord also appears in one source of Version 4B (Pc MS Rés. F.770). No change was made to the cantus firmus at bars 103–8, where descending hexachord *b-flat-d-flat* appears in all three versions. Notation is remarkably consistent among the various sources of Version 4A, and similarly among those of Version 5. This suggests that the respellings occurred as part of the considered

Ferrabosco converted the mainly flat second tenor line of Versions 4A and 4B (*b*, *b-flat*, *a-flat*, *g*, *a-flat*, *g-flat*) into the mainly sharp treble line of Version 5 (*b'*, *g#*, *g-flat* [=natural], *g#'*, *f#*); yet at the same time he changed the bass line from the sharps of the former (*g#*, *d#*, *B*, *G#*, *d#*) to the flats of the latter (*g#*, *e-flat*, *c-flat*- *A-flat*, *e-flat*). In other words, far from taking care in his revision to spell harmonic intervals correctly and make enharmonic changes simultaneously in all parts, he actually went out of his way to reassert the work's Aristoxenian philosophy and declare, through his notation, that this is music demanding equalized semitones.

* Dotted minim in source.

Ex. 12. cont.

In *The Critical Editing of Music* James Grier writes:

At any stage in the compositional process, the composer can have second thoughts ... Confronted with a complex history of transmission during the composer's lifetime, the editor might decide that more than one layer or version of a work is worthy of publication. Neither the theory of final authorial intentions nor the

process of revision and adaption, not as a result of the arbitrary whims of copyists, and that the original notation of each version has been transmitted fairly faithfully. Tomkins, in his keyboard score (Lb1 Add. MS 29996), switches from sharps to flats in the cantus firmus bar 11, and I. A.'s score-book (Pc MS Rés. F.770) does the same at bar 26, but such renotation is rare.

priority of first thoughts adequately accommodates all possible situations.⁷⁸

Although Grier is here discussing revisions and variants authenticated by sources that originated with the composer, his advice has wider relevance. One of the objectives of a critical edition of Ferrabosco's consort music should be to present those variant versions which appear to be the result of authorial revision in a way that will be useful to scholars and players. Only one of the Ferrabosco sources that we have been discussing can be said to have 'originated with the composer', and it is not an autograph but a printed edition—the *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols* published in 1609 by the bookseller John Browne and the printer Thomas Snodham. But we have seen how, in the absence of autograph archetypes, the value of copyists' manuscripts as the surviving representatives of a textual tradition is dramatically increased. Such copies may group themselves stemmatically in ways that suggest that they descend from more than one autograph archetype, or from different states of a single autograph which was subjected to revision, and so provide useful clues to the processes of composition and revision. Inevitably the quality of transmission by copyists is uneven. Och Mus. 517-20, for example, is a manuscript which in strictly qualitative terms could be described as poor and error-ridden. As the only complete source for Version 4B of 'On the Hexachord', on the other hand, it takes on a key significance for the textual study of this important work. For an editor the need to rely on copies rather than autographs can create problems of judgement and presentation. Where a process of transmission has been complex, as with some of Ferrabosco's consort music, each piece will need to be considered as a special [28] case. Suppose that, instead of having no autograph of Ferrabosco's five-part In Nomine VdGS no. 1, we had two—one a score which turned out to be the archetype for such manuscripts as Lbl MS Egerton 3665, MSS Madrigal Society G.37-42 and Add. MS 29427, the other a set of corrected part-books that lay behind the 'revised' text we know from Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6. Applying the principle of final authorial intentions', we might well choose to adopt the readings of the latter. As things stand, however, a responsible editor will almost certainly give primacy to what we conjecture to be the earlier of the two versions, faced with the overwhelming consensus of extant manuscripts in its favour. Even so, I would argue that the 'revised' version deserves to be presented in a readily comprehensible and analysable form, not just locked quietly away in an encoded textual commentary.

Establishing a text is a task that demands patience, critical judgement and musical sensibility. No edition can ever be completely definitive; but, by steering a course that endeavours to avoid both what Grier calls the assertion of 'editorial authority without restraint' and the muddle-headedness castigated by

⁷⁸ Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 112.

Houseman, of those who use manuscripts ‘as drunkards use lamp-posts—not to light them on their way but to dissimulate their instability’, conscientious editors may at least hope to produce defensible ones.⁷⁹

Acknowledgements

Examples 2, 3, 4a, 5, 6 and 7 © 1992, The Musica Britannica Trust.
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⁷⁹ Brett, ‘Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor’, 111; Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 96; *M. Manilii Astronomicom Liber Primus*, ed. A. E. Housman (1903), liii.

APPENDIX

Alfonso Ferrabosco II, 'On the Hexachord', part 2 (bars 94-103)

Twelve columns represent the mi/fa steps belonging to the twelve hexachord classes, proceeding sharpwards from the hexachord with G $\flat$ (or F $\sharp$) as fa at the left to that with A $\sharp$ (or B $\flat$) as mi at the right. Grouped at the centre, surrounded by musica ficta hexachords, are the columns for the three musica recta hexachords of the gamut (A/B $\flat$, E/F, B/C). The shaded 'signature box' identifies the mi/fa steps of the two 'home' hexachords of the piece, which in the case of a cantus durus piece without signature are E/F and B/C. The symbols '4A', '4B' and '5' refer to the work's three versions (see Example 11); they plot, bar by bar, where diatonic semitones fall (starting from the assumption that any diatonic semitone may be solmized as mi-fa, or fa-mi if falling, but also including any falsely notated semitones at points of enharmonic change).

Bar no.	F/G $\flat$ E $\sharp$ /F $\sharp$	C/D $\flat$ B $\sharp$ /C $\sharp$	G/A $\flat$	D/E $\flat$	A/B $\flat$	E/F	B/C	F $\sharp$ /G	C $\sharp$ /D	G $\sharp$ /A	D $\sharp$ /E E $\flat$ /F $\flat$	A $\sharp$ /B B $\flat$ /C $\flat$
94		4A	4A									
		4B	4B									4B
		5	5									5
95			4A								4A	4A
			4B								4B	4B
			5								5	5
96								4A		4A	4A	4A
										4B	4B	4B
										5	5	5
97						4A	4A					
								4B	4B		4B	
								5	5	5		
98						4A	4A	4A				
							4B	4B				
							5	5				
99							4A	4A		4A		
								4B	4B		4B	
								5			5	
100							4A	4A		4A		
									4B	4B	4B	
									5	5	5	
101					4A		4A	4A		4A		
					4B			4B		4B		
					5	5		5		5		
102				4A	4A			4A				
				4B	4B			4B				
				5	5			5				
103				4A								
				4B								
				5								

[40]

MARSH, MICO AND ATTRIBUTIONS

David Pinto

The discovery of Richard Mico's hand in manuscripts from the library of Narcissus Marsh, for long assumed to have been newly compiled under Marsh's direction in post-Restoration Oxford and later removed (to Ireland, where he became Archbishop of Cashel, Dublin and Armagh), has helped clinch the growing revisionist view that these copies were made about two decades before Marsh's own student days.¹ An incidental result of redating is to heighten another puzzle: the date and assessment of Mico's output at large. Tackling that, and proposing an attribution for two outstanding unassigned works in these partbooks may, it is hoped, be usefully disentangled below under broad and sometimes overlooked terms of repertoire.

Of the two major sets of consort part-books in Archbishop Marsh's Library; Dublin (EIRE-Dm), shelved as MSS Z3.1.1-6 and 73.1.7-12, it is the second that fits less neatly into a pattern providing attribution to the Jacobean consort repertoire, as copied c.1630-40 (with a later addition of Thomas Brewer's fantasies in the 1650s). Its contents are heterogenous as any of its Caroline contemporaries since it contains some uncommon repertoire, instrumental or otherwise, some of it early, even pre-Jacobean. The proportion of unattributed works is unusually high (see Appendix). By an untidy linkage, publication of Richard Mico's instrumental works in a complete edition has fired a starting pistol, timely or no, for reassessing his *oeuvre* and its extent.² Confidence that Mico's attributable output has been exhaustively assembled is dented by Marsh contents. Another reason to link these apparently unconnected issues lies in a stylistic paradox enforced on dating of Mico's seemingly innocuous body of fantasy and chamber pavan. Was it a product of his employ as a household musician in the period 1608-30, hard on similar work by Alfonso Ferrabosco II thought to date from well before 1620, or can it have been written later? Mico prefaced four pavans to his series of four-part fantasies, three in the 'string quartet' scoring of two trebles, tenor and bass. Use of this scoring by (say) 1620-25, though late for Mico by current opinion, would be early and abnormally innovative, if the terms of reference hold good for this scoring as set out by Peter Holman in his study of the violin repertoire, where a date of 1623 is urged for its

¹ Doubts have been felt over the dating of Marsh MSS for well over a decade, most eminently voiced by John Irving. In a growing field the most recent and fullest investigation is R. Thompson, 'A further look at the consort music manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Chelys* 24 (1995), 3-18; there is no attempt in the appendix to rival its comprehensive identification of copyists and concordances. See also the helpful survey, A. Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music In Some Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts' in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, eds A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 243-70.

² *Richard Mico, Consort Music*, ed. A. Hanley, *Musica Britannica* 65 (1994).

introduction into English dance music from Germany.³ If, contrariwise, one accepts the otherwise welcome absolution from dating Mico's ensemble music early in his career, that makes the traditional style of most of his fantasy output the harder to place. What contemporary standing did four-part ricercar-derived composition enjoy, and what tradition can its other main practitioners be said to constitute: John Jenkins, followed at a distance (through Matthew Locke, Another mediary, hand to pin down) by Henry Purcell?

Mico himself abetted our uncertainty by the course of his working life, both [41] earlier in the household of catholic gentry, and later when seconded in 1630 to the post of organist in the fairly central but just as inward-looking private music of Henrietta Maria, queen consort of the day. His suitability must have seemed the greater through his youthful conversion to catholicism, a decision which could also account for his lack of contemporary prominence. In both posts, performance of the liturgy must have formed a part of his duties. Yet his presumed expertise on keyboard did not impel him towards written composition, if surviving sources are a guide. Nor, as a by-product of these duties, is Mico known to have composed for voices in the way that his predecessor in the Queen's service Richard Dering most assuredly did.⁴

As a chamber composer Mico is mainly in the Ferrabosco camp. His four-part fantasy thematic material is clearly based on Ferrabosco's; indeed, his four-part hexachord, though briefer and less expert in its turns of phrase and modulation, is open homage to Ferrabosco's widely-copied piece for the same forces. In the general course of four-part fantasy, the overall constraint of Ferrabosco's example (such as length and rigorous counterpoint) were never to be overtly challenged up to the time of Purcell's 'fantazias' of 1680.⁵ By writing four- and five-part pavans, and a five-part In Nomine, Mico accepted here too Ferrabosco's norms of genre. In one respect (though not as a pioneer), he shows an advance on Ferrabosco. The genre of five-part free fantasy had developed by expanding the emotional horizons, incorporating madrigalian textures and affective dissonance into the fantasy. This more vocal tradition was led possibly by Ferrabosco's contemporary (perhaps rival) John Coprario. Coprario's example did infiltrate four-part fantasy, to the extent of allowing contrasting dissonant sections as employed by Mico and later Matthew Locke. The greater flux found in five-part writing shows the problems created, as well as the available solutions. Players in the chamber were still resorting to the expedient of transcribing Italian madrigals

³ P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), chpt. 11, esp. 251-9.

⁴ The point is made by J. Bennett and P. Willetts, 'Richard Mico', *Chelys* 7 (1977), 24-46.

⁵ B. Bellingham, 'Convention and Transformation in Ferrabosco's Four-Part Fantasias' in *John Jenkins and his Time*, 111-35; see the associated edition, *Alfonso Ferrabosco: Four-Part Fantasias for Viols*, eds A. Ashbee and B. Bellingham, *Musica Britannica* 62 (1992).

without texts, for which they looked more to works of the 1590s, (by Marenzio, Pallavicino, Monteverdi and others) than to the slightly older repertory found in those stand-bys the later Elizabethan anthologies such as *Musica Transalpina*. Fantasies with Italian incipits or titles survive by three composers contemporary to, but uninfluenced by, Ferrabosco: Coprario, Thomas Lupo (I?) and John Ward. If some of their pieces were genuinely written to order as Italian-texted works (demonstrable in a few cases, but improbable as a general rule) then Mico evidently came after that demand had dwindled. Instead his clutch of pieces are in free-fantasy style. They do happen to include one curiosity for the English repertoire: a riposte, 'Parte seconda' to a madrigal by Monteverdi which had entered the textless repertoire. It was obviously devised as a purely instrumental response to Monteverdi, making no concessions to vocal style or the text of the original (which itself was a *parte seconda* of a cycle). The blurring of received European genres is typical of England in the fantasy as [42] elsewhere; but Mico's contribution may put him at a uniquely- transitional stage: before, that is, a plateau of achievement in the five-part free fantasy repertoire, represented by the prolific John Jenkins in the (mid?)1630s. It is possible, however, that Mico was less abnormal than the chance survival of a title leads one to suppose, since it is all too likely that previous madrigal-fantasies were also parodic to some extent. The debt, after all, of Mico's 'Parte seconda' to Monteverdi would be hard to guess apart from title, since there is no resemblance by headmotif, and parody is present chiefly in one middle section where in both pieces the *tetracordo cromatico* makes its appearance. Mico's five-part pavans owe most to those by Richard Dering (d. 1630) and possibly precede the stylistically allied but rather more assured pavans in the same scoring by Jenkins. (One of those by Jenkins bears a significant misattribution to Dering.) For Jenkins, like Mico, datings are of course regrettably still provisional, and could well have to be adjusted by half a decade or so.

By style alone, none of Mico's compositions could be said to demand a date after 1625. Yet what external reasons are there for this upper limit? No negative proof has yet been advanced against a general dating after that point, rather than the previous decade. In later life, Mico apparently maintained some personal link with royal musicians, even after civil war and the collapse of court routine in 1642: Bennett and Willetts pointed out how an organ was conveyed to St James's Palace from Mico's Covent Garden lodgings in 1603 shortly after his death, a possible sign that music meetings were convened here in the interregal years. Could Mico have still been planning a part in the abrupt changes of musical fashion of the mid-century?

When sources are examined, their evidence rides uneasily with an early dating. Despite the appearance of assertions to the effect that 'manv [of Mico's] compositions were copied into manuscripts that can

be dated in the 1620a or 30s',⁶ in all likelihood no extant sourer can be granted a copying date before c1630. The contrary appears likelier for Mico's series of four-part fantasias, the side of his output that as much as anything else one would assume early. Corroboration is recently available that the major set of part-books in the Royal College of Music (GB-Lcm MS 1197), long and reasonably held to be holograph, can be proved such. These books confine their contents to Mico's pavans and fantasies, constituting one of the earliest major sets of instrumental manuscript partbooks designed on the mono-authorial as opposed to the anthology principle. The single musical hand found here, prefaced on non-musical leaves by Mico's attestable signature, is the same as that which copied the musical text of his five-part pavans nos 1 and 2 in the part-books Z3.4.7-12, later owned by Marsh. In the Marsh parts, Mico's text hand provides ascription to himself and titling above the music: these contiguities rise above the coincidental.⁷ A complete edition of these pavans should therefore take very seriously the autograph [43] readings of the Marsh source, noted in *Musica Britannica* 65, including mid-strain pause marks. The third pavan is stylistically distinct, and it is of interest that Mico did not copy it here. In that there could be some hint of inauthenticity, but strangely it is pavans 1 and 2 that are found elsewhere with countervailing ascriptions to William White. Strain 2 of Mico's third pavan is oddly reminiscent of William Byrd's 'Eccho pavan' for keyboard, strain 3, which may be a mark of acknowledgement to Mico's predecessor in the Petre family household.⁸

Watermark evidence suggests that a date around 1630 or after is the only one feasible for Mico's copying activity in both Marsh and Royal College sources.⁹ In itself that would not detract from the possibility that he was then retrospectively defining a previously-composed opus, four-part or otherwise. However, signs are present in Lcm 1197 that copying took place in two series, the second involving revision of a fantasy from the first: there is a change in pen style starting; from source no. 10, and in conjunction source no. 8 was replaced, on glued cancels, with a revised version of the piece in the later hand.¹⁰ The insert leaf in the Cantus and Bassus parts has a pillars watermark differing from the running peacock mark.¹¹ The inference that composition per se was still in progress after 1630 may mean that Mico did not grant access to copyists until the series had

⁶ A claim found in *Musica Britannica* 65, xx.

⁷ Thompson, 'A further look', 6. *Richard Mico, The Four-Part Consort Music*, ed. M. Tyler (London and Bermuda, 1992), had already accepted Lcm 1197 as autograph on the strength of the prefatory signatures.

⁸ See *William Byrd: Keyboard Music II*, ed. A. Brown, *Musica Britannica* 28 (1971, rev. 1976), no. 114a.

⁹ Thompson, 'A further look', 3-5.

¹⁰ *Musica Britannica* 65 gives both versions of this piece (VdGS no. 17) as nos 19 and Appendix 1.

¹¹ See my review of *Musica Britannica* 65; *M&L* 77 (1996), 309-12.

been completed; it still gives no impression of a preconceived or uniform compositional plan.

The one other main early source for this collection, copied (that is) as completely as the autograph, is in the hand of the major collector-copyist John Browne. He did have access to the whole series, for he copied the revised fantasy (but not the pavans). He added it after some dance-sequences by Charles Coleman for three-part strings with a basso continuo part, in the two treble and bass scoring that was rapidly superseding the 'string quartet' fashion but cannot have been current before the later 1630's. The four-part pavans and one fantasy were copied into GB-Lbl MSS Madrigal Society G.33-6, but into the reverse of the manuscripts and again not necessarily before the later 1630's. There is therefore no evidence that Mico's four-part autograph series circulated, even by the individual piece as one might expect (see below), until (1635 or whenever the set Lcm 1197 was completed.¹² Chances then that Mico went on composing in the two decades and more remaining him (if only in a small way), and that any number of stray pieces could be assigned to him on Stylistic grounds, must be the larger, especially when one turns to the three-part category.

All unascribed single three-part work in Mico's hand in Z3.4.7-12 is likely on grounds of style to add an eighth fantasy to his known series for trebles, two basses and organ. The new work weighs in at mid-length (longer at 88 semibreves than nos. 5-7, but shorter than nos. 1-4), and shows restraint in resort to the florid writing Mico favoured in others of the set.¹³ It is nevertheless a harmonically characteristic and welcome addition to the series known. Added untitled [44] and unsigned by its own author (one must emphasise), to an interstice following his own three-part fantasies as copied and ascribed in another hand, its position implies no early date for Mico's intervention as copyist in Marsh books that position would by itself suggest, since most of the contents in three and five parts had already been set out in a unified series by the main hand. No organ part for the piece survives. The pattern of the three-part opus as found here and elsewhere is suggestive of dating in another way. Sound copies of this series, all but for the Marsh unicum, were in the possession of the Hatton family as represented by Sir Christopher Hatton III towards the end (in all probability) of the 1630s; they give both string and well-realised organ parts for seven fantasies scored for treble and two basses. The armorial stamp of Hatton as found on the binding is not dateable precisely: it may already have been in use by the end of the 1630s, the time that Sir Christopher Hatton III became known as a patron and connoisseur,¹⁴ but its presence upon such works as B.

¹² *Ibid.*; also D. Pinto, *For ye Violls: the Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes* (Richmond, 1995), 50.

¹³ Listed in Dodd, *Index* as a pavan (Anon. 921) it is nevertheless in free fantasy form.

¹⁴ D. Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', *RMARC* 23 (1990), 79-108, and J. Wainwright, 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered: Christ Church, Oxford,

Bauderon, *Pharmacopoea* (London, 1639) suggests that it was employed into the early (perhaps even later) 1640s.¹⁵ The point of remark is that Hatton had not pinned down the total output. Mico was at roughly the time of the making of Hatton's copies involved with another music-making circle,¹⁶ where he was prevailed upon to add a new item, which then circulated no farther, to a pre-existing set of pieces.¹⁷ Almost uniquely we glimpse a composer himself broadcasting his work by insertion of a single piece in a miscellany as a tolerable, if not preferred, launching method. Strengthening the case for composition in the early to mid 100s, it suggests that Mico had not defined his *oeuvre* in either three or four parts before initial circulation, and could have casually amplified either part of his output.¹⁸

The least amenable remaining stylistic query is of Mico's relation to the tradition of four-part fantasy for the treble, alto, tenor and bass ensemble. It is a tradition that waned rapidly by 1625 and had an exiguous continuance thereafter, apart from Jenkins confined chiefly to Matthew Locke *c.* 1660 and then Henry Purcell's attempt in the year 1680 to breathe life into an outmoded style. The two treble, tenor and bass work of composers active in the 1630s like Ford, Ives and Lawes shows the threat that for a time swept away the older scoring altogether. Apart from Locke, questions of stylistic antecedents for Purcell have never been tackled except by some small lip-service to Jenkins. There are also no good answers as yet to the social aspects of this anachronistic foray; whether Purcell was composing for a specific group of enthusiasts who were still trying to realise in practice something that had fallen out of common discourse about 40 years beforehand; whether the pieces were scholastic exercises; or some other obscure and more personal purpose. Surprisingly, perhaps, this same problem applies to Locke to nearly the same extent. His 'Consort of Four Parts' is not accurately dateable, but seems to come at the end of a very disciplined series of chamber works composed in orderly fashion through the 1630s until early in the next [45] decade. From the cardinal (but not easily assessed) evidence of Locke's autograph score Lbl Add. MS 17801 the opus cannot date from long after 1660, about

Music Manuscripts 2, 397-408 and 436; 417-418 and 1080; and 432 and 612-613' in *John Jenkins and his Time*, 189-242. Contrary to Wainwright's assertion on p. 215, fn. 145, no date is assigned by Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', to these particular books. The large topic of dating Hatton's consort music remains to be tackled rigorously, but he had no direct contact with court affairs.

¹⁵ See M. M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift: a Collection of Bookbindings*, II (1983), no. 97.

¹⁶ The circle to which Z3.4.7-12 originally belonged may well have been composed of vicars choral, which might possibly explain the presence at f. 113v of Z3.4.9 of an incomplete extra part of an anthem by Peerson in what is otherwise an instrumental collection.

¹⁷ The possibility has been raised that Lcm 1197 was destined as another fascicle of the set of part-books Z3.4.7-12; Thompson, 'A further look', 6. The case is, however, weakened by the very fact of its differing provenance.

¹⁸ Andrew Hanley, editor of *Musica Britannica* 65, doubts the probability.

the time that Locke gained a post in the chapel of the queen consort of the day, Catherine of Braganza. Through one coincidence both Charles I and his son Charles II, by marrying into continental royalty, had to make public concession to the foreign forms of worship required by their spouses. By what must exceed coincidence, both Mico and Locke worked as chapel organists to these consorts. Is it so improbable to suspect an influence, flowing from Mico's example, for Locke to have turned anachronistically to four-part *ricercar*-type composition? The question is apposite because Mico offers formal parallels to Locke. He is a useful precedent for a principal unusual variant in Locke's fantasy practice, that of preceding the contrapuntal exordium by a sonorous prelude replete with expressive harmony or even discord, notated as part of the piece but separated by a bar and therefore prefatory in intent. Precedents are few apart from Mico, unless one looks back to a very different Elizabethan tradition of 'Prelude and Ground' appearing in William Byrd's five-part output. Here the Prelude of course prefaces a galliard-based variation strain, in which contrapuntal style is subordinate to dance idiom.¹⁹ And so Mico's experiments of a prelude before an episodic fantasy of contorted contrapuntal points, larded with interjections of moderately dissonant block harmony after the lines of Coprario, become more significant models for Locke than may have been appreciated.²⁰ By another coincidence Locke, like Mico, had converted to Catholicism well before any idea of service in a regal chapel could have crossed his mind. In view of the rarity attaching to composition on traditional lines in the old *ricercar* scoring for treble, alto, tenor and bass, a suspicion must be that during the Commonwealth period the paths of Locke and Mico crossed, laying down the idea of emulating Mico's series of four-part consorts in Locke's fertile mind; precisely how must probably remain obscure.

Other unassigned repertoire in the Marsh books includes a few four-part fantasies that Richard Charteris suggested as the work of Thomas Ford. This is another ascription that deserves support on the grounds of a scoring in the two trebles, tenor and bass layout, contiguity in the source, and style. Like the shape of the repertoire in the set of books as a whole, and the post-madrigalian style of Mico's circulated five-part output, it suggests an earlier rather than a later date in the 1630's for compilation. There are other unasccribed Marsh

¹⁹ Both of Byrd's six-part true fantasies can be thought of as composed of internalized prelude before contrapuntal strains, but here as well dance considerations (of pavan and *N'achtanz*) dictate the ultimate form and structure. Jenkins's six-part fantasy no. 5 is citeable for a preludial strophe, but he too prefaced it to an assortment of dance-like strain rather than a well-worked-out 'point'. There are preludial stanzas in the six-part fantasies of William Lawes, such as the fantasy in g and the first fantasy in C, but they present no strong textural contrast between harmony and polyphony.

²⁰ The prelude pattern appears in Mico's fantasies VdGS no. 1 (*Musica Britannica* 65, no 21) and VdGS no. 19 (*ibid.*, Appendix 3). As its placing suggests, the attribution of the latter to Mico by style and source position is not whole-heartedly adopted by *Musica Britannica*. Compare also VdGS no. 15 (*ibid.*, no. 18) for a solemn opening that runs into more fugal work.

works in four and six parts which merit consideration separately. But first, how exactly does watermark evidence narrow down the appropriate time-scale?

Venice peacock watermarks surviving in English sources appear to be localised in copies related to court activity²¹ (though for some of these manuscripts, such as the Hatton family copies, the relationship may have been distant). The watermarks bear probable dates in the 1630's with a possibility of [46] extending this dating backwards by a few years:²² this would make sense in the case of Henry Lawes who had gained recognition by 1626, the date of his appointment to the Chapel Royal, and must have found it prudent to lay down without delay definitive versions of his own settings of the courtly lyrics that were the cause of his reputation. If the division of the 'peacock' manuscripts into two groups distinguished by different though related watermark pairs may imply two batches of paper available perhaps in overlapping phases, then the songbooks of William and Henry Lawes fall naturally astride this division. William must have been following at a distance of half a decade behind his older brother, and in his book it is commissioned work for the period 1639-41, copied in a unified hand-style over a short span of time, that predominates. If one must contrast the copying tactics of the brothers, at least one common project is visible in a group of Herrick settings made by each of them at different stages in their books, both of which may be correlated with the year 1640, when Herrick was certainly in London: Lbl Add. MS 53723 (Henry Lawes) ff 70-80v and Lbl Add. MS 31432 (William Lawes) ff 32-5.²³ The evidence from the generality of other peacock paper sets is by no means clear-cut, and considerations of the way that repertoire was acquired and laid down cannot be ignored where the time-distance between initiation of *copying* activities in the first and last examples—Henry Lawes, possibly before 1630, to William Ellis in civil-war Oxford²⁴—could be as much as 15 years. Cross-links with other manuscript sets therefore have some value here. There are two unusual concordances between Marsh and the 'Shirley Partbooks' copied almost entirely singlehandedly by the youthful William Lawes:²⁵ a four-part work by Thomas Ford, which gives a marker for the style of his other attributed four-part Works; and a chanson by Sandrin, which together with the madrigal by Renaldi found in Marsh may be a remnant of a little vocal anthology, circulated rather as were later Italian items of the early Monteverdi period. (The later level of

²¹ Thompson, 'A further look', 4-5.

²² *Ibid.*, quoting Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, (Hilversum, 1950), mark 174, c1628.

²³ P. J. Willetts, *The Henry Lawes Manuscript* (1989); M. Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (1960), chpt. 7. For the dating of the Herrick settings see D. Pinto, 'The True Christmas: Carob at the Court of Charles I' in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 97-120, at pp 102, 115.

²⁴ As suggested by Thompson, 'A further look', 5.

²⁵ Pinto, *For ye violls*, 30-3 gives a handlist of contents of the Shirley books.

copying by Mico and associates added some of these to Marsh's set; more are found in the Shirley part-books and in Hatton manuscripts, the 'Great Set' at Christ Church).²⁶ The dating of approximately 1626-33 indicated for Lawes's copying in the Shirley part-books provides another sign that the main layer of Z3.4.7-12 is of a similar period.

Two outstanding *anonyma* in Z3.4.7-12, one in four and one in six parts, have yet to attract due attention. One four-part pavan was added late in its section, in a hand possibly that of Richard Nicholson (d. 1639), organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, though this connection has been doubted. Indecisions in copying method have been levelled against the identification, as has an error found in other partbooks in this hand (Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-16, second section). On reflection, though, it may be that heavy reworking by this hand indicates compositorial purpose behind the vacillations. Several of the anthems in this part of the manuscripts class as recompositions. Craig Monson [47] pointed out how an anthem by Edward Smith of Durham appears here adapted, at least partly in order to insert a two-treble duet, and how this could relate to Nicholson's duty as music professor to provide two singing boys at meetings of the Oxford Music School's practical classes.²⁷ In fact not only the same two-treble duct, but the same style of reworking to achieve it, appears elsewhere in the set. One case is of Thomas Tomkins's anthem 'Above the Starrs' where the ecclesiastical panoply of decani-cantoris options in Tomkins's own version (between four and seven real parts) has been honed down to the level of constant five-part contrapuntal texture. The implication is that this adaptation can also be laid at Nicholson's door.²⁸ Another case is in John Bull's 'Starr Anthem': here the Oxford version contains an amount of very untidy insertion, at least in part to invert harmonies for the benefit of higher voices; variants that have not been adequately noted in editions to date. The copyist in fact is almost certainly the composer-arranger for the whole section in this set, or someone working closely with him in time and space.

If the trouble of providing a credible ascription for the four-part Marsh pavan in this hand has so far outweighed its rewards, then the relating of the part-books to the earlier 1630s makes the stakes less high than hitherto. The pavan shows much of the harmonic clarity and firm sequence typical of Thomas Weelkes (d. 1623). Stragglers from his hand could easily have been current at this time. Existence of a now lost collection of four-part pavans by Weelkes is attested from the near-contemporary library catalogue of Sir Peter Leycester dated 3 August 1667: 'Wilke's 6 Pavians, 4 partes'.²⁹ From dating it is highly

²⁶ *Ibid.* and Wainwright, 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered', Appendix 5.

²⁷ C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England 1600-1650* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982), 193-207.

²⁸ See T. Tomkins, *Five Consort Anthems*, ed. D. Pinto and R. W. Duffin (London and Bermuda, 1994).

²⁹ Sir Peter Leicester, *Charges to the Grand Jury at Quarter Sessions, 1660-1677*, ed. E. M. Halcrow (Manchester, 1953), 151-2.

improbable that the pavans by Weelkes could have been written in the 'string-quartet' scoring, or with a part for separately notated continuo: in his instrumental music he was traditionalist. Also, survival of real dance-music in the graded treble, alto, tenor and bass ensemble is now extremely rare. That rarity must reflect normative practice, since the renaissance five-part dance ensemble remained standard even after the emergence of the string quartet scoring supported by obligatory continuo, and so any attempt to write genuine dance-music for smaller forces is of note and stands in need of explanation. A masterly four-part group of lighter dances by John Jenkins survives (including no pavans but possibly a pavan-alman; otherwise almans, corants and one saraband). These works, though, for the most part are restricted to one manuscript source, in John Browne's collection:³⁰ they are more contrapuntal than Jenkins's two treble, tenor and bass dances but occur interspersed with them, implying no earlier date.³¹ By contrast, pavans by Mico have with one exception crossed the line into the two treble, tenor and bass scoring: his fantasies, like some of Ferrabosco's in fact, teeter on that same threshold. The one other notable dance writer for the treble, alto, tenor and bass ensemble is none other than Matthew Locke in his 'Consort of Four Parts' where he was swimming manfully against the tide in hoping to marry fantasies [48] to dances in suite form; these dances (almans, corants, sarabands) are a little too artful for practical use - and end with an abstract close in every second set.

The Marsh set contains one other highly imposing piece of am importance that has been hitherto unappreciated, its compositional status unperceived through this uncertainty in dating; to it, attention is overdue. The six-part section of Z3.4.7-12 contains an unscribed hexachord fantasy, unknown elsewhere. The main hand of the previously copied works in three to five parts does not appear in the six-part section, which is intriguingly casual in its accretion of material: it includes one unique fantasy by Wilbye (his only complete purely instrumental work) and two motets by Hieronumus Praetorius, the first of which occurs elsewhere with an attribution to Richard Dering.³² In addition to these, the first of the two hands involved in the six-part section copied a group of fantasies by Alfonso Ferrabosco II; the second copyist took up the torch with a group of bizarre fantasies and variation dances by William Cranford, some of them unique to the source. The last of them is perhaps incomplete, since only five parts survive; the relevant sixth partbook (Z3.4.12) had by this point overshot limits, and it is just possible that an original loose

³⁰ Och Mus. 367-70: see Dodd, *Index*; John Jenkins, *Aires for Four-Part Consort*, ed. D. Pinto (St Albans, 1992).

³¹ A single pavan-alman pair by Thomas Tomkins exists for the treble, alto, tenor and bass ensemble, but its status is unclear since the pavan also occurs in a five-part form which may be closer to its original.

³² Lbl Add. MSS 17786-91; edited by G. Dodd under the Dering attribution as VdGS Sup Pub. no. 9 (1964).

leaf has gone missing here. If complete as it stands, the work is in a rare scoring for two trebles, tenor and two basses.

Thought should seriously be given to an ascription of the anonymous hexachord fantasy to Alfonso Ferrabosco II. An obstacle to this, in the late dating of the source, has now vanished. Arguments in support accumulate as follows.

The piece was copied immediately following an attestable group of Ferrabosco's fantasies, and before Wilbye's *unicum*; on grounds of position (and style: see below) it is linked to Ferrabosco, not Wilbye. The text of the preceding six-part Ferrabosco works preserves a few unique readings that seem to reflect characteristics of a lost generation of manuscripts.³³ Combined with acceptance of an earlier dating for the copying of these partbooks, this suggests more tolerably than with a late Commonwealth or early Restoration date that an important piece by Ferrabosco could have survived here uniquely only barely scraping into safe haven. Stylistically the rhythmic diversity employed in transforming the 'point' is characteristic of no writer more than Ferrabosco. This observation is the less subjective for being capable of testing against the way unprecedented for the English consort repertoire in which the thematic basis for the piece is developed. Treatment of the hexachord embodies two specifically Italian concepts. The first is *obbligato*, a restrictive form of canon; in this case an *obbligato* against allowing any material outside statements of the six-note hexachord (rising or descending). Contemporary examples of similar *obbligati* are well-known in works for keyboard or ensemble by Frescobaldi.³⁴ The second acts as apparent exception to the first: melodic alteration is induced through the practice of [49] *inganno*, as detailed below (in category c). The combination of these two techniques results in a piece the more remarkable for being conceived in full six-part counterpoint, a very English dimension.

Exceptions to the *obbligato* (pure contrapuntal statements of hexachords) are few and fall into five categories:

a) Overlapping statements. When the rising and falling hexachord are stated in conjunction, the *obbligato* seems to permit a statement of the pivotal *la* or *ut* pitch once only rather than twice in succession. Apart from this, hexachord levels are not fused, and pitches not restated

³³ *Alfonso Ferrabosco II, The Six-Part Works*, ed. D. Pinto (Harpenden and St Albans, 1990), textual commentary for a selection of significant variants, and introduction, pp 23. Possibly Marsh readings may be linked to now lost Music School manuscripts of six-part Ferrabosco. Inclusion of the unattributed hexachord piece as fantasy no. 11 is planned in a supplement to this edition.

³⁴ For example, the 'Obligato di non uscir mat di grado', a requirement forbidding conjunct motion (though allowing note-repetition): G. Frescobaldi, *The Ten Ricercars in Four Parts from Ricercari e Canzoni Francese, Libro Primo, 1615*, eds D. Beecher and B. Gillingham (Ottawa, 1980), no. 8. A copy of the original is in GB-Ckc. The example of Frescobaldi is more relevant than might appear, if only for Ford's keyboard-led practice of using a *soggetto* as a type of motto or migrant *ostinato*. It is found in the anonymous Marsh four-part work source no. 43, bars 1-11, to the theme *fa-mi fa-re* as well as in Ford's acknowledged four-part aire.

except in two places. the first (line II, bar [breve] 30) may stand, or else be another fault in copying or transmission. The second (line IV, bars 62-3) occurs during the final cadence and is therefore condonable. In this case, however, a further error in transmission may have occurred: see (e) below.

b) chromatic alterations of pitch. Apart from leaving to tacit rectification a small number of intervals, where application of *musica ficta* is required to produce *mi-fa* relations or cadential major thirds, the composer, 'Ferrabosco', admitted alteration in the set relation between degrees of the hexachord by notated chromatic raising or lowering: diminishing in the case of intervals 1-2 (the largest number of occurrences), 2-3, and 5-6 (by dint of raising degrees 1 and 5 or lowering 3), and augmenting in the case of the interval 3-4 (by raising the fourth degree; the second largest type of alteration).

c) occurrence of *inganno*. This is the device (literally 'fraud'; 'sleight'; perhaps pedagogic in origin) of altering thematic material from a nameable solmised datum by electing to mutate into other hexachords for some elements when restating a naturally-named row. For example, as used by Ferrabosco in a restatement of elements in the conjunct row *c' - a'*, the natural hexachord, he would still have called it by the same name but instead of leaving it at the stave-position of pitch *a'* he could have transposed to *d''* or *d'* in the 'soft' hexachord or else *e''* or *e'* in the 'hard' hexachord.³⁵ Transpositions are created upward of fourths or fifths, or else inversions thereof to the lower octave, without breaking the *obbligato*. One apparent deviation from the *obbligato* noted above (line IV bar 43) may be simply a copying error for an *inganno*, where the copyist has misplaced a mutated pitch by the interval of a space (a third). 'Ferrabosco' places *inganni* principally at beginnings and endings of statements (*ut* and *la*), and only twice on *sol*; they occur in all voices except VI.

d) untoward deviations. The last two of five such occurrences are permissible since they occur at the final cadence (in two parts only, lines III and VI), where observance of canon may be relaxed. These relaxations make the strictness observed in all the other parts, even at the final cadence, the more remarkable. Elsewhere there are three distinct discrepancies: a seven-note row in line I, bars [50] 20-21; a final note in one statement that does not relate to the hexachord pattern in line IV, bar 43 (possibly an error; see (c) above); and a reallocated pitch-position in line IV bar 51 where *la* appears to be switched from first to final place in a descending statement. It is

³⁵ For a study of *inganno* in application, as early as the mid-sixteenth-century Italian repertoire of four-part *ricercari* in the Bourdeney Codex, now attributed to Giaches Brumel but formerly to Giaches de Wert, see A. Newcomb, 'Form and Fantasy in Wert's Instrumental Polyphony', *Studi Musicali* 7 (1978), 85-102. The term *inganno* applied to hexachordal mutations emerged late, apparently in 1603: see J. Harper, 'Frescobaldi's Early *Inganni* and Their Background', *PRMA* 105 (1978-9), 1-12 for its use by the theorist Giovanni Maria Artusi.

possible, though unlikely in view of the severity of treatment elsewhere in the piece, that this is a double transposition through two soft hexachords (f transposed to b^b then onwards to e^b).

e) lines III and IV are in unison parallel motion for four notes in bar 63, at the approach to the final cadence. Not perhaps in itself a direct contravention of the *obbligo* it is, however, a compositional oversight, perhaps irremediable, of a sort witnessed elsewhere from time to time in Ferrabosco's attested six-part writing.

Apart from the main *obbligo* there appears to be no overall formal design for the piece. Statements of the monotheme are worked in arbitrarily in all parts to ensure through varying momentum a fantasy-like pace, without any other apparent overall plan in positioning them (with 40 occurrences in line I, 44 in lines II and IV, 46 in line III, 34 in line V and 30 in line VI). The balance between upward and downward forms is disproportionate, as is the resort to conjunct pairs in contrary motion. The degree to which pervasive rhythmic change to the hexachord *obbligo* is used to variegate the piece is the hallmark of Alfonso Ferrabosco II, occurring as it does over the range of values from breve to semiquaver; in fact the *obbligo* does not permit change apart from the rhythmic. 'Ferrabosco' then obviously enjoyed the challenge (see six-part hexachord fantasy bars 53-8: instances of *inganno* are marked +). A similar plastic control over thematic material is to be seen throughout Ferrabosco's epoch-making chamber output and is developed most remarkably in what may be his crowning work, the six-part 'In Nomine through all parts', where the cantos firmus, elsewhere usually isometric, is unceasingly varied in rhythm. One importance of the six-part hexachord piece, which could be called 'A hexachord through all parts' lies in confirming, possibly for the work of Ferrabosco in particular, but if not then for contemporary and (*a fortiori*) for succeeding English fantasy, that Italian methods of melodic derivation from *inganno* play some part in the hitherto almost undocumented compositional techniques of the time. There is, anyhow, a need now to clarify the engagement with *inganno* by others just as much as by Ferrabosco, whose two other uses of ostinato, in his series of five-part pavans, do not show it in any pure form. The motif of his 'Four note Pavan', for which Ben Jonson rhymed out an ingenious 'Hymn to God the Father', has a constant stave-configuration but quickly departs intervallically from its first statement (which unaltered form accounts for only six out of the sixteen instances). *Ut-re-fa mi* is altered successively; from its third occurrence, to begin on five other scale-degrees, and apparently gives thereby the lie to thoughts of solmisation; at the end of the first strain, the ostinato is further lengthened by one note to effect the cadence. Daniel Farrant's similar four-note ostinato pavan in five parts, which [51] repeats *la-mi-fa-mi(-re* at cadence), is likewise transposed, though only into *sol-re-mi-re(-ut* at cadence) form. Ferrabosco's 'Pauana. a 7. Note', to stick to the title employed by the Italianate

copyist of Lbl MS Egerton 3665, also has puzzling elements if viewed through solmising glasses, because of seemingly random deformations of the ostinato (a seven-note row, restricted as in the two pavans just mentioned to line 1). Its initial statement could be solmised variously, for example *sol-fa-mi-la-sol-la-sol* or *ut-fa-mi-re-ut-re-ut*. Some of the deformations make sense: as *inganni*: for example, that in bars 17-19, where notes 2-7 are transposed in effect a fifth above their first statement as heard in bars 1-3. Others do not seem to be operative within this system. Outright transpositions occur to pitch-levels at which elementary solmisation strictly does not apply: rows beginning on *d* and *a* (bars 6, 14, 19, 28) would imply a free understanding of solmisation principles which so far has had no attested occurrence in the practice of Ferrabosco's era. Still, from some application of first principles in *inganno* do appear to spring the more sophisticated elements in his practice.³⁶ His 'In Nomine through all parts' transposes some statements of the plainsong to unusual 'key'-areas, and marks the same freedom with thematic material noted in the five-part pavans.

If it is disconcerting; to realise how casually a piece of the calibre of the Marsh 'Hexachord through all parts' (whosoever its composer) fell out of circulation in the period 1625-35, then it is the same circumstance that haphazardly affected older *opera* like Weelkes's pavans of which some paper record survives. By contrast it shows how slim was the gap between salvation and loss of works like four-part fantasies by 'Thomas Ford', and for that matter a magisterial set of pieces like Orlando Gibbons's six-part fantasies—which also (one should remember) are with one exception restricted to a unique source and attributable only on grounds of style and manuscript position. Marsh's consort sets occupy a rare niche in the process that led c1630 to some Jacobean outputs being preserved in whole or part, others rejected by Caroline taste; and it is intriguing to glimpse Mico fleetingly as a formative figure in the canon. Behind him must lie other arbiters of elegance, of whom Richard Dering may be one if the appearance of Praetorius with a Dering ascription in manuscripts of this era bespeaks Dering's participation in repertoire-formation. Links between Dering and Praetorius have been remarked upon but never fully explained:³⁷ one step forward, with a possible half-step back, may be provided by an odd remark prefaced to Lbl C.78.c, a copy of Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de festis praecipuis totius anni* (2nd edn, Hamburg, 1607). Certain pieces show signs of selection in ink, but most strikingly an inscription occurs at the head of the first page of music in the bassus partbook. Conjecturally, for the second line is

³⁶ Texts of the four-note ostinati pavans by Ferrabosco and Farrant are printed in *Musica Britannica* 9, nos 62-3. That by Ferrabosco incidentally involves a chromatic change of degree by sharpening a leading note. His seven-note ostinato pavan has generally been available hitherto only in Richard Nicholson's playing edition, *English Consort Series*.

³⁷ Dodd, *Index*, s.v. Dering.

partly cropped, it reads ‘R. Deering/fur, sus, a[t] [i.e. ‘atqui’] sacerdos’: ‘R. Deering thief, swine but yet a priest’. This remark, extraordinary in any context, let alone musical, seems to [52] throw odd light on Dering’s otherwise undocumented acquisitive bent as well as on the range of influences that went into shaping the English consort repertory at a volatile point.

Alfonso Ferrabosco II (?): hexachord fantasy a6, bars 53-8

An odd light is also cast on the way in which the works were generated and selected, and on the various but relatively humble roles played by composer-copyist-performers such as Mico, self-effacing to the point of anonymity when adding his own composition in his own hand to associates’ playing parts. Either the gentlemanly convention of not being seen to own one’s works was paramount, or else the production of these prize works was fairly uneven and not valued (even by their own immediate playing public) in the way we would have expected. Whatever the canons of art that produced them, it seems to have been up to a fairly late point in the 1630s that fantasies were made available by the piece, and not necessarily considered primarily as part of a coherent, thematically organic, set. The extent to which the four-part fantasies of Ferrabosco may have been conceived as a unity is an idea raised through source-studies by the [53] editors of the complete edition. With Mico, a stage further along the path, it may still have been the case that unified planning was not at the forefront of his intentions even in the mid-1630s.

[55]

APPENDIX

Dublin, Marsh's Library MSS Z3.4.7-12: Consort

Music, c1630-50 *Layout of partbooks*

23.4.7, 'Triplex': Tr, A	23.4.10: T
23.4.8: T, B	23.4.11, 'Bassus Secundus': B
Z3.4.9:Tr,A,T	Z3.4.12: T

Contents

Ascriptions or titles lacking in the source are square-bracketed; an ascription in a single part is taken to apply across the board. All in all, 20 genuinely instrumental pieces appear to be unique to the source, 17 of them unasccribed. For these last Dodd, *Index*, provides a numeration, as it does for works of known authorship by the English composers for strings starred below amongst the list of ascertainable writers in this set of parts. Added in brackets is the applicable number of parts composed for:

*Brewer, Thomas (4)	Pallavicino, Benedetto (5)
*Coprario, John (3, 5)	[Peerson, Martin] (6)
*Cranford, William (3, 4, 6)	Praetorius, Hieronymus (6)
*Ferrabosco, Alfonso II (4, 6)	[Renaldi, Giulio] (4)
*[Ford, Thomas] (4)	[Sandrin, Pierre] (4)
*Jenkins, John (3)	*Tomkins, Thomas (3)
*Lupo, Thomas [I] (3, 4)	Tollet, George (2, etc.)
*Mico, Richard (3, 5)	*Ward, John (4)
Monteverdi, Claudio (5)	*Wilbye, John (6)

Richard Charteris, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Clifden, 1982) lists the total contents of the collection. See also Richard Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *RMARC* 13 (1976), 27-63 for discussion and labelling of copyists.

[56]

Table 1. Works in three parts: Z3.4.7-9

Source nos	Composer/title	VdGS nos	Comments
1, 2	Lupo	24, 23	Source nos 1-16, hand J; it may be hand A (Mico) who added ascriptions to source nos 1-8 in Z3.4.7-8.
3, 4	Cranford	2, 1	
5-7	Lupo	11-13	
8	Coprario	3	
9	Tomkins	16	
10-16	Mico	2, 3, 6, 1, 4, 5, 7	Same order as Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9.
17	[Mico]	[8]	Hand A (holograph).
18		-	Unfilled staves. ⁹
19-21	Jenkins	5, 2, 3	Source nos 19-35, hand J. For Tr, 2B, organ.
22, 23, 25-32, 34, 35	Tomkins	9, 3, 5, 4, 2, 11, 19, 7, 15, 14, 6, 12	Source nos 24, 33 omitted: no musical text applies.

Unicum: no. 17.**Table 2.** Works in four parts: Z3.4.7-10

Source nos	Composer/title	VdGS nos	Comments
1-6	Brewer	5, 6, 1-4	Hand K. Same hand as Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.431-6; same order as Ob MSS Mus. Sch. F.568-9.
[6a]		Anon. 1335	Part in Z3.4.7 only: first an incipit in clef C3 then the whole in C1. Possibly an English light madrigal.
7	Ferrabosco	5	Source nos 7-50: hand J.
8	[Renaldi], 'Lempio' [*]	Anon. 1336	Titled by Mico in Z3.4.8.
9	[Sandrin], 'Dulcis memoria' [†]		Titled by Mico in Z3.4.8.
10-13	Cranford	1-4	Ascriptions by Mico to source nos 10, 12-14, 22-27.
14	Lupo	5	Duplicates source no. 22.
15-17	Ferrabosco	8, 12, 16	
18, 19	Lupo	8, 3	
20, 21	Ferrabosco	7, 6	
22-27	Lupo	5, 7, 6, 11-13	See source no. 14.
28-33	Ferrabosco	21, 14, 23, 17, 20, 22	Source nos 32, 33 marked 'For 2 Trebles' by Mico in Z3.4.7.
34, 35	Ward	3, 1	Source no. 35 unascribed.
36, 37	Ferrabosco	4, 13	
38	[Ford] [Aire]		2Tr, T, B: cf. Shirley Partbooks.
39, 40	[Ford?]	Anon. 1337-8	2Tr, T, B: clefs 2G2, C3, F3.

[57]

41, 42	[Lupo]	9, 10	
43-46	[Ford?]	Anon. 1339-42	2Tr, T, B: clefs 2G2, C3, F3/4.
47	Ward	4	
48	[Cranford] ['Walsingham']		Variation set. [‡]
49, 50	Ferrabosco	10, 11	Hexachord fantasias.
51	[Weelkes?] [Pavan]	Anon. 1343	Tr, A, T, B: clefs G2, C2, C3, F4. Hand L. [§] Preceded by opening of second strain in Z3.4.9.

Unica: nos [6a], 10-13, 39, 40, 43-46, 48, 51.

*'L'empio tuo stral amore'; Giulio Renaldi, *Il primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci* (Venice, 1569), no. 26. An 18th-century transcription by John Immyns is found in Lbl Add. MS 29400, avowedly from an edition of 1583 which is not known to be yet extant.

†'Doulce memoire'. For occurrences of Latin-titled versions see F. Dobbins, "'Doulce Memoire": A Study of the Parody Chanson', *PRMA* 96 (1969-70), 85-102, where Z3.4.7-10 are not cited. The Latin-titled copy in Lbl Add. MSS 40657-60 (the Shirley partbooks, cited by Dobbins), may well be related.

‡attr. by Andrew Robinson.

§Copyist occurs in Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-6, second section; possibly to be identified as Richard Nicholson (d. 1639).

Table 3. Works in five parts: Z3.4.7-10, 12

Source nos	Composer/title	VdGS nos	Comments
1-21	[Coprario]	31, 37, 19, [50], [51], 25, 45, 46, 2, 26, [52], 27, 14, 15, 44, 28, 29, 9, 7, 8, 6	Source nos 1-21 unascribed, hand J. Bracketed items are attributed to Coprario merely through position.
22, 23	Mico, Pavans	2, 1	Hand A (Mico), holograph
24, 25	Pallavicino: 'Cor mio [deh! non languire]* 'O come vaneg[gl]iate [†]		Source nos 24-26 untexted, hand M. Source no. 27 in Z3.4.7 only, clef G2, added without text in a further hand.
26, 27	Monteverdi: 'Luci [seren' e chiare] [‡] ['O com' e gran martire'] [§]		

See also no. 18 a6, probably really a5.

Unica: nos 4, 5, 11; also no. 18 a6.

*Benedetto Pallavicino, *Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1600), no. 16.

†*Ibid.*, no. 15.

‡Claudio Monteverdi, *Il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1603), no. 8.

§Claudio Monteverdi, *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1592), no. 2.

[58]

Table 4. Works in six parts; Z3.4.7-12

Source nos	Composer/title	VdGS nos	Comments
1-5	'Alfonso' [Ferrabosco II]*	3, In Nomine 1, 7, 10, 4, 5	VdGS no. 10 in Z3.4.11 only, unnumbered. Source nos 1-[9a], hand N.
6	[Ferrabosco?] [Hexachord fantasia]	Anon. 3006	
7, 8	Praetorius:† Gaudete [omnes] Ascendo [ad patrem meum]'		Titles in Z3.4.8, 10, 11; and in Z3.4.12 for 'Ascendo' only. Numbered 8, 9 in Z3.4.11.
9	Wilbye		Unicum; numbered 7 in Z3.4.11.‡
[9a]	[Peerson], 'Blow out the trumpet'§		Z3.4.9 f. 113v only; incomplete.
10	[Cranford], 'Quadrant Pauin: 6:'		Ascribed in Lbl Add. MSS 39550-54. Source nos. 10-18, hand O.
11-16	Cranford	1, 4, 6, 5, 3, 2	
17	[Cranford], 'Passant Measures'		Ascribed in Lbl Add. MSS 39550-54.**
18	[Cranford], 'Goe from my Window'††		Apparently written for five parts: 2Tr, T, 2B.

Unica: nos 6, 7, 13, 18.

*Only pieces ascribed: no. 4, Z3.4.12 (by Mico?); no. 5, Z3.4.8. Preceded by incomplete incipits on previous versos in Z3.4.8, 10.

†No. 7. ascribed in Z3.4.9 to 'Hieronimo Pretorio Hamburgens'; nos 7 and 8 ascribed in Z3.4.11 to 'Hieron. Praetorio'. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* 5. 6. 7. 8. *vocum* (Hamburg, 1599, 2/1607, 3/1622); no. 4, 'Gaudete omnes et laetamini [*sic*; 'laetemini?']'; no. 29 (no. 30 in 1607), 'Ascendo ad patrem meum'. Not listed amongst foreign works in British MSS in *Latin Music in British Sources c.1485-c.1610*, compiled M. Hofman and J. Morehen (1987), EECM Supplementary Vol. 2.

‡On Z3.4.9, f. 112 Mico added 'Turn over leafe'.

§Not listed in *The Sources of English Church Music 1549-1660*, eds R. T. Daniel and P. le Huray (1972), EECM Supplementary Vol. 1.

**Preceded by a crossed-out part on previous verso (f. 122v) in Z3.4.7.

††Title thus in Z3.4.8; 'Go...' in Z3.4.7, 10, 11. Variation set: no trace in Z3.4.12.

Table 5. Miscellaneous additions

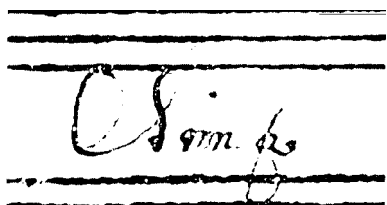
Z3.4.10, f. 1	'Ground Mr. Tollitt' (in D). One part only.	Late C17 hand.
Z3.4.8, f. 124	Sketch of four-part harmonization, eight minims long.	The same late C17 hand?

[59]

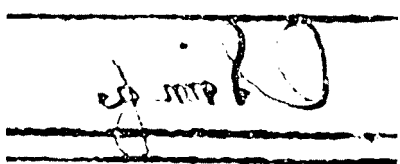
A POSSIBLE TRACE OF CHRISTOPHER SIMPSON (S. J.)

Margaret Urquhart

In a copy of Joseph Simon's play *Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix* there is a setting of a short poem *Astrorum iubar* for tenor voice and bass viol which bears an interesting signature.¹



The 'C S' will recall Simpson's (m) signing of his compositions with his initials² but the lighter pen-stroke filling in the 'C' and the joining of the 'C' to the 'S' are unusual. The backward form of the small letters suggested that the signature might be a mirror version of what was intended.



The small letters now read 'S' across 'J' followed by 'smp' and the capitals 'S O'. A possible interpretation of the mirror version is therefore 'S J' (Society of Jesus); 'smp' (Simpson or Simpson); 'S O' (St Omer).

Simpson (S. J.) joined the Jesuit Noviciate at Watten in 1634 on his return from the English College in Rome:³ *Zeno* was first performed at St Omer on 7 August but it was revived many times in Rome, Naples, Seville and elsewhere.⁴ That the song was composed for a later performance at St Omer is possible, say after 1634 but before 1639 when Simpson left Watten for England.

¹ GB-Lbl Harleian MS 5024, ff. 13v-14. See J. K. Wood: 'Two Latin Play Songs', *RMARC* 21 (1988), 45-52. I am indebted to Dr Wood for sending me her article, in which she examined the possibility that the signature might relate to one of the Simpsons.

² The designations 'Simpson (m)' and 'Simpson (S. J.)' refer respectively to the musician Christopher Simpson and a near-contemporary Jesuit of the same name, possibly the same man. See M. Urquhart 'Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?', *Chelys* 21 (1992), 3-26.

³ *Ibid.*, 7-11. Watten is ten miles to the north of St Omer.

⁴ Wood, *op. cit.*, 45.

In the documents which relate to this period of Simpson's (S. J.) career, the handwriting varies a great deal in style and there is no obvious link with the writer of the song.⁵ Recognized examples of Simpson's (m) handwriting belong to a later date and although minor details can be matched to those of the song, no positive identification can be made as far as he is concerned. [60]

Astrorum iubar. GB-Lbl Harleian MS 5024, ff 13v-14

Astrorum iubar is a fine example of the Italianate monodic air. The studied portrayal of the meaning of the words using rhythm, melody, repetition and elaboration is very apparent in the vocal line and the chords of the bass viol are also closely related, supporting changes of mood and providing spatial effects. The transcription above takes the *alla breve* time signature to mean a quickish minim beat and uses only the bar lines of the manuscript version.⁶ The number of minims in each bar of the transcription is indicated by time signatures. This [61] highlights the free-flowing rhythm and

⁵ M. Urquhart, 'The Handwriting of Christopher Simpson', *Chelys*, 15 (1986), 62-3.

⁶ Wood, *op. cit.*, 50. Figure 2 is a copy of the manuscript.

melody of the first part and the turbulent broken texture of the second, which is set against the triple time of the bass viol part. The choice of keys is interesting, the F major of the first part being confronted by the D major of the second in which the fiery-tailed comet descends towards the earth through A-flat major and C minor.⁷ The bass viol part, in the *jeu d'harmonie*, has no added details of bowing or ornamentation. Six-line staves which are drawn below it and have the same bar lines, are empty. A tablature part for lute had obviously been considered.

On purely musical grounds, this possible trace of Simpson (S. J.) does tend to bring him closer to Simpson (m). Accomplished writing in the new harmonic style and bass viol expertise are the hallmarks of the latter's compositions.⁸ This link is persuasive but not conclusive, and the question as to whether the Jesuit and the musician were one and the same is still without an answer.

Acknowledgements

The signature 'C. Simp', GB-Lbl Harleian MS 5024, f. 14, is reproduced by permission of The British Library and the Royal Musical Association.

⁷ F major, according to the baroque theory of key- affections, expressed moods of unease, and unrest and E-flat major terrifying disturbances, such as thunderbolts, demons and furies. I am indebted to Dr. E. M. Jenkinson for a translation of the text: 'The torch of the stars sheds a healthful light all around/But if the comet with its fiery tail reigns/Much evil falls on the earth'.

⁸ Urquhart, 'Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?', 14. See also *The Seasons by Christopher Simpson*, (Editions Minkoff, facsimile with introduction by Margaret Urquhart, forthcoming).

Fred Flassig, *Die solistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Gottingen, Cuvillier Verlag, 1998), 351 pp. ISBN 3-89712-241-3.

I recall meeting Fred when he started out on his epic investigation of German viol music and how secretive he was about the unknown composers and unpublished pieces he discovered during the long hours he spent in some obscure libraries. After more than a decade's wait I am thrilled to be able to hold the fruits of his doctoral research in the palm of my hand. Flassig divides his thesis into three main sections:

- 1) General overview of viol music up to the eighteenth century; organology of the viol family; contemporary descriptions of instruments and playing techniques; the idiom of writing for the viol; development of musical forms in solo viol music; relationship between the playing technique and the decline of the viol; analysis of the decline of the viol and its repertory.
- 2) 189 pages detailing composers and centres of viol music. Most of the composers and their works receive biographical and stylistic analysis; some, such as Johann Daniel Hardt, Gottfried Podbielski, Sebastian Friedl and Franz Xaver Woschitkaare will be completely new to most of us.
- 3) 70-page index of composers, players and patrons.

Flassig has the knack of couching musicology in the friendliest terms by his generous and apposite use of background information, making this book a pleasure to read. I particularly enjoyed the eloquent summary of the history of the viol and other viol-like instruments such as the Baryton and the Violetta di Gamba Inglese, both derived from the English lyra viol with sympathetic strings and for some time interchangeable with the viol.

The decline of the viol is postulated to have happened not only because of its relative lack of projection and the increasing, desire for bigger concert halls, but also due to the improvement of cello technique: cellists started out with diatonical left hand technique and gradually assimilated the chromatic way of fingering the viol. 'they also profited from the rapid development of violin technique and from the absence of frets, which make shifting difficult. Flassig thinks some viol players towards the end of the eighteenth century might have played without frets when frequent shifting became more of a priority than playing chords well in tune.

The Marpurg anecdote (1786)¹ about E. Ch. Hesse's ambition to master the viol is lucidly recounted. In 1698 Hesse set off to Paris to study with the two giants of the viol, Marais and Forqueray. Wanting, to have his cake and eat it, and correctly assuming that the two rival *maîtres de viole* would refuse to teach him if they knew he was having lessons with both, he went to one (Marais) under a [63] pseudonym. The two virtuosi were each keen to boast about their respective new star pupil, so they arranged for Marais to listen to Hesse play in his next lesson with Forqueray. Hesse, horrified to find both his teachers waiting, eventually managed to effect a reconciliatory embrace from the two masters. Vittorio Ghielmi, who was involved in the Limoges symposium earlier this year, tells Marpurg's story with a less happy ending: Hesse packed his bags and returned to Darmstadt, leaving the two masters to assert their supremacy in Paris (CD sleeve notes, Graun Viol Concerti, Auvidis Astree E 8617). Through this anecdote and the correspondence of Jean-Baptiste Antoine Forqueray with Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia—the letters are in part included in this book (though not translated)—the connection between Paris and Germany, especially Berlin, becomes clearer.

The book ends with incipits—unfortunately hand written—and an index of composers, patrons and players, set out in dictionary form: for composers, biography and work list, for players, musical pedigree. I question the entry on Giovanni Paolo Simonetti, about whose existence and authenticity I am doubtful on musical grounds. My sources tell me he might well be the recorder player Winfried Michel's invention. Of interest is the large corpus of works for solo or duo viol by Parisian composers (e. g. Leclair, Maretti, Montenari, Somis, Senallier) and arrangements of operas (by Graun). Though chamber music involving viols is included in the index, concerti, vocal music with obbligato viol or pieces where the viol is mentioned as an alternative instrument are not. Apparently, another Bavarian viol player has been threatening for more than 10 years to publish a book about viol concerti, undoubtedly a welcome complement to this book. Let's hope Lido Klotz succeeds.

Flassig's uniquely important book fills a huge gap in viol research. Will any publisher in English take it on?

Susanne Heinrich

¹ Simeon Metaphrastes (= F. W. Marpurg), *Legende eines Musikheiligen* (Cölln am Rhein, 1786), 49-52.

[63]

Olga Adelman with Annette Otterstedt,
*Die Alemannische Schule: Geigenbau des
17. Jahrhunderts im süslichen Schwarzwald
und in der Schweiz* (Berlin, Staatliches
Institut für Musikforschung, 1997), 203 pp.
ISBN 3-922378-15-3

Seventeenth-century source material amply testifies to the extraordinary value attached at the time to the best of the northern Italian violins (notably those made by the Amati family in Cremona), and subsequently also to the subtly different design of instruments produced in southern Germany and Austria by makers like Stainer. This book defines a different branch of the violin-making [64] evolutionary tree, fundamentally distinct from the Italian type, and important both in terms of the history of bowed instruments as a whole, and in terms of musical performance practice in southern Germany. The Alemannic school of violin builders may represent an important tradition—a surviving descendant of which is the Norwegian Hardanger fiddle—and as such will help account for some of the variants of instrument-design in common use before the Italian standard became universally accepted.

Olga Adelman published the first edition of her book on the Alemannic School of violin builders in 1990, but so much new information has emerged since then that this second edition is significantly revised. The first edition concentrated on 21 instruments and 2 fragments, whilst this one has another 9 instruments, most dating from the period 1666 to 1712 (a few possibly earlier). This edition also has two new chapters by Annette Otterstedt, one on the historical context, the other on tone and musical usage. Checklists and a useful bibliography are also included. Although the volume is written primarily for restorers, instrument historians and museum curators, it will prove of great interest also to makers and performers.

Detailed work by Adelman over the last forty years has identified the work of a group of makers active in southern Germany and Switzerland in the later seventeenth century, with family connections traceable back at least to 1628. She provides substantial archival information on the principal makers, including Joseph Never, Hans Krouchdaler, and Frantz and Simon Straub, and discusses the attribution of each instrument. Although some of the instruments have subsequently been intrusively altered by repairers and restorers, often making them conform more closely to the Italian 'norm', many of the key characteristics of the school become apparent from the evidence presented here. Adelman has examined and measured all the

instruments, a full description of each of which, complete with many black and white photographs, and colour ones of some striking details, occupies half the book. She discusses the method by which the instruments appear to have been built, the woods used, and the varnish. In two substantial chapters she discusses visual features of the instruments, including their distinctive f-holes and corners, as well as the elaborate purling, inlay and painted decorations which adorn some of them. In the historical chapter, Annette Otterstedt draws attention to the stylistic resemblances between the Alemannic makers and notably the English violin and viol maker William Baker, five of whose instruments (from the 1670s and 80s) are known to have survived.

This book does not provide the level of detail that a maker would need—thicknessing, for example, is not indicated, and key aspects (such as the arching of the front and back, and probable height of action on the relatively intact instruments) are not systematically explored. Given that the range of instruments covers a variety of sizes from contrabass violin right up to pochettes, and [65] that some makers are represented by only a few instruments, generalisations must necessarily be made with caution. Some external features, however, are immediately striking, including; the wonderfully distinctive scrolls and pegboxes, the decorative end of the short fingerboards, and the often elongated body of at least the smaller instruments. There are even more significant surprises inside: an integral carved central spine appears to have been common not only on the front, instead of the bass bar, but also in some cases on the back. The neck block was usually integral to the neck, so that the upper ribs were let into grooves at the heel of the instrument (as in some designs of viol at the time). One of the contrabass violins also had a substantial internal knee formed by the end of the neck inside the instrument, resting on a platform in the hollowing of the back. Wooden pegs were sometimes used to secure the joint between the neck and the back. It seems that the instruments were usually made without internal moulds, on a board on which the outline was drawn and to which temporary supporting blocks were fixed during the building process. On some of the larger instruments the ribs were sunk into a shallow groove in the back, allowing the exact outline of the instrument to be pre-determined, and the purfling and decorations on both front and back to be completed before assembly. Corner blocks were minimal or non-existent, but the bottom block appears to have been normal, fixed to the back before the ribs were added. Liners or small blocks may have been used to ensure correct alignment of the front when it was glued on; it is even possible that on some instruments the front, neck and ribs were assembled before the back was added. Apparently all the instruments had soundposts, and despite their arched backs some of the bigger instruments were built with soundpost crossbars, as on viols.

Not all of the surviving output of the Alemannic school is readily accessible—some instruments are in private ownership, some in collections (like the wonderful collection of viols and violins in Geneva) which are not currently on display. Although the makers whose work is described here appear to have made no viols, their methods may illustrate the kinds of practice common amongst bowed instrument makers generally north of the Alps. This authoritative and informative volume fills an important gap in our understanding of the history of the violin family.

Thomas Munck