

Anthony Poole (c.1629-1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics

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Abstract

The bass violist and composer Anthony Poole was educated in the network of Catholic Colleges that the English Jesuits kept in Europe. He went on to be ordained a Jesuit priest and to make an outstanding contribution to the musical life of the institutions he lived and taught in, notably the English College at Saint-Omer, in Spanish Flanders. Poole's output will be shown to be of importance in the history of seventeenth-century instrumental music, especially in the context of the development of the sonata in England and division-viol music in Europe. His music has not been collected, catalogued or studied before, and this thesis presents it against the backdrop of several generations of English musicians who spent all or part of their working lives abroad. The significance of migrant musicians is often neglected by comparison with that of native musicians, perhaps because the latter fit our perceptions of national styles better, and this thesis goes some way towards appraising that contribution.

The bass viol, or the 'Brittanica Chelys' in the words of the expatriate Latin poet Dr John Alban Gibbes, was an instrument with strong Catholic and Royalist resonances in England, and extemporising divisions on it became in post-Thirty-Years-War Europe a quintessentially English art, as will be shown in chapter one. Chapter two presents as full a biographical account as is possible at present, and chapter three considers all extant sources of Poole's music, exploring how his works made their way to the exiled court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the library of Phillip Falle, the viol-playing circle of William Noble in Oxford, and elsewhere in England. This thesis contains therefore a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of English Jesuit music, the court of James II, and the circulation of Continental music in Restoration England. Chapter four is a stylistic discussion of the music, its influences and reception, and the appendix consists of a thematic index of Poole's works.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	6
List of Tables	7
List of Musical Examples	8
Note to the Reader	9
Abbreviations and Library Sigla	10
Preface	15
Chapter 1: Religion, Exile and Viols	17
English Catholicism and Exile	18
The Jesuits' Educational Network	22
The Jesuits, The Arts and Music	26
England and the Netherlands	28
English Exile, Catholicism and the Viol	34
The Development of a Solo Bass Viol Repertoire	63
Chapter 2: A Biographical Account of Anthony Poole	73
Childhood in England	74
A Scholar at St Omers (1641-1646)	87
The English College in Rome (1646-1648)	105
1648-1658	120
Back at St Omers (1659-1678)	128
Liège (1679-1692)	147
Chapter 3: Sources, their Relationships and Transmission	151
Music for Bass Viol	152
Music for Violin and Continuo	212
Music for Violin, Bass Viol and Continuo	224
Music for Two Bass Viols and Continuo	236
Music for Two Violins, Bass and Continuo	240
Incomplete Works (Uncertain Scoring)	248
Chapter 4: Stylistic Matters	252
Music for Bass Viol or Violin with and without Continuo	253
Music for Violin, Bass Viol and Continuo	279
Music for Two Bass Viols and Continuo	284
Music for Two Violins, Bass and Continuo	286

Conclusions	292
Bibliography	295
Appendix: A Thematic Index of Works by Anthony Poole	321

List of Illustrations

1.1	‘Artois’ in Joan Blaeu, <i>Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive, Atlas Novus</i> , part I (1657), by permission of Leiden Regional Archives.	25
2.1	‘Derbyshire’ in Joan Blaeu, <i>Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive, Atlas Novus</i> , part IV (1648), by permission of Leiden Regional Archives.	75
2.2	Family chart for Anthony Poole and the Pooles of Spinkhill	77
2.3	Detail from a Saint-Omer engraving by F. Vander Meulen (Paris, 1685), by permission of Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis of Leiden University.	88
2.4	‘Templum et Domus Professa Soc[ieta].tis Jesu Antverpiae’, by Iacobus Neeffs (c.1650), by permission of Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis of Leiden University.	89
2.5	The English College in Rome c.1580, by permission of the Venerable English College.	115
2.6	The song ‘Astrorum Jubar’, GB-Lbl, Harleian MS 5024, ff.13 ^v -14, by permission of the British Library Board.	118
2.7	The Flemish town of Watten. An engraving in Antonius Sanderus’s 1641 cartographic compendium <i>Flandria Illustrata</i> .	127
2.8	‘Prospectus Collegij Anglorum Audomarensis Societatis Jesu’. A 1689 engraving by Guillaume Montbard, by permission of Stonyhurst College Archive.	130
2.9	Christopher Simpson, <i>The Division-Viol</i> (London, 1667), p.1.	140
2.10	‘Les Petites Conquêtes du Roi: Siège de St Omer’, by Sébastien Leclerc, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.	146
2.11	‘Plan et Elevation du Colege et Jardin des R: Peres Jesuites Anglois a Liège’ by R. Le Loup, an engraving in E. Kints, <i>Les Dèlices du Pais de Liège</i> (Liège, 1738), by permission of	

	Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis of Leiden University.	148
3.1	Watermark and countermark pair in F-Pn, Vm7 137323	159
3.2	Arms of Amsterdam watermark in F-Pn, Vm7 137317	160
3.3	Hand A (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.5)	167
3.4	F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.28	168
3.5	Hand B (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.2 ^v)	169
3.6	Hand C (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.57 ^v)	170
3.7	Hand D (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.64)	170
3.8	Hand E (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.69)	170
3.9	Hand F (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.72 ^v)	171
3.10	Hand G (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.74)	171
3.11	Hand H (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.77 ^v)	172
3.12	Hand I (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.83)	172
3.13	Hand J (F-Pn, Vm7 137317, f.12)	173
3.14	Hand K (F-Pn, Vm7 137317, f.72 ^v)	173
3.15	The Selosse manuscript, p.43, courtesy of Peter Leech	176
3.16	<i>Liber Ruber</i> , by permission of the English College, Rome	178
3.17	D-F, Mus Hs 337, f.1	222
3.18	B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part-book II, fly-leaf	227
3.19	B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part-book I, fly-leaf (detail)	228
4.1	F-Pn, Vm7 137317, f.12	270
4.2	D-F, Mus Hs 337, f.2	275

List of Tables

3.1	A calendar of the festivities of saints to whom pieces are dedicated	165
3.2	Comparison of musical and literary hands of scribes A and I	174
3.3	Comparison of musical and literary hands of scribes B, C, D and J	175
3.4	Comparison of musical and literary hands of scribes E, F, G, H and K	177
3.5	Comparison between hand R and hand A. Detail from A-ET, Goëss MS A reproduced by permission of Albert Reyerman	211

List of Musical Examples

3.1	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, pp.120-21 (ground)	194
3.2	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.39, ff.53 ^v -55 (ground)	194
3.3	F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, ff.60-60 ^v (ground)	195
4.1	Piccinini (Bologna, 1623)	254
4.2	Monteverdi (Venice, 1632)	255
4.3	Frescobaldi (Rome, 1637)	255
4.4	PW1	256
4.5	PW2	256
4.6	PW10	256
4.7	PW21	256
4.8	Chaconne ground: PW10 and the Selse keyboard setting	256
4.9	PW10 (bars 25-26) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 19-20)	256
4.10	PW10 (bars 41-42) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 23-24)	256
4.11	PW10 (bars 47-48) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 47-48)	257
4.12	PW10 (bars 53-56) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 79-82)	257
4.13	PW10 (bars 57-58) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 121-122)	257
4.14	PW7a, bars 21-24	260
4.15	PW37, bars 57-58	260
4.16	PW27, variation 2	261
4.17	PW11a, variation 1	261
4.18	PW28, variation 4	261
4.19	PW22, variation 5	262
4.20	Marais's <i>Sujet</i>	265
4.21	PW31	268
4.22	PW14, start of the second strain	268
4.23	PW6/3, bars 1-8	271
4.24	PW37, bars 9-12	271

4.25	PW6/1, bars 11-16	272
4.26	PW18a/2	274
4.27	PW18b/2, bars 57-67	275
4.28	PW3/5, opening	276
4.29	PW102/1, bars 4-7	276
4.30	PW19, variation 15	277
4.31	PW3/3, 'Tremolo', opening	277
4.32	PW8/4, 'Tremulo', opening	277
4.33	PW100/1, bars 16-21	279
4.34	Butler, Sonata in G, bars 36-41	282
4.35	Butler, Sonata in F, bars 21-29	282
4.36	Young, Sonata in D, bars 44-49	283
4.37	Butler, Aria, bars 4-7	284
4.38	PW201, bars 11-17	285
4.39	PW31, bars 5-9	286
4.40	PW102/3, bars 48-52	286
4.41	PW300/5, bars 21-28	287
4.42	PW300/5, bars 35-42	289
4.43	PW300, bars 43-52	290
4.44	PW302, bars 16-19	290

Note to the Reader

Texts from original sources are transcribed in the original language, followed immediately with a translation into English where appropriate. These quotations are given without alteration of punctuation, use of capitals or spelling, with the exception of interchangeable letters 'v' and 'u' and modernised renditions of 'f' and 'ff' as 's' and 'ss'. Quotations taken from secondary sources are revealed as such in the footnotes, and may have been subjected to a different procedure. Pitches are indicated using the Helmholtz system, whereby the octave below middle C is expressed as c–b and the octave below that as C–B. The octave above middle C is given as c'–b' and the octave above that as c''–b''. In this system the open strings of a bass viol in ordinary tuning are D–G–c–e–a–d' and the open strings of a violin are g–d'–a'–e''.

Monetary figures are given in their local currency where they illustrate a comparison with other figures. Where comparison with sterling is pertinent, the following two exchange rates have been applied: 100 Dutch guilders (one guilder divides into 2000 stuivers) was equivalent to £9 sterling. 100 Roman scudi was equivalent to £22 sterling. Throughout the period there were 20 shillings (s.) in a pound (£), and 12 pence (d.) in a shilling. The new-style Gregorian calendar, prevalent on the Continent from 1582, was ten days ahead of the old-style Julian calendar used in England throughout the period, and dates have been given in the form appropriate to the location. Since the year was officially reckoned in England from Lady Day (25 March), dates between 1 January and 24 March are given using the commonly accepted form 1628/9.

The varying political landscape of the southern Netherlands during the seventeenth century makes it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory nomenclature to suit all occasions. I have referred to the historical regions of Artois, Brabant, Hainaut, Wallonia and the Bishopric of Liège as Flanders or Spanish Flanders, and its people as Flemish. I have used the modern term French Flanders to refer to the Flemish districts of Dunkirk, Saint Omer, Lille and Douai, annexed by France before 1678. Although Holland is technically one of the seven United Provinces, I have used the designations Holland, Dutch Republic and United Provinces interchangeably, in the way most people tend to, and I have called the inhabitants of these lands Dutch. I have used the word *seminary* as a translation of the contemporary Latin *seminario*, to refer to a Catholic college for boys, and not necessarily to an institution exclusively devoted to the training of priests.

Abbreviations and Library Sigla

Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AcM</i>	Acta Musicologica
<i>AHSI</i>	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu
<i>AMc</i>	Analecta Musicologica
<i>BDECM</i>	Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki (eds.), <i>A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714</i> , 2 vols (Aldershot, 1998)
<i>Catalogi</i>	<i>Catalogi Personarum Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu</i>
CRS	Catholic Record Society
<i>EM</i>	Early Music
<i>GMO</i>	D. L. Root (ed.), <i>Grove Music Online</i> (www.oxfordmusiconline.com), all accessed in February 2011
<i>GSSJ</i>	The Galpin Society Journal
HS	Harleian Society
HSn	Harleian Society (new series)
<i>IGI</i>	International Genealogical Index (www.familysearch.org)
<i>JMR</i>	Journal of Musicological Research
<i>JRMA</i>	Journal of the Royal Musical Association
<i>JVdGSA</i>	Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America
<i>Litterae</i>	<i>Litterae Annuae Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu</i>
MB	Musica Britannica
<i>ML</i>	Music & Letters
<i>MQ</i>	The Musical Quarterly
<i>MT</i>	Musical Times
<i>ODNB</i>	Lawrence Goldman (ed.), <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (www.oxforddnb.com), all accessed in February 2011

<i>RECM</i>	Andrew Ashbee, <i>Records of English Court Music</i> , 9 vols (Snodland and Aldershot, 1986-1996)
<i>RMARC</i>	Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle
<i>VdGSIM</i>	Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright, <i>The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music</i> , 2 vols (Aldershot, 2001 and 2008)
<i>VdGSTI</i>	Gordon Dodd and Andrew Ashbee, <i>The Viola da Gamba Society Thematic Index of Music for Viols</i> (www.vdgs.org.uk)
<i>VdGSJ</i>	The Viola da Gamba Society Journal (www.vdgs.org.uk)

RISM Library Sigla

Belgium

B-Bc Brussels, Koninklijk Conservatorium

France

F-Pn Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Germany

D-F Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann
Christian Senckenberg

Great Britain

GB-Cfm Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

GB-DRc Durham, Cathedral Library

GB-HAdolmetsch Haslemere, Dolmetsch Library

GB-En Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

GB-Lbl London, British Library

GB-Lcm London, Royal College of Music Library

GB-Llp London, Lambeth Palace Library

GB-Lpro London, Public Record Office (The National
Archives)

GB-Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library

GB-Och Oxford, Christ Church Library

Japan		
	J-Tn	Tokyo, Nanki Library
Russia		
	RUS-Span	St Petersburg, Rossiyskaya Akademiya Nauk Biblioteka
Sweden		
	S-Uu	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket
United States of America		
	US-Cu	Chicago, University Library
	US-NH	New Haven, Yale University Music Library
	US-NHb	New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
	US-NYp	New York, Public Library at Lincoln Centre
	US-U	Urbana, University of Illinois Music Library

Jesuit Library Sigla

ARSI	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome</i>
ASJ	Archives of the Society of Jesus, London

Other Abbreviations

A	Alto
B	Bass
BMus	Bachelor of Music
DMus	Doctor of Music
FE	Facsimile edition
ME	Modern edition
R/	Reprinted
S	Soprano
SJ	<i>Societatis Iesu</i>
T	Tenor
Tr	Treble

To my parents, with love and gratitude.

Preface

Our understanding of the composer's life and work has changed considerably in the last five decades, but in spite of the fact that abundant data on his life has surfaced and a substantial number of his works are now known to have survived, the figure of Anthony Poole has remained an elusive one. Research into the life and work of this extraordinary musician is still at an embryonic stage. While there is a good but succinct article on him in *GMO* and a clear and well-researched file of his music in *VdGSTI* (both by Andrew Ashbee), there are no monographs on Anthony Poole and no scholarly articles devoted to his work. Several of the manuscript sources containing music by him have not been catalogued, researched or written about, there are no editions of his ensemble works, and there is no satisfactory – or even complete – edition of his music for bass viol. His music is rarely heard in concerts, and an insignificant proportion of it has been recorded.

While building on research that has come before this thesis, I have tried to broaden the scope beyond the biographical study and enumeration of sources to explore the relevant transmission patterns, provide a context for the music and engage with its stylistic features, influences, significance and reception. This exercise has meant working with unfamiliar Jesuit primary sources, and two of these – the *Litterae* and the *Catalogi* – merit a brief introduction here. The rector of each Jesuit institution in the English Province submitted regular letters to the Father Provincial containing information on matters pertaining to their work. These letters were then summarised into annual provincial letters – the *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu* – which were forwarded to the Father General in Rome, who produced an annual universal letter for publication. Although not all letters generated are still extant, most originals are held at ARSI and ASJ.¹ Several letters pertaining to the English colleges in Flanders have survived in the archives of Stonyhurst College. Published annual universal letters survive for every year of Poole's life.

¹ Thomas McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in England, 1623-1688: An Institutional Study', PhD thesis (Warwick, 1984), pp.34-40 and 464-67; Markus Friedrich, 'Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*. Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication', *AHSI*, 77 (2003), pp.3-40; Thomas McCoog, *A Guide to Jesuit Archives* (St Louis and Rome, 2001).

In addition, Jesuit rectors indexed every serving member at their institution into the *Catalogi Personarum Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu*. These documents were compiled at regular intervals (triennially during Poole's life) and relayed to Rome. The *Catalogus Primus* contained the name, birthplace, age, state of health, date of entry into the Society, ministries, education, grade and vows of each Jesuit. Using an individual cipher or reference number, one could access the confidential information contained in the *Catalogus Secundus*, which included assessments of each Jesuit's character traits, judgement, prudence, experience, intellect, temperament and any tasks for which he was qualified. Supplementary data could be added into the annual *Catalogus Tertius*, or *Catalogus Brevis*, and the *Catalogus Tertius Rerum*. The surviving originals are held at ARSI, and there are microfilm copies of all the seventeenth-century ones at ASJ.²

² McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in England', pp.40-47 and 468-71. Transcriptions of pre-1640 *Catalogi* can be found in Thomas McCoog (ed.), *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555-1650*, 2 vols, CRS 74-75 (Southampton, 1994-1995).

Chapter 1

Religion, Exile and Viols

The second half of the seventeenth century saw Europe violently shaken by political, social and religious turmoil. More than one hundred consecutive years of religious wars had engulfed the Continent by the time the multiple treaties associated with the 1648 Peace of Westphalia were signed. In spite of notional military peace, the legacy created by a whole century of hostilities continued to determine the course of European and English history for the following six decades and beyond. The political, religious, economic and artistic consequences of both Reformation and Counter-Reformation indirectly established the framework for migratory movements across the newly formed religious divides for a range of motives. As we shall see, these migrations allowed several generations of displaced musicians to synthesize local compositional and performance practices across the English Channel.

Performers and composers of instrumental music, and especially those exposed to the latest pan-European artistic trends in addition to their own traditions, embraced and amalgamated formal and stylistic developments. As a result, a solo repertoire for the bass viol came into being, with distinctive features that set it apart both from earlier music and from contemporary music written for other instruments. Concurrently, this period saw the emergence of a world-wide educational network of Jesuit colleges that had music, drama, excellence in oratory and extemporisation firmly embedded in its ethos. The success of this enterprise resulted in the Jesuits becoming a decisive force, especially in the Habsburgs' European lands and their dominions in the Americas and the Far East. Between the 1540s and the 1770s, several million young people were taught in these schools, and they went on to shape the world around them.¹

An in-depth study of Anthony Poole's contribution as a musician will therefore necessarily entail an appraisal of his extant music in the context of the musical

¹ For an overview, see Maurice Whitehead, "To Provide for the Edifice of Learning": Researching 450 Years of Jesuit Educational and Cultural History, with Particular Reference to the British Jesuits', *History of Education*, 36/1 (2007), pp.109-143.

developments of his time. It will also concern itself with an exploration of the relationship between the viol and exiled English Catholicism, and the way seventeenth-century English Jesuits approached and employed music – and specifically viols – for training children. The music that resulted from Poole’s migration poses further questions, some just as pertinent to the globalised twenty-first century as to the Early Modern world. In what ways did such migrations shape the intellectual lives and the artistic horizons of both the displaced groups and the communities in which they settled? How did these processes alter the attitudes and broaden the perceptions of both sides of the exchange? Can the artistic fruits of such resettlements be ascribed to any particular people, or is the very concept of national artistic ownership an inadequate tool for the study of this music? Did music provide a vital link between old and new ideas of ‘home’ at such times of exodus, perhaps conveying meanings to the migrant artist and his adoptive audience that words could not?

In order to understand, appreciate and evaluate the life and work of Anthony Poole, these questions must be placed against not just one, but a number of backdrops, namely the development of a solo bass viol repertoire, the emergence of an exiled English Catholic community in Europe, the relationship of this community with the viol, the role of the arts (and especially music) in the educational endeavour of the Society of Jesus, and the long-standing cultural, socio-economic and political ties between seventeenth-century England and the Netherlands. In the interest of clarity, each of these headings will be dealt with separately, although it is important to bear in mind that all of these realms were interdependent, rather than water-tight, aspects of Anthony Poole’s creative life.

English Catholicism and Exile

The unprecedented political and religious crisis of the Reformation forced the Church of Rome to devise a comprehensive strategy in an effort to regain lost ground. The movement came to be known as the Counter-Reformation, and it was fronted by a number of newly founded religious orders. The Capuchin fathers were trained to be fine preachers and to care for the sick and the poor,

and the Ursuline nuns specialised in the education of girls. Most successful of all was the *Societas Iesu* – or the Society of Jesus – founded in 1540. Characterised by meticulous training, members of this new religious order of so-called Jesuits distinguished themselves as educators, missionaries, confessors and political advisers. The rise of the Jesuit order and the perceived success of the Counter-Reformation exacerbated anti-popery feelings amongst the more extreme Puritans within Elizabethan Anglicanism.

Elizabeth I's long and relatively stable reign (1558-1603) and the Religious Settlement of 1559, cemented the success of the Reformation in England. The Oath of Supremacy, stipulated by the aforementioned piece of legislation, was mandatory in England for anyone seeking an official court post or a position in the universities or the guilds. It involved swearing allegiance to the English monarch as supreme authority in all affairs, including church matters, and non-compliance was a treasonable offence.² This requirement, which was expressly formulated to prevent Roman Catholics from holding office, constituted an extraordinary impediment for gifted recusant musicians, who found their most obvious career paths in England blocked. As we shall see, this state of affairs generated an unprecedented exodus of artistic talent towards centres of patronage in Continental Europe, both for reasons of conscience and in order to obtain greater financial rewards, superior professional recognition and wider career prospects.

Other restrictive legislation passed since Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570, established the prohibition of Catholic priests from entering the country or saying mass, and of recusants from sheltering them, owning Catholic books or running schools. Although Roman Catholics were a considerable minority, they found it increasingly difficult to access priests, and consequently their worship and music became an underground culture. A recurrent problem when researching seventeenth-century English Catholicism is the fact that many of its achievements could not be recorded. In some areas, however, the law was not

² See Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas McCoog and Michael Questier (eds.), *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Toronto, 2010), pp.296-98.

enforced consistently, and the recusant gentry flourished in a number of regions – notably parts of Derbyshire and Lancashire – providing financial support for the network of English and Welsh priests trained abroad that served Catholics in England and Wales. In some cases (as with the Poole family of Spinkhill) this blend of wealthy recusant gentry and well-educated Jesuit priests generated patterns of patronage that created centres of musical distinction.³

In 1568 Cardinal William Allen (1532-1594) established an English college at Douai, in Flanders, for the benefit of the exiled students who had left Oxford and Cambridge for fear of persecution.⁴ In an attempt to address the shortage of priests, Allen took a second step towards the foundation of a system of English seminaries overseas: in 1576 he set up an English seminary in Rome. Institutions such as this one would in time provide the struggling Catholic Church in England with a protected educational network and a constant supply of priests. The emergence of this structure of English colleges in Europe and the horizon-broadening effects of the European tours undertaken by many, created the conditions for well-to-do English Catholics to access the latest Continental music, otherwise restricted to sophisticated courtly and university circles. The chapels of Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza (the respective Catholic queens of Charles I and Charles II) remained the most active centres for Catholic liturgical music in England before the establishment of the Catholic court chapel of James II, subsequently removed to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, near Paris.⁵

Under the leadership of Father Robert Persons (1546-1610) the number of seminaries run by the English Mission of the Society of Jesus grew with the addition of seven more institutions and the placement of the English College in

³ For the influence of the gentry, see John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London, 1975), especially pp.60-74 and 204-16; Thomas Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot, 2008), especially pp.15-18.

⁴ Eamon Duffy, 'William Allen', *ODNB*.

⁵ Ian Spink, 'The Musicians of Queen Henrietta-Maria: Some Notes and References in the English State Papers', *AcM*, 36/2 (1964), pp.177-82; Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza 1662-92', *EM*, 29/4 (2001), pp.570-87; Peter Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Stuart Catholic Courts 1660-1718' PhD thesis (Norwich, 2004); Edward Corp, 'The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689-1712', *JRMA*, 120/2 (1995), pp.216-31.

Rome under Jesuit control.⁶ The foundation of the English Colleges of Valladolid, Seville, Madrid, Louvain, Ghent and Liège, and the English Hospice of Saint George at Sanlucar de Barrameda, in Cádiz (Spain), completed a network that also included eight English convents and nunneries. An essential part of this structure fell into place with the foundation in 1592-1593 of the English Jesuit College in the town of Saint-Omer, in Artois (Spanish Flanders), with the dual purpose of training children from affluent backgrounds for secular life and supplying the other colleges with fresh vocations. These institutions, and especially the college at Saint-Omer, were regarded with great suspicion in reformed circles. In 1626 Lewis Owen captured the public and courtly mood when he published a book in which he attempted to expose:

The impostures and deceits of all our English Monks, Friers, Iesuites, and Seminarie Priests in Generall [... and the] true state of the Colledges, Seminaries and Cloisters, which our English Fugitives have in all those forraine parts [...]; their whole drifts being to alienate the hearts of his Maiesties Subiects from their Allegiance, and to possesse them with the filthy dregs of Spanish infection and Popish Superstition.⁷

Smuggling children out to these colleges was a risky business for Catholic families and their associates, who risked imprisonment and heavy fines if detected. A 1590 letter written by Henry Walpole, whose brother Michael was Superior of the English Mission until 1613, mentions a Geffery Poole with his wife and two daughters helping a Thomas Pormort return from Antwerp to England.⁸ The composer Richard Mico (c.1590-1661), discussed later, had been in the employment of the Petres of Thorndon Hall, a notable Catholic family from Essex, since 1608.⁹ In July 1627 he escorted his patron's youngest son

⁶ Thomas McCoog, 'The Establishment of the English Province of the Society of Jesus', *Recusant History*, 17 (1984), pp.121-39.

⁷ Lewis Owen, *The Running Register* (London, 1626).

⁸ John Pollen (ed.), *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs 1584-1603* (London, 1908), p.189. The letter is dated Brussels, 29 November 1590.

⁹ For the Petre family and their role as music patrons, see N. Briggs, 'William, Second Lord Petre (1575-1637)', *Essex Recusant*, 10 (1968), pp.51-64; John Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1997), especially pp.141-44.

George and his cousin to study abroad.¹⁰ Bennett and Willetts have suggested that Richard, whose own brother Walter went to St Omers and then on to Rome, might already have performed this service in 1615 for Petre's son, Edward. Mico had instructions to hand the boys over to a Jesuit, but they were all detained at sea and arrested for travelling on false passes. The situation could only be defused by Lord Petre writing to the Secretary of State to claim complete ignorance and be seen to be laying the blame squarely on his musician servant.

The Jesuits' Educational Network

From the foundation of the order in 1540, the main pillars of the Jesuit enterprise were education, intellectual enquiry, artistic excellence and missionary work. The early Jesuits provided a broad, humanist schooling to several generations of boys, which equipped them with a thorough knowledge of Greek and Roman classics, eloquence and rhetorical skill, stylish musical training and, most importantly, Christian instruction.¹¹ Seventeenth-century Jesuit artistic, theatrical, scientific, architectural, technological, literary, musical and academic endeavour did not circumscribe itself to the educational milieu, but made significant, often revolutionary contributions in each field.¹² The breadth of the Society's attainment points beyond the immediacy of educational contexts – and even beyond the all-pervading goal of indoctrination – to a kind of Jesuit humanism that celebrates the many extraordinary achievements of mankind. In 1548 the first Jesuit school was founded in Messina, Sicily, and ten years later the Society of Jesus run over fifty colleges scattered all over Catholic Europe.

This sophisticated, modern, thorough and inspirational brand of education appealed equally to disadvantaged and well-off Catholics, as well as to the citizens of the exotic colonies brought into play by the discoveries of the

¹⁰ John Bennett and Pamela Willetts, 'Richard Mico', *Chelys*, 7 (1977), pp.24-46.

¹¹ J. O'Malley, 'How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education', in Vincent Duminuco (ed.), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, (New York, 2000).

¹² For a discussion of Jesuit input, see J. O'Malley and G. Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, 2005); J. O'Malley and G. Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773* (Toronto, 2006); Luce Giard, 'The Jesuit College: A Center for Knowledge, Art and Faith 1548-1773', *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits*, 40/1 (2008).

previous century. By 1630 the number of Jesuit schools had reached nearly 500, and with the expansion of the Ignatian mission into Protestant Europe, the Americas, India and the Far East, it continued to grow throughout the century. Leverage for such extraordinary growth was provided by the Jesuits' powerful alliance with the Habsburg dynasty. The Society's enthusiasm for the Counter-Reformation effort went hand in hand with the ambitious designs of the House of Austria, and nowhere was this more in evidence than in the Spanish Netherlands. During Archduke Albert's period as Governor General at the Brussels court (1598-1621) the Jesuits' numbers grew four-fold, and the Society acquired unparalleled wealth and influence.¹³

While the Jesuits' operation unfolded on a global scale, the pressure of fines, punishments and confiscations in England threatened morale and the economic strength and stability of the Catholic networks. In this context, instructing the young was seen by the Jesuits as of capital importance. In the seventeenth century, the English Province was divided first into eleven and later into fourteen districts or *missiones* for the purpose of rationalising Jesuit ministry, with clear chains of command and stringent privacy rules to avoid detection.¹⁴ This secret-service-like structure, both opaque and elusive, was perceived with the greatest suspicion, not least by ecclesiastical scholar and Archdeacon of Ely, Dr Robert Tynley (d.1617), who cautioned his readers against the Jesuits' devious ability to transform 'themselves into as many shapes as they meete with objects'.¹⁵ Such speculative propaganda fuelled in turn paranoid conspiracy theories, as can be seen from a letter written by Henry Wigfall of Renishaw written c.1636-1642. Wigfall was spying on his Jesuit-sponsoring neighbours, the Poole family of Spinkhill, on behalf of the belligerently puritan High Sheriff of Derbyshire, Sir John Gell (1593-1671):

¹³ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517-1633* (London, 1976), especially pp.144-45.

¹⁴ See Whitehead, 'To Provide for the Edifice of Learning', especially pp.117-29; Bernard Basset, *The English Jesuits from Campion to Martindale* (London, 1967), especially the section on Henry More's *Modus Vivendi Hominum Societatis Jesu*, pp.140-42; Michael Questier, "'Like Locusts All Over the World": Conversion, Indoctrination and the Society of Jesus in the Late Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in Thomas McCoog (ed.), *The Reckoned Expense* (Rome, 1996, R/2007), pp.347-70.

¹⁵ Robert Tynley, *Two Learned Sermons* (London, 1609), p.6.

Theyre jealousy of us makes it impossible for us to make a relation so certayne but may be found in the tryall untrue, for they come and goe so much in the night time that one dayes company is often dispersed the next and no man knowes whither. The truthe is, upon all that I can gather, I find we have a great concourse of them at Spinkell... One Mr Meanell... brought towe draughts of oxen with waynes heavy laden, outwardly seeminge to be beddinge but whether there was armour or pouthier within we can but suspecte [...]. Wee doe suspecte... severall troonks which they say are full with Plate, and yet they doe not bringe them into any roomes of the house, but set them in a house a good distance from the dwelling house, which they use as a school house but I thinke is indeed theyre masse chappell rather.¹⁶

As the prohibition of all Catholic education in England took hold, the provision afforded by colleges such as those in Rome and Douai, had to be supplemented with a number of expatriate English institutions for the purpose of educating the secular clergy, such as the *collegia* at Valladolid, Seville and Madrid. These were not Jesuit colleges in the strictest sense, but rather establishments placed under the guidance of English Jesuit rectors. By the late sixteenth century, the need for a college as near as possible to England, primarily aimed at educating the children of the lay gentry, was growing. The Artesian town of Saint-Omer, barely 24 miles from Calais, seemed an ideal location (Fig.1.1). When the English Seminary of St Omers was founded in 1593 by Father Robert Persons, it consisted of one large house joined to several smaller buildings, and it was not until 1610 that a permanent chapel was added.¹⁷ It would soon become one of the most prestigious English Catholic colleges in Europe and, over 400 years, it would have opportunity to prove its remarkable resilience and survival instinct.

¹⁶ Quoted in Richard Turner, “‘A More Unobserved and Convenient Location’: A Derbyshire School Reopened”, *Recusant History*, 29/2 (2008), pp.179-80.

¹⁷ I have adopted the practice, customary amongst scholars in the field, of referring to the Jesuit seminary as ‘St Omers’, reserving the designation ‘Saint-Omer’ to denote the town in Artois where the institution was located.



Fig.1.1: ‘S.Omar’ represented as a fortified location, at the bottom right of the image. Detail from the plate showing Artois in Joan Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive, Atlas Novus*, part I (1657), by permission of Leiden Regional Archives.

Patronage structures evolved over the course of the seventeenth century. Alongside the roles traditionally played by aristocratic courts and cathedrals, new forms of sponsorship associated with the upper middle classes, as well as public and civic entertainments, emerged during the Early Modern period. The patronage process, which invested the gentry and the various religious groups and secular orders with a sense of social and political purpose, was both a powerful propaganda tool and a coveted status symbol. Well-educated, highly mobile and diplomatic, the Jesuits deftly manoeuvred to profit from such novel opportunities, successfully managing to synthesize their educational and missionary endeavours with their ability to appeal to the privileged in order to sponsor their own venture and further their cause. The Jesuits’ natural facility to benefit from such prospects was openly resented by others. Members of the English secular clergy, who saw themselves supplanted as gentry household chaplains and confessors with increasing frequency, referred to their Jesuit competitors in a 1698 petition to Rome as ‘i banditti Gesuitici’, ‘the Jesuit bandits’.¹⁸

¹⁸ Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster, ‘A’ series, 36, f.181. For a discussion, see Eamon Duffy, ‘The English Secular Clergy and the Counter-Reformation’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34/2 (1983), pp.214-30, especially pp.217-21.

The Jesuits, the Arts and Music

By the middle of the seventeenth century, music-making in the Jesuit colleges and churches had moved beyond the well-documented reticence towards music of early Jesuit figures.¹⁹ Music was recognised as an artistic discipline that made a significant contribution to liturgical celebrations, as well as paraliturgical settings such as private devotions and the festivities of sodalities and pious congregations. It played a key role during theatrical plays, academic assemblies and public disputations of oratory skill, and in the entertainment of visiting dignitaries. At Jesuit colleges, such events were frequently combined to create entertainments where the Ignatian order could display its achievements and capacity for influence. Distinguished members of the local gentry and nobility were invited to attend and present awards at academic prize-giving occasions instituted to promote scholarly excellence. As a result, the musical and theatrical components of these ceremonies became increasingly elaborate, as can be seen from extant pamphlets advertising public thesis defences.²⁰

Impressive stage productions were powerful status symbols for the Society of Jesus, which strove to appoint the finest musicians as *maestri di capella*. This was especially the case with the *Collegio Romano*, the *Collegio Germanico*, the *Collegio Inglese* (also known as the Venerable English College), and the *Seminario Romano*, the four Jesuit or Jesuit-run institutions in Rome, which at various points employed figures such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (d.1594), Tomas Luis de Victoria (1548-1611), Felice Anerio (c.1560-1614), his brother Giovanni Francesco Anerio (c.1567-1630), Agostino Agazzari (c.1580-1641/1642), Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger (c.1580-1651), and – in Poole's lifetime – Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1674).²¹

¹⁹ T. Kennedy, 'Jesuits and Music' in O'Malley and Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts*, pp.415-26; Thomas Culley, and Clement McNaspy, 'Music and the Early Jesuits (1540-1565)', *AHSI*, 40 (1971), pp.213-45.

²⁰ Kennedy, 'Jesuits and Music', especially pp.422-23.

²¹ Graham Dixon, 'Music in the English College during the Early Baroque Era', *The Venerabile*, 28 (1984), pp.62-70; Thomas Culley, *Jesuits and Music, I: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome and St Louis, 1970). For Carissimi, see Graham Dixon, *Carissimi* (Oxford, 1986); Andrew Jones, 'Giacomo Carissimi', *GMO*.

As will become apparent at various points in the course of this study, any research concerning Jesuit music before the suppression of the order by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 is hampered by the relative scarcity of extant materials.²² A paradigmatic example of this fact is the complete disappearance of Carissimi's manuscript collection, which appears to have survived intact at the *Germanicum* until suppression.²³ This is also the case with the English Province of the Society of Jesus, and the importance of the documentary evidence and musical sources pertaining to Anthony Poole examined in this study can hardly be overestimated.

Last, a word about iconography in the context of the perceptions of ownership of Jesuit achievements. A number of symbols were designed and employed by members of the Society to mark musical, artistic, scientific and literary labour as Jesuit work, and familiarity with them will inform our study of musical sources. The acronym 'AMDG', *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* – a Jesuit motto – indicated that all work carried out by members of the Society of Jesus, or by their students, should be done 'for the greater glory of God'. A similar rationale underpins the employment of all symbology featuring the monogram 'IHS', originally an abbreviation of the name of Jesus in Greek documented since the fourth century. 'IHS' was subsequently used to give expression to a special devotion to Jesus, and tended to be mistranslated as *Jesus Hominum Salvator*.²⁴

The earliest Jesuit use of the 'IHS' monogram is the title page of the first printed edition of Saint Ignatius of Loyola's (c.1491-1556) *Exercitia Spiritualia* of 1548. The official seal of the Society was created before Ignatius's death and featured a letter H extended upwards to form a cross. From 1575 it started to be used to decorate facades of Jesuit churches such as the *Gesù*, in Rome, but in a number of contexts it retained broader meanings of allegiance to Jesus or Catholicism. Clergyman John Leake, travelling from Enkhuizen to Hoorn in the Netherlands between 27 and 29 August 1711, wrote that 'We observed that the Papists in these parts distinguish their houses from those of the Reformed by

²² See Joseph Munitiz (ed.), *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus* (Leominster, 2004).

²³ Graham Dixon, *Carissimi* (Oxford, 1986), p.3.

²⁴ For the process of Jesuit appropriation of the monogram, see H. Pfeiffer, 'The Iconography of the Society of Jesus', in O'Malley and Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts*, pp.201-02.

putting I.H.S. and a cross over their doors. There are not a few dwellings furnished with this discriminating mark'.²⁵

England and the Netherlands

In her inspirational recent book, Lisa Jardine argues that the extent and quality of exchange between seventeenth-century England and the Netherlands was such that it is not possible to understand their respective intellectual, artistic, scientific and musical spheres other than by studying them together.²⁶ Scientific and technological breakthroughs that propelled the emergence of Britain as a modern nation hinged on the intellectual exchanges between Royal Society members such as Robert Boyle (1627-1691) and Christopher Wren (1632-1723), and Dutch scientists like Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695), Anton van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) and Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680).²⁷ Netherlandish painters Pieter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) and Anton van Dyck (1599-1641) – accustomed to a more relaxed religious atmosphere whereby Flemish artists regularly worked in Holland – exerted a decisive and long-lasting influence on English art.²⁸

The contribution of the English Jesuits to both science and art in the Low Countries in terms of creative input, establishment of patronage structures and use of intellectual and artistic achievement to further missionary goals and interests, should not be underestimated.²⁹ However, the Society of Jesus was not the only entity to straddle both sides of the English Channel. The Lupo family of string players, composers, instrument makers and dealers were Sephardic Jews from Milan and Venice. Although they mainly settled in London, other branches of the family stayed in Amsterdam and Antwerp, and the Lupos were

²⁵ Kees van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: Accounts of British Travellers, 1660-1720* (Amsterdam, 1998), p.294.

²⁶ Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London, 2008).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.263-318.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.113-48.

²⁹ See Jeffrey Muller, 'Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders' and Anna Knaap, 'Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric in Peter Paul Rubens's Program for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp', in O'Malley and Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits II*, pp.113-56 and pp.157-81; Louis Caruana, 'The Jesuits and the Quiet Side of the Scientific Revolution', in Thomas Worcester (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.243-62.

responsible for a number of important musical contacts involving these cities and the town of Utrecht.³⁰

Members of the van Wilder family of musicians, most likely of Burgundian-Netherlandish extraction, had been at the English court from 1515 as players of ‘veoldes’.³¹ Philip van Wilder’s chansons, which also survive in textless versions probably intended for viols, played a part in the genesis of an English madrigal and motet repertory.³² During the second half of the sixteenth century, the music of leading Flemish polyphonists such as Philip de Monte (1521-1603), Orlando di Lasso (1530/32-1594), Giaches de Wert (1535-1596) and Cornelis Verdonck (1563-1625) exerted – along with the seminal Italian models that had inspired them in the first place – a decisive influence on the process.³³ Following the example of the Italian madrigal anthologies published in the 1580s by the Antwerp music printer Pierre Phalèse *the younger* (c.1545-1629), the London music editor Nicholas Yonge (d.1619) printed two translated collections of ‘madrigales brought to speake English’, which included a substantial proportion of Italian works by Flemish authors.³⁴

The two countries were further linked by trade in one of the most crucial commodities of the period. During the last 40 years of the seventeenth century, so-called ‘Dutch’ paper was imported into England, the Netherlands and elsewhere for the purpose of music-copying.³⁵ The nature of musical notation

³⁰ See Peter Holman, ‘Lupo’, *GMO*.

³¹ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (London, 1993, 2/1995), pp.71-77.

³² See J. Bernstein, ‘Philip van Wilder and the Netherlandish Chanson in England’, *Musica Disciplina*, 33 (1979), pp.55-75; D. Humphreys, ‘Philip van Wilder: A Study of his Work and its Sources’, *Soundings*, 9 (1979-1980), pp.13-36.

³³ For an overview, see Ignace Bossuyt, ‘The Art of Give and Take: Musical Relations between England and Flanders from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries’, in Deleu *et al.* (eds.), *The Low Countries, Arts and Society in Flanders and The Netherlands, a Yearbook* (Rekkem, 1993-1994), pp.39-50, especially pp.43-48.

³⁴ Nicholas Yonge (ed.), *Musica Transalpina*, 2 vols. (London, 1588 and 1597). For Yonge, see David Brown, ‘Nicholas Yonge’, *GMO*; D. Scott, ‘Nicholas Yonge and his Transalpine Music’, *MT*, 116 (1975), pp.875-76; L. Macy, ‘The Due Decorum Kept: Elizabethan Translation and the Madrigals Englished of Nicholas Yonge and Thomas Watson’, *JMR*, 17 (1997), pp.1-21. For the Phalèse family and their publishing activities, see Susan Bain and Henri Vanhulst, ‘Phalèse’, *GMO*. For Italian music in the Netherlands, see Frits Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, 2 vols (Wilhelmshaven, 1989), i, pp.42-45.

³⁵ See Robert Thompson, ‘English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688’, PhD thesis (London, 1988).

demanded the use of premium paper, as second-rate paper caused symbols such as noteheads and flags to bleed through on the other side. It was also important that copied parts should be hard-wearing and able to take the deterioration that could be expected during study and performance. Extant musical sources suggest that, probably owing to the high quality of this paper, it was used much more assiduously than other types. It was sold by Dutch merchants, although until around 1688 it was largely manufactured in the Angoumois region of south-western France and then shipped to the Netherlands for distribution. It typically featured watermarks such as the Arms of Amsterdam or the Dutch Lion. The Society of Jesus had direct involvement in the paper-making industry of Angoulême, and it was claimed that the Jesuits there made ‘the finest paper the world had ever seen’.³⁶

The cities of The Hague and Antwerp were the two major centres in the Low Countries towards which exiled English Royalists gravitated. Antwerp, ‘one of the Sweetest places in Europ’ was an affluent, civil and elegant merchant town easily accessible from England.³⁷ Local crypto-Jewish art dealer and diamond merchant Gaspar Duarte (1584-1653) and his wife Catharina Rodrigues (c.1585-1644) held musical soirées at their opulent family house in the Meir district, where three of their daughters (Francisca, Leonora and Catharina) would entertain distinguished guests ‘with rare Musique, both Vocal and Instrumental’.³⁸ Leonora (1610-?1678), like her eldest brother Diego (1612-1691), composed music, and Rudolf Rasch has speculated that the Duarte children may have been taught between 1618 and 1628 by English organist John Bull, discussed later.³⁹ Leonora is the apparent author of a collection of seven fantasia-like ‘sinphonie’ for five-part viol consort extant in GB-Och, Mus. MS

³⁶ *Hollandse Mercurius* (1672), p.30. Quoted in W. Berg, *De Réfugiés in de Nederlanden na der Herroeping van het Edict van Nantes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p.142.

³⁷ E. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford, 2006), p.40.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.40. For the Duartes as musicians and music patrons, see Rudolf Rasch, ‘The Antwerp Duarte Family as Musical Patrons’, in Ignace Bossuyt *et al.* (eds.), *Orlandus Lassus and his Time: Colloquium Proceedings* (Antwerp, 1994), pp.415-29; Rudolf Rasch, ‘The Messaus-Bull Codex London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 23.623’, *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 1 (1996), pp.93-127, especially pp.105-08.

³⁹ Rasch, ‘The Messaus-Bull Codex’, p.106.

429.⁴⁰ Sinfonia number six, ‘Octave Toni’, is based on an earlier *ricercare* on the ostinato ‘obligo sol, mi, fa, la, sol’ by Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643).⁴¹

Such musical assemblies drew members of the local gentry and notable Dutch diplomats like Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), who acted on behalf of the house of Orange.⁴² It also attracted members of the Stuart royalty, prominent English Royalist émigrés like court musician Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666) and courtier and art collector Sir Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), as well as other wealthy customers, whose contacts the Duartes would have shrewdly procured in their capacity as jewellers to Charles I. Between 1649 and 1660, viol-playing exile William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676), rented Pieter Paul Rubens’s Antwerp house, where he held fashionable balls, cultivated entertainments and musical recitals to rival those of the Duartes.⁴³ Diego Duarte’s song settings of poems by Cavendish are unfortunately lost. The Catholic composer Matthew Locke (c.1622-1677) may have travelled to the Netherlands with Prince Charles, and Lynn Hulse has suggested he could have accompanied Cavendish to Antwerp early in 1649.⁴⁴ He copied Italian motets from Phalèse reissues of Venetian prints into GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31437, labelling them ‘a Collection of Songs when I was in the Low Countreys 1648’.

Antwerp, a city where Catholic and Reformed circles interacted as a matter of course, continued to play a unique role as a bridge between the Spanish Netherlands and the Protestant United Provinces. The ongoing blockade of the Schelde River by the Dutch meant that Antwerp had to conduct most of its sea trade through alternative ports in Holland, which over time gave the city a particularly relaxed outlook on matters of religion. For instance Protestant

⁴⁰ For Duarte, see Rudolf Rasch, ‘Leonora Duarte’, *GMO*. ME: David Pinto and Rudolf Rasch (eds.), *Leonora Duarte, Seven Sinfonie à 5* (St Albans, 1998).

⁴¹ Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Ricercari et Canzoni Franzese, Libro I* (Rome, 1615). For Frescobaldi, see Alexander Silbiger (ed.), *Frescobaldi Studies* (Durham, 1987).

⁴² For Huygens, see Rudolf Rasch, ‘Constantijn Huygens’, *GMO*. A detailed autobiography in Latin, titled *Commentaria* can be found in J. Worp, ‘Fragment eener Autobiographie van Constantijn Huygens’ in *Mededeelingen van Het Historisch Genoot Schap*, 18 (The Hague, 1897). See also Noske, *Music*, i, pp.90-110.

⁴³ See Ben Van Beneden *et al.* (eds.), *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish at the Rubenshuis* (Antwerp, 2006).

⁴⁴ For Locke, see Peter Holman, ‘Matthew Locke’, *GMO*; Lynn Hulse, ‘Matthew Locke: Three Newly Discovered Songs for the Restoration Stage’, *ML*, 75 (1994), pp.200-13; *VdGSTI*.

patrons commissioned works from Roman Catholic artists like Rubens, and Catholic musicians may have occasionally preferred to have some of their works printed over the border in Holland. Carmelite monk and composer Benedictus Buns (c.1642-1716) was based in North Brabant throughout his life. He published six collections of concerted vocal music in Antwerp and one in Utrecht between 1666 and 1693.⁴⁵ In 1699, however, he chose an Amsterdam press for his *Sonate da Chiesa* Op. 8, scored for two violins, bass and continuo.

The Netherlands continued to be a popular destination for English aristocrats on the *Grand Tour*, and The Hague and Antwerp were by no means the only places to gain exposure to extraordinary music and theatre. Lawyer and Usher of the Exchequer John Walker described a visit to Bruges in 1671 where ‘we went to the Jesuits’ college, who civilly showed us the library, school and theatre and invited us to see the Tragedy of Martin Spira (acted by their young scholars the next day) but our occasions would not suffer us to tarry so long’, noting later in the same trip that ‘the obligations of the Lady Abbess of the English nunnery were above all things else [...] We heard a most harmonious consort of viols and violins with the organ. Then a ravishing voice of a nun singing in Italian a treble part alone; the rest now and then keeping the chorus; next one of them played singly upon the lyra-viol and ran very delightful division. And last of all, one of them played upon the trumpet marine to admiration’.⁴⁶ In June 1711, artist James Thornhill recounted music heard at a service during a visit to the English nuns in Ghent, ‘then a delicate soft organ played and after it a soft voice began, which was raised up by degrees into delicious music’.⁴⁷

As will be seen from the biographical notes on expatriate English musicians of the time, musical exchanges between England and the Netherlandish and North-German lands in the seventeenth-century were not limited to the visits of appreciative tourists. The exposure to English practices and repertoires generated mutual admiration and interest, as can be seen from the work of

⁴⁵ For Buns, see Randall Tollefsen and Rudolf Rasch, ‘Benedictus a Sancto Josepho’, *GMO*; J. van der Meer, ‘Benedictus a Sancto Josepho van de Orde der Carmelieten, 1642-1716’, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 18/3 (1958), pp.129-47. See also Noske, *Music*, i, pp.143-84 and 216-33.

⁴⁶ van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries*, pp.100-01.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.163.

Brussels composer Nicolaus a Kempis (c.1600-1676). A Kempis, who worked as organist of the Brussels church of Sainte Gudule from 1626, published four books of *Symphoniae*, some of the earliest Italian sonatas written in the Netherlands.⁴⁸ His fourth book, seemingly printed in 1642, included three sets of bass viol divisions, one of them on Peter Philips's *Pavana Dolorosa*, of evident English inspiration.⁴⁹ The phenomenon can also be recognized in *Wy Engelen Gret*, a carol by Dutch composer Willem Swart in imitation of Philips's famous 1580 pavan 'The first ever Phi[lips] mad[e]'.⁵⁰

A number of Netherlandish musicians wrote music that became known in English circles. This is the case with Flemish composers Lambert Pietkin (1613-1696) and Adam Nicolas Gascon (1623-1668), whose music in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.44 will be discussed in chapter three.⁵¹ Instrumental works by the Brussels-based organist and composer Giuseppe Zamponi (d.1662), Jean Snep (fl.c.1700), and Carel Hacquart (c.1640-1701?) are also extant in English sources such as GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.25, B-Bc, XY 24,910, and GB-DRc, MSS D.2, D.5, D.10 and A.27.⁵²

Conversely, English dances, fantasies and songs were frequently reprinted in Holland. The Amsterdam bookseller and printer Paulus Matthisz (1614-1684) published three collections of English instrumental, the *Konincklycke Fantasien om op 3 Fioolen de Gamba* (1648) and two sets of *Engels Speel-Thresoor* (1657 and 1664).⁵³ Between them, they included three-part fantasias and dances by Thomas Lupo (1571-1627), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), John Coprario (d.1626), John Jenkins (1592-1678), Charles Coleman (d.1664), and Matthew Locke (c.1622-1677). Of special interest to us is the 1652 edition of *Stichtelycke Rymen*, a music collection by Dirk Rafaelszoon Camphuysen (1585?-1627). It

⁴⁸ For Nicolaus a Kempis, see Jean Ferrard and Lewis Reece Baratz, 'A Kempis', *GMO*.

⁴⁹ Nicolaus a Kempis, *Symphoniae*, Op. 4 (Antwerp, 1642).

⁵⁰ Willem Swart, *Den Lusthof der Nieuwe Mysycke* (Amsterdam, 1603).

⁵¹ For Pietkin, see José Quitin, 'Lambert Pietkin', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 6 (1952), pp.31-35. ME: Virginia Brookes (ed.), *Lambert Pietkin: Two Sonatas a4* (Albany, 2007). For Gascon, see José Quitin, 'Adam-Nicolas Gascon', *GMO*.

⁵² For Zamponi, see Mary Armstrong Ferrard and Philippe Vendrix, 'Giuseppe Zamponi', *GMO*. For Hacquart, see P. Andriessen, *Carel Hacquart (c.1640-1701?): Een Biografische Bijdrage, het Werk* (Brussels, 1974).

⁵³ Rudolf Rasch, 'Seventeenth-Century Dutch Editions of English Instrumental Music', *ML* 53/3 (1972), pp.270-273. For Matthisz, see Henri Vanhulst, 'Paulus Matthisz', *GMO*.

contains Dutch settings of English songs such as Robert Jones's 'Farewell, Deere Love' and John Dowland's 'Flow my Tears', decorated with divisions for the violin and bass viol added by Joseph Butler (d. before 1674), a musician from Greenwich who settled in the Netherlands.

English Exile, Catholicism and the Viol

A first wave of seventeenth-century English string players to have spent all or part of their careers in Continental Europe included William Brade (1560-1630), Thomas Simpson (1582-before June 1628), John Dowland (1563-1626), Walter Rowe (1584 or 1585-1671) and Maurice Webster (c.1600-1635). These musicians appear not to have been religious émigrés, but rather professionals whose migrations could be described as fundamentally economic. Their departures may – at least in some cases – have resulted directly from Elizabeth I's cultural policies, notably the 1572 statute hampering the activities of 'Comon Players in Enterludes and Minstrels'. While Elizabeth's Tudor court flourished, her legislation against 'vacabondes' caused actors belonging to non-sanctioned companies elsewhere in England to migrate in search of fresh markets, primarily in affluent, Protestant northern Europe, and any musicians who worked with such itinerant theatre companies would have been forced to travel with them.⁵⁴

'Fiolist und Musicus' Brade, whose migration was not motivated by religious persecution, seems to have been the earliest one to achieve recognition abroad.⁵⁵ From around 1590 he worked variously in Brandenburg, Copenhagen, Berlin, Bückeberg, Hamburg, Halle and Gottorf. He was extraordinarily prolific, publishing between 1609 and 1621 no fewer than four collections of four-, five- and six-part dances 'auf allen Musicalischen Instrumenten', 'for all musical instruments'. In a country with as great a tradition of wind ensembles as Germany had, this was presumably no more than a stratagem for boosting sales

⁵⁴ See Jerzy Limon, *Gentleman of a Company: English Players in Central and Eastern Europe, 1590-1660* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.4-6. For the effect of this influx of English musicians on the Netherlands, see Alan Curtis, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music: A Study of English Elements in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Composition* (London, 1972), pp.10-26.

⁵⁵ For Brade, see Kurt Stephenson and Peter Holman, 'William Brade', *GMO*; Arne Spohr, "How Chances It They Travel?": *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579-1630* (Wiesbaden, 2009). For the meanings of the terms 'fiolle' and 'viole', see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.168-69.

of music primarily devised with strings in mind. Two of Brade's prints actually stipulate 'Insonderheit auff Fiolen', 'especially for strings', which could mean violins, viols or – perhaps less likely – combinations of these. The survival of a set of divisions entitled 'Coral / Violino solo e Basso / de Sing^o Wilhelm Brad' in manuscript S-Uu, IMhs 1:10, suggests that Brade may have been an improviser as well as a composer. I shall discuss the importance of this source in chapter three.

The string player Thomas Simpson was listed as a musician at the electoral court of Heidelberg between 1608 and 1610, when he published an anthology of pavans, galliards and other five-part dances of obvious English inspiration.⁵⁶ A subsequent collection of his pieces shows Continental influence in the range of dances on offer and more clearly violinistic top-part writing.⁵⁷ By 1615 Simpson had moved to Bückeberg, near Hanover. Six years later he published a further collection; a compilation of 50 pieces scored for four-part string ensemble, some of excellent quality.⁵⁸ An examination of the table of contents of this print reveals contributions by Nicolaus Bleyer, Johann Grabbe and Johann Krosch, three composers who worked at Bückeberg or in its immediate vicinity. It also features music by exiled English composers Maurice Webster, John Dowland and Peter Philips, all of whom are examined as part of this introduction. By 7 May 1622 Simpson was at the Danish court in Copenhagen, where he was employed as a 'fiolist' until at least 4 March 1625.

The religious stance of lutenist and composer John Dowland cannot be determined beyond doubt at present, and its impact on his migration, his subsequent career pattern and the nature of his music has been the subject of

⁵⁶ Thomas Simpson, *Opusculum Neuer Pavanen, Galliarden, Couranten und Volten*, (Frankfurt, 1610). ME: Helmut Mönkemeyer (ed.), *Monumenta Musicae ad Usum Practicum*, (Celle, 1987), vii. For Simpson, see Peter Holman, 'Thomas Simpson', *GMO*; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.155-56, 164-68 and 253-59.

⁵⁷ Thomas Simpson, *Opus Neuer Paduanen, Galliarden, Intradan, Canzonen, Ricercaren*, (Frankfurt, 1611, lost; Hamburg, R/1617); ME: Helmut Mönkemeyer (ed.), *Monumenta Musicae ad Usum Practicum*, (Celle, 1987), viii.

⁵⁸ Thomas Simpson, *Taffel-Consort* (Hamburg, 1621); ME: Bernard Thomas (ed.), *Taffel-Consort* (London, 1988).

some scholarly controversy.⁵⁹ Dowland was appointed to the court of Duke Heinrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel by the autumn of 1594. The following spring he left for Rome with the purpose of meeting – and possibly studying with – the celebrated madrigalist Luca Marenzio (1553 or 1554-1599). En route he visited Venice, Padua, Genoa, Ferrara and ‘divers other places’ before reaching Florence, where he allegedly became drawn into a circle of English Catholics involved in treasonable activities. It seems that he never engaged fully with these recusant plotters, and decided to turn back, perhaps aware of his compromised position, apparently without having ever got to Rome. He was swift to reiterate his allegiance to the Queen and the Protestant faith in writing, but the shadow of doubt may have prevented him from securing court employment in England.

In November 1598 Dowland entered the service of Christian IV of Denmark with an astonishingly high annual salary of 500 daler. He remained in Copenhagen until early 1606, building a reputation as one of the most influential and well-paid English musicians on the Continent, but failing repeatedly to secure royal favour at home.⁶⁰ In spite of the decline the Anglo-German consort style experienced in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, Dowland’s ensemble and lute music continued to exert some influence in Continental Europe – most noticeably in the Netherlands. Tunes from his 1604 *Lachrimae* penetrated the repertory of Dutch popular songs and served as the basis for vocal and instrumental settings, and sets of solo and duo variations.⁶¹ As Dowland’s portfolio of published works grew, so did his reputation, and he finally received a court appointment in England in 1612, which he kept until his death in January or February 1626.

A receipt for ‘the some of five pounds sterlinge’ signed by John Dowland and dated 2 February 1612/3 for a ‘conserte performed before the Judges and

⁵⁹ For Dowland, see Peter Holman and Paul O’Dette, ‘John Dowland’, *GMO*; David Greer, ‘John Dowland’, *ODNB*. See also Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, 1999); David Pinto, ‘Dowland’s Tears: Aspects of *Lachrimae*’, *The Lute*, 37 (1997), pp.44-75.

⁶⁰ For Dowland’s dismissal from the Danish court under charges of spying for England, see Peter Hauge, ‘Dowland in Denmark 1598-1606: A Rediscovered Document’, *The Lute*, 41 (2001), pp.1-27.

⁶¹ For this phenomenon, see Holman, *Lachrimae*, pp.75-78.

Reverent benchers of the honourable society of the middle temple' illustrates his relationship with a fellow musician who would subsequently emigrate to Poland.⁶² The document – evidence of the king's musicians undertaking outside engagements at the Inns of Court – lists the other two musicians involved, one of them the English composer and violist William Corkine (*fl.*1610-1617). By this date Corkine was a significant composer in his own right, having published two collections of ayres and lyra-viol music respectively in 1610 and 1612.⁶³ The works in these two publications evidence some of Corkine's interests, namely unaccompanied music for the lyra-viol and the accompaniment of song on the viol alone. In 1617 William Corkine was part of a high-profile retinue of English musicians granted a pass 'to goe over to the Prince of Poland'.⁶⁴ We do not know whether Corkine ever returned to England after his Polish stay, but it seems certain that his skills would have been unusual and highly prized in Continental Europe.

Émigré violist and baryton player Walter Rowe is unlikely to have been a Catholic. On 24 June 1614 he was appointed viol player to the Elector of Brandenburg, Johann Sigismund, on a salary of 400 daler per annum, which had risen to 900 by 1622.⁶⁵ In August 1614 he visited Hamburg, where he entered a courante in tablature for solo viol into the album of David von Mandelsloh, a visiting nobleman he appears to have known well. Successive additional appointments as music master to the Electoral Princesses Louise Charlotte and Hedwig Sophia may have increased his prestige, and students began to flock to learn from him. These included Michael Rode from Güstrow in 1626, the composer Sigmund Theophil Staden from Nuremberg in 1627, and Alexander Leverentz from Copenhagen in 1633. In the early 1640s German students of Walter Rowe such as Zacharias Madra, Johann Gohl, Matthäus Strebelow,

⁶² Priska Frank, 'A New Dowland Document', *MT*, 124 (1983), pp.15-16.

⁶³ William Corkine, *Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl, with Pavins, Galliards, Almains and Corantos for the Lyra Violl* (London, 1610); William Corkine, *The Second Book of Ayres, some to Sing and Play to the Base-Violl alone: others to be Sung to the Lute and Base Violl, with new Corantoes, Pavins, Almains; as also divers new Descants upon old Grounds, set to the Lyra-Violl* (London, 1612). For Corkine, see Diana Poulton and David Greer, 'William Corkine', *GMO*.

⁶⁴ J. Riewald, 'New Light on the English Actors in the Netherlands, c.1590-c.1660', *English Studies*, 41 (1960), pp.65-92, especially p.90.

⁶⁵ For Rowe, see Tim Crawford, 'Walter Rowe', *GMO*; Tim Crawford, 'Constantijn Huygens and the "Engelsche Viool"' *Chelys*, 18 (1989), pp.41-60.

Johann Peter Gärtner, Georg Püsternick and Frans Bärenfänger, were trained (usually at the Elector's expense) as viol players for the *Kapelle*. Extant manuscript evidence at the St Petersburg Rossiyskaya Akademiya Nauk Biblioteka shows that Rowe used music by Thomas Campion (1567-1620) and others, as well as his own, to instruct his royal students.⁶⁶

Cornishman Peter Mundy met Rowe in Königsberg in 1640/1 and described his 'Barretone' as 'a very costly faire Instrumentt, and sweet solemne Musicke'.⁶⁷ In 1667 Walter Rowe drew up an inventory on behalf of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, listing two chests of viols owned by the court. This suggests that, although Rowe was primarily admired for his skill as a performer of solo viol and baryton music, ensemble music may also have been part of his remit. He was respected by contemporaries such as German composer and poet Heinrich Albert (1604-1651), who dedicated volume six of his *Arien* (Königsberg, 1645) to Rowe. Constantijn Huygens wrote to Marin Mersenne on 26 November 1646 mentioning his admiration for one the Elector's musicians who had performed 'sur la viole garnie au derrière de manche et ailleurs de chordes d'airain', that is 'on a viol fitted with brass strings behind the neck and elsewhere'.⁶⁸ It is plausible that Rowe was directly involved with the introduction of the early baryton (a lyra-viol with sympathetic strings made available to the thumb of the left hand through a hollowed neck) to the German lands, and with the genesis of its earliest surviving repertoire.⁶⁹ Rowe's son, also called Walter, (c.1616-1672) was appointed violist to the electoral court in 1638.

The lutenist and viol player Maurice Webster can be seen as part of this early wave of exiled players by virtue of his origins. He was probably born in Kassel, where his father George was recorded as lute player with a touring troupe of

⁶⁶ RUS-Span, MS Q203.

⁶⁷ Richard Temple, *The Travels of Peter Mundy 1608-1667*, 5 vols (London, 1907-1936), iv, pp.104-05.

⁶⁸ Rudolf Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens*, 2 vols (Hilversum 2007) ii, pp.777-81.

⁶⁹ Peter Holman, "'An Addicion of Wyer Stringes Beside the Ordenary Stringes": the Origin of the Baryton?', in John Paynter *et al.* (eds), *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought*, 2 vols (London, 1992), ii, pp.1098-1115.

English actors.⁷⁰ Maurice worked at the court of Count Ernst III in Bückeburg until 1622, which gave him the opportunity to work alongside Simpson and contribute four pieces to his *Taffel-Consort* featuring the novel four-part scoring with two equal trebles. Other extant consort works by him to be found in English manuscript sources reflect this style, and may represent the introduction of this practice at the English court. From 25 March 1623 he was in England as ‘musician for the Consort’ to James I. Although there is no conclusive proof that Webster played viols, the weight of the circumstantial evidence is rather persuasive: during the twelve years Webster was employed at court, he received allowances for buying strings for viols as well as for lutes, and the vacancy that arose on his death was filled by a violist. No lute music by Webster survives, but two extant sets reveal him as a competent composer of division-viol music, in which capacity he was presumably employed by William Cavendish.⁷¹

A second group of exiled English musicians comprises four recusant organists based in the Southern Netherlands. Peter Philips (1560/61-1628), John Bull (1562/3-1628), Richard Dering (c.1580-1630) and John Bolt (1564-1640) all kept posts in Brussels at one point or another. Philips trained as a choirboy at St Paul’s Cathedral, London, before fleeing England in August 1582 ‘pour la foy Catholique’ and ‘to sie Italie where he had harde that there were excellent men of his facultie’.⁷² After a brief stay at the English College at Douai, he headed for the *Venerabile Collegio Inglese* in Rome, becoming its organist and securing patronage from the college’s Cardinal Protector, Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589). The English College in Rome was a good place for a young Catholic musician seeking to make contact with affluent expatriate aristocrats. Thomas Paget, fourth Baron Paget (c.1544-1590), a well-known recusant exiled for his involvement in the Babington Plot, visited the college in 1585, and Philips soon entered his service. In the five years he remained in Lord Paget’s employment, Philips travelled through Genoa, Madrid, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp, becoming a witness to Paget’s association with the preparations for the Spanish

⁷⁰ For Webster, see Andrew Ashbee, ‘Maurice Webster’, *ODNB*; Peter Holman, ‘Maurice Webster’, *GMO*; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.256-57.

⁷¹ *VdGSTI*. See also Lynn Hulse, ‘Apollo’s Whirligig: William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle and his Music Collection’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 9 (1994), pp.213-46.

⁷² For Philips, see Lionel Pike, ‘Peter Philips’, *ODNB*; John Steele, ‘Peter Philips’, *GMO*; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.144-72.

Armada invasion and other treasonable activities, as well as the demonstrations of the so-called *Journée des Barricades* in Paris on 12 May 1588.

On Paget's death, Philips moved to Antwerp, where he apparently freelanced for three years, 'lyving by teachinge of children on instruments' and editing for Phalèse's music printing house. As he returned from a trip to Amsterdam in 1593, he was arrested in Middelburg on suspicion of high treason over his activities in the late 1580s.⁷³ While imprisoned in The Hague, he wrote his highly chromatic *Pavana & galiarda doloroso 'composta in prigione'*. The trial collapsed in October 1594 and Philips was released and allowed to return to Antwerp. In 1597 he was appointed to the post of organist at the archducal court of Albert and Isabella, in whose service he remained for the rest of his life. He continued his association with Phalèse, and over the following 30 years became the most published English composer of the time after William Byrd, and in 1613 the first to publish music with a continuo part. In addition to his printed vocal music, a substantial corpus of music for keyboard and for consort survives in manuscripts, which may have been copied by Cornish recusant Francis Tregian *the younger* (1574-1617).⁷⁴ Tregian, who had trained in Eu (near Dieppe) and in Douai, Rheims and Rome, was in Brussels in 1603 and 1606, perhaps in Archduke Albert's service, before returning to England in that year.

These manuscripts include GB-Cfm, Mus.32.G.29 (better known as the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book), and two large anthologies of ensemble music GB-Lbl, Egerton 3665 and US-NYp, Drexel 4302. It is possible that the consort music associated with these last two sources represents Philips's compositions for a regular ensemble of string players at the archducal court, which may have included Daniel Norcombe, discussed later. Tregian could have had access to and copied these works between 1603 and 1606, before taking them with himself to England. Be this transmission as it may, Philips's status at the

⁷³ For an account of this episode, see Curtis, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music*, pp.28-31.

⁷⁴ For Tregian, see O. Neighbour, 'Francis Tregian', *GMO*. For the controversy surrounding the interpretation of the archival and scribal clues in these sources, see B. Schofield and T. Dart, 'Tregian's Anthology', *ML*, 32 (1951), pp.205-16; Pamela Willetts, 'Tregian's Part-Books', *MT*, 104 (1963), pp.334-35; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.148-55; Anne Cuneo *et al.*, 'Francis Tregian the Younger: Musician, Collector and Humanist?', *ML*, 76 (1995), pp.398-404; Ruby Reid Thompson, 'Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist: a Legend and an Alternative View', *ML*, 82/1 (2001), pp.1-31.

Brussels court, and reputation in England and elsewhere in Europe, grew steadily during his lifetime. Philips led the procession of chapel musicians in the 1622 memorial ceremony for the deceased Archduke Albert. That year Henry Peacham referred to him as ‘our rare countryman, Peter Philips, organist to their *altezzas* at Brussels and now one of the greatest masters of Musicke in Europe... he hath sent us over many excellent songs, as well as motets as madrigals. He affecteth altogether the Italian vein’.⁷⁵

Dr John Bull’s career as a composer, organist, virginalist, organ builder, consultant and dealer was a varied and complex one.⁷⁶ He was a choirboy at Hereford Cathedral and was admitted to the Chapel Royal choir around 1574. His early career was a promising one: in 1586 he became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and graduated BMus at Oxford. He was reportedly prevented from proceeding DMus by ‘clowns and rigid puritans there that could not endure church music’, eventually obtaining the doctorate by incorporation in 1592.⁷⁷ Four years later he was appointed to the newly created readership in music at Gresham College, London. It may be that it was during his likely 1601-1602 absence from his London duties that he ‘took occasion to go incognito into France and Germany’ and reportedly amazed a ‘famous musician’ at Saint-Omer Cathedral by adding forty parts, rather than the one he had been challenged to compose, to an existing forty-part work.⁷⁸

On his return to London, Bull continued with his obligations both at court and at Gresham College until 1613, when he became embroiled in a scandal and was charged with adultery and other grave offences. Reportedly, ‘the man hath more music than honesty and is as famous for marring of virginity as he is for fingering of organs and virginals’.⁷⁹ He escaped prosecution by fleeing to the archducal court of Albert and Isabella, where he had contacts such as Peter Philips. On 24 September 1613 he was admitted as organist (alongside organists

⁷⁵ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622).

⁷⁶ For Bull, see Susi Jeans and O. Neighbour, ‘John Bull’, *GMO*; Alan Brown, ‘John Bull’, *ODNB*; *BDECM*, i, pp.205-212.

⁷⁷ Philip Bliss (ed.), *Fasti Oxonienses or Annals of the University of Oxford by Anthony A Wood, M.A.*, 2 vols (London, 1815-1820, R/1967), i, pp.258-259.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.235-236.

⁷⁹ In a letter from Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbott to English envoy in Brussels Sir William Trumbull, dated December 1613. Quoted in Jeans and Neighbour, ‘John Bull’, *GMO*.

Philips, Peeter Cornet and Vincenzo Guami) under *Maestro de Capilla* Pedro Rimonte (1565-1627). Bull protested that he had exiled himself as a result of ‘information laid against him that he was of the Catholic faith’, but fierce pressure from the Stuart diplomacy caused Archduke Albert to reluctantly dismiss Bull at the end of August 1614.⁸⁰ Although the composer continued to receive personal gratuities from the Archduke’s purse, he sought and secured new employment as assistant organist at Antwerp Cathedral in 1615. From 1617 and until the end of his life, Bull was principal organist at the aforesaid cathedral, obtaining some additional income as organ consultant and perhaps as music tutor to the Duarte children.

In addition to his many and important keyboard works, including a monumental set of divisions on the well-known English ballad tune ‘Walsingham’, Bull composed untexted consort pieces, fantasias and canons for unspecified instruments. It is not clear when or for what reason Bull wrote these items, but their distinctive character – each piece being a thorough exploration of a particular subject or compositional technique – suggests that they may have originated as composition exercises, or perhaps as apprenticeship challenges. The canons are intricately constructed. The *Hexachord Fantasia* is a survey of all twelve possible hexachord transpositions, the three-part fantasia focuses on *stretto* imitation, and the ‘Doric’ four-part fantasia explores the sober affect associated with that particular mode.

Little is known about the life of the recusant English composer, virginalist and organ player John Bolt. He had reportedly ‘lived for two or three years at Court, being in great request for his voice and skill in music’, but there does not appear to be any evidence in musical records pertaining to the English Tudor Court to support this claim.⁸¹ Sister Joseph Damien Hanlon’s assertion that, having started off as a musician to Queen Elizabeth I, Bolt was forced to relinquish his

⁸⁰ Thurston Dart, ‘An Unknown Letter from Dr John Bull’, *AcM*, 32 (1960), pp.175-77. For Bull’s career in Brussels, see Harry Hoppe, ‘John Bull in the Archduke Albert’s Service’, *ML*, 35/2 (1954), pp.114-15.

⁸¹ John Morris (ed.), *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*, 3 vols (London, 1872-1877) ii, p.141.

post because of his Catholicism seems equally without foundation.⁸² What is certain is that Bolt was arrested in 1594 and, following his release from prison, he left England for good. He is recorded in the post of organist to the English Benedictine nuns of the Convent of Our Lady of the Assumption in Brussels between 1608 and 1611, by which time he had presumably been ordained a Catholic priest. He subsequently became organist to the English Agustinian nuns at the Convent of St Monica in Louvain, where he died on 3 August 1640.⁸³

It is conceivable that John Bolt was the same man as John Bolton, a Jesuit-trained priest born in Lancashire in 1560 and educated at Blackburn.⁸⁴ Bolton had studied abroad in the 1570s and 1580s, chiefly in Rheims and Rome, where he was ordained in November 1584. After ordination, he returned to the English mission in 1585, and was captured and confined to Marshalsea. He also spent some time imprisoned at Wisbech and Framlingham, but by 24 April 1603 he had managed to extract himself from England and reach the safety of Douai. If this identification turned out to be correct, it would provide us with an appealing precedent of an English musician and undercover Catholic priest. This combination of identities has been suggested as a possibility for the eminent violist Christopher Simpson, discussed later in this chapter.

The organist and composer Richard Dering (c.1580-1630) must have converted to Catholicism by 1617, when he is first recorded as organist to the aforementioned English nuns in Brussels.⁸⁵ He was in England on 26 April 1610, when he supplicated for the award of the degree of BMus at Christ Church, Oxford, stating he had been studying and practising music for ten years. There are some indications that he may have spent time in Italy before or around 1612, when Sir Dudley Carlton (1574-1632), the English envoy in Venice, reported that a 'M^r Dearing is at Rome, lodged neere if not in the English

⁸² Joseph Damien Hanlon, 'Richard Dering, Catholic Musician of Stuart England', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 46/4 (1961), pp.428-52, especially 440-41; 'John Bolt', *GMO*.

⁸³ For an account of his death, see Adam Hamilton (ed.), *The Chronicle of St Monica's* (London, 1906), pp.184-86.

⁸⁴ Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558-1850*, 4 vols (Ushaw, 1966-1977), i, p.43.

⁸⁵ For Dering, see Jonathan Wainwright, 'Richard Dering', *ODNB*; Peter Platt and Jonathan Wainwright, 'Richard Dering', *GMO*; Peter Platt, 'Dering's Life and Training', *ML*, 33/1 (1952), pp.41-49.

Colledge. I feare he will remaine with them; whether for want of meanes or aboundance of devotion is uncertain'.⁸⁶ This goes some way towards contextualising Dering's interest in and mastery of the *stile concertato* to be found in his church music, one respect in which he was significantly ahead of his English contemporaries.⁸⁷ He remained in Brussels until at least 1620, during which time he could have been in contact with Bull and Philips. In this period he published four collections of Latin motets and Italianate *canzonette*, all of them through the Antwerp printing house of Pierre Phalèse.

Shortly after Charles I's marriage to Henrietta Maria on 13 June 1625, Dering was appointed organist to the new Catholic queen, as well as 'musician for the lutes and voices' to the king, in which employment he spent the rest of his life. Unlike his vocal works – which continued to be printed beyond Dering's death – his fantasias, pavans and almaines for viol consort circulated exclusively in manuscript copies. It is not certain when or why Dering wrote this music. The serene, contrapuntal style of these works is reminiscent of similar music by contemporary court composers Thomas Lupo and Orlando Gibbons. These stylistic considerations have prompted earlier scholars to suggest that the composition of these works may predate Dering's encounter with the Italian style during a possible Italian sojourn.⁸⁸ It is also possible some were written or employed by Dering at the English nunnery in Brussels, but two conflicting attributions with Webster (involving GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31423 and GB-Och, Mus. MSS 367-370) suggest the late 1620s.

On his death in March 1630, Dering was immediately replaced in Henrietta Maria's Chapel by recusant composer and organist Richard Mico (c.1590-1661).⁸⁹ As we have seen, Mico had previously been a resident musician at Thorndon Hall, the Essex seat of Sir John, first Lord Petre. Mico taught his patron's children and wrote fine fantasias and pavans for viol consort that

⁸⁶ GB-Lpro, SP 99, x, 62.

⁸⁷ See Jonathan Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice *Concertato* Motets', *ML*, 89 (2008), pp.165-94.

⁸⁸ Charles Hughes, 'Richard Deering's Fancies for Viols', *MQ*, 27/1 (1941), pp.38-46.

⁸⁹ For Mico, see John Bennett and Andrew Hanley 'Richard Mico', *GMO*; Bennett and Willetts, 'Richard Mico'; Andrew Hanley, 'Mico and Jenkins: "Musicians of Fame under King Charles I"', in Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996), pp.161-70.

circulated widely. Richard's brother, Walter Mico – alias Giles Harvey – (1595-1647), was a Roman Catholic by 1614, when he travelled to the Jesuit College of St Omers, eventually proceeding to Liège, Louvain and the English College in Rome, where he died. Richard may have formally converted to Catholicism early during his service to the Petres (1608-1630), which must have facilitated his obtaining a position at the Queen's Chapel. His duties appear to have comprised playing the organ exclusively. He did not follow Henrietta Maria into exile on 23 February 1642, rather choosing to remain in England and stick out war and Commonwealth between London and Essex. He did decide to get his son Edward out of the country and into the Jesuit College at St Omers, and this connection will be explored in chapter two.

A remarkably high proportion of the exiled English Catholic musicians of the period seem to have distinguished themselves as viol players. Unlike vocal music, instrumental music was free from incriminating words, and it was a form of art that had universal appeal. It was also one that, in its fundamental expression as a performance, was intrinsically ephemeral and therefore relatively invisible to persecution. The profession itself may have been more anonymous than a career in the visual arts, a field in which fine practitioners could expect to be immortalised, ennobled and have their biographies and views subjected to scrutiny. In addition, the viol had connotations of nobility and exclusivity that set it apart from other instruments. The very earliest viol consort players had been Mantuan and Ferrarese aristocrats of the Gonzaga, d'Este and Borgia families, and perhaps those associations continued to influence people's perception of the viol and its repertoires into the seventeenth century.⁹⁰

The viol had been central to music-making at the English court for almost a century before the Stuart accession to the throne. In the early seventeenth century the popularity of the instrument grew among the gentry, the aristocracy and the royal family and their courtiers. Charles Burney declared that the Prince of Wales, the future Charles I, had been 'a scholar of Coperario on the viol da

⁹⁰ Woodfield, *Early History*, especially pp.87-89; W. Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), pp.112-16.

gamba'.⁹¹ The monarch's connection with the viol – as well as with Coprario and with his music – continued to flourish during his reign, and the music publisher and bookseller John Playford (1623-1686/7) reported that the king 'could play his part exactly well on the Bass-Viol'.⁹²

Its aristocratic and courtly associations may even have had political and religious significance in the late seventeenth century, particularly among English Catholics and the Royalist gentry. The exiled court of James II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye continued its association with the viol well into the eighteenth century by virtue of the appointments of Secretary of State John Caryll (1626-1711) and his under-secretary, David Nairne (1655-1740), two Catholic diplomats and amateur viol players.⁹³ A poem 'To Mr John Caryll playing upon the *Viol de Gambo*' by the Jacobite army officer Alexander Robertson of Struan (c.1670-1749) addresses its subject as 'Thrice happy Youth'.⁹⁴ It may have been written for one of Caryll's younger relatives at Saint-Germain, suggesting the continuation of viol-playing among senior Jacobite courtiers.

These associations of sophistication and discernment were not exclusively perceived by the English. Writing in 1556 – at a time when English aristocrats had not yet shown an interest in playing the viol – Jambe de Fer stated that 'on appelle violes celles des quelles les gentilhommes marchands et autre gens de vertu passent leur temps', 'one calls viols those with which gentlemen,

⁹¹ Quoted in Richard Charteris, *John Coprario: A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Introduction* (New York, 1977), pp.31-33.

⁹² John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Music* (London, 1658, R13/1697), 1664 edition, preface. For John Playford, see Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, 'Playford', *GMO*. See also Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63/2 (2010), pp.243-90.

⁹³ For Caryll, see H. Erskine-Hill, 'John Caryll', *ODNB*. For Nairne and his activities as a musician, scribe and collector, see Edward Corp, 'David Nairne', *ODNB*; Edward Corp, 'The Acquisition of the French and Italian Music in the Panmure Collection: the Role of David Nairne', in J. Porter (ed.), *Defining Strains: the Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century* (Berne, 2007), pp.139-53. For music at the exiled Jacobite court, see Corp, 'The Exiled Court of James II and James III', pp.216-31; Edward Corp, 'The Musical Manuscripts of "Copiste Z": David Nairne, François Couperin and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Revue de Musicologie*, 84 (1998), pp.37-62; Edward Corp *et al.*, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.202-14.

⁹⁴ *Poems on Various Subjects and Occasions by the Honourable Alexander Robertson of Struan, Esq.* (Edinburgh, ?1752). For John Caryll's nephew (a gentleman usher at Saint-Germain between 1701 and 1718), see Corp *et al.*, *A Court in Exile*, pp.195, 321, 331 and 364. His son John Caryll junior (1667-1736) was also a Jacobite.

merchants and other people of virtue pass their time'.⁹⁵ In addition, Poole's Continental contemporaries recognized the association between the English and the viol in unambiguous terms, perhaps to a degree because the English continued to cultivate the viol consort later than other nations. Two interesting contemporary references frame Poole's creative life rather appropriately. The first quotation is taken from *Response Faite à un Curieux sur le Sentiment de la Musique d'Italie*. It was written by French diplomat and violist André Maugars (c.1580-c.1645), who openly admitted his debt to the English chordal style of playing. Reportedly penned on 1 October 1639, it was published in Paris c.1640, one year before Poole arrived on the Continent:

Quant à la viole, il n'y a personne maintenant dans l'Italie qui y excelle, et même elle est fort peu exercée dans Rome: c'est de quoy je me suis fort étonné, veu qu'ils ont eu autrefois un *Horatio de Parme*, qui en a fait merveille, et qui en a laissé à la postérité de fort bonnes pièces... et aussi que le père de ce grand Farabosco, Italien, en a apporté le premier l'usage aux Anglois, qui depuis ont surpassé toutes les nations... et les Anglois touchent la Viole parfaitement.⁹⁶

Concerning the viol, there is nobody now in Italy who excels at it, and it is in fact very little played in Rome, which astounded me most, since they formerly had a certain Horatio [Bassani] of Parma, who did marvellous things on it and left very fine pieces to posterity... and also the father of the great Ferrabosco, Italian, first conveyed its use to the English, who subsequently have surpassed all nations... the English play the viol to perfection.

The second extracts come from Jean Rousseau's hugely influential *Traité de la Viole*, published in Paris in 1687, five years before Poole's death in Liège.

⁹⁵ Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome Musical* (Lyons, 1556).

⁹⁶ Ernest Thoinan, *Maugars, Célèbre Joueur de Viole* (Paris, 1865/R 1965), pp.33-34, 42. 'Horatio de Parme' is presumably Orazio Bassani (c.1550-1615), the author of fine *viola bastarda* settings in GB-Lbl Add. MS 30491, 'Susanna di Oratio per la viola bastarda' (ff.47^v-48) and 'Cara la vita mia per la viola bastarda passaggiato da Oratio della Viola' (ff.49-49^v).

Rousseau praised Maugars's improvisatory skill in no mean terms when he verified that:

Sur un Sujet de cinq ou six notes qu'on luy donnoit sur le champ, il [Maugars] le diversifioit [sic] en une infinité de manieres differentes, jusqu'à épuiser tout ce que l'on y pouvoit faire, tant par accordes que par diminutions.⁹⁷

On a theme of five or six notes given to him on the spur of the moment, Maugars could vary it in innumerable different ways until he had done everything that was possible to do with it, using chords as well as divisions.

Jean Rousseau decidedly pointed his finger towards England when listing the early exponents of these particular techniques:

... & des Italiens aux Anglois qui ont commencé les premiers à composer & à jouer des pieces d'harmonie sur la Viole, & qui en ont porté la connoissance dans les autres Royaumes, tels qu'on esté Vvalderan à la Cour de Saxe, Boulder à la Cour d'Espagne, Joug après du Comte d'Inspruk, Preis à Vienne, & plusieurs autres en differents endroits.⁹⁸

... and from the Italians to English who first started to compose and play chordal pieces on the viol, and they have exported its knowledge to the other kingdoms; such were [Walter Rowe?] at the [Brandenburg?] court of Saxony, [Henry] Butler at the Spanish court, [William] Young at the Count of Innsbruck's, [John] Price in Vienna and many others in different places.

⁹⁷ Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la Viole* (Paris, 1687), p.23.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.17-18.

The Sussex-born violist and composer Henry Butler (d.1652) was appointed *Músico de violón* or *Músico de bihuela de arco* to Philip IV of Spain in 1623.⁹⁹ A contemporary report remarked that Butler ‘teacheth his Catholike Maiesty to play on the Violl’ and that he was ‘a man very fantasticall, but one who hath his pension truely payd him for his fingers sake’.¹⁰⁰ Butler’s efforts during his time in Madrid did not go unrewarded, and in 1637 he was admitted to the courtly title of *Gentilhombre de casa*. The scope of Butler’s extant oeuvre is not unlike Poole’s.¹⁰¹ It includes preludes and sets of divisions for bass viol, some on two-part grounds, frequently placing such technical demands on the performer that we must conclude he was an exceedingly able player. It also includes three sonatas for violin, bass viol and continuo, a scoring he could have derived from the English fantasia-suite repertoire, although Italian multi-movement sonatas with an obbligato bowed bass were in print as early as 1610.¹⁰² The one surviving sonata-like piece for bass viol and continuo successfully combines an opening prelude, running divisions, multiple-stopped fugal textures and a triple-time section, in what would appear to be the earliest solo sonata by an English composer.

Years after Butler’s death, his reputation in the field of division-viol music continued to be acknowledged – even beyond the Spanish Habsburg lands – when Simpson praised him as a composer of divisions.¹⁰³ It has been suggested that this shows Butler’s divisions may have written and known in England before 1623, while the sonatas might reflect his interaction with Italian colleagues at the *Capilla Real*. While there can be little doubt the sonatas were produced later than 1623, so could Butler’s mature sets of divisions. The latter could have reached Simpson via Rome (where Butler sojourned in the mid-1640s) or even via Habsburg-supported, English Catholic enclaves in the Spanish Netherlands such as the Jesuit College at Saint-Omer. The hypothesis of

⁹⁹ For Butler, see Elizabeth Phillips, ‘Henry Butler’, *GMO*; Elizabeth Phillips, ‘The Divisions and Sonatas of Henry Butler’, PhD thesis (St Louis, 1982); Elizabeth Phillips, ‘Henry Butler and the Early Viol Sonata’ *JVdGSA*, 21 (1984), pp.45-52.

¹⁰⁰ James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime* (London, 1629).

¹⁰¹ ME: Elizabeth Phillips (ed.), *Henry Butler, Collected Works* (Madison, 1991).

¹⁰² Giovanni Paolo Cima, *Concerti Ecclesiastici* (Milan, 1610); Biagio Marini, *Affetti Musicali* (Venice, 1617); Dario Castello, *Sonate Concertate in Stil Moderno, Libro Primo* (Venice, 1621; Antwerp, R/1658); Giovanni Battista Fontana, *Sonate* (Venice, 1641).

¹⁰³ Christopher Simpson *The Division-Violist* (London, 1659), pp.47-48.

such an oblique transmission pattern is supported by the fact that many of Butler's works survive in sources connected with the Netherlands, in which both spellings and musical texts are fairly corrupted. This is significant because it shows that division-viol music may have remained important to Butler after his migration to Spain.

Violist and composer William Young (d.1662) is first recorded in 1652, when he accompanied his patron Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Innsbruck and his wife Anna de Medici on their Italian journey.¹⁰⁴ Young may have entered Ferdinand Karl's service in the Low Countries before the nobleman's minority ended and he became Archduke of Innsbruck 1646. Ferdinand Karl's Habsburg court in Tyrol was an absolutist establishment, where the arts flourished and the Jesuits exerted ample influence.¹⁰⁵ This opens up an intriguing possible scenario for emigrant English viol playing in early 1640s Netherlands. Recent research has speculated with possible early sightings of the composer in traces of a student named 'Guilielmus Yonghus' who matriculated at the English College at Douai in 1605, and a 'William Young' licensed to accompany his master to Holland on 6 July 1651.¹⁰⁶

Two sets of ensemble sonatas, dated respectively 1653 and 1659, were published during Young's lifetime.¹⁰⁷ Both survive as printed volumes and in manuscript copies. The former volume is the earliest set of sonatas to be published by an English composer, and a copy of it found its way into the library of music patron and amateur musician Thomas Britton (1644-1714).¹⁰⁸ Eight three-part allemandes and correntes from it were copied into GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.447-449 in Restoration Oxford. The 1653 set shows a keen interest in contemporary Italian models, but also a preference for northern European scorings such as three and four violins with continuo. The 1659 sonatas for viol

¹⁰⁴ For William Young, see Michael Tilmouth and Peter Holman, 'William Young', *GMO*; Stephen Morris, 'William Young, "Englishman"', *VdGSJ*, 1 (2007), pp.46-60; *VdGSTI*.

¹⁰⁵ Felizitas Salfinger, 'Das Tiroler Landesfürstentum in der ersten Hälfte der Regierungszeit Erzherzog Ferdinand Karls (1646-1654)', PhD thesis (Innsbruck, 1953), especially p.3.

¹⁰⁶ Morris, 'William Young', footnotes 50 and 52.

¹⁰⁷ William Young, *Sonate à 3, 4, 5 con Alcune Allemand, Correnti e Balletti à 3* (Innsbruck, 1653); William Young, *Sonate à 3 Viole* (Innsbruck, 1659).

¹⁰⁸ For Britton, see Michael Tilmouth and Simon McVeigh, 'Thomas Britton', *GMO*; Curtis Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult' *MT*, 119 (1978), pp.1032-34.

consort, which until recently were only known to survive in English manuscript sources, are in fact fantasias. They may have been labelled ‘sonate’ for the benefit of their intended Austrian market, which highlights just how closely related these more discursive forms were in the minds of seventeenth-century musicians. They are stylistically compatible with analogous works by Locke.

On 23 May 1660 Charles II sailed home from The Hague towards London at the request of Parliament. Three months later, on 26 August, and perhaps encouraged by Charles’s return, Young obtained leave from his employer to make one final visit to England. It is likely he approached the newly restored Stuart establishment for a court post, but if he did, no record of such a contact has survived. Another musician named William Young did join the King’s Musick as a violinist on 12 December 1660 (backdated to the previous Midsummer), but he has been shown to be neither the violist nor a relation of his.¹⁰⁹ The composer did return to Innsbruck, where he died on 23 April 1662. Even if Young’s 1660 visit to England did not fulfill its intended purpose, it may in any case be significant, as he would presumably have taken advantage of this trip in order to disseminate his work.

Young’s playing was clearly held in great esteem at the time. In 1654 he accompanied the archduke to Milan and Regensburg, where – according to court records – the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III gave 100 ducats to an ‘English Musician’. There is no conclusive evidence this was William Young. He competently entertained Queen Christina of Sweden on the viol during her 1655 Innsbruck stay. As part of her visit to the Tyrol, a decisive propagandistic affair for Counter-Reformation forces, she was received into the Catholic Church. According to the *Mercurius Politicus*, ‘He that plaid upon the Base-Viol was an Englishman, esteemed the best in Europe, named Mr You[n]g’.¹¹⁰ Young’s generous annual salary of 600 florins, second only to the remuneration of *Kapellmeister* Ambrosius Rainer, suggests he was a treasured musician-servant, an impression reinforced by the evidence of his virtuoso skill as a player of

¹⁰⁹ Morris, ‘William Young’, p.53; *BDECM*, ii, pp.1184-1186.

¹¹⁰ Cited in Michael Tilmouth, ‘Music and British Travellers Abroad, 1600-1730’, in Ian Bent (ed.), *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart* (London, 1981), p.372.

English division and lyra music being deployed when entertaining such significant visitors.

On 26 February 1656, viol-playing English traveller Robert Bargrave described having received ‘a most pleasing entertainment of Musique from m^r William Young, Groome of the bedchamber and chiefe Violist to the Archduke; espetially on an Octocordall Viall, of his own Invention, apted for the Lira way of playing, farr beyond those with six strings only: to which favour he added his promise to give me his Lessons composed for that Viall, and his Aires for two Basses and a Treble, which he intends to publish’.¹¹¹ This evinces that Young continued to have an interest in English lyra-viol music throughout his life. Perhaps – and this may also have been the case for Butler – English-style viol music represented an important link with his roots. It may also be that it was these exiled musicians’ extraordinary ability to extemporise divisions and play lyra-way that made them so employable and admired in their adoptive settings.

Unlike his printed ensemble collections, all of Young’s lyra-viol and division-viol music has survived exclusively in manuscript form, with the exception of a few pieces issued by Playford.¹¹² The wide geographical spread of his works for solo viol, extant in nearly 20 manuscript collections, bears witness to the appreciation in which his compositions were held. The lyra-viol pieces are fine works exploring more than half a dozen variant tunings, and his airs and divisions for the solo viol are well-written and idiomatic. It may be that Young’s playing influenced the figurate solo viol parts to be found in the music of composers Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c.1623-1680), who heard Young play, and Antonio Bertali (1605-1669).¹¹³ A further perspective of the impact of Young’s migration can be gleaned from the correspondence of the renowned

¹¹¹ Michael Brennan (ed.), *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave, Levant Merchant (1647-1646)* (London, 1999), pp.243-44; Michael Tilmouth, ‘Music on the Travels of an English Merchant: Robert Bargrave (1628-1661)’ *ML*, 53 (1972), pp.143-59. A large, eight-string bass viol is depicted being played alongside a violin in a fresco created by Jesuit laybrother and artist Andrea Pozzo for the *Chiesa del Gesù* in Rome.

¹¹² John Playford, *A Musical Banquet* (London, 1651), pp.18-19; John Playford, *Musick’s Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (London, 1652), pp.39-40.

¹¹³ For Schmelzer, see Rudolf Schnitzler, ‘Johann Heinrich Schmelzer’, *GMO*. For Bertali, see Rudolf Schnitzler and Charles Brewer, ‘Antonio Bertali’, *GMO*.

Tyrolean viol maker Jakob Stainer (1617-1683), suggesting that Young continued to play on English instruments:

Ich habe den form und manier von des Engellenders Violen, welcher beim Erzherzog Ferdinando... in diensten und under den berumbtisten Viola da gambisten gewest, welche Viola zu London in Engellandt gemacht worden und gar hoch in gelt gewesen.¹¹⁴

I have taken the outline and style from the Englishman's viol, who was in the service of Archduke Ferdinand... among the most famous violists, which viol had been made in London, in England, and was held in the highest esteem.

By 1605 John Price (d.1641) was a viol player and multi-instrumentalist in the service of the Württemberg court in Stuttgart, remaining there until at least 1625.¹¹⁵ The diplomat, banker, merchant and art dealer Philip Hainhoffer (1578-1647), who heard him play an 'English *pfeifflin*' (perhaps some sort of three-hole pipe) with one hand while playing a viol with the other (most probably in *scordatura*), declared himself to have been impressed. Price is also recorded as having performed on the *viola bastarda* and the cornett to great acclaim. Between 1629 and 1633 he was in charge of the *Kleine Cammer-Music* at the electoral court in Dresden. There he came across Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), who may have resented Price's annual salary of 300 daler, and declared him a charlatan. After a brief spell at the Danish court in Copenhagen in 1634, Price was appointed to a position at the imperial court in Vienna on the accession of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III. Price is likely to have been in the service of Ferdinand's wife, Empress Maria Anna of Austria, the Spanish *Infanta* who had refused to marry the 'heretic' Prince Charles in the disastrous so-called Spanish Match of 1623.

¹¹⁴ Walter Senn and Karl Roy, *Jakob Stainer 1617-1683, Lebenswerk und Lebensgeschichte des Tiroler Meisters* (Frankfurt, 1986), pp.153.

¹¹⁵ For Price, see E. Fred Flindell, 'John Price', *GMO*.

Like many other Habsburg rulers, Emperor Ferdinand III had been educated by the Jesuits. He was a knowledgeable patron of music and a composer of some ability himself, abundantly praised by the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) in his *Musurgia Universalis*, an influential music theory work published in Rome in 1650.¹¹⁶ We do not know whether Price – who remained in Vienna for the rest of his life – was a Catholic, but it is certainly unlikely that he would have secured his position had he been a mere quack. In addition to his entertaining and witty act, he took part in courtly plays, masques and other such occasions. Unfortunately only one work by Price is known to have survived (an ‘Aria variata de M. Preys’ in *ffeff* tablature in manuscript A-ET, Goëss MS A), which suggests quite strongly that he improvised.¹¹⁷ Perhaps he was referring to extemporisation when he proudly declared that:

Ich nicht allein die Musicam verstehe, sondern auch mancherlei Nation ihre Art natürlich agiren kann... nämlich auf französische, englische und... italienische Manier.

Not only do I understand music, but can act many a nation’s art naturally... namely in the French, English and... Italian manner’.¹¹⁸

A notable omission in Rousseau’s list of exiled English violists deserving of a mention in his book was Catholic violist, lute player and composer Daniel Norcombe (d.1653).¹¹⁹ In 1599 he was appointed lutenist to Christian IV of Denmark on a handsome salary of 350 daler per annum. Two years later, along with English colleague Johann Meinert (John Maynard?), he absconded to Venice via Germany and Hungary, pursued by emissaries of the Danish king. By 1602 he was in Brussels, in the service of the archducal chapel of Albert of Austria and his wife, the Infanta Isabella. He must have been a valued servant, for he received a high salary and was retained by five subsequent Governors of

¹¹⁶ H. Somerset, ‘The Habsburg Emperors as Musicians’, *ML*, 30/3 (1949), pp.204-15.

¹¹⁷ For this source, see chapter three.

¹¹⁸ Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1861), p.74.

¹¹⁹ For Norcombe, see Andrew Ashbee, ‘Daniel Norcombe’, *GMO*; Piet Stryckers, ‘Daniel Norcum’, *ODNB*.

the Spanish Netherlands after Albert's death. Norcombe is credited with 35 sets of divisions on grounds (most of them comprising two strains) and two lyra-viol airs. These works survive in a dozen English manuscript collections, which shows his music circulated in England. His divisions are technically demanding and the best ones are also musically inventive. Christopher Simpson extolled Norcombe in these terms:

I would have you peruse the Divisions which other men have made upon Grounds; as those of Mr. Henry Butler, Mr. Daniel Norcome, and divers other excellent men of this our Nation, (who, hitherto, have had the preheminance for this particular Instrument) observing, and Noting in their *Divisions*, what you find best worthy to be imitated.¹²⁰

The last Governor General of Spanish Flanders whom Norcombe would serve, the art-loving, Jesuit-educated Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, ruled the Southern Netherlands between 1647 and 1656. During that time he turned the Brussels court into a magnificent centre that attracted Flemish painters such as David Teniers *the younger* (1610-1690). His patronage also became a magnet for poets, jewellery dealers, tapestry weavers musicians and actors.¹²¹ Contemporary court records show the archducal coffers paid for frequent visits of 'comédiens anglais', a 'troupe hollandaise' and a 'troupe de comédiens francois', sometimes as often as three times a week.¹²² Leopold appointed a Roman composer, Giuseppe Zamponi, to take charge of chamber and operatic entertainments, and to lead his formidable resident musical establishment. A small group of Italian singers appear to have enjoyed particularly high status at court, and were unusually well remunerated for their leading roles at important performances. However, with regular masques and performances, and high-

¹²⁰ Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, pp.47-48.

¹²¹ For the musical patronage of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, see Sandrine Thieffry, 'L'Archiduc Leopold-Guillaume a Bruxelles (1647-1656): Le Bon Usage du Mecenat Musical en Temps de Guerre', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 56 (2002), pp.159-75; Agnes Kory, 'Leopold Wilhelm and his Patronage of Music with Special Reference to Opera', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 36/1 (1995), pp.11-25.

¹²² B-B, Archives Générales du Royaume, Manuscrits Divers, Dépenses de l'Archiduc Guillaume, 1374, ff.16^v, 21, 161-63^v, 167, 168^v and 211, quoted in Thieffry, 'L'Archiduc Leopold-Guillaume', pp.161-62.

profile events such as the visit of Queen Christina of Sweden in 1654-1655, the cosmopolitan corpus of instrumentalists had no shortage of occasions on which to shine.¹²³

The twenty-odd instrumentalists of the archducal *Chambre* were drawn from all over Europe. About half of them were Italians, a few Netherlandish and some from the Habsburg Iberian peninsula. The rest originated from every corner of the prince-bishoprics with which the Archduke was invested in the Austrian, German and Polish lands. Leopold was generous with the travel subsidies he afforded his musicians, which made them extremely mobile. This can be seen, for instance, from payments to organist Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-1693), an exact contemporary of Anthony Poole who received 500 florins ‘para con que haza su viage a Alemania’, ‘with which to make his trip to Germany’.¹²⁴ Kerll subsequently spent the late 1640s and early 1650s on an archducal allowance to study with Carissimi, the *maestro di cappella* at the Jesuit *Collegio Germanico e Hungarico* and at the church of *San Apollinare* in Rome. The *Germanicum* was an institution with which the Archduke would have had an obvious affinity, and this connection will be explored later.

The 1648-1652 lists of Leopold’s *Chambre* also include sporadic payments to a John Teller ‘músico inglés’ and regular payments throughout the period to a Paul Francis Bridges.¹²⁵ The former might possibly be identified with composer, keeper of the king’s lutes, viols and music books and court musician for the viols and voices John Taylor (*fl.*1628-1649).¹²⁶ He appears to have been a personal friend of William Lawes (1602-1645), and had an elegy on the death of his ‘Friend and Fellow’ published in Henry Lawes’s 1648 collection of *Choice Psalmes*. There is no trace of Taylor’s activities after the Civil War, although his airs, dances and catches continued to appear in print in London throughout the 1650s and 1660s. He is likely to have died before 1660, as he was replaced at

¹²³ Thieffry, ‘L’Archiduc Leopold-Guillaume’, pp.161-62.

¹²⁴ B-B, Archives Générales du Royaume, Manuscrits Divers, Dépenses de l’Archiduc Guillaume, 1374, ff.37^v, quoted in Thieffry, ‘L’Archiduc Leopold-Guillaume’, p.167. For Kerll, see C. David Harris and Albert Giebler, ‘Johann Caspar Kerll’, *GMO*.

¹²⁵ Thieffry, ‘L’Archiduc Leopold-Guillaume’, pp.163-64.

¹²⁶ For Taylor, see *BDECM*, ii, p.1073; Ian Spink, ‘John Taylor’, *GMO*.

the Restoration by the Catholic violist John Smith (*fl.*1660-1673).¹²⁷ Smith ‘was forced to quit his place in respect of his Religion and to go beyond sea’ when the Test Act came into force in 1673.¹²⁸ He had travelled to Sweden in 1653-1654 with leading parliamentarian, amateur musician and Cromwell’s ambassador-extraordinary to Queen Christina, Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605-1675), who described Smith as ‘an honest civill man, and very skillful in all kinds of musicke’.¹²⁹

Paul Francis Bridges can be identified with the musician of the same name who came to England at Charles II’s Restoration ‘most humbly begging the performance of your Ma^{ts} gracious promise, haveing left service at Bresulls (being come with all his family) to serve your Ma^{tie} as Musicion for the Chappell & Chamber of your Metie’.¹³⁰ A warrant from the Lord Chamberlain dated 18 March 1660 detailed his admission to the Private Musick on the viol, on wages of £40 a year.¹³¹ On 4 September 1662 he was recorded as musician in ordinary for the ‘violl de gambo’ with an annual livery of over £16 added to his wages, and two months later the Treasurer of the Chamber authorised a further £10 for him to buy a bass viol.¹³² A number of extant court documents show that ‘Mr. Bridges of the musick’ remained in court employment for the next ten years, lodging with ‘Mr Perkins of Hatton Grounds’. He was occasionally in financial debt; on 29 March 1671 he was ordered to pay off a £10 debt to Sarah Glascock, a widow, within a month.¹³³ One year later he assigned £28 to violinist and colleague Mr William Hall, ‘half a year’s wages from the first money that shall come in the King’s Treasury’.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ For Smith, see *BDECM*, ii, pp.1027-28.

¹²⁸ For the Test Act and its effect on court musicians, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.299.

¹²⁹ *BDECM*, ii, p.1027. For Whitelocke, see Andrew Ashbee, ‘A Not Unapt Scholar: Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605-1675)’, *Chelys*, 11 (1982), pp.24-31, especially 29; Ruth Spalding, ‘Bulstrode Whitelocke’, *ODNB*.

¹³⁰ *BDECM*, i, 192-193. For Bridges, see Leech, ‘Musicians in the Catholic Chapel’, especially pp.581-82.

¹³¹ *RECM*, i, p.13.

¹³² *RECM*, i, pp.36 and 39.

¹³³ *RECM*, i, pp.55 and 104.

¹³⁴ *RECM*, i, p.119. The record is witnessed by Henry Gregory and crossed through ‘Satisfied’ in margin.

The last mention of Bridges is found in a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain dated 23 May 1673 detailing the admission of a John Young to the Private Musick as ‘Musician in Ordinary for the violl de Gambo... in the place and upon the surrender of Paul Bridges’.¹³⁵ Like his fellow violist John Smith, Bridges was forced to resign because he was a Roman Catholic. No music by Paul Bridges seems to have survived, so it would appear to be the case that either he did not compose or else he improvised. The presence of at least two English bass viol virtuosos in mid-century Brussels (Norcombe from 1602 and Bridges from at least January 1648) could be expected to have had a notable impact on local musicians. The conventional illustrations of this trend are the aforementioned three sets of English-style divisions for the bass viol (including one on Peter Philips’s *Pavana Dolorosa*), by Nicolaus a Kempis, but there may be more.

One other local musician who might have been exposed to division-viol performances by Norcombe and Bridges was composer and violinist Philip van Wichel (*fl.*1648-1678), about whom very little is known. A young van Wichel was recorded as an occasional musician at the archducal court in Brussels: two payments of 120 florins each for his assistance are verified in Leopold’s musicians’ accounts, respectively processed on 23 December 1648 and 14 February 1651.¹³⁶ He went on to publish his *Fasciculus Dulcedinis* in Antwerp in 1678, a collection of Italianate multi-section sonatas for one, two, three and four violins and continuo. Most of the pieces include an elaborate part labelled ‘basso viola’, which shadows the continuo line adding agile diminutions and scale figurations, as well as soloistic counterpoints to the violin parts.

Like Bridges, the German viol player and composer Dietrich Stoeffken (*c.*1600-1674) managed to obtain a court appointment at the Restoration, although in his case this was not the first time he had worked for the Stuarts.¹³⁷ He is first recorded in 1622 in the employment of the Danish court of Christian IV, where he may have played the viol or the violin in the string consort led by William

¹³⁵ *RECM*, i, p.125.

¹³⁶ Thieffry, ‘L’Archiduc Leopold-Guillaume’, p.169.

¹³⁷ For Stoeffken, see *BDECM*, ii, pp.1049-52; Christopher Field, ‘Dietrich Stoeffken’, *ODNB*; Christopher Field, ‘Theodore Steffkin’, *GMO*; Crawford, ‘Constantijn Huygens’.

Brade. From 24 June 1628, however, he was working as a musician to Queen Henrietta Maria, Charles I's Catholic consort, although there is no solid evidence to establish whether Stoeffken was a Catholic himself. In 1636, on the death of Maurice Webster, he was appointed musician for the consort in ordinary to the king. Stoeffken left England shortly before the Civil War and secured employment as violist at the electoral court in Brandenburg on 17 May 1642. There he met the Dutch diplomat, poet, scholar, amateur musician and composer Constantijn Huygens, who would become his life-long friend and supporter.

In correspondence with French mathematician, philosopher and music theorist Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), dated 26 November 1646, Huygens mentioned 'le merveilleux Stephkins..., qui faict plus de miracles sur la viole de gambe qu'homme qui fust jamais', 'the marvellous Stoeffken..., who performs more miracles on the viola da gamba than any man yet'.¹³⁸ Stoeffken was still in the Elector's employment on 14 January 1647 when Huygens informed Lady Utricia Ogle, of Henrietta Maria's retinue, of the imminent arrival in The Hague of two electoral musicians, 'le violiste s'apelle Stephkins et a une science monstrueuse sur cet instrument', 'the violist is called Stoeffken and has monstrous skill on that instrument'.¹³⁹ Stoeffken had been seconded to the service of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces in The Hague by 23 February 1648, when Huygens reported 'Monsieur Stöfkens and I are doing a kinde of wonders upon two leeraway viols'.¹⁴⁰ An early indication of Stoeffken's intentions to return to London can be found in a letter he addressed to Huygens in September 1648 during an absence from The Hague:

I am much desirious to waite upon you at The Hage, specially the Prince of Wales beeing at present there, to whom I might present my services, in hopes of future favours from his hands, if hapely a

¹³⁸ Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven*, ii, pp.777-81.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.793-95.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.870-71.

peace might bee concluded on England. I shall intreat your councel
in this my intention.¹⁴¹

Events in England that winter did not unfold as Stoeffken had hoped, and in the following decade he worked variously in Hamburg and Regensburg, and may have visited Rome in 1659.¹⁴² In 1660 he became a member of Charles II's Private Musick and resumed his service to Henrietta Maria, now Queen Mother. Stoeffken was also one of the 'Musitians that doe service in the Chapel Royall'. Over the next ten years, three warrants from the Treasurer of the Chamber record him receiving payments to buy instruments. Stoeffken obtained £10 with which to purchase an ordinary bass viol, but the considerably larger amounts of £12 and £14 in order to acquire two lyra-viols.¹⁴³ His English contemporaries expressed admiration for his playing, even when Stoeffken was in his sixties, although perhaps less enthusiastically than Huygens had fifteen years earlier. On 17 July 1663 Samuel Pepys took himself along with a friend 'to my viall makers; and there I heard the famous Mr. Stefkens play admirably well, and yet I find it as it is alway, I over-expected. I took him to the Taverne and find him a temperate sober man, at least he seems so to me'.¹⁴⁴

Stoeffken cultivated friendships amongst his colleagues at the Private Musick too. Composer of instrumental music and towering figure of seventeenth-century English music, John Jenkins (1592-1678), 'often sent him kind tokens, which were pieces of fresh musick'.¹⁴⁵ A further glimpse of his relationship with other court colleagues can be gleaned from a letter dated 20 November 1668, in which Stoeffken requests that £8 of his next salary should go to fellow violist John Hingeston, 'he haveing supplied my occasions wth the Advance of soe much'.¹⁴⁶ Stoeffken's sons Frederick William (1646-1709) and Christian Leopold (d.1714)

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp.912-14.

¹⁴² *BDECM*, ii, p.1050.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p.1051.

¹⁴⁴ Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols (London, 1970-1983), iv, p.233.

¹⁴⁵ John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p.298. For Jenkins, see Andrew Ashbee, 'John Jenkins', *GMO*; Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Music of John Jenkins I: The Fantasias for Viols* (Surbiton, 1992); Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996).

¹⁴⁶ *RECM*, i, p.86.

went on to have careers as violists in the Private Musick, the former becoming ‘ordinary to his Majesty on the viol’ on his father’s death.¹⁴⁷ Both took part in a curious exhibition organized by Thomas Salmon for the Royal Society on 3 July 1705, performing on two viols ‘Mathematically set out with a particular Fret for each String, that every Stop might be in a perfect exactness’.¹⁴⁸

Last, and perhaps most relevant, is the possible migration of Christopher Simpson (c.1602/1606-1669), a prominent violist, teacher and composer.¹⁴⁹ He was born in Yorkshire to the Catholic family of Christopher Simpson senior, a cordwainer who managed a company of actors sponsored by the recusant gentry in the North Riding area. There seems to be no information on the first 40 years of the violist’s life, a void engulfing his entire education and early career. Margaret Urquhart suggested in 1992 that Simpson may be identified with an English Jesuit of the same name, an attractive but not unproblematic theory given there are many important similarities between the two biographies and some perplexing discrepancies.¹⁵⁰ Christopher Simpson, SJ, also from North Yorkshire, was a student at the English Jesuit College at Saint-Omer in the early 1620s, proceeding in 1625 to the *Venerabile Collegio Inglese* in Rome, where he was ordained on 26 August 1629. He was at the Watten novitiate from at least 27 May 1634, possibly studying there for a further five years. In 1639 he was sent to the Jesuits’ St John’s Residency and Mission in Durham, of which he had become superior by 1642. These institutions and the structure of the English Jesuit mission will be considered later.

Violist Simpson is first recorded during the 1643-1644 campaigns of the Civil War as quartermaster in the Royalist armies of William Cavendish, in whose service he may have been from as early as 1639.¹⁵¹ The implication of Urquhart’s hypothesis is that from this date onwards Simpson led a double life,

¹⁴⁷ *RECM*, i, p.133, a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain dated 7 February 1673/4.

¹⁴⁸ Leta Miller and Albert Cohen, *Music in the Royal Society of London 1660-1806* (Detroit, 1987), p.17; Peter Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.12-13; Michael Fleming, ‘How Long is a Piece of String? Understanding Seventeenth-Century Descriptions of Viols’, *Chelys*, 31 (2003), pp.18-36.

¹⁴⁹ For Simpson, see Christopher Field, ‘Christopher Simpson’, *GMO*; Margaret Urquhart, ‘Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?’, *Chelys*, 21 (1992), pp.3-26.

¹⁵⁰ For this identification, see Urquhart, ‘Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?’.

¹⁵¹ Hulse, ‘Apollo’s Whirligig’. For the relevance of this possibility to Poole, see chapter two.

with his role as musician to Royalist households providing a cover for his activities as a senior member of an underground Jesuit network in England. By 1649 Simpson had entered the service of Sir Robert Bolles of Scampton, Lincolnshire, under whose patronage he produced the 1659 edition of *The Division-Violist*. This was an important tutor book to which Coleman, Jenkins and Locke contributed laudatory poems, as did St Omers alumnus Dr John Alban Gibbes (?1611-1677). It was extremely successful, as was its 1665/1667 second edition, which circulated in large numbers of printed volumes and in manuscript copies.¹⁵² Simpson's other treatises contributed to establish his reputation, notably the 1667 *Compendium of Practical Music*, which reached its ninth reprint c.1775.

In the meantime Simpson SJ continued to lead the relatively small *Residentia St Joannis cum Missione Dunelmensi*. Although there is a tenuous suggestion of his association with viol music at Saint-Omer, no firm evidence has come to light to verify that he was significantly involved with music at any point in his career.¹⁵³ His entries in the *Catalogi Personarum* reveal a lack of detail that is not unusual in the records of senior Jesuits, whose assessments focused on the skills necessary for their broader roles. The 1658 catalogue lists Simpson's 'Ingenium bonum, iuditium solidum, prudentia respondet, experientia magna, in letteris optimus, complexio temperata, that is 'Good intelligence, solid judgement, dependable prudence, great experience, optimum written skills and tempered natural complexion', adding he was good 'ad omnia', 'at all things'.¹⁵⁴ After an illness documented since at least 1665, Simpson SJ died on 3 March 1674. This date – at variance with violist Simpson's death between 5 May and 29 July 1669 – casts a doubt on Urquhart's hypothesis which seems at present impossible to dispel.

Simpson's oeuvre includes, in addition to his theoretical and educational works, nearly 200 airs, divisions, fantasias and preludes, all of which circulated in

¹⁵² Richard Charteris, 'A Newly-Discovered Manuscript Copy of Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Viol*', *Chelys*, 23 (1994), pp.47-53.

¹⁵³ Margaret Urquhart, 'A Possible Trace of Christopher Simpson (S.J.)', *Chelys*, 27 (1999), pp.59-61.

¹⁵⁴ *Catalogi* 1658, ARSI, Anglia 15.

manuscript sources. They range in difficulty and scope from simple items for beginners to ambitious virtuoso division works for ensembles. Simpson was widely respected by his contemporaries. Thomas Mace ranked him along with Jenkins and Lawes ‘by their most singular and rare works’.¹⁵⁵ Jenkins referred to him as his ‘very precious friend’, and in 1672 Locke remembered him as ‘a Person whose memory is precious among good and knowing Men, for his exemplar life and excellent skill’.¹⁵⁶ Six years later, Licensor of the Press and violist Roger L’Estrange (1616-1704) commended the 1667 *Compendium of Practical Music* as ‘the Clearest, the most Useful, and Regular Method of Introduction to Musick that is yet extant’.¹⁵⁷ If future evidence were to prove his double existence as a reputed musician and clandestine Jesuit, he would become one of the most fascinating and complex characters in the musical and religious exchanges between seventeenth-century England and the Continent.

The Development of a Solo Bass Viol Repertoire

Over the course of the sixteenth century, a number of developments in the field of viol-making in Italy transformed the early ‘viole grande da archetto’ that had arrived with migrant Aragonese musicians during the Borgia papacies of fellow Spaniards Calixtus III and Alexander VI.¹⁵⁸ These instruments, with their flat fronts, low-curvature bridges and minimal internal support, were frequently described as sweet-sounding in contemporary accounts. Iconographic and archival evidence suggests that, within a very short time of their arrival, different-sized versions of the instrument with rounder bridges for the purpose of playing polyphonic music were relatively common in Italy.¹⁵⁹ This resulted in a process of experimentation and progressive change towards more arched

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Mace, *Musick’s Monument, or, A Remembrance of the Best Practical Musick, Both Divine, and Civil, that Has Ever Been Known, to Have Been in the World* (London, 1676), p.151.

¹⁵⁶ Matthew Locke, *Observations upon a Late Book, Entituled, ‘An Essay to the Advancement of Musick, etc.’ Written by Thomas Salmon, M.A. of Trinity College in Oxford* (London, 1672), p.32.

¹⁵⁷ For L’Estrange and his musical activities, see Andrew Ashbee ‘“My Fiddle is a Bass Viol”: Music in the Life of Roger L’Estrange’, in Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (eds.), *Roger L’Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot, 2008), pp.149-66.

¹⁵⁸ Federigo Stefani (ed.), *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 58 vols (Venice, 1879-1902), vi, p.175.

¹⁵⁹ Woodfield, *Early History*, pp.97-98; Renato Meucci, ‘Early Evidence of the Viola da Gamba in Italy’, in Susan Orlando (ed.), *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, Magnano, Italy, 29 April-1 May 2000* (Solingen and Turin, 2002), pp.17-34.

fronts, increased internal support, steeply down-sloping shoulders and a narrow upper body with a canted bend designed to meet the glued neck joint.¹⁶⁰ It was presumably some type of this evolving instrument that reached Henry VIII's court in 1540, when a group of six Sephardic musicians from Venice, Milan and Brescia, first recorded as the 'neue vialle(s)', galvanised courtly viol playing.¹⁶¹

The earliest instruction books for the viol appeared in print in Italy during the 1540s and 1550s. These highly influential works by Sylvestro Ganassi (1492-after 1543) and Diego Ortiz (c.1510-c.1570) included technical advice, lessons on ornamenting cadential figures, examples of unaccompanied ricercares, madrigals arranged for solo voice and viol, and improvisations on well-known bass patterns such as the *romanesca* and *passamezzo*.¹⁶² Ortiz seems to have introduced a curious technique of extemporising a decorated viol part over a keyboard reduction of an existing polyphonic work. Over the following eight decades it would develop into what is known as *viola bastarda* or *alla bastarda* playing. The advanced techniques evolved by this school of performer-composers crystallized in works of dazzling virtuosity, especially between 1584 and 1626. This highly idiomatic repertoire, which featured agile *passaggi* exploiting the instrument's naturally large range, constituted the earliest virtuoso music for the solo bass viol. The defining traits present in this improvisatory genre were to become the cornerstones of the development of future solo viol repertoires in England and elsewhere.¹⁶³

From the middle of the sixteenth century, the viol in England had ceased to be the exclusive domain of foreign players at court. Viols were introduced into

¹⁶⁰ For the structural development of the viol in sixteenth-century Italy, see Woodfield, *Early History*, pp.118-39.

¹⁶¹ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.68-77.

¹⁶² For Ganassi, see Howard Mayer-Brown and Giulio Ongaro, 'Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego', *GMO*; Ian Gammie, 'Sylvestro Ganassi: *Regola Rubertina* (1542), *Letzione Seconda* (1543); a Synopsis of the Text Relating to the Viol', *Chelys*, 8 (1978-9), pp.23-30; R. Bodig, 'Ganassi's *Regola Rubertina*', *JVdGSA*, 18 (1981), pp.13-66; and *JVdGSA*, 19 (1982), pp.99-163. For Ortiz, see Woodfield, *Early History*, pp.155-81.

¹⁶³ For a discussion of this repertoire and its associated techniques, see Lucy Robinson, 'Viola bastarda', *GMO*; Veronika Gutmann, 'Viola bastarda: Instrument oder Diminutionspraxis', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 35 (1978), pp.178-209; Jason Paras, *The Music for the Viola Bastarda* (Bloomington, 1986). For the influence of *viola bastarda* practice on the artistic development of Claudio Monteverdi, see James Bates, 'Monteverdi, the Viola Bastarda Player', in Orlando (ed.), *The Italian Viola da Gamba*, pp.53-72.

London choir schools such as Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal for the instruction of children. The legacy of this practice cannot be underestimated, as it supplied the professional scene for decades with highly trained musicians who had skill on the viol and a good knowledge of its associated repertoires.¹⁶⁴ By the third quarter of the century interest in playing viols had reached many wealthy households throughout England.¹⁶⁵ As the instrument became increasingly popular, English viol makers such as John Rose (fl.1552-1561) saw their business flourish and even ventured into the export trade. His son and namesake (d.1611) may have developed the procedure of making viol fronts by bending a structure made out of five separate pieces. This constructional characteristic, which gave his instruments the distinctive and clear tone for which they were famed, was adopted and evolved by later makers such as Henry Jaye of Southwark (fl. c.1610-1667), Richard Meares the elder (fl. c.1665-1690) and Barak Norman (1651-1724).

A repertoire for string consort emerged during the 1520s and 1530s alongside these developments. Untexted instrumental transcriptions of vocal music such as madrigals, motets and chansons, as well as ensemble pavans and galliards, had acquired some popularity by the 1540s. Henry VIII's inventory of 1547 detailed 19 'Vialles greate and small' and by the time of Elizabeth's coronation in January 1559, well-organized consorts consisting of different sizes of 'violles' were fashionable.¹⁶⁶ This instrumental formation attracted the attention of contemporary composers during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, which crystallized in the emergence of distinctive genres such as the In Nomine, the consort song, and verse anthem.¹⁶⁷ Over the following decades numerous composers in England and elsewhere made notable contributions to all of the

¹⁶⁴ Ian Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at some English Cathedral Churches, c.1594-c.1645: Archival Evidence', *Chelys*, 19 (1990), pp.3-15. For the impact of this model on the musical structures of private households at the turn of the century (c.1590-1600), see Woodfield, *Early History*, p.227.

¹⁶⁵ A list of relevant references dated 1550-1575 can be found in Woodfield, *Early History*, pp.211-12.

¹⁶⁶ GB-Lbl, Harleian MS 1419; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.58-77.

¹⁶⁷ For these processes, see P. Doe, 'The Emergence of the In Nomine: Some Notes and Queries on the Work of Tudor Church Musicians', in E. Olleson (ed.), *Modern Musical Scholarship* (Stocksfield, 1980), pp.79-92; P. Brett, 'The English Consort Song, 1570-1625' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 88 (1961-1962), pp.73-88; J. Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthem' *EM*, 6 (1978), pp.381-85.

aforementioned repertoires, as well as to suites of fashionable dances and essentially abstract developing forms such as the fantasia.

As early as the 1550s, musicians in England were keen to take ensemble repertoire as a starting point to improvise and write diminutions, as can be seen from GB-Lbl, Royal Appendix MSS 74-76, where florid parts were recorded, perhaps to go with keyboard reductions of existing pavans and galliards.¹⁶⁸ It may well be that these techniques were further refined by Italian musicians working in Prince Henry's household before 1612, such as violinists and composers Angelo Notari (1566-1663) and Thomas Lupo. If Italian musicians in England did extemporise Ortiz-like *glosas* on harmonic patterns, it is not surprising that there may be no written records of this activity. The broad range of genres to which one might also apply the creative procedures described by Diego Ortiz was echoed over a century later in England by Simpson's remark that 'A Continued Ground used for Playing or Making Division upon, is (commonly) the Thorough-Bass of some Motet or Madrigal, proposed or selected for that purpose'.¹⁶⁹

Evidence from one manuscript set of part-books copied by the Gloucester musician John Merro – GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247 – may illuminate the transition from ensemble works to solo repertoire in England in the early decades of the seventeenth century. John Merro (d.1636) transcribed a large amount of lra-viol music and consort music in three parts into this source, and he also included some of the earliest examples of English solo division literature. Five single-line florid pieces for treble stringed instrument (possibly the violin) in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247, as well as three sets of bass viol divisions on dances ('Cormacks Almane by Daniell Nercum', 'Sr Thomas Brooks Pavin' and 'Cuttings Galliard'), and a further seven sets of *bastarda*-style divisions on madrigals (both by immigrant and English composers) serve to exemplify these compositional processes in practice.¹⁷⁰ Two of the *bastarda* sets

¹⁶⁸ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.90-103.

¹⁶⁹ Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol* (London, 1667), p.57.

¹⁷⁰ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.205-11. The significance of Cormack's Alman is explored in chapter four.

are attributed to ‘Alfonso’, and it may well be that Ferrabosco *the younger* was responsible for all seven.

In addition, a group of ten decorated parts for treble stringed instrument in this source – the first of these labelled ‘The first pavin to a ground’ – suggests an interesting link with Italian harmonic sequences and dance music. They are based on four pavan and galliard pairs and two single pavans (seven of them survive with their bass parts), and all but one of these make reference to established Italian ground basses such as the *Passamezzo Antico* and *Passamezzo Moderno*. Divisions on double grounds could have their origin on a tradition of diminution on the basses of binary ensemble dances. This is clearly the case with several of the pieces in this source, but it may be that a thorough study of the repertoire shows this to be more common. In order to better contextualise Poole’s solo music for the viol, the development of solo repertoires will be briefly explored.

Two separate techniques were developed in the early 1600s in England in the context of the performance of solo bass viol music, namely ‘lyra-way’ and ‘division’, each with its own distinctive style, notational practices, tuning methods and idiosyncrasies. Because these repertoires tended to be executed on bass instruments somewhat smaller than the consort bass, such extant instruments have traditionally been labelled lyra-viol or division-viol, and there has been some scholarly controversy surrounding the question of whether the denominations refer exclusively to the practices or denote specific types of instrument.¹⁷¹ In terms of set-up, there is some evidence that strings on viols intended for division and lyra repertoire were both ‘laid at the like nearness to the Finger-board, for ease and convenience of Stopping’. The bridge of a division-viol was preferred to be rounder ‘that so each several String may be hit with a bolder touch of the Bow’.¹⁷² However, it is most likely that players would play lyra-viol music on whatever bass viol happened to be ready at hand. On 25

¹⁷¹ See J. Lejeune, ‘The Lyra-Viol: an Instrument or a Technique?’, *The Consort*, 31 (1975), pp.125-31; Annette Otterstedt, *Die Englische Lyra-Viol: Instrument und Technik* (Kassel, 1989).

¹⁷² Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, p.2.

July 1663 Samuel Pepys attended a gathering where the lady of the house and her sister sang ‘to a viall’ after dinner. Pepys then:

...took the viall and played some things from one of their books,
Lyra-lessons, which they seemed to like well.¹⁷³

By the time Poole and his contemporaries were writing their solo bass viol music, this distinction had become somewhat blurred, in as much as lyra-viol repertoire became increasingly exposed to diminution techniques, and division-viol music incorporated the large leaps, the broken chords and the polyphonic and homophonic textures naturally associated with the lyra manner. Seven early sets of lyra-viol divisions by William Corkine survive, including some referred to as ‘descants upon old grounds’.¹⁷⁴ John Playford’s *Musick’s Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652) included simple variations on the ‘Chicona’ and ‘Canaries’, two harmonic sequences belonging in the sphere of the art of diminution, as well as one ‘Almane with Division’ by Dr. [Charles] Col[e]man.¹⁷⁵ In addition, a set of divisions on a ground by ‘Poli’ making considerable use of double-stopping and chords survives in ordinary notation in a division-viol source, and in tablature in a collection of lyra-viol music. However, both styles will be discussed separately, as they represent two fundamentally different conceptions of music-making, and an awareness of their respective features and repertoires will help the reader recognise significant trends and stylistic influences in later music.

Throughout the period in question, the division-viol was customarily tuned D–G–c–e–a–d’, although the extant repertoire shows the lowest string was sometimes tuned to C as dictated by the range of the part, and especially in the keys of C and F, where a low C is a useful addition. Division-viol music was a fundamentally extemporised tradition, one in which the player made use of ground basses, and occasionally ballad tunes and airs, in order to improvise virtuoso diminutions. Some of these ostinati were well-known Italianate bass

¹⁷³ Latham and Matthews, *Pepys*, iv, pp.244-45.

¹⁷⁴ See Graham Nelson, ‘The Lyra-Viol Variation Sets of William Corkine’, *Chelys*, 17 (1988), pp.17-23.

¹⁷⁵ Playford, *Musick’s Recreation*, pp.17, 28 and 36-37.

patterns such as the *passamezzo*, *romanesca*, *folia* and *ciacona*. Others were composed for this purpose, some of them becoming popular amongst violists in turn and acquiring fame of their own. Such is the case with *Polewheele's Ground*, *Tregian's Ground* and numerous other anonymous recurrent ostinato basses. Mace described the ground as:

a set Number of Slow Notes, very Grave, and Stately; which (after It is express'd Once, or Twice, very Plainly) then He that hath Good Brains, and a Good Hand, undertakes to Play several Divisions upon It, Time after Time, till he has shew'd his Bravery, both of Invention and Hand.¹⁷⁶

This clearly was a style of performance that required the violist not only to be technically adroit, but to have a good knowledge of composition and harmony as well. In his comprehensive 1659 treatise, *The Division-Violist*, Christopher Simpson declared extemporised division on a ground to be 'the Perfection of the viol' and considered the performance of written out division to be 'lesse to be admired'.¹⁷⁷ When notated, typically for didactic purposes, bass viol divisions tended to be written down using the conventional five-line stave. *The Division-Violist*, the most important contemporary publication to do so, was designed to promote and teach the art of division upon a ground. Simpson offered extensive advice on good posture, effective bowing, fingering 'holds' intended to maximise resonance, improvisation techniques and ornamentation. The table of additional graces includes 'beats', 'elevations', single and double 'backfalls' and 'relishes', and a 'Shake or Tremble with the Bow, like the Shaking-Stop of an Organ', presumably a sort of 'tremolo' effect which he did not commend 'the frequent use thereof'.¹⁷⁸ No way of notating this method of gracing is offered.

Solo bass viol divisions must have been improvised by countless musicians up and down the country, and many anonymous written-down examples survive. Sets of notated divisions are extant by composer-performers such as Charles

¹⁷⁶ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, p.129.

¹⁷⁷ Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, p.21.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.9-10.

Coleman, Henry Butler, Hugh Facy, Dieterich Stoeffken, William Young, Daniel Norcombe, John Withy, Francis Withy, Edward Withy, Maurice Webster, Christopher Simpson, [Francis?] Polewheele, Anthony Poole and John Jenkins. In addition, sets of divisions for pairs of bass viols were composed by Jenkins and Simpson, who also penned sets scored for violin, bass viol and continuo. Ayres, fancies, dance movements and sonatas incorporating division-style writing scored for one or more treble instruments (most likely violins), bass viol and continuo became increasingly popular in the second half of the seventeenth century, and fine examples survive, notably the fantasia-suites of John Jenkins and William Lawes.¹⁷⁹

By contrast, playing the viol *lyra-way* was not an improvised manner of performance. The repertoire was carefully notated in a form of tablature that made use of French lute tablature symbols and strove to spell out distinctive nuances of interpretation. In one of the earliest printed collections of pieces for the instrument, Tobias Hume (*c.*1579-1645) required the violist to play slurs, ‘thumps’ (left-hand *pizzicato*), and even *col legno*, when he stipulated ‘Drum this with the backe of your Bow’.¹⁸⁰ The principal feature of the *lyra-way* is its fundamentally contrapuntal discourse, although agile melody and rich homophonic textures are also employed. The very name of the instrument and the chordal idiom that was its chief appeal had powerful associations with Orpheus’s lyre, the ultimate paradigm of the power of instrumental harmony. It was this polyphonic potential that made the ‘base by tablature after the leero fashion’ a perfect partner to the human voice in the song settings that were written with it in mind,¹⁸¹ an ideal companion for the hours of solitude, and a wonderful instrument to deploy in twos and threes to create ensembles of intoxicatingly rich resonance.

A wealth of variant tunings were devised during the course of the seventeenth century in order to maximise this resonance potential. Their use, made possible by the flexible nature of tablature notation, ameliorated the limitations of a

¹⁷⁹ See chapter four.

¹⁸⁰ Tobias Hume, *The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish and Others Together* (London, 1605).

¹⁸¹ Richard Jones, *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (London, 1601).

bowed instrument only able to play simultaneously notes produced on adjacent strings. More than 50 such tuning methods had been formulated and composed for by 1676, when Mace stated that ‘Truly I believe, that the Wit of Man shall never Invent Better Tunings..., for questionless, All Ways have been Tried to do It’.¹⁸² There is some evidence to suggest that bass viols intended for lyra repertoire were strung more lightly than ordinary consort basses, presumably (among other reasons) to avoid unresponsive, very low-tension stringing. Simpson stated that a viol for division would have ‘strings a little bigger than those of a Lyra-viol’ and Peter Leicester concurred when he advised that one’s lyra-viol should ‘be small stringed, so will it stand higher & goe more sweetely’.¹⁸³ Early experiments with the addition of sympathetic strings resulted – shortly before 1610 – in either Daniel Farrant (c.1575-1651) or Arthur Gregory (fl.c.1610) inventing the baryton in English court circles.¹⁸⁴

A large corpus of works for the lyra-viol survives, including solos, music for two and three lyra-viols, songs with lyra-viol accompaniment, and music for lyra-viol and other instruments. This repertoire spans virtually the whole of the seventeenth century, and comprises both printed music and manuscript collections and anthologies.¹⁸⁵ It includes music by composer-players Alfonso Ferrabosco *the younger*, Daniel Farrant, William Corkine, Tobias Hume, Thomas Ford, John Drew, John Coprario, Charles Coleman, William Lawes and John Jenkins, both in ordinary and variant tunings.¹⁸⁶ It consists primarily of binary and ternary dance movements, and a few fantasia-like preludes. When John Playford’s *Musick’s Recreation on the Lyra Viol* appeared in 1652, it was printed along with ‘a few Briefe and necessary Directions, especially for yong beginners, who live in the Countrey, and far from any Master or Teacher’.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, p.200.

¹⁸³ Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, p.2; Peter Leicester, *A Booke of Lessons for the Lyro:virole* (1670) MS, Cheshire Record Office, DLT/8 31, 40.

¹⁸⁴ Holman, ‘An Addicion of Wyer Stringes Beside the Ordenary Stringes’.

¹⁸⁵ Frank Traficante, ‘Lyra viol’, *GMO*; ‘Music for the Lyra Viol: the Printed Sources’, *Lute Society Journal*, 8 (1966), pp.7-24; ‘Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources’, *Chelys*, 8 (1978-79), pp.4-22.

¹⁸⁶ Frank Traficante, ‘Lyra Viol Music? A Semantic Puzzle’, in Ashbee and Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time*, pp.325-34.

¹⁸⁷ Playford, *Musick’s Recreation*, preface.

In spite of the many differences between division- and lyra-viol music, one thing is common to both strands of solo bass viol playing in seventeenth-century England. In the effort to impress with swift, imaginative division, and in the intent to stir affections with audacious harmonies and textures, the presence of a second party is implicit. The role of a necessary audience is inferred, someone to astound, move, dazzle and entertain; and this is fundamentally different from the inward-looking, aristocratic and sophisticated gestures of the viol consort. The several generations of extraordinary English violists who trained in these novel techniques were soon to discover that, while turbulent times lay ahead at home, fresh and eager audiences awaited across the English Channel. Conversely, their travels brought them into contact with the latest formal developments – notably the emergence in Europe of multi-movement sonata forms – and their contributions in this style became ground-breaking in the history of English music.

With the necessary perspective afforded by the backgrounds sketched in this introduction, an appreciative exploration of Poole's biographical details and musical achievements can now be undertaken.

Chapter 2

A Biographical Account of Anthony Poole

The earliest documentary evidence of Poole's life is the record of his *Responsa*, three answers to the entrance questionnaire on arrival at the English College in Rome. The record is labelled with his latinised name 'Antonius Polus' and carries an endorsement corroborating that he was admitted on 19 October 1646.

1. Ego Antonius Polus filius Georgii Poli et Ursulae Thuheits nobilium natus Spinkel Comitatus Darbiensis Fratres Sorores et Cognatos semper habui Catholicos.

2. Annum agens duodecimum, tunc primum Parentes relinquens ex Anglia veni, et studiis humanoribus ad annos quinque operam dedi Audomari. Valetudine mediocri usus.

3. Mortuo Patre, qui Regis et Fidei causa adversus Parlamentarios decertans occubuit, Romam veni anno aetatis decimo octavo, ut ibi in collegio Anglicano, iuxta eiusdem collegii disciplinam, ac regulas degens, Deo et Patriae in vita Ecclesiastica faeliciter insirvirem.¹

1. I, Anthony Poole, of noble birth, son of George Poole and Ursula Thwaites, born in Spinkhill, in the County of Derby, have brothers, sisters and cousins who were always Catholic.

2. In my twelfth year, and leaving my parents for the first time, I came over from England and applied myself to studying humanities for five years at St Omers. I am of average health.

¹ Anthony Kenny (ed.), *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome* 2 vols, CRS 54-55 (Newport, 1962-1963), ii, p.500. The standard questionnaire for the period can be found in the introduction to vol.2.

3. After the death of my father, killed for King and Faith fighting against the Parliamentarians, I came to Rome in my eighteenth year so that, by abiding by the rules and discipline of the English College here, I may happily serve God and Homeland as an ecclesiastic.

Poole's account of the first 18 years of his life is unusually informative, as most contemporary students' *Responsa* tended to be very economical with the details of their Catholic upbringing in England. This was probably a precaution taken for fear that defectors could compromise the safety of the network of underground Catholic missions that operated in England, where overt recusancy carried heavy fines and punishment. Catholic education had been outlawed since Elizabeth I's reign, and serious penalties were in place in order to dissuade recusants from bringing their offspring up as Catholics, including the possibility of children being taken into custody.² These answers provide us with a starting point for outlining a framework for Poole's early life. Poole's first answer reveals that he was born to noble parents in Spinkhill, Derbyshire. It identifies them as George Poole and Ursula Thwaites, and explains that his entire extended family was Catholic.³

Childhood in England

Seventeenth-century Spinkel [Spinkhill], in the parish of Eckington, in the hundred of Scarsdale, was an isolated spot in north Derbyshire. Given its current position barely one mile from junction 30 on the M1, it is difficult to imagine that at the time no main roads passed through or even remotely near Spinkhill or neighbouring Barlborough, Renishaw and Killamarsh. The region had a long history of participation in Catholic intrigues, and – despite the repression of several generations past – there remained a small but significant number of

² Arthur Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II 1547-1689* (London, 1963), especially pp.107-08 and 272-73.

³ Different versions of Anthony's surname, such as 'Poole', 'Pole', 'Polus', 'Poli' and 'Poul', appear in different documents. While 'Polus' crops up most frequently in official Jesuit sources, and 'Pole' is ubiquitous in records connected with Spinkhill, 'Poole' tends to be the preferred choice in musical sources. Perhaps the composer favoured this version in an attempt to get others to pronounce correctly. When not quoting, and in the interest of clarity, I have adopted the form 'Poole' throughout this study.

Catholic sympathisers among the middling and lesser gentry.⁴ These included the Eyres of Hassop and Dunston, the Foljambes of Barlborough, the Hewitts and Marshalls of Killamarsh, the Jacksons and Eltofts of Spital, and above all the Pooles of Spinkhill. The Poole family's extended links through marriage included other Catholic families such as the Meynells of North Kilvington, the Thwaites of Marston, and the Ingleby family of Ripley. In addition, the Powtrells of West Hallam, the Vaux of Stanley Grange and the Pierreponts of Holbeck were also notable local Catholics.⁵



Fig.2.1: The hundred of Scarsdale. Detail from the plate showing Derbyshire in Joan Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive, Atlas Novus*, part IV (1648). By permission of Leiden Regional Archives. Spinkhill lies on the northern boundary of the wooded area depicted to the north-west of Barlborough.

By the time Anthony was born, Spinkhill had been in the hands of the Poole family for three generations. His great-grandfather, George Poole of Wakebridge (d.1583), had obtained it as a result of his marriage to local heiress Ellen Hazleurst.⁶ They owned land and property, and in 1558 a dispute concerning property was settled ‘between James Asheton and Richard Junce Plaintiffs & German Poole & Elena his wife Deforciants in re Spynkell. The former Parties

⁴ Turner, ‘A More Unobserved and Convenient Location’, p.181, especially footnote 31.

⁵ Paul Walker, *Church of the Immaculate Conception Spinkhill* (Sheffield, 1990), p.7. For the Pierreponts of Holbeck Hall, see Hendrik Dijkgraaf, *The Library of a Jesuit Community at Holbeck, Nottinghamshire (1679)* (Cambridge, 2003), especially pp.61-69.

⁶ Derbyshire Record Office, D.1233. See also Walker, *Church of the Immaculate Conception*, especially pp.6-13. In 1306 a capital messuage was rented at Spinkhill from Sir Robert Stuteville (Sitwell?) by a William Tripel. Walker has argued it was an heiress of Tripel who married into the Hazlehurst family at the end of the fourteenth century. It seems that when Ellen Hazlehurst married George Poole, she was entitled to the Spinkhill properties.

surrender to the latter and their lawful issue the properties in question'.⁷ On 13 May 1583 'George Poole of Spynkehill Gent.' is recorded leasing land 'for 41 years to James Haslam, under the yearly rent of 14s'.⁸ Six of their children survived infancy, including Francis (1566-1591) and George Poole (1586-1635).

Francis inherited Spinkhill Hall and passed it on to his son, George (d.1642/1644), while the Pooles of Park Hall in Barlborough were descended from Francis's brother, George.⁹ The family link with the Society of Jesus can be traced back to the inception of the family line, as three other children born to George and Ellen became Jesuits. Gervase (1572-1641) trained at the English College in Rome and then returned to England to carry out his missionary work.¹⁰ John (1574-1604), who also trained at the English College in Rome, was subsequently posted to Valladolid in order to take up an appointment as theology lecturer at the English College there, where he died.¹¹ German (1578-1648) appears to have been ordained in Seville and also returned to England as a missionary.¹²

⁷ Derbyshire Record Office, D.1233, bundle 3/29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, bundle 3/30.

⁹ Turner, 'A More Unobserved and Convenient Location', pp.183-84. Turner's article includes a more extensive family chart including the Pooles of Park Hall, in Barlborough. Unfortunately this chart was printed with some errors, but an amended version of it can be found in volume 29/3 (May, 2009).

¹⁰ McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, ii, pp.268-69; Henry Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols (London, 1877-1884) vii/1, pp.611-12.

¹¹ McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, ii, p.269; Foley, *Records*, vii/1, p.613.

¹² McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, ii, p.268; Foley, *Records*, vii/2, p.611.

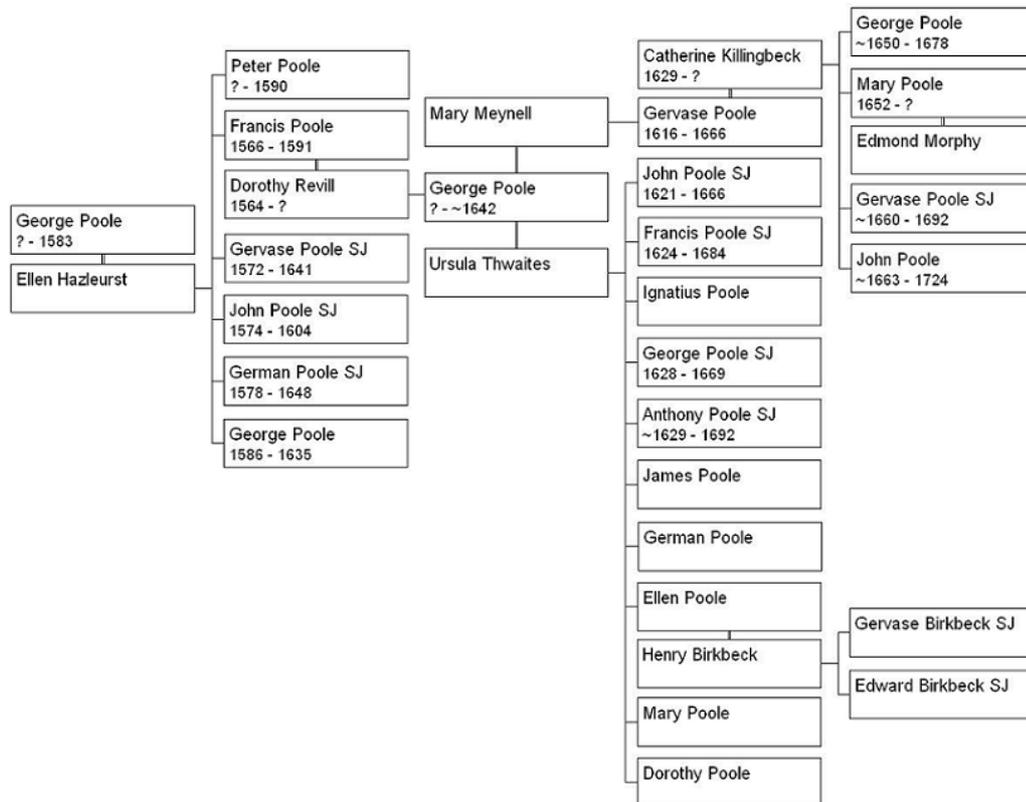


Fig.2.2: Family chart for Anthony Poole and the Pooles of Spinkhill.

German and Gervase Poole were active and high-profile members of the subversive and well-structured Jesuit network that propped up recusants in seventeenth-century England. This system of safe-houses and contacts could be used by priests moving secretly around the country, supporting private worship and promoting Catholic teachings. This was a perilous enterprise, and in 1614 Gervase was captured and made a prisoner at Newgate.¹³ A letter written fifteen years earlier by German to Gervase in Rome was intercepted, and it provides us with an insight into the relationship between the two brothers and the nature of the underground Catholic activity in Spinkhill. When discussing the prospect of Gervase's return to England, and the fact that this meant they would not coincide with one another in Rome, German says:

¹³ Foley, *Records*, vii/1, pp.611-12. For an account of how Gervase was apprehended in the process of freeing his brother German, see Foley, *Records*, vii/2, p.1050. A transcript of a letter sent by Gervase to the Father General from captivity can be found in Foley, *Records*, vii/2, pp.1087-88. The warrant for Gervase's delivery to the ambassador of the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Archduke Albert, and his removal from England, can be found in Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I, 1611-1618* (London, 1858), lxxxiii, 25.

I rather desire it than otherwise, for that I doubt since Mr. Hynacre's [Lynacre?] death, my mother hath seldom had the company of any good priests, except at Mrs. Ayre's [Eyre?] of Dunstone, which also you know could not be often, and at my brother George's, there hath none been received to say Mass since he was married, by reason of the evil counsel of my sister's friends. [...] Your very loving brother, German Poole.¹⁴

By 1625 both priests were running a clandestine school for Catholic boys at Stanley Grange, a secluded spot near West Hallam, some six miles north-west of Derby. On 17 November 1625, when the enterprise was first discovered by the Privy Council, Stanley Grange was described, perhaps exaggeratedly, as being set up to accommodate a total of 'forty or fifty persons at the least'.¹⁵ For a further ten years, and under the patronage of Anne Vaux, the house continued to function as a preparatory school for the *Seminario Audomarense*, the English College at Saint-Omer.¹⁶ In 1633 Stanley Grange was reported to be educating around 20 boys in 'doctrine, music, morals and virtue'.¹⁷ While this may clearly not have been intended to be a comprehensive account of the curriculum, it is a first indication of the status and function of musical instruction at this Jesuit centre. Two years later, things changed quite dramatically, when in July 1635 the Privy Council decided to take action and issued the following warrant:

Whereas we are informed that there is a school kept at the house of Mrs Vaux, called Stanley Grange, in the county of Derby, and that there are sons of divers persons of quality brought up under the tutorage of the Jesuits, contrary to the rules of this kingdom. These are therefore to will and require you to make your repair to the

¹⁴ GB-Lpro, State Papers, Domestic, 1599, cclxxii/79, quoted in Henry Foley, *Records*, ii, pp.290-291. For the identity of 'Hynacre', see Turner, 'A More Unobserved and Convenient Location', footnote 43.

¹⁵ Twelfth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Appendix, part I: *The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, K. G., Preserved at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire* (London, 1888), pp.227-29.

¹⁶ Beales, *Education under Penalty*, pp.210-11. For a full account of Stanley Grange and the events surrounding its suppression, see Turner, 'A More Unobserved and Convenient Location'. Turner's article corrects several inaccuracies found in earlier literature, notably H. Horn, 'Early History of Spinkhill', *The Mountaineer* (1902), pp.46-50 and 83-86.

¹⁷ McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in England', p.294.

house of the said Mrs Vaux [...] And there if you shall find any Jesuit, or other suspected person, to apprehend him or them, and cause them to be brought to hither to be examined by us, as also all such children as you shall find there; and if they be dispersed, to inform yourself by the best ways and means you can possible whose sons they are, how long they were there at school, and where they now remain. As also to seize upon all such books, papers and Massing stuff as you shall find in the said house, and locking them up in a chest or trunk, cause them also to be sent up hither.¹⁸

‘Mr Lumley’s information’, received by Archbishop Laud on 8 October 1635, stated there were about a dozen children there.¹⁹ Although the house was raided and closed down, and a large amount of devotional and teaching materials were confiscated, nobody seems to have been found or detained. Richard Turner has suggested Vaux and the Jesuits were warned off by a sympathetic contact with access to the deliberations of the Privy Council, perhaps even with Charles I’s sanction. The monarch’s marriage to a Catholic in 1625 and the appointment of William Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 had already exasperated the more puritan factions of the reformed church, and it is clear that a substantial proportion of Charles I’s closest sphere was, at the very least, understanding of the predicament of the Catholic gentry. In any case, by 1636 the school had moved to ‘a more unobserved and convenient location’, where it continued to operate under the same two Jesuit fathers.²⁰ Turner has shown that this alternative location was most likely to be Spinkhill, the seat of the prominent Poole family, where Henry Wigfall of Renishaw reported ‘a great concourse of them [papists]... plotting mischief agaynst us’.²¹

At the time, Spinkhill Hall was in the hands of Anthony Poole’s parents, the recusant George Poole, later an officer in the Royalist army, and his second

¹⁸ GB-Lpro, State Papers Domestic, 1635, ccxiv/74.

¹⁹ GB-Lpro, State Papers Domestic, 1635, ccxix/36.

²⁰ *Litterae* 1636, ARSI, Anglia 33I, pp.673-703.

²¹ Derbyshire Record Office, Gell Collection, D258/38/2/10 quoted in Richard Turner, ‘A More Unobserved and Convenient Location’. The letter reports to Sir John Gell of Hopton on Catholic movements in the area and has been dated c.1636-1642.

wife, Ursula Thwaites. Her family was recorded under the heading ‘Marston Parochia’ amongst Yorkshire papists in 1604 – ‘Mary Thwates wedow, William Thwates, Ellynor his wief, Barbary Gaile, Jayne Thompson, seruant to ye said Mary Thwates, Recusants 1 yere’.²² Although George and Ursula had to compound for £20 annual rent in 1632 and were in arrears with their recusancy fines by 1634, it is clear the Pooles were affluent, land-owning Catholics; their properties were estimated to be worth £250 per annum.²³ In the title deeds of 1711 and 1718, John Poole refers to arrangements to do with a ‘Chapel’ and ‘Best Room and Priest Chamber’. There is no way of knowing when the Pooles of Spinkhill first started using a part of their house as an oratory or private chapel, and it is no longer possible to reconstruct what the original layout may have been. The house and chapel underwent substantial modifications in 1693, 1769 and 1791 before being incorporated into Mount St Mary’s College when it was founded in 1842.

Anthony’s second and third answers furnish us with more detail. He claimed to have come to Rome in his eighteenth year, following five years spent at the Jesuit seminary in Saint-Omer studying humanities. He also claimed that he had first been sent to St Omers in the course of his twelfth year, having lived with his parents up to that point. Since the *Responsa* are dated 19 October 1646, it would seem that Anthony Poole was born between 20 October 1629 and 19 October 1630. This approximation to his date of birth is concordant with four separate references to his age to be found in later sources. In 1665 he was reported to be aged 36; in 1669, 39; in 1675, 46; and in 1681, 51.²⁴ Unfortunately no registers of Catholic baptisms or burials in Spinkhill survive for the years between 1611 and 1757. Although the Poole family had a private burial ground, and may have conducted Catholic christenings, it is not possible to verify this proposed date.²⁵ An alternative interpretation of the *Responsa*, whereby he would have arrived to St Omers and Rome already aged twelve and

²² GB-Ob, Rawlinson MS B.452.

²³ Clare Talbot (ed.), *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, CRS 53 (Newport, 1961), pp.352, 390 and 425.

²⁴ *Catalogi* 1665, 1669, 1675 and 1681, ARSI, Anglia 11, 16 and 18.

²⁵ See M. Doughty, ‘Spinkhill Past and Present’, *The Derbyshire Countryside*, 28/2 (1963), pp.37-38; R. Baines, *Spinkhill and its Registers 1757-1860* (Unpublished, at Mount St Mary’s College Archive, Spinkhill).

eighteen respectively, would suggest he was born between October 1628 and October 1629.²⁶

The composer would therefore have been aged approximately seven at the time the Jesuit school relocated to Spinkhill, so it seems reasonable to assume that he was educated along with the other children whom his great-uncles German and Gervase were teaching at the boarding school that his parents maintained. It can also be estimated that Anthony stayed in Spinkhill until the late summer or early autumn of 1641, when the academic year ordinarily started at St Omers. It has been suggested that the Spinkhill school comprised a small number of students at this time, perhaps just Anthony, his brothers John, Francis, Ignatius and George, Poole cousins from Yorkshire, and a few children of the local gentry.²⁷ Although this state of affairs is likely, it is also worth pointing out that a look at the school staff list shows that the number of Jesuits assigned to it doubled during the pre-war period.

German and Gervase Poole were joined by John Stafford SJ and ‘Mag[ister] Gram[maticae]’ Andrew Sulyard SJ, alias Sutton, between 1635 and 1641.²⁸ Father Sulyard (1604-1673) had been a novice at Watten and was ordained at Liège shortly before arriving in Derbyshire, perhaps in 1634. He appears to have brought his sister’s son with him, a boy a little older than Anthony called George Simeon, born in 1626 in Haughley, Suffolk. At Spinkhill George studied ‘virtutis Doctrinae Musicesque’, ‘virtue, doctrine and music’.²⁹ He proceeded to St Omers c.1640 in order to continue his studies ‘neglecta tamen aliquantulum musica’ and eventually was separated from his uncle.³⁰ This admission that he had ‘somewhat neglected music’ at St Omers is interesting, in that it may imply two things. First, that he had been trained in music before leaving Spinkhill, and second, that there was an expectation, albeit unfulfilled, that he might persevere with it at St Omers. He went on to the English College in Rome by 1 November

²⁶ In the light of this evidence, the 1627 birth date proposed by Henry Foley’s transcription of the Diary of the English College in Foley, *Records*, vii/1, pp.367-68, echoed by later scholars, seems to be derived from a scribal error in the transcription of the *Liber Ruber*.

²⁷ For this hypothesis, see Turner, ‘A More Unobserved and Convenient Location’, pp.182-83.

²⁸ For Stafford and Sulyard, see McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, ii, respectively pp.301 and 306.

²⁹ Kenny, *The Responsa*, ii, p.490.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.490-91.

1645, where he declared he did not intend to become an ecclesiastic. George remained in Rome for 19 months and then returned to England on 26 May 1647 ‘vocatus a suis’, ‘called by his [family]’.³¹

It appears that by the time Anthony got to St Omers in 1641, both George Simeon and his uncle, Andrew Sulyard (also known as Father Sutton) were there already. Sulyard is recorded as ‘praeest musicae’, ‘in charge of Music’, at the college that year alongside Franciscus Morlaeyus.³² In 1644 he returned to England, where he remained except for a brief spell back at St Omers (1646-47).³³ This is evidence that Sulyard was musical himself, so at least one of the four Jesuits resident at Spinkhill was able to contribute to the boys’ musical development. When considered along with George’s remark about his musical training at St Omers, the observation that the boys were taught ‘doctrine, music, morals and virtue’ at Spinkhill, and the fact that a violist-composer of Anthony’s calibre appears to have taken his first musical steps here, this thread of evidence for Sulyard’s musicality begins to suggest a picture of an environment where music, and perhaps more specifically viol playing, were nurtured. What music was taught at Spinkhill, and what music books did the Jesuits have? What musical instruments were available to the school? Who taught the boys to play them? The answers to these questions are elusive because of the lack of evidence.

The library of the Pooles of Spinkhill appears not to have survived, so it is necessary to look at analogous contemporary collections. The Pierreponts of Holbeck Hall, a mere seven miles away in neighbouring Nottinghamshire, kept a Jesuit centre there from at least 1664 and until 1679, although it is not clear at what point members of the Society of Jesus started using this welcoming location as a safe house.³⁴ Their library – now extant at Lambeth Palace – may be comparable, but it contains no music. This does not necessarily mean there

³¹ Wilfrid Kelly (ed.), *Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, Nomina Alumnorum*, 2 vols, CRS 37 and 40 (Leeds, 1940 and 1943), ii, p.34.

³² *Catalogi* 1641, ARSI, Anglia 11. For Jesuit father Francis Morley (alias Brown or Mason), see McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, ii, p.246.

³³ McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, ii, p.306. For a possible identification of Father Sutton with hitherto unidentified composer Pater Switoni, see chapter three.

³⁴ Dijkgraaf, *The Library of a Jesuit Community*, especially pp.69-89.

was not any, as musical material might have been kept separately. The Rolleston inventory is a contemporary account showing a large collection of music housed at the nearby Welbeck Hall, the Duke of Newcastle's Nottinghamshire estate.³⁵ Entitled 'A note of Seuerall Instruments and Setts of bookes Remaining in diuers roomes of the house, taken the 9th of Nouember 1636', it details manuscript copies of solo viol music by Norcombe, Webster, Simpson and Ferrabosco. It also includes printed compilations of *canzonette* and madrigals by Morley and Italian authors, such as those published by Thomas East in London between 1593 and 1600.³⁶

In the absence of more directly relevant evidence, the Rolleston inventory provides us with a starting point to explore what the in-house music collection of the Spinkhill Jesuit fathers could have included, and especially what materials could have been used for the training of the boys. The register mentions Italian madrigals printed in Venice, which could have been brought over from Italy or bought in London, as well as music by Byrd, Wilbye and Dowland. Besides these prints and the manuscripts already mentioned, a few Rolleston inventory items would seem particularly appropriate for training children. For instance, Jean de Castro's two-part chansons and sonets, as well as his three-part madrigals and motets (all printed in Antwerp) might have been suitable teaching materials.³⁷ It is easy to imagine how the Pooles of Spinkhill could have acquired publications such as these, especially with their long-standing connections with English Jesuits operating in Italy and in the Netherlands.

Other collections of obvious educational value, such as Dowland's 1604 *Lachrimae* were still commercially available in the 1630s, when a German nobleman purchased two copies.³⁸ In addition to *Lachrimae*, John Playford's 'Catalogue of all the musick-bookes that have been Printed in England, either for Voyce or Instruments' (possibly produced in 1653) includes Orlando

³⁵ Hulse, 'Apollo's Whirligig'.

³⁶ For Thomas East [Este], see Miriam Miller and Jeremy Smith. 'East, Thomas', *GMO*.

³⁷ Jean de Castro, *Il Primo Libro di Madrigali, Canzoni & Motetti a Tre Voci* (Antwerp, 1569) and *Sonets avec une Chanson, Contenant Neuf Parties, l'une Suivant a l'autre, le Tout à Deux Parties, Tant Convenables à la Voix, Comme aux Instruments* (Antwerp, 1592).

³⁸ O. Mies, 'Elizabethan Music Prints in an East-Prussian Castle' *Musica Disciplina*, 3 (1949), pp.171-72. For a suggestion that the multiple copies could have been bought in order to solve the problems posed by the table layout, see also Holman, *Lachrimae*, p.9.

Gibbons's *c.*1620 '3 part fantasies, graven upon Copper' as well as Thomas Morley's two and three-part canzonets of 1593 and 1595.³⁹ Playford's catalogue also includes William Byrd's five-part English and Latin vocal music, noting that the volumes contain favourites 'Lullaby' and 'Ne irascaris'. Richard Turbet has shown that these two pieces by Byrd were arranged for lute-viols in his time.⁴⁰ Arrangements for mixed consort of two equally well-liked Byrd pavans attest to the popularity of the works by the recusant composer, but there is no evidence to specifically link these arrangements to music-making in Catholic households.⁴¹

The question of instruments is equally problematic. No wills of the Poole clergy, many of whom died overseas, appear to have survived, but amongst the few extant wills of the Poole lay gentry, there is a nuncupative will to which the accompanying inventory includes 'musical and mathematical instruments, £5'. The inventory, valued at over £1100, belonged to Humphrey Poole of Heath, who died in 1667, and was perhaps a well-to-do amateur.⁴² Anthony's half-brother Gervase died in 1666. Although his administration lists no specific bequests of items, the accompanying inventory catalogues the contents of each room and area, complete with furnishings, jewels, household goods, crops and animals, but no musical instruments. However, the rooms in his house are named, and one of them is referred to as the 'Violl Chamber', where the contents listed are one bed, one little cupboard, one little table, three covered chairs and three stools.⁴³

³⁹ Lenore Coral, 'A John Playford Advertisement', *RMARC*, 5 (1965), pp.1-12.

⁴⁰ See Richard Turbet, 'Tough Love: Byrd's Music Arranged for Instruments by his Contemporaries', *VdGSSJ*, 3/2 (2009), pp.113-16, and 'Three Glimpses of Byrd's Music during its Nadir', *The Consort*, 65 (2009), pp.18-28. The source for the arrangement of 'Lulla lullaby' is GB-Lam, MS 600, BE 16/25 (fragmentary), owned by Parliamentarian and clerk to the House of Lords John Browne (ME:OM119). The arrangement of 'Ne irascaris' can be found in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-246 and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17795 f.39^v (BE 2/12), a source copied by John Merro of Gloucester *c.*1625-35.

⁴¹ I am grateful to Richard Turbet for discussing this possibility and the provenance of the sources with me.

⁴² Lichfield Record Office, B/C/11, Humphrey Pole (1667). This testator can almost certainly be identified with Humphrey Poole, the Derbyshire Receiver of Accounts to the Cavendish Earl of Devonshire at nearby Hardwick and Chatsworth since at least the 1650s. There is no proof the Pooles of Heath were related to the Pooles of Spinkhill and Barlborough. I am grateful to Richard H. Turner for drawing this document to my attention.

⁴³ Lichfield Record Office, B/C/11, Gervase Pole (14 August 1666).

This distribution suggests that the space had once been employed for playing (and perhaps storing) viols. The little cupboard could have been used for keeping sets of part-books that one might place flat on the small table in order to play six-part viol-consort music. The additional presence of a bed implies that by 1666 this chamber was being used as a bedroom or as a bedroom for guests, perhaps for visiting musicians. It also implies that within living memory of this date, viol playing at Spinkhill Hall had been sufficiently important to have its own dedicated chamber, possibly in the years the Poole brothers, Stafford and Sulyard run a Jesuit school there. This leads directly to the third question relating to who might have taught these boys to sing, read and write music and possibly to play on the viol.

The most obvious explanation is that one or more of the Spinkhill Jesuit fathers (and most likely Andrew Sulyard) were sufficiently skilled musicians to be exclusively in charge of the musical instruction of the boys. Another possibility is that the boys' music-making was wholly or partly the responsibility of resident tutors or visiting musicians in the service of like-minded local households. Lynn Hulse has convincingly argued that Christopher Simpson may have been employed at this time by William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, at Welbeck Hall.⁴⁴ Newcastle's estate stood less than one mile away from Holbeck Hall and the Jesuit-supporting Pierrepoints. If Simpson were shown to have been a Jesuit, it would make a lot of sense for the Society to have placed a talented and valuable priest like him near a crucial spot within the English mission under the safe cover of a musician's post in the Cavendish household.

Christopher Simpson, the renowned violist, served in the Civil Wars under the command of the duke's younger son, and dedicated his 1667 treatise *A Compendium of Practical Musick* to William Cavendish, noting that the duke had been 'pleased with some things which I formerly composed for your Grace's recreation'. The Oxford viol player and copyist Francis Withy copied Simpson's three-part pavan into GB-Ob, MSS Mus. C.59-60, p.59.⁴⁵ The work is labelled 'at Welbeck', suggesting it was composed there before the start of the

⁴⁴ Hulse, 'Apollo's Whirligig'.

⁴⁵ Francis Withy's activities as a copyist, violist and teacher will be discussed in chapter three.

duke's exile in July 1644. Simpson did not follow his patron into exile, rather taking shelter with the Bolles family of Scampton, under whose patronage he completed *The Division-Violist* (London, 1659). The hint (in the dedication to Bolles) that the work had been 'first suggested by Another' may mean that Simpson was employed at Welbeck between 1639 and 1644 as viol tutor to the duke's family.

William Cavendish was no papist, but he nevertheless maintained cordial relationships with the Catholic community and was reported to have a lack of religious convictions. The Duke of Newcastle played a key role in the local patronage of the arts, and especially music, which has been extensively discussed by others.⁴⁶ The Rolleston inventory includes as many as fifteen viols and four books of divisions belonging to court musician and composer Maurice Webster, at the time employed by Cavendish, most likely at Welbeck.⁴⁷ It is clear that William Cavendish had a strong interest in playing divisions on the bass viol, and that he employed musicians with experience in this art. If Simpson was part of this household and he turned out to have been a Jesuit, as discussed, it would be difficult to imagine that the distinguished violist and teacher did not visit the highly musical Jesuit school at Spinkhill, barely seven miles away.

It seems very likely that Anthony first became acquainted with viols – and in particular with the English idiom and style of playing that his later compositions reflect – in his native Spinkhill. Polyphonic works by Morley, de Castro, Byrd, Wilbye, Dowland and Gibbons, could have had a formative role during the composer's childhood and early youth. The Jesuit school at Spinkhill Hall appears to have been a noteworthy centre for viol playing, and it may have attracted notable visiting teachers, perhaps even division violist and composer Christopher Simpson. Anthony Poole remained there until August 1641 or thereabouts, when he progressed to the English Jesuit College at Saint-Omer. The unstable political and religious situation he left behind was soon to erupt, and months after his departure, the Civil War broke out.

⁴⁶ Hulse, 'Apollo's Whirligig', p.224. For William Cavendish as a patron of the arts, see T. Raylor (ed.), *The Seventeenth Century*, 9/2 (1994), special issue 'The Cavendish Circle'.

⁴⁷ Hulse, 'Apollo's Whirligig', p.225.

A Scholar at St Omers (1641-1646)

By the time Poole arrived at the English Jesuit College of Saint-Omer, the institution could look back on nearly half a century of academic and artistic excellence. The seminary had forged a reputation for training exiled boys in the humanities, with great emphasis on Greek and Latin oratory, extemporised public debate, music and drama. A visitor in 1623 spoke of ‘ye College of Jesuits there, which is I thinke, ye best ordered in ye world’ where one would find ‘the finest youths I ever sawe’ who ‘dyd dispute in Greeke and then in Latine verie elegantly’.⁴⁸ Lewis Owen described how ‘The most part of the Students of this Seminary are Lords, Knights, Gentlemens and rich mens sonnes, who pay some forty, and others thirty pounds, others lesse yeerely for their dyet [...] they are not professed Iesuites [...] but they weare all one kinde of habit, very like to that of the Iesuites’. He also remarked on the fact that ‘Againe, many of their Students, especially those of the better sort have skill in Musicke’.⁴⁹

The town was equidistant from Calais, Gravelines, Boulogne and Dunkirk, which made it ideal for travelling to and from England. Saint-Omer was a strong position to defend in case of conflict; half of its perimeter was surrounded by marshland and the other half was heavily fortified. Although Saint-Omer was geographically removed from the atmosphere of persecution prevalent in England, it was hardly a serene destination. The town was frequently the scene of fighting between the Spanish Habsburgs and the French. It was placed under siege and attacked by Richelieu’s army in 1635, when the register recorded ‘repentino clangor belli’, the ‘sudden clang of war’, and the boys had to be employed repairing defences.⁵⁰ Saint-Omer subsequently suffered the plague in 1636, and, during a further French siege in 1638, the English college had to be

⁴⁸ Surrey History Centre, Loseley MSS LM 132/9 (formerly at the Guildford Muniment Room), quoted in Urquhart, ‘Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?’.

⁴⁹ Owen, *The Running Register*, pp.3-14, especially pp.3-4 and 9. These figures are probably an exaggeration. For the college’s dependence on payment of fees for its economic viability and the provision of bursaries see Geoffrey Holt, ‘Free Places at the College of St Omers and Bruges and at the Liège Academy’ in Thomas McCoog (ed.), *Promising Hope: Essays on the Suppression and Restoration of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (Rome, 2003), pp.111-25.

⁵⁰ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354, *Registrum Audomarensis Anglorum Gymnasii*, f.55.

temporarily evacuated to Ghent.⁵¹ Saint-Omer had a vigorous tradition of Jesuit education. In addition to the college of the English Fathers, there was another one run by Walloon Jesuits, boasting (since at least 1632) its own *Director Musices* with no other functions, which indicates that a thriving musical establishment operated there.⁵²

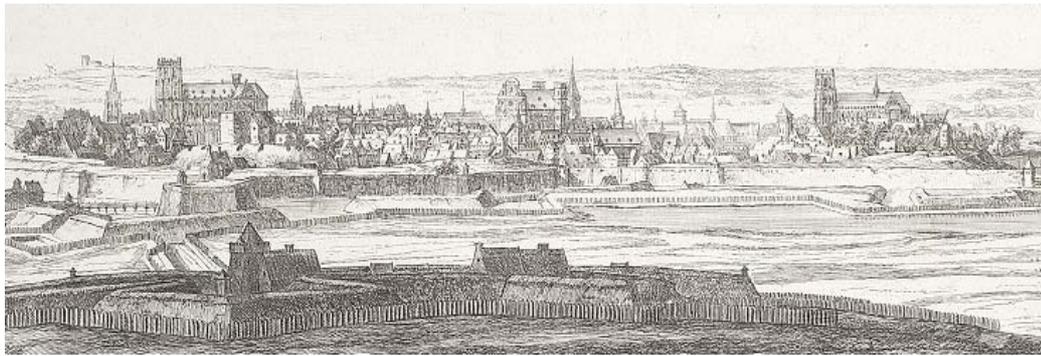


Fig.2.3: Detail from a Saint-Omer engraving by F. Vander Meulen (Paris, 1685), by permission of Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis of Leiden University.

The English Jesuit College had started off with just one large building, to which others were added over time in order to accommodate the teaching, lodging, care, worship and recreation of both priests and students. It is not possible to be certain about the layout of the college during Poole's time because of the catastrophic fire that devastated the seminary in 1684. Although no illustration of the college before the fire is known to have survived, its basic features can be conjectured from contemporary depictions of other classically Jesuit educational institutions in the Low Countries, such as the college of the Antwerp Jesuits (Fig.2.4). Antwerp was arguably the most significant Jesuit centre in the world after Rome, and the city continued to be an important hub for the exiled English community, as I have discussed. It was therefore the obvious model for Ignatian establishments elsewhere in Flanders, perhaps especially so for the exiled English Jesuits.

⁵¹ Thomas Muir, *Stonyhurst* (Cirencester, 1992/R 2006), pp.41-53.

⁵² For the college of the Walloon Jesuits, see Céline Drèze, 'Etude de la Musique chez les Jésuites des Provinces Gallo- et Flandro-belges de 1542 à 1773', PhD thesis (Louvain, 2011); Georges Coolen, 'Le Collège Wallon' (1568-1762) in Pierre Delattre, (ed.), *Les Etablissements des Jésuites en France Depuis Quatre Siècles*, 5 vols (Enghien, 1949-1957), iv, pp.793-886, especially 846.



Fig.2.4: ‘Templum et Domus Professa Soc[ieta].tis Jesu Antverpiae’, etching by Iacobus Neeffs (c.1650) showing the church and house of the Antwerp Jesuits, by permission of Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis of Leiden University.

The scale and outlook of pre-1684 St Omers can also be gleaned from various documents pertaining to its procedures. The seminary’s *Constitutiones*, drafted by Rector Giles Schondonch in 1601, detail four *Aulae Musicorum*, with their relative locations and intended uses. The last one of these would appear to be a balcony room over a stage, presumably a gallery or loggia where musicians positioned themselves in order to perform during theatrical plays and academic ceremonies:

1. Quatuor sunt Aulae musicorum: Supra Refectorium Aula prima. Secunda sub dormitorio S^{ti} Spiritus; aula 3^a ad hortum. Quarta Aula pensilis supra theatrum.

2. Primae Aulae praerit Secundus Praefectus, Secundae Praefectus Primus cum alio collega. Tertiae, Tertius, Quartae Magister Instrumentorum.

3. In prima Aula exercetur potissimum Musica vocum, fidiumque cantus dum adsunt externi. In 2^a docetur Psalmodia et cantus Gregorianus. In 3^a similiter. In 4^a Musica Instrumentorum.⁵³

1. There are four music rooms: The first one is over the refectory, the second one below the Holy Spirit dormitory, the third one by the vegetable garden, the fourth one is the hanging room [balcony?] over the theatre.

2. The Second Prefect will be in charge of the first room; the First Prefect will, with another colleague, have the charge of the Second one. The Third Prefect, of the third one; the teacher of instruments, of the fourth room.

3. In the first room chiefly vocal music is practised, and when the external [teachers] are in attendance, singing with strings. In the second one, psalmody and Gregorian chant are taught. In the third one, likewise. Instrumental music is taught in the fourth one.

The scholars at the English college worked to a rigorous routine. The day began at five in the morning and was governed by a timetable that included sessions devoted to academic study, spiritual meditation, recreation, music and prayer.⁵⁴ The teaching staff, headed by a rector, comprised Jesuits of different ages and degrees of experience, as well as a number of visiting instrumental teachers. Boys of the same age were kept together for the duration of their studies at St Omers, and a Jesuit *praefectus* was given charge of each year-group, assisted by younger Jesuit trainees. Over the five years of study, each group progressed from the *Rudimentarii*, or lowest class, to the highest class of *Rhetores*, through

⁵³ Giles Schondonch, *Constitutiones: Sectio Tertia* (Saint-Omer, 1601). Manuscript copy at Stonyhurst College made in 1904 by Father L. Willaert known as The Custom Book of St Omers, MS C.II.19, pp.13-35, but especially pp.27-30. The original, Louvain University MS 160, perished in 1940, during World War II. It is referred to it as MS. D.321 (160) in William McCabe, 'Music and Dance in a 17th Century College Stage', *MQ*, 24 (1938), pp.313-22. A transcription of Sectio Tertia (V) can be found in William McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater* (St Louis, 1983), pp.114-15.

⁵⁴ Hubert Chadwick, 'Le Collège Anglais (1593-1762)' in Delattre, *Les Etablissements*, iv, pp.886-913.

intermediate years spent as *Grammatici*, *Syntaxistae* and *Poetae*.⁵⁵ Each group held separate academic events, annual retreats and theatrical plays, coming together for music-making, services and other plenary activities.⁵⁶ Several types of penmanship, as well as the in-house musical handwriting, were taught across the school from the start of each group's course. Handwriting was a crucial skill because it revealed one's social standing and education, and this meticulous approach resulted in fairly homogeneous calligraphies, typically a form of italic *bastarda* script, with its decorative loops on letters with ascenders or descenders.

Music Provision

Music at St Omers was rich and varied, and it pervaded every aspect of collegiate life. It played a part in the entertainment of important visitors, animated school liturgy, academic festivities and theatrical plays and, perhaps most importantly, it contributed a fundamental piece of the Jesuit educational ethos; namely, the edifying use of a young man's leisure. Opportunities for informal performance appear to have been frequent, which would have encouraged talent to flourish. A visitor recounted how every day after dinner the rector would go 'to heare them play their musicke, which is in a great Hall over the Refectory'.⁵⁷ In 1602 the newly-appointed Bishop of Arras was reportedly attended by 'Angeli Custodes, qui vario genere musicorum instrumentorum graece latineque personabant', 'Guardian Angels, who played on various sorts of musical instruments and sung in Greek and Latin'.⁵⁸

The section of Schondonch's *Constitutiones* entitled 'Quibus Instrumentis Musicis utendum', or 'What musical instruments are to be made use of', describes various types of music-making and the school's provision of instruments. It opens with the statement that 'Honorata est Musica mere ex violis, ut vocant, in qua Juvenes accurate institui convenit', 'Especially distinguished is the music exclusively for viols, as people call them, in which young men are to be carefully trained'. This acknowledgement of the

⁵⁵ McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*, pp.75-76.

⁵⁶ Basset, *The English Jesuits*, pp.306-08.

⁵⁷ Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime*, p.16.

⁵⁸ *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu Anni 1602* (Antwerp, 1618), pp.684-86.

educational value inherent to ensembles of viols stands against the suggested occasions for the use of mixed consorts:

Permixa tamen varij generis Instrumenta, qua Concentum, seu consortium instrumentorum vocant, (vulgo, the Consort) excipiendis hospitibus et viris honoratis est multo delectabilior, praesertim si et Cantiones ipsae sunt slectae et iucundae.

Nevertheless, music for several types of instruments mixed together, which people call Concentus or Consortium of instruments (in the vernacular, the Consort) is much more agreeable for receiving guests and honourable men, especially if the pieces are well chosen and pleasing.

This is followed by a list of the instruments that part-take in the *Consortium*: ‘Basse Viole, seu Viola de Gamba, Testudo, seu lute, vel eius loco Orpharion, Treble viole, Cythara [et] Fistula’, ‘Bass viol, or Viola da Gamba, *Testudo* or lute, or in its place the orpharion, treble viol, cittern and pipe’. This impressive list of instruments taught and used for chamber music-making at the college, is reminiscent of the scoring in printed broken consort music.⁵⁹ Schondonch adds ‘Si accedat violina, item Bajon, multum addit delectationis et ornamenti’, ‘If the violin is available, and likewise the bajon, it adds much delight and grace’. The source goes on to suggest that:

Commendantur etiam Instrumenta fidibus aenis prefixa, quae non plectro, ut Cythara, sed digitis et ungue carpuntur, cujusmodi sunt Orpharion et nuper inventum in Anglia Psal-mallet, nobis datum ab Inventore. Denique Lyra Hibernica, dum est qui uti norit. Item Theorpea Italica, quae nervis constat.

One may also recommend metal-strung instruments, which are not to be plucked with a plectrum as the cittern, but with fingers and

⁵⁹ See Ian Harwood, *Sweet Broken Music: The Elizabethan and Jacobean Consort Lesson* (Aldershot, forthcoming).

thumb like the orpharion; and the psal-mallett recently invented in England and given to us by the inventor. The Irish harp, if there is anybody who knows how to play it. The Italian theorbo, which is strung in gut.

Under the heading ‘Quo tempore canendum’ or ‘At what times is one to sing’, there is clear evidence in the *Constitutiones* that music had recreational, rather than academic status, and that boys would have perceived music-making as a treat, rather than a chore. ‘Diebus scholarum nullus omnino studiosorum musica aut instrumentis, nisi finitis lectionibus, et academijis ante meridiem occupandus. Diebus dominicis est festis mane ludunt instrumentis ab hora 9^a usque ad 10^a’, ‘On school days no student whatsoever shall occupy himself with music or instruments before noon, and only if academic lessons have finished. On Sundays and feast days they shall play instruments between nine and ten in the morning’. These restrictions do not seem to have impeded music; at this thriving musical establishment there even appears to have been provision for daily instrumental lessons: ‘Licebit cuique qui vel canere vocibus vel instrumentis discit adire quotidie certo tempore Magistros Musicae a quibus docentur, cum venia tamen Superioris’, ‘Let those who learn singing or instruments go every day at a certain time to the music teachers who train them, with permission from the superiors’.

There was an expectation that the *Officiales Musicae* should keep ‘librum musicarum et particularium cantionum, que in unum codicem (ne pereant) referendae sunt’, ‘a book of pieces and particular songs, so they may be preserved in one manuscript (and not be lost)’. This is interesting in that it indicates a convention at St Omers of producing in-house repertoire books with a view to safeguarding particular musical materials. I shall return to this idea in chapter three, in the context of the the discussion of sources of music by Poole. A further entry in the same section of the *Constutiones* provides us with evidence of music-making after the hours of natural light. It stipulates ‘Unus item curam habeat lychnuchorum, ut inferat et referat lumina tempore hyemis’, ‘Likewise, let there be one responsible for candlesticks, so that he may provide and put up lights in winter’.

Other insights can be gleaned from the duties of the *Officiales Musicae*, as stipulated in the aforementioned *Constitutiones*: ‘Sit unus cum collega qui habeat curam instrumentorum Musicorum. Item ut nullum musicum instrumentum mutuo detur vil promittatur ulli externo, sine expressa venia P^{ris} Rectoris. Habeat librum qui contineat catalogum omnium instrumentorum, et Benefactorum qui ea dederint’, ‘Let one and a colleague be responsible for the care of musical instruments, and to ensure no musical instrument be lent or promised to outsiders without the express permission of the father Rector. Let him keep a catalogue of all instruments and the benefactors who donated them’. If it was the case that benefactors were in the habit of donating musical instruments to the college, this suggests the collection might have been a large one, comprising a number of instruments made by English makers, perhaps including some of quality.

The need to regulate the external employment of instruments suggests there was some demand for items of the collection to be used away from St Omers. Perhaps this was the case because St Omers musicians would sometimes take part in musical events that involved taking instruments outside the college. I have not found conclusive evidence to propose English Jesuit musicians from St Omers or their instruments were employed in this way, but there are clues to show performances could take place outside the perimeter of the college. A solemn procession organised by the Walloon Jesuits in 1618 paraded through the streets of Saint-Omer exhibiting martyrs’ relics. It was ‘salué devant la façade des Jésuites anglais par des violons, luths, lyres, épinettes et autres instruments, parvient dans la chapelle des Jésuites où est chantée en musique quelque antienne en l'honneur des saints’, ‘saluted in front of the façade of the English Jesuits by violins, lutes, viols, spinets and other instruments, coming into the Jesuits’ chapel, where some anthem in honour of saints was being sung to music’.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ G. Delamotte and J. Loisel, *Les Origines du Lycée de Saint-Omer: Histoire de l'Ancien Collège (1565-1845)* (Calais, 1910), p.127. I am grateful to Maurice Whitehead for bringing this reference to my attention.

There is some indication that music was one area in which the Saint-Omer English College interacted with other institutions in its vicinity, not least the adjacent Walloon Jesuits. Surviving records for the final decade of the seventeenth century show regular financial accounts between the two Jesuit colleges concerning external musicians, music books and copying services.⁶¹ Amounts as high as £6 are shown with some frequency ‘for musick books’, while a separate instance on 30 March 1698 records £20 ‘I gave to F. Du Puy afterwards what you orderd for the Rhetoric and Musicians Extern’.⁶² A reference dated 1684 provides us with evidence of collaboration with the Liège College ‘[Liège College debet] for writting musick £3-0s-0d’.⁶³ A further entry shows the ‘[Dunkerk Monastery Debet March 1693] for musik £4-10s-0d’.⁶⁴ This presumably refers to the English Benedictine nuns at Dunkirk, a convent at the time under the spiritual direction of the St Omers Jesuits.

The Temporal Returns for 1636 and 1642 show St Omers’ finances were healthy. College income supported 145-150 scholars and generated annual surplus of between 15,254 and 17,884 Roman scudi (between £3,356 and £3,934).⁶⁵ By 1645 the severity of the political situation in England had taken its toll on the seminary, reducing its in-take (and consequently its funding) to less than half the average figures of the previous ten years. Although the college accounts do not mention expenses such as the acquisition and maintenance of music and musical instruments, substantial amounts are associated with ‘libros’ and ‘varia’. At least two organs and one *clavicymbalum* were presented to the college between 1602 and 1620.⁶⁶ Perhaps the Jesuits’ set or sets of viols included instruments by John Rose, Henry Jaye and their contemporaries, but at

⁶¹ B-Anderlecht, Archives de l’Etat, MS26, ‘The Account with the Walloon Fathers’. I am grateful to Céline Drèze for bringing this source to my attention and generously sharing her calendar of musical references with me.

⁶² Ibid., ff.3^v, 37^r, 151^v, 152^r, 176^r and 254^v.

⁶³ Ibid., f.149^v.

⁶⁴ Ibid., f.158^v.

⁶⁵ Foley, *Records*, vii/1, cxxxix-cxlv. See also *Status Collegii Anglorum Audomari* for 1642/1643 (Stonyhurst Archives MS A.IV.13, II), pp.103-06.

⁶⁶ Foley, *Records*, vii/2, pp.1148-57.

present it is not possible to ascertain any additional details pertaining to this collection beyond the evidence I have presented here.⁶⁷

Theatre Music

Theatrical plays at St Omers are documented from 1597 and continued in more or less unbroken tradition until 1676, when the French army placed the town under siege.⁶⁸ The didactic use of theatre was not a Jesuit invention, but the use of dramatic plays in the context of Jesuit education did have some special features. Against the background of a seminary that trained boys in humanistic disciplines such as rhetoric, poetry and grammar, Latin theatre would enliven the learning process and help develop linguistic and memory skills. Eloquence, decorous gesture, and clear and meaningful declamation were considered skills of the greatest importance, as can be seen from the *Ratio Studiorum*.⁶⁹ Such carefully cultivated boys could be expected to grow into men able to stand gracefully in front of an audience and deploy their most persuasive rhetorical weapons. Equipping them with the ability to put a case forward in order to move and influence the minds and hearts of others remained a fundamental goal of the Jesuit educational enterprise.

Theatrical plays also served an edifying and doctrinary purpose, with Biblical stories, Greek tragedies and the lives of martyrs over-represented among the subject matters. In addition it provided enlightened entertainment and diversion for both scholars and masters, and supported the Jesuit proselytizing procedure of engaging the young from the higher classes through excellence in the arts. While there can be no doubt all of the above were the fundamental motives behind the surge of drama in Jesuit colleges, members of the Society also recognised the potential of theatrical plays in terms of raising the profile of a school and securing patronage. When stating the educative benefits of these

⁶⁷ Urquhart, 'Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?', especially p.16. Urquhart's claim that the college had a fine collection of musical instruments cannot be corroborated using evidence from Album Boitel 43251-4, 98-5, no.226 at the Bibliotheque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer.

⁶⁸ McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*, pp.81-100.

⁶⁹ *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (Rome, 1586, R3/1599), especially the chapter concerning the rules for the teacher of rhetoric. See also Étienne Ganty *et al.* (eds.), *Tradition Jésuite et Pratique Pédagogique: Histoire et Actualité* (Namur and Brussels, 2002).

dramatic performances, the Jesuit academic Jacobus Spanmüller Pontanus (1542-1626) did not omit to mention that excellent stage-work by underprivileged students often moves the wealthy and noble to generosity, and that fine plays bring renown to the Jesuit schools and their teachers.⁷⁰

Six large-scale Latin tragedies were given by St Omers students between August 1641 and October 1646, respectively the times of Anthony Poole's arrival and departure. This unusually low number reflects the absence of performances between 1644 and 1645, owing to England being on its '4um jam annum gravissimo bello civili', 'already 4th year of serious civil war'.⁷¹ These included *Odoardus Varuici Comes*, *Alexander et Aristobulus*, *Valentinianus Imperator*, and a further three, including a *Solemnia Tragoedia* by Maurice Newport, an *Actio Magna* recorded as being performed on 10 August 1643, and a *Declamatio de Statu Calamitoso Angliae* (a sort of oratorical playlet presumably given without scenery or music). Neither the text nor the music for any of these plays is known to have survived, but it is worth considering in any case that the plays put on during these sad and financially lean years might have been substantially less extravagant events than the typical St Omers performances reported in earlier times.

One such lavish instance was the 1625 visit of Marquis Spinola, Cardinal Cueva and the Archducal Princess Isabella, at the time patroness to English exiles Philips and Norcombe. The royal party's stay at the college was marked by repeated performances of *Saturn and Astrea*, an allegorical English masque that presumably included music and female characters.⁷² For the second presentation, given because Cueva had missed the first show, the masque was moved to a bigger theatre. If this was the 'great Hall over the Refectory' where Wadsworth reported the fathers retired 'to heare them [the boys] play their musicke', it may be that this was done in order to accommodate more copious music. Performances of *Saturn and Astrea* would have been one of the many occasions

⁷⁰ Jacobus Spanmüller [Pontanus], *Progymnasmatum Latinitatis sive Dialogorum: Liber I* (Frankfurt, 1643), especially the section titled 'Progymnasma Centesimum: Actio Scenica', pp.192-194.

⁷¹ *Registrum Audomarensis Angolorum Gymnasii*, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354, ff.97-119.

⁷² Foley, *Records*, vii/2, pp.1161-64.

in which St Omers productions breached the in-house guidelines the Jesuits' *Ratio Studiorum* detailed for educational institutions.⁷³ These stated that dramatic performances should be given in Latin and on very rare occasions and that they ought to be sacred and pious with no feminine roles or attire.⁷⁴

During the second quarter of the seventeenth century, theatre at the Jesuit colleges of St Omers and Liège was dominated by the figure of Jesuit playwright Joseph Simons (c.1594-1671).⁷⁵ Simons, whose real name was Emmanuel Lobb, is first recorded as *Praefectus Grammaticae* at St Omers in 1621. Over the following 25 years he held various senior teaching positions at Jesuit institutions in Liège, Ghent and St Omers. He wrote five Latin *Tragoediae*, all of them first produced at St Omers between 1623 and 1631, which he then published in Liège in 1656 as a *Tragoediae Quinque* (reprinted in 1657, 1680, and 1697). The fact that music was an integral part of these performances was first argued by William McCabe.⁷⁶ The use of incidental music can be seen from stage directions in the extant tragedies. Simons' *Zeno, sive Ambitio Infelix*,⁷⁷ first produced on 7 August 1631, opens with the stage direction 'Clangentibus tubis, tympanis sonantibus, instruitur apparatus ad Longinum coronandum', 'With the clang of trumpets and the sound of drums, the apparatus for Longinus's coronation is erected'. Each of the five acts ends with the instruction 'Chorus Musicorum, vel interludium', 'Ensemble of musicians or interlude'.

Music devised for theatrical productions at St Omers played a part that stretched beyond a purely incidental function, as can be seen from the insertion of ballets and songs into the body of complex dialogue-free scenes. One such case is Longinus's mourning scene in *Actus Secundus* of Simons's *Zeno, sive Ambitio Infelix*. A musician attempts to amuse the grieving Longinus 'Musicus item atratus assidet atrata in sede... Canitur... Longinus hilarem cantum indignatus

⁷³ *Ratio Atque Institutio*.

⁷⁴ For detail of the internal criticism that excessive music and drama at St Omers attracted, see McCabe, 'Music and Dance', especially pp.320-22.

⁷⁵ For Simons, see Thompson Cooper (rev. Alison Shell), 'Emmanuel Lobb [alias Joseph Simons]', *ODNB* and McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, ii, p.295. See also McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*, especially pp.133-43.

⁷⁶ McCabe, 'Music and Dance'; McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*, p.200.

⁷⁷ For adaptations of the play in Restoration London, see William McCabe, 'The Imperial Tragedy', *Philological Quarterly*, 15 (1936), pp.311-14.

injicit manum in Chelyn... Musicus iterum laeta canit... Musicus tristia canit...', that is 'A musician clothed in black sits on a chair dressed for mourning... He sings... Longinus, offended by the joyful singing, seizes the lyre [perhaps a viol?].... The musician sings cheerfully a second time... The musician sings sorrowfully'. As Longinus falls asleep, we are led into a lengthy *scena muta* (an allegorical ballet performed by the illusory characters in Longinus's dream), which was presumably accompanied with music. Another *scena muta* in *Actus Quintus* stipulates 'Musica. Prodit Erastus Pelagii filius', 'Music. Erastus, the son of Pelagius, enters'.

Liturgical Music

The repertoire used in church services would have revolved around devotional singing. We have seen that arrangements were made for the regular practising of psalmody and Gregorian chant. Further stipulations governed other types of vocal music-making: 'In aestate dum calet, canitur a prandio ad mediam horam; In hyeme a caena similiter per mediam horam. Diebus autem festis et recreationum canunt quoque a prandio per mediam horam. Curabunt Praefecti ut scholares sint Magistris musicae valde obsequentes, et nemo se sine facultate a cantu absentet', 'In summer, when it is hot, singing takes place at lunch time for half an hour. In winter, at dinner time, similarly for half an hour. On feast days and holidays however, they shall sing for half an hour at lunch time. The prefects shall watch that the students behave obediently towards the music teachers, and that nobody misses singing practice without permission'.⁷⁸

Schondonch's 1601 *Constitutiones* sanctioned the use of organ and harpsichord to accompany voices in church, presumably referring to polyphonic compositions: 'Organum praeterea et Clavicymbalum cantum ecclesiasticum valde ornant et decent'. In the same document there is evidence that wind instruments were also used in this context: 'Musica Pneumatica (id est, Instrumenta quae flatu animantur) est plena Majestatis, praesertim pro templo, gratulationibus Principum, et Actionibus. Hujusmodi sunt Litu (vulgo Haut-

⁷⁸ Giles Schondonch, *Constitutiones: Sectio Tertia* (Saint-Omer, 1601).

bois) quae modico flatu aguntur iuventuti aptissima, ut et Litui Anglicani (vulgo Recorders) sed priora majorem habent majestatem. Alia etiam pneumatica plus laterum et spiritus postulant, v.[erbi] g.[ratia] Tuba ductilis (vulgo Sacbottum) et Tuba cornea (vulgo Cornett)', 'The music of wind instruments is full of majesty, especially for church services, for the reception of persons of high rank and for the theatre. Of this kind are the *litui* (in the vernacular, hoboyes) which do not over-tax young performers, and the English *litui* (in the vernacular, recorders), although the former have more majesty. Other wind instruments require more breath and lung-power, for instance the movable trumpet (in the vernacular, sacbutt) and the horn-trumpet (in the vernacular, cornett)'.⁷⁹

Such splendid scoring of polyphonic works was used by the Jesuits to mark significant events such as the canonization of founding fathers Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, who had been elevated to sainthood on 12 March 1622 by Pope Gregory XV. An eye-witness at Saint-Omer reported 'un grand theatre et deux autres plus bas remplis de grand nombre des chantres et musiciens chantans et accordans leur voie avec leur instrumens en grande melodie', 'a great stage and two others lower down filled with a large number of singers and musicians, singing and matching their voices to their [corresponding] instruments most melodiously'.⁸⁰ An account of the festivities organized at the Parisian Jesuit College of *La Flèche* on 24 July 1622, describes how 'Le 23 de julliet, Monsieur [l'Évêque] du Mans [...] fut, après souper, entretenu avec divers concerts d'instruments, qui faisoient à l'envie parade de leur harmonie', 'On 23 July the Bishop of Mans was entertained after dinner with diverse instrumental concerts, who vied with each other in fine displays of harmony'.⁸¹ At a Pontifical Mass celebrated the next day:

La musique fut excellente, cinquante voix des meilleurs chantres de Tours, d'Angers et du Mans; grand nombre de violes, l'orgue,

⁷⁹ Schondonch, *Constitutiones*.

⁸⁰ Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 808, vol.iii, *Recueil Historique de Jean Hendricq, Bourgeois de Saint-Omer*, p.273.

⁸¹ Camille de Rochemonteix, *Un Collège de Jésuites aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles, le Collège Henri IV de La Flèche*, 4 vols (Le Mans, 1889), ii, pp.219-50, especially p.220-21.

les cornets à bouquin, les violons y faisoient à qui mieux mieux en trois choeurs.

The music was excellent, fifty voices from the best singers in Tours, Angers and Mans; a great number of viols, the organ, cornets and violins performed better one than the other in three choirs.⁸²

Unfortunately, the loss of the St Omers library means that any attempts to reconstruct its musical holdings are fundamentally speculative. Because of its regular contact with both England and Italy, the college could be expected to have obtained the latest volumes of instrumental and vocal music to emerge from presses in London, Venice and Rome. In addition, the printing activities of Antwerp music publisher Pierre Phalèse may give us a more relevant picture of musical tastes in the Southern Netherlands. In 1590 Phalèse published a collection of sacred vocal music, including motets, madrigals, chansons and 18 textless settings by Hainaut-born composer Orlando di Lasso (?1532-1594), the Italians Bernardino Lupacchino (*fl.*1543-1555) and Pomponio Nenna (1556-1613), and others.⁸³ It was reprinted in 1609 with a total of 29 textless fantasias, which may have constituted attractive material for the ‘Musica mere ex violis’ that the English Jesuit college manifestly promoted among its students.

Liturgical repertoire was not limited to choral works with keyboard support, but it may have included music with *concertato* instruments in Italianate style, or even instrumental music for strings to the organ. As early as 1623, a Saint-Omer citizen attending ‘la grande messe’ reported that ‘les orgues et violons se firent ouir en grande melodie’, ‘the organs and violins could be heard most melodiously’.⁸⁴ Italian madrigals with concerted instruments already circulated in print in Flanders. In 1610 Phalèse had been ready to advertise Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi’s (c.1554-1609) *Concenti Musicali a Otto Voci Commode per Concertare con Ogni Sorte di Stromenti*, a secular collection originally printed

⁸² Rochemonteix, *Un Collège de Jésuites*, ii, p.221.

⁸³ C. Sartori, *Bibliografia della Musica Strumentale Italiana* (Firenze, 1952).

⁸⁴ Bibliotheque d’Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 808, vol.iii, *Recueil Historique de Jean Hendricq, Bourgeois de Saint-Omer*, p.341.

in Venice in 1604. This first reprint of concerted vocal music was followed in 1613 by *Concerti Ecclesiastici con Canzoni* by Jacopo Moro (fl.1581-1610), first issued in 1604. Two years later he produced a reprint of Claudio Monteverdi's (1567-1643) *Quinto Libro de Madrigali* of 1605, which bears the instruction 'con il basso continuo per il Clauicembano Chittarone od altro simile istromento', 'with continuo for harpsichord, chittarrone or a similar instrument'.

A further reprint of Moro's 1604 *Concerti Ecclesiastici* was issued by Phalèse in 1621, and one year later he also published an enlarged version of the 1614 *Sacrae Melodiae, una cum Symphoniis* by Pietro Lappi (c.1575-1630), a collection of ten motets and eight 'incipite' or 'sinfonie á 6, violino ó trombone'. Phalèse's interest extended beyond the realm of Italian music, to include Italianate collections produced both by local and immigrant composers. He published two collections of Latin church music by Richard Dering, namely *Cantiones Sacrae Quinque Vocum* (Antwerp, 1617) and *Cantica Sacra* (Antwerp, 1618). He was also responsible for printing Dering's Italianate *Canzonette a Tre Voci* and *Canzonette a Quattro Voci* (both Antwerp, 1620). These works include continuo parts and show modern usage of *stile concertato*.

Personal Life

There can be no doubt that the years between 1641 and 1646 must have been a stressful time for the exiled adolescent boys of St Omers, who had left their families behind in England. In 1645 the college's student numbers plummeted, and the community was reportedly 'reduced to extreme distress'.⁸⁵ Anthony's third *Responsum* tells us that his father had 'died for King and faith, against the Parliamentarians'.⁸⁶ The precise date of Anthony's father's death cannot be established beyond doubt. The 1662-1664 visitation of Spinkhill records that 'George Pole obiijt Anno 1644', 'George Po[o]le died in the year 1644', while family pedigrees extant among the Gell of Hopton papers advocate 1642.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Foley, *Records*, vii/1, cxliii-cxlv; Foley, *Records*, vii/2, p.1168.

⁸⁶ Kenny, *The Responsa*, ii, p.500.

⁸⁷ G. Squibb (ed.), *The Visitation of Derbyshire Begun in 1662 and Finished in 1664 Made by William Dugdale Norroy King of Arms*, HSn 8 (London, 1989), pp.119-20; Derbyshire Record Office, D258/68/1-3.

Although the majority of English Catholics might have preferred to keep out of the fighting, it has been argued that, at least in some areas, Royalist sympathies amongst Catholics were significantly more pronounced higher up the social scale.⁸⁸ This appears to have been the case for George Poole, whose family may have owed a debt of gratitude to the Stuart cause since the 1635 abortive raid of Stanley Grange. His Royalist allegiances may also have been shaped by the family having at one point had a claim to the throne through the Poles of Newborough, Staffordshire, and Chandos-Poles of Radbourne, west of Derby.⁸⁹ While this link may seem remote to us, it may have been significant to George, as it involved that icon of English Catholicism, Cardinal Reginald Pole, whose legacy appears to have remained present to seventeenth-century family members. In his will, John Poole states ‘I give my cousin Francis Pole Esq. my gold Crosse, commonly called Cardinal Poles Crosse’.⁹⁰

It is difficult to be certain about what happened at Spinkhill Hall during the wars. Between August and October 1642, local Royalist Sir Francis Wortley plundered houses in the area suspected of Parliamentary sympathies. Soon after that, Sir John Gell drove Wortley’s forces away, raided properties and established control of north-east Derbyshire until late 1643, when the earl of Newcastle swept south from Yorkshire.⁹¹ From the time of the Marston Moor debacle in 1644 until the King’s surrender in May 1646, alternation in control of the various garrisoned manor houses was common. Since George Poole’s death, the Spinkhill Hall household had been headed by Anthony’s staunchly recusant step-brother Gervase and his wife Catherine Killingbeck of Allerton Grange, in Yorkshire. Presumably this family unit also included Anthony’s widowed mother, Ursula.

⁸⁸ Keith Lindley, ‘The Part Played by Catholics’, in B. Manning (ed.), *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War* (London, 1973), pp.126-76.

⁸⁹ Sir Richard Pole married Margaret, Countess of Salisbury and niece of Edward IV, who was executed by Henry VIII on 27 May 1541 accused of treason. Her exiled children included Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558), a crucial figure in the affairs between the Holy See and Henrician England and Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury under Mary Tudor. For Margaret, see Hazel Pierce, ‘Pole, Margaret, suo jure countess of Salisbury’, *ODNB*. For Pole, see T. Mayer, ‘Reginald Pole’, *ODNB*.

⁹⁰ Derbyshire Record Office, D1233.

⁹¹ For a detailed account of the Civil Wars in Derbyshire, see Gladwyn Turbutt, *A History of Derbyshire*, 4 vols (Cardiff, 1999), iii, pp.1051-1107.

Three of Anthony's older brothers (John, Francis and George) appear to have been sent abroad shortly after their younger brother. The arrival of a 'Joannes Polus' to the English College at Valladolid, in Spain, is recorded in the 1642 catalogue. He subsequently 'praestitit iuramentu absoluto utroqz Philosophiae et Theologiae cursu factus sacerdos', 'swore the absolute oath, studied courses in both philosophy and theology and was ordained'.⁹² The Valladolid catalogue for 1644 lists a Francz Polus, who 'iuramento praestitit. Cursu philosophico et Theologico feliciter confectis et Sacris ordinibus initiatus est', that is, 'Swore the oath, successfully completed the philosophy and theology course and was started off in the sacred orders'. He received minor orders from the Bishop of Troya, Francisco de Villagutierre, on 26 May 1646.⁹³ It also lists a Georgius Polus who 'Iuramento Colegii praestito, et utroque studiorum cursu confecto sacerdotio initiatus', 'having sworn the college oath, and completed both courses of study, was initiated in the priesthood'.⁹⁴

The Spinkhill Hall household may have also comprised Anthony's non-Jesuit brothers Ignatius, German and James, assuming the last two also lived beyond infancy.⁹⁵ In addition, although relatively little is known about them, we can assume that at least some of the Catholic sisters the composer refers to in his *Responsa* were at Spinkhill Hall too. An Ellen Poole, who married Henry Birkbeck of Hornby Hall, appears to have been one of them.⁹⁶ A number of Ellen's grandchildren used the alias 'Poole' in their careers as clergymen, including brothers Gervase and Edward Birkbeck, who also trained at the Saint-

⁹² Edwin Henson (ed.) *Registers of the English College at Valladolid 1589-1862*, CRS 30 (London, 1930), p.159.

⁹³ Henson, *Registers*, 162-164; Foley, *Records*, vii/1, p.610.

⁹⁴ Henson, *Registers*, 162-164; Foley, *Records*, vii/1, pp.610-11.

⁹⁵ John Clay (ed.) *Familiae Minorum Gentium. Diligentia Josephi Hunter*, 4 vols, HS 37-40 (London, 1894-1896), i, p.344.

⁹⁶ William Hunnybun, 'Registers of the English Poor Clares at Gravelines' in *Miscellanea IX*, CRS 14 (London, 1914), pp.25-173, especially p.165. For an attempt at a Poole family tree including Anthony's sisters and cousins, see Stephen Glover and Thomas Noble, *The History of the County of Derby: Drawn up from Actual Observation and from the Best Authorities* (Derby, 1829), especially pp.323-24.

Omer seminary.⁹⁷ We have notice of two more sisters – Dorothy and Mary Poole – although nothing is known of their adult lives.

George Simeon, now under his uncle's alias 'Georgius Suttonus', appears to have thrived at St Omers, invariably among the top six in his class between 1641 and 1644.⁹⁸ Anthony, who is nowhere to be found in these rankings of academic excellence, would have nevertheless profited from the opportunity to make music, and come into contact with, a number of students besides Simeon and other boys from Spinkhill. In January 1642 Charles I had left London, and on 23 February Queen Henrietta Maria embarked for Holland with part of her Chapel, but without her organist, the composer of viol consort music Richard Mico. Richard's son, Edward, was at St Omers from September 1643 until 1647, and he too appears to have been a brilliant student, usually among the top six in his class.⁹⁹ Aged 19 by 27 October 1647, Edward progressed to the English College in Rome and remained there until 1650 according to the *Nomina* of the *Liber Ruber*, where he is recorded under the alias 'Odoardus Banesius, Essexiensis'.¹⁰⁰ As will be revealed later in this chapter, his subsequent career evidences that he too was musical – perhaps a viol player.

The English College in Rome (1646-1648)

In the autumn of 1646 'Antonius Polus Darbiensis' proceeded to the English College in Rome.¹⁰¹ No details pertaining to this trip seem to have survived, but he is recorded in the Pilgrim-Book of the English College as having arrived on 17 October. On 19 October, 'after three days' retreat, he was admitted to the College Gown'.¹⁰² In the *Responsa* of the *Liber Ruber* Anthony Poole is documented as having been admitted 'ut [...] Deo et Patriae in vita Ecclesiastica faeliciter insirvirem', 'to happily serve God and Homeland as an ecclesiastic'.¹⁰³ As we shall see, the original objectives the composer expressed for his Roman

⁹⁷ Geoffrey Holt, *St Omers and Bruges Colleges, 1593-1773: A Biographical Dictionary*, CRS 69 (Thetford, 1979), p.37.

⁹⁸ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354, ff.95-113^v, including 'Praemium in Catechism' in 1642.

⁹⁹ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354, ff.112^v-127^v.

¹⁰⁰ Kelly, *Liber Ruber*, ii, pp.39-40.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.38.

¹⁰² Foley, *Records*, vi, p.633.

¹⁰³ Kenny, *The Responsa*, ii, p.500.

visit did not come to fruition in the way he had anticipated. Life in a Mediterranean metropolis like Rome must have represented an exhilarating change for an 18-year-old student like Poole, who had been brought up between rural Derbyshire and the relative seclusion of the Saint-Omer marshlands. The most stimulating event scheduled at St Omers during January 1646 was the *Compositio*, a celebration of academic achievements. Poole must have been disappointed when it was announced ‘intermissa ob frigus maximum’, ‘put off due to the extreme cold’.¹⁰⁴

With its dazzling musical and artistic pulsation, vibrant political scene, and alluring patronage opportunities, Rome would have made a powerful impact on such a young man. While the artistic circles of the wealthy cardinals were not out of reach for a promising musician like Poole, the reality of the English College throughout the 1640s and 1650s – profoundly dependent upon the course of political events in England – was very different.¹⁰⁵ Dwindling donations from England, low numbers of vocations, and the resulting financial hardship were the harsh reality of the daily life at the college. Public executions at the nearby *Campo dei Fiori* and the cries of tortured prisoners at the adjacent, partly derelict prison of *Corte Savella* must have felt like a far cry from the glamour of the entertainments at the papal court. At the same time, the rigorous academic study associated with training for priesthood may have overwhelmed Poole. Instruction for those likely to find themselves needing to fend off Protestant objections to Catholicism (notably the students of the German and English colleges) included thorough preparation in complex theological *Controversiae*.

Viols at the English College

The role of the viol, and especially viol consorts, in mid-seventeenth-century Rome has been the subject of some scholarly attention recently.¹⁰⁶ The French

¹⁰⁴ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354.

¹⁰⁵ For an overview of collegiate life, see Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College, Rome: A History* (London, 1979/R 2008), especially pp.34-59.

¹⁰⁶ Florian Grampp, ‘A Little-Known Collection of Canzonas Rediscovered: The Canzoni a Cinque da Sonarsi con le Viole da Gamba by Cherubino Waesich (Rome, 1632)’, *Chelys*, 32

violinist André Maugars – who had spent the years between 1620 and 1624 in London and was a keen devotee of the English viol ensemble tradition and especially the lyra-viol practice – travelled to Rome between 1637 and 1638. He collected his impressions of the city in his *Response Faite à un Curieux sur le Sentiment de la Musique d’Italie* (written on 1 October 1639, but published in Paris, c.1640). He noted that ‘La lyre est encore en recommandation parmi eux; mais je n’en ay ouï qui fust à comparer à Farabosco d’Angleterre’, ‘The viol is still popular among them, but I have not heard anyone who compares to [Alfonso] Ferrabosco of England’.¹⁰⁷

Maugars’s perceptions appear to be an incomplete account of viol playing in Italy when considered against the dozen or so publications stipulating the use of viols published in Italy between 1629 and 1656.¹⁰⁸ In addition, a number of Italian musicians of the period are known to have played, taught and experimented with viols. In 1640 Roman nobleman, composer and theorist Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) revealed Marco Fraticelli, the *maestro di capella* at the church of the *Madonna di Loreto* in Rome, as his teacher ‘dalle Viole da gamba’.¹⁰⁹ Della Valle’s experimental oratorios and secular works were greatly inspired by his musical friendship and correspondence with Secretary of the Sacred College of Cardinals Giovanni Battista Doni (1595-1647). Doni, a scholar and former employee of the Barberini family, is known to have modified viol necks to create performances achieving optimum tuning in all transpositions of the Greek modes.¹¹⁰

(2004), pp.21-44; Wolfgang Witzemann, ‘Beiträge der Brüder Mazzochi zu den Musikalischen Akademien Kardinal Francesco Barberinis’, in Wolf Frobenius *et al.* (eds.), *Akademie und Musik* (Saarbrücken, 1993), pp.181-214; Martin Kirnbauer, ‘The Viola da Gamba in Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Seventeenth-Century Rome’ in Susan Orlando (ed.), *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, Magnano, Italy, 29 April-1 May 2000* (Solingen and Turin, 2002), pp.35-52; Graham Dixon, ‘Continuo Scoring in the Early Baroque: The Role of Bowed-Bass Instruments’, *Chelys*, 15 (1986), pp.38-53.

¹⁰⁷ Thoinan, *Maugars*, p.32.

¹⁰⁸ Kirnbauer, ‘The Viola da Gamba in Chromatic and Enharmonic Music’, p.51.

¹⁰⁹ For della Valle, see Robert Holzer, ‘“Sono d’Altro Barbo... le Canzonette che si Cantano Oggi”’: Pietro della Valle on Music and Modernity in the Seventeenth Century’, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 21 (1992), pp.253-306; Robert Holzer, ‘Pietro della Valle’, *GMO*.

¹¹⁰ Claude Palisca, ‘G. B. Doni, Musicological Activist and his ‘Lyra Barberina’’, in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford, 1994), pp.467-490; Claude Palisca, ‘Giovanni Battista Doni’s Interpretation of the Greek Modal System’, *The Journal of*

Viol-playing foreigners continued to visit Rome as the generation of Giovanni Battista Doni and Pietro della Valle died out. Spanish court documents show that the exiled English violist Henry Butler spent some time in Rome in the 1640s (most likely between 1644 and 1647).¹¹¹ There does not appear to be any evidence that Poole (who was in Rome 1646-1648) met Butler, but this is not unlikely. The two exiled English Catholic violists might even have played together, and it is possible Butler's division works and sonatas made an impact on the younger composer – a proposition that will be explored in chapter four.

With its associations of nobility and rhetorical excellence, and its Royalist pedigree, the viol would have fulfilled a number of criteria in the eyes of the English Jesuits. It is therefore not surprising that we shall find its use actively promoted at all of the institutions where Poole worked. The *Collegio Inglese* may in fact have played an important role as a centre for viol-playing in Rome around the middle of the seventeenth century. On 23 December 1655 Queen Christina of Sweden, who had recently converted to Catholicism, arrived in Rome to great acclaim. During her Roman sojourn, she attended numerous musical events held at the most significant centres of music-making in Rome, including the '*Collegio degl'Inglesi*' in March 1656. There she said her prayers, 'che furono accompagnate da una bellissima musica, e sinfonia di viole, nelle quali sono gli Inglesi maestri eccellentissimi', 'which were accompanied by very beautiful music and a symphony of viols, in which the English are most excellent masters'.¹¹² When Christina died in Rome on 19 April 1689, she reportedly owned a set of 'cinque viole da sonare'.¹¹³

Musicology, 15/1 (1997), pp.3-18. Kirnbauer, 'The Viola da Gamba in Chromatic and Enharmonic Music', especially pp.39-50.

¹¹¹ Phillips, *Collected Works*, p.vii. Phillips, 'Henry Butler and the Early Viol Sonata', pp.45-52.

¹¹² Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Historia della Sacra Real Maestà di Christina Alessandra, Regina de Svetia* (Venice, 1656), pp.256-57. In the argument that follows I have tended to translate 'viole' as 'viols'. It is worth bearing in mind, that these references might have been intended to designate violin consorts or mixed consorts of violins and viols. In the context of music-making at the English College in Rome and in the aristocratic Barberini circles, however, I agree with Witzemann, Kirnbauer, Palisca and Grampp that viols are the more likely option.

¹¹³ Franca Trinchieri Camiz, 'Gli Strumenti Musicali nei Palazzi, nelle Ville e nelle Dimore della Roma del Seicento', in Bianca Antolini *et al.* (eds.), *La Musica a Roma attraverso le Fonti d'Archivio* (Lucca, 1994), pp.595-608.

In order to trace this tradition of viol ensembles at the English College, we will need to look at the musical history of the institution. The renowned composer Felice Anerio (c.1560-1614) had been appointed *maestro* by 17 August 1584, five years after the foundation of the college. The brief engagement of Anerio, whose brother Giovanni Francesco (1567-1630) would be appointed *maestro* at the Jesuit *Seminario Romano* in 1611, evidences an early desire to promote music. Over the following 50 years a tradition developed for music in the *Collegio Inglese*, especially at major feasts.¹¹⁴ Roman organists and singers had been hired from at least 1580, and from 1625 there are records of professional singers being employed on a regular basis with a monthly salary. The college procured the services of additional singers and instrumentalists, especially for performances at feast days such as Saint Thomas of Canterbury. The 1607 list for the aforesaid feast details singers and players of cornet, trombone, lute and theorbo. By 1619 the roll mentions singers and players of organ, violin, cornet, theorbo and spinet. The employment of an extra organist and the hire of a second instrument suggest that music for double choir was performed on this occasion.

A period of more intense musical activity seems to have coincided with the tenure of organist Francesco Margarini, who was appointed in November 1623 and was still in his post in 1656. He received additional payments ‘per insegnare di cantare all’scolari’, ‘to teach the students to sing’ in 1629. From 1620 onwards a violinist was hired on a regular basis, and in the early 1630s an ensemble of two violins, lute and spinet was hired with some frequency. No lists of musicians employed after this time seem to have survived. Margarini must have been a competent musician, as can be seen from his additional engagements as a Roman musician. In 1639 he was employed as one of five keyboard players on the feast of St Louis at *San Luigi dei Francesi*. This event – directed by the future *kapellmeister* to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, Orazio Benevoli (1605-1672) – featured a piece for five choirs, each with its

¹¹⁴ Dixon, ‘Music in the English College’. For music in the first ten years of the college’s existence, see Thomas Culley, ‘Musical Activity in Some Sixteenth-Century Jesuit Colleges, with Special Reference to the Venerable English College in Rome from 1579 to 1589’, in Friedrich Lippmann (ed.), *Studien zur Italienisch-Deutschen Musikgeschichte XII* (Köln, 1979), pp.1-29.

own organ.¹¹⁵ In spite of Margarini's undeniable talents, the tradition of engaging high-profile outsiders to direct musical performances at important events was continued during these years, at least until the year of Poole's arrival.

Between Holy Trinity 1624 and Holy Trinity 1626, composer Domenico Massenzio (d.1650) directed music on special feasts at the English College.¹¹⁶ An alumnus of the Jesuit *Seminario Romano*, Massenzio was appointed *maestro* at the *Chiesa del Gesù* in 1623, and he would have been's natural choice for such occasions. He had previously been *maestro* to the Jesuit *Congregazione dei Nobili*, and since 1616 to the Sodality of the Assumption of the aforementioned *Gesù*, an influential Marian confraternity. Composer Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597-1646) was employed to direct the music for every major festival between 1632 and 1646. Academic disputations at the *Collegio Inglese* are recorded in 1646 and 1649, the earlier of the two in the presence of Cardinal Lelio Falconieri and with Virgilio Mazzocchi in charge of the music. He had entered the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1625, and all his early appointments were to posts in churches associated with the Jesuits. He was *maestro di cappella* at the *Chiesa del Gesù* and a teacher at the Jesuit *Collegio Romano* from around 1626 to 1629. In 1629 he was briefly *maestro* at *San Giovanni in Laterano* before being appointed *maestro* to the papal *Cappella Giulia*.

The presence of Mazzocchi, an eminent *maestro* from the Vatican establishment, would lend great splendour to the English Jesuit celebrations. It would also underline the college's connection with a great viol enthusiast, the influential Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), who had been appointed Cardinal Protector of England and of the English College on 2 March 1626.¹¹⁷ In his capacity as Cardinal Protector, Barberini was expected to make regular visitations to the college, and was directly responsible for its running. His ideas, establishment and patronage patterns could be expected to be a source of

¹¹⁵ Dixon, 'Music in the English College', p.64.

¹¹⁶ For Massenzio, see Jerome Roche and Graham Dixon, 'Domenico Massenzio', *GMO*.

¹¹⁷ Williams, *The Venerable English College*, especially Appendix v, 'Cardinals Protector of the Venerable English College', pp.292-94; Francis Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (London, 1920), pp.169, 200-01. For Barberini's patronage, see Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven and London, 1995); Lorenza Mochi Onori *et al.* (eds.), *I Barberini e la Cultura Europea del Seicento* (Roma, 2007).

inspiration for the successive rectors, and throughout the period the distinctive bees in the Barberini coat of arms appear in college documents and title pages.¹¹⁸ An obvious way for the college to flatter the Cardinal's tastes with a fraction of his financial resources would be viol consort music. Francesco was not the only member of the Barberini family to have an interest in viols. His younger brother, the dissolute Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1607-1671), also owned 'sei viole che fanno conserto', 'six viols that make up a consort'.¹¹⁹

After Mazzocchi's meteoric rise to *San Pietro*, he continued his association with smaller institutions patronized by Cardinal Barberini such as the English College, *San Lorenzo in Damaso*, *Santa Maria in Vallicella* (also known as the *Chiesa Nuova*), *Santa Agata*, *San Giacomo alla Lungara delle Suore Convertite*, *Santa Chiara* and *Santa Maria in Aquiro*. His positions as music master to the papal court (and to Francesco Barberini from 1636) were highly demanding posts requiring him to be a composer of operas and oratorios. In this capacity he had opportunity to interact with the experiments of Pietro della Valle, performing on instruments developed by the latter according to Giovanni Battista Doni's investigations. Mazzocchi's workload appears to have been such that he often entrusted the composition of religious music to his brother, the composer Domenico Mazzocchi (1592-1665).¹²⁰ Domenico's dedication of a book of madrigals to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1638, intimated that the prelate enjoyed hearing them 'cantare sopra il Conserto delle sue Viole', 'sung on his consort of viols'.¹²¹ The book includes a five-part madrigal based on the *Ruggiero* designated 'per le Viole'.

Virgilio was responsible for directing papal and Barberini musical *Accademie*, where consorts of viols accompanied madrigals, frequently sung by the choristers Mazzocchi trained at *San Pietro*. The Cardinal had bought a 'muta di

¹¹⁸ Williams, *The Venerable English College*, especially pp.45-49.

¹¹⁹ Marilyn Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), p.156.

¹²⁰ For Domenico Mazzocchi, see Gloria Rose and Wolfgang Witzemann, 'Domenico Mazzocchi', *GMO*; Wolfgang Witzemann, *Domenico Mazzocchi, 1592-1665: Dokumente und Interpretationen* (Köln, 1970).

¹²¹ Domenico Mazzocchi, *Partitura de Madrigali a Cinque Voci E d'altri Varij Concerti* (Rome, 1638). For a discussion of the role of the consort of viols in Barberini's circle, see Witzemann, 'Beiträge der Brüder Mazzochi', pp.181-214.

violoni', 'a chest of viols' and 23 prints of madrigals from the Venice publisher Gardano in 1634.¹²² When Virgilio Mazzocchi took up his post in the Barberini household in 1636 a further 21 books of music described as 'mute de libri da sonare di viola', 'collection of books to play on viols' were acquired.¹²³ These 'violetti dell'accademia' were in the care of an unidentified 'maestro delle viole', and were used in private musical evenings and in more public music 'academies'.¹²⁴ A painting by Giovanni Maria da Orvieto dated 1639 (and now lost) is reported to have been a life-size portrait of 'l'accademia del Mazzocchi cioe diversi Ragazzi che suonano viole e cantano', 'Mazzocchi's academy, that is, several boys playing viols and singing'.¹²⁵ This may have meant that some youngsters sang while others played, or perhaps that the students sang and played simultaneously, an extraordinary display of musicianship that would constitute evidence of Mazzocchi's remarkably ambitious teaching methods.

Another musician known in Barberini circles was the composer and keyboard player Cherubino Waesich (d.1649/50), who played second harpsichord for a performance of a carnival opera at the cardinal's court in 1639.¹²⁶ Waesich, who held positions as *maestro* and organist respectively of the churches of the Flemish and German nations in Rome, may have been of Netherlandish or German extraction himself. He published a collection of five-part canzonas for viols and six-part concerted madrigals in 1632, noting in the dedication that he had devised 'una maniera pellegrina di sonar con le Viole da gamba', 'a rare manner of playing with viols'.¹²⁷ This may refer to the concerted madrigals, in which Waesich achieves expressive effects by contrasting the sonorities of the six voices with continuo, vocal trio and duo textures, and the instrumental

¹²² Frederick Hammond, 'Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini: 1634-1643', in Friedrich Lippmann (ed.) *Studien zur Italienisch-Deutschen Musikgeschichte XII* (Köln, 1979), pp.94-124.

¹²³ Witzemann, 'Beiträge der Brüder Mazzochi', p.207.

¹²⁴ Kirnbauer, 'The Viola da Gamba in Chromatic and Enharmonic Music' p.37. For a possible identification with a certain Giacinto Serafini, see Hammond, 'Girolamo Frescobaldi', pp.94-124.

¹²⁵ Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents*, p.27.

¹²⁶ Hammond, 'Girolamo Frescobaldi', especially pp.109 and 120. For Waesich, see Grampp, 'A Little-Known Collection of Canzonas Rediscovered', pp.21-44.

¹²⁷ Cherubino Waesich, *Canzoni a Cinque da Sonarsi con le Viole da Gamba, Aggiuntovi Dui Madrigali a 6 Concertati con gli Strumenti* (Rome, 1632).

consort. This manner of performance is stipulated by Waesich in this instance by getting singers and violists to share partbooks carrying annotations such as ‘tutti’, ‘sonate’ and ‘non sonate’. It may be that these instructions are a starting point for recreating 1630s and 1640s Roman madrigalesque practices involving instrumental consorts, perhaps a tradition Poole had some exposure to.

A further aspect of Waesich’s 1632 *Canzoni* proposes additional implications for us. The single surviving copy of this publication is housed at the *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka*, Wroclaw, along with a number of other contemporary Italian prints indicating the use of viols. These include the aforementioned 1638 madrigals by Mazzocchi and incomplete copies of Marc Antonio Ferro’s 1649 *Sonate* and Girolamo Frescobaldi’s 1628 *Canzoni*.¹²⁸ Competent correction of errors in the Waesich and Frescobaldi volumes using letter names, rather than solmisation syllables, suggests the sets were used by experienced musicians (most likely viol players) who were not Italians, but rather North Europeans. The survival of these prints at a single library in the historical region of Lower Silesia could of course be a chance occurrence, or it could reflect the interest of Silesian musicians in contemporary Italian music for viols. However, it is also possible the set may have belonged to a skilled ensemble of North European violists based in Rome in the 1630s and 1640s. Such an ensemble might have been wholly or partly made up of members of the German and English colleges in Rome.

The lists of hired musicians strongly suggest the *Collegio Inglese* did not have a resident *capella*.¹²⁹ However, it is entirely possible that a fine consort of viols existed there, possibly made up largely of St Omers alumni, and possibly involving Poole between 1646 and at least 1648. Such an in-house ensemble would naturally escape mention in listings of external musicians and college accounts. It is apparent that by the time of Christina of Sweden’s 1656 visit, the English College had a reputation for viol playing, but it may be that the links between Jesuits and viols go further back in time. Flemish madrigalist and future

¹²⁸ Marc-Antonio Ferro, *Sonate a Due, Tre & Quattro* (Venice, 1649); Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il Primo Libro delle Canzoni* (Rome, 1628).

¹²⁹ Dixon, ‘Music in the English College’, p.67.

imperial *Kapellmeister* Philipp de Monte (1521-1603) stated in the preface to his 1592 book of madrigals that they had been recently played ‘con le viuole da gamba’.¹³⁰ In 1581 de Monte had taken the unusual step of dedicating a book of *Madrigali Spirituali* to the Father General of the Society of Jesus Claude Acquaviva (1543-1615).¹³¹ Further research may illuminate the early history of the viol consort in Jesuit institutions.

Just over 50 new students were admitted to the *Collegio Inglese* between March 1643 and November 1648, contemporaries with whom Poole interacted on a daily basis. Out of those, a staggering 36 were St Omers alumni, which makes it likely they had had access to high-quality musical training in their teens, especially on viols.¹³² John Caryll had been educated at St Omers before going to Rome in 1642. In his replies to the entrance questionnaire for the English College, dated 20 November 1643, Caryll states that he was the son of a knightly family on his father’s side and a baronial family on his mother’s (the Petres of Essex). He added that he was rich, Catholic and healthy, that he had come to Rome partly for study, partly as a pilgrimage, and that he did not intend to become an ecclesiastic.¹³³ On graduation from the English College, he is reported to have stayed for a while in Rome after March 1646 ‘Discessit hinc 2 Martii 1646 et mansit in Vrbe’ before moving on to Parma and then London.¹³⁴ This would have given Caryll the opportunity to meet Poole, who was admitted and sworn in October of that year. It is more than probable that they knew each other already, since they had both spent the 1641-1642 academic year in the seminary at St Omers, where it seems likely they played viols together.

¹³⁰ Philipp de Monte, *Il Quintodecimo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Vocis* (Venice, 1592). For de Monte, see Robert Lindell and Brian Mann, ‘Philippe De Monte’, *GMO*.

¹³¹ Philipp de Monte, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali Spirituali* (Venice, 1581).

¹³² Foley, *Records*, vi, pp.358-374.

¹³³ Kenny, *The Responsa*, ii, pp.478-79.

¹³⁴ Kelly, *Liber Ruber*, ii, p.29.



Fig.2.5: The English College in Rome c.1580, an engraving showing the college as Poole and his contemporaries would have known it (before the extensive 1658 renovation works), by permission of the Venerable English College.

As we have seen, George Simeon arrived at the English College in November 1646 and stayed until 1647. Edward Mico, who is also likely to have played viols, arrived at the college in 1647 and remained there until 1650. Walter Mico, Edward's Jesuit uncle, had died in Rome the year his nephew arrived, and Edward started to be known under his Jesuit uncle's alias of 'Harvey' or 'Harvaeus'. John Mico, an English merchant involved with silk trade between Queen Henrietta Maria's court and Italy, may have been a cousin of Richard Mico's. He is recorded as having dined at the English College in Rome on 8 November 1646.¹³⁵

The relationship between the Micos and the English College may merit further research. Another dinner guest – the diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706) – had occasion to visit the English College in Rome three times between January and April 1645, noting on 29 January that 'We were invited by the English Jesuites to dinner being their greate feast of Tho[mas] of Canturbury: We din'd in their common Refectory, and afterward saw an Italian Comedy Acted by their Alumni before the Cardinals'. On 13 April 'We were entertain'd at Night with

¹³⁵ Bennett and Willetts, 'Richard Mico', p.39.

an English play, at the Jesuites where before we had dined, & the next at the Prince Galicanos, who himselfe compos'd the Musique to a magnificent Opera'.¹³⁶

Theatre Music

The tradition of theatrical excellence that Evelyn enjoyed and described in his diary was to receive a boost the following year. Like Poole, Jesuit playwright Joseph Simons arrived to Rome in 1646, and was formally appointed Rector of the English College in 1647, holding the post until 1650. Two of his plays (*Zeno* and *Mercia*, first given in 1631 and 1624 respectively) were printed in Rome in 1648. They were reprinted in Antwerp one year later, and then included in the 1656 publication of Simons's collected works, previously mentioned. The title-page of the Rome print of *Zeno* refers to the play having been given in Rome.¹³⁷ It was not the only tragedy by Simons to be given in Rome during his tenure, as performances of *Mercia* and *Theoctistus* (also first given 1624) as well as *Leo Armenus* are also documented.¹³⁸ Simons left Rome in 1651 to become Rector at the Liège College, in which position he remained until 1657. *Theoctistus* was printed there in 1653, and all five *Tragoediae Quinque* in 1656 and 1657, as I have discussed. All of this suggests the author routinely printed and produced his own plays at the Jesuit institutions where he worked.

Out of the five *Tragoediae*, two (*Mercia* and *Vitus*) are martyr plays, while the other three (*Theoctistus*, *Zeno* and *Leo Armenus*) are set in luxurious Constantinople. Such exotic locations could have given Simons' troupes the perfect cue for using elaborate sets, lavish costumes and plentiful music. At the nearby Jesuit *Collegio Romano*, performances of similar hagiographic tragedies of Greco-Byzantine inspiration were the norm. Such events, frequently attended by noblemen and women from the papal court, were full-scale performances that incorporated music and dance as fundamental components of the art of theatre.

¹³⁶ de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, pp.140 and 177.

¹³⁷ McCabe, 'The Imperial Tragedy', p.312. For an overview of Jesuit theatre, see McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*. For theatre at the English College in Rome before Poole's time, see Suzanne Gossett, 'English Plays in the English College Archives', *The Venerabile* 28/1 (1983), pp.23-33.

¹³⁸ McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*, p.136.

In the early decades of the century, collective entrances of the chorus developed to become promenading geometrical evolutions performed to music. By the middle of the century these had evolved into much more ambitious narrative choreographies executed to songs and music, and employed to signify important moments and strengthen a particular dramatic event.¹³⁹

The score of one of the very few extant musical items associated with Joseph Simons's tragedies is to be found in GB-Lbl, MS Harleian 5024, a manuscript copy of *Zeno*. The source includes the song 'Astrorum Iubar' (Fig.2.6), which – to judge by the clefs and the nature of the parts – is scored for tenor voice and bass viol.¹⁴⁰ A six-line stave below the viol line suggests that a lute part was also considered. It is copied by a hand whose clefs, time signatures, final decorations and note formations are reminiscent of scribe A in F-Pn, Vm7 137323.¹⁴¹ The literary hand (most notably the capital A and lower-case l, m, n and r) seem compatible with Poole's autograph.¹⁴² The signature at the end of the song reads 'C Sim zj.' and Margaret Urquhart has suggested and discussed the mirror reading 'sj smp SO'. Although the hand is not Simpson's, either reading might indicate his authorship, which (if confirmed) would show Simpson SJ to have been musical. It would also propose the period 1631-1639 for its composition, that is, between the first performance of *Zeno* at St Omers on 7 August 1631 and Simpson's departure for England.

¹³⁹ See Bruna Filippi, 'The Orator's Performance: Gesture, Word, and Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano', in O'Malley and Bailey (eds.), *The Jesuits II*, pp.512-29.

¹⁴⁰ Urquhart, 'A Possible Trace'; J. Wood, 'Two Latin Play Songs', *RMARC*, 21 (1988), pp.45-52.

¹⁴¹ Samples of the handwriting of scribe A can be found in chapter three.

¹⁴² For Poole's autograph, see chapter three.

with the 1798 occupation of Rome by the Napoleonic troops of General Berthier, Pope Pius VI was removed from Rome, and the students of the English College had to flee. The college buildings were sacked, turned into a barracks used as a police station, and eventually abandoned. Lead coffins were reportedly taken up from the crypt and melted down to make bullets and the church roof was dismantled to be used as timber.¹⁴³ The college music library appears to have been scattered or destroyed, but other more important or sensitive administrative records have survived because they were singled out for safekeeping. Two months after Berthier's assault, the agent for the English vicars apostolic, Robert Smelt, reported from Pisa that he had:

...desired a person in Rome to purchase the archivium of the College; another who understands English is to examine and separate what regards our concerns from papers of no value.¹⁴⁴

It would seem that the intentions Poole stated on arrival to Rome guided his steps for at least the first eight of the twenty-three months he spent at the English College. He took his first tonsure on 15 June 1647 in 'S. Ioan. Later.' and his oath and minor orders on 23 June of the same year in 'S. Laurentii in Damaso'. When he took his oath, he did so '*utraque forma*', that is, 'in both forms', meaning that he swore to return to England as a missionary on completion of his studies.¹⁴⁵ However his motivation must have run out, for he was reported 'Pertaesus studia et vitae genus Ecclesiasticae de consensu Card. Protectoris dimissus est liber a Iuramento 8. Nov. 1648', that is 'tired of study and ecclesiastical life' and subsequently 'by agreement with the Cardinal Protector [Francesco Barberini], released from his vows and dismissed on 8 November 1648'.¹⁴⁶ It may be that the academic severity of training for priesthood, with daily philosophy and theology lectures at the *Collegio Romano* and

¹⁴³ For this account of the college at suppression, see Nicholas Schofield *et al.*, *The Venerable English College* (Rome, 1999), p.13.

¹⁴⁴ Williams, *The Venerable English College*, especially pp.92-97, and Appendix viii: 'The Venerable English College Archives: A General Description and Summary Catalogue', pp.302-29.

¹⁴⁵ For the policies governing scholars' funding and early Jesuit vocations at the English College, see Leo Hicks 'The English College, Rome, and Vocations to the Society of Jesus: March 1579 - July 1595', *AHSI*, 3 (1934), pp.1-36, especially 18-23.

¹⁴⁶ Kelly, *Liber Ruber*, ii, p.38.

supplementary tutoring in the evenings, did not suit Anthony Poole.¹⁴⁷ Although, as we shall see, the decision to abandon his career as a clergyman did not turn out to be an irrevocable one, it does seem quite clear that – whatever steps Poole took next – he no longer intended to become a priest.

1648-1658

The year 1648 was one of profound changes for both the Netherlands and England. The end of the Thirty-Years-War and the creation of the Dutch Republic fundamentally altered the prevailing Catholic *status quo* Poole had previously known in the Low Countries. Back in Derbyshire, a surge of Royalist activity in the summer, generated by the Scottish invasion in support of Charles, was efficiently suppressed before the autumn. ‘Papists and ill affected persons’ suffered heavily under the Parliamentary ordinance for sequestering estates in the 1640s and 1650s. The Pooles of Spinkhill, who had kept a low profile on this occasion, appear not to have been targeted as fiercely as more prominent Royalists such as the Duke of Newcastle at Bolsover and Sir Rowland Eyre of Hassop. Composition fines were supposed to reflect the size of the estate, but they were sometimes arbitrary and dependent on individual families’ relationships with leading parliamentarians.¹⁴⁸ Although the Royalist gentry suffered extensive damage and loss to their properties at the hands of Gell’s troops, it would appear that Spinkhill Hall was not assaulted, plundered or garrisoned.

As far as is known, there are no records of Poole’s activities for the ten years between 8 November 1648 and 8 October 1658. This biographical void, broadly spanning the whole of the *Interregnum*, obscures a crucial part of the composer’s life and makes it difficult to understand the biographical events either side of it. Poole’s reasons for wanting to leave the English College may not be entirely apparent to us at present, but one thing the 1648 account would clearly suggest is that he did not return to study for priesthood immediately.

¹⁴⁷ Williams, *The Venerable English College*, especially Appendix iii, ‘Statutes, Constitutions and Rules of the Venerable English College’, pp.281-82.

¹⁴⁸ Turbutt, *A History of Derbyshire*, iii, pp.1097-1104.

Although the period between Charles I's trial and execution in January 1649, and Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658 was a dangerous time for a Catholic in England, Poole may have returned home at this point.

Anthony's great-uncle German died in 1648 and it seems plausible the school house at Spinkhill came to an end at this point. The Jesuit mission continued to run a scaled-down operation (Anthony's brother Francis would be its rector between 1667 and 1673) until it was completely disabled in 1679, in the wake of the events associated with the 'Popish Plot'. There is a small amount of evidence to suggest that some form of Catholic schooling continued in the area beyond 1648, perhaps in nearby Barlborough.¹⁴⁹ By the late 1660s the centre of gravity of the Jesuit mission had drifted east towards Barlborough and Holbeck Hall. If a school remained a part of the Jesuits' undertaking in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, there is no evidence to suggest Anthony Poole was part of it.

Alternatively, it is conceivable he might have gone back to Artois, where he would have had helpful contacts from his time as a student. Henry More, a friend of Richard Mico's through the Petre family connection, was rector at the St Omers seminary between 1649 and 1653. Joseph Simons, who would subsequently live in London from 1659 and until his death in 1671, and became known to the Stuart monarchs, was rector at Liège until his departure in 1657. The Netherlands would have been a particularly attractive environment at this time due to the displacement of the Stuart court and its growing ties with the house of Orange. The Hague became renowned for its sophisticated musical soirées and spectacular masques, given by competing royal and aristocratic patrons with full scenery, music and dance accompaniment, which attracted English playwrights in search of patronage.¹⁵⁰ A particularly well-documented performance of the 'Ballet de la Carmesse', a masque given in 1653 by the Anglo-Dutch royals at The Hague, was reported the next day in Paris as a 'grand ballet of sixteen scenes, with an excellent musical score'.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Turner, 'A More Unobserved and Convenient Location', especially pp.184-86.

¹⁵⁰ Jardine, *Going Dutch*, especially pp.187-93.

¹⁵¹ Quoted in N. Akkerman and P. Sellin, 'A Stuart Masque in Holland, Ballet de la Carmesse de La Haye (I)', *Ben Jonson Journal*, 11 (2004), pp.207-58, especially 228.

Norcombe, Stoeffken, Locke (and possibly Young) are also known to have been in the Netherlands at various points in the 1640s. Lynn Hulse has suggested that Locke was at The Hague with Charles in 1648, and accompanied the Duke of Newcastle to Antwerp early in 1649, returning to London by 1656.¹⁵² It is perfectly possible that a young musician of undeniable talent like Anthony Poole could have been employed by Netherlandish aristocratic patrons or wealthy English émigrés. It is equally possible that he would have come to the attention of the exiled court, but if there ever was any such contact, no record of it appears to have survived. The exiled Stuarts were by no means the only possible patrons for a musician trained by the Jesuits in Rome.

Most Habsburg courts employed Jesuits and Jesuit-educated individuals in a range of capacities, and the Brussels establishment of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm was no exception. The historical *Provincia Gallo-Belgica* of the Society of Jesus thrived under his patronage, while theatre, music, dance, opera, the decorative arts and architecture blossomed at his court. In 1650 the Archduke established a permanent theatre at Montagne Sainte-Elisabeth, which afforded some financial security to several theatre companies. In the same year he inaugurated a brand-new opera theatre with a performance of Giuseppe Zamponi's *Ulisse nell'isola de Circe* to celebrate the marriage of Philip IV of Spain and Maria Anna of Austria. Brussels court architect Léon van Heil (1605-?1660) and painters François Coppens (*fl.*1650) and Jan van Hoeck (1611-1651) among others had worked on the theatre and its decoration, which cost 80,000 florins to build. The inaugural performance involved 450 people and the combined forces of the *Musique de Chambre* and the orchestra of the *Chapelle Royale*.¹⁵³

The Archduke was keen to obtain and retain the very best Rome-trained musicians at whatever financial cost, as can be seen from his repeated attempts to lure Jesuit *maestro* Giacomo Carissimi into working for him in Brussels.¹⁵⁴ These unsuccessful negotiations were carried out on Leopold Wilhelm's behalf

¹⁵² Hulse, 'Matthew Locke'.

¹⁵³ Kory, 'Leopold Wilhelm and his Patronage of Music'.

¹⁵⁴ Culley, *Jesuits and Music, I*, pp.188-93.

by Friedrich, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt and a certain Jesuit father named Theodorico Bechei in the employment of the Archduke. Both men appear to have studied with Carissimi. Their Habsburg patron was outstandingly generous with valued musicians in his service. The organist Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-1693), for instance, spent the late 1640s and early 1650s on an archducal allowance to study with Carissimi in Rome. Unfortunately courtly records are extremely fragmentary for the archducal establishment in Brussels before 1656, so it is not possible to establish whether Poole had anything to do with this phenomenal surge in musical and theatrical activity at the southern Netherlands Catholic court.

Anthony Poole's three Jesuit brothers left Spain for England or the Spanish Netherlands soon after their brother's departure from Rome. John Poole 'missus est in messem Anglicanam 25 Martii año 1649 animo ingrediendi societatem cuius instituti habuerat duos Patruos, et in hoc Col^o habuit duos germanos fratres qui ambo nomina dederunt eidem societati', that is 'was sent to the English mission on 25 March 1649, to enter the Society, in which he has two uncles in addition to his two brothers at this college, who have given their names to the Society'.¹⁵⁵ Francis 'in Angliam missus est... sed in Belgium profectus ibi societati nomen dedit', 'was sent to England... but progressed to the Netherlands, and there gave his name to the Society'. He was subsequently ordained, saying his first mass on 4 April 1649, possibly in Flanders. He entered the Society in 1653 at Watten, and occupied positions at St Omers and Liège until 1659.¹⁵⁶ George 'in Angliam missus in Belgio mansit, ibique societatem ingressus est', 'was sent to England but remained in the Netherlands, and there he entered the society'. He is recorded preparing for exams at Liège in 1657 and 'inde in Angliam missus ibi strenue laborare fertur', 'from there he was sent to England, where he worked strenuously'.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Henson, *Registers*, p.159; Geoffrey Holt, *The English Jesuits 1650-1829: A Biographical Dictionary*, CRS 70 (Southampton, 1984), pp.199-200; Foley, *Records*, vii/1, p.613.

¹⁵⁶ Henson, *Registers*, p.162; Holt, *The English Jesuits*, p.199; Foley, *Records*, vii/1, p.610.

¹⁵⁷ *Catalogi 1657*, ARSI, Anglia 11; Henson, *Registers*, p.164; Holt, *The English Jesuits*, p.199; Foley, *Records*, vii/1, p.610.

Another obvious possibility would be for Poole to have stayed in Rome, perhaps as a musician attached to the highly musical *Pontificium Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*. Its account books show that between 1629 and 1674 (the whole of Carissimi's tenure as *Maestro di Capella*), the college regularly hired professional musicians to augment the musical forces the students could offer, and to supply instrumental and vocal services the students could not provide. Musicians hired for liturgical music at the adjacent church of *San Apollinare* included supplementary organists, singers, harpsichordists, violinists, lutenists and 'lira' players.¹⁵⁸ Regrettably no detailed documents such as musicians' registers or other music records pertaining to *San Apollinare* are available for the period 1648-1658.¹⁵⁹ Association with such institutions might have seemed attractive to Poole because it would have afforded him the opportunity to shine in front of local audiences and illustrious visitors.

In December 1655 Christina of Sweden arrived in Rome after a brief stay in Archduke Ferdinand's Innsbruck, where she had been entertained on the viol by William Young. She had abdicated her Scandinavian throne and exiled herself for a year in Antwerp and then Brussels, where she had converted to Catholicism. A keen patroness of music, Christina founded a Roman academy, kept an ensemble and held regular concerts at her various residences.¹⁶⁰ It was at this time, as discussed, that she enjoyed the 'sinfonia di viole' of the English College but we can only speculate as to what musicians may have constituted this reportedly excellent consort. Christina's patronage extended to musicians such as Carissimi, whose principal occupation was still his *Collegium Germanicum* post, and Cardinal Barberini's musicians. The *Venerabile Collegio Inglese* continued to employ renowned guest music directors on important feasts, such as the extraordinarily well-connected Bonifazio Graziani (1604/5-1664) in April 1650.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Culley, *Jesuits and Music*, I, p.261-274.

¹⁵⁹ I am grateful to archivist Markus Pillat for discussing the college's archival sources with me.

¹⁶⁰ For Christina and her activities as a music patroness in Rome, see John Bergsagel, 'Christina, Queen of Sweden', *GMO*; G. Grioli *et al.*, *Cristina de Svezia e la Musica, Convegno Internazionale*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome, 1998).

¹⁶¹ Dixon, 'Music in the English College'; For Graziani, see Stephen Miller, 'Bonifatio Gratiani', *GMO*.

Rome was an exciting place for a talented, young musician, and its music scene would have given Poole unparalleled opportunities in terms of further study and exposure to potential patronage. Carissimi's early composition pupils at the *Collegium Germanicum* included Kaspar Förster, Vincenzo Albrici and Philipp Jakob Baudrexel, which established his reputation as a teacher. Carissimi continued to attract composition students from all over Europe in the 1650s, such as Johann Kaspar Kerll, Samuel Friedrich Capricornus and Christoph Bernhard. Aristocratic sponsorship was also available to talented and astute musicians. Lutenist and composer Lelio Colista (1629-1680) was one of Poole's most successful Roman contemporaries.¹⁶² In 1650 he was described in Kircher's *Musurgia* as 'verè Romanae Urbis Orpheus', 'truly the Orpheus of the City of Rome'.¹⁶³ By 1656 he was in papal employment and his music was played at academies and churches. His improvisatory skill was recorded on 17 January 1661 by English diplomat and Kircher associate Sir Robert Southwell, who noted that 'theorbo man Lelio Colista played rare volenteryes' at the chapel of the Spanish ambassador.

With its wealth of artistic activity, Rome constituted a stimulating environment for affluent English recusants and aristocrats on the *Grand Tour*. Latin poet and St Omers alumnus Dr John Alban Gibbes (1611?-1677) arrived in Rome from Padua in 1644.¹⁶⁴ He became a personal friend of Jesuit Athanasius Kircher and a prominent member of the expatriate English scene in Rome.¹⁶⁵ In 1661 Sir John Bolles 'travell'd those Parts [Rome]' and had occasion to show his 'rare Expressions on the Viol at a Musick-meeting in which were present not only divers Grandees of that Court and City, with some Ambassadors of Foreign States, but also the Great Musicians of Rome'.¹⁶⁶ Gibbes's Latin ode to commemorate this event was reprinted in *The Division-Viol*, dedicated to Sir John Bolles, who was Simpson's patron after 1663. Bolles's father, the Royalist Sir Robert Bolles, had supported Simpson's career after the Civil Wars, and his patronage extended to other musicians such as Richard Cooke. He had been the

¹⁶² For Colista, see Peter Allsop, 'Lelio Colista', *GMO*.

¹⁶³ Quoted in Jonathan Keates, *Purcell: A Biography* (London, 1995), p.92.

¹⁶⁴ For Gibbes, see D. Money, 'James Alban Gibbes', *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁵ W. Johnston (ed.), *Familiar Letters Which Passed Between Abraham Hill, Esq. and Several Eminent and Ingenious Persons* (London, 1767), p.35.

¹⁶⁶ Simpson, *The Division-Viol*, dedication.

dedicatee of the 1659 edition, to which Sir John's tutor, Edward Gelsthorpe, had also contributed a long poem in Latin.¹⁶⁷ Urquhart has shown that Sir John Bolles subsequently visited the Low Countries. When he was declared an outlaw for debt in 1671, he spent some three years abroad, and one document returned was witnessed in Antwerp.¹⁶⁸

Whether Poole was employed by an English exile, a Roman institution, the Jesuits in Artois, the archducal court in Spanish Flanders or he was in the underground English mission, it is likely that the composer's 20s were a period of intense personal and musical development. Perhaps future discoveries will help establish a more precise framework for this period in his life.

Poole is next recorded at his admission into the Society of Jesus, dated at Watten on 8 October 1658.¹⁶⁹ The town of Watten, just over six miles further down the river Aa from Saint-Omer, was home to a Jesuit novitiate, and was easily accessible from England through its navigable canal. The Watten catalogue for 1658 does not list Poole among the *Novity Scholares*, the student novices who were admitted on 7 September 1658, so it would appear he did not train alongside the other aspirants.¹⁷⁰ The precise record 'Ingressus Societatem Watenis Ann. 1658 (iam sacerdos)', 'Joined the Society at Watten in 1658 (already a priest)' shows that Anthony was already in holy orders, which poses as many questions as it solves.¹⁷¹ Where might he have trained for priesthood? And when was he ordained? When and why did he decide to return to an ecclesiastic career?

¹⁶⁷ For Robert Bolles see Margaret Urquhart, 'Sir Robert Bolles Bt. of Scampton' in *Chelys*, 16 (1987), pp.16-29.

¹⁶⁸ GB-Lpro, C10, Whittington, 106/19, July 1671.

¹⁶⁹ Holt, *The English Jesuits*, p.198.

¹⁷⁰ *Catalogi* 1658, ARSI, Anglia 15.

¹⁷¹ Kelly, *Liber Ruber*, ii, p.38.

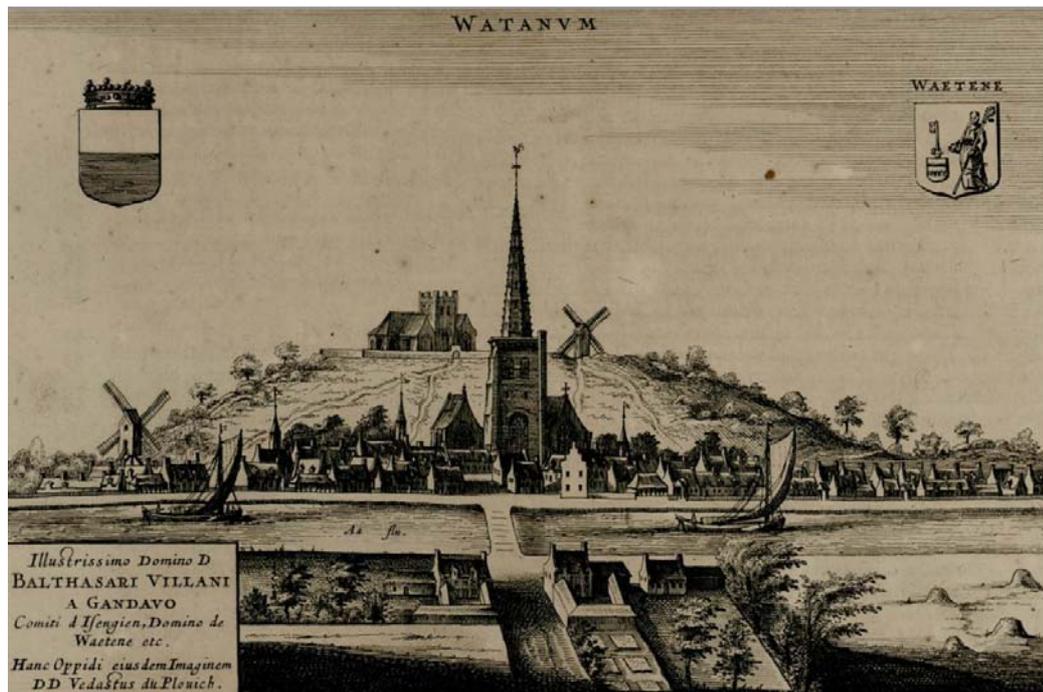


Fig.2.7: The Flemish town of Watten, dominated by the Jesuit novitiate and adjacent mill. An engraving in Antonius Sanderus's 1641 cartographic compendium *Flandria Illustrata*.

Music at St Omers in the 1650s

Meanwhile music at St Omers had remained strong. The 1653 annual letter of the college described 'Musica chorea, quotquot idonei iudicant a duobus peritissimis magistris ex Anglia conductis edocent', 'Choir [or ensemble?] music is taught, as best judged by the two excellent teachers brought over from England'.¹⁷² In 1655 and 1656 music at St Omers was run by *Praefect]us Musicorum* Joannes Cripsius.¹⁷³ This is most certainly the Jesuit father John Cripps (alias Heathcote or Papler) of Kirkby, Derbyshire (1590-1659).¹⁷⁴ Cripps died on 16 October 1659 and appears to have been replaced on a temporary basis by 'Praefectus Musicae P. Odoardus Harvaeus, Essexiens, aetas 28', 'Head of Music Father Edward Harvey, of Essex, aged 28', who is recorded as 'Praest Musicae', 'in charge of music' between 1658 and 1659.¹⁷⁵ As discussed, 'Harvaeus' was the alias of Jesuit high-flyer Edward Mico, who went on to be appointed *Consultor* to the Father Provincial in 1672 and overall *Praefectus*

¹⁷² *Litterae* 1636, Stonyhurst College Archives, MS A.IV.13, I, pp.297-98.

¹⁷³ *Catalogi* 1655 and 1656, ARSI, Anglia 11 and 15.

¹⁷⁴ McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, i, pp.150-151.

¹⁷⁵ *Catalogi* 1658 and 1659, ARSI, Anglia 11 and 15.

Ecclessiae et Chori in 1678. As far as I know, this is the first time evidence emerges attesting to Edward Mico's musical abilities.

The 1658 St Omers catalogue mentions for the first time 'duo magistri musicae', 'two music teachers'.¹⁷⁶ These two educational positions, presumably concerned with instrumental instruction, would appear to have existed in addition to the aforementioned provisional *Praefectus Musicae* who, being on this occasion one of the *Coadjutores Temporales*, is recorded separately. All of this would suggest that at the time Poole took over the direction of music at St Omers, there was a vibrant department in operation. A surviving document dated c.1656, and entitled *Epistola Nuntiatoria in qua Describitur Coll.[egio] Angl.[orum] Audomari*, depicts the performance of a typical *Tragoedia Solemnis*. It has been identified as the work of philosopher, theologian and St Omers teacher John Cary or Caraeus (1619-1682).¹⁷⁷ When discussing the splendid in-house theatrical productions, the Jesuit scholar noted that 'musicorum concentus jucundissimus clamores omnino atque admirationes excitant', 'the ensemble of musicians always elicits jubilant cries of acclaim and admiration'.

Back at St Omers (1659-1678)

The 1660s

Anthony's first destination as a Jesuit was the *Seminario Audomarense*, the English College at Saint-Omer where he had studied as an adolescent. By virtue of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, Spain ceded control of Artois to France, with the exception of the towns of Saint-Omer and Aire, which remained under Habsburg rule. Although theoretically at peace, both municipalities operated under the constant threat of French expansionism, notably after France resumed the hostilities in Spanish Flanders in 1667. For most of the 1660s, however, St Omers remained a relatively serene, multi-national environment, and that must have been reflected in its musical life. A number of scholars and fathers at the

¹⁷⁶ *Catalogi* 1658, ARSI, Anglia 15.

¹⁷⁷ Stonyhurst College Archives MS A.VII, 1, p.234. For Cary, see McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, i, p.136.

college are described in the catalogues as ‘Artessianus’, ‘Bruggensis’, ‘Yprensis’ or ‘Flander’. Others came from Maryland, Pennsylvania or the Caribbean, three areas where the Society had undertaken missionary work on an ambitious scale.¹⁷⁸ Mobility was mandatory for a Jesuit, and a college like St Omers could expect a high turn-over of students and staff. This made for frequent separations and reunions, and during his first year Poole appears to have had an opportunity to catch up with his brother Francis. He was until 1659 ‘Praefectus Morum’, or ‘Prefect of Discipline’ at St Omers, a relatively senior post concerned with maintaining traditions and ensuring domestic order.¹⁷⁹

The Temporal Returns for the years between 1658 and 1672 show St Omers finances recovered steadily over the period, back to pre-war levels. In 1658 the community totalled 157 souls – 136 scholars and 21 ordained fathers – and it generated a surplus of 11,670 Roman scudi (£2,567). By 1672, however, the net annual revenue had risen to 16,924 Roman scudi (£3,723).¹⁸⁰ Although we cannot be certain of the layout and scale of the college before the devastating fire of 1684, we know that it was rapidly rebuilt in more magnificent fashion.¹⁸¹ By 1689 it was back on its feet, as can be seen from a contemporary engraving (Fig.2.8). This is the earliest graphic representation of the college known to have survived, and it lists a ‘Musick School’, a ‘Great Theatre’ and a ‘Little Theatre’.

¹⁷⁸ Holt, *St Omers and Bruges*, p.2.

¹⁷⁹ *Catalogi* 1659, ARSI, Anglia 11.

¹⁸⁰ Foley, *Records*, vii/1, pp.cxlviii-cl.

¹⁸¹ For an account of how the college managed after the fires, see Hubert Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst* (London, 1962), pp.216-18 and 259-64.

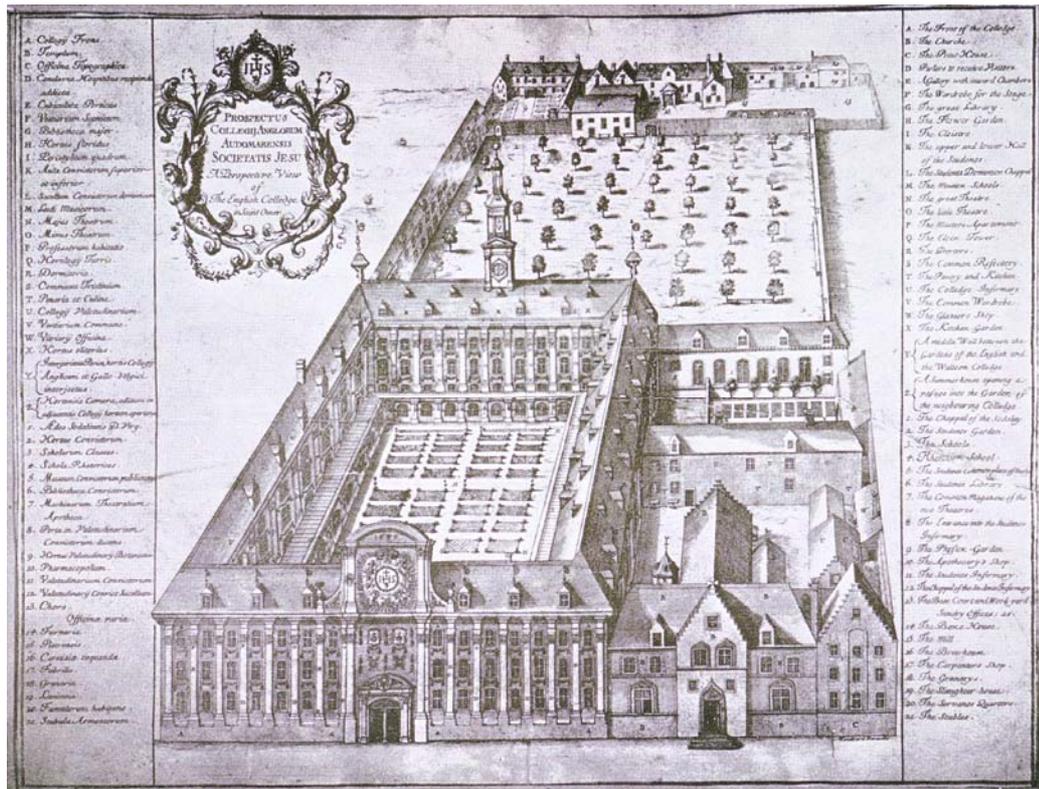


Fig.2.8: ‘Prospectus Collegij Anglorum Audomarensis Societatis Jesu’. A 1689 engraving by Guillaume Montbard, reproduced by permission of Stonyhurst College Archive.

Nothing would appear to indicate that the Schondonch-instigated educational framework that shaped Anthony’s formative years had changed significantly by the time of his 1659 appointment. In fact it is likely that the forward-thinking attitude to repertoire for both chamber and church that informed the early *Constitutiones* would have presided over the second half of the century. As we have already seen, there may have been a tradition of using Italian-style repertoire with *concertato* instruments in liturgical and para-liturgical contexts. It is also possible that the more contemplative sections of the various services, such as the *Offertorium*, the *Levazione* or the *Post-Communio*, could have been enhanced by suitable concerted or instrumental music, providing an outlet for Poole’s instrumental works beyond private music-making and theatrical productions.¹⁸² This may have been the case for a substantial proportion of Poole’s output, and especially for the instrumental works named after saints.¹⁸³

¹⁸² William Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill, 1959), pp.36-37.

¹⁸³ See appendix.

Poole's duties in 1659 were described as 'Praef[ectus] Musicae Instrumentalis' or 'Head of instrumental music', while a newly appointed colleague, the Jesuit Antoine Selosse, was in charge of vocal music.¹⁸⁴ Antoine Selosse (1621-1687) was born in Tourcoing, Artois, but nothing else is known for certain about his early life and training. Recent research has suggested a very plausible identification with a musician of the same name employed as organist at the Saint-Lambert Cathedral in Liège.¹⁸⁵ Selosse was professed a Jesuit at the Watten novitiate on 8 October 1658, the same day as Poole. Unlike the latter, Selosse does feature among the Watten student novices, which may mean that it was here that he prepared to enter the Society. Like Poole's, however, his record bears the additional remark 'iam sacerdos', 'already a priest', suggesting that he too had been ordained elsewhere. The careers of the two musicians are, as we shall see, rich in coincidences that may be significant, and it is conceivable that they knew each other before their simultaneous 1659 St Omers appointments.

Responsibility for running vocal and instrumental music appears to have been divided whenever enough competent priests were available, which suggests that music-making at St Omers continued to be a vibrant and central part of collegiate life. This arrangement seems to have been operative throughout the 1660s, although it is difficult to be certain, as records for some years are fragmentary, notably those for 1662 and 1666. Although Poole was sometimes allocated additional duties, such as 'Confessor Studiosorum', 'Confessor to the students' in 1669, his main responsibility was with music. Poole and Selosse worked alongside each other for twenty years, and evidence suggesting they made music together is discussed in chapter four.

Selosse's 1658 personal entry at the Watten novitiate reads 'Antonius Celossus. Artesian. An.[nus] in soc.[ietate] 1. Studia: partem Philos[oph]ia et Casus [Conscientiae]', 'Antoine Selosse. Artesian. 1 year in the Society. Studies: part philosophy and [part] cases of conscience [practical studies for confessors]'.¹⁸⁶ It is at present not possible to establish where Selosse acquired his early education.

¹⁸⁴ *Catalogi 1659*, ARSI, Anglia 11.

¹⁸⁵ Peter Leech, 'Seventeenth-Century Music at St Omers', *The Stonyhurst Magazine*, 56 (2009), pp.56-64. For Selosse, see Holt, *The English Jesuits*, pp.224-25.

¹⁸⁶ *Catalogi 1658*, ARSI, Anglia 15.

The use in a keyboard manuscript containing music by Selosse of an Italianate fingering system (whereby the thumb and fingers are indicated as *x1234* instead of the now universal *12345*), has given scholars reason to propose that Selosse, like many Jesuits, may have trained in Italy or that he could have been taught to play keyboards by an Italian (or Italophile) master anywhere else, certainly a possibility in the Catholic Netherlands.¹⁸⁷ Selosse's remit at St Omers presumably encompassed running all choirs and plenary singing, playing the organ in church, and probably some teaching. Like Poole, he can be shown to have remained at his post for the first ten years of his tenure, with the possible exception of the years 1662 and 1666.¹⁸⁸

It is likely that Anthony never left St Omers during the 1660s. Omissions are not infrequent in the *Catalogi Personarum*, and they might be put down to clerical errors. It seems most probable the catalogues are inaccurate or fragmentary, but it is also possible that the 1662 and 1666 gaps, the two years when we have no proof of his whereabouts, correspond with actual absences from the college. I have already discussed the evidence for St Omers musical instruments, and perhaps instrumentalists, being employed away from the seminary. It may be that the rector loaned an able violist like him on a short-term basis to another Jesuit college, in view of the fact he had two accomplished musicians in staff. It is even conceivable that Anthony's Jesuit superiors would consider seconding a virtuoso performer to the entourage of potentially useful contacts among the ecclesiastic and secular elite. It is also possible that Poole was occasionally given leave, perhaps as an attendant or chaplain to an English Catholic on tour. This would have allowed him to visit other European musical centres, refine his skills as a composer and as a performer, and even acquire music and instruments on behalf of the college.

The *Catalogi Primi*, and especially the confidential *Catalogi Secundi* for this period, provide us with further insights into Poole and Selosse. *Praefectus Musicae* 'Antonius Polus' is described in 1665 as having 'Ingenium Bonum;

¹⁸⁷ Peter Leech, (ed.), *The Selosse Manuscript, Seventeenth Century Jesuit Keyboard Music* (Launton, 2008), pp.v-vi. For a discussion of this source, see chapter three.

¹⁸⁸ Holt, *The English Jesuits*, pp.224-25.

Complexio Naturalis Temperata’, that is ‘Good intellectual capacity and a tempered natural disposition’.¹⁸⁹ Between 1668 and 1669 Poole’s advanced studies came to an end and he took his final vows. We read that he ‘Audivit Philosophiae et Casus [Conscientiae]; Insignis in musica et aptus ad varia si pudor abesset’, ‘Has read philosophy and cases of conscience; He is outstanding at music, and would be good at many other things if he were not so shy’.¹⁹⁰ The precise meaning of the remark ‘si pudor abesset’ is open to interpretation. Perhaps Poole was perceived by his superiors to be a modest, reserved or scrupulous man; somebody over-attentive to detail, whose awareness of what was seemly or proper prevented him from achieving in areas other than music. The same catalogue reported that the 48-year-old Selosse ‘Excellit in musica’, ‘excelled at music’.

The 1670s

The next document to mention Anthony Poole is the 1672 *Catalogus* of the Jesuit College in Liège. He is recorded as ‘Confessarius in Templo. Docuit Musicam annos 11’, ‘Confessor in church. Has taught music for eleven years’. This implies that he was not transferred to Liège in order to direct or teach music, but for other reasons. There is, as far as I know, no record of Anthony Poole’s activities between 1670 and 1672 except for a passing remark added to the 1672 catalogue saying that ‘fuit in missione per annum’, ‘he spent one year on a mission’. The 1669 catalogues and Poole’s final vows suggest he did not leave Saint-Omer until after 1669, and therefore 1670-1671 is the most likely time for his absence. The term *missio* referred in this case to a trip to England, as can be seen from a note in the 1690 *Catalogi*.¹⁹¹ Members of the Society of Jesus were known for operating under an alias or even false names to avoid detection, so it is possible we may never discover the destinations and precise nature of Poole’s assignment. The 1672 *Catalogi* list Selosse as the only *Praefectus Musicae* at St Omers, while a Franciscus Penningtonus (1644-1699)

¹⁸⁹ *Catalogi* 1665, ARSI, Anglia 16.

¹⁹⁰ *Catalogi* 1669, ARSI, Anglia 16.

¹⁹¹ *Catalogi* 1690, ARSI, Anglia 20. See p.149.

‘docuit per annum Rudimenta per alium Musicam’, ‘taught elementary studies for one year and music for another’.¹⁹²

Poole’s trip to the English mission between 1670 and 1671 would have given him a great opportunity to disseminate his music in England, and may account for the survival of copies of some of his works in Oxford. I shall explore this possibility more closely in chapter three. It could also have given him a chance to visit Spinkhill, by then presumably in the hands of the descendants of Gervase Poole, Anthony’s step-brother. His Jesuit brothers John and George had died, respectively in the Yorkshire mission on 3 September 1666, and in the Maryland mission on 31 October 1669.¹⁹³ By 1670 Anthony’s only surviving brother was Francis, the Superior of the Jesuit mission in Derbyshire. Francis died on 4 November 1684.¹⁹⁴

The 1662-1664 visitation of Derbyshire mentions the ‘Pole of Spinkhill’ in an entry headed by ‘Gervaise Pole Aetat[is]: 48 A^{[nn]o} 1663’, ‘Gervase Po[o]le, aged 48 in the year 1663’.¹⁹⁵ The record details members of the senior hereditary line (that is, George’s children by his first wife, Mary Meynell), and none of the Jesuit sons of his second marriage. It was witnessed and signed by his cousin Francis Poole of Park Hall, perhaps because his recusancy was sufficiently covert for him to be trusted to give information. Gervase Poole paid the visitation fee as an esquire, as did other local Catholics such as Rowland Eyre of Hassop. Sir Rowland’s son William (1638-1675) was one of at least five Eyres from Derbyshire and Leicestershire to have joined the English Province of the Society of Jesus in Flanders during Anthony Poole’s lifetime. William Eyre trained at the Watten Jesuit novitiate in 1658, was ordained a Jesuit priest in 1667, remained in Flanders until at least 1669 and was back in England by 1672.¹⁹⁶ Thomas Eyre (c.1669-1715) was a Jesuit from Eastwell, Leicestershire,

¹⁹² *Catalogi 1672*, ARSI, Anglia 16. For Francis Pennington, see Holt, *The English Jesuits*, p.188.

¹⁹³ Henson, *Registers*, pp.159, 164; Foley, *Records*, vii, pp.610, 613.

¹⁹⁴ Henson, *Registers*, p.162; Foley, *Records*, vii, p.610.

¹⁹⁵ Squibb (ed.), *The Visitation of Derbyshire*, pp.119-20.

¹⁹⁶ For William Eyre, see Holt, *The English Jesuits*, p.89.

who trained at St Omers and Watten before studying at Liège 1689-1693, where he was ordained in 1696.¹⁹⁷

Perhaps future evidence will illuminate this period of the composer's life. The one thing that seems certain is that, having returned from his English assignment by 1672, Poole spent some time as a confessor at the Jesuit College in Liège. By the time he came back to the Netherlands, however, the relatively tranquil political landscape of the 1660s had started to change, and it would continue to do so for the rest of the decade. After a period of tensions that saw the Dutch ban the import of French commodities (including paper) in 1671 and the French eject Dutch workers from France in 1672, France declared war on the Netherlands on 6 Apr 1672.¹⁹⁸ In 1676 Aire was captured, followed in April 1677 by the surrender of Saint-Omer after a three-month siege. The Treaty of Nijmegen sealed the fate of both towns, permanently annexed by France in 1678.¹⁹⁹ Although the French government would prove friendly towards the college, dwindling English donations and the sudden removal of Spanish royal support (worth over 2,000 gold crowns per annum) starved its finances.²⁰⁰

By 1673 Poole had returned to St Omers. In 1675 he is described as 'Praef[ectus] Musica[e]', in which position he remained until 1678. The 1675 catalogue confirms earlier reports by stating that 'fuit Confess[ari]us Studiosorum et in Templo et Praefectus Ecclesiae. In Missione annus unus', 'he was confessor to the students and in church and Church Prefect. He was on a mission for one year'. The catalogue, compiled by father Rector Richardus Ashbaeus (c.1613-1680), contains a further insight into the sorts of tasks that Poole and Selosse were respectively capable of. While no other members of the congregation received such unenthusiastic appraisals, we learn that Poole would be good 'ad varia si non esset nimis hypocondriacus', 'at many things if he were not such a hypochondriac', and Selosse 'Esset bonus operarius si non nimis

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.88-89. I shall return to Thomas Eyre when discussing the transmission of Poole's works in chapter three.

¹⁹⁸ Quoted in Thompson, 'Some Late Sources', especially footnote 13.

¹⁹⁹ For the events leading to the Treaty of Nijmegen, see David Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1925, R/1971), especially pp.231-47.

²⁰⁰ Foley, *Records*, vii/2, p.1172. For the lack of regularity and consistency of these payments, especially after 1660, see Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst*, p.179.

anxius et scrupulosus’, ‘would be a fine worker if he were not so apprehensive and scrupulous’. Perhaps the two men were extraordinarily well-matched in temperament, but it is difficult to avoid the impression that by 1675 they had managed to jointly disappoint Richard Ashby and the senior management.

The 1678 *Catalogi* repeat the 1675 testimony almost verbatim, adding that Poole’s natural disposition was ‘Phlegmatica mixta Melancholica’, ‘mixed phlegmatic and melancholy’. We might speculate as to whether this apparent despondency stemmed from lack of affinity with his superiors or perhaps from age-related tiredness and health problems. The 1675 catalogues also record that Franciscus Penningtonus ‘Praefuit Musicae Audomari’, ‘had presided over St Omers music’. That might be taken to be no more than a reference to Pennington’s cover of Poole’s 1670-1672 absence. However, additional evidence suggests that, although Poole and Selosse may have continued to compose and perform, younger priests started to get involved with running musical activity at the college.

The Jesuit father Georgius Conyerus was ‘Praefectus Morum et Musicae Audomari’, ‘Prefect of St Omers Discipline and Music’ both in 1675 and 1678. George Conyers (1644/1646-1711) would appear not to have been the only musical member of the Conyers family of Essex to have joined the Society of Jesus. Father Thomas Conyers (1664/1665-1721) was *Praefectus Musicae* at St Omers in 1712 and in 1715. The correspondence of Rector Lewis Sabran (1652-1732) records a payment of 13 florins for ‘the viol strings for F[athe]r. Conyers’, which suggests that viol playing continued to be central to music at St Omers into the eighteenth century.²⁰¹

The Instrument Collection

We have no evidence to establish what viols the Jesuits of St Omers played in the 1660s and 1670s. In the absence of records showing commissions from local viol makers, we might infer the instrument collection continued to consist

²⁰¹ Geoffrey Holt, *The Letter Book of Lewis Sabran SJ*, CRS 62 (St Albans, 1971), p.180. For Sabran, see Holt, *The English Jesuits*, p.217.

largely of English items donated by benefactors. It may have been augmented with viols made by 1670s London makers such as Richard Meares (*fl.c.*1660-*c.*1700), John Shaw (d.1692) and Barak Norman (1651-1725), and contemporaries such as Willian Baker of Oxford (*c.*1645-1685).²⁰² Barak Norman's customer list appears to have included clients with Continental connections, such as the Bouveries, a prominent family of silk merchants descended from Laurens des Bouveries (1536-1610).²⁰³ Laurens was a wealthy Huguenot entrepreneur who left his native Spanish Netherlands and resettled in Sandwich, Canterbury and eventually London. Subsequent Bouverie generations continued the family business, trading extensively in the Eastern Mediterranean. Laurens's grandson Edward (d.1694), who was knighted on board ship by the exiled James II, seems to have commissioned a bass viol from Barak Norman in 1691, now extant at Longford Castle, the Wiltshire estate of the Pleydell-Bouverie family.

While violin-, harpsichord-, organ- and bell-making in the southern Netherlandish cities of Brussels and Antwerp were vibrant and well-documented traditions in the seventeenth century, viol-making does not seem to have taken off to the same extent.²⁰⁴ Brussels was home to several families of violin makers; the Borbons, Snoecks and Rottenburghs, and the fine Cremona imitations of the Tilmans and Hofmans of Antwerp were renowned at the time. The only maker of stringed instruments recorded at Saint-Omer during the 1659-1678 period is a Jean-Baptiste Forcheville (*fl.c.*1673-1690), whose only surviving instrument is a pochette labelled 'faict à Sain-Omer / par Jan Bap...te forche- / ville 1673'.²⁰⁵ Forcheville, who appears to have also repaired the organs of Antwerp Cathedral and the church of St Paul in 1690, would have seemed the obvious choice for the English Jesuits, at least for instrument

²⁰² For Baker, see Michael Fleming, 'Instrument-Making in Oxford', *GSJ*, 57 (2004), pp.246-51. See also P. Trevelyan, 'A Quartet of String Instruments by William Baker of Oxford (*circa* 1645-1685)', *GSJ*, 49 (1996), pp.65-76.

²⁰³ For Norman, see John Dilworth, 'Barak Norman', *GMO*; Benjamin Hebbert, 'A Catalogue of Surviving Instruments by, or Ascribed to, Barak Norman', *GSJ*, 54 (2001), pp.285-329. For Bouveries and the trading activities of his descendants, see Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, 'Laurens des Bouveries (1536-1610), his Descendants, and the Huguenot Connection', *The Hatcher Review*, 2/19 (1985), pp.411-20.

²⁰⁴ See Albert Dunning *et al.*, 'Low Countries', *GMO*.

²⁰⁵ See René Vannes, *Dictionnaire Universel des Luthiers* (Brussels, 1951), p.111.

maintenance. In Antwerp, the Borlon and Hofman families of makers seem to have been the main makers of bowed instruments. A Huybert Gerritsz is recorded there in 1684 as a ‘fiolemaker’.

English viols continued to be known and appreciated on the Continent, and it may be that their prestige was boosted by the travels of expatriate English violists. The Young-Stainer example has already been discussed in chapter one, but there are others. Stoeffken associate Huygens was given ‘une certaine viole Angloise’ as a present in September 1659 by his friend Jacob van der Burgh (1600-1659), who clearly thought it a fine gift.²⁰⁶ Members of James II’s exiled court David Nairne and John Caryll had regular dealings with Parisian maker Romain Cheron (*fl.c.*1700), whose instrument design shows English influence, and a posthumous inventory of the workshop of fellow Parisian luthier Nicholas Bertrand (d.1725), shows he owned 23 ‘violles angloises’, handsomely priced between 25 and 50 *livres* each.²⁰⁷ Viol-makers of the north German and Baltic tradition continued to reflect the influence of English instruments by using fronts bent from two to seven pieces until about 1710.²⁰⁸

The status, prestige and spread of English viols in the Low Countries can be estimated from the sale catalogue of Dutch bookseller and musician Nicolas Selhof (1680?-1758).²⁰⁹ Selhof, a Roman Catholic based in The Hague, died on 24 October 1758, and his estate was valued at over 30,000 guilders (£2,700). Out of thirty-four viols listed in the catalogue (numbers 78-112), eleven are listed ‘sans nom d’Auter’. Of the attributed twenty-five, twelve are by English makers, a proportion in stark contrast with only three English instruments listed among the preceding seventy-seven violins, violas, cellos, basses and lutes. The English viols listed are by ‘John Rose in Brattwell 1599’, ‘Henr[y]. Geaye [Jaye] in Sout[h]wark 1632’, ‘Jorks Duelling, Northamsphire [sic], 1610’, ‘R[ichard]. Mearens, London’, ‘Guillaume Bakker, in Oxon. 1673’, ‘Ricard Blunff, London 1604’, ‘Gillis York, Northampshire’, ‘Parkel Dwelling, in

²⁰⁶ Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven*, ii, pp.1030-1031.

²⁰⁷ Sylvette Milliot, *Documents Inédits sur les Luthiers Parisiens du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1970), pp.127-31.

²⁰⁸ Ian Woodfield and Lucy Robinson, ‘Viol’, *GMO*.

²⁰⁹ A. Hyatt King (ed.), *Catalogue of the Music Library, Instruments and Other Property of Nicolas Selhof, Sold in The Hague, 1759* (Amsterdam, 1973), p.253.

Northamptonshire', and a further two 'fait en Angleterre'. The presence of a William Baker viol dated 1673 suggests the viol export trade in England continued at least into the final three decades of the century.

It is also possible that exiled English violists' preferences were shaped in turn by their travels, but unfortunately there is not enough extant evidence to test this hypothesis. Christopher Simpson, who may have trained in Continental Jesuit colleges in the 1620s and 1630s, is the only contemporary English violist to discuss instrument design, and it is therefore difficult to contextualise his statements. He used a large plate in his viol tutor-book to illustrate the two main bass viol designs he thought fit for division-playing (Fig.2.9).²¹⁰ Unlike the archetypically English instrument shown to the right, the viol depicted to the left presents violin-like shoulders and pointed corners, and a scroll at the top of the peg-box. The plate was first used for the 1659 edition, but when the text was revised for the 1667 bilingual reprint, a caption was added to clarify the acoustic differences between the two designs: 'Forma Chelyos utraque Minuritonibus apta, sed Prima resonantior'. The translation into English is given as 'The Figure or Shape of a Division-Viol may be either of these; but the First is better for Sound', suggesting a preference for more resonant, violin-shaped instruments.

²¹⁰ Simpson, *The Division-Viol*, p.1.



Fig.2.9: Simpson, *The Division-Viol* (London, 1667), p.1.

The Library

The Jesuit college music library is unlikely to have survived the comprehensive devastation brought about by the 1684 fire and a further blaze in 1725. Even if it did, the hurried relocation of the seminary, first to Bruges when the Society was evicted from France in 1762, and then to Liège in 1773 at the universal suppression of the order, could account for the apparent obliteration of the in-house collection. We can suppose the English Jesuits' library held a large selection of vocal and instrumental music printed in Italy, Antwerp and London as well as manuscript books. Throughout the period, the Antwerp press of Pierre Phalèse continued to issue Italianate music by Netherlandish composers, as well as reprints of popular Italian publications.²¹¹

In the 1640s Phalèse had printed four collections of Italianate *Symphoniae* scored for between one and five instruments and continuo by Nicolaus a

²¹¹ Sartori, *Bibliografia*.

Kempis.²¹² These sets also included one piece scored for ‘4 viole e basso continuo’ and eight *concerti sacri* in concerted style. Phalèse reprints of Italian collections in the 1650s included both sets of *Sonate Concertate in Stil Moderno* by Dario Castello, respectively in 1656 and 1658. These volumes, especially the first set, remain seminal for their audacious adaptation of the characteristics of seventeenth-century, affect-led vocal music into the realm of the instrumental sonata.²¹³ If copies of these books reached Poole, their imaginative and expressive outlook must have seemed inspirational to the composer, even nearly four decades after their composition. The list of Antwerp reprints in the 1660s and 1670s included three books of sonatas and dances by Marco Uccellini (d.1680) and a collection of sonatas for two violins and continuo by the composer and organist Maurizio Cazzati (1616-1678).²¹⁴

The St Omers community would also have generated a collection of autograph manuscripts and copies of works produced for domestic use. This library can be presumed to have included liturgical, theatrical, pedagogical and recreational compositions by resident Jesuit musicians such as Poole and Selosse, and possibly student compositions by some of the more skilled scholars. Their reference anthology might be supposed to have contained theoretical works by Classical authors and living theoreticians, such as Aristotle’s *Ars Rhetorica* and fellow Jesuit Athanasius Kircher’s *Musurgia Universalis*. It is likely to have included volumes by Jesuit-trained scholars of the period, such as Marin Mersenne’s *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636) and the 1618 *Compendium Musicae*, a manuscript study by René Descartes printed posthumously in 1650 and 1656 as *Musicae Compendium*. The latter work was widely known in England thanks to William Brouncker’s 1653 translation, which was described

²¹² Nicolaus a Kempis, *Symphoniae*, Op. 1 (Antwerp, 1644); *Symphoniae*, Op. 2 (Antwerp, 1647); *Symphoniae*, Op. 3 (Antwerp, 1649); *Symphoniae*, Op. 4 (Antwerp, 1642)

²¹³ Castello, *Libro Primo*; Dario Castello, *Sonate Concertate in Stil Moderno, Libro Secondo* (Venice, 1629; Antwerp R/1656).

²¹⁴ Marco Uccellini, *Sonate, Correnti et Arie*, Op. 4 (Venice, 1645; Antwerp R/1663); *Sonate sopra il Violino, Libro VII* (1660, lost; Antwerp R/1668); *Sinfonie Boscareccie*, Op. 8 (Antwerp, 1669). For Uccellini, see Thomas D. Dunn, ‘Marco Uccellini’, *GMO*. Maurizio Cazzati, *Sonate a due Violini con suo Basso Continuo per l’Organo*, Op. 18 (Bologna, 1656; Antwerp R/1674). For Cazzati, see Anne Schnoebelen, ‘Maurizio Cazzati’, *GMO*.

in a 1657 London bookseller's catalogue as 'An excellent compendium of musick, with necessary and judicious animadversions thereupon'.²¹⁵

Theatrical Music

In the seventeen years between Poole's 1659 appointment and the period of instability caused by the intensification of French military operations in Artois in 1676, at least 23 *tragoediae* were given.²¹⁶ These theatrical plays, virtually spanning the whole of Poole's time at St Omers, must have created opportunities for the composition and performance of a considerable number of incidental works, even taking into account that some of these productions may have been revivals. Evidence of revivals is provided by the 1667 staging of *Valentinianus*, a tragedy first given at the College in 1642 during the composer's second academic year. Although, as we shall see, texts are known to survive for only three of these twenty-three plays, none of them include any music.

Between 1661 and 1664, Anthony Poole's responsibilities as *Praefectus Musicae* would have involved working alongside William Banister. Banister was the alias for Jesuit scholastic and playwright William Selby (1636-1666).²¹⁷ He had been a student at St Omers between c.1651 and 1656, joined the Society in 1657 and studied at Liège between 1658 and 1660. From 1661 and until his death, he worked at St Omers. Only three plays by Banister, *Andronichus*, *Jephthe* and *Perseus et Demetrius*, are known to have survived, in a manuscript collection labelled *Banisteri Tragoediae*.²¹⁸ The volume carries inscriptions by a 'Philippus Morganus' dated 1664. Morganus may be identified with the student of the same name mentioned amongst the most able in the *Poesi* class in the 11 January 1664 *compositio*.²¹⁹ All three works received first performances at St Omers in 1664. Stage directions to be found in them suggest that Banister employed incidental music as diversion between acts and even between scenes,

²¹⁵ Michael Fleming, 'A Bookseller's Catalogue of 1657', *Chelys*, 29 (2001), pp.61-63.

²¹⁶ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354, ff.200^v-266. A full list can also be found in McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*, pp.81-102.

²¹⁷ For Selby see Holt, *The English Jesuits*, p.224.

²¹⁸ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 15204 *Banisteri Tragoediae: Jephthe, sive Christi Naturam Humanam Immolantis Expressa Figura, Andronichus, sive Aulæ Byzantinae Vota, and Perseus et Demetrius, sive Discordia Omnis Pessima Imperii Lues*.

²¹⁹ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354. For Philip Morgan, see Holt, *St Omers and Bruges*, p.184.

employed off-stage music to convey particular settings (notably battle scenes) and incorporated a number of ensemble choruses, solo *cantilena*e and duets.

The Byzantine play *Andronicus* opens with the stage direction ‘Praeludium’ (f.21^v) and, once several allegorical characters have introduced themselves, a ‘Cantilena’ (f.22^v). *Scena Quarta* in *Actus Secundus* requires off-stage music, as can be seen from directions estipulating that ‘Auditur post Aulea sonitus tubae et tympanae item strepitus armorum’, ‘The sound of trumpets and drums, and the clatter of armament are heard back-stage’ (f.35). *Scena Sexta* in *Actus Secundus* closes with ‘Chorus Musicorum’ or ‘Musicians’ ensemble’ (f.39^v). In *Actus Tertius* musician character Joppas is introduced with the instruction ‘prodit Joppas cum lyra’, ‘Joppas enters with a lyra’. Later on, off-stage music is further employed to convey war when ‘Auditur clangor tubae et strepitus pugnantium inter cortinas’, ‘Trumpet noises and the rumbling of fighters is heard behind the curtains’ (f.41).

At the end of *Actus Secundus* in the Biblical tragedy *Jephthe* ‘Exeunt omnes et sequitur musica. Finita musica, entrat Salazar solus’, ‘All exit and the music continues. When the music stops, Salazar enters alone’ (f.14^v). In the highly dramatic *Actus Tertius* ‘sonant tympana’, ‘drums are played’, and a little later one of the characters ‘se locat in toro herboso, tud canit et Eccho E vupibus respondet. Cantilena’, ‘places himself on a grassy elevation, he sings and Eccho responds. A song’. This description appears to illustrate the theatrical device of an on-stage character singing a *cantilena* so that the phrases can be chanted back in echo, perhaps by an allegorical character also on-stage or by an off-stage actor. Such a dramatic spatial contrivance would have afforded the composer the opportunity to contribute a musical item with certain attention-grabbing effect. Later in the same *Actus Tertius*, the script gives the composer occasion for the scheme to be used again.

In the Greek drama *Perseus et Demetrius* there are similar uses of the directions ‘Praeludium’ and ‘Cantilena’, often with the text of the *cantilena*e given in full. The note ‘Hic est interludium’, ‘this is the intermission’, which appears in between acts, may or may not have represented a musical cue. At the end of

Scena Terza in *Actus Primus*, a scene rich in musical references, Demetrius exclaims ‘O grata musica, vatis Ismarij tibi testudo cedit, cedit Aonidum Chelys’, ‘Oh pleasant music, the Thracian poet hands you Aeneas’s lyra’ (f.57^v). Although there is no unequivocal indication that music follows before the next scene, this transition does require a change of setting. As the action gathers pace in *Actus Quintus*, several *cantilena*e, including a fairly extended one sung by Calliope, the muse of heroic poetry, leads to a ‘Chorea Elementorum’, ‘Ballet of the Elements’ and a final *cantilena* sung by two sirens. The meaning of the term ‘Chorea’ in the context of a classical *Tragoedia* is likely to be closest to the Greek *χορεία* it derives from, meaning a round dance frequently inspired by the movement of the stars or planets; it does not denote a choral work. Such an item is likely to have required instrumental accompaniment.

In addition to the mid-1660s works by Banister already discussed, a further play bearing no date has come down to us. It is especially significant in the history of Jesuit theatrical music because it is extant with a number of associated musical items. It has been argued that the composition and performance of *Sanctus Tewdricus sive Pastor Bonus*, a lost Jesuit play rediscovered in 1989, may have come about as a response to the traumatic events that unfolded in the wake of the Popish Plot, and therefore it has been tentatively dated *c.*1679.²²⁰ The play consists of nine scenes recounting the life of Saint Tewdrig, the sixth-century King of Glywysing who abdicated and became a hermit. The surviving musical items include recitatives, incidental pieces and a chorus titled ‘Plaudite Sylvae’, apparently scored for SATB vocal ensemble.

The source reveals this dramatic work was written as a collaborative effort by nine members of the *Poetae* class, namely Thomas Beveridge, Henry Matthew Chamberling, Daniel Gifford, William Parry, Charles Peeters, Francis Simons, Richard Simons, Richard Smith and Nicholas Tempest. The short musical items cannot be readily attributed to Antoine Selosse or Anthony Poole on stylistic grounds, so it seems most likely these students wrote the music too. The literary

²²⁰ Cheshire Record Office, Crewe Cooper Collection, DCC 13, especially ff. 29^r-32^v. See Stephen K. Wright, ‘The Manuscript of *Sanctus Tewdricus*: Rediscovery of a “Lost Miracle Play” from St Omers’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 42 (1989), pp.236-45; Leech, ‘Seventeenth-Century Music at St Omers’, pp.56-64.

text is copied in the fine hand of ‘Henricus Chamberlingus’, with other hands adding subsequent minor corrections. Comparison between these hands and those of the scribes associated with Poole’s viol music fails to evidence any similarities, suggesting *Sanctus Tewdricus* may have involved other individuals working in the years immediately after Poole’s departure. The play was bound into the miscellaneous collection it is now part of before 9 November 1701, when it formed part of the library of Dr Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Bangor.

Not all of the performances given at St Omers would appear to have been like the polished and well-rehearsed theatrical plays Banister wrote for the young scholars or the ones the scholars themselves composed. There is some evidence that more hybrid entertainments were given on occasion, perhaps using monologues studied by the *Rhetores* class or banking on the boys’ well-documented ability to improvise *Disputationes* in Latin and Greek. In 1670 the Governor of the Southern Netherlands was entertained at the college with an extemporised performance that impressed him so much that he donated 300 gold pieces to the college and obtained a holiday of eight days for the scholars.²²¹ Perhaps it is the case that improvised division-viol music thrived at St Omers partly because it was actively encouraged in the context of a humanistic education that also promoted the public performance of extemporised rhetorical exchanges in classical languages.

This tradition appears to have been interrupted by the start of military operations in the area during the second half of the decade. The 1676 annual letter of the English College shows that the St Omers scholars did not manage to present their autumn-term *tragoedia* without difficulties; ‘Habebant Rhetores vertente autumnno insignem tragediam in publico Theatro dandam; Sed Mars impetu repentino ingruens ex Gallia turbavit apparatus nostrum scenium primo, deinde impedimento fuit medio in lectu ne omnino exhiberetur’, that is ‘The class of rhetoric had in the course of the autumn prepared an excellent tragedy to be given in public; but Mars, attacking from France with sudden fury, disturbed our

²²¹ Foley, *Records*, vii/2, p.1170.

theatrical preparations for the first time. Thereafter he caused disruptions mid-performance, and so it could not be presented in its entirety'.²²² It is possible that the instability caused by the 1676 French invasion of Artois – and more specifically the siege of Saint-Omer in 1677 – contributed in some way to Poole's departure.



Fig.2.10: 'Les Petites Conquêtes du Roi: Siège de St Omer'. 1702 etching (detail) by Sébastien Leclerc depicting the 1677 events, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

As we shall see in chapter three, a number of Anthony Poole's works seem to have reached Oxford by September 1678 in copies so reliable that suggest a direct transmission. One option is that Poole (or someone close to him) visited England at this time carrying copies of the composer's works. It is also possible that Oxford viol players travelling on the Continent had occasion to acquire or copy music by the Jesuit musician. 1678 was a frenzied time for the seminary at St Omers. Following months of controversy, the position of the institution was seriously compromised in September of that year, when it became embroiled in the Popish Plot. The arrests and executions of over a dozen St Omers fathers, including Father Provincial Thomas Whitbread and his assistant Father Edward Mico (who died in prison in December 1678 while awaiting trial), as well as a

²²² *Litterae* 1676, Stonyhurst College Archives MS A.IV.13, I, pp.284-87.

long list of Anthony Poole's colleagues and friends, must have been a serious blow.²²³

Popish Plot events were followed attentively in Oxford, not least by Anthony Wood. He regularly associated with Catholics such as Thomas Bourne, Serenus Cressy, Christopher Davenport, Thomas Deane, Richard Reeve, Ralph Sheldon (whose son and namesake studied at St Omers c.1694-1700 and was ordained a Jesuit), Edward Sherburne and John Theyer.²²⁴ Wood's list of dangerous liaisons also included the royalist cleric and Master of University College Obadiah Walker (1616-1699), a high-profile, widely travelled Catholic polyglot whose many contacts abroad proved instrumental in augmenting the foreign holdings of the Bodleian library in the 1670s.²²⁵ In 1686 Walker appointed the Jesuit fathers Edward Humberston (1635-1707) and Joseph Wakeman (1647-1720) to the chaplaincy of his new oratory, where James II attended vespers during a state visit to Oxford in September 1687.²²⁶ Humberston (alias Hall) and Wakeman had both studied at St Omers – respectively in 1653-1659 and 1660-1664 – and Wakeman was therefore presumably taught music by Poole. Both would have had direct dealings with the composer during the periods they spent at St Omers in the 1670s and 1680s before their senior appointments as *Socii* to the provincial in England.

Liège (1679-1692)

From 1679 Poole was based at the English Jesuit house of philosophical and theological study in Liège (Fig.2.11). Following the assault on the assets of the Society that took place in the wake of the Popish Plot, and the ensuing exodus of Jesuits to the Continent, the revenues of the English College at Liège could not support the size of its resident community. Liège rector Thomas Stapleton wrote to Hercule Visconti, the papal nuncio at Cologne, early in 1684 to report the

²²³ Muir, *Stonyhurst*, pp.41-53.

²²⁴ For Wood's coverage of the Popish Plot, see Nicholas Kiessling, 'Anthony Wood and the Catholics', *Recusant History*, 30/1 (2010), pp.71-87, especially pp.79-81.

²²⁵ For Walker, see R. Beddard, 'Obadiah Walker', *ODNB*.

²²⁶ For Humberston and Wakeman, see Holt, *The English Jesuits*, respectively pp.124 and 225.

dejected state of the college's finances and request assistance.²²⁷ Although Pope Innocent XI, Queen Catherina of Braganza and the Duchess of York Mary of Modena managed to divert funds and provide alms towards the struggling institution, there can be no doubt that the years Poole spent in Liège were financially challenging for the Jesuit house.

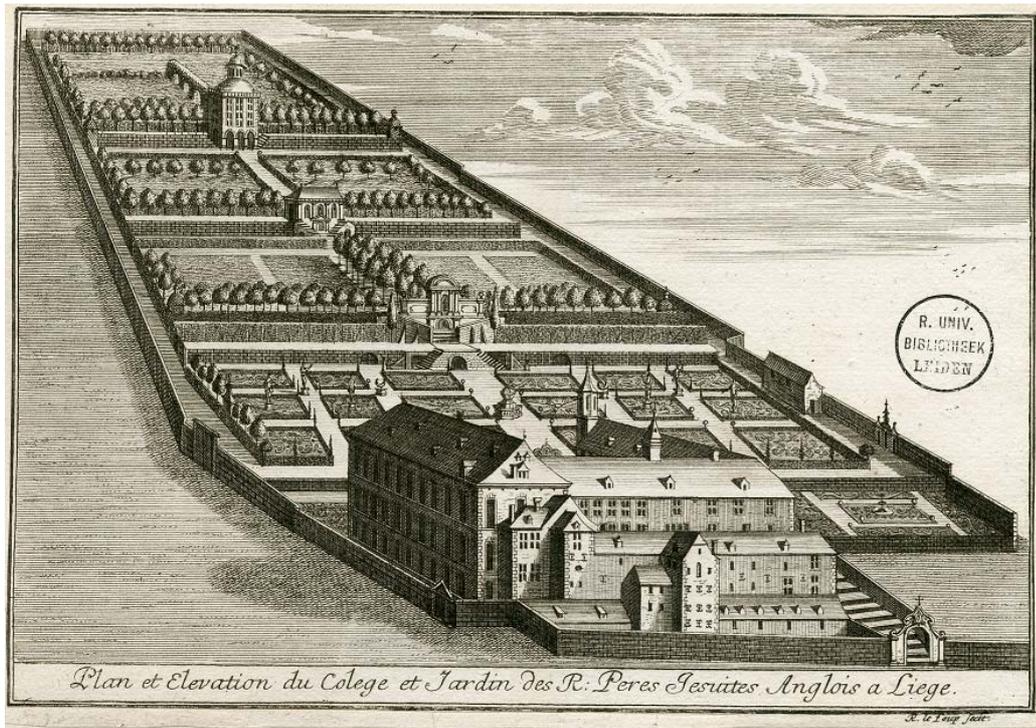


Fig.2.11: 'Plan et Elevation du Colege et Jardin des R. Peres Jesuites Anglois a Liège' by R. Le Loup, an engraving in E. Kints, *Les Dèlices du Pais de Liège* (Liège, 1738), by permission of Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis of Leiden University.

The annual listings of the Liège College for that period associate him with positions such as confessor or consultor. As one of four domestic consultors, Poole would have been required to inform and advise the rector and – although he was no longer responsible for musical activity – he may have continued to play viols and teach. The 1681 confidential *Catalogus Secundus* provides us with a first hint of Poole's health deteriorating. When discussing the ministries he was capable of, it reports 'Ad pauca propter capitis debilitatem', 'Not many due to the weakness of his head'.²²⁸ It is difficult to be certain, but the seemingly euphemistic diagnosis may point to a degenerative mental illness. His condition

²²⁷ See McCoog, 'A Letter', especially pp.99-100.

²²⁸ *Catalogi* 1681, ARSI, Anglia 18.

worsened over the following four years, for the same question in the 1685 report is answered ‘Ad pauca ob fractam valetudinem’, ‘Not many due to broken health’.²²⁹ The source is damaged and the writing is barely legible, but the evaluation of his abilities also appears to read: ‘Valetudo penitus fracta. Scientia exigua pra[e]terquam in morali’, ‘Deeply broken state of health. Knowledge scarce except in morality’.

From 1685 he was always listed among the ill, branded ‘valetudinarius’ or ‘infirmus’. He seems to have remained active until at least 1684, when he would have been around 55. It is possible that, due to his illness, he would have found it impossible to make music on his viol from as early as 1681, and so we may consider the possibility that Poole did little or no composition in the 1680s. Similarly, the 60-year-old Selosse was reported to be ‘Confessarius nostrorum’, ‘in-house confessor’ (not music prefect) at St Omers in 1681.²³⁰ By then Pennington had been sent to the Maryland mission, of which he later became superior, and therefore responsibility for music appears to have rested with other priests. George Conyers is described in 1681 as ‘Magister Musicae’, ‘Teacher of music’, and in 1685 as ‘Praefectus [...] Musicies, quam docit’, ‘In charge of music, which he teaches’.²³¹ Although the 1685 catalogues describe the 64-year-old Selosse as ‘debilis’, ‘weak’, he is listed as ‘Professor Musicies’, ‘Professor of Music’, perhaps an honorary deference rather than proof of actual involvement.

The 1690 Liège *Catalogi* confirm Poole’s ‘valetudo valde infirma’, ‘exceedingly ill health’ and reflect on his career saying that he ‘Fuit Praefectus Spiritualis et Templi. Missionarius in Anglia et docuit Musicam’, ‘was Spiritual Prefect, in charge of the church, a missionary in England, and taught music’.²³² We also read he was deemed capable ‘Ad nullum munus ob infirmitatem’, ‘of no tasks due to the illness’. Anthony is not listed in the 1693 catalogues, appearing instead among those deceased in the previous year ‘Antonius Polus 13 July Anno 1692 Leodij’, ‘Anthony Poole 13 July 1692 Liège’. Evidence of high-

²²⁹ *Catalogi* 1685, ARSI, Anglia 19.

²³⁰ *Catalogi* 1681, ARSI, Anglia 18.

²³¹ *Catalogi* 1681 and 1685, ARSI, Anglia 18 and 19.

²³² *Catalogi* 1690, ARSI, Anglia 20.

quality musical activity at the English Jesuit College in Liège soon after Poole's death can be gathered from an entry to the diary of an anonymous English tourist dated five years after the composer's demise. The account describes the extraordinarily competent viol-playing heard during a visit to the college in August 1697, possibly involving former students and colleagues of Poole, as well as the religious and political connotations surrounding the performance:

The English Jesuits have a college here [Liège], situated on the highest ground within the walls of the town, on the side near the castle. I ascended to it by seventy large steps. They entertained me in a public room, where one of the Society played the best on a bass viol that I think I ever heard. In that room were several pictures, among others Sir Thomas More's and Bishop [John] Fisher's, between which was placed the Prince of Wales [James Francis Edward Stewart]'.²³³

²³³ van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries*, p.245.

Chapter 3

Sources, their Relationships and Transmission

A number of sources with music by Anthony Poole have long been known to scholars. However, nobody has attempted a comprehensive study of their genesis, connections and dissemination patterns from the point of view of Poole's music. The pieces by Poole that have come down to us have done so in manuscript collections and one printed publication. Some of these sources have received a reasonable amount of scholarly attention, especially the ones also containing music by Purcell, Corelli, Jenkins or Simpson. Others have gone virtually unnoticed, and I have aimed to contribute more abundantly to these gaps in the literature. Each print or manuscript offers a different kind of evidence, and taken as a group, these sources furnish us with information about the music, its intended uses and Poole's immediate musical circle. His works fall into six categories according to scoring; music for bass viol; music for violin; music for violin, bass viol and continuo, music for two bass viols and continuo; music for two violins, bass and continuo; and incomplete works of uncertain scoring.

In all likelihood this array of scorings reflects Poole's needs as a performer and as a composer, as well as the nature of his position as *Praefectus Musicae Instrumentalis* at St Omers. The range of genres he cultivated is evidence of a composer of some scope and range – and not just a writer of pieces for his own instrument – and the breadth of his output has implications in terms of understanding the dissemination patterns of the various formats he tackled. For this reason I will arrange the discussion of these sources by scoring. Sources of solo music for bass viol and solo music for violin will be considered separately in the interest of clarity, despite the fact that six of the eight extant works for violin and continuo by Poole are arrangements of bass viol music, and there is reason to suspect this is also the case for the remaining two. Since the stylistic features of the music and the models Poole might have drawn inspiration from are identical, these repertoires will be dealt with together in chapter four.

Music for Bass Viol

Music for bass viol both with and without continuo will be discussed under this heading, as there is an inherent ambiguity in this particular repertoire. The chordal capability of the instrument – possibly more apparent to seventeenth-century musicians than to us in modern times – means that some solo music for the viola da gamba can appear self-sufficient when performed without bass. A number of Poole's works survive in both forms, suggesting that (unless bass parts are lost) the unaccompanied performance of pieces where the viol part defines the harmony unambiguously was possible in some contexts.¹ By the same token, it is worth pointing out that continuo parts could easily be added to viol music that was conceived without them. The unessential character of bass parts that merely shadow the lowest line of the viol part can be better understood by placing them in their wider historical context.

The viol-playing bibliophile and Prebendary of Durham Cathedral Philip Falle (1656-1742) copied a large number of viol pieces from printed sources acquired in the Netherlands and France into GB-DRc, MS A.27.² He left out the continuo parts for about two thirds of them, including works by the Parisian virtuoso Marin Marais (1656-1728) and pieces by Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe *le fils* (fl.c.1713). Items 95-97 in manuscript A.27 are staff notation transcriptions of tablature bass viol music in standard (*ffeff*) tuning taken from Christopher Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Musick*.³ The inclusion of unaccompanied items in A.27 hints at an ambiguity in the conception of the source and its use in performance, which is also reflected in contemporary printed collections. Johann Schenck's (b.1660) *Scherzi Musicali*, Op. 6 (Amsterdam, 1698) includes a continuo part to be used *ad libitum*.⁴

¹ PW13-16, PW29-30, and PW32. Poole's works are referred to in the next two chapters using their PW thematic catalogue numbers (see appendix).

² For Falle, see William Burns, 'Philip Falle', *ODNB*. For a description of A.27 see *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.43-53. For Falle and A.27, see Margaret Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A.27', *Chelys*, 5 (1973-1974), pp.7-20.

³ Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick in Five Parts* (London, 1667), pp.172-76.

⁴ ME: L. and G. von Zadow (eds.), *Schenck: Scherzi Musicali*, 7 vols (Heidelberg, 2005).

In recent years, pieces for bass viol from Carel Hacquart's *Chelys* Op. 3 have been published without a continuo part, in spite of the fact that bass parts are known to survive for nine pieces in GB-DRc, MS A.27.⁵ Bass parts are extant for a suite of dances in E minor in GB-Ob, MS. Mus. Sch. D.249, ff.145^v-48^v, a collection owned by apothecary, botanist and amateur composer James Sherard (1666-1738).⁶ Sherard was probably a student of Gottfried Finger (c.1655-1730), and he may well have made his copy of Hacquart's music from Finger's own copy.⁷ Finger's 1705 sale catalogue, 'Italian Opera's for Instruments, Printed most of them, neatly Stitch'd', confirms that Hacquart's music was published with a bass part. Item 25 in section two of the catalogue describes '2 Books for a Viol *da Gambo*, and a Thorough-Bass, [by] Mr. *Charles Hacquart, Hague*, bound'.⁸ Finally, Estienne Roger's 1716 catalogue provides us with further evidence:

Pièces de basse de viole de Mr. Hakart, composées de préludes, allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, gagues, fantaisies à une basse de viole & une basse c.[ontinue] f.[lorins] 6.0. 1703.⁹

Bass viol pieces by Mr [Carel] Hacquart, made up of preludes, allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, gagues [and] fancies for one bass viol and basso continuo. 6 florins. [First published in] 1703.

In addition, there is a contemporary repertoire of unaccompanied bass viol music in staff notation. Christopher Simpson included eight 'Prolusios' and 'Preludes' in *The Division-Viol* immediately before the divisions 'for the practice of learners', which provide a context for the unaccompanied suites and dance movements by Poole and the preludes by 'Joh: Daniell' and 'J:W:' copied by William Noble into GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, discussed later. *The*

⁵ Carel Hacquart, *Chelys* Op. 3 (The Hague, 1686); ME: Suite no.1 in Andriessen, *Carel Hacquart (1640–1701?)*, pp.243-44.

⁶ For Sherard, see Michael Tilmouth, 'James Sherard, an English Amateur Composer', *ML*, 47 (1966), pp.313-22 and Michael Tilmouth and Robert Thompson, 'James Sherard', *GMO*.

⁷ Holman, *Life after Death*, pp.78-80. For Finger, see *BDECM*, i, pp.418-21; Robert Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655-1730)', PhD thesis, 2 vols (London, 2002).

⁸ GB-Lbl, C.127.i.1.(4.), Finger's sale catalogue.

⁹ F. Lesure, *Bibliographie des Éditions Musicales Publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles le Cène (Amsterdam, 1696-1743)* (Paris, 1969), p.68.

Compleat Violist, a didactic anthology published by John Hare in London in 1699, included two suites by Benjamin Hely, as well as dance movements by others.¹⁰ Last, a piece by ‘Poli’ in unaccompanied tablature that also survives in ordinary staff notation with a separate bass part (PW9), confirms that dealing with the transmission of works with and without bass concurrently will be the most appropriate method for the purpose of this study.

F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317

First and foremost amongst the sources of viol music by Anthony Poole are the two oblong part-books F-Pn, Vm7 137323 and F-Pn, Vm7 137317, which constitute the largest collection of music by the composer. The two volumes (referred to in this discussion as the viol book and the bass book) are bound and decorated in matching style but are different in size, presumably because the copying of bass parts was expected to require less space than the florid divisions that characterize the solo part.

The viol book is large quarto in size, measuring 260x210mm, and is bound in dark brown leather with golden fillets. All four corners of the front and back covers are decorated with *fleur-de-lys* motives, the arms of James II and the exiled Stuart court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Following the 1688 Glorious Revolution, James II set up his court in exile at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, just ten miles north-west of Paris. The expatriate musical establishment of James II and Mary of Modena included the Master of the Music Innocenzo Fede (c.1660-c.1732) and a number of professional musicians and court amateurs.¹¹ Embossed letters at the front and the back have been carefully scraped off, but it is just possible to decipher the name ‘CARYLL’ on the back cover. The survival of other similar-looking volumes suggests that the binding and the embossed decoration were done at court.¹² The cover of the spine shows substantial

¹⁰ For Hely, see C. Field, ‘Benjamin Hely’, *GMO*.

¹¹ For Fede, see J. Lionnet, ‘Innocenzo Fede et la Musique a la Cour des Jacobites a Saint-Germain-en-Laye’, *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 46 (1992), pp.14-18. For music at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, see Corp, ‘The Exiled Court of James II and James III’; Corp *et al.*, *A Court in Exile*; Corp, ‘The Musical Manuscripts of “Copiste Z”’.

¹² F-Pn, H.659, seven volumes of Italian cantatas compiled by Inocenzo Fede for the use of the exiled court also housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale. They boast triple fillets and marbled

wearing away but despite this, the binding has remained so tight that it is difficult to ascertain the number of quires without causing further damage to the volume.¹³ The first original quire goes from f.1 to f.8^v.

At least the first two folios of the opening quire have been roughly removed. Perhaps they were blank pages and their subtraction has no significance, but it is also possible they contained symbols, names or inscriptions that became politically or religiously offensive and could have been eliminated at the same time the embossed names on the covers were scraped off. Motives with Jesuit associations such as ‘AMDG’ or ‘IHS’ were unpopular by 1767, when the Society of Jesus was suppressed in France and the Spanish Empire, but Jacobite symbology had fallen out of favour long before that.¹⁴ The terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, signed in April 1713, required James III to leave France and this resulted in a six-year pilgrimage for the exiled English court to Lorraine, Avignon, Pesaro, Urbino and eventually Rome. Subsequent unsuccessful uprisings – especially the 1745 Rebellion, also known as ‘The Forty-Five’ – failed in the attempt to restore the Stuart dynasty to the English throne, significantly eroding Jacobitism. The Stuart cause was irretrievably lost in 1766, when the Vatican refused to recognise the Jacobite pretender as the lawful sovereign of Great Britain.

The bass book is considerably smaller, 200x155mm, but is bound in a similar fashion. The leather is thicker and less dark, and the paper would appear to be slightly lighter in weight. The front and back covers are also decorated with golden fillets, and with *fleurs-de-lys* on every corner, plus an additional one at the centre of each cover. These decorations have responded differently to the passage of time, presumably because of the different nature of the leathers in which they were embossed. While the ones on the viol book have faded gently, the ones on the bass book have fractured and fragmented. The volume is

paper guards of a type very common in eighteenth-century French binding, but unlike the fly-leaves of 137323. See M. Doizy, *De la Dominoterie à la Marbrure: Histoire des Techniques Traditionnelles de la Décoration du Papier* (Paris, 1996).

¹³ I am grateful to archivist François-Pierre Goy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris for discussing and examining these items with me.

¹⁴ Respectively *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* and the so-called ‘Name of Jesus’, as discussed in chapter one.

otherwise in excellent condition and the fly-leaves have been restored while in the custody of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The four embossed letters on the front of the bass book have also been carefully erased, but it is possible to read 'JOHN', which would match up with 'CARYLL' on the back of the other volume. This is likely to refer to John Caryll, Secretary of State to James II's exiled court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. I will return to this connection later in the chapter.

The watermark in the viol book is a Strasbourg lily (*fleur-de-lys* in a crowned shield) with the monogram WR attached at the bottom. In origin WR was the pack mark of prestigious Strasbourg maker Wendelin Riehel, but by this time its addition had become a mere convention. The coveted pack mark was used by successors and other paper-makers such as Beauvais, Martin, Blauw and Gerrevinck, who employed it in conjunction with their own countermark.¹⁵ In this instance, the countermark is a version of the Name of Jesus (IHS) topped with a cross and with initials I♥C in mirror view, framed in a mould at the bottom. Although it is not possible to be completely certain about it, Raymond Gaudriault has observed that when the IHS watermark accompanies the Strasbourg lily 'the IHS letters are in these cases characteristic of the paper mills depending upon the *Abbaye de la Couronne*, which belonged to the Society of Jesus'.¹⁶ In the Angoumois, for instance, mills which stood on Jesuit land sometimes used the IHS countermark with or without the maker's initials below.¹⁷

Paper with this combination of watermark and countermark was described by Patricia Ranum as virtually the only paper Marc-Antoine Charpentier used during the years he worked for the Jesuits in Paris (1688-1698).¹⁸ It makes sense

¹⁵ WR Strasbourg lily watermarks are documented from 1585 to after 1742 (Gaudriault figures 663 and 664 respectively). The most closely similar examples listed in Edward Heawood, *Watermarks* (Hilversum, 1950), are figs.1721-1845, and span the whole of the seventeenth century.

¹⁶ Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et Autres Caractéristiques des Papiers Fabriqués en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Paris, 1995), p.133.

¹⁷ Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), p.10.

¹⁸ Patricia Ranum, *Vers une Chronologie des Ouvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Les Papiers Employés par le Compositeur: Un Outil pour l'étude de sa Production et de sa Vie* (Baltimore,

to imagine that, wherever possible, the Jesuits would supply their resident composer with paper made under the umbrella of their own order, rather than commercially-sourced, ready-ruled paper. Laurent Guillo has shown that despite this being the case for the overwhelming majority of the paper in volumes from this period of Charpentier's creative life, a small amount of IHS-marked paper in them had printed staves.¹⁹ Perhaps the Parisian Jesuits occasionally had some of their paper taken to a printer, where it could be ruled for music-copying, although this is less likely to have been the case for the more provincial colleges.

The earliest example of the IHS monogram with a cross and the maker's initials as a countermark to Riehel's Strasbourg lily is dated 1625, but the practice was still popular in the last third of the century.²⁰ The IHS watermark occurs in a number of English sources, invariably lacking the I♥C inscription. It can be found in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.54-57, four partbooks containing Christopher Simpson's *The Months* and *The Seasons*, dated 1668 and commissioned by the Oxford Professor of Music Edward Lowe (c.1610-1682).²¹ Paper with a crowned *fleur-de-llys* watermark and initials WR/AJ countermarked IHS can also be found in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31427, a set of three part-books containing 'M^r: John Jenkins little Consort in three partes'. The IHS monogram with initials ET as a countermark to a Strasbourg lily in a shield with initials WR can be found in no fewer than five sources of English music, namely GB-Lbl, R.M.20.h.8 and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 30930 (Henry Purcell autographs), GB-CH, Cap. VI/I/I, GB-Lbl, Harleian 1501 and GB-Och, Mus. MS 628 (a John Blow autograph). All of these manuscripts can be dated between 1677 and 1681, and they clearly show that IHS-countermarked music paper was not infrequent in

1994), p.56. For Charpentier, see Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, translated by E. Thomas Glasow (Portland, 1995); see also H. Hitchcock, *Les Ouvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris, 1982).

¹⁹ Laurent Guillo, 'Les Papiers Imprimés dans les Mélanges: Relevés et Hypothèses', in Catherine Cessac (ed.), *Les Manuscrits Autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Versailles, 2007), pp.36-54; Laurent Guillo, 'Les Papiers à Musique Imprimés en France au XVIIe Siècle: Un Nouveau Critère d'analyse des Manuscrits Musicaux', *Revue de Musicologie*, 87 (2001/2), pp.307-69.

²⁰ W. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England and France etc. in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935), fig.401; Heawood, *Watermarks*, figs.1785, 1795, 1796, 1787 and 1793, dated 1625, 1670, 1676, 1680, 1684 and 1700 respectively.

²¹ For a full description of this watermark and countermark pair, see *VdGSIM*, i, pp.268-71. For Lowe see Robert Thompson, 'Edward Lowe', *ODNB*.

London between these dates.²² These varied sources also illustrate that the use of this paper does not necessarily imply direct ties with the Jesuits.

However, the monogram I♥C in a mould can not be readily identified with any of the known Angoumois paper-makers whose stock supplied the English market. The IHS countermark was used along with a factor's initials in most of the other paper-making areas of France – including the Auvergne, Limousin and Maine – throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³ The I♥C monogram was used as a pack mark by I. Chabrier from 1671, Julien Chelles and Jean Chabrier c.1660, and I. Cusson and his successors from 1644 to 1699.²⁴ The Cusson *papetiers* are known to have employed the IHS watermark for their *Petit nom de Jésus* paper, a denomination that described different paper sizes at different times.²⁵ All of these makers operated in the district of Riom (near Thiers, Auvergne), and it is possible some of them could have used mills located on Jesuit land.²⁶ It is unlikely that Auvergnate paper would have made its way to England, so the paper for this collection was most probably sourced in France. This suggests the manuscript was started by English Jesuit musicians on the Continent, and not in Whitehall, as it has been claimed.²⁷ This watermark and countermark pair is unique among sources of English music.

The sheets of paper had to be folded twice into oblong quarto format, generating four half-watermark designs that appear throughout the collection. These, however, do not occur in a regular pattern, which suggests that the paper was obtained as loose reams, rather than as a professionally folded, cut and bound volume. Attempts to reconstruct the watermarks from the two separate halves reveal that they are no longer complete because the paper was trimmed down at some point, perhaps at the time of its definitive binding.²⁸ If the music had got to

²² Shay and Thompson *Purcell Manuscripts*, p.88. A high-quality reproduction of this watermark and countermark pair can be found on pp.11-12.

²³ For the use of this watermark in paper made in France, see Gaudriault *Filigraanes*, pp.137-38.

²⁴ Gaudriault, *Filigraanes*, p.295.

²⁵ Gaudriault, *Filigraanes*, p.137.

²⁶ For details of a number of minor priories which depended upon the Abbaye de La Couronne (some of them located in the regions of Perigord and Auvergne) see J. Blanchet, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Notre Dame de la Couronne*, 2 vols (Angoulême, 1888), ii, p.59 and pp.265-397.

²⁷ Corp *et al.*, *A Court in Exile*, p.207.

²⁸ I am grateful to Robert Thompson for pointing this out and discussing the volumes with me.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye as loose sheets, it is likely it would have been cut down, bound in leather and decorated with the household motive. This raises the possibility that the collection started off unbound, a more convenient format for performers who made frequent use of the music, and remained in that guise until it arrived at court and consideration was given to its preservation.

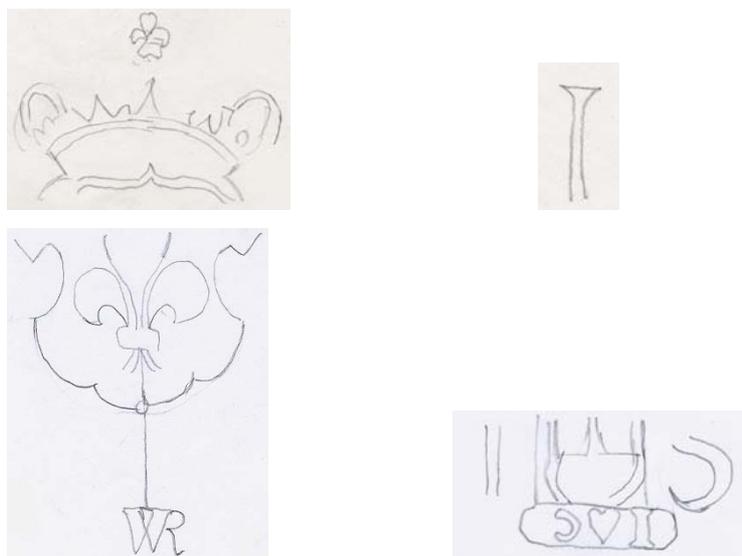


Fig.3.1: Watermark and countermark pair in F-Pn, Vm7 137323.

The single watermark in the bass book is a classic version of the Arms of Amsterdam. It is particularly similar to a design used by Cusson in 1683, so one possibility is that the two types of paper for the two volumes were sourced from a single maker.²⁹ If the watermarks are not related, the paper for the bass book could have come from Dutch boats carrying paper from the Angoumois region to the trading ports of the Netherlands. In either case it is reasonable to assume that if enough paper of a size and quality appropriate to the task of copying the bass parts of the collection was available to the copyists, it would have been used, even if it did not match the paper in the other volume. The paper in the bass book also appears to have been trimmed and, as a result, the reconstruction of the design creates a misaligned pattern.

²⁹ The most closely matched examples listed are Churchill, *Watermarks*, figs.1, 10 and 11; Heawood, *Watermarks*, figs.344 and 346; and Gaudriault, *Filigraanes*, figs.50 and 55, which is identified as ‘Cusson 1683’.



Fig 3.2: Arms of Amsterdam watermark in F-Pn, Vm7 137317.

All pages in the viol book are ruled in brown ink with eight rastrum-ruled staves (12mm-tall each) and no vertical frame-ruling. The bass book has no vertical frame-ruling either and it is very neatly hand-ruled in dark grey ink (six 11mm-tall staves per page drawn with a ruler). These are unusual features to observe in a manuscript collection which will be shown to contain essentially English music. Most oblong quartos found in English sources of the period are stave-ruled with five to six staves per page, and the use of vertical marginal ruling in reddish-brown ink was a widespread and well-established practice in England.³⁰ In fact, hand-ruling without a rastrum and the absence of vertical frame-ruling are such extremely rare practices in sources of English repertoire that they almost certainly constitute evidence of involvement of Continental musicians.

The volumes were stamped at the Bibliothèque Impériale with a stamp in use between 1865 and 1870; the last five years of the reign of Napoléon III. While this indicates that the books were stamped at this time, it does not necessarily mean that they were not in the library before. For instance, F-Pn Vm7 137305, a source of lute music in tablature, bears a stamp from the same time, but also an accession number indicating that it was bought in 1840. Although a large number of volumes were stamped between 1833 and 1848, F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 bears no accession numbers that could help to tell exactly when and how the set entered the library. The stamp provides us with a *terminus-ante-*

³⁰ See Robert Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *EM*, 23/4, (1995), pp.605-18.

quem the items were recorded, so we know they were in the possession of the library by 1870.³¹

Two pieces in the source are directly attributed to ‘AP’, and twelve items are concordant with works assigned to ‘Anthony Poole’ in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C71. One other piece survives as a concordance ascribed to ‘Poli’ in a tablature collection in the family library of Count Leopold von Goëss, discussed in this chapter. A further item survives as manuscript additions to US-U, q763 P699c, where it is credited to ‘E. Withy’. The remaining 128 items in the Paris manuscript are unattributed. The high proportion of anonymous works suggests that the identity of the author or authors was not important at the time of copying, perhaps because it was known to the copyists and to the intended performers. Furthermore, the fact that it contains over 70 unique items makes a reasonably strong case for the hypothesis of it having started off as a composer’s autograph collection or a repertoire book owned by one of his associates or a small community or nucleus of users.

Several titles present typically English variants such as ‘Aire’ and ‘Sarabrand’, and a few playing instructions in the bass book are in English ‘Allemande play this verÿ slowtime’.³² The digraph ÿ may provide further evidence of the involvement of Continental musicians, since a Netherlandish or Germanic copyist would naturally transcribe the foreign letter y as ij (or its diacritic alternative ÿ). Correctly spelt Latin imperatives at swift page-turns such as ‘verte’, ‘verte folium’, ‘verte cito’, ‘verte citissime’ and ‘vide ultimam paginam’ as well as titles and tempo markings such as ‘Praeludium’, ‘Lente’ or ‘Lentissimus’ can seem far removed from mainstream English practice. However, they are in keeping with other extant English sources linked in various ways with Poole’s music, the St Omers seminary, or the division-viol music transmission scene.

³¹ Pierre Josserand and Jean Bruno, ‘Les Estampilles du Département des Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale’, in Frantz Calot (ed.), *Mélanges d’Histoire du Livre et des Bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot* (Paris, 1960), pp.288-90. There was no *Département de la Musique* before 1942, hence the stamp ‘Bibliothèque Impériale Impr.[imés]’.

³² F-Pn, Vm7 137317, f.43^v.

The Selosse Manuscript, a source of keyboard music containing works by Anthony Poole's Jesuit colleague Antoine Selosse, contains analogous indications such as 'verte variation'.³³ 'Verte folium', 'verte fol.[ium]' and 'verte cito' indications are ubiquitous in B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24,910, a manuscript source containing seven trios by Poole which will be discussed in this chapter. Similarly GB-DRc, MS D.4, another source of trios attributed to 'P. Poul' which will be discussed later on, has instructions such as 'verte' and 'voltate subito'. William Noble, the copyist and owner of GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71 recorded the direction 'verte fol.[ium] ad finem', and comparable 'verte cito' indications are found in GB-DRc, MS A.27. Two contemporary sources of division music – GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.39 and D-F, MS Hs 337 – also include comparable directions 'verte cito' as well as the more customary 'verte'.

A large proportion of the compositions in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 are divisions on grounds, including a set of divisions on the renowned tune 'Greensleves' and several chaconnes. Extemporised bass viol division to a ground bass had, by the middle of the seventeenth century, become a specifically English genre, and one that was favoured by expatriate violists such as Facy (*fl.c.*1620, another possible Catholic who may have spent time abroad), Norcombe, Butler and Young.³⁴ The high number of divisions to a ground in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 is further evidence of its English origin. Valentine Reading's ground – a popular English variant of the chaconne bass – appears on the last page of the bass book. 'Mr Reading's Ground', as the popular ostinato bass was referred to in John Playford's *The Division Violin*, may have been copied here as an *aide memoire* for improvised division.³⁵

Connections with Jesuits

A number of the pieces are named after saints. This is the case with the sonatas 'S. Thomas of Cantorberie', 'S. Mary Magdalen', 'S. Augustinus', 'Anastasia', 'Euphrasia', 'Bernard' and 'St Martha', the dance movements 'S. Fortunatus'

³³ Leech, *The Selosse Manuscript*, p.39.

³⁴ For Facy, see Christopher Maxim, 'Hugh Facy's Ave Maris Stella: A Postcard from Rome?', *MT*, 142 (2001), pp.33-38.

³⁵ For Reading, see Peter Holman, 'Valentine Reading', *GMO*.

and ‘S Martina’, and the set of divisions ‘S. Thomas Cantua’. Jesuit fathers were not assigned to a particular saint for their private devotion, but were encouraged to look towards Jesuit saints, so these dedications perhaps tell us something about the spiritual and cultural models in these musicians’ lives. Although the library of the English Jesuits at St Omers does not survive, the inventories of other comparable libraries show us that books by or on Jesuit saints made up the larger part of the customary hagiographical collections, which were primarily edifying rather than historically accurate.³⁶ Other musical works in the collection have titles that make direct reference to Christianity, such as the sonatas ‘Nazareth’ and ‘Bethleem’ [sic] and others allude to iconic Jesuit figures, such as the multi-section sonata ‘Borgia’ and the triple-time dance movement ‘Gonzagua’ [sic].

The set of divisions PW7 ‘St Justinas’ may be named after Saint Justus, whose martyrdom in childhood (hence the diminutive) was the subject of a theatrical play first performed at St Omers in 1666.³⁷ Two further pieces may refer to the worldwide enterprise the Society of Jesus operated. The sonata ‘Japonians’, with its profusion of confident fanfare-like themes, would appear to be a reference to the Jesuit mission in Japan.³⁸ Wide-reaching operation was central to the establishment of the order right from the start, and achievements and set-backs in the Far East were closely followed by the entire Society. Similarly, concern for the well-being of their missionaries (frequently exposed to disease and persecution) was global. If the piece refers specifically to the Twenty-six Martyrs of Japan – a recurrent subject matter in contemporary Jesuit literature – it is possible it was written to commemorate their pioneer spirit on their feast day. It could also have been written for a revival of the unidentified Jesuit play ‘Pauli Japonensis’, first given at St Omers in 1624.³⁹

The meaning of the designation ‘Bolesel’ is more elusive. B’olesel [P’olesel] means ‘to produce, raise, grow or multiply’ in Tzotzil and Ch’ol, two Mayan

³⁶ Dijkgraaf, *The Library of a Jesuit Community*, especially pp.283-86.

³⁷ John Pollen, ‘Memoir of Edmund Matthew’, in *Miscellanea III*, CRS 3 (London, 1906), pp.59-81, especially 79.

³⁸ F-Pn, Vm7 137323, ff.46^v-48^v.

³⁹ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 9354, f.17.

languages spoken in the former Viceroyalty of New Spain, where the Society of Jesus had an important operation.⁴⁰ If this sonata alludes to the Jesuits' role in the evangelization of Central America, it may be that Poole wrote it following an encounter with a Jesuit who had been involved with the American enterprise. Perhaps Poole came across the word in missionary literature and it happened to catch his attention for its punning potential with his own name, Poole [Pole].

The suite PW23 'Spinola' is presumably named after Blessed Carlo Spinola SJ, a martyr burnt at the stake in Japan on 10 September 1622. Carlo was a member of an eminent Genovese family of great importance in the political and religious strife in Habsburg-dominated Flanders.⁴¹ Ambrogio Spinola (1569-1630) distinguished himself as a Spanish army general during the first three decades of the seventeenth century.⁴² His son Filippo (1594-1659) held various posts in the Spanish administration of Flanders and another son, Agustín (1597-1649), was Archbishop of Seville, a position his nephew Ambrosio Ignacio (1632-1684) occupied from 1669 onwards.

The collection bears the hallmark of English Catholic musicians working abroad and informs our understanding of the role music played in their devotion and their lives. Seventh-century founding father Saint Augustine had been sent over from Rome on the perilous mission of converting pagan England, while Thomas of Canterbury, Martina, Fortunatus and Anastasia were all martyr-saints who had died for their faith. The Saint-Omer Jesuits negotiated with Rome to obtain Saint Martina's relics (discovered in Rome in 1634), and Clairvaux Abbey (founded by Saint Bernard near Bar-sur-Aube, France) and Vézelay Abbey (the Burgundian resting place of the remains of Saint Mary Magdalen) were both significant places of worship situated along the pilgrimage route from French Flanders to Rome.⁴³ Blessed Carlo Spinola, Saint Aloysius Gonzaga and Saint

⁴⁰ A. Hurley and A. Ruiz Sánchez, *Diccionario Tzotzil De San Andrés Con Variaciones Dialectales Tzotzil-Español/Español Tzotzil* (México DF, 1978), pp.23 and 105; Robert M. Laughlin, *The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of San Lorenzo Zinacantan* (Washington, 1975), p.297; H. Aulie et al., *Diccionario Ch'ol* (Mexico DF, 1978).

⁴¹ For a hagiographic account of Carlo Spinola, see D. Donnelly, *A Prisoner in Japan* (Oxford, 1928).

⁴² For Ambrogio Spinola, see A. Rodriguez Villa, *Ambrosio Spinola, Primer Marqués de los Balbases* (Madrid, 1905).

⁴³ Pollen, 'Memoir', p.77.

Francis Borgia were high-profile Jesuits whose canonizations were matters of the utmost significance to the Society. Gonzaga's canonization was not granted until 1726, but Borgia achieved sainthood in 1671 and it is conceivable the piece was written on the occasion of the festivities decreed to mark this event.⁴⁴

The feast days of the saints to whom pieces are dedicated cover the entire church calendar, a scheme that has a precedent in exiled English Catholicism in Peter Philips's 1610 *Cantiones Sacrae* for five voices 'for the principal feasts of the whole year and the common of the saints'.⁴⁵ The dedicated pieces in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 cover the year approximately one to a month, even during Lent. During Passiontide the rite presumably dispensed with musical contributions other than the Lenten repertoires of *Oratorii*, *Lamentationes* and *Leçons de Tenebres*, as cultivated by *maestri* such as Charpentier and Carissimi, whose employment patterns involved the Jesuits.⁴⁶ Perhaps these pieces were used as private devotion on the feast days of saints particularly relevant to the English Jesuits at St Omers. It is also possible that Jesuit musicians used these works as personal prayers to their *onomastico*, the saint patron of one's birthday.

January	February	March	April
St Martina	Twenty-six Martyrs of Japan	St Euphrasia	
May	June	July	August
St Augustine	St Aloysius Gonzaga St Martha	St Mary Magdalene	St Bernard
September	October	November	December
St Francis Borgia Carlo Spinola	St Fortunatus	St Justinas	St Thomas of Canterbury St Anastasia

Table 3.1: A calendar of the festivities of Saints to whom pieces are dedicated.

⁴⁴ For a detailed account of the canonization festivities organized for Francis Borgia at the Jesuit College of La Flèche in 1671 see Rochemonteix, *Un Collège de Jésuites*, ii, pp.251-64.

⁴⁵ Quoted in John Steele, 'Peter Philips', *GMO*.

⁴⁶ F-Pn, Rès Vm1 259. For devotional and non-devotional uses of instrumental music in Jesuit worship, see C. Jane Lowe, 'Charpentier and the Jesuits at Saint Louis', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 15 (1993), pp.299-314.

Because of the secretive nature of proscribed Jesuit liturgy in seventeenth-century England, relatively little is known about the role instrumental music played within it. Naturally, answers are even more elusive when one considers the role it may have played in the less observable context of private devotion. A letter from Jesuit Father Robert Southwell to Father General Claude Aquaviva dated 25 July 1586 detailing the progress of his hazardous assignment in England provides us with an insight. It was written from *xxplirz* (cipher sign for the place):

If all had fallen out according to our pleasure, we [Fathers Robert Southwell and William Weston] should have sung Mass with all solemnity accompanied by choice instrumental and vocal music, on the very feast of St Mary Magdalen [22 July]. This however, was put off to the next day.⁴⁷

The *Consuetudines Templi Collegii Anglorum Soc.[ietatis] Jesu Leodii*, a seventeenth-century manuscript document describing the internal regulations governing use of the church at the English Jesuit College in Liège, stipulate that ‘Cantantur 1^{ae} et 2^{ae} Vesperae in festis [...] S. Thomae Cantuarensis’, ‘1st and 2nd Vespers are sung on the feast of Saint Thomas of Canterbury’.⁴⁸ The source also mentions that ‘Cantuntur [...] horae matutinae in nocte Natalis Domine concentu musico’, ‘On the eve of the Nativity of our Lord, Morning Hours are sung with an ensemble of musicians’. The *Consuetudines Seminarij Anglorum Audomari in Ecclesia et Refectorio*, an equivalent document spelling out the conventions applicable to the use of church and refectory at the St Omers seminary, perished in 1940 during a World War II bombing.⁴⁹ A copy of it made by Father L. Willaert in 1904, now kept at Stonyhurst College, stipulates that:

Festivitas B^{[eat]i} Aloysii Gonzagae: in ea sit sodalitas, et sacrum musicum in sodalitate; non tamen communicant studiosi nisi ex devotione.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Pollen, *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs*, pp.306-10.

⁴⁸ Stonyhurst MS.IV, 13 (3), pp.261-62.

⁴⁹ Formerly known as Louvain University MS 160.

⁵⁰ L. Willaert, *Stonyhurst Constitutiones* (manuscript copy, 1904), p.198.

The feast of the Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga [21 June]: let there be a gathering of the sodality, and sacred music in the sodality; scholars need not attend other than out of devotion.

Handwriting

I have recognized a maximum of eleven hands that contributed music to the manuscripts, and have identified them as hands A to K. All eleven hands are at present anonymous. A (Fig.3.3) is a fluent hand with a distinctive alto clef and intricate final flourish. It features a flamboyant common-time sign, straight directs, comparatively short flat signs and some slurs. His treble clefs vary in appearance, occasionally looking rather clumsy, perhaps because he was trying to reproduce an unfamiliar design. The types of mistakes this scribe makes (such as instances of dittography, inaccurate chords and incomplete bars) strongly suggest somebody copying, rather than composing directly. A is probably not the hand of a professional copyist, as it is not consistent when dealing with accidentals, and there are instances of poor spacing on the sheet. The scribe, who uses musical terms in their Latin, English, Italian and French forms, is responsible for the joint copying of items with hands B and E, with whom a connection may be supposed.



Fig.3.3: Hand A (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.5)

On a number of occasions throughout the manuscript this hand records sophisticated harmonic fingerings designed to maximise the resonance of a note

presumably in order to avoid a low-lying chordal passage looking confusing – and appears conversant with viol-specific notational procedures. B often records good fingerings, trills and slurs and may therefore be a violist. It strongly resembles hands C, D and J.



Fig.3.5: Hand B (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.2^v)

Hand C has many similarities with B, the main differences being the use of decorated double barlines, the occasional use of soprano (or C1) clef, and the fact that hand C's downward stems emerge from the centre of note-heads (Fig.3.6). This particular feature causes C in turn to resemble D, which may well just be a more calligraphic effort from scribe C. Hand D's contribution comprises both the solo and bass parts of a multi-movement sonata plus the bass parts of the two sets of divisions that follow.⁵² D is a neat hand, and seems concerned with the appearance of the manuscript (Fig.3.7). It has many features in common with B, on whose writing he may be modelling himself, and hands C and J. Hand D is remarkably similar to the hand in a keyboard manuscript connected with Poole's colleague at St Omers, the Jesuit Antoine Selsosse.⁵³

⁵² Item 62 (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, ff.61^v-65).

⁵³ For a discussion of the hand of this manuscript, see Leech, *The Selsosse Manuscript*, pp.v-viii.



Fig.3.6: Hand C (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.57^v)



Fig.3.7: Hand D (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.64)

Hand E is neat but not concerned with presentation; perhaps more of a player than a copyist. The scribe takes over from A halfway through a piece, and a connection may be presumed between the two. E, the only hand to record any attributions, attributes several works to 'AP' (Fig.3.8).



Fig.3.8: Hand E (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.69)

F is an extremely calligraphic hand that only contributes the solo and bass parts of a set of divisions on ‘Greensleeves’.⁵⁴ It features very distinctive clefs, good spacing and some slurs (Fig.3.9). The hand looks unlike the A-I or the B-C-D-J groups, and may be that of a visiting musician or copyist.



Fig.3.9: Hand F (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.72^v)

Hand G is responsible for the solo and bass parts of a single, multi-movement sonata. The hand is neat and features unusual alto clefs and time signatures, and good spacing (Fig.3.10). The copying – legible but seemingly unconcerned with presentation – would not appear to be the work of a professional scribe.



Fig.3.10: Hand G (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.74)

Hand H is responsible for the solo parts of a stylistically homogeneous group of anonymous works towards the end of the manuscript, although some are in *fdefh* (or high harpway sharp tuning) and written in ‘hand-grip’ scordatura notation. In the realm of viol repertoire, this device was exclusively used by Finger, probably as a result of the influence of the music of Henrich Biber (1644-1704).⁵⁵ Hand H is very clear and has more in common with F (on whose writing he may be modelling himself) than with any other hand (Fig.3.11). H

⁵⁴ F-Pn, Vm7 137323, ff.72^v-73.

⁵⁵ For Biber, see Elias Dann and Jiří Sehnal, ‘Henrich Ignaz Franz von Biber’, *GMO*.

seems concerned with legibility rather than beauty, and is therefore more likely to be a performer than a copyist.



Fig.3.11: Hand H (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.77^v)

Hand I has many features in common with A, but uses a distinctive triple-time signature, a g-shaped treble clef – in addition to the expected design prevalent in the source – and double bar-lines decorated with dots (Fig.3.12). This scribe's contribution into the bass book is sometimes untidy, as if unconcerned with the appearance of the manuscript. Hand I could be scribe A writing at a later date, but it may alternatively be the hand of a younger person taught by A.



Fig.3.12: Hand I (F-Pn, Vm7 137323, f.83)

Hand J – the main hand in the bass book – is neat, well-practised and resembles B quite strongly (Fig.3.13). J features square alto clefs, handsome treble clefs, stylish flat signs, a final flourish compatible with hand B, and a calligraphic letter p. The scribe uses Italian terms more than B does, but this is not necessarily evidence of separate identities, as copyists were expected to reproduce what was in front of them.



Fig.3.13: Hand J (F-Pn, Vm7 137317, f.12)

Hand K contributes a chaconne (bass part only) identical to ‘Reading’s Ground’ in Playford’s 1685 *The Division Violin*. The hand bears little resemblance to any of the other hands, suggesting it might belong to a visiting musician (Fig.3.14).



Fig.3.14: Hand K (F-Pn, Vm7 137317, f.72^v)

Hands A and I have many features in common, while hands B, C, D and J are very similar to each other. It seems natural that a group of people who had been taught to write music at the same institution – perhaps by the same person – should have similar-looking music hands. If one person in the music-making collective was older and more senior than the others (perhaps a teacher, or the main composer), it would be reasonable to expect the other members of the group to have modelled their calligraphy after his. Conversely, a person’s copying hand may change over time for reasons such as age, the purpose of the copy, the appearance of the model being copied, haste, interaction with other

musicians, and the paper, pen and ink available. Bearing this in mind, it is also possible to defend a simplified scenario for this source with just seven hands: A(=I), B(=CDJ), E, F, G, H and K.

Hands A, B, C, D, I and J are collectively responsible for the copying of over three quarters of the music in the source. Nothing suggests that any of the hands composed directly onto the manuscript, so they most likely copied, perhaps from autograph scores. Strikingly, these six hands share an unusual treble clef formation that has only been documented in the Antoine Selosse keyboard manuscript and in a source of seventeenth-century instrumental music owned by Ursula Neville, whose family had connections with exiled Catholicism in the Netherlands.⁵⁶ It is possible that the common house style these scribes share – and in particular the unusual ‘St Omers’ treble clef – had particular significance. Perhaps some of these features became over time deliberate traits that allowed easy identification. The following two tables present various features of these hands for comparison.

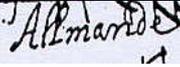
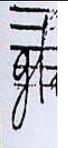
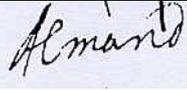
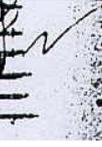
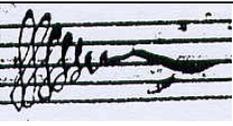
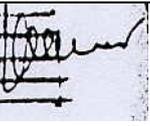
Hand A		Hand I	
			
			
			
			

Table 3.2: Comparison of musical and literary hands of scribes A and I.

⁵⁶ St Mary’s College, Oscott, Brailles Library MS b469. For a discussion of this source and the identity of the Selosse manuscript scribe, see Leech, *The Selosse Manuscript*; Philip Jebb, ‘John Mannock’, *ODNB*.

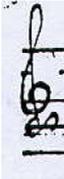
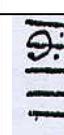
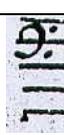
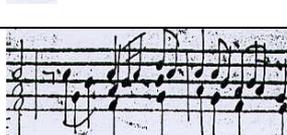
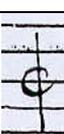
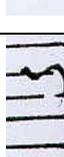
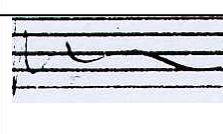
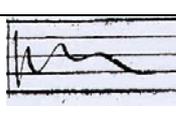
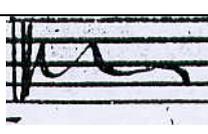
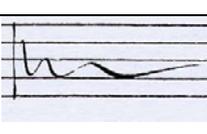
Hand B	Hand C	Hand D	Hand J
			
			
			
			
<i>Courante</i>	<i>St Martha</i>	<i>Verte Cito</i>	<i>Courante</i>
			
			
			

Table 3.3: Comparison of musical and literary hands of scribes B, C, D and J.

Hand D is a very close match with the copying hand of the Seloisse keyboard manuscript (Fig.3.15), and probably belongs to the same scribe. In the absence of a certified example of Antoine Seloisse's hand, it is not possible to ascertain whether the hand in the Seloisse manuscript belongs to the composer or to a copyist attached to the seminary. However, it does seem to be the case that one of the hands from the close circle that copied music by Poole and unattributed

music into F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, was also responsible for the Selse keyboard manuscript.



Fig.3.15: The Selse manuscript, p.43, courtesy of Peter Leech.

Hands E, F, G and H contribute in the last quarter of the manuscript. E is the only hand to acknowledge 'AP' as the composer, but the features of its script look substantially different to the six hands discussed above. More modern-looking C clefs with double vertical lines are a characteristic of the remaining hands, and their possible identities as visiting musicians, composers or copyists has already been advanced. The inscriptions 'Fine' and 'Finis' on ff.73^r and 82^r respectively, suggest that, at the time of copying, hands F and H respectively considered those points to be the end of either their contribution or the entire collection. This supports the theory that the manuscript could have originated as independent but matching quires which were bound at a later stage.

Hand E	Hand F	Hand G	Hand H	Hand K

Table 3.4: Comparison of musical and literary hands of scribes E, F, G, H and K.

To sum up, paper and ruling in these two part-books suggest the collection was created at a Jesuit centre. The bindings and the music propose it originated as a bundle of sheets used for educational, recreational and devotional purposes by musicians in the English Jesuit seminary at Saint-Omer in the 1660s and 1670s. A close group of between two and six scribes is responsible for most of the early copying, and one of the hands is compatible with the hand in the Seloise keyboard manuscript. The low number of attributions recorded and the high number of unique items would point to the collection having started close to Anthony Poole, *Praefectus Musicae Instrumentalis* at St Omers from 1659 to 1678.

It seems therefore a reasonable hypothesis that this represents Poole's own collection, or perhaps the in-house repertoire book of a viol-playing circle based at St Omers. If that were the case, it would be likely that one of the hands was that of Poole himself. The only extant authenticated example of the composer's handwriting is his 1647 registration entry into the *Liber Ruber* of the English College in Rome (Fig.3.16). The registrar wrote 'Accepit Iuramentu in utraque forma 19 Maij 1647', 'He took the oath in both forms on 19 May 1647', and the 18-year-old composer confirmed 'This is the hand of Anthony Poole'.⁵⁷ It is a very early sample, it contains no musical symbols, and it is particularly unfortunate that the capital P in 'Polus' is spoilt. It shows a fluent italic *bastarda* hand, with confident ascenders and descenders decorated with large loops.

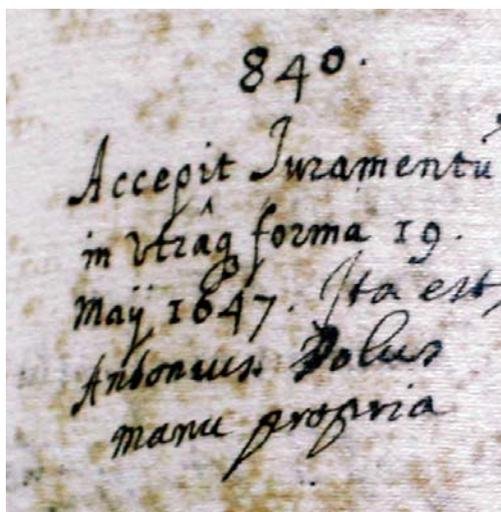


Fig.3.16: *Liber Ruber*, by permission of the English College, Rome.

With the evidence available at present, it is not possible to conclusively identify any of the hands as that of the composer, but scribal evidence suggests Poole's profile would be closest matched by copyist A, whose literary hand seems compatible with the composer's autograph. Hand A, possibly a viol teacher, has a central role in the genesis of the set of part-books, which can be seen from his joint copying efforts and pedagogical contributions. In the absence of more conclusive evidence, and bearing in mind the educational and compositional responsibilities of the *Praefectus Musicae*, I would like to advance two working hypotheses. First, that hand A is most likely to be the hand of Anthony Poole.

⁵⁷ The formula *utraque forma* is discussed in chapter two.

Second, that until evidence to the contrary comes to light, we should consider Poole authorship for all works in the source that are stylistically compatible with pieces clearly attributed to him here and in other sources.

Transmission

It has been suggested that – having originated at Whitehall – the manuscript was then owned by David Nairne at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in the early 1690s, but I have found no evidence to substantiate such claims.⁵⁸ The manuscripts most likely arrived at Saint-Germain-en-Laye after Poole’s death in 1692, where their new owner may have had them trimmed, bound and decorated around or after that date. At this point we need to return to the embossed decoration and letters JOHN CARYLL on the front and back of the volumes. Secretary of State Caryll had been Poole’s contemporary at St Omers, and may have met him again in Rome in 1646. Caryll returned to London at the Restoration and remained there until 1688 or 1689 but it is possible that he stayed in touch with Poole or someone else at St Omers. The relationship between the Carylls and the Jesuits continued beyond Anthony’s lifetime, as can be seen from a 1712 Caryll family will detailing a £1000 donation ‘to y^e Eng: Iesuits’.⁵⁹

If John Caryll did not keep in contact with Poole, there are a number of alternative routes for the collection to have made its way to him. John Caryll’s sister, Dame Mary Caryll (1630-1712), was another important figure of exiled English Catholicism. She had been elected abbess to the Benedictine nuns at Dunkirk in 1663 and, in that capacity, had forged strong links with Queen in exile Mary of Modena. As with a number of other monastic superiors, Queen Mary exchanged personal favours in return for her patronage and her advocacy of the Dunkirk nuns in their dealings with Versailles and Rome.⁶⁰ The Dunkirk nuns could have obtained a copy of the music from nearby Jesuit seminaries. The relationship between Jesuit institutions and neighbouring nuns’ convents did not circumscribe itself to confession and spiritual directorship. The diary of an

⁵⁸ For a discussion of this theory, see Corp, ‘The Musical Manuscripts of “Copiste Z”’.

⁵⁹ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 28227, ff.116-17.

⁶⁰ Claire Walker, ‘Loyal and Dutiful Subjects: English Nuns and Stuart Politics’, in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England 1450-1700* (Ashgate, 2004), pp.228-42.

anonymous tourist records the following event at another English nunnery on 20 August 1697, possibly involving a former student or colleague of Anthony Poole's:

I went to the English nuns [in Liège], which are called the Sepulchrines; was entertained there with music, where one of them sang, another played on the lute and a Jesuit on the bass viol, all was very well performed.⁶¹

Poole's manuscript collection might simply have passed on to a student or to a fellow Jesuit at some point in the late 1680s or 1690s, a transmission pattern that could have eventually reached Caryll. Three years after the exile of James II's court in 1688, an English Jesuit house was established at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, remaining active until 1715.⁶² Between 1709 and 1712 the house was home to the Leicestershire-born Jesuit, Thomas Eyre, who had overlapped with the ailing Poole at Liège between 1689 and 1693, and was unaccounted for several years in the 1690s and 1700s. Contacts between courtiers and Jesuits were frequent, and in Caryll's case, this led to a collaborative translation of Jean Croiset SJ's *Considérations Chrétiennes pour Toute l'Année*, originally published in 1683.⁶³ James II's personal and ideological links with the Jesuits were strong, and the monarch reportedly 'called himself a son of the Society, of whose good success [...] he was as glad as of his own'.⁶⁴

David Nairne's diary provides us with evidence that Caryll often performed on the viol to entertain the exiled court. Seven concerts are mentioned in the eight weeks between February and 2 April 1702 and no fewer than thirty more in the five months from February 1703. The earliest mention of Caryll playing the viol is dated 16 October 1696.⁶⁵ It is perfectly possible that music by Poole in F-Pn,

⁶¹ van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries*, p.245.

⁶² See Hubert Chadwick 'La Residence Anglaise (1691-1715)' in Delattre, *Les Etablissements*, iv, pp.711-13.

⁶³ See Geoffrey Scott, 'The Court as a Centre of Catholicism' in Corp *et al.*, *A Court in Exile*, pp.235-56.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Thomas McCoog, 'A Letter from a Jesuit at Liège (1687?)', *Recusant History*, 30/1 (2010), pp.88-106.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.56. I am grateful to Edward Corp for sharing and discussing with me his transcriptions of musical references in David Nairne's diary, GB-En, MS 14266, especially ff.119-88.

Vm7 137323/137317 could have been played at these concerts and musical gatherings and the significance of this proposition will be explored more closely in chapter four.

F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 is an invaluable source of music by Poole because it appears to be the closest one to the author, both chronologically and geographically. The evidence presented suggests Poole's collection dates from the 1660s and 1670s, and was owned by John Caryll after the composer's death, a transmission that could have happened in a number of ways. Besides F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 there are a number of extant sources with bass viol music by Poole which tell us more about the dissemination of his music, its performance and reception, and less about the composer's environment. The patterns of circulation of Poole's works amongst English musicians abroad, and the transmission of these pieces to England, point in several instances to a number of musicians active in Restoration Oxford.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71

Oxford's omnivorous appetite for music during the second half of the seventeenth century needs to be placed in the context its comparatively relaxed attitude to Roman Catholicism in general, and Continental Catholic music in particular. Catholicism was strongly rooted in Oxfordshire and at the University of Oxford, where fellows such as Edmund Campion, Robert Persons and John Yates, all of whom went on to become Jesuits, would have taken their Anglican oath with more or less private misgivings.⁶⁶ The establishment of the University and English College at Douai in the 1560s caused a migration of disgruntled Oxford scholars that arguably resulted in the institution of a Catholic University of Oxford in exile. The Douai College, 40 miles south-east of St Omers, provided English Catholicism with a stream of missionary priests over the following

⁶⁶ Basset, *The English Jesuits*, pp.13-26.

decades, but it was not the only institution to attract recusant English intellectuals.⁶⁷ The English College in Rome was reportedly:

stuffed full of English students; yea, the very name of Rome made them run thither thicke and threefold from Oxenford and Cambridge, and all parts of England; and God knowes, that many a traitor is there brought up and mantained.⁶⁸

Only some of these students had a fervent desire to return to England as missionaries. Others intended to pursue careers on the Continent as priests or scholars, away from the limitations imposed on Catholics in England. This mixture of motivations for the scholars' migrations was reflected in the great variety of professional paths they followed and in the patronage structures that supported their careers, which in turn created powerful transmission networks that linked Oxford Catholicism with Rome, Paris, Louvain, Antwerp, Tournai, Lyons, Olomuc, Milan and Prague.⁶⁹

Attempts to restore the universities to the Catholic fold during Queen Mary's reign (1553-1558) were broadly supported by the majority of Oxonians.⁷⁰ During the Civil Wars, Charles I had chosen Oxford as Royalist headquarters, and the city and its scholars proved loyal and resistant to Parliamentary forces until 1646.⁷¹ Although university students had to adhere to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion throughout Poole's lifetime, overt theological disputes were frequent at Oxford, revealing a level of tolerance of High Church theology and practice unlike that of more Puritan Cambridge.⁷² A large part of the University establishment was suspected of connivance with Roman Catholicism, and

⁶⁷ For Douai, see Charles Dodd, *The History of the English College at Doway* (London, 1713); Basset, *The English Jesuits*, pp.18-19; Edwin Burton and Thomas Williams (eds.), *The Douay College Diaries*, 2 vols, CRS 10-11 (London, 1911).

⁶⁸ Owen, *The Running Register*, p.20.

⁶⁹ Basset, *The English Jesuits*, pp.18-19.

⁷⁰ For a detailed account of Marian Oxford see Andrew Hegarty 'Carranza and the English Universities', in John Edwards and Ronald Truman (eds.), *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2005), pp.153-72.

⁷¹ See Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhardt 'Oxford and the Civil Wars', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, 16 vols (Oxford, 1997), iv, pp.687-733.

⁷² See Nicholas Tyacke 'Religious Controversy' in Tyacke, *The History of the University of Oxford*, iv, pp.569-620.

colleges such as Exeter were known centres of covert recusancy since the early 1600s.⁷³ By the end of 1647 every Oxford college but three had had its head changed as a result of a visitation.⁷⁴

Music thrived in seventeenth-century Oxford. Services and anthems were performed in the colleges with choral foundations, except in the *Interregnum*. Academic ceremonies, royal visits and most public civic events in the calendar involved ‘loude musicke’ performed by professional musicians, and both the City Council and the university boasted their own bands.⁷⁵ Although a number of BMus and DMus degrees were awarded, there was no formal academic music teaching at Oxford for those taking the honours, but rather a set of requirements in terms of the years of theoretical and practical study required and the submission of original compositions.⁷⁶ Oxford musicians were called upon to provide instrumental and vocal tuition to the young gentlemen being educated at the university, but that was not the only form of interaction between professional and amateur musicians, who frequently coincided at informal music meetings.⁷⁷

Some features of the Oxford musical scene – such as the high concentration of educated gentlemen – made it more active and dynamic than those in other provincial cities in England. A look at the variety of content of the manuscript collections of the music school reveals a broad selection of music (English and Continental, modern and old), and music tastes in Restoration Oxford more wide-ranging and eclectic than antiquarian.⁷⁸ The tradition of informal music meetings is well-documented, and it was an important feature of the musical life of the city. John Wilson (1595-1674), professor of music until 1661, held a

⁷³ C. Boase (ed.), *The Registers of Exeter College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1899), quoting John Strype’s *Annals* in the introduction.

⁷⁴ Beales, *Education under Penalty*, p.103.

⁷⁵ See P. Gouk ‘Music’, in Tyacke, *The History of the University of Oxford*, iv, pp.621-41.

⁷⁶ C. Williams, *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge with a Chronological List of Graduates in that Faculty from the Year 1463* (London and New York, 1893), p.16.

⁷⁷ See Gouk, ‘Music’, in Tyacke, *The History of the University of Oxford*, iv, pp.621-41, especially 632; Ashbee, *The Harmonious Music*, pp.142-60.

⁷⁸ See Denis Stevens ‘Seventeenth Century Italian Instrumental Music in the Bodleian Library’, *AcM*, 26 (1954), pp.67-74.

series of them from at least 1642, where he ‘sometimes play’d the lute’, and meetings hosted by organist William Ellis are recorded from December 1655.⁷⁹

Anthony Wood mentions several violinists among the members of Ellis’s consort in 1659, a list which included viol player Matthew Hutton (1638/9-1711), whose music manuscripts tell us about the music played at these meetings.⁸⁰ While the staple repertoire may have originally consisted of viol consort music by John Ward (d.1638), Alfonso Ferrabosco *the younger* (c.1575-1628) and their contemporaries, modern works requiring violins by composers such as Jenkins, Simpson and Locke were also used.⁸¹ Perhaps the arrival in Oxford of virtuoso violinists Davis Mell (1604-1662) and Thomas Baltzar (d.1663) in the late 1650s, helped inspire increasing numbers of gentlemen to take up an instrument that, at least until then, had unrefined and low-class connotations.⁸² Baltzar in fact attended Ellis’s consort meetings in the summer of 1658, where the speed and inventiveness of his divisions and his multiple-stopping technique made a strong impression on his audience.⁸³

Under Edward Lowe, the music school was regularly supplied with Continental music by renowned composers such as Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) and Carissimi.⁸⁴ It also had access to works by Flemish composers Lambert Pietkin and Adam Nicolas Gascon, represented in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.44 by their sonatas for two treble instruments, tenor, bass and continuo. Lowe remained in touch with important court musicians such as John Hingeston and Henry Lawes, which ensured the city kept abreast of the latest musical trends in London. An inventory of the school’s holdings by Lowe’s successor, Richard Goodson

⁷⁹ Bruce Bellingham, ‘The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford during the Commonwealth and Restoration’, *JVdGSA*, 19 (1982), pp.6-70, especially 33-54.

⁸⁰ Richard Charteris ‘Matthew Hutton (1638-1711) and his Manuscripts in York Minster Library’, *GSJ*, 28 (1975), pp.2-6.

⁸¹ For Ferrabosco, see John Cockshoot and Christopher Field, ‘Ferrabosco’, *GMO*. For Ward, see Michael Foster *et al.*, ‘John Ward’, *GMO*.

⁸² Andrew Clark (ed.) *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford (1632-1695) Described by Himself*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1891), i, p.212.

⁸³ For Mell, see Peter Holman, ‘Davis Mell’, *GMO*. For Baltzar, see Peter Holman, ‘Thomas Baltzar’, *GMO*. For Mell, Baltzar and violin playing in Oxford, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 267-81.

⁸⁴ For Lully, see J. de La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (2002). See also B. Gustafson, *A Thematic Locator for the Works of Jean-Baptiste Lully* (New York, 1989).

(c.1655-1718), attests to the variety of the collection.⁸⁵ In the same way, Oxford-based viol players such as Francis Withy and William Noble (discussed presently) were familiar with music by Poole, Butler, Norcombe, Finger and Corelli. Restoration Oxford enjoyed one of the most varied musical diets in England, and its cosmopolitan tastes and inquisitive outlook placed it at the vanguard of the changes in musical styles in England.

GB-Ob, MS Mus Sch C.71 is an upright folio volume bound in blind-tooled calf measuring 309x199mm. It is a copy of Christopher Simpson's 1667 *The Division-Viol* bound with blank leaves at the end, on which the owner copied music, for the most part divisions for one and two bass viols by several composers, including Jenkins, Butler and Norcombe. The additional leaves are hand-ruled throughout with the aid of red marginal ruling and consist of six quires of paper with Foolscap watermarks.⁸⁶ With the exception of pp.170-72 (ruled with fifteen to sixteen staves each) staves vary from ten to eleven per page, suggesting that the owner may have ruled them himself as required. This source is particularly valuable to us because it contains ten works clearly attributed to Anthony Poole.

The practice of joining extra sheets at the back of copies of Simpson's treatise went back to the first edition. Four copies of the 1659 print and five copies of the 1667 edition are known to survive with pages of manuscript divisions added to them. C.71 resembles GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. 184 c.8, a copy of the 1659 edition of *The Division Violist* bound in calf with 50 ruled pages at the end, presumably also intended for the owner to copy or compose further divisions. It was bought in 1660 by the ecclesiastical scholar and later master of Christ's College, Cambridge, John Covel or Colvill (1638-1722).⁸⁷ Perhaps both volumes were sold by a single music publisher. Robert Thompson has shown that English musicians, both professional and amateur, bought ruled paper from stationers' shops, and that John Playford's business was at the centre of this

⁸⁵ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204. For Goodson see Robert Thompson, 'Richard Goodson', *ODNB*.

⁸⁶ Recorded and described as Foolscap III/14 and III/15 in *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.315-16.

⁸⁷ For Covel, see E. Leedham-Green, 'John Covel [Colvill]', *ODNB*. For the later history of the manuscript, see Holman, *Life after Death*, pp.68-69.

trade.⁸⁸ It would have made perfect sense for Playford to sell copies of a printed volume such as *The Division-Violist* ready bound with his own ruled paper. Most of his editions include catalogues of printed music books and an advertisement for bound manuscript music books as well as ruled paper:

All sorts of Rul'd Paper for Musick ready Ruled, also Books of several Sizes ready bound up of very good Ruled Paper; Also very good Inke to prick Musick.⁸⁹

If both C.71 and the Covell volume were bought ready-bound from the London dealer, it would be interesting to consider why the additional leaves in C.71 were not sold ruled. Perhaps the printers had changed the procedure by the time the second edition saw the light, or perhaps it was purely to do with the circumstances of this sale. It is also possible that Noble wanted the flexibility to rule the pages according to the length of the individual pieces. In any case, it is unlikely that financial constraints would have led Noble to choose to rule the book himself. Robert Thompson has shown that stave-ruling for music was a comparatively affordable luxury in England, as can be seen from a 1703 account between Henry Playford and the printer William Pearson. The account detailed a charge of one shilling 'For Ruleing 4 Quire of Imperiall Paper', equivalent to over 192 folios.⁹⁰

Dr Covell's copy contains anonymous works and sets of divisions by R.L., R.L.E. and R.L.S. It also contains divisions by Jenkins, three of them autographs produced towards the end of the composer's life, which shows the composer had direct contact with the volume and most likely knew Covell in person. Andrew Ashbee has suggested that the works attributed to R.L., R.L.E. and R.L.S are by Roger L'Estrange, and has speculated with the possibility that Jenkins and Cambridge organists Henry and George Loosemore – who are known to have visited the North family in Kirtling, near Newmarket – were involved with the

⁸⁸ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', pp.605-18.

⁸⁹ John Playford, *Select Ayres and Dialogues For One, Two and Three Voyces; to the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol* (London, 1659), reproduced in Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', p.612.

⁹⁰ See Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', p.606.

transmission of his works.⁹¹ The notion that George Loosemore may have been particularly interested in viol music is also interesting, and it will be discussed with Poole's music for violin, viol and continuo. Covel's long and varied career gave him plenty of opportunity to be an important disseminator of music. He went to Constantinople as a chaplain, spent some time travelling in the Middle East, and was in the Netherlands between 1681 and 1685.

The first folio of C.71 contains two manuscript inscriptions '£1[?]:-9s-00d' and 'Will. Noble/1671'. The second one of these is presumably an autograph, which suggests Noble bought his copy of *The Division-Viol* in 1671. His hand is compatible with the main musical and literary hand in the source, also responsible for the numbering on the top left hand corner of each page of the additions. William Noble (1649/50-1681) was a clergyman and a graduate of Merton College, where he took his MA in 1673.⁹² He was ordained by Bishop John Fell in Oxford on 23 December 1677 and joined Christ Church College as a chaplain on 14 March 1678.⁹³ Judging by the complexity of the sets of divisions and unaccompanied works he copied into C.71, Noble must have been a fine violist, which Anthony Wood endorsed when he said he was 'very well skill'd in the practic part of music'.⁹⁴ The opening item in the collection is a transcription of the song 'I Long to Sing' by Henry Lawes, for bass voice and bass accompaniment.⁹⁵ There is no evidence to suggest Noble played keyboards or instruments of the lute family, and the appearance of this song at the front of a volume concerned with division-viol music suggests singing to the viol.

⁹¹ Andrew Ashbee, 'Bodleian Library, Printed Book Mus. 184.c.8 Revisited', *The Viol*, 2 (Spring 2006), pp.18-21; Ashbee 'My Fiddle is a Bass Viol'.

⁹² Oxfordshire Record Office, Oxford Diocese Papers d.106 (manuscript register). Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714*, 4 vols (R/Nendeln, 1968), iii, p.1073.

⁹³ For evidence of Noble's ordination, see Oxfordshire Record Office, Oxford Diocese Papers d.106 (manuscript register). For his appointment, see Christ Church Archives, xii.c.121 (Disbursement Book).

⁹⁴ Bliss, *Fasti*, ii, p.367. For Wood's Catholic associations, see Kiessling, 'Anthony Wood and the Catholics'. See also Theodorus Bongaerts (ed.), *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount* (Amsterdam, 1978).

⁹⁵ Day and Murrie no.1549, p.251.

Singing to the accompaniment of the bass viol is documented in England since at least 1605,⁹⁶ and self-accompaniment on the viol is mentioned on 18 February 1660 in Samuel Pepys's diary: 'A great while at my Viall and voice, learning to sing *Fly boy, fly boy* without book'.⁹⁷ This presumably refers to the song by Simon Ives in Playford's *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1659). A second reference on 22 February 1660 states 'Then home and sang a song to my vial', and a further one on 4 March 1660 'Lords day. Before I went to church I sang *Orpheus Hymne* to my Viall'.⁹⁸ This presumably refers to Henry Lawes's *Orpheus Hymn to God*, which appeared in his *Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues* (1655).

Noble's collection contains a vast amount of solo divisions and some unaccompanied music, but its opening item suggests that he also used his instrument to accompany a bass voice, perhaps his own. This possibility casts an interesting light on the scope of Noble's music-making abilities. Playing unaccompanied music and effective self-accompaniment can be challenging activities, requiring sound musicianship and an understanding of the techniques employed to maximise resonance and create the illusion of polyphony. Curiously, Noble had an active interest in the scientific aspects of music, and especially of sound vibrations. He discovered nodes in vibrating strings around 1673, working independently from Thomas Pigot, and their investigations were reported by Narcissus Marsh in 'a short *Essay* touching the (esteemed) *Sympathy* between *Lute* or *Viol* strings'.⁹⁹

With the exception of pp.174-75, the content of the whole manuscript is in one shade of ink. 'Call George again' and a set of divisions by Christopher Simpson (pp.137-38) are an inserted leaf glued to the inside of p.139. This set of divisions is in the hand of Francis Withy (1640/1652-1727), a singing-man at Christ Church from 1670. Francis was the son of John Withy, a viol-playing lay clerk at Worcester Cathedral described by Anthony Wood as 'a Roman Catholic and

⁹⁶ Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*. To trace the development of this tradition see Corkine, *The Second Book of Ayres*; Edward Huws Jones, 'The Theorbo and Continuo Practice in the Early English Baroque', *G&S*, 25 (1972), pp.67-72.

⁹⁷ Latham and Matthews, *Pepys*, i, p.59.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.64 and 76.

⁹⁹ R. Plot, *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1677), pp.288-99.

sometime a teacher of music in the citie of Worcester’ who was ‘excellent for the lyra viol and improved the way of playing thereon much’.¹⁰⁰ It is likely that the Prelude ‘J:W:’ on p.136 is by Francis’s father. Francis, a fine player himself, is reported to have played ‘a division... on the bass viol’ during Cosimo de Medici’s 1669 visit to the Music School.¹⁰¹

Francis Withy is credited with two works in C.71, a set in D minor on Polewheele’s ground ‘Finis Mr: Withey’ on pp.140-42, and a set of divisions in the same key branded ‘F:W:’. The ground bass of a further set on pp.112-13 by ‘Dan Norcome’ – known to us from *The Division-Viol* – may have appealed to Withy, who used it for a set in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61. According to the inscription on the front cover, this relatively late manuscript source was given to Francis Withy by his ‘loving Scoller’, Henry Knight of Wadham College on 4 December 1687 (apparently as an empty book), and Withy seems to have finished entering pieces into it in or shortly after 1701.¹⁰² Withy’s set of divisions on Polewheele’s ground in C.71, pp.140-42 was extended with six triple-time variations beyond the ‘Finis Mr: Withey’ inscription. Perhaps this was done by the composer himself as a late addition or perhaps the work was concluded by somebody else, maybe by Noble, the owner of the volume.

All of this suggests a very close relationship between the two men, and it is likely that Withy was William Noble’s viol teacher. Although we have a limited understanding of what these viol lessons involved, it seems Francis Withy would have made an inspirational teacher, the kind of musician whose interests were broad enough to encompass many different kinds of music. Withy’s commonplace book, GB-Och, Mus. MS 337, contains a range of short fragments of music that interested him, including cadences and canons going back to earlier English masters like Morley, Bevin and ‘Mr Farmiloe’ (Francis Farmelo?), and examples of figured basses by Matthew Locke. The collection

¹⁰⁰ Wood’s comment appears in GB-Ob, MS Wood D.19 [4], f.136. For Francis Withy and other members of the Withy family, and their roles as owners and copyists, see ‘The Withy Family’ in *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.7-13. See also Robert Thompson, “Francis Withie of Oxon” and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337”, *Chelys*, 20 (1991), pp.3-27.

¹⁰¹ J. D. Shute, ‘Anthony a Wood and his Manuscript Wood D. 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: An Annotated Transcription’, PhD thesis, 2 vols (Clayton MI, 1979), ii, p.110.

¹⁰² Holman, *Life after Death*, p.66.

also incorporates music from Henry Purcell's 1683 *Twelve Sonatas of Three Parts* and by French masters like Lully, as well as extracts from the latest Italian instrumental works such as Corelli's Op. 1, Bassani's Op. 5.¹⁰³

Some of the pieces copied in C.71 are dated between August 1672 and September 1678 (perhaps composition, copying or acquisition dates), but the dates appear out of order.¹⁰⁴ A close study of the source reveals the process of compilation quite clearly. An initial copying effort took place between 1671 and 1673. This first episode – presumably started shortly after Noble purchased the volume in 1671 – would account for all the pieces copied on pp.81-149 inclusive. The set of divisions PW7 was copied on p.109, which shows that Poole's music was known in Oxford before Noble completed his MA in 1673. The music copied onto pp.109-18 is concordant with items in D-F, Mus Hs 337, a source of divisions for the violin discussed in this chapter, with which a connexion may be inferred.

PW7 on p.109 is the first item in the source to contain an English style, g-shaped treble clef in preference to the C1 clef prevalent in the collection. Perhaps Noble was copying from a source that, at the time, looked unlike the models he was used to dealing with. All of the pieces by John and Francis Withy appear to have been copied at this time, which further suggests Noble may have had lessons from Withy during his time at Merton. At some stage in this process Withy may have supplied Noble with the loose leaf – pp.137-38, the only folio ruled with a rastrum, – and the sheet was glued to the spine side of p.139, which was left blank.

The second copying impulse in the genesis of C.71 can be dated to May 1677, when the anonymous violin sonata was copied on to pp.170-72. The copying of the plate from Thomas Salomon's *Essay to the Advancement of Music* (1672) and the keyboard diagram at the end may well be contemporary with the

¹⁰³ Thompson, 'Francis Withie of Oxon'. Robert Thompson, 'Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins', in Ashbee and Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time*, pp.271-307, especially 284-85.

¹⁰⁴ '30 Aug. 1672', p.101; 'August 1672', p.108; '2 Sept. 1672', p.118; 'Sept. 16th 1672', p.135; 'March 19 1672/3', p.136; '[16]78 Sep. 28th', p.139; 'March 19th 1672/3', p.147; 'Sept. 28 1678', p.152.

copying of the sonata. One final copying effort took place in September 1678. It involved music by Poole exclusively, and could have been prompted by a fresh encounter with works by the exiled Jesuit composer. As part of it, William Noble decided on 28 September 1678 to use p.139 – which had originally been left void – to copy music by ‘Mr A. Poole’. A study of the marginal rulings, clefs, and the time-signature on this page (which occasionally straddle the glued sheet and the bound page it is pasted on) suggests that copying postdates the attachment of the loose sheet.

Nothing indicates that any music was copied into the volume after the September 1678 additions. This date is interesting when considered against events in Poole’s life; 1678 was the last year of his tenure as Head of Music at St Omers, and his presence is documented in Liège from 1679, so he might have had the opportunity to travel to Oxford and meet Noble, Withy and their viol-playing circle. It is also likely that Noble was away from Oxford between taking his MA and ordination, and he could have met Poole elsewhere while training for the priesthood. He could even have spent part of his Oxford absence as a tutor to an aristocrat on the Grand Tour, which would in all likelihood have taken him to the Netherlands.

It is equally possible that members of the Withy family played a crucial role in the transmission of works by Anthony Poole across the English Channel and the supply of music for the Saint-Omer seminary. We know that music by Poole made its way to the Oxford viol-playing circle of Francis Withy, but this dissemination pattern was not a one-way system. One set of divisions by Edward Withy (manuscript additions to Playford’s *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1674 in the hand of Francis Withy, US-U, q763 P699c) was known at St Omers, where it was copied by members of the viol-playing Jesuit community into F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317. Edward Withy has been identified with ‘Edward Withye, gentleman’ of Buckland, Berkshire, who married Elizabeth Eyston, a Catholic.¹⁰⁵ The administration bond for Elizabeth’s estate is signed by Edward

¹⁰⁵ For Withy, see *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.10-11.

and ‘Franciscum Withye, of the Parish of St Aldate’s, Oxon singingman’, so he is likely to have been another son of John Withy and a brother of Francis.¹⁰⁶

Mr Withy’s Trumpet Tune, the only other work by Edward Withy which appears to have survived, was copied into the first three pages of GB-Cfm, MU MS 647.¹⁰⁷ This item is ascribed ‘E^d Withy’ in the source and may be an autograph. Huntingdon attorney Edward Ferrar (1671-1730) copied bass viol music into GB-Cfm, MU MS 647, and the recurrence of his hand throughout the collection suggests that he was the owner and compiler.¹⁰⁸ Ferrar does not seem to have been a Catholic, and Edward Withy’s probable autograph may have got to him through non-recusant (and perhaps entirely fortuitous) transmission channels not necessarily connected with the composer. The Jesuit fathers Edward Withy (born in Cambridgeshire in 1689) and James Atkinson (born in 1687 in Lancashire or Worcestershire, the son of Lucy Withy) are recorded variously in Rome, St Omers, Liège and Watten. They may be related to Francis and Edward Withy and would represent a link between the family and the Society of Jesus two generations later.¹⁰⁹

C.71 page numbers in pencil and other such cataloguing markings appear to be in a different hand. A marginal note on p.13 of the printed section reads ‘This part contains many excellent precepts tho’ not without errors; some few of which I have taken notice of as I read it. / W. Hayes’. The pages of the Second Part itself contain pencil annotations by Hayes, mostly concerning the use of first inversions of ordinary triads and seventh chords. These comments are likely to have been recorded by William Hayes (1708-1777), an organist and composer who was in Oxford from 1734 onwards. In 1742 Hayes was elected professor of music of the university and he remained in that post until his death, when he was

¹⁰⁶ Berkshire Record Office, D/A1/222/147.

¹⁰⁷ There is a variant version of the work on pp.9-11 of the same source and an incomplete version in Francis Withy’s hand in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61.

¹⁰⁸ For GB-Cfm MU MS 647 (including a full inventory) and the musical activities of the Ferrar family, see Peter Holman, ‘Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: the Case of Fitzwilliam MU. MS 647’, *VGSJ*, 1 (2007), pp.20-50. See also Bryan White, ‘“A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends”: the Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s’, in Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (eds.), *Music in the British Provinces 1690-1914* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2007), pp.9-44.

¹⁰⁹ Holt, *The English Jesuits*, pp.269-70.

succeeded by his son Philip (1738-1797), who was particularly interested in seventeenth-century music.¹¹⁰ The fact that Hayes read and annotated the treatise (presumably out of an interest in theory and composition, rather than viol playing) bears testament to its long-lasting legacy beyond the third and last reprint of 1712.

Eight incomplete sets of divisions for two bass viols attributed to ‘Mr Jenkins’ in C.71 (pp.82-97) also survive complete in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.59 and C.60, two volumes owned and copied by Francis Withy. The concordances carry annotations – ‘Given mee by Dr Dentry’ and ‘Ex. by Mr Hutton’s booke’ – providing an insight into Noble’s sources.¹¹¹ The identity of Dr Dentry remains obscure but Matthew Hutton (1638/9–1711) was a Brasenose College graduate who went on to be elected a fellow and graduated MA in 1661 and BD in 1669. He progressed through different offices and was Vice-principal between 1674 and 1678. He became rector of Aynho, Northamptonshire, where he remained until his death. While at Oxford (1655-1678) he befriended Anthony Wood, who described him as an ‘excellent violist’ and a regular member of Ellis’s consort meetings.¹¹² Hutton owned a number of manuscripts, presumably copied during this time, including a great deal of fashionable Italian vocal music by, amongst others, Carissimi.¹¹³ It is not clear what ‘Mr Hutton’s booke’ refers to, but Hutton did copy and own several volumes of English consort music, including two manuscripts of fantasias for two trebles and a bass by Jenkins.¹¹⁴

There are two noteworthy instances of conflicting Poole attributions involving C.71. One part of a set of divisions for two bass viols in C.71, pp.92-93 is labelled ‘Mr Jenkins’, the other part surviving in autograph in GB-Lcm, MS

¹¹⁰ For William Hayes, see R. Sharp, ‘William Hayes’, *ODNB*. For Philip Hayes, see R. Sharp, ‘Philip Hayes’, *ODNB*.

¹¹¹ Respectively GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.59, pp.26 and 51, and GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.60, pp.27 and 54.

¹¹² For Hutton, see J. Broadway, ‘Matthew Hutton’, *ODNB*; Charteris, ‘Matthew Hutton’; Pamela Willetts, ‘Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford’, *British Museum Quarterly*, 24 (1961), pp.71-75; Bellingham, ‘The Musical Circle’, especially p.39. For an alternative (though less likely) identification of Hutton as the Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and ‘Quire Man’ William Hutton, see Philip Highfill *et.al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800*, 16 vols (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982), viii, p.66.

¹¹³ GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.24-27, GB-Y, MS M36 and GB-Y, MS M93.

¹¹⁴ GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 30488-30490 (three part-books) and GB-Y, MS M20/S (score).

with Noble and the owner of C.39. The most important implications of this interpretation are that there exist several authentic versions of this piece, and that these may not be the work of the same musician or musicians.

The concept of single authorship appears to be an inadequate research notion when dealing with Poole's division viol music, but perhaps this consideration has an application in a wider context. The case of the anonymous additions to Francis Withy's set of divisions on Polewheele's ground in C.71 (pp.140-42) has been discussed in this chapter, and works on well-known grounds such as Polewheele's seem to have been especially prone to multiple authorship. A set on Polewheele's ground in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. 184 c.8 starts with five anonymous divisions and then includes a note before the last five saying 'PWs' own follow'. Interestingly, a concordance of this work in GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31 carries the note 'per Peter Young'. The practice of using an existing work as a starting point for further elaboration has numerous precedents, even outside the field of extemporised music. The reworking and rearranging of musical material is a fundamental concept in the development of Western European music. It can be documented from the arrival of notation, but it is likely to go much further back in time.

In the field of bass viol music, an obvious precedent is the *viola bastarda* repertoire, where different authorship for the *bastarda* setting and the pre-existing vocal work is the norm. Although *viola bastarda* music is fundamentally Italian in origin, seven *bastarda* settings survive in John Merro's hand in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247. Four of them are based on polyphonic works in the English vocal repertoire, and two of these – attributed to 'Alfonso' [Ferrabosco, *the younger?*] – may have originated in Henry, Prince of Wales's musical circle.¹¹⁶ A musician's ability to improvise *bastarda*-style on existing material hinged on his degree of familiarity with it. This was clearly the case with ostinato basses such as Polewheele's ground, ten bars of music so well-known by English violists of the period, that they served as a basis for many original divisions by a great number of authors.

¹¹⁶ *VdGSIM*, i, pp.139-66. For a discussion of the *bastarda* music in this source, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.205-09.

The clear attributions in C.71 may cast light on some of the problems of ascription in Poole's music. Of the fourteen items ascribed to Poole in C.71, ten are also extant in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, where three of them are named after saints. The sixteen pieces named after saints in the source are either attributed to Poole or unattributed, and constitute a fairly heterogeneous body: eleven of them are multi-movement sonatas, three are dance movements, one is divisions on a ground, and one is an air with variations. Eleven works are in ordinary tuning, three in *ffefh* – or low C tuning – and there is one each in *fedfh* and *defhf* tunings. It is likely that the composition and performance of instrumental devotional music was largely the remit of the St Omers *Praefectus Musicae Instrumentalis*, and therefore works that are stylistically compatible with Poole's music are discussed in chapter four and assigned to the composer in the appendix.

There is a high degree of agreement between the texts of the Poole pieces in the two sources. Most discrepancies concern minor rhythmic variants, such as dotted rhythms in PW10a and PW11a, but these are not sufficiently consistent to form a significant pattern. More important discrepancies are the absences of whole variations in PW10a and PW22, and the lack of a bass part. It is possible that William Noble had a separate, but no longer extant, part-book with the bass parts to the divisions and dances he copied into C.71. Perhaps that book also contained the viol I parts for the nine works for two division viols by Jenkins on pp.82-99. The grounds could have been copied into scraps of paper as necessary, or even have been memorised by the continuo player for performance. It is also possible that continuo players – especially lutenists or viol players – could have shared the book with Noble.

Perhaps the most significant divergences occur with the pieces in E minor PW29-36. In F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, this multi-movement item is presented as a suite consisting of a 'Praeludium', an 'Aria' on a double ground with divisions, a 'Courante' and a 'Sarabrand' [sic]. An analogous group of consecutive items in E minor, all attributed to Poole, in C.71, pp.156-63 presents many differences. It starts with an [Almand] and a 'Corant' which are unique, and continues with the aforementioned 'Sar[abande]'. The following page starts

with the same [Prelude], which is extended by a further 86 bars of extraordinary fantasia-writing, featuring fugal sections, chordal writing and rapid division (PW35). It is followed by an incomplete contrapuntal movement in triple time and an accurate concordance of the [Aria] with divisions.

The relationship between the two sources seems complicated, as the version of this multi-movement work known in Oxford in 1678 was unlike the one in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317. If both manuscripts were derived from earlier sources, it is unlikely those were identical, perhaps because there was at least one intermediate stage of dissemination separating them. The notion that Poole's pieces in Noble's volume were transmitted through a complex network of sources, possibly involving lost intermediary copies, may have an attractive precedent in the keyboard music of Antoine Selosse.

Manuscript Hogwood M1471, a source of keyboard music copied in England, shares a considerable portion of its contents with the Selosse keyboard manuscript.¹¹⁷ The Selosse manuscript appears to have originated from the composer's immediate environment, and was later taken to England, where it could have served as the model for the copying of over a dozen works into Hogwood M1471. In addition, three pieces in the Selosse keyboard manuscript also survive in GB-Och, Mus. MS 1177, a source of music started by Edward Lowe in the 1670s and later completed by Richard Goodson. Perhaps Noble managed to obtain copies of music by Poole and Selosse in the mid-1670s and took them to Oxford at the time of his ordination in 1677.

Another possibility is that the composer himself took the music to Oxford in 1678. We know that his music was known and copied there since at least 1673, so perhaps he had contacts in Oxford already. If the E minor suite was an old work, Poole could have judged it appropriate to make changes to it before disseminating it in England. He may also have needed to remember the piece if he did not have a copy of it with him, perhaps making or improvising substantial changes to the earlier version in the process. 1678 constituted a watershed in

¹¹⁷ ME: Christopher Hogwood, *Fitt for the Manicorde* (Launton).

Poole's life and – if he did take the opportunity to travel to England at this time of personal, professional and political change – Poole's role in the process of dissemination of his own music would seem more hands-on than previously thought. If Poole visited Oxford in 1678, taking his own musical works with him, it is also possible that he was in addition responsible for introducing the works by Antoine Selosse extant in GB-Och, Mus. MS 1177 to Lowe.

Another possible explanation is that Noble himself composed the additional movements, but this seems unlikely given the care he took to record any attributions to Poole. One last hypothesis is that Poole may have reworked the set, and that perhaps the version in C.71 reflects a different stage in Poole's creative process by reproducing a lost, variant source. If this was the case, the evidence of different notated versions of an unfixd original would provide us with a valuable insight into the author's compositional practices.

To sum up, Poole's music was known in Oxford by 1673, but a lot of it appears to have arrived in, or shortly before, 1678. There was a channel for exchange of musical material between Anthony Poole and the Catholic-sympathetic Oxford viol-playing scene of Francis Withy, William Noble, Matthew Hutton and Edward Lowe. These exchanges may have also involved music by Edward Withy, Daniel Norcombe and Antoine Selosse, as well as Italian vocal and instrumental music. Circumstantial evidence from the Oxford sources of music by Poole proposes two different scenarios. One alternative is that during a possible 1673-1677 absence from Oxford, William Noble met Poole and Selosse, presumably at Saint-Omer, returning with music by the Jesuit composers. The other possible scenario is that members of the Withy family, and perhaps Anthony Poole himself, were directly responsible for the arrival of this music in Oxford and its subsequent dissemination.

GB-DRc, MS A.27

GB-DRc, MS A.27, an oblong quarto score volume with coloured edges and bound in calf, measures 284x218mm and contains music for bass viol, with and without continuo. It is rastrum-ruled with eight 11mm staves per page

throughout. Ruling was carried out with the aid of a two-stave rastrum and red marginal rulings. The watermarks are Strasbourg Bend and Lily, most frequently countermarked IV.¹¹⁸ The book was compiled by Philip Falle, who copied the pieces from printed collections and manuscripts he owned, presumably for his personal use. The variety of papers employed – all with the same ruling – suggests that Falle had access to a supply of paper that was already mixed. The binding of the various quires is largely asymmetrical, with some pages missing and others pasted in before binding, which suggests Falle could have transcribed some of the pieces into unbound sheets, which he then arranged for binding at a later stage.

The volume includes music by a large number of composers, notably Marin Marais, Johann Schenck, [Jean] Snep, Carel Hacquart, Louis Heudeline (*fl.* 1700-1710), Christopher Simpson, Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe *le fils*, Italian cellist and composer Angelo Maria Fiorè (*c.* 1660-1723), and Frederick Steffkins. The Schenck and Marais transcriptions make up the largest part of the source, and were taken respectively from Schenck's Op. 2 sonatas (1688) and Op. 6 *Scherzi Musicali* (1698), and the first two books of *Pièces de Violes* by Marin Marais (published in 1686/89 and 1701). It also contains a set of divisions on Polewheele's Ground for bass viol by 'Mr. Anthony Poole' on pp.253-56, which is unique. It seems logical to deduce from the content and the chronological span the volume reflects, that Falle was a keen and skilled viol player, and that his interest in the viol and its solo repertoire went back a long way.

Late in 1669, the 14-year-old Falle matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he was a student of Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), an exact contemporary of the aforementioned Matthew Hutton.¹¹⁹ Four years later, in 1673, Falle 'translated himself for the sake of Dr. Narcissus Marsh to St. Alban Hall' where his Exeter tutor had been appointed principal.¹²⁰ Marsh had learnt to play the viol and held a weekly consort while at Oxford, which may have involved Falle.

¹¹⁸ Described as Bend II/2, II/3 and II/4 in *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.300-01. A detailed inventory of this source can be found on pp.43-53.

¹¹⁹ For Marsh, see M. McCarthy, 'Narcissus Marsh', *ODNB*.

¹²⁰ Philip Bliss (ed.), *Athenae Oxonienses by Anthony A Wood*, 4 vols (London, 1813-1820, R/1967), iv, pp.501-502.

Some of the music manuscripts that would have been used at such meetings survive in Marsh's Library, at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.¹²¹ An entry in the diary of Narcissus Marsh provides us with information as to his musical activities, and Wood's account of them adds vivid detail:

I had also before this betaken myself to the practice of Musick, especially of the Bass Viol, and after the fire of London, I constantly kept a weekly consort (of instrumental musick and sometimes vocal musick) in my chamber on Wednesday in the afternoon, and then on Thursday, as long as I lived in Oxford.¹²²

This person [Marsh] who was well skill'd in the practical part of music, did, while a fellow of Ex[eter] Coll[ege] and the prin[cipal] of S. Alb[an] hall, keep a weekly meeting or consort of instrumental, and sometimes vocal music, in his lodgings for such who were conversant and delighted in that faculty, purposely to refresh his mind and senses after they were in a manner doz'd and tired out with philosophical and theological studies.¹²³

Falle graduated MA from St Alban's Hall in 1676 and left Oxford to study for ordination. Following a number of different positions, Falle was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to the King in 1694, a post he held until the death of the monarch in 1702. This appointment gave him the occasion to furnish his personal music library with manuscripts and prints during his trips to France and the Netherlands. A 1698 embassy to Paris lasting six months could have provided the opportunity for Falle to obtain the music by Marais, Dubuisson and Blancourt, as well as a copy of Jean Rousseau's *Traité de la Viole*, which he marked 'acheté à Paris'.¹²⁴ In January 1700, and through royal influence, Falle received a stall at Durham Cathedral. Subsequent yearly trips to The Hague and Amsterdam would have been obvious opportunities for him to acquire

¹²¹ See Richard Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *RMARC*, 13 (1976), pp.27-63; Richard Charteris, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Clifden, 1982).

¹²² Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle', especially pp.40-44.

¹²³ Bliss, *Athenae*, iv, p.498.

¹²⁴ Harman, *A Catalogue*, no.664.

Netherlandish prints and manuscripts.¹²⁵ The amount of travelling his position involved may clarify Falle's need for a volume such as A.27, a compact book of favourite pieces in score that could be taken on trips abroad.

However, we do not know for certain when Falle produced GB-DRc, MS A.27. He donated his music library to Durham Cathedral in 1722, and drew up an inventory of the volumes concerned.¹²⁶ Although when the bequest was completed in 1739 it did include A.27, it is not clear whether any of the items described or named in the 1722 inventory refer to it.¹²⁷ Falle mentions two manuscript collections of viol music; the first one is described as 'Fantasies for 2 Viols with the Thorough Bass – by Young, Jenkins, Butler, Poole, etc. MSS. fol.º', and it is unclear what book this might be intended to illustrate, since A.27 and D.10 are not fol[io], and D.4 contains no music by Butler. The description of the second one, 'A mss Collection of Sonatas and Divisions to Grounds, by several Masters' seems best suited to the contents of D.10, although it could conceivably refer to A.27. If Falle was describing A.27, this would prove the volume was finished by 1722. If the entry was meant to describe D.10, it would suggest that A.27 was not yet finished in 1722, and that the compilation (or at least the completion) of this manuscript was carried out between 1722 and 1739.

While A.27 may have originated out of Falle's desire to keep copies of certain pieces in a separate book, a number of unique items in the collection tell us more about Falle's activities. An unaccompanied prelude in E minor by Finger,¹²⁸ a suite in G major by Frederick Steffkins,¹²⁹ and the only extant pieces by Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe *le fils*,¹³⁰ suggest that A.27 may also document encounters between Falle and viol teachers. It is possible that the manuscript served a dual purpose for Falle, a handy score for playing favourite pieces while travelling, and a notebook to copy pieces by the masters he met. It is not known

¹²⁵ For evidence of these purchases, see Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle', especially p.5.

¹²⁶ GB-DRc, Add. MS 154.

¹²⁷ The bequest included GB-DRc, MSS A.27, D.2, D.4, D.5 and D.10.

¹²⁸ GB-DRc, MS A.27, p.123. ME: Robert Rawson and Petr Wagner (eds.), *G. Finger, The Music for Solo Viol* (London, 2008), no.12.

¹²⁹ GB-DRc, MS A.27, pp.249-52.

¹³⁰ GB-DRc, MS A.27, pp.104-06, 110-20, 124-29, 292-94 and 314-19. ME: Jonathan Dunford (ed.), *Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe le fils, Tombeau pour Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe le Père, précédé d'une Fantasia et de Quatre Suites pour la Viole de Gambe* (Strasbourg, 1998).

whether Falle met the ‘Mr. St. Colombe’ who put on a benefit concert at Hickford’s Room in London on 14 May 1713, but if this was the case, it might support the idea that A.27 continued to be compiled and used long after Falle’s travels as Chaplain in Ordinary to William III had ended.¹³¹

The piece by Poole is labelled ‘Division to a Ground / D molle’ and is a set of eight divisions on Polewheele’s ground (sixteen divisions in total, eight on each strain). The indication ‘Verte cito’ at the bottom of p.253 is the only literary inscription besides the title at the start and the attribution ‘Mr. Anthony Poole’ at the end. Falle could have come across the piece while at Oxford, as it is stylistically compatible with PW7a, another minor-key set of divisions by Poole based on a ground in two sections known in Oxford by 1673. Alternatively Falle could have obtained a manuscript copy of this item during one of his trips to Europe, as discussed. Perhaps Falle had the opportunity to meet a former student or associate of Poole’s who introduced him to music by the Jesuit composer. If the latter hypothesis were true, it would constitute evidence of Poole’s music being circulated – and presumably played – beyond his death in 1692.

A-ET, Goëss MS A

The Ebenthal lute, theorbo and viol tablature books have been known to scholars since 1979.¹³² They constitute a remarkable collection of over 900 pieces copied in 13 manuscript volumes and housed in the family library of Count Leopold van Goëss, at Schloß Ebenthal, in the southern Austrian province of Carinthia. Two of these books (A-ET, Goëss MS A, which includes a set of divisions ascribed to ‘Poli’, and MS B) consist solely of music for the viol, while a further volume (A-ET, Goëss MS II) contains some viol music in addition to music for the lute. These three manuscripts, along with A-ET, Goëss MS I and A-ET, Goëss MS Theorbo, form a set of five books connected by the contribution of a

¹³¹ Holman, *Life after Death*, pp.62-64.

¹³² For a discussion of these sources, see Douglas Alton Smith, ‘The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures. Thirteen New Manuscripts of Baroque Instrumental Music’, *EM*, 10/4 (1982), pp.462-67; François-Pierre Goy, ‘Seventeenth-Century Viol Pieces in Settings for Plucked Strings (c.1625-c.1700)’, *Chelys*, 22 (1993), pp.30-43. An inventory of the collection can be found in Albert Reyermann, *The Goëss Manuscripts, Music Manuscripts in Tablature from Ebenthal Castle, Klagenfurt, Carinthia, Austria* (Lübeck, 2000).

common hand, referred to by earlier authors as ‘scribe Q’. The remaining eight volumes contain mainly Austro-Bohemian lute music, rather than the English repertoire predominant in the first five. A number of dedications in these eight suggest they were compiled and intended for the use of Maria Anna von Sinzendorff-Erstbrunn (1670-1709).¹³³ She married Count Johann Peter von Goëss (1667-1716) in 1693 and these later volumes most likely originated after the couple moved to Carinthia.

Goëss manuscript A is an upright folio volume bound in vellum with two green ties. It measures 310x205mm, and its covers are finely decorated with double-ruled gilt and two ornaments, one in the centre of each cover. In addition, it carries further ornamentation in each corner of the ruled gilt and the spine. Each page has ten six-line staves printed on it, the first one in every recto slightly indented. The watermark is a classic example of the Arms of Amsterdam, with the initials PB as a countermark.¹³⁴ The source contains 119 pieces, mostly preludes and dance movements (a number of them with their *doubles*) and some sets of divisions. The variety of lyra-viol tunings represented includes some of the most customary schemes, such as *ffeff* (viol-way), *fdefh* (high harp-way sharp or D major tuning) and its variant *edefh*, *fedfh* (high harp-way flat or D minor tuning), *defhf* (harp-way sharp or G major tuning), *fedef* and *efdef* (French-sett tuning) as well as more exotic tuning methods that require restringing such as *defde* and *fhfde*.

Goëss manuscript B is an oblong volume measuring 219x160mm, bound in plain vellum. The music paper is ruled with four printed six-line staves per page with no indentation.¹³⁵ The watermark shows a bear in a crowned shield, with a countermark consisting of initials, possibly VF. The book contains 93 pieces, all of them preludes and dance movements, in common tuning schemes such as

¹³³ Tim Crawford, “Allemande Mr. Zuilekom”. Constantijn Huygens’s Sole Surviving Instrumental Composition’ *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, D.37 (1987), p.177.

¹³⁴ A facsimile reproduction and a catalogue of this volume by François-Pierre Goy can be found in Albert Reyer mann (ed.), *Goëss A, Pieces for Viol* (Lübeck, 1999). I am grateful to Tim Crawford for sharing his notes and observations on these sources with me.

¹³⁵ A facsimile reproduction and a catalogue of this volume by François-Pierre Goy can be found in Albert Reyer mann (ed.), *The Ebenthal Tablature MSS Goëss B (1668) Pieces for Viol* (Lübeck, 1997).

edfhf (harp-way flat or G minor tuning), *ffeff* and its variant *ffefh* (low C tuning), *fdefh*, *fedfh* and *defhf*. Goëss manuscript II measures 210x132mm. It is bound in black morocco leather, and shows the remains of three green ties. It is decorated with a blind double-rule and ornaments in the centre of either cover. The music paper bears partial foolscap watermarks, with fragments of the Arms of Amsterdam. The volume contains 52 preludes and dance movements for viol.¹³⁶ The prevailing tuning scheme is *ffeff*, but there are pieces in the more unusual tunings *ededf* and *fdedf*.

Almost all the pieces in Goëss manuscripts A and B were copied by two scribes (Q and R) whose contributions frequently appear in alternation, which implies they knew – and worked alongside – one another. Scribe Q also made contributions into Goëss manuscript I and Goëss theorbo manuscript, and was the sole contributor to Goëss manuscript II, which suggests (as discussed) a common origin for these five volumes. A few dates from the 1650s such as ‘Allemande 23 feb 55’ and ‘Roma 1659’ are recorded into both manuscripts.¹³⁷ Dates from the 1660s appear on the title pages of both manuscripts in Q’s hand; ‘A Utrecht le 19 de+bre 1664’ on manuscript A, and ‘A Utrecht le 6 de May 1668’ on manuscript B. These are most likely to be binding or presentation dates, rather than acquisition or composition dates. Q’s sustained involvement with at least two of the five volumes, both at the time of copying and binding, suggests that he may have been the owner of the set, as well as a contributor.

Manuscript A includes one viol piece by William Young, copied in Q’s hand. It bears the inscription ‘Courant W Joung/17 May [16]68’.¹³⁸ Since this is six years after the death of the composer in Innsbruck, it must be a copying date. Young, whose possible connection with the Netherlands has already been discussed, is known to have travelled around Italy between 1652 and 1654, and therefore it would seem there are a number of ways Q could have come across this work. Two more items in R’s hand come after this piece; one is additions to an earlier anonymous set of divisions and the other an ‘Aria variata’ by John

¹³⁶ Albert Reyermann (ed.), *The Ebenthal Tablature MSS Goëss II* (Lübeck, 1993).

¹³⁷ Respectively, A-ET, Goëss MS B, f.16^r and A-ET, Goëss MS A, f.43^r.

¹³⁸ A-ET, Goëss MS. A, f.76^v.

Price (another English violist singled out for praise in Rousseau's *Traité de la Viole*). It is clear the relationship between Q and R continued beyond 1664, the proposed binding date for manuscript A, and the two scribes would appear to have collaborated over a number of years, at least from 1655 to 1668.

Scribe Q, an active collector and copyist of music during the 1650s and 1660s, and possibly the initiator and owner of the whole set of manuscripts, travelled to Italy, as can be seen from the aforementioned annotations.¹³⁹ His profile would seem that of an enlightened, well-travelled, wealthy amateur with an interest in the viol, lute and theorbo, and clearly conversant with the tablature notation for these instruments. Q has been recently identified by Rudolf Rasch as Johan van Reede, Lord of Renswoude (1593-1682).¹⁴⁰ Johan van Reede had lodgings in Renswoude, a village in the border region of Utrecht and Gelderland, as well as in the provincial capital of Utrecht and in The Hague. He was a diplomat and politician, and in addition he was an amateur violist and theorbo player.

Between January 1644 and April 1645, and in his capacity as deputy of Utrecht in the states general, he was in England as ambassador-extraordinaire to facilitate talks between Parliament and Charles I. The mission – which put him and fellow envoy William Boreel in touch with senior parliamentarians, and took them to Oxford to meet the monarch – was fruitless, and members of both houses suspected the Dutch delegation of royalist leanings. In recognition of his services, van Reede was created Baron Reede by Charles I in March 1645 and, on his return to the Netherlands, he blamed Parliament for the failure of the negotiations. It is clear that the Stuart cause had struck a chord with the anglophile diplomat, and that Charles was keen to reward his endeavours. By the time of van Reede's embassy, the King's Musick had disbanded and 'musician for the consort' Dietrich Stoeffken was no longer in England, but it is possible that the amateur viol-playing foreign visitor could have familiarised himself

¹³⁹ A-ET, Goëss MS A, f.43^r.

¹⁴⁰ For van Reede, see Marika Keblusek, 'Johan van Reede van Renswouden', *ODNB*. I am grateful to Rudolf Rasch for discussing his unpublished research with me, and to Tim Crawford for bringing it to my attention. For the background to this identification, see Alton Smith, 'The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures', pp.462-68; Crawford, 'Allemande Mr. Zuilekom', pp.175-81; Crawford, 'A Composition for Viola da Gamba by Constantijn Huygens', in A. van Deursen, *et. al* (eds.) *Veelzijdigheid als Levensvorm, Facetten van Constantijn Huygens' Leven en Werk* (Deventer, 1987), pp.79-88, especially p.84.

with court music for the bass viol. In 1652 van Reede directly offered his services to Charles II, but remained in the Netherlands and was appointed president of the States of Utrecht.

Johan van Reede was in close contact with fellow Dutch diplomat Constantijn Huygens, a man whose interest in English viol music spanned his entire life. Huygens reported in his autobiography to have been taught the viol from the age of six by an Englishman, the elusive ‘Gulielmus H.’,¹⁴¹ and greatly admired Dietrich Stoeffken, with whom he corresponded frequently until at least 28 August 1662.¹⁴² Van Reede copied ‘Allem Mr Zuilekom’ into A-ET, Goëss MS A (likely to be by Huygens, who had bought the manor and title of Zuilechem in 1630).¹⁴³ The two men corresponded extensively (only van Reede’s letters are extant) on political matters, although there is a 1650 letter concerning a theorbo. Huygens appreciated van Reede and the musicianship of his entourage, as can be seen from a letter to the French ambassador, Monsieur Godefroy Maréchal d’Estrades dated 24 September 1676. In it Huygens refers to van Reede as ‘the good man’ and offers insights into the nature of his musical establishment:

Le bon Monsieur de Renswoude a mis en train chez luy un collège de musique assez bien assorti, en faveur d’une belle niepce, qui faict beaucoup de figure en ceste assemblée, tant du Luth que de la voix.¹⁴⁴

The good Monsieur de Renswoude has created at his home a very well selected music college in favour of a beautiful niece who stands out in this assembly, as much for her lute-playing as for her voice.

An even more interesting question is who the other copyist (R) might have been. Alton Smith has suggested that, unless they were related by blood or marriage,

¹⁴¹ Crawford, ‘Constantijn Huygens’, p.43.

¹⁴² Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven*, ii, pp.1043-44.

¹⁴³ A-ET, Goëss MS A, f.73.

¹⁴⁴ Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven*, ii, pp.1211-13.

one scribe may have been tutor to the other.¹⁴⁵ Since R only collaborates with van Reede in the genesis of the two viol books, it is logical to presume the scribe was a viol player. If R were van Reede's viol tutor, he could be expected to have had a significant input into the choice of music represented in the collection. The selection of music copied into Goëss manuscripts A, B and II includes pieces from the third quarter of the seventeenth century by some of the most renowned English and French composers of viol music, as well as French lute and theorbo masters.

The most represented composer in the collection is 'Steffkens' [Dietrich Stoeffken]. It is possible that van Reede first became acquainted with his music during his 15-month-long stay in England, but the presence of six pieces by Stoeffken in Goëss MS B, ff.67^v-72^r – in the composer's autograph – suggests that van Reede and Stoeffken had further contact, perhaps in the 1650s before the violist returned to England. In addition to Stoeffken's autograph lyra-viol pieces, two attributions in Goëss manuscript A to the mysteriously latinized surnames of composers 'Poli' and 'Pater Switoni' suggest a different source of English viol repertoire.

The set of divisions by 'Poli' in Goëss MS A, ff.63^v-65 is in van Reede's hand. It is concordant with F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, ff.69^v-70^r, which can be attributed to Poole on the grounds of style and position in the manuscript (PW9). The concordance is virtually literal, with the exception of three minor variants occurring in bars 11, 55 and 56, where the tablature notation mostly reveals enlarged chords and double-stopped unisons, presumably to enhance the resonance of the chord in an unaccompanied setting. Since the one concordance between the two manuscripts is such a perfect one, it is not unthinkable that the copy in A-ET, Goëss MS A may have been made from a very reliable source, perhaps a lost autograph that could also have served as the model for the copy in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317.

¹⁴⁵ Alton Smith, 'The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures', pp.462-68.

Scribe R's copy of the piece by 'Pater Switoni' on ff.57^v-60 is unique, and it appears to be the only extant work by the composer. It is an English-style set of divisions for lyra-viol in *fedfh* (high harp-way flat or D minor tuning), a scheme omnipresent in English sources, but also found in anonymous pieces in Continental sources such as S-L, MS Wenster G.28, F-Pc, MS Rés 1111, and D-Kl, MS 61:1. The fact that the second division of the Switoni set is identical with one in a set by Christopher Simpson in GB-Cu, MS Hengrave Dep. 77(1)/4, suggests a possible connection between Simpson and the elusive 'Pater Switoni'. An entry in the *Liber Ruber* of the English College in Rome provides us with two possible identifications. On 1 November 1645, a George Simeon (alias Suttoni) arrived in Rome and declared that he had left his family in order to follow his uncle Andrew Sulyard SJ (born 1605 or 1606, also alias Suttoni) to Derbyshire.¹⁴⁶ Nothing is known of Simeon after he left Rome for England on 26 May 1647. Since the composer is recorded as 'Pater', the older man seems the more likely candidate, as there is no evidence his nephew was ever ordained.

It is easy enough to see how van Reede's associate might have mis-transcribed 'Pater Suttoni' for 'Pater Switoni', especially if it was written in a running Italic hand. Father Sulyard is recorded as a Watten novice in 1629. He studied theology at Liège until his ordination in 1634, proceeding initially to the Ghent College and then to Spinkhill. He might have had the opportunity to meet the Jesuit Christopher Simpson, who was at Watten from at least 1634 and perhaps until 1639. Sulyard subsequently taught at St Omers between 1640 and 1644, and again between 1646 and 1647, as discussed. His presence is documented back in Suffolk in 1651 as a teacher of grammar, aged 49 and in good health.¹⁴⁷ The 1673 *catalogus* reports 'Andreas Suttonus mortuo in Anglia, Maij', 'Andrew Sutton died in England in May'.¹⁴⁸

In addition to Stoeffken, Poli and Pater Switoni [Suttoni?], Goëss manuscript A contains music by John Jenkins, William Young, Nicolas Hotman, Simon Ives,

¹⁴⁶ Kenny, *The Responsa*, ii, p.490. For a discussion of these two men and the evidence for their having been musical, see chapter two.

¹⁴⁷ *Catalogi* 1651, ARSI, Anglia 15, 'Collegium SS Apostolorum cum Missione Suffolciensis: P[ater] Andreas Suttonus, Suffolciensis, Docuit Grammaticam, Aetas 49, Vires firmæ'.

¹⁴⁸ *Catalogi* 1673, ARSI, Anglia 16.

Christian Herwich, Polewheele, [Johann Christoph?] Wolf, Mr Zuilekom [Constantijn Huygens] and John Price, as well as anonymous works. Goëss manuscript B includes music by William Lawes, [Ambrosius?] Scherle, [Charles] Coleman, John Jenkins, William Young, Nicolas Hotman, Simon Ives, Christian Herwich, [John] Lillie, Nicolas de Merville, Fr. Dufaut, [Jean Lacquemant] Dubuisson, John Price, Jean Mercure, Denis Gautier and anonymous. Goëss manuscript II includes a high number of works by Hotman and also music by Young, Herwich, ‘GM’, ‘Betkofskij’, Jenkins, Stoeffken as well as anonymous pieces. This is certainly an impressive list of composers of viol music for an amateur player to compile. Although it is clear that scribe and possible tutor R may not have been directly responsible for the insertion of all the English music, it would seem that either he was English or was exceptionally interested in English music for the lyra-viol.

Constantijn Huygens and Stoeffken, who were in contact from 1647, continued to correspond after Stoeffken’s return to London at the Restoration. Two other composers in the Goëss manuscripts who also crop up in Huygens’s letters are Nicolas Hotman (before 1614-1663) and Betkofsky. Huygens and Hotman knew, and corresponded with, one another but the Dutch diplomat, who held Hotman’s work in low esteem, is unlikely to have been instrumental in getting his music to van Reede. Betkofsky was violist to Don Juan of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Low Countries, as can be seen from a Huygens letter dated 12 March 1657.¹⁴⁹ The letter shows it was not just the indigenous population of the Netherlands that had an interest in English music for viols. Don Juan of Austria, who was supplied with ‘English compositions’ and a ‘collection of pieces for three bass viols’, judged the Netherlands ‘a country where the viol is at its highest perfection’, and his keenness for the instrument was documented again ten years later.¹⁵⁰

Comparison of hands across different notational methods (such as ordinary notation and viol tablature) is not easy, and it is difficult to be assertive about

¹⁴⁹ Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven*, ii, pp.1010-11.

¹⁵⁰ Ian Woodfield, ‘The First Earl of Sandwich, a Performance of William Lawes in Spain and the Origins of the Pardessus de Viole’, *Chelys*, 16 (1985), pp.40-42.

hand identification in the absence of clefs, accidentals, comparable note-heads, beaming and note-flags (Table 3.5). Although hand R cannot be conclusively identified with any of the hands in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, there are a number of small but interesting similarities with hand A, especially in terms of page-turn indications, note formation and final decorations. These similarities may be purely coincidental, but – when considered in conjunction with the exact ‘Poli’ concordance – they open up a number of possible scenarios, most likely that van Reede and scribe R had access to (and occasion to copy) autograph material by St Omers musicians. The possibility that R is the hand of a violist trained at St Omers who acted as viol tutor to van Reede cannot be discarded, but it is comparatively unlikely in view of the fact that scribe R appears to have mis-transcribed Suttoni’s name.

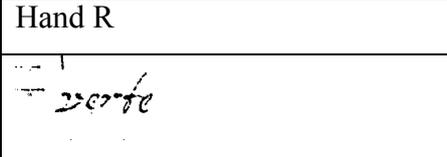
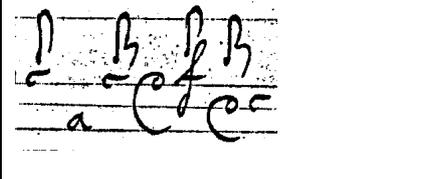
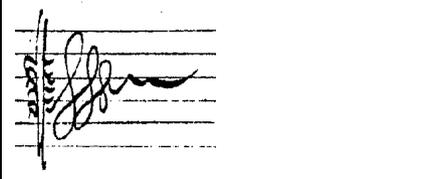
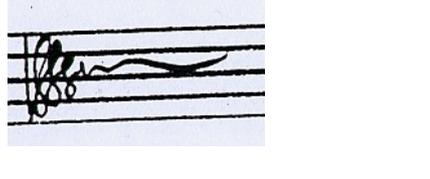
Hand R	Hand A
	
	
	

Table 3.5: Comparison between hand R and hand A. Detail from A-ET, Goëss MS A reproduced by permission of Albert Reyerma.

Given the copying dates recorded in Goëss manuscripts A and B, and the 1648-1658 gap in Poole’s biography, one can also imagine the young Poole coming into contact with the entourage of the powerful diplomat before his ordination and appointment at St Omers. While Catholicism was forbidden in the Dutch Republic, and Catholics were effectively barred from public office, the relatively broad-minded religious environment of the Netherlands facilitated musical exchanges across the religious divide. Huygens tried to recruit French musicians, including Monsieur D’Avril and Thomas Gobert, for Frederick

Henry of Orange's *Kapelle* in The Hague, as can be seen from his extant correspondence with Thomas Gobert and Marin Mersenne.¹⁵¹ A letter from Sir William Swann (1619-1678), an officer in Dutch service, to Huygens dated 13 July 1648 refers to music-making enjoyed during a visit to another non-conformist Huygens correspondent, the Antwerp-based Jewish merchant Gaspar Duarte. Duarte and his daughters reportedly made 'a fyne consort and harmony for luts, viols, virginals, and voyces'.¹⁵²

In short, the set of divisions by Poli in A-ET, Goëss MS A can be attributed to Anthony Poole by virtue of the 'Poli' ascription and the position of its concordance in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317. Its inclusion in a manuscript collection compiled c.1655-1668 by a Dutch diplomat is significant because it evidences that pieces for the viol by Poole were known in the Dutch Republic before the arrival of his music in England by 1673, and that his music travelled across faith boundaries in the more relaxed religious climate of the Netherlands, perhaps along with works by other St Omers English Jesuits such as Andrew Sulyard. A hypothetical scenario whereby members of Poole's musical circle at St Omers (perhaps even Poole himself) had a direct role in this process of dissemination is supported by the accuracy of the transmission and inconclusive scribal clues.

Music for Violin and Continuo

The Division Violin, Second Edition (London, 1685)

John Playford's publication of the first edition of *The Division Violin* in 1684 constituted a substantial departure from the type of violin music volumes his printing house had produced up to that point. This first venture into the field of division violin music differed so radically from the idiom of *The English Dancing Master* (1651) and *Court Ayres* (1655), that Playford would have had to look for models beyond the existing literature for the violin. *Apollo's Banquet for the Treble Violin*, first printed by Playford in 1669, contained one piece

¹⁵¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven*, ii, pp.751-97.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p.893.

entitled ‘A Jigg divided twelve ways’ that signalled an interest in this repertoire which the publisher was to develop further. In fact, *The Division Violin* was intended to plug a hole in the new and growing market for violin music in England, at a time when there were few obvious models for it other than Simpson’s towering *The Division-violist* and Nicola Matteis’s several collections of *Ayrs*, published in London between 1676 and 1687, which contain double-stopped preludes, fantasias and fugues, arias marked ‘in passaggio’ and ‘sminuita per far la mano’, gavottes and minuets ‘con divisione’. Matteis (d.1713), who overwhelmed Evelyn in 1674 when he ‘plaied such ravishing things on a ground as astonish’d us all’, published a number of grounds with divisions and ‘diverse bizzarrie sopra la vecchia Sarabanda ò pur Ciaccona’.

Playford’s book was clearly a success, and a second edition of the groundbreaking volume was swiftly put together in 1685. Its front page reads ‘The Division Violin Containing a Collection of Divisions upon several Grounds for the Treble-Violin being the first Musick of this kind made Publick. The Second Edition, Much Enlarged.’¹⁵³ The 1685 reprint is of particular relevance to this dissertation because it incorporated two sets of ‘Divisions upon a Ground Basse by Mr. Anthony Poole’ for violin and continuo, which were included until the sixth edition of 1705. The enlarged second edition of 1685 contains an informative preface which provides us with an important insight into the way Playford gathered his material in preparation for publication. It seems quite clear that the music was assembled over a number of years:

Having for some Years past stored my self with a Collection of several Choice Divisions for the Violin upon a Ground, A Consort of Musick which do not require many hands to perform; knowing how acceptable and useful this would be to Practitioners in Musick, I have with no small Pains and Charge made the same publick. And since that small Number I first printed are sold off, and considering that Age and Sickness still encreases upon me,

¹⁵³ FE: Margaret Gilmore (ed.), *The Division Violin Containing a Collection of Divisions upon Several Excellent Grounds for the Violin* (Oxford, 1980). This facsimile edition needs careful handling, as it is a conflation of the first and second editions of Playford’s print.

being willing to see the Musick truly printed while living, I have without delay printed this second Impression.¹⁵⁴

Playford may have known Poole's divisions before 1684, decided they did not merit appearing in the first edition, and changed his mind one year later. This seems a little contrived, and Playford is most likely to have obtained the works between 1684 and 1685 as he searched for additional first-rate repertoire for the 1685 edition in the wake of the success of the earlier print. Since *The Division Violin* was produced after the onset of Poole's infirmity, direct transmission to Playford appears comparatively unlikely. We should instead explore the relationship the publisher had with the sources and models he compiled and referred to when preparing the volume. A study of the table of contents reveals more about Playford's models.¹⁵⁵ Four sets of divisions in the printed book survive as bass viol arrangements in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.39, a manuscript source of viol divisions dated 1679 already discussed. This could be because C.39 was a source Playford had access to, or because some sets of divisions in C.39 were copied from *The Division Violin*. If the latter hypothesis were correct, it would imply a longer time-scale for the compilation of C.39.

The high number of concordances, however, does not necessarily constitute proof that the two sources were directly connected. Both the published violin book and the viol manuscript are perhaps most likely to have been inspired by one or several fashionable contemporary models that may no longer be extant. The chance survival of works in C.39 and in *The Division Violin* might point towards a thriving practice of improvisation, transmission and transcription of division music, the scale of which can only too easily be underestimated because of the relative scarcity of evidence. A close inspection of these concordances may give us a glimpse of the nature and extent of these arrangement practices in late seventeenth-century England and Europe, as well as the techniques employed when transcribing music from one instrument to the other.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.iii.

¹⁵⁵ For an account of the concordant sources, see Margaret Gilmore, 'A Note on Bass Viol Sources of The Division-Violin', *EM*, 11/2 (1983), pp.223-25.

A version for bass viol of item one in *The Division Violin* ('Mr Redding's Ground') can be found in C.39, f.26, the viol transcription dispensing with the scordatura. A more substantial setting of this chaconne and a further 16 suites for scordatura violin and bass can be found in manuscripts GB-Och, Mus. MS 940 and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 22098. These works stipulate up to twelve variant tuning schemes – including five separate instances of the a–e'–a'–c#' modification – and have been attributed to the violinist and composer Valentine Reading (*fl.c.1686*).¹⁵⁶ Item three in *The Division Violin* ('Mr Powlweel's Division on a Ground') appears in C.39, ff.14^v-15^v, in its version for viol with variations one, three and twelve missing. Viol settings lacking precisely these variations abound, and this suggests Playford may have tapped into the wealth of division viol sources in preparation for *The Division Violin*. Items four and eight also exist in bass viol versions in C.39.

Three sources of bass viol music contain settings of 'Mr Powlweel's Division on a Ground' lacking variations one, three and twelve (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. 184 c.8, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869 and GB-Och, Mus. MS 1183). The first two of these are manuscript additions to copies of *The Division-violist*, an obvious model for Playford, who in fact included the set of divisions on p.57 of *The Division-Viol* as item nine in *The Division Violin* ('A Division on a Ground by Mr. Simpson'). Although this arrangement is in the original key of D minor, it incorporates a few slight variants to accommodate the violin. In this interesting example, most deviations from the original fall into one of three types of arranging procedure, namely the placement of complete short phrases up or down an octave in order to facilitate performance on the violin, the introduction of melodic or repeated figuration to avoid large leaps in the lowest range, and the substitution of large final chords and broken octaves with more idiomatic, whole-bar-long trichords. Applying these techniques in reverse would seem a good starting point for reconstructing other possible viol models now lost.

Another obvious source of inspiration for Playford would have been music by foreign composers. Two assured and clearly idiomatic works by Thomas Baltzar

¹⁵⁶ For these attributions and Reading in general, see Peter Holman, 'Valentine Reading', *GMO*.

appear in *The Division Violin* (respectively items twelve, ‘A Division on *John Come Kiss me Now*, by Senior Balshar’, and thirteen, ‘A Prelude for the Violin by Sen^r. Balshar a Germaine’). Although the set on *John Come Kiss me Now* seems to have originated as a contest between Davis Mell and Baltzar, the immigrant composer’s violin divisions need to be placed in the perspective of a vigorous German tradition of seventeenth-century solo violin music.¹⁵⁷ This tradition is illustrated by manuscript collections of violin music such as Breslau Mus. MS 114, formerly in the Breslau Stadtbibliothek. It contains a large number of fantasias, ricercars, sets of divisions on grounds, toccatas and chorales for the violin, as well as a small number of works for *viola bastarda*.¹⁵⁸

Although no other division music for the violin by Baltzar is extant, a further two sets of divisions for bass viol by the composer survive. One of them is a piece on a D minor ground in two sections, which can be found in GB-Ob MS Mus. Sch. C.39, ff.1-4. A copying error on f.2^v makes it possible to see that in all likelihood the scribe was simply transposing down one octave and transcribing from French violin (or G1) clef to alto (or C3) clef.¹⁵⁹ The other work is a set of manuscript divisions on a ground in G major attached to a copy of *The Division Viol* now housed in the New York Public Library.¹⁶⁰ Unless this piece is an original work for bass viol, it would seem to have undergone a more complex process of arrangement, perhaps along the lines of the Simpson example I have discussed, because simply undoing the transposition renders the work unplayable on the violin.

A further aspect of interest in terms of the originality of this publication and its relationship with existing practices in England and elsewhere, is the tuning required for ‘Mr Reading’s Ground’ (a–e’–a’–c#’), the earliest printed instance

¹⁵⁷ For this contest, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.268-72. For an account dated 4 March 1656 praising Baltzar for ‘his variety upon a few notes’ and describing how he ‘plaid on that single Instrument a full Consort’, see de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, pp.333-34.

¹⁵⁸ For a discussion of Breslau 114 and its related sources, see Brian Brooks ‘Étienne Nau, Breslau 114 and the Early Seventeenth-Century Solo Violin Fantasia’, *EM*, 32/1 (2004), pp.49-73; Brian Brooks, ‘The Emergence of the Violin as a Solo in Early Seventeenth-Century German’, PhD thesis (Ithaca, 2002).

¹⁵⁹ On this matter, see Peter Holman, ‘Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663) The “Incomperable Lubicer on the Violin”’, *Chelys*, 13 (1984), pp.3-38, especially 14-15.

¹⁶⁰ US-NYp, MS Drexel 3551, p.43. This ground, used by Marin Marais for an English-style set of bass viol divisions, is discussed in chapter four.

of scordatura violin in England. The device was exploited by seventeenth-century Austrian and Italian composers such as Biber, Schmelzer, Lonati (discussed later), and Biagio Marini (1594-1663). In England, however, the use of variant tunings was most closely associated with lyra-viol literature, and Roger North observed that Baltzar ‘often used a lira manner of tuning’.¹⁶¹ In fact GB-Och, Mus. MS 1125 contains a ‘Set of Tunings by Mr Baltazar’ which includes the one given in ‘Mr Reading’s Ground’.

This does not necessarily point to Baltzar as the origin of this practice in England, since A–e–a–c#’ is the customary set of pitches for the top four strings of a lyra-viol in *efhfh* tuning. In a contemporary manuscript source, this lyra tuning scheme is referred to as ‘Alfonsoe way onelly the treble set one note loer’, probably by comparison to *ffhfh*, stipulated by Ferrabosco in his 1609 *Ayres*.¹⁶² The a–e’–a’–c#’ tuning scheme is documented in violin repertoire since Johann Erasmus Kindermann’s 1653 *Canzoni, Sonatae*, and it was also used by Biber for sonata no.5 – in fact a suite – of his c.1674 collection of *Rosenkranz-Sonaten*. However, there is no record of its use after Reading’s work in Playford’s *The Division Violin*.¹⁶³

The compositions by Baltzar are closely followed by two more works by unidentified composers, namely items no.14, ‘A Division to a ground by M^r Frecknold’, and no.16, ‘A Division on a Ground by Cornel^o van Shmelt’. Cornel[i]o van Shmelt certainly sounds like a Dutch name and Frecknold might also conceivably be a surname originating from the Low Countries. Unfortunately I have been unable to find any references to either of these two musicians. Neither set of divisions by Anthony Poole in *The Division Violin* is extant in any other contemporary English sources, so Playford could have gained access to them by means of a unique transmission channel. One possibility is that these pieces arrived to him along with – or at least through the

¹⁶¹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, p.301.

¹⁶² For lyra-viol tunings – and *efhfh* in particular – see Frank Traficante ‘All Ways Have Been Tried to Do It’, *AcM*, 42 (1970), pp.183-205, especially p.186. For a study of violin scordatura and its relationship with lyra tunings, see Dagmar Glüxam, *Die Violinskordatur und ihre Rolle in der Geschichte des Violinspieles* (Tutzing, 1999), especially pp.77-82.

¹⁶³ Glüxam, *Die Violinskordatur*, p.427. For Kindermann, see Harold Samuel, ‘Johann Erasmus Kindermann’, *GMO*.

same contact as – the music by Frecknold and van Shmelt. Unlike the pieces by Poole, however, the works by these two composers can already be found in the 1684 first edition of *The Division Violin*.

The divisions by van Shmelt appear to be a shortened version of a ‘Coral’ for solo violin and continuo by William Brade.¹⁶⁴ The same ground survives as the basis for a piece in F-Pn, Res.Vm7 673 labelled ‘Aria’ and bearing the attribution ‘Auct[ore?] Valentini’. F-Pn, Res.Vm7 673 – better known as the Rost manuscript – is a source compiled between 1637 and 1640 by Strasbourg-based Jesuit François Rost.¹⁶⁵ A set of divisions for solo violin on the same ground survives in Matthysz’s *T’Uitnement Kabinet*, published in Amsterdam in 1646. This item is transposed one tone higher into C major, has seven different variations, is titled ‘Koraelen’ and attributed to Johann Schop (d.1667).¹⁶⁶ Schop, who worked alongside Brade in Copenhagen and may have studied with him, taught Baltzar before the German virtuoso came to England and before his music got to Playford. Schop’s ‘Koraelen’ suggests a possible and intriguing dissemination network from Brade, an expatriate English composer working in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, through to violinists Schop and Baltzar, and (via the unidentified van Shmelt) to Playford in 1684 London.

There is not enough evidence to understand how Playford obtained the two sets of divisions by Poole. The dissemination pattern suggested by the van Shmelt piece sketches a context in which the works by Poole may have circulated. A work by Brade, an expatriate English composer, circulated and was imitated by Continental string players taught by him and his students. These derivative works could occasionally be circulated back into England through the migrations of Continental musicians. It may be that this repertory was much bigger than it appears today, and that it contained instances of arrangement from viol to violin and viceversa.

¹⁶⁴ S-Uu, IMhs 1:10 ‘Coral / Violino solo e Basso / de Sing^o Wilhelm Brad’.

¹⁶⁵ For Canon François Rost and his manuscript, see M. Alexandra Eddy, *The Rost Manuscript of Seventeenth-Century Music: A Thematic Catalogue* (Michigan 1989).

¹⁶⁶ For Schop, see Kurt Stephenson, ‘Johann Schop’, *GMO*.

Some of the sets Playford printed in *The Division Violin* were arrangements of existing viol works, and this may have been the case for Poole's pieces. If on the other hand they were originally conceived as violin repertoire, these works would pose further questions concerning Poole's models, the role of the violin at St Omers and the breadth of scorings in Poole's output. Whether or not the Poole works started life as viol music, it is evident that Playford's second edition and its successive reprints afforded the pieces a great deal of exposure they may not have otherwise had.¹⁶⁷

D-F, Mus HS 337

Further evidence regarding the transcription of division music from viol to violin repertoires can be gleaned from D-F, Mus HS 337, a manuscript collection housed at the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg in Frankfurt am Main that has gone virtually unnoticed by scholars. This oblong volume measures 100x200mm, and it consists of nearly 100 pages of English division-violin music from the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The similarity in format with *The Division Violin* – another small oblong volume – may be significant. The copying was confined to a single book by appending the ground basses at the end of each set of divisions.

The two watermarks present (*Pro Patria* over a knight with staff and a lion with sword in a palisade, and the Arms of Amsterdam with initials LVG) were common indicators of quality Dutch paper, especially after 1688.¹⁶⁸ The book is bound in brown leather with golden decoration and has eighteenth-century marbled paper-guards at the front and back. The date 1725 is carved on the leather of the front cover next to an illegible word seemingly starting with a capital letter G. This date – later than the music copied into the volume – and the illegible word might be presumed to refer to a later binding, acquisition or presentation.

¹⁶⁷ For the influence *The Division Violin* exerted in turn on bass viol repertoire, and US-Cn, Case 6A 143, see Richard Charteris, 'Some Manuscript Discoveries of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries in the Newberry Library, Chicago', *Notes (Second Series)*, 37/1 (1980), pp.7-13.

¹⁶⁸ Heawood, *Watermarks*, p.26; Churchill, *Watermarks*, pp.28-33.

A number of additional inscriptions appear to refer to the subsequent history of the manuscript. A later Continental hand aptly described the volume as an ‘Album de musique anglaise de 17ème siècle’ in pencil on the flyleaf. This scribe may be the same as the one who recorded the catalogue mark Mus Hs 337 on the reverse of p.1, but it seems different from the hand that pencilled the name M^{o[nsie?]}ur Rupell[?] onto the same page. The volume bears a stamp of the Manskopfsches Museum of Music and Theatre annotated with what looks like an inventory number ‘1941/8’. The source seems to have survived complete – to judge by the contemporary pagination – with the exception of pp.41-48, which originally contained items eleven, twelve and thirteen, but had been removed by the time an inventory was attempted. Cataloguing would have naturally taken place at the time the volume arrived at the Manskopfsches Museum or at the time it was finally transferred to the Senckenberg University Library.

Pages were prepared with the aid of marginal rulings in red ink, and then ruled with four staves per page drawn using a four-stave rastrum, a common English practice. The entire musical content of the volume is in the hand of a single copyist – well practised but not a professional – who employs an English-style G clef and ‘Verte subito’ indications at page-turns. Note formation resembles the A/I group in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, but clefs, time signatures, barlines and accidentals look significantly different. An annotation on p.89 suggests that (at least in some cases) the scribe was not necessarily copying from a violin arrangement, but rather arranging from a viol original as he copied. After writing a section of a division, he realised the music went too low for the arrangement to work at that pitch, so he marked the fragment with crosses, noting that ‘The notes included within these marks to be plaid an eighth higher. See below’, and continued to transcribe the rest of the division one octave higher.

The English titles of pieces further suggest the scribe was English, as do several performance instructions otherwise absent in sources of Poole’s music. One such indication in the last set of divisions alerts the performers to play a four-bar written-out coda at the end of the D major piece over a final tonic pedal: ‘From this place so mark’d [x] to the end is plaid to the last note of the Ground Dsolre, which must be held out till all the four bars are plaid’. Perhaps this is the sort of

instruction that would become increasingly essential the further the piece was removed from its geographical and chronological context. Additional evidence of the use of the volume is provided by an annotation to a set of divisions by Jenkins on p.55, next to three semiquavers (originally f''-e''-d'', but later corrected to c''-b''-a''). A cross over each note refers to a note in the hand of the scribe, seemingly a reminder to 'Quere whether these three notes ought not to be a third higher'. This suggests the scribe compiled the set for his own use, and had access to a teacher or composer when clarification was required.

A fair amount of additional information is contained on p.1. 'R Flexman', perhaps the name of the compiler or an early owner, is written across the left margin in calligraphic fashion. Flexman is an unusual name, and it may refer to Roger Flexman (1708-1795), a notable Presbyterian minister, indexer, scholar, poet and historian from Great Torrington, near Bideford in Devon.¹⁶⁹ His father – of whom nothing is known except that he was a manufacturer – may have been the 'Roger Flexman of Great Torrington' named in several local documents including the arrangement of a 99-year lease on a 'Dwelling house, stables, gardens and barn at the end of the garden [in South Street]' dated 24 June 1697.¹⁷⁰ Neither man is known to have played the violin or the bass viol, but it is conceivable that Roger Flexman senior compiled the book in the final quarter of the century and passed it onto his son, perhaps in 1725. A less likely identification is a Robert Flaxman named as the father of Agnes Flaxman at her baptism in Hingham, Norfolk, on 4 June 1620.¹⁷¹ Last, a child of the Chapel Royal named George Flexney is recorded as dismissed on 21 September 1664, and the name 'Mr. Flaxney' is written on a bass part copied in Oxford by Edward Lowe.¹⁷²

The title of the first piece, the sonata PW18b, is recorded by the main scribe as 'Battle and Triumph composed for the Bass-Viol before the year 1600 by Mr Anthony Poole. Part thereof transposed for the Violin'. This inscription is somewhat puzzling. Unless '1600' was a copying error – perhaps intended to be

¹⁶⁹ For Flexman, see Alan Ruston, 'Roger Flexman', *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁰ Devon Record Office, 189M-1/L93 and L94.

¹⁷¹ *IGI*.

¹⁷² *BDECM*, i, p.430; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.44, f.152.

1660 or 1680 – or an attempt to pass the piece as earlier music for some reason, it would suggest the scribe was not familiar with Poole. The fact that two variant spellings of Daniel Norcombe’s name are recorded (‘Daniell Northcombe’ on p.18 and ‘Daniell Norcome’ on p.67) suggests that neither exiled violist was well-known to the compiler. The inscription also implies that the two copied movements are a fragment of the original work, which is a sonata for bass viol and continuo, extant in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 with an additional movement inserted in between.



Fig.3.17: D-F, Mus Hs 337, f.1.

The source includes arrangements for the violin of nineteen bass viol pieces by Anthony Poole, Christopher Simpson, Francis Polewheel, Peter Young, John Jenkins, Daniel Norcombe and John Withy. The volume ends with two unaccompanied dance movements (one of them a hitherto unknown ‘corant’) by the violinist and composer Thomas Baltzar. This is the first time Polewheel’s Christian name appears in a source of his music. It may be that the composer can be identified with Francis Polwhele of Polwhele (b.1608), whose elder brother John Polwhele, Esq., (b.1606) was at Lincoln’s Inn and became a Member of Parliament for Tregoney in 1640, distinguishing himself for his unswerving support of Charles I.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1834), pp.424-427. I am grateful to Andrew Ashbee for this reference. For a possible alternative identification with the Catholic priest George Warham, see Shay and Thompson *Purcell Manuscripts*, p.155.

A record exists of another Francis Polewheele, the daughter of William Polewheele of Tettenhall, Staffordshire, who was baptised on 2 February 1609.¹⁷⁴ Like Polwhele and Warham, she may or may not have been musical, but if she turned out to be the author of ‘Mr Polewheele’s Ground’, her gender could be one of the reasons the composer’s identity of has so far proven elusive to researchers. Francis might alternatively have been an unidentified member of the Polewheele family of Tiverton, Devon, who have been conjecturally tagged as the ancestors of Restoration dramatist Elizabeth Polewheele (c.1651-1691).¹⁷⁵

The fragmentary sonata by Anthony Poole, 15 of the sets of divisions, and the ‘Allmand by Mr Thomas Baltzar’ are concordant with other versions to be found in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, Bodleian Library manuscripts C.39, C.61 and C.71, *The Division Viol*, *The Division Violin*, GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.24 and GB-DRc, MS A.27. The concordances with C.71 are interesting because they involve works copied consecutively on pp.109-18 of Noble’s volume, suggesting a common genesis. Six of the sets of divisions are reported as arrangements of works for bass viol by Poole (five extant and one lost). The accuracy of these concordances and the lack of scribal errors suggest that the compiler had access to reliable copies and was an experienced musician. A further three sets of divisions (items five, eight and fifteen, respectively by Daniel Norcombe, John Withy and John Jenkins) and item 24 (the ‘Corant by Mr Thomas Baltshar’ that concludes the book) are unique.

To sum up, the repertoire – as well as codicological and scribal evidence – suggest that this source of English division-violin music was compiled by an English musician, most likely in the late 1670s or 1680s. This scribe, perhaps a keen amateur, appears to have had access to reliable copies of division-viol music by (among others) exiled violists Anthony Poole and Daniel Norcombe, which he arranged and transcribed for the violin. This provides further evidence of two key facts already proposed by some of the sources discussed so far. First, that the transmission of music by Poole into various parts of England in the final

¹⁷⁴ *IGI*.

¹⁷⁵ See Judith Milhous and Robert Hume (eds.), *Elizabeth Polwheele: The Frolicks, or, The Lawyer Cheated (1671)* (Ithaca, 1977), especially pp.44-49.

three decades of the century was done through accurate copies (perhaps because the composer himself was involved in these transmissions), and second, that this music was of interest not only to violists, but also to players of other instruments with an interest in division-style music.

Music for Violin, Bass Viol and Continuo

B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910

B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 is a collection of manuscripts housed at the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Brussels, catalogued as ‘Trii di vari autori’. It consists of three upright folio part-books, each labelled on the spine respectively ‘viol I’, ‘violII-linto[sic]-bassoI’ and ‘bassus-bassoII’.¹⁷⁶ All three part-books have the same dimensions, 320x202mm, and are accompanied by a manuscript score copied by A. Goeyens signed and dated 1/10/1908. Alphonse Goeyens, an enthusiast of eighteenth-century music, was professor of trumpet at the Brussels Conservatoire from 1891 and *Conservateur du Répertoire* from 1897.¹⁷⁷ Fly-leaves are not seventeenth-century, but each part-book contains a table of contents in the hand of the main scribe and compiler (the unidentified hand A) immediately before page one, which suggests the collection was assembled and indexed during the copyist’s lifetime. The collection was bound in leather, and it bears in various places the stamp ‘Geh. Rath Wagener/Marburg’, the personal seal of the avid music collector Guido-Richard Wagener (1822-1896).¹⁷⁸

Wagener, professor of anatomy at the University of Berlin and then at the University of Marburg, built up five collections; two dedicated to anatomy and three to music. His collection of musical artefacts comprised stringed instruments by Stradivari, Amati and Guarneri, and was largely destroyed during the bombing of Hamburg in 1943. A second collection of musical pictures was

¹⁷⁶ I will refer to these as part I, part II and part III respectively.

¹⁷⁷ For Goeyens, see B-Bc, SS48, *L’Annuaire du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles, 1907, 31^e Année* (Brussels, 1907-1908), pp.26-28. See also B-Bc, ARC007, *Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles: Etat du Personnel Enseignant, 1833-1907*, (Unpublished Manuscript), p.143.

¹⁷⁸ For Wagener and his collections, see J. Eeckeloo *et al.*, *FRW in B-Bc: 100 Jaar Collectie Wagener in het Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel* (Brussels, 2004).

dispersed after its sale in 1982. The third collection included printed and manuscript music, *libretti*, books on music, catalogues and periodicals. It was acquired in 1902 by the librarian of the Brussels Conservatoire, Alfred Wotquenne, and then sold to the library. It included the present set of part-books, rebound to Wagener's taste with marbled fly-leaves, coloured edges and a case for the set designed to look like a book. Pre-1700 items in the collection either have retained their original bindings and are in good condition, or were rebound to match Wagener's in-house style. This suggests that Wagener only had historical bindings replaced when they were damaged or deemed unbecoming, so it may be that B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 arrived to him in poor shape or in more casual – perhaps paper – binding.

A study of the paper, ruling, music and hands will reveal this is a composite manuscript, a guard-book devised by the compiler for the safe-keeping of the six distinct sections contained within it. For this reason I will describe each section in turn and summarise the clues each offers before summing up the evidence the collection presents as a whole.

Section one originally consisted of four quires of paper copied by hand A. The third of these was removed or lost after the compilation of the index and the numbering of each folio, but before definitive binding. The paper, uniform throughout the section, is so-called 'Dutch paper' with watermark foolscap and countermark HG between the chains. Although this particular combination of watermark and countermark is unknown in English sources, other combinations of foolscap and HG are recorded in England, *c.*1683.¹⁷⁹ The paper has red marginal ruling and is rastrum-ruled with ten staves per page.

The first two quires (ff.1-16 in parts I and II) contain sonatas for two violins and bass, one each by 'Loiselet', Zamponi, Corelli and [Gian] Carlo Chailo, two bearing a scrawled attribution 'Incert', or possibly 'Gneert', and nine more by 'Godfrey Finger'. The second quire ends with a sonata in G minor for violin, bass viol and continuo by 'Mr Poole' (the bass viol part is in the violin I book

¹⁷⁹ Edward Heawood, 'Further Notes on Paper Used in England after 1600', *The Library*, 2 (1947), p.137.

and the violin part in the violin II book). According to the index, the missing third quire contained a set of twelve sonatas by Corelli (ff.17-26 in parts I and II) and the final quire has twelve sonatas by Giovanni Battista Bassani.

‘Loiselet’ appears to be an unidentified composer, and all that may be inferred from this surname is that he is likely to have been of French or Netherlandish extraction. It may refer to the little-known composer Jean Loisel (*fl.*1644-1649), a musician active in the Spanish Netherlands and responsible for three volumes of sacred vocal music published by Phalèse, respectively in 1644, 1646 and 1649. It is also possible this ascription is intended to be a reference to a member of the Loeillet family of Flemish musicians, a dynasty with ramifications in London, Brussels, Lyons, Paris and Munich, which presided over music in Ghent from the 1670s until the final years of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁰

Three other versions of the sonata by Zamponi survive (all of them transposed a semitone higher, that is, in Bb major) in F-Pn, Rés Vm7 673, GB-DRc, MS D.2 and GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.25. The Zamponi attribution is not unproblematic, as the version in GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.25 is ascribed to composer and cornettist Balthasar Richardt (*fl.*1631-1657), a musician known to have been in the employment of the Brussels chapel of Archducal Princess Isabella.¹⁸¹ The third item in the source, attributed to Corelli, is a trio sonata in A major, catalogued by Hans Joachim Marx as Anh. 16.¹⁸² It is also extant in a number of English sources such as GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400-403 (where the bowed bass part is labelled ‘di gambo’), US-Cu, 959 (where the piece is attributed to ‘L. Calista’ [sic]), GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.254, and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33236 (in score).

None of the parts for the two sonatas – respectively in C minor and Bb major – that constitute the next group bear any titles or inscriptions, and the only attribution to be found is the one offered by scribe A in the indexes. These tables appear to read ‘2 Sonata’s Incert.’ Presumably this is intended as an abbreviation

¹⁸⁰ For the Loeillet family, see Alec Skempton and Lucy Robinson, ‘Loeillet’, *GMO*.

¹⁸¹ Edmond vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, 8 vols (Brussels, 1867-1888), ii, pp.71-85.

¹⁸² Hans Marx, *Arcangelo Corelli: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Musikalischen Werke* (Köln, 1980), pp.237-38.

of *incerto*, the Italian word for uncertain or unsure, meaning an unknown composer. It may be that scribe A, who transcribed all other Italian terms correctly, did not understand enough Italian to realise this was not an attribution (Fig.3.18). This suggests that A, an English musician, copied music from one or more Continental sources, now possibly lost, which contained music labelled ‘Incert.’ into the first section of the Brussels manuscript, which he owned.

Sonata. Loiselet	1.
Sonata Zamponi	2.
Sonata Corelli	3.
2 Sonata's Incert.	4.
Sonata Carlo Chailò	5.
9 2 Sonata's Godfrey Finger	6.
12 Sonatas Mr Poole	13.
12 Sonatas Corelli	17.
12 Sonata's Passani	27.
The 4 Seasons. Chr. Symphon.	45.
7 Division-ayrs. G. Poole	54.
Sonata Butler.	57.
Ayrs a 3. Geo. Looftmore	58.
Preludes & ayrs. La Volée	62.
Sonata's & ayrs. Carlo Ambrogia	71.

Fig.3.18: B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part-book II, fly-leaf.

The next item is a sonata attributed to [Gian] Carlo Chailò (?1659-1722), a Roman violinist and composer based at the Vice-regal Chapel in Spanish Naples from 1683.¹⁸³ He was active as an educator as well as a performer, and his students may have been responsible for the transmission of his two other surviving works, now extant in libraries in Berlin and Lund. It is followed by nine sonatas by Finger, six of which correspond with works in his Op. 5, published by Roger of Amsterdam c.1702. If – as it would seem likely – these were copied from the printed volume, their copying cannot have happened before 1702. The next item – the sonata for violin, bass viol and bass by Poole PW100 – is unlike the rest of the section in terms of instrumentation, and it

¹⁸³ For Chailò, see Guido Oliveri, ‘Gian Carlo Cailò [Chailò]’, *GMO*.

would appear complete as it stands, perhaps because a missing continuo part could be identical to the extant bass part but for the addition of figures.

The missing set of twelve sonatas by Corelli is recorded and then crossed out in the indexes (Fig.3.18). This suggests that the compiler's intention – even at the time of indexing – was to include the pieces, and it is not apparent why they were eventually not incorporated. An addition to the crossed-out entry on part-book I reads 'Bavaria' in a different hand (Fig.3.19). It would seem logical to assume that this missing set of twelve works was a complete copy of one of the four published collections of trio-sonatas by the Italian composer. The earliest, and perhaps most likely candidate, is the 1681 Op. 1 (reprinted in Amsterdam in 1685 and in London *c.*1705).¹⁸⁴ However, we cannot rule out the 1685 Op. 2, the 1689 Op. 3, or the 1694 Op. 4. The reference to Bavaria in the index may also suggest that it was a copy of the spurious set advertised on 23 September 1695 by Ralph Agutter in the *London Gazette*:

Twelve sonata's, (newly come over from Rome) in 3 parts... by A. Corelli and dedicated to His Highness the Elector of Bavaria... fairly prick'd from the true original.¹⁸⁵

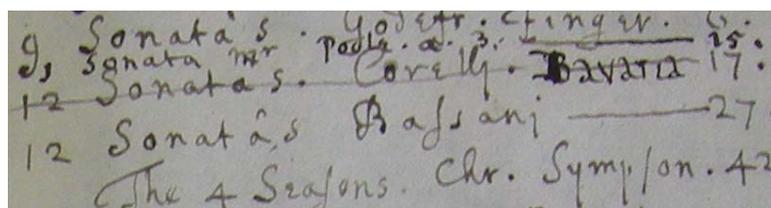


Fig.3.19: B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part-book I, fly-leaf (detail).

The *Sonate* by Giovanni Battista Bassani included here are the twelve works in his Op. 5, first published in 1683 and subsequently by Hendrik Aertssens in Antwerp in 1691.¹⁸⁶ The published collection consists of four part-books, namely 'violino primo', 'violino secondo', 'violoncello' and 'organo'. In the

¹⁸⁴ Marx, *Arcangelo Corelli*, pp.76-99.

¹⁸⁵ Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli 'New Orpheus of Our Time'* (Oxford, 1999), p.191.

¹⁸⁶ Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Sinfonie a due e trè Instrumeti, con il Basso Continuo per l'Organo* (Bologna, 1683). See Richard Haselbach, *Giovanni Battista Bassani: Werkkatalog, Biographie und Künstlerische Würdigung* (Kassel, 1955), especially pp.24-26.

first three sonatas, the violoncello part bears the proviso ‘à beneplacito’, in the following three ‘se piace’ and in the remaining six ‘obligato [sic]’. In the Brussels manuscript none of these stipulations are recorded, and the organ part is missing. The only instruments that are specified or can be ascertained from the nature of the parts are violins and viols, and perhaps scribe A was primarily interested in music for violins and viols to the organ. If he was a violist, he may have intended to play Bassani’s bowed bass parts on the bass viol. This practice is documented by GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.255, a manuscript copy of Corelli’s Op. 2 sonatas where James Sherard substituted the composer’s label ‘violone’ with ‘bass de viol’.¹⁸⁷

The use of secretary script, the scribal practice of frame-ruling, and the spelling of performance indications such as ‘repeate’, ‘End wth y^e first straine/Adagio & close all’, ‘the next to be playd before this’, and ‘on y^e other side’ suggest scribe A was English.¹⁸⁸ This anonymous scribe also copied music into US-NHb, Osborn 515 and US-NH, Filmer MS 7 – two manuscript sources compiled in Restoration England and discussed later in this chapter – and was in addition responsible for indexing the first of these two sources.¹⁸⁹

A few things stand out when considering the section as a whole, such as the fact that all of the music is by Catholic composers, and that authors working in Rome and the Spanish Netherlands are particularly well represented. The Italian repertoire and the music by Finger are compatible with the content of a number of contemporary English sources (and so this section might have been assembled from sources of Continental music known in England), but the inclusion of little-known music from the Low Countries suggests it could also have been copied by scribe A in Flanders. The music ranges in date from the early works by Zamponi to the sonatas by Finger, showing that the manuscript was compiled over a long time, perhaps c.1655-1705. It also seems beyond doubt that there would originally have been a fourth part-book for this section.

¹⁸⁷ Holman, *Life after Death*, p.79.

¹⁸⁸ Respectively B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part II (f.1^v), part I (f.31^r), part III (f.24^v) and part I (f.32^v).

¹⁸⁹ I am grateful to Andrew Ashbee for pointing this out to me.

Section two is an autograph copy of *The Four Seasons*, by Christopher Simpson.¹⁹⁰ The four fantasia-suites are exquisitely copied into each part-book, each taking up a single quire. The paper, which bears the Arms of the Seven Provinces as a watermark, with countermark PC, is ruled with red frame ruling and ten staves per page. The title page at the beginning of each part reads ‘For two Bass violles and a Treble with a thorough Bass for the Harpsecord or Organ by Chr. Simpson’, with part I carrying the additional designation ‘The 4 Seasons’. The two bass viol parts and the treble part are to be found respectively in the three surviving volumes, but the advertised keyboard continuo part is missing. This fourth part (different from the second bass part) is essential to the work, and survives in other sources, including GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 296-299 and GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.54-57. Its absence implies there is a continuo part missing for this section too. The style of the four fantasia-suites suggests they were composed towards the end of the composer’s life, so this autograph could be dated between c.1660-1669.¹⁹¹

The third section of the manuscript is a single quire matching the opening gathering in terms of watermarks, frame and stave-ruling technique. It contains six division-ayrs for violin, bass viol and continuo by Poole, not known elsewhere (PW101-106), and one identically scored sonata by Butler in F major, all in the hand of scribe A. The perplexing entry into the table of contents ‘7 Division-ayrs. F. Poole’ has obscured this attribution, as there are only six such works in the source and the credit to be found in the music is ‘Poole a.3’. ‘F. Poole’ appears to be another indexing error, perhaps because the scribe misremembered, but it is also possible he knew Poole to be a clergyman and ‘F. Poole’ stands for Father or *Frater* Poole. These works will be discussed in chapter four, but the similarities in harmonic language and melodic design with other pieces by Poole bid us to take this attribution at face value.

Section four consists of six pieces for violin, lyra-viol and bass, numbered 19-24, which implies this fragment was removed from elsewhere and it originally

¹⁹⁰ FE: Margaret Urquhart (ed.), *Christopher Simpson: The Seasons* (Genève, 1999). See also Margaret Urquhart, ‘The Handwriting of Christopher Simpson’, *Chelys*, 15 (1986), pp.62-63.

¹⁹¹ Urquhart (ed.), *Christopher Simpson: The Seasons*, p.5.

belonged in a larger set. This must surely account for the fact that, while there is no attribution at the start of the section, these six ‘Aysr a3’ (almands and corants) are assigned to ‘Geo. Loosemore’ in the index. George Loosemore (1619-1682) was a composer from Barnstaple, in Devon, who spent his career as an organist in Cambridge.¹⁹² The set, which is autograph, suggests that George Loosemore was interested in lyra-viol music to the point of composing for it in *defhf* tablature and writing the part out himself.¹⁹³ I do not know of any instances of non-viol-playing musicians composing in tablature, so perhaps Loosemore played viols. He visited the North family in Kirtling, near Newmarket, whose music manuscript collection included viol consorts by Jenkins, Lawes, Coprario, Mico, Simpson and others.¹⁹⁴ There is no doubt that viol repertoire was central to the music-making Loosemore would have been involved with at Kirtling, where his instrumental fantasies were played and appreciated.¹⁹⁵

Due to the specific demands of lyra-viol notation, this section presents the biggest discrepancies between the three part-books with regards to paper and ruling. Part I is a single quire of paper with Arms of Amsterdam watermark and countermark IV. It is ruled with ten rastrum-ruled staves per page, framed by vertical ruling in dark ink. Part II, which contains the lyra-viol tablature, is a single quire of paper with a watermark dated *c.*1665.¹⁹⁶ It also has vertical ruling in dark ink but it is ruled with eight rastrum-ruled, six-line staves per page. The bass part is copied into a bifolio with watermark AI, or possibly IA, ruled with ten rastrum-ruled staves per page, framed by vertical ruling in dark ink.

The erroneous label ‘linto’ [?!iuto] on the spine of the Wagener binding surely refers to this tablature part. Wagener’s inaccurate assumption appears to have misled the next generation of scholars, as can be seen from the pencilled annotation ‘with arcilute’ on f.52^f in part-book III, possibly in Wotquenne’s hand. The viol tablature part is wrongly labelled lute, and subsequently mistranscribed in Goeyens’s 1908 manuscript score. At the front of part-book II

¹⁹² For Loosemore, see John Morehen ‘George Loosemore’, *GMO*.

¹⁹³ *VdGSTI*.

¹⁹⁴ For the North family of Kirtling as music manuscript owners, see *VdGSIM*, i, pp.11-12.

¹⁹⁵ Margaret Crum, ‘The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667’, *Chelys*, 4 (1972), pp.3-10.

¹⁹⁶ Churchill, *Watermarks*, fig.8.

Alfred Wotquenne wrote down a set of instructions for deciphering the tablature notation on 6 April 1909. He transcribed the pitches one octave too high, believing it to be lute tablature, rather than viol tablature in harp-way sharp tuning (*defhf* or D–G–d–g–b–d’).

Given the scoring of the rest of the source, an obvious question to ask is whether these lyra-viol trios are complete. Since no other lyra-viol consort suites by Loosemore have survived, we need to look at possible contemporary models. John Jenkins composed a large number of aires, pavines, almaines, corantos, and sarabands for one treble instrument, lyra-viol, bass viol and harpsichord. These are mostly binary movements arranged in suites, and were written for the North family, as can be seen from GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.84, C.85 and C.88. It is likely that Loosemore would have been familiar with Jenkins’s works and perhaps wrote his in imitation – even for the same purpose – and it is probable that, here too, there is a bass part missing.

In all three part-books, section five is made of an intact quire of paper plus an incomplete one comprising five to six folios. They all share the foolscap watermark with countermark LM, display vertical frame-ruling, and are ruled with ten staves per page, evidently produced with the help of a five-stave rastrum. Scribe A copied into these pages 41 preludes and dance movements by La Volée and ‘sonatas & ayrs’ by ‘Carlo Ambrogia [sic] Lonati’. The Milanese composer, violinist, singer and teacher Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c.1645-c.1715) was active in Rome from at least 1668, leading Christina of Sweden’s string orchestra by 1673, which might account for the circulation of his works in expatriate Catholic circles.¹⁹⁷ In addition he seems to have had occasion to visit London between January and April 1687, when he accompanied the castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi (1653-1697) on his visit to Mary of Modena.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ For Lonati, see Norbert Dubowy, ‘Carlo Ambrogio Lonati’, *GMO*.

¹⁹⁸ For Grossi and his English sojourn, see Michael Tilmouth *et al.*, ‘Siface’, *GMO*. For the attribution of Lonati-Colista repertoires in England and elsewhere, see Peter Allsop, ‘Problems of Ascription in the Roman Simfonia of the Late Seventeenth Century: Colista and Lonati’, *Music Review*, 50 (1989), pp.34-44.

Jean de La Volée (*fl.*1663-1668) was a French harpsichordist, violinist and composer active in London.¹⁹⁹ He is first recorded in 1663, when he was admitted as one of ‘the King’s French musicians’ and stayed in England until at least 1687 or 1688. In 1673 he applied for naturalisation under the name John Volett, presumably in order to circumvent the employment restrictions that the promulgation of the aforementioned Test Act placed on Catholics and foreigners. These pieces represent Volett’s complete extant output. Incomplete versions can be found in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31424 (set five) and GB-Och, Mus. MS 1066, two sources further linked by concordances of music by the priest Miguel Ferreira (*fl.c.*1662-1688), one of Catherine of Braganza’s musicians.²⁰⁰

The sixth and final section in this guard-book is a single leaf pasted on to the *verso* side of a hole cut out from the last page of the part-book I. It was done in such a way that the outer edges of the original bound page act as a frame for the glued sheet. This operation of archival maintenance may offer us an insight into the profile of the person responsible for it. The damage patterns visible on the *verso* side (evidence of careful tearing on the outside, and flaking on the top, bottom and inside) suggest it was originally a *recto*, and it was glued in reverse, presumably to protect the content now visible on the *verso*. It seems that one would only go to such lengths in order to safeguard a document that was regarded as important or unique. The *verso* contains an autograph set of six variations on a D minor ground by Christopher Simpson titled ‘for y lone violl’, concordant with GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p.138.

The *recto* side contains a set of nine variations on a ground in F major by the violinist, flageolet player and composer [John] Banister (1624/5-1679), copied in the hand of scribe A.²⁰¹ The set is a partial concordance of item no.19 in John Playford’s *The Division Violin*. The leaf carries the monogram DC by way of a countermark, the watermark presumably having stayed in the other half of the folio it was separated from. This – along with the type of damage I have

¹⁹⁹ For La Volée, see Peter Leech, ‘Jean de La Volée’, *GMO*.

²⁰⁰ For Ferreira, see Leech, ‘Musicians in the Catholic Chapel’.

²⁰¹ For Banister, see Peter Holman and David Lasocki, ‘John Banister (i)’, *GMO*. For a possible connection between John and Jeffery Bannester and Simpson, see Calum McCart, ‘The Panmure Manuscripts: a New Look at an Old Source of Christopher Simpson’s Consort Music’ *Chelys*, 18, (1989), pp.18-29, especially 23-25.

described – suggests that this sheet might originally have been the last page of a larger gathering, or perhaps that it may have existed as a loose sheet for a while. Both sides have vertical frame-ruling and are ruled with ten staves per page.

To sum up, sections one, three and five, and the set of divisions by Banister in section six are in a single English hand (A), the main hand of the collection and the likely compiler and owner. It is a well-practised hand, with a rather elaborate treble clef, which facilitates the identification of his contributions. When copying the Poole sonata, hand A introduced some variants to his style (an italic e and intricate final flourishes), perhaps in an attempt to accurately reproduce the model, which may have been an autograph. Sections two and six are in the autograph of Simpson, which suggests that A had personal contact with Simpson and valued the autographs he owned. The selection of repertoire suggests that either A was a competent viol player or had one in his music-making circle.

The Simpson autographs were produced before his death in 1669, the *lyra-viol* pieces and the works by La Volée belong to the 1670s, and compiler-scribe A's copies from Finger's Op. 5 must date after 1702. This suggests that A may have accumulated the manuscripts over a long time, but did not assemble them into a collection before the early 1700s. Although the paper is broadly compatible with paper used in English sources from the mid-1670s to 1688, none of the combinations of watermark and factor's initials present are recorded elsewhere in England. This would seem to indicate an English scribe either working in Europe, or working in England but employing an unusual source of paper. A may have been a Catholic, since all composers in the collection except for Loosemore and Banister are Catholics. Perhaps he copied it in the Netherlands (hence the pieces by Loiselet, Poole and Zamponi) and had access to music by Banister and Loosemore. Alternatively he could have compiled it in England out of an interest in the latest Continental music.

The mixture of Continental and English music is not unusual in English sources of the period. In terms of the breadth of content, it is worth drawing a possible parallel with GB-DRc, MS D.2, a similar source containing music for two stringed instruments and continuo by Butler, Jenkins and Young, as well as

Matteis, Schmelzer, Nicolai and others. It includes a partial concordance with the Zamponi sonata in B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, as discussed.²⁰² Part-book two bears an inscription on the front fly-leaf which reads ‘for the honora^{bl} Sir John St Barbe Bart neare Rumsey in Hampshire’. The collection was probably copied in the 1670s for John St. Barbe (1655-1723), who had been taught by Christopher Simpson since at least 1665. Between 1674 and 1678, St. Barbe embarked on a Grand Tour that took him to France, Italy and perhaps Germany.²⁰³

The subsequent history of B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 fails to throw additional light on the question of its origin. On 12 August 1814 the fifth day of the sale of Charles Burney’s ‘valuable and very fine collection of music’ got underway. Among the items up for sale, lot 632 was described as ‘Sonatas, Trios for Two Violins and Bass, by Loiselet, Zamponi, Corelli, Finger, Bassani &c – and Fancies, Airs &c. by C. Sympson, Poole, Butler, Loosemore, Ambrogia, &c MS. 3 books’.²⁰⁴ This description must surely refer to B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, and it shows that the set was already missing a volume. The annotations on the margin of the British Library copy of this sale catalogue record that the Hereford Prebendary and music collector Samuel Picart (1776-1836) obtained the lot.²⁰⁵

Picart paid four shillings in total for lot 632 and lot 633, a comparable collection described as ‘D[itt]o. for d[itt]o. [i.e., Sonatas, Trios for Two Violins and Bass], by M. Locke, Kircher, Poole, Wren, H. and D. Purcell, J. Jenkins, Becker, Nicola, W. Lawes, &c. MS. 3 books’. I will return to lot 633 in Burney’s sale catalogue when discussing US-NHb, Osborn 515 (as discussed, a manuscript compiled by the same scribe A). Reverend Picart’s ‘very valuable musical library’ was auctioned by Puttick and Simpson of 191 Piccadilly on 10 March 1848.²⁰⁶ Lot 209, described in the catalogue as ‘Sonatas &c. of 3 parts, by Loiellet [sic], Zamponi, Corelli, Bassani, Poole, Butler, La Valée [sic], C.

²⁰² For a discussion and inventory of this source, see *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.54-59. See also Thompson, ‘Some Late Sources’, especially pp.299-307.

²⁰³ For John St. Barbe, see Margaret Urquhart, *Sir John St Barbe Bt. of Brodlands* (Southampton, 1983). For his activities as a music manuscript owner, see *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.6-7.

²⁰⁴ A. Hyatt King (ed.), *Catalogue of the Music Library of Charles Burney, Sold in London, 8 August 1814* (Amsterdam, 1973), p.25.

²⁰⁵ An obituary appeared in Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 160 (London, 1836), p.209.

²⁰⁶ GB-Lbl, S.C. Puttick and Simpson, 10 March 1848.

Ambrogia, 3 vols. *curious MSS*’ was sold for 2s. 6d. to a certain ‘Wilkes’, perhaps the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Music George Wilkes.²⁰⁷

In all probability Burney acquired B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 in England. However, he is also known to have visited Paris with his daughters in 1764, and he organised European journeys (to France and Italy in 1771, and to Germany, Austria and the Low Countries in 1772), with the specific purpose of acquiring a grand music library. If Burney obtained the volumes from an English source, the collection is likely to have been assembled in England, and therefore it would provide us with further evidence that Poole’s music was known and circulated in England. Comparable sources in the Dolmetsch library in Haslemere are also the work of unknown compilers working in England, an area in need of further research. If on the other hand, Burney sourced this item while touring Continental Europe, it would lend weight to the hypothesis that the collection originated while scribe A was abroad.

Music for Two Bass Viols and Continuo

GB-DRc, MS D.4

In the section headed ‘For the Viol’ in Philip Falle’s 1722 inventory of his music library, one item constitutes an intriguing entry: *Fantasies for 2 Viols with the Thorough bass – by Young, Jenkins, Butler, Pool, etc. MSS. fol^o.*²⁰⁸ The only fol[io] item in his collection that such a description could possibly refer to is GB-DRc, MS D.4, although this manuscript does not contain any music by Butler. Perhaps Falle was describing here a volume that is no longer extant, but D.4 – which records three attributions to ‘P. Poúl’ – is the only source of fantasies for two bass viols and continuo known to us that might be described as containing music by ‘Pool’. If we accept Falle was referring to D.4, it also follows that he thought ‘P. Poúl’ and ‘Pool’ to be one and the same composer. The collection includes other works with the same scoring by Young, Jenkins

²⁰⁷ Two letters by George Wilkes dated 1828 are extant in GB-Lbl, RPS MS 368, ff.64-65.

²⁰⁸ GB-DRc, Add. MS 154.

and ‘G. Schúts’, presumably the Nuremberg musician Gabriel Schütz.²⁰⁹ As we shall see, a number of these attributions are dubious.

This source comprises three upright folio part-books measuring 311x200mm bound in mottled boards. The paper bears Dutch Lion watermarks and maker’s initial R.²¹⁰ Pages are ruled with twelve staves (each 10mm tall) per page ruled using a single-stave rastrum, and without the aid of vertical frame-ruling. Neither practice was standard in England at the time. With the exception of the violin sonata copied at the end of part-books one and two, the complete collection is in the hand of a single, unidentified scribe. Each partbook carries the name ‘A. Koon’ on the front flyleaf, presumably the name of an owner. In one of the part-books an attempt was made to erase the inscription. Although most of the music is by English composers, the ruling, the name ‘A. Koon’ and the somewhat exotic spellings of the composers’ names – ‘W: Joúng’h’, ‘J. Jenckings’, ‘P. Poúl’ – suggest the copyist was not English. Part-books one and three (a figured bass part) carry the annotation ‘Liber Ecclesia Cathedralis Dunelm’ on f.1^r, and part-book one bears the additional archival indication ‘R/I.62’. A label pasted onto the cover of part-book one reading ‘Fantasies for Three Viols’ would seem to be in the hand of Philip Falle.

The two opening items, two ‘Fantasias’ in D minor attributed to ‘Yoúng’h’ and ‘Joúng’h’ respectively, are not unproblematic to assign. The first Fantasia is also extant in GB-DRc, MS D.5/11, where it is attributed to Jenkins. The D.5 attribution seems unconvincing, as the work is not in keeping with Jenkins’s style. The second work also survives in GB-Och, Mus. MSS 612/613/614 and in GB-Lcm, MS 921, a manuscript which belonged to Sir Nicholas L’Estrange (1603-1655), where it is labelled ‘Aire J.Jenkins’ in the composer’s autograph. The following two Fantasias – also in the key of D minor – are by ‘J. Jenckings’. These ascriptions are unproblematic, as they match those to be found in concordant sources GB-Lcm, MS 921 and GB-Ckc, 112-113 (superior to D.4 in terms of the reliability of the attributions and the quality of the musical text).

²⁰⁹ Holman, *Life after Death*, p.63.

²¹⁰ Described in *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.303-305. A discussion of the source and a table of contents can be found on pp.60-61.

Item five, a Fantasia in A minor assigned to ‘P. Poúl’, is concordant with GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.59, C.60 and C.71, and GB-Lcm, MS 921, where it is marked ‘Aire Mr Jenkins’.²¹¹ This cluster of sources has been discussed briefly in the context of C.71, and there can be no doubt the Jenkins attribution is correct. It is worth noting here that the scribe of D.4 made an attribution error here, perhaps because he got two pieces confused, or perhaps because he was copying from a source where the attributions had already been muddled. The following item – anonymous in manuscript D.4 – has been ascribed to Jenkins by Andrew Ashbee by virtue of its position and style of counterpoint. The attribution, as Ashbee points out in the preface to his edition of the piece, is not straightforward, since its ABB structure is not to be found anywhere else in Jenkins’s output.²¹²

Two of the following four items (eight and ten) are clearly attributed to ‘P Poúl’, while item seven is labelled ‘J: Jenckings’. The style of these works, incompatible with Jenkins’s, is more angular in its treatment of harmonic progression and the rhythmic and melodic aspects of the line. One simple explanation for the curious attribution of item seven is that the (presumably Dutch) scribe got items five and seven confused, which might tentatively suggest ‘P Poúl’ authorship. It is also conceivable that the items were unattributed or not clearly attributed in the original, and the scribe used some initiative to try and assign compatible or adjacent works. At present it is not possible to attribute item seven, concordant only with the anonymous ‘Sonata a 2 Viol d. gamb’ in GB-DRc, MS D.5/12. The two sources are further linked by their format, the use of paper with Dutch Lion watermarks, the possible use of the same rastrum, and the fact they are the work of single – but different – Continental scribes.²¹³

Items eight and ten are, as I have pointed out, plainly assigned to ‘P Poúl’. Although labelled a ‘Fantasia’, the first of these two works is an eleven-bar

²¹¹ ME: Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *John Jenkins: Duos for Two Bass Viols and Continuo* (London, 2002), i.

²¹² ME: Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *John Jenkins: Duos for Two Bass Viols and Continuo* (London, 2005), ii, p.ii. *VdGSTI*, Jenkins no.52 (formerly Anon. 415).

²¹³ *VdGSIM*, ii, pp.62-63.

ground with ten divisions for two bass viols in the key of G minor (PW200). As we shall see in chapter four, there are precedents in Poole's music of this structure. The second work is a Fantasia for two bass viols in E minor incorporating florid division and interesting chromaticism in the bass part (PW201). Item nine, an Italianate multi-movement sonata in A minor by G[abriel?] Schütz features an opening *canzona*, and alternation of slow and fast fugato sections labelled 'adagio' and 'allegro'. The part-books conclude with an anonymous solo violin sonata in Bb major, stylistically more modern than the the music for viols that makes up the rest of the collection. The copying hand looks possibly reminiscent of Finger's, but certainly unlike Falle's.

It is difficult to extract meaningful conclusions pertaining to the music by 'P Poúl' in D.4, which Philip Falle is most likely to have acquired while in the Netherlands. This Continental source of English music demonstrates the interest Netherlandish musicians had in English chamber music for viols. The musical text and spellings – both fairly corrupt – suggest the copyist did not speak English and may have been unfamiliar with the music. The style of the Poúl pieces suggests that – whoever their composer was – he or she was familiar with similarly scored works, such as those by Jenkins and Young. It is clear that by the 1670s and 1680s some of their music had made its way into the Netherlands, and we can only speculate as to who the agents of these transmissions were, how these exchanges were conducted, and whether the St Omers Jesuits' library may have played a part as a node in these transmissions.

The exiled Jesuits were certainly not the only enthusiasts of the English viol repertoire in the Low Countries at the time. Dieterich Stoeffken and John Covel (a keen division-violist who was chaplain to Princess Mary in The Hague between 1681 and 1685) have already been mentioned, as has the significance of the relationship between England and the Netherlands in the 1670s, 1680s and 1690s.²¹⁴ One important implication of the intensity of this relationship is that it may explain the abundance of repertoire from the Dutch Republic (as well as music from the German and Austrian Habsburg lands) to be found in

²¹⁴ Thompson, 'Some Late Sources', p.289.

contemporary English sources such as GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31423, GB-DRc, MS D.2, and GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.25, all of which have been estimated to date after *c.*1672 at the earliest.²¹⁵ The Dolmetsch manuscript part-books – watermarked with two different types of *fleur-de-lys*, one of them paired with the countermark IHS – undoubtedly hold more clues.²¹⁶

Music for Two Violins, Bass and Continuo

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.443-446

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.443-6 is a set of part-books known as Edward Lowe's 'New consort books'. The volumes were acquired by the Music School in 1677, as can be seen from a note on the fly-leaf of E.443 certifying they were 'Bought & bound for the Musick Scoole / 9th may, 1677'. A further inscription in E.446 reads 'Made, and bound by Mr. Short, 28 Feb. 1676/7 pre: 6s.6d.'. For the most part, the set contains music by English, French and German composers copied by Lowe, Goodson and two unidentified scribes in the late 1670s and the early 1680s. It also contains a small amount of Italian music and seven anonymous Italianate 'Ayres'. Each part-book was paginated and indexed by Lowe before a fifth volume (a tenor book, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.570) was added to the original set of four.

The first three and the added tenor book are oblong quarto, measuring 180x240mm, with *fleur-de-lys* watermark. They are ruled with six staves per page and vertical ruling in red ink. The 'Bassus Continuus' book, E.446, is slightly larger oblong quarto, with Bend and Lily watermark and initials RC or RG. It is also ruled with the aid of red vertical lines and six staves per page. The set was bound in coarse calf with blind fillets, ornaments and tooling on the edges of the boards by 'Mr Short', perhaps the Oxford bookbinder James Short, who was aged 43 in 1666 and whose will was proved at Oxford on 27 April

²¹⁵ Thompson, 'Some Late Sources', p.294.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.292-93.

1684.²¹⁷ The part-books still conserve their paper labels in Lowe's hand. The survival of the original quiring in regular fours, the compiler's index and the uniformity of the paper suggests the collection was conceived as a set from the start, and has not suffered alterations. F.570 does not match the rest of the set in appearance. It is bound in vellum and labelled 'Tenor Violin' in ink in Goodson's hand. Margaret Crum's accompanying revised description states that the set of five books was complete by 1682.²¹⁸

The source opens with the violin parts of John Blow's setting of 'Goe Perjur'd Man' followed by a fragmentary set of 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' scored for two treble instruments, bass and continuo in the hand of Edward Lowe. The 16 airs are arranged by key into sets, and appear as given by Lowe in the index to the bass book, namely '4 in D with a # 3^d, 2 in A with a # 3^d, 4 more in D with a # 3^d, 2 in Bb, 2 in G b3^d and 2 in D b3^d, with the exception of the Bb pair, which in fact appears after the G minor set. Although part-books E.443-445 only contain music for the first set of four D major 'Ayres', the bass parts for all 16 works by 'Mr Poole' and a further eight 'of Mr Will[iam] Halls' are copied into E.446. This might be William Hall (d.1700), a violinist in the service of Charles II and James II who composed over 30 consort pieces.²¹⁹ It may also refer to the 'Mr Hall' who performed on the violin in Oxford on 9 July 1669.²²⁰ This 'Mr Hall' has, however, been tentatively identified with 'Mr Anthony Hall, who keeps the Mermaid Tavern in Oxford, and plays his part very well on the Violin'.²²¹ The four D major 'Ayres' by Poole are followed in E.443-445 with ready-ruled, blank pages presumably intended by Lowe for the copying of the remaining aires, twelve by Poole and eight by William Hall. Immediately after these, Lowe continued with a set of seven anonymous 'Italion Ayres'.

²¹⁷ Foster, *Alumni*, iv, p.1352. For a James Short who was Oxford University printer between 1618 and 1624, see H. Plomer *et al.*, *Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland 1557-1775* (Ilkley, 1977), p.244.

²¹⁸ GB-Ob, Music Reading Room MUS. AC.4.

²¹⁹ For Hall, see Peter Holman, 'William Hall', *GMO*. See also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.286, 413 and 417.

²²⁰ Peter Holman, 'Original Sets of Parts for Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford', in M. Burden (ed.), *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1996), pp.9-19, especially p.15.

²²¹ Ian Spink, (ed.) *Catches: Henry Purcell* (London, 2000), p.54.

In addition to music by John Blow, Anthony Poole, William Hall and the anonymous 'Italion Ayres', the manuscript includes works by Christopher Gibbons, the unidentified James Hinton, Jean-Baptiste Lully, 'Mr King of S^t Martins neere charinge crosse', 'Mr Keller (a German)', Richard Goodson, 'Mr Mitternacht', Henry Hall, 'Mr Grabu' and Carissimi. In view of Lowe's Chapel Royal position, it is not too complicated to imagine how he might have obtained the music by prominent court musicians such as fellow organists Gibbons (1615-1676) and Blow (1649-1708), and Master of the King's Music Luis Grabu (*fl.*1665-94).²²² The same could be said for the works by 'late child of the Chappell' Henry Hall (1656-1707) and court violinists and composers William Hall and Robert King (*c.*1660-1726).²²³ King was known to both Wood and Lowe, and his interest in Italian music and his commercial involvement in its dissemination in England are well documented.²²⁴ Music by famous foreign composers such as Lully and Carissimi was clearly popular in the Restoration Oxford circles of Music Professors Lowe and Goodson, and scholar-composer Henry Aldrich (1648-1710), as well as elsewhere in England.²²⁵

Of the five pieces in E.443-446 by the German composer and harpsichordist J[ohann?] Gottfried Keller (d.1704), three seem to have been copied by Lowe from the seemingly autograph parts in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.44. This source, which is made up of a haphazard assortment of manuscripts filed away by Lowe after having them copied into parts, includes autographs by Blow and Grabu, as well as Keller, and it awaits detailed scholarly attention. Keller, who died in London before 25 November 1704, was involved with concerts at Drury Lane Theatre and at York Buildings, and is known to have been given a passport to travel to the Netherlands in 1694.²²⁶ We do not know what Continental contacts

²²² For Gibbons, see Christopher Field, 'Christopher Gibbons', *GMO*. For Blow, see Bruce Wood, 'John Blow', *GMO*. For Grabu, see Bryan White, 'Louis Grabu and his Opera *Albion and Albanus*', PhD thesis (Bangor, 1999); see also Ian Spink, 'Louis Grabu', *ODNB*; Peter Holman, 'Luis Grabu', *GMO*; and Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.293-99.

²²³ For Hall, see Bruce Wood, 'Henry Hall (i)', *GMO*.

²²⁴ For King, see Peter Holman, 'Robert King (i)', *GMO*. See also Shute, 'Anthony a Wood and his Manuscript', i, 191.

²²⁵ Jonathan Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music', *RMARC*, 23 (1990), pp.109-124. See also Robert Shay, "'Naturalizing" Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and His Recompositions', *ML*, 77/3 (1996), pp.368-400.

²²⁶ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.44, ff.72-77. For Keller, see Peter Holman, 'J. Gottfried Keller', *GMO*.

may have been involved with the compilation of E.443-446, but the names ‘Andrea Kneller Org: Lübecensis’ and ‘John [Zacharias] Kneller’ – respectively younger and elder brothers of the court painter Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723) – were inscribed in the front of E.446, and dated by Lowe 25 May 1680.²²⁷

All of Poole’s ‘ayres’ are unique and – with the exception of items twelve and thirteen, which comprise two binary movements each, – all of these are simple, binary pieces suitable for teaching, theatre or recreation. Their arrival in Oxford may have taken place along with the transmission of Poole’s works for bass viol. Last, the music ascribed to ‘Mr Mitternacht’ is presumably by the composer Joachim Jeremiah Mitternacht, about whom little is known.²²⁸ The remarkable variety of the manuscript and printed Continental sources available to Lowe has already been observed in this chapter. The question of how Lowe obtained these repertoires remains open to speculation, but it seems likely responsibility for transmission lay with more than one contact. When we take a step back and allow the evidence to form a picture, it seems that contributions from a number of immigrant, court and local musicians fed into a specific outlook of the Oxford School of Music; its particular interest in the latest Continental music.

It seems that, having bought the part-books bound and possibly ruled by James Short in 1677, Lowe set about copying the first few musical items soon after that. When he had copied the bass parts to sixteen works by Poole and eight more by Hall, he had reason to stop copying these, leave space for doing so later, and copy a set of ‘Italion Ayres’ instead. The most obvious explanation is that the ‘Italion’ works needed copying urgently because Lowe did not expect the originals to be around for much longer, perhaps because they belonged to a visiting musician. For some reason the blank pages subsequently avoided their intended purpose; maybe Lowe expected to have a later opportunity to finish copying the Poole pieces he had access to in the late 1670s, but that scenario did not materialise. In any case it is clear that the composition date for the pieces can be placed before Lowe copied them in the late 1670s, and that their arrival in

²²⁷ For Godfrey Kneller, see J. Douglas Stewart, ‘Sir Godfrey Kneller’, *ODNB*. For Andreas Kneller, see Horace Fishback and Ulf Grapenthin, ‘Andreas Kneller’, *GMO*.

²²⁸ Ernst Meyer, *Die Mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Kassel, 1934).

Oxford needs to be understood in the context of the breadth of stylistic tastes and the variety musical contacts of Lowe and his immediate circle.

US-Cu, MS 959

This large manuscript collection is housed at the Joseph Regenstein Music Library of the University of Chicago. It comprises four part-books containing 74 sonatas for two violins, bass and continuo. The volumes are oblong folio bound in leather, each measuring 224x328mm. The watermark is *fleur-de-lys* with initials AJ or TJ, and the countermark is the monogram IHS accompanied by initials PT, CDG or RC.²²⁹ This paper is consistent with paper in other English music manuscripts of the mid-1680s. The makers' initials PT, CDG and RC identify the same three factors whose paper can be found in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33287, a manuscript score-book of music by Blow, Purcell and others copied c.1685. The paper in US-Cu, MS 959 was ruled with eight staves per page using a four-stave rastrum, a method commonly found in English sources. This collection is the only complete manuscript source for Henry Purcell's Sonata IX of 1697 (the 'Golden Sonata') to have survived, and it has received some scholarly attention as a result.²³⁰

A number of large, high-quality oblong and upright quarto manuscripts in England were put together using demy or medium paper watermarked with a *fleur-de-lys* and countermarked IHS with or without factor's initials.²³¹ One such instance is GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.77, where the IHS monogram can be found with initials RC as a countermark to the *fleur-de-lys* watermark. C.77 is a collection of two calligraphic part-books containing divisions for two bass viols by Simpson and Jenkins. The music suggests these finely copied books were compiled in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, and their original ownership is uncertain. The unusual combination of dimensions and watermark of the paper in C.77 coincides with the description of several reams of 'Super

²²⁹ Shay and Thompson *Purcell Manuscripts*, p.120.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.118-21; a full inventory can be found on p.120. See also Corp, 'The Exiled Court of James II and James III'; Corp, 'The Musical Manuscripts of "Copiste Z"'.
²³¹ Thompson, 'Some Late Sources', especially pp.273-277.

Royall' paper offered to dean of Christ Church, delegate of the Oxford University Press and later Bishop of Oxford, John Fell (1625-1686).²³²

The first page of each part-book of US-Cu, MS 959 contains an elaborately decorated title page copied from the first edition of Corelli's 1681 Op. 1 sonatas, which gives us a date before which the copying of the source could not have begun. This complete set of twelve sonatas makes up the first section of the manuscript, followed by two anonymous works, two sonatas by 'Antonius Poole' and music attributed to L[elio] Calista [Colista], although some of it is actually by Lonati.²³³ The collection continues with two sonatas from Giovanni Battista Vitali's Op. 5, one sonata from Gio:[vanni] Legrenzi's Op. 1 and Carlo Mannelli's Op. 2 Sonata 'La Fede', presumably a dedication to a member of the well-known family of musicians. In addition, the volumes include music attributed to unknown composer Hippolito Bocaletti, sonata IX from Henry Purcell's 1697 set, Gio[vanni] Battista Bassani's entire 1683 Op. 5, and Corelli's 1689 Op. 3. The collection is completed with six sonatas taken from G[odfrey] Finger 1688 *Sonatae pro Diversis Instrumentis*, Op. 1, and *Suonate a tre*, Op. 5, and a copy of 'Johan Philip Kruger' [Krieger]'s 1688 Op. 1 sonatas.

Because of their calligraphic style and the use of Roman numerals for the sequence of pieces, the volumes have an obvious parallel in the contribution of an unidentified copyist who worked alongside James Sherard on the compilation of GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400-403. This is another large set containing 61 trio sonatas in four oblong quarto part-books with repertoire broadly compatible with Chicago 959, including Corelli's Op. 1, Bassani's Op. 5 and music by Colista.²³⁴ Nothing in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400-403 suggests that any copying went on after 1687, which supports an analogous compilation period for Chicago 959.²³⁵ A high number of repertoire concordances hints at an intriguing relationship between Chicago 959 and three interrelated sets of manuscript part-books: J-Tn, N2/15 and GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400-403 and D.254. Robert

²³² Ibid., p.287. For Fell, see Vivienne Larminie, 'John Fell', *ODNB*.

²³³ See Allsop, 'Problems of Ascription', pp.34-44; and Allsop *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata from its Origins until Corelli* (Oxford, 1992), pp.192-99.

²³⁴ An inventory can be found in Shay and Thompson *Purcell Manuscripts*, p.116.

²³⁵ This date is also advanced in Corp, 'The Musical Manuscripts of "Copiste Z"', p.57, which includes a discussion of a possible provenance for the source.

Shay and Robert Thompson have proposed the mid-1680s as the most likely copying period for this cluster of sources.²³⁶

Seven different hands contributed to the Chicago part-books. Hand 1 copied Corelli's Op. 1 sonatas and has also been identified as being responsible for the exquisitely calligraphic GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.77 part-books, likely to have been copied in England in the 1670s.²³⁷ Hand 2 – responsible amongst other things for the pieces by Poole, Colista, Legrenzi and Manelli – is probably an English musician, as can be seen from his performing directions in English. The calligrapher of the title pages, as well as hands 6 and 7, responsible respectively for the Corelli Op. 3 sonatas and the works by Finger, use Germanic characters such as 'ß', which hints at the involvement of Continental copyists, especially in the later part of the manuscript. The collection includes three sonatas from Finger's Op. 5, which shows it was still being compiled in the early years of the eighteenth century.²³⁸

The inclusion of three sonatas from Finger's Op. 1 and Carlo Mannelli's sonata 'La Fede', along with the collection's prevailing Roman repertoire and possibly Continental scribes, has led several authors, notably Edward Corp, to propose that US-Cu, MS 959 was connected with James II's court. From 1686, James's chapel was directed by Innocenzo Fede, himself a Roman, and it included bass viol virtuoso and composer Gottfried Finger from at least 1687.²³⁹ The first violin part of Finger's 1688 printed collection bears a dedication stating that 'Quocirca profiteor id me solium contendere ut haec Musica CAPELLAE REGIAE inseruiat', 'I therefore admit that I seek sanction so that this music may serve at the Chapel Royal'.²⁴⁰ Even if – as it seems likely – Finger had hoped for these pieces to be deemed worthy of use in the Chapel Royal, their inclusion into Chicago 959 does not necessarily accord the source courtly status, as the pieces were successfully published and widely copied subsequently.

²³⁶ For a discussion of these sources, see Shay and Thompson *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp.113-17.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.121.

²³⁸ Sonatas number 1, 2 and 5 in Gottfried Finger, *X Suonate a Tre: Due Violini e Violoncello o Basso Continuo Op. 5* (Amsterdam, c.1705).

²³⁹ *BDECM*, i, pp.418-21.

²⁴⁰ Gottfried Finger, *Sonatae XII pro Diversis Instrumentis*, Op. 1 (London, 1688), title page and dedication.

Edward Corp has suggested the manuscript was started in Whitehall between the publication of Corelli's Op. 1 in 1681 and the partial disbandment and subsequent removal of James II's establishment in 1688.²⁴¹ Later contributions such as Corelli's Op. 3, first published in 1689, would have been added after the relocation to Saint-Germain-en-Laye. While possible, and certainly interesting, this hypothesis seems highly speculative. In the light of the aforementioned connections with J-Tn N2/15, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400-403, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.254 and GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.77, it may be advisable to treat this theory with caution and bear in mind the source's possible associations with London, Oxford, and Bishop Fell's milieu.

In any case, the relatively early position of Poole's sonatas within the source suggests that they were composed (and had reached England) before the copying of Corelli's 1689 sonatas. Even if the collection were not connected with the Chapel Royal, there are many ways transmission to England could have happened, as can be seen from the discussion of other sources in this chapter. One possibility is that the two Poole sonatas came to London with John Caryll in 1685, when James II appointed him envoy to the papal court in Rome. The steadfastly recusant Caryll was well-acquainted with music by Poole, and I have proposed a similar date for the arrival of Poole's division-violin music to London. Although the link to Caryll's engagement is purely speculative, it could be significant.

Tracing the provenance of this source is hampered by the lack of data. Although we do not know who the collection originally belonged to, two later owners are recorded on the part-books. A certain 'Chas A. Wheelwright' of Tansor, East Northamptonshire, would appear to have bought the set from 'William Bure of Allesley', near Coventry, on 23 March [18]32. The University of Chicago Library acquired the volumes in March 1965 at a book sale in Washington. Sidney Hamer, the proprietor of the Leamington Book Shop, described lot 51 in the sale catalogue as 'A collection of 74 Trio Sonatas... four volumes, oblong folio, original calf, one vol[ume]. rebacked, another covers loose, the other two

²⁴¹ Corp, 'The Musical Manuscripts of "Copiste Z"', pp.56-59.

with hinges slightly broken; however from the standpoint of performance, this set has had very little use'.²⁴²

Incomplete Works (Uncertain Scoring)

US-NHb, Osborn 515

Osborn 515 at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, New Haven, is a guard-book of several manuscript sources. It contains copies of music by Matthew Locke, Athanasius Kircher, Gregorio Allegri, [Anthony] Poole, Robert Wren (autograph), Henry Purcell (including six autograph movements), Daniel Purcell, Dieterich Becker, Nicola Matteis, John Jenkins and Henry Lawes. The Purcell hand is an early one – as can be seen from a number of features including the hook-shape bass clef that is present in all of his autographs before 1678 – and it especially resembles the hand in the early Funeral Sentences in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 30931.²⁴³ Only the bass book survives, an upright folio volume measuring 318x203mm, with original guard-sheets but in binding that would appear more modern than the music in the collection.²⁴⁴ It is unfortunate we do not have the original covers, as it is possible that they would have helped us identify early owners of the collection. The wide range of paper types in evidence suggests the collection was assembled over a long time and only bound later.

Six scribes were involved with its genesis, but the bulk of the copying, the indexing and the compilation are the work of a single scribe, hand A. This scribe is responsible for copying '2. Sonata's / Poole' (PW318 and 319) on ff.4-5^v and ff.6^v-7 respectively. These pairs of folios are ruled identically, with twelve staves per page drawn with the help of a six-stave rastrum. The same paper is used for ff.4-5 and ff.21-24, which are ruled in the same way and contain unique sonatas in five parts by Dieterich Becker, as well as a ground and a sonata by

²⁴² US-Cu, Sale catalogue 28, Leamington Book Shop (Washington, 1965), p.18, where the compilation of the set is guessed *c.* 1720.

²⁴³ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp.292-94, especially p.293.

²⁴⁴ For a discussion and inventory, see Robert Ford, 'Osborn MS 515, A Guardbook of Restoration Instrumental Music', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 30 (1983), pp.174-84.

Nicola Matteis – both in four parts – also in hand A. This anonymous scribe is one of several hands responsible for the copying of the aforementioned B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, and US-NH, Filmer MS 7, another isolated manuscript bass part-book containing Restoration music. The source – which includes works by John Banister, Matthew Locke, Robert King and others – was owned by members of the Filmer family, Royalist gentry from East Sutton, Kent.²⁴⁵

This scribe is responsible for the copying of the bass part of relatively early works such as the ‘Curtaine Tune’ of Locke’s *The Tempest* (1674). He also indexed the collection, which can only have happened after the contribution of anonymous scribe C – known to have been active as late as 1700 – and this would suggest that A was active over a long period.²⁴⁶ A is also responsible for copying two works taken from Kircher’s *Musurgia Universalis* and giving them Latin headings, which proposes that this scribe was a cultivated person. He was presumably also responsible for collecting the early Purcell autographs on ff.19-20 and, since he copied a further anonymous ‘Prelude’ into f.20 and noted down the Purcell attributions, A may be expected to have had direct contact with the young composer, a proposition that will be explored presently.

The set of part-books subsequently belonged to the antiquary William Gostling (1696-1777), as can be seen from a matching description of lot 13 (second day) in the auction catalogue of his music collection: ‘Jenkins’s, Purcell’s, &c. &c. Sonatas and Overtures, with Kircher’s extolled Sonata, MS’.²⁴⁷ Later in the century the collection passed through the hands of Philip Hayes, by which time the tenor book was missing.²⁴⁸ It was part of the music library of Charles Burney, whose sale catalogue shows the set consisted of ‘3 books’ only in 1814.²⁴⁹ The compilation was subsequently owned by the Reverend Samuel Picart, and it made up lot 208 of his 1848 sale catalogue, where it was described

²⁴⁵ An overview of the Filmer Collection can be found in Robert Ford, ‘The Filmer MSS: A Handlist’, *Notes*, 34 (1978), pp.814-25.

²⁴⁶ Ford, ‘Osborn MS 515’, p.175.

²⁴⁷ Ford, ‘Osborn MS 515’, p.176. For Gostling, see R. Goulden, ‘William Gostling’, *ODNB*.

²⁴⁸ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, p.293.

²⁴⁹ Hyatt King, *Catalogue of the Music Library of Charles Burney*, p.25.

as ‘Fantasies and Sonatas of 3 parts by M. Lock [sic], Kircher, Poole, Wren, Purcell, Becker, Lawes, Jenck, &c. 3 vols. *curious MSS*’.²⁵⁰

As discussed, the collection sold for 2s. 6d. to a certain ‘Wilkes’, perhaps the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Music George Wilkes, after which time the upper part-books were seemingly lost. A book-plate on the guard-sheet of the extant bass book identifies ‘W. H. Cummings’ as a later owner, presumably the founder member of the Purcell Society William Hayman Cummings (1831-1915), who made a number of annotations on f.2. From Cummings the book passed on to ‘W. W. Manning’, as can be seen from a manuscript note kept with the volume dated ‘August 5, 1948’, and thence to the Osborn Collection.

The section of the manuscript containing music by Poole (ff.4r-7^v) opens with the inscription ‘Sonata. A. Poole. a.3’ on f.4. This title is followed on ff.4^v-5 by the figured bass line to a multi-section sonata in C major made up of a common-time section in three strains, a section in triple time and a closing section also in common time. The anonymous canzonet for SSB chorus, bass and continuo ‘Mortali che Fate’ is copied into f.5^v, and it would appear to bear no relation to Poole’s music.²⁵¹ While f.6 was left blank (presumably to avoid a page-turn), ff.6^v-7 contain a second sonata by Poole in A major in seven sections. It opens with a section in triple time and another in common time, followed by a C-stroke Adagio in two strains, and a largo in 3/2 time. The work closes with three more untitled sections respectively in C-stroke, 6/4 and C-stroke.

An obvious link for the transmission of these manuscripts from scribe A to William Gostling would have been the singer and Canon of Canterbury Cathedral John Gostling (1650-1733), William’s viol-playing father. John Gostling was sworn as a member of the Chapel Royal on 25 February 1678/9 and – after James II’s coronation – as a member of the king’s Private Musick on 7 October 1685. Gostling was known to London musicians (not least to members of the Purcell family) before his first court appointment, as can be seen

²⁵⁰ GB-Lbl, S.C. Puttick and Simpson, 10 March 1848.

²⁵¹ First printed in John Playford, *Choice Ayres and Songs, The Second Book* (London, 1679). Day and Murrie no.48 (1679), p.49.

from the familiar tone of a letter dated 8 February 1678/9 from the Gentleman of the Chapel Royal Thomas Purcell (1627-1682) to Gostling.²⁵² The relationship between Henry Purcell and Gostling was illustrated by Hawkins's well-known (though not necessarily exact) account of the following anecdote:

The reverend Mr. Subdean Gostling played on the viol da gamba, and loved not the instrument more than Purcell hated it. They were very intimate as must be supposed, and lived together upon terms of friendship; nevertheless, to vex Mr. Gostling, Purcell got some one to write the following mock eulogium on the viol, which he set in the form of a round for three voices: Of all the instruments that are / none with the viol can compare: / Mark how the strings their order keep, / With a whet whet whet and a sweep sweep sweep; / But above all this still abounds, / With a zingle zingle zing, and a zit zan zounds.²⁵³

Robert Ford has argued that owner-scribe A may have been an acquaintance of John Gostling's – either in London or in Canterbury – and that Gostling, Purcell and scribe A may all have taken part in private music-making meetings *c.*1675-1680. Although caution is required to avoid considering the surviving sources to be the full picture, such hypothetical assemblies would be documented by the diverse contents of Osborn 515, a collection certainly evidencing interest in a wide range of musical styles. Perhaps Gostling was directly responsible for the transmission of the less well-known Kentish repertoire by Robert Wren (d.1691), a chorister, lay clerk and (from 1675) Organist of Canterbury Cathedral.²⁵⁴ If these suppositions were correct, then Poole's sonatas – which could have followed the same transmission pattern or a different one, perhaps through Jesuit connections in London or along with the music by Matteis and Becker – could have been played or heard by the young Henry Purcell during these formative years.

²⁵² For Gostling, see *BDECM*, ii, pp.498-501.

²⁵³ Sir John Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols (London, 1853), ii, p.747.

²⁵⁴ For Wren, see Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995, R/2001), pp.207-10.

Chapter 4

Stylistic Matters

Stylistic analysis of seventeenth-century music requires the modern musicologist to categorize music into genres in order to be able to trace influences and consider creative patterns. This can be an unhelpful exercise, because the categories that we tend to think of do not always correspond with groupings that musicians of the time would have recognized and understood. Several of the theoretical controversies that the century gave rise to – such of the Monteverdi-Artusi and the Scacchi-Siefert episodes – are difficult to understand without embracing the contemporary notion that certain stylistic features are desirable in one setting and inappropriate in another. These authors saw unambiguous boundaries between the *stylus ecclesiasticus*, the *stylus cubicularis* (or chamber style) and the *stylus theatralis*, and further subdivisions within these categories informed stylistic appraisal of a particular work. For example, in the realm of the *stylus ecclesiasticus*, the creative parameters, the weight of tradition and the audience expectations would be significantly different for a *stylus antiquus* polyphonic mass or a *stylus modernus* concerted madrigal.

These models for classification were hardly the systematic tools that the present-day scholar might have hoped for. Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (a series of volumes one would have expected to find on the shelves of every Jesuit college library in the second half of the century) presents a heterogeneous sorting method, whereby compositional and performing criteria are considered on a level with expressive intent, functionality and tradition. The resulting categories (such as the *stylus phantasticus* of the solo bass viol music, the *stylus canonicus* recognizable in Poole's divisions for two bass viols, the *stylus hyporchematicus* of his suites of dances, and the *stylus symphonicus* to be found in several of the string ensemble sonatas) invite us to consider both the isolated genres and the relationships between them.

For the purpose of presenting this study in the most useful way possible – and as with the discussion of sources in chapter three – I have arranged Anthony Poole's output by scoring and then by genre. However, it is worth remembering

that Poole may have found these categories somewhat mystifying. Like Kircher, Poole may have seen clear relationships between *stylus phantasticus* works in different scoring, or between works belonging to different genres but with a shared meaning and purpose, such as is the case with the works named after saints.

When writing music for a particular purpose – be it worship, education, recreation, propaganda or indeed any other – a composer takes on board the aesthetic principles associated with conveying ideas in that medium. In addition, when choosing a particular genre or scoring, a seventeenth-century composer leads an audience to expect a range of national, rhetorical and formal conventions. These expectations can then be used by the musician as a framework for their art, and as a set of boundaries to either stay within or to expand in order to assert individual creativity. In the course of his life, Poole travelled fairly widely, and he can be expected to have been exposed to the ways English, Italian, Franco-flemish, German and Netherlandish musicians handled these challenges and opportunities. Poole's works may have influenced others in turn, and I propose to explore all of these possibilities in this chapter.

One consideration before I proceed: an evaluation of a composer's output poses significant difficulties – and its conclusions become invalid – when there survive as many pieces of unquestionable authorship as tentatively assigned ones. For this reason, only works reliably attributed to Poole in the sources will be considered for the purpose of this stylistic investigation, although reference will be made to works that can be attributed on stylistic grounds.

Music for Bass Viol or Violin with and without Continuo

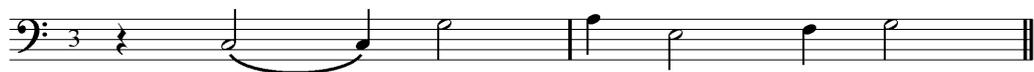
The Chaconnes

Variations on chaconne basses seem to occupy a place of honour in Poole's output. Four such sets (three of them subsequently arranged for the violin) are known to survive, one of them labelled 'Mr An[thony] Pool's Chicone'. It may be that the improvisation, performance and composition of chaconnes was a

favourite genre at St Omers, and a further three survive in the Selosse manuscript, along with sets of divisions on the *Folia* and the *Bergamasca*.

The chaconne bass – exciting a compositional tool though it must have appeared to a division violist – was hardly the most noble of ground basses, or the most appropriate one for a Jesuit to engage with. Ever since its arrival in Spain (supposedly from the New World) the dance had had bawdy and carefree associations, which earned it the reprobation of the Catholic Church. The coarse, irreverent and vulgar tenor of texted chaconnes in Miguel Cervantes’s short story *La Ilustre Fregona* and Luis de Briçeno’s 1626 guitar method corroborate this impression.¹ In 1599 friar Juan de la Cerda warned women against the lascivious moves involved, complaining that they were ‘verdaderos testimonios de locura y [de] que no están en su seso los dançantes’, ‘true testimony of madness and of the fact the dancers are not in their right minds’.²

The dance probably entered Italy via Spanish Naples, where it was initially taken up by local musicians interested in the guitar.³ Their instrumental settings are structured in four-bar phrases on the harmonic progression I-V-vi-V, often featuring syncopated rhythms. Instrumental *ciaccone* written in the 1620s and 1630s, such as those by Alessandro Piccinini (1566-c.1638), Claudio Monteverdi and Girolamo Frescobaldi, tend to employ the more paradigmatic sequence I-V-vi-I₆-ii₆-V (Ex.4.1-4.7, which have been rendered in equivalent values and transposed to C for ease of comparison).⁴



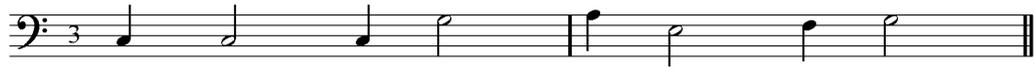
Ex.4.1: Piccinini (Bologna, 1623).

¹ Miguel Cervantes, *Novelas Exemplares* (Madrid, 1613) and Luis de Briçeno, *Metodo Mui Facilissimo para Aprender a Tañer la Guitarra a lo Español* (Paris, 1626).

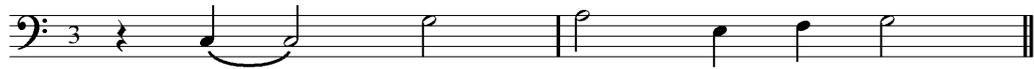
² Juan de la Cerda, *Vida Política de Todos los Estados de Mugerres* (Alcalá de Henares, 1599), p.468.

³ Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova Invenzione d’Intavolatura per Sonare li Balletti sopra la Chitarra Spagnuola* (Naples, 1606). See Alexander Silbiger ‘Chaconne’, *GMO*.

⁴ Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di Liuto, et di Chitarrone* (Bologna, 1623); Claudio Monteverdi, *Scherzi Musicali* (Venice, 1632); Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Primo Libro di Toccate* (Rome, 1637).



Ex.4.2: Monteverdi (Venice, 1632).



Ex.4.3: Frescobaldi (Rome, 1637).

The incorporation of improvisatory divisions into these pieces shows how the old dance had started to become an instrumental variation form in its own right. In spite of this development, and although the chaconne was used by Monteverdi and others in a sacred context, it continued to attract criticism throughout the first half of the century. In 1645 the Agustinian friar and polemicist Angelico Aprosio denounced the *ciaccona* for its power to corrupt youth, and in 1646 – the year Poole arrived in Rome – Anton Giulio Brignole Sale complained about indecent scenes being played in theatres to the tune of the *ciaccona*.⁵

Two of Poole's chaconne settings are triple-time examples of the syncopated Italianate variety (PW2 on the harmonic sequence I-V-vi-I₆-ii₆-V and PW10 on its variant I-V-vi-IV-V). There is no evidence that off-beat versions of the chaconne bass were cultivated in England during Poole's lifetime. Even in late settings such as Henry Purcell's gently-lilted *Triumph, Victorious Love* – the final piece in his 1690 masque *Dioclesian* – and Nicola Matteis's 1688 *Bizzarrie sopra la Vecchia Sarabanda ò pur Ciaccona*, harmony changes tend to occur on main beats, and Poole may have been the earliest English musician to have written such works. The remaining two chaconnes – PW1 and PW21 – are even more unusual in that they are duple-time ones (Ex.4.4-4.7). In the case of PW1, the longer three-bar ground allows Poole to explore a single idea in each strain, while in the more fragmented triple-time works, the composer achieves unity by grouping strains together into units of four or six bars linked by melodic or rhythmic integration. The three pieces that survive complete with their divisions are further linked by the exceptionally challenging nature of the viol writing and the wide range they demand from the violist, respectively C–g', D–g' and D–a'.

⁵ Quoted in Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), p.103. Anton Giulio Brignole Sale, *Tacito Abburattato: Discorsi Politici e Morali* (Venice, 1646), p.26.



Ex.4.4: PW1.



Ex.4.5: PW2.



Ex.4.6: PW10.



Ex.4.7: PW21.

The Selse keyboard music manuscript, discussed in chapter three, includes a *ciaccona* bass pattern identical to the one in PW10. It also contains several variations strongly reminiscent of the viol setting, and it is difficult to avoid the impression that these significant (but never quite literal) concordances reflect the fact that Poole and his Artesian colleague made music and improvised together (Ex.4.8-4.13).



Ex.4.8: Chaconne ground: PW10 and the Selse keyboard setting.



Ex.4.9: PW10 (bars 25-26) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 19-20).



Ex.4.10: PW10 (bars 41-42) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 23-24).



Ex.4.11: PW10 (bars 47-48) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 47-48).



Ex.4.12: PW10 (bars 53-56) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 79-82).



Ex.4.13: PW10 (bars 57-58) and the Selse keyboard setting (bars 121-122).

Although it may be possible to dismiss some of the similarities shown above as mere commonplaces, I have found it impossible to detect comparable levels of concordance in other mid-century *ciaccone*. Figuration patterns analogous to the ones I have discussed are absent in the instrumental settings by composers such as Alessandro Piccinini, Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger (c.1580-1651), Andrea Falconiero (1585/6-1656), Tarquinio Merula (1594/5-1665), Antonio Bertali, Johann Kaspar Kerll, Samuel Friedrich Capricornus (1628-1665), and in the anonymous eschatological vocal setting *Ciaccona di Paradiso e dell'Inferno* (published in Milan in 1677).⁶ Even in the case of works presenting some degree of similarity, such as the *Ciaccona* by Maurizio Cazzati and the 1644 *Symphonia supra Ciaccona* by Nicolaus a Kempis, these concordances are considerably less noteworthy.⁷ Although Poole is likely to have been aware of the works by a Kempis, the degree of concurrence between the Poole setting and the version in the Selse keyboard manuscript is more significant. Evidence from the two

⁶ Tarquinio Merula, *Canzoni overo Sonate Concertate per Chiesa e Camera* (Venice, 1637); Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di Liuto* (Bologna, 1639); Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger, *Libro d'Intavolatura di Chitarrone* (Rome, 1650); Andrea Falconiero, *Il Primo Libro di Canzone* (Naples, 1650); ME: Hans Haselböck (ed.), *Johann Kaspar Kerll Ciaccona für Orgel, Positiv oder Cembalo* (Vienna, 1966); ME: Charles Brewer (ed.), *Solo Compositions for Violin and Viola da Gamba with Basso Continuo from the Collection of Prince-Bishop Carl Liechtenstein-Castelcorn in Kroměříž* (Madison, 1997), pp.7-16; D-W, Cod. Guelf. 34.7, p.47.

⁷ Maurizio Cazzati, *Varii e Diversi Capricci per Chiesa* (Bologna, 1660); Nicolaus a Kempis, *Symphoniae* (Antwerp, 1644).

Jesuit settings suggests the chaconne bass had an important place within the St Omers in-house tradition of extemporisation on grounds.

Other Ground-Bass Divisions

Poole's ten authenticated sets of divisions on ground basses constitute an important part of his output. They represent a substantial contribution to the genre and – as the most widely circulated of his works – they formed the basis for his reputation. The sets of divisions vary in length from 80 to 308 bars and contain a number of variations between seven and seventeen, typically within the range of ten to fourteen customary for the period. The most common keys are D minor (used in four sets), A minor and C major (in two works each), but C and E minor are also used in one piece each. The tessituras of these sets (typically between three and a half and four octaves above D or C) are comparable with those of the chaconnes, demanding expert knowledge of the upper register.

Six of the ground basses employed by Poole are otherwise unknown, and therefore presumably composed by him. The ground the composer used in PW11a (extant in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71 and D-F, Mus. Hs 337) was then taken up by the anonymous composer of GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, pp.146-47, suggesting that the arrival of Poole's set to Noble's Oxford may have inspired others to engage in division-writing on the same grounds. The remaining three grounds are fairly universal ones, which implies Poole was aware of contemporary trends in division-viol music. PW25a uses a ground used by Facy, Simpson and Norcombe. Poole's set of divisions on Polewheele's ground PW27 is unique, but the ground was – as I have discussed – employed by many, including Jenkins, Banister and Withy. Last, the ground and some variations in PW26 are concordant with GB-Ob, MSS Mus. C.39, p.53 and C.71, p.120, a case of conflicting attribution between Poole and Norcombe examined in chapter three.

Six of the grounds (PW7a, 22, 26, 27, 28 and 37) are two-part ones. All but the last two of these (which modulate to the relative major at the half point) end the

first strain with a dominant harmony. Such structures were commonplace in the seventeenth century, perhaps because some grounds may have originated in the bass lines of binary dances. This can be seen in ‘Cormacks Almane’, an ensemble dance in US-NH, Filmer MS 4 the bass part of which is also extant as a ground for bass viol divisions by Norcombe in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246.⁸

Poole’s organization of the variations – if indeed the ordering in the extant sources is his – shows a heterogeneous approach to the deployment of this principle. While variations in some sets seem to be laid out for performance as $A^1B^1A^2B^2A^3B^3\dots$, others are arranged in less prevalent patterns such as $A^1A^2B^1B^2A^3A^4B^3B^4\dots$ and even $A^1B^1A^2B^2A^3A^4B^3B^4\dots$, as in the case of the set of divisions PW27. Four of the six two-part grounds comprise two equal halves (respectively made up of four, five, and in two instances eight bars), perhaps suggesting a concern for symmetry. The single-strain ground basses range in length between the eight bars of PW19 and the more irregular eleven of PW9. All of these ground lengths are in line with contemporary works by Simpson, Norcombe, Jenkins and Butler.

In all of these ten works Poole uses division procedures that are not unusual for his time, seemingly modelled on the standard techniques set out by Simpson in *The Division-Viol* and exemplified in his own sets of divisions:

In Playing to a *Ground* we exercise the whole Compass of the *Viol*, acting therein sometimes the Part of a *Bass*, sometimes a *Treble* or some other part. From Hence proceed Two kinds of Division, *viz.* a *Breaking of the Ground*, and a *Descanting upon it*: Out of which two, is generated a Third sort of Division; to wit a *Mixture* of Those.⁹

Simpson’s elucidation of this ‘mixt division’ details how it ‘is expressed either in single Notes, by hitting first upon One String and then upon an Other; or in

⁸ For ‘Cormacks Almane’ and its implications for later repertoire, see Peter Holman, ‘The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes’s Harp Consorts’, *EM* 15/2 (1987), pp.188-203.

⁹ Simpson, *The Division-Viol*, pp.27-28.

double Notes, by touching two or more Strings at once with the Bow'.¹⁰ A little later he notes that 'In Playing to a *Ground* we do Sometimes for humour or variety hold out One Note of *Descant* to two or three Notes of the Ground (such as will bear it)'.¹¹ All of these techniques – breaking the ground, descanting, leaping division, double-stopped division, and long notes (Ex.4.14-4.18) – can be clearly identified in the music of Anthony Poole, which suggests as methodical and logical an approach to the genre as exposed by Simpson. The exploitation of demanding techniques such as double-stopped melody in the upper range, running division, and large leaps makes these works reminiscent of the sets of divisions by Henry Butler. Butler, another Catholic composer of bass viol divisions and sonatas – as well as works for violin, bass viol and continuo – could even have met Poole in Rome in the 1640s.



Ex.4.14: PW7a, bars 21-24.



Ex.4.15: PW37, bars 57-58.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.36.

¹¹ Ibid., p.38.

Ex.4.16: PW27, variation 2.

Ex.4.17: PW11a, variation 1.

Ex.4.18: PW28, variation 4.

There are some compositional procedures the Jesuit composer often resorted to in order to generate variety and preserve unity. The reiteration of a variation down an octave was sometimes embellished with the addition of double-stopping possible only in the new register. In addition, ground notes are

occasionally harmonised differently from one variation to the next. This is achieved by using closely-related harmonic variants (such as chord vi_6 where chord I had tended to be used before), or by means of substitution of a major harmony with its minor form and viceversa. His style is further characterised by a somewhat irregular approach to dotted rhythms, the frequent use of final chords with the fifth at the top (even when a higher tonic would be easily available), and 4-3 cadential suspensions in viol chords disposed in such a way that the clashing major second is placed at the top. In addition Poole occasionally employs a systematic approach to patterns of variation figuration that are more easily associated with German keyboard masters and later exponents of the Parisian viol school (Ex.4.19).¹²

Ex.4.19: PW22, variation 5.

Identifying what Poole's immediate models might have been is, as I have pointed out, made difficult by the loss of the music libraries of the Jesuit

¹² Samuel Scheidt, *Tabulatura Nova* (Hamburg, 1624); Marin Marais, *Pièces de Viole* (Paris, 1701).

colleges of Saint-Omer and Rome. Poole may have been familiar with division works by earlier English composers such as Ferrabosco, Corkine and Webster, but he was also very much abreast of contemporary developments. I discussed in chapter three the instances of conflicting attribution involving music by Poole and Norcombe, which suggest some form of interaction. Works by Norcombe – and especially Butler – seem stylistically compatible, although Poole’s divisions are stronger in terms of melodic invention and the quality of the counterpoint. Butler, whose music was known in Spanish Flanders, tackled many of the genres Poole contributed to, and may have known Poole in Rome in the mid-1640s. In addition, Poole’s methodical approach to division-writing suggests that he was aware of Simpson’s well-structured advice in *The Division-Viol*.

Tracing the influence of Poole’s division works on Continental composer-violists requires us to refer to the transmission of his division works. Bearing in mind that F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 is known to have ended up at the exiled court of James II in the outskirts of Paris, it may be that the seemingly faint link with the eighteenth-century Parisian viol school merits further attention. In 1686 Marin Marais published his first book of *Pièces à une et a deux Violes* without a continuo part, in which guise they survive among the autograph manuscripts owned by James and Harry Maule (respectively 1658/9-1723 and 1659-1734).¹³ James Maule, David Nairne’s cousin and later fourth earl of Panmure, is thought to have first met Marais while he was a student of Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe *le père*, between 1677 and 1680. When Marais finally had the continuo parts published in 1689, he took the opportunity to append:

plusieurs Pieces particulieres que jyay insereés pour staisfaire a l’empressement de quelques Estrangers, qui souhaitent beaucoup d’en voir de moy de cette maniere.

¹³ For the Maule brothers and their musical activities, see Holman, *Life After Death*, pp.88-89; Corp, ‘The Musical Manuscripts of “Copiste Z”’; Stuart Handley, ‘James Maule’, *ODNB*; Hew Blair-Imrie, ‘Harry Maule’, *ODNB*. See also Stuart Cheney, ‘Early Autograph Manuscripts of Marin Marais’, *EM*, 38/1 (2010), pp.59-72.

several particular pieces which I have included in order to satisfy the eagerness of certain foreigners who wanted very much to see something composed by me in this style.¹⁴

One of these *pièces particulières* is a monumental set of divisions on an eleven-bar ground bass in G major.¹⁵ Marais elaborated further on the genesis of this work in the *avertissement* of the 1689 addenda, verifying that:

Le sujet de Basse, ou lon trouvera vingt couplets faits desus, m'a esté donné par un E'tranger, pour y faire toutes ces variations, que j'ay pris plaisir a travailler.

The ground bass, on which twenty couplets have been composed, was given to me by a foreigner for the purpose of writing these variations, which I have enjoyed working on.

The ground, an elegant bass line with attractive step-wise melody, is only known to us from a set of divisions by Thomas Baltzar.¹⁶ Since Baltzar was in England by 1656 and he is not known to have travelled to Paris before his death on 24 July 1663, it seems likely that – if the ‘theme’ is indeed by Baltzar – it was given to Marais by a different ‘Estranger’. Bearing in mind that Baltzar’s initial employer in England was the Swedish ambassador in London, Count Christer Bonde, we cannot discount the possibility of this ground having reached Paris through ambassadorial channels. However, it is quite likely that the chance survival of sources in this case distorts our perception of this transmission; perhaps the use of this ground was more widespread among composers and players than would appear to us solely from the Baltzar and Marais sets. If that was the case, any musician with an interest in English division could have been responsible for the transmission, perhaps because they had access to other models no longer extant.

¹⁴ Marin Marais, *Basses Continues des Pièces à une et a deux Violes* (Paris, 1689), p.2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.90-99.

¹⁶ US-NYp, MS Drexel 3551, p.43.



play through English division sets, dances and sonatas, including those by Anthony Poole in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317.

To sum up, Poole's ostinato-bass works reveal his interest in English and Italian traditions, and in the work of fellow exiles. Some of these works may have played a part in the transfer of division-viol traditions to Parisian musicians in the final decades of the seventeenth century, but – with the evidence available at present – this remains purely conjectural. As with the chaconnes, Poole may have felt drawn to the way the division works encapsulated fundamental aspirations of Baroque aesthetics, namely the portrayal of unity in diversity, and the representation of motion, drama and transit. It is important to remember the role music must have had in the Early Modern world, as the most vivid depiction of time possible. In this sense, ground-bass divisions may have proposed an attractive allegory to English Catholics; that of the place of man's tribulations within the framework of an ever-recurring, aeternal pattern.

The Suites

The composition of suites of dances was an established tradition everywhere in Europe by the time Poole obtained his St Omers appointment in 1659. The allegorical ballets, ensemble choreographies and incidental items that have been shown to have formed a fundamental part of seventeenth-century English Jesuit theatre, would have given Poole the opportunity to compose dance music regularly. Twelve dance movements for solo bass viol have survived, all but two with their continuo parts, namely four allemandes, three corants, three sarabandes and two 'airs' (one each in duple and triple time). Some of these may have been used in Jesuit theatrical productions, but the esteem of the genre at St Omers probably hinged on its didactic value as a tool for familiarising students with fashionable dances, and teaching them to play the instrument and compose simple binary pieces.¹⁹ Four items by Poole in E minor (PW29-32, all composed before 1678) appear in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 as a set, seemingly making

¹⁹ For dance music in Italian Jesuit colleges, see Gregory Barnett, 'Form and Gesture: Canzona, Sonata and Concerto', in Tim Carter and John Butt (eds.), *Seventeenth Century Music* (Cambridge, 2005), pp.479-532, especially 502-03.

the English Jesuit the first person to have composed a suite for solo bass viol with continuo.

According to Mace ‘allmaines are [...] very ayrey’, and all four allemandes by Poole seem to fit this description.²⁰ They are notated using a C-stroke time signature, start with one- or two-quaver upbeats, and make abundant use of dotted rhythms, rapid figuration and syncopation. Two are in the key of C major, one in G major and one in E minor. All four are binary structures made up of more or less equal strains, where the first one modulates to the dominant and the second returns the piece to the home key, a scheme described by Simpson in 1667 when he noted that the ‘almane [...] hath but two Strains, and therefore the first ought to end in a middle Key’.²¹ The E minor duple-time ‘aria’ PW30 is like the allemandes in most respects, except that it has no upbeat and the central modulation is to the relative major.

‘Corantoes are’ – in Mace’s words – ‘full of Sprightfulness, and Vigour, Lively, Brisk, and Cheerful’. The notion of the corant appears to have elicited some of the most creative writing from the Jesuit composer. The four works that fall under this category are binary dances in the keys of C major and E minor, but Poole takes the opportunity to use these pieces to challenge rhythmic, harmonic and structural assumptions. The two works in E minor (PW31 and PW34) are unusual in that they present three major cadence points which create in the listener an illusion of three strains that is not reflected in the repeat scheme (Ex.4.21). With the exception of the sedate PW31, the corants are rhythmically energetic, with abundant dotted figuration, and decoration in fast or tied values. The two works that survive with their bass lines (PW14 and PW31) contain audacious harmonic progressions seemingly chosen to match their intended affect. The angular nature of the writing in PW14 is characterised by several unexpectedly abrupt turns of melody and harmony (Ex.4.22). Conversely, suspensions over an elegant and closely voiced i-v₆-iv₆-V progression – a Poole favourite – lend the final bars of PW31 a sense of noble tranquility.

²⁰ Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, p.129.

²¹ Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick*, p.144.

Ex.4.21: PW31.

Ex.4.22: PW14, start of the second strain.

The three sarabands (PW5, PW16 and PW32) constitute the most stylistically homogenous sub-category. All three are extensively double-stopped, triple-time works with an attractive lilt and a distinctive emphasis on the second beat of the bar. The first two works (further linked by the addition of divisions, as we shall see) share in their structures a concern for grace and symmetry. Both present eight-measure-long first strains comprising two four-bar phrases. In the second

strains Poole elaborates further; the one in PW5 is made up of twelve bars (eight plus a four-bar *petite reprise*) and the one in PW16 measures sixteen bars (twelve plus a four-bar *petite reprise*). In the E minor ‘saraband’ PW32, Poole retains the feeling of poise in spite of asymmetrical phrase lengths and less seamless modulations.

Sarabands PW5 and PW16 survive expanded by Poole with divisions. Each dance is followed by two *doubles*, the first one elaborating the original dance in quaver movement, the second in more intricate (sometimes double-stopped) semiquavers. The recurrence of this format and the identical nature of the compositional procedures employed suggest a common purpose for the two works, namely teaching students to play the viol while introducing them to compositional and improvisatory techniques appropriate to dance genres. A further work – the G major allemande PW4, which appears in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 in conjunction with PW5 – exhibits a similar approach to integrating diminution techniques into dance movements, except that on this occasion Poole confines himself to a single variation in running semiquavers. A precedent for these procedures in England is found in the decorated bass viol parts to be used in the repeats of dances in William Lawes’s *Harp Consorts*.²²

Five of the E minor dances (PW30-34) appear in the sources associated with a prelude, an extended sonata-like movement featuring fugal sections, chordal writing and rapid division, and an incomplete contrapuntal movement in triple time. The practice of placing a prelude at the start of a set of non-dance movements in the same key, or using one to introduce a heterogeneous gathering of movements (i.e., not exclusively dances) was not prevalent at the time, but there are some precedents. Simpson included eight short movements labelled ‘Prolusio’ and three more substantial preludes in *The Division-Viol* in keys compatible with the sets of divisions that follow, the E minor one in fact somewhat foreshadowing Poole’s PW29 in the same key.²³ Two sets of divisions and one multi-movement sonata by Henry Butler are extant

²² ME: Murray Lefkowitz (ed.), *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, MB 21 (London, 1963), pp.64-89.

²³ Simpson, *The Division-Viol*, pp.52-53.

respectively with preludes in the same keys, although the pairings were not necessarily devised by the composer.²⁴ Taken as a whole – if that is indeed what Poole intended – this cluster of pieces signals an interest in multi-sectional approaches to formal organization on the part of the Jesuit composer.

In the context of the incorporation of division techniques into dance forms and the evidence for Poole's interest in larger, composite forms, it is worth mentioning two curious instances involving F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 and GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71. The C major allemande and sarabande PW15 and PW16 survive as a pair in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 and as part of a three-movement suite in C.71, involving in addition the air [corant] PW20. Although nothing follows after the saraband in the viol book, a cue after the bass part of the saraband in the bass book instructs the continuo player to take up a chaconne ostinato in the same key (Fig.4.1). This could be taken to mean that PW10a (variations on the same ground) is intended to follow, or perhaps that the violist might at this point desire to conclude the set with improvised chaconne divisions. A similar occurrence in C.71 involves the 'S Martina' corant PW14, which is followed by the duple-time chaconne bass PW21. These two examples suggest that this was a device Poole used with some frequency, rather than a fortuitous presentation of movements in the sources.

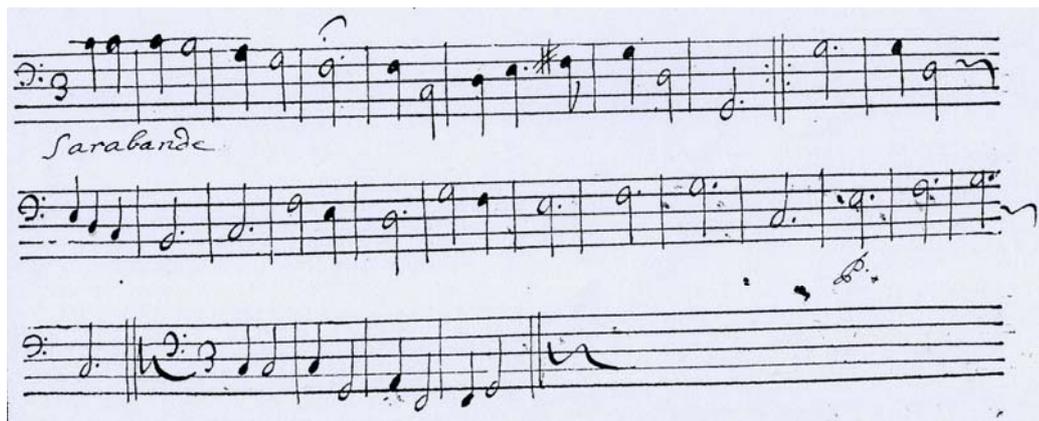


Fig.4.1: F-Pn, Vm7 137317, f.12.

Three other sets of dances in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 have features in common with works by Poole, and can be attributed on grounds of style. The

²⁴ Phillips, *Collected Works*, p.viii.

opening movement in the D major set PW23 – ‘Spinola almanda’ – is in all respects like Poole’s other allemandes, and the ensuing ‘Courante’ seems related to Division-Ayr PW106, a courante for violin, viol and bass in the same key. The suite ends with a sarabande with five variations matching the style of PW5 and PW16. Another set – PW6 ‘Borgia’ – is an ambitious three-movement work in G minor with a binary, courante-like central movement and a closing sarabande with five variations (PW6/3) identical in structure to PW23/3, very similar in style to PW5, and harmonically reminiscent of PW37 (Ex.4.23-4.24). The movement is, in addition, thematically analogous to PW24/2, an air belonging in an allemande-air pair that is stylistically compatible and can also be assigned to Poole.²⁵



Ex.4.23: PW6/3, bars 1-8.



Ex.4.24: PW37, bars 9-12.

‘Borgia’ opens with a chordal prelude not unlike PW29, but it soon breaks into fast figuration and *stylus phantasticus* writing more characteristic, as will be discussed, of Poole’s sonata preludes (Ex.4.25).

²⁵ See appendix.



Ex.4.25: PW6/1, bars 11-16.

The Sonatas

The only authenticated sonata by Poole for bass viol and continuo has come down to us in its original scoring and in an incomplete arrangement for violin and continuo (PW18b). This three-movement work would be significant within the output of any seventeenth-century English composer, but in Poole's case it is crucial because the correct attribution of at least 25 anonymous multi-movement items also extant in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 depends on the analysis of this work. In addition, this piece poses unique questions in terms of tracing the influences on Poole and identifying the models for his compositions. Composers back in England such as Thomas Farmer (d.1688) and Robert King, would not compose solo sonatas until the 1680s.²⁶ French composers wrote solo music for the viol but did not write sonatas, while Italians (who did write them) did not compose for the viol. So who or what were Poole's most immediate models? Or was he breaking new ground when he composed 'patchwork' sonatas for his instrument?

Dario Castello's 1621 collection (reprinted in 1656 and 1658 in Antwerp by Phalèse) introduced a new concept that would in time herald a whole century of affect-centered, imaginative instrumental music; namely the *sonata concertata in stil moderno*.²⁷ Composers carried the expressive qualities of modern vocal

²⁶ For Farmer, see Peter Holman, 'Thomas Farmer', *GMO*.

²⁷ Castello, *Libro Primo*. For this process, see Andrea Dell'Antonio, *Syntax, Form and Genre in Sonatas and Canzonas 1621-1635* (Lucca, 1997).

music into the instrumental realm, where music could not be justified by the presence of lyrics, and needed to be organised with reference to other elements, both external and internal. Rhetorical gestures in some instrumental works were undoubtedly inspired by the descriptive titles given by composers, and this seems to have been the case with the pieces named after saints in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317. On the other hand, sonatas could be articulated with the help of abstract concepts such as structure, thematic presentation, and the handling of musical material (sequences, diminution techniques, canonic or homophonic treatment, virtuoso display, etc...).

While the birth and development of the sonata had gone hand-in-hand with the emergence of the violin as the unrivalled solo instrument of the Italian baroque, sonatas for the bass viol had a slower genesis. Solo bass parts in contemporary Italian works such as Frescobaldi's canzonas and the fantasies of Bartolomé Selma y Salaverde (*fl.*1613-1638), tend to carry ambiguous labels, and are not written so idiomatically that particular bass instruments might be ruled out.²⁸ These works do not seem to have been composed with the bass viol in mind and can not be assumed to have been direct models for Poole any more than violin sonatas might have. The earliest sonata for the solo bass viol (and the only one that seems to have been composed before Poole's) is an 88-bar-long work in E minor by Henry Butler, similar in structure to the sonatas by Marini, Fontana and Castello, but incorporating an imaginative division-like central section.²⁹

Such a novel organizational principle offered a violist-composer like Poole the possibility of ordering musical thoughts within a more flexible construction. One could generate multi-movement structures where the different sections contrast in metre, tempo, key, affect, range or dynamics, bypassing the creative constraints of the suite of dances and the limitations of improvisatory diminution forms. Internal coherence now required reference to internal musical syntax or to external imagery. Poole's single authenticated sonata, which bears the evocative title 'Battle and Triumph' in one source, explores some of these possibilities.

²⁸ Frescobaldi, *Il Primo Libro*; Bartolomé Selma y Salaverde, *Canzoni, Fantasie et Correnti* (Venice, 1638).

²⁹ Phillips, 'Henry Butler and the Early Viol Sonata', pp.45-52.

The first movement is an expansive C-stroke section in the key of C major (D major *Largo* in PW18b), both keys being commonly associated with battle music. The movement measures 42 bars, and internal coherence is achieved by means of four successive presentations of its serene canzona-like theme, twice in the tonic and twice in the dominant. The fourth, highest and final statement leads directly onto a section featuring chains of one of Poole's favourite division figurations, quaver tied to a group of demi-semiquavers. The second movement (PW18a/2) is an extraordinarily experimental exercise in double- and triple-stops, making use of chromaticism, unexpected harmonic turns, rhythmic displacement, and large chords incorporating Poole's favourite 4–3 and 7–6 suspensions, which results in writing that is often expressive but occasionally bizarre (Ex.4.26).

The musical score consists of four systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system shows a complex harmonic structure with a treble staff containing a series of chords and a bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The second system continues this complexity with more intricate chordal textures. The third system features a prominent use of double and triple stops, with a treble staff showing a series of chords and a bass staff with a more active line. The fourth system concludes the piece with a final, complex chordal structure and a treble staff ending with a double bar line.

Ex.4.26: PW18a/2.

The battle themes of the ensuing movement (echoed in the anonymous sonatas ‘Japonians’, ‘St Martha’ and the untitled no.62 in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317) refer the listener to the descriptive title of the sonata (Fig.4.2). This formidable 67-bar-long fantasia in the *stylus phantasticus* features intricate arpeggio figuration, running demi-semiquavers, double-stops and large leaps, winding down to a three-bar-long chordal close. The arranger of PW18b clearly appreciated the virtuosity of this movement, but may have considered the middle movement too strange to merit transcription for the violin. He was, however, sufficiently appreciative of the last eight bars of it to append them at the end of the *Vivace*, replacing Poole’s original conclusion (Ex.4.27).



Fig.4.2: D-F, Mus Hs 337, f.2.



Ex.4.27: PW18b/2, bars 57-67.

A number of anonymous sonatas in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 share stylistic features with ‘Battle and Triumph’ and other works by Poole, and can be attributed on this basis. The unattached prelude PW12 may have been composed as an afterthought to a suite of dances in C – perhaps PW13-16 – and it deploys rhetorical gestures compatible with PW18. The five-movement ‘Bethlehem’ (PW17) is another sonata in the key of C major. Like PW18, it opens with a *stylus phantasticus* movement followed by a chordal slow movement that starts in the key of E minor, explores chromaticism, double-stopped suspension and rapid scale figuration, and ends in C major. PW17/3 is labelled ‘Canzona’, a



Ex.4.30: PW19, variation 15.



Ex.4.31: PW3/3, 'Tremolo', opening.



Ex.4.32: PW8/4, 'Tremulo', opening.

A 'tremolo con l'arco' indication had been first used in a printed work by Marini in his 1617 sonata *La Foscarina*, scored for two violins, trombone and continuo. Similar indications were used by many Italian authors (including Cazzati and Uccellini in several collections reprinted in Antwerp), and can also be found in *T'Uitnement Kabinet*.³⁰ Its use in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317 predates the wavy lines in the Frost scene of Henry Purcell's 1691 opera *King Arthur* by some 20 years. It would therefore seem that the composer of these works – Poole in all likelihood – was responsible for the earliest instance of a 'Tremulo' performance instruction by an English composer.

When composing 'Battle and Triumph', and the other sonatas in F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317, Poole appears to have deliberately used the more loose-fitting sonata frame to convey meanings, such as the bellicose atmosphere that surrounded a large part of his life or – perhaps more likely – a Jesuit's allegory of the struggle of English Catholicism. Overall, these 'patchwork' sonatas seem

³⁰ Stewart Carter, 'The String Tremolo in the Seventeenth Century', *EM*, 19/1 (1991), pp.42-59.

more adventurous than the division pieces, frequently containing music of very high quality, suggesting that Poole wrote these ambitious and complex sonatas for his own use.

Since Butler and Poole could have met in Rome in the 1640s, and Butler's sonata circulated in the Netherlands, it is likely Poole knew the work. Perhaps it provided the inspiration for Poole to take the medium forward and, building on his fellow exile's ground-breaking achievement, contribute to the emergence of the multi-movement sonata for solo viol. With Italian sonatas for other instruments and Butler's viol sonata as possible examples, Poole's creativity seems to have taken a leap forwards, extending the length, type and number of movements, the expressive devices available, and the meanings conveyed.

Poole's solo sonatas may have been a stepping-stone from Butler's pioneering work to the earliest printed sonatas for the viol.³¹ Johann Schenck's 1688 sonatas – eleven of the fifteen are in fact suites – apparently predate August Kühnel's 1698 *Sonate ô Partite*, although these may have been written by 1685.³² The suites resemble those in Hacquart's 1686 *Chelys*, but this publication contains no sonatas, implying Schenck had access to other models. It has been suggested that Schenck interacted with exiled English violists, and it is possible he knew music by Poole and Butler.³³ *Tyd en Konst-Oeffeningen* includes instances of sarabandes with *variatio* and multi-movement works ending with a chaconne, all devices used by Poole. Sonata no.4 includes a dissonance-rich section in double-stopped minims marked 'Adagio Trem' probably intended for performance with bow vibrato.

³¹ Johann Schenck, *Tyd en Konst-Oeffeningen* (Amsterdam, 1688).

³² Holman, *Life after Death*, pp.14-15.

³³ K. Pauls, 'Der Kurpfälzischen Kammermusikus Johannes Schenck', *Die Musikforschung*, 15 (1962), pp.157-71 and K. Pauls, 'Ergänzungen zur Biographie des Kurpfälzischen Kammermusikus Johannes Schenck', *Die Musikforschung*, 19 (1966), pp.288-89.

Music for Violin, Bass Viol and Continuo

The Sonata

The 'Sonata Mr Poole a3, Treble [and] 2 basses' (PW100) is a unique work within Poole's output and a significant link in the evolution of English music for treble, bass and continuo. It consists of three G minor sections, the first one a 26-bar-long *stylus phantasticus* movement modulating briefly to D, F and Bb majors. The second is another sonata movement in 59 bars showcasing the two solo instruments and touching on Eb, Bb and D majors. The closing triple-time movement lasts 56 bars and explores more two-part division textures, passing through A minor, Bb and D majors before returning to the home key. Modulations are frequently achieved by introducing chromaticism in the bass (Ex.4.33), and their function is expressive rather than in any way structural. Apart from the opening four bars of movements two and three, neither instrument has any rests, and Poole favours a full texture where violin and bass viol busily compete for attention.

The first system of musical notation shows three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in bass clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The key signature is G minor (two flats). The time signature is common time (C). The music consists of three measures. In the first measure, the treble staff has a series of eighth notes, the middle staff has a similar eighth-note pattern, and the bottom staff has a single eighth note. In the second measure, the treble staff has a half note, the middle staff has eighth notes, and the bottom staff has eighth notes. In the third measure, the treble staff has eighth notes, the middle staff has a half note, and the bottom staff has a half note. The modulation in the bass line is indicated by a sharp sign (#) above the note in the second measure of the bottom staff.

The second system of musical notation shows three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in bass clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The key signature is G minor (two flats). The time signature is common time (C). The music consists of three measures. In the first measure, the treble staff has a half note, the middle staff has eighth notes, and the bottom staff has a half note. In the second measure, the treble staff has eighth notes, the middle staff has a half note, and the bottom staff has a half note. In the third measure, the treble staff has a half note, the middle staff has a half note, and the bottom staff has a half note. The modulation in the bass line is indicated by a sharp sign (#) above the note in the second measure of the bottom staff.

Ex.4.33: PW100/1, bars 16-21.

The ensemble is characterised by an independent viol part that alternately imitates the violin, shadows the bass, frequently plays double-stopped passagework and fills out the texture with large, idiomatic chords. This distinctive viol part seems fundamentally different from the essentially melodic *concertante* ‘basso’ or ‘violone’ parts in Italian sonatas of the period. It seems equally unrelated to Germanic traditions exemplified by Schmelzer, the Jesuit-trained Matthias K6lz *the younger* (c.1635-1695), Dietrich Becker (c.1623-1679), Johann Philipp Krieger (1649-1725), and Dieterich Buxtehude (d.1707), all of whom conceived of the viol as a virtuoso, tenor-range, melodic partner to the violin.³⁴

The scoring of this work was not without precedent in English repertoires, and Poole may well have been familiar with the fantasia-suites by Coprario, Lawes and Jenkins for the same combination.³⁵ However, while this genre was characterised by the presence of a written-out organ part and the sequence Fantasia–Almain/Ayre–Galliard/Corant/Saraband, Poole’s sonata departs from this structure and has a continuo part. Coprario’s bass viol parts rarely deviate from the organ bass, and those by Lawes show increasing degrees of autonomy by taking up some independent imitation of the violin and breaking the organ bass into arpeggio figuration and broken octaves. Jenkins’s seemingly later contributions to the genre – which include two very fine fantasia-suites in A minor and G minor – expanded its horizons by integrating the art of virtuoso division with the creative traditions associated with the fantasia-suite.³⁶

These two suites by Jenkins were known in Stockholm, and other works by Jenkins were reprinted in Amsterdam in 1664, although it is not clear what music was involved in this reprint or whether Stoeffken was responsible for the

³⁴ Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, *Duodena Selectarum Sonatarum* (Nuremberg, 1659); Matthias K6lz, *Epidigma Harmoniae Novae* (Augsburg, 1669); Dietrich Becker, *Sonaten und Suiten* (Hamburg, 1674); Johann Philipp Krieger *Suonate* (Nuremberg, 1693); Dieterich Buxtehude, *Suonate Op. I* (Hamburg, ?1694), and *Suonate Op. II* (Hamburg, 1696).

³⁵ ME: Richard Charteris (ed.), *John Coprario: Fantasia-Suites*, MB 46 (London, 1980); ME: David Pinto (ed.), *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, MB 60 (London, 1991).

³⁶ Andrew Ashbee, ‘Music for Treble, Bass and Organ by John Jenkins’, *Chelys*, 6 (1975-1976), pp.25-42. ME: Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *Two Fantasia-Suites* (Albany, 1991).

transmission.³⁷ While it is clear English ensemble fantasias were known in Continental Europe, it is difficult to ascertain precisely how they circulated. Some survive in a number of manuscript sources copied by English musicians in conjunction with comparable Continental sonatas for violin, bass viol and continuo by Schmelzer, Bertali and other Germanic and Netherlandish musicians, and music by exiled English Catholics such as Butler and Young.³⁸ This was a repertoire fundamentally cultivated by violists, and particular demands are placed on the viol part.

Not enough is known about the genesis of these sources to establish precise transmission patterns, but it seems plausible that the two genres developed in parallel. This may have allowed musicians – especially those suitably placed to absorb multiple traditions – to break new ground. At a time when it is tempting to imagine a scenario dominated by the all-pervading influence of the Italian sonata, perhaps Poole's works suggest a more complex narrative of shared ideas in the genesis of a duo sonata repertoire for two emergent solo instruments such as the bass viol and the violin.

Poole may have known Jenkins's idiomatic late fantasia-suites, but his use of the sonata format and label suggests we consider additional sources of inspiration. The three extant sonatas by Butler (in G minor, F and G majors) are somewhat shorter works, respectively 110, 73 and 103 bars. The sonatas in major keys follow a pattern, starting with an expressive adagio, followed by a fast movement with running division, and ending with an extended air in triple-time. The G major sonata inserts a 27-bar movement where the two instruments take it in turns to play flamboyant solos in the Italian style (Ex.4.34), a device with no parallel in Poole's sonata. The five-movement sonata in F circulated widely in the Netherlands, and Poole may have been familiar with its textures and passing modulations to Bb (Ex.4.35) and G.³⁹

³⁷ Rasch, 'Seventeenth-Century Dutch Editions', p.273. See also Ashbee, *The Harmonious Music*, p.85.

³⁸ Mark Caudle, 'The English Repertory for Violin, Bass Viol and Continuo', *Chelys*, 6 (1975-1976), pp.69-75.

³⁹ GB-DRc, MSS D.2, D.5 and D.10, GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.25, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.71 and D.249, GB-Lgc, Gresham MS 369, and B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24,910 (with Poole's sonata).

Ex.4.34: Butler, Sonata in G, bars 36-41.

Ex.4.35: Butler, Sonata in F, bars 21-29.

Another possible source of inspiration are the sonatas for violin, bass viol and continuo by William Young, expansive works consisting of three to six contrasting movements frequently carrying Italian tempo titles such as ‘Adagio’ or ‘Allegro’. Young, who seems to have specified the scoring required, fundamentally employed the same basic types of movement as Butler: fast movements with running division, airs in triple-time, and expressive adagios. It may be that Poole’s richer sonorities are indebted to the textures explored by his compatriot in the sonatas that have survived in GB-DRc, MSS D.2 and D.10, and GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.249 (Ex.4.36).

Ex. 4.36: Young, Sonata in D, bars 44-49.

The Division Ayrs

In addition to the aforementioned sonata, six ‘division ayrs’ with identical scoring survive, four in D minor (PW101-104) and two in D major (PW105 and 106). In terms of Poole’s deployment of the instruments in the texture, they very much resemble the sonata PW100, although the style of the writing in the ‘division ayrs’ is overall lighter, with modulations to the relative major and the dominant frequently underpinning their binary structures. Five of these are independent pieces, although their key-signatures suggest they could have been meant to be played as a set. This is certainly the case with PW102, a work in three separate through-composed movements that shows Poole’s interest in multi-section forms. This work is significant because its structure is clearly analogous to that of the sonata: after two C-stroke sonata movements, respectively exploring modulation in rich double-stopped texture and imitative division, a fine triple-time air closes the set.

This may give us an insight into the Jesuit’s compositional process. Poole may have seen composite forms as amalgamations of individual pieces. Perhaps the non-binary movements in division-ayr PW102 and the sonata PW100 originated as works composed separately, some possibly for stage productions. In addition to

fantasia-suites, Jenkins also wrote many individual dances with identical scoring and the free-standing works in GB-Lcm, MS 921 and GB-DRc, MS D.2. Butler's E minor Aria in GB-DRc, MSS D.2 and D.10 may also have been a model, although Butler tends to construct the texture by allowing the viol part to 'break the ground' in large leaps (rather than using closely-voiced chords), a style more compatible with Poole's division works (Ex.4.37).



Ex.4.37: Butler, Aria, bars 4-7.

Music for Two Bass Viols and Continuo

Fantasias for two bass viols to the organ are a fundamentally English genre that can be traced back to the bass viol duos with organ parts by Coprario and Ward. Later in the seventeenth century notable contributions were made by Simpson and Jenkins, who successfully integrated fantasia writing with division. Only items 7, 8 and 10 in GB-DRc, MS D.4 are possible 'P Poúl' fantasias.⁴⁰ Item 7 – incorrectly attributed in the source – can not easily be attributed to Poole on stylistic grounds. Fantasia no.8 PW200 is in fact a set of divisions for two basses to the organ where Poúl employs standard division techniques found in many contemporary works, and is compatible with Poole's solo bass divisions. The set concludes with a flamboyant variation with running triplets in both parts, a device used by Poole in PW19 and PW27, and advocated by Simpson, who advised players to:

⁴⁰ See discussion in chapter 3.

Fall to *Descant, Mixt Division, Tripla's* or what you please [...];
and if you have any thing more excellent than other, reserve it for
the Conclusion.⁴¹

The last item – PW201 – is an 87-bar-long fantasia in E minor by Poúl where, after a sombre and loosely imitative opening, both viols engage in extraordinary displays of diminution. This design fits Simpson's observations that '*Divisions of Three Parts are not usually made upon Grounds; but rather Composed in the way of Fancy; beginning commonly with some Fuge, and then falling into Points of Division; [...] But commonly, Ending in Grave, and Harmonious Musick*'.⁴² The piece contains a number of melodic and rhythmic gestures to be found in other works by Poole (such as the harmonic progressions in bars 11-17, comparable with passages in PW31 and PW102/3, Ex.4.38-4.40), and it seems correct to assign it to the Jesuit composer on stylistic grounds.

Ex.4.38: PW201, bars 11-17.

⁴¹ Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, p.47.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.49.



Ex.4.39: PW31, bars 5-9.



Ex.4.40: PW102/3, bars 48-52.

There seems to be no reason to doubt Falle's apparent conviction that 'Pool' and 'P Poúl' were the same composer. There is no extant music for two bass viols and continuo by Poole with which we might compare the stylistic merits of the music by 'P Poúl', so we cannot verify this identification. Stylistic comparison across different genres is a treacherous tool. For instance, the enthusiastic displays of harmonic suspensions in Poúl's music (and in the anonymous 'Fantasia J:Jenkins' in the same source) would seem to have no direct parallel in the language of Poole's divisions and sonatas for one instrument. However, we cannot rule out that this may reflect the composer's interest in the possibilities afforded by the scoring of the larger ensemble, or even that it may simply reveal the models available to him at the time.

Music for Two Violins, Bass and Continuo

The Sonatas

The two sonatas by 'Antonius Poole' PW300 and PW301 are substantial multi-movement works in D major totalling 144 and 171 bars respectively. PW300 is in six movements with Italian tempo titles such as the 'Allegro & forte', which exploits the effect of whole-ensemble dynamics. PW301 is made up of five

movements with comparable titles, including a ‘Canzona’ that dispenses with the bowed ‘bass’ followed by a 47-bar-long ‘Solo’ for bass and continuo alone. The majority of fast movements (PW300/1, 300/4, 301/1 and 301/5) feature the whole ensemble in freely imitative textures, and the slow movements (PW300/2, 300/6 and 301/2) require all instruments, often in homophonic texture. Variety is achieved in PW300/2 and especially PW300/5 by recourse to solo sections for each instrument to the organ, in PW300/5 punctuated by re-statements of a 3-bar *tutti* ritornello (Ex.4.41).

Ex.4.41: PW300/5, bars 21-28.

Solo sections for the bass viol accompanied by continuo can be found in a group of 15 fantasia-ayr sets for two trebles (most likely violins), bass viol and continuo by Jenkins (known collectively as Group VII). They are likely to have been composed after 1660, when Jenkins was briefly at the Private Musick of Charles II.⁴³ They survive in GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 27550-27554, a set of part-books dated 1674.⁴⁴ The innovative nature of Jenkins’s late composition style –

⁴³ For this period, see Ashbee, *The Harmonious Music*, especially pp.75-107.

⁴⁴ *VdGSIM*, i, pp.44-47. ME: Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *John Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites I*, MB 78 (London, 2001). See also Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century*

which Poole may have been aware of – is characterised by violinistic upper parts, the absence of a written out organ part (replaced by a figured continuo part), and the use of a wide range of keys. All but three of the fantasias include a triple-time section and (like PW300) end with a common-time coda, sometimes marked ‘slow’ or ‘very slow’.

This scoring is to be found in countless collections of Italian *sonate da chiesa* for strings and continuo, including seven sets of sonatas by Marco Uccellini (c.1603-1680), published between 1639 and 1669 (three of which were reprinted in Antwerp). It was also employed, among various other scorings, by the Venetian composer Giovanni Legrenzi (1626-1690), a virtual contemporary of Poole and possible model. Legrenzi published four books of instrumental sonatas between 1655 and 1673 displaying an organized approach to movement order, and imitative textures with melodious themes, chromaticism, and chains of suspensions. Some circulated in manuscript form, including the Op. 1 works in US-Cu, MS 959, in the same hand as Poole’s sonatas. Other composers continued to write sonatas with a concertante bass using a free plan of between four and seven movements in any order of tempi, as can be seen from Bassani’s 1683 sonatas (extant in B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 along with Poole’s PW100), and Poole’s own incomplete sonatas PW318 and 319.

Poole’s sonatas are characterised by the independent nature of the ‘basso’ part, which is free to play division over the continuo line, contribute to imitative textures autonomously, and even play solos to the organ. This trait can be observed not only in Jenkins, but also in Legrenzi’s ‘violone’ parts in the aforesaid sonatas, and the concertante bass parts of two of Maurizio Cazzati’s collections of sonatas reprinted in Antwerp.⁴⁵ The device of contrasting solo and tutti textures to the organ was first associated with the sonatas by Castello and Fontana, but by the middle of the century it had become rare in Italy. It persisted in Germany and Austria, as can be seen in sonatas by Buxtehude, Bertali and Rosenmüller. Possible Netherlandish models for these works include Nicolaus a

England: Christopher, *First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), especially pp.46-114 and 235-38.

⁴⁵ Cazzati, *Suonate* Op. 18; Maurizio Cazzati, *Sonate* Op. 35 (Bologna, 1665).

Kempis's *Symphoniae* and van Wichel's *Fasciculus Dulcedinis*, both discussed in chapter two.

Two aspects of sonatas PW300 and PW301 evince Poole's preoccupation with unity and coherence within the multi-movement structure. The first is connected with the aforementioned use of a short ritornello between solos in PW300, in itself a device conducive to greater unity. Poole uses the ritornello one last time after the third solo, only this time the three bars are expanded into a 24-bar 'Tutti Vivace' section which incorporates thematic material that alludes to the first movement (Ex.4.42). The other instance of thematic integration occurs in PW301/5, a canzona-like ensemble also labelled 'Tutti Vivace' loosely related to the opening movement.⁴⁶ Reworked reprises of opening movements (a device later employed by many, notably Corelli and Purcell), can be found in identically scored music by Legrenzi and Dietrich Becker.⁴⁷

The image shows a musical score for a piece in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system shows the beginning of the section with a 24-bar ritornello. The second system continues the piece with more complex rhythmic patterns. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

Ex.4.42: PW300/5, bars 35-42.

⁴⁶ See appendix.

⁴⁷ Giovanni Legrenzi, *Sonate* (Venice, 1655); Dietrich Becker, *Musicalische Frühlings-Fruchte* (Hamburg, 1668).

One feature of PW300 is the fact that two of its movements begin in a key other than the set's tonic, D major. The 'Grave' PW300/3 starts rather abruptly with an F# major chord (the dominant of the relative minor), a contrivance used by Poole in his sonata PW18a/2, which has been discussed. A parallel instance in the same key and scoring can also be found at the start of the second section of one of Poole's binary ayres (PW302), suggesting that both the sonatas and the ayres may have originated simultaneously (Ex.4.43-4.44).

Grave

4 3 # # 6 7 6 #

Ex.4.43: PW300, bars 43-52.

Ex.4.44: PW302, bars 16-19.

Poole's sonatas were known in London before 1689, but the stylistic features discussed suggest they pre-date Corelli's Op. 1. The structure, scoring and harmonic language of these works may have been influenced by Italian, English, Germanic and Netherlandish models of the 1660s and 1670s, and their composition may be estimated towards the end of Poole's active life, in the late

1670s and early 1680s. The fact the Jesuit composer was inspired to write these works implies that copies of some of the models discussed and perhaps other fashionable works were available to him in Saint-Omer.

The Ayres

The four ayres that survive complete (PW302-305) are binary airs similar in scoring, key and style to the two sonatas. With the exception of PW302 discussed above, each ayre modulates to the dominant at the half-point, returning to the tonic in the second strain often via G major and E minor. The remaining incomplete works (PW306-317), are grouped by key in the source – two each in A and Bb majors, two each in G and D minors, and three in D major – and may have been intended to be performed together. Further evidence of Poole's interest in multi-movement structures can be gleaned from PW312-313 in G minor and PW314-315 in Bb major. One piece in each of these two pairs of ayres consists in turn of two binary movements, resulting in sets of three items.

The works were in Oxford by the late 1670s or early 1680s, when they were copied along with a large amount of Continental music. It may be that they arrived *c.*1678, along with the viol works by Poole, which would support the idea that they were composed either at the same time as the sonatas PW300-301 or in the years immediately before.

Conclusions

Anthony Poole's career illustrates the artistic fruits of the symbiosis between the Jesuits and the gentry in seventeenth-century England. It seems that his career pattern evolved out of the wider family strategies and allegiances of the Pooles of Spinkhill, and that his subsequent achievements were made possible by his interaction with the artistically and intellectually stimulating networks of the English Jesuits in Europe. However, the dissemination of his works in courtly, university, and domestic settings in England – and circumstantial evidence suggesting his own personal involvement in these transmissions – informs our understanding of the motivations of this virtuoso violist, ingenious improviser and composer, and of the ways he may have seen his place in the world.

Our present understanding of these complex dissemination patterns is extremely fragmentary, and it would be rash to accord significant status to any of these diffusion models. We know from the often random nature of life that a lot of these transmissions could be accidental, and only seem noteworthy to us because what we can see constitutes such a small fragment of the overall picture. But only by bringing together small pieces of evidence, does a picture of the past begin to emerge.

There is reason to believe that Poole's works – including his ground-breaking suites and sonatas – were known in England as well and in Continental Europe in manuscript form, and that the composer may have been responsible for some of these transmissions. Most of Poole's extant pieces seem to have been composed at the Jesuit College of St Omers, where he was *Praefectus Musicae* between 1659 and 1679, with particular responsibility for instrumental music. Beyond its immediate surroundings, his music was appreciated in Restoration Oxford, the exiled court of James II, and in a number of domestic settings we unfortunately do not know enough about. It crossed religious barriers to arrive in the library of Johan van Reede, and it circulated among Dutch copyists interested in English music. His works were known and appreciated in England, France and the Protestant Netherlands, where they may have impacted on composers such as Purcell, Marais and Schenck. Last, two of his division pieces

were published by Playford in London in 1685, which made them available to a much wider audience.

Poole's reference to Italian models and to the English division-viol tradition evidences what his sources of inspiration may have been, and defines what he (an exiled Catholic composer supported by a structure of Jesuit patronage) may have seen as the mainstream tradition of English and Continental music. The titles given to pieces in Continental sources convey to us additional information about the purposes of the music and its symbolism in the context of exiled English Catholicism and Jesuit art.

Music provides migrant musicians with a powerful emotional link to an idea of home that often no longer exists, and can galvanise displaced communities into a collective feeling that underlines identity and belonging. Members of the St Omers community must have found in Poole's music a vivid reminder of the country they had left behind, a country many longed for and some even plotted to regain and redeem, but a country that had undergone profound and irreversible political, religious and musical changes. Poole's works may have touched others around him by communicating ideas often difficult to express with words, and enabling them to enter a world of structures and harmonies where one might temporarily transcend the harsh reality of earthly life.

Conversely, at a time when European music was rapidly changing, Poole's exile exposed him – as well as Butler, Young and others – to the latest creative tendencies. These new elements were incorporated into his music, and blended with the traditional nature of his art to produce fine and original works that circulated beyond his immediate circle. Poole may have been the first to compose suites for bass viol and continuo, and one of the earliest English musicians to write solo and duo sonatas for the instrument. In addition, these pieces are not just works that could be immediately shared with (and understood by) others, but music that stands at the crossroads of the multiple meanings associated with English Catholicism and its diaspora.

Can we identify something that could be called ‘English Catholic viol music’? Can its features be named? Sure enough, there is viol music composed by English Catholics, but was this music aimed at expressing a difference? Like any music, it reflects an identity, but is it music that could not have been written by non-Catholics? The viol music of exiled English Catholics like Poole, Young and Butler, does have a distinctive voice, fundamentally because it was shaped by their migrations. The formation of hybrid styles out of exposure to new approaches and endogenous reference to home styles does seem in this case to have stemmed out of a conscious endeavour to create the new, and to convey meanings to audiences both close by and far away.

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Appendix: A Thematic Index of Works by Anthony Poole

Pieces are categorized by scoring and then presented by key in *Gamut* sequence. Within that scheme, they are recorded by source (see list below), and then by the order they appear in the source. Each item has been given a unique PW (Poole's works) number, but VdGS (Viola da Gamba Society) numbers, and RT (Janet Richards's Thematic Catalogue) numbers are also given for ease of reference where they exist. Variant tunings are expressed using the customary tuning diagrams. Arrangements of a work by Poole are recorded immediately after the original (even in the case of PW18b, which is in a different key) using the formula PW1a, PW1b, etc... Entries detail the source the *incipit* is taken from, any known concordances and a representation of the structure of the piece expressed in number of bars, with sections separated by the symbol ||. In division works, the first figure shows the length of the ground bass. Where barring is irregular, the number of bars shown takes the length of the first bar as a yardstick. Information precedes each *incipit*, and is laid out as follows:

PW number: Source, with any titles and/or attributions.

Concordances, with any titles and/or attributions.

VdGS no. RT no. (Tuning, if other than *ffeff* or in tablature).

Structure in bars.

Since all works by Poole to have survived have done so as sets of parts, no further mention of format (score *versus* set of parts) is included. Individual movements grouped within larger structures such as sonatas, suites and fantasia-suites, are expressed using the formula PW3/1, PW3/2, etc... only where the grouping is indicated in the source. Pieces that have survived independently are given their own PW number, and any possible relationships between them are discussed in chapters three and four. An exception is made with the group of pieces in E minor PW29-36 (which are arranged differently in each source), and have been catalogued individually. Titles, tempo markings and attributions are given as they appear in the sources, with editorial additions in square brackets. Original note-values and clefs have been retained, but accidentals have been modernised. Time signatures and key signatures have been reproduced as they

appear, even where they do not conform to modern practice. In the case of sources made up of several part-books, pagination refers to part-book one. Where sources or part-books disagree on matters of barring, time signature, etc... the incipit is an accurate reading of the first source quoted. All obvious copying errors have been corrected for the purpose of cataloguing.

This study is the first in-depth enquiry into the music of Anthony Poole and therefore a relatively high number of new ascriptions are recorded based on different types of evidence. Such attributions are explained where made on grounds other than explicit credit in the sources. References to printed sources are given in full, but the following abbreviations are used for manuscript sources:

A	F-Pn, Vm7 137323/137317.
B	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71.
C	A-ET, Goëss MS 'A' n.122.
D	GB-DRc, MS A.27.
E	D-F, Mus Hs 337.
F	B-Bc, MS Litt. XY no. 24,910.
G	GB-DRc, MS D.4.
H	US-Cu, MS 959.
J	GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.443-446.
K	US-NHb Osborn 515.

Music for Bass Viol or Violin with and without Continuo

PW1a: A, ff.4^v-5 [Chaconne].

3||72|| [Divisions, 24 variations].



PW1b: E, pp.32-35 'A Chaconne by Mr Anthony Poole transposed an eighth higher for the Violin'.

3||72|| [Divisions, 24 variations].



PW2a: A, ff.15^v-16^v [Chaconne].

2||110|| [Divisions, 55 variations].



PW2b: E, pp.36-40 'A Chaconne by Mr Anthony Poole transposed an eighth higher for the Violin'.

4||220|| [Divisions, 55 variations].



PW3/1: A, f.54^v 'Euphrasia' [Sonata. Attributed by style].

20ii.

Musical score for PW3/1, measures 20ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features a treble and bass staff. The treble staff begins with a half note G, followed by quarter notes A and B, then a half note C. The bass staff has a whole note G. The piece continues with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes in both hands, creating a rhythmic pattern.

PW3/2: A, ff.54^v-55 'Canzona' [Attributed by style].

70ii.

Musical score for PW3/2, measures 70ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features a treble and bass staff. The treble staff has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The bass staff provides a steady accompaniment with eighth notes.

PW3/3: A, f.55 'Tremolo' [Attributed by style].

20ii.

Musical score for PW3/3, measures 20ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features a treble and bass staff. The treble staff is characterized by a rapid tremolo of eighth notes. The bass staff has a more rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes.

PW3/4: A, f.55 [Air. Attributed by style].

32ii.

Musical score for PW3/4, measures 32ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/8 time. It features a treble and bass staff. The treble staff has a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The bass staff has a steady accompaniment with quarter notes.

PW3/5: A, f.55^v [Air. Attributed by style].

48ii.

Musical score for PW3/5, measures 48ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/8 time. It features a treble and bass staff. The treble staff has a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The bass staff has a steady accompaniment with quarter notes.

PW4: A, ff.70^v-71 [Almand with divisions] 'AP'.

7||7||14|| [Divisions, 1 variation].

PW5: A, ff.70^v-71 [Saraband with divisions] 'AP'.

8||12||40|| [Divisions, 2 variations].

PW6/1: A, f.17 'Borgia' [Attributed by style].

16||.

PW6/2: A, f.17 [Attributed by style].

10||10||.

PW6/3: A, ff.17-18 [Sarabande with divisions. Attributed by style].

8||8||80|| [Divisions, 5 variations].

PW7a: A, ff.21^v-23 'St Justinas'.
 B, pp.109-111 'Mr Poole'.
 VdGS, Poole 15. RT 411.
 4||4||96|| [Divisions, 12 variations].



PW7b: E, pp.7-13 'A Division by Mr Anthony Poole. Transposed an eighth higher for the Violin'.
 4||4||96|| [Divisions, 12 variations].



PW8/1: A, f.26^v 'The Cantabrese' [Sonata. Attributed by style].
 22||.



PW8/2: A, ff.26^v-27 'Canzona' [Attributed by style].
 34||.



PW8/3: A, ff-27-27^v 'Aria' [with divisions. Attributed by style].

4||4||48|| [Divisions, 6 variations].



PW8/4: A, f.28 'Tremulo' [Attributed by style].

16||.



PW8/5: A, ff.28^v-29 'Adga' [Attributed by style].

69||.



PW9: A, ff.69^v-70 [Air with divisions].

C, 122, ff.63^v-65 'Poli' (in *ffeff* tablature).

VdGS, Poli 1.

11||99|| [Divisions, 9 variations].



PW10a: A, ff.1^v-2 ‘Chacone’.
 B, pp.164-165 ‘Mr An Pool’s Chicone’.
 VdGS, Poole 2. RT 289. (*ffefh*).
 2||84|| [Divisions, 42 variations].



PW10b: E, pp.21-24 ‘A Chacone by Mr Anthony Poole transposed an eighth higher for the Violin’.
 4||160|| [Divisions, 40 variations].



PW11a: A, ff.3^v-4 [Divisions on a ground].
 B, p.166-169 ‘Mr Pool/AP’.
 VdGS, Poole 3. RT 77. (*ffefh*).
 10||110|| [Divisions, 11 variations].



PW11b: E, pp.49-54 ‘A Division by Mr Anthony Poole transposed an eighth higher for the Violin’.
 10||110|| [Divisions, 11 variations].



PW12: A, f.5 'Prelud' [Attributed by style].

27ii.

Musical score for PW12, f.5 'Prelud'. The score is in common time (C) and consists of two staves. The upper staff is in bass clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The piece begins with a treble clef on the upper staff, which then changes to a bass clef. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a key signature change to one flat.

PW13: A, f.11^v 'S Fortunatus' [Almand].

B, p.139 'Mr A Poole -78. Sep.28th' [No bass part].

VdGS, Poole 1. RT 85. (*ffefh*).

13ii1ii.

Musical score for PW13, f.11^v 'S Fortunatus'. The score is in common time (C) and consists of two staves. The upper staff is in alto clef (C4) and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a key signature change to one flat.

PW14: A, f.11^v 'S martina' [Corant].

B, p.155 [No bass part. Attributed by proximity in A].

VdGS, Poole 6. RT 303. (*ffefh*).

12ii1ii.

Musical score for PW14, f.11^v 'S martina'. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of two staves. The upper staff is in alto clef (C4) and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a key signature change to one flat.

PW15: A, f.13^v 'Alemande'.

B, p.153:1 'Alman/Mr P' [No bass part].

VdGS, Poole 4. RT 49. (*ffefh*).

9ii10ii.

Musical score for PW15, f.13^v 'Alemande'. The score is in common time (C) and consists of two staves. The upper staff is in alto clef (C4) and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a key signature change to one flat.

PW16: A, ff.13^v-14 'Saraband'.
 B, pp.154-155 'A Pool' [No bass part].
 VdGS, Poole 16. RT 297. (*ffefh*).
 8||16||48|| [Divisions, 2 variations].

PW17/1: A, ff.30^v-31 'Bethleem' [Sonata. Attributed by style].
 96||.

PW17/2: A, f.31 'Grave' [Attributed by style].
 18||.

PW17/3: A, ff.31^v-32 'Canzona' [Attributed by style].
 51||.

PW17/4: A, f.32 [Attributed by style].

63ii.

Musical score for PW17/4, measures 63ii. The score is in 3/8 time and consists of two staves. The upper staff features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the lower staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment with quarter notes.

PW17/5: A, f.32 [Attributed by style].

15ii.

Musical score for PW17/5, measures 15ii. The score is in common time (C) and consists of two staves. The upper staff has a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes, and the lower staff has a bass line with quarter notes. Fingering numbers 5, 6, 6, 4, 6, 5 are indicated below the lower staff.

PW18a/1: A, ff.34^v-35 [Sonata].

(*ffefh*).

42ii.

Musical score for PW18a/1, measures 42ii. The score is in common time (C) and consists of two staves. The upper staff features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the lower staff has a bass line with quarter notes.

PW18a/2: A, f.35 [Attributed by style and proximity].

(*ffefh*).

22ii.

Musical score for PW18a/2, measures 22ii. The score is in common time (C) and consists of two staves. The upper staff has a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes, and the lower staff has a bass line with quarter notes.

PW18a/3: A, ff.35^v-36.

(ffefh).

67II.



PW18b/1: E, pp.1-2 'Battle and Triumph [Sonata] composed for the Bass-Viol before the year 1600 by Mr Anthony Poole. Part thereof transposed for the Violin / Largo' [No bass part].

42II.



PW18b/2: E, pp.2-6 'Vivace' [No bass part].

67II.



PW19: A, ff.67^v-69 [Divisions on a ground] 'AP'.

(ffefh).

8II128II [Divisions, 16 variations].



PW20: B, 153:2 'A.P.' [Air. No bass part].

VdGS, Poole 5. RT 302. *(ffefh)*.

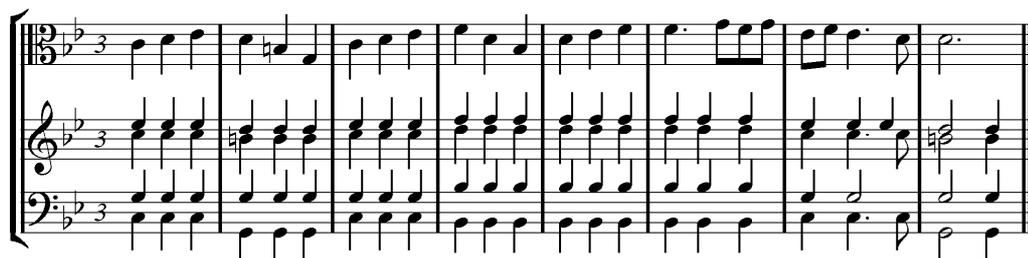
16II16II.



PW21: B, p.155 [Chaconne bass part. Attributed by proximity and style].
6|| [Divisions, unknown number of variations].



PW22: A, ff.2^v-3 [Divisions on a four-part folia/sarabande, notated in four separate parts].
B, pp.150-152 'Mr Pool/Mr A Poole/Sept. 28th 1678'.
VdGS, Poole 8. RT 760. (*ffefh*).
8||8||176|| [Divisions, 11 variations].



PW23/1: A, f.7^v 'Spinola almanda' [Attributed by style].
11||10||.



PW23/2: A, f.7^v 'Courante' [Attributed by style].
9||11||.



PW23/3: A, ff.7^v-8 'Sarabande' [with divisions. Attributed by style].

8||8||80|| [Divisions, 5 variations].

PW24/1: A, f.29^v [Allemande. Attributed by style].

10||17||.

PW24/2: A, ff.29^v-30 'Air' [Attributed by style].

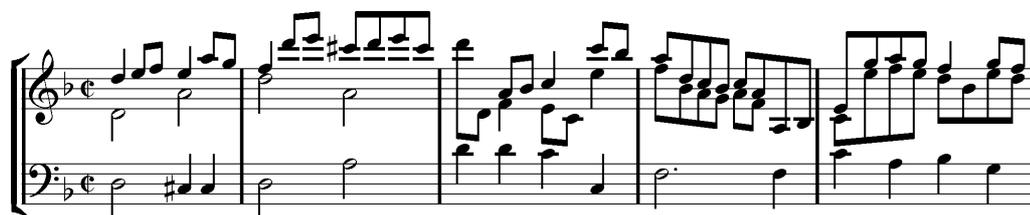
16||36||.

PW25a: A, ff.52^v-54 [Divisions on a ground].

8||136|| [Divisions, 17 variations].

PW25b: E, pp.87-96 'A Division on the same Ground by Mr Anthony Poole transposed &c'.

8||136|| [Divisions, 17 variations].



PW26: A, ff.60-60^v [Divisions on a ground].

Partly concordant with C.39, ff.53^v-55 'P Mr Pool' and C.71, pp.120-21 'Mr Dan Norcome', respectively VdGS, Poole 9 and VdGS, Norcombe 10. RT 764.

9||15||168|| [Divisions, 7 variations]



PW27: D, pp.253-256 'Division to a Ground/D molle/Mr Anthony Poole'. VdGS, Poole 7. RT 371.

5||5||80|| [Divisions, 8 variations].



PW28: John Playford, *The Division Violin* London, 1685. (no.29). 'A Division upon a Ground Basse by Mr Anthony Poole'.

12||10||308|| [Divisions, 7 variations].



PW29: A, f.14^v 'Praeludium'.
 B, p.158 'Mr Poole' [No bass part].
 VdGS, Poole 13. RT 372.
 13II.



PW30: A, ff.14^v-15 'Aria'.
 B, pp.162-163 'Mr Antony Pool'.
 VdGS, Poole 14. RT 394.
 12II11II23II [Divisions, 1 variation].



PW31: A, f.15 'Courante' [Attributed by proximity and style].
 15II23II.



PW32: A, f.15 'Sarabrand'.
 B, p.157 'Sar/M.P.' [No bass part].
 VdGS, Poole 12. RT 792.
 9II11II.



PW33: B, p.156 'M.P.' [Alman. No bass part].

VdGS, Poole 10. RT 414.

18||20||.



PW34: B, pp.156-157 'Corant/Mr. Poole' [No bass part].

VdGS, Poole 11. RT 779.

14||13||.



PW35: B, pp.158-160 [No bass part. Attributed by proximity].

86||.



PW36: B, p.160 [No bass part. Incomplete. Attributed by proximity].

41||.



PW37: John Playford, *The Division Violin* London, 1685. (no.30).

'A Second Division upon a Ground Basse by Mr Anth Poole'.

8||8||112|| [Divisions, 7 variations].



Music for Violin, Bass Viol and Continuo

PW100/1: F, f.15 'Sonata Mr Poole a3, Treble 2 Basses'.

26ii.

Musical score for PW100/1, measures 26ii. The score is in F major (one flat) and common time (C). It consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and Continuo. The Treble staff begins with a half note F, followed by a quarter rest, then a quarter note G, and a quarter note A. A slur covers the next two measures: the first contains a half note B and a half note C, and the second contains a quarter note D, a quarter note E, a quarter note F, and a quarter note G. The Bass staff starts with a half note F, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The Continuo staff has a half note F, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The piece concludes with a final chord in the Treble staff.

PW100/2: F, ff.15^v-16.

59ii.

Musical score for PW100/2, measures 59ii. The score is in F major (one flat) and common time (C). It consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and Continuo. The Treble staff begins with a quarter note G, followed by a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The Bass staff has a half note F, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The Continuo staff has a half note F, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The piece concludes with a final chord in the Treble staff.

PW100/3: F, f.16^v.

56ii.

Musical score for PW100/3, measures 56ii. The score is in F major (one flat) and 3/4 time. It consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and Continuo. The Treble staff begins with a quarter note G, followed by a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The Bass staff has a half note F, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The Continuo staff has a half note F, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter note A, and a quarter note B. The piece concludes with a final chord in the Treble staff.

PW101: F, f.54 'Division Ayr / Poole a3. A Treble & 2 Basses'.
VdGS, Mr Poole 1.
12||13||.

Musical score for PW101, measures 12 and 13. The score is in F major, 3/4 time, and consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and a second Bass staff. Measure 12 features a treble staff with eighth-note patterns and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 13 continues the treble staff's melodic line while the bass staff provides harmonic support with chords and eighth notes.

PW102/1: F, f.54^v 'Division Ayr/2' [Sonata].
VdGS, Mr Poole 2.
19||.

Musical score for PW102/1, measure 19. The score is in F major, 3/4 time, and consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and a second Bass staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and eighth notes.

PW102/2: F, f.54^v.
24||.

Musical score for PW102/2, measure 24. The score is in F major, 3/4 time, and consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and a second Bass staff. The treble staff features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and eighth notes.

PW102/3: F, ff.54^v-55.

66ii.

Musical score for PW102/3, measures 66ii. The score is in 3/4 time and F major. It consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and a lower Bass staff. The Treble staff has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Bass staff has a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes. The lower Bass staff has a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

PW103: F, f.55^v 'Division Ayr/3'.

VdGS, Mr Poole 3.

14ii1ii.

Musical score for PW103, measures 14ii1ii. The score is in 6/8 time and F major. It consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and a lower Bass staff. The Treble staff has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Bass staff has a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes. The lower Bass staff has a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

PW104: F, f.55^v 'Division Ayr/4'.

VdGS, Mr Poole 4.

19ii21ii.

Musical score for PW104, measures 19ii21ii. The score is in 3/4 time and F major. It consists of three staves: Treble, Bass, and a lower Bass staff. The Treble staff has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Bass staff has a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes. The lower Bass staff has a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

PW105: F, f.56 'Division Ayr/5'.

VdGS, Mr Poole 5.

12||16||.

Musical score for PW105, featuring a treble and two bass staves in common time with a key signature of one sharp. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including some triplets. The upper bass staff has a bass line with a prominent eighth-note triplet. The lower bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

PW106: F, f.56 'Division Ayr/5[sic]'.

VdGS, Mr Poole 6.

9||9||.

Musical score for PW106, featuring a treble and two bass staves in 3/2 time with a key signature of one sharp. The treble staff has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The upper bass staff contains a bass line with a triplet of eighth notes. The lower bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

Music for Two Bass Viols and Continuo

PW200: G, pp.14-17 'Fantasia/P. Poúl' [Divisions].

VDGS, P. Poul 2. RT 707, 700, 685.

10||110|| [Divisions, 11 variations].

Musical score for PW200, 'Fantasia/P. Poúl' [Divisions]. The score is for two bass viols and continuo. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The middle staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The music is a single melodic line with some rests and accidentals.

PW201: G, pp.20-22 'P. Poúl' [Fantasia].

VDGS, P Poul 1. RT 740, 741, 737.

87||.

Musical score for PW201, 'P. Poúl' [Fantasia]. The score is for two bass viols and continuo. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F-sharp) and a common time signature. The middle staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The music is a single melodic line with some rests and accidentals. Below the bottom staff, there are fingerings: 4 #, 6 7 6 7.

Music for Two Violins, Bass Viol and Continuo

PW300/1: H, p.29 'Sonata/Antonius Poole/Vivace'.

VdGS, Antonius Poole 1.

16II.

Musical score for PW300/1, measures 1-4. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features four staves: two treble clefs (Violins) and two bass clefs (Bass Viol and Continuo). The music is in a 16-measure system. The first two measures show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the upper parts and sixteenth notes in the lower parts. The last two measures feature a more complex rhythmic pattern with some rests. Below the staves, the following fingerings are indicated: 6 6# 6 6 6# 4# 6.

PW300/2: H, p.29 'Allegro'.

28II.

Musical score for PW300/2, measures 1-4. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features four staves: two treble clefs (Violins) and two bass clefs (Bass Viol and Continuo). The music is in a 28-measure system. The first two measures are mostly rests in the upper parts, with some activity in the lower parts. The last two measures show a more active rhythmic pattern in the upper parts.

PW300/3: H, p.29 'Grave'.

15II.

Musical score for PW300/3, measures 1-6. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It features four staves: two treble clefs (Violins) and two bass clefs (Bass Viol and Continuo). The music is in a 15-measure system. The first two measures are mostly rests in the upper parts, with some activity in the lower parts. The last two measures show a more active rhythmic pattern in the upper parts. Below the staves, the following fingerings are indicated: # # 6 7 6 #.

PW300/4: H, pp.29-30 'Allegro & forte'.

20ii.

6 6 5 6 6 6 6 6#

PW300/5: H, p.30 'Tutti Vivace'.

60ii.

5 6 6# 6

PW300/6: H, p.30 'Adagio'.

5ii.

PW301/1: H, p.31 'Sonata/Antonius Poole/Allegro'.

VdGS, Antonius Poole 2.

24ii.

Musical score for PW301/1, measures 24ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The first staff has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff is mostly rests. The third staff is mostly rests. The fourth staff has a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes. There are three '6' fingerings indicated below the fourth staff.

PW301/2: H, p.31 'Largo'.

47ii.

Musical score for PW301/2, measures 47ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The first staff has a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The second staff has a similar melodic line. The third staff has a bass line with quarter notes. The fourth staff has a bass line with quarter notes. There are fingerings '6 7 4 3' and '5' indicated below the fourth staff.

PW301/3: H, pp.31-32 'Canzona'.

16ii.

Musical score for PW301/3, measures 16ii. The score is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The first staff has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff has a similar melodic line. The third staff is mostly rests. The fourth staff has a bass line with quarter notes and a long note with a slur. There are fingerings '6 4 3' indicated below the fourth staff.

PW303: J, p.5 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3'.

VdGS, Poole 2.

13||12||.

PW304: J, p.6 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3'.

VdGS, Poole 3.

12||12||.

PW305: J, p.7 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3'.

VdGS, Poole 4.

10||13||.

PW306: J, p.4 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

14||18||.



PW307: J, p.4 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

15||18||.



PW308: J, p.5 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

12||12||.



PW309: J, p.5 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

12||12||.



PW310: J, p.6 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

16||18||.



PW311: J, p.7 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

13||17||.



PW312: J, p.7 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

10||17||.



PW313/1: J, p.8 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

12||10||.



PW313/2: J, p.8 [Bass part only].

7||8||.



PW314/1: J, p.9 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

6||8||.



PW314/2: J, p.9 [Bass part only].

10||12||.



PW315: J, pp.9-10 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

11||12||.



PW316: J, p.10 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

16||17||.



PW317: J, p.11 'Mr Pooles Ayres for 3' [Bass part only].

8||9||.



Music of Uncertain Scoring, Probably Two Violins, Bass Viol and Continuo

PW318/1: K, f.4^v '2. Sonata's / Poole a.3' [Bass part only].

15ii.



PW318/2: K, f.4^v [Bass part only].

40ii.



PW318/3: K, ff.4^v-5 [Bass part only].

101ii.



PW318/4: K, f.5 [Bass part only].

16ii.



PW319/1: K, f.6^v [Sonata. Bass part only].

52ii.



PW319/2: K, f.6^v [Bass part only].

51ii.



PW319/3: K, ff.6^v-7 [Bass part only].

50ii.



PW319/4: K, f.7 [Bass part only].

66ii.



PW319/5: K, f.7 [Bass part only].

2ii.



PW319/6: K, f.7 [Bass part only].

28ii.



PW319/7: K, f.7 [Bass part only].

4ii.

