

**MUSIC FOR THE PRIVY CHAMBER: STUDIES IN
THE CONSORT MUSIC OF WILLIAM LAWES
(1602-45)**

Volume 1

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CUNNINGHAM*

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree
of
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School of Music
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ABSTRACT

John Patrick Cunningham

MUSIC FOR THE PRIVY CHAMBER:
STUDIES IN THE CONSORT MUSIC OF
WILLIAM LAWES (1602-45)

Submitted in February 2007 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The first half of the seventeenth century was one of the most vibrant periods in English music. William Lawes is arguably one of the finest English composers of the period, and indeed, ranks with the best of his Continental contemporaries. He gained a post among the private musicians of Charles I in 1635, a group known as the Lutes, Viols and Voices (LVV). Much of his surviving consort music appears to have been written for performance by members of LVV; nevertheless, little is known of the internal workings of this elite group. Thus, this dissertation first considers the evidence available from court records in attempting to understand the structure and activities of the LVV.

The remainder of the dissertation primarily deals with William Lawes the composer. First, a detailed survey is provided of the autograph sources of Lawes's music. This provides an analysis of the sources and their functions, and offers evidence for their chronology; the development of Lawes's hand throughout the sources is also considered. Second, several studies of Lawes's consort music are presented. The studies generally focus on areas of Lawes's consort music that have received the least scholarly attention: the *lyra viol* trio, the Royall Consort, the harp consorts, and the pieces for two bass viols and organ. A common theme throughout these studies is Lawes's revision of existing pieces and collections of pieces in order to incorporate elaborate divisions, suggests that this was a growing consideration for Lawes in the mid- to late 1630s.

The main aim of this dissertation is to understand better William Lawes as a composer, and to understand the court environment in which he composed during an increasingly turbulent political time.

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List of Abbreviations

(Based on those used in *NGD*)

Journals, series, and organizations

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta musicologica</i>
<i>AHJ</i>	<i>The American Harp Journal</i>
<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>The American Recorder</i>
<i>BDECM</i>	<i>A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714</i> , 2 Vols, ed. Andrew Ashbee & David Lasocki, assisted by Peter Holman & Fiona Kisby, (Aldershot, 1998)
<i>BJE</i>	<i>British Journal of Ethnomusicology</i>
<i>BLR</i>	<i>Bodleian Library Record</i>
<i>BMQ</i>	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i>
<i>DAM</i>	<i>Dansk Aarvog for Musikforskning</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>ELS</i>	<i>English Lute Songs</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
<i>FoMRHIQ</i>	<i>Fellowship of Makers & Researchers of Historical Instruments Quarterly</i>
<i>G SJ</i>	<i>Galpin Society Journal</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>The Historical Journal</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>The Huntingdon Library Quarterly</i>
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Irish Musical Studies</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain: Thematic Index of Music for Viols</i> , Gordon Dodd (compiler), with revisions & additions by Andrew Ashbee (London, 2/2004)
<i>IRASM</i>	<i>International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music</i>
<i>ISM</i>	<i>Israel Studies in Music</i>
<i>JAMIS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JCAUSM</i>	<i>Journal of the Canadian Association of University Schools of Music</i>
<i>JCHAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</i>
<i>JEFDSS</i>	<i>Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society</i>
<i>JIH</i>	<i>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i>
<i>JLSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Lute Society of America</i>
<i>JM</i>	<i>The Journal of Musicology</i>
<i>JMT</i>	<i>Journal of Music Theory</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>JVdGSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Lute Society Journal (Great Britain)</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>Musical Antiquary</i>
<i>MB</i>	<i>Musica Britannica</i>
<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica Disiplina</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music & Letters</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Miscellanea Musicologica</i>
<i>MMR</i>	<i>The Monthly Musical Record</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MR</i>	<i>The Music Review</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>MTS</i>	<i>Music Theory Symposium</i>

NGD	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> (2001)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PRMA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
RBM	<i>Revue belge de musicologie</i>
RdM	<i>Revue de musicologie</i>
REEDN	<i>Records of Early English Drama Newsletter</i>
RECM	<i>Records of English Court Music</i> , 9 Vols, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Snodland, 1986-91)
ReM	<i>La Revue musicale</i>
RES	<i>The Review of English Studies</i>
RMARC	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
RRMBE	<i>Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era</i>
SIMG	<i>Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft</i>
SiM	<i>Studies in Music</i>
SiR	<i>Studies in the Renaissance</i>
SMASH	<i>Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
SQ	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
TGSI	<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</i>
VdGS	<i>Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain</i>
VdGS Manuscripts	Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson, & Jonathan Wainwright (Compilers), <i>The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music, Vol. 1</i> (Aldershot, 2001)
WSJ	<i>Walpole Society Journal</i>

Frequently cited monographs and editions

Ashbee, <i>Lawes</i>	Andrew Ashbee (ed.), <i>William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work</i> (Aldershot, 1998)
Churchill	William Churchill, <i>Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries</i> (Amsterdam, 1935)
Fiddlers	Peter Holman, <i>Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690</i> (Oxford, 1993).
<i>For ye Violls</i>	David Pinto, <i>For ye Violls: The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes</i> (Richmond, 1995)
Heawood	Edward Heawood, <i>Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries</i> (Hilversum, 1950)
Lefkowitz, <i>Lawes Royall Consort</i>	Murray Lefkowitz, <i>William Lawes</i> (London, 1960) <i>William Lawes: The Royall Consort (Old Version) & (New Version)</i> , 3 Vols, ed. David Pinto (London, 1995)

General abbreviations

f. (ff.)	folio(s)
inv.	a portion of a manuscript written from the end with the volume inverted
LVV	the Lutes, Viols and Voices (private music of Charles I)

Library Sigla

(Following the RISM system as used in *NGD*)

AUSTRIA	
A-ET	Ebenthal, Privatsammlung Goëss
GERMANY	
D-KI	Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek

IRELAND

EIRE-Dm Dublin, Marsh's Library
 EIRE-Dtc Dublin, Trinity College

GREAT BRITAIN

GB-Ckc Cambridge, King's College
 GB-CHEr Cheshire Record Office
 GB-Cu Cambridge, Cambridge University Library
 GB-HAdolmetsch Haslemere, Dolmetsch Library
 GB-Lam London, Royal Academy of Music
 GB-Lbl London, British Library
 GB-Llm London, London Museum, Kensington Palace
 GB-Lpro London, Public Records Office
 GB-Mp Manchester, Public Library
 GB-Mch Manchester, Chetham's Library
 GB-Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library
 GB-Och Oxford, Christ Church Library
 GB-T St Michael's College, Tenbury Wells (now in Ob)
 GB-W Wells, Cathedral Library

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

US-CAh Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library (Houghton Library)
 US-Cn Chicago, Newberry Library
 US-NH New Haven, Conn., Yale University, School of Music Library
 US-LAuc Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark
 Memorial Library

Preface

In 1603 James VI of Scotland acceded to the English throne, becoming James I of England.¹ With his accession many aspects of court life changed. Unlike his predecessor, Elizabeth I, James was married with children. The court structure had to change slightly to accommodate this with the establishment of separate households for the Queen and the royal children. The musical establishment at court was also changing. James's accession coincided with the coming of age of many of the best native composers of the seventeenth century, such as John Coprario, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Thomas Ford, Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Lupo. (According to contemporary writers – Thomas Fuller, John Aubrey, Anthony Wood and Roger North – Coprario was originally John Cooper, who adopted the Italianate form 'Coprario' after a visit to Italy;² Ferrabosco and Lupo were English, of Italian descent.) Within the first decade or so of the new century musical fashions had moved on from the Elizabethan period, and James's court became the centre of musical innovation and development. His sons, Henry and Charles, were more interested in music than their father. Henry, created Prince of Wales in 1610, amassed an impressive retinue of musicians: mostly singer-lutenists and viol players; however, he died unexpectedly of typhoid in 1612. Charles, created Duke of York in 1605, inherited many of Henry's musicians when he was created Prince of Wales (and Earl of Chester) in 1616. (The sovereign's eldest son, and heir, is born the Duke of Cornwall, and created Prince of Wales. The title is only given to the heir apparent. The Principality of Wales (and Earldom of Chester) is not a hereditary title; it may be recreated if the Prince dies before the king, as happened in 1612. The Duke of York is traditional title of the sovereign's second son.)

Most of the major scoring and formal innovations of the period were conceived and developed between the households of Princes Henry and Charles. English music at the time was embracing many Italian traits; exploration of Italian-influenced musical forms was especially fostered in Prince Henry's household. Composers such as Coprario were experimenting with instrumentally conceived music for viols, and scoring and formal innovations were developed such as lyra viol trios, and fantasia-suites with violins. Indeed, the introduction of the violin in

¹ Probably the best general introduction to the period is Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603-1714* (London, 3/2003): a Tudor & Stuart family tree is given on 118.

² See also Andrew Ashbee, 'Coprario, John', *BDECM*, i. 296-98.

to serious consort music (which would find full expression in the consort music of William Lawes and John Jenkins in the 1630s and 1640s), was perhaps one of the most important musical developments of the period.

Many of these musical innovations were developed in Prince Charles's household. His musicians were to form the basis of the group generally known as the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices' (LVV) after his accession in 1625. The LVV was not a fixed ensemble, but a group of some of the most distinguished performers and composers in England at the time, and was the group in which William Lawes secured a place in April 1635. Lawes was arguably one of the most significant composers of consort music active employed at the court of Charles I; it is with him that this dissertation is primarily concerned.

The modern revival of Lawes began in the late nineteenth century with performances by Arnold Dolmetsch, an enthusiastic promoter of the composer.³ A performance of a six-part fantasia and ayre at the 1931 Haslemere Festival prompted Robert Erlebach's appraisal of Lawes in 1932.⁴ Scholarly appreciation of Lawes reached a peak in 1960 with Murray Lefkowitz's pioneering monograph on the composer.⁵ Lefkowitz's monograph stands as the most complete study of Lawes's music; however, after nearly half a century, many aspects are in need of updating. In September 1995, a conference was held in Oxford to commemorate the three-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Lawes's death. Many of the papers given were published subsequently as a series of essays edited by Andrew Ashbee.⁶ The wide range of Lawes-related topics covered in this book exemplifies the broad appeal of Lawes among many eminent musicologists.

David Pinto has published the most scholarly work on Lawes in the years since Lefkowitz's study.⁷ His fine edition of the five- and six-part viol consorts was the first complete collected edition of Lawes's music.⁸ Since then Pinto has produced several articles and essays, and an edition of the fantasia-suites for the *Musica Britannica* series. Perhaps the crowning glory of his research on Lawes is his edition of the *Royall Consort* in 1995, which has commendably produced a fine text for both the SSTB and the SSBB versions the collection.⁹ The edition was accompanied by a monograph, in which Pinto elaborated on several insightful

³ For example, a Dolmetsch concert program of 'Some Instrumental Music from the time of Sir Thomas Gresham to that of Purcell', dated 21 November 1890, notes the performance of a 'Movement from the Royal Consort'.

⁴ Erlebach, 'William Lawes and His String Music', *PRMA*, 59(1932-3), 103-19.

⁵ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*.

⁶ Ashbee, *Lawes*.

⁷ See Bibliography.

⁸ *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five & Six Parts*, ed. Pinto (London, 1979)

⁹ *Royall Consort*.

suggestions into the complex issues of the rescoring of the Royall Consort.¹⁰ Despite the often rather opaque prose, Pinto's monograph contains many astute and convincing theories on the often-complex state of Lawes's sources, as well as a discussion of Lawes's viol consorts.

The aim of the present dissertation is to address several issues pertaining to Lawes's music not dealt with in previous studies, and to build upon the existing body of knowledge to advance our understanding of Lawes as a composer. In order to do this, the dissertation is divided into three sections, each underscored by a primary research question: what can a detailed study of Lawes's working environment and his autograph sources tell us about him as a composer, and about the function(s) and purpose(s) of the music that he composed? The first two sections (A and B) comprise a chapter each, and deal with background issues relating to Lawes: the court, and the autograph manuscripts, respectively. The third section (C) comprises six shorter studies on several aspects of Lawes's consort music.

Section A examines the private music of Charles I. Understanding Lawes and his music must begin with understanding the Royal Music at the early Stuart court, as this was the milieu in which he composed his most significant consort music. Many historical studies of the early modern court have given musicologists invaluable background. In particular, the late Gerald Aylmer's studies in court administration have provided the basis for many historical enquiries, but also for musicologists attempting to understand better the way in which musicians operated within the complex structure of the early Stuart court.¹¹ Several architectural studies such as Simon Thurley's brilliant exposition of the architectural history of Whitehall Palace have provided much valuable information on the physical structure of the court, helping the musicologist to assess possible places of performance.¹² Such studies can be advantageously supplemented by historical analyses of the politics of access in the early modern English court, the best account of which remains the collection of essays edited by David Starkey.¹³

In recent years much research has been done on music at the English court; several publications in particular have significantly increased our understanding of this area. The majority of the documentary evidence cited from court records in the following dissertation was made accessible by the pioneering work of Andrew Ashbee, whose nine-volume series *Records of English Court Music (RECM)* and the accompanying two-volume *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians (BDECM)* have done much to facilitate the study of music at the English court. At the early Stuart court there were three main divisions to the Royal Music: the

¹⁰ *For ye Violls*.

¹¹ Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625-1642* (London, 2/1974); id., *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649-1660* (London, 1973); id., *The Crown's Servants: Government and Civil Service under Charles II, 1660-1685* (Oxford, 2002).

¹² Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698* (London, 1999).

¹³ Starkey (ed.), *The English Court, from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987); also Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *The Stuart Courts* (Gloucestershire, 2000).

violin band, the wind bands, and the private music. The first two groups have been dealt with previously. Peter Holman's seminal study *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* has shown what can be achieved when musical meat is put onto the bare bones of court documents. Holman's wide-ranging study is essential reading for anyone researching music in early modern England, and sets a high standard to which many subsequent studies will undoubtedly aspire. David Lasocki's doctoral dissertation on professional recorder players in England from 1570 to 1740 is an intriguing and comprehensive account of the development of the wind bands in the early Stuart court (and beyond).¹⁴ There is no similarly comprehensive study of the private music (LVV) of Charles I; this is the aim of Chapter 1, which discusses the origins and development of the LVV, its personnel, organisation, and its place within the wider context of the Royal Music and the court.

Section B (Chapter 2) seeks to answer general questions relating to Lawes's autograph sources. What can the autographs reveal about the development of Lawes's hand? What is their chronology? What was their function? Can this function be related to the handwriting style? What can they reveal about Lawes's compositional process? Thus, Chapter 2 will present a survey of Lawes's known autographs, and a discussion of his handwriting. In recent years the study of Henry Purcell's musical and text hands has led to many breakthroughs in helping to date his works and autograph manuscripts.¹⁵ A similar, comprehensive, survey of Lawes's hand is lacking, although Robert Thompson has published some preliminary findings on the paper types and watermarks found in some of the Lawes's autographs.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the number of holograph Lawes sources is fewer than those available to Purcell scholars. Nevertheless, the autographs reveal much about Lawes's compositional process, and some suggestions will be made regarding their chronology.

Section C (Chapters 3-8) deals with Lawes's music, applying the findings presented in the first two sections to detailed studies of his consort music. A comprehensive discussion of Lawes's entire repertoire is beyond the scope of this dissertation, consequently discussion of Lawes's fantasia-suites and the large-scale consorts for viols and organ has been largely eschewed: for two main reasons. First, an authoritative critical edition is available for each collection, both edited by Pinto.¹⁷ Second, they are discussed elsewhere; the fantasia-suites in Christopher Field's fine Ph.D. dissertation on the fantasia-suite, which after 30 years remains a

¹⁴ Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740', Ph.D. diss. (University of Iowa, 1983).

¹⁵ Robert Shay & Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principle Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹⁶ See Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts: 1620-1645', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 143-54. See also id., 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688', Ph.D. diss., 2 Vols (London, King's College, 1988).

¹⁷ *Lawes: Consort Sets; William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. Pinto (MB, 60; London, 1991).

comprehensive account of the genre,¹⁸ and the viol consorts in Pinto's monograph on Lawes. Thus, a selection of Lawes's other consort music was chosen for discussion: the lyra viol trios, the Royall Consort, the harp consorts, and the pieces for two bass viols and organ. These areas were chosen for three main reasons. First (apart from the Royall Consort), they are the most understudied areas of Lawes's consort repertoire. Second, they reveal something of Lawes as a composer through revisions of his music. Third, the Harp Consorts, the Royall Consort and the bass viol and organ pieces are the three most significant collections for advancing our understanding of Lawes as a composer of divisions.

Chapter 3 presents a comprehensive survey of the evolution and development of the lyra viol trio; including issues concerning the instrument, nomenclature, sources and repertoire. It provides an evaluation of the surviving repertoire by composers such as Coprario, Ferrabosco II and Tobias Hume, and a thorough evaluation of the surviving sources: complete and incomplete. Chapter 4 focuses on Lawes's lyra viol trios. Only six survive complete, but many more survive in one part, and afford valuable insights into Lawes's revision process.

Chapters 5-8 deal with the development of Lawes's division writing in his consort music. Although much has been written on the Royall Consort, some key issues are in need of re-examination. Lefkowitz was the first musicologist to study the collection in detail and to recognise the existence of the two versions.¹⁹ Since then Gordon Dodd and especially David Pinto have contributed much to our understanding of the collection:²⁰ any subsequent discussion is greatly indebted to their work. Chapter 5 briefly assesses the importance of the Royall Consort in the repertoire, and reassesses some of the most important issues surrounding the collection, including the reasons for rescoring.

Despite containing some of his finest instrumental writing, Lawes's Harp Consorts remain in relative obscurity; indeed, the history and evolution of the harp consort as a genre is unclear. To date, no complete critical edition has been published of Lawes's harp consorts, and there is no recording of the entire collection.²¹ (At the time of writing, a complete critical edition by Jane Achtman, published by PRB Productions, is forthcoming.) The modern neglect of the Harp Consort stems from the partially incomplete harp parts, and from the contentious issue of whether Lawes composed for a gut-strung triple harp or the wire-strung Irish harp. Chapter 6 examines in detail the music of the Harp Consort: a complete critical edition is given in Volume 2. This chapter examines the issues surrounding the internal development of the harp consorts,

¹⁸ Field, 'The English Consort Suite of the 17th Century', Ph.D. diss. (New College, Oxford, 1971); also Jane Troy Johnson, 'The English Fantasia-Suite c.1620-60', Ph.D. diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1971).

¹⁹ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*.

²⁰ *Royall Consort*; 'New Lamps for Old: the Versions of the Royall Consort', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 251-82; *For ye Violls*, Chapter II.

²¹ Selections from the collection were published in *William Lawes, Select Consort Music*, ed. Lefkowitz (London, 1963; 2/1971).

aiding a chronology of the collection. It also examines Lawes's style of division writing, especially its relationship to Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Violist* (1659). Chapter 7 explores the issue of whether Lawes composed for the Irish harp or the triple harp, presenting new evidence to support Holman's claims for the former.²² It also traces the origins and development of the harp consort throughout the seventeenth century.

Chapter 8 examines Lawes's seven surviving pieces for two bass viols and organ. These pieces are highly significant in our understanding of Lawes's development as a composer; indeed, much information can be gleaned of Lawes's compositional process by an examination of the relationship between their sources. This chapter provides a brief consideration of the development of the genre, a thorough reassessment of the sources, and some suggestions on dates of composition.

²² Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *EM*, 15 (1987), 188-203.

Note to the Reader:

For ease of reference, musical transcriptions accompanying Section C of Volume 1 are given in appendix form in Volume 2. Short excerpts have been included in the text of Volume 1 where appropriate, referenced within the text first by chapter number and then by example number: Example 4.5 indicates Chapter 4, Example 5, etc. Most pieces discussed in Volume 1 are included in Volume 2, although pieces readily available in a reliable modern edition are not included. (Several pieces available in a reliable modern edition – the Fantasia-Suites and Royall Consort – are also included in Volume 2 where a complete transcription is necessary to understanding the text.) Pieces in Volume 2 are compiled in the order in which they appear in the text, and are referenced thus in both volumes: II.4.1, which indicates Volume 2, Chapter 4, Piece 1, etc. For a list of sources for individual pieces and for any information on editing procedures, see the Notes to the Textual Commentary (and the Textual Commentary) in Volume 2.

The Helmholtz system has been used to describe musical pitches in the text (and Textual Commentary), where *c'* denotes middle *c* on a modern keyboard, with octaves above as *c''*, *c'''*, etc. and octaves below as *c*, *C*, etc.

Throughout the text numbers in curved {} brackets indicate the number accorded to the piece in the Viola da Gamba Society's Thematic Index. Only the Harp Consorts are not referred to by their VdGS number instead referred to by their numbering in the autograph partbooks (and in Volume 2). Thus, the Harp Consorts are prefixed by 'HC', followed by the corresponding number: HC23, etc. (VdGS Nos. are given in the Textual Commentary).

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England official documents were reckoned from Lady Day (25 March), not from New Year's Day (1 January). Therefore, in the seventeenth century '1638' ran from 25 March 1638 to 24 March 1639. This system has been retained throughout the dissertation. Thus, the overlapping period receives two years: 24 February 1637/38. The original spelling (or that given in *RECM*) has been retained in transcriptions of court documents and prefaces of contemporary printed volumes etc. The verso portion of a folio is given the suffix 'v': e.g. f. 23v: recto portions are implied by the omission of a suffix. Manuscript measurements are given in millimetres, height first and width second (measurements are approximate, as the size of the leaves usually varies slightly). Contemporary publications cited in the body of the main text were published in London, except where stated.

Section A:

The Court

The Lutes, Viols and Voices

Charles I was one of the greatest patrons of the arts to sit on the English throne. His reign began on 27 March 1625 after the death of his father James I; the first time an adult male had directly succeeded to the English throne since Henry VIII in 1509. Born in 1600, Charles was William Lawes's senior by two years. By the time Lawes gained a post in the royal household in 1635 Charles had been ruling without parliament for six years. The so-called 'personal rule' lasted until 1640, by which time Charles – largely through a mixture of ineptitude and circumstance – managed to bring about a political climate that would result in civil war and regicide.

Charles was an aesthete. He spent a king's fortune amassing one of the most impressive art collections in Europe, and commissioned the leading artists of the day, such as Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony Van Dyck. Also a lover of music, according to John Playford, Charles was taught to play the bass viol by John Coprario;¹ Charles's musical tastes were strongly influenced by his elder brother Henry, who died prematurely in 1612. Upon his accession, Charles inherited the existing royal musicians, and their organizational structure. The changes that the Royal Music underwent during Charles's reign were significant in many ways, but perhaps the most important innovation was the formation of the group variously known as 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', in which Lawes was later employed. This chapter examines the Royal Music during the early Stuart period, with specific focus on the LVV.

The main residence of the Tudors and early Stuarts was Whitehall Palace. Royal residences were also kept at Hampton Court, St James's, and Greenwich; wherever the monarch resided he/she brought the administrative structure with them.² The structure of the court had to change in 1603 to accommodate the new king. Unlike Elizabeth I, James VI of Scotland (now James I

¹ Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 10/1683), 'Of MUSICK in General, And of its Divine and Civil Uses'. The fourth to seventh editions refer to the King's performing ability but not to him having been taught by Coprario; all editions subsequent to 1683 repeat the version of the tenth edition.

² For a succinct background to the development of the court see *Fiddlers*, Chapter 2; also Neil Cuddy, 'Reinventing a Monarchy: The Changing Structure and Political Function of the Stuart Court, 1603-88', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *The Stuart Courts* (Gloucestershire, 2000), 59-85.

of England), had a consort and children. The main household was now that of the King. His wife, Queen Anne of Denmark, also had her own household, as did the royal children (Henry, Charles and Elizabeth) as they came of age. Each of these establishments had their own staff, including musicians, and essentially mirrored the structure of the main household.³ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the English court was divided into three main areas: the Stables, the Household (i.e. the service areas 'below stairs'), and the Chamber (the living areas etc. 'above stairs').⁴ The Lord Chamberlain was the administrative head of the Chamber; his counterpart below stairs was the Lord Steward. For most of Charles I's reign Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke and first Earl of Montgomery served as Lord Chamberlain, holding office from 1626 to 1641. As Lord Chamberlain, Montgomery

controlled all musical activities at Court and all payments for them had first to be approved by him. There were no appointments made (except exceptionally by the King himself), liveries granted, instruments bought, or duties arranged without his approval and authority. In addition he acted as a mediator in any disputes concerning Court servants. His orders were conveyed by means of a written warrant, signed, stamped or sealed by his office and directed to the appropriate person or department.⁵

The Chamber consisted of several linked rooms proceeding from public to private: the Great Hall, the Guard Chamber, the Presence Chamber, the Privy Chamber, the privy apartments, and the Bedchamber. The privy apartments were the innermost sanctum of the court. Apart from its staff, only high-ranking courtiers and guests were usually allowed access, especially after the accession of Charles I (discussed below).

The Royal Music was a microcosm of this complex structure.⁶ It consisted of several distinct groups, all under the Lord Chamberlain's authority. The Chapel Royal, the oldest and largest of the groups, provided the daily choral music at the court chapels, and 'doubtless, its members also contributed a good deal to informal music-making throughout the Tudor and Stuart period'.⁷ Secular music at court was provided by the three main sections of the Royal Music: the wind bands, the violin band, and the private music. These groups were distinguished by instrumentation and by function, providing either public or private music. Each group had a distinct repertoire, function and place of performance within the palace at Whitehall. The functional distinction between the public and private music groups was basic common sense,

³ For diagrams of the layout of Whitehall Palace etc. see Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698* (London, 1999), esp. Chapters 4-6.

⁴ For a more detailed discussion see Gerald Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625-1642* (London, 2/1974), 26-32.

⁵ See *RECM*, iii. pp. ix-xiii, at ix; also see *The King's Servants*, 29-30.

⁶ Jonathan Wainwright, 'The King's Music', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge, 1999), 162-75 provides a good general introduction to music at the court of Charles I.

⁷ *Fiddlers*, 36; also *ibid.*, Chapter 16; Edward Rimbault (ed.), *The Old Cheque-Book or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal from 1561-1744* (London, 1872; repr. 1966); David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990).

stemming from the medieval distinction between *haut* (loud) and *bas* (soft) instruments. The acoustically loud violin and wind bands were suited to larger and more ceremonial entertainments, and loud enough to be heard above the din at meal times.

Until 1630, the wind band was divided into three sections: shawms and sackbuts; recorders; flutes and cornetts.⁸ However, their duties often led to the intermixture of members from different sections resulting in their official reorganization in 1630, although David Lasocki notes that in practice reorganization may have occurred much earlier.⁹ The wind bands provided music for ceremonial events, meal times, masques, and for the Chapel Royal. The violin band consisted of 13 men by 1625.¹⁰ Established during the reign of Henry VIII, its ranks grew steadily in number until the Restoration period.¹¹ Like the wind bands, the violins were expected to provide music for social gatherings, such as meal times, however, its main function was to provide dance music. Instruments such as lutes, viols, harps and keyboard instruments were naturally suited to more intimate settings, and were grouped into an ensemble often referred to as the 'private music' as they performed music in the private and semi-private parts of the court. Although the term 'private music' is often applied to the earlier part of the century, it is only found in court documents and literature from the Restoration period, the earliest of which dates to 16 June 1660 noting the 'Private Musick sworne Ju: 16th by my Lord [Chamberlain]';¹² Thomas Fuller used the term in 1662.¹³ For ease of reference, 'private music' will occasionally be used in this essay to refer generally to the various incarnations of the LVV.

In many court documents from the reign of James I the private music is referred to as 'the Consorte'. In modern usage 'consort' is generally understood as a small ensemble of instruments usually one person to a part, and by extension the instruments played. The etymology of 'consort' is confused and confusing. 'Consort' seems to have originated from the Italian *concerto* meaning an ensemble of voices or instruments;¹⁴ the French *concert* appears to have had a similar meaning.¹⁵ Warwick Edwards has convincingly shown that from about 1575-1625 'consort' was used to describe a mixed group of instruments. Indeed, James I's 'Consorte' consisted mostly of singers and lutenists, but there was also a harper and several viol players. References to broken and whole consorts are rare and do not appear until after 1660; e.g. the private music of Charles II was described as 'the Broken Consort', perhaps the source for

⁸ For the wind bands at the early modern court see David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740', Ph.D. diss., 2 Vols (University of Iowa, 1983), esp. i. 93-104; id., 'Professional Recorder Playing in England, 1500-1740', *EM*, 10 (1982), 32-39, & 182-91; id., 'The Recorder Consort at the English Court, 1540-1673', *AR*, 25 (1984), 91-100 & 131-35.

⁹ 'Professional Recorder Players, 1540-1740' (1983), i. 98, & 105-12.

¹⁰ *RECM*, iii. 2-3.

¹¹ *Fiddlers* is the definitive account of the violin at the English court.

¹² *RECM*, i. 2.

¹³ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), 157.

¹⁴ See also Warwick Edwards, 'Consort', *NGD*, vi. 328-31; & *Fiddlers*, 132-39.

¹⁵ See 'Consort', *NGD*.

Matthew Locke's collection of pieces of the same name.¹⁶ However, even here the meaning is not clear. Indeed, in music references in seventeenth-century England, 'broken' was most commonly applied to divisions where the given melody or ground was 'broken' into shorter notes.¹⁷

Upon his accession, Charles I retained most of his father's musicians and simply added the musicians from his household as Prince of Wales.¹⁸ The 'Consorte' was modified and became generally known as the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices' or the 'Lutes and Voices'. Nevertheless, 'Consort' is retained in some documents, where it appears to be interchangeable with LVV etc. For example, when Lucretia Friend (or Frend) was granted denizenship in June 1631 she was described as 'the wife of John Frend, one of the Consort of his Majesty's musicians'.¹⁹ And when Robert Tomkins replaced Robert Kindersley in March 1634 he was granted a place in 'the office of musician for the Consort'.²⁰ However, on 30 June 1629 a warrant was granted 'for a hayle for ye Consorte' and 'for the lutes & voices',²¹ suggesting that 'ye Consorte' referred to a particular group within the LVV. (A 'hayle' appears to be derived from a secondary meaning of the word 'hale', in origin a doublet of 'hall', which according to the *OED* refers to a 'place roofed over, but usually open at the sides; a pavilion; a tent; a booth, hut or other temporary structure for shelter'.) Friend, Tomkins and Kindersley held places as 'Musicians for the Violls', associated with the LVV, but not in the group proper. In 1625 this group of viol players consisted of Friend, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Roger Major (replaced by Kindersley in 1626) and Daniel Farrant.²² Thus, it seems likely that the bowed string players (perhaps with other not listed in the initial group of 17 places: see below) were occasionally referred to as 'the consort', distinguishing them from the main body of the LVV, which mostly consisted of what can be best described as singer-lutenists. At this time most singers played the lute and most lutenists sang. To what degree musicians were apt at both varied; for example, Nicholas Lanier was a talented singer and lutenist, but Robert Johnson, John Lawrence, John Kelly, Edward Wormald and Jonas Wrench seem to have been primarily employed as lutenists. Many of the important singers were also lute players: e.g. Henry and William Lawes, Anthony

¹⁶ For example, a warrant dated 13 February 1662/3 includes a reference to the 'Broaken Consort': *RECM*, v. 41.

¹⁷ For example, see Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist* (London, 1659), 21-28.

¹⁸ See also *Fiddlers*, esp. Chapter 2; Ashbee, 'Groomed for Service: Musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English Court, c1495-1558', *EM*, 25 (1997), 185-97; id., 'William Lawes and the "Lutes, Viols and Voices"', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 1-10; David Pinto, 'Music at Court: Remarks on the Performance of William Lawes' Works for Viols', in Johannes Boer & Guido van Oorschot (eds.), *A Viola da Gamba Miscellany: Proceedings of the International Viola da Gamba Symposium Utrecht 1991* (Utrecht, 1994), 27-40.

¹⁹ *RECM*, iii. 61; *CSPD* (1631-1633), 89; *RECM*, viii. 105.

²⁰ *RECM*, iii. 77-78.

²¹ *Ibid.* 45.

²² *Ibid.* 9.

Robert, John Wilson and Angelo Notari. Indeed, when John Clement replaced William Lawes in 1660 it was in the 'vocall musick'.²³

The LVV was officially formed by letters patent dated 11 July 1626.²⁴ According to the patent, each member of the group was to be paid for one year from Lady Day (25 March) 1625, and then for life from Lady Day 1626, suggesting that the group was formed upon Charles's accession but that there was an administrative delay in granting the official patents, presumably because the group was an innovation. The patent lists 17 musicians, most of who were originally employed in Prince Charles's household. In addition, Nicholas Lanier was appointed 'Master of the Musick', and Ferrabosco II received a grant to replace Coprario as 'Composer of our musicke in ordinary'.²⁵ Fourteen of the group received £40 a year; however, Alfonso Bales and Robert Marshe received £20 a year. They also received this sum in Prince Charles's household, half that of most of the other musicians. Bales was also a London wait. His salary may have been based on his ability to attend court,²⁶ perhaps Marsh held a similar arrangement. Thomas Ford received £80 a year, 'being £40 for his former place and £40 in place of John Ballard, late deceased'.²⁷ In addition to the initial 17 places, there were several musicians who were associated with the LVV: e.g., Johnson and Nicholas Lanier also held posts as musicians for the 'Lutes'. Several new posts associated with the group were created during Charles's reign. Thus, initially the LVV consisted of 29 musicians: 18 singer-lutenists, a harpist, 2 keyboard players, 4 viol players, and 4 violinists. The average number of members throughout the period 1625-42 was around 30. Perhaps the most notable aspect of the group was its capacity to perform a broad range of vocal and chamber music. This flexibility stemmed from the group's origins in Prince Henry's household.²⁸ Presumably as part of his wider Italianate cultural programme, Henry employed a large group of singer-lutenists including the Padua-born Angelo Notari. Although we know nothing of how these musicians were deployed in the household, the preponderance of lutenists suggests that they would have performed in mixed consorts popular in progressive Italian musical circles from the last quarter of the sixteenth century.²⁹ Many of Henry's musicians went on to serve under Charles.

²³ *RECM*, i. 3.

²⁴ *RECM*, iii. 19.

²⁵ A post that added £40 per annum to Ferrabosco's wages: *RECM*, iii. 21.

²⁶ Suggested in Ashbee, 'Balls, Richard', *BDECM*, i. 57.

²⁷ *RECM*, iii. 19. Thomas Day received a further £20 a year for keeping a singing boy, and Robert Johnson the same amount extra for strings.

²⁸ For Henry's household see Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986).

²⁹ See *Fiddlers*, 197-224, esp. 200-01.

Table 1.1. Members of the LVV (& associated places) 1626-42

The list gives instruments primarily associated (or implied from the records) with the person, this is not exhaustive: e.g. many of the viol players could have played violins and *vice versa*.

L = Lute V = Voice VI = Viol Vln = Violin C = Composer
 K = Keyboard BV = Bass viol IH = Irish harp W = Wind instrument
 Ir = Instructor to the Royal Children

Name	Served	Inst	Replaced by	Served ³⁰	Inst
Thomas Ford	(1625-42)	C/L/V/VI	-		
Robert Johnson	(1625-33)	L	Nicholas Duvall	(1633-42)	V
Thomas Day	(1625-42)	L/V	-		
A. Ferrabosco II	(1625-8)	VI	A. Ferrabosco III	(1628-42)	VI/W
Thomas Lupo I	(1626-8)	C/Vln	Theophilus Lupo	(1625-42)	Vln
John Lawrence	(1625-35)	L/V	William Lawes	(1635-42)	V/L/V
John Kelly	(1625-42)	L/V			
John Coggeshall	(1625-42)	L/V			
Robert Taylor	(1625-37)	VI	John Taylor	(1637-42)	VI
Richard Dering	(1625-30)	K	Giles Tomkins	(1630-42)	K
John Drew	(1625-42)	L/V			
John Lanier	(1625-42)	L/V			
Edward Wormall	(1625-42)	L/V/VI			
Angelo Notari	(1625-42)	L/V			
Jonas Wrench	(1625-6)	L/V	Anthony Robert	(1626-42)	V
Alfonso Balls	(1625-35)	L/V	John Wilson	(1635-42)	L/V
Robert Marsh	(1625-31)	L/V	Henry Lawes	(1631-42)	V/L

Extraordinary musicians and places, and new places created after 1625

Robert Johnson	(1604-33)	L ³¹	Lewis Evans	(1633-42)	IH
Timothy Collins	(1617-42)	L			
Nicholas Lanier	(1615-42)	L/V			
Maurice Webster	(1623-35)	L/VI?	D. Steoffken	(1635-42)	VI
J. Dowland	(1612-26)	L	→ (to R. Dowland)	→	
R. Dowland	(1626-41)	L	J. Mercure	(1641-2)	L
Jacques Gaultier ³²	(1625-42)	L			
Daniel Farrant	(1607-42)	VI			
Roger Maior	(1613-26)	VI			
A. Ferrabosco II	(1601-28)	Ir	H. Ferrabosco	(1628-42)	C(W)
Adam Vallet	(1616-25)	Vln	J. Woodington	(1625-42)	Vln
Roger Maior	(1613-26)	VI	→ (to R. Kindersley)	→	
R. Kindersley	(1626-36)	VI	Robert Tomkins	(1636-42)	VI
John Friend	(1615-42)	BV			
Orlando Gibbons	(1619-25)	K	T. Warwick	(1625-42)	K
Philip Squire	(1618-42)	IH			
Nicholas Cooke	(1641-2)	L/V			

³⁰ Dates of service in the Restoration period are not included here.

³¹ This post was for the 'lutes'.

³² Gaultier was paid from the Exchequer; he was granted a new place in 1625.

Queen Anne (wife of James I) and Henrietta Maria (wife of Charles I) had their own musical establishments separate from the main musical establishment. Henrietta Maria's establishment was in effect a scaled-down version of that of her husband.³³ Many of her musicians were French and Catholic, and generally better paid than Charles's were. The average wage of the LVV was £40 per annum, whereas the majority of the musicians serving in Henrietta Maria's music group received £120 per annum. This difference in pay was probably linked to attendance. It is likely that the Queen demanded almost daily attendance from most of her musicians, whereas the King could afford (and needed) to operate a rota system given the large number of musicians available to him.

Foreign musicians generally seem to have commanded better salaries than their English colleagues. This was also true of the King's musicians. For example, Adam Vallet received a salary of £60 a year, and Jacques Gaultier started on £50 a year in 1622, which increased to £100 in 1624. The highest paid English musician (for a single post) was Thomas Ford, who in July 1634 was granted an extra £20 a year, bringing his income up to £60 per annum.³⁴ Only Lanier as Master of the Musick earned more for a single post. Although Lanier's £200 a year was considerably more than the wages of the average court musician, the figure is put into context when considered against the wages earned by many high-ranking officials, such as the Lord Steward of the Household who in the late 1620s earned over £2,000 per annum.³⁵ Several members of Henrietta Maria's music also held posts in the main musical establishment: Gaultier, Richard Dering, Anthony Roberts and Nicholas Duvall. Pluralism was a common feature of court life. A notable example is Ferrabosco II who held four posts at court by the time of his death in 1628: viol player, composer in ordinary to the King, teacher of the royal children (first to Prince Henry and then to Charles), and one of the LVV.³⁶

³³ See Ian Spink, 'The Musicians of Queen Henrietta-Maria: Some Notes and References in the English State Papers', *AcM*, 36 (1964), 177-82. For a detailed discussion of the Queen's household in the period see Caroline Hibbard, 'The role of the queen consort: the household and court of Henrietta Maria, 1625-1642', in Ronald Asch & Adolf Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), 393-414.

³⁴ *RECM*, iii. 79.

³⁵ This was his total income; his official salary was £100: see *King's Servants*, 204-10 for a table of incomes of selected court officials.

³⁶ See Ashbee, 'Ferrabosco, Alfonso [II]', *BDECM*, i. 410-12.

Table 1.2. Wages & nationalities of Henrietta Maria's musicians from 1625-42

<u>Name</u>	<u>Rate p/a</u>	<u>Nationality</u>
John Maria Lugario ³⁷	£60	Italian?
Loys Richard ³⁸	£440	French
Camille Prevost	£120	French
Pierre de la Mare	£120	French
Nicholas Duvall	£120 ³⁹	French
Anthony Robert	£120	French
Simon de la Gardes	£120	French
Marthurin Marie	£120	French
Andrew Maugart	£120	French
Jehann Prevost	£120	French
Richard Dering	£120	English
Michell Roger	£120	French
Edward Fremyn	£120	English?
Richard Wells	£20	English?
William Drew	£120	English
William Le Grand	£120	French
Ditrich Steffkin	£120	North German?
Jacques Gaultier	£120	French
Daniel Cahill	£40	Irish
Richard Mico	£120	English ⁴⁰
Robert Vere ⁴¹	£20	French?
Richard Greenbury	£20	English?
Rince de Gowges	£40	French
Jean le Felle	?	French

The historian Neil Cuddy has noted that James I was obsessive about security, and transformed the internal subtleties of access to the monarch of his predecessor's reign into hard, institutional distinctions.⁴² Both the staff and functions of the Privy Chamber and Bedchamber were separated. The Bedchamber comprised the Withdrawing Chamber, the Bedchamber itself, and the Privy Galleries and Lodgings (i.e. the private apartments consisting of libraries, closets, bathrooms, etc.).⁴³ This left the Privy Chamber staff with only ceremonial and formal duties, while the Bedchamber staff, under the Groom of the Stool, took over the intimate aspects of attendance on the monarch. The Privy Chamber and its staff were now under the control of the

³⁷ Lugario was a groom of the chamber, but also a renowned singer.

³⁸ Richards was Master of the Queen's Musick; this sum was also for the care of the 'music boys'.

³⁹ Duval also seems to have held a post as groom of the chamber at £10 per annum.

⁴⁰ Mico was English, probably born in the parish of St James, Taunton, but he claimed descent from the French family Micault: see Ashbee, 'Mico, Richard', *BDECM*, ii. 800-01.

⁴¹ Keeper of the organs.

⁴² Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: The Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625', in David Starkey (ed.), *The English Court, from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), 173-225.

⁴³ See also Cuddy, 'Reinventing a Monarchy', esp. 70-75.

Lord Chamberlain. Charles, a naturally shy and introverted person, inspired by the gravity of the *Escorial*, took further measures to ensure his privacy, restrict access to his person, and to increase formality. A new triple lock was fitted on the Bedchamber door with names of their holders engraved on the keys: only Bedchamber staff and invited guests were allowed access under pain of banishment from the court for a year.⁴⁴ The restrictions put in place by the early Stuarts were the culmination of a trend that began with the Eltham Ordinances of 1526, which gradually created a restricted and private area of the court for the monarch and his guests to reside. Overall, such restrictions did not have a dramatic effect on the musicians at court, as the places in which they performed were directly linked to the instruments they played.⁴⁵ The Presence Chamber and other public areas of the court were open to anyone respectably attired, but the Privy Chamber was closed to all except its own staff and those few individuals personally chosen by the King, which included his private musicians. However, in practice, 'by the early 1620s all peers and bishops also had Privy Chamber access', which was officially sanctioned by Charles I.⁴⁶ Although it is not clear whether the musicians were allowed access to the Bedchamber, it would seem likely that permission was granted when occasion demanded. This had important consequences for the members of such an elite band of musicians. Power at the Stuart court was centred around the physical person of the King. The closer one was in proximity to the centre of power the more power one could wield, and the more opportunities there were for remuneration. Thus, with the accession of Charles I we find the paradoxical situation where some of the most menial jobs, such as Groom of the Stool and the private musicians, were elevated in status because they personally attended the King. Indeed, Ferrabosco's post as instructor provides an important example of the way in which lowly servants were elevated in status simply by being in personal attendance of a member of the royal family. When he was appointed as teacher to the Prince Henry in 1604 Ferrabosco had to be appointed as an 'extraordinary groom of the Privy Chamber' granting him passage to the required part of the palace, usually out-of-bounds to most servants and courtiers.⁴⁷ Presumably he instructed Henry on the bass viol, *inter alia*. Around the time of his appointment as instructor £72 was spent on viols: 'Vyolls viz. one sett for the Kinge, £40; one other sett and a base vyol for the prynce, £32'.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ See Kevin Sharpe, 'The Image of Virtue: The Court and Household of Charles I', in Starkey, *English Court*, 226-60.

⁴⁵ Still the best account of this topic is Starkey *English Court*, esp. Chapters 6 & 7 for the Jacobean and Caroline periods. For the relationship between the household ordinances & musicians the most succinct account is *Fiddlers*, Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Cuddy, 'Reinventing a Monarchy', 67.

⁴⁷ *RECM*, iv. 11.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 232.

The Exchequer was responsible for all of the court's revenue.⁴⁹ Most royal musicians were paid directly from the Treasury of the Chamber, although some were paid directly from the Exchequer. The Exchequer also paid occasional lump sums to various departments, such as the Treasurer of the Chamber, the Master of the Great Wardrobe, the Keeper of the Privy Purse, and the Cofferer of the Household; these individual departments were occasionally required to pay musicians from their own resources. The records of the Exchequer and the Treasury of the Chamber are especially valuable sources in tracing payments to musicians. Fortunately, in 1614 the purchase of strings and instruments was transferred from the Privy Purse to the Treasurer of the Chamber, so many records survive.⁵⁰ In general, court finances appear to have been used for whatever purpose was most pressing, and payments did not always follow the same channels.⁵¹

Places at court were highly sought-after, and usually secured in one of three ways: in reversion; through the influence of a courtier; or (rarely) on the direct command of the King. The admissions process was complex and expensive. Fortunately for us, during the Interregnum court officials faced the unenviable task of attempting to reconstruct the complex procedures of court administration. This necessitated documents being drawn up to instruct newly appointed officials how the system worked during a period of significant administrative disruption. The admissions process was set out in a memorandum entitled 'The Method (and style) of issuing Instruments under the Great Seal'; it is here summarised by Peter Holman:

A warrant was prepared by the Clerks of the Signet on behalf of the Attorney General for the sovereign's signature, the 'Royal Sign Manual', or his signature expressed in the form of a stamp. Once this was obtained, it proceeded through the system, carried from office to office by the individual himself, the 'party prosecutor'; he went from the Secretary of State to the Signet Office, back to the Secretary, then to the Privy Seal Office, and finally to Chancery [...]

Musicians, particularly those paid by the Treasury of the Chamber, were often appointed by a simpler method: the Clerk of the Signet prepared [...] a 'Warrant to prepare a bill to pass the Privy Signet, thereby authorizing the Treasurer of the Chamber' to pay fee and livery.⁵²

The system of reversions further complicated the acquisition of court posts. A post could be held over, in reversion, to the holder's heir: this was a way for court personnel to leave an inheritance.⁵³ Reversion sometimes resulted in persons taking up positions at court for which they were ill-suited, although this was unlikely to have affected the musician's places. Musical

⁴⁹ For a full account of the court's financial structure in relation to musicians see Ashbee's description of the court payment procedures and their relations to the surviving records: *RECM*, iii. pp. xii-xiii. See also *King's Servants*, 32-40.

⁵⁰ See *RECM*, iii. p. xii.

⁵¹ See *King's Servants*, 32-40.

⁵² *Fiddlers*, 42-43: Holman gives the original memorandum (GB-Lpro, State Paper Office, 18/42/5) in full at 42. It dates to 1653, and is discussed in Aylmer, *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649-1660* (London, 1973), 436-37. See also *King's Servants*, 69-96.

⁵³ See *King's Servants*, 72-73 & 96-106.

training was usually passed down from father to son, and it seems that one had to have a high degree of competency to gain a position in the LVV. In the LVV five sons inherited their fathers' posts: Alfonso Ferrabosco III, Henry Ferrabosco, John Taylor, Theophilus Lupo, and Robert Dowland.⁵⁴ The Taylors are a case in point. On 20 June 1636 Robert Taylor surrendered his patent as a musician in ordinary in favour of a new one that he shared with his son John,⁵⁵ who continued in the place ('for the viols and voices') after Robert's death in 1637.⁵⁶ Evidently, Robert had used his influence to secure his son a court place previously; John was appointed as keeper of the King's instruments and music books in March 1628. This was to share a place already held by Thomas Meller/Miller, yeoman and 'Serjeant of his Mats vestry', with the place reverting in full to Taylor upon Meller's death.⁵⁷ The post appears not to have been paid regularly prior to Taylor sharing the place. The petition to share the place also included a request by Meller for three year's arrears. Taylor continued to serve as keeper of the instruments after his appointment to the LVV; Richard Hudson became keeper of the instruments after his death in 1662.

Within the LVV there were also familial connections, undoubtedly used to form alliances: Henry and William Lawes, Giles and Robert Tomkins, Nicholas and John Lanier. There were also familial ties between the different music groups. There was intermarrying within the LVV (and within the Royal Music generally) strengthening the dominance of some families, especially those émigré families that came from Italy early in the sixteenth century, such as the Bassanos, Laniers and Lupos. Sometime before 1615, Ferrabosco II married Ellen Lanier, sister of Nicholas.⁵⁸ Daniel Farrant's wife, Katherine, was also a sister of Lanier. Katherine's mother was Nicholas Lanier I's second wife, Lucretia, a daughter of Anthony Bassano I. A baptism entry dated 7 August 1571, which reads 'Thomas s(on) [of] Basanew' is believed to be Thomas Lupo I, the son of the court violin player Joseph Lupo and his wife Laura Bassano; the couple shared a house with her brother Augustine, which likely gave rise to the mistake.⁵⁹ In addition, in 1630 the harper Jean le Felle may have been the 'John Laffell' who married Hester Maior, widow of Roger (d. 1625) who held an extraordinary position in the LVV.⁶⁰ A 'Peter Oliver Lymner' is listed with the LVV on an undated subsidy list from 1641.⁶¹ The post is likely to have been a sinecure; no records of an official position in the Royal Music

⁵⁴ Dowland's place was extraordinary.

⁵⁵ *RECM*, iii. 88; confirmed on 22 February 1636/7: *ibid.* 89-90.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 92.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 29-30.

⁵⁸ 'Ferrabosco', *BDECM*, i. 411.

⁵⁹ Holman, 'Lupo, Thomas [II]', *BDECM*, i. 751.

⁶⁰ Holman, 'Felle, Jean de la', *BDECM*, i. 429-30.

⁶¹ *RECM*, iii. 109.

survive. Peter (1589–1647) was the eldest son of the famous miniaturist Isaac Oliver.⁶² It seems that he was related to Edward Norgate, who appears in the same group on the list.⁶³ Norgate's first wife was Nicholas Lanier's sister Judith (1590-1618). The art and familial connections between the three men no doubt played some part in Oliver's apparent sinecure in the LVV, probably intended to supplement the large annual pension of £200 he received from Christmas 1636.⁶⁴ The items musicians sometimes bequeathed to their colleagues hint at other personal connections. For example, in 1631 John Drew was paid £31 for a 'Treble virginall by him p'vided for his Ma^{ts} service'.⁶⁵ This led Andrew Ashbee to suggest that Drew and his wife were the Mr and Mrs Drue, beneficiaries of Richard Dering, who died in April 1630; they received his music books, his trunk and virginals.⁶⁶ In addition, Drew is presumably to whom Tomas Ford referred in his will, made on 12 November 1648: 'I forgive my fellow Drew his debt'.⁶⁷ This nepotistic structure was a microcosm of the court structure in general, which – as a consequence of the underlying theory of divine right – functioned on the premise that one's birth afforded one certain privileges. (Diagrammatic tables tracing the family relationships between court musicians can be found in *BDECM*.⁶⁸)

Connections were vital in gaining a position at court. Posts usually came available upon the death of the holder, if it was not held in reversion or promised to someone else. John Wilson, one of the foremost native lutenists of his day and later professor of music at Oxford, was successful in gaining a place in the LVV in 1635, only after several attempts (although one must be cautious of hyperbole):

Dr Wilson made great and frequent sute to K: Charles, to bee admitted to be one of his privat musiq: But by the envie and opposition of some at Court, was still put by. 9 petitions hee had delivered for severall vacancies, and yet still some other was preferred before him.⁶⁹

Wilson may have been the person to whom the Earl of Newcastle was referring in his advice to the young Prince Charles (II) when he noted that

a merry Mutition that I knowe, desired the place of the kinges bagpiper, [...] hee sayd therefore hee Hopte to have itt, for they always gave places, to those That were moste unfitt, for them, as a Luteneeste place, to

⁶² John Murdoch, 'Oliver, Peter', *DNB*; Mary Edmond, *Hilliard & Oliver: The Lives and Works of Two Great Miniaturists* (London, 1983).

⁶³ *Hilliard & Oliver*, 184.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 174.

⁶⁵ *RECM*, iii. 144.

⁶⁶ Ashbee, 'Drew, John', *BDECM*, i. 361-62.

⁶⁷ GB-Lpro, PROB 10, box 698; Ashbee, 'Ford, Thomas', *BDECM*, i. 435-36.

⁶⁸ *BDECM*, ii. 1225-27.

⁶⁹ The passage is quoted in full in Ashbee, 'Lawes and the "Lutes, Viols and Voices"', 4; it is taken from the 'manuscript notebook of a society man, c.1640-60' currently housed in the Museum of London, Tangye collection (no. reference no.: see *ibid.* 9(n6)).

one that playd of the viole, & a violest place to one that Playd of the Lute'.⁷⁰

Once a place was granted it did not guarantee the successful acquisition of further places. Following the death of Thomas Lupo in 1628, Robert Johnson unsuccessfully petitioned for his place as composer to the 'Lutes and voyces', stating that he had served for '23 yeares and never obteyned any suite': presumably his two court posts notwithstanding.⁷¹

Occasionally new places were created in the private music allowing sought-after (usually foreign) talents to be employed. Additional places were created in 1625 for the infamous French lutenist Jacques Gaultier, and again in 1631 for the singer John Foxe (served 1631-42). Little is known of Foxe; with five weavers all born in 'foreign parts', he was granted denizenship, on [10] February 1634/5.⁷² Another way to gain a court post was to work in an extraordinary capacity, often without fee, in the hopes of later securing a court post when one became available. For example, the violinist John Woodington appears to have served in the violin band of the main household from c.1618, and in the group known as 'Coperarios musique' in the household of Prince Charles from c.1622. In both cases, it seems that he served as an extraordinary musician without remuneration.⁷³ He did so until he replaced Adam Vallet in 1625; Vallet (d. 1625) held a post as violinist in the LVV.⁷⁴ (Holman has suggested it is likely that Woodington was apprenticed to Vallet.⁷⁵) Similarly, on 2 December 1641 a Nicholas Cooke was admitted as 'a musician for the lutes and voices extraordinary, to come in ordinary with fee upon the first avoidance that shall happen amongst that company'.⁷⁶ George Hudson was next in line for a reversion.⁷⁷ Cooke's timing was unfortunate. The court disbanded early in 1642, and was established in Oxford by the end of the year. Hudson gained his place at the Restoration, however, there are no further references to Cooke, who presumably died before 1660; he may have been a brother or other close relation of Henry Cooke (see below). In cases such as these, it was clearly advantageous to serve the court even without official remuneration. However, such speculative casual work would have had other rewards in the form of payments from the Crown's Privy Purse and gifts. It also allowed musicians to come to the attention of the King,

⁷⁰ Thomas Slaughter (ed.), *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's Advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia, 1984), 57. I am grateful to Peter Holman for this observation.

⁷¹ *CSPD* (1628-1629), 144; *RECM*, viii. 99-100. Lupo also held a post as composer to the violins.

⁷² *RECM*, iii. 86; also on separate warrant dated 10 February 1635/6; *CSPD* (1635-1636), 220; *RECM*, viii. 117.

⁷³ *RECM*, v. 299; see also Ashbee, 'Coprario, John', *BDECM*, i. 296-98.

⁷⁴ The signet office warrant is dated March 1625/6 for Woodington as 'supernumerary musician for the violins in ordinary' to replace Vallet at the usual rate of 20s a day and annual livery: *RECM*, iii. 12. In June 1625 he received the place of musician in ordinary and a pension of £110 for 'good and faithful service done and to be done [...] provided alwayes that a former grannte made unto the said John Woodington of his other Enterteinm' be yeilded upp, cancelled and made voyde before any payment by vertue hereof be made unto him, that wee may not be doubly charged thereby': *RECM*, iii. 18-19.

⁷⁵ *Fiddlers*, 214.

⁷⁶ *RECM*, iii. 112.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 113.

and was presumably a way of getting lucrative jobs with wealthy courtiers. It seems likely that several of the musicians, such as William Lawes, who replaced original members of the LVV began their court career in this way.

Some musicians served as apprentices to court musicians, which could also lead to a court post. William Lawes was at least taught by (if not apprenticed to) Coprario in the household of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. Although this was many years before Lawes's admission to the royal music, such connections would have opened doors. Indeed, Lawes was also fortunate to have his brother, Henry, employed in the Chapel Royal from 1626 and in the LVV from 1631, allowing William easier access to the court and to the musicians. There appears to have been a tradition of apprenticeship among the court harpers in the early seventeenth century. From July 1618, Philip Squire received £30 a year 'to teach Lewis Evans, a child of great dexterity in music, to play on the Irish harp and other instruments'.⁷⁸ Privy seals in 1629, 1631 and 1634 show that Squire continued to teach Evans on the Irish harp and provide his maintenance until Evans received his own post in 1633,⁷⁹ replacing Robert Johnson as a lute player for the LVV.⁸⁰ Holman has convincingly suggested that Squire was himself apprenticed to Cormack MacDermott, whom he replaced in 1618.⁸¹ There are also several references to singing boys apprenticed to various court musicians. The boys were primarily associated with the Chapel Royal, although they also appear to have participated in secular entertainments. In early 1623 Thomas Day succeeded Richard Ball as instructor of a singing boy in Prince Charles's household. Day, who was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, also held a place in the LVV from its inception. In addition, on 24 January 1633/4 he replaced Nathaniel Giles as master of the children of the Chapel. Angelo Notari received £48 a year from Christmas 1622 for keeping and training two singing boys in Prince Charles's household, formerly the job of Richard Ball, deceased. Notari was also on the initial list of LVV; however, payments for keeping the boys appear to have ended in 1625.⁸²

A position as a singing boy could occasionally lead to a post as a professional musician in adulthood. For example, Edward Wormall began his court service in 1610 as one of two singing boys appointed to Prince Henry's household.⁸³ He was granted a place as a musician to Prince Charles in 1622, and went on to serve in the LVV until the disbandment of the court.

⁷⁸ *CSPD* (1611-1618), 553; *RECM*, viii. 78.

⁷⁹ *RECM*, iii. 45. And *CSPD* (1635-1636), 226; *RECM*, viii. 117; *RECM*, iii. 217. Other copies are given at *RECM*, iii. 181 & 192.

⁸⁰ 30 April 1634: 'Warrant to pay Lewis Evans, musician in ordinary for the lutes in place of Robert Johnson, deceased, 20d. a day and a yearly livery of £16. 2s. 6d., from Michaelmas last': *RECM*, iii. 78.

⁸¹ Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *EM*, 15 (1987), 194.

⁸² For Notari see *Fiddlers*, esp. 200-11.

⁸³ *RECM*, iv. 211-12.

After the Restoration Henry Cooke became the master of the children of the Chapel.⁸⁴ In addition to his place in the LVV, he was responsible for 'ye boyes in ye private musick'.⁸⁵ Warrants related to Cooke give a fuller picture of what was expected of the children. These duties were presumably similar those expected earlier in the century:

Warrant to pay £78 to Henry Cooke, master of the children of his Majesty's Chapel, for their lessons on the organ, viol and lute, and for fire in the music room, for strings for violins, lutes and virginals, and for books and writing paper.⁸⁶

Warrant to pay £115. 10s. 6d. to Captain Henry Cooke, master of the children of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, for having the children taught Latin, to write, to play on the violin, organ and lute, for stringing and penning their harpsichords, for fire and strings at the music room at the Chapel, for his disbursements for clothes for Michael Wise, late one of the children of the Chapel, and for going into the country looking after boys for the Chapel for half a year from Michaelmas 1664 to Lady Day 1665, and for nursing of three boys that were sick of the small pox.⁸⁷

Evidently, in the Restoration period at least, the children were schooled in the old bowling alley at Hampton Court. A warrant from the Lord Chamberlain to the Surveyor of Works, dated 16 July 1665, reads:

to cause Chymneys to bee inserted in the lodgings of Capt. Cooke, Master of the children of his Ma^{ties} chappell, In the old Bowling Alley at Hampton Court, and that you cause the Roofe to bee raised in the schooleroome therein, the said lodging to bee repayred with all other necessary reparacōns.⁸⁸

Presumably this was only for the summer months when the King was on progress, suggesting that many of the royal musicians did not attend the King on progress (see below). A permanent base for the boys at Hampton Court would be unlikely; it would have been too far from Whitehall if the boys were needed for regular duty. Although taking charge of children appears to have been another way for court musicians to increase their income, the children received food and board, as well as some education of benefit in later life.

The availability of singing boys at court leads to questions of the kind of repertoire that they performed. Perhaps they sung some of Henry Lawes's settings of George Sandys's paraphrases published in *Choice Psalmes* in 1648. The pieces in *Choice Psalmes* are essentially devotional chamber music for three voices with chamber organ or theorbo accompaniment, suitable as part of private worship in the private apartments at Whitehall. The boys also performed secular vocal music and regularly performed in masques etc.: three of Day's singing

⁸⁴ For Cooke see Ashbee, 'Cooke, Henry', *BDECM*, i. 287-93.

⁸⁵ *RECM*, i. 4.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 57.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 62.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 66. For Hampton Court see Thurley, *Hampton Court Palace: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 2003).

boys performed in the elaborate Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace* in February 1633/4.⁸⁹ In addition, several members of the LVV were prominent composers of vocal music (secular partsongs and solo songs, as well as madrigals and motets for several voices), such as Richard Dering, Ferrabosco II, Ford, Johnson, and Thomas Lupo.

The creation of the post of Master of the Musick was an important step in the history of the Royal Music. The post appears to have originated in Prince Charles's household, to which Lanier was appointed in March 1624/5.⁹⁰ He was awarded £100 a year, whereas the usual rate was £40, suggesting that he was in a position of responsibility.⁹¹ The post was confirmed in 1626 with an annuity of £200. Lanier was responsible for all of the music groups at court, apparently causing some friction, presumably because it was an innovation. Indeed, on 6 May 1630, the Lord Chamberlain was forced to issue a statement 'To his Ma^{ty} Musitions for ye winde Instruments, the Musitions for ye violins & all other his Ma^{ty} Musitions and others whome it may concerne'. This confirmed Lanier's 'freedome of diet' among the various music groups, with refusal to co-operate leading to punishment.⁹² Holman noted that in this case 'diet' was unlikely to mean the food royal servants received when in service at court. Rather, he cited a wider secondary meaning to suggest convincingly that 'in the present context "diet" might mean regular performances or rehearsals'.⁹³ We know little of how the music groups worked on new music, although Lucy Hutchinson's reminiscence suggests that some rehearsals were held in Charles Coleman's Richmond house in a concert-like setting:

the rest of the King's musicians often met at [Coleman's] house to practise new aires and prepare them for the king; and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with music, came hither to hear; others that were not, took that pretence to entertain themselves with the company.⁹⁴

There is also a tantalising reference to music rehearsals in the court records dating to 16 July 1663, recording the 'hiring of two large rooms for the practice of the private musick and for keeping the instruments in, for one year'.⁹⁵ Evidently, Lanier's authority was questioned beyond the LVV, suggesting that prior to 1626 the music groups were largely self-governing: further evidence of the demarcation between the groups. The Master of the Music post suggests that there was some need for order to be imposed on the Royal Music; however, the attempted

⁸⁹ See Murray Lefkowitz, 'The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke: New Light on Shirley's "Triumph of Peace"', *JAMS*, 18 (1965), 42-60.

⁹⁰ For a detailed account of Lanier see Michael Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier: Master of the King's Musick* (Aldershot, 1994).

⁹¹ See also Ashbee, 'Lanier, Nicholas [II]', *BDECM*, ii. 689-93, esp. 690.

⁹² *RECM*, iii. 53.

⁹³ *Fiddlers*, 232-33, the quote is from 233.

⁹⁴ John Hutchinson (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson [...] Written by his Widow Lucy* (London, 1905), 55-56.

⁹⁵ *RECM*, i. 47.

centralisation of the music groups ties in with other court reforms and is perhaps reflective of Charles I's controlling nature.

Lanier's request for 'freedom of diet' coincides with the reorganisation of the wind bands, presumably under the auspices of Lanier, who also held a place in the wind band. David Lasocki has shown that in 1630 the three traditional wind bands were officially reorganized as one group, divided into three companies.⁹⁶ From 1630 until 1642 the three companies alternated duties. Although their instrumentation is never stated the 'first company seems to have been primarily cornettists, and the second and third probably players of the cornett, shawm and sackbut. The group provided music in the Chapel Royal, for masques, ceremonies and the King's dinner table'.⁹⁷ A warrant from the Lord Chamberlain dated 6 May 1630 outlines the way in which the three companies were employed on a weekly rota system.⁹⁸

It is likely that some of the other sections of the Royal Music also operated on a rota system. Several members of the violin band accompanied the King on some royal expeditions. For example, there is a warrant dated 10 July 1634 granting back pay to members of the violin band for performing at the Order of the Garter ceremony at Windsor Castle.⁹⁹ However, the violin band do not seem to have operated by rota in their daily duties as they seem to have all played together as a single orchestra.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the reorganisation of the wind band appears to have prompted a reform of the violin band, with the order dated 12 April 1631 'for the better regulating and ordering of his Ma^{tes} Musique of Violins'.¹⁰¹ Holman noted that this order was directed at Stephen Nau (composer for the violins) not Lanier, suggesting that Nau exercised *de facto* control over the group, implying that the 'freedom of diet' requested by Lanier a year earlier had been successfully resisted by the violin band.¹⁰²

The rota system appears to have largely worked in the early Stuart court; at least, there are few references to disciplinary action taken against those did not attend. The records detailing suspensions date to the 1660s, and mostly relate to neglect of duties in the Chapel Royal, which appears to have been a growing problem in the Restoration period.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, no such information has survived for the LVV. Therefore, it is impossible to tell how much attendance these musicians would have been expected to give at court, or if the members of the LVV also attended the King on progresses. It was traditional for the monarch to leave the capital and embark on progresses for approximately five months from July to November, primarily to avoid the summer stench of the raw sewage and the consequent rise in the risk of disease during these

⁹⁶ See Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players, 1540-1740', (1983), esp. i. 105-12.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 112.

⁹⁸ *RECM*, iii. 52-53. There are two similar orders: *ibid.* 74 & 94-95.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 80.

¹⁰⁰ See *Fiddlers*, 234 (& *passim*).

¹⁰¹ Partly printed in *ibid.* 59.

¹⁰² See *Fiddlers*, 233-35.

¹⁰³ For example see *RECM*, i. 41, 47, 61, 64, 76 & 115.

months.¹⁰⁴ Generally, most court musicians did not accompany the King, leaving the entertainment to local musicians.¹⁰⁵ However, some records concerning the preparations for the summer Progresses of 1628 and 1629 indicate the attendance of at least some of the LVV. There is a warrant dated 2 July 1628 for ‘a haile for y^e Musitions for y^e violins’ and ‘a haile for y^e Musitions for the Lutes and voices’.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the next summer, included on a warrant for ‘Tents & Hailes for the Progresse’ there are warrants for ‘a haile’ ‘for ye Consorte’, ‘for the violins’ and ‘for the lutes & voices’.¹⁰⁷ There is a similar order for ‘a haile for the wind instruments and one for the violins on the summer Progress in 1636’.¹⁰⁸ Members of the Chapel Royal – some of whom also held posts in the LVV – appear to have been in regular attendance when the King left Whitehall.

Despite the lack of documentary evidence, it seems likely that the members of the LVV were employed on some kind of rota basis, especially given that many of its members also held places in the other music groups (and occasionally as attendants or tutors). In addition, the kinds of music that the LVV are likely to have played would not have required the continuous attendance of the entire group. Although it is impossible to know for certain what music was played at the court, it is reasonable to assert that much of the music contained in court (and court related) sources, composed by court musicians was written for performance at the court as part of the duties of some of the musicians. Certainly, Coprario’s consort music appears to have been popular at Charles’s court. There is a warrant dated 15 February 1634/5 to pay the violinist John Woodington £20 ‘for a new sett of books for Cooperarios Musique, by his Ma^{ty} speciall comannd’.¹⁰⁹ The ensemble appears to have been in existence from c.1622.¹¹⁰ Presumably, they would have played pieces such as Coprario’s fantasia-suites and Orlando Gibbons’s three- and four-part fantasias.¹¹¹ The group also included Adam Vallet (violin), Gibbons (organ): presumably Coprario played the bass viol. The group would have changed considerably around the time of Charles’s accession: Gibbons and Vallet died in 1625, Coprario in 1626. John Woodington took over from Vallet, although Thomas or Theophilus Lupo may also have played violin with the group from time to time. There were several bass viol players in the LVV: John Friend, Daniel Farrant, Alfonso Ferrabosco II (or Alfonso III) and Robert (or John) Taylor. Although Thomas Warwick was granted the two keyboard places held by Gibbons, Richard Dering gained the prestigious post of keyboard player in the LVV (he was replaced by Giles

¹⁰⁴ Also see Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1985; repr. Oxford, 1990).

¹⁰⁵ See *Fiddlers*, 33-35.

¹⁰⁶ *RECM*, iii. 32.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 88.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 81; see also *ibid.* 150.

¹¹⁰ *RECM*, v. 299.

¹¹¹ Holman discusses the group in detail in *Fiddlers*, Chapter 9.

Tomkins in 1630). This, and John Tomkins's admittance to the Chapel awaiting a vacancy, suggests that Warwick's skills left something to be desired.¹¹² Indeed, on 29 March 1630 Archbishop Laud noted that

Mr. Thomas Warrick received a check of his whole paye for the moneth of March because he presumed to playe verses one [sic] the organ at service tyme, beinge formerly inhibited by the Deane from doinge the same, by reason of his insufficiency for that solemn service.¹¹³

Similar ensembles must have played, *inter alia*, Lawes's five- and six-part viol consorts, his harp consorts, fantasia-suites, lyra viol ensembles, and the Royall Consort. (There is also the reference to 'the consort of Mons. le Fielle'.¹¹⁴ Le Fielle was a French harper primarily associated with Henrietta Maria's household.¹¹⁵ The reference to his consort has been used erroneously to claim that Lawes's harp consorts were composed for performance on the triple harp by this group: see Ch. 7). Although specific groups may have been responsible for the performance of particular repertoires, it is most likely that the personnel of these ensembles was reasonably flexible. There was even a choice of harpers (Evans and Squire) in the LVV available to play harp consorts. One suspects that part of the daily duties of the LVV was to provide entertainment for dignitaries, courtiers, and members of the royal family in the innermost parts of the court: mostly in the Privy Chamber. This would have necessitated portable ensembles capable of performing a wide range of music at short notice by the command of the Lord Chamberlain. Viols, violins and theorbos are reasonably portable and the presence of so many organs throughout Whitehall (see below) was presumably to aid the performance of consort music throughout the palace. Some of the demand for light background music at court was presumably sated by extemporized performances realized from two-part outlines (see Ch. 7). Extemporization, especially of divisions, was expected of professional musicians of the period; indeed, it will be argued throughout this dissertation that the incorporation of divisions is an observable feature of Lawes's consort music after his court appointment.

There is little documentary evidence of where music was performed at the Stuart court.¹¹⁶ Andrew Ashbee, David Pinto, and Peter Holman have offered convincing hypotheses on possible locations of private music performances at Whitehall: the Privy Lodgings, the Cockpit-at-Court, the Banqueting Hall, the Presence Hall, and the Great Chamber.¹¹⁷ Simon Thurley's brilliant exposition of the architectural history of Whitehall palace offers possible

¹¹² See also Ashbee, 'Warwick, Thomas', *BDECM*, ii. 1129-31.

¹¹³ Chapter meeting of the Chapel Royal, quoted in 'Warwick', *BDECM*, ii. 1130.

¹¹⁴ *RECM*, iii. 83.

¹¹⁵ For example, he ('M^r Flaisle') is included on an undated 'List of her Ma^{ty} Servants in Ordinary' from c. 1640: *RECM*, iii. 252. See also Holman, 'Harp'; Spink, 'Henrietta Maria'; & Chapter 7, below.

¹¹⁶ The best account of possible music venues at Whitehall during the period is Pinto, 'Music at Court'.

¹¹⁷ See Ashbee, 'Groomed for service', *id.*, 'Lawes & the "LVV"'; Pinto, 'Music at Court'; & *Fiddlers*, esp. Chapters 5, 10 & 11.

hints regarding musical activities.¹¹⁸ We can glean some clues from his reconstruction of the Privy gallery and the rooms off it. Within the privy apartments there were several rooms progressing from the more public to the most private: the Withdrawing room, Privy Chamber and Bedchamber (Figure 1.1).¹¹⁹ Although Whitehall Palace physically changed little in the first half of the century, Thurley concludes that ‘Charles devised a new arrangement at the east end of the gallery which placed his Bedchamber next to the vane room, and next to that on the west three closets for his works of art and private use’.¹²⁰ In musical terms, this is even more revealing when one notes that the room that became the Third Privy lodging in Charles’s time was in Elizabeth’s reign filled with an organ and other musical instruments.¹²¹ This is not to say that the function of these rooms did not change: they probably did; however, it indicates precedent. Unfortunately, the bulk of the work in this field has been done on the main architectural construction during the reigns of early Stuarts – the Banqueting Hall – and not on the possible functions of the individual rooms.¹²² We know that the various music groups performed different kinds of music related to the function of the group. This in turn allows us to present some ideas on places in which different kinds of music were performed, as each room at court was also linked to a particular function or functions. For example, the Banqueting House (before 1638) and the Presence Chamber were probably used for dancing and other entertainments: the perfect stage for the Royall Consort, for example. However, it seems probable that compositions such as the Lawes’s suites for two bass viols and organ or some parts of the Harp Consorts were intended to be heard in a concert-like setting. The most likely places for such performances would be either in the Presence Chamber, the Privy Chamber or in the Privy gallery.

¹¹⁸ *Whitehall Palace*, esp. Chapters 4–6.

¹¹⁹ This diagram is based on Thurley’s layout: *Whitehall Palace*, 93.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 93.

¹²¹ See *Ibid.* 65.

¹²² See also Susan Foreman, *From Palace to Power: An Illustrated History of Whitehall* (Brighton, 1995).

Figure 1.1. *Diagrammatic layout of the rooms off the Privy gallery at Whitehall & their probable functions during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Charles I*

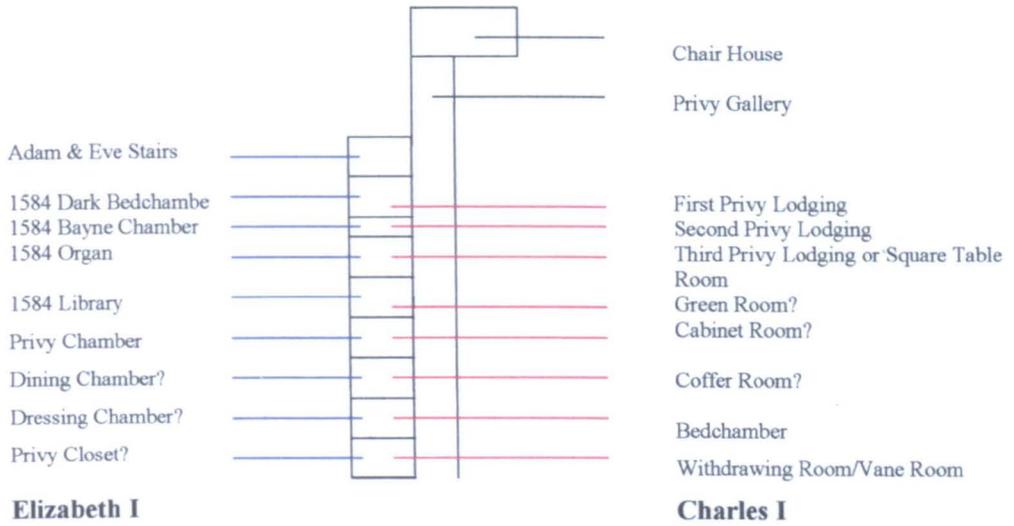


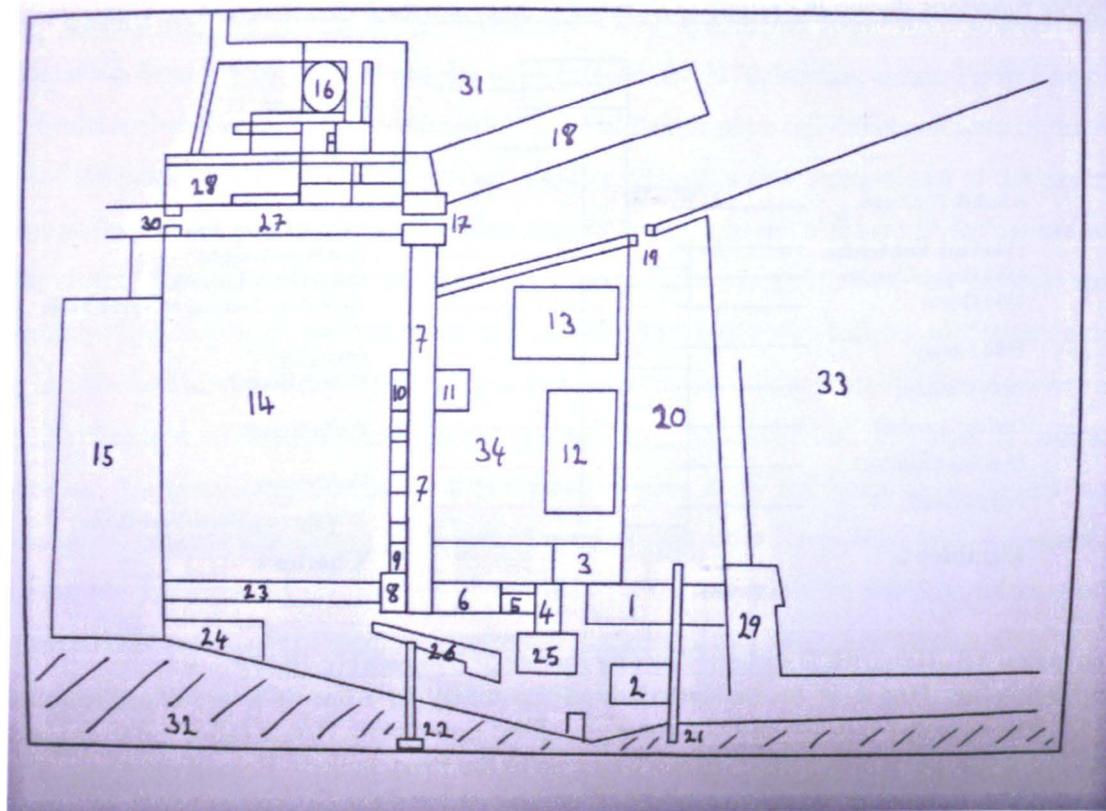
Illustration 1.1. *Hendrick Danckert, The Old Palace of Whitehall (c.1675)*¹²³

The Banqueting House is on the left (behind the trees). In front of it are a series of low buildings comprising the Tiltyard. To the right of the Banqueting House (after the trees) is the gate to the Tiltyard and the Park Stairs leading up to the Privy gallery. Behind the Park Gate is the Holbein Gate. Next to this are the Tudor Tennis Court and the Cockpit-at-Court. St James's Park is in the foreground.



¹²³ Reproduced by kind permission of the Government Art Collection; further reproduction is not permitted.

Figure 1.2. Diagrammatic layout of Whitehall Palace in the reign of Charles I¹²⁴



- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Great Hall | 18. Tiltyard |
| 2. Chapel Royal | 19. The Court Gate |
| 3. Guard Chamber (above) | 20. The Court |
| 4. Presence Chamber (above) | 21. Whitehall Stairs |
| 5. Closet (i.e. Private Chapel) | 22. Privy Bridge; Shield Gallery
(above) |
| 6. Privy Chamber (above) | 23. Stone Gallery; Matted Gallery
(above) |
| 7. Privy gallery | 24. Prince's Lodgings |
| 8. Withdrawing Room/Vane
Room | 25. Queen's Presence Chamber
(above) |
| 9. Bedchamber | 26. Turk's Gallery (above) |
| 10. Adam & Eve Stairs | 27. King Street |
| 11. Council Chamber | 28. The Brake/Great Open Tennis
Court |
| 12. Masquing House | 29. Great Kitchen |
| 13. Banqueting House | 30. King Street Gate |
| 14. Privy Gardens | 31. St James's Park |
| 15. The Orchard | 32. River Thames |
| 16. Cockpit-at-Court | 33. Scotland Yard |
| 17. Holbein Gate | 34. Pebble Court/Preaching Place |

¹²⁴ This is based on several plans: *Whitehall Palace*, 83; H. M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, iv: 1485-1660 (Part II) (London, 1982), 309; George Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

Holman has suggested that the way in which music was deployed in the masque was a reflection of the everyday activities of the various music groups. The lutes and voices performed the songs etc., the violin band played the louder dance music, and the wind band provided aural cover for scene moves and processions.¹²⁵ The wind instruments also occasionally played dance music where they were added to the violins for colour usually in grotesque music or antimasques. For example, cornetts and oboes were used in Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613) for the antimasque dance of statues, which Peter Walls notes was to provide a contrast to 'the lightness of the violins heard in the dance of nymphs'.¹²⁶

Although references to actual performances in specific parts of the palace are scant, one can advance some ideas about where in the palace the various music groups would have played. Various rooms in the palace were used to receive diplomats and guests. From an examination of the notebooks of John Finet, Master of Ceremonies 1628-41, Albert Loomie has noted that in order of ceremonial importance these rooms were:

Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, Withdrawing Chamber. The Presence, with its throne and cloth of State, was used only for the first and last public audiences of ambassadors and agents, or 'envoys'. Separated by a lobby was the Privy Chamber [...], which was used by court officials in attendance but was rarely seen by diplomats. Close to this was the Withdrawing Chamber, which was preferred by Charles for his many interviews with diplomats since it was conveniently near other waiting rooms [...]. For public audiences of extraordinary ambassadors and other great occasions Charles directed that the Banqueting House be used, even if, at times prior to 1637, the scenery for a masque might be only partially dismantled.¹²⁷

In addition, Charles would freely entertain audiences in other parts of the palace such as the Great Hall, Withdrawing Chamber, Guard Chamber or the Preaching Place; the Presence Chamber was also used for semi-public dining. Rooms such as the Great Hall or Presence Chamber were accessible to most courtiers; music was presumably used when guests were received. These rooms would also have been large enough to hold entertainments such as dancing staged for the amusement of guests. Thus, the violin and wind bands probably performed in rooms such as the Banqueting House, the Presence Chamber, or the Guard Chamber. The LVV were better suited to more intimate settings, such as Privy Chamber or the Bedchamber, and perhaps the Presence Chamber. Although Finet's notebooks do not record any references to music, it is likely that music was provided in the private parts of the court on a

¹²⁵ Holman, 'Review of Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque, 1604-1640*', *EMH*, 16 (1997), 328-35, esp. 332-33.

¹²⁶ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque, 1604-1640* (Oxford, 1996), 151.

¹²⁷ Loomie (ed.), *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet 1628-1641* (New York, 1987), 27-30, quotation is from 29. Finet published his notebooks: *Finetti Philoxenis: Som Choice Observations of S^r John Finett, Knight, And Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, Touching the Reception, and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England* (London, 1656).

regular basis, especially given the many references to organs and virginals in various parts of the royal apartments. This music would have been provided by the various incarnations of the LVV. In the Queen's household it was usual for public audiences to be granted in her Privy Chamber and for her private audiences to be held in her Withdrawing Room.¹²⁸ We know that on at least one occasion Queen Anne of Denmark held entertainments in her Privy Chamber.¹²⁹

In the early seventeenth century the most informative accounts of where certain instruments were set up come from bills for repairs or for moving organs and virginals etc. Naturally, these records are limited. They do not account for easily portable instruments, such as viols or lutes, responsibility for which was covered by a separate appointment held mostly by the Taylors (see above). A warrant issued from the Lord Chamberlain to the Surveyor General on 20 August 1663 'to make and erect a large organ loft by his Ma^{ties} Chappell at Whitehall' reveals that this was 'where formerly the great Double organ stood'.¹³⁰ Several makers, tuners and repairers of instruments were associated with the 'Consorte' and the LVV. Andrea Bassano served from 1603 until 1626. Initially, Bassano (who also held a post in the wind band) held the post jointly with Robert Henlake. They received a patent during their lives and for the longer liver of them with responsibility for the 'keeping, making and repairing of his Majesty's virginals and organs, with other wind instruments'.¹³¹ The pair received £60 a year, a 300% increase on the wage of their predecessor. Henlake died towards the end of 1610 and a new warrant was made for Bassano and Edward Norgate in 1611. Norgate assumed the post in full after Bassano's death in 1628, serving until 1642. Norgate was also a talented artist and carried out several diplomatic missions on behalf of James I and Charles I.¹³² (Sharing of court posts was common, the place was usually held in full by the longer liver. This was a good way to gain entry to the court, as there were more applicants than places. Indeed, a share in a post was a valuable commodity, and could be sold for a tidy sum.¹³³) Thomas Craddock served as an organ maker from c.1621-36. The post appears to have been extraordinary initially. Craddock did not gain an official post until May 1626. Although he died in 1636, he was not replaced until 1661 (by James Farr). The different instrument makers appear to have had separate duties. Norgate appears to have been responsible for the organs at Whitehall, Richmond Palace and Hampton Court. Several bills have survived from the late 1630s for repairs, gilding and painting the organs.¹³⁴ Craddock appears to have been responsible for the organs in the Privy lodgings at

¹²⁸ Loomie, *Finet*, 30.

¹²⁹ *CSPD* (1619-1623), 47; *RECM*, viii. 80. This document is discussed in Chapter 7, below.

¹³⁰ *RECM*, i. 47-48.

¹³¹ *RECM*, iv. 5.

¹³² For Norgate see Ashbee, 'Norgate, Edward', *BDECM*, i. 833-37; Spink, 'Norgate, Edward', *NGD*, xviii. 42-43.

¹³³ See *King's Servants*, 225-39.

¹³⁴ *RECM*, iii. 89, 94 (2) & 101.

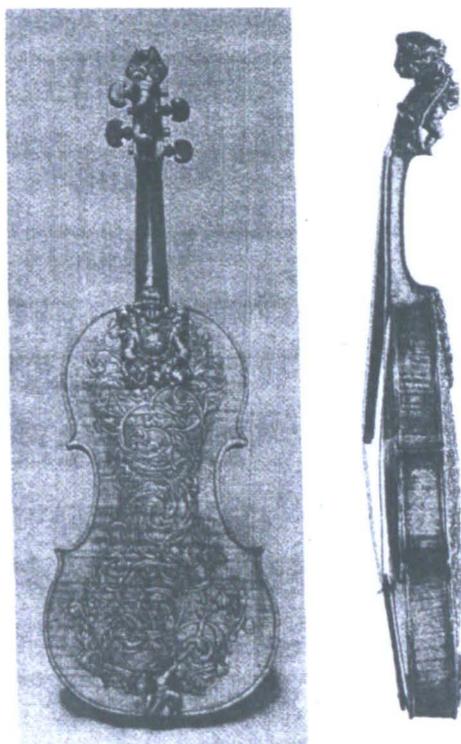
Whitehall and those in St James's Palace.¹³⁵ In the early Restoration period John Hingeston was appointed keeper of the King's organs. There are several warrants for payments to him for repairs etc. made to various organs; one dating from 23 July 1662 is for

mending and repairing the organ in his Majesty's Chapel Royal and Privy Lodgings at Whitehall, for a bass viol for the private musick, and for erecting an organ in the Banqueting House at Whitehall and afterwards removing it to the Chapel at Hampton Court, and for divers other disbursements between 2 April 1661 and 24 June 1662.¹³⁶

A warrant from the Lord Chamberlain to Richard Hudson (who replaced John Taylor as keeper of the lutes and viols), dated 15 April 1663, reveals a money-conscious court eager to protect its investment in musical instruments:

Whereas divers of his Ma^{ties} musitians have bought both Violls, violins and Lutes for his Ma^{ties} service for which they have received Warrants to be paid considerable summes of money. These are therefore to require you to take the said Instruments into your Custody and to cause his Ma^{ties} Armes to be cut in Mother of Pearl and inlayd in the finger boards of the seaveral instruments as hath beene usually done heretofore and that you cause them to be secured in his Ma^{ties} house and not removed from thence but when commanded upon his Majesty's service to the end they be not chang'd or broaken.¹³⁷

Illustration 1.2. *English violin from last third of the seventeenth century housed in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London*¹³⁸



¹³⁵ *RECM*, iii. 16 & 194.

¹³⁶ *RECM*, i. 34 & 43.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 43.

¹³⁸ Reproduced from Anthony Baines, *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue of Musical Instruments, Volume II: Non-Keyboard Instruments* (London, 1978), figure 18.

None of these instruments with the mother-of-pearl inlays appears to have survived. Several (non-English) stringed instruments housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum are decorated with ivory or mother-of-pearl, giving an impression of how the English instruments may have looked.¹³⁹ Indeed, in the Victoria and Albert Museum there is an elaborately carved violin from the same period thought to have belonged to either Charles II or James II (Illustration 1.2). The belly and the head of the violin are elaborately carved in relief and the belly includes a carving of the Stuart Royal Arms.¹⁴⁰

Henrietta Maria also had her own organ makers and repairers: Robert Dallam and John Burwood. Dallam was one of the famous family of organ makers who built organs at York Minster, Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and Whitehall.¹⁴¹ The Dallams appear to have been Catholics and left England for France in 1642. Robert described himself as ‘organist to the Queen of England’;¹⁴² his religion would have been a good introduction to Henrietta Maria’s court. On 9 July 1626 Burwood was sworn as a ‘Groome of his Ma^{ty} vestrey Extraorinarie for the tuninge & mendinge of his Ma^{ty} Organs when hee shalbe required’.¹⁴³ He was associated with Henrietta Maria’s household from c.1638 when he repaired and tuned the organ in her chapel at Richmond.¹⁴⁴ There is also an interesting bill from Burwood in 1640:

for takeing the Orgaine asunder and removeing the same out of the privie Gallery into her Ma^{ty} Chappell at Whitehall and for takeinge the Orgaine asunder at Denmark house and removeinge the same into the privie Chamber of the Queenside at Whitehall and for tuneing the said Orgaines as by his bill [dated 21 December 1640 and acquittance of 23 March 1640/1]: £6. 0s. 0d.¹⁴⁵

This invoice refers to the Queen’s Catholic chapel at Whitehall; Dallam was also paid for work done at around the same time:

Robert Dallam, her Ma^{ty} Organ Maker, for mendinge and tuneinge the Newe Cabinet Organ in the draweing Roome and for tuneinge the organ in her Mats Chappell at Somersett howse fowre sev’al tymes as by his bill together wth his Acq^t dated 9 July 1640: £6. 0s. 0d.¹⁴⁶

Henrietta Maria also employed Robert Vere as keeper of the organs from 1632. Vere appears to have been replaced by Richard Greenbury in 1635, who served until 1642; Greenbury was also keeper of the Queen’s pictures.¹⁴⁷ These records show that music featured throughout the various Stuart palaces. Although the records are mostly from the Restoration period, it is likely

¹³⁹ See *V & A Catalogue*.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 16-17.

¹⁴¹ See Ashbee, ‘Dallam Family’, *BDECM*, i. 330-31: see *ibid.* for Bibliography.

¹⁴² Quoted in ‘Dallam Family’, *BDECM*, i. 330.

¹⁴³ *RECM*, viii. 325.

¹⁴⁴ *RECM*, v. 17.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 17-18.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 17.

¹⁴⁷ See *RECM*, iii. 250 & 251.

that they are evidence of a well-established and continuous tradition of music making. It is reasonable to assume that there were, for example, organs in the 'Privy Lodgings at Whitehall' during the first half of the century. It is easier to estimate where the violin and wind bands would have played as providing music to accompany dancing was a main function of these groups. The repertoire presumably played by the LVV would have been performed largely by portable groups, quickly assembled and dissembled. The presence of so many organs at the palaces is significant, and is indicative of the growing importance of the organ as an accompanying instrument in consort music of the period.

Although they were lowly servants, a post in the royal music was the professional pinnacle for a (secular) musician in seventeenth-century England. There were other opportunities, such as the Waits of various towns or private positions in wealthy households. However, a court post was generally better paid, had the added bonus of status, and had more chances for advancement.¹⁴⁸ The best paying musician's post outside court (notwithstanding the private employ of some nobles) was in the London Waits who were paid on average around £20 a year.¹⁴⁹ Attempting to estimate the approximate modern values of wages against the cost of living is difficult, especially in the seventeenth century (and before). Wages and costs were different in different parts of the country; different classes of people had different types of expenses and standards of living. Also, items often cannot be judged on the same basis as their modern equivalents, e.g. even proportionately, can a loaf of bread be of the same value to a Caroline musician as a modern musician etc?¹⁵⁰ However, Peter Walls's succinct description of prices during the period puts wages into some context; the passage is worth quoting in full:

Court records suggest that £10 would have bought a reasonable lute or viol in the Jacobean period, though Alfonso Ferrabosco was paid twice that for a lyra viol purchased in 1623. A treble cornett in the late Jacobean era cost less than £2. Violin prices in the period ranged from £2 paid in 1607 to £24 for 'a Cremona violin' bought in 1638. (Two tenor violins acquired for the court at about the same time cost £12 each.) A labourer earned about 10*d.* a day (about £12 a year), while a yeoman working the land would have an income somewhere between £40 and £200 per annum. A pint of beer cost a halfpenny, admission to the yard in the public theatres a penny, a seat in a gallery twopence or (for a cushion and an even better view) threepence. The cheapest place in the indoor theatres cost sixpence. In 1626 [the musician] Nicholas Farnaby leased a house in the Parish of St Olave's Jewry (where he was parish clerk) for 30*s.* (£1. 10*s.*) per annum; in the 1630s the Countess of Carlisle paid an annual rent of £150 for what has been described as a modest house in the Strand.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ See also *King's Servants*, 160-82, esp. 168-73.

¹⁴⁹ For the London Waits see Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, NJ, 1953; repr. 1969). An interesting comparison can be made with C. E. C. Burch, *Minstrels and Players in Southampton 1428-1635* (Southampton, 1969).

¹⁵⁰ A useful handbook in this area is Lionel Munby, *How Much is that Worth?* (Salisbury, 2/1996).

¹⁵¹ Walls, 'London, 1603-49', in Curtis Price (ed.), *The Early Baroque Era, From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s* (London, 1993), 281. Walls's article provides a succinct introduction to musical life in London in the early seventeenth century.

Some musicians were employed in the service of wealthy courtiers. Indeed, casual work was occasionally to be found in large entertainments: participation in *The Triumph of Peace* earned musicians between £10 and £40.¹⁵² Posts ranged from casual part-time commissions to full-time positions and could yield a musician as much as £20 per annum. However, the majority of musicians at court were paid around £30 a year (20d. a day), and the LVV were mostly paid £40 a year; in addition, court musicians also received an annual allowance for livery of £16. 2s. 6d. This figure was, however, only the tip of the iceberg for some court musicians: other benefits were available to the more entrepreneurial members of the musical establishment.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, because wages of court musicians remained the same from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries while inflation rose, by the 1630s the average court musician was worse off than his predecessors. Nevertheless, court musicians were generally better off than many court servants were, and considerably better off than other musicians were.

Royal monopolies, forbidden by parliament in the early 1620s, had been unpopular in the rule of James I. However, to raise revenue in the 1630s, Charles I reintroduced monopolies under the guise of patents. Patents were frequently granted to musicians, often for non-musical enterprises.¹⁵⁴ An associated source of income for the crown was the encouragement of incorporations by trade associations that lacked strong guilds, such as leatherworkers. Under this initiative, a group of the King's musicians reconstituted themselves as a corporation under a charter dated 15 July 1635. The Corporation was established due to the constant dispute between the court musicians and the company of minstrel freemen of the City of London. Both groups claimed authority over the training of musicians in the city and the surrounding areas. Most of the members of the Corporation were royal musicians, and most of the LVV were involved; Nicholas Lanier was elected as the first marshal. Indeed, it seems probable that many members of the LVV (and the Royal Music generally) would have also supplemented their income as teachers, especially during the Interregnum.

Other benefits of being a royal musician included immunity from arrest, immunity from certain subsidies and taxes, the courtesy title of 'gentlemen', and entitlement to a coat of arms.¹⁵⁵ The musicians were also entitled to free diet and 'bouge' or 'bouche' (bread and ale for breakfast, and firewood and candles) at court. This was a valuable benefit of a court post, although some musicians were given more than others. A warrant dated 7 December 1617 noted that the 'Consorte' was to be allowed 'fower dishes', whereas 'The Musitians' were allowed

¹⁵² See Andrew Sabol, 'New Documents on Shirley's Masque "The Triumph of Peace"', *ML*, 47 (1966), 19-21.

¹⁵³ For a more detailed discussion on this point, see *Fiddlers*, Chapter 2, esp. 44-52.

¹⁵⁴ Holman gives examples in *Fiddlers*, 49.

¹⁵⁵ See also G. A. Philipps, 'Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I', *ML*, 58 (1977), 29-42; Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players, 1540-1740', (1983), i. 119-43; *Fiddlers*, 32-57.

three.¹⁵⁶ This was part of the alterations to diet proposed to reduce the household expenses to £50,000. Another warrant dated July 1626 was 'for allowance of five dishes at a meal and bouge of Court to certain of his Majesty's musicians, during his Majesty's pleasure'.¹⁵⁷ One imagines that these unnamed musicians were senior personnel such as Nicholas Lanier. A further warrant suggests that some problems were experienced by the household due to the sheer numbers of musicians required to be fed by 1627: a consequence of Charles I's policy of retaining most of his father's musicians in addition to his own. It is also clear from this warrant that the 'Consorte', now the LVV, retained a more privileged position than many of the other music groups, and that such groups were demarcated, even at mealtimes:

Musicons & Consorts

That there being 3 messes of 3 dishes of meate appointed for his Ma^{ts} Musicons and Consorts to be eaten by them together in one Roome. Because the number of them is soe great that they cannot sitt together wth any conveniency, the matter was referred to the Consideracōn of his Ma^{ts} officers of the greencloth how they might be best accomadated and to compose the difference between them. Upon whose certificate to his Lo^p it is ordered That the Consorts for winde Instrum^{ts} to be restored to their former allowance of 4 dishes of meate and that the newe Consorts for Voyces, Lutes, &c be likewise allowed a diett of 4 dishes and the Musicons a dyett of 3 dishes to be eaten sev'ally in their owne Chambers.¹⁵⁸

The promotion of the wind band to four dishes was presumably due to Nicholas Lanier being a member, as were most of his family and extended family.

Although several sections of the Royal Music joined to form the Corporation, they remained demarcated at court. Indeed, the functional and physical distinctions between the various music groups are important in understanding the relatively privileged status of the private musicians in comparison to their colleagues in the rest of the Royal Music. This is perhaps one of the reasons behind the resentment evident from the challenge to Lanier's authority. As we have seen, during the reign of Charles I far greater emphasis was placed on formality within the court and access to the person of the monarch was severely restricted. One important advantage held by members of the LVV was their physical proximity to the King and high-ranking nobility. In seventeenth-century London taste radiated outwards from the court, it was natural for members of the aristocracy to wish to employ musicians who could furnish them with the latest musical fashions.¹⁵⁹ This raises an important question of whether the members of the LVV were more privileged than were those in the other music groups. From the existing court records we can glean a fair account of how well the court musicians fared. Certain privileges were common to all court musicians: livery, immunity from subsidies and taxes, New

¹⁵⁶ *CSPD* (1611-1618), 501; *RECM*, viii. 76.

¹⁵⁷ *RECM*, iii. 19.

¹⁵⁸ (Undated [1627]) *RECM*, v. 2-3.

¹⁵⁹ See Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1993).

Year gifts. However, it seems some privileges were dependant on family connections and on the entrepreneurial nature of individuals; the Bassano, Lanier and Lupo families are a case in point.

Although a court post was prestigious and reasonably well paid, many musicians were often in debt, even the more favoured ones such as Lupo and Ferrabosco II.¹⁶⁰ In order to supplement their income many royal musicians held posts outside the court, in cathedrals and wealthy households. For example, Lanier and Cormack MacDermott were employed on a part-time or occasional basis in the Cecil household between 1603 and 1614.¹⁶¹ This was in addition to their posts in the royal music. Some court musicians, such as Robert Johnson, John Wilson, and William Lawes wrote a considerable amount of music for the public theatres. Lawes was also commissioned, with Simon Ives, to compose some of the music for *The Triumph of Peace*. Evidently, a court post, or court connections, was advantageous in obtaining positions elsewhere. Giles Tomkins was involved in a dispute over his appointment as organist at Salisbury Cathedral in January 1628/9, replacing the deceased John Holmes. The dean of the cathedral preferred Tomkins, whereas Thomas Holmes was preferred by the master of the choristers, and later by the bishop. As so often, the family's royal connections proved vital, and after a long dispute, upon which the King was asked to pronounce, Tomkins was appointed.¹⁶² However, his pluralism was apparently causing some friction a few years later. In 1634 Archbishop Laud noted that Tomkins was in charge of teaching the choir at Salisbury Cathedral. However, Tomkins was accused of leaving the choir without a teacher once or twice while he attended court. Evidently, there was some truth to the allegations as Tomkins pledged not to do so again.¹⁶³ It is unclear in what capacity he was absenting himself to attend the court, although it is likely to have been as Charles I's main organist in the LVV, a post Tomkins obtained in 1630. This adds further weight to the suggestion that the LVV worked on some kind of rota system, similarly to the Chapel Royal.

James I and Charles I retained a sizeable retinue of musicians. They were generally paid on time, or within a reasonable timeframe; however, by 1635 payments to musicians were about six months in arrears.¹⁶⁴ Some arrears can probably be explained by absence from the court, although in times of financial crisis musicians were never going to be a priority. In the reign of Charles II the financial situation at the court was much worse than earlier in the century, and the musicians were among those who suffered. Charles I has often been criticised for the extravagance of the masques staged for his court. However, as Malcolm Smuts has shown,

¹⁶⁰ See also *Fiddlers*, 52.

¹⁶¹ See Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)', *JRMA*, 116 (1991), 24-40, esp. the lists on 26.

¹⁶² See Ashbee, 'Tomkins, Giles', *BDECM*, ii. 1083-84; Peter Le Huray & John Irving, 'Tomkins, Giles', *NGD*, xxv. 575.

¹⁶³ See Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), 261-62.

¹⁶⁴ See *RECM*, iii. 161-243.

relatively speaking, these entertainments were not a serious drain on court finances:¹⁶⁵ nor was the Royal Music. Existing court records show that the average annual cost of the LVV from 1625-42 was c.£2,400. (This figure includes instruments, strings, wages, livery, New Year gifts, and miscellaneous expenses.) Even allowing for gaps in the records, the annual cost of the group was unlikely to have been more than c.£3,000: a reasonable amount in comparison with many other parts of the Crown's expenditure.¹⁶⁶ For example, in the mid-1630s the Crown spent c.£7,100 on extra diets of regional Lord Presidents, Star Chamber and others; Gerald Aylmer calculated that the total annual expenditure at the time was between £340,000 and £360,000.¹⁶⁷

In conclusion: the various incarnations of the private music throughout the early part of the seventeenth century was the most significant musical force in England. Its members were at responsible for most of the musical innovations that swept English consort music in the first half of the century and in the early Restoration period. Some of the finest composers and performers were employed in this group, from the old-guard of Coprario, Ferrabosco II, Lupo and Gibbons, to the vanguard of Maurice Webster and William Lawes, and even to Matthew Locke and Charles Coleman in the Restoration period. Understanding the complex working of the early Stuart court allows a greater understanding of the role of music within the court. Lawes must stand out as one of the most significant composers employed in the LVV during the reign of Charles I, and so it is to him that we now turn.

¹⁶⁵ Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987).

¹⁶⁶ The most expensive year in the extant records was 1632, where expenses for the LVV rose to c. £2,900.

¹⁶⁷ *King's Servants*, 249.

The Autograph Manuscripts of William Lawes

This chapter attempts to identify characteristics in Lawes's hand throughout the autograph sources. Some key features of his hand shall first be discussed, followed by a detailed discussion of each of the sources in rough chronological order.

Lawes's consort music largely survives in manuscript sources; none of it was published during his lifetime. Eight autograph manuscripts have survived. A comprehensive survey of Lawes's hand is at present lacking, although useful comments on many of the autograph sources can be gleaned from various monographs, articles, essays, and from modern editions of his music.¹ The autographs mostly consist of instrumental music, which is usually more difficult to date than vocal music: the latter often being linked to specific events such as masques or plays. The sources vary in material, function, date, and states of completeness:

1. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17798: bass partbook from a set of six
2. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432: songbook
3. GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61: five partbooks from a set of six
4. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2: scorebook
5. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3: scorebook
6. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229: organ book
7. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238-40: string partbooks
8. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70: lyra viol partbook from a set of three

In addition to these sources, several others have been attributed to Lawes's early hand: GB-Och, Mus. MSS 725-7, GB-Lbl, MS R.M.24.k.3, and GB-T, Mus. MS 302 (now in the Bodleian

¹ Notable examples are: Lefkowitz, *Lawes*; David Pinto, 'William Lawes' Consort Suites for the Viols, and the Autograph Sources', *Chelys*, 4 (1972), 11-16; id., 'William Lawes' Music for Viol Consort', *EM*, 6 (1978), 12-24; *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five & Six Parts*, ed. Pinto (London, 1979); *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. Pinto, (MB, 60; London, 1991); *For ye Violls*; Christopher Field, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony', in Andrew Ashbee & Peter Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996), 12-13(n31); id., 'Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 206-07 & 244-46(n54 & n64); Jonathan Wainwright, 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered: Christ Church, Oxford, Music Manuscripts 2, 397-408, and 436; 417-418 and 1080; and 432 and 612-613', in *John Jenkins*, 206-07(& n98); Pamela Willetts, 'John Barnard's Collections of Viol and Vocal Music', *Chelys*, 20 (1991), 28-42.

Library, Oxford). These sources have not been included in the present discussion, as I do not believe these attributions to be correct (see Ch. 4).

Murray Lefkowitz was the first musicologist to examine the autograph sources in detail. Much of his pioneering work is to be commended; however, he made several rash and misleading statements. For example, Lefkowitz noted that all of the autograph volumes (except for MSS 40657-61: commonly known as the Shirley partbooks) are ‘bound exactly alike, in brown calf, with the Royal Arms of Charles I stamped in gold on the covers, and on either side of the design an initial, first W. and then L. [except B.3, which has H.L.]’.² Whilst conceding that the manuscripts offer little assistance in determining their chronology, he further suggested that

all of the volumes appear to be part of one large set which was meticulously arranged and guarded. [...]

An examination and identification of the watermarks of the various autographs supports the claim that they were for the most part all of the same set, as well as the suggestion that the set was compiled in Oxford, c. 1642-3.³

However, Lefkowitz’s idea of ‘one large set’ is somewhat misleading, even fanciful. David Pinto has noted:

It is *not* so that ‘all nine autograph volumes are bound exactly alike’. Add. 17798 [...] has a contemporary vellum binding stamped in gold BASSVS above a conventional floral design; its watermark does not seem to be an encircled peacock. It and D. 229 are far smaller than B. 2 and B. 3. These volumes do not have printed staves, and the number of staves a page varies—and of course the organ-book has staves of six lines.

Most significant of all is the diversity in binding: even the volumes bound in calf differ from one another. The stamp of Arms upon D. 229 is not the same as that upon B. 2 and B. 3 [...] Furthermore the stamped initials upon D. 229 differ.

This in conjunction with Lefkowitz’s own findings on the watermarks is clear evidence that B. 2 and B. 3 are not of the same vintage as D. 229.⁴

Thus, the chronology of Lawes’s autograph manuscripts is rather confused and in need of detailed examination. However, it is generally accepted that at least part of MSS 40657-61 were copied early in Lawes’s career, and that the scorebooks and MS 31432 are representative of his mature hand. Therefore, when ‘later sources’ are referred to in this discussion as a benchmark, B.2, B.3 and MS 31432 are intended.

Lawes’s signature

With the exception of the Shirley partbooks and Mus. 70, Lawes’s hand (text and music) does not show signs of significant change. The best sources for working on his

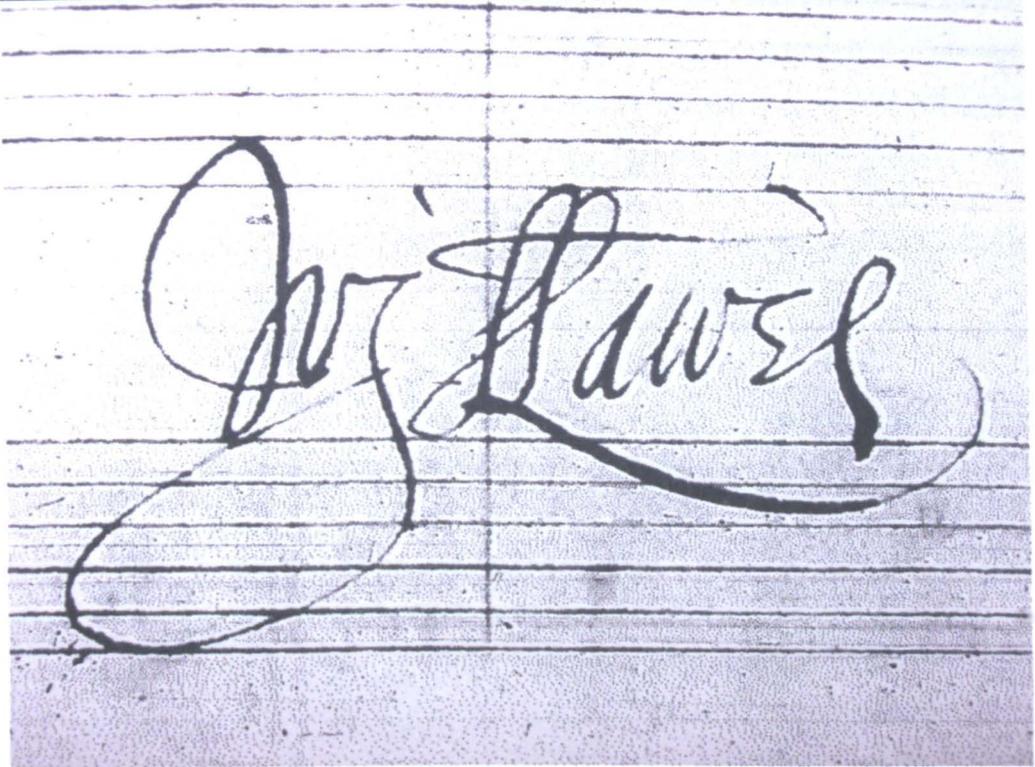
² Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 31.

³ *Ibid.* 31.

⁴ Pinto, ‘Autograph Sources’, 12.

handwriting are B.2 and MS 31432, which contain some vocal music with several blocks of text. One of the most important aspects of Lawes's hand is his signature, which is broadly consistent throughout D.238-40, D.229, B.2, B.3 and MSS 31432 and 17798. In each of these sources, the dominant signature is what we shall here call his 'mature' signature, i.e. 'Wjllawes' (Illustration 2.1). Lawes signed the majority of his pieces, although there are several unsigned pieces in the Shirley partbooks, and many of the organ parts to the fantasia-suites are unsigned in D.229, as are most of the five-part viol consort pieces in MS 17798. It is unclear why he did not sign these pieces.

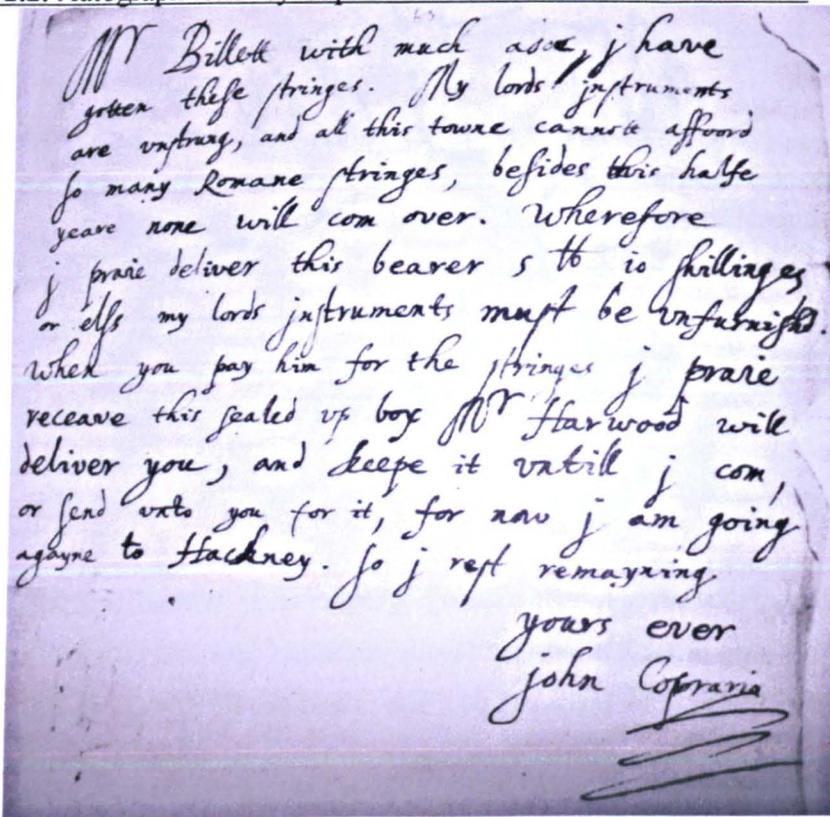
Illustration 2.1. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, f. 15v (detail): 'mature' signature



This mature signature has several distinguishing characteristics. William is abbreviated as 'Wj'. The 'j' has a wide loop at the bottom that usually continues upwards to the right, into the 'll', often giving the impression that this was done with one stroke of the pen. The double 'll' is the secretary form of the capital 'L'. The first 'l' resembles the modern lowercase form of the letter, whilst the second resembles the modern uppercase form. The base of the second 'l' curves underneath the letters 'awes'. The length of this curve varies. It can finish at the 'a' or after the 's', or anywhere in between. The double 'll' is crossed with a short horizontal dash and both 'l's have loops at the top of the vertical stem. It was common contemporary practice to cross a double 'l', although the double 'll' and the curved dash seem to only be features of Lawes's mature hand. The joining of the 'j' to the 'll' appears to be a key characteristic in the development of Lawes's signature. Most of his signatures are written in three separate stages:

the 'Wj' (each letter is often written separately); the 'll'; and the 'awes'. This three-stage formation is most noticeable amongst the early signatures of the Shirley partbooks, although in many instances it is difficult to see, as the stem of the 'j' is usually brought into the 'll'. This suggests that Lawes was consciously developing this join, giving the appearance of writing the 'Wjll' without lifting the pen. He became more adept at this in the later manuscripts, although throughout the autographs there are many instances of this 'un-joined' signature, however, the break is usually difficult to see. In the early seventeenth century the English alphabet had 24 letters: 'j' and 'v' were regarded as variations of 'i' and 'u' respectively. Indeed, they did not become fully-fledged letters until Noah Webster's *An American Dictionary of the English Language* of 1828.⁵ Nevertheless, one wonders whether Lawes's adoption of the 'j' form of 'i' in his signature was in imitation of his teacher John Coprario, who tended to use the 'j' form when using the first person singular or when using 'i' at the start of a word; Coprario used a similar 'j' to Lawes in his forename (Illustration 2.2).

Illustration 2.2. Autograph letter by Coprario dated 1 June 1607 to 'Mr Billett'⁶



Even the loop at the bottom of the stem running upwards into the next letter is the same in the hand of both men. Indeed, Lawes and Coprario both tend to use a long 's'. Lawes often uses the

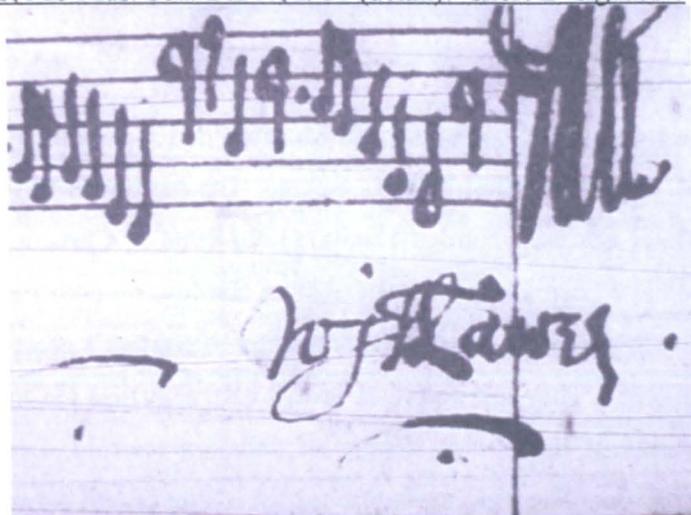
⁵ A good account of the development of the modern alphabet is David Sacks, *The Alphabet* (London, 2003).

⁶ Cecil Family & Estate Papers, Box U/60. Cf. Coprario's autograph treatise, now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, published in facsimile in *Giovanni Coperario: Rules How to Compose (c.1610)*, ed. Manfred Bukofzer (Los Angeles, 1952).

long ‘s’ in words where there is a double s, the first usually being a long ‘s’. Lawes may have adopted these imitative handwriting traits during his tenure with Coprario in Edward Seymour’s household.

Although there are examples of Lawes’s mature signature with an italic ‘e’ (e.g. MS 17798, f. 1; Illustration 2.21c), an epsilon is more common and seems to be indicative of his mature signature. Coprario preferred the italic ‘e’, which may have exerted an early influence on Lawes. The epsilon is a more natural choice for proceeding from the ‘w’, providing a seamless transition down from the top of the ‘w’: allowing a more flowing form of the signature. Late examples of the signature with an italic ‘e’ are presumably aberrations, subconscious remnants of prior practice.⁷ This ‘mature’ signature is the one most commonly found in the sources, although some of the later examples of Lawes’s hand contain a variation, the ‘short L’ (see below), characterised by the relatively short length of the base of the letter ‘L’, which points downwards at an angle (the ‘short L’ signature; Illustration 2.3).

Illustration 2.3. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.240, f. 18 (detail): ‘short L’ signature



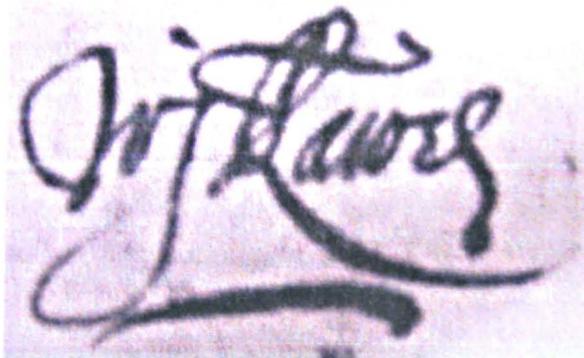
Notwithstanding the ‘short L’ variation, only in the Shirley partbooks and in Mus. 70 do we find examples of significant change or developments in Lawes’s signature, suggesting that these sources are relatively early, predating the other autographs (discussed below). When Lawes adopted his ‘mature signature’ is unclear. He certainly did so before February 1633/4, as he signed a document relating to Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace* using this form of the signature (Illustration 2.4).⁸ Unfortunately, there are no Lawes signatures in the surviving

⁷ A useful introduction to handwriting in seventeenth century England is Giles Dawson & Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London, 1966), 7-10, & *passim*; see also Robert Shay & Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 23-26.

⁸ See Lefkowitz, ‘The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke; New Light on Shirley’s “Triumph of Peace”’, *JAMS*, 18 (1965), 42-60, the signature is reproduced in Plate I; see also Andrew Sabol, ‘New Documents on Shirley’s Masque “The Triumph of Peace”’, *ML*, 47 (1966), 10-26. The date of the signature is unclear, although it is likely to be February 1633/4.

court acquittance books to provide a useful dating tool. Court records contain several references to payments to Lawes, who usually signed for his own wages, and for those of his brother Henry. These payments are recorded in the Exchequer books, known as the Auditor's Debenture Books, E403/2187-98; however, these books do not contain original signatures.⁹ Two books (E405/543 and E407/10) are isolated survivors from the records of individual tellers containing original signatures, but cover a period prior to Lawes's royal appointment (1628-32).

Illustration 2.4. Lawes's signature from the Longleat Papers¹⁰



GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61

MSS 40657-61 were acquired by the British Museum in 1922 (Sotheby's sale catalogue dated 16 May, lot 336); the *Sextus* (first bass) is lacking. The partbooks had previously belonged to Angela Burdett (later Baroness Burdett-Coutts) (1814-1906).¹¹ Christopher Field has suggested that Burdett may have been given them by Robert Shirley, seventh Earl Ferrers (1756-1827). Shirley's second wife, Elizabeth, was a granddaughter of Burdett's great-grandfather, Sir Robert Burdett, Bt (1716-97).¹² They are bound in brown calf with ties. On the cover is gold tooling and the coat of arms of the Shirley family of Staunton Harrold, Leicestershire. The books measure c.295 x 200mm. The watermark throughout is France and Navarree 1/2, which dates to around the turn of the seventeenth century.¹³ The books contain consort music of two, three, four, five and six parts by composers including Lawes, Coprario, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Thomas Lupo, John Ward, William White, Monteverdi and Luca Marenzio. This is the only surviving Lawes autograph that does not solely contain his own works, indicating that they were

⁹ Transcribed in *RECM*, iii. 165-239.

¹⁰ Reproduced from Lefkowitz, 'Longleat Papers', Plate I.

¹¹ See *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 70; includes information on the physical makeup of the manuscript and a full inventory, *ibid.*, 71-76; however, it is sometimes misleading in its presentation of names; e.g., nowhere in the Shirley partbooks does Lawes use the signature 'Wi: Lawes'. The A1, A2 etc references to the hands in the partbooks are those used in *VdGS Manuscripts*. The partbooks are also discussed in *For ye Violls*, 11-15, & 30-33 (inventory).

¹² See *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. Field & Pinto (MB, 81; London, 2003), 217.

¹³ See *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 258-59.

copied for their owner. Four hands have been identified in the manuscript.¹⁴ Two are attributed to Lawes: one an early hand (A1), the other a later hand (A2). The third hand (B) remains unidentified, although Robert Ford noted that the same copyist contributed to US-SM, EL 25 A 46-51.¹⁵ The third hand (C) found in the Shirley partbooks is that of an unidentified eighteenth-century scribe who added violin parts for several dances, songs and psalms to MS 40661 (ff. 16v-25, and a fragment for a melody instrument at f. 31 (inv.)). Lawes appears to have had a close connection to Hand B. In MS 40659, ff. 47v-48 Lawes appears to have written the titles, while Hand B copied the music. In fact, Lawes appears to have written all the titles and composer names, even where Hand B has copied the music; this is evident from the ink colours and from characteristics of the hand. The pieces copied by Lawes appear to be in the same ink as the notes, suggesting that they were copied at the same time. Most of the titles of the Hand B pieces are in a slightly different colour ink to the notes – e.g. the William White piece on f. 39 (MS 40657) – suggesting that Lawes added the titles after Hand B copied the music. Lawes and Hand B appear to have been working roughly contemporaneously. For example, Hand B copied (most of) the four-part ‘Doc Bull’ fantasia but Lawes appears to have completed the piece by added the titling and the bass part (in his early (A1) hand): MS 40660, f. 26v.¹⁶

Throughout the autographs, it was common for Lawes to add titles to his own compositions, where he did so they are usually descriptive of the instrumentation, e.g., ‘For the Violls a 4.’, or ‘For the Organ : Base Violl and Violin’. This kind of titling is characteristic of Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell and their contemporaries. Most of the titles for the instrumental pieces include the number of instruments, which usually takes the form of ‘Fantazia · a · 6 ·’. His spelling of individual forms is broadly consistent throughout the autograph manuscripts generally. Fantasia is usually spelt with a ‘z’, Alman usually without a terminal ‘e’, and Pavan is usually spelt ‘Pauen’. Aire is usually spelt with an ‘i’ (not a ‘y’); where ‘Ayre’ is used it does not seem to imply any stylistic difference. Within these spellings Lawes uses varying forms of the individual letters, most easily observed with the letter ‘e’; unlike Purcell, he does not appear to have favoured secretary over italic forms of certain letters, or *vice versa*. In words such as ‘Aire’ or ‘Pauen’ Lawes can often be found to alternate between the Greek and italic forms of the letter ‘e’. Unfortunately, there appears to be no pattern to this; he alternates between the two forms from one page to the next, and even within words, with no consistency. Although Lawes seems to have favoured the epsilon in the later manuscripts, its presence or dominance cannot be taken as an indication that that manuscript (or part thereof), was copied or composed during a

¹⁴ See also *VdGS Manuscripts* i. 69-76; Pinto, ‘Viol Consort’; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997); Richard Charteris, ‘The Huntingdon Library part books, Ellesmere MSS EL 25A 46-51’, *HLQ*, 50 (1987), 59-84.

¹⁵ See *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 70 (& 382-84 for facsimile examples); & *Lawes: Consort Sets*, xii.

¹⁶ This is not supported by the *VdGS Manuscripts*, i, where the entire piece is attributed to Hand B: *ibid.* 73.

later period. This kind of ‘consistent inconsistency’ is common throughout the autograph sources, and complicates the chronology of their contents.

Pinto has convincingly suggested that the ‘books were probably largely in their present form by February 1632/3 when the second baronet Sir Henry Shirley died leaving an heir less than ten years of age’.¹⁷ We know little of Lawes’s activities prior to his court appointment in 1635; no connection is known between him and the Shirley family other than these partbooks. From the repertoire and the careful calligraphic hand, it can be assumed that the pieces copied in Lawes’s early hand (A1) were copied when he was quite young, perhaps sometime around 1630, but possibly as early as *c.*1625. His second, later, hand (A2) is more problematic. Scholars have suggested several dates: 1633, 1635-6, and 1644.¹⁸

Much of Lawes’s hand in the Shirley partbooks is careful and neat, with evenly spaced notes, especially the early hand (A1) (Illustration 2.8*a*). The later hand (A2) is, in places, a messier and right-slanting hand (Illustration 2.8*b*). Several characteristics to Lawes’s musical hand are evident throughout the Shirley partbooks. These can be identified as signifiers of his early hand as they change significantly in the later manuscripts. His musical hand does not appear to have undergone any significant changes once he reached maturity.

Only two types of treble clef are found in the autographs, one of which is unique to the Shirley partbooks. He appears to have adopted a standard treble clef at an early stage and used it throughout his career. This clef resembles a number ‘6’ with a broad arch on top usually wider than the base of the clef but which can also be the same size as the base of the clef (Illustration 2.5*a*). In the Shirley partbooks the arch is usually of a similar width to the bottom loop of the ‘6’ part. This seems to be a characteristic of his earlier hand, as later examples (or even the A2 examples from MS 40657; Illustration 2.8*b*) tend to have a wider arch at the top. The lesser-used treble clef found in the Shirley partbooks resembles a modern lowercase ‘g’ and is found in both the early and later hands (Illustration 2.5*b*). In the early hand (A1), Lawes used this ‘g’ clef when he copied his five-part fantasia and ‘*Iñomine*’ in G minor (MS 40657, ff. 43v and 44). These pieces complete the five-part sequence, coming directly after a series of Italian madrigals (also copied by Lawes). It seems likely that he copied these two pieces from an early autograph, in which he used the ‘g’ treble clef; none of the previous five-part pieces uses this clef. Based on the difference in the inks used, and the upturn in the C clefs (see below), these two pieces were added later than the previous five-part pieces. There is no reason to suspect that Lawes’s hand is late. It retains many of the early hand characteristics, but it need not be as early as the rest of the five-part pieces. Lawes also used this treble clef in one of his three-part pieces copied in his later hand (MS 40657, f. 15:2). Again, this is one of the last pieces to be added to the

¹⁷ *Lawes: Consort Sets*, xii.

¹⁸ Respectively, Field, ‘Rhetoric’, 245-46(n64); *For ye Violls*, 14-15; & Gordon Dodd, quoted by Pinto, *loc. cit.*

sequence. (The first piece on f. 15 is in a different colour ink to the other pieces on ff. 14v-15. Whether space was left for it on f. 15 is unclear, but it was not copied at the same time the second piece. At other points Lawes left space for pieces to be copied. For example, space was left for the Cantus part of the four-part 'Aire' {319} to be copied in MS 40657, but it was not copied. The second piece on f. 15 appears to be in the same ink as the two pieces on f. 14v suggesting that they were copied around the same time.) The three-part piece is in a more rushed hand than the five-part pieces. However, it is noteworthy that in MS 40658 (the second treble), Lawes reverts to his usual '6' treble clef; perhaps this piece was also taken from an early source.

Illustration 2.5a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, f. 15v (detail): usual treble clef

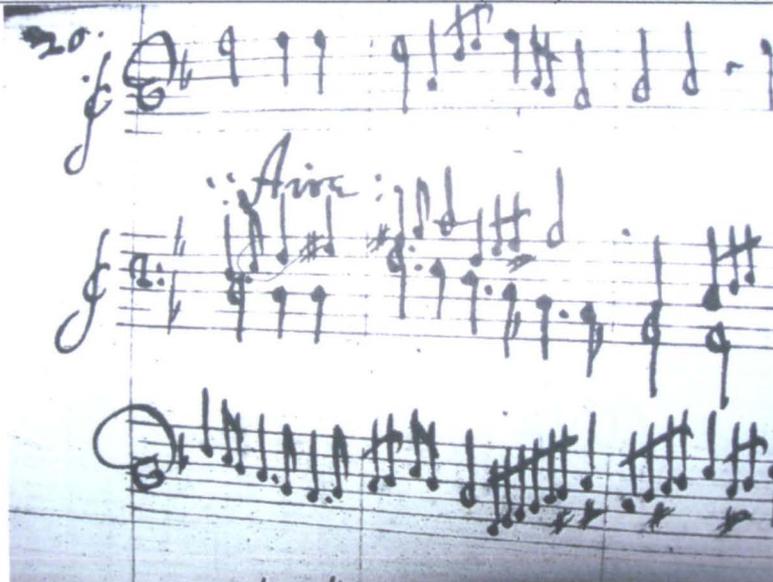
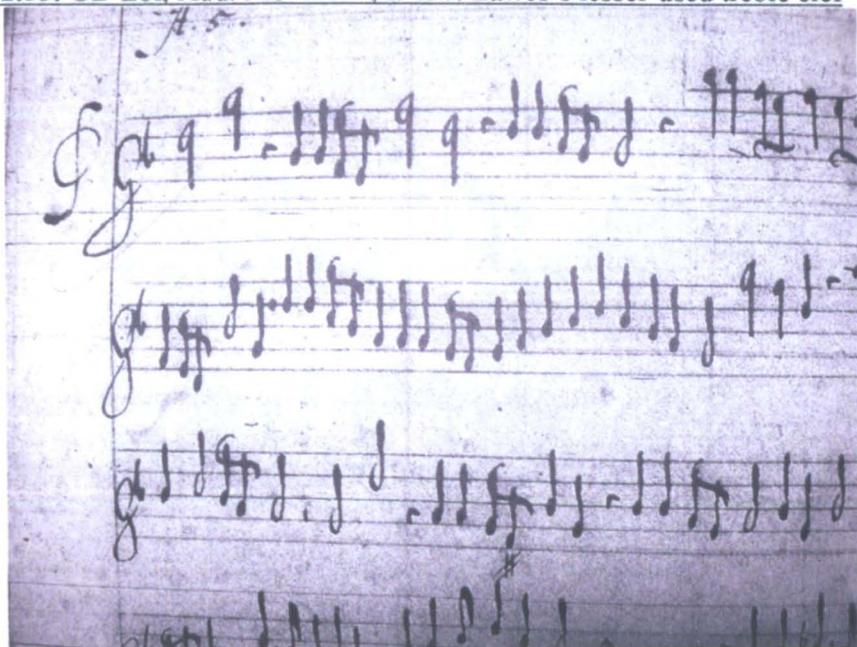


Illustration 2.5b. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40657, f. 43v: Lawes's lesser-used treble clef



Lawes used three types of bass clef. His elaborate form, resembling a number '8' with an arch on top (Illustration 2.6a), is most common to the Shirley partbooks. He used this clef for all of the three-part pieces in MS 40660, except for stave 3 on f. 14v:2 (Illustration 2.7). Indeed, he used the clef for most of MS 40660, except for the five-part and several of the four-part pieces, which use a less elaborate bass clef resembling a backwards 'S' (Illustration 2.6b) found in early and later sources. This 'S' clef is found in both A1 and A2 hands, although it is more a feature of the A2 hand. However, both forms of bass clef are at times used within the same piece (e.g. Illustration 2.7). The use of the '8' clef may have been an attempt to adhere to the general style of the manuscript; it only becomes inconsistent later in the manuscript. The third type of bass clef is a variant of the 'S' clef (or *vice versa*). It resembles a number '2' (Illustration 2.5a) and is considerably smaller than the 'S' clef, usually fitting within two stave spaces. It is difficult to attribute any major significance to this clef variation given its close similarities to the 'S' clef. The '2' clef is predominantly found in B.2, but examples are also found intermixed with the 'S' clef in D.238-40, D.229 and B.3.

Illustration 2.6a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 5v (detail): bass clefs

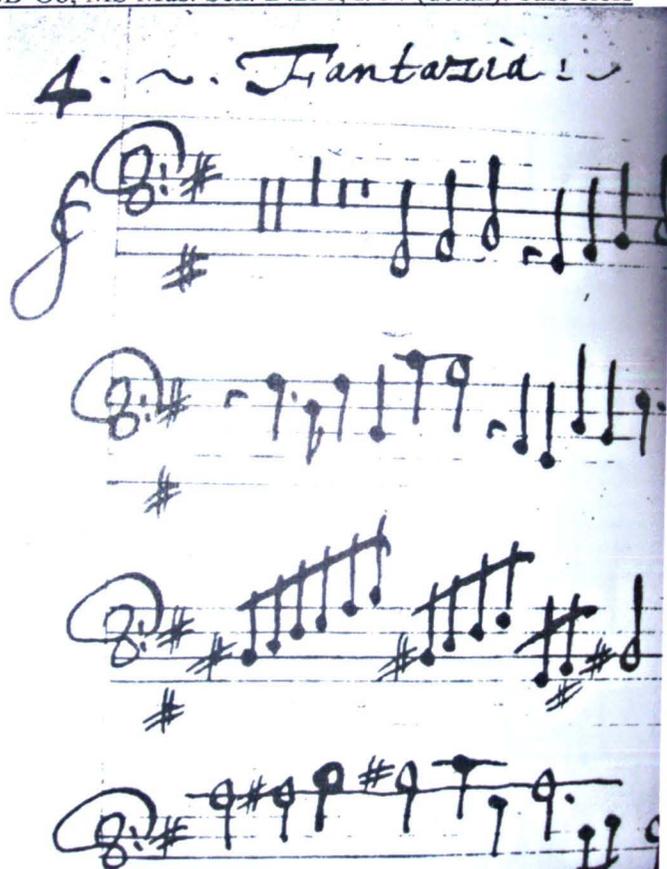


Illustration 2.6b. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17798, f. 24v (detail): bass clefs

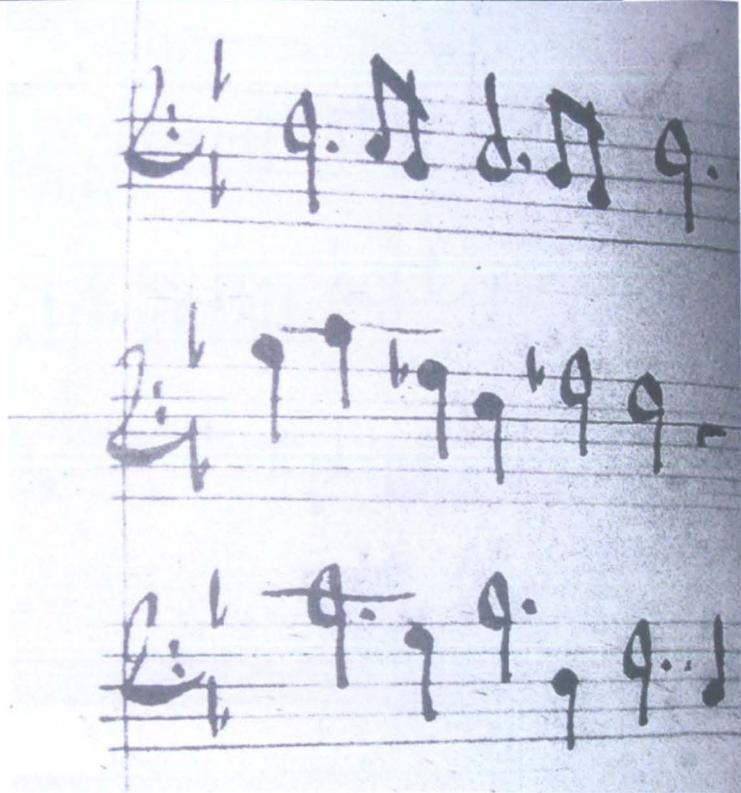


Illustration 2.7. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40659, f. 14v: 'S' & '8' bass clefs

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation with six staves. The notation is dense and features various clefs, including 'S' and '8' clefs, which are characteristic of certain medieval manuscripts. The notes are square and connected by horizontal lines. The page is signed 'W. Lauris' in the top right corner. The notation is written in a medieval style, with a focus on rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.

Illustration 2.8a. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40657, f. 5v: Lawes's (A1) hand



Illustration 2.8b. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40657, f. 28v: Lawes's (A2) hand



Lawes's C clefs in the Shirley partbooks are also quite distinctive, and more carefully drawn than in later sources. The clef is drawn with a vertical line only on the right hand side of the four horizontal lines (Illustration 2.9a); this is most commonly found in the A2 hand. Later sources tend to have C clefs with vertical lines on both sides of the horizontal ones: the right-hand side line usually has a narrow upturn (e.g. Illustration 2.15, stave 2), from which flats in the key signature are often drawn. The upturn seems to be characteristic of his later hand. Lawes also uses what is referred to here as the 'chevron' C clef intermittently in several of his early hand pieces: e.g. MS 40658, ff. 42-43v, and MS 40659, ff. 11v-12, and 23v: see Illustration 2.12c. Hand B also uses this form of C clef (*cf.* MS 40658, ff. 26v, 31v-33v, 38v and 47v-49, and MS

40659, ff. 12v, 17-19v, 24v-25 and 33v-35; see Illustration 2.9b). Lawes's use of this clef may have been in imitation of Hand B.

Illustration 2.9a. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40658, f. 13: C clef

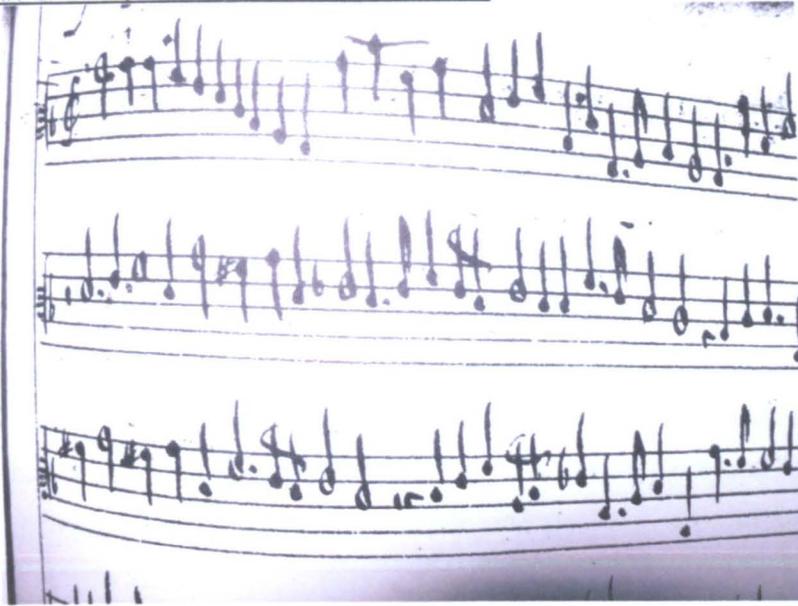
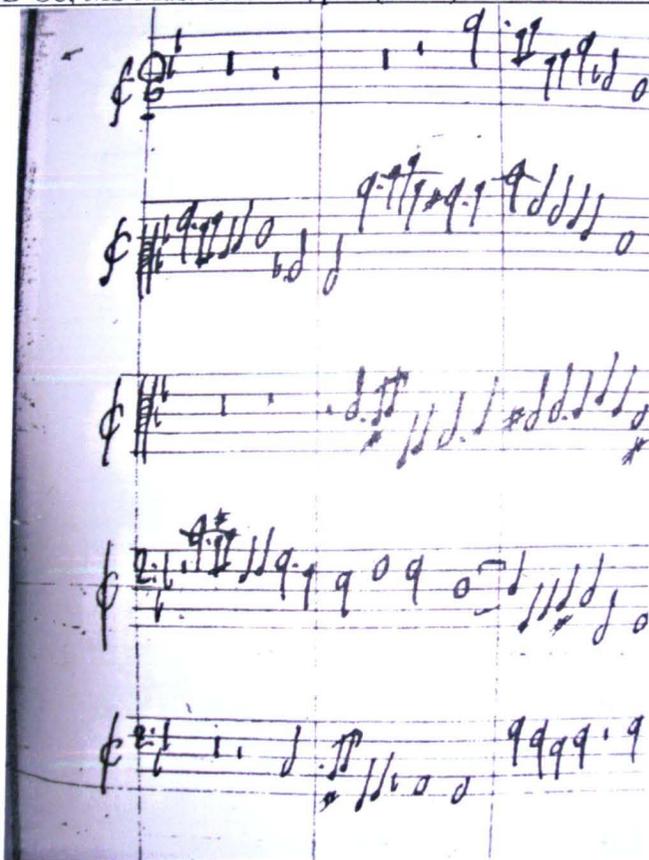


Illustration 2.9b. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40659, f. 12v: Hand B 'chevron' C clef

One of the most distinctive features of Lawes's early hand is the 'curved' beams used for grouping quavers or semiquavers (Illustration 2.8a). Although intermixed with straight beams, they are a predominant feature of his early hand not commonly found in the later

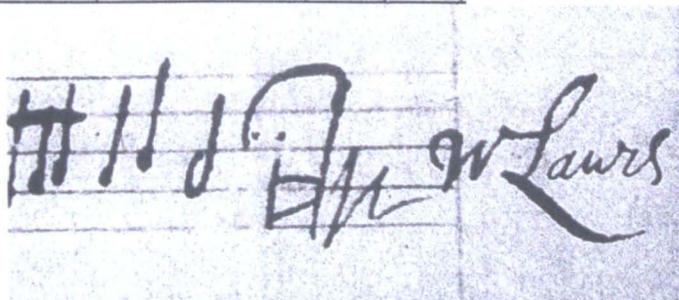
manuscripts. The decorative endings for pieces are consistent throughout different manuscripts, but differ between periods. The ending generally used by Lawes in the Shirley partbooks is a (sideways) conical squiggle formed from the final barline (Illustration 2.8a). He used a similar kind of conical squiggle, usually with a dash through it, in later manuscripts (e.g. B.2, B.3 and D.229) (e.g. Illustration 2.18a). Lawes's time signatures are generally consistent throughout the autographs. There is only one triple-time piece in the Shirley partbooks: no. 12, Lawes's three-part [Aire] {226}. The remainder of the pieces (with a time signature) are in cut-common time. There are usually slight curves at either end of the vertical line through the 'C' resembling a long s (l). This cannot be taken as characteristic of his early hand as he uses a similar form throughout the autographs, although in later manuscripts it is interchanged with a straight vertical dash, sometimes within one system (*cf.* Illustrations 2.10, 2.5, 2.7, and 2.9a). His usual approach is to have a slight curve both at the top and at the bottom of this line; however, it can also be a straight line: the straight lines are more characteristic of his later hand in B.2 and B.3 (e.g. Illustration 2.10).

Illustration 2.10. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 3 (detail): cut-common time signatures

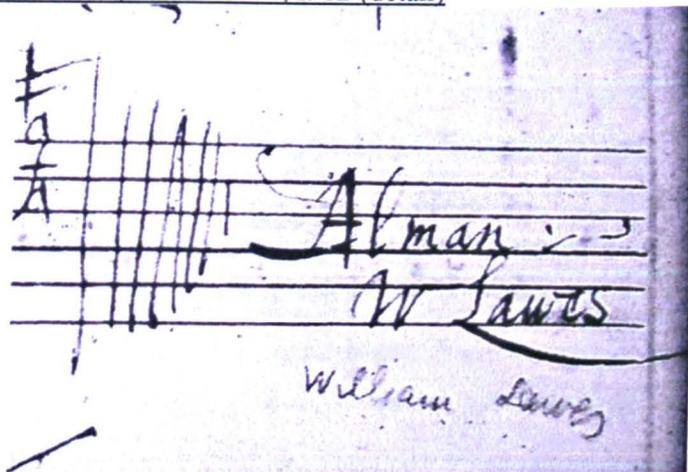
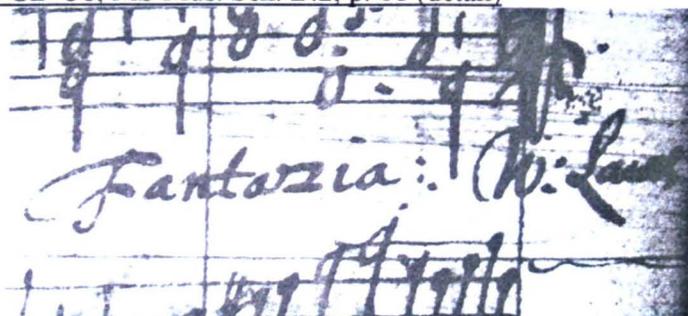


Perhaps the most interesting feature of the Shirley partbooks is Lawes's signature. Lawes signed 14 of his pieces in the Shirley partbooks, using six different signatures.¹⁹ Only five signatures are in his early hand, three of which are in the three-part section. The first is obviously a quite early and formal version of his signature, 'Will: Lawes:' (MS 40657, f. 5v; Illustration 2.8a). Despite the calligraphic style, many characteristic traits of his mature signature are evident. For example, the outwards descending curve on the left side of the 'w', the long base of the 'L' running underneath the rest of the signature and the loop at the top of the 'L'; the long horizontal base of the 'L' is also found in words like 'Lupo'. The other two A1 signatures in the three-part section are similar to Lawes's mature signature but lack the double 'll' and dash and use a colon to abbreviate 'William' (for example the kind of signature in Illustration 2.8b). The colon was commonly used as an alternative to the full stop to signify an abbreviation, its presence in Lawes's signatures appears to be a signifier of his early hand, as it is not commonly found in later sources. The most common form of his signature in the Shirley partbooks is 'Wj:Lawes'. The first is written with an italic 'e', the rest with an epsilon. These signatures are all written in two separate stages, first the 'Wj:' then the 'L(awes)'. This is true of most of (what appear to be) the early signatures in the Shirley partbooks. In many instances the join is difficult to see suggesting that Lawes was consciously developing it between his fore- and surnames. In the mature signature the stem of the 'j' gives the appearance of joining the 'L' in one continuous action. Although this is not always the case, it seems that Lawes consistently made a conscious effort to give the appearance of a join (e.g. see MS 40657, f. 30, MS 40659, f. 16:2, and MS 40660, f. 30). The other two early hand versions of this signature are in the five-part section where Lawes copied his fantasia and 'Iñomine' in G minor, suggesting that these pieces date to before 1633 and possibly as early as 1630. Five of the A2 signatures are of this type ('Wj:Lawes') and show no significant signs of deviation from the A1 signatures. There is a third version of his signature: 'WLawes' (MS 40657, f. 29), also found in Mus. 70, f. 12; a variant is found in B.2, p. 81 (*cf.* Illustrations 2.11a-c).

Illustration 2.11a. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40657, f. 29 (detail)

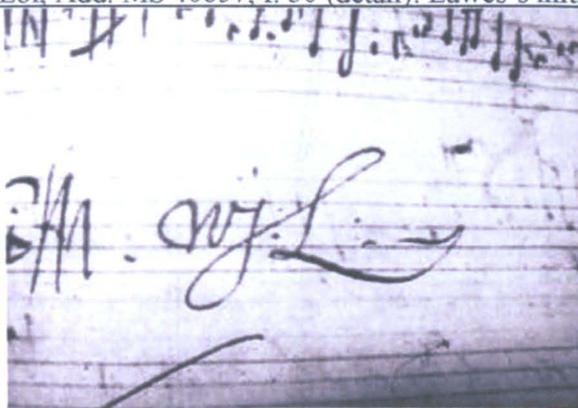


¹⁹ Signatures are the same in each of the partbooks.

Illustration 2.11b. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 12 (detail)²⁰**Illustration 2.11c.** GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 81 (detail)

The last three A2 signatures are initials: 'W:L', 'Wj:L', and 'WjL' (Illustration 2.11d). Lawes did not commonly sign his pieces with initials, although instances can be found in the catches and drinking songs at the end of B.2 (Illustration 2.11e), on a song and a lyra viol piece in MS 31432, and on one of the bass viol suites in D.229 (f. 79 (inv.)). These instances indicate little in terms of chronology: in later manuscripts they appear to be convenient shorthand. Nevertheless, despite the fact that most initialing occurs in what seem to be late sources, it is not sufficient evidence to date the initialled pieces in the Shirley partbooks to a late period of c.1640. Indeed, two of the initials in the partbooks are similar to Lawes's early signature but without the 'awes', which is uncharacteristic of the later initials.

²⁰ The 'William Lawes' below the signature appears to have been written by W. H. Cummings: see below.

Illustration 2.11d. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40657, f. 30 (detail): Lawes's initialling**Illustration 2.11e.** GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 110 (detail): Lawes's initialling

A detail from a manuscript page showing several staves of musical notation. The notation is dense and includes various note values, rests, and repeat signs. Below the staves, there is a large, highly decorative initial letter 'L' written in a cursive hand. The initial has a long, sweeping tail that loops back under the main body of the letter. The page also contains some handwritten text, including "High Court and Harry" and "3."

An important question regarding the Shirley partbooks lies in dating this 'later' (A2) Lawes hand. Had Lawes completed his involvement with the manuscript around the time of Sir Henry Shirley's death in February 1632/3? Alternatively, does the later hand date (as Pinto suggests) to around the time of Lawes's court appointment? Or, is the 'later' hand an example of a late hand, which Gordon Dodd suggested 'could be dated as late as the civil-war period'?²¹

The evidence supplied from the (A2) signatures suggest that it is an early hand, as it lacks the standard characteristics of Lawes's mature signature, such as the crossed double 'll'. Indeed, the A2 pieces on ff. 27-28v retain characteristics of the earlier hand, such as the curved beams and decorative endings and the repeat marks at strain ends. Overall, the A2 and A1 hands

²¹ Quoted in *For ye Violls*, 15. See also Layton Ring, 'Wednesday, 24 September, 1645 – The Death of William Lawes During the Battle of Rowton Heath at the Siege of Chester', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 155-74.

are similar, but A2 appears to be slightly more fluent. In addition, it is probable that the manuscripts containing Lawes's mature signature all date from the mid- to late 1630s or early 1640s, but almost certainly from after 1633. As Lawes's mature signature is largely consistent from c.1633, it is reasonable to assume that once he adopted it he largely stuck to it, with only one variation ('short L') and several minor aberrations (e.g. MS 31432, ff. 43 and 57). Given this, and the fact that the A1 and A2 signatures bear so many similarities, it strongly suggests that the A2 hand is also an early hand. If this were proven, it would imply that Lawes's signature changed little over the course of his career.

The last pieces of the four-part section (of MS 40657, ff. 29, 30, and 30v) were written by the A2 hand, but were copied with less care than the previous pieces and have a slight rightwards slant. These pieces were clearly copied in some haste (especially those on ff. 30 and 30v), and lack the decorative finishes and curved beams characteristic of the earlier hand; the ink suggests that they were written at a different time to the previous four-part pieces (see Ch. 5 for a discussion of the four-part section, including ink variations). These pieces are generally quite messy when compared to the rest of the volume (Illustrations 2.12a-c). This is a good example of what may be termed Lawes's 'rushed' hand. This term does not carry an implication of whether the hand is early or late, but it does carry an implication of Lawes's attitude towards the act of copying, which seems to be closely linked to the function of the manuscript.

Illustration 2.12a. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40657, f. 28v (detail)



Illustration 2.12b. GB, Lbl, Add. MS 40657, f. 30v (detail)

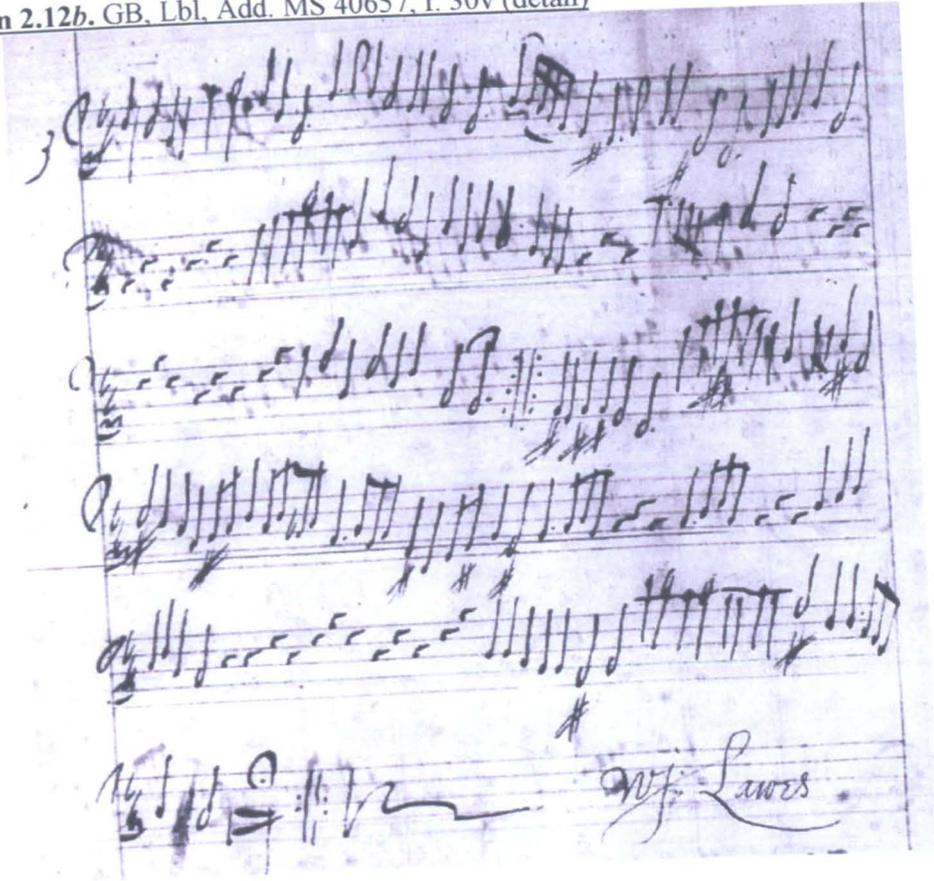
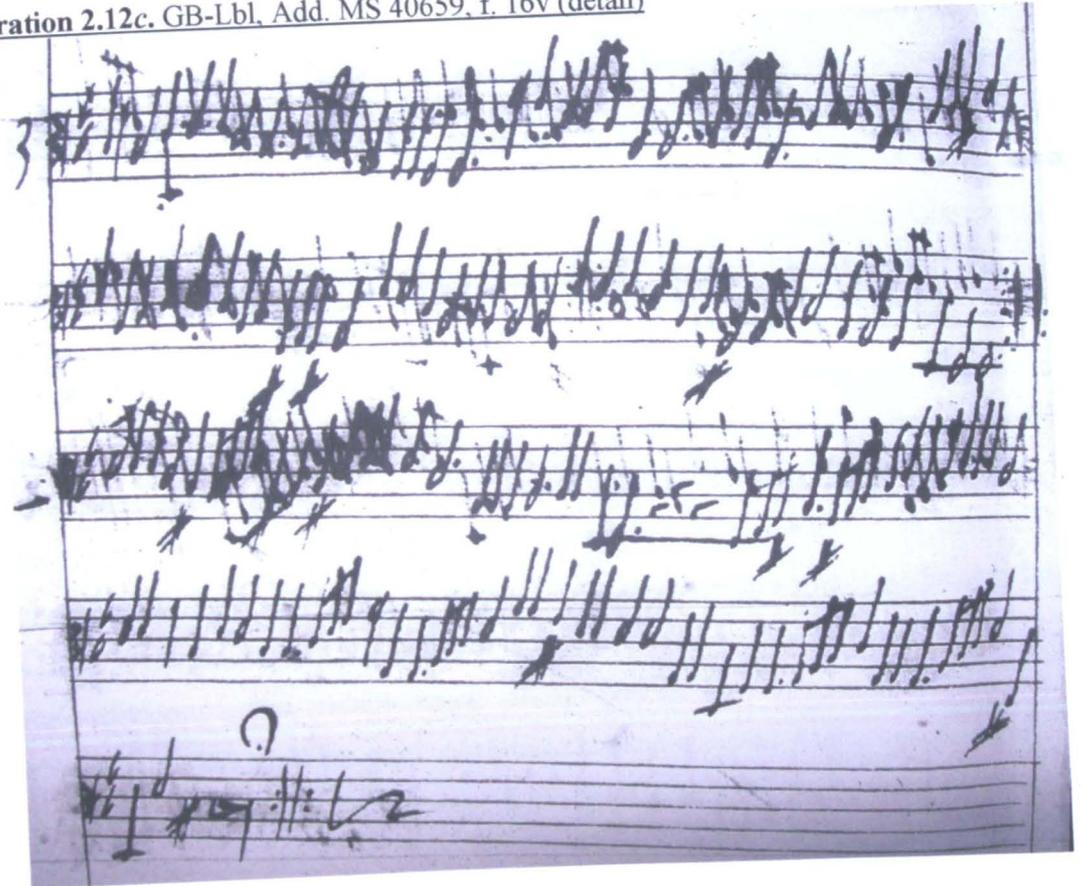


Illustration 2.12c. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 40659, f. 16v (detail)



As the 'rushed' pieces in the Shirley partbooks do not exhibit the obvious characteristics of Lawes's early hand it is tempting to give them a late date; indeed, they have more in common with the hand of, for example, later portions of D.229. However, the 'early' signature of the piece on f. 30v strongly argues against this. Further, the C clef on [Corant] {339} (f. 16v of MS 40659; Illustration 2.12c) is consistent with the 'chevron' form of C clef only found in pieces in Lawes's early hand (and Hand B). In fact, it would seem more likely that what is often considered Lawes's late hand is actually his 'rushed hand'.

Pragmatic as this explanation may be, it is notable that Lawes's hand does not change dramatically throughout the sources; however, the hand does seem to change according with the function, or with Lawes's intended function, of the manuscript. MS 17798 and sections of D.229, D.238-40 and the Shirley partbooks are written in a careful hand, what could be called a 'formal' presentation style. This 'formal' style suggests that the manuscript was intended for a purpose beyond personal record or use, what we may call a 'presentation volume', although whether they were actually presented to patrons is debatable. This does not imply that they were not used; rather, the 'formal' style was closely related to the intended function of the manuscript, which may have been copied for the benefit of someone other than Lawes. The 'formal' style can be contrasted with manuscripts that appear to have been for Lawes's personal use, such as in B.2, B.3, MS 31432, and Mus. 70; indeed, the 'formal' style within portions of D.229, D.238-40 and MS 17798 are similar (*cf.* Illustrations 2.13a and 2.13b). Although these manuscripts would have fulfilled the same essential function (playing parts) as Mus. 70, the latter manuscript is wholly written in an informal, or 'fair copy' presentation style (discussed below). Lawes mixed the faster, informal, hand with the more careful 'formal' hand in manuscripts such as D.229 and D.238-40. This implies a change in (perceived) function of the manuscript, or simply an expedience, rather than instances of more and less mature hands, as suggested by Pinto (see below). Why Lawes changed from a 'formal' style to a less careful and at times rather messy hand in the Shirley partbooks is unclear. Nevertheless, one suspects that it was linked to a change in function or circumstance, vicissitudes that can most obviously be linked to the death of Sir Henry in February 1632/3. However, this may not necessarily be the case. The break in the manuscript's functional continuity (and Lawes's consequent approach) may well predate Sir Henry's death. Thus, a note of caution should be raised on the designation of the A1 and A2 Lawes hands as early and later. This should not be used to imply that Lawes copied the manuscript in two separate and distinct stages. Rather, it was probably copied in several stages during which Lawes's hand moved away from an early calligraphic style and gradually adopted many of the traits that are present in his hand in later manuscripts. Nonetheless, some chronological gap between the early calligraphic hand and the more mature hand is to be assumed; how much of a gap is difficult to tell.

In summary: the Shirley partbooks clearly provide us with examples of Lawes's early hand, much of which probably dates to around the late 1620s or early 1630s. The partbooks have been used to suggest that Lawes's hand changed significantly over time; however, the change in Lawes's script seems most likely to have been linked to the speed at which he copied, which is likely to have been a reflection of the function of the manuscript. The Shirley partbooks appear to reflect Lawes as a composer coming of age, growing in confidence and presumably in the estimation of his patrons: partially represented by Lawes's concern to develop a distinctive signature, but also by the gradual inclusion of his own compositions.

Illustration 2.13a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 12v: Lawes's 'formal' presentation style

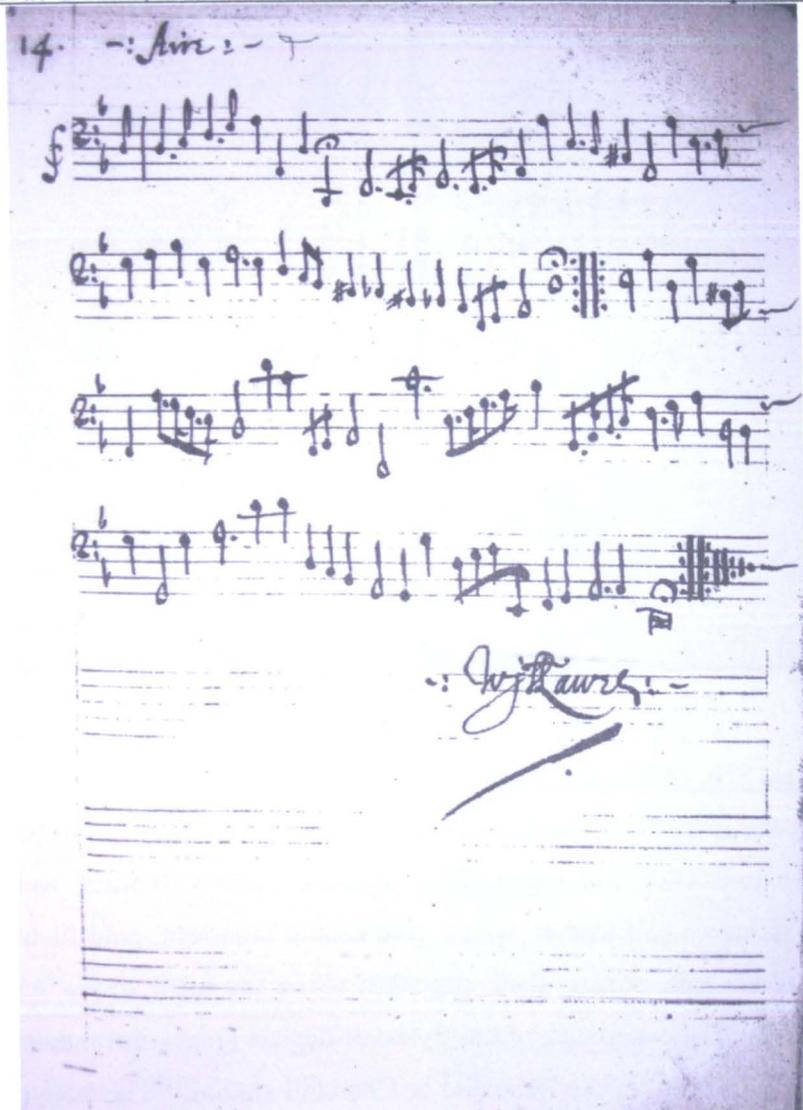


Illustration 2.13b. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17798, f. 23: Lawes's 'formal' presentation style



GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.229, and D.238-40

D.238-40 contain the string parts for Lawes's fantasia-suites, the harp consorts, and the suites for two bass viols and organ. They measure c.233 x 165mm, and are uniformly bound in brown calf leather, with a gold central ornament, gold filets and corner decorations on both covers. Each page has seven pre-ruled staves with a margin on either side. The watermark of the flyleaves depicts grapes surmounted by crown with Fleur-de-Lys: not in the Heawood or Churchill studies.²² The watermark (obscured by its position near the spine) throughout the manuscript is similar to Heawood 174/Churchill 501 (a peacock in a circle), and dates to c.1628.²³ Paper with

²² Heawood; Churchill; see also Margaret Crum, *The Oxford Music School Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: A Guide and Index to the Harvester Microfilm Collection* (Brighton, 1979), 4-7.

²³ See Lawes: *Fantasia-Suites*, 115.

the same watermark is found in D.229 and MS 31432. Robert Thompson has noted that this type of watermark is

commonly described as 'Venetian' although it was probably made in the Venetian hinterland rather than in the city itself [...] The peacock paper may have been transported to England by sea, but in the small quantities in which it appears to have been supplied it could equally have been carried across the Alps to join the Berne, Basle and Strasbourg papers on their final journey down the Rhine.²⁴

Table 2.1. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, *Inventory*

Folio	No.	Piece/Title	Signature	Key	VdGS
1-2v		[Blank pages – foliated flyleaves]			
		[Fantasia-suites for violin, bass viol, and organ]			
3		[Ruled] 'For One Violin / the Basse Viole / and Organ'			
3v-4	1	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{114}
4v	2	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{115}
5	3	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{116}
5v-6	4	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{117}
6v	5	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{118}
7	6	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{119}
7v-8	7	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{120}
8v	8	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{121}
9	9	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{122}
9v-10	10	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{123}
10v	11	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{124}
11	12	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{125}
11v-12	13	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{126}
12v	14	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{127}
13	15	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{128}
13v-14	16	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{129}
14v	17	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{130}
15	18	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{131}
15v-16	19	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{132}
16v	20	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{133}
17	21	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{134}
17v-18	22	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{135}
18v	23	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{136}
19	24	'Aire'	'WjLawes'	D major	{137}
		[Fantasia-suites for two violins, bass viol, and organ]			
19v-20	25	'For 2 Violins/ Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{138}
20v	26	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{139}
21	27	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{140}
21v-22	28	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{141}
22v	29	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{142}
23	30	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{143}
23v-24	31	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{144}
24v	32	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{145}
25	33	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{146}

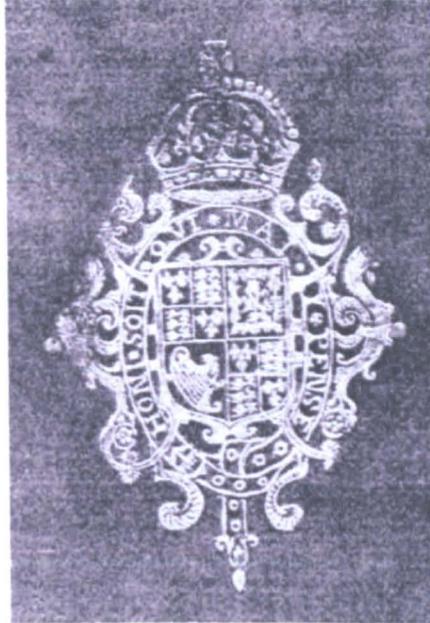
²⁴ Thompson, 'Paper in English Music MSS', 145-46.

25v-26	34	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{147}
26v	35	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{148}
27	36	[Aire]	'Wjllawes'	C major	{149}
27v-28	37	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{150}
28v	38	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{151}
29	39	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{152}
29v-30	40	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{153}
30v	41	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{154}
31	42	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{155}
31v-32	43	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{156}
32v	44	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{157}
33	45	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{158}
33v-34	46	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{159}
34v	47	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{160}
35	48	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{161}
[Harp Consorts]					
35v	1	'For the Harpe, Base Violl / Violin, and theorbo / Almane'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{162}
	2	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{163}
36	3	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{164}
	4	'Sarab ^d '	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{165}
36v	5	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{166}
	6	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{167}
37	7	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{168}
	8	'Sarab ^d '	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{169}
37v	9	'Almane'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{170}
	10	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{171}
38	11	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{172}
	12	'Sarab ^d '	'Wjllawes'	G major	{173}
38v	13	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{174}
	14	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{175}
39	15	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{176}
	16	'Sarab ^d '	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{177}
39v	17	'Almane'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{178}
	18	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{179}
40	19	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{180}
	20	'Sarab ^d '	'Wjllawes'	D major	{181}
40v	21	'Almane'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{182}
	22	'Almane'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{183}
41	23	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{184}
	24	[Corant]	'Wjllawes'	D major	{185}
41v	25	'Sarab ^d '	'Wjllawes'	D major	{186}
	26	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{187}
42	27	'Pauen'	'Wjllawes'	G major	{188}
42v	28	'Pauen / Cormacke'	---	G major	{189}
43	29	'Pauen / Coprario'	---	G minor	{190}
43v-44	30	'Fantazy'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{191}
44v-84	[Unused]				
[Reversed end; folios are inv.]					
[Suites for two bass viols and organ]					
91v-90v	[1]	'For the Organ:· and 2 Base Viols / Pauen'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{101}
90	[2]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{102}
89v	[3]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{103}
89-88	[Unused]				

87v-86v	[4]	'Pauen'	--- ²⁵	C major	{104}
86-85v	[5]	[Alman]	--- ²⁶	C major	{105}
85	[6]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{106}
84v	[7]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{107}

D.238-40 – part of them at least – are generally thought to date from around the time of Lawes's court appointment, with some later additions. The Music School catalogue of 1682 records them as 'Mr William Laws his 3 Parts' in four books, which were probably donated by Henry Lawes.²⁷ It is unlikely that D.229 was originally intended to be the (fourth) companion volume to D.238-40,²⁸ as the contents do not correspond exactly. D.229 contains the organ parts for the fantasia-suites, most of the suites for two bass viols, and for all of the five- and six-part consort setts. It also contains treble and bass harp parts for the first eight harp consort dances. Measuring c.225 x 270mm, D.229 is bound in calf leather with gold filets, corner decorations and the royal arms on the covers; the arms are flanked by the initials 'W' and 'L'. The cover stamp differs to that on D.238-40, which consists of some scrollwork, in a diamond shape, emanating from a centre-circle. The stamp on D.229 is the same as that on Mus. 70: a coat of arms enclosed by the Garter, surmounted by the crown, in a large entwining frame.²⁹

Illustration 2.14. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, back cover (detail): SRA V



²⁵ Also unsigned in D.240.

²⁶ The corresponding part in D.240 reads: 'Alman:: Set for 2 Deuision Basses to the Organ. by Wjllawes'.

²⁷ See also Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *BMQ*, 24 (1961), 71-75; Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *ML*, 48 (1967), 28-29; *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, xv-xxi & 115-16; & Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 31-32.

²⁸ As suggested, for example, in *Lawes: Consort Sets*, xiv.

²⁹ The D.229 stamp is reproduced in *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, xxx. I am grateful to the staff of the Houghton Library for providing me with a reproduction of the cover, which is not available on the microfilm.

This stamp is one of five main types used in the Stuart period identified by Mirjam Foot, who noted 16 variants.³⁰ The British Library has called the stamp Stuart Royal Arms (SRA). The variant on D.229 is similar to SRA V, found on several bindings from the reign of Charles I, including two printed volumes, from 1635 and 1639.³¹

The pages of D.229 contain eight staves, barred by eight pre-ruled vertical lines into nine bars. Several leaves were abstracted and cancels pasted to their stubs during copying.³² The watermark of the ruled pages is again similar to Heawood 174/Churchill 501 (c.1628). Based on Heawood's findings on the watermark of the flyleaves (similar to Heawood 649-50, with the initials 'AR'), Lefkowitz dated D.229 in its bound state to after 1640.³³ However, the mark is that of France and Navarre, and was in use in various forms from the late sixteenth century, and D.229 was probably bound sometime in the 1630s.³⁴ The collation is difficult to determine, there appears to be about ten gatherings of nested folios.

In the *Musica Britannica* edition of Lawes's fantasia-suites Pinto suggested that D.238-40 contain examples of an early and a late Lawes hand:

There is little doubt that Lawes's fantasia-suites had been composed before his appointment to the court in 1635. Reliable evidence of this is provided by his own playing-parts, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.MSS D.229 and D.238-240. Among the later contents of these books are the suites for division viols and for viol consort, written in a fluent cursive hand which can be dated with some certainty to c.1636-38, whereas the violin suites, and the harp consorts entered shortly after them, are in an earlier and significantly less mature hand.³⁵

The case for dating [Lawes's] playing parts in almost their final form at c.1635 rests partly on the view that non-autograph copies were in circulation by c.1638, and partly on the relative maturity of Lawes's hand compared with the style which he used later, probably c.1638, in copying such works as those for viols and for division viols into his organ book.³⁶

However, a detailed examination of the manuscripts raises questions of the reliability of this evidence. For example, there is not a significant difference in the handwriting style used throughout the books. Rather than looking for an earlier and a later hand, it would seem more

³⁰ Foot, 'Some Bindings for Charles I', in G. A. M. Janssens & F. G. A. M. Aarts (eds.), *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T. A. Birrell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (Amsterdam, 1984), 95-106. See also Pinto, 'Viol Consort', 21(n6).

³¹ Foot, 96-97.

³² See Crum, *Harvester Microfilm Guide*, 5.

³³ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 31-32; see also *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, 115; also see Crum, *Harvester Microfilm Guide*, 5.

³⁴ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 32: he approximated the watermark to Heawood 649-72. For the earlier dating of this mark see *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 258-59; & Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper-Supply: II. *The Sixteenth Century*', *The Library*, 4th series, 10 (1929-30), 427-54, esp. 430. I am grateful to David Pinto for his advice on the watermark.

³⁵ *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, xvi-xvii.

³⁶ *Ibid.* xx.

useful to distinguish between the speeds at which Lawes copied the various portions of the partbooks. Whereas it appears that the first pieces copied into D.238-40 were the fantasia-suites, it is more likely that they were followed by the bass viol pieces: the harp consorts were probably last to be copied.³⁷ The first problem with the attribution of the fantasia-suites to Lawes's early hand in D.238-40 is that Lawes mostly signed them using his mature signature: the same signature he used throughout the partbooks. Only in no. 22 ('Fantazia' {135}: D.238 and D.240) does he vary the signature to the 'short L' form, which appears to have been a late development of his signature. The 'short L' signature is most commonly found in MS 31432, especially ff. 42-53v: examples can also be found in D.238-40, D.229, B.2 and B.3. He appears to have used this signature when writing his name in miniature, usually when constrained by space, although at times the signature is small for no obvious reason. (This fantasia is also found in B.2, p. 76, and appears to be a later revision in the partbooks. It is in a different ink to the surrounding pieces and pages (in D.238 and D.240): see Ch. 5.) Indeed, despite Pinto's claims to the contrary, there is a close resemblance in the hands used to copy the fantasia-suites and the bass viol suites. The bass viol suites are written in a slightly slanted hand, but this seems to be linked to the speed at which they were copied and the amount of musical information (i.e. semiquavers etc; Illustration 2.15), rather than the point in time at which they were copied.

Illustration 2.15. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 90v (inv.) (detail): 'Pauen' {101}



³⁷ Field seemed also to be unconvinced by Pinto's early and late designations within D.238-40: see id., 'Rhetoric', 245-46(n64).

Lawes made some errors in copying the fantasia-suites. These errors are unlikely to have been revisions as in each case Lawes omitted large sections of melody, but only in one book at a time, where he appears to have been copying from a score and skipped a line or took up the melody at the wrong place.³⁸ Copying errors are also found in the Shirley partbooks. For example, on f. 18v of MS 40657 Lawes appears to have begun copying in the wrong place because the two notes were the same pitch. He made similar mistakes on f. 44 of MS 40660 and MS 40661, f. 12. He revised at least one fantasia in D.238-40 – no. 31 in A minor {144} for two violins – inserting eight (4/2) measures (bars 38-46 of the Musica Britannica edition) at the end of the piece in each of the partbooks (Example 2.1). Evidently this was done prior to copying the organ part into D.229, which includes the passage.³⁹

Example 2.1. Lawes, 'Fantazia' {144}, inserted section (bars 38-46)⁴⁰

³⁸ For example, there are rectified copying errors in D.239, no. 28 & D.240, no. 37.

³⁹ See also 'Rhetoric', 245-46(n64).

⁴⁰ Taken from *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, 66-67.



Lawes initially used the '8' bass clef in D.238 (nos. 1-10; Illustration 2.16a), which he used almost consistently throughout the Shirley partbooks. This would seem to cast doubt on the attribution of these parts to his mature hand. A notable reoccurrence of the '8' clef comes in D.229, ff. 70-69 (inv.) in the two six-part fantasias in C minor (Illustration 2.16b), which are undoubtedly late works. However, Pinto has noted that most of these two pieces are in the hand of a copyist 'who in Christ Church Music MSS 62 (f. 36) and 67 (ff. 11, 13-14 etc.) similarly completed parts for fantasias, madrigals and anthems'.⁴¹ In D.229 this copyist copied the first fantasia, and the first section of the second (i.e. the first 6 staves of D.229, f. 69 (inv.)). Lawes then completed the second piece (Illustration 2.16b). The copyist finished both pieces with a single bar line (the pre-ruled barline), Lawes wrote the flourish at the end of the first piece. Thus, the copyist may have thought he was finished the second piece (f. 69), or copied from an incomplete version. (Perhaps the copyist stopped copying the second piece because he was working from B.2, in which the page containing the end of the second section has been abstracted.) Lawes also wrote the directs at the end of the third system of f. 69, and wrote the numbers and the titles etc. for both pieces. Presumably the copyist was working from another Lawes autograph. This source may have used the '8' clef, also found in the Shirley partbooks (and D.238), and may have been imitated by the copyist; his treble clef is similar to Lawes's. The copyist appears to have had close connections with Thomas Tomkins and to the copyist Thomas Myriell. In addition to MSS 62 and 67, he also contributed to GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.93, and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 29996.⁴² Pinto plausibly suggested Giles Tomkins as a possible candidate, 'who combined membership of the Tomkins family circle with assistance to Myriell in Cambridge or London c.1620, and who had graduated to the royal music by 1638-40 (a probable date for these later Lawes's fantasias)'.⁴³ He also copied what was essentially a short score of Lawes's string parts rather than the more independent organ parts otherwise composed

⁴¹ *Lawes: Consort Sets*, xiv.

⁴² Pinto, 'Thomas Tomkins and a Copyist Associated with Him', *ML*, 72 (1991), 517-18.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 518.

by Lawes,⁴⁴ suggesting that he was copying from string parts (or score). Both types of accompaniment are evident in the second fantasia: where Lawes takes over the more independent organ part begins. The viol consorts in D.229 were clearly copied after they were composed in the scorebooks. It seems that the C minor fantasias were the last of the viol consort pieces to be added to D.229; why the job of adding two of them was given to the copyist is unclear as he was evidently working relatively close to Lawes. Whatever the identity and purpose of the D.229 copyist, Lawes appears to have reverted to the '8' clef in imitation of him: although he returns to his 'S' clef on the following page.

Illustration 2.16a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 4v (detail): '8' bass clef

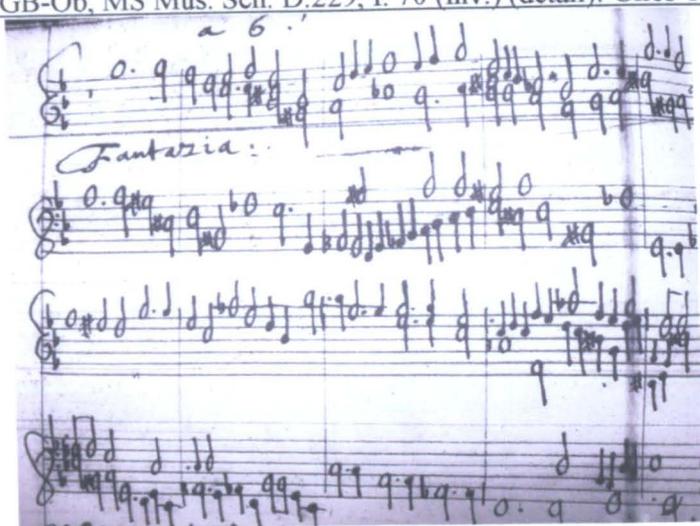


⁴⁴ Although not fully independent, Lawes's organ parts generally give some extra information as well as the essence of the string parts: see also *Lawes: Consort Sets*, introduction.

Illustration 2.16b. GB-Ob. MS Mus. Sch. D.229, f. 69v (inv.)⁴⁵

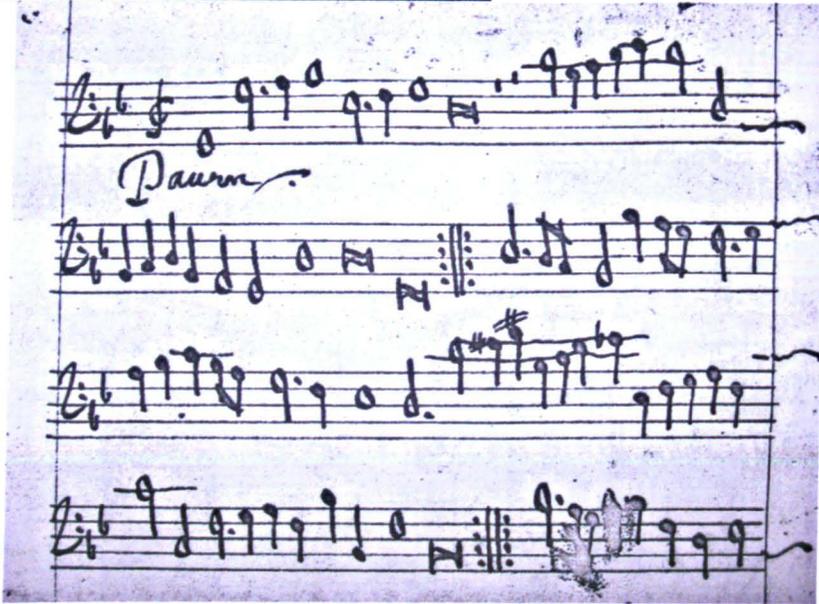


Illustration 2.16c. GB-Ob. MS Mus. Sch. D.229, f. 70 (inv.) (detail): Giles Tomkins's hand?

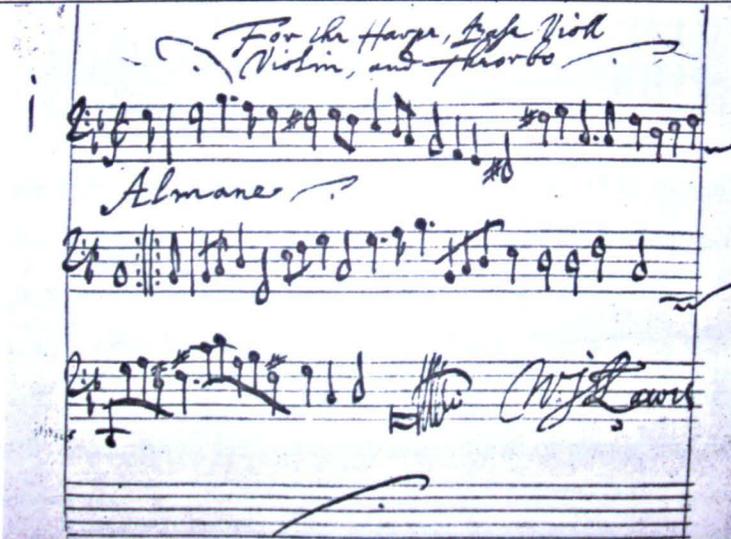


The harp consorts in D.238-40 are in a more considered hand than the bass viol suites, but this appears to be because Lawes simply took more time in copying them (see Illustrations 2.17 and 2.18a-b). The most noticeable aspect of these pieces is the frequent spacing between the 'L' and the 'awes' of 'Lawes', which is also a feature of Lawes's later signature: other examples can be found in MS 31432 (f. 63) and B.3 (pp. 67 and 68). This variation on the mature signature does not appear to be of major chronological significance (Illustration 2.18a).

⁴⁵ Lawes's hand begins on system 4.

Illustration 2.17. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 43

The bass clef used by Lawes throughout the harp consort parts (Illustration 2.18a) is the large 'S' shape clef used throughout B.3 and MS 17798. This alone does not conclusively suggest that the hand is mature (or late). Nevertheless, when taken with the mature signature and the final decorative flourishes (the same type consistently used by in B.2 and B.3), it is reasonable to suggest that the harp consort parts are written in a mature hand. The decorative endings common to B.2, B.3 and MS 31432 are similar to those found in the Shirley partbooks. They are formed from the final note or final bar and take the form of a conical squiggle; the squiggle is frequently found with a diagonal dash through it in the later sources. This dash resembles a large fermata. These kinds of decorative endings appear to signify Lawes's informal hand, and are commonly found in what appear to be Lawes's playing parts (Mus. 70), personal manuscripts (MS 31432) and his compositional sketchbooks (B.2, B.3).

Illustration 2.18a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 35v (detail): decorative ending

The harp consorts in D.238-40 mostly exemplify Lawes's informal ('fair copy') presentation style, suggesting that they were added after the fantasia-suites and the bass viol suites, which both retain the 'formal' style. Only the first eight pieces in the violin partbook (D.239) retain the 'formal' style, with the calligraphic decorative endings (Illustration 2.18b). Why Lawes began this section with the 'formal' style only to abandon it several pages later is unclear. However, the change to the use of the 'informal' style in the majority of the harp consort parts implies that the function of D.238-40 changed. Presumably Lawes began the partbooks in a 'formal' style as 'presentation' volumes, or with some similar purpose in mind. However, at some point, the inclination, or the need, to complete these books as 'presentation' volumes ceased. The first eight harp consort pieces in D.239 may record the precise moment at which the function changed, or may simply have been in imitation of the presentation style of the rest of the volume.

Illustration 2.18b. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.239, ff. 19v-20: 'formal' presentation style



It seems that the harp consorts were copied in two stages, although, judging by the consistency of the hand, there was not a significant chronological gap. Nos. 1-20 are in a faded black ink (now a rusty brown colour), where less ink was used (i.e. note stems, accidentals etc.) the colour is more brown than black. Some of this may be due to fading over time; however, it appears as if it may not originally have been jet black (as with most of the rest of the volume). The ink for nos. 1-20 is different to that used in the rest of the partbooks, and similar to the ink

used to copy the harp consorts (nos. 1-8) in D.229 (Illustration 2.19). The rest of the partbooks (including Harp Consort nos. 21-30), appear to be of a darker colour, which retains its blackness today. This is the case with all three partbooks. Significantly, the ink changes at the first piece of the group of pieces for which no harp parts survive. It has been assumed that there was a chronological gap between the composition of nos. 1-25 and nos. 26-30. This does not seem to be the case. I will argue in Chapter 6 that the harp consorts were composed in three phases: nos. 1-20 (or Suites 1-5); nos. 21-25 (Suite 6); and then the five pieces that are also preserved in B.3 (nos. 26-30).

Illustration 2.19. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, f. 34v



Table 2.2. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, *Inventory*

Folio	No.	Piece/Title	Signature	Key	VdGS
1-2v		[Blank pages: foliated flyleaves]			
3		[ruled] 'The Organ part: / For the Violins: / & Basse Violl'			
		[Fantasia-Suites, for violin, bass viol, & organ]			
3v-4	1	'Fantazia'	---	G minor	{114}
4	2	'Aire'	---	G minor	{115}
4v	3	[Galliard]	---	G minor	{116}
4v-5	4	'Fantazia'	---	G major	{117}
5v	5	[Aire]	---	G major	{118}
6	[6]	[Galliard]	---	G major	{119}

6v-7	7	'Fantazia'	---	A minor	{120}
7v	8	'Aire'	---	A minor	{121}
8	9	'Aire'	---	A minor	{122}
8v-9	10	'Fantazia'	---	C major	{123}
9v	11	'Aire'	---	C major	{124}
10	12	'Aire'	---	C major	{125}
10v-11	13	'Fantazia'	---	D minor	{126}
11v	14	'Aire'	---	D minor	{127}
12	15	'Aire'	---	D minor	{128}
12v-13	16	'Fantazia'	---	D major	{129}
13v	17	'Aire'	---	D major	{130}
14	18	[Galliard]	---	D major	{131}
14v-15	19	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{132}
15v	20	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{133}
16	21	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{134}
16v-17	22	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{135}
17v	23	'Aire'	---	D major	{136}
18	24	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{137}
[Fantasia-Suites, for two violins, bass viol, & organ]					
18v-19	25	'For 2 Violins'/'Fantazia'	---	G minor	{138}
19v	26	'Aire'	---	G minor	{139}
20	27	'Aire'	---	G minor	{140}
20v-21	28	'Fantazia'	---	G major	{141}
21v	29	'Aire'	---	G major	{142}
22	30	'Aire'	---	G major	{143}
22v-23	31	'Fantazia'	---	A minor	{144}
23v	32	'Aire'	---	A minor	{145}
24	33	'Aire'	---	A minor	{146}
24v-25	34	'Fantazia'	---	C major	{147}
25v	35	[Aire]	---	C major	{148}
26	36	'Aire'	---	C major	{149}
26v-27	37	'Fantazia'	---	D minor	{150}
27v	38	'Aire'	---	D minor	{151}
28	39	'Aire'	---	D minor	{152}
28v-29	40	'Fantazia'	---	D major	{153}
29v	41	'Aire'	---	D major	{154}
30	42	'Aire'	---	D major	{155}
30v-31	43	'Fantazia'	---	D minor	{156}
31v	44	'Aire'	---	D minor	{157}
32	45	'Aire'	---	D minor	{158}
32v-33	46	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{159}
33v	47	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{160}
34	48	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D major	{161}
[Harp Consorts]					
34v	'For the Harpe, Base Violl, Violin and Theorbo'				
	1	'Almane'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{162}
	2	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{163}
35	3	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{164}
	4	'Sarab ^d	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{165}
35v	5	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{166}
	6	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{167}
36	7	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{168}
	[8]	'Sarab ^d	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{169}
36v-51 [Unused]					
[Reversed end; folios are inv.]					

80-81v	[Blank pages – these are foliated flyleaves]				
	[Suites for two bass viols & organ]				
79v	'For the Organ and 2 Bass Viols'				
	[1]	'Pauen'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{101}
79	[2]	'Aire'	'W.L.'	G minor	{103}
	[3]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{102}
78v	[4]	'Pauen and Almane of Alfonso: sett to the Organ and / 2 division Base Violls. by Wjllawes' /			
		'Pauen'		C major	{104}
78	[5]	'Alman'	---	C major	{105}
	[6]	[Incomplete; Alman]	---	C major	{106}
	[7]	'Aire' [Corant]	'Wjllawes'	C major	{107}
70v-77v	[Unused]				
	[Six-part viol consorts]				
70	1	'a 6'/'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{97}
69v-69	2	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{98}
68v	[2a]	[Aire – Crossed out] ⁴⁶	'Wjllawes'	C major	{89}
68v-68	[3]	'Fantazia'	'Wjllawes'	B flat major	{94}
67v-67	[4]	'Inominy:'	'Wjllawes'	B flat major	{96}
67	[5]	'Aire a: 6.' ⁴⁷	'Wjllawes'	B flat major	{95}
	[Five-part viol consorts]				
66v-66	[6]	'a . 5 . Fantasy'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{68}
66-65v	[7]	'Playnesong: a 5'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{69}
65	[8]	'Aire a 5.'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{70}
65-64v	[9]	'Fantazy: a-5.' ⁴⁸	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{71}
64-63v	[10]	'Fantazy: a-5.'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{72}
63v	[11]	'Aire: a 5:.'	'Wjllawes'	A minor	{73}
63-62v	[12]	'Fantazy : a 5.'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{74}
62v	[13]	'Aire : a-5.'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{75}
62	[14]	'Pauen a-5.'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{76}
61v	[15]	'Aire. a-5.'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{77}
61v-61	[16]	'Fantazy: a-5.'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{78}
60v	[17]	'Pauen a 5'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{79}
60	[18]	'Aire a a 5.'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{80}
60-59v	[19]	'Fantazy: a . 5.'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{81}
59v-59	[20]	'Pauen : a 5.'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{82}
59	[21]	'Aire a 5 .'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{83}
	[Six-part viol consorts]				
58v-58	[22]	'Inominy . a . 6 .'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{99}
58-57v	[23]	'Pauen . a . 6 .'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{84}
57-56v	[24]	'Fantazy . a . 6 .'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{85}
56	[25]	'Aire . A . 6 .'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{86}
55v	[26]	'Aire A 6.' ⁴⁹	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{100}
55-54v	[27]	'Fantazy'/'A-6.'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{87}
54v	[28]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{89}
54-53v	[29]	'Fantazy'/'A . 6 .'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{88}
53v	[30]	'Aire A . 6'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{91}
53-52v	[31]	'Fantazy'/'A 6.'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{90}

⁴⁶ Approximately the last half of the final strain of six-part 'Aire' {89}.

⁴⁷ Evidently written in as an afterthought, as it is squashed in and written over a large form of his signature from the previous piece.

⁴⁸ Contains substantial crossing out and revisions to the last stave.

⁴⁹ This title is written in large letters, covering two staves; this piece is not found in B.2 or B.3, but the bass part is found in MS 17798.

52v	[32]	'Aire'	---	F major	{92}
52-51v	[33]	'Fantazy'/'A·6·'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{93}

Whilst the layout and repertoire of D.229 is similar to that of D.238-40, it does not necessarily follow that they were companion volumes, although they may have started out as such. D.229 begins with the fantasia-suites. These are followed by the first eight pieces from the harp consorts, and at the back of the volume Lawes copied the bass viol suites. Also in D.229 are the organ parts to all of the five- and six-part viol consorts, separated from the other pieces by unused folios. As with D.238-40, the pieces at either end of D.229 are in a similar presentation style, reminiscent to the overall presentation style of the correspondent parts in D.238-40. The harp consorts are in a similar presentation style in both manuscripts. The viol consort organ parts are in a more squashed and untidy hand than the other pieces in D.229. They seem to have been copied in stages, with afterthoughts and revisions added.

The ink in the harp consorts section of D.229 (the last section before a series of unused pages and then the volume is reversed and inverted) is different to the ink in the rest of the volume and similar to the ink used in the harp consort nos. 21-30 of D.238-40. Thus, Lawes may have begun to copy these harp parts upon completion of the parts for the collection as a whole; the ink is however slightly darker than the ink used for the harp consorts in the partbooks. This may be accounted for in several ways. These parts may be incomplete and represent a compositional sketch of sorts superseded by another harp part, thus it may not have been used as much as the partbooks. Alternatively, Lawes may have used a similar batch of ink but of slightly better quality, which has retained a darker colour over the years. This brown ink is similar to the last pieces written in the reversed volume, i.e. ff. 53-51v. These two sections of the volume are separated by ff. 36v-51v, which are unused. It appears that Lawes wrote the harp parts and then added the organ parts to the following viol consort pieces around the same time: the ink appears to be the same, but different to the rest of the volume. These pieces were probably the last to be copied. The pieces at the end of D.229 (ff.66v-61v (inv.)) are also in a similar ink to the harp parts:

- Five-part 'Fantazy' (G minor) {68}
- Five-part 'On the Playnsong' (G minor) {69}
- Five-part 'Aire' (G minor) {70}
- Five-part 'Fantazy' (A minor) {71}
- Five-part 'Fantazy' (A minor) {72}
- Five-part 'Aire' (A minor) {73}
- Five-part 'Fantazy' (C minor) {74}
- Five-part 'Aire' (C minor) {75}
- Five-part 'Pauen' (C minor) {76}
- Five-part 'Aire' (C minor) {77}

- Five-part 'Fantazy' (F major) {78}; half way through this (on f. 61v) the ink is much darker.

The 'brown' ink then is replaced by blacker inks as the rest of the five-part pieces and then the six-part pieces are copied; however the 'brown' ink returns on ff. 53-51v (after which the unused pages begin). These pieces in 'brown' ink are:

- Six-part 'Fantazy' (F major) {90}
- Six-part 'Aire' (F major) {92}
- Six-part 'Fantazy' (F major) {93}

Lawes used the same ('2') bass clef throughout the fantasia-suites and the bass viol suites. The fantasia-suites were copied quite carefully, although Lawes does seem to have made some later additions giving an untidy appearance in some places. Overall, the score format of D.229 would have made it difficult to maintain a clear presentation. The decorative endings are the same in the various sections in D.229 and D.238-40; the same ending is used for the harp consorts and the viol consorts: a conical squiggle, usually with a dash running through it.

Lawes's numberings are another useful indicator of his mature hand, especially the numbers '3' and '6'. In his later manuscripts the number '3' usually has an upturn at the top, varying in degrees of elaboration. This upturn is more usually found in time signatures rather than in the numeration of pieces. This too is a case of Lawes's consistent inconsistency. He sometimes has an elaborate '3' with an upturn in the time signature, but a plain '3' with a flat top for the piece number (Illustrations 2.20a and 2.20b). The number '6' is more elaborate and consistent in the later manuscripts. The top curve usually arches out quite far and the lower loop rarely closes (Illustration 2.20c).

Illustration 2.20a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, f. 16 (detail): Lawes's time signature number '3'

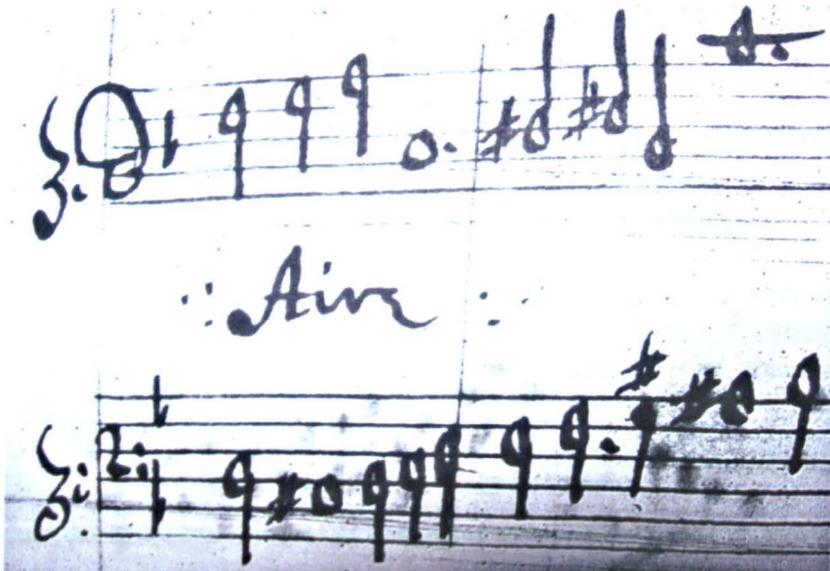


Illustration 2.20b. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 5 (detail): Lawes's number '3' in numeration

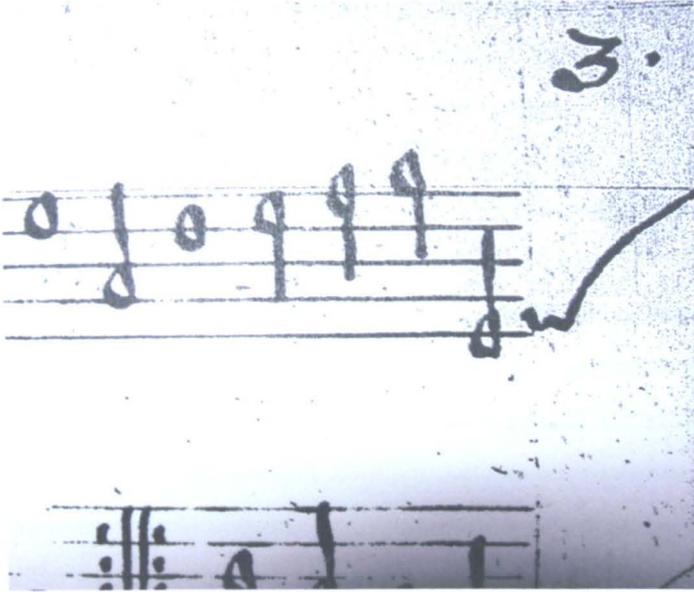


Illustration 2.20c. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17798, f. 12 (detail): Lawes's number '6' in numeration



In conclusion: the corresponding parts in D.238-40 appear to have been (at least partially) compiled prior to D.229. For example, Lawes the insertion to 'Fantazia' {144} was added to D.238-40 after the string parts had been made out, but before the organ part was copied into D.229. The inserted passage is also included in the later John Browne sources of the string parts: GB-Och, Mus. MS 430, and the Layton Ring violin partbook.⁵⁰ MS 430 contains the instruction 'This for Robert Packer Esq' at Shellingford'. Packer was Browne's brother-in-law, who was in Paris by February/March of 1639; thus, David Pinto has suggested that the most probable date for Browne's manuscripts is 1636-8, which further implied that Lawes must

⁵⁰ For descriptions of these manuscripts, see *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, 116-17; see also Ashbee, 'Instrumental Music from the Library of John Browne (1608-1691), Clerk of the Parliaments', *ML*, 58 (1977), 43-59; & Pinto, 'Viol Consort'.

have composed the fantasia-suites several years earlier.⁵¹ However, as Pinto admits, it is also possible that the MS 430 was copied during the period 1640-2.⁵² Thus, one does not necessarily have to assume a pre-1635 date for the copying of the fantasia-suites in their final form in D.238-40. Rather, I would suggest that Lawes copied the fantasia-suites in D.238-40 c.1636 (although a prior date would be plausible), with revisions completed c.1637. D.229 was presumably begun at a slightly later point, perhaps c.1636-7. However, the similarities in inks and presentation styles between D.238-40 and D.229 suggest that there was not a large chronological gap between the concordant sections (i.e. the fantasia-suites, bass viol and organ suites, and the harp consorts). Both manuscripts appear to have begun as some form of presentation volumes, or for some official purpose. However, at some point – perhaps c.1639 – Lawes, through pressures of time or circumstance, abandoned the ‘formal’ style and (especially in D.229) began to copy parts in his ‘informal’ hand, most evident in the viol consorts of D.229. Indeed, the palimpsests and the generally untidy hand in which much of the viol consorts are copied suggests that this portion of the manuscript was a compositional sketchbook of sorts; the hand is similar in style to Lawes’s hand in B.2 and B.3 – his ‘compositional draft’ presentation style (discussed below).

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17798

MS 17798 is the surviving partbook of a set of six. Measuring c.201 x 155mm, the manuscript was originally bound in stiff vellum with ‘BASSVS’ stamped in gold lettering on the front (it is now in a modern hard cover). The watermarks of the ruled pages are obscured by their position near the spine, and by the music: they do not resemble anything in Heawood or Churchill. The fourth leaf was pasted in to the original volume (see below), its watermark is also difficult to ascertain but appears to be the peacock in a circle mark (Heawood 174). The watermark of the flyleaf is three (surmounted) circles or moons, surmounted by a cross. There are further two circles resembling the letters ‘cc’ within the middle circle. Heawood notes that this is one of two main variations of this watermark; the other has a crown instead of a cross. The watermark in MS 17798 appears to be the earlier of the two, although the earliest instance noted by Heawood is 1653.⁵³ Unfortunately, this does not assist in dating MS 17798, which contains the bass part for all the five- and six-part viol consorts, including ‘Aire’ {100} which is omitted from the autograph scores. Thus, dating Lawes’s viol consorts is vital to dating this manuscript.

While compiling his edition of Lawes’s viol consorts, Pinto was able to resolve some issues relating to their dating. He convincingly suggested that the six-part viol consorts were

⁵¹ For example see *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, 116.

⁵² *Loc. cit.*

⁵³ Heawood; id., ‘Further Notes on Paper used in England after 1600: (In Continuation of the Articles in *The Library*, December 1930, March 1931)’, *The Library*, 5th series, 2 (1947), 119-49, esp. 134.

'completed and [both five- and six-part setts] circulated after 1640 and before 1642'.⁵⁴ The evidence for this is compelling, and based on non-autograph concordances. Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 479-83 and the 'John Browne Partbooks' (in private hands⁵⁵) together offer a complete text for the six-part consort setts; the former appear to have been copied from the latter, but now lack the 'Bassus'. Browne rose to prominence as Clerk of the Parliament in 1638, but it is likely that he amassed a significant portion of his collection earlier.⁵⁶ Andrew Ashbee has noted that, for example, GB-Och, Mus. MSS 423-8 were 'begun early and came into Browne's hands at the end of the 1620s', around which time his collection of instrumental music probably began.⁵⁷ Moreover, there is a set in B flat major for five parts composed by Browne in Och 473-8, manuscripts which probably passed out of his possession when his estate in Northamptonshire became inaccessible in 1642. He may have modelled this set on Lawes's set in the same key, indicating a *terminus ante quem* of 1642 for the composition Lawes's sets.⁵⁸ Certainly, Browne was familiar with Lawes's consort music. A great deal of his music made its way into Browne's collection, or at least passed through his hands, but given the state of his affairs, it seems unlikely that Lawes's viol consorts – in their latest form – came into Browne's possession after 1642.

MS 17798 shows signs of revision, postdating it from the other autograph sources. As noted, the fourth leaf, containing 'Fantazy' {71}, is a replacement. Both the autograph score (B.2) and the organ part (D.229) have an extensive middle-section, which Lawes crossed out, presumably to make the piece less diffuse.⁵⁹ There is no sign of the omission in the later sources,⁶⁰ suggesting that MS 17798 is an intermediate source, datable to c.1640-1. MS 17798 appears to have been part of a set designed for a formal purpose given the carefully laid out and copied parts, similar to the 'formal' presentation style of the bass viol suites and the fantasia-suites in D.238-40 and D.229 (*cf.* Illustrations 2.21*a-c*).

⁵⁴ *Lawes: Consort Sets*, ix.

⁵⁵ Now in the possession of Prof. Franklin Zimmerman of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: microfilm copy at the Pendlebury Library of Music, University of Cambridge.

⁵⁶ My thanks to Dr Andrew Ashbee & David Pinto for their observations on dating Browne's collection: private correspondences (April & May 2006, respectively).

⁵⁷ Ashbee, private correspondence (April 2006).

⁵⁸ See *Lawes: Consort Sets*, preface; & Ashbee, 'Instrumental Music from the Library of John Browne'.

⁵⁹ My thanks to David Pinto for his observations on this piece.

⁶⁰ See *Lawes: Consort Sets*, xix.

Illustration 2.21a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, f. 78 (inv.)



Illustration 2.21b. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 6



Illustration 2.21c. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17798, f. 1

Lawes maintained his ‘formal’ style throughout the manuscript (even on the replacement leaf). He appears to have copied the six-part pieces some time after the five-part pieces, as he began numbering the former at ‘23’, whereas there is only 16 pieces previously in the volume. However, the last page number on the five-part pieces is ‘22’, which he appears to have mistaken as the piece number. All the six-part pieces are titled, and signed with his mature signature. Only the first and last pieces in the five-part section are signed and titled; both are the mature form, the first (on f. 1) has an italic ‘e’ (Illustration 2.21c), the last an epsilon. MS 17798 demonstrates that Lawes cultivated a ‘formal’ copying hand later in his career, adding further weight against the suggestion that the fantasia-suites were copied in an earlier hand in D.238-40.

Table 2.3. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17798, *Inventory*

Folio	No.	Piece/Title	Signature	Key	VdGS
[Five-part viol consorts]					
1	1	‘Aire: A · 5 ·’	‘Wjllawes’	G minor	{70}
1v-2	2	[Fantazia]	---	G minor	{68}
2v-3	3	[On the Playnsong]	---	G minor	{69}
3v-4	4	[Fantazia]	‘Wm Lawes’ ⁶¹	A minor	{71}

⁶¹ Non-autograph signature: later addition.

4v-5	5	[Fantazia]	---	A minor	{72}
5v	6	[Aire]	---	A minor	{73}
6	7	[Aire]	---	C minor	{75}
6v-7	8	[Fantazia]	---	C minor	{74}
7v	9	[Pavan]	---	C minor	{76}
8	10	[Aire]	---	C minor	{77}
8v-9	11	[Fantazia]	---	F major	{78}
9v	12	[Pavan]	---	F major	{79}
10	13	[Aire]	---	F major	{80}
10v	14	[Fantazia]	---	C major	{81}
11	15	[Pavan]	---	C major	{82}
11v	16	[Aire] 'A · 5 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{83}
[Six-part viol consorts]					
12	23	[Aire] 'A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{100}
12v-13	24	'Fantazy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{97}
13v-14	25	'Fantazy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{98}
14v-15	26	'Inominy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{99}
15v-16	27	'Fantazia :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{87}
16v-17	28	'Fantazy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{88}
17v	29	'Aire :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	C major	{89}
18	30	'Aire :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	B flat major	{95}
18v-19	31	'Fantazy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	B flat major	{94}
19v-20	32	'Inominy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	B flat major	{96}
20v-21	33	'Pauen :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{84}
21v-22	34	'Fantazy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{85}
22v	35	'Aire :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{86}
23	36	'Aire :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{91}
23v-24	37	'Fantazy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{90}
24v-25	38	'Fantazy :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{93}
25v	39	'Aire :: A · 6 ·'	'Wjllawes'	F major	{92}

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. B.2, and B.3

Lawes's scorebooks measure c.390 x 265mm. They have the same watermarks, which differ from those in the rest of the autographs: Heawood 2174. The flyleaves contain a watermark similar to Heawood 481. Both of these watermarks are found in manuscripts as early as the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. The flyleaf mark is from Basle and unlikely to date any later than 1630.⁶² Both volumes bear the same stamp of the Royal Arms on the cover; the same stamp is on MS 31432.⁶³ The stamp has 'the coat enclosed by the Garter, surmounted by the crown and upheld by the lion and unicorn supporters on a bracket of the royal motto' (Illustration 2.22).⁶⁴ It is another variant of the Stuart Royal Arms: SRA VII, which is found on several bindings made during the reign of Charles I, and on 'a rather plain binding from the

⁶² See Thompson, 'Paper in English Music MSS', 144-45.

⁶³ The stamp is reproduced from other books in Robert Shackleton, *Fine Bindings 1500-1700 from Oxford Libraries* (Oxford, 1968), no. 139. See also Pinto, 'Viol Consort', 21(n6).

⁶⁴ Pinto, 'Autographs Sources', 12.

library of James I'.⁶⁵ B.3 seems to have originally belonged to Henry Lawes as the initials 'H.L.' are stamped on the cover: 'W.L.' is stamped on the cover of B.2. This suggests that B.3 was given to Henry as part of his court duties in the LVV. Henry was sworn into the LVV on 6 January 1630/1; however, there was a delay with his appointment and was not officially admitted until Christmas 1631; he was an epistoler of the Chapel Royal from January 1625/6, promoted to gentleman in the following year.⁶⁶ William could have procured the manuscript from Henry at some point before his own appointment in 1635, giving a plausible *terminus a quo* for B.3 of c.1631-2; however, as we shall see, the remaining contents of B.3 suggest that William did not acquire the manuscript until c.1636-7. It is highly likely that B.2 was procured by William prior to his court appointment, as it contains music composed for *The Triumph of Peace* (1634). Henry may have acquired the volume for his brother, or it may have been given to William for the composition of the masque music. The latter seems plausible given the close association of the court with the masque. Thompson has noted that 'Lawes might well have been using a stock of old music paper, because the staves have been drawn carefully one line at a time rather than with a complex rastrum as was usual by the 1630s [...] the books may perhaps have been bound in the mid- or late 1620s incorporating earlier material'.⁶⁷ Indeed, both books are mostly ruled with 12-line staves, although two pages in B.2 have 13 staves: pp. 26 and 37. Thus, they may have been unwanted old stock from the court stationer.

Illustration 2.22. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, cover stamp: SRA VII



⁶⁵ Foot, 97.

⁶⁶ Ashbee, 'Lawes, Henry', *BDECM*, ii. 706-09.

⁶⁷ Thompson, 'Paper in English Music MSS', 144.

In the words of David Pinto, both scorebooks

appear in a list of Music School MSS made in 1682 (Mus.Sch. C.103*) among other music purporting to be the bequest of Edward Lowe, late professor but already properly belonging to the collection. Since probably present before Lowe's death [in 1681], they may have been presented through Lowe by Henry Lawes c.1661, along with a donation of a theorbo as recorded by Sir John Hawkins.⁶⁸

Several leaves were abstracted after copying in the middle of the main masque section (pp. 35-44), and two gatherings were abstracted after this section. Some leaves were abstracted in the middle of the five-part fantasias in C minor, the six-part fantasia in B flat major, and the 'Inominy' in C minor, before copying began.⁶⁹ B.2 contains masque music, vocal music, five- and six-part viol consorts, the lute suite and the suite for two bass viols and organ. B.3 contains instrumental music: the six-part viol consorts, the large-scale harp consorts, and the SSBB version of the Royall Consort. Most of the pieces in both volumes are titled. On one of the flyleaves of B.3 there are several signature in a light pencil, which appear to be authentic. They are 'Leonard Tace[?]',⁷⁰ 'Monsieuar', 'Wjllawes', and 'Teodor Stoeffken'. The identity of the first two persons is unknown. The Lawes signature is his 'mature form' and appears to be genuine, as does that of Stoeffken, comparable to his signature in the Longleat documents relating to *The Triumph of Peace*. The hand appears to be the same in both sources, although in the Longleat papers he used 'Dietrich Stoeffken': both forenames are used in court documents. Stoeffken was appointed to Henrietta Maria's household in 1628 and succeeded Maurice Webster in the main household in 1636.⁷¹

Table 2.4. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, *Inventory*

Broken lines (---) indicate abstracted pages.

Signatures in bold indicate the 'short L' form, the rest are in the 'mature' form.

(x) = indicates that the piece has been crossed out; the reason for the crossings out is not always clear, although they often appear to be linked to the excision of leaves.

Page	Piece/Title	Status	Signature	Key	VdGS
------	-------------	--------	-----------	-----	------

----- several leaves before p. 1 -----

[Six-part viol consorts]

1-3	'Fatazia · a 6'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	C minor	{97}
3-6	'Fantazia · a · 6 ·'	Incomplete	---	C minor	{98}

----- 1 leaf after p. 6 -----

⁶⁸ Lawes: *Fantasia-Suites*, 114.

⁶⁹ See Crum, *Harvester Microfilm Guide*, 1-3.

⁷⁰ The surname is difficult to make out.

⁷¹ See Ashbee, 'Stoeffken, Dietrich/Theodore', *BDECM*, ii. 1049-52.

7-9 'Fantazia · a 6 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' B flat major {94}

-----1 leaf after p. 8 -----

10-13 'Inominy :- a 6 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' B flat major {96}

14 'Aire · a 6 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' B flat major {95}

-----several leaves after p. 14 -----

[Royall Consort related]

15 'Alman · a 5 · For the
Violins · of 2 · trebles'⁷² Complete 'Wjllawes' D major {38}

[*Britannia Triumphans* (1638)]

16(-18) 'Part of the Kings Masque' -⁷³ --- -

16 'Full Songs · a 5 ·'/'Britanocles'

16 'Song of Fame'/'Why move these Princes' [a2]

'Ciacona' / 'Fame againe' [a2]

'Arts and Science · 2 Boyes'/'Soe pay y^e expectation' [a2]

'4 Voc'/'Moue then in such'

'Full Cho'/'O with what Joy' [a5]

17 'Song of Galatea'

'Simfony' [a3]

'Song' [Galatea; a1 & BC]/'Soe Well Britanocles'

3 · Voc'/'On euer mouing waues they dance'

'Galatea againe' [a1 & BC]/'But Now'

'Cho: · a5 ·'/'When he shall lead wth Harmony'

18 'Valediction'

'Simfony:' [a3]

'Song'/'Wise Nature' [a1 & BC]

'Were but to tempt' [a3]

'Grand Chorus'/'To Bed to Bed'

-----1 leaf after p. 18 -----

[Five-part viol consorts]

19-21 'Fantazya · a 5 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' G minor {68}

22-25 'On the
Playnsong :- a 5 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' G minor {69}

[Four-part viol consorts]

26-27 'For the Violls :- a 4 ·'⁷⁴ Complete 'Wjllawes' C minor {108}

28-29 'Aire :- a 4 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' C minor {109}

29-30 'Aire : · a 4 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' C minor {110}

31-32 'Aire : · a 4 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' C minor {111}

33 'Aire : · a 4 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' C major {112}

34-35 'Aire : · a 4 ·' Complete 'Wjllawes' C major {113}

⁷² 'Alman. a 5. For the Violins. of 2 trebles'; different version of Royall Consort Alman {38}: cf. B.3, p. 95.

⁷³ These are all given in condensed form; none is fully written out; words are given only as indications. The same is true of all the masque songs in the manuscript. All of the masque music from B.2 have been reconstructed and published in Lefkowitz, *Trois masques a la cour de Charles I^{er} d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1970). However, the fragment 'That all' on p. 41 of B.2 is reconstructed by Lefkowitz in G major instead of G minor (pp. 108-09), despite having two flats in the manuscript.

⁷⁴ [Fantasia].

[Miscellaneous Poem Settings]

- 35-36 'a 3 Voc'/'Cease
warring thoughts'⁷⁵ Complete(x) 'Wjllawes' -
- 36 'Goe bleeding hart'⁷⁶ Incomplete(x) -
- several leaves after p. 36 -----
- 37 'Feare not
deare loue'⁷⁷ Incomplete(x) 'Wjllawes' -
- [*The Triumph of Peace* (1634)]
- 38(-41) 'First Song of the Inns of
Court Masque:'⁷⁸ Incomplete 'Wjllawes' -
- 38 'Simfony' [a2]
'Song: Irene'/'Hence hence ye prophane' [a1 & BC]
'Cho'/'Hence, hence ye prophane' [a4]
'Simfony' [a2]
'Irene: Sings' [a1 & BC]
- 1 leaf after p. 38 -----
- 39 'See where she shines' [a1]
'3 · Voc. From y^e Cho'/'In her Celestiall'
'Simfony' [a2]
- 39-40 'Eunomia descends · and Sings'/'Thinke not' [a2; w/Irene]
- 40 'Cho'/'Irene Enters like'
'The first part of the /
Inns of Court Masque:/' 'Wjllawes'
- 1 leaf after p. 40 -----
- 41 'That all:·' Incomplete(x)
'the last Part of the Inns /
of Court / Masque' 'Wjllawes'
- [*The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour* (1636)]
- 41(-44) 'Part of the Prince D'mour
his Masque at the Middle
Temple'⁷⁹ Complete 'Wjllawes' -
- 41 'Simfony' [a2] / [followed by stage direction:] 'The Banquet descends out of the /
Sceane'
'the Song'/'Behold how' [a2 & BC]
- 42 'Cho'/'Come strew this ground' [a4] 'Wjllawes'
'The last Song or / Valediction'
'Simfony' [a2] / [followed by stage direction:] 'Priests of Mars / descend from / the
Sceane to the / State'
'The Song'/'The Angry stead' [a1 & BC]

⁷⁵ Three voices & (unfigured) continuo, including full text. Text published as part of Shirley's private masque *The Triumph of Beauty* (London, 1646).

⁷⁶ Four voices & (unfigured) continuo.

⁷⁷ Setting of Thomas Carew's poem 'Secresie protested' (published in *Poems*, 1640) for three voices & (unfigured) continuo.

⁷⁸ Songs & chorus; lacking some leaves; the end is crossed out.

⁷⁹ Presented by the King on 24 February 1635; includes text.

'Cho: of 4 Voc:/'Till you as Glorious' / [followed by stage direction:] 'Last part of / the Simfony / Playes and / the Priests / of Venus / descend'

-----1 leaf after p. 42 -----

- 43 'Song'/'The Balmes rich Sweet' [a2 & BC]
 'Cho'/'The Balmes' [a4] [followed by stage direction:] 'Last part of the / Simfony And / the Priests of / Apollo descend / to the State'
 'Song'/'May your language' [a3 & BC]
 'Cho: a 4 Voc:/'Soe full of Wonder' [followed by stage direction:] 'the whole Simfony / and all retire from / the State to y^e Sceane and sing / the Grand / Cho:'
- 44 'Grand Cho:.' 'May our three Gods' [a4] 'Wjllawes'
 'Simfony .' [a2] (x)

[Partsong 'a 4 Voc']

- 44 'Deere leve thy home' Incomplete(x) --- -

-----2 gatherings⁸⁰ after p. 44 -----

[Five-part Viol Consorts]

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|-----------|------------|---------|------|
| 45-48 | 'a 5 for y ^e Violls' ⁸¹ | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | A minor | {71} |
| 48-51 | 'Fantazia :: a 5' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | A minor | {72} |
| 52 | 'Aire a 5' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | G minor | {70} |
| 53 | '[Aire] a :: 5.' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | A minor | {73} |
| 54-57 | 'Fantazia a 5' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | C minor | {74} |
| 58-59 | 'Pauen :: a 5' | Complete | --- | C minor | {76} |
| 60 | 'Aire :: a 5.' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | C minor | {75} |
| 61 | 'Aire :: a 5.' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | C minor | {77} |
| 62-65 | 'Fantazy :: a 5' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | F major | {78} |
| 65-67 | 'Pauan :: a 5.' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | F major | {79} |
| 68-69 | 'Aire a 5.' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | F major | {80} |
| 69 | 'Fantazy :: a 5.' ⁸² | [Incipit] | 'Wjllawes' | C major | {81} |
| 70-71 | 'Pauen a 5.' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | C major | {82} |
| 72-74 | [Fantasy {81} cont.] | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | C major | {81} |
| 74-75 | '[Aire] a 5.' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | C major | {83} |

[Fantasia-suite no. 22]

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--|----------|------------|---------|-------|
| 76-81 | 'For the Organ : Base
Violl and Violin' /
'Fantazia' | Complete | 'W: Lawes' | D major | {135} |
|-------|--|----------|------------|---------|-------|

-----several leaves after p. 76 -----

'For 2 Base Violls and Organ'

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------|------------|--------------|-------|
| 81-85 | 'Pauen' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | G minor | {101} |
| | 'For 2 lutes' | | | | |
| 86 | 'Alman' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | B flat major | |
| | 'Corant' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | B flat major | |
| | 'Corant' | Complete | 'Wjllawes' | B flat major | |

-----several leaves after p. 86 -----

⁸⁰ Original gatherings appear to have consisted of six sheets.

⁸¹ [Fantasia]; most of p. 47 is crossed out.

⁸² Most of the note-heads are filled in, suggesting a revision in double time values -- continued throughout the piece.

[‘For 2 Base Violls and Organ’, cont.]

87-88	‘Aire’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’	G minor	{102}
88-91	‘Aire’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’	G minor	{103}
91-92	‘Aire’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’	C major	{107}
93-99	‘Pavan: and Almane of Alfonso. sett to the Organ / and 2 diuison BaseViolls by:.. Wjllawes’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’	C major	{104} & {105}

-----several leaves after p. 98 -----

100	[Aire]	Incomplete	---	C major	{106}
	[Miscellaneous]				
101:1	[unidentified 3-part fragment; vocal?; no text]			A minor	
101:2	‘A 3 · Voc:· In the Memory of my Friend:· John Tomkins’ ⁸³	Complete(x)	‘Wjllawes’		
	[Six-part viol consort]				
102-05	‘Inomine a 6·’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’	C minor	{99}
105	[unidentified 5?-part piece] ⁸⁴	Incomplete(x)	---		
	[Sacred vocal]				
106	‘I to thy Wing’ ⁸⁵	Incomplete(x)	---		

-----several leaves after p. 106 -----

[Catches & Songs⁸⁶]

107	‘Canon· a 4·’				
	‘Regi Regis Regnum’ ⁸⁷	Complete	---		
107	‘Some drink, Boy:·’ ⁸⁸ [a3]	Complete	---		
107	‘Harke Jolly Lads’ [a3]	Complete	---		
108	‘Canon of 3 in the Unison’/				
	‘Lord thou hast’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
108	‘Canon of 3’/’Happy Sons’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
108	‘a 4’/’She Weepeth’ ⁸⁹	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
108	‘a 4’/’Call for the Ale’ ⁹⁰	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
108	‘a 3’/’Lets Cast away Care’ ⁹¹	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
108	‘a 3’/’Stand still’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
109	‘a 3’/’If we shall drink’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
109	‘a 3’/’I doe Confesse’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
109	‘a 3’/’Whither go yee’	Complete	‘Wjllawes’		
109	‘a 3’/’Re me re ut’ ⁹²	Complete	---		

⁸³ Printed in Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalmes* (London, 1648).⁸⁴ Begun on three staves and crossed out.⁸⁵ This is the first line of what is Sandy’s Psalm 71, here set for ‘3 Voc. to the Organ:· First Part’. Lawes gives the Sandy’s attribution.⁸⁶ This begins a series of catches and canons, mostly for three or four voices; only the first few bars are given for each piece.⁸⁷ Lawes also wrote the first text lines of this canon on one of the back flyleaves.⁸⁸ From Suckling’s *The Goblins* performed at the Blackfriar’s Theatre by the King’s Men (c.1637-41).⁸⁹ Published in John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can* (London, 1652), p. 107:1.⁹⁰ Published in *Catch* (1652), p. 33:2.⁹¹ Published in *Catch* (1652), p. 37.

109	'Regi Regis Regnum'	Incomplete ⁹³	---
109	'For 2. 3. 4. 5. or 6 p ^{ls} in One.'		
	'Come my Lads'	Complete	'W. L.'
110	'a 3'/'Tom Ned and Jack'	Complete	'W. L.'
110	'a 3'/'Never Let a man'	Complete	'W. L.'
110	'a 3'/'Though I am not'	Complete	'W. L.'
110	'a 3'/'Brisk Clarett and Sherry'	Complete	'W. L.'
110	[a 6]/'Warrs ar our delight' ⁹⁴	Complete	'W. L.'

-----several leaves after p. 110 -----

Table 2.5. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3, *Inventory*

Page	Piece/Title	Status	Signature	Key	VdGS
-----at least 1 gathering ⁹⁵ before p. 1 -----					
[Six-part viol consorts]					
1-3	'Fantazy :: A 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	C major	{87}
4-7	'Fantazy :: A. 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	C major	{88}
8-9	'Aire. A. 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	C major	{89}
10-13	'Fantazy :: A. 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{85}
14-16	'Pauen :: A. 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{84}
17-18	'Aire :: a 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	G minor	{86}
-----1 leaf after p. 18 -----					
19-20	'Aire. A. 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	F major	{91}
-----1 leaf after p. 20 -----					
21	'Aire. A. 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	F major	{92}
22-25	'Fantazy 1. A. 6.' ⁹⁶	Complete	'Wjllawes'	F major	{90}
-----at least 2 leaves after p. 22 -----					
-----at least 2 leaves after p. 24 -----					
26-29	'Fantazy A. 6.'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	F major	{93}
[Harp Consorts]					
30	[Aire]	Complete	'Wjllawes'	G major	{187}
31-34	'Fantazya :: For the Harpe Violin Base Violl and				

⁹² 'Canon in y^e 5 and 8th.'

⁹³ One line of text, two bars of music: mostly rubbed out: evidently, it was to be a three-part canon.

⁹⁴ Published in *Catch* (1652), p. 81.2.

⁹⁵ Original gatherings appear to have consisted of six sheets.

⁹⁶ Some passages appear to have been revised in double time values; note-heads are filled in, beams added, and minim rests changed to crotchet rests.

	Theorbo'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	{191}
35-38	'Pauen' & 'DiVisyon Uppon the Pauen'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	G major	{188}
39-43	'Pauen' & 'Diuisions on the Pauen for / Violin and Base Violl' ⁹⁷	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	{189}
44-47	'Pauen' & 'Deuision on this Pauen / for the Violin and Base Violl' ⁹⁸	Complete	---	G minor	{190}
[Royall Consort (new version)]					
48	'Aire'	Complete	---	D major	6/{37} ⁹⁹
49	'Corant'	Complete	---	D major	6/{39}
50-53	'Fantazy'/'For 2 Violins 2 Base Viols and 2 theorboes'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	1/{1}
54	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	1/{2}
55	'Alman'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	1/{3}
56	'Corant'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	1/{4}
57	'Corant'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	1/{5}
58	'Sarab ^d	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	1/{6}
59-60	'Ecco'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	1/{7}
61-62	'Ecco'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	6/{40}
63-65	'Pauen'/'For Two Violins, 2 Base Violls and 2 theorboes'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	2/{8}
65-66	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	2/{9}
66-67	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	2/{10}
67-68	'Aire' [Corant]	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	2/{11}
69-70	'Corant'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	2/{12}
70-71	'Sarab ^d	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	2/{13}
71-72	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	3/{15}
73	'Aire'	Complete	---	D minor	3/{16}
74-75	'Corant'	Complete	---	D minor	3/{17}
75	'Corant' [cont. on p. 78]	Complete		D minor	3/{18}
76	'Alman'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	3/{19}
77	'Corant'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	3/{20}
78	[Corant – from p. 75]		'Wjllawes'	D minor	

-----at least 2 leaves after p. 78 -----

79	'Sarab ^d	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	3/{21}
80-81	'Pauen'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	4/{22}
82	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	4/{23}
83-84	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	4/{24}
84-85	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	4/{25}
86-87	'Corant'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	4/{26}
87	'Sarab ^d	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	4/{27}
88-89	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	5/{29}
89-90	'Aire'	Complete	---	D major	5/{30}
90-91	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	5/{31}

⁹⁷ On a pavan by Cormack MacDermott.

⁹⁸ On a pavan by John Coprario.

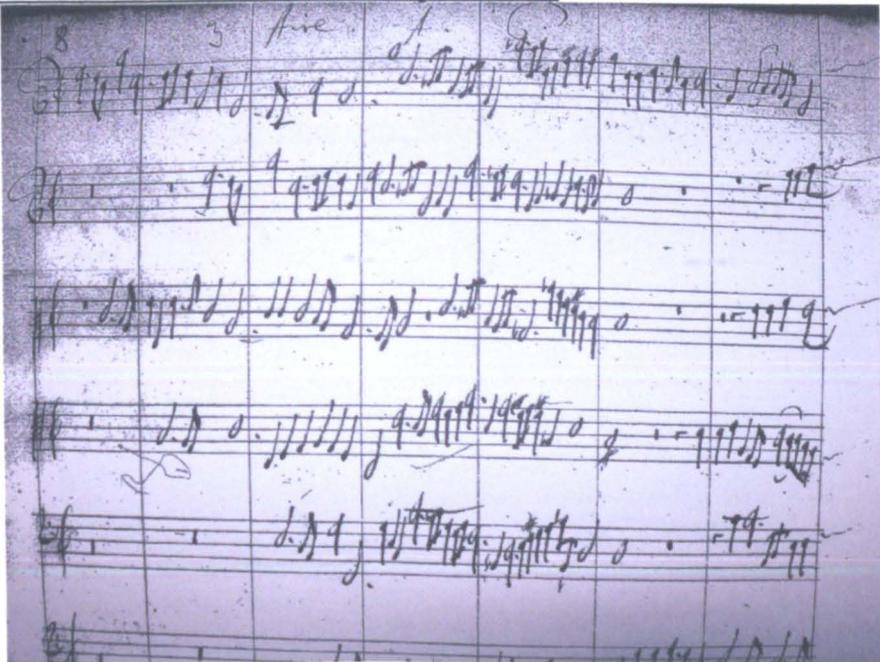
⁹⁹ For the Royall Consort pieces, the modern Set number precedes VdGS number.

91-92	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	5/{32}
92-93	'Corant'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	5/{33}
93-94	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	5/{34}
94	'Sarab ^d '	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	5/{35}
95	'Alman'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	6/{38}
96-99	'Fantazy'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	6/{36}
99	'Sarab ^d '	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D minor	2/{14}
100	'Aire'	Complete	'Wjllawes'	D major	6/{41}

-----at least 3 leaves after p. 100 -----

An examination of their handwriting suggests that both manuscripts were compiled when Lawes's musical and textual handwriting was sufficiently mature to not reveal any major inconsistencies; this appears to be from *c.*1633-4 onwards (but both manuscripts were not necessarily compiled simultaneously). This fits in with the music from *The Triumph of Peace*, which is the earliest datable music in B.2. The characters of the musical hand are generally small and often quite messy with a slight rightwards slant. Lawes's beaming throughout B.2 and B.3 (as well as D.238-40, D.229, and MSS 31432, 17798; e.g. Illustration 2.23) has lost the curved beams of the Shirley partbooks, although they do reappear in rare instances. The beaming in B.2 and B.3 is either straight, arched, or follows the flow of the stems. The fact that the manuscripts are in score, along with the large number of revisions, palimpsests and crossing out, convincingly suggests that they are compositional drafts.¹⁰⁰ Thus, this form of presentation style can be labelled as his 'compositional draft' style.

Illustration 2.23. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 8 (detail)



¹⁰⁰ See also Pinto, 'Autograph Sources', 13.

If it is accepted that the scorebooks primarily consist of compositional drafts then much of the masque music in B.2 can be dated with certainty. Originally, the manuscript may have contained much more masque music. As many as 14 leaves were removed in the middle of the main masque section (i.e. pp. 35-44). There is music from at least three masques, dating from 1634, 1636, and 1638.¹⁰¹ Curiously, they are not found in chronological order. First, there is a selection of songs from *Britannia Triumphans* (1638) (pp. 15-18). Then, after some four- and five-part viol consorts, there comes the main masque section (pp. 35-44) including music from *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), and from the court masque *The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour* (1636).¹⁰² The handwriting does not significantly change within the masque pieces (see Illustrations 2.24a-d). Although it is impossible to be certain, the evidence suggests that they are Lawes's compositional drafts, rather than an anthology copied at a later point. Masques were ephemeral entertainments that were rarely revived. If Lawes were compiling songs for an anthology he would have been more likely to have preserved a selection of songs rather than most of the entertainment; MS 31432 seems to be such an anthology. Thus, one can reasonably assume that the masque music dated to shortly before the masques were performed. Therefore, Lawes appears to have begun the manuscript towards the middle with the main masque section, presumably leaving space at the front of the volume for instrumental music: a similar layout is observable in MS 31432 (see below). The music for *The Triumph of Peace* was presumably composed c.1633, followed the music for *D'Amour* towards the end of 1635: it was presented in the following February. One suspects that Lawes had begun work on the five-part viol consorts following the main masque section (i.e. after page 44) before he came to compose the music for *Britannia Triumphans* at the end of 1637. It also seems likely that by this time the six-part viol consorts and the five-part version of 'Alman' {38} from the Royall Consort were already composed at the start of the volume.

¹⁰¹ The masque music has been recently edited in *William Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 4: Masques*, ed. Gordon Callon (RRMBE, 123; Madison, 2002).

¹⁰² For a detailed discussion of Lawes's masque music see Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford, 1996), esp. 159-205; also id., 'New Light on Songs by William Lawes and John Wilson', *ML*, 57 (1976), 55-64.

Illustration 2.24a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 16 (detail): *Britannia Triumphans* (1638)



Illustration 2.24b. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 38 (detail): *The Triumph of Peace* (1634)

Illustration 2.24c. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 41 (detail): *The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour* (1636)

In the midst of the main masque section, there are three miscellaneous songs. The text of 'Cease warring thoughts' was published in 1646 by James Shirley as a song from his private masque *The Triumph of Beauty* (essentially an adaptation of the Judgement of Paris).¹⁰³ Establishing an accurate date for the first performance of the masque is problematic. Lefkowitz was the first scholar to identify the song as belonging to Shirley's masque.¹⁰⁴

Illustration 2.24d. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 36 (detail): 'Cease warring thoughts'



The find was significant, as the composer of the masque's music had hitherto been unidentified, and it implied that the first performance of the masque took place prior to 1645; Lefkowitz suggested a date of c.1644. However, as Ian Spink noted, there is little to suggest that Lawes's setting of the poem in B.2 was part of the original production.¹⁰⁵ He cautioned, 'it is dangerous to deduce that Lawes wrote all the music for the original performance on the evidence of this single setting of the first song, particularly in this doubtful context'.¹⁰⁶ The context of B.2 is 'doubtful' because 'Cease warring thoughts' comes directly after the four-part viol consort pieces, in a now incomplete section of three miscellaneous poem settings; only the first of which is associated with a masque. Indeed, the composition of this sequence is reminiscent of MS 31432, where at least one masque song is juxtaposed with poem settings. Moreover, in the masque 'Cease warring thoughts' is sung by Mercury, who descends to sing Paris to sleep; in Shirley's printed text there is nothing to suggest that there is anyone other than Paris and Mercury on stage at this point, despite Lawes's setting being for three voices. Another song,

¹⁰³ Published in London; the full title reads: 'The Trivmph of BEAVTIE: As it was performed by some young Gentlemen, for whom it was intended, at a private Recreation'. The masque was published with his *Poems*.

¹⁰⁴ Lefkowitz, 'New Facts Concerning William Lawes and the Caroline Masque', *ML*, 40 (1959), 324-33; *Lawes*, 230-34.

¹⁰⁵ Spink, 'Correspondence: William Lawes', *ML*, 41 (1960), 304-05.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 304.

'Goe bleeding hart', follows 'Cease warring thoughts', but several leaves were abstracted in the middle of the piece. It is followed by (an also incomplete) setting of Thomas Carew's poem 'Secresie protested', the text of which was published in his *Poems* collection of 1640. This is followed by *The Triumph of Peace* sequence on p. 38, which is written in a different ink; indeed, Lawes may have followed on from them when composing *The Triumph of Peace* music, suggesting that they date to c.1633.

The setting of 'Secresie protested' is close enough to the printed version to suggest that Lawes may have had access to a fair copy prior to publication. Carew (who died on 23 March 1639/40) was appointed as Sewer in Ordinary to Charles I in 1630, and would presumably have known Lawes personally. Indeed, the handwriting and the 'short L' signatures of this section may suggest that it was compiled roughly contemporaneously with parts of MS 31432. Lawes's version of 'Cease warring thoughts' has several variants with the printed version (Table 2.6).¹⁰⁷

Table 2.6. *Comparison of 'Cease, warring thoughts' texts*

Printed version (1646), p. 13

Cease, warring thoughts, and let his braine
No more discord entertaine,
But be smooth and calme againe.

Yee Crystall Rivers that are nigh,
As your streames are passing by,
Teach your murmurs harmony.

Yee windes that wait upon the spring,
And perfumes to flowers do bring:
Let your amorous whispers here
Breath soft Musick to his eare.

Yee warbling Nightingales repaire
From every wood, to charme this aire,
And with the wonders of your breast,
Each striving to excell the rest.
When it is time to wake him, close your
parts,
And drop downe from the trees with broken
hearts.

Lawes version (B.2, p. 36)

Cease, warring thoughts, and let his brayne
Noe More discord Entertayne
but be smooth and Calme againe
you Crystall Rivers that are nigh
teach your Murmurs harmony
as your streames ar passing by.
ye winds that waite uppon the spring
and perfume to the flowers bring
let your Amorous whispers heere
breath soft Musique to his Eare.

yee Warbling Nightingales repaire
from euerie wood, to Charme this Aire
fill with the Wonders of your breast
Each striving to excell the rest
When it is tyme to wake them Close your
parts,
And drop downe from y^e Trees wth broken
harts

Apart from the obvious differences in spelling, capitalisation, and Lawes's arrangement of the stanzas into two verses, Lawes's version rearranges lines 5 and 6, although this does not affect the overall rhyme scheme. He also gives a slight variant for line 13. These (and the many other minor discrepancies) may simply have been the result of an error in transcription. However, this

¹⁰⁷ For a transcription see *Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 4*. Callon dates it to c.1640-4.

seems unlikely, as Lawes was generally quite accurate in transcribing texts that appear to have come from printed sources (or which were later used in printed sources). The changes may also be the result of Lawes's adaptation of the text for setting as a song, as he did in several of the poems set in MS 31432.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the textual differences between the two versions are (*inter alia*) enough to convincingly suggest that Lawes's setting is simply a setting of an isolated poem.

Another version of 'Cease warring thoughts' is found in GB-Eu, MS Dc. I. 69 and GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.238, which together consist of the first and second cantus parts of what were a three-part set of vocal music in the hand of Edward Lowe.¹⁰⁹ The partbooks contain songs by John Wilson, as well as nine songs by Lawes, including 'Why do you dwell' from *The Triumph of Peace* and 'Conjunction thrives' from *The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour*; the latter is also in B.2, also in a different version. Peter Walls has suggested that the 'partbooks contain Lawes's revised version' of 'Cease warring thoughts'; but there is nothing to suggest that the Lawes songs are not adaptations by someone else.¹¹⁰ In either case, Walls does little to support his contention that 'Cease warring thoughts' is from an original performance of the masque. Indeed, he also notes that in 1659 John Gamble published three-part setting of all but one of the songs in Shirley's masque, including 'Cease warring thoughts'.¹¹¹ Walls suggests that Gamble set these songs as part of a revival of the masque, which is unlikely. It seems more probable that Gamble was the composer of the original performance, and that Lawes's setting of 'Cease warring thoughts' was simply an isolated song setting from the 1630s, the text of which was incorporated by Shirley into his masque. Lawes, who had worked with Shirley previously, could easily have acquired a copy of the poem much earlier than 1645. This has a significant impact on establishing dates for the autograph scorebooks, as 'Cease warring thoughts' is the latest datable piece in the manuscript if it can be associated with Shirley's masque. This would have implied that B.2 was in use well into the 1640s; however, the evidence suggests that this song setting was simply as isolated instance, in a group of partsongs. The abstraction of over a dozen leaves from this section suggests that this section of partsongs was originally much larger, presumably with a repertoire similar to MS 31432.

B.2 and B.3 are closely related. Pinto has suggested that B.2 was

intended originally for the five-part [viol consort] sets, to which the sets a6 in B flat and c were late additions. Lawes began with a revised version of the fantasias a5 in g; after the fantasias in a he completed two sets by

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion of this see Crum, 'Notes on the Texts of William Lawes's Songs in B.M. MS. Add. 31432', *The Library*, 5th series, 9 (1954), 122-27.

¹⁰⁹ These sources, and Lawes's settings, are discussed in Walls, 'New Light'; & id., *Masque*, 182-89, & 334-36. Both versions are transcribed in *Masque*, 183-88 & *Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 4*.

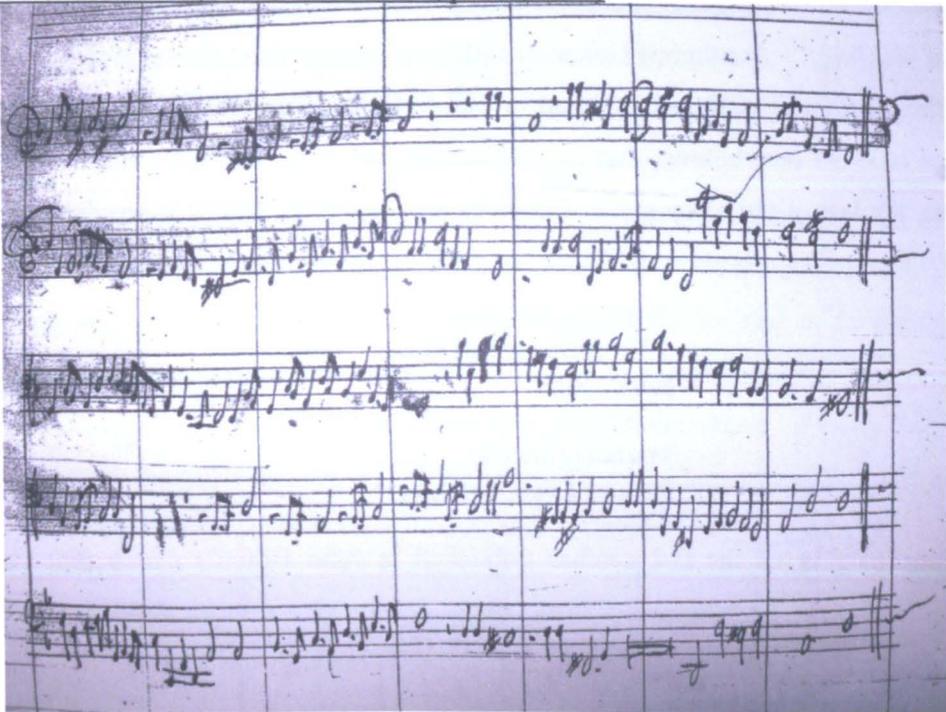
¹¹⁰ Walls, *Masque*, 189. In a footnote – 189(n50) – Walls notes that these may be arrangements by John Wilson.

¹¹¹ Gamble, *Ayres and Dialogues* (London, 1659); see also Spink, 'William Lawes'.

adding recomposed aires, and proceeded with the remaining pieces, maintaining the same order in the organ-book [D.229].¹¹²

Pinto further suggested that B.3 was originally intended for the six-part sets, but that Lawes ran out of room and had to complete them in B.2, and that much of the music contained in B.3 ‘are “toppings-up”; the completion of pre-existent *oeuvres* by some of Lawes’ latest writings’.¹¹³ Lawes maintained a consistent musical and textual hand throughout both volumes. His treble clefs are his usual ‘6’ clefs. The C clefs usually consist of two vertical lines with four horizontal lines (Illustration 2.23). There are also many examples of the C clef with only one vertical line and sometimes only three horizontal ones; this inconsistency can often be seen within one system. Many C clefs have a short upturn extending from the bottom of the right-hand side vertical line. Two related bass clefs are used. The first is the smaller ‘2’ clef, predominant in B.2. Throughout B.3 Lawes tends towards a slightly larger form of this clef, resembling the ‘S’ bass clef (Illustration 2.25). It is difficult to say whether this change in clef has any chronological significance, although it seems unlikely given their close juxtaposition. Moreover, both bass clefs are also found in close juxtaposition in the other autograph manuscripts, such as D.229 and D.238-40. Thus, it seems that Lawes’s bass clefs were interchangeable and probably do not signify any major chronological gaps.

Illustration 2.25. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 66 (detail)



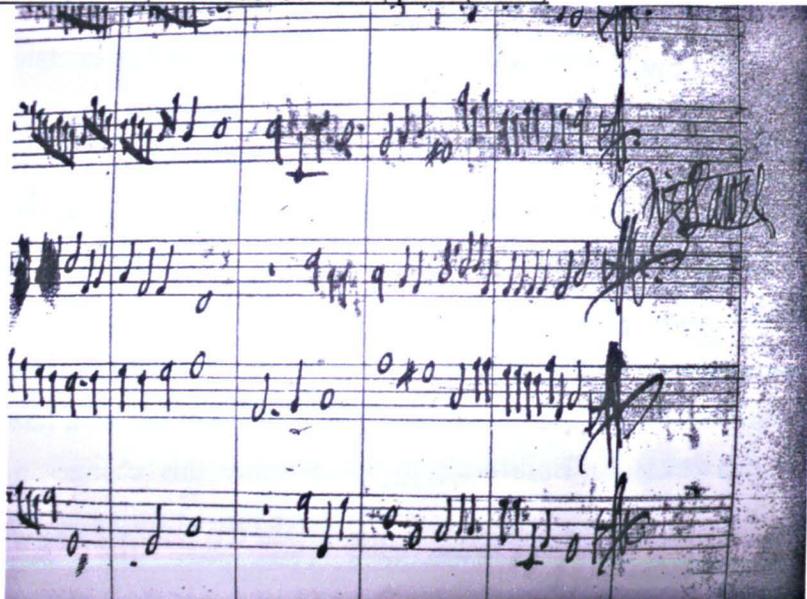
The final bar lines in the scorebooks are all finished with a similar flourish, originating from the final bar line, and usually finished by a (fermata-like) diagonal dash through the flourish. This

¹¹² Lawes: *Consort Sets*, xiii.

¹¹³ *For ye Violls*, 155.

appears to be one of the features of Lawes's informal mature hand, appearing throughout B.2, B.3, D.229, D.238-40, and MS 31432 (e.g. Illustration 2.26).

Illustration 2.26. GB-Ob. MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 71 (detail)



At the end of B.2 there are several drinking songs (for which Lawes was quite renowned) and catches.¹¹⁴ ‘Some Drink, Boy’ (p. 107) is from Sir John Suckling’s *The Goblins* (Act 3, scene ii), which dates from the late 1630s; Julia Wood has suggested *termini a quo* and *ad quem* of 1637-41.¹¹⁵ Another of Lawes’s drinking partsongs from the same play, ‘A Health, a health to the Northerne lasse’, is included in MS 31432 (ff. 36v-37).¹¹⁶ MS 31432 appears to date from c.1639-41 (see below), and may be roughly contemporaneous with the latter part of B.2. Indeed, the last of the partsongs in B.2 is the six-part catch ‘Warrs ar our delight’ (p. 110), the text of which perhaps hints at the increasing turmoil of the early 1640s:¹¹⁷

Warrs ar our delight
 [We drinke as we fight,
 tarra, ra, ra,
 dub a dub, dub a dub, dub,
 bounce] (drinks)
 [tantarra, ran, tan, tan]

This was one of four of the B.2 catches published in John Hilton’s *Catch that Catch Can* (1652): see Table 2.4. Unfortunately, these songs do not give a more definite date than late 1630s-early 1640s for this portion of the manuscript. Moreover, the inks in this portion vary, suggesting that Lawes composed the songs piecemeal.

¹¹⁴ For a modern edition see *William Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 2: Dialogues, Partsongs, and Catches*, ed. Callon (RRMBE, 121; Madison, 2002).

¹¹⁵ Julia Wood, ‘William Lawes’s Music for Plays’, in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 11-68, esp. 26, 45-46 & 55.

¹¹⁶ The song is transcribed in full in Wood, ‘Plays’, 27-29; see also *Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 2*, no. 2.

¹¹⁷ See also Ring, ‘Death of William Lawes’, 164-65; *Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 2*, no. 16.

The most consistent feature of Lawes's text hand in B.3 is his capital letter 'A'. Throughout much of B.3 this letter lacks the short upturn on the lower left-side characteristic of his hand. This 'straight A' is especially consistent throughout the Royall Consort section (pp. 48-100), which was probably added by c.1638; another example is Illustration 2.23. The 'upturn A' is a consistent feature of the autograph manuscripts (or rather portions thereof) in which he uses his formal style, whereas the 'straight A' is common to his informal style: formal and informal styles are discussed below. The 'straight A' is also frequently found in MS 31432 (e.g. Illustration 2.28, end of stave 1). Both forms of the 'A' are found in B.2 and B.3. Whilst the 'straight A' appears to be more a feature of his later hand, Lawes is frustratingly inconsistent in his juxtaposition of both.

In summary: it seems clear that Lawes used B.2 and B.3 for his compositional drafts over a period of about eight years, from c.1633-c.1640. Although much of their contents are difficult to date, compilation of B.2 presumably began sometime in 1633. The music from *The Triumph of Peace* was presumably among the first to be added, and seems likely to have been preceded by the miscellaneous poem settings on pages 35-36. Whether the two five-part viol consort pieces (pages 19-25) and the four-part pieces (pages 26-35) immediately preceding the poem settings were the first music added to B.2 is difficult to tell. However, it is worth noting that the two five-part pieces and two of the four-part pieces ({109-110}) are also found in the Shirley partbooks, which, it has been argued above, were completed by 1633. Thus, it does seem highly likely that these Shirley partbook pieces were the first to be added to B.2, and that this was done sometime in 1633, and not in the aftermath of Lawes's royal appointment as suggested by Pinto.¹¹⁸ Further, it seems that the six-part viol consorts at the start of B.2 (which Pinto suggests were among the last to be composed¹¹⁹) were composed by the end of 1637, by which time the music for *Britannia Triumphans* was presumably begun. Indeed, a reappraisal of the autograph scorebooks may well have serious implications for our understanding of the chronology of the viol consorts. The position of 'Alman' {38} immediately before the music from *Britannia Triumphans* suggests that it too was entered sometime in 1637; this would be roughly contemporaneous with the rescoring of the Royall Consort in B.3 (which I have suggested occurred c.1638). It also seems likely that 'Fantazia' {135} was added c.1637; and that the bass viol suites were composed sometime in 1638, around the time when Lawes composed his elegy for John Tomkins, who died on 27 September (see Chapter 4, Illustration 4.3). This is consistent with the dating of the parts in D.238-40 and D.229 (see Ch. 8).

Establishing dates for the pieces in B.3 is more difficult due to the lack of any datable masque music etc.; however, unlike B.2, B.3 appears to have been compiled in order. This may have begun c.1637-8 with the six-part viol consorts, which were closely followed by the Harp

¹¹⁸ See *For ye Violls*, 14.

¹¹⁹ See *Lawes: Consort Sets*, viii-ix.

Consort pieces, and finally by the rescored Royall Consort. Both volumes were probably largely filled by c.1639, although the drinking songs and catches at the end of B.2 may not have been added until c.1641-2. The association of 'Cease warring thoughts' with the original performance of *The Triumph of Beauty* is unlikely; the abstracted leaves after this song strongly suggest that other partsongs, rather than masque music, are lacking from B.2. Unfortunately, the many abstractions from both volumes hamper our understanding of these manuscripts. These leaves were removed carefully close to the binding; for what purpose, and by whom, is impossible to tell.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432

Lawes's autograph songbook, MS 31432, is also bound in brown calf leather, with the royal coat of arms on both covers (SRA VIII, the same as D.229 and Mus. 70: no initials), and measures c.342 x 230mm.¹²⁰ It was pre-ruled with 12 five-line staves and a ruled margin on either side, but not with barlines. The collation is difficult to determine, due to the tightness of the binding. There are at least six (probably eight) gatherings of what appear to be nested folios; no pages were abstracted. The watermark throughout the manuscript is the same as D.229 and D.238-40: Heawood 174 (a peacock in a circle: c.1628). The watermark of the original flyleaves is a stylised pot, common in 1630s, similar to Heawood 3584 (no initials are distinguishable). The first 20 or so pieces are numbered, but not by Lawes. The numbering is at times incorrect: e.g., no. 12 is actually the middle of no. 11 ('When Each Lynes a faithfull drinker'). The manuscript was foliated twice. The second foliation only covers the used pages; the original foliation has been favoured here to allow the fullest description. An inscription on the flyleaf shows that it was once owned by a Richard Gibbon, 'giuen to him by M^r William Lawes'. Pamela Willetts convincingly made the case that Gibbon was a young London-based doctor, who died prematurely in 1652.¹²¹ Gibbon obviously took great pride in owning such a volume, noting that it was 'all of his [Lawes's] owne pricking and composeing'. He presumably employed the copyist responsible for copying Jenkins's lament on the death of Lawes on several of the unused pages at the start of the manuscript; or perhaps even copied the piece himself. Willetts noted that although the elegy does not seem to have been copied from the printed parts in *Choice Psalmes* (1648), the copyist may 'have been involved in the preparation of parts for printing';¹²² indeed, Jenkins's elegy was poorly proofread for the publication.¹²³ Gibbon may have been a pupil of Lawes who perhaps presented the manuscript to him c.1642, with the

¹²⁰ Elise Bickford Jorgens (ed.), *English Song 1600-1675. Facsimiles of Twenty-Six Manuscripts and an Edition of the Texts*, ii, *British Library Manuscripts, Part II* (New York, 1986), includes a reproduction of MS 31432.

¹²¹ See Willetts, Willetts, 'Who was Richard Gibbon(s)?', *Chelys*, 31 (2003), 3-17.

¹²² Willetts, 'Gibbon(s)?', 11.

¹²³ Andrew Robinson, "'Choice Psalmes': A Brother's Memorial'", in Ashbee, *William Lawes*, 175-98, esp. 184.

impending Civil War making teaching life less tenable. Indeed, the notes (and bookplate) on the flyleaves give a detailed record of the manuscript's provenance. Gibbon's widow gave it 'J. R.', after whom it belonged to Thomas Fidge: it was 'Borrowed of Alderman Fidge by me Jo. Sargenson'. Fidge was born in Canterbury in January 1637/8.¹²⁴ Willetts notes that he was appointed an Alderman of Canterbury in 1662, and was mayor for a year in 1671.¹²⁵ John Sargenson (1639-84) was a minor canon of Canterbury from c.1663.¹²⁶ The bookplate shows that the Rev. William Gostling owned the manuscript sometime in the eighteenth century.¹²⁷ Gostling (1696-1773) was also a minor canon of Canterbury, and a son of John Gostling (1650-1733) the famous bass singer; Gostling also owned Henry Lawes's autograph songbook (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 53732).¹²⁸ The London-based antiquarian bookseller Robert Triphook (1782-1868) purchased it for three guineas in 1809: 'Triphook 1809 £3.3.0' is written in ink on the Gostling bookplate.¹²⁹ The British Museum acquired the manuscript with the Julian Marshall collection in 1881, it was formerly in the library of M. A. Farrenc, sold in 1866.¹³⁰

Although the manuscript contains songs composed for plays from 1633 to 1641, an examination suggests that it was compiled within a relatively short period. From varied inks in the manuscript, it seems most likely that the song section was compiled in several stages between 1639-40 and 1641. The dates can be deduced from the first song, which is from Suckling's play *The Tragedy of Brennoralt*, performed between 1639 and 1641 (see Table 2.7), suggesting a *terminus a quo* of c.1639.¹³¹ Conversely, as many of the songs that can be dated were copied retrospectively, it is reasonable to assume that the initial 1639 songs may also have been retrospective, which could put a start date for the manuscript's compilation as late 1639 or even 1640. Pinto has convincingly suggested that the Robert Herrick portion of the manuscript (ff. 47-51) was compiled c.1640.¹³² This portion is immediately followed by the latest datable song (ff. 58v-59), which comes from Shirley's *The Cardinal*, licensed for performance on 25

¹²⁴ www.familysearch.org

¹²⁵ Willetts, 'Gibbon(s)?', 5.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 5.

¹²⁷ See also Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, ii (London, 1908), 473.

¹²⁸ See Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford, 2000), 9; for Gostling see Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: the Gostlings and their Colleagues', Ph.D diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1984).

¹²⁹ See Hughes-Hughes, ii, 473.

¹³⁰ Willetts, 'Gibbon(s)?', 3.

¹³¹ The songs are edited in *William Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 1: Solo Songs*, ed. Callon (RRMBE, 120; Madison, 2002); *Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 2*; *Lawes: Collected Vocal Music Part 4*.

¹³² Pinto, 'The True Christmas: Carols at the Court of Charles I', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 102; however, Pinto cites ff. 32-35. There is also a Herrick sequence in Henry Lawes's scorebook GB-Lbl, Add. MS 53723, ff. 70-80v.

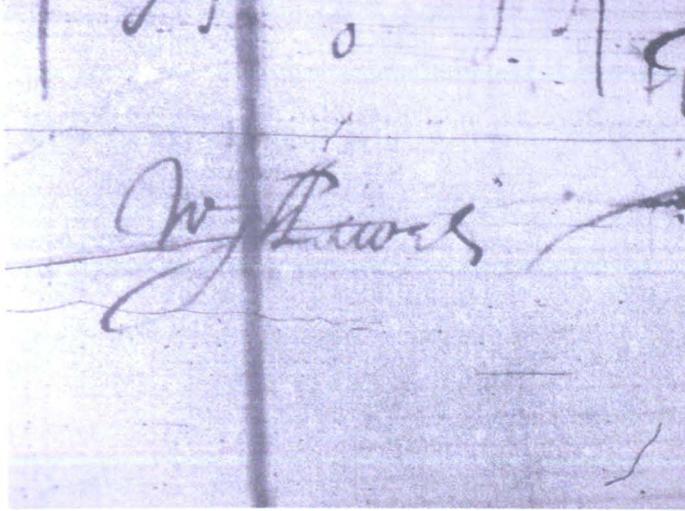
November 1641. The theatres were closed from August to November of 1641, due to plague, and on 2 September 1642 Parliament placed an interdiction on public theatre performances.¹³³

Most of the signatures in MS 31432 are either the 'mature' form or the 'short L'. The latter is mostly consistent in the latter part of the manuscript. However, it is frequently juxtaposed with the regular mature signature, and appears to have been used by Lawes primarily as his miniature signature. It seems significant that the 'short L' signature appears primarily in MS 31432, which confirms its status as a late development of Lawes's hand. There is a third form of Lawes's signature in MS 31432: the 'running' form. Similarly to the 'short L', this signature is identical to the mature signature except for the 'L', the base of which now runs into the 'awes'. This signature only occurs twice – ff. 43 and 57 – and appears to be an aberration. The first instance appears to lack the loops in the double 'll' characteristic of Lawes's mature and late signatures; however, the loop is present on the second 'l', but the ink is quite faded (Illustration 2.27). This form of signature appears to be early, found in one other instance: Mus. 70, f. 16v (see Illustration 2.30d). The positioning of the two instances of this 'running' signature amongst late signatures in MS 31432 is beguiling. They are presumably aberrations, fitting the pattern of Lawes's 'consistent inconsistency'.

Generally, the hand in MS 31432 can be characterised as Lawes's 'fair copy' style, although it is often quite untidy and much of the manuscript appears to have been copied rather hurriedly. Indeed, Lawes may also have used the volume for composition. On the recto side of the (unruled) flyleaf there is the text of an otherwise unknown song 'Sweetest Cloris lend a kisse', in Lawes's hand. The text is quite difficult to read. There are three six-line stanzas and a rhyming couplet. Lawes crossed out the last two lines of the second stanza. This was done to add new lines, rather than because of a transcription error, suggesting that the text may have been Lawes's own.¹³⁴ He did not set it to music suggesting that it was added late to the manuscript. Two compositional drafts are also of note. On f. 25v 'If you a Wrinkle' is only partially composed. Lawes first set out the text between the staves and then began to add the music, of which he only added just over one line; this was common practice for text settings. This process is also evident in 'O draw your Curtaines' from D'Avenant's play *Love and Honour*, the text of which Lawes laid out between the staves on f. 40 but no music was added: the song is complete at f. 54.

¹³³ See Willetts, 'Gibbon(s)?', 10.

¹³⁴ A modernized version of the text is reproduced in Jorgens (ed.), *English Song 1600-1675*, xii, *The Texts of the Songs* (New York, 1989), 224.

Illustration 2.27. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432, f. 43: 'Running L'

It seems that the lyra viol pieces at the start of the manuscript were written at some chronological remove from the songs; the extensive revisions and the generally untidy hand suggests that they are compositional drafts. It seems most likely that they were written first followed by the songs, with space left for more lyra viol music to be added. The unused section after the lyra pieces is approximately two gatherings, or 34 leaves (ff. 5v-22). Thus, the manuscript may originally have been intended to contain two repertoires: songs and solo lyra viol pieces. However, Lawes abandoned the lyra viol pieces and concentrated on the songs, although the number of unused pages does suggest that he intended to resume the lyra viol section. There are also several unused pages after the last song (ff. 63v-71). The similarity of the tablature hand in these lyra viol pieces to that in the lute suite in B.2 suggests that they were copied around the same time. This too would fit into the proposed chronology of MS 31432, as it seems that Lawes composed the lute suite *c.*1638 (see Ch. 3).

The hand throughout MS 31432 is quite messy at times, in a similar way to B.2 and B.3 (*cf.* Illustrations 2.28 and 2.34c, and 2.23, 2.24a-d and 2.25). Peter Walls has noted that Lawes may have selected songs suitable for adaptation in domestic performance.¹³⁵ However, it seems more likely that he compiled the manuscript for didactic purposes in the early 1640s. If this were the case it would not necessarily follow that the manuscript was compiled after the disbandment of the court. The increased political tension in the year or two before 1642 could have given Lawes the impetus (or need) to take on more private pupils (presuming that he had some in the first place) to supplement his income, or indeed, to secure an income at all. Thus, in addition to the external evidence, it seems safe to give MS 31432 a *terminus a quo* of *c.*1639-41.

¹³⁵ Walls, *Masque*, 182.

Table 2.7. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432, *Inventory*¹³⁶

Signatures in bold indicate the 'short L' form: those underlined indicate the 'running' form

Folio	Piece/Title	Poet/Play	Setting	Signature/Composer	Date	No.
1	'Sarab ^d '	---	Lyra viol	'W: Lawes'	-	-
1	'Corant'	---	Lyra viol	'Wjllawes'	-	-
1v	'Tis Joy to see					
1v	How deadly sin' 'Sarab ^d '	(Anon.) ---	Canon a 3 Lyra viol	'Wjllawes' 'W L'	- -	- -
2-5	'An Elegiack on the Sad losse of [...] William Lawes' ¹³⁷	[Jenkins?]	2VBC/3VC ¹³⁸	[Jenkins]	1645?	-
5v-22	[Unused]					
22v-23v	'A hall, a hall'/ 'What's at our tongues End' ¹³⁹	(Suckling) <i>The Tragedy of Brennoralt</i> ¹⁴⁰	3V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1639-41	1
23v-24	'Now in the Sad declension'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	2
24v	'Virgins as I advise forbear' ¹⁴¹	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	3
25	'Dos't see how vnregarded Now'	(Suckling) 'Fragmenta Aurea' ¹⁴²	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	4
25v	'If you a Wrinkle on the Sea haue seane'	(Anon.)	1V/BC ¹⁴³	---		5
26	'Aske Me noe More wher Joue bestowes'	(Carew) ¹⁴⁴	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	c.1639	6
26v	'O thinke not Phoebe'	(Shirley) ¹⁴⁵	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	c.1639	7
27	'Upp Ladyes up' ¹⁴⁶	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	8
27v-29	'Dialogue'/'When					

¹³⁶ An inventory of the songs is given in John Cutts, 'British Museum Additional MS. 31432 William Lawes's writing for the Theatre and the Court', *The Library*, 5th series, 7 (1952), 225-34. Much of the information in this table has been taken from Cutts's article with (cited) updates from Wood, 'Plays'; see also Crum, 'Notes on the Texts of 31432', which includes some corrections to Cutts, '31432'; & 'Bibliography'.

¹³⁷ A later addition; published in *Choice Psalmes* as 'An Elegiack Dialogue on the sad losse of his much esteemed Friend, M^r. *William Lawes*, servant to his Majesty.

¹³⁸ Dialogue, with a three-voice chorus.

¹³⁹ Added in at the end of 'A hall, a hall'; it is actually not a separate song, but part of 'A hall, a hall'. It obscures the signature at the end of the previous piece.

¹⁴⁰ Wood, 'Plays', 56.

¹⁴¹ 1678.

¹⁴² The poem, by Suckling, was first published in 1646.

¹⁴³ Incomplete; text is laid out but there are only notes for the first line or so.

¹⁴⁴ The poem, by Thomas Carew, was first published in 1640 in *Poems*.

¹⁴⁵ The poem is by James Shirley, who included it in his *Poems* of 1646; it was also plagiarised by Samuel Pick in *Festum Voluptatis* of 1639, thus Lawes's setting was probably before 1639.

¹⁴⁶ This song is also found in John Gamble's songbook (US-Np, Drexel MS 4257), no. 196, where it is also attributed to Lawes.

29v	death shall snatch us' (Marvell) ¹⁴⁷	2V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	9
	'Faith be noe longer Coy' (Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	10
30-30v	'When Each Lynes a faithfull drinker' ¹⁴⁸ (Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	11-12
31	'Cupids wearie of the Court' (D'Avenant?) <i>The Platonick Lovers?</i> ¹⁴⁹	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1635?	13
31v-32	'It tis hir voice' (Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	14
32	'Wher did you borrow that last sigh' (Berkeley) <i>The Lost Lady</i> ¹⁵⁰	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1637-8	15
32v	'Why should great bewty Vertuous fame desire' (D'Avenant?) ¹⁵¹	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	16
33	'Come take a Carouse' (Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	17
33v-34	'what Hoe, wee Come to be merry' (Ford) <i>The Lady's Trial</i> ¹⁵²	3V	'Wjllawes'	1638	18
34	'Pleasures, Bewty, youth attend yee' Ibid. ¹⁵³	1V/BC	'W. L.'	1638	19
34v-35	'Whieles I this standing Lake' (Cartwright) ¹⁵⁴	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	20
35v-36	'Dialogue'/'What softer sounds are these' (Jonson) <i>Entertainment at Welbeck</i> ¹⁵⁵	2V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1633	-
36v-37	'A Health, a health' (Suckling) <i>The Goblins</i> ¹⁵⁶	2VBC/3VC ¹⁵⁷	'Wjllawes'	1637-41	-
37	'To whome shall I Complaine' (Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-

¹⁴⁷ The poem was first published in Andrew Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1681).

¹⁴⁸ Ink is extremely faint here.

¹⁴⁹ See Cutts, 'Drexel Manuscript 4041', *MD*, 18 (1964), 151-201, esp. 170; not listed in Wood, 'Plays'.

¹⁵⁰ Performed by the King's Men, at the Blackfriars & at court, before 7 February 1638: Wood, 'Plays', 56.

¹⁵¹ The poem is attributed to D'Avenant in Henry Lawes, *Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues* (London, 1655).

¹⁵² Performed by Beeston's Boys at the Cockpit in Drury Lane; licensed on 3 May: Wood, 'Plays', 56.

¹⁵³ Wrongly attributed to Henry Lawes in the Playford anthologies; this setting was published in Henry Lawes's *Second Book* (1655), where it is ascribed to Henry, but as it is here autograph this can be read as an error.

¹⁵⁴ This is William Cartwright's poem 'Sadness, which was included in the edition of Cartwright's poems, eight years after his death, in 1651, *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with Other Poems*, where the preface states that the 'Ayres and Songs [were] set by Mr Henry Laws, Servant to His late Majesty in his Publick and Private Musick'. This could refer to a different setting, or (as suggested by Cutts) that the printers duplicated the information about the settings that they had prefixed to the 1651 edition of Cartwright's plays.

¹⁵⁵ Given before the King on 21 May 1633, hosted by William Cavendish: Wood, 'Plays', 54.

¹⁵⁶ Performed by the King's Men at the Blackfriars: Wood, 'Plays', 55.

¹⁵⁷ A dialogue, with a three-voice chorus.

37v-38v	'The Catts as Other Creatures'	(Anon.)	3V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
39	'Had you but herd her Sing'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
39v-40	'Far Well faire Saint'	(Cary) ¹⁵⁸	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
40	'O draw your Curtaines'	(D'Avenant)	[1V/BC] ¹⁵⁹	---	-	-
40v	'Loues a Child'	(Galpthorne) <i>Argalus and Parthenia</i> ¹⁶⁰	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	c.1632-8	-
41	'In Envye of the night'	(Shirley) <i>The Triumph of Peace</i> ¹⁶¹	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	c.1634	-
41v-42	'Dialogue'/'Come heury hart'	(Anon.)	2V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
42v-43	'Dialogue'/'Tis Not Boy, thy Amorous Looke'	(Anon.)	2V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
43v-44	'Erly in the Morne'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
44	'Thou that Excellest'	(Anon.) ¹⁶²	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
44v	'Perfect and Endles Circles Are'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
45	'Can Bewtyes spring Admitt'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
45v	'Tell me noe More her eyes'	(Anon.) ¹⁶³	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
46	'God of winds'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
46v	'I would the God of loue would dye'	(Shirley) ¹⁶⁴	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
47	'Ah, Cruell Loue must I endure'	(Herrick) ¹⁶⁵	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
47v	'He that will not loue'	(Herrick) ¹⁶⁶	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
48	'I Burne, I burne'	(Herrick) ¹⁶⁷	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
48v	'White though yee be'	(Herrick) ¹⁶⁸	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-

¹⁵⁸ Thomas Cary's poem 'On his Mistress crossing the sea'; there is also a setting by Henry Lawes in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 53723, f. 77.

¹⁵⁹ Text only, no music; cf. f. 54 below.

¹⁶⁰ Performed by Beeston's Boys at court before the king and queen & at the Cockpit in Drury Lane: Wood, 'Plays', 55.

¹⁶¹ This may be a later setting as there are some textual differences; see Cutts, '31432'.

¹⁶² The poem was also set by Lawes in Drexel 4257, no. 185; and by John Wilson in Edinburgh Univ. Dc.I.69, p. 68 and GB-Ob, Mus. MS B1, f. 116v. Wilson published his setting in *Cheerful Ayres* (London, 1660).

¹⁶³ The text for ten more verses are given by Lawes; however, the third, fourth, seventh and eight are crossed out and the remaining six are numbered 2-7. The song is anonymous; thus, it is possible that the text was also composed by Lawes, who cut out the weaker verses.

¹⁶⁴ Shirley's poem 'To his Mistress', which was first printed in 1646.

¹⁶⁵ Herrick's poem 'To Pansies'. This is the first of a group of Herrick poems set by Lawes, which ends with 'Gather ye Rosebuds'. Herrick's poems were not printed until 1648.

¹⁶⁶ Herrick's poem 'Not to love'.

¹⁶⁷ Herrick's poem 'To Dewes. A Song'.

¹⁶⁸ Herrick's poem 'How Lillies came white'.

48v-49	'Gather ye Rosebuds while ye may' ¹⁶⁹	(Herrick)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
49	'Ime sick of loue'	(Herrick) ¹⁷⁰	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
49v-50v	'Dialogue'/'Charon O Gentle Charon'	(Herrick) ¹⁷¹	2V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
51	'Louers rejoice'	(Beaumont & Fletcher) <i>Cupid's Revenge</i> ¹⁷²	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1637	-
51	'That flame is borne of Earthly fire'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
51v-52	'Beliza shade your shining eyes'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
52v	'Deerest all faire is in your browne'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
53	'Be not proud'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
53v	'Loue I obey'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
54	'O drawe your Curtaynes'	(D'Avenant) <i>Love and Honour</i> ¹⁷³	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1637	-
54v-55v	'Triologues'/'Orpheus, O Orpheus, gently touch thy Lesbyan Lyre'	(Anon.)	3V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
56	'O loue, are all those Arrowes gone'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
56v-57	'Yee Feinds and Furies Come along'	(D'Avenant) <i>The Unfortunate Lovers</i> ¹⁷⁴	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1638	-
57v-58	'On, On Compassion shall neuer Enter here'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
58	'Hence flattring hopes'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
58v-59	'Dialogue'/'Come my Daphnee'	(Shirley) <i>The Cardinal</i> ¹⁷⁵	2V/BC	'Wjllawes'	1641	-
59v-60	'Stay Phoebus Stay'	(Waller) ¹⁷⁶	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
60-60v	'Cloris, I Wish that Envy were as Just'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
61-61v	'Doris, See the Amorous flame'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-

¹⁶⁹ Herrick's poem 'To the Virgins, to make much of time'. Obviously added after the other two songs, as it runs across the bottom of the two pages.

¹⁷⁰ Herrick's poem 'To Sycamores'.

¹⁷¹ Herrick's 'Charon and Phylomel, a Dialogue Sung'.

¹⁷² Originally performed in 1611 by the King's Revels (Cutts, '31432'); revived by Beeston's Boys on 7 February 1636/7 (Wood, 'Plays', 55); Cutts, '31432', gives the date of the revival as 1639.

¹⁷³ Performed by the King's Men at the Blackfriars. Wood, 'Plays', 55 gives the date as 1 January 1636/7; Cutts, '31432', gives the date 1634.

¹⁷⁴ Performed by the King's Men at the Blackfriars; licensed on 16 April (Wood, 'Plays', 56).

¹⁷⁵ Performed by the King's Men at the Blackfriars; licensed on 25 November (Wood, 'Plays', 57).

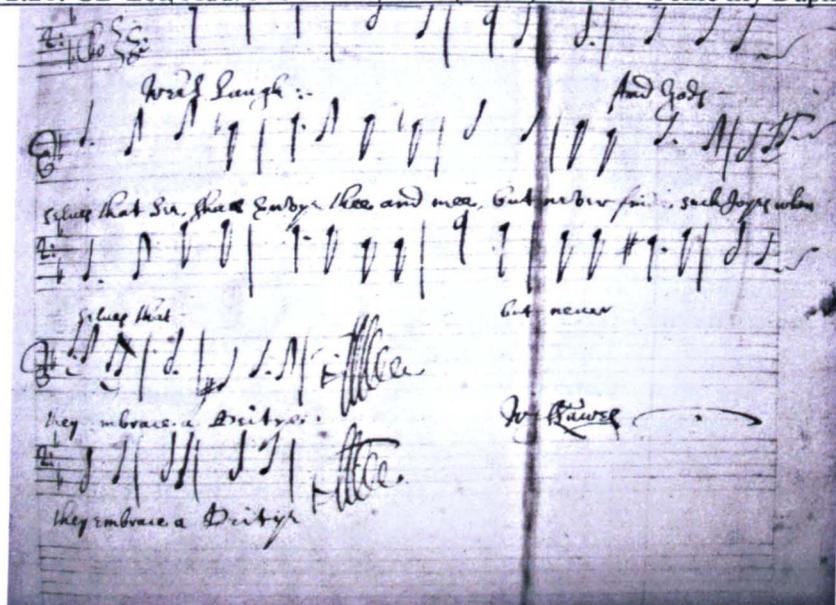
¹⁷⁶ The poem, by Edmund Waller, was first published in 1645 (London).

61v-62v	'Those Louers only Hapye are'	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
62v-63	'Amarilis Terae thy haire' ¹⁷⁷	(Anon.)	1V/BC	'Wjllawes'	-	-
63v-[71]	[Unused: f. 65 is repeated on f. 66; thus, f. 70 is actually f. 71]					

[Reversed end; folios are inv.: mid-seventeenth century additions for bass viol? in staff notation.¹⁷⁸]

[71v]	[Aire]	[Jenkins?]	[BV?]	-	Mid-17 th c.?
	[Aire]	[Jenkins?]	[BV?]	-	Mid-17 th c.?
	[Aire]	[Jenkins?]	[BV?]	-	Mid-17 th c.?
	[Aire]	[Jenkins?]	[BV?]	-	Mid-17 th c.?
	[Aire]	[Jenkins?]	[BV?]	-	Mid-17 th c.?

Illustration 2.28. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432, f. 59 (detail): end of 'Come my Daphnee'



US-CAh, MS Mus. 70

Although Lefkowitz first noted his discovery of Mus. 70 in his monograph of 1960, no work has been published that attempts to date the manuscript authoritatively or which discusses its contents.¹⁷⁹ The manuscript measures c.300 x 190mm, and is bound in contemporary brown reversed calf leather with gilt-stamped arms of Charles I on the front and back covers; the reversed calf binding is unlike any of the other autographs. The cover stamp is identical the one

¹⁷⁷ A version of this song is in Playford, *Treasury of Musick* (London, 1669), attributed to Henry Lawes; it is presumably a deliberate and polished adaptation. I am grateful to David Pinto for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁷⁸ Willetts noted the suggestion by the late Dr Helen Sleeper that they may be by Jenkins: Willetts, 'Gibbon(s)?', 12.

¹⁷⁹ I am grateful to the trustees of the Musica Britannica Trust for a Louise Dyer Award (2007), which enabled me to visit Harvard University to examine the manuscript.

on D.229 and MS 31432 (SRA VIII; Illustration 2.14). The reversed calf covers incorporate an earlier vellum binding.¹⁸⁰ On the front vellum cover Lawes wrote ‘Three Lyra Vials’; it is noteworthy that this titling is significantly different to the inscription on the covers of GB-Och Mus. MSS 725-7 (see Ch. 4). The ruled pages have eight six-line staves, drawn individually. The staves are evenly spaced. The outer margins were drawn inconsistently (and often carelessly), varying between c.20mm and c.3mm. Two flyleaves (at either end) separate the reversed calf and vellum covers; no watermarks are visible, and the paper is different to that in the rest of the volume suggesting that they were incorporated with the reversed calf binding. Within the vellum covers, there are 31 leaves (including flyleaves) foliated in modern pencil, with no evidence of abstractions. There are three pot watermarks in the ruled pages, all bearing the typical features of marks from the 1630s as described by Robert Thompson:

a rounded, vase-shaped body, generally bearing two or three letters identifying the papermaker, with a base below, a handle to one side, and a semicircular ‘lid’ decorated with five lobes, each surmounted by a single circle. Above the central lobe and circle is a quatrefoil and a crescent.¹⁸¹

The most frequent watermark has seven lobes – rather than the usual five – with the initials ‘P O’. The second watermark is similar, but with five lobes and bearing the initials ‘E T’ surmounting an ‘O’. This is also found on one of the back flyleaves. A third watermark, similar to Heawood 3585 (which dates to 1623-4), is found towards the middle of the manuscript. It is somewhat distorted – suggesting that it was in use for some time – and initials are difficult to make out (compounded by the music on the pages). The watermark of the front flyleaves consists of two pillars (one of which is quite distorted) between which there is a crosspiece bearing the papermaker’s initials surmounted by a bunch of grapes. This type of mark is contemporaneous with the Norman pot marks, and found in similar paper.¹⁸² It is similar to Heawood 3502, which dates to 1623. The watermark evidence suggests that the paper dates to the 1620s or early 1630s. The vellum binding is likely to have originated around this time.

A book label on the inside cover reads ‘Robert Trollap (of Yorke and Newcastle, Free-Mason) his Booke, 1657’. Trollap was made a freeman of York in 1647-8: joined by his brother ‘Henricus Trollopp, bricklayer’ in 1669.¹⁸³ The label suggests that he did not possess the other two volumes (although they could also have had the same label). Pinto has convincingly argued that Lawes was in or near York around April-July 1644, around the time of the siege,¹⁸⁴ around which time the manuscript may have come into Trollap’s possession. W. H. Cummings (1831-

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Barbara Wolff (ed.), *Music Manuscripts at Harvard* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 95-96. Wolff does not distinguish between two bindings; her description of the manuscript is lacking (and erroneous) in several respects.

¹⁸¹ *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 297.

¹⁸² See *ibid.* 292.

¹⁸³ See *Register of the Freeman of the City of York from the City Records*, II: 1559-1759 (1900), 106 & 136.

¹⁸⁴ Pinto, ‘William Lawes at the Siege of York, 1644’, *MT*, 127 (1986), 579-83.

1915) owned the manuscript by the late nineteenth century. Pasted onto the vellum cover is an original flyleaf on which he identified it as ‘Pieces for the Lyra-viol composed by William Lawes in his Autograph’.¹⁸⁵ Cummings also wrote a biographical note on the same page:

William Lawes. gentleman of the Chapel
Royal – took up arms during the Civil wars
in espousing the Royalist side and was
Killed at the siege of Chester 1645.
Charles 1st was so much affected at the
death of Lawes that he “put on
particular mourning”.

Cummings was confusing Lawes with an elder namesake and member of the Chapel Royal from 1603 to 1611;¹⁸⁶ he is quoting Thomas Fuller at the end of the passage.¹⁸⁷ This page is badly pasted; there are many air bubbles and creases, one large crease runs from the top left-hand corner down through Cummings’s biography. Some of the letter ‘a’ in ‘William’ goes under the crease and is partially cut off by it, suggesting that the page may have been pasted after Cummings made his notes. A patch of discolouration suggests that another bookplate is between the vellum cover and the pasted leaf. (A leaf was also pasted on to the back vellum cover. Again, there are many creases and air bubbles.) On the opposite leaf (now f. 1), Cummings included Herrick’s elegy ‘Upon m. William Lawes, The rare Musitian’, from his collection of poems *Hesperides* (1648):

Sho’d I not put on blacks, when each one here
Comes with his cypresse, and devotes a teare?
Sho’d I not grieve, my Lawes, when every lute,
Violl, and voice is, by thy losse, strucke mute?
Thy loss, brave man! Whose numbers have been hurl’d,
And no less prais’d then spread throughout the world:
Some have call’d thee call’d Amphion; some of us
Nam’d thee Terpander, or sweet Orpheus;
Some this, some that, but all in this agree,
Musique had both her birth and death with thee.

Mus. 70 is likely to be the Lawes autograph reputed to be among the Nanki collection in Japan. In 1970, Lefkowitz claimed that ‘at least fifteen books of William Lawes’s autographs are known to have survived [...] the last is reported to be in the Nanki Library in Tokyo’.¹⁸⁸ Lefkowitz apparently found the reference in the Cummings sale catalogue and contacted the Nanki Library. He was told that the only place such a source would be held would be in the

¹⁸⁵ On the front vellum cover he wrote ‘Ancient Music MSS’, ‘Autograph Music by William Lawes’; between these is Lawes’s original title.

¹⁸⁶ See Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 1-2(n1) for an account of this biographical error; see also Ashbee, ‘Lawes, William (?1553-1624)’, *BDECM*, ii. 709-10.

¹⁸⁷ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), 157.

¹⁸⁸ *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, ed. Lefkowitz (MB, 21; London, 2/1971), xvii. For the Nanki collection see Hugh McLean, ‘Blow and Purcell in Japan’, *MT*, 104 (1963), 702-05; Otto Albracht, rev. Stephen Roe, ‘Collections (private): Japan’, *NGD*, xxviii. 6-7.

library of armaments manufacturer Baron KyūBei Ohki (d. 1996). Lefkowitz met the baron and went through his catalogue but could not find the Lawes source.¹⁸⁹ The Nanki Library was founded in 1917 by Yorisada Tokugawa (1892-1954), and is mainly comprised of some 400 volumes purchased at the Cummings sale. The reference to which Lefkowitz referred appears to be the ‘Pieces for the lyra-viol [*in the autograph of the composer*]’ listed in the Nanki Library Cummings catalogue of 1925.¹⁹⁰ This appears to be the Lawes manuscript advertised in the Cummings sale catalogue (lot 982): ‘Lawes (Wm.) Pieces for the Lyra-Viol, MANUSCRIPT, *in the autograph of the composer, rough calf, with the arms of Charles I on the sides, old vellum covers bound in folio*’; the description also makes reference to the Trollap bookplate.¹⁹¹ According to the annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Library of Congress, Washington, the manuscript was purchased by ‘Canning’ who appears to have been responsible for purchasing most of the items listed in the 1925 Nanki catalogue.¹⁹² Whether Mus. 70 was erroneously included in the 1925 catalogue or whether it subsequently passed out of the collection is unclear. Indeed, the 1925 catalogue may have been partly compiled from the sale catalogue, without first-hand examination of the collection leading to the erroneous inclusion of Mus. 70.¹⁹³ Both the Cummings and Nanki references seem to refer to Mus. 70, although its whereabouts in the early twentieth century is unclear. Some time after the Cummings sale the Vienna-born rare book dealer Herbert Reichner, who lived in New York and Massachusetts, purchased the manuscript. William Inglis Morse (1874-1952), who presumably bought it from Reichner, presented it to the Houghton Library in 1950.¹⁹⁴

Table 2.8. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, *Inventory*

Foliation only covers the manuscript within the vellum covers; there are two unfoliated flyleaves on either side of this.

° = concordances with Och 725-7

* = concordances with II.B.3

Folio	No.	Title	Composer	Key	Tuning	VdGS
1-3		[Blank flyleaves, including annotations by Cummings]				
4		[Unused]				
4v	1	[Corant]	[Lawes?]	D major	fhfhf	{555}

¹⁸⁹ I am grateful to Prof. Lefkowitz for this information, and to Prof. Joel Sheveloff (Boston University) who liaised with Prof. Lefkowitz on my behalf: email correspondence (13 August 2006).

¹⁹⁰ *Catalogue of the W. H. Cummings Collection in the Nanki Music Library* (Tokyo, 1925), 7.

¹⁹¹ *Catalogue of the Famous Musical Library of Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, Musical Scores, etc. the property of the late W. H. Cummings* (Sotheby’s, 17-24 May 1917); GB-Lbl, Hirsch MS 433.

¹⁹² I am grateful to Susan Clermont, Senior Music Specialist (Music Division), Library of Congress (Washington) for providing me with a copy of the annotated sale catalogue (US-Wc, ML 138.C9 (Case)).

¹⁹³ No reference is made to the lyra viol manuscript in *Nanki Ongaku Bunko Tokubetsu Kōkai* (Tokyo, 1967), or in *Catalogue of Rare Books and Notes: the Ohki Collection, Nanki Music Library* (Tokyo, 1970).

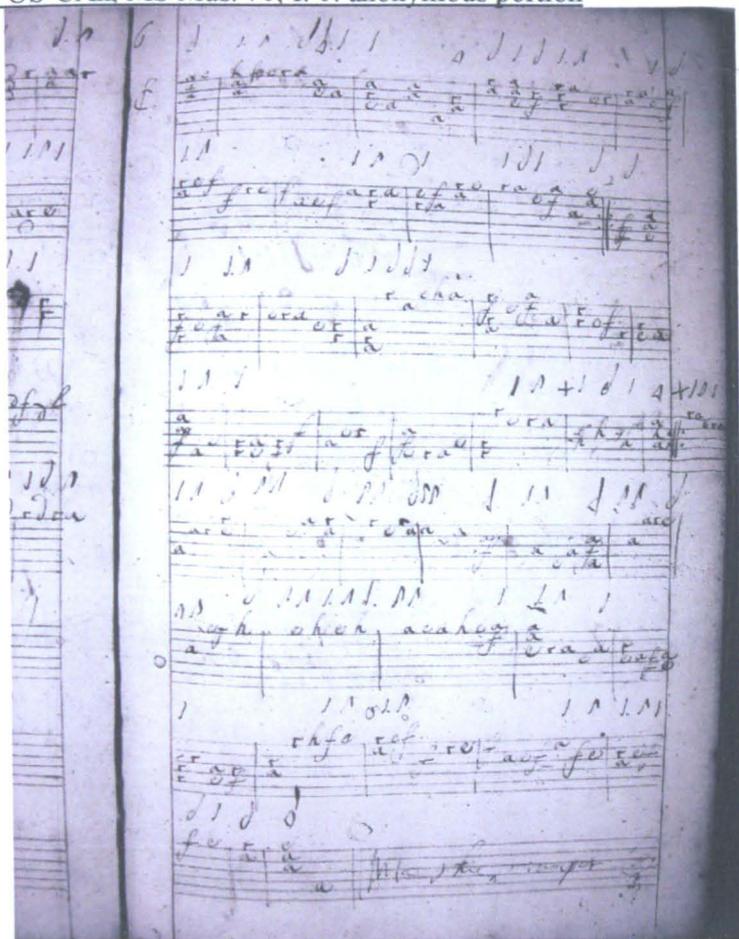
¹⁹⁴ A note in pencil on the inside flyleaf reads ‘Harvard College Library gift of William Inglis Morse April 7. 1950’; a succinct biography is available from the Dalhousie University website: www.library.dal.ca/duasc/spcoll/morse.htm

4v	2	[Alman]	[Lawes?]	D minor	fhfhf	{556}
5	3	[Ayre]	[Lawes?]	D major	fhfhf	{557}
5	4	[Alman]	[Lawes?]	D minor	fhfhf	{558}
5v	5	[Alman]	[Lawes?]	D minor	fhfhf	{559}
6	6	'the trumpet'	[Lawes?]	D major	fhfhf	{560}
6v	7	'Fubeters Ayre'	[Lawes?]	G minor	fhfhf	{561}
7	8	'corant'	[Lawes?]	G major	fhfhf	{562}
7v-11 [Unused]						
[Autograph portion 1]						
11v	1	'Pauen'	'Willawes'	D minor	fhfhf	{563}°
12	2	'Alman'	'W Lawes'	D minor	fhfhf	{564}°
12v	3	'Corant'	'Willawes'	D minor	fhfhf	{565}
13	4	'Alman'	'Willawes'	D minor	fhfhf	{566}
13v-14	5[& 6]	'Fancy'	'Willawes'	G major	fhfhf	{567}°
14v	7	'Humour'	'Willawes'	G major	fhfhf	{568}°
15	8	'Sarab ^d	[Lawes]	D major	fhfhf	{569}°
15v	9	'Alman'	'Willawes'	B flat major	fhfhf	{570}
16	10	'Corant'	[Lawes]	B flat major	fhfhf	{571}
16v	11	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G minor	fhfhf	{572}
[Autograph portion 2]						
17	[12]	'Corant'	'Wjllawes'	G major	defhf	{443}*
17v	[13]	'Pauen'	'Wjllawes'	G major	defhf	{441}*
18	[14]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	G major	defhf	{448}*
18v	[15]	'Sarab ^d	'Wllawes'	G major	defhf	{444}*
18v-19	[16]	'Pauen'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	fedfh	{521}*
19v	[17]	'Aire'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	fedfh	{522}
19v	[18]	'Toy'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	fedfh	{523}
20	[19]	'Thump'	'Wjllawes'	D minor	fedfh	{527}*
20v-30v [Unused]						
31-31v [Blank flyleaf]						

Mus. 70 has received little scholarly attention in the published forum. Lefkowitz's discovery of the manuscript was too late for inclusion in his monograph proper. Instead, mention of it went into the preface and footnotes; the promise of a published 'article concerning this manuscript in the very near future' never came to fruition.¹⁹⁵ No doubt, the neglect suffered by Mus. 70 is due to the loss of the other two partbooks. The *Index* notes that there are two hands in the manuscript. The first, unknown, hand copied eight pieces (also in tablature) at the start of the volume (Illustration 2.29). There are then 18 pieces copied by Lawes. The tablature in the autograph portion of the manuscript shares many characteristics with the two known examples of Lawes's tablature in B.2 and MS 31432. The first eight pieces of the manuscript are anonymous, the first five of which are untitled. They are tentatively assigned to Lawes in the *Index*; however, given that Lawes began his group of pieces after an interval of several pages and that he did not sign any of the anonymous pieces this seems unlikely. Indeed, he appears to have left the unused pages to separate the two groups.

¹⁹⁵ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, x.

Illustration 2.29. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 6: anonymous portion



The holograph portion was copied in two stages: ff. 11v-16v and ff. 17-20. Several aspects of the hand suggest that there was a chronological gap between the stages. Both portions contain differing examples of Lawes's signature. In the first portion they are notably different to the mature form. The secretary double 'll' with the horizontal dash is present, although the second 'l' is not as elaborate as in the mature forms of his signature. Instead of the base of the 'll' coming under the 'awes' it runs into the 'awes' ('running' signature). Although this is similar to the two late examples in MS 31432 (*cf.* Illustrations 2.28, and 2.30a-d), it seems significant that all of the first portion signatures lack the flowing loops characteristic of his mature hand. (The loops are only missing from the first instance of 'running' signature in MS 31432.) Furthermore, whereas the 'running' signatures of MS 31432 appear to be aberrations, there is a consistency of letter formation in this portion of Mus. 70. Also of note is the bar that crosses the 'll'. In the mature signature this is usually an elongated loop (sometimes done without lifting the pen), whereas in the first portion it is an unelaborated single dash, done with one (separate) stroke. All except one of the 'Willawes' signatures in portion 1 use a 'Wi' abbreviation of William. Only the last piece of the section uses a 'Wj'. Nevertheless, of the eight portion 1 signatures, seven are variations of the same basic (and presumably early) 'Willawes'. This is not found in any of the other autograph sources.

There is only one significant aberration in the portion 1 sequence: f. 12, the second piece 'Alman' {564}. This is the only portion 1 signature to have a modern capital L. This form of Lawes's signature is found in only one other instance – the Shirley partbooks, f. 29 (cf. Illustrations 2.11a and 2.11b),¹⁹⁶ suggesting that it is an early form of his signature. All of the portion 1 signatures vary between the Greek and italic e forms, in Lawes and in the dance names.

Illustration 2.30a. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 13 (detail): autograph portion 1



Illustration 2.30b. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 14v (detail): autograph portion 1



¹⁹⁶ This signature can be compared to several other instances in the Shirley partbooks.

Illustration 2.30c. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 15v (detail): autograph portion 1

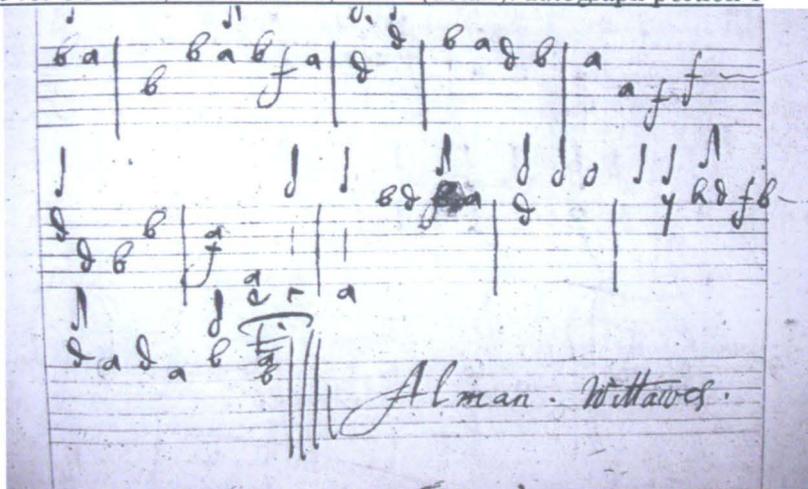
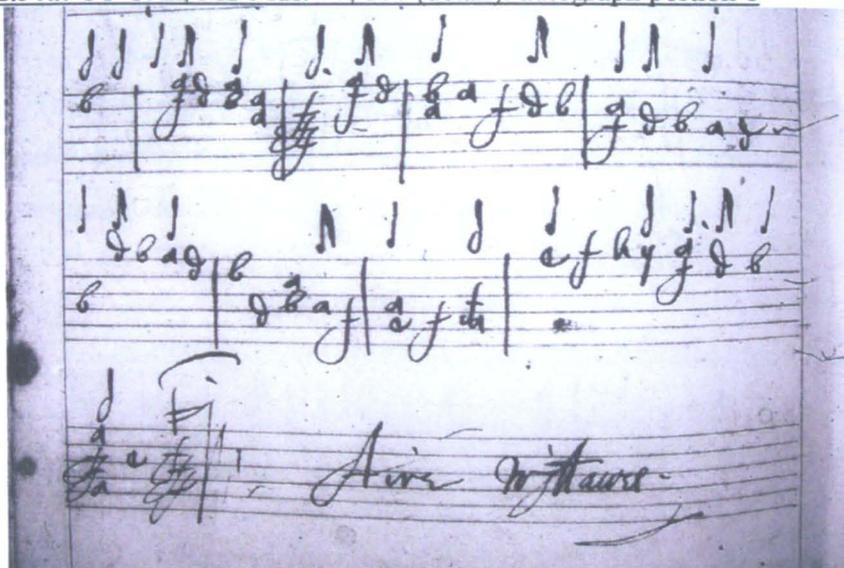


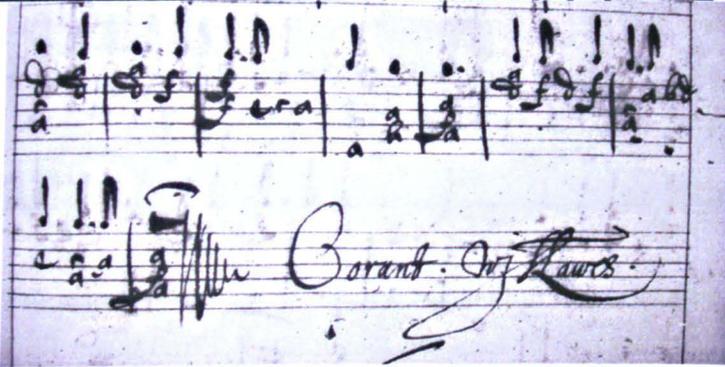
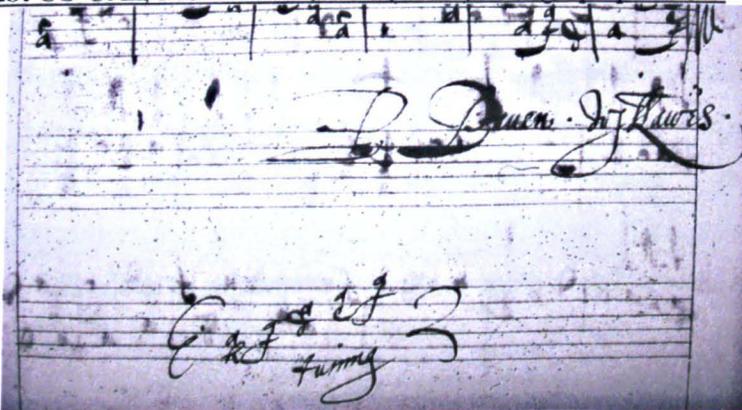
Illustration 2.30d. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, 16v (detail): autograph portion 1



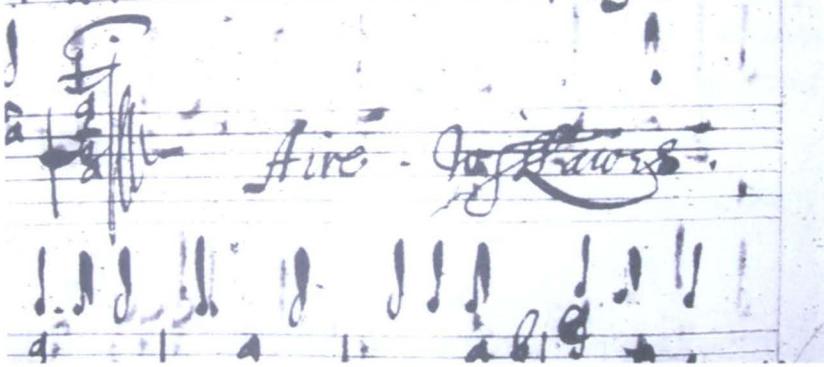
In the second autograph portion, the signatures are mostly consistent with the mature form, although the two forms of 'e' are again found: ff. 17, 17v, 18, and 18v have the italic 'e': the last four pieces have the epsilon. This suggests that there was some time difference between the compilations of the two autograph portions, and that the second was later and closer to Lawes's mature hand. Portion 2 does contain some aberrations, suggesting that it is still relatively early: perhaps c.1632-3. The main aberration is on f. 18v, 'Sarab^d' {444}. This is similar to the 'WLawes' aberration in the first portion, but now there is a lowercase 'l' before the capital (Illustration 2.31). Nevertheless, it is similar to the mature form (lacking the i or j), whereas the portion 1 aberration is closer to the earlier example from the Shirley partbooks.

Illustration 2.31. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 18v (detail): autograph portion 2

The handwriting analysis supports the suggestion made earlier that Lawes experimented with various forms of his signature, and that the secretary double 'll' came about over time (see Illustrations 2.30a-d and 2.32 a-c). Indeed, it is of note that the anonymous portion and the first autograph portion of Mus. 70 contain pieces exclusively in 'eights' tuning, which was popular earlier in the century, whereas the second autograph portion contains pieces in the harp-way tunings popular in the 1630s (see Ch. 3).

Illustration 2.32a. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 17 (detail): autograph portion 2**Illustration 2.32b.** US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 19 (detail): autograph portion 2¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ A later hand wrote the letter 'P' preceding 'Pauen', the tuning legend is in Lawes's hand.

Illustration 2.32c. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 19v (detail): autograph portion 2

There are two main differences in the tablature lettering from the first to the second autograph portions: the letters ‘f’ and ‘y’.¹⁹⁸ In portion 1, the ‘f’ has an upwards curved tail and only a slight rightwards curve at the top. In portion 2 the ‘f’ has a more pronounced rightwards curve at the top and a less elaborate curve at the bottom (*cf.* Illustrations 2.33a-b). Indeed, the tail at the bottom often appears to have been written separately to the rest of the letter, which would leave the ‘f’ in its basic form similar to later examples in MS 31432 and B.2. This second ‘f’ is also found at the start of the lute suite in B.2, however, in the lute suite Lawes abandons this ‘f’ by the end of the second system in favour of a plain ‘f’, which is formed by a straight vertical stroke and a straight horizontal stroke, similar to a modern lowercase ‘t’. This is the same form of ‘f’ that is found in the three tablature pieces in MS 31432 (see Illustrations 2.34a-c, below). The case is similar for the letter ‘y’, although there are fewer instances available for comparison: ‘y’ is not used in the lute suite. In the first autograph portion of Mus. 70 the ‘y’, like the ‘f’ mostly has an upwards curving tail, whereas in the second portion the tail is less pronounced; indeed, it is similar to the letter ‘f’. In the tablature of MS 31432 the ‘y’ is again similar to the ‘f’, and again the upwards curving tail is omitted. However, (in a similar way to the ‘f’ in the lute suite) the less elaborate ‘y’ is found side by side with the more elaborate version in portion 1 of Mus. 70 (*cf.* Illustrations 2.33a, and 2.30c and 2.30d). This suggests that such changes occurred over a brief period, and that the two autograph portions were copied within a relatively short space of time. The overall differences in the tablature letters between MS 31432 and B.2, and Mus. 70 are presumably also related to the different functions of the manuscripts. The former appear to be compositional drafts (this does not apply to the songs in MS 31432), whereas Mus. 70 was presumably part of a set of performance parts, copied in Lawes’s ‘fair copy’ style. In other words, the tablature in portion 2 of Mus. 70 is a more careful ‘fair copy’ version of the tablature in B.2 and MS 31432. There is an exact parallel in, for example, the harp consorts, which are in the ‘compositional draft’ style in B.3 and in the ‘fair

¹⁹⁸ ‘i’ is often replaced by ‘y’ in tablature because of its separate dot, which could cause confusion. ‘j’ was not used as it could be too easily confused with ‘i’, and because ‘j’ was regarded as a variant of ‘i’ until the nineteenth century.

copy' style in D.238-40. This adds further weight to the theory that Lawes's hand varied according to the function of the manuscript, and implies that Lawes's tablature hand (like his music and text hands) did not change significantly after c.1633.

Illustration 2.33a. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 13¹⁹⁹



Illustration 2.33b. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, f. 17 (detail)



¹⁹⁹ The 'Will Lawes' under the signature appears to have been written by Cummings.

Significantly, the anonymous copyist (who numbered his own pieces) also numbered the pieces (1-11) of the first Lawes portion (e.g. Illustration 2.33a), but did not make any annotations to the second portion. (However, he mistakenly numbered each page of the 'Fancy' (ff. 13v and 14): thus, this piece occupies numbers 5 and 6.) This confirms the division of the autograph sections, and may suggest that the manuscript initially belonged to the anonymous copyist who may have commissioned Lawes to add some of his own pieces – portion 1 – and who subsequently numbered these pieces. Sometime thereafter, Lawes may have acquired the manuscript, or rather, the first copyist did not have access to it (suggested by the fact that he did not add any further pieces or add numerations to the second group of Lawes pieces). This theory is supported by an analysis of the inks. The anonymous portion was copied using a light brown ink, now quite faded and difficult to make out in places. Some of the revisions (ff. 4 & 6) are in a much darker (black) ink; these are where the copyist has entered bars he originally forgot to put in (f. 6; Illustration 2.29, stave 4) or to remove duplicated bars (f. 4). The first Lawes portion was written in a different ink: black and of good quality, remaining clear even today with little bleed-through. The second autograph portion was also copied using a black ink, although it is of poorer quality than that in the first portion. It is still quite clear, but there was a tendency for the ink to gather (especially in the tails of the letter 'f') resulting in much bleed-through, giving a rather blotchy appearance in places.

The differences in the tablature letters are not observable in Lawes's handwriting in the two portions. There is an inherent problem with attempting to form a link between a scribe's text hand and their tablature hand. Tablature and text letters are not always formed in the same way and some tablature letterforms are often conventional, such as the Greek gamma to denote the letter 'c' to avoid confusion with 'e'. However, there are some notable similarities between Lawes's tablature hand and aspects of his written hand, of which we have examples in the song texts in MS 31432 and B.2. In general, Lawes's lowercase 'f's when written in song texts are written with no tail at the bottom and a small loop at the top, especially when the 'f' is the last letter of the word. However, this is not always the case, and examples can be found of the letter 'f' with a looped tail juxtaposed with the straight-tailed 'f' (Illustrations 2.34a-c). Such inconsistencies add further difficulties to dating letterforms, but generally, looped tails do not seem to be a common feature of Lawes's later text hand. Such variations may prove to be valuable dating tools, and could be further supported by a detailed analysis of Lawes's text hand in B.2 and MS 31432, unfortunately beyond the scope of the present discussion. The case is similar regarding the letter 'y', which is most commonly found in song texts with no loop at the bottom, but with a narrow rightward upwards tail. Examples of 'y' with elaborate loops are more difficult to find, although there are some examples in B.2 (Illustrations 2.34a-b).

Illustration 2.34a. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 86 (detail): Lawes lute suite



Illustration 2.34b. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 86 (detail): Lawes lute suite

A detail of a handwritten musical score for the 'Corant' piece from the Lawes lute suite. The score is written on five staves. The first staff is the treble clef, and the second is the bass clef. The music is in a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks. The word 'Corant' is written in the left margin. The score is densely packed with notes and rests, showing a complex melodic line.

Illustration 2.34c. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432, f. 1v: 'Sarab^d' for solo lyra viol

A detail of a handwritten musical score for the 'Sarab' piece for solo lyra viol. The score is written on five staves. The first staff is the treble clef, and the second is the bass clef. The music is in a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks. The word 'Sarab' is written in the left margin. The score is densely packed with notes and rests, showing a complex melodic line. There is a large signature 'J. K. Cross' in the upper right corner. At the bottom, there is a handwritten note: 'in Elizabethan he had use of his much sharped friend in writing songs; for want to his thicket; A Dialogue on a ...'.

The capital letter 'A' used in titles in Mus. 70 contributes further evidence that the first autograph portion was compiled relatively early. The two almans and the aire in the first portion are written with a broad upwards curve flowing from the left-hand stem of the capital 'A'; this is more elaborate than the 'upturn A' discussed earlier. Elaborate upturns on the capital 'A' are most commonly found in the Shirley partbooks (*cf.* Illustrations 2.30*a*, 2.30*c* and 2.30*d*, with Illustrations 2.7, 2.8*a-b* and 2.12*a*). In the rest of the sources the capital 'A' is usually written with either no left-hand tail ('straight A'; Illustrations 2.23, 2.28 and 2.34*a*) or a rather short one (i.e. the 'upturn A'; Illustrations 2.13*a-b*, 2.16*a*, 2.18*a*, 2.19, 2.20*a* and 2.20*d*, 2.21*a*, 2.21*c* and 2.32*c*). The 'upturn A' is a common feature of Lawes's 'formal' presentation style. Instances of capital 'A' in a title with an elaborate left side loop are rare in the later sources: e.g., one of the four-part viol pieces in B.2 (p. 31). The two examples of the word 'Aire' in the second autograph portion of Mus. 70 seem to confirm this pattern. Both are written in the style common throughout the later sources, adding further weight to the suggestion that some time elapsed between the copying of the two sections of the manuscript.

This separation of the autograph portion into two sections has significance for the manuscript's concordances. All of the MSS 725-7 concordances are found in the first portion, whereas all of the GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3 concordances are in the second portion. It is likely that the first portion of Mus. 70 (which contains a divergent reading of one strain of the 'Humour' {568}) is an earlier source than MSS 725-7. This suggests that Lawes composed (and revised) *lyra viol* trios at different times throughout his career (see Ch. 4). From their presentation style, it seems likely that Mus. 70 was a set of performance parts. It lacks the 'formal' presentation style of D.238-40, D.229 and MS 17798. Given the relationship with its concordances, Mus. 70 appears to have been compiled from two separate (now lost) autograph scores containing Lawes's *lyra viol* trios, perhaps similar to B.2 and B.3. The first (lost) scorebook also appears to have been related to MSS 725-7 and to the first autograph portion of Mus. 70. It is likely to have been a relatively early manuscript, but slightly later than the Shirley partbooks, perhaps dating to the early 1630s. The second portion of Mus. 70 could have been copied from a second (lost) scorebook, which would explain why II.B.3 only includes pieces from this section with no connections to either the earlier part of Mus. 70 or to MSS 725-7. The second autograph portion was copied later than the first, but is also relatively early, perhaps between *The Triumph of Peace* and his royal appointment. Another factor suggesting that the manuscript as a whole is relatively early (i.e. pre-1636) is the decorative endings, which lack the horizontal dash generally characteristic of the later sources. However, examples of the decorative flourish without the dash can be found in MS 31432. Nevertheless, the decorative endings are identical to those of Lawes's A1 hand in the Shirley partbooks (*cf.* Illustration 2.8*a* and (for example) 2.30*a-d*). II.B.3 would seem to be a more complete copy of such the second proposed scorebook, which implies that either the scorebook was added to after Mus. 70 (but

before II.B.3) or that Mus. 70 is a selection volume. The latter seems most likely given Mus. 70's partial relationship to both its known concordances. It is clear that these pieces underwent revisions; moreover, II.B.3 probably has a quite distant relationship to Mus. 70 (see Ch. 4).

Some confusion arises as to the order that the pieces on the last two pages were copied (ff. 19v-20; Illustration 2.35). The confusion arises from the 'Toy', which is begun on f. 19v with the last four bars concluded on the bottom of f. 20, under the 'Thump'; thus, the 'Toy' must have been copied after the 'Thump', which was completed with the title and signature in the right-hand corner. (This is a common position for Lawes to write titles and or signatures.) After this Lawes began the short 'Toy' under the 'Aire' on f. 19v. Why he copied the 'Toy' here is unclear; there were plenty of unused pages after f. 20. The 'Toy' is evenly spaced and clearly copied. This is not always the way when Lawes squeezed in pieces. The last few bars of the 'Toy' on f. 20 are somewhat more compressed than those in the rest of the piece, confirming that the words 'Thump Wjllawes' were already present forcing Lawes to make the last few bars slightly more compact. It seems that Lawes added the 'Toy' here as it was intended to be played between the 'Aire' and 'Thump' in a suite. Indeed, these three pieces preceded by the 'Pauen' are all in D minor – a new tuning (and key) sequence (fedfh). This is evidence of Lawes's strong sense of key and suite structure discussed through this dissertation.

Illustration 2.35. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, ff. 19v-20



In summary: Mus. 70 appears to have originated in a vellum binding, presumably owned by the anonymous copyist, who commissioned Lawes to add pieces to the manuscript. The first autograph portion was probably compiled *c.*1630, and almost certainly before Lawes's participation in *The Triumph of Peace*. At some point later, Lawes added the second group of pieces, probably after *The Triumph of Peace*, by which time Lawes's hand had evidently assumed many of its 'mature' characteristics. Lawes's connections to the anonymous copyist are unclear: was he a fellow musician, a patron, or a friend? Whereas one cannot entirely discount the possibility that the anonymous copyist had the volume bound in the reversed calf covers, this seems unlikely. It seems more plausible that Lawes had the volume(s) bound by the court stationer following his court appointment. Perhaps the anonymous copyist gifted Lawes the volumes to celebrate the appointment; alternatively, he may have been a court musician with whom Lawes supplied lra viol trios in the early 1630s in the hopes of getting them played at court. Nevertheless, the fact that Mus. 70 has the royal coat of arms stamp on the cover need not suggest that Lawes acquired the manuscript post-1635; as we have seen with B.2 and B.3 Lawes appears to have been able to acquire such bindings prior to his appointment, presumably through his brother.

In conclusion: this discussion of Lawes's autograph sources is not intended to be exhaustive; however, such a preliminary investigation is important in establishing a basic chronology for the autograph sources and for testing the feasibility of a more detailed project of this kind. Much of the chronology of Lawes's autographs established primarily by Lefkowitz is inaccurate and in need of revision. Indeed, a recent article by Scott Nixon examining musical settings of Carew's poetry primarily relied upon Lefkowitz for dating some of Lawes's manuscripts, leading Nixon to present some rather flawed conclusions.²⁰⁰

Unfortunately, Lawes's hand does not seem to have changed significantly throughout his career once he reached maturity. His earliest hand in the Shirley partbooks is readily identifiable, but even so, traits observable therein are also observable in much later sources. This study has shown that previous readings of Lawes's early and late hands are flawed, and that it is more useful to distinguish between the functions of the manuscripts. For example, there seems to be an identifiable difference between Lawes's copying hand and his more flowing, or (to borrow Pinto's term) 'cursive', hand that is present in sources that appear to be personal manuscripts or sketchbooks. Moreover, there seems to be a further distinction between Lawes's 'formal' and less formal ('fair copy' or 'informal') copying hands. These two kinds of presentation styles appear to be closely related to the function, or intended function, of the

²⁰⁰ Nixon, 'The Sources of Musical Settings of Thomas Carew's Poetry', *RES*, 49 (1998), 424-60.

manuscripts. The similarities between the 'formal' portions of D.238-40 and D.229, and MS 17798 are evidence that Lawes cultivated a mature formal copying hand that remained consistent into the late 1630s and 1640s.

Three main kinds of presentation style in Lawes's manuscripts are identifiable, each of which represents the manuscript's function. The first is the 'compositional draft' style, evident in B.2, B.3, and in the viol consort sequence in D.229. In this style Lawes does not bother with cultivating any kind of 'formal' script. This is characterised by frequent revisions (palimpsests etc.), a generally quite messy script often quite squashed, and by the final conical flourish. The second style is the 'formal' style, characterised by his careful hand, evenly spaced notes, and a calligraphic final bar (e.g. the fantasia-suites, and bass viol suites in D.238-40 and D.229). It is important to note that the 'formal' style is also at times slightly untidy and does contain mistakes and the occasional revision; however, these revisions are generally inserted rather than written as palimpsests etc. The third style is closely related to the 'formal' style, and best described as the 'fair copy' (or 'informal') style, illustrated by MS 17798, and Mus. 70, and the harp consorts in D.238-40 and D.229. Overall, there is little difference between this and the 'formal' style; the lack of the calligraphic final bar lines is the distinguishing feature. The 'fair copy' style is also found in MS 31432, although the overall presentation style of this volume is quite untidy. Nevertheless, the majority of the songs in this manuscript are unlikely to have been composed here, and overall the presentation style has most in common with the third category. However, the lyra viol pieces at the start of MS 31432 are in the 'compositional draft' style, and do not appear to have been copied from another source.

Identifying the presence of three presentation styles is important for understanding the function of the manuscripts. The 'compositional draft' is easily understood, although its presence in D.229 strongly suggests a change in the manuscript's function from the 'formal' style of the early pieces. Indeed, D.229 appears to have gone through three separate functional stages: the 'formal' stage of the fantasia-suites and bass viol pieces, the informal 'fair copy' style of the harp consorts, and the 'compositional draft' style of the viol consorts. Moreover, the organ part of bass viol pieces also appears to have been partially composed in D.229 (see Ch. 8), possibly representing a transitional point in the manuscript's function. What function the 'formal' style represents is difficult to say, although it seems likely that Lawes put such effort into the copying of the 'formal' manuscripts with some purpose in mind beyond performance. Presentation, or the intention to present, to a patron would seem to be a reasonable suggestion. This is perhaps best illustrated by MS 17798, which although copied in two stages retained its 'formal' style throughout. What relation the 'fair copy' style has to the 'formal' style is unclear. In D.238-40, D.229 and Mus. 70 it appears to be more related to performance from an easily read text than to presentation. Certainly, Mus. 70 was a playing part, suggesting a tangible link between presentation style and function. Generally, Lawes appears to have used the 'fair copy'

style in his personal manuscripts: the ‘formal’ style appears to have been used for manuscripts intended for some kind of official (or non-personal) function. MS 31432 is in a similar presentation style to Mus. 70, but its function appears to have been as a pedagogical tool; clarity of presentation was not a priority, as it did not need to be read by a group of musicians. Apart from Lawes – who evidently copied the songs quite hurriedly – those consulting MS 31432 would presumably have created their own text from it. The Shirley partbooks are presumably the earliest examples of Lawes’s hand, and generally exhibit the ‘fair copy’ style, although in this actually appears to be an early form of the ‘formal’ style. This manuscript was copied for a patron, but the pieces in (what has here been argued is) his ‘rushed’ hand again suggest that the initial function of the manuscript changed. Whether this change was effected by the death of Sir Henry or by Lawes’s growing stature and confidence as a composer is impossible to tell. However, it seems unlikely that the change observed in Lawes’s hand throughout the manuscript was the consequence of additions in the late 1630s or early 1640s.

Frustratingly, there are few characteristics of Lawes’s hand that can be readily associated or interpreted chronologically, which is hampered further by Lawes’s ‘consistent inconsistency’, although this may well be cleared up by a more detailed examination. Nevertheless, based on the evidence discussed in this chapter a tentative chronology of Lawes’s autograph manuscripts (with suggested periods of usage) may be posited:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Shirley partbooks: | late 1620s?-early 1633? |
| 2. Mus. 70: | c.1630-c.1633-4 |
| 3. B.2: | c.1633-c.1639 |
| 4. D.238-40: | c.1636-c.1641 |
| 5. D.229: | c.1636-c.1641 |
| 6. B.3: | c.1637-c.1639 |
| 7. MS 31432: | c.1639-c.1641 |
| 8. MS 17798: | c.1640-1 |

It seems that the cultivation of a signature written in one fluid motion was important to Lawes, and that the evolution of his mature signature was coincident with his achievement of growing status beginning with the composition of music for *The Triumph of Peace*, a status consolidated by his admission to the LVV a year later. Mus. 70 captures part of the development of the signature, as does the Shirley partbooks. Only late in the 1630s did his signature undergo change or variation. This was, however, only a slight variation on the mature signature and one that seems to have been closely related to constraints of space (‘short L’).

The present investigation highlights that too few holograph sources exist for Lawes to make definite conclusions about the existing sources. It has been obvious for some time that we lack many of Lawes’s holograph manuscripts. Many more are hinted at by Henry Lawes’s oft-quoted remarks about his brother, ‘*besides his Fancies of the Three, Foure, Five and Six Parts to the Viols and Organ, he hath made above thirty severall sorts of Musick for Voices and*

*Instruments: Neither was there any Instrument then in use, but he compos'd to it so aptly, as if he had only studied that.*²⁰¹ Lefkowitz suggested seven lost volumes:²⁰²

1. The three-part psalms
2. The verse anthems
3. The madrigals in three, four and five parts
4. The suites for lutes
5. Additional consort 'lessons' or dances for instruments
6. Pieces for wind instruments (*perhaps*)
7. Works for the keyboard (*perhaps*)

Although one wonders whether how plausible nos. 4, 6 and 7 are, to this list there should perhaps be added at least one, but probably two (or more) score volumes. These would perhaps contain lyra viol trios, the original (SSTB) version of the Royall Consort, the fantasia-suites for one and two violins, and the first 25 pieces from the Harp Consorts in score, perhaps with complete harp parts. Nevertheless, one must be somewhat cautious in attributing so many lost score volumes to Lawes. There are occasional tantalising references to pieces and collections by Lawes that have not survived, such as his 'Mr. Lawes Consort for 2 Lyra's [sic], a Violin and Theorbo, prick'd in quarto', his 'Little Consort, in 4 parts', or his 'Airs of 4 parts' listed in Henry Playford's 1690 auction catalogue.²⁰³ However, the last two items are likely to have been versions of some or all of the Royall Consort. There is also the 'Two sets of [books] in 4 parts by Jenkins, Lock, Lawes, &c.' listed in Thomas Britton's sale catalogue (1714).²⁰⁴ Indeed, one wonders to what pieces the Restoration biographer John Aubrey was referring in the following extract from his unpublished manuscript on music education:

Our Vicar's daughter, Abigail Slop, played in consort W. Lawes, his base's three parts when she was not fully six years of age: she wanted one month of it, this to my knowledge. When they come to some mastership, I would have them make commonplace of harmonical figures and chords and to excogitate the reason why such and such affect the mind with joy, or sadness.²⁰⁵

Aubrey may have been referring to the lyra viol trios, or perhaps he intended to say that she played the bass part of his three-part pieces. However, until such chimerical sources become a reality, the lack of Lawes holographs can be compensated for (to an extent) by a detailed study of the minutiae of the extant sources, allowing us to present a more complete context for Lawes's surviving consort repertoire, to which we now turn.

²⁰¹ *Choice Psalmes*, 'To the Reader'.

²⁰² Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 32, & *passim*: the list is a quotation from 33.

²⁰³ Henry Playford, 'A Curious COLLECTION of Musick-Books, Both *VOCAL* and *INSTRUMENTAL*' (London, 1690) (GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936/nos. 419-20), respectively, nos. 60, 117, & 118.

²⁰⁴ Reproduced in Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 Vols (London, 1776; repr. 1877 & 1969), i. 792-93.

²⁰⁵ *Aubrey on Education. A Hitherto Unpublished Manuscript by the Author of Brief Lives*, ed. John Stephens (London, 1972), 36-37. I am grateful to Andrew Woolley for bringing this reference to my attention.

Section C:

The Music

The Lyra Viol Trio in Early Stuart England

The lyra viol trio is one of the most fascinating and frustrating bodies of seventeenth century music. This is especially the case with Lawes, for whom many trios survive, but are incomplete. Although few complete sources have survived, the lyra viol trio was a significant part of the viol repertory, and one that was apparently popular until the middle of the seventeenth century. Before Lawes's trios can be examined in detail the genre must be put into context. Thus, this chapter will outline the history of the lyra viol trio in early Stuart England: the instrument, nomenclature, sources, repertoire, and its most significant composers.

Over a quarter of a century ago, Frank Traficante described music for the lyra viol as 'any music from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries notated in tablature and intended for a bowed viol with a curved bridge'.¹ A largely English phenomenon, the lyra viol became popular among both amateur and professional musicians in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The instrument was versatile, used for solo performance, song accompaniment, and in consort with other lyras or with other instruments.² The term 'lyra viol' and the inconsistent ways in which it was applied by seventeenth-century commentators have led to much scholarly debate.³ The term was applied to the instrument. A viol slightly smaller than the consort bass (facilitating the performance of divisions and chords), was considered preferable; in practice a bass viol was often used. 'Lyra viol' is also found variously in sources to describe a particular tuning, known variously as 'The leero fashion', 'Liera way', 'Lyra way', 'Leerow way' and 'the Bandora set'. Further, it seems that the use of 'lyra viol' stemmed from a desire to characterise the repertoire generally: i.e. the use of tablature and (usually) altered tunings. Music for the lyra viol is usually written in French tablature, evidently borrowed from the lute, which was

¹ Traficante, 'Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources', *Chelys*, 8 (1978-9), 4: this definition is understood in the following discussion. All tunings are here interpreted with the top string as a *d'*, see Volume 2, Textual Commentary.

² For a succinct introduction to the lyra viol see also *John Jenkins: The Lyra Viol Consorts*, ed. Traficante (Madison, 1992).

³ See Traficante, 'Lyra Viol Music? A Semantic Puzzle', in Andrew Ashbee & Peter Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996), 325-51.

important in facilitating the various *scordatura* tunings. Nearly 60 tunings are known for the lyra viol, including pieces in normal viol tuning.⁴ Tunings are indicated by the letter (representing a fret) needed to produce a unison with the next string, from high to low: ffeff describes the standard (bass) viol tuning (*D-G-c-e-a-d'*). Only a handful of tunings were widely popular: many are variants of the popular ones. Each tuning had its own characteristics and limitations, often harmonic. In sources where tunings are given they are usually indicated by either the name of the tuning ('eights' etc.) or a table of unison pitches: e.g. harp-way flat (edfhf)

a			
e	a		
	d	a	
		f	a
		h	a
			f

In printed sources, and in carefully laid out manuscripts such as the Manchester Lyra Viol Book (GB-Mp, MS BrM 832 Vu 51), pieces are usually grouped together by tunings.⁵ This often led to pieces being laid out by key, as many tunings are only suited to one or two keys.

Table 3.1. Main lyra viol tunings

<u>Tuning Name</u>	<u>Tuning</u>	<u>String Pitches</u>	<u>Most suitable keys⁶</u>
Viol-way	ffeff	<i>D-G-c-e-a-d'</i>	G major/minor; D major/minor; F major/minor; A major/minor
Lyra-way	fehfh	<i>C-F-c-f-a-d'</i>	F major/minor
Eights	fhfhf	<i>AA-D-A-d-a-d'</i>	D major/minor; G major/minor
Harp-way sharp	defhf	<i>D-G-d-g-b-d'</i>	G major
Harp-way flat	edfhf	<i>D-G-d-g-bb-d'</i>	G minor
High harp-way sharp	fdefh	<i>D-A-d-f#-a-d'</i>	D major
High harp-way flat	fedfh	<i>D-A-d-f-a-d'</i>	D minor

Eighteen books containing music for the lyra viol were printed in England between 1601 and 1682; none were printed between 1615 and 1651.⁷ In the early period 'leero way' and

⁴ Traficante, 'Lyra Viol Tunings: "All Ways have been Tried to do It"', *AcM*, 42 (1970), 196-204 gives a list of over 50 tunings.

⁵ *Manchester Lyra Viol Book: Facsimile Edition*, introduction by Paul Furnas (Hebden Bridge, 2003).

⁶ This column lists the most keys most commonly associated with the various tunings; it is not intended to be exhaustive.

'viol way' tunings were the most popular, certainly in the years prior to Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols* (1609). After 1609, 'eights' and 'Alfonso way' (ffhfh: a variation of 'eights') became popular: when music publication recommenced in 1651 the popularity of 'viol way' and 'leero way' tunings had been usurped by the various 'harp-way' tunings. Harp-way tunings became established in the 1630s and generally replaced older tunings, such as eights, in printed and manuscript sources; there are over 75 manuscript sources containing lyra viol music.⁸ Normal viol tuning ('viol way') was popular throughout the century.⁹

Lyra viol music continued to be popular at the Restoration court. Theodore Stoeffken purchased lyra viols for the court in 1663 and 1671.¹⁰ Perhaps the best evidence of its continued popularity is the success of Playford's *Musicks Recreation: ON THE LYRA VIOL*.¹¹ In 1651 Playford tentatively published 24 pieces for solo lyra viol as the first part of *A Musicall Banquet*, a publication obviously intended to gauge the potential market for printed music. *Banquet* contained the blueprint of Playford's most successful collections. The lyra viol section became *Musicks Recreation*, which went through four editions between 1652 and 1682. Although *Musicks Recreation* does not include ensemble lyra viol music, the prefaces are of great interest in attempting to understand the position that the lyra viol occupied in seventeenth-century English music. In each of the editions, beginning with the second in 1661, Playford consistently stressed the origins of the instrument; the first edition gives only the rudiments of the instrument and how it is to be played. The 1661 preface gives quite a detailed history of the lyra viol, including its etymological origins:

The *Lero* or *Lyra Violl*, is so called from the Latin word *Lyra*, which signifies a *Harp*. This way of playing on the *Violl*, is of late Invention, in Imitation of the Old English *Lute* or *Bandora*, whose Lessons were prickt down by certain Letters of the Alphabet, upon Six Lines or Rules; which 6. Lines did allude to the 6. course of Strings upon those Instruments, as they do now unto the 6. Strings upon the *Viol*.

However, Playford's etymology was faulty. It has been suggested that the adoption of the term 'lyra viol' in early seventeenth-century England stemmed from the Italian Sylvestro Ganassi who, discussing the problems of performing contrapuntal music on a bowed instrument, likened this manner of playing the viol to techniques used for playing the lirone, the bass counterpart of the lira da braccio.¹² The lira da braccio was wrongly supposed to have derived from the ancient lyre. Some sixteenth-century writers, such as Ganassi, called it the 'lira di sette corde' or the

⁷ Listed in Traficante, 'Music for the Lyra Viol: The Printed Sources', *LSJ*, 8 (1966), 7-24; reprinted in *JVdGSA*, 5 (1968), 16-33.

⁸ See Traficante, 'Manuscript Sources'. Traficante's list is the most complete currently available.

⁹ Also see John Sawyer, 'Music for Two and Three Lyra-Viols', *JCAUSM*, 1 (1971), 71-96.

¹⁰ *RECM*, i. & 103; *RECM*, v. 135.

¹¹ From the second edition in 1661 the title was amended to *Musicks Recreation ON the VIOL, Lyra-Way*: in footnotes the standard abbreviation *MRLV* has been adopted for all editions.

¹² Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542), & id., part II, *Letitione seconda* (Venice, 1543). The relevant passage comes from Part II, folio F: see Traficante, 'Lyra Viol Tunings', 187-88.

'lira moderna' to distinguish it from the lyre.¹³ However, it is unlikely that the lyra viol's etymology comes directly from 'lirone'. It is more likely to derive from some form of the lira da braccio, an instrument also associated with chordal accompaniment, and often simply called 'lira' in contemporary literature.¹⁴ Indeed, during the sixteenth century the lira da braccio was also called 'viola'; however, as Ephraim Segerman noted, viola 'was a generic name for any bowed instrument'.¹⁵ According to Emanuel Winternitz, the Italian Mannerist writer and painter Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) called the lira da braccio played by one of the angels in Vittore Carpaccio's *Presentation in the Temple* a 'lira ovvero viola'.¹⁶ Part of the instrument's etymology may lie in another larger form of the lira da braccio, the lira da gamba. Nomenclature such as 'lira ovvero viola' and lira da gamba suggests strong etymological links with 'lyra viol'. Moreover, if the etymology of lyra viol had stemmed from 'lirone' one would expect some form of the '-one' ending to have been retained, in at least some references; there are none. Although the lira da braccio did not travel much beyond Italy, it is likely that the word 'lyra' travelled with the Italian émigré musicians, such as Alfonso Ferrabosco I, who subsequently applied it to the viol.

Whether Playford knew his etymology was incorrect is unclear. His association of 'lyra' with the harp could have been a cynical attempt to associate the instrument with the ancient lyre, thus evoking valuable symbolic associations with ancient Greece, perhaps attempting to equate the return to civilisation in England in 1660 with a symbolic return to the civilisation of ancient Greece. One must remember the strong symbolic associations with the ancient world in the pageantries, art and décor of the early Stuart kings. Conversely, he may simply have mistakenly based his etymology on the various harp tunings popular in the second half of the century.

Also in the 1661 edition Playford first alludes to the past masters of the instrument:

The First Authors of Inventing and Setting Lessons this way to the *Violl*, was, Mr. *Daniel Farunt*, Mr. *Alphonso Ferabosco*, and Mr. *John Coperario* alias *Cooper*.¹⁷

Again, we may question Playford's motivation. It seems curious that he would stress the importance of these composers to the lyra viol and yet not publish a single piece by any of them in *Musicks Recreation*. Their nominal inclusion was probably motivated by the same impetus as his etymology. Even in the Restoration period, these composers still enjoyed some repute as

¹³ See Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London, 1967), 86; also Howard Mayer Brown & Sterling Scott Jones, 'Lira da braccio', *NGD*, xiv. 742-45.

¹⁴ See Winternitz, 86.

¹⁵ Segerman, 'The Name "Tenor Violin"', *GSJ*, 48 (1995), 181-87.

¹⁶ Winternitz, 87: Winternitz is quoting from Vasari, *Vite* (Milan, 1564), III. 642.

¹⁷ *MRLV* (1661), preface.

masters of a bygone age: Ferrabosco and Coprario at least.¹⁸ Thus, it is likely that Playford was reinforcing the symbolic associations to the early Stuart kings, a musical continuity mirroring the newly established regal continuity. Playford was probably attempting to emphasise the continuity of the lyra viol in the face of changing musical fashions, which ‘*Time and Disuse* has set [...] aside’.¹⁹

The contents of the various editions support a Royalist interpretation of the preface. In the 1652 edition the majority of the titles are descriptive – ‘alman’ etc. – only a handful could be interpreted as Royalist: ‘May Time’, ‘The K[ing]. enjoyes etc’, ‘Cavaliers Horn-pipe’, ‘Morris’.²⁰ The second edition is more overt: the ‘K.’ of King is unabbreviated and accompanied by ‘*Vive lay Roy*’.²¹ The third edition contains further pieces with Royalist connotations: ‘Prince *Rupert's* March’, ‘The Queens Mask’, and ‘The Queens Delight’.²² However, it is the 1682 edition that is the most ostensibly Royalist. In addition to the staples, there are the titles: ‘The King’s Delight’, ‘Prince *Rupert's* welcome’, ‘General *Monk's* March’, ‘Now the Fight’s done’, ‘*Oxford* Tune’, and perhaps the clearest message of all, ‘Let *Oliver* now be forgotten’.²³ This is not to imply that the lyra viol itself had Royalist connotations. Most of these tunes were adaptations of popular songs.²⁴ Moreover, such Royalist connotations are found throughout Playford’s Restoration publications. However, it seems that through his pragmatically worded preface Playford attempted to forge a direct link between modern composers for the lyra viol and the masters of the early Stuart period. This was done in an attempt to construct a history for the instrument, which had the by-product of creating a preface with strong Royalist overtones, reflective of Playford’s own political inclinations, but that were not inherent in the instrument *per se*.

There are almost 300 surviving pieces for two lyra viols and over 170 for three; indeed, lyra viol ensembles appear to have developed as quickly as the solo repertoire. Of the trios, 40 or so are unidentified. The remainder can be attributed to a relatively small group of composers, most of whom were connected to the court: Tobias Hume, Ferrabosco, Coprario, Robert Taylor, Simon Ives, Lawes and Jenkins. Many of the duo and trios are unique, and over half lack one part, or often two in the case of the trios. There are only seven surviving sources for the trios.

¹⁸ For Farrant as an inventor of instruments see Holman, “‘An Addicion of Wyer Stringes beside the Ordinary Stringes’: The Origin of the Baryton”, in John Paynter, *et al* (eds.), *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought*, ii (London & New York, 1992), 1098-1115.

¹⁹ *MRLV* (1661), preface.

²⁰ *MRLV* (1652), nos. 1, 7, 23 & 83; capitalisation in all titles from *MRLV* have been standardised.

²¹ *MRLV* (1661), no. 4.

²² *MRLV* (1669), nos. 21, 40 & 79.

²³ *MRLV* (1682), nos. 7, 8, 19, 32, 73 & 77.

²⁴ See Cyrus Day & Eleanore Murrie, *English Song Books, 1651-1702: A Bibliography with a First-line Index of Songs* (Oxford, 1940).

Five are manuscripts, dating to c.1630-50. The two printed sources date from the first decade of the century. One was published by Hume; the other is Ferrabosco's *Lessons*.²⁵

The sources and repertoire suggest that the lyra viol trio originated with, and was developed primarily by, court musicians, or by composers associated with the court, such as the courtier Tobias Hume. Despite the lack of evidence, it is probable that Hume was in some way associated with James VI's Scottish court, prior to his accession to the English throne in 1603.²⁶ Hume was certainly known at the English court. A warrant dated 3 April 1606 reads, 'Tobias Hume a Scottish Musicōn in reward from her Ma^{tie} according to her Highnes pleasure signified by Daniell Bachelor'.²⁷ In return for dedicating the second of his collections, *Captaine Hume's Poeticall Musicke* (1607) to Queen Anne of Denmark, Hume received a gift of 100 shillings.²⁸ (*Poeticall Musicke* mostly contains trios with two parts given in French tablature, the third in staff notation. The tablature parts were intended for lyra viols (ffeff), the first string tuned to g': the third part was for a consort bass viol. These are essentially lyra viol trios; however, as tablature is a requisite part of Frank Traficante's definition of lyra viol music they have not been included in the present study. Two representative pieces from *Poeticall Musicke* are given in Volume 2: II.3.1-2.) The Queen was an obvious choice of dedicatee, as she evidently played the lyra viol. In June 1608, 72 shillings were paid for 'a bowe of her ma^{ties} Lyra and for mending the said Lyra and oth^r neccies'.²⁹ Nevertheless, it is likely that Ferrabosco II introduced the lyra viol trio to the English court, and that it was quickly taken up by composers such as Hume. Ferrabosco seemed to allude to such misattributions in the preface to the *Lessons*, although it is more likely that he was referring to the misattribution of pieces.³⁰ Indeed, like so many other scoring innovations of the Jacobean period, lyra viol ensembles appear to have been largely developed in the households of Princes Henry and Charles (later Charles I).³¹ In Henry's household there was a trio of viol players, two of whom published collections of lyra viol music: Ferrabosco, Thomas Ford and Valentine Sawyer. Little is known of Sawyer, of whom nothing is heard after the death of Prince Henry in 1612 and the subsequent disbandment of his household. Ford was a singer-lutenist who also played the lyra viol. His *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* was published in 1607 and includes a section of 'Pavens, Galiardes, Almaines, Toies, Jigges, Thumpes and such like to two Basse-viols, the Liera-way, so made as the greatest

²⁵ Hume, *The First Part of Ayres* (London, 1605). See Traficante, 'Printed Sources' for details.

²⁶ For Hume see Collette Harris, 'Tobias Hume – a short biography', *Chelys*, 3 (1971), 16-18; & Bibliography.

²⁷ *RECM*, iv. 197.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 198.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 200.

³⁰ *Lessons*, preface: 'TO THE WORLD'.

³¹ For an account of music in the prince's households see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*.

number may serve to play alone'.³² Upon the creation of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales in November 1616, Ferrabosco and Ford were joined by another exponent of the lyra viol Robert Taylor; Coprario officially joined the household in 1622.

Andrew Ashbee noted that 'from lyra viol duets and trios, it was a logical step to incorporate the instrument in a mixed ensemble'.³³ Indeed, this step appears to have been taken by Hume at the same time as his duos and trios. The full title page of his book of *Ayres* as follows:

THE/FIRST PART
of Ayres, French, Pollish, and others
together, some in Tabliture, and some in
Pricke-Song : With Pauines, Galliards, and Almaines
for the Viole De Gambo alone, and other Musicall Con-
ceites for two Base Viols, expressing fiue partes, with plea-
sant reportes one from the other, and for two Leero
Viols, and also for the Leero Viole with two
Treble Viols, or two with one
Treble.
Lastly for the Leero Viole to play a-
lone, and some Songes to bee sung
to the Viole, with the Lute, or better
with the Viole alone.
Also an Inuention for two to play vp-
on one Viole.

Thus, Hume was composing for a mixed ensemble of one lyra viol and two treble viols, or two lyra viols and one treble. Hume was more detailed in his recommendations of instruments to play his *Poeticall Musick*, which was '*Principally made for two Basse-Viols*'. He also suggested various mixed consort combinations as an alternative, such as: two lutes and a bass viol, two orpharions and a bass viol, and two tenor viols and a bass viol, and finally 'all these Instruments together with the Virginals, or rather with a winde Instrument [organ?] and the voice'.³⁴ This last suggestion appears to hint at some form of mixed consort. Indeed, his recommendation of replacing the viol with the lute may indicate that the lyra viol consort partly developed by substituting the lyra for the lute in similar mixed consorts. However, it was not until around the middle of the century that the instrumentation of the 'lyra consort' became more or less standardized: one or two violins or treble viols, lyra viol, bass viol (or theorbo) and keyboard continuo (usually harpsichord).³⁵ Indeed, in 1676 Thomas Mace was still advising the addition

³² The lyra viol duets are edited in *Thomas Ford: Lyra Viol Duets*, ed. Oleg Timofeyev (RRMBE, 90; Wisconsin, 1998).

³³ Ashbee, 'John Jenkins, 1592-1678, and the Lyra Viol', *MT*, 119 (1978), 842.

³⁴ *Poeticall Musick*, title page.

³⁵ For more on the lyra viol consort see Ashbee, 'Jenkins and the Lyra Viol'; id., *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, ii: *Suites, Airs and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), Chapter 13; & *Jenkins: Lyra Viol Consorts*, introduction. The lyra viol consort is the main subject of Ila Stoltzfus, 'The Lyra Viol in Consort with Other Instruments', Ph.D. diss. (Louisiana State University, 1982); however, the dissertation

of a trio of lyra viols to complete the gentleman's music collection, although he seems to be referring also to some form of the lyra viol consort:

And now to make your *Store* more *Amplly-Compleat*; add to all *These* 3 *Full-Sciz'd Lyro-Viols*; there being most *Admirable Things* made, by our *Very Best Masters*, for *That Sort of Musick*, both *Consort-wise*, and *Peculiarly* for 2 and 3 *Lyroes*.

Let *Them* be *Lusty, Smart-Speaking Viols*; because, that in *Consort*, they often *Retort* against the *Treble*; *Imitating*, and often *Standing instead of That Part*, viz. a *Second Treble*.³⁶

They will serve likewise for *Division-Viols* very *Properly*.

And being *Thus Stor'd*, you have a *Ready Entertainment* for the *Greatest Prince* in the *World*.³⁷

Whatever the connections to the mixed consort, lyra consorts are essentially two-part music, easily arranged from treble and bass parts by the addition of a second treble part (if desired) and a tenor range lyra viol part, filled out by the continuo.³⁸ (The case for a similar development from two-part origins for the harp consort will be argued in Chapter 6.) The lyra viol had the advantageous ability to perform a melodic and continuo part simultaneously.

Peter Holman has suggested that Jenkins probably invented the lyra viol consort.³⁹ Jenkins appears to have been the leading contributor to the genre. Over 60 of his lyra consorts have survived complete and many more are known to have been lost or survive incomplete.⁴⁰ However, they are difficult to date and survive in late sources mostly connected with the North family.⁴¹ Significantly, the surviving sources suggest that the lyra viol part was a later addition by Jenkins.⁴² Indeed, Nicholas Le Strange hinted at such additions in a note on flyleaf of bass book of some of Jenkins's three-part airs:

The Lyra p^l ... is forced, and was only made for filling the Musicke of a private Meeting for they were originally composed for 1 Ba: 2 TR: and are compleate without the Lyra p^l.⁴³

Whether or not he invented the genre, Jenkins certainly pioneered the ensemble as it became known by the middle of the century.

is primarily descriptive of the extant (complete) repertoire and does not adequately discuss the origins or development of the genre.

³⁶ There are several examples of this in Jenkins's lyra consorts.

³⁷ Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), 246.

³⁸ See *Fiddlers*, 244-45.

³⁹ *John Jenkins: Late Consort Music*. Parley of Instruments. Holman (dir.) CDA66604, CD notes, 4.

⁴⁰ *Jenkins: Lyra Viol Consorts* for complete pieces; *Index* for list of incomplete pieces. Also, Playford catalogues; 'Britton Catalogue', reproduced in Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 Vols (London, 1776; repr. 1877 & 1969), i. 792-93; & Richard Andrewes, 'Hidden Treasure in Gloucester?', *VdGS Bulletin*, 28 (January, 1968), 13-14. Ashbee discusses Jenkins's lyra viol consorts in *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 219-26.

⁴¹ *Jenkins: Lyra Viol Consorts*, introduction.

⁴² See Ashbee, *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 219-33.

⁴³ US-Cn, MS VM.1.A.18.J.52c., quoted by Ashbee, *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 226; see *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 210-26 for a description and inventory of the manuscript.

The other large collection of lyra consorts to have survived is Christopher Simpson's *Little Consort*.⁴⁴ However, we know from various sale catalogues from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, such as Henry Playford's sale catalogue (1690), Thomas Britton's sale catalogue, and a seventeenth century catalogue found in Gloucester Cathedral, that Lawes and others composed music for lyra viol consort.⁴⁵ Frustratingly, many of the items listed in these catalogues, including Lawes's lyra consorts, have not survived (Table 3.2). The Playford and Britton catalogues also provide evidence that lyra viol duos and trios were still known – and presumably performed – in the last decades of the seventeenth century. In addition, there is a tantalising reference to '8 sets [of books] of lyra pieces, most by Jenkins, in 2, 3, 4, and 5 parts'.⁴⁶ It is possible that the description of the item is not entirely accurate. The four- and five-part pieces could well refer to a mixed ensemble that included lyra viols; however, the compiler of the catalogue was quite precise in his descriptions of the majority of the items, including descriptions of lyra viol consorts.

Table 3.2. *Sale catalogue references to lyra viols*⁴⁷

Britton's Sale Catalogue (1714) [Instrumental Music], includes

- 'Two Lyra consorts by Loosemore, Wilson, &c.' (5)
- 'Two [sets of books] of Lyra consorts by Jenkins and Wilson' (12)
- 'Three ditto by Jenkins, Simpson, and Cuts' (13)
- 'Three sets of Lyra books by Wilson and Simpson' (34)
- '5 sets [of books] for violins, lyra viols, with basses by Jenkins' (112)
- '6 sets ditto of 2 and 3 parts' (113-15)
- '8 sets [of books] of lyra pieces, most by Jenkins, in 2, 3, 4, and 5 parts' (125)
- '5 sets ditto of 3 parts, most by Jenkins' (126)
- '8 sets for Lyra viols and other instruments by Jenkins, &c.' (134)
- '2 sets for three lyra viols, and one set for a lyra viol, violin and bass, Jenkins' (140)
- 'Cazzati's Sonatas and pieces for lyra viols, and Sonatas, Ayres, &c.' (142)

Playford's Sale Catalogue (1690), includes

- 'Several Lessons for 2 Lyra Viols by Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Lawes*, and others, Fol.' (1)
- 'Several Lessons for 2 Lyra Viols by Mr. *Jenkins*, and others, fairly prick'd' (2)
- 'M. *Jenkins* Lyra Cons. also M. *Symptoms* Lyra Cons. of 3 parts, large etc. prick'd' (4)
- 'Two Books of Lyra Lessons prick'd' (32)
- 'Mr. *Lawes* Consort for 2 Lyra's, a Violin and Theorbo, prick'd in quarto' (60)

⁴⁴ *Christopher Simpson: The Little Consort*, ed. Stoltzfus, 3 Vols (California, c.2001-2).

⁴⁵ 'Playford Catalogue 1690' (GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936/nos. 419-20); 'Britton Catalogue'; Andrewes, 'Gloucester'. For Playford catalogues see: W. C. Smith, 'Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music', *MT*, 67 (1926), 636-39, & 701-04; Lenore Coral, 'A John Playford Advertisement', *RMARC*, 5 (1965), 1-12; & Robert Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *EM*, 23 (1995), 605-18.

⁴⁶ 'Britton Catalogue', [Instrumental music] nos. 125.

⁴⁷ List numbers are given in brackets.

'Musick Books belonging to the Cathedral of GloucR' includes

- 'A set of Musick in four Books with black leather Covers in 4^o. filleted with gold, Containing Six Consorts entituled within (The Violin part) (The Theorbo part) (The first Lyra part) (The Harpsichord and 2^d Lyra part) the Musick is composed by Mr. William Lawes, Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Simpson'.⁴⁸

Our understanding and appreciation of the lyra viol trio is hampered by the poor survival rate of the sources. It is difficult to account for the paucity of sources for trios, especially as the form appears to have remained reasonably popular into the early Restoration period. However, the paucity may be an indication that much of the repertoire was improvised from solo pieces (or also from duos in the case of the trios) used as the basis for extemporized *contrepartie* settings. (The term '*contrepartie*' is generally used to describe a second lute part added to a pre-existing solo lute piece; most French baroque lute duets were composed in this manner.⁴⁹ Use of the term here is not limited to the lute repertoire.) Although staff notation three-part consort music continued to be copied until the late seventeenth century lyra viol trios were not; lyra viol trios do not appear to have been composed after the 1640s or so. The main reasons for this are not hard to understand. By the early 1660s most of the leading contributors to the genre in the Caroline period were dead. Furthermore, even by Mace's day the lyra viol trio must have seemed arcane, whereas consort trios scorings were at least still current. Indeed, the very texts of the intabulated viol trio must have contributed heavily to the loss of manuscript sources in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; many tablature manuscripts may simply have been thrown away during this period because owners did not know what they were or how to read the tablature.

The individual parts of lyra duos and trios are usually relatively complete harmonically and rhythmically. Many are capable of being performed as solo pieces and may have originated as such. Indeed, Ferrabosco's *Lessons* may contain several examples of lyra viol *contreparties*. Ferrabosco's important collection contains 53 solo lyra viol pieces, 12 duos, and 2 trios (Table 3.3). *Lessons* is also an important source for supplying missing parts to several of the nine pieces that are arrangements of his consort pieces for four or five viols.⁵⁰ The book is arranged by tuning. Most of the solo pieces are arranged into pairs of an alman, galliard or pavan followed by a corant. The duos are similarly organized. One part of each of the six corant duos also appears earlier in the volume as a solo piece, with only minor alterations: usually altered

⁴⁸ Andrewes, 'Gloucester', 13.

⁴⁹ See David Buch, 'On the Authorship of William Lawes's *Suite for Two Lutes*', *JLSA*, 16 (1983), 12-14.

⁵⁰ Christopher Field has convincingly argued that the lyra viol versions post-date the consort versions: 'The Composer's Workshop: Revisions in the Consort Music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger', *Chelys*, 27 (1999), 1-39. See also *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. Field & Pinto, (MB, 81; London, 2003).

rhythms or a note or notes added to or omitted from chords, usually at a cadence. Whereas it is impossible to say with certainty, it is tempting to suggest that the solo versions were composed first to complete the solo pairs, and were then recast with the duos, the second part added in the manner of a *contrepartie*. This is suggested by the fact that most of the solo corants are thematically related to the dance with which they are paired. However, none of the six duo versions of the corants is related to dance with which they are paired: some are even in a different key to the preceding dance. If this were true, these pieces would be early examples of *contrepartie* techniques being applied to the lyra viol. (A selection of Ferrabosco's solo lyra viol pieces, and all of his lyra viol duos and trios are in Volume 2.)

Table 3.3. *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols (1609), Contents*

Bold entries indicate solo pieces incorporated into duos: numbers in [square brackets] are given to identify the concordances within the volume, as the VdGS nos. differ for each version.

Underlined entries indicate pieces also in consort versions.

'Volume 2' column indicates a transcription in Volume 2

* = listed as fehf but are ffhf

† = begins in D major, ends in D minor

Tuning	Page	Title	VdGS	Key	Volume 2
<i>'Lessons for the Lyra Violl'</i>					
fehf	1:1	'Almaine'	{101}	F minor	II.3.3
	1:2	'Coranto'	{102}[1]	F minor	II.3.4
	2:1	'Galliard'	{103}	F minor	
	2:2	'Coranto'	{104}	F minor	
	3:1	'Almaine'	{105}	F major	
	3:2	'Coranto'	{106}[2]	F major	II.3.5
	4:1	'Galliard'	{107}	F major	
	4:2	'Coranto'	{108}	F major	
	5:1	'Almaine'	{109}	F major	
	5:2	'Coranto'	{110}	F major	
	<u>6:1</u>	<u>'Almaine'</u>	<u>{111}</u>	<u>F major</u>	II.3.6
	6:2	'Coranto'	{112}	F major	
	7:1	'Almaine'	{113}	F major	
	7:2	'Coranto'	{114}	F major	
ffhf	<u>8:1</u>	<u>'Pauin'</u>	<u>{128}</u>	<u>A minor</u>	II.3.7
	8:2	'Coranto'	{129}[3]	A minor	II.3.8
	9:1	'Galliard'	{130}	A minor	
	9:2	'Coranto'	{131}	A major	
	10:1	'Pauin'	{132}	A major	
	10:2	'Coranto'	{133}	A major	
	11:1	'Galliard'	{134}	A major	
	11:2	'Coranto'	{135}[4]	A major	II.3.9
	12:1	'Almaine'	{136}	A major	
	12:2	'Coranto'	{137}	A major	
<u>13:1</u>	<u>'Pauin'</u>	<u>{138}</u>	<u>A minor</u>	II.3.10	
13:2	'Coranto'	{139}	A minor		
14:1	'Pauin'	{140}	A minor		
14:2	'Coranto'	{141}	A minor		

	15:1	'Almaine'	{142}	A major		
	15:2	'Coranto'	{143}	A major		
	16:1	'Almaine'	{144}	A major	II.3.11	
fhfhf	16:2	'Coranto'	{145}	A major		
	17:1	'Almaine'	{161}	D major	II.3.12	
	17:2	'Coranto'	{162}	D major		
	18:1	'Almaine'	{163}	D major	II.3.13	
	18:2	'Coranto'	{164}	D major		
	19:1	'Galliard'	{165}	D major		
	19:2	'Coranto'	{166}	D major		
	20:1	'Almaine'	{167}	D major	II.3.14	
	20:2	'Coranto'	{168}	D major		
	21:1	'Pauin'	{169}	D major		
21:2	'Coranto'	{170}	D major	II.3.15		
22:1	'Almaine'	{171}	D major			
22:2	'Coranto'	{172}[5]	D major	II.3.16		
23:1	'Galliard'	{173}	D major			
23:2	'Coranto'	{174}	D major			
24:1	'Almaine'	{175}	D minor			
24:2	'Coranto'	{176}[6]	D minor	II.3.17		
25:1	'Galliard'	{177}	D minor			
25:2	'Coranto'	{178}	D minor			
'For two Viols'						
fefhf	26:1	'Almaine'	{115}	F major	II.3.18	
	26:2	'Coranto'	{116}[2]	F major	II.3.19	
	27:1	'Galliard'	{117}	F minor	II.3.20	
	27:2	'Coranto'	{151}[3]*	A minor	II.3.24	
	28:1	'Almaine'	{118}	F major	II.3.21	
	28:2	'Coranto'	{152}[4]*	A major	II.3.25	
	29:1	'Galliard'	{119}	F minor	II.3.22	
	29:2	'Coranto'	{120}[1]	F minor	II.3.23	
	fhfhf	30:1	'Almaine'	{191}	D major	II.3.26
		30:2	'Coranto'	{192}[6]	D major	II.3.27
31:1		'Almaine'	{193}	D major	II.3.28	
31:2	'Coranto'	{194}[5]	D major	II.3.29		
'A Fancie for three Viols'						
	32	'Fancie'	{201}	D major/minor†	II.3.51	
'A Pauin for three Viols'						
	33	'Pauin'	{155}	A major	II.3.50	
[Solo]	34:1	'Prelude'	{180}	D major		
	34:2	'Prelude'	{181}	D major		
	35:3	'Prelude'	{182}	D major		

Perhaps the best-known example of a *contrepartie* by an English composer is by Lawes. In his scorebook GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2 (p. 86) there is a short three-movement suite for two lutes, consisting of an alman and two corants (II.3.35-37). These are Lawes's only surviving pieces for lute. The first part of the alman has been identified as an alman for solo lute by the French lutenist René Mesangeau (d. 1638) published by Pierre Ballard in *Tablature de*

luth de different auteurs, sur les accords nouveaux (Paris, 1638).⁵¹ According to Matthew Spring, the ‘version of the Mesangeau allemande used by Lawes is reasonably accurate, when compared with the published version, though a few rhythmic variants are to be found and all ornamentation is absent’, suggesting that Lawes used the published version (or a source derived thereof), giving a *terminus a quo* of 1638. Nevertheless, he may not have taken the piece directly from the printed volume, perhaps given it by an English (or French) lutenist in the LVV. The original alman also appears in two other British sources: GB-En, Sutherland papers, Dep. 314 no. 23 (Lady Margaret Wemyss’ Lute Book), and GB-En, MS 9449 (Lady Campell’s Music Book). Lawes’s *contrepattie* (i.e. Lute 2) complements the alman perfectly. This predates any known lute *contrepattie* in French sources, the earliest of which dates from the period 1650-70.⁵² David Pinto has suggested that Lawes may have composed the *contrepattie* as ‘a *tombeau*’ to Mesangeau.⁵³ However, it is curious that Lawes did not attribute the alman to Mesangeau. In each of the four known examples of musical quotation by Lawes, he credited the relevant composer (see Ch. 6 and Ch. 8). This may indicate that he did not know who composed the alman, although if he took it from the printed edition this is unlikely. Indeed, the lack of an attribution would seem to weigh against Pinto’s suggestion that Lawes composed the piece as a *tombeau*. The two corants that follow seem to be original compositions by Lawes, although they may also be *contrepatties*.⁵⁴ Lawes’s lute pieces were written for 12-course lutes; a *B-flat* ‘on the eleventh [course] is consistently required, and an 11-course lute in England c. 1640 would be unlikely’.⁵⁵ All three pieces are in the same style and show that Lawes had skilfully mastered the new *brisé* style, popularized in England by French lutenists in the 1630s. The three lute duets are well composed and suggest that Lawes had some experience with the form.

A precedent for Lawes’s lute duet can perhaps be found in the Sampson (formerly Tollemache) lute book where there is what appears to be a second part for John Dowland’s ‘Lord Willoughby’ for solo lute found in the Folger-Dowland MS.⁵⁶ The arrangement is unusual as both parts double the bass all the way through; however, ‘there can be no doubt that the [Sampson] half is a later addition to an already existing solo, whether by Dowland himself or not, it is hard to say’.⁵⁷ Another similar example is Giles Farnaby’s short alman for two

⁵¹ The alman was identified by Anthony Bailes: *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. Pinto, (MB, 60; London, 1991), 114. The original alman is in *René Mesangeau: Oeuvres*, ed. André Souris (Paris, 1971), no. 34. See also Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford, 2001), 353.

⁵² See Spring, *Lute*, 353.

⁵³ Pinto, ‘Lawes, William’, *NGD*, xiv. 396-407.

⁵⁴ See Buch, ‘Authorship’.

⁵⁵ Spring, *Lute*, 353.

⁵⁶ The Sampson lute book was acquired by the Royal Academy of Music, London in 1998 following the death of Robert Spencer. The Folger-Dowland MS is housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, Ms. V.b.280.

⁵⁷ Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London, 2/1982), 169: I am grateful to Peter Holman for drawing my attention to this piece.

virginals in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, where the first virginal plays the tune as the second adds embellished variations.⁵⁸ These three examples show that such arrangement techniques were used by composers in England in various genres throughout the first half of the century; the authenticity of the Dowland arrangement is beside the point. Such techniques, composed or extemporized, could easily be applied to the lyra viol, especially when setting dances for lyra viol duos and trios. Composers and performers would probably have used such techniques to expand the repertoire as required. It is doubtful that *contreparties* were applied to more serious and highly imitative compositions such as fantasias, which were through-composed and not commonly found for solo lyra viol. Extemporization based on dance pieces was a common feature of viol playing in the seventeenth century, especially among professionals. Dance strains were often repeated *ad lib*, and performers were expected to extemporize divisions when required. With historical accident, extemporized *contrepartie* settings go some way to explaining why so few lyra viol trio sources have survived despite the genre's apparent popularity in the first half of the century.

The dearth of printed lyra viol sources between 1615 and 1651 should not be interpreted as a decline in the instrument's popularity. After Ferrabosco's *Lessons* no lyra viol trios were printed in England. No duos were printed after 1612, and after Robert Taylor's *Sacred Hymns* (1615) no lyra viol music was printed until *A Musicall Banquet*. This was symptomatic of the general dearth of printed music in England in the second quarter of the century, largely stemming from the various problems associated with the music-printing patent passed down through William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, to Thomas Morley and William Barley.⁵⁹ From the 1620s onwards little new music was published in England. Commercial music printing in London only began with John Playford in the 1650s. Playford was an astute businessman. He did not print lengthy or complex music; the more complex the music, the more difficult it was to print clearly in movable type. The solution would have been to print such music using engraved plates; however, this was prohibitively expensive. The various sale catalogues show that Playford did sell complex music, but in manuscript. Scribal publication – a common form of literary transmission – was relatively inexpensive, and manuscript copies were often easier to read than

⁵⁸ *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland & W. Barclay Squire, rev. Blanche Winogron, 2 Vols (New York, 2/1979), i. 202.

⁵⁹ For a succinct overview of music publishing in early seventeenth century England see Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, 1999), 1-12. Also Donald Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700* (London, 1975).

printed editions.⁶⁰ Thus, from the second decade of the century the lyra viol trio was disseminated through manuscripts, many of which have not survived.

Although the lack of manuscript sources is harder to account for than the decline of printed lyra viol trios, the lacuna does not appear to be representative of a decline in the form. We know that ensembles of lyra viols continued to be popular at the court into the 1620s and 1630s: examples survive by Ferrabosco, Coprario, Lawes and Taylor. Indeed, in 1623 Ferrabosco received £20 for 'a new Lyra and vyoll de Gambo', and a further £20 in February 1626/7 for 'a greate Base Vyall, and a greate Lyra'.⁶¹ Nevertheless, there are only five surviving manuscript sources for lyra viol trios (in alphabetical order):

1. GB-HAdolmetsch, Mus. MS II.B.3
2. GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7
3. GB-Och, Mus. MSS 531-2
4. GB-Och, Mus. MSS 725-7
5. US-CAh, MS Mus. 70

All five sources date roughly to the period 1620-50: only two survive complete, MSS 725-7 and D.245-7. Three of the five sources relating to Lawes are discussed in Chapter 4. The two remaining sources provide further evidence that the lyra viol trio was essentially the preserve of the professional musician and the dedicated and gifted amateur, and that its primary milieu was the English court.

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7

D.245-7 were mostly copied by John Merro of Gloucester (d. 1639), who probably compiled them in the late 1620s and early 1630s for his use as a viol instructor to the choirboys of Gloucester Cathedral; perhaps he was responsible for obtaining some of the manuscripts listed in the catalogue.⁶² D.245-7 contains almost 450 pieces, mostly in tablature, including pieces for one, two and three lyra viols by a variety of composers. Significantly, D.245-7 is the only complete source for Coprario's lyra viol trios.⁶³ Based on its repertoire, Holman has suggested that the manuscript was associated with Prince Henry's household as Prince of Wales, and that Jonas Wrench may have been Merro's court connection:

It is odd that such sophisticated court music survives only in the manuscript of a provincial choir-man, though the connection between Merro and Ferrabosco is perhaps provided by the Wrench family of Gloucester, many of whom served the cathedral as choir-men or in other capacities. Wrench

⁶⁰ See Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), esp. 3-34.

⁶¹ (5 December 1623); *RECM*, iv. 114; (17 February 1626/7) *RECM*, iii. 138.

⁶² The manuscript has been described previously in *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 139-66: includes inventory. For a more detailed discussion of its contents see Sawyer, 'An Anthology of Lyra Viol Music in Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7', Ph.D. diss. (University of Toronto, 1972).

⁶³ They have been edited & published in modern edition by Richard Charteris, *John Coprario: Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Organ and Eleven Pieces for Three Lyra Viols* (RRMBE, 41; Wisconsin, 1982).

is not a common name, so the Jonas Wrench in Prince Henry's household may have been related to them, though he does not appear in Gloucester documents.⁶⁴

Wrench (d. 1626) served with Ferrabosco in Prince Henry's household from 1610-12, and was appointed to Prince Charles's household in 1617. He was one of the LVV appointed upon Charles's accession, although he died around Michaelmas 1626.⁶⁵

GB-Och, Mus. MSS 531-2

Little is known of the provenance of MSS 531-2, although the contents suggest a court association; the main copyist is likely to have been a Jacobean court musician. These partbooks contain some of the earliest lyra viol trio pieces, by Coprario and Ferrabosco. It has been suggested that the books were copied around the middle of the seventeenth century,⁶⁶ although there is little evidence to support this; they seem to have been copied earlier, closer to the time of composition, perhaps c.1610-25. Only part of the watermark of the flyleaves is visible and difficult to identify. The watermark of the ruled pages is not included in Heawood or Churchill; however, it resembles the arms of France and Navarre found in paper from the first quarter of the seventeenth century.⁶⁷ The mark bears the name of 'J. Viger': an Auvergne papermaker, whose material can be dated to 1613-20.⁶⁸ MSS 531-2 are oblong quartos, bound in a thin limp vellum binding, measuring c.176 x 228mm, probably copied after binding. Each volume is in four nested gatherings (MS 531: ff. 1-11v, 12-23v, 24-35v and 38-44v; MS 532: ff. 1-11v, 12-23v, 24-35v and 36-43v). All pages are ruled uniformly in six five-line staves, with a ruled margin on either side. Several leaves were abstracted after binding in both volumes: approximately five after f. 44 of MS 531 and approximately six after f. 43 of MS 532.

Over half of the manuscript is unused. MSS 531-2 lack a third book. (The MSS 531-2 trios with a third part recoverable from other sources are transcribed in Volume 2: II.3.38-48.) There are many places where both parts have concurrent rests, and they contain parts for known lyra viol trios by Ferrabosco and Coprario. Two copyists (C1 and C2) appear to have compiled the manuscript. However, it should be noted that there are many similarities between the C1 and C2 hands; it is possible that a single copyist was responsible for both sections of the manuscript. The C2 hand is less careful than C1, and seems to have been copied in some haste.

⁶⁴ *Fiddlers*, 208.

⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.*; also Holman, 'Wrench, Jonas', *BDECM*, ii. 1176; & *RECM*, iii, iv, v & viii.

⁶⁶ Roger Bray (Compiler), *The Music Collection of Christ Church, Oxford: A Listing and Guide to Part Two of the Harvester Microfilm Collection* (Brighton, 1981), 19.

⁶⁷ See *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 258-62.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 258.

There is a third, later, hand (possibly dating to around the middle of the century) that copied a piece at the end of MS 532,⁶⁹ titled ‘Alman R Johnson to the stump by F P’. This is the only known piece for the instrument known as a stump, which was ‘a wire strung equivalent of the English theorbo, perhaps, with a string length short enough for the upper two courses to be tuned to their proper pitch’.⁷⁰ ‘F P’ may be Francis Pilkington (1570-1638): possibly his arrangement of a Johnson piece for the stump. Pilkington had an interest in wire-sting instruments. *The first booke of songs* (1605) contained ‘*tableture for the lute or orpherian*’, and he included ‘A Pauin made for the Orpharion, by the Right Honorable, *William Earle of Darbie*, and by him consented to be in my Bookes placed’ at the end of the Altus book of his *Second Set of Madrigals, and Pastorals* (1624). C1 compiled the majority of the manuscript. Space was evidently not a concern. Many pieces leave unused staves, although this avoids page turns. C1 numbered all of his pieces (1-25) but did not include titles or attributions, nor did he include time signatures. He arranged the manuscript by tunings. First, there are 8 pieces in fehf (lyra-way), then 5 pieces in fehh (a lyra-way variant), and 12 more in fehf. These sections are not arranged by composer, suggesting that the manuscript was compiled either from a similar anthology or from several different sources. None of the anonymous pieces has any known concordances, apart from those tentatively ascribed to Ferrabosco from their positions in other manuscripts.⁷¹ C2 appears to have added his six pieces, all in fhfh (eights), at a later stage. Space seems to have been somewhat more of a consideration for C2; the six pieces are all copied into four leaves, despite there being many unused pages between the C1 and C2 sections.

Table 3.4. GB-Och, Mus. MS 532, *Inventory*⁷²

Folio	No.	Title	Composer	Key	Tuning	VdGS	Copyist
1	1	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F major	fehf	{8321}	C1
1v	2	[Pavan]	[Ferrabosco?]	F major	fehf	{122}	C1
2	3	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F major	fehf	{8322}	C1
2v	4	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F major	fehf	{8323}	C1
3v	5	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F major	fehf	{8324}	C1
4v	6	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F major	fehf	{8325}	C1
5v	7	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F major	fehf	{8326}	C1
6v	8	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F major	fehf	{8327}	C1
7v	9	[Alman]	[Coprario]	B flat major	fehh	{7}	C1
8v	10	[Alman]	[Coprario]	G minor	fehh	{9}	C1
9	11	[Coranto]	[Ferrabosco?]	G minor	fehh	{124}	C1
9v	12	[Alman]	[Coprario]	G minor	fehh	{10}	C1

⁶⁹ Transcribed and published in *Music for the Lute. Book 4: Robert Johnson: Complete Works for Solo Lute*, (ed.) Albert Sundermann (Oxford, 1972), 22-23; includes a facsimile of the piece. The piece is discussed in Donal Gill, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187): V. Plucked Strings – The Wire-Strung Fretted Instruments and the Guitar, *G&J*, 15 (1962), 60-69.

⁷⁰ Gill, ‘Talbot’, 66; Ian Harwood, ‘Stump’, *NGD*, xxiv. 626.

⁷¹ See *Index*.

⁷² Both volumes are the same, except for the lute pieces.

10v	13	[Alman]	[Coprario]	B flat major	fehfh	{8}	C1
11	14	[Alman]	[Anon.]	G minor	fehfh	{8328}	C1
11v	15	[Alman]	[Ferrabosco?]	C major	fehfh	-	C1
12	16	[Coranto]	[Ferrabosco?]	C major	fehfh	{123}	C1
12v	17	[Alman]	[Coprario]	C major	fehfh	{5}	C1
13	18	[Coranto]	[Anon.]	C major	fehfh	{8329}	C1
13v	19	[Alman]	[Ferrabosco]	F major	fehfh	{115}	C1
14v	20	[Coranto]	[Coprario]	C major	fehfh	{11}	C1
15	21	[Alman]	[Ferrabosco?]	F major	fehfh	{121}	C1
15v	22	[Alman]	[Coprario]	C major	fehfh	{6}	C1
16v	23	[Pavan]	[Anon.]	F minor	fehfh	{8330}	C1
17	[Unused]						
17v	24	[Galliard]	[Anon.]	F minor	fehfh	{8331}	C1
18v	25	[Alman]	[Coprario]	F major	fehfh	{4}	C1
19	[Unused]						
19v	[26] ⁷³	'Tom of Bedlam' ⁷⁴	[Anon.]	D minor	fhfhf	-	C2
19v-20	[27]	[Alman]	[Anon.]	D minor	fhfhf	{9407}	C2
20	[28]	[Alman]	[Anon.]	D minor	fhfhf	{9408}	C2
20v	[29]	[Jig]	[Anon.]	D minor	fhfhf	{9409}	C2
20v-21	[30]	'A Humor'	[Anon.]	D minor	fhfhf	{9410}	C2
21	[31]	[Grays Inn Mask]	[Anon.]	G minor	fhfhf ⁷⁵	{7981}	C2
21v- 42	[Unused folios]						
[Reversed end; folios are inv.]							
43v	[Unused] ⁷⁶						
42v-43	-	'Alman R Johnson to the stump by F P' ⁷⁷				-	C3

Both D.245-7 and MSS 531-2 are important sources for the lyra viol trios of Coprario and Ferrabosco, which undoubtedly influenced Lawes. Coprario has 11 surviving lyra viol trios, 3 fantasias and 8 almans. The fantasias are similar in style to his viol consort fantasias, with their consistently imitative textures; they are especially similar in style to his three-part viol consort pieces.⁷⁸ The fantasias are instrumentally conceived and highly idiomatic, with wide leaps, angular melodies, division passages and multiple stops. The dances are less idiomatic. They are stylised pieces, not intended to be danced. As with Lawes's trios, the almans have a highly imitative structure. The almans and fantasias frequently outline two polyphonic voices in one part, resulting in a contrapuntal texture of more than the three parts: also a feature of Lawes's trios. Typically, Coprario's trios have frequent dissonances used often for harmonic

⁷³ These six pieces are numbered 1 to 6 in the manuscript, but for ease of reference, the numbering has here been continued.

⁷⁴ Untitled in MS 532; title taken from MS 531.

⁷⁵ Listed as edfhf in *Index*.

⁷⁶ The lute piece was begun on this page but abandoned, presumably to avoid a page turn.

⁷⁷ MS 532 only.

⁷⁸ See also *Coprario: LV Trios*, p. viii.

colour. All 11 are found in D.245-7: only the dances in MSS 531-2. This may imply that the fantasias were composed after the dances and were not available to the MSS 531-2 copyist, or that they were simply not in the source from which he copied. However, MSS 531-2 consist of only dances, so perhaps the copyist was simply selective. The Coprario parts correspond closely in both sources, although they are not directly related. In six of the eight Coprario trios, MS 531 corresponds to D.245 and MS 532 to D.246; in [Alman] {8} MS 531 corresponds to D.246 and MS 532 to D.247. However, in [Alman] {4} MS 532 corresponds to D.246 for the first strain and to D.245 for the second (MS 531 corresponds to D.247). The exchange of strains among parts may simply have been a copyist's error, or it may suggest that [Alman] {4} was revised at some point; similar variants are found in some of Lawes's trios (see Ch. 4). Without further sources it is impossible to tell.

Ferrabosco's surviving lyra viol trio output is meagre, only two can be definitely attributed: the 'Fancie' and 'Pauin' printed in *Lessons*. A further four ({121}, {122}, {123} and {124}) are tentatively ascribed to Ferrabosco from their position in D.245-7.⁷⁹ All four are also found in MSS 531-2. (All of Ferrabosco's trios are transcribed in Volume 2: II.3.38-51.⁸⁰) As with Coprario, Ferrabosco's lyra viol trios are similar in style to his large-scale viol consort pieces; indeed, the printed fantasia is also found in a four-part version for viol consort. Ferrabosco's trios are idiomatic, with a wide range, frequent leaps and frequent use of multiple stops. Both Ferrabosco and Coprario appear to have conceived of the lyra viol trio as a trio of soloists; many of the parts are relatively complete harmonically and are certainly satisfying to play. In addition to the four pieces mentioned above, at least one more of the MSS 531-2 pieces can be definitely ascribed to Ferrabosco, and it is the most interesting piece in the manuscript. No. 19, [Alman] {115}, appears as a lyra viol duo in *Lessons* and in D.245-7 (see II.3.18);⁸¹ Merro must have copied the piece from the printed edition (or some related source), as both versions are identical. The first strain of the MSS 531-2 version is concordant with the printed version, although the chordal texture is distributed evenly (in solo lines) between the voices, resulting in fewer chords. Indeed, much of the third lyra viol part of the first strain can be reconstructed from the printed version (Examples 3.1a-c).

⁷⁹ See *Index*.

⁸⁰ Most are found in the MSS 531-2 sequence; the remaining two Ferrabosco trios follow this section in Volume 2.

⁸¹ Listed as a duo in *Index*.

Examples 3.1a-c. Ferrabosco, [Alman] {115}: Strain 1 variants**Example 3.1a. Strain 1, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-6 & *Lessons* (1609)**
Example 3.1b. Strain 1, GB-Och, Mus. MSS 531-2
Example 3.1c. Reconstruction of Strain 1 for 3 lyra viols

Thus, it seems that the alman existed as a lyra viol duo and trio. However, the second and third strains of the MSS 531-2 version are significantly different to the duo version. The strain lengths do not correspond. In the printed version the second and third strain have 11 and 9 semibreve bars respectively, whereas, in MSS 531-2 both strains have 15 semibreve bars.⁸² The second strain of MS 531 again begins with a scaled-down version of one of the duo parts (LV1), but after the first two bars quickly turns into a different piece. Stylistically, the MSS 531-2 version is typical of Ferrabosco and retains the overall character of the alman, although this version is less adventurous harmonically, generally avoiding the extended excursions to flat keys. Indeed the overall harmonic scheme is significantly altered between the two versions; e.g., the last strain of MSS 531-2 follows on from the end of the second by beginning in the dominant, whereas the duo version returns to the tonic. Two (related) questions arise. Does one of these sources revise the other? And, if so, which version came first? Ferrabosco is known to have revised several of his pieces and to have arranged them for other media. However, the entire recomposition of whole strains is not found among Ferrabosco's revisions: he was more likely to refine the contrapuntal detail or to expand or arrange the work.⁸³ Nonetheless, it is possible that he recomposed the second strain; certainly, examples exist by other composers.⁸⁴ It is unlikely that the copyist erroneously copied another piece mid-stream, especially considering the similarity of the first two bars of the second strain. He is also unlikely to have composed the second and third strains himself. He clearly had access to a sizable repertoire of trios by two of the best composers in the country; it would surely have been a vainglorious step to consider oneself up to the task of correcting Ferrabosco. Moreover, the other pieces for which concordances are known do not contain significant variants. Thus, it would seem safe to view the sources as revisions.

As with many of Lawes's revisions (see Ch. 4), it is impossible to say with any certainty which version came first; however, the evidence suggests that the MSS 531-2 version may predate the printed version. This would imply that the piece originated as a lyra viol trio (if this was not itself an arrangement) and that Ferrabosco arranged it as a duo for publication. This is plausible, given the other rearrangements made for *Lessons*,⁸⁵ indeed, musically the MSS 531-2 version seems less mature. There is little contrapuntal detail in MSS 531-2. The last two strains are quite homophonic, even allowing for the missing third part. Indeed, the texture is quite similar to the printed 'Fancie' for three lyra viols {201}. Warwick Edwards has noted that this is possibly one of Ferrabosco's earliest pieces because of the clearly sectional structure, and

⁸² 531 has one bar extra in the first strain, but this appears to have been the result of the erroneous duplication of bar 8 in 532.

⁸³ See Field, 'Workshop'.

⁸⁴ For example Lawes's 'Aire' {83} in C major: see *For ye Violls*, 96-98.

⁸⁵ See Field, 'Workshop'.

use of homophony rarely encountered in his music.⁸⁶ Generally, the MSS 531-2 version is musically less satisfying; the printed duo contains more harmonic interest. Last, the fact that the MSS 531-2 version is unique, may suggest that it was an early version superseded by the printed version. The two later concordances appear to have been derived from *Lessons*: both parts are in D.245-7 (probably copied in the 1630s), and LV2 is found in EIRE-Dm, Z3.4.13. Z3.4.13 is the sole surviving partbook of presumably a set of two or perhaps three, copied in several hands including Benjamin Rogers and George Jeffreys for use at Narcissus Marsh's music meetings held in Oxford from 1666-78.⁸⁷ Thus, it is possible that C1 had access to an early version of the Ferrabosco piece. Indeed, this may even help to date MSS 531-2 more accurately, perhaps to the first decade or so of the century; however, it is also possible that he copied the alman from an early source at a later time *c.* 1620.

In addition to the Ferrabosco and Coprario pieces, there are 18 unidentified anonymous pieces in MSS 531-2; 12 copied by C1, 6 by C2. Each of the anonymous pieces copied by C1 are of a high quality. They are mostly pavans, and all are of a similar style, in places reminiscent of the two Taylor almans in MSS 725-7 (see Ch. 4); indeed, Taylor is a likely candidate for many of the unattributed anonymous pieces copied by C1, although Orlando Gibbons is perhaps another possibility worth considering.⁸⁸ The anonymous pieces copied by C2 are of a different style to the earlier pieces in the manuscript (Volume 2 for examples), consisting of short dances and masque tunes. They include the (here untitled) 'The Standing Masque' from Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613), for which Coprario composed the music. The tune is also found in a treble and bass version in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, f. 45:1; for solo lute in GB-Mp, 832 Vu 51, p. 47:1 (ffhfh); and in for solo lute GB-Lbl, Add. MS 38539, f. 32v.⁸⁹ Add 38539, partially copied by the court lutenist John Sturt, dates from *c.* 1615-20. Much of the contents are by composers working for James I or Prince Henry.⁹⁰ Also included in this section is a setting of the ballad song 'Tom of Bedlam', another tune associated with *Gray's Inn Masque*, although the setting here bears no resemblance to the two settings associated with the masque. It has been suggested that Coprario composed the tune and that it later became the vehicle for the ballad text of 'Mad Tom o' Bedlam'.⁹¹ Composers such as Simon Ives (see Ch. 4) and Thomas Gregory also set the tune.

⁸⁶ Edwards is quoted in Field, 'Workshop', 5.

⁸⁷ See also Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishops Marsh's Library, Dublin', *RMARC*, 13 (1976), 27-63.

⁸⁸ A complete critical edition of the manuscript with an editorially reconstructed third part is in preparation by the current author.

⁸⁹ The MSS 531-2 version & the MS 38539 version are published in Andrew Sabol (ed.), *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence, RI, 1978), nos. 270 & 271.

⁹⁰ For more details on the manuscript see Spring, *Lute*; & *The M.L. Lute Book*, facs. with an introduction by Robert Spencer, *Musical Sources*, 25 (Clarabricken, 1985).

⁹¹ See Sabol, *Masque*, 583.

In conclusion: it seems that the lyra viol trio did not develop sufficiently well outside the court to nurture a sustained interest among amateurs. Although the publications of 1601 to 1615 were available to amateurs, it is unlikely that many of them would have been intended for amateur performers. Rather, the general vogue among amateurs was the solo lyra viol, which continued to be popular until the end of the century. There were practical reasons for this. It is unlikely that the average amateur would have had sufficient technical facility to perform many of the trios, or indeed duos, found in sources from the period. Many are of a moderate to difficult standard. Further, in the Hume publications the parts are often poorly set and in many instances do not fit together without some editing; this is especially true of *Poeticall Musicke*. A lack of sufficient viols to perform the ensembles may also have contributed to the apparent lack of demand for duos and trios amongst amateurs. However, the difficulties involved in keeping the ensemble in tune would presumably have been one of the most significant barriers. Despite this, the lyra viol trio appears to have remained relatively popular (although not widely so) into the Restoration period. The surviving sources are a meagre representation of what was evidently a highly considered and developed medium, popular at the English court for several decades. After the first generation of composers, the lyra viol trio continued to be explored by court composers such as Lawes and Taylor, as well as the composers associated with the court, such as Simon Ives and John Jenkins. It is of no surprise that Lawes composed lyra viol trios, given that Coprario had done so: Lawes's six surviving trios are the subject of the next chapter. They reveal a form that had not lost any of its initial vitality. It is only lamentable that more examples that are complete have not survived the passage of time.

-4-

**‘Let Them be Lusty, Smart-Speaking Viols’:
Lawes’s Music for Lyra Viol**

Music for lyra viol forms a significant part of William Lawes’s surviving repertoire. However, this music is understudied, presumably because the solo music is considered trivial and because much of the ensemble music is lost or survives incomplete. This chapter examines Lawes’s solo and ensemble lyra viol music, with a primary focus on his contribution to the lyra viol trio.

Ninety-three lyra viol pieces in seven tunings are attributed to Lawes.¹ Forty-three are solo pieces, one of which may be an incomplete duet: ‘Coranto’ {541}. (All of Lawes’s solo lyra viol pieces are transcribed in Volume 2: II.4.1-43.) The *Index* only lists 39 solo pieces, including arrangements of four of his consort pieces; it does not include the corant and two sarabands (in harp-way sharp tuning; defhf), on ff. 1-1v of Lawes’s autograph songbook, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432 (see Ch. 2).² The first saraband and the corant appear on the first folio of the songbook, with the second saraband on the verso side of the page, separated by a short canon (‘Tis Joy see’). Murray Lefkowitz concluded that the three pieces were ‘of no great significance’.³ Whilst musically this is true, they are the only solo lyra viol pieces surviving in Lawes’s hand. Written casually on the opening pages of his songbook, one imagines Lawes was able to throw off such tunes with ease. More interestingly however, all three pieces bear similarities to many of the lighter dance pieces Lawes composed for three lyra viols, most of which survive incomplete. Of the three, the first saraband is perhaps the most interesting as it contains written-out divisions. The divisions are technically undemanding, although the saraband should be played at a fast tempo. Whole strains with written-out divisions are uncommon in the lyra viol repertoire, notwithstanding the several printed instances by Playford in the four editions of *Musicks Recreation*, and Thomas Mace’s claim later in the century that

¹ A further eight anon. pieces from US-CAh, Mus. MS 70 are tentatively attributed to Lawes.

² These pieces have previously been noted by scholars: see Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 137; & *For ye Violls*, 26. A piece attributed to Lawes in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869 is listed under Simon Ives in the *Index*; it is included in Volume 2 for the sake of completeness: II.4.43.

³ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 137.

lyra viols ‘will serve likewise for *Division-Viols* very Properly’.⁴ The second saraband is significant: it is one of the few lyra viol pieces in Lawes’s hand to contain ornament signs.⁵ Ornaments, or ‘graces’ as they were generally known, are found in many lyra viol sources.⁶ Graces were played by both the left hand and by the bow, and were either fully written-out or indicated by signs. Unfortunately, the ornament signs were not codified and are rarely explained. The signs represent a dynamic tradition that was often idiosyncratic on a local level. In many sources, ornaments such as trills are often written-out in full in the tablature, presumably because improvisation in tablature is difficult for the less experienced player. Apart from the two signs in this piece the other autograph sources use only slurs, and dots to indicate a pizzicato ‘thump’; there are two large # signs in ‘Alman’ {570} (Mus. 70). Generally this sign (‘shake’) was used to indicate a trill, although its meaning in this instance is unclear. Lawes, like many of his contemporaries, contributed much to the solo lyra viol repertoire. Indeed, it is interesting to note that there are few holograph sources of solo lyra viol pieces, which is somewhat surprising; however, much of the solo repertoire was aimed at amateurs and was probably used for teaching, which may account for their loss.

The dearth of manuscript sources of lyra viol trios can give a misleading view of the popularity and dissemination of the genre in early Stuart England: for example, the relationship between the three sources of Lawes’s trios makes it clear that many other sources have simply not survived. In fact, our picture of the genre is likely to be sketchy, which is lamentable given the high quality of those trios that survive. Almost half of the 58 trios attributed to Lawes are in ‘eights’ (fhfhf) tuning. Six survive complete.⁷ They are in three sources: GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3, US-CAh, MS Mus. 70, and GB-Och, Mus. MSS 725-7. Of these, only MSS 725-7 is complete. II.B.3 and Mus. 70 are each one partbook of three. However limited these sources are they reveal a great deal about Lawes’s process of revision.

GB-Och, Mus. MSS 725-7

MSS 725-7 is one of the most important surviving lyra viol sources. It is transcribed in full in Volume 2: II.4.44-61. These three partbooks are the latest surviving complete source of lyra viol trios. In addition to the six Lawes trios (II.4.44-49), there are also two trios by Robert Taylor (II.4.50-51) and ten (incomplete) trios by Simon Ives (II.4.52-61). Originally bound in

⁴ Mace, *Musick’s Monument* (1676), 246.

⁵ The original tablature is reproduced in Chapter 2, Illustration 2.34c.

⁶ A useful study of lyra viol ornaments is Mary Cyr, ‘Ornamentation in English Lyra Viol Music, Part I: Slurs, Juts, Thumps, and Other “Graces” for the Bow’, *JVdGSA*, 34 (1997), 48-66; & ead., ‘Ornamentation in English Lyra Viol Music, Part II: Shakes, Relishes, Falls, and Other “Graces” for the Left Hand’, *JVdGSA*, 35 (1998), 16-34. See also Textual Commentary, Volume 2.

⁷ Some were published in Lefkowitz, *Lawes; William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, ed. Lefkowitz (MB, 21; London, 2/1971). The six complete trios have been published in *William Lawes: Lessons for Three Lyra Viols*, ed. Richard Carter & Johanna Valencia (Austria, 2006).

soft cardboard, the three books are now bound in a single volume, measuring *c.*280 x 190mm. All pages are uniformly ruled with eight six-line staves, and a ruled margin on either side. The music appears to have been copied after binding. The collation is difficult to determine from the modern binding, but it seems that each partbook was bound in at least two nested gatherings; a leaf was abstracted between current ff. 22 and 23 in MSS 725 and 727. The watermark of the ruled pages bears the typical features of marks from the 1630s as described by Robert Thompson (see Ch. 2).⁸ This watermark is not listed in Heawood or Churchill: nor is the watermark from the flyleaves (also a stylised pot with a decorative top), although it would appear to also date from between *c.*1620-55.⁹ Thompson has noted that this kind of paper is Norman. Such papers are commonly found in manuscripts up to the mid-1650s; however, they 'seem to have lacked the weight considered necessary for a music book of special quality'.¹⁰ Other important court-related sources also used this kind of paper: e.g. GB-Och, Mus. MSS 732-5 and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10338.¹¹

Table 4.1. GB-Och, Mus. MS 727, *Inventory*¹²

Folio	No.	Title	Attribution	Key	Tuning	VdGS
'Eights'						
1		[Unused] ¹³				
1v-2		'ffantasia first'	'W: Lawes'	G major	fhfhf	{567}
2		'Serabrand'	'W: Lawes'	D major	fhfhf	{569}
2v		'Pauin: first'	'W: Lawes'	D minor	fhfhf	{563}
3		'Almaine'	'W: Lawes' ¹⁴	D minor	fhfhf	{564}
3v-4		'fantasia. Second'	'Wj: Lawes'	D minor	fhfhf	{573}
4v		['Humour'] ¹⁵	'Wj: Lawes'	G major	fhfhf	{568}
5-6v		[Unused]				
'Fifts'						
7		'Almaine. first'	'M ^f Ro: Tayler'	A minor	ffhfh	{25}
7v		'2. Almaine'	'M ^f Ro: Taylor'	A minor	ffhfh	{26}
8-20v		[Unused]				
[Reversed end: folios are inv.]						
[MS 727 only]						
23v:1	2	'M ^{ns} Mary Brownes Choyce'	'Sy: Iue'	D major	fhfhf	{141}
23v:2	4	'Coranto'	'S:I:'	D major	fhfhf	{142}

⁸ *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 297.

⁹ See *ibid.* 297.

¹⁰ Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts: 1620-1645', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 144.

¹¹ See also Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Music: A New Date for his Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338', *ML*, 70 (1989), 317-41.

¹² The modern (pencil) foliation begins at '0' for what is actually f. 1: this inventory replaces 'f. 0' with 'f. 1'. Titles vary only slightly in spelling within the three books.

¹³ Incipit of 'fantasia first' in MSS 725.

¹⁴ 'Wj: Lawes' in MSS 725-6.

¹⁵ Title supplied from Mus. 70.

23:1	7	'M ^{ris} Colliers Choyce'	'S:I:'	D minor	fhfhf	{143}
23:2	8	'The Choyce'	'S:I:'	D minor	fhfhf	{144}
22v:1	10	'M ^{ris} Anne fforests Choyce'	'S:I:'	D major	fhfhf	{145}
22v:2	12	[Alman]	'S:I:'	D major	fhfhf	{146}
22:1	16	'The man in y ^c moone' ¹⁶	'S:I:'	D minor	fhfhf	{147}
22:2	32	'Si' Will Owens Choyce'	'S:I:'	D major	fhfhf	{148}
21v	36	[Alman]	'S:I:'	D minor	fhfhf	{149}
21	37	'All you for saken Louers'	'S:I:'	D minor	fhfhf	{150}

All titles, tempo indications and numberings appear to have been written by the copyist, who also wrote the inscription on the cover of each partbook: 'for 3 liero violls second p^{le}' (MS 726).¹⁷ Judging by the difference in the inks, the books were compiled in three stages. First, the Lawes pieces, which are all in the same black ink, then the Robert Taylor pieces, and then the Simon Ives pieces, which are written in a similar brown ink (suggesting a short chronological gap). The copyist began to copy the 'ffantasia first' on the first folio of MS 725, but abandoned this after almost one and a half staves completing the piece on the verso side of the page; the recto side of the first page is unused in MSS 726-7. The reason for this is unclear. Although the copyist was careful to avoid page turns throughout the manuscript, this was not the reason: the fantasia only occupies one page in each partbook. However, it may be that the source from which he copied was not the same size as MSS 725-7 and he may have estimated that a page turn might occur. None of the pieces contains ornament markings, except for a few slurs and some random signs in some of the Ives pieces. Tempo indications ('fast' and 'slowe') were added to the second Lawes 'ffantasia' {567}, and to the last strain of his 'Humour' {568}.

The copyist of MSS 725-7 is the same person as Pamela Willetts's 'Hand B' and Richard Charteris's 'Scribe A', who copied GB-Lbl, R.M.24.k.3, and parts of GB-T, MS 302 (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), GB-Lcm, MSS 1045-51, and MSS 732-5.¹⁸ Common scholarly consensus has underscored this attribution.¹⁹ The attribution seems safe enough,

¹⁶ A tune associated with *Gray's Inn Masque* (1613), the music for which is presumed to have been composed by Coprario.

¹⁷ The Harvester microfilm of the manuscript does not reproduce the covers, a significant omission as they provide further examples of the copyist's hand; cf. the cover of Mus. 70 (Ch. 2)

¹⁸ Willetts, 'John Barnard's Collections of Viol and Vocal Music', *Chelys*, 20 (1991), 28-42; Charteris, 'Autographs of John Coprario', *ML*, 56 (1975), 41-46. Neither uses MSS 725-7 as exemplars of the hand.

¹⁹ Christopher Field, 'Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 206-07(& n54); id., 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony', in Ashbee & Peter Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996), 12-13(& n31); Jonathan Wainwright, 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered: Christ Church, Oxford, Music Manuscripts 2, 397-408, and 436; 417-418 and 1080; and 432 and 612-613', in *John Jenkins*, 206-07(& n98).

although in the case of MSS 725-7 it hinges upon the titles and ascriptions rather than on the tablature. However, there has been some disagreement on the identity of the copyist. David Pinto has claimed that MSS 725-7 is holograph: 'this MS set appears to be in [Lawes's] own hand, comparable with the early work in the Shirley books (and in other possible occurrences); one can safely date them before 1635'.²⁰ He has also claimed that R.M.24.k.3, which contains the organ part to Coprario's fantasia-suites, is 'entirely in the youthful hand of Lawes, and [dates] from the mid-1620s'.²¹ Although there are similarities among the various signatures attributed to Lawes in MSS 725-7 (and GB-T, MS 302) and the autograph portions of the Shirley partbooks (and even to Lawes's later signature in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. B.2 and B.3), this would appear to be the only evidence of Lawes's (partial) authorship of all four manuscripts. However, although many of the signatures in MSS 725-7 are strikingly similar to Lawes's, they are more likely to be imitative than authentic. Indeed, there are several significant differences between the Shirley partbooks and MSS 725-7, such as the formation of individual quavers. Several other features suggest that MSS 725-7 is not holograph. There is a distinctive sign on f. 22v (inv.) of MS 727 that appears to represent held or tied notes: e.g. see the first bar of Illustration 4.2. This sign – \int – is found throughout other sources by this copyist, such as R.M.24.k.3 (e.g. f. 12v), but is not found in any of Lawes's autographs. The upwards turn of the fermatas is not characteristic of Lawes's hand, but it is a consistently observable feature of this copyist's hand. Unlike the MSS 725-7 copyist, Lawes rarely uses superscript: this is most evident in the titles of the Ives pieces (MS 727). Most importantly, the tablature in MSS 725-7 is quite different to Lawes's known examples: Mus. 70, the lute suite in B.2, and the solo lute pieces in MS 31432. In these Lawes's tablature is broadly consistent, although they appear to have been written over a period of almost a decade (see Ch. 2). Nevertheless, many traits are consistently observable, such as the looped tails on the letters 'b', 'd', 'g' and 'h'. Such looped tails are only formed in the letter 'b' of MSS 725-7; here too, the 'g' is formed as a modern 'y' topped by a horizontal line (cf. Illustrations 4.1, 4.2, and the tablature examples in Chapter 2: Illustrations 2.34a-c). It seems unlikely that this was another aspect of Lawes's 'consistent inconsistency' described in Chapter 2. MSS 725-7 and Mus. 70 appear to have been copied for a similar purpose: playing parts or fair copies for dissemination. Thus, it would be unlikely that Lawes's tablature hand would have changed so dramatically for the same type of copying, even if several years separated the two manuscripts (which is unlikely).

²⁰ *For ye Violls*, 27. See also Pinto, 'Lawes, William', *NGD*, xiv. 396-407; id., 'William Lawes' Music for Viol Consort', *EM*, 6 (1978), 22(n15).

²¹ *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. Pinto (MB, 60; London, 1991), xvi.

Illustration 4.1. GB-Och Mus. MS 725, f. 4 (detail)

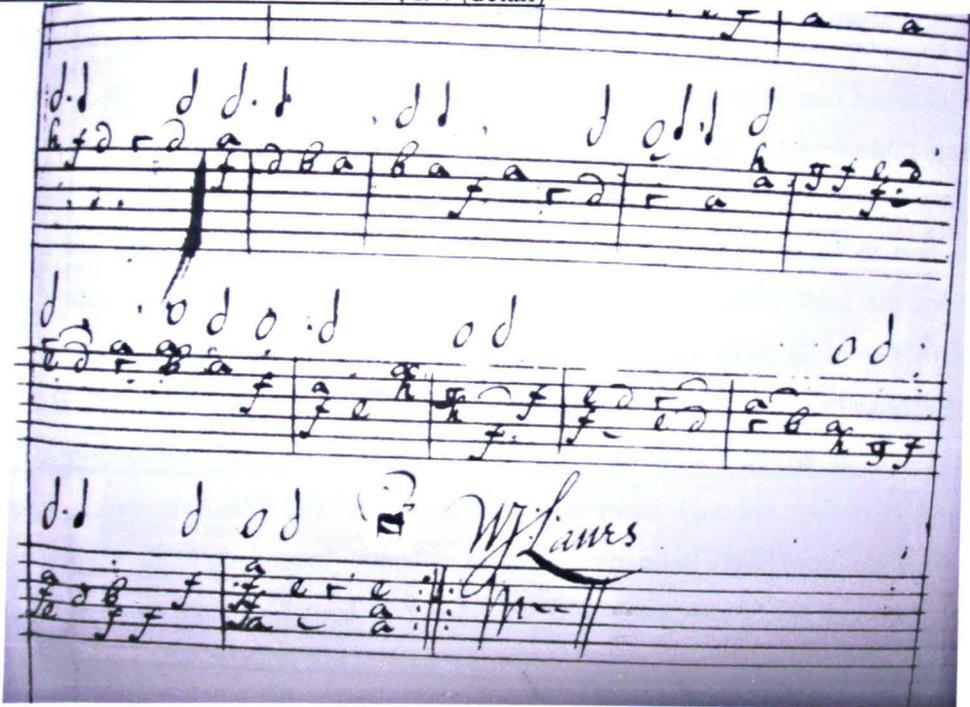


Illustration 4.2. GB-Och Mus. MS 727, f. 22v (inv.) (detail)

A photograph of a detail from a handwritten musical manuscript, oriented upside down. It consists of four staves of music. The notation is primarily rhythmic, using vertical stems with various flags and beams. Some notes are written as 'd' or 'o'. There are some letters and symbols interspersed with the notes. At the bottom of the third staff, there is a handwritten note: "3 parts Ave O. Foresto Choro S. J. f.". The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper.

Willetts established (largely through MS 302) that ‘Hand B’ was associated with John Barnard, a minor canon of St Paul’s Cathedral. Thus, she reasonably assumed that the copyist was associated with the musical establishment of St Paul’s, plausibly suggesting John Tomkins (1586-1638), of the family of court musicians, as a candidate.²² John’s many familial court

²² See Willetts, ‘Barnard’. In a private correspondence (12 June 2006) David Pinto has expressed doubts on the identification of Tomkins as the copyist, arguing that Tomkins was almost two decades older than

connections strengthened the suggestion. For example, he could have gained access to the Lawes lra viol trios through Henry Lawes, with whom he served in the Chapel Royal from 1626. Henry Lawes also served with Robert Taylor, and Giles and Robert Tomkins, in the LVV from January 1630/1. Both Tomkins and Ives had strong connections to St Paul's, also William Lawes wrote 'An Elegie on the death of his very worthy Friend and Fellow-servant, Mr. *John Tomkins*, Organist of his Majesties Chappell Royall', who died on 27 September: published posthumously in *Choice Psalmes*.²³ Lawes composed this fine piece in score in B.2, where it is titled 'A 3. Voc: In the Memory of my friend John Tomkins' (Illustration 4.3).²⁴

Illustration 4.3. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B 2, p. 101



Lawes and that his appointment to the Chapel Royal should not be taken as evidence of a connection with the LVV. I am grateful to David Pinto for sharing his observations.

²³ No. [xxxix].

²⁴ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 101.

Whether or not the copyist of MSS 725-7 can be identified, it seems likely that MSS 725-7 was compiled before Lawes's royal appointment in 1635. This is supported by the ascriptions in the manuscript. Of the three composers, only Robert Taylor is given the honorific title of 'M'. This could be a reflection of his status as an established court musician, compared to Ives the city musician, the up and coming William Lawes. It seems that the Lawes trios were selected from a larger, unknown, perhaps similar to Mus. 70; five of them have one part concordant in the first autograph sequence of Mus. 70: 'fantasie. Second' is unique to MSS 725-7. The rather random assemblage of the pieces in MSS 725-7 suggests selection from a larger source, although the six Lawes pieces are arranged by tuning, they are not all grouped by key. Moreover, the pieces are not arranged as a suite, although the some of the titles ('ffantasia first', 'Pauin: first' and 'fantasie. Second') suggest that they once were. Similar titles are found in R.M.24.k.3, where the first sett of Coprario's fantasia-suites are titled as 'ffantasia first' etc. Even the sequence of three D minor pieces does not follow any coherent suite pattern; the sequence runs quite randomly from a pavan to an alman to a fantasia.

This random pattern adds further weight against the supposition that MSS 725-7 is holograph. Lawes was perhaps the driving force behind the development of the Baroque suite in England (see Ch. 5): if he compiled the manuscript (even at an early stage), one would expect some suite organisation or at least tonal organisation. For example, although the autograph portions of Mus. 70 are not all arranged into coherent suites, the pieces are arranged first by tuning and then by key. The two Taylor pieces are titled similarly to the Lawes pieces: 'Almaine first' and '2 Almaine', and were probably also selected from a larger source. Indeed, Lawes did not use this variant spelling of alman – he preferred 'alman' or 'almane' – although it is a consistent feature of this copyist.

Taylor, a composer of sacred and secular music, was a London Wait from 1620, and a member of the LVV from 1625 until his death in 1637 (see Ch. 1). His surviving output is likely to be a meagre representation of what he composed.²⁵ Apart from his *Sacred Hymns* (1615), mostly pieces for solo bass and lyra viol survive. The two trios attributed to Taylor in MSS 725-7 show a composer of quality, and are important as some of the few complete trios. Both pieces are well composed. The first alman is also found in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31423. This consort version is in G minor and only the treble and bass were copied; a third part is recoverable from the lyra viol version. Presumably the piece originated as a consort piece and was later arranged for lyra viols; however, it is unusual to find lyra viol arrangements for the same number of instruments as the original. Much of Taylor's writing is idiomatic and requires some technical facility in performance. Stylistically, both pieces probably date from the first quarter of the century, perhaps around the time of *Sacred Hymns*. The imitative entries provide a structural

²⁵ See *Index*.

background for both of the almans, but they are at times quite subtle. The interplay between the three parts shows that Taylor conceived of lyra viol trios in much the same manner as Coprario, Ferrabosco, and Lawes, i.e. almost as three solo instruments, with frequent crossing of the parts: unison writing (between the parts) is rarely used, except at cadential points. Taylor introduces variety between the strains and much of the music is carried through short imitative motifs. Harmonically, the pieces are quite diatonic and most of the modulations are smooth; there is even a madrigalian shift from an E major to a C major chord (e.g. II.4.51, bar 10). The second piece is more effective than the first. The phrases are well balanced, the harmonies clear, and the sequential motif in the tripla strain works well, although the piece gets a little stuck at the opening of the second strain. The closing triple-time strain is derived from the idiom of masque almans and is more commonly found in dances from the first quarter of the century. It seems probable that many other pieces for lyra viol trio were composed by Taylor, but have not survived. To what extent he influenced Lawes is difficult to determine. He (and Coprario and Ferrabosco) uses multiple stops much more frequently than Lawes does; indeed, in terms of style the two Taylor pieces are closer to the lyra viol trios of Coprario than of Lawes.

The suggestion that the pieces in MSS 725-7 were selected from a larger source is most clearly demonstrated by the Ives pieces. At the end of MS 727 there is a series of ten pieces by Ives in eights tuning. The title of the first piece runs as follows: 'M^{rs} Mary Brownes Choyce by Sy: Iue · for 3 lyros; the other parts ar in the 2 violl bookes'.²⁶ The other partbooks are lost; they are unlikely to refer to MSS 725 and 726, as the sentence implies that that the parts were already copied. It is clear from the numbering that the copyist took a selection from a larger collection containing at least 37 pieces. Whether this larger collection also contained the pieces by Lawes and Taylor is impossible to tell; however, the Ives pieces do seem to be of a rather different style than those by Lawes and Taylor, and the system of numbering is different. The titles of the Ives pieces suggest that at least some of these pieces were connected to masques or other such entertainments (Table 4.1). Fortunately, six of the trios can be fully reconstructed from other sources, and one other part has been identified for the remaining pieces, facilitating an editorial reconstruction of the third part (see II 4.52-61).²⁷ The concordant parts are found in two main sources: EIRE-Dm, MS Z3.4.13, and GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7.²⁸ The last Ives piece, 'All you for saken Louers', is especially interesting. It has been identified as a song attributed to Ferrabosco in GB-Cfm, MS 52 D 25 (A.L.1), and is also found among a series of anonymous lyra viol pieces in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.221, which has been attributed (by their position in a series of his pieces) to Thomas Gregorie. Little is known of Gregorie, and no connection

²⁶ MSS 727, f. 23v (inv.).

²⁷ These concordances were identified by Peter Holman; I am grateful to Prof. Holman for bringing them to my attention.

²⁸ For other concordances see Volume 2, Textual Commentary.

can be established to the family of court musicians.²⁹ ‘The man in y^e moone’ a setting of a tune associated with the *Gray’s Inn Masque* (1613), presumed to have been composed by Coprario.³⁰ It is also similar to the broadside ballad tune ‘Old Tom O’Bedlam’. Two other arrangements of the tune are attributed to Ives: treble only, in staff notation in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, ff. 43v-44, and for solo lute in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 38539, f. 29 (John Sturt’s book).³¹ Gregory also set the tune, and there is an anonymous setting in GB-Och, Mus. MSS 531-2 (see Ch. 3). From a preliminary examination, there appears to be some overlap between Ives’s lyra viol music and his consort music. He apparently rearranged many of his pieces, and those by other composers. He also composed – or arranged – many lyra viol trios.³²

Anthony Wood recalled Lawes as an ‘improver and approver of the Lyra-viol’, which is readily apparent from the six complete trios.³³ These trios are probably the latest complete examples of the genre. Fortunately, they cover a variety of forms. There are two fantasias, a pavan, a saraband, an alman, and a piece called a ‘Humour’. A brief survey of these pieces will be useful at this point.

Both fantasias are in a similar style. ‘fantasie. Second’ {573} is unique to MSS 725-7 (II.4.48). In its variety and incorporation of dance rhythms, it is reminiscent of many of Lawes’s large-scale fantasias for five or six viols and organ. The inclusion of a triple-time section in a fantasia was rare for Lawes and perhaps shows the influence of Thomas Lupo’s fantasia-airs or Coprario’s fantasia-suites. Lawes included a triple-time section in only one other fantasia: ‘Fantazia’ {135} in D major for violin, bass viol and organ (see Ch. 5). Although both lyra viol fantasias are relatively early works (probably dating to the early to mid-1630s), they show a remarkable compositional maturity and are at times highly idiomatic. The other fantasia (II.4.44), ‘ffantasie first’ {567}, is stylistically similar to the first, but lacks many of the dance elements. Perhaps one of the most interesting features of this piece is the tempo indications given in the last strain, but do not appear in the concordant part in Mus. 70, perhaps suggesting that they do not come from Lawes, although they do work well. Alternatively, the directions may have been thought of at a later point; for the sake of completeness, they are included in the transcription. The alman is a wonderfully worked piece (II.4.47). It was clearly designed as an ensemble instrumental piece; the highly imitative sections and the asymmetrical design demonstrate its separation from the dance floor. Again, the interaction of the parts, which are treated almost as three solo instruments, reveals a composer at home in this idiom. The imitative

²⁹ See, Traficante, ‘Gregory, Thomas’, *NGD*, x. 375-76.

³⁰ Andrew Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence, RI, 1978), 583.

³¹ The tune has also been set by Gregorie: see *Index*.

³² See *Index*.

³³ Quoted in H. Watkins Shaw, ‘Extracts from Anthony a Wood’s “Notes on the Lives of Musicians,” Hitherto Unpublished’, *ML*, 15 (1934), 160. See also J. D. Shute, ‘Anthony a Wood and his Manuscript Wood D 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford’, Ph.D. diss. (International Institute of Advanced Studies, Clayton, Mo., 1979).

opening and the tutti quaver passage are reminiscent of Taylor's 'Almaine' {26}. However, Lawes's 'tutti' passage is short and effectively worked into the composition, gradually building throughout the second strain, whereas Taylor's passage is longer and used purely for effect (*cf.* II.4.51). The 'Serabrand' is typical of many of Lawes's two-strain sarabands. The first strain is shorter than the second, with its clearly articulated rhythms and symmetrical structure: this could have come straight from the dance floor (II.4.45). The pavan is typical of many of Lawes's consort pavans (II.4.46). The strains are symmetrical, and replete with imitative entries. Again, the writing is idiomatic, but the pavan is not as musically convincing as the fantasias.

US-CAh, MS Mus. 70

Mus. 70 is an incomplete, partial holograph, source for 26 lyra viol trios (see Ch. 2); it is transcribed in full in Volume 2: II.4.62-87. I have argued in Chapter 2 that the autograph portion was copied in two phases in the early 1630s. The two copying stages are significant for the manuscript's concordances. All of the MSS 725-7 concordances are found in the first autograph portion, whereas the II.B.3 concordances are found in the second. The relationship between Mus. 70 and the other two surviving sources for Lawes's lyra viol trios is complex, and has not yet been fully examined. Four of the five individual parts common to MSS 725-7 and Mus. 70 concord closely and correspond to the same partbook: 'Pauin' {563}, 'Almaine' {564}, 'ffantasia' {567} and 'Serabrand' {569} all concord with MS 726 (LV2 of the transcription).³⁴ However, 'Humour' {568} is (mostly) concordant with the part in MS 727 (LV3). In the first four pieces, there are occasional discrepancies between the sources, such as notes omitted from or added to chords and occasional rhythmic differences, but overall the differences are slight and do not present major problems to the editor. The case of 'Humour' {568} is different (II.4.49). Again, there are the usual minor variants between the two sources; however from the end of tripla section (bars 21-33), Mus. 70 gives a different ending to that in MS 727 (Examples 4.1a-d). The first three and a half bars of MSS 725 are given in twice the values in Mus. 70 (i.e. quavers are now crotchets): (A). The next two and a half bars of MSS 727 are then given as half the speed in Mus. 70: (B). The next bar (i.e. bar 30 of MSS 727 and bar 29 of Mus. 70) is similar in both sources, with rhythmic variation: (C). Lawes then gives a different ending, with some melodic resemblances to the MSS 727 version. However, this is actually a version of the MSS 726 part (i.e. LV2), with similar rhythmic alterations: (D). The first bar of the (D) section in MSS 726 is given at half the speed in Mus. 70, with the last two bars given as the same.

³⁴ See Volume 2, Textual Commentary.

Example 4.1a. Lawes, 'Humour' {568}: ending from GB-Och, Mus. MS 727

Musical score for Example 4.1a, showing two staves of music. The first staff contains sections (A) and (B), and the second staff contains section (C). The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature.

Example 4.1b. Lawes, 'Humour' {568}: ending from US-CAh, MS Mus. 70

Musical score for Example 4.1b, showing two staves of music. The first staff contains sections (A) and (B), and the second staff contains sections (C) and (D). The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature.

Example 4.1c. Lawes, 'Humour' {568}: ending from GB-Och, Mus. MS 726

Musical score for Example 4.1c, showing two staves of music. The first staff contains the main melody, and the second staff contains section (D). The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature.

These revisions roughly coincide with the tempo directions given in MSS 725-7.³⁵ The direction to 'slowe' coincides with the first double-time section (A). The direction 'fast' coincides with the half-time section (B); however, the (C) section does not fit with the tempo directions. The final double-time section (D) also roughly coincides with the 'slowe' direction. Despite the close relation between the revisions and the tempo directions, the revisions are not simply written-out versions of the directions, although the revisions may have come about from performance, notated in words in MSS 725-7.

Example 4.1d. Lawes, 'Humour' {568}: ending from GB-Och, Mus. MSS 725-7

Musical score for Example 4.1d, showing three staves of music. The first staff has a 'Slowe' direction above it. The second staff has 'Slowe' and 'Fast' directions above it. The third staff has '[Slowe]' and 'Fast' directions above it. A measure number '25' is written above the second staff. The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature.

³⁵ The 'slowe' directions are omitted from MS 727.

The evidence suggests that one of these sources contains a revised version of the other. Whereas it is difficult to say with certainty which source contains the revision, it seems likely that MSS 725-7 was copied from a later and revised version of the first portion of Mus. 70. This is based on several pieces of evidence. The first autograph portion of Mus. 70, which contains the 'Humour', is written in an early Lawes hand and is likely to predate the copying of MSS 725-7, perhaps by several years. Moreover, on purely musical grounds, the shorter version seems likely to be the revision. In Mus. 70 the (implied) harmony gets a little stuck on the dominant in the last five or six bars before the final cadence. The MSS 725-7 version shortens the piece by six minim beats (or three bars), and whilst much the same harmony is retained, the version in MSS 725-7 is slightly more direct and the emphasis on the (dominant) A major chord used to greater harmonic effect. The revision of the 'Humour' was essentially rhythmic (although it had significant harmonic implications), and involved a partial amalgamation of two of the original parts. Thus, the last strain of the original version of the 'Humour' in Mus. 70 and its companion books must have been substantially revised. One can imagine that such a revision had somewhat radical melodic implications for (part of) the piece, suggested by the partial amalgamation of two of the parts. The simple swapping of parts within a lute or viola da gamba trio would be a somewhat thankless task, having no audible effect given that each part operated as an equal. It would have had implications for the players, but is unlikely to have been done to make one or more parts easier to perform, as the amalgams make little difference to level of difficulty. The amalgamation of parts implies a radical melodic overhaul of the part that has been supplemented by the amalgam; indeed, a similar revision technique, amalgamating lines, can be observed when the concordances between Mus. 70 and II.B.3 are examined.

GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3

II.B.3 is one of the most tantalising lute or viola da gamba manuscripts; the anonymous pieces and the Lawes pieces are transcribed in Volume 2: II.4.88-137. Measuring c.184 x 228mm, the manuscript is bound in hard leather with the inscription 'TERTIVS' on the cover; it is the only one of the three books to survive.³⁶ The collation is difficult to determine due to the tightness of the

³⁶ The manuscript has been recently restored. I am grateful to Jeanne Dolmetsch for allowing me to view and to photograph the manuscript and for her help during several visits there.

binding. There are at least five nested gatherings, containing 212 leaves, numbered 205-416. Several leaves were abstracted from the manuscript after binding, but before the pages were numbered: one after pp. 282 and 328, and two after p. 368. Each page is uniformly ruled in six staves with a margin on either side. The watermarks are difficult to identify, as none appear complete. Three separate marks can be distinguished in the ruled pages, each sharing many similarities with Heawood 660, which appears to date to the c.1640s. Two of the marks (e.g. pp. 413 and 241 respectively) contain the name of the papermaker; however, the letters are difficult to determine, and identification has proved impossible. No watermarks are identifiable from the flyleaves.

The tablature was written in three hands, and the bulk of the manuscript appears to have been compiled in a relatively short space of time. The ascriptions are to be in at least two hands, and appear to have been written by the copyists of the tablature. John Cawse (1779-1862) wrote the notes on inside cover and on the flyleaves (Illustration 4.4) and some notes throughout the manuscript. The inside cover reads:³⁷

The Gift of Mr John Webb.
July the 18th – 1828 – to
JCawse

The flyleaf opposite is inscribed:

Corantos, Sarabands, Fantazias,
Almaynes, Pauins, Thumps, &
Airs, by John Jenkins, Will^m. Lawes,
and Symon Ives. all Set for the
Viola da Gamba
or
Bass Viol
in
Tablature Notation.

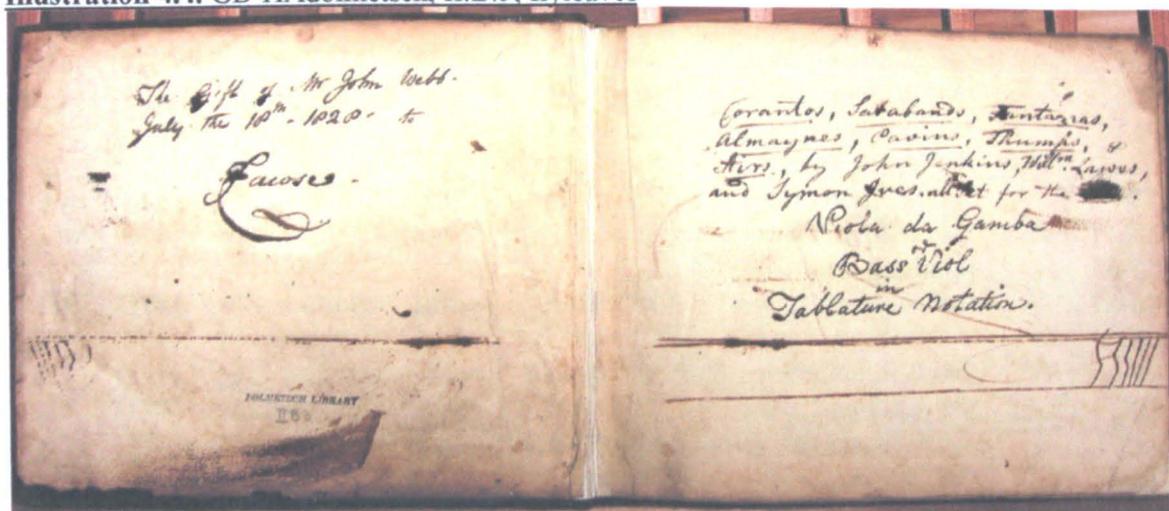
Cawse was a painter, picture restorer, book illustrator and viol player; he clearly understood what the manuscript was, although it is doubtful that he realized that it was one book of three. It is not clear when the two companion books became separated from II.B.3, it is likely to have happened before Cawse acquired it: none of his annotations indicate that it was one of a set. Cawse was evidently given II.B.3 by a John Webb. This may have been the poet, antiquary and clergyman (1776-1869), Rector of Tretire with Michaelchurch in Herefordshire.³⁸ It is not known when or how Dolmetsch acquired the manuscript, although it is likely that he did so in Oxford in the 1890s.³⁹

³⁷ Identified as that of Cawse by Peter Holman in private correspondence; I am grateful to Prof. Holman also for providing biographical information on Cawse & John Webb, and on the provenance of II.B.3. See also Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (forthcoming).

³⁸ Holman, *Life after Death*, W. W. Webb, rev. Brian Frith, 'John Webb (1776-1869)', *DNB*, lvii. 841-42.

³⁹ I am grateful to Jeanne Dolmetsch for her advice on this point.

Illustration 4.4. GB-HAdolmetsch, II.B.3, flyleaves



There are 101 pieces in the volume: 13 anonymous, 37 by Lawes, 36 by Jenkins, and 15 by Ives. Unlike the rest of the pieces in the volume, the anonymous pieces are neither titled nor attributed. The manuscript is arranged by tuning in the order: fhfhf (eights), edfhf (harp-way flat) and one piece in edfhh, defhf (harp-way sharp), dehfh (high harp-way sharp), and then edfhf again. This results in groups of pieces largely in the same key or in parallel major/minor pairs. Only in the initial anonymous pieces are the pieces not coherently arranged into suites via keys. Within the tuning sequences, the pieces are arranged by composer.

Table 4.2. GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3, *Inventory*

Entries listed in bold font indicate pages where a tuning legend is given. The 'Hand' column refers only to the copyist of the tablature.

Page	Composer	Title	Tuning	Key	VdGS	Hand
[205]	[Anon.]	[Pavan]	fhfhf	D minor	{9418}	C1
206-07	[Anon.]	[Fantazia]	fhfhf	D minor	{9419}	C1
208	[Anon.]	[Pavan]	fhfhf	D minor	{9420}	C1
209	[Anon.]	[Alman]	fhfhf	D minor	{9421}	C1
210	[Anon.]	[Corant]	fhfhf	D minor	{9422}	C1
211	[Anon.]	[Saraband]	fhfhf	D major	{9423}	C1
212-13	[Anon.]	[Fantazia]	fhfhf	D minor	{9424}	C1
214	[Anon.]	[Pavan]	fhfhf	D minor	{9425}	C1
215	[Anon.]	[Alman]	fhfhf	D major/minor	{9426}	C1
216	[Anon.]	[Corant]	fhfhf	G major	{9427}	C1
217	[Anon.]	[Pavan]	fhfhf	D major	{9428}	C1
218-19	[Anon.]	[Fantazia]	fhfhf	D minor	{9429}	C1
220	[Anon.]	[Alman]	fhfhf	D minor/major	{9430}	C1
221	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Ayre' ⁴⁰	fhfhf	D minor	{443}	C2
222	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Ayre' ⁴¹	fhfhf	D minor	{444}	C2

⁴⁰ Alman.

⁴¹ Alman.

223	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Allmayne'	fhfhf	D minor	{445}	C2
224-48	[Unused]					
249	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Pauen'	fhfhf	D minor	{574}	C2
250	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre' ⁴²	fhfhf	D minor	{575}	C2
251	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre' ⁴³	fhfhf	D minor	{576}	C2
252	'M ^r Will Lawes'	'An Allmayne'	fhfhf	D major	{577}	C2
253	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Allmayne'	fhfhf	D major	{578}	C2
254	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	fhfhf	D major	{579}	C2
255-65	[Unused]					
266-67	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Pauine' ⁴⁴	edfhf	G minor	{471}	C2
268	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An ayre'	edfhf	G minor	{472}	C2
269	'M ^r William Lawes'	'Allmayne'	edfhf	G minor	{473}	C2
270	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	G minor	{474}	C2
271	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A saraband'	edfhf	G minor	{475}	C2
272-73	'M ^r William Lawes'	'ffantazia'	edfhf	G minor	{476}	C2
274	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	edfhf	G minor	{477}	C2
275	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	edfhf	G minor	{478}	C2
276	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Allmayne'	edfhf	G minor	{479}	C2
277	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Corant'	edfhf	G minor	{480}	C2
278	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A saraband'	edfhf	G minor	{481}	C2
279-85	[Unused]					
286 (inv.)	[headed 'M ^{rs} Walker her Book' – volume was closed before the ink dried]					
287-88	[Unused]					
289	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'Allmayn'	edfhf	G minor	{255}	C2
290	'M ^r Jo Jenkins'	'An allmayne'	edfhf	G minor	{256}	C2
291:1	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'Coranto'	edfhf	G minor	{257}	C2
291:2	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A saraband'	edfhf	G minor	-	C2
292	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A saraband'	edfhf	G minor	{258}	C2
293	[Unused]					
294-95	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Pauin' ⁴⁵	edfhh	G minor	{259}	C2
296	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Allmayne'	edfhf	G minor	{260}	C2
297	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	G minor	{261}	C2
298-309	[Unused]					
310-11	'M ^r Simon Iues'	'A Pauin'	edfhf	G minor	{90}	C2
312	'M ^r Simon Iues'	'An Allmayne'	edfhf	G minor	{91}	C2
313	'M ^r Sy: Ive'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	G minor	{92}	C2
314	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'A saraband'	edfhf	G minor	{93}	C2
315	[Unused]					
316-17	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'ffantazia'	edfhf	G minor	{94}	C2
318	'M ^r Symone Ive'	'An Allmayne'	edfhf	G minor	{95}	C2
319	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'An Ayre'	edfhf	G minor	{96}	C2
320	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	G minor	{97}	C2
321-29	[Unused]					
330-31	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Pauin'	defhf	G major	{441}	C2
332	'M ^r M ^r William Lawes'	'An Allmayne'	defhf	G major	{442}	C2
333	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{443}	C2
334	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A saraband'	defhf	G major	{444}	C2
335	[Unused]					
336-37	'M ^r William Lawes'	'ffantazia'	defhf	G major	{445}	C2

⁴² Alman.

⁴³ Corant.

⁴⁴ Note in Cawse's hand: 'This tuning is in Maces Musics/Monument Page 259 – for the Viol./& is called Harp way tuning sharp'.

⁴⁵ 'Sett downe the first string a note [i.e. a tone]' is written in a different hand (not Cawse) after the piece.

338	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	defhf	G major	{446}	C2
339	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{447}	C2
340	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	defhf	G major	{448}	C2
341	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	defhf	G major	{449}	C2
342	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Allmayne'	defhf	G major	{450}	C2
343	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{451}	C2
344-45	[Unused]					
346-47	'M^r John Jenkins'	'An Ayre'	defhf	G major	{210}	C2
348	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Allmayne'	defhf	G major	{211}	C2
349	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{212}	C2
350	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{213}	C2
351	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{214}	C2
352	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Saraband'	defhf	G major	{215}	C2
353	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{216}	C2
354	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Allmayn'	defhf	G major	{217}	C2
355-56	[Unused]					
357	'M^r Symon Ive'	'An Allmayne'	defhf	G major	{65}	C2
358	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{66}	C2
359	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'An Allmayne'	defhf	G major	{67}	C2
360	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'A Coranto'	defhf	G major	{68}	C2
361	[Unused]					
362-63	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'ffantazia'	defhf	G major	{69}	C2
364:1	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'An Ayre'	defhf	G major	{70}	C2
364:2	'M ^r Symon Ive'	'A Saraband'	defhf	G major	{71}	C2
365-73	[Unused]					
374-75	'M^r William Lawes'	'A Pauin'	fdefh	D minor	{521}	C2
376-77	'M ^r William Lawes'	'ffantazia'	fdefh	D minor	{524}	C2
378	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	fdefh	D minor	{525}	C2
379	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Coranto'	fdefh	D minor	{526}	C2
380	[Unused]					
381	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Thumpe'	fedfh	D minor	{527}	C2
382-83	'M^r William Lawes'	'ffantazia'	fdefh	D major	{496}	C2
384	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Pauin'	fdefh	D major	{497}	C2
385	'M ^r William Lawes'	'An Ayre'	fdefh	D major	{498}	C2
386	'M ^r William Lawes'	'A Thumph'	fdefh	D major	{499}	C2
387-89	[Unused]					
390-91	'M^r John Jenkins	'A Pauin'	dehfh	C major	{291}	C2
392	'M ^r John Jenkins	'An Allmayn'	dehfh	C major	{292}	C2
393	[Unused]					
394-95	'M^r John Jenkins'	'A Pauin'	edfhf	C minor	{271}	C2
396	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Ayre'	edfhf	C minor	{272}	C2
397	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	C minor	{273}	C2
398	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Ayre'	edfhf	C minor	{274}	C2
399	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	C minor	{275}	C2
400	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Saraband'	edfhf	C minor	{276}	C2
401	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'An Allmayn'	edfhf	C minor	{277}	C2
402	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	C minor	{278}	C2
403	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Coranto'	edfhf	C minor	{279}	C2
404-05	'M ^r John Jenkins'	'A Humor'	edfhf	C minor	{280}	C2
406	[Unused]					
407	'M ^r Jo: Jenkins'	'Alman'	edfhf	C minor	{281}	C3
408:1	'M ^r Jo: Jenkins'	'Corant'	edfhf	C minor	{282}	C3
408:2	'M ^r Jo: Jenkins'	'Corant'	edfhf	C minor	{283}	C3
409	'M ^r Jo: Jenkins'	'Aire'	edfhf	C minor	{284}	C3
410	'M ^r Jo: Jenkins'	'Corant'	edfhf	C minor	{285}	C3

411
412-16'M^r Jo: Jenkins'
[Unused]

'Saraband'

edfhf C minor

{286} C3

Illustration 4.5a. GB-HAdolmetsch, II.B.3, pp. 220-21: Copyist 1



Illustration 4.5b. GB-HAdolmetsch, II.B.3, pp. 294-95: Copyist 2



Illustration 4.5c. GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.3, pp. 408-09: Copyist 3



Copyist 1 (C1) copied the initial group of anonymous pieces; these are followed by a second hand, Copyist 2 (C2). A third copyist (C3) added the six Jenkins pieces on pp. 407-11. C2 copied the bulk of the manuscript and wrote the titles and inscriptions, which all follow the same format (C3 uses a similar format), e.g. 'ffantazia by mr William Lawes'. Usually C2 does not use abbreviations – unlike C3, who abbreviates John to 'Jo:' – except in the case of the Ives pieces. C2 is consistent in spelling 'John Jenkins' and 'William Lawes', but uses various forms of Simon Ives' name; he also uses various forms of 'Allmayne'. The page numbers were not written by either C1 or C2, although they appear to be roughly contemporary, perhaps written by Cawse. Cawse wrote the following note on p. 267: 'This tuning is in Maces Musics/Monument Page 259 – for the Viol./& is called Harp way tuning sharp'. This is written after the piece beside the tuning key (written by C2). In addition, an unidentified hand (Hand 2) – perhaps that of Webb – wrote an instruction on p. 295 to 'Sett downe the first string a note'. Thus, this piece is in an edfhh tuning in the middle of a section of pieces in edfhf; however, all are in G minor. The same hand (Hand 2) also appears to have added the 'fast' and 'slow' tempo instructions to the Jenkins piece on p. 297.

Tuning legends are given at the end of the first piece of each tuning section, these are pp. 267, 331, 347, 357, 375, 383, 391, and 395; they are all listed 'The Tuninge' except p. 357, which is spelt 'The Tuning'. The tuning legends (and caption) were written by C2. Only the pieces in eights at the start of the volume are not introduced by a tuning legend. These pieces include the anonymous pieces, by C1, as well as a section of pieces by Jenkins and Lawes, by C2. Thus, it seems that C1 had begun the volume with a miscellaneous collection of pieces, of which he did not know the composer or chose to omit the information; alternatively, he may have been the composer. He also neglected to title the pieces. This could well have been also because the titles and/or the composer ascriptions were written in one of the other two companion volumes. It seems likely that the volume is a continuation of another similarly sized volume (i.e. pp. 1-204) and that the last section of pieces of such a volume could have contained the tuning legend. A lost first volume would seem the likely explanation given that C2 knew the tuning and continued with pieces in that tuning. Further, C2 added tuning legends at the start of each new section with consistency and would therefore be expected to have done the same if he felt he was starting a complete new section, rather than carrying on the existing one. It is possible that C2 was not a performer (or simply was unaware) as the Jenkins pavan on pp. 294-95 should have the sixth string tuned down a step; this instruction was only added later (perhaps after performance) by a different hand (see above). Curiously, there is a page near the middle of the manuscript (p. 286, inv.), amongst a group of unused pages, headed 'M^{rs} Walker her Book' in an eighteenth century hand: presumably that of a later owner. The page was evidently closed before the ink was dry (Illustration 4.6).

Illustration 4.6. GB-HAAdolmetsch, II.B.3, pp. 286-87 (inv.)

The tuning legend on p. 383 was interpreted erroneously. There is a fretboard diagram of the tablature written after the piece by Cawse, who wrote ‘C-A-d-f-a-d’ after the tuning explanation, whereas the pitches should be *D-A-d- \sharp -a-d’*. There are many, but isolated, slurs in the volume, usually between two notes but occasionally covering a small group of three or four. Aside from slurs, the only ornament signs are on pp. 341, 381, and 386. These three pieces are all are thumps by Lawes, containing passages with notes underscored by two dots indicating a ‘thump’ (see below). The lack of ornament signs in ensemble lyra viol music is typical. Only one piece in the manuscript contains tempo indications, they are later additions by Hand 2 on p. 297. Of the 101 pieces in II.B.3, only the six Lawes pieces also found in Mus. 70 have any known concordances. When the six parts concordant between II.B.3 and Mus. 70 are compared they provide further evidence of revisions made to Lawes’s trios. However, as only one of the partbooks survives in each case it is almost impossible to say which one of the versions came first. Nevertheless, the (albeit meagre) evidence suggests that II.B.3 is the later of the two sources and therefore should be seen as containing the revisions. However, even if this chronology is accepted, can we assume that such revisions actually came from Lawes himself, given that II.B.3 is non-autograph?

Two of these six pieces common to Mus. 70 and II.B.3 – ‘Pauen’ {441} and ‘Sarab^d’ {444} – are currently listed in the *Index* as being copies of the same part, and the other four – ‘Pauen’ {521}, ‘Thump’ {527}, ‘Corant’ {443}, and ‘Ayre’ {448} – are listed as forming a different part. Neither description is correct. The six II.B.3 concordances are an amalgamation of the Mus. 70 part and another part, resulting in the II.B.3 part. The confusion has arisen from the similarity and difference of the incipits. It is highly unlikely that the concordance in Mus. 70 and II.B.3 are complementary parts, or rather copies thereof, as when both parts are put together there are frequent passages of unison writing between them. From a consideration of Lawes’s

complete trios (and of lyra viol trios generally), it is clear that he did not conceive of lyra viol trios in this fashion. In the complete trios each part has, at all times, a different line, varying from the other parts, either melodically or rhythmically. Moreover, between the two sources, four of the pieces contain different strain lengths. Thus, revisions are the most likely explanation.

Comparison of Mus. 70 and II.B.3 Concordances

'Pauen' {521} (fedfh)

Mus. 70: 59 semibreve beats (15+18+26)

II.B.3: 59 semibreve beats (15+18+26)

The first strain appears to be two different parts, although the literal imitation results in an augmented-fifth chord on the first beat of the second and fourth bars; nevertheless, the two parts fit together and seem to be complementary. The same is true of the second strain until the cadence, which is identical in both sources. The third strain also begins as different parts, but by bar 22 the parts are mostly the same, implying revision to that strain.

Example 4.2. Lawes, 'Pauen' {521}: comparison of sources

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Pauen' {521} by John Lawes, comparing two sources: Mus. 70 and MS II.B.3. The score is presented in three systems, each corresponding to a different strain of the piece. Each system consists of two staves, one for Mus. 70 and one for MS II.B.3. The first strain is 8 measures long, the second is 10 measures, and the third is 15 measures. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and ornaments, and is set in a 3/4 time signature. The score shows that while the two sources have different parts in some sections, they converge in others, particularly in the cadences and the later parts of the third strain.

'Thump' {527} (fedfh)

Mus. 70: 51 $\frac{3}{4}$ bars plus initial crotchet upbeat (20+31)

II.B.3: 49 $\frac{3}{4}$ bars plus initial crotchet upbeat (20+29)

Around half of the bars of 'Thump' {527} are identical or similar in both sources. After the opening eight bars both sources are almost identical for the rest of the first strain, except for some rhythmic differences towards the cadence. Overall, it would seem that one of these sources is a revision of the other, given the similarities between the two. This is further suggested by the nine silent bars in the second strain, where it would have been unlikely that two of the parts would drop out at the same time for the same duration. Also of note is that the second strain of the II.B.3 version is shorter than that in Mus. 70 by two $\frac{3}{4}$ bars, which appear to have been omitted from the end of the piece. The two bars seem more likely to have been added to the latter than taken from the former, as they slightly strengthen the progression to the cadence: i.e. II.B.3 has a V-i-V-I progression compared to the V-I of Mus. 70. This is one of the few Lawes lyra viol pieces containing ornament signs; however, both versions are slightly different. In his autograph, Lawes wrote a single dot to indicate a thump, whereas in II.B.3 two dots are used. A single dot usually indicates that the thump (a plucked pizzicato) is to be played with the index finger of the left hand; conversely, two dots would mean that the thump was to be played with the second finger.⁴⁶ Both sources only use the thumps on open strings, in groups. There are only three other pieces by Lawes using the thump ornament, two of which are in II.B.3. In 'Thumpe' {499} – p. 386 – again two dots are used to indicate the pizzicato; here the thumps are also on stopped notes (II.4.137). The second II.B.3 piece is titled 'An Ayre' {449} – p. 341 – but clearly follows the same structure as the other two Thumps, again the same ornament sign is used (on stopped and open strings; II.4.126). Lawes's solo 'Corrant' {424}

⁴⁶ See Cyr, 'Ornaments: I', 57-66.

also has some passages indicating thumps (II.4.11). The difference in the number of dots may be significant, although it is doubtful that Lawes would have meant them to be specific. It is more likely that he would simply have used a single dot to indicate that a thump was to be played on the relevant notes. The II.B.3 copyist may have added in two dots in order to be more specific.

Example 4.3. Lawes, 'Thump' {527}: comparison of sources

'Corant' {443} (defhf)

Mus. 70: 44 $\frac{3}{4}$ bars with initial upbeat (17+27)

II.B.3: 44 $\frac{3}{4}$ bars with initial upbeat (17+27)

Both sources of 'Corant' {443} are quite different until the last five bars, which are almost identical. One other slight difference comes at the end of the first strain and start of the second. In Mus. 70 Lawes gives a three-quaver upbeat to the second strain, whereas II.B.3 has only a crotchet rest, which is also taken into account in the last cadence of strain 1 where the rhythm is given as a dotted minim tied into a minim (i.e. allowing for both crotchet rest upbeats). In the autograph Lawes does not rhythmically allow for the upbeat to the second strain in the final cadence of strain 1.

Example 4.4. Lawes, 'Corant' {443}: comparison of sources

The image shows a musical score for 'Corant' {443} by John Lawes. It is a comparison of two sources: Mus. 70 (top staff) and MS ILB.3 (bottom staff). The music is in 3/4 time and consists of two staves. The score is divided into measures, with bar numbers 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, and 40 marked. The score shows two different versions of the same piece, with some differences in phrasing and ornamentation, particularly in the later measures.

'Ayre' {448} (defhf)

Mus. 70: 34 semibreve beats (15+19)

II.B.3: 35 semibreve beats (15+20)

The first strain of 'Ayre' {448} is almost identical in both sources. However, one of the parts appears to have been slightly amended to allow for a revision of the order of the imitative entries. The revision, although slight, must have been quite significant for at least one of the other two parts. The harmonic structure of the strain was evidently retained. Most of the second strain is similar in both sources, although there are some melodic differences. In the II.B.3 version the repeated quavers at the start of bar 27 are used to emphasise the entry of the arpeggiated (presumably imitative) point. This kind of descending, imitative figure beginning with two repeated quavers is found several times in Lawes's consort music.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Examples include, Royall Consort, nos. {1}, {3}, {10} & {36}; for five viols & organ, 'Fantazy' {72} & 'Aire' {83}; for six viols & organ, 'Aire' {86}.

Example 4.5. Lawes, 'Ayre' {448}: comparison of sources

Mus. 70

MS II.B.3

10

15

20

25

30

35

'Pauen' {441} (defhf)

Mus. 70: 62 semibreve beats (22+17+23)

II.B.3: 61 semibreve beats (21+17+23)

The first strain of 'Pauen' {441} is quite similar in both sources, although the II.B.3 fills in the silent bars of Mus. 70, and has one bar fewer. The second and third strains work well together and appear to be different parts.

Example 4.6. Lawes, 'Pauen' {441}: comparison of sources

Mus. 70

MS II.B.3

8

9

'Sarab^d' {444} (defhf)

Mus. 70: 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ bars (7+20)

II.B.3: 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ bars (14+18)

Both sources of the opening strains of 'Sarab^d' {444} are almost identical, except for the slight rhythmic differences in the second bar. It is noticeable that II.B.3 contains seven bars more in the first strain, and two bars fewer in the second strain than Mus. 70. This is misleading. In Mus. 70 there are repeat marks after the first seven bars, whereas in II.B.3 the repeat marks do not appear until after bar 14. However, the II.B.3 version actually has bars 1-7 of Mus. 70 followed by a division variation of the strain. This kind of written-out division strain is not common in the lyra viol repertoire; however, significantly, this kind of written-out division strain also appears in another two of Lawes solo lyra viol pieces, one of which is found in his autograph (see above).⁴⁸ Whilst II.B.3 is not related to the autograph songbook, the similarity of the division treatment between these two pieces suggests that the divisions in II.B.3 probably came from the pen of Lawes himself, which further implies that Lawes made all of the revisions evident in II.B.3. The opening two silent bars of strain 2 are the same in both sources, as is the descending quaver figure in bars 13-14, but otherwise diverge and the II.B.3 version is two bars

⁴⁸ See Volume 2: II.4.1 & II.4.12.

shorter than Mus. 70. Thus, it seems that II.B.3 contains a reworked version of the Mus. 70 part, although it would seem likely that some of the melodic material from the Mus. 70 part would have been incorporated into another part.

Example 4.7. Lawes, 'Sarab^d' {444}: comparison of sources

It is evident from II.B.3 and Mus. 70 that Lawes revised some of his lyra viol trios and that he did so substantially. These revisions are unlikely to have been the result of a copyist's error. It is much more likely that the copyist of II.B.3 had access to a later, now lost, source of Lawes's lyra viol trios post-dating Mus. 70. Regardless of which of the two sources is later, a substantial revision is evident from the fact that it would have made little sense to simply redistribute the parts, as the overall aural effect would be the same. Further, professional musicians probably performed these trios when they were performed initially so there would be no question of putting simpler material in one part. The effect of such revisions on the pieces would have been quite considerable, and amounts almost to recomposition.

From the slender evidence that survives of Lawes's lyra viol trios three main conclusions can be drawn. First, they were in the repertoire for a considerable time, probably from the mid- to late 1620s or early 1630s until Lawes's death in 1645, and beyond. Almost half of Lawes's trios, including the complete ones, are in eights tuning, which was largely superseded by the various harp-way tunings during the 1630s. This perhaps indicates that many were composed relatively early in his career, probably before 1635, although this does not imply that they were not played at the court. Second, the lyra viol trio was a dynamic genre. Lawes apparently revised several of the pieces over a period of a decade or so. Last, although

the fragmentary state of the surviving sources inhibits our understanding of Lawes revision process, it is clear that (at least some of) his revisions were quite substantial. Without the missing companion partbooks for Mus. 70 and II.B.3, we can only glimpse Lawes's revision process in the lyra viol trios. However, even this glimpse provides some context for our understanding of his compositional process; the autograph volumes have many effacements, emendations, insertions, abstractions, and palimpsests (see Ch. 2). Perhaps the most apposite comparison for Lawes's revision process in the lyra viol trios are his revisions of the Royall Consort, the subject of the next chapter. Here also Lawes made substantial revisions, while still retaining much of the original melodic material; indeed, in rescoring many of the pieces from the Royall Consort Lawes also changed several strain lengths by the odd bar or two.⁴⁹ Whereas Lawes does not appear to have laboured repeatedly over the majority of his compositions, it is clear that several of them warranted revision. It is interesting to note that, as with the Royall Consort, the revisions in the lyra viol trios were largely done to dance pieces. One would be less surprised if Lawes went through a process of revising what we consider his more serious pieces, such as the fantasias. This raises questions of the way in which Lawes thought about his own music, and is perhaps symptomatic of the growing stature of the dance and the dance suite in early Stuart England.

One imagines that Lawes's lyra viol trios were performed by the LVV, perhaps along with those of Taylor, Coprario and Ferrabosco. The trios by Ives suggest that the genre spread to circles closely related to the court during the 1630s; those by Jenkins suggest that the genre (like other court genres such as the fantasia-suite) spread to the provinces during the 1640s. The Lawes trios that have survived complete represent – if by default – the apex of the genre, it is only regrettable that more examples have not survived of this the most democratic viol ensemble.

⁴⁹ See *Royall Consort*, introduction.

The Royall Consort

The Royall Consort is a large and diffuse collection. Perhaps begun as early as the 1620s, the collection was apparently well received by contemporaries, and remained popular in manuscript sources until the 1680s. Playford also published some dances from the collection in *Court-Ayres* (1655) and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662).¹ This chapter re-examines the main issues surrounding the collection, such as dating, instrumentation, function, and the relationship between the two versions.

Murray Lefkowitz was the first musicologist to recognise that the Royall Consort survives in two versions, known today as the 'new' (SSBB with continuo) and the 'old' (SSTB with continuo).² Apart from the high quality of the music, the Royall Consort represents an important stage in the development of the suite, and in the development of a two-treble scoring for dance music in England. Although Peter Holman has addressed both of these issues previously, a brief recapitulation will provide necessary background.³

According to Holman, both developments received much of their impetus from Germany. Common to the early seventeenth century collections of the English expatriates William Brade and Christopher Simpson, and of Germans such as Paul Puerl and Johann Hermann Schein, was organisation of movements grouped by key and the progression therein from the serious to the lighter dances.⁴ Several English manuscripts from the 1630s record the gradual emergence of the consort suite: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 36993 (a bass viol partbook in French tablature);⁵ and GB-Och, Mus. MSS 367-70, and 379-81 (two sets of partbooks owned

¹ For sources see *Index*; & *Royall Consort*, introduction.

² Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 68-87.

³ The following discussion of the consort suite & of two-treble scoring is primarily based on *Fiddlers*, 251-61. See also David Pinto, 'New Lamps for Old: the Versions of the Royall Consort', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 251-82.

⁴ For example, Brade, *Newe ausserlesene Paduanen* (Hamburg, 1609); Simpson, *Opus newer Paduanen* (Hamburg, 1617); Puerl, *Newe Padoan/Intrada. Däntz unnd Galliarda* (Nürnberg, 1611); Schein, *Banchetto musicale* (Leipzig, 1617).

⁵ 'New Lamps', 278-79 for inventory.

by John Browne).⁶ The four groups of dances in MSS 367-70 and 379-81 by Charles Coleman and William Drew 'are probably the earliest surviving English consort suites by single composers, but they still look as if they were assembled rather than planned'.⁷ The Royall Consort represents the next stage in the development of the consort suite, with the emergence of the Alman-Corant-Saraband (A-C-S) sequence at its core. Nevertheless, no single form of the consort suite dominated. Fantasia-suites continued to be composed, and Lawes's pieces for five and six viols and organ follow a different format.⁸ It seems that the developments of Coleman *et al.* were occurring roughly contemporaneously with those made by Lawes in the earliest forms of the Royall Consort. The A-C-S core no doubt developed through performance, governed by a sense of climax: i.e. the gradual progression from slow to fast movements. Such tastes for progressive elements in musical design are obvious in one of the most influential treatises of the Restoration period, Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Violist* (1659). In his treatise on the art of division, Simpson essentially advanced a theory of progressive climax: divisions always begin slowly and build to a climax (see Ch. 6 and Ch. 8). It would seem that a similar guiding principle was also at work in the development of the suite.

The Royall Consort is one of the first collections in England to use SSTB (or 'string quartet') scoring for dance music.⁹ Holman suggested that the impetus for English composers to write dance music in SSB or SSTB is best represented by Simpson's last anthology *Taffel-Consort* (Hamburg, 1621). The main link between *Taffel-Consort* and the English court seems to be Maurice Webster, who came to England from Germany in 1622, serving in the LVV until his death in 1635-6. David Pinto has rightly argued that the contribution of Richard Mico and Richard Dering in the development of two-treble scoring should also be noted.¹⁰ However, the pieces by Dering and Mico that use the two-treble idiom are mostly fantasias or stately pavans that appear to have been composed for viols and have little to do with the growing taste at court for lighter dance music; notwithstanding the cross-attribution of a pavan to Dering and Webster. It is likely that the SSTB repertoire was expanded by reducing existing five-part dance music to three or four parts.¹¹ The old version of the Royall Consort represents the next stage in the development of the scoring in England. The origins of the SSBB scoring are less clear, but probably developed from the increased use of violins and a desire to balance them with bass (rather than tenor) viols. It seems that Thomas Lupo was the first English composer to use the novel SSBB scoring in three of his four-part fantasias, composed during the first quarter of the

⁶ 'New Lamps', 275-78 for Inventories.

⁷ *Fiddlers*, 259.

⁸ For the five- and six-part viol pieces see *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five & Six Parts*, ed. Pinto (London, 1979); & *For ye Violls*, 70-140.

⁹ *Fiddlers*, Chapter 11 gives a more detailed account of the development of SSTB scoring, esp. 252-58 & 261.

¹⁰ See 'New Lamps', esp., 270-71; Pinto argues against the significance of Webster.

¹¹ See *Fiddlers*, 256-57.

century.¹² The scoring does not appear to have been further developed until the Royall Consort, although John Jenkins, Christopher Simpson, and John Hingeston cultivated it towards the middle of the century.¹³ Jenkins in particular explored SSBB in his 32 airs for two treble, two basses and organ, which date to the 1640s.¹⁴

The old version sources do not specify instrumentation, however, Lawes specified two violins, two bass viols and two theorbos in the new version pieces in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3. Viols or violins would be possible on the old version, although it is reasonable to suggest that Lawes originally composed for violins. The general range of the tenor part in the old version falls within the viola range, although in two separate pieces the notes *A* and *d''* are required, suggesting a tenor viol.¹⁵ The bass of the old version could be played on either a bass violin or bass viol. Only in two pieces from the old version does the bass use a low *C* ('Aire' {56} and 'Alman' {57}), which was probably achieved by de-tuning the sixth string of the bass viol; two further pieces in the new version ('Fantazy' {1} and [Pavan] {49}) also use the low *C*.¹⁶ Given that the bass does not really change between the two versions, it seems reasonable to assume that the same instruments were used on both. The single occurrence of the low *A* in the tenor part does not necessarily preclude the use of a viola, but overall the evidence seems to suggest that viols were used for the tenor and bass parts of the old version, with theorbo continuo. However, one suspects that this instrumentation was flexible, and that performances by a 'string quartet', or by a mixture of viols and violins could have occurred.

The Royall Consort has been divided into ten setts, comprising either six or seven movements: three setts in D major, three in D minor and one in F major, C major, B flat major, and A minor (the key-varied sequence).¹⁷ There are ten main sources for the collection, although they are divergent enough to assume a varied larger background of antecedent copies that have since disappeared.¹⁸ In the two main old version sources (GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.431-6 and F.568-9) the D major and D minor pieces appear in a rather random order, followed by the key-varied sequence setts in consistent order. This suggests that in its earliest form the collection began as a loose grouping of D minor and D major aires.¹⁹ E.431-6 is a set of six partbooks

¹² *Thomas Lupo: The Four-Part Consort Music*, ed. Richard Charteris & John Jennings (Clifden, 1983), nos. 4, 9 & 10.

¹³ Jenkins has 32 aires for two trebles, two basses and organ: published in *John Jenkins: Consort Music of Four Parts*, ed. Ashbee (MB, 26; London, 1969), including {23} 'Newark Siege', which presumably dates to c.mid-1640s; John Hingeston has one fantasia-alman pair for two trebles, two basses and organ (only the organ part survives); Simpson has 20 aires for two trebles and two basses, the main sources for which are GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.431-6, and F.568-9.

¹⁴ They are published in MB 26, nos. 1-32, and discussed in Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, ii: *Suites, Aires and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), Chapter 8.

¹⁵ Nos. 26 & 60 respectively: see *Royall Consort*, ix-x, which discusses instrumentation.

¹⁶ *Royall Consort*.

¹⁷ *Index*.

¹⁸ See *Index*; *Royall Consort*, introduction.

¹⁹ See also *Royall Consort*, introduction; *For ye Violls*, 52-53.

containing suites of aires in three and four parts with an unfigured bass.²⁰ E.431-6 was mostly copied by the same hand that copied the majority of the music in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.64-9. The copyist seems to have been the organist William Ellis, who may have copied E.431-6 for his music meetings in Commonwealth Oxford.²¹ However, Margaret Crum has suggested that the set may be the 'Sett [of] Bookes of 3.4.5. and 6 parts in Manuscript' referred to in a payment document dated March 1656/7, as 'given in hand to Mr. Jackson for pricking of aires for the [Music] scooles'.²² Crum suggests that this may have been the bass viol player Thomas Jackson, who became a singing-man at St John's. Given that Coleman is credited with the doctorate he took on 2 July 1651, it seems reasonable to date the partbooks to around the mid-1650s; a *terminus ante quem* of 1669 can be established from the lack of citation of Benjamin Roger's D.Mus. According to Holman, 'two theorbos certainly seem to have been used in performances from MSS Mus. Sch. E. 431-6, for the source includes two duplicate copies of the bass; lutenists normally read from unfigured bass at the time, while English organists either used scores or written-out parts'.²³

F.568-9 are the second treble and tenor partbooks from an original set of five; a note on F.568, f. 2 states that the set of parts once contained '2 Trebles Tenor Bass and thorough bass';²⁴ it is possible that they originally contained duplicate copies of the bass. F.568-9 contains suites of four-part aires and fantasias, with basso continuo and presumably has a similar provenance to E.431-6.²⁵ The manuscript begins with a sequence of 92 aires loosely arranged by key into suites, numbered 1-93, but no. 38 is lacking (Table 5.1). Over 80 of the aires are associated with the old version of the Royall Consort.

Table 5.1. *Lawes sequence from GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. F.568-9*

<u>Nos.</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>'Suite' no.</u>	<u>Folios</u>
1-5	G minor	1	3-5
6-9	G major	2	5v-7
10-18	D minor	3	7v-11v
19-37	D major	4	11v-20v
39-45	G minor	5	21-24

²⁰ For inventory see Margaret Crum, *The Oxford Music School Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: A Guide and Index to the Harvester Microfilm Collection* (Brighton, 1979), 108-11.

²¹ See Crum, *Harvester Microfilm Guide*, 108; Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, i: The Fantasias for Viols* (Surbiton, 1992), 148; *Fiddlers*, 260-61.

²² Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *ML*, 48 (1967), 27.

²³ *Fiddlers*, 261. For the accompaniment of consort music of the period see Holman, "'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music', in Ashbee & Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996), 353-82.

²⁴ This is a contents list for the complete manuscript: 'The lessons from the first page to the 89th are Mr William Lawes for 2 Trebles Tenor, Base, and thorough bass'. On f. 2 of MS 569 the same list states the same except the 'thorough bass', which is now a 'Continued Base'.

²⁵ For a full description of the manuscript and its collation, see Crum, *Harvester Microfilm Guide*, 132-34; also see *Royall Consort*, vii-viii.

46-50	G major	6	24v-26v
51-54	C minor	7	27-28v
55-58	C major	8	29-30v
59-61	F major	9	31-32
62-69	D minor	10	32v-36
70-75	B flat major	11	36v-38
76-82	F major	12	38v-41v
83-88	A minor	13	42-44v
89-93	C major	14	45-46v

Of these 92 pieces, only nos. 1-9 (suites 1-2) and 39-61 (suites 5-9²⁶) are not found among later incarnations of the Royall Consort. Nos. 1-9 is a significant group of SSTB pieces in G minor and G major, also found in E.431-6.²⁷ The G minor pieces are 'Pauen' {101}, 'Aire' {103}, 'Corant' {338}, 'Aire' {70}, and 'Corant' {339}. The G major pieces are 'Pauen' {79}, 'Alman' {320}, 'Aire' {80}, and 'Corant' {322-23}.²⁸ (Consort versions of {101}, {102}, and {103} are in Volume 2: II.5.1-3; for the rest see *Royall Consort*.) The style of these pieces is the same as those pieces in the Royall Consort and one could plausibly date them to the mid-1620s. However, in these miscellaneous pieces there is a definite four-part texture. The tenor part plays an important part, unlike in the old version pieces proper where it is non-essential. One is inclined to agree with Pinto's suggestion that these pieces 'number some of the composer's earliest and probably most cherished efforts'.²⁹ The functional tenor part is a significant break with the style of the old version Royall Consort pieces and points to a demarcation between the two forms of SSTB scoring in Lawes's mind. Presumably, they were included with the early version because of the SSTB instrumentation. However, they appear to have been separated from the collection quite early in the process of building the collection; the functional tenor line seems to be the reason for their exclusion. Their valued status is suggested by the fact that Lawes later quarried them for material. He reworked two of the G minor pieces for two bass viols and organ: 'Pauen' {101} and 'Aire' {103} (see Ch. 8). These two pieces are also found in MSS 367-70, although they were not copied as a pair. However, three of the four pieces in the Lawes sequence of MSS 367-70 (nos. 43-46) are found in the discarded Royall Consort sett in G minor, although here 'Corant' {339} is in D minor. Despite this, it seems significant that 'Corant' {339} was still grouped with two of the other parts of the suite. The fact that it is in D minor here suggests that the piece may have originated in that key, and may have been part of the originally large set of dances in D major and D minor that were eventually trimmed down into the Royall Consort proper. The odd-one-out in the MSS 367-70 Lawes sequence – 'Aire'

²⁶ Currently attributed to Thomas Brewer in *Index*: see also *Royall Consort*, introduction.

²⁷ All published in *Royall Consort*.

²⁸ All are untitled in F.568-9.

²⁹ 'New Lamps', 265.

{264} – is a strange bedfellow, as it does not appear in any of the Royall Consort sources. This may suggest that ‘Aire’ {264} was originally associated with the Royall Consort but was discarded at an early stage, even predating that preserved by E.431-6. Alternatively, it may mean that MSS 367-70 were compiled piecemeal from selections compiled from various sources; indeed, it may not even have composed by Lawes. ‘Pauen’ {103} is also found in the Shirley partbooks (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61) further suggesting that the piece is early. The Shirley partbooks version reveals some differences from the other four-part versions, which are generally quite consistent.³⁰ The main differences are between the inner parts, especially the tenor. The outer parts are essentially the same in the Shirley partbooks and in the Royall Consort sources with only slight rhythmic differences in the treble, but with much rhythmic alteration to the bass-line and several octave transpositions. The points of imitation in the inner parts are retained. Thus, this version may be the earliest form that was subsequently revised. ‘Pauen’ {103} is one of a sequence of nine holograph four-part pieces added by Lawes in the Shirley partbooks, at the end of the four-part sequence. This first part of the four-part sequence (ff. 16-26v) was copied in Lawes’s early (A1) hand; the last piece – a fantasia by John Bull – was mostly copied by Hand B, but with the bass part copied by Lawes (see Ch. 2 for a discussion of the copyists). The pieces in this sequence were probably copied around the same time: the same black ink is used throughout ff. 16-26v (Table 5.2). Judging by the hand (and the ink colour), Lawes appears first to have copied ‘Aire’ {110} (f. 27). The rest of the holograph sequence are in his later (A2) hand, and were apparently copied in several stages, judging by the variety of ink used.

Table 5.2. *Analysis of inks in GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61, four-part section*

Folio ³¹	Comments
16-26v	same black ink
27	different ink (muddy)
27v	different ink (muddy, but clearer)
28-28v	different ink (muddy); the signature at the bottom of f. 28 is in a clear black ink; the one at the top is the same ink as the music. Stave 4 (f. 28v) notes 8-14 are revisions in black ink written as a palimpsest
29	different ink: similar to that used for both pieces on f. 30 and the piece on f. 30v; presumably, all three were copied at the same time
29v	unused
30-30v	seems to be the same ink used for all three pieces, and for the preceding piece (f. 29)

³⁰ Both versions are published in *Royall Consort*.

³¹ Of MS 40658.

Table 5.3. GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61, *Lawes's four-part sequence*

VdGS	Title	Scoring	Hand	Folio ³²
{110}	'Aire'	Tr-Tr-B-B	A1 ³³	27
{306}	'Aires'	Tr-Tr-B-B	A2	27v
{336}	'Aire'	Tr-Tr-T-B	A2	28
{109}	'Aire'	Tr-Tr-B-B	A2	28v
{318}	'Aire'	Tr-Tr-T-B	A2	29
{319}	'Aire'	[Tr] ³⁴ -Tr-T-B	A2	29v
{337}	[Aire]	Tr-Tr-T-B	A2	30
{103}	[Aire]	Tr-Tr-T-B	A2	30
{339}	[Corant]	Tr-Tr-T-B	A2	30v

Six of Lawes's pieces are in SSTB (Table 5.3): the remaining three are in SSBB, including 'Aire' {110}, which appears to be in an early hand, implying that Lawes was experimenting with the SSBB scoring probably by the early 1630s. The pieces in Lawes's 'rushed' hand – {337}, {103} and {339} – are in SSTB. The presence of pieces in Lawes's A2 hand using the SSBB scoring is not enough to suggest that these pieces were copied any later than 1633. Any such suggestion would be strongly mitigated by 'Aire' {110} being in his A1 hand. Thus, it would seem likely that these pieces are among Lawes's first explorations of SSBB scoring. There are also two apparent suites for two trebles and two basses, in C major and C minor {108}-{113}, by Lawes in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2.³⁵ These are the only pieces in the volume in four parts, and it has been suggested that they are indeed incomplete drafts that lack an organ, or continuo part.³⁶ Due to their position in B.2 (coming before the *Triumph of Peace* music and after the two five-part pieces also found in the Shirley partbooks) and that two of them ({109-110}) are also in the four-part sequence from the Shirley partbooks, it seems likely that the four-part pieces were added to B.2 c.1633 (see Chapter 2 for inventory of B.2). The four-part pieces are not explicitly grouped as two suites, but it would seem that Lawes intended them as such. In each suite there is a fantasia followed by a pair of aires. The title 'fantasia' is not used to describe these pieces in the manuscript but they are clearly through-composed imitative compositions.³⁷ The C minor aires appear to have been reworked from early versions in the Shirley partbooks, where the second aire is in D minor. Stylistically, the two

³² Of MS 40658.

³³ This appears to have been written in Lawes's A1 hand, and not the later A2 hand as suggested in *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 73.

³⁴ Space left, but the cantus part was not copied.

³⁵ *William Lawes: Suite No. 1 in C minor and Suite no. 2 in C major for Two Treble and Two Bass Viols*, ed. Richard Taruskin (Ottawa, 1983). They are also discussed in *For ye Violls*, 157-59.

³⁶ See *Fantasies and Aires 2 Trebles and 2 Basses to the Organ*, ed. Richard Nicholson (London, 1985).

³⁷ The fantasia in C major is titled 'aire' in the manuscript.

fantasias are similar to Lawes's large-scale fantasias for viol and organ. They are clearly sectional, mixing imitative counterpoint with homophonic passages. Despite some passages that anticipate the Royall Consort fantasias (*cf.* [Fantasia] {108} bars 37-39 and Royall Consort fantasia {36} bars 22-24), they do not appear to have any connections with the collection itself. They were clearly intended 'For the Violls' given Lawes's title on p. 26. They are not amongst Lawes's most brilliant fantasias but they are reasonably well composed; the C minor fantasia is certainly the pick of the two. The airs are all highly imitative; the most interesting are the C major pair. The first aire in C major has a passage that uses a melodic idiom that Lawes used in his five-part 'Fantazy' {72}, and in the 'Fantazy' {191} for harp consort (see Ch. 6). The second aire in C major is a three-strain alman, with the second strain in a triple time, followed by a cut-common time close; such time changes are unusual in Lawes's aires.

'Aire' {70} is also found in the G minor sett for five viols and organ. There is little difference between the four- and five-part versions, notwithstanding the second tenor part in the latter. Presumably, the five-part version is later, although this is the only one of the 'rearranged' pieces in which the original tenor was not even partially recomposed. Thus, one cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the four-part version was created by omitting the second tenor part from the five-part version, although if this were the case Lawes would presumably have recast the part in some form. Two of the G major pieces – 'Pauen' {79} and 'Aire' {80} – are also found in five-part versions; both in F major.³⁸ Although it is difficult to be certain, consideration of the two versions suggests that the five-part versions again post-date the four-part ones. The two trebles and bass parts are similar in both versions. The tenor is partially retained from the five- to the four-part versions. However, the tenor of the four-part version is sometimes transposed (to allow for the second tenor part), and juxtaposed with new material; significantly, it uses material only from the first tenor part of the five-part version. If the four-part version post-dated the five-part, one would expect Lawes to have included (at least some) material from both tenor parts. The third strain of the pavan underwent significant revision. In the five-part version dotted-quaver figures are pervasively worked into the texture, seemingly inspired by the addition of the second tenor. Of course, the best evidence for suggesting that all of the five-part versions post-date the four-part ones is that the former are all found in B.2, which presumably post-dates any of the any of the sources from which E.451-6 and F.568-9 were copied. Nos. 39-61 of the F.568-9 sequence also appear to have been originally intended as an early part of the collection, although for some reason were also discarded.

Fortunately, B.3 contains most of the D major and D minor pieces in the new version, thus establishing a coherent internal formal structure for the setts (largely based on the A-C-S

³⁸ Published in *Lawes: Consort Sets*; see also Pinto's preface to the edition, & *For ye Violls*, 27-28 & 88-91.

sequence).³⁹ Few sources preserve the sequences in their entirety, or leave the internal orders unchanged, especially in the D major and D minor setts. Pinto has convincingly suggested that

Some pre-existing d-D sequences were revised for the newly-fashionable 2Tr-2B scoring in the later 1630s; then joined by setts in a, C, F, B flat, which were fresh-conceived in the new scoring [...] Out of symmetry, and of course an anticipated residual practical use, 'Old' versions of the fundamentally 'New' setts were then concocted.⁴⁰

This is suggested by the key-varied sequence setts, which seem more naturally suited to the two-treble idiom (as do the two fantasias) than do many of the D major and D minor pieces. Further, none of the key-varied sequence pieces shows revisions in the lengths of phrases found in several of the D major and D minor pieces.⁴¹ Thus as Pinto suggests, it would seem that, rather than the new version superseding the old, both new and old versions were available at around the same time. Nevertheless, why Lawes rescored such a vast collection remains unclear.

Lefkowitz appeared to have solved the rescoring issue with the citation of a note written by a close contemporary of Lawes, the Oxford music professor and Chapel Royal organist, Edward Lowe. Lowe became organist at Christ Church, Oxford sometime between 1631 and 1641. He remained at Oxford during the 1640s and 1650s, becoming Heather Professor of Music at Oxford in 1661, succeeding (the royal musician, and Lawes's colleague) John Wilson. Lowe was a meticulous copyist, responsible for organising and extending the Music School manuscripts. On one of those manuscripts, he appeared to explain the rescoring of the Royall Consort:

The followinge Royall consort, was first composd for
2 Trebles a Meane & a Base. but because the Middle
part [i.e. the tenor] could not bee performd with equall advantage, to bee
heard as the trebles were. Therefore the Author, inuolued
the Inner part in two breakeinge Bases: which I
causd to bee transcribd for mee in the Tenor & Counter
-tenor Bookes, belonginge to thes. & soe bound. Wher the
two breakeinge Bases are to be found. & soe many
figured as agree with thes in Order/

The comments are on f. 1v of GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch D.236: one book of a now incomplete set of partbooks, MSS D.233-6. The four partbooks were originally a set of six: they lack the countertenor and tenor books. According to a note on the first flyleaf of D.233, Lowe bought the books on 6 October 1636.⁴² (E.451, also copied by Lowe, is the companion through-bass book to D.233-6. He acquired the manuscript 'Of Mr. Davis, price 3^s. May 28: 1636'. It contains an unfigured bass (identical to the bass part) for many of the Royall Consort pieces. Hereafter

³⁹ Only 'Corant' {27} is found in the old version and not in the new. There is no apparent reason for the removal of this piece, which seems to have been an oversight.

⁴⁰ 'New Lamps', 268-69.

⁴¹ See *ibid.* 268-69, & 281(n8).

⁴² The note is no longer visible, as the flyleaf has been pasted to the cover.

when D.233-6 is cited E.451 is also implied.) The partbooks were probably originally prepared for a collection of vocal music prior to being purchased by Lowe, who added consort music by William and Henry Lawes, Coleman, Jenkins, and Matthew Locke.⁴³ D.233-6 contains 24 Royall Consort pieces from the D major and D minor setts. These are from the old version, although apparently 'Lowe did later make them more comprehensive by adding the revised parts'.⁴⁴ The Royall Consort pieces appear to have been copied by Lowe post Restoration.⁴⁵

Lefkowitz cited Lowe's note suggesting that Lawes rescored the collection due to the inaudibility of the tenor part. This explanation has received much scrutiny. For example, the late Gordon Dodd remarked that the inner voices in dance music do not need to be heard distinctly.⁴⁶ Moreover, Pinto has noted that the tenor parts in the old version make little attempt at independence, engaging in much parallel writing with the outer lines. This must have been a deliberate technique as it is applied to the entire collection: Pinto concluded that a 'change in function, character, or style of performance (such as an altered place of performance), or all of these must be behind the rescoring process'.⁴⁷ Indeed, a change in function seems to be the most likely answer. However, this need not imply that Lowe's note misrepresented Lawes. Despite the apparently problematic connotations of Lowe's note, it may accurately reflect Lawes's intentions. Lawes's rescoring of the collection does not necessarily imply dissatisfaction on his behalf with SSTB scoring generally or indeed with the tenor line as it was conceived. Modern studies have assumed that when Lowe complained that the tenor was not 'performed with equal advantage to be heard as the trebles were' he was talking about the implications for the music. It is also conceivable that Lowe was not simply referring to the tenor line *per se*, but to the tenor viol (or perhaps viola) player. It seems that in its original form the collection was to be designed to accompany dancing, whereas its new SSBB form was intended either as *Tafelmusik* or to be listened to in some form of concert-like setting.⁴⁸ Thus, the new Royall Consort fulfilled a different function to the SSTB original, and as it was now to be heard in a setting closer to (for want of a better term) a concert. Accordingly, it was of more 'advantage' to the players to be allowed to exhibit their ability to perform divisions, typically the preserve of the bass viol. The performance of divisions is exactly what the rescored 'two breaking Bases' facilitate and appears to be at the heart of Lawes's motivation for rescoring. As Simpson noted in *The Division-Violist*, through the performance of divisions 'a Man may shew, the dexterity, and

⁴³ For a full description of D.233-6 & E.451, including collation, see respectively Crum, *Harvester Microfilm Guide*, 80-83, & 126-29.

⁴⁴ *Royall Consort*, vi. For an inventory and discussion of E.451 see Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 326-36.

⁴⁵ See also *Royall Consort*, vii-viii; & *Musical Patronage*, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ Dodd, 'William Lawes: Royall Consort Suite No. 9 in F', *Chelys*, 6 (1975-6), 4-9.

⁴⁷ *Royall Consort*, vi; also 'New Lamps'.

⁴⁸ See also *Fiddlers*, 261.

excellency, both, of his *Hand*, and *Invention*; to the *Delight*, and *Admiration*, of those that hear him'.⁴⁹ This relates closely to the change in performative function, although the continued development of the old version suggests that the functional circumstances remained, presumably at court. The tenor line necessitated this change, which, although satisfactory in a functional dance setting, was not satisfactory in a concert-type setting.

Revision and expansion to incorporate divisions is an observable trend throughout much of Lawes's consort music output in the 1630s. Perhaps the most significant example of this kind of revision is 'Fantazia' {135} from fantasia-suite no. 8 in D major for violin, bass viol and organ. With this piece Lawes appears to be attempting something quite new. It is found with the rest of the fantasia-suites in the autograph partbooks (GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40, and D.229, no. 22), but significantly also appears individually in B.2 (pp. 76-81). This is immediately prior to the pieces for two bass viols and organ; no pages appear to have been abstracted either side of 'Fantazia' {135}.⁵⁰ Christopher Field noted that

The lone presence of [this] fantasia [...] in score in Mus. Sch. B.2, together with stylistic differences between it and other suites – the brilliant figuration for violin and viol, the long *tripla* section – raise suspicion that it might have been composed after the rest of the group [of fantasia-suites], but there is nothing in the autograph partbooks to suggest that this was the case, and there are tell-tale signs in Mus. Sch. B.2 that Lawes's score may have been copied from partbooks.⁵¹

Pinto has further suggested that this 'single movement was copied some time after the other autograph parts had been made out, and [the B.2 version] discloses both omissions and additions in the organ part as well as eliminating glancing parallel octaves between lines I [violin] and organ bass at bar 71'.⁵² (The piece is transcribed in full in Volume 2: II.5.4.)

Example 5.1. Lawes, 'Fantazia' {135}, bars 69-75: comparison of D.239 and B.2 violin parts

⁴⁹ *Division-Violist*, 21.

⁵⁰ Several leaves were abstracted after p. 76, but this was probably done prior to composing the fantasia.

⁵¹ Christopher Field, 'Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites', in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 246(n64). See also id., 'The English Consort Suite of the 17th Century', Ph.D. diss. (New College, Oxford, 1971), 124-27.

⁵² *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. Pinto, (MB, 60; London, 1991), 114: the 'Fantazia' is at 38-43.

Although the ‘glancing parallel octaves’ are in a score compiled from D.239 (violin), D.240 (bass viol) and D.229 (organ), but not in B.2 (Example 5.1), it does not necessarily follow that B.2 represents a revision, postdating the partbooks version. On the contrary, both B.2 and B.3 appear to be to be comprised of compositional drafts; there would be little reason for Lawes to include this fantasia in one of these volumes purely for posterity (or to correct ‘glancing parallel octaves’ on one beat). The octaves may simply have been an oversight, indeed, the quaver *e*'' at the end of bar 71 could easily have been added for melodic reasons during copying into D.239, without realising the harmonic implications, more readily apparent in a score. Indeed, in the Royall Consort there are many examples of consecutive fifths and unisons retained from the old to the new versions. Nevertheless, ‘Fantazia’ {135} appears to have undergone revision at some point, which appears to be closely linked to Lawes’s increased preoccupation with division writing. Indeed, he made a substantial insertion to ‘Fantazia’ {144} for two violins, bass viol and organ (see Ch. 2, Example 2.1). This insertion also seems to have been made to include a division section. There are minimal differences between the score of ‘Fantazia’ {135} in B.2 and the autograph string parts.

Most of the discrepancies are found between B.2 and the organ partbook (D.229): there are several additions and omissions in both sources. The most common differences are additions found in D.229 (usually as newly composed tenor-range parts). In only two instances did Lawes radically change the organ part and these are purely rhythmic (see bars 62 and 199, and Volume 2, Textual Commentary). Further, of the fantasia-suite pieces in D.239, D.240 and D.229, ‘Fantazia’ {135} is the only one not to be copied using Lawes’s ‘formal’ presentation style (see Ch. 2). For example, the decorative ending is of the ‘fair copy’ type and the extra lines written by Lawes near the end of the piece are messy additions, inconsistent with his style in the rest of this section of D.229. In addition, it is in a sequence of unsigned pieces. Thus, it appears that Lawes revised, or substantially recomposed, ‘Fantazia’ {135} in B.2. This appears to have been a quite late development and could date to c.1637-8; it is likely to have been done around the same time as the bass viol and organ pieces. It is also significant that all three parts (D.239, D.240 and D.229) are signed using the same ‘short L’ signature consistent with later portions of the autograph sources; the score in B.2 is signed with an unusual ‘W: Lawes’: see Ch. 2. However, the pieces surrounding ‘Fantazia’ {135} in all three partbooks are all variants on the ‘mature’ signature. Analysis of the ink colours further suggests that ‘Fantazia’ {135} was revised in D.239-40. Throughout the partbooks (D.238-40) the inks in the various sections correspond. On ff. 16v-17 the ink is a faded black ink (but not as faded as the previous group of pieces). On ff. 17v-18 (‘Fantazia’ {135}), the ink is a brown/black colour, followed by a return to the ink of the previous folios on ff. 18v-19: i.e. the same ink as on ff. 16v-17. There are no corresponding changes in ink etc. in D.229. To what extent Lawes recomposed ‘Fantazia’ {135} is unclear; indeed, there is no evidence of an ‘unrevised version’. However, it seems to be

significant that in this piece Lawes was exploring the possibilities of elaborate divisions in the violin and the bass viol. Such elaborate divisions writing is not generally found in consort fantasias before this, especially for the violin, which was still primarily associated with simple dance music.⁵³ Those few examples of violin divisions dating to before the 1630s are based on simple dance strains, or are related to the *bastarda* tradition.

There are important early examples of elaborate division writing in two six-part and two five-part fantasias by Thomas Lupo,⁵⁴ and in some of William White's six-part fantasias.⁵⁵ However, the closest comparisons to 'Fantazia' {135} are the fantasias from Jenkins's 9 'middle-period' fantasia-suites for treble, two basses and organ, and the 7 fantasia-air sets for two trebles, bass and organ apparently composed in the 1640s and 1650s. It is likely that Roger North was referring to these pieces when recalling the limitations that the ability of his patrons sometimes put on the music that Jenkins composed, as they 'could not deal with his high flying vein'.⁵⁶ Organ solos and tripla sections are also common in these fantasias, which usually comprise four sections, although some have five and three.⁵⁷ As Andrew Ashbee notes:

The first [section] consists of a fugal texture in a duple metre and moderate tempo; the second, of light, brilliant, rapidly moving divisions, flowing uninterruptedly into a short movement in triple metre – a movement derived from the dance. This third section cadences in turn on the first notes of a duple-time section of homophonic texture, but with slow harmonic rhythm – a section frequently featuring chromatic progressions, and always adding breadth and dignity to the close. Short interludes for the keyboard instrument alone may separate the earlier sections.⁵⁸

Although there are many differences between this formal outline and the form of Lawes's 'Fantazia' {135} there are also many similarities. 'Fantazia' {135} also begins with a fugal-type section, although the divisions flow gradually out of this opening section, building to the short 'question and answer' passage (bars 61-67), and leading to the tripla section. The tripla section ends with a perfect cadence on the tonic, before the duple-time metre returns. The duple-time section opens with an organ solo, gradually joined by the bass viol, answered by the violin, both joining at bar 128 in mostly semiquaver divisions. The short close moves gracefully over an ascending sequence of thirds in the left hand of the organ.

It is difficult to say which of the two composers invented this kind of 'division fantasia'. Jenkins's surviving compositions are especially difficult to date given the large

⁵³ *Fiddlers*, 262-65 & *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Thomas Lupo: The Five-Part Consort Music*, vol. 2, ed. Richard Charteris (London, 1998), nos. 33 & 34; *Thomas Lupo: The Six-Part Consort Music*, ed. Charteris (London, 1993; repr. 1999), nos. 9 & 10.

⁵⁵ *William White: the Six Fantasias in 6 Parts*, eds. Donald Beecher & Bryan Gillingham (Ottawa, 1982).

⁵⁶ John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 347. These are Groups III and VI used in *Index*.

⁵⁷ The latter group are published in *John Jenkins: Seven Fancy-Air Division Suites for Two Trebles, Bass and Organ*, ed. Robert Warner, rev. Ashbee (London, 1993); the former are due to be published in the *Musica Britannica* series (ed. Ashbee).

⁵⁸ *Jenkins: Seven Fancy-Air Suites*, ii.

quantity that he composed throughout his long life. Apart from several two-part pieces published by Playford, and Banister and Low,⁵⁹ none of his consort music was printed, and the dates that appear in the various manuscript sources seem to relate to the copyist rather than to the composer. A similar problem is found with Lawes, but within a shorter chronological period and with far fewer pieces.

'Fantazia' {135} seems to represent a new point of departure for Lawes, one that evidently persisted through the reworking of the Royall Consort, the later harp consorts (HC26-30), and the bass viol and organ suites. Lawes also incorporated elaborate divisions into his 'ffantazia' {476} for three lyra viols. Frustratingly, only one part for this piece survives in GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3 (transcribed in Volume 2: II.4.112; for II.B.3 see Ch. 4). The surviving part contains quite elaborate divisions carefully woven into a contrapuntal framework. It is difficult to date, but *c.*1637 would seem plausible. Jenkins's 'high flying' fantasias contain rather demanding divisions, generally more so than in 'Fantazia' {135}. They also appear to have been carefully worked out following a well thought-out model. This superficial evidence seems to suggest that Lawes was the innovator: evidence supported by the apparently later date of Jenkins's 'high flying' fantasias. However, it is likely that both men were experimenting with the formal boundaries of the consort fantasia around the same time. Indeed, Lawes may have developed the formal plan of 'Fantazia' {135} in response to some of Jenkins's early fantasia-suites.

The early Jenkins fantasia-suites – the 17 fantasia-suites for treble, bass and organ (Group I), and the 10 for two trebles, bass and organ (Group II) – seem to date to the 1630s and 1640s: Group II appears to be composed a little later than Group I.⁶⁰ They are relatively simple pieces, using the scorings and forms established by Coprario (and used by Lawes). Ashbee suggests it is likely that 'they were played in the Derham and Le Strange households alongside the suites of Coprario, and perhaps also those of Lawes'.⁶¹ However, elsewhere he cautions 'one senses that [Jenkins] had not really come into contact with the Lawes series (probably contemporary with his own), but only Coprario's suites, when writing Groups I and II'.⁶² Lawes's fantasia-suites probably date to the late 1620s or early 1630s, and almost certainly before his court appointment in 1635.⁶³ Unfortunately, we know little about the activities of either Lawes or Jenkins in the early 1630s, although *The Triumph of Peace* would seem to be the most obvious point of contact between the two. Jenkins is likely to have been at least an

⁵⁹ *Index* for concordances.

⁶⁰ The former are due to be published in the *Musica Britannica* series (ed. Ashbee): the latter are nos. 1-10 of *John Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites: I*, ed. Ashbee (MB, 78; London, 2001). See also *Harmonious Musick*, ii, Chapter 1.

⁶¹ *Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites: I*, xxii.

⁶² *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 28.

⁶³ I agree with David Pinto on this point (*Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, xvi-xvii), but not with the textual reasons given to support his argument: see Chapter 2, above.

occasional visitor to London in the 1620s and 1630s, and, as *Triumph of Peace* shows, he was connected to courtly music circles by at least 1633. It may also have been around this time that Jenkins was brought 'to play upon the lyra viol afore King Charles I, as one that performed somewhat extraordinary; and after he had done the King sayd he did wonders upon an inconsiderable instrument'.⁶⁴

Lawes's fantasia-suites may have partly inspired Jenkins to experiment with the form. Although following the traditional formal models established by Coprario, Jenkins was evidently keen to push the traditional boundaries within the fantasia-suite, most notably by the inclusion of divisions in four of the pieces from Groups I and II: two in each. Divisions are a main characteristic of much of Jenkins's consort repertoire, notwithstanding the viol consorts. Conversely, divisions are not a significant characteristic of Lawes's early consort pieces. As Ashbee has noted, Jenkins's Groups I and II 'contain interesting harmonic writing with imaginative organization of tonality, occasional progressions of a startling kind and augmented chords perhaps inspired by the works of William Lawes'.⁶⁵ The earliest pieces – Group I – for treble, bass and organ were composed on each of the tonics then in common use: F major, G minor/major, A minor/major, B flat major, C minor/major, D minor/major, and E minor/major. A similar method of tonal arrangement is found in Group II,⁶⁶ and shows a more methodical approach than adopted by Coprario, and a more extensive one than adopted by Lawes. Lawes used the more traditional violin keys of G minor/major, A minor, C major, and D minor/major: perhaps indicative of the fact that Jenkins's fantasia-suites were composed with either treble viols or violins in mind, although the autograph source for {12} is titled '2 parts for a violin & Bass to the Organ'.⁶⁷

Only two of the fantasias in Group I contain any of the elaborate division-writing characteristic of the later suites: no. 12 in D minor (II.5.5), and no. 15 in D major (II.5.6).⁶⁸ Both are similar in form to the later fantasias described above: opening fugal section, divisions, tripla section, and close. Of the two 'Fantazia' {15} seems likely to have provided a model upon which Lawes may have based the revised version of 'Fantazia' {135}. It begins with a 'Lachrimae' theme treated fugally in a solo organ introduction. This opening is remarkably similar to Lawes's 'Fantazia' {129} from fantasia-suite no. 6, also in D major (*cf.* Examples 5.2*a* and 5.2*b*). In Jenkins's fantasia, this leads to a rhythmically derived repeated-note figure introduced in the violin at bar 11. This kind of figure is commonly found in Lawes's consort music (as is the figure in bars 18-19). Indeed, the opening section contains two further melodic motifs often encountered in Lawes's consort music: the ascending stepwise figure followed by a

⁶⁴ Roger North on Music, 343-44.

⁶⁵ Ashbee, 'Jenkins, John', *NGD*, xii. 946-49.

⁶⁶ *Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites: I*.

⁶⁷ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31423, f. 124v.

⁶⁸ Elaborate division figuration are only found in nos. 1 and 5 of Group II.

downward leap at bars 2-3 (organ, right hand);⁶⁹ and the leaping figure at bar 20 (all instruments; bar 28, violin; bar 51, violin).⁷⁰ The latter figure features prominently in Lawes's 'Fantazia' {135} in the build-up to the tripla section (*cf.* II.5.4, bars 61-67). This opening section lasts until bar 56, where the divisions begin. The divisions are introduced in imitation and continue until the tripla section (bar 95). This section serves as a graceful foil to the division section, and leads to the cut-common time close, which begins by emphasising the tonic minor. Interestingly, the organ continues to double the treble and bass throughout most of the divisions, even doubling the bass viol up an octave at bar 86, descanting over the bowed treble.

Example 5.2a. Jenkins, 'Fantazia' {15} (Fantasia-Suite Group I), opening

The musical score for Example 5.2a is presented in two systems. The first system shows the opening of the piece, with a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The second system continues the piece, with a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Example 5.2b. Lawes, 'Fantazia' {129}, opening

The musical score for Example 5.2b is presented in two systems. The first system shows the opening of the piece, with a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The second system continues the piece, with a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

⁶⁹ For example, *cf.* Lawes: *Fantasia-Suites*, 30 (Violin: bars 42-43, 46-49), 56 (Organ: bars 6, 10, 11-12, 13-14).

⁷⁰ For example, *cf.* Lawes: *Fantasia-Suites*, 72 (Organ: bars 7-8), 88 (Violin 2; Bass Viol; Organ: bars 1-3).

Jenkins's D minor 'Fantazia' {12} follows the same formal pattern (II.5.5), and opens with a repeated-note figure. Three of Lawes's fantasia-suites begin with similar motives: fantasias {114}, {138}, and {144} (*cf.* Examples 5.3a-d⁷¹); however, it would be misleading to read too much into this, as repeated-note figures are relatively common.⁷² Again the opening fugal section leads to paired divisions in the treble, bass viol, and organ, lasting until the tripla section (bar 74). The short and uneventful close also begins by emphasising the parallel tonic.

Example 5.3a. Jenkins, 'Fantazia' {12} (Fantasia-Suite Group I), opening

Example 5.3b. Lawes, 'Fantazia' {114}, opening

⁷¹ Examples 5.3b-d are based on Pinto's edition: *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*.

⁷² See also Royall Consort fantasias discussed below.

15

Example 5.3c. Lawes, 'Fantazia' {138}, opening

5

10

15

Example 5.3d. Lawes, 'Fantazia' {144}, opening

There are many differences between the Jenkins fantasias and 'Fantazia' {135}: the organ part is an obvious one. Lawes's organ parts – especially in the fantasias – are much more independent than in Jenkins's early fantasia-suites, where the organ mostly shadows both string parts with occasional solo interludes.⁷³ Indeed, Lawes's organ parts, especially in the suites for one violin, contain a significant amount of independent material. In 'Fantazia' {135} the organ left hand is used as a foundation for the divisions, whereas in the early fantasias Jenkins usually doubles the string divisions in the organ. Nevertheless, both men follow a remarkably similar formal pattern, not to mention the thematic resemblances discussed above. If Lawes were using Jenkins's fantasias as models, he did so liberally in the details. However, apart from the overall formal pattern, two main similarities between 'Fantazia' {135} and Jenkins's fantasias {12} and {15} seem to be of significance. First, the divisions are presented in a similar manner. There are frequent points of imitation, parallel movement, question and answer phrases, and the use of hocket. However, Lawes's divisions are more successfully incorporated into the compositional fabric of his fantasia. Jenkins uses the divisions to provide a sectional contrast and variety, whereas Lawes appears to be consciously working them into the contrapuntal framework, and does not restrict them to one section. Second, the inclusion of a triple-time section in a fantasia is highly unusual for Lawes although it is a prominent feature of many of the Jenkins fantasia-

⁷³ For the issue of organ accompaniment in general see Holman, 'Organ Accompaniment'; for Lawes's organ parts see also *Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, introduction; for Jenkins's organ parts see also *Harmonious Musick*, ii, Chapter 1.

suites, especially the later ones. Only one other Lawes fantasia includes a time change: ‘fantasie’ {573} for three lyra viols (see Ch. 3). In contrast, Roger North noted that Jenkins’s ‘Fancys were full of ayery points, grave’s, tripla’s, and other variety’s’.⁷⁴ It would seem plausible that Jenkins may have inspired Lawes’s inclusion of a tripla section in ‘Fantazia’ {135}, itself a reassertion of a common feature of Coprario’s fantasia-suite fantasias.

It is unlikely that such links between the two composers can be established beyond doubt. Nevertheless, the question of innovation by the composition of divisions in consort fantasias is an important one to address. Certainly, a greater degree of cross-influence than hitherto noted seems highly likely. Thus, one can suggest a possible order of composition for Lawes’s and Jenkins’s fantasia-suites, both of which shared the common model established by Coprario:⁷⁵

1. Coprario Fantasia-Suites: early 1620s
2. Lawes Fantasia-Suites: late 1620s/early 1630s?
3. Jenkins Fantasia-Suites Groups I & II: mid-1630s
4. Lawes revision of ‘Fantazia’ {135}: c.1637
5. Jenkins Fantasia-Suites (and Fantasia-Airs) Groups III, IV & VI: 1640s-1650s
6. Jenkins Fantasia-Suites (and Fantasia-Airs) Groups V, VII & VIII: 1660s

This suggests that Jenkins was initially inspired (at least partly) by Lawes’s fantasias-suites, and that Lawes in turn may have been inspired to revise ‘Fantazia’ {135} in response to Jenkins’s Group I Fantazias in D major and D minor. Jenkins continued to explore the fantasia-suite with the ‘high flying’ pieces of the 1640s. The florid divisions – which are more developed than in Groups I and II – may be a sign of influence from Lawes’s ‘Fantazia’ {135}. Florid division writing is also characteristic of Jenkins’s later fantasia-suites for two trebles, two basses, and organ, which along with the fantasia-suites for three trebles, bass, and organ, expand the scorings of the traditional fantasia-suite scorings. These pieces are likely to date to the 1660s.⁷⁶

Although divisions in the Royall Consort are not generally as demanding as those in ‘Fantazia’ {135}, the harp consorts, or the bass viols pieces, they all appear to have been revised with the same basic intention of adding divisions. In the new version Royall Consort, the tenor line is distributed between the ‘two breakinge Bases’. When one bass viol has the tenor line, the other generally plays divisions against the bass-line. Whereas in the old version the bass-line was played by the theorbos and the bass viol, in the new version the theorbos are sometimes left to play the bass-line alone, although one of the bass viols generally supports them. The divisions mostly take the form of simple descant or parallel movement. The outer parts were not significantly altered during the rescoring process, although some cadences were elaborated. Thus, the two trebles and the bass-line are the same in both versions (with slight variants). Dodd

⁷⁴ Roger North on Music, 345.

⁷⁵ The Jenkins chronology is largely based on Ashbee’s in *Harmonious Musick*, ii. *passim*.

⁷⁶ *Fiddlers*, 277-80.

suggested that because the theorbos are sometimes left to play the bass-line alone in the new version, they could be left a little exposed.⁷⁷ However, given the kind of divisions that are usually performed by one of the bass viols in the new version this is unlikely to have created too much of a problem. The divisions are generally in descant or simple breaking bass techniques, usually moving in parallel concords with the theorbo line or providing an embellished version thereof. Further, experienced professional theorbo players are unlikely to have felt exposed, and both theorbists could play the bass-line and fill in chords. These points are perhaps best illustrated by a brief comparison of the new and old versions of one of the setts: Sett 6 in D major.

Royall Consort, Sett 6 in D major⁷⁸

There is little difference between the two versions of 'Aire' {37} in the first strain. BV1 carries the tenor part until around bar 5 where it is taken by BV2. From bar 8 BV1 begins to add simple divisions 'breaking the ground' with a descending octave displacement figure,⁷⁹ leading to a brief descant towards the cadence. In the second strain BV2 mostly carries the tenor line, shared briefly with BV1 in the antiphonal passage (bars 19-21). As with the first strain, the old tenor part peters out towards the cadence. Throughout the second strain BV1 adds newly-composed divisions, occasionally doubling the bass-line. Again, the divisions are quite simple breaking of the bass, with occasional descant. In 'Alman' {38} the old tenor line is again distributed among the two bass viols. The new divisions begin in BV2 (bars 1-2), with a simple descant. The divisions re-enter with the ascending quaver scalar figure (bar 6) and continue until the end of the strain. The second strain divisions again mostly descant above the theorbos. 'Alman' {38} is also found in a SSATB arrangement in B.2 (p. 15), 'For the Violins of 2 trebles' (II.5.7). In this version lines I, II and V are identical to the version found in the Royall Consort sequence in B.3. What relationship the B.2 and B.3 versions share is unclear, although the latter version has more divisions in the replacement lines. There are leaves abstracted prior to the B.2 version, which is written just before the masque music from *Britannia Triumphans* of 1638, thus a date of c.1637 can be assumed. This version was not intended for the court violin band, which played with a single treble line at this time.⁸⁰

The tenor line of 'Corant' {39} is mostly contained in BV2 throughout this piece, with BV1 adding a simple descant above the theorbo line, often in thirds, partially harmonizing the bass-line. In the second strain BV1 adds a new point of imitation answering violin 1 at the octave. Thereafter BV1 mostly moves in parallel thirds with the bass, as BV2 plays the tenor. In

⁷⁷ Dodd, 'Royall Consort', 8.

⁷⁸ For musical illustration of this section, see *Royall Consort*, unless otherwise stated.

⁷⁹ See *Division-Violist*, 21-28 for 'breaking the ground'.

⁸⁰ See *Fiddlers*, 225-50, esp. 234-35.

'Aire' {41} the first strain begins with the tenor part in BV1, against which BV2 adds a simple breaking bass-line above and below the theorbo part. After bar 5 the theorbos are doubled by one of the bass viols. A similar layout is found in strain 2, although the tenor line is mostly in BV2; it begins and ends in BV1.

Although – with 'Fantazy' {36} and 'Ecco' {40} – they are now designated as Sett 6, these four pieces do not appear as a group in any of the sources.⁸¹ They are found in a random order in one of the main old version sources F.568-9; only 'Aire' {37} is found in E.431-6 and D.233-6. The reason for grouping them together comes from B.3. Here, Lawes rescored the Royall Consort in one long sequence (pp. 50-100), largely organised by key. First there is a sequence of (mostly) D minor pieces (pp. 50-79), followed by a sequence of (mostly) D major pieces (pp. 80-100 and 48-49); for Inventory see Chapter 2, Table 2.5. Within these two key sequences Lawes ordered the pieces into suites or setts, elaborating on a basic A-C-S core. At the start and at the end of the sequence there are randomly assembled miscellaneous groups of pieces. At the start of the D minor sequence there are two pieces in D major: 'Aire' {37} and 'Corant' {39}. At the end of the sequence there are four pieces – three in D major, one in D minor – not in suite order: 'Alman' {38}, 'Fantazy' {36}, 'Sarab^d' {14} and 'Aire' {41}. It is unclear why the D minor 'Sarab^d' was included here. It is grouped with Sett 2 in most of the new version sources, and appears to have been an afterthought. The 'Fantazy', 'Alman', and 'Aire' at the end of the sequence are today grouped with the two pieces at the start of the sequence and reordered into what is now designated Sett 6. Evidently, Lawes intended this sett. The random order suggests a piecemeal composition: confirmation of Pinto's theory regarding the initial random order of the D major and D minor aires. The B.3 Royall Consort sequence is written in what appears to be the same ink, suggesting that it was all done within a relatively short space of time. Lawes tackled the rescoring in a logical and orderly fashion: first by key and then by suite. This suggests that the two D major pieces that appear before the D minor sequence were composed after the sequence as a whole was completed, on pages left unused after the harp consort pieces. Presumably, Lawes ran out of space after p. 100, and finished the sequence at the start, suggesting that the pages abstracted after p. 100 were removed prior to the rescoring. One further aberrant piece belongs to our modern Sett 6: 'Ecco' {40}; however, this piece is included after the first sett in D minor. The explanation seems lie with the preceding piece, also an 'ecco' (in D minor). Both ecco pieces are essentially stylised corants 'devised to show off the dualism of the new scoring (two Tr-B pairs)'.⁸² The eccos appear to have been newly composed for the new version, and are the only ecco pieces in the collection. Thus, it seems that Lawes explored the ecco idiom in the D minor piece and then composed the D major essay in the form, resulting in a temporary aberration in the key sequence. (One further

⁸¹ *Index for concordances*; see also *Royall Consort*.

⁸² *Royall Consort*, v.

aberration within the B.3 sequence deserves note. 'Corant' {18} was begun on p. 75 and continued on p. 78, with two pieces composed in the intervening pages, suggesting that the two leaves were not properly separated, this was unnoticed by Lawes until after 'Corant' {18} had been copied.)

In addition to the *ecco corant*, Lawes also composed a fine fantasia in this motley D major sett. It is one of only two fantasias in the collection: the other heads the first sett in D minor. The fantasia was not a very suitable form for the Royall Consort ensemble, which was essentially a mixed consort, in many ways similar to and descended from the Elizabethan mixed consort ensemble in its unsuitability for contrapuntal music. Throughout the surviving mixed consort repertoire extended passages of imitative counterpoint are seldom encountered. Few fantasias are known for Elizabethan mixed consort as they depended on the relative equality of voices to be effective.⁸³ Although the fantasia-suites of Lawes and Coprario etc. strictly speaking are mixed consorts, they are ensembles of similar instruments and a different kettle of fish. It is perhaps telling that of the hundred or so pieces that Lawes wrote for genuinely mixed ensembles (i.e. the Royall Consort and the harp consorts) only three are fantasias.

From a consideration of the style and content of the two Royall Consort fantasias, it seems that Lawes conceived them as a complementary pair, despite some chronological (and physical) separation. The D minor fantasia (II.5.8) appears to have been the first piece composed in the Royall Consort sequence in B.3. Beginning with such an abstract piece clearly demonstrates that Lawes was now composing for a rather different function. The D major fantasia (II.5.9) does not have the same corresponding pride of place at the head of the D major sequence. Rather, as we have seen, it was added in a somewhat piecemeal fashion, at the end of the sequence. These pieces are amongst the most refined of Lawes's consort fantasia movements. One aspect to this refinement is due to the instrumentation. The independence of the plucked instruments in these fantasias is exceptional in polyphonic consort music, rivalled only in Lawes's harp consort fantasia (see Ch. 7). From the outset there is a direct tension between form and medium. The use of two unequal instrumental groups was potentially problematic for a fantasia given the unequal acoustical potential of the bowed strings against the plucked theorbos. The theorbos play from single (unfigured) bass-lines and were undoubtedly expected to realize quite a full continuo accompaniment.

The D minor fantasia is one of Lawes's finest.⁸⁴ It is in four clearly defined sections. The opening imitative section (bars 1-15) demands the listener's attention from the outset, with the initial theme first presented softly in the theorbo. The first theme is built around an

⁸³ See *The First Book of Consort Lessons: Collected by Thomas Morley 1599 & 1611*, ed. Sydney Beck (New York, 1959); & *Music for Mixed Consort*, ed. Warwick Edwards (MB, 40; London, 1977).

⁸⁴ For ease of reference, both fantasias have been transcribed from B.3 in Volume 2: II.5.8 and II.5.9, all examples & references are to these transcriptions; cf. *Royall Consort*.

expression of the tonic triad; first the repeated tonic, moving by step to the third, and then, by leaps, back to the tonic, then to the fifth and then to the upper tonic, emphasised by the chromatic neighbour note from below. From the start, Lawes incorporates division writing into the fabric of the composition, in a similar way to 'Fantazia' {135}. The fugal opening contrasts the timbres of the ensemble. The second theorbo is answered in the dominant by the second violin, which is in turn answered, in the tonic, by the second bass viol: all at the distance of a breve. This opening motif (or variations thereupon) is stated 17 times in the opening section. The section comes to a rather abrupt close at bar 30, where Lawes modifies the repeated-note idea of the opening theme to introduce a short dialogue passage. This brief moment also contains a chromatic shift to A minor, via an augmented chord, a harmonic device often used by Lawes. This brief change in mood and key introduces a short dialogue section for all the instruments (bars 31-36), using melodic fragments recalling various sections of the opening theme. Lawes follows this passage with an exploration of the antiphonal possibilities of the ensemble, anticipated in the opening bars of the movement. He begins with a trio of violin 1, viol 2 and theorbo 2, closely answered by the alternate trio group (violin 2, viol, 2 and theorbo 1). Lawes uses two contrasting ideas for either trio group to highlight the antiphonal effect. In the first group he establishes a 'sighing motif' (Example 5.4), which is essentially a rhythmic gesture consisting of a dotted minim falling to a quaver or a crotchet.

Example 5.4. Lawes, *Royall Consort Fantasia in D minor*, bars 31-36: 'sighing' motif

This motif is similar to the rhetorical figure *ecphonesis* or *exclamatio*, which is also found in contemporary vocal music: it was used and taught in Caroline England by Henry Lawes, Nicholas Lanier and others. The introduction to Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove Musiche* (1601) claims that, 'Exclamation [*esclamazione*] is the principal means to move the Affection'.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ The quotation is from an English translation of Caccini's preface entitled '*Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian manner*', which Playford incorporated into editions of his *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* from 1664 to 1694: (London, 1664), 63-64; see Field, 'Rhetoric', esp. 231. Judy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric: A Guide for Musicians and Audiences* (Hertfordshire, 2004)

Exclamations (which usually begin on a weak beat) are further described as suitable for use in all passionate music on a suitable dotted minim or dotted crotchet quitted by a downward step or leap. To contrast the sighing motif Lawes introduces a division-based passage in the answering trio. In the section of his treatise concerning the composition of divisions in more than two instruments Simpson wrote the following:

In *Divisions* made for *Three Basses*, every *Viol* acts the *Treble*, *Basse*, or *Inward Part*, by *Turns*. But here you are to Note, that *Divisions*, of *Three Parts*, are not usually made upon *Grounds*; but rather *Composed* in the way of *Fancy* [i.e. fantasia]: beginning with some *Fuge*; then falling into *Points of Division*; answering One Another; sometimes Two answering One, and sometimes, All joyning Together in *Division*; But commonly, Ending in *Grave*, and *Harmonious Musick*.⁸⁶

Thus, when we find examples of division techniques in these fantasias, they are often without the 'ground' that one usually associates with divisions. After these brief antiphonal passages the opening of the movement is recalled with the solo passage for theorbo 2, now in F major; the empty tonic and fifth emphasis recalls the second half of the opening motif. Moreover, the change from the Dorian mood of the opening to the pastoral F major attempts to bring an air of calm to proceedings. This brief solo passage is followed by another trio passage for the first group, which retains the earlier sighing motif while incorporating some of the division elements of the second trio group; an affect further underlined by the chromatic bass-line in the theorbo. This passage is then seemingly dismissed by a brief tutti section in the tonic (bars 60-65); however, the earlier sighing motif has now permeated the entire ensemble. A new section begins at bar 65, which lasts until bar 70, with a new melody for solo violin and theorbo. This duet is a gently lilting melody, slowly rising from tonic to dominant. It is followed by trio group 2, and a choir for the bowed strings, both of which are based upon this gently rising lilting duet melody. Towards the end of the bowed string choir the sighing motif reoccurs, reinforced by a four-note descending quaver motif, which builds to a concluding tutti. The tutti section builds to a climatic use of divisions in the bowed strings, and includes a reminiscence of the descending chromatic bass-line in both theorbos (bars 93-95). The overall affect of this division passage recalls that of the sighing motif, through its association with the short descending quaver motif. However, just as Simpson would later advise, the entire ensemble comes together 'Ending in Grave, and Harmonious Musick', with the brief homophonic coda at bars 99-111, calmly rounding off the fantasia on the tonic major.

The fantasia in D major is imbued with a serenity rarely achieved in Lawes's other fantasias; indeed, D major seems to evoke a mood of serenity for Lawes: e.g. the fantasia-suite for two violins, no. 8 in D major. The bowed strings initially dominate the opening imitative

provides a good introduction; Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, 1999), 42-46 is a good example of the analysis of musico-rhetorical ideas.

⁸⁶ *Division-Violist*, 49.

section (bars 1-38). From the start, division writing is more prominent in this fantasia, the quaver divisions adding a rhythmic drive and momentum to the opening, and to the entire movement. Again, Lawes answers the opening imitative section with a short dialogue passage for all the instruments, but here anapaest rhythms begin to permeate the texture as it builds to a persuasive tutti (bars 43-49). This effect is reinforced by the anapaest rhythmic motif, an idiom commonly employed by Lawes in the five- and six-part fantasias.⁸⁷ This confident, homophonic, passage climaxes with the serene coda at bars 55-60. Here Lawes adopts a spacious, almost regal, setting in stark contrast to the impulsiveness of the preceding passage. Significantly, there is a chromatic bass similar to that of the D minor fantasia, again harmonized in much the same way. (A similar chromatic passage is found in Lawes's five-part 'Fantazy' {81} (bars 21-22)).⁸⁸ The middle section (bars 61-71) also employs an antiphonal device.⁸⁹ The first trio group is for violin 1, viol 2 and theorbo 1, as they present a simple repeated-note motif. The second trio group answers the first, itself answered by a condensed repetition by the first trio group before the brief concluding tutti. The following section begins softly with a brief duet for viol 2 and theorbo 2 in the tonic. This duet uses a similar motif to that found in the second half of the opening theme, and again at bar 23 of the D minor fantasia. However now, the motif has moved from the weaker theorbos to the stronger tones of the bass viol. The duet quickly introduces the division idioms that dominate the concluding tutti. Although there is a brief reference to the D minor fantasia with the brief recollection of the sighing motif this is now subordinated to the division writing. The progression to the final cadence is further ushered by the stepped repetition in the theorbos, now at the full of their expressive powers combining divisions with a reach right down to the edge of their range with the low *AAs*.⁹⁰

The close resemblances suggest that the fantasias were conceived as a complementary pair or that one was modelled on the other; Lawes may have intended the two sets to which they belong to be complementary in performance. Both fantasias best exemplify the kind of contrapuntal division writing employed by Lawes in the new version. The addition of these pieces gave their respective suites an added weight and importance. The fantasias differ from the majority of the other movements given that they are both written in six real parts, the rest of the collection is in four or five real parts. The only movement that comes close is [Pavan] {49} (II.5.10). This was one of the new version additions. Its divisions are similarly demanding to those found in the harp consort pavans. Although [Pavan] {49} is not found in an autograph source the divisions appear to be authentic; the second violin part for the B1 strain is lacking

⁸⁷ See *Lawes: Consort Sets*.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 46.

⁸⁹ In *Royall Consort* Pinto bars this section in 4/4.

⁹⁰ For a discussion on the kind on theorbos probably used in England at the time, see Lynda Sayce, 'Continuo Lutes in 17th and 18th-Century England', *EM*, 23 (1995), 667-84.

(editorially reconstructed in II.5.10).⁹¹ The divisions are the most elaborate and technically demanding in the Royall Consort. The pavan is in the traditional form: ||A||A1||B||B1||C||C1||. There is usually only five real parts, as both theorbos play the same line (except when performing divisions), a line which is often partially doubled by one of the bass viols. Again, Simpson's idea of culmination and progression to a climax of divisions is evident. The first strain is typical of a stately pavan, dominated by the dotted minim and three-crotchet figure in free imitation. The theorbos play the same bass-line, doubled in places by the first bass viol. For the division strain (A1) the first violin holds the pavan melody as the two bass viols take the bass-line from the theorbos, who perform the divisions with the second violin, sometimes in imitation. The divisions are quite simple, especially in the theorbos. The format of the B strain is the same as the A strain, although the B1 divisions are more intense and complex than those in A1. The theorbos now take the bass-line as the first violin and both bass viols perform virtuosic 'mixt' divisions, with fast scalar passages, chordal skips, octave leaps and written-out trills. The C strain provides relief from the explosive divisions of the previous strain, although they now begin to creep into the second bass viol.

It is difficult to say with certainty what function the Royall Consort served. Holman has noted that the Royall Consort 'is certainly ideal *Tafelmusik*, poised midway between serious consort music – which demands to be listened to in a concert-like situation – and functional dance music'.⁹² Although the addition of the fantasias and pavans indicates that the collection in its SSBB form was intended for a more concert-like performance, the generally simple style of divisions used in the rescored version point to a less explicit concert function. The most common forms of divisions are descant and simple breaking bass techniques (rhythmic alteration, octave displacement, neighbour notes and passing notes). There is little of the virtuosic pyrotechnics in the harp consort pavans or in the bass viols duos. The only comparable movement in terms of divisions is [Pavan] {49}. The lack of elaborate divisions implies that the music was not intended to distract the audience, suggesting an informal setting where music was important, but not the focal point. Nevertheless, the divisions that are in the SSBB version would still satisfy the fashionable taste for divisions, in turn reflecting well on the players. Furthermore, the bass viol players would of course be able to extemporize more complex division as the situation required, to their 'equall advantage'. Simply because Lawes did not compose elaborate divisions for the Royall Consort – [Pavan] {49} notwithstanding – does not mean that they were not extemporized. One could argue that Lawes was generally meticulous in

⁹¹ Also reconstructed in *Royall Consort*; see also Field, 'Rehabilitating William Lawes', *EM*, 25 (1997), 150.

⁹² *Fiddlers*, 261.

composing divisions where he wished them to be played (harp consorts etc.); however, this may simply be indicative of a fixed function for these pieces. The works with composed divisions are suggestive of a concert-like setting: a point addressed throughout this dissertation. One explanation for the lack of composed (elaborate) divisions for the Royall Consort would be a fluid performative function, reinforced by Pinto's suggestion that the SSTB and the SSBB versions must have overlapped to some degree. There is no reason to suppose that both forms of the Royall Consort were not popular contemporaneously, but in different functional contexts. It is unlikely that SSTB scoring simply died with Lawes's ambitious foray into SSBB. Evidence for extemporized elaborate divisions comes from the aforementioned pavan in C major. [Pavan] {49} survives in two main sources; however, only one contains the divisions on the repeated strains. Thus, elaborately worked versions of several of the Royall Consort pieces – pavans would seem to be main candidates – could have existed, depending on the occasion, but were not written down, or versions containing the divisions have not survived.

Pinto suggests that the two fantasias and the pavans in A minor and C major possibly represent Lawes's 'finishing touches',⁹³ based on the fact that these pieces are not copied into the later partbooks. Although this is true, it is also somewhat misleading. A brief overview of the sources concerned is necessary at this point.⁹⁴ First, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.241-4 contains both violin parts and both bass viol parts; however, they only include the D major and D minor pieces. Thus, D.241-4 cannot be held as not containing either the A minor or the C major pavans. None of these pieces were included, suggesting that they were not available to the copyist. Both pavans are omitted from F.568-9 and E.431-6, suggesting that they were composed sometime after the initial version of the collection, but that does not imply that they were conceived as 'finishing touches'; rather, part of a later incarnation. Apart from the autographs and D.233-6 (and E.451) there are six main sources of the new version. GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 31431 contains the violin parts and one of the bass parts for most of the collection. GB-Och, Mus. MSS, 754-9,⁹⁵ GB-Och, Mus. MSS, 391-6 and GB-Och, Mus. MSS, 479-83 survive complete. GB-Lbl, Add. MSS, 31433 and 10445 can be grouped together. MS 31433 has a theorbo part and one of the bass viol parts (a 'Didvideing Base'), and MS 10445 has the other bass viol part ('A breaking Base') and the two violin parts. The two books are not from the same set, but appear to be distantly related. These four sources (grouping MSS 31433 and 10445 together) contain most of the collection (although MS 10445 contains only 26 of the dances). Of these sources the fantasias and C major pavan are found in two of them: MSS 754-9 and 391-6. The pavan in A minor is found in all five (but not in MS 10445). Thus, it is not

⁹³ *For ye Violls*, 65; also Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', *RMARC*, 23 (1990), 82.

⁹⁴ *Index* for concordances.

⁹⁵ Copied by Stephen Bing c.1653: see *Musical Patronage*, 100-02 & 403-5 (includes inventory); also *VdGS Manuscripts*, 205-07.

relevant to group the A minor pavan with the other three movements. The pavan in C major is found also in MSS 479-83, but only in the theorbo book (MS 483B, f. 13v), suggesting that either it was not fully available to the copyist or that he began the pavan and then abandoned it. Curiously, [Pavan] {49} is also omitted from MS 31431. The pages where it should be are numbered '48' but unused, suggesting that it was known but not copied. It seems significant that the three pieces that are generally omitted from the new version sources are the fantasias and [Pavan] {49}. However, this does not necessarily imply that they were not available to later copyists, but perhaps that they were omitted from the later partbooks because of their six-part textures. Indeed, one can draw a parallel here with the harp consort pieces. None of the large-scale harp consorts exists beyond the autograph sources, despite the rest of the collection appearing to be quite popular in several later sources (see Ch. 6).⁹⁶ Thus, several of the copyists of the later manuscripts may not have been interested in the more abstract fantasias and [Pavan] {49}. Complex contrapuntal works for large consort groups were not fashionable after c.1660. Indeed, Lawes's exploration of large-scale forms in the 1630s is quite individual as most composers at the time were tending towards smaller-scale forms. Furthermore, the evidence from B.3 does not support the claim that these were late additions. One could claim that the D major fantasia was somewhat of an afterthought, coming as it does in a miscellaneous sequence after the main sequence. However, the D minor fantasia (arguably the better of the two) comes early in the main sequence, and may have been the first one added. Of course, the issue hinges on what date one puts on the B.3 sequence, and what stage of the collection it represents. Whether the version in B.3 represents a 'final version' of the collection is debatable. As Pinto points out, 'the partbook copies of the "new" sometimes agree with the "old" in some small features [...] Quite possibly something not totally polished had gone into circulation before Lawes got round to the intended final draft'.⁹⁷ However, this implies that Lawes went through one or more drafts of the all or part of the collection, which seems unlikely given the scale of the collection: the B.3 sequence alone numbers 41 pieces. This is not to say that (now lost) corrupt copies did not circulate between the B.3 sequence and the later manuscripts; indeed, this seems quite likely given Lowe's somewhat hybrid version in D.233-6. One suspects that the B.3 sequence was a reasonably finished draft. Undoubtedly, he would have revised small details between the scorebook and his partbooks. However, like the various revisions (from sketchbook to partbooks) evident in the harp consorts (Ch. 6) and the bass viol pieces (Ch. 8), such revisions are unlikely to have been substantial. The lack of an autograph source for the key-varied sequence – including pavans {42} and {49} – need not imply that they were late additions. The only thing we can say with certainty is that they were separated from Lawes's main sequence in B.3. This separation may have been due to an abstraction from the scorebook

⁹⁶ *Index* for concordances.

⁹⁷ *For ye Violls*, 65.

(by Lawes or someone else), or those pieces may have been composed in another volume. B.3 ends with the Royall Consort sequence, notwithstanding the several leaves abstracted after what is now the last page.

In conclusion: many questions remain concerning the Royall Consort. The rescoring issue is one that perhaps will never be fully resolved. One wonders at the lack of several autograph versions: the SSTB versions of the entire collection and the SSBB versions of the key-varied setts. Pinto has suggested that the key-varied setts were never included in autograph score, as they did not require the same revisions that the D major and D minor pieces did.⁹⁸ Although the point is compelling, a lost autograph source or sources cannot be entirely discounted. For example, one wonders what the contents of the gathering of ruled sheets abstracted from the start of B.3 were. The primary importance of the Royall Consort is its development of the suite and in the development of the two treble and two basses scoring. However, its changing function also highlights the various demands made on consort music composers at the court of Charles I. Lawes's incorporation of the fantasias, the increased use of division writing and the more refined scoring of the new version of the Royall Consort demonstrates the direction in which he was attempting to bring the collection. It seems reasonable to suggest that the collection originated as functional dance music outside the court. Provision of this kind of music would have been a primary function of a professional composer at the time, and may have helped advance Lawes's application for a royal appointment. The need to incorporate or facilitate elaborate divisions, most of which were probably extemporized, appears to have inspired the change from SSTB to SSBB; indeed, the increased use of divisions is a trend that can be seen developing throughout much of Lawes's major collections composed after his royal appointment. This suggests an increased popularity of audience-based consort music at the court of Charles I; however, the original demand for functional dance music remained. Where in the court the Royall Consort was performed is unknown. If the old version was used largely to accompany functional dancing the Presence Chamber or in the Banqueting House would seem to be the most likely places: one imagines that the Privy Chamber would provide an ideal setting for the new version. Most ambassadors and courtiers awaiting the royal summons were entertained in the Privy Chamber. The Royall Consort would seem to be the ideal background music to impress upon visitors the musical sophistication of the Caroline court. The music was fashionable, the scoring innovative. Perhaps most importantly, the ensemble was highly portable, quick and easy to assemble and disassemble upon the command of the Lord Chamberlain, complex divisions could be easily extemporized, and strains could be repeated as desired. It should come as no surprise that audience-orientated concert music was being cultivated at the Caroline court given the high quality of consort music composers

⁹⁸ 'New Lamps', 268-69.

employed there, and Charles's own enthusiasm for cultivating that repertoire. Further, the character of Charles I should also be taken into account. Charles was obsessed by formality and ceremony, from the greeting of ambassadors to the cleaning of the royal bottom. It is surely no great leap of faith that the audition of chamber music would be any less subject to formality and order.

**‘For the Harpe, Base Violl, Violin, and theorbo’:
Lawes’s Harp Consorts**

William Lawes’s 30-piece collection composed ‘For the Harpe, Base Violl, Violin, and theorbo’ is best known today as the Harp Consorts. This titling may be somewhat anachronistic. The earliest source that refers to the collection as the ‘Harp Consorts’ is Henry Playford’s *Sale Catalogue* of 1690.¹ The Harp Consorts are unique in the English consort music repertoire. They are the only (relatively) complete extant consort music with a part specifically composed for the harp. This chapter discusses the development of the collection, including an examination of the main sources, and examines its relation to Lawes’s other consort music. Closely related to these issues is the development of Lawes’s division writing. Thus, Lawes’s division style in the collection, especially in its overall relationship to Christopher Simpson’s influential treatise *The Division-Violist* (1659) shall also be examined. Accurately dating the composition of Lawes’s harp consorts is problematic. Scholarly opinion appears to have tacitly accepted that the collection was composed in two phases, which (conveniently) reside respectively in early and later periods of Lawes’s career. At the crux of this issue is the division of the collection into two groups: HC1-25 and HC26-30.² (All are transcribed in Volume 2: II.6.1-30.) In order to throw some light onto this issue a detailed examination will be made of the development of the arrangement of the ‘suites’ and the internal arrangement and layout of individual pieces.³

The collection survives mostly complete: no harp parts survive for HC21-25. The violin, bass viol and theorbo parts survive in Lawes’s autograph partbooks, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40. HC26-30 are also in score in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3.⁴ There are only three sources for the harp parts (Table 6.1). The first eight pieces (in Tr-B score) are in Lawes’s organ scorebook

¹ ‘A Curious COLLECTION of Musick-Books, Both *VOCAL* and *INSTRUMENTAL*’ (London, 1690) (GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936/nos. 419-20), no. 117.

² Lawes’s harp consorts are here referred to as HC1 etc., and not by their VdGS nos. This numbering relates to the position of the piece in the autograph sequence in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40.

³ The titling of these pieces into ‘suites’ is somewhat anachronistic, but has been followed here for the sake of clarity.

⁴ For non-autograph concordances see *Index*; & Volume 2, Textual Commentary.

(GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229). Additionally, 21 pieces from the collection, mostly in Tr-B score, are preserved in GB-Och, Mus. MS 5: MS 5 is discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 6.1. *Harp sources for Lawes's harp consorts*

HC no.	Piece	'Suite'	Key	Harp Sources
1	'Almane'	1	G minor	D.229/MS 5
2	'Corant'	1	G minor	D.229/MS 5
3	'Corant'	1	G minor	D.229/MS 5
4	'Sarab ^d '	1	G minor	D.229/MS 5
5	'Aire'	2	G minor	D.229/MS 5
6	'Corant'	2	G minor	D.229/MS 5
7	'Corant'	2	G minor	D.229/MS 5
8	'Sarab ^d '	2	G minor	D.229/MS 5
9	'Almane'	3	G major	MS 5
10	'Corant'	3	G major	MS 5
11	'Corant'	3	G major	MS 5
12	'Sarab ^d '	3	G major	MS 5
13	'Aire'	4	D minor	MS 5
14	'Aire'	4	D minor	MS 5
15	'Corant'	4	D minor	MS 5
16	'Sarab ^d '	4	D minor	MS 5
17	'Almane'	5	D major	MS 5
18	'Corant'	5	D major	MS 5
19	'Corant'	5	D major	MS 5
20	'Sarab ^d '	5	D major	MS 5
21	'Almane'	6	D major	Lost
22	'Almane'	6	D major	Lost
23	'Corant'	6	D major	Lost
24	[Corant]	6	D major	Lost
25	'Sarab ^d '	6	D major	Lost
26	'Aire'	7	G major	B.3/MS 5
27	'Pauan'	8	G major	B.3
28	'Pauen'	9	D major	B.3
29	'Pauen'	10	G minor	B.3
30	'Fantazy'	11	D minor	B.3

It is plausible that there is a lost scorebook (or scorebooks) containing, *inter alia*, the first 25 harp consorts in score. Lawes may have run out of space in this 'lost' volume, using B.3 to complete the harp consorts (after a time). Nevertheless, this does not explain why there are only eight of the harp parts in D.229, and why they are only in treble and bass format. Perhaps either Lawes did not get round to completing the parts or he did so in yet another lost source. The presence of a large number of unused pages after the D.229 harp parts suggests that Lawes did plan to complete them. Unless the harp parts were extemporized, some such partbook must have existed.

The exact chronology of much of Lawes's surviving consort music is difficult to establish, and (as we have seen in Chapter 2) many modern studies are vague on this point.⁵ The way in which his harp consorts survive in the sources has led some modern commentators to assume that the collection was composed in two distinct phases. The first phase encompasses the six 'suites' (HC1-25), which were apparently followed later by the last five pieces of the collection (HC26-30).⁶ The evidence certainly suggests that HC26-30 were composed at some chronological remove from HC1-25. HC26-30 are more complex than the previous pieces, some with elaborate divisions composed for the bass viol (and for the violin in two of the pavans). There is also a change in texture between these 5 pieces and the previous 25. The first 25 are composed in three real parts (Tr-B with harp), and probably originated as two-part (Tr-B) pieces: an issue discussed in Chapter 7. The last five pieces appear to have been composed together, they are written in four real parts (Tr-B-B with harp),⁷ and appear to have been specifically composed for the ensemble.

In D.238-40 HC1-25 are apparently arranged into six suites (consisting of one or two almans, one or two corants and a saraband), in four keys: two in G minor, two in D major, one in D minor and one in G major. All suites retain a similar internal structure: fundamentally alman-corant-saraband (A-C-S), progressing from the slowest to the fastest movement. Generally, the six suites have been grouped together due to their similarities, especially when compared to HC26-30. However, from an examination of D.238-40, it seems that Lawes only copied the parts for the first 20 pieces (Suites 1-5) at the same time; the ink is broadly consistent throughout the sequence HC1-20. The ink then changes with HC21-30, and is consistent throughout that sequence (see Ch. 2). This implies that they too were copied at around the same time, but after the initial 20 pieces. Judging by the hand, the chronological gap was not very great. Thus, matters are complicated. If the chronological division actually begins with HC21 (and not with HC26) we then are forced to re-examine Suite 6 (HC21-25): the only group of pieces in the collection for which no harp parts survive. Although in Suite 6 Lawes was clearly still thinking along similar formal lines as when he composed the first five suites, he hints at the later formal expansions of HC26-30, expansions clearly intended to incorporate more complex division writing. Consequently, it seems that Suite 6 represents a transitional phase in the development of the collection, implying that HC1-20 (i.e. Suites 1-5) were composed first, followed by HC21-25 (Suite 6), and then by the pieces also found in B.3 (HC26-30). It is likely that Lawes composed Suite 6 and the HC26-30 around the same time, as they appear to have been added to D.238-40 at the same time. Although apparently copied in two stages, this three-

⁵ For example, Lefkowitz, *Lawes*; Janet Richards, 'A Study of Music for Bass Viol Written in England in the Seventeenth Century', D.Phil. diss., 3 Vols (Somerville, Oxford, 1961), i, Chapter 11; *For ye Violls*, 153-54.

⁶ For example, see *Fiddlers*, 262; & *For ye Violls*, 154.

⁷ Although this is not always true of the division strains of the pavans, it is true of the A, B and C strains.

stage development of the collection is supported by an analysis of the overall structure of the collection, and by the development of the division writing.

It is unclear whether HC26-30 were intended to be played as freestanding individual pieces, or added to the initial six suites. Despite listing HC26-30 as individual consorts, Murray Lefkowitz first suggested that they may have been intended to act as elaborate initial movements to the existing suites.⁸ David Pinto agreed, and further suggested that much of the music contained in B.3 'are "toppings-up"; the completion of pre-existent *oeuvres* by some of Lawes' latest writings'.⁹ Given Lawes's development of the consort suite, it would seem unusual that he would have composed elaborate freestanding movements, especially by the late 1630s. Indeed, 'Aire' (HC26) is a simple two-strain alman without any elaborate divisions and individually quite unremarkable. Rather, HC26-30 should be seen within the overall context of Lawes's apparent favouring of larger, more elaborate forms incorporating divisions, with the intention of changing or adapting the function of the pieces (or collections). This is also evident, for example, in the Royall Consort (see Ch. 5).

'Aire' (HC26) and 'Pauan' (HC27) are in G major, 'Pauen' (HC28) is in D major, 'Pauen' (HC29) in G minor (HC29), and 'Fantazy' (HC30) is in D minor. Thus, the G major pieces and the fantasia seem to be intended as optional extras for Suites 3 and 4 respectively, whereas the D major and G minor pavans could be appended to several suites; indeed, 'Aire' (HC26) is unlikely to have fulfilled the same role as the other four large-scale movements. This raises a question; why Lawes did not compose an elaborate first movement for each of the six suites? This line of thought implies that each of the suites was intended to be played right through as they are numbered in the partbooks. However, these pieces may have served two formal roles. First, HC1-25 could be played as they are, in short suites, where perhaps the duplicated dances were optional. Second, larger suites could have been formed by combining pieces in the same key, whilst retaining a fundamental A-C-S structure: similarly to the (new) Royall Consort suites in B.3. It could be said that the addition of the large-scale pieces would make the harp consort suites a little 'top-heavy'. However, a similar pattern emerges from the Royall Consort, especially in the sett in C major, where [Pavan] {49} that begins the sett has elaborate divisions whereas the rest of the movements are short, simple dances.¹⁰ Rather, the large-scale pieces could be seen as adding variety to the shorter dances. Textural variety was an important feature of the initial dance suites (HC1-25). For example, when there are two of the same dance within a suite (either almans or corants), one is more extended and contains more complex divisions than the other, thus appearing to act as a foil. It seems likely that the function of the harp consorts was a key factor in determining the format. HC1-25 were probably initially

⁸ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 92.

⁹ *For ye Violls*, 155.

¹⁰ See *Royall Consort*, Sett 8; & Chapter 5, above.

intended as *Tafelmusik*. At some point Lawes probably composed HC26-30 to supplement these pieces, suggesting a more concert-like setting, which (in the same sense that the new and old versions of the Royall Consort probably fulfilled different functions: see Ch. 5), gave the harp consorts a functional duality. Alternatively (although less likely), Lawes may have intended these large-scale pieces as the first movements to other suites that were not finished or that do not survive.

Structure of the collection

Throughout the collection the theorbo plays the bass-line, usually doubled by the bass viol on the first statement of strains. The bass viol then performs divisions on the repeats. The lowest line of the harp part also doubles the bass-line in the sources. In the harp parts there are several passages of divisions noticeable throughout the collection (e.g. HC1, bar 15; HC2, bars 11-12; HC4, bar 11). These are usually quavers, and are often imitate the violin or the bass viol, perhaps suggesting that the harper was free to extemporize divisions on the repeated strains. Suites 1-5 are broadly consistent as a group and share some formal discrepancies with Suite 6; a comparison will prove instructive. Most of the almans in the first five suites have the same structure: $\parallel A \parallel A1 \parallel B \parallel B1 \parallel$, where the bass viol doubles the theorbo on the A and B strains, followed by bass viol divisions on the A1 and B1 strains. The structure of both almans in Suite 6 (HC21-22) is slightly different. In HC21 an extended structure is adopted (II.6.21), which had previously only been applied to the corants and sarabands: $\parallel :A: \parallel :B: \parallel A1 \parallel A2 \parallel B1 \parallel B2 \parallel$; 'Aire' HC5 is in a similarly extended structure $\parallel :A: \parallel :B: \parallel :A1: \parallel :B1: \parallel$. In HC21, the bass viol doubles the theorbo on A and B, both of which are repeated. This is followed by two sets of bass viol divisions on the A and B strains; these are more complex and elaborate than in previous pieces of the collection. The second alman (of Suite 6) acts as a foil to its predecessor (II.6.21). The structure is $\parallel :A: \parallel :B: \parallel$, the same as HC21 without the division strains. HC22 is the only alman in the collection that does not have any division writing, prompting the suggestion that the divisions are lost, as is the harp part. While not impossible, this is highly unlikely given that the source for the bass viol (D.240) is autograph and does not appear to have omitted any divisions for any of the other pieces. Thus, the omission of divisions from HC22 would be an aberration, wholly inconsistent with the reliability of D.238-40.

In all but one of the six suites – Suite 4 – there are two corants. The structure of the corants varies from suite to suite, and even within suites. Again the 'foil pattern' is evident. Usually one corant has a more extended structure than does the other, to facilitate the division writing. For example, in Suite 1 the first corant is in the $\parallel :A: \parallel :B: \parallel A1 \parallel A2 \parallel B1 \parallel B2 \parallel$ form (II.6.2), where the bass viol doubles the theorbo on A and B and then performs two sets of divisions on either strain. This is followed by the second corant, in a more condensed form: $\parallel A \parallel A1 \parallel B \parallel B1 \parallel$, with bass viol divisions on the A1 and B1 strains (II.6.3). A similar,

although inconsistent, structure is found in Suites 2, 3 and 5 where one corant acts as a foil to the other. There is only one corant in Suite 4 (II.6.15), which is in the extended corant form: $\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel A1\parallel A2\parallel B1\parallel B2\parallel$. Suite 6 follows yet another formal pattern. Both corants are in the extended form, with divisions in the bass viol and, significantly, in the violin. Each of the six suites culminates with a saraband. Three consist of the usual two strains, three have three strains; each contains divisions, to greater or lesser extents. Three-strain sarabands are quite rare, and provided a loose model for Matthew Locke's sarabands in the Broken Consort.¹¹ However, in Lawes's harp consorts, there does not appear to be much significance to the extra strain; it was probably added for balance, as these sarabands are quite short and should be played at a high tempo.

Table 6.2. Structure of Suites 1-6¹²

Alman, Pavan & Fantazy strain lengths in 4/4 bars¹³

° = the last bar is notated as a breve in autograph sources

Corant & Saraband strain lengths in 6/4 bars

		Strain Lengths			Total	
		A	B	C		
Suite 1 (G minor)						
1	Alman	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel$	7	9°	33	
2	Corant	$\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel A1\parallel A2\parallel B1\parallel B2\parallel$	8	9	68	
3	Corant	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel$	5	7	24	
4	Sarab	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel C\parallel C1\parallel$	4	4	6	28
Suite 2 (G minor)						
5	Alman*	$\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel:A1:\parallel:B1:\parallel$	10	13	92	
6	Corant	$\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel$	6	6	24	
7	Corant	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel A2\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel B2\parallel$	8	8	48	
8	Sarab	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel C\parallel C1\parallel$	4	4	4	24
Suite 3 (G major)						
9	Alman	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel$	7	10°	35	
10	Corant	$\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel A1\parallel A2\parallel B1\parallel B2\parallel$	5	6	44	
11	Corant	$\parallel:A:\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel$	7	7	28	
12	Sarab	$\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel A1\parallel A2\parallel B1\parallel B2\parallel$	5	6	44	
Suite 4 (D minor)						
13	Alman*	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel$	11	15°	53	
14	Alman*	$\parallel A\parallel A1\parallel B\parallel B1\parallel$	8	10°	37	
15	Corant	$\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel A1\parallel A2\parallel B1\parallel B2\parallel$	6	7	52	
16	Sarab	$\parallel:A:\parallel:B:\parallel A1\parallel A2\parallel B1\parallel B2\parallel A3\parallel A4\parallel B3\parallel B4\parallel$	4	4	48	

¹¹ See *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music I*, ed. Michael Tilmouth (MB, 31; London, 1971; repr. 1975); *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music II*, ed. Tilmouth (MB, 32; London, 1972).

¹² In the harp consorts some of the almans are titled 'Aire'; however, for ease of reference (as these aires are in effect almans), the title alman has been preferred in all cases. Those originally titled 'Aire' are given an asterisk.

¹³ Semibreve bars are used here for ease of numerical comparison, although the pavans have been barred in breves in the transcriptions.

Suite 5 (D major)

17 Alman	A A1 B B1	8	10°	37	
18 Corant	:A: :B: A1 A2 B1 B2	8	8	64	
19 Corant	A A1 B B1	7	8	30	
20 Sarab	A A1 B B1 C C1 A2 A3 B2 B3 C2 C3	4	4	4	48

Suite 6 (D major)

21 Alman	:A: :B: A1 A2 B1 B2	8	10	72	
22 Alman	:A: :B:	6	6	24	
23 Corant	:A: :B: A1 A2 B1 B2	6	7	52	
34 Corant	:A: :B: A1 A2 B1 B2	5	6	44	
25 Sarab	:A: :B: A1 A2 B1 B2	4	4	32	
26 Aire	:A: :B:	11	15°	51	
27 Pavan	:A: :B: :C: A1 A2 B1 B2 C1 C2	17	15	19	102
28 Pavan	:A: :B: :C: A1 A2 B1 B2 C1 C2	18	18	18	108
29 Pavan	:A: :B: :C: A1 A2 B1 B2 C1 C2	18	16	19	106
30 Fantasy: through-composed		-	-	-	105

Overall, one can discern a clear relationship between the formal layout of the first five suites, and a distinction between them collectively and the sixth suite. Many of these differences may appear trivial and inconclusive, but when taken together they are suggestive of a transitional period in the development of the collection. Although there is no corresponding expansion in strain lengths, Suite 6 was certainly designed on a larger scale than the first five suites, where the basic AB structure was elaborated through repetition, and the repetition varied through divisions. The difference in internal arrangement within the suites is also reflected by a study of the development of the divisions in the individual movements.

Division-writing in the Harp Consorts

Lefkowitz first noted the similarities between Lawes's division style in the later harp consorts and the division rules as exemplified in the *Division-Violist*; 'so accurately do Simpson's rules for "division" mirror Lawes' style of writing that one might suspect that Simpson had arrived at his precepts through a thorough study of Lawes' music'.¹⁴ Although this is possible, it is more likely that the formal and stylistic conventions behind the division style were already well established by the 1630s and 1640s when Lawes was composing his large-scale division pieces. Although Lawes must have been known to Simpson, he is not mentioned in the *Division-Violist*; rather Simpson singled out (his friend) John Jenkins, Daniel Norcombe (d. 1655), and Henry Butler (d. 1652) for praise. This is hardly surprising. Lawes's fame is unlikely to have been based on the strength of his division writing, as his most elaborate division pieces were not

¹⁴ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 96.

widely disseminated; certainly, the large-scale harp consorts do not appear to have been disseminated beyond the autograph sources. Further, Lawes does not appear to have composed solo bass viol divisions. Conversely, Jenkins, Butler, and Norcombe all achieved fame as prominent composers of divisions for the solo bass viol (for examples of Norcombe's divisions see Volume 2: II.7.4*b* and II.7.5*b*).¹⁵ The relation between Lawes's division style and Simpson's precepts is likely to be evidence of a well-established and highly formulaic practice, in which both men were versed. Indeed, one can see the general precepts laid out by Simpson also in composers, especially Jenkins.¹⁶ Nonetheless, a brief overview of Simpson's main rules for division will be useful at this point.¹⁷

The first part of *Division-Violist* deals with the theory of music. The second part gives instructions on the practical application of division techniques.¹⁸ Simpson identified three main types of division: 'breaking of the ground', 'descant', and 'mixt division'. 'Breaking of the ground' is the rhythmic or melodic alteration of a given line, without the use of double or multiple stops. Simpson's rules for breaking the ground involve rhythmic diminution, octave displacement, scalar transitions, chordal skips, neighbour notes, arpeggiations, arpeggiations filled in with passing notes, and scalar transitions in conjunction with chordal skips (also known as 'running division'¹⁹). In more rapid divisions, Simpson recommends that there should be more stepwise movement, adding a rule about avoiding consecutive octaves at a cadence. This rule appears to relate to performance practice: 'Although this *running down by degrees*, seem worse in Playing a *Consort Basse*, then in a *Division* to a *Ground*; yet, in This also, it doth not want its bad Consequence; the Organist commonly joining such Parts unto his *Ground*, as the *Composer* doth unto his *Basse*.' Simpson then outlines his rules for 'descant' division, which involves the addition of a part above the bass, forming consonances with the bass, while avoiding the bass notes. Thus, descant is subject to the rules of voice-leading and must form a third, fifth or octave above the bass note; however, a sixth may also be admitted when the chord is in first inversion (this relates to Simpson's ideas of the fundamental bass).²⁰ 'Mixt Division' is the most common form of division found in compositions. It involves the admixture of descant and techniques of breaking the ground, to which are added multiple stops and dissonances. 'This; as it is more excellent then the single wayes of *Breaking the Ground*, or *Descanting* upon it; so it is more intricate; and requires something more of Skill, and

¹⁵ For Butler see *Henry Butler: Collected Works*, ed. Elizabeth Philips (RRMBE, 66; Madison, 1991).

¹⁶ Cf. Andrew Ashbee's analysis of Simpson's division rules in the consort music of John Jenkins in *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, ii: *Suites, Aires and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), Chapter 12.

¹⁷ Lefkowitz gives a similar summary in *Lawes*, 96-102. A comprehensive account of Simpson's rules can be found in Ted Conner, 'The Groundbreaking Treatise of Christopher Simpson', *JVdGSA*, 36 (1999), 5-39.

¹⁸ In the following discussion only the 1659 edition is used, this is preferred over the later edition because of the closer chronological proximity to Lawes.

¹⁹ See Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 96.

²⁰ *Division-Violist*, 28-29; Conner, 'Simpson', 20-22.

Judgement, in Composition; by reason of certain Bindings, and Intermixtures of *Discords*, which are as frequent in This, as in Other *Figurate Musick*'.²¹

To these rules, Simpson added advice on the structure of divisions in composition in a section titled '*Concerning the ordering, and disposing of Division*'.²² He advises that the first set of divisions on a strain should be breaking the ground in crotchets and quavers, or a slow descant. The next set of divisions are to be 'of a *Quicker Motion*' and then if desired 'you may fall off to *Slower Descant*, or *Binding Notes*, as you see cause; Playing also Sometimes Lowd, or Soft, to express Humour and draw on Attention'. If further divisions are required, 'After this, you may begin to Play some *Skipping Division*, or *Points*, or *Tripla's*, or what your present *Fancy*, or *Invention* shall prompt you to; changing still from one Variety to another; for, Variety it is, which chiefly pleaseth'. A similar cumulative build-up of divisions can be seen throughout Lawes's harp consorts, especially in the pavans. In pieces, such as almans, where the strains are usually only repeated once, the divisions are usually quite slow-paced 'mixt' division. Where several strains are repeated the divisions become gradually more complex with each repetition. Overall, Simpson's theory of ordering divisions can be understood as a gradual build towards a climax, and finds parallels in the formal development of the suite in England (Ch. 5). The gradual building of musical intensity places emphasis on the audience. It allows the listener to become familiar with the music before it becomes obscured by the increasingly complex divisions. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the audience is not solely for their enjoyment, it is to allow the virtuosity of the player to be understood and appreciated.

Simpson noted that divisions were generally played over a ground bass consisting of one or more strains, but also over a '*Continued Ground*', which is 'used for Playing, or Making *Division* upon, is (for the most part) the *Through-Basse*, of some *Motett*, or *Madrigall*, proposed, or selected, for That purpose'. This covered divisions for one or two viols; however,

*Divisions, of Three Parts, are not usually made upon Grounds; but rather Composed in the way of a Fancy: beginning with some Fuge; then falling into Points of Division; answering One Another; sometimes Two answering One, and sometimes, All joyning Together in Division; But commonly, Ending in Grave, and Harmonious Musick.*²³

This description is most closely related to pavans (HC28 and HC29), where the bass viol and violin gradually build the intensity of their divisions: almost recomposing the piece with new contrapuntal points in the divisions. Indeed, Simpson could also be describing many of Jenkins's fantasias, especially those for treble and two basses and organ, and two trebles and bass.²⁴

²¹ *Division-Violist*, 29.

²² *Ibid.* 47; all quotations in this paragraph are from this passage.

²³ *Ibid.* 49.

²⁴ See Bibliography for modern editions.

The layout and style of divisions in the first five suites can be represented by a brief description of Suite 1. These pieces exemplify the basic structure of Simpson's precepts, although in a general way, as many only have one set of divisions. Nevertheless, the basic idea of gradual progression is clear. The alman from Suite 1 (HC1; II.6.1) is typical of the almans in Suites 1-5. (Only 'Aire' HC5 differs from the usual $\parallel A \parallel A1 \parallel B \parallel B1 \parallel$ form, Lawes instead opting for a slightly extended version with the initial A and B strains repeated initially with no variations and then with division variations in the bass viol.) HC1 is in two strains, the second slightly longer than the first. The first strain of the almans end in either the relative major or in the dominant (here it is the relative major). On the A and B strains the bass viol doubles the bass-line of the theorbo, then on the repeat varies the ground with divisions. The divisions in this alman are typical of the almans in Suites 1-5. They are in 'mixt division': mostly in a slow (crotchet and quaver) descant above the bass, but with some doubling of the bass-line, scalar transitions, chordal skips, repeated notes and occasional multiple stops. The divisions also occasionally cross below the bass-line. Simpson noted that simple dances were also used frequently for divisions citing their similarity to ground bass patterns. Although he only names almans, he presumably would have also included corants and sarabands:

These *Aires*, or *Allmains*, Begin like *Other Consort-Aires*; after which they Repeat the *Strains*, in divers *Variations of Division*; *One Part* answering *Another*, as formerly mentioned.²⁵

The first corant (HC2) is an example of the extended corant discussed earlier (II.6.2). The A and B strains are repeated, followed by two sets of divisions on either strain. On the A and B strains the bass viol doubles the theorbo. The first set of divisions (A1 and B1) are similar to those in the preceding alman. The A2 and B2 variations build upon the first set of divisions and rely more heavily on 'mixt' divisions in a fast tempo ('running division'). Both strains are in almost continuous quaver movement, occasionally punctuated by multiple stops (usually minims or dotted minims). The second corant (HC3) acts as a foil to the preceding corant, exemplifying the shorter corant type. Formally, this corant is more similar to the alman than to the previous corant (II.6.3). Both strains are repeated: the bass viol doubles the bass on the A and B strains, and performs divisions on the A1 and B1 strains. The divisions are again 'mixt', mostly descanting above the bass. The first suite ends with a three-strain saraband (II.6.4). Each of the three strains is repeated, with divisions on the repeats. In contrast to the corants and the alman, these divisions are more heavily reliant on techniques for breaking the ground (i.e. octave displacement, scalar transitions, chordal leaps and neighbour notes) than descant and 'mixt' division. It is common for divisions in the sarabands to be less elaborate than in other dances because of their fast tempo, which adds a degree of complexity even to the divisions that look simple on the page.

²⁵ *Division-Violist*, 49.

The layout of divisions exemplified by Suite 1 changes slightly in the fourth suite, the suite that replaces the second corant with a second alman. The almans (both entitled 'aire') follow the same pattern as the alman from Suite 1. In this case it seems that there was no need for contrast as neither contains extensive divisions. 'Corant' (HC15) is in the extended form, described above (II.6.16). The significant change comes with the last movement of the suite, 'Sarab^d' HC16, which Lefkowitz identified as a reworking of one of Lawes's most famous songs, 'O My Clarissa' (II.6.31).²⁶ The harp consort version is in two repeated strains followed by four sets of variations, the most extended saraband form thus far in the collection: ||A1||A2||B1||B2||A3||A4||B3||B4||. Furthermore, in the previous suites, divisions were restricted to the bass viol; however, in this saraband (and those ending Suites 5 and 6) the divisions are shared between the violin and the bass viol. The use of extended divisions in the violins was unusual in serious consort music of this time as the violin were still primarily associated with dance music, 'in general, rapid passage-work is conspicuous by its absence in the English violin repertoire before Lawes'.²⁷ In the A1 strain the violin performs a fast-moving descant above the bass (theorbo and harp), accompanied by a slow-moving descant in the bass viol. In the A2 strain the divisions build on the quaver momentum gathered in the A1 strain. Again, the violin descants above the bass held by the theorbo and harp; however, the bass viol now also performs (quaver) divisions. Here, Lawes introduces a *concertante* idiom. The violin and bass viol divide as a pair, with short antiphonal sections, leading to the B1 and B2 strains. B1 and B2 follow the same pattern as A1 and A2. For the A3 strain Lawes reused the violin divisions from A1, now allowed to stand in relief as the bass viol doubles the theorbo. A4 sees the return of the *concertante* idiom between bass viol and violin; the violin divisions are the same as A2, although the bass viol has new variations. The B3 and B4 strains follow the same pattern. The divisions in this saraband are the most complex thus far in the collection. The formal extension of the movement, the violin divisions, and the division partnership of the violin and bass viol anticipates many of the compositional techniques successfully demonstrated in the later pavans.

Many of the formal expansions found in Suite 4 are also observable in Suite 5. Both suites have a similar layout. Although Suite 5 has two corants instead of the two aires they serve the same contrasting function. Of note are the bass viol divisions in 'Almane' (HC17), which become rather technically demanding in the B1 strain (II.6.17). The formal expansions are not paralleled in the lengths of the strains (see Table 6.2). Throughout the collection the second strains are the same length or longer than the first. Almans vary in strains of seven to fifteen (semibreve) bars and corants vary from five to nine (dotted semibreve) bars. The sarabands are mostly quite regular, having the usually four-bar strains (HC4 has six bars in its third strain and

²⁶ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 102 & 167.

²⁷ *Fiddlers*, 262-63, at 263.

HC12 has a five- and a six-bar strains). Rather, the formal expansion occurs in the repetition of the (division) strains.

Also of note from Suite 5 is the extended formal structure of 'Sarab^d' (HC20): ||A||A1||B||B1||C||C1||A2||A3||B2||B3||C2||C3||, similar to that usually found in the corants and in the three pavans (II.6.20). However, here there are three sets of variations, whereas in the corants and pavans there are two. In HC20 the formal expansion of the saraband from Suite 4 is continued and developed. Each of the three strains is repeated with quite simple ground breaking divisions in the bass viol on the A1, B1 and C1 strains. This is followed by a full repetition of the saraband with varied divisions in the violin and bass viol. Again, the divisions appear quite simple on the page but are complicated by the fast tempo. The formal extension of the piece clearly shows the way in which Lawes's compositional impetus was heading with the collection.

Although Suite 6 is composed in a similar style, employing a similar format, there are several subtle differences between it and Suites 1-5: differences that are suggestive of a transitional stage. The first 'Almane' (HC21) is in a similar form to the corants of previous suites (and to 'Sarab^d' HC20). It is played and then repeated in full with divisions: ||:A:||:B:||A1||A2||B1||B2|| (II.6.21). However, in this piece the divisions are faster and more technically demanding than in previous suites. The A1 divisions are in a continuous quaver movement largely comprised of lively 'mixt' divisions. The A2 divisions are – for the first time in the collection – in almost continuous semiquavers. There are similarly fast divisions in 'Almane' HC17, but they are much more extensive throughout this movement. The B1 strain is an exact repetition of the B strain, as the bass viol doubles the theorbo; however, the B2 strain introduces triplet variations in the bass viol. These triplets are mostly fast 'mixt' divisions, giving way to fast-moving semiquaver divisions and written-out trills. Tripla divisions are mentioned by Simpson as a means of 'changing still from one Variety to another; for, Variety it is, which chiefly pleaseth'.²⁸ Tripla divisions are also found in the B1 strain of 'Pauen' HC28 (II.6.28). The contrasting 'Almane' (HC22) is spartan by comparison (II.6.22). It has no divisions, providing an effective contrast to HC21. Both of the corants (HC23 and HC24; II.6.23-24) in Suite 6 follow the same formal layout as the earlier extended corants, however, the arrangement of their divisions is more similar to the extended sarabands. Here, once more, the violins also divide above the ground, although their divisions are quite simple elaborations of the given violin melodies. The terminal two-strain saraband (HC25) follows the same formal design as the corants (II.6.25). The violin divides with, or against, the bass viol. The violin divisions are elaborate figurations on their original melodies. After the exuberance of the initial alman, the divisions in Suite 6 are mostly quaver-based. However, the quite different

²⁸ *Division-Violist*, 47.

arrangement of divisions in the remaining pieces in this suite points to a different compositional thought governing this suite. Continuing from HC20, this suite anticipates the formal expansion of the suite – to incorporate more division writing – that can be seen with pieces HC26-30, where the formal compositional conception changes.

HC26-30 are in a slightly different order in B.3 and D.238-40. They appear to have been composed in the order HC26, HC30, HC27, HC28 and HC29. HC26 is in a different colour ink to the other four and may have been an afterthought placed before the group. Although it is similar in form to the earlier almans, it is stylistically similar to the fantasia. With HC26-30, Lawes is now composing in four real parts, rather than three. The divisions in 'Aire' HC26 are composed into the texture of the piece (II.6.26), in a similar style to the five- and six-part viol consort aires, or 'Fantazy' HC30. HC26 is similar in length to many of the harp consort almans (Table 6.2). The style of this aire is significantly different to any of the previous aires or almans. In HC26 there is a more imitative texture than before, and, for the first time, a solo passage for harp; the only other solo harp passage comes in the 'Fantazy'. The change in texture suggests that these last five pieces were specifically composed for the 'harp consort' ensemble, whereas the first 25 pieces are likely to have been adapted from basic two-part originals. The three pavans are all composed in a similar style, consisting of three repeated strains, followed by two sets of divisions on each strain: $||:A:||:B:||:C:||A1||A2||B1||B2||C1||C2||$. In the A, B and C strains the main pavan melody is in the treble register of the harp, accompanied by slow-moving countermelodies in the violin and bass viol, as the theorbo and the lowest line of the harp hold the bass. In B.3, the harp part is not rewritten for the division strains of the pavans, unlike the organ part for the suites for bass viols pieces. It seems likely that the harper was intended to repeat the original strain on the repeats, possibly with some basic division variations. This is suggested by the doubling of the bass-line of the harp in the theorbo and the main pavan melody in the violin, usually on the first division strain. In the three pavans, Lawes experimented with a slightly different formal approach to the division strains, developing to the full the formal expansions of Suites 4 and 6.

'Pauan' HC27 (II.6.27) is the only one of the three pavans apparently not based on a pre-existing composition. In the A1 and A2 sections the violin takes the pavan melody with the harp, against the bass viol divisions: the theorbo doubles the lowest line of the harp. For the A1 strain the bass viol performs 'mixt' divisions in almost continuous quavers, using chordal skips, transitions, occasional double stops and passing notes. As Simpson recommends, the intensity and speed of the divisions intensifies in the A2 section. Here the bass viol plays fast 'mixt' divisions in almost continuous quavers and semiquavers; most of the divisions consist of fast scalar transitions. Lawes used the same structure for the B1 and B2 sections, but a slightly different one for the C1 and C2 sections. The overall format of the C strain is the same as the division strains of the A and B sections: gradually intensified series of divisions in the bass viol.

However, here the violin plays a slightly modified version of the pavan melody. HC27 is the only one of the pavans where the violin does not perform elaborate divisions. This seems to be of significance given that the other pavans are based on compositions by Cormack MacDermott and Coprario, respectively. Although this may simply imply that they are later pieces Lawes may have decided to make the homage pavans more elaborate than his own compositions.

It is difficult to know what inspired Lawes to compose the homage pavans. In the autograph theorbo part (D.238), he attributed HC28 to 'Cormacke', and HC29 to 'Coprario' (although he signed his own name to the companion violin and bass viol parts in D.239-40), suggesting that these pavans are based on pre-existing compositions. 'Cormacke' is undoubtedly the Irish harper Cormac MacDermott (see Ch. 7). Upon the 'Cormacke' pavan Lawes composed the most elaborate divisions of the collection. Lefkowitz (noting the similarity of the opening themes) suggested that the 'Coprario' pavan was an elaboration of Coprario's Fantasia no. 7 for two bass viols and organ; a point more recently restated by Pinto.²⁹ The opening phrases of both pieces share the same bass-line (in different octaves), harmony, and melodic motifs; the opening melody of the B strain of the pavan may also be derived from the opening syncopated figures of Coprario's fantasia. However, as Holman suggested, it seems much more likely that Coprario composed a now lost pavan beginning with that same theme, and that it was this composition from which Lawes was quoting.³⁰ Indeed, the Coprario attribution is a palimpsest. Lawes originally began to sign his own name to HC29 in D.238. He wrote 'Wj', which he effaced and over which wrote 'Coprario'.³¹ In addition, Annette Otterstedt has identified the opening three bars of the bass viol theme of HC29 as containing 'a stowaway Ferrabosco theme';³² however, it seems likely that this Ferrabosco reference was an unconscious one on Lawes's behalf. The theme is from Ferrabosco's five-part pavan no. 2 in C major, the same pavan Lawes used as the organ part for one of his bass viol pieces (see Ch. 8), suggesting that the two pieces were composed around the same time. On the subject of these attributions, Holman noted that

the example of Lawes's pavan and alman for two bass viols and organ based on Ferrabosco (ii) makes it likely that [the] harp parts [of HC28 & 29] contain the original pieces more or less complete. Lawes presumably attributed the theorbo parts to Cormack and Coprario because they double the bass of the harp parts, while the violin and bass viol parts consist throughout of newly-composed descant and division material.³³

²⁹ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 103-04; *For ye Violls*, 154. The Coprario fantasia for two bass viols & organ is published in *John Coprario: Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Organ and Eleven Pieces for Three Lyra Viols*, ed. Richard Charteris (RRMBE, 41; Wisconsin, 1982), 26-29.

³⁰ Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *EM*, 15 (1987), 203(n27).

³¹ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.238, f. 43.

³² Otterstedt, 'Lawes's Division Viol. Pedigree of an Instrument', trans. Hans Reiners, in Ashbee, *Lawes*, 328.

³³ Holman, 'Harp', 193.

The way in which Lawes attributed the parts in both the Harp Consorts and the bass viol pieces is revealing. Similarly to the harp consort pavans, in the 'Ferrabosco' pavan and alman for two bass viols and organ Lawes attributes the organ part to Ferrabosco (D.229), but does not cite him in the two bass viol partbooks (D.238 and D.240). This seems to confirm Holman's suggestion that only the theorbo part of HC29 contains the original composition. (However, the violin and bass viol parts do not 'consist *throughout* of newly-composed descant and division material', as they also contain the pavan melody from the harp in different strains.)

HC28 (II.6.28) and HC29 (II.6.29) explore slightly different approaches to the structuring of the divisions. In the A, B and C strains the main pavan melody is in the treble register of the harp, accompanied by slow-moving countermelodies in the violin and bass viol; the theorbo doubles the lowest line of the harp. For the A1 strain of HC28 the violin plays a slightly modified version of the pavan melody, while the bass viol performs 'mixt' divisions in almost continuous quavers and semiquavers. On the A2 strain the violin abandons the pavan melody in favour of fast 'mixt' divisions, using descant, scalar transitions, chordal skips, dissonances and neighbour notes. The bass viol doubles the bass-line. In the B1 strain the violin again plays a new melody, incorporating tripla variations. Against this, the bass viol plays 'mixt' divisions, in almost continuous quaver triplets. Lawes again employs the *concertante* idiom as the violin and viol answer each other antiphonally. In B2 the violin begins slowly, contrasting the semiquaver scalar transitions in the bass viol. After about four bars the bass viol and violin join in playing fast divisions in quavers, semiquavers and demisemiquavers. In the C1 strain both violin and bass viol begin in quaver 'mixt' divisions (using all techniques), ending the strain by playing antiphonally in a question and answer style. Again, both violin and bass viol are dividing together on the C2 strain, trading phrases in mostly fast 'mixt' divisions, using all devices, but mostly scalar transitions and neighbour notes. The strain ends in fast demisemiquavers in a manner similar to what Simpson called 'driving the point':

it renders the *Division* more Uniforme, and also more Delightfull: provided, you do not cloy the *Eare* with too much repetition of the same thing; which may be avoyded by some little Variation, as you see I have done in carrying on some of the before-going *Points*. Also you have liberty to Change your *Point*, though in the *Midst* of your *Ground*; or Mingle One *Point* with another, as best shall please your *Fancy*.³⁴

Overall, the divisions in this pavan show a new way of the violin and bass viol working as division partners, now performing not just each in turn, but simultaneously. This general idea appears to have been taken up by Simpson, but his later precepts differ greatly in detail (see also Ch. 8).

³⁴ *Division-Violist*, 47.

Although the overall structure of HC29 is similar to the previous pavans there are some subtle differences. The instrumental arrangement of the A, B and C strains is the same as the other pavans. In the A1 strain the violin takes over the dividing role from the bass viol and performs divisions in a quite fast descant, in mostly quaver and semiquaver movement, under which the bass viol doubles the theorbo. For the A2 strain the violin begins with the bass viol's A strain melody up an octave, but abandons this after two bars to play the pavan melody with the harp. In this section the bass viol plays quite fast divisions, using chordal skips, neighbour notes, scalar transitions and consonant suspensions, moving in mostly quavers and semiquavers. B1 is similar in style to A1; however, the bass viol performs divisions with the violin ('driving the point'). The violin and bass viol brilliantly complement each other, using imitation and parallel movement, building to quite a fast (demisemiquaver) climax. The B2 strain provides relief from the duelling bass viol and violin. Here the violin doubles the pavan melody of the harp as the bass viol plays a quaver and semiquaver divisions. The C1 and C2 strains combine the division structure from the previous two division strains. The C1 strain is the same as A1: the violin divides as the bass viol doubles the theorbo. This violin division is quite brilliant, using transitions, neighbour notes and many chordal leaps/consonant skips, in a mostly quaver and semiquaver movement. This leads brilliantly to C2, where the violin and bass viol combine to end the movement in 'mixt' divisions. Both instruments work well together, trading phrases and motifs, and playing antiphonally in mostly fast 'mixt' divisions. Simpson recommended that when two trebles are dividing together that 'when they move in *Quick Notes, Both Together*; their most usuall passage will be in 3^{ds}. or 6^{ths}. to One Another; sometimes, an intermixture with other *Concords*'.³⁵ Such parallel motion is not always evident in Lawes's passages where the bass viol and violin divide together. Naturally, Lawes does use parallel movement, but he tends more to vary the rhythms and melodies to create complementary lines. Apart from the bass viol pieces, the closest comparison (for divisions) is [Pavan] {49} from the Royall Consort (*cf.* the analysis in Chapter 5).

In the autograph partbooks the harp consorts conclude with the 'Fantazy' D minor (HC30; II.6.30). In style and structure, it is closely related to the two fantasias from the Royall Consort. All three explore a similar problem of form against medium. Like the Royall Consort instrumentation, the combination of violin, bass viol, theorbo and harp would seem to be rather unsuitable for a fantasia (see Ch. 5). In HC30 Lawes does not rely upon the use of antiphonal groups, but instead often contrasts the upper strings with the harp. Indeed, Lawes's textural approach to the harp in HC30 is often similar to the organ parts in his fantasia-suites for one violin. The solo introduction and solo passages are techniques likely to have been transferred from the fantasia-suites. The stylistic and textural similarities between the harp parts and the

³⁵ *Ibid.* 49.

This opening imitative section is comprised of both real and tonal answers as Lawes quickly introduces new statements of the theme. In this section, and throughout the piece, Lawes takes advantage of both hands of the harpist to create often as many as five or six real parts. What often results is a three-part texture in the violin, bass viol and theorbo, against a three-part texture in the harp. The opening section is dominated by rhythmic motifs similar to those found in the D minor fantasia from the Royall Consort, especially the dotted crotchet/three-quaver motif. In addition, the 'sighing' motif (consisting of a minim or dotted minim falling to a quaver or a crotchet; see Ch. 5, Example 5.4) so prevalent in the Royall Consort fantasias is also introduced in this opening section: Example 6.2. The 'sighing' motif is echoed in the many dotted crotchet suspension figures, notable throughout the passage.

Example 6.2. Lawes, harp consort 'Fantazy', bars 11-21: 'sighing' motif

Section 2 begins after the imperfect cadence from bars 30-31 and opens with the violin and theorbo with just the bass of the harp. This light texture is contrasted quickly with a tutti until the end of the section, with a four- and five-part texture in the harp. This brief section centres on an arching motif, modulating freely through the subtonic, tonic, subdominant and tonic, ending with an inverted imperfect cadence (bars 41-42). The following section (section 3) explores free contrapuntal imitation, and again, employs a pithy repeated-note motif. In this section the sighing motif is explored fully: especially bars 52-55. As in the two Royall Consort fantasias, the sighing motifs are contrasted with divisions in the following section. Section 4

embraces the imitative qualities of the preceding sections, and combines them with a division-based style of writing (in quavers and semiquavers). The texture in the fourth section is wonderfully intricate, with Lawes's creating an antiphonal assemblage of the whole ensemble resulting in as many as seven contrapuntal parts. The harp accompaniment at bars 62-68 is built on a figure also found in the fantasia from Lawes's fantasia-suite No. 7 in D minor for two violins, and in his five-part 'Fantazy' {72} (*cf.* Examples 6.3a-c).³⁷ Indeed, the accompaniment figure further recalls the sighing motif:

Example 6.3a. Lawes, harp consort 'Fantazy', bars 62-67

Example 6.3b. Lawes, 'Fantazy' {156} for two violins, bass viol, & organ, bars 93-98

³⁷ Published respectively in Lawes: *Fantasia-Suites*, 96-99; & *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five & Six Parts*, ed. Pinto (London, 1979), 17-22.

Example 6.3c. Lawes, 'Fantazy' {72} for five viols & organ, bars 66-71

At bar 70 section 5 begins. Although the descending chromatic figure does not comprise as many notes as the chromatic figures in the Royall Consort fantasias, it is clear to see the relationship between the two. Rather than treat the chromaticism as a bass-line to be harmonized, here Lawes treats the descending chromatic figure contrapuntally and explores it imitatively, using the chromaticism to pass through keys as remote as F minor. The chromatic motif is shorter than those found in the Royall Consort fantasias to allow Lawes to control it imitatively without losing the clear tonal direction of the piece. The final section is a serene coda. Here the rhythmic pace slows to crotchets and minims, as the gently arching counterpoint moves softly to the extended plagal cadence completing the movement. Of note in this coda is the reappearance of the chromatic theme, a technique also used in the fantasia in the same key from the Royall Consort.

An examination of the sources suggests that Lawes copied his harp consorts into D.238-40 within a relatively short space of time. This implies that Suite 6 and HC26-30 were not completed (or even begun) by the time the first 20 pieces were copied into D.238-40; it appears that the harp consorts were amongst the last pieces to be added to these volumes (see Ch. 2), possibly in the late 1630s. This does not suggest that the first 20 pieces were composed at this time, but rather that they were copied into D.238-40 around this time; a more detailed discussion of the dating of the collection can be found in Chapter 7. Lawes's harp consort does not seem to have survived in its original form beyond the court environment in which it developed. However, many of the first 25 pieces remained relatively popular in two-part versions until the 1670s through various Playford editions. The poor representation of HC26-30 in non-autograph sources has been used to suggest that the addition of five these pieces to

D.238-40 took place 'when copies had already been circulated'.³⁸ This may be true, to an extent. Of HC26-30, only HC26 is found in a non-autograph source: MS 5. However, HC21-30 were all copied into D.238-40 around the same time, and HC21-25 are also preserved in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch D.220 and GB-Och, Mus. MS 599 (Table 6.3). Thus, it would seem that the poor representation of the last five pieces of Lawes's harp consorts was not due to their availability, but to their style: much like the Royall Consort fantasias (see Ch. 5). It is significant that the selections of the collection surviving in later sources are all for treble and bass, or treble and bass arrangements for keyboard (Table 6.3). All of these later sources date from the period c.1650-1670.

Table 6.3. *List of later (non-autograph) sources for the Harp Consorts*³⁹

<u>Source</u>	<u>Format</u>
US-NYp, Drexel MS 5612	keyboard
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch D.219	keyboard
GB-Och, MS 599	treble only of 2 parts
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch D.234	treble only of [2] parts
GB-Mch, Mun. MS A.2.6 ⁴⁰	treble only of 2 parts
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch D.220	bass only of [2] parts
GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch E.451	companion BC book to D.234

The fact that only selections from the first 25 pieces are represented in these sources is probably due in large part to the four-part texture of the later pieces. In 'Aire' HC26 and 'Fantazy' HC30 four real parts are required at all times, with both pieces containing solo passages for the harp. Although these passages could have been adapted for keyboard, this would not have suited the Restoration amateur taste for the kind of short, light dances popularised by the various Playford collections, which eschewed complex music (see Ch. 7). The presence of an *obligato* accompaniment with solo passages was probably considered too cumbersome to adapt for two-part performance, to which a continuo part would probably have been realized. A similar explanation can be advanced for the pavans. Contemporaries may have noted that the actual pavan was contained in the harp part, perhaps considered too cumbersome to rearrange for two parts, especially as the countermelodies in the strings also contain essential

³⁸ For ye *Violls*, 154.

³⁹ For individual concordances see Volume 2, Textual Commentary; & *Index*.

⁴⁰ See also Charteris, 'Chetham's Library, Manchester, MS Mun. A.2.6', *Chelys*, 5 (1973-4), 78.

material. Moreover, even by the time that Lawes was composing them, pavans were considered old-fashioned and had been largely superseded in popular publications by lighter dances.

In conclusion: close analysis of the structure and form of the Harp Consorts suggests that the compositional process was more complex than previously thought. Lawes composed the collection in three distinct phases, which do not correspond to the way in which the collection was copied into the surviving autograph sources. Once this distinction between composition and copying is made, the evolution of the collection becomes clearer. First Lawes composed Suites 1-5. This was followed by Suite 6, and then by the five pieces in B.3. However, even within these phases Lawes's compositional thought was gradually developing, best represented by the way in which he subtly expanded the formal boundaries of the individual pieces (and whole suites) to accommodate division writing. This further suggests that the first phase was unlikely to have been completed at the one time. The extent of the division writing in the later harp consorts is comparable to that found in the bass viols and organ pieces, but also in parts of the Royall Consort and 'Fantazia' {135}. The parallels between the Harp Consort and the Royall Consort are many and suggestive; indeed, parts of the new version of the Royall Consort are likely to have been composed around the same time as the later harp consorts. Certainly, one notes a similar impetus behind the formal expansion of both collections: divisions. Division writing in the Harp Consorts is more elaborate than in the Royall Consort ([Pavan] {49} notwithstanding), suggesting differing functions intended for the two collections. It has been argued in Chapter 5 that the Royall Consort was rescored with more divisions to bring it from the realm of functional dance music to a more concert-like situation – most likely as a form of *Tafelmusik*. However, from their inception, the Harp Consorts seem to have been composed as *Tafelmusik*. The inclusion of more elaborate division pieces – anticipated early in the collection and culminating in the homage pavans – appears to have been part of Lawes's intention to bring the harp consorts to an audience whose main attention was the music, and the performers. Whatever the case, it seems safe to assume that were it not for the disruption of the Civil War Lawes could well have developed this wonderfully esoteric genre further.

The Harp Consort in Early Stuart England

Despite containing some of his finest instrumental writing, much of Lawes's collection of harp consorts remains in relative obscurity.¹ This situation arises from two main issues: the partially incomplete harp parts; and the contentious issue of whether Lawes composed for gut-strung triple harp or wire-strung Irish harp. The latter is compounded by the problems surrounding the stringing of an Irish harp for a modern performance. Precedence is of no assistance in resolving these issues; indeed, the history and evolution of the harp consort is unclear. Thus, this chapter examines two main issues: the kind of harp for which Lawes originally composed, and the development and decline of the harp consort as a genre.

Tacitly underpinning the discussion of Lawes's harp consorts in Chapter 6 has been an acceptance of Peter Holman's theory that Lawes composed for the wire-strung Irish harp, not the gut-strung triple harp.² However, the issue of 'Lawes's harp' is one of the most contentious areas of debate surrounding the collection. When Murray Lefkowitz published the first in-depth survey of the collection, he concluded that Lawes composed for the triple harp.³ This view was broadly accepted by scholars and performers such as Joan Rimmer and Cheryl Ann Fulton. Indeed, Rimmer asserted that 'close examination shows that they are playable *only* on a triple or double harp'.⁴ These matters largely rested until Peter Holman approached the issue in 1987.⁵ He was able to show convincingly that evidence from archival and musical sources suggested that the Irish harp was the more likely candidate for original performances of Lawes's

¹ Selections from the collection were published in *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, ed. Murray Lefkowitz (MB, 21; London, 2/1971).

² Peter Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *EM*, 15 (1987), 188-203.

³ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 88-105.

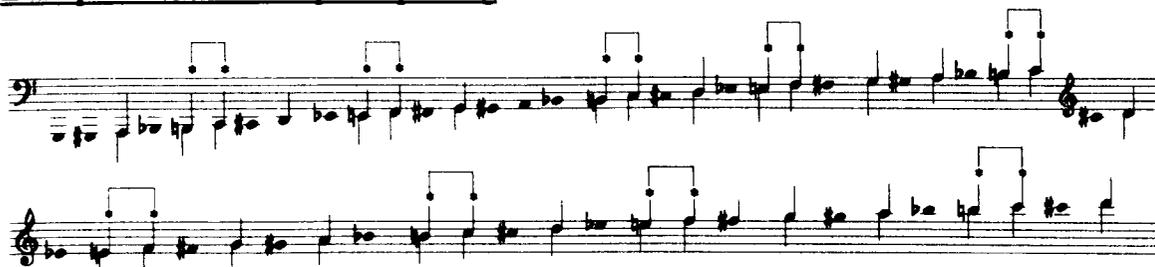
⁴ Rimmer, 'James Talbot's Manuscript VI: Harps', *GSJ* xvi (1963), 69; also Fulton, 'For the Harpe, Base Violl, Violin and Theorbo: The Consorts of William Lawes (1602-1645)', *AHJ*, 10 (1985), 15-20.

⁵ Layton Ring, 'A Preliminary Inquiry into the Continuo Parts of William Lawes for Organ, Harp and Theorbo', M.A. thesis (University of Nottingham, 1972), also argues for a wire-strung Irish harp for Lawes's harp consorts.

collection. The arguments for the triple harp have not been set down in any detail and do not hold up to much scrutiny. They are primarily based on assumption, a superficial reading of the sources, and a poor understanding of the structure of the musical establishment of the early Stuart court.⁶

Much of the triple harp argument appears to be centred on the issue of unisons. When the three harp sources for Lawes's collection (GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.229 and B.3, and GB-Och, Mus. MS 5) are collated and a harp constructed capable of performing all 30 pieces at one sitting, without having to retune, a harp of at least 64 strings (including 20 unisons) is required. Thus, the triple harp is the obvious choice. Certainly, an Irish harp capable of such a range would be unfeasible. Unisons are not a feature of Irish harps, whereas the triple harp had almost a hundred strings in three ranks. 'The two outer ranks are identically tuned to a diatonic scale; the centre rank is tuned to the intervening chromatic notes, plus two in each octave which are identical with two in the outer ranks. From the beginning its compass has not been less than four octaves and a fifth' (Example 7.1).⁷

Example 7.1. Possible Triple harp tuning



* = there is an additional string here, which may be pitched to either one of these notes, making a doubled unison

Support for the triple harp has been marshalled from circumstantial evidence relating to the court harper Jean le Felle, whom Mersenne linked to the triple harp.⁸ Based on one court document from 1635, referring to 'the consort Mons. le Felle', it has been held by some that Lawes composed his harp consorts for a consort group headed by le Felle, and thus, that Lawes composed for the triple harp.⁹ This ignores several key factors. Although le Felle was initially engaged as 'his Majesty's servant and a musician for the harp in ordinary' from October 1629, this swearing-in document could apply to a post anywhere in the court structure;¹⁰ it does not necessarily imply that he worked in the main household. Indeed, the documentary evidence suggests that he was primarily associated with the Queen's household, although there is no

⁶ For example: Fulton, 'Lawes'. Fulton's views have evidently not progressed in 20 years: see *The Historical Harp Society Bulletin*, 15/2 (August 2005), 4.

⁷ Rimmer, 'The Morphology of the Triple Harp', *G&J*, 18 (1965), 90.

⁸ *Harmonie universelle*, iii: *Traite des instruments a cordes* (Paris, 1636-7), trans. Robert Chapman, *Marin Mersenne: Harmonie Universelle, the Books on Instruments* (The Hague, 1957).

⁹ Most recently: Fulton, 'Harp: Multi-rank Harps in Europe Outside Spain', *NGD*, x. 907.

¹⁰ *RECM*, iii. 47. Also see Holman, 'Harp'; id., 'Felle, Jean de la', *BDECM*, i. 429-30.

evidence to support Fulton's claim that le Felle came to England with Henrietta Maria in 1625.¹¹ There was a strong demarcation between the various sections of the Royal Music (see Ch. 1). It would have been highly unlikely that Lawes would have composed for le Felle's consort in the Queen's household when there was two Irish harpers (Lewis Evans and Philip Squire) in the LVV. Between 1603 and 1642 le Felle is the only court harper associated with the triple harp. Furthermore, Inigo Jones's sketches of le Felle playing a small single row harp in the Queen's masque *The Temple of Love* (1635) demonstrate that he was not exclusively associated with the triple harp; he may even have played the Irish harp. Thus, even if le Felle did perform Lawes's harp consorts, there is no reason to assume that he would have done so on a triple harp.¹² Indeed, the development of the harp consort appears to have been closely linked to the growth in the popularity of the Irish harp in England generally in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹³ In order to examine the unison argument fully, we must turn to the harp sources for Lawes's collection. MS 5 lies at the centre of the unison argument, but has not been examined in detail in print hitherto. Its central position to the argument merits a detailed description, as our understanding of the manuscript has serious implications for our understanding of Lawes's harp and his harp consorts.

GB-Och, Mus. MS 5

MS 5 measures c.423 x 280mm.¹⁴ It contains 57 leaves, many of which are unused. Folios 57-57v have ruled margins but no staves, they are the same paper as the rest of the manuscript (but not the flyleaves). Two leaves, after f. 57v, were abstracted after binding: they appear to have been blank, with ruled margins. From f. 6 the rastrology changes from 13 five-line staves to 12 six-line staves. The paper is the same throughout. The watermark throughout the manuscript is similar to Heawood 1610 (single fleur-de-lis in a circle, surmounted by a cross with the letter 'c' on either side), which dates to c.1638. The watermark of the flyleaves is the name 'LEMERCIER'. This name appears as part of a larger watermark dated to 1641, Heawood 1492. Indeed, it appears on watermarks into the eighteenth century. Thus, one cannot assume that the flyleaf mark dates to the same period as Heawood 1492. Nevertheless, given the other watermark and the manuscript's contents, MS 5 appears to date to c.1638-1650. It contains three sets of, what are presumably, harp parts (this is discussed below): 21 harp consorts by Lawes in Tr-B score; an anonymous alman in Tr-B score; and 16 anonymous pieces with fully worked out inner parts. There were two copyists. Copyist 1 (C1) was responsible for copying nos. 1-16

¹¹ Fulton, 'Lawes', 15-16; ead., 'Harp', *NGD*, x. 902-08.

¹² See Holman, 'Harp', 197-98. The sketches are reproduced on 197.

¹³ See John Cunningham, "'Irish Harpers are excelent, and their solemne musicke is much liked of strangers": The Irish Harp in Non-Irish Contexts in the Seventeenth Century', in *Music and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (IMS, 10; forthcoming).

¹⁴ I am grateful to Robert Thompson for his advice on several aspects of MS 5.

(not including 14A) and the anonymous pieces in G major, A minor and C major. Copyist 2 (C2) copied nos. 14A, 17-20 and 21, and the anonymous pieces in F major. C1's script is neater than that of C2. The manuscript may have been used for performance, as page turns are avoided throughout. Only one of the Lawes pieces is titled (apparently by C1), as are several of the anonymous pieces. A third person (Hand 1) appears to have written two titles in black ink – the anonymous pavan and alman in G major – and the rest of the titles in red ink. The same person also wrote the Lawes ascriptions on ff. 2 and 3v, again in red ink. Coincidentally, these two pieces were among those published by Playford: many of the surrounding pieces were also published, but are un-ascribed. Hand 1 may have been a later owner of the manuscript, who titled the pieces with which he was familiar or whose form he could identify. Some of the titles, attributions and numberings are slightly cut off, suggesting that the manuscript was trimmed after copying. MS 5 was mostly assembled in an orderly fashion, and was probably copied before and after binding. Folios 5-6v are two single leaves glued together, presumably added after binding. The rest of the manuscript consists of nested bifolios. The presence of two copyists helps to explain the divergent formats of the Lawes pieces in MS 5, which appear to have been copied from at least two different sources. Nos. 1-20 can be divided into two groups, 1-16 and 17-20; 14A merits consideration separately.

Table 7.1. *Collation of GB-Och, Mus. MS 5*

Collation	Folios	Pieces/Notes
Bifolio 1	ff. 1-2v	Nos. 1-12
Bifolio 2	ff. 3-4v	Nos. 13-20 & 14A
Single leaves	ff. 5-6v	No. 21; unused pages; start of Fantasia in F major
Gathering 1	ff. 7-16v	Continuation of anon. suite in F major; unused pages
Single leaves	ff. 17-18v	Unused: 2 glued single leaves
Gathering 2	ff. 19-27v	Unused: nested bifolios
Single leaf	ff. 28-28v	Unused: glued single leaf
Gathering 3	ff. 29-36v	Unused: nested bifolios
Single leaf	ff. 37-37v	Unused: glued single leaf
Gathering 4	ff. 37-49v	Unused: nested bifolios
Gathering 5	ff. 50-57v	anon. suites in G major, A minor & C major; unused pages: nested bifolios;

Table 7.2. *GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, Inventory*¹⁵

Folio	No.	Title	Composer	Key	HC	Copyist
1	1	[Alman]	[Lawes]	G minor	1	C1
1	2	[Corant]	[Lawes]	G minor	2	C1
1	3	[Corant]	[Lawes]	G minor	3	C1
1v	4	[Saraband]	[Lawes]	G minor	4	C1

¹⁵ Unused pages were not foliated; here, they are foliated to give the fullest description of the manuscript.

1v	5	[Alman]	[Lawes]	G minor	5	C1
1v	6	[Corant]	[Lawes]	G minor	6	C1
2	7	[Corant]	[Lawes]	G minor	7	C1
2	8	[Saraband]	[Lawes]	G minor	8	C1
2	9	[Alman]	'Will Lawes'	G major	9	C1
2v	10	[Corant]	[Lawes]	G major	10	C1
2v	11	'Corant'	[Lawes]	G major	11	C1
2v	12	[Saraband]	[Lawes]	G major	12	C1
3	13	[Alman]	[Lawes]	D minor	13	C1
3	14	[Alman]	[Lawes]	D minor	14	C1
3v	[14A]	[Alman]	[Lawes]	G major	26	C2
3v	15	[Corant]	[Lawes]	D minor	15	C1
3v	16	[Saraband]	'W: Lawes'	D minor	16	C1
4	17	[Alman]	[Lawes]	D major	17	C2
4	18	[Corant]	[Lawes]	D major	18	C2
4v	19	[Corant]	[Lawes]	D major	19	C2
4v	20	[Saraband]	[Lawes]	D major	20	C2
5	[2]1	[Alman]	[Anon.]	D minor		C2
5v-6	[Unused]					
6v-7	[22]	[Fantasia]	[Anon.]	F major		C2
7v	[23]	[Aire]	[Anon.]	F major		C2
8-49v	[Unused]					
[Reversed end; folios are inv.]						
57-57v	[Blank]					
56v	[Unused]					
56-55v	1	'Fantazia'	[Anon.]	G major		C1
55-54v	2	'Pavan'	[Anon.]	G major		C1
54v	3	'Almayne'	[Anon.]	G major		C1
54	4	'Fantazia'	[Anon.]	A minor		C1
53	5	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	A minor		C1
53	6	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	A minor		C1
53	7	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	A minor		C1
52v	8	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	A minor		C1
52v	9	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	A minor		C1
52v	10	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	A minor		C1
52-51v	[11]	'Fantazia'	[Anon.]	C major		C1
51v	[12]	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	C major		C1
51	[13]	'Ayre'	[Anon.]	C major		C1
50v	[Unused]					
50	[14]	[Ayre] ¹⁶	[Anon.]	C major		C1

C1 uses two forms of bass clef: a figure '8' clef similar to that occasionally found in Lawes's autographs (see Ch. 2), and a less elaborate clef resembling a backwards 'c'. Nos. 1, and 7-16 use the '8' clef: nos. 2-6 use the 'c' form (Illustrations 7.1a-b). Why he changed clef is unclear, perhaps it was in imitation of the source from which he copied. Indeed, its similarity to the form occasionally found in Lawes's autographs may suggest that he was copying from an autograph or autograph-derived source. The change in clefs comes mid-way through no. 1; a

¹⁶ Unfinished; appears to be a fantasia.

comparison of the clefs shows that the 'c' form is simply a less elaborate form of the '8' clef. The treble clef also changes slightly, although the changes appear to be variations of the same basic form. Two people wrote the numbering of nos. 1-16: the first hand numbered pieces 1-6, the second nos. 7-16. Whether or not either of these number sequences were written by C1 is unclear, certainly, the number '3' from each sequence differs to that in any of the time signatures: although this need not imply a different hand.

Illustration 7.1a. GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, f. 1 (detail): Copyist 1, bass clefs (1)

The image shows a detail of a handwritten musical manuscript page. It features two systems of music, labeled '1.' and '2.'. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff of each system uses a treble clef, and the bottom staff uses a bass clef. The notation is in a historical style, with various note values and clef variations. The first system (labeled '1.') shows a treble staff with a C-clef and a bass staff with an F-clef. The second system (labeled '2.') shows a treble staff with a C-clef and a bass staff with an F-clef. The notation includes various note values, rests, and clef changes. The manuscript is written in a dark ink on aged paper.

Illustration 7.1b. GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, f. 2 (detail): Copyist 1, bass clefs (2)



Nos. 1-16 appear to have been derived from a source containing harp parts similar to those in D.229: nos. 1-8 concord closely to D.229. In nos. 1-16 of MS 5 the top line of the harp doubles the violin in places, but also has new melodic material. The similarity of style in nos. 1-16 of MS 5 suggests that they share a common source. C1 also added an inner part to the basic Tr-B part. This largely consists of fragments of the violin line (at pitch or transposed), or parallel movement in thirds or sixths with the melody. Whether this format was derived from the source from which he copied or whether he also had access to a separate violin source is unclear. From an examination of Lawes's harp parts in B.3, it seems unlikely that he would have used the transposed treble line as an inner part, although this may reflect performance practice of the harp as a continuo.

The C2 sequence (nos. 17-20) are treble and bass scores of the outer string parts, with occasional descant passages usually in thirds or sixths; however, they are not reductions of surviving treble and bass parts.¹⁷ The treble lines contain several points (usually individual bars or beats) divergent from the known string sources. Either C2 was adding material editorially (which due to their inconsistency seems unlikely), or he was copying from another lost source(s). The majority of these divergences are divisions: *cf.* the top line of the harp and the violin part in bars 3-4 of HC20, Example 7.2.

¹⁷ For non-autograph sources see Volume 2, Textual Commentary, & Index.

Example 7.2. Lawes, 'Sarab^d' (HC20), Strain 1

This is significant, as MS 5 is a unique source of the harp parts for HC17-20. Further, if these parts were derived from string parts they may represent revisions by Lawes. Thus, C2 appears to have had access only to a source for the outer string parts. Given this kind of layout, one wonders if he copied his parts entirely from a source similar to the one used by Playford for his publications (hereafter the 'Playford source'), and possibly the same one that C1 (may have) used for his violin fragments. Such a source would probably have contained the basic string parts, with a Tr-B harp part; the pavans and fantasia are unlikely to have been included. Significantly, nos. 17-20 were all printed in *Court-Ayres* (1655) and nos. 17, 18 and 20 in *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662).¹⁸ Although the printed versions are not exactly concordant with MS 5, there appears to be a close relationship. For example, in *Court-Ayres* (no. 98), the treble is identical to Lawes's autograph violin part except bar 1, note 7, where it is the same as MS 5 (no. 18). However, *Court-Ayres* does not have the other divergences in MS 5. The same piece is also in *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (no. 38), but here the treble follows the autograph part throughout. Indeed, it is tempting to suggest that a source for the printed versions of the pieces may have been in the hands of one, or both, of the MS 5 copyists. This lost 'Playford source', which seems to have a close relationship to the autograph parts, and have been the manuscript offered for sale by Henry Playford in 1690.¹⁹ Playford also printed nos. 9 and 10 of the C1 sequence in *Musicks Hand-maide* (1663), apparently adapted from string parts, although they do not concord with any of the known string sources.²⁰ Although the printed keyboard versions are not related to MS 5, they are similar in layout to the Harp Consort parts copied by C2.

14A confuses matters somewhat. It was copied by C2 between nos. 14 and 15 – a G major piece copied between two D minor pieces (of the same suite) by C1 (Illustration 7.2). Although 14A is in the same Tr-B score format as the rest of the C2 pieces, it appears to have been derived from a source close to B.3: the melody lines are contained within the harp part in B.3. 14A mostly follows the outer lines of the harp part, but sometimes the treble follows the

¹⁸ *CA*, nos. 97, 98, 100 & 101; *CMA*, nos. 37-39.

¹⁹ 'A Curious COLLECTION of Musick-Books, Both *VOCAL* and *INSTRUMENTAL*' (London, 1690) (GB-Lbl, Harl. 5936/nos. 419-20), no. 117.

²⁰ *MHM*, nos. 7 & 8.

tenor line of the B.3 harp, and some notes are added to the bass-line (Example 7.3). Given that the MS 5 version does not always follow the highest and lowest lines of the B.3 accompaniment, C2 may have had access to an early version of Lawes's harp part or to a later cut-down version, similar in layout to D.229. The direction of the stems indicates that C2 did not intend to fill in detailed inner parts. The important point is that 14A is not a simple Tr-B reduction of the violin and theorbo parts, and may have been similar to (if not the same as) the source from which nos. 1-16 were partially derived by C1. Alternatively, it is possible that 14A was copied from the same 'Playford source' as nos. 17-20. It seems likely that this Aire (HC26) was the only one of the five harp consort pieces in B.3 included in the 'Playford source'. The others are lengthy and complex, in a basic three-part texture. Only HC26 is the type Playford used for his publications. However, this piece contains a brief solo passage for harp and another for harp and solo bass viol. Therefore, in order to make a workable two-part version Playford would have had to include some of Lawes's harp part. This would not have been an issue in any of the preceding 25 harp consort pieces, where the harp is not essential to the structure. It is also worth noting the downwards octave transposition of Lawes's treble harp line at bars 22-23. The transposition of such a high line would fit with the suggestion that C2 was copying from a 'Playford source', as *d''* would be rather high for amateur viol players.

Example 7.3. Lawes, 'Aire' (HC26): comparison of harp parts

Musical score for measures 10-15. The score is written for three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. Measure 10 is marked with a '10' above the first staff. A section marker 'B' is placed above the first staff at the beginning of measure 11. Measure 15 is marked with a '15' above the first staff. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and dynamic markings.

Musical score for measures 20-25. The score is written for three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. Measure 20 is marked with a '20' above the first staff. The music continues with a similar rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, including some rests and dynamic markings.

A modern musical score for three systems. The first system consists of three staves: a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature, a bass clef staff with a key signature of one sharp, and a lower bass clef staff. The music is marked with a measure number '25' above the first staff. The first system concludes with two first endings, labeled '1.' and '2.'. The second system consists of two staves, both with treble clefs and a key signature of one sharp, also concluding with two first endings labeled '1.' and '2.'. The third system consists of two staves, both with treble clefs and a key signature of one sharp.

Illustration 7.2. GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, f. 3v: nos. 14A (Copyist 2) & 15-16 (Copyist 1)

A photograph of the original handwritten musical manuscript, showing the same three systems of music as the modern score above. The manuscript is written on aged, slightly stained paper. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and note values. The handwriting is clear but shows signs of being a working draft or a copyist's manuscript. The first system is marked with a measure number '25' above the first staff. The manuscript concludes with two first endings, labeled '1.' and '2.', in each of the two systems.

It seems that 14A was copied by C2 in a space left by C1. This would explain the physical demarcation of 14A implied by the empty staves after no. 14 and before no. 15: three after no. 14, and one before no. 15. Thus, C1 copied nos. 1-14 on ff. 1-3, and one of two situations ensued. Either, after C1 copied nos. 13 and 14 from his sources, but before he could complete notation of this suite (nos. 15 and 16), C2 copied 14A. Alternatively, C1 left space for 14A (or another piece) to be copied, and 14A, along with the other Lawes pieces were copied by C2. It is impossible to tell whether the two men were working together, although they must have been working roughly contemporaneously. C2 copied a short alman after no. 20 in Tr-B score (II.7.1). It is a well crafted piece, perhaps by Lawes. It was numbered '1' and was evidently meant to begin a new collection, implying the end of the Lawes section. C2 made an error in transcribing the second strain of the piece: in the bass part he omitted a minim under the semibreve of bar 13 a mistake that he did not realize for another bar and a half. He then crossed out these bars and rewrote the entire bass-line on the next stave. This kind of mistake implies that he was working from individual parts, perhaps a source similar in format to *Court-Ayres*. Overall, MS 5 is 'a late and somewhat dubious source' for Lawes's repertoire'.²¹ Dubious in the sense that it cannot be taken at face value as an *authoritative* representation of Lawes's compositional or performative intentions, especially when compared with the two holograph harp sources. However, the three sources, if understood correctly, can reveal quite conclusive evidence of 'Lawes's harp'.

On one hand, as D.229 is a Tr-B score of only the first eight pieces of the collection (HC1-8), it provides only limited information of Lawes's harp. The 'D.229 harp' has a range of (at least) *D* to *b-flat''*: i.e. a harp of at least 34 strings assuming no retuning of accidentals between pieces in different keys. (In no. 7, D.229 also contains an *e-flat'*, which can be omitted editorially in consultation with the other sources; see Textual Commentary.) On the other hand, B.3 gives the fullest account of Lawes's harp. The B.3 pieces have a range of 41 notes from *D* to *d'''*, and seven unisons, implying a harp of at least 48 strings. The range of notes and unisons used in each piece in both autograph sources are given in Examples 7.4a-7.5b; double-stemmed notes indicate unisons. If the range of notes and unisons needed to perform the harp parts from both D.229 and B.3 are put together the result is perhaps closer to the kind of harp originally used than would be constructed from B.3 alone. This harp, without the retuning of accidentals between pieces, would need at least 50 strings: 43 notes and 7 unisons (Example 7.6).

Example 7.4a. Range of notes used in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, nos. 1-8



²¹ Holman, 'Harp', 201.

No. 2

No. 3

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6

No. 7

No. 8

Example 7.4b. Total range of notes used in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.229, nos. 1-8

Example 7.5a. Range of notes used in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3 harp parts²²

HC26

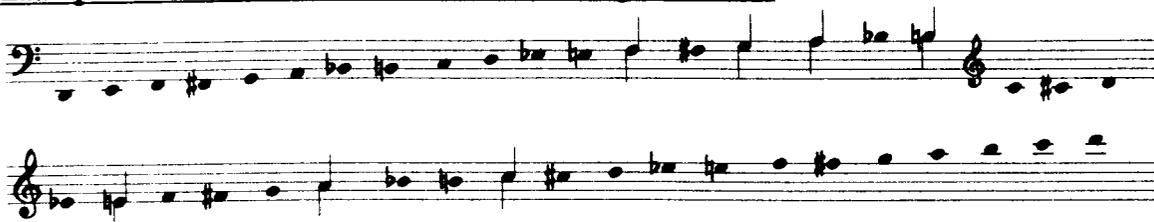
HC27

HC28

HC29

HC30

²² Bracketed notes indicate editorial accidentals suggested by the string parts.

Example 7.5b. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3 total range & unisons**Example 7.6. 'B.3/D.229 harp'**

The 'D.229/B.3 harp' is, however, only partially representative of Lawes's harp, as it is reasonable to assume such a harp would have been able to play all 30 harp consorts, without retuning. Indeed, the extensive chromatic lower range is necessary, as it is implausible that the harp would have been retuned between pieces in different keys.²³ The harp was notoriously difficult to tune, but more importantly, most of the chromatic pitches appear within at least one piece (see Examples 7.4a-b and 7.5a-b). Therefore, flat or sharp and natural versions of most of the notes would be needed; only the pitches *b-flat'-b'*, *e-flat''-e''*, *f'-f#''* and *b-flat''-b''* would be optional and could be retuned between pieces. In the pieces for which a harp part survives, the bass-line of the harp mostly doubles the bass of the piece (i.e. the theorbo). Thus, Lawes's harp must be able to play at least the theorbo part of HC9-25. In order to do this a *g#* must be added to the bass register of the D.229/B.3 harp. Furthermore, given its similarity to D.229, MS 5 should be taken seriously as a source for Lawes's harp parts; however, only in its range of notes. MS 5 (nos. 1-20 and 14A) adds only two notes to the range established from D.229 and B.3: *g#'* and *c#''*. However, the *c#''* only occurs in 'Corant' HC18, copied by C2, which is a reduction of the string parts and therefore can plausibly be omitted from consideration in the reconstruction. Thus, one can reasonably assert that Lawes's harp should contain at least 45 notes and 7 unisons (Example 7.7). This range could be played on a triple harp, but a large Irish harp, similar to the Dalway harp, is equally possible.

²³ As suggested in Billinge & Shaljean, 'The Dalway or Fitzgerald Harp (1621)', *EM*, 15 (1987), 183; & Layton Ring, 'The Harp for Lawes', *EM*, 15 (1987), 589.

Example 7.7. GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. B.3, D.229, & GB-Och, Mus. MS 5 (range)

The Dalway harp fragments, consisting of the neck and most of the forepillar, contain 52 pins. 'The arrangement is of a row of 45 pins along the harmonic curve, with the curious addition of an extra seven pins positioned just above this row near the centre of the neck'.²⁴ Opposing the traditional view that the Dalway harp was diatonic with a range of over six octaves, Michael Billinge and Bonnie Shaljean convincingly argued that it was diatonic in the lower range (about one and a half octaves) and chromatic in the upper (about two and a half octaves). Thus, it was a single-row harp with a second row of strings covering the mid-point of the instrument. From this, they proposed two possible tunings: Example 7.8.

Example 7.8. Two possible tunings for the Dalway harp by Billinge & Shaljean²⁵Tuning 1

(+2) = there are 2 further unisons of this note (e'), totalling 4

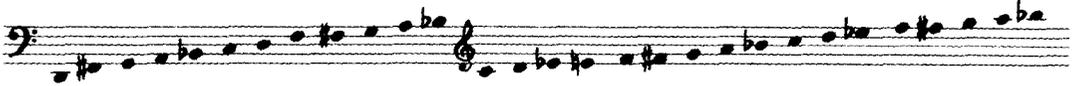
Tuning 2

(+2) = there are 2 further unisons of this note (e'), totalling 4

The range of notes needed for the D.229/B.3 harp is similar to that in Tuning 2, although slight modifications are needed to facilitate a partially chromatic tuning also in the lower part of the range. However, the chromaticism is not the real problem. Due to the distribution of strings, even to incorporate the seven unisons of the D.229/B.3 harp into Tuning

²⁴ Billinge & Shaljean, 176.

²⁵ Ibid. 179.

No. 3 

No. 4 

No. 5 

No. 6 

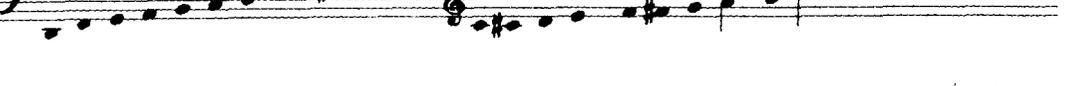
No. 7 

No. 8 

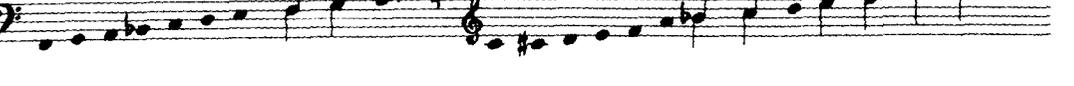
No. 9 

No. 10 

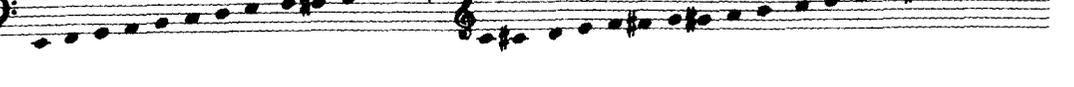
No. 11 

No. 12 

No. 13 

No. 14 

No. 14A 

No. 15 

No. 16 

No. 17 

No. 18 

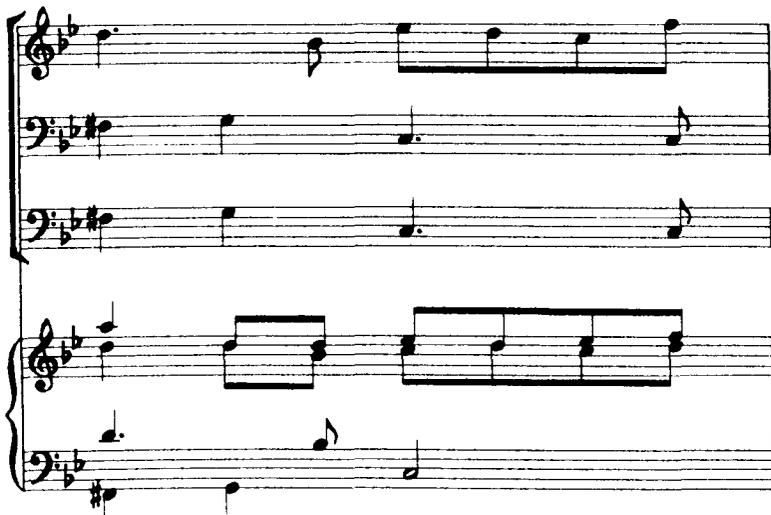
No. 19 

No. 20 

* = not raised in MS 5, but goes to *F#* - raised in D229
 *** = *e*-flat in key signature, but goes to and from *F#*

** = not raised in MS 5, but goes to *F#*

If it were considered that all unisons notated in MS 5 were playable on the harp, and not simply errors or additions by C1, then the harp need to play the three sources would have to have at least 64 strings: 44-note range and 20 unisons. Thus, the triple harp is the obvious choice. However, a detailed analysis of the unisons in MS 5 shows that the vast majority of them contain no essential melodic or harmonic material, and are usually the result of the violin melody crossing with the harp or for no apparent musical reason. Two examples from HC1 illustrate this point. In bar 5, notes ii and v (*d''*) of the treble part of the harp are the result of mixing a new countermelody with the violin line.³⁰



At bar 14, the unison on note viii of the top line of the harp (*a'*) is the result of merging the violin part a countermelody that descants above the theorbo and bass viol:

³⁰ The harp parts in these examples are taken from MS 5 only.

In neither instance are the unisons necessary in the harmonic sense, nor do they convey an overall 'unison effect'. Thus, it is highly unlikely that these doubled notes were considered necessary for performance. It is much more likely that they were the result of the inner part being added to create the appearance of a fuller texture, and would not have been realized in performance. If the violin fragments are omitted many of the problematic unison strings are removed. Thus, most, if not all, of the MS 5 unisons cannot be included in a serious reconstruction of Lawes's harp. It would seem likely that C1 was not copying for a specific instrument, and felt free to include unison strings that probably would not have been on the actual instrument (for voice-leading reasons etc.). Alternatively, it is possible that the C1's additions were playable on a harp available to him: perhaps a gut-strung Italian double or triple harp. The essential point is that the instrument for which MS 5 was copied – fact or fiction – was different to that for which Lawes originally composed. MS 5 may have been copied for performance on a triple harp – *à la* Fulton and Rimmer – but this is not sufficient evidence to assert that Lawes originally composed for such an instrument.

Example 7.10. Range of notes & unisons used in GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, nos. 1-20 & 14A

MS 5 also forces us to reconsider the extent to which we should assume that Lawes unisons in B.3 were actually playable. This appears to be trivial, but it is of great significance when attempting to reconstruct a workable and realistic harp. Lawes notated seven unison pitches: *f*, *g*, *a*, *b*, *e'*, *a'*, *c''*. However, of these only the *g* and *a'* are used more than once: the *g*

twice, and the *a'* three times. Each of these unique unisons is the result of intersecting lines. In none of these instances could it be said that Lawes was aiming at a 'unison effect'; further, the five examples (quoted below) vary from semiquaver to crotchet beats (Examples 7.11*a-e*). The two notes that appear more than once also result from intersecting lines, although some instances last for slightly longer than the previous examples (Examples 7.12*a-d*). Thus, it is unlikely that these unisons were realized in performance, although the initial note could be repeated to approximate the texture.

Example 7.11. Unique unisons in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3

Example 7.11*a*. 'Pauen' (HC29), bar 20

Example 7.11*b*. 'Pauen' (HC28), bar 3

Example 7.11*c*. 'Aire' (HC26), bar 5

Example 7.11d. 'Pauan' (HC27), bar 1

Musical score for 'Pauan' (HC27), bar 1. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of five staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Bass) and a piano accompaniment (Grand Staff). The piano part features a prominent bass line with a box highlighting the first two measures.

Example 7.11e. 'Pauan' (HC27), bar 14

Musical score for 'Pauan' (HC27), bar 14. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of five staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Bass) and a piano accompaniment (Grand Staff). The piano part features a complex texture with a box highlighting a specific melodic line in the right hand.

Example 7.12. Multiple unisons in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3**Example 7.12a. 'Fantasy' (HC30), bar 68**

Musical score for 'Fantasy' (HC30), bar 68. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of five staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Bass) and a piano accompaniment (Grand Staff). The piano part features a complex texture with a box highlighting a specific melodic line in the right hand.

Example 7.12b. 'Pauan' (HC27), bar 2

Example 7.12c. 'Pauen' (HC29), bar 24

Example 7.12d. 'Fantazy' (HC30), bars 7-8

None of these unisons is vital to the musical structure. Nor do they serve to create an overall effect. Indeed, it seems strange that in the B.3 harp parts Lawes used unisons only ten times, the majority lasting for a crotchet beat or less. Thus, can it really be seriously held that Lawes was composing in a 'tradition of unisons'? No. It is far more likely that if Lawes did compose for a triple harp he would have exploited its key characteristic: unisons. Rather, his unisons appear to have largely derived from the contrapuntal structure. Indeed, copious examples of similar

unisons are found in the organ parts for his five- and six-part viol consorts, and in the organ parts of the fantasia-suites. This is not to suggest that Lawes's harp did not have any unisons. However, it is to suggest that we must be guarded against reading sources too literally, even the autograph ones. Ideally, a plausible reconstruction of Lawes's harp would include all of the notes necessary to perform fully all of the harp parts written by Lawes, unisons included. However, the unisons in the harp sources have had a serious effect in distorting the issue of the kind of harp for which Lawes originally composed, and have provided false information upon which several people have based specious conclusions.

In conclusion: the most sensible option is to omit all unisons from a reconstruction of Lawes's harp. This is not to say that they should be suppressed from a critical edition, but rather, that the information must be critically evaluated before arriving at conclusions on Lawes's initial instrumentation: unisons are given in the complete critical edition in Volume 2. Thus, it can be postulated that Lawes's harp contained at least 45 strings, with a four-octave range from *D* to *d'''*, and was mostly chromatic throughout.³¹ The amount of unisons on was probably quite few, if, indeed, there were any at all. Such a harp would resemble the size of the Dalway harp: Example 7.13.

Example 7.13. 'Lawes's harp'



There are no obvious precedents for Lawes's use of the harp in a mixed consort ensemble. However, simply because we lack the sources for examples prior to his collection, it does not necessarily follow that Lawes invented the genre. Mixed ensembles using a harp as an accompaniment appear to have been used throughout the first half of the century, although Lawes's collection is the first to contain *obligato* harp parts. Moreover, the evidence suggests that harp consorts generally preferred Irish harps over triple harps, adding further weight to the evidence presented above that Lawes composed for the Irish type of instrument.

Holman first suggested that the harp consort scoring developed from the substitution of the harp for a keyboard instrument in the accompaniment of divisions, noting that this transition 'has an exact parallel in the development of the first English mixed consort', as outlined by Lyle

³¹ It would not require 'at least four and one-half octaves', as claimed in Fulton, 'Harp', 16.

Nordstrom.³² (Nordstrom convincingly argued that, during the last third of the sixteenth century, the mixed consort ensemble developed from an earlier repertoire of treble and ground lute duets.) The esoteric scoring of Lawes's harp consorts suggests that the form originated and developed primarily at court: few patrons outside it could have employed such an ensemble. However, one of those few patrons was Robert Cecil, who also employed the court musicians Cormac MacDermott (an Irish harper), Nicholas Lanier and John Coprario. These posts were in addition to their court duties on an occasional, or part-time, basis between 1603 and the earl's death in 1612.³³ Moreover, 'Cecil owned at least two virginals, three organs, an Irish or wire-strung harp, a bass violin and several lutes and viols'.³⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that these instruments were played as an ensemble; however, it is tempting to imagine a nascent form of harp consort in Cecil's household during the first decade of the century. The main development of the harp consort is likely to have happened at court. There was a long tradition of harpers employed at the English court, stretching back several centuries (Table 7.4); however, MacDermott (appointed in 1605), was the first of a series of Irish harpers to be appointed that performed and composed art music. (MacDermott's surviving pieces are transcribed in Volume 2: II.7.2-8; see also the notes in the Textual Commentary). This represented a significant break with harpers of the previous century, who belong to the minstrel tradition.³⁵ MacDermott would seem to be the key figure in the early development of the harp consort. Indeed, Lawes based one of his harp consort pavans on a piece by MacDermott, perhaps hinting at his influence (Ch. 6).³⁶ The harp consort may have developed gradually in the first decades of the century by the addition of improvised (or informally composed) treble, bass or continuo lines to a harp used to accompany divisions on the bass viol. Perhaps the most tantalising documentary evidence for the development of the harp consort comes from a letter from Sir Gerald Herbert to Sir Dudley Carleton dated 24 May 1619:

After supper they [the French Ambassador and attendants, being entertained by the Duke of Lennox] were carried to the Queenes privie chamber, where French singinge was by the Queenes musitians; after in the Queenes Bedd Chamber they hearde the Irish-harpp, a violl, & mr [Nicholas] Lanyer, excellently singinge & playinge on the lute.³⁷

The exact ensemble, described in Herbert's letter is difficult to ascertain; was he describing an ensemble or a series of solo performers? The description of Lanier as 'excellently singinge &

³² Holman, 'Harp', 191-92: the quotation is from 192; also Nordstrom, 'The English Lute Duet and Consort Lesson', *LSJ*, 18 (1976), 5-22.

³³ See Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)', *JRMA*, 116 (1991), 24-40; Richard Charteris, 'Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605-1613', *RMARC*, 12 (1974), 115-36. Coprario did not receive an official court post until 1622.

³⁴ Hulse, 'Cecil', 30.

³⁵ See Holman, 'Harp', 188.

³⁶ See *ibid.* 192-93; & Chapter 6, above.

³⁷ *CSPD* (1619-1623), 47; *RECM*, viii. 80.

playing on the lute' suggests that he was doing so alone. However, it is tempting to imagine Lanier as providing a continuo on the lute to bass viol divisions by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, accompanied by Philip Squire on the Irish harp.³⁸ The Herbert extract is ambiguous, but it shows the Irish harp, (presumably a bass) viol and lute being played in close proximity, lending some support to Holman's description of the development of the scoring.

Table 7.4. List of harpers employed at the English court c.1511-1696

Reigning monarchs are given in **bold type**
Unrecorded information is indicated by a dash

<u>Name</u>	<u>Recorded dates of service</u>	<u>Type of harp</u>	<u>Household</u>
Henry VIII			
Blynde Dikke	(1511-16)	-	Main
Henry VIII/Edward VI/Queen Mary I			
William More	(1515-65)	-	Main
Bernardine de Ponte	(1545-57)	-	Main
Edward Lake	(1547-57)	-	Main
James I			
Cormack MacDermott	(1605-18)	Irish harp	Main
James I/Charles I			
Daniel Cahill	(1607-19; 1629-42)	Irish harp	Queen
Philip Squire	(1618-42)	Irish harp	Main
Charles I			
Jean de la Felle	(1629-42)	Triple harp?	Queen
Lewis Evans	(1633-42)	Irish harp	Main
Malcombe Groate	(1638-41)	Scottish harp?	Queen/Royal Children ³⁹
Charles II			
Charles Evans	(1660-87)	Italian harp	Main
William III			
Maurice Reynolds	(1690-?)	-	-
Evan Maylam	(1696-?)	-	-

The harp consort may have progressed from largely improvised ensembles based around divisions to more serious consort music, where again the harp substituted for the organ. The Irish harp was traditionally played with long fingernails producing a melting sound 'rich and resonant, with something of both bells and guitar'.⁴⁰ In the words of Francis Bacon, 'no Instrument hath the Sound so melting and prolonged, as the *Irish Harp*'.⁴¹

³⁸ Squire replaced MacDermott upon his death in 1618.

³⁹ Groate described himself as 'Musicon to [Queen Anne] for the Scottes Musicke' in an undated petition of 1619: *CSPD* (1619-1623), 30; *RECM*, viii. 79. He was also appointed harper to the Royal children sometime around 1638: *RECM*, v. 18. The latter post was presumably a sinecure.

⁴⁰ Rimmer, 'The Morphology of the Irish Harp', *GSJ*, 17 (1964), 41.

⁴¹ Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum* (London, 1627), Century iii, 53, no. 223.

Although it is unclear whether the Irish harpers at the English court would have used the fingernail technique, the sound of the instrument would have been quite powerful. Indeed, the sustaining tone of the Irish harp, for which Francis Bacon could find no equal, would have given a resonance similar to a chamber organ.⁴² Music such as Coprario's pieces for bass viols and organ or in his fantasia-suites would have been quite easily adapted for the harp. It is perhaps notable that a primary source for the organ part to Coprario's fantasia-suites, GB-Lbl, R.M.24.k.3, and Lawes's harp parts in D.229 both survive mostly in Tr-B format. Indeed, the harp may have been used as a continuo instrument. Evidence for this is found in Martin Peerson's *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630), which lists the Irish harp along with virginals, bass-lute and bandora as an alternative 'for want of organs' in the performance of an optional continuo part. The organ part in *Mottects* is a Tr-B score (a *basso seguente* and a treble part usually taken from the uppermost vocal or instrumental part), with some continuo figures; the first time that a figured bass appeared in an English published collection. The organ part is not essential and chords were clearly intended to be realized in performance. Peerson's optional continuo instruments should be read with some caution. They probably represent the popularity of the listed instruments, or perhaps are a reflection of the instruments available to the patron of the books.⁴³ However, it is suggestive that the Irish harp is listed with other known continuo instruments and in relation to the realization of a continuo part. Moreover, it provides an example of the substitution of the Irish harp for the chamber organ.

The first documentary evidence of a harp consort dates from 1634. The group known as 'the Symphony', which provided accompaniment for the vocal music in the Inns of Court masque *The Triumph of Peace*, consisted of a harp, a violin, and several lutes and viols: Table 7.5.⁴⁴

Table 7.5. 'the Symphony' from *The Triumph of Peace*

KM & QM refer to King's & Queen's musicians, respectively

(La Felle/) Thomas Bedowes; harp	John Lawrence; lute (KM)
Jacques Gaultier; lute (KM/QM)	Richard Miller; lute
Peter Jacob; lute	William Page; bass lute
John Jenkins; viol	Dietrich Steffkin; viol (QM)
Robert Keith; lute	William Tomkins; viol
John Kelly; lute (KM)	John Woodington; violin (KM)

⁴² Bacon noted that 'no *Instrument* hath the *Sound* so *Melting* and *Prolonged*, as the *Irish Harpe*', *Sylva Sylvarum*, Century iii, 53, no. 223. A representative example of this harp sound can be heard on *Queen of Harps*. Ann Heymann. Temple Records COMD2057, which includes an arrangement of three consort pieces by Cormack MacDermott for solo Irish harp.

⁴³ I am grateful to Prof. Richard Rastall for his advice on Peerson.

⁴⁴ See also, Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courty Masque 1604-1640* (Oxford, 1996), 172-75.

As early as Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque at Court* (1613) harps were used in court masques. The libretto calls for two harps, which are played together;⁴⁵ however, there is nothing to suggest that they were used in consort ensembles. The 'Symphony' appears to coincide roughly with the establishment of a regular ensemble of this kind in the Queen Henrietta Maria's household, 'the consort of Mons. Le Felle'. However, this is the only document relating to le Felle's consort, which was probably assembled for a masque performance.⁴⁶ There is no evidence of when the group was formed, nor that it was even a harp consort, and its relevance to Lawes's harp consort may be little more than a coincidence.

Lawes's court appointment in 1635 probably heralded, what turned out to be, the final stage in the development of the genre. His court post made an Irish harp available to him as a regular compositional resource. He may have been introduced to some form of harp consort prior to his appointment, but probably could not count on the harp as a regular resource for his compositions. Indeed, the instrumentation of Lawes's harp consort probably became fixed only after 1635. Many of the first 25 dances probably originated in two-part (Tr-B) versions, which could be easily arranged for whatever instruments were available. HC1-25 are essentially two-part pieces: a brief analysis of their structure shows how the harp consort may have originated from the Tr-B versions. (A suggestive parallel is the apparent development of the lyra viol consort from two-part Tr-B pieces, discussed in Chapter 3.) First, a brief appraisal of Lawes's two-part music will be instructive.

Although there is often a tendency to ignore the authenticity of two-part settings, increasingly in the first half of the century composers appear to have used them as the basis for more complex arrangements, and they gradually appear to have become a distinct compositional entity. The *Index* currently lists over 120 miscellaneous aires by Lawes transmitted in two-part sources. ('Miscellaneous' is here used to describe pieces that do not appear to be part of a collection; it does not include two-part versions of other known consort pieces, such as the Harp Consorts etc. published by Playford.) Several of these miscellaneous aires survive incomplete in sources that were presumably originally in two parts. One of the most interesting is GB-Ob, Mus. MS D.220, which contains the bass part for over 500 pieces.⁴⁷ Its contents are similar to those published by Playford in *A Musicall Banquet* (1651), *Court-Ayres*, and *Courtly Masquing Ayres*; indeed, many Playford pieces have concordances in D.220. The title page of D.220 states that it was 'For the Bass and Treble Violls', and gives a date of '1654'.

⁴⁵ Ben Jonson: *The Complete Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven, 1969), 206-12.

⁴⁶ *RECM*, iii. 83. Le Felle is discussed in Holman, 'Harp', 196-98.

⁴⁷ Robert Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688', Ph.D. diss., 2 Vols (King's College, London, 1988), gives a detailed account of this manuscript, and includes a thematic index. Another interesting 'bass only' source is GB-Och, Mus. MS 1022, which also appears to have originally consisted of treble and bass books.

Lawes's two-part aires that have survived complete are primarily preserved between three main sources: the publications of the Playfords; Edward Lowe's partbooks GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D233-6, and E.451 (see Ch. 5); and US-NH, Misc. Ms. 170, Filmer 3. A brief overview of these sources will be useful:

1. John (and Henry) Playford published 46 individual two-part aires by Lawes in six publications (not including arrangements of known consort pieces): 7 in *A Musicall Banquet*; 33 in *Court-Ayres*; 28 in *Courtly Masquing Ayres*; 3 in *Musicks Hand-maide*; 1 in the *English Dancing Master* (all editions to 1686).⁴⁸
2. D233-6 contains 37 two-part pieces by Lawes. E.451 contains an unfigured continuo part for most of these pieces;⁴⁹ the continuo essentially doubles the bass part, and is particularly useful for the pieces where the bass was not copied into D.236. Twelve of the D.233-6 pieces are incomplete: bass only, usually in D.236 and E.451. Although there is some overlap between Lowe's partbooks and the Playford publications, there are differences between the nine concordant pieces. These differences are slight (usually rhythmic), but they strongly suggest that Lowe was not copying from the prints. A representative example shall illustrate the minor textual differences (Example 7.14a-b).

Example 7.14a. Lawes, 'Saraband' {248}: GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.234, D.236, & E.451

Example 7.14b. Lawes, 'Saraband' {248}: *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662), no. 115

⁴⁸ Index for concordances. The symphony from *The Triumph of Peace* was published in John Banister, *New Ayres* (London, 1678), no. 27.

⁴⁹ See Index.

3. Filmer 3 consists of three partbooks ('Treble', 'Meane', and bass), compiled by one of the Filmer family's household musicians, Francis Block, over a substantial period in the middle of the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ The manuscript contains (*inter alia*) 16 two-part aires by Lawes: several are anonymous, and one is attributed to 'D[r] Colman'. There are also seven three-part aires by Lawes, the (rather incompetent) tenor part of which appears to have been added by Block. Although it is a unique source for two of the aires – {225} and {353} – most have concordances in *Court-Ayres*, *Courtly Masquing Ayres*, D.220, and D.233-6.⁵¹ However, the textual variants suggest that the Filmer pieces are not derived from either of the other two main sources (Example 7.15a-c). Nevertheless, the overall similarities between the concordant pieces suggest that they were derived at some point from a common or related source. Copyist error is somewhat of a problem in Filmer 3. (A representative selection of Lawes's two-part aires and some of the three-part settings from Filmer 3 are given in Volume 2: II.7.9-12.)

Example 7.15a. Lawes, [Alman] {351}: US-NH, Misc. Ms. 170, Filmer MS 3

Example 7.15b. Lawes, 'Alman' {351}: GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.234, D.236, & E.451

⁵⁰ For the Filmer collection at Yale University see Robert Ford, 'The Filmer Manuscripts: A Handlist', *Notes*, 34 (1978), 814-25; *Fiddlers*, 241-43.

⁵¹ *Index* for concordances

Example 7.15c. Lawes, 'Alman' {351}: *A Musicall Banquet* (1651)

It seems clear from Lawes's miscellaneous aires that there was demand for two-part music and that much of this repertoire was composed as two-part music. Apart from the harp consorts, relatively few of Lawes's consort pieces are found in two-part versions: Playford published 16 of the 30 pieces from this collection in various books.⁵² Several of Lawes's miscellaneous aires disseminated in versions for different numbers of instruments (generally in three parts), but overall two-part versions seem to have been a distinct entity. Of course, it is possible that many more sources do not survive, but the evidence strongly suggests that Lawes, like many of his contemporaries, composed much music in two parts.

The two-part aires are generally quite short pieces in the usual dance forms. None have survived in autograph sources. This is true of most composers. The lack of autograph sources is paralleled by the solo lyra viol repertoire; only three of Lawes's solo lyra viol pieces are found in his hand (see Ch. 4). Solo lyra viol aires are often similar to two-part aires in their simplicity and flexibility; however (notwithstanding the large autograph collection of two-part airs by Jenkins in GB-Och, Mus. MS 1005: discussed below), neither genre appears to have been disseminated through autograph sources. This makes sources such as D.220 even more significant, as it provides evidence that two-part pieces were anthologised and disseminated in manuscript copies by, or for, amateurs. There are similar anthologies of solo lyra viol music in addition to the printed Playford books: e.g. GB-Mp, MS BrM 832 Vu 51 (Manchester Lyra Viol

⁵² See Chapter 6, above.

Book). Two-part pieces were flexible and adaptable. They could be used for several purposes, such as teaching, publication, or as the basis for arrangements or divisions. Like much of the solo lyra viol repertoire, two-part aires are generally short simple dances that could be readily mastered by amateurs, and ornaments and embellishments added according to the player's ability. Another important aspect of the popularity of two-part aires was presumably due to their adaptability for performance on a variety of instruments.

The instrumental adaptability of two-part pieces was probably quite useful for professional ensembles using them as the basis for improvisation or arrangements for two or more instruments. It is unsurprising that so much two-part music survives from professional musicians, most of whom were associated with the court, as a repertoire of easily performed music to which embellishments could be improvised would have been extremely useful at court, or in the service of any household. Large households (especially the court) would have required a substantial amount of music to have been produced to fulfil a variety of social functions: e.g. the accompaniment of dancing; the entertainment of visiting dignitaries; *Tafelmusik*; or concert-like settings. It is reasonable to suggest that some of this music was composed using a technique similar to *parties de remplissage*, where outer parts were composed by one person and inner part arranged by another, as happened in masques of the period. As Holman notes, the two-part composition would be sufficient for rehearsals as 'the full dance band would only have been needed near the time of the performances. Someone would then have been employed to make arrangements for the required ensemble'.⁵³ Although *parties de remplissage* was a way in which to allow large-scale works to be performed efficiently, it seems likely that similar techniques were used to provide some of the consort music required at court, especially music required at short notice and adaptable by whatever group of musicians was to hand. Such two-part music may have been the basis for collections such as the Harp Consorts. Larger ensembles could be assembled with relative ease from a two-part outline. As the inner parts serve only to fill out the harmony they could be composed easily even by a musician with little knowledge of part-writing. In addition, divisions could be extemporized, and if required, a second treble could be added. As Holman notes, these 'additional parts would [...] be added to suit the ensemble at hand, sometimes by the composer, sometimes by other musicians. This explains why popular items in the two-part repertoire sometimes survive in settings with one or more extra but different parts'.⁵⁴ Indeed, extemporized arrangements of two-part pieces probably provided an opportunity for composers to experiment with various instrumental combinations, such as the harp consort, the lyra viol consort, or two bass viols and organ.

The composition of music in treble and bass format appears to have developed from two main strands early in the seventeenth century: reductions of consort pieces for keyboard, and

⁵³ *Fiddlers*, 193; *ibid.* 193-94 for a discussion of *parties de remplissage*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 243.

masque dances. By the 1620s keyboard reductions were commonly used to accompany consorts of viols;⁵⁵ however, a more direct link comes from the use of keyboard reductions as a foundation against which solo bass viol divisions were composed. In the first quarter of the century we find several examples of divisions for solo bass viol composed on pre-existing dances (see Ch. 8). Reductions of consort pieces are also commonly found in the lyra viol repertoire. For example, Ferrabosco's *Lessons for 1, 2, and 3 viols* (1609) contains nine arrangements of his consort pieces apparently post-dating the consort versions (see Ch. 3). Although these are not the same as Tr-B reductions, the basic process is similar. Masques are likely to have played an important role in the development of treble and bass settings. Masque music was often written and disseminated in two-part form. The largest repository of Jacobean masque music is GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, a set of treble and bass partbooks consisting 'of two unrelated two-part sources of different periods brought together in a later binding'.⁵⁶ Nicholas L'Estrange copied over 160 masque tunes into the manuscript probably during the 1620s. He is likely to have performed these pieces in two parts, probably filled in by a continuo. Although these pieces were not originally performed in two parts they 'are not incomplete in the sense that they lack something written by the composer, for that is how they were originally composed – in two parts, treble and bass'.⁵⁷

The dissemination of music in Tr-B format was probably in response to an increased interest among amateur players in the first quarter of the century; printed volumes such as *Court-Ayres* and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* represent a continuation of that trend. Several manuscripts from the 1620s and 1630s testify to the growing popularity of two-part settings. A 15-strong two-part sequence, probably dating to the early 1630s, is found in John Merro's partbooks, GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-6; Merro duplicated the sequence in D.245-7, pp. 184-90.⁵⁸ The sequence comes in MS 17795 (ff. 64v-72v), and is in table layout with the treble and bass on facing pages, and is titled 'Almains and Ayers for the Base and Treble Viols'. It contains seven pieces by Jenkins, seven by Coleman, and an arrangement of a five-part pavan and alman by Ferrabosco, all anonymous (although attributions are given in D.245-6): the Ferrabosco pieces are discussed in Chapter 8. Most of the Coleman pieces are also found in three-part versions in John Browne's partbooks, GB-Och, Mus. MSS 379-81 and 369-70,⁵⁹ and several of the Jenkins pieces are also found elsewhere in three-part versions. They appear to be reductions of existing consort pieces for performance by a treble and bass viol, but judging by the repertoire of his partbooks, Merro was compiling from court-related sources, and was a

⁵⁵ The issue of keyboard accompaniment is dealt with in Holman, "Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly According to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music', in Andrew Ashbee & Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996), 353-82.

⁵⁶ *Fiddlers*, 186. Also *VdGS Manuscripts*, i, 17-23.

⁵⁷ *Fiddlers*, 191; see also *ibid.*, 242-44.

⁵⁸ For both manuscripts see *VdGS Manuscripts*, i.

⁵⁹ *Index* for concordances.

competent viol player. Nevertheless, there seems to be little question that these pieces were performed as they are written, accompanied by continuo. Thus, it would seem that contemporary performers considered treble and bass settings as a separate and complete medium. Indeed, several other sources suggest that by the 1630s, composers were using the two-part format as the basis for composing consort music.

Lawes appears to have composed most of his viol consort fantasias prior to the accompanying aires, several of which were reworked from existing pieces.⁶⁰ At f. 82v of Filmer 3 there is a two-part version of Lawes's 'Aire' {73}, best known in the version for five viols and organ.⁶¹ However, unlike the Ferrabosco reductions in the Merro partbooks, the two-part version appears to have been an earlier setting of the version for viol consort. As can be seen from Example 7.16, the two-part version is not simply a reduction of the outer parts. The treble and bass of the Filmer 3 version appear to have been worked into a larger version, and extended by several bars; the five-part version is in A minor. The treble of the two-part version was distributed among the two trebles; this kind of revision was quite a common trait of Lawes's, especially in the Royall Consort. Indeed, the piece also appears anonymously in the Manchester Lyra Viol Book (p. 75:1), entitled 'A maske'. This appears to have been arranged from both the two- and five-part versions, although some passages are not derived from either, suggesting that the solo lyra viol version is intermediate: largely derived from the two-part version, prefiguring some of the expansions later developed for the five-part version. Example 7.16 compares the three versions.⁶²

Example 7.16. Lawes, 'Aire' {73}: 2-part, 5-part, & solo lyra viol versions: comparison

⁶⁰ See *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five & Six Parts*, ed. Pinto (London, 1979), vii-ix; *For ye Violls*, esp. 70-140.

⁶¹ *Lawes: Consort Sets*, 22-23.

⁶² The five-part version is based on Pinto's edition (*Lawes: Consort Sets*). The original lyra viol version is given in Volume 2: II.4.4. For ease of comparison: all examples are given in G minor; the organ and tenor parts are omitted from the five-part version; ornaments are omitted from the lyra viol version.

10

Musical score for measures 10-14. The score is written for three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. Measure 10 is marked with a '10'. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and dynamic markings.

15 20

Musical score for measures 15-24. The score is written for three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. Measure 15 is marked with a '15' and measure 20 with a '20'. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns and includes some slurs and dynamic markings.

25

Musical score for measures 25-30. The score is written for three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. Measure 25 is marked with a '25'. The music concludes with a final cadence and a double bar line.

Several other sources suggest the continued importance of two-part settings into the 1640s. Perhaps the most significant is Och, 1005, containing 122 two-part (and 84 three-part) holograph airs by Jenkins: the largest collection of holograph two-part compositions.⁶³ The manuscript appears to have been bound in 1645, by which time most of the pieces are likely to have been copied.⁶⁴ The pieces (aires, corants and sarabands) are arranged by key, but not into suites. Some are found elsewhere in three- or four-part versions; others are likely to have been scored for ensembles. However, the important point to note is that Jenkins considered his two-part collection to be of value. The manuscript was carefully copied in a formal calligraphic style. Further, many of the pieces appear to have been composed and disseminated only as two-part pieces: e.g., most of the pieces in the Jenkins sequence in GB-Och, Mus. MS 599 have concordances here. (MS 599 is the treble book of an original set of two – the bass is now lost – dating to around the middle of the century, containing 42 pieces by Jenkins and 21 by Lawes from the Harp Consorts). Another interesting source of two-part pieces is GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10445. At the end of which are ‘Fancies, Ayres & Corants’ for ‘Treble and Base’ by Lawes, Jenkins and Matthew Locke. The Lawes sequence contains the violin and bass viol part for his fantasia-suites for one violin: the Jenkins pieces are unique. The Locke sequence is taken from his suites ‘For Seaverall Friends’ (composed for treble viol or violin, and bass viol, with optional continuo). ‘For Seaverall Friends’ is perhaps the most significant collection of two-part compositions. Locke’s collection amounts to 54 pieces, in eight setts, in his autograph score, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17801. (A further seven pieces associated with the collection are found in secondary sources.⁶⁵) The collection is difficult to date. Composition may have begun in the early 1650s, although there is no evidence for this in the sources.⁶⁶ The significance of Locke’s collection lies in his inclusion of fantasias and pavans in addition to the lighter dances that usually comprise two-part collections. Indeed, ‘the six suites that begin with a fantasia could be thought of as extended fantasia suites, particularly if organ accompaniment is used’.⁶⁷ This is particularly interesting considering that the collection was included in MS 10445 alongside Lawes’s fantasia-suites, and demonstrates the developing sophistication of two-part music. ‘For Seaverall Friends’ was disseminated widely, and testifies to the continued demand for treble and bass music around the middle of the century.⁶⁸

⁶³ Also *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 210-26.

⁶⁴ See Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, ii: *Suites, Airs and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), Chapter 11: Ashbee discusses this source & gives an inventory on 169-73.

⁶⁵ See *Index*. The 54 autograph pieces are published in *Matthew Locke: Chamber Music I*, ed. Michael Tilmouth (MB 31; London, 1971; repr. 1975). Holman divided the collection into 12 suites in ‘Locke, Matthew’, *NGD*, xv. 44-52.

⁶⁶ See ‘Locke’, *NGD*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 46

⁶⁸ *Index* for sources.

If the Harp Consorts did originate as two-part pieces, it may help to explain why there are no harp parts for HC21-25; perhaps they were never composed. The only information omitted from the Tr-B versions is the extra melodic part usually contained in the top line of the harp, which mostly shadows the violin. The additional melodic material usually takes the form of a simple descant, which could be easily extemporized. On the first statement of a strain the theorbo (and bass-line of the harp) doubles the bass viol (with only occasional minor differences), and on the repeat, the theorbo (and harp) repeat the bass-line over which the bass viol usually adds divisions. (Of the first 25 pieces, only HC12 deviates from this format, although it retains an underlying two-part texture.) Thus, a Tr-B version does not omit a great deal of detail, as bass viol players would have been expected to extemporize divisions, and inner parts for the harp could be realized according to the ability of the harper (or harp). An essentially extemporized (or adaptive) approach to harp parts may have had its roots in the fact that Irish harps of the period were not standardised: they ranged in size, and therefore in range and modulation abilities. There are several accounts of large chromatic Irish harps (in this context the term 'chromatic' is used as shorthand to describe non-diatonic notes necessary for modulation etc.). In 1581 Vincenzo Galilei described an Irish harp that had '54, 56 and even 60' strings,⁶⁹ and Praetorius briefly described an 'Irlendisch Harff', which he said to have had 43 strings:⁷⁰ the tunings given by both show that these harps were partly chromatic. Also, James Talbot, the Cambridge professor and writer on music, noted in the late seventeenth century that the Irish harp 'Carries 43 single Brass strings. some 40. suppose for CC (some 36 at least)'.⁷¹ Moreover, the Irish harp featured in Reinholdt Thim's painting *Christian IV of Denmark's musicians, 1622* (Illustration 7.3) is a large instrument that could easily have had 50 or 60 strings, suggesting that it was chromatic. The point is that rudimentary harp consorts could easily have been extemporised from Tr-B outlines, with the harp acting as a form of continuo etc., according to the capabilities of the individual harp, although one would assume some modulating notes. The lack of standardised Irish harps probably reinforced the tradition of improvisation and adaptation among harpers, resulting in few surviving harp parts, historical accident notwithstanding. Indeed, the fact that Lawes was composing detailed harp parts for HC26-30, suggests that he was familiar with and composing for a particular instrument, rather than creating a new genre.

⁶⁹ See Billinge & Shaljean, 180. They convincingly suggest that these numbers refer to the harp; they also discuss the evidence for chromatic Irish harps.

⁷⁰ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis musici tomus secundus* (Wolfenbuttel, 1618-19; repr. 1958); trans. David Crookes, *Michael Praetorius: Syntagma Musicum II. De Organographia Parts I and II* (Oxford, 1986), 62.

⁷¹ Talbot MS (GB-Och, Mus. MS 1187), quoted in Rimmer, 'Talbot Harps', 66.

Illustration 7.3. Reinholdt Thim, *Christian IV of Denmark's musicians, 1622*



The adaptability of the basic two-part texture of Lawes's harp consorts presumably contributed to their popularity in the various Playford publications. He published 16 pieces from the collection in Tr-B versions between *A Musicall Banquet*, *Court-Ayres*, *Courtly Masquing Ayres*, and *Musicks Hand-maide*.⁷² Of course, the appearance of the Harp Consort pieces in the various two-part publications is not proof that the form developed from a Tr-B outline. These publications also contain two-part versions of known consort pieces, derived from the outer parts of the original. It is highly unlikely that the published versions of the Harp Consorts were performed using the original instrumentation, although if they were the result would probably not have been far removed from Lawes's versions, especially if divisions were extemporized.

The same Tr-B layout is used in the only published instance of a harp consort. At the end of Christopher Simpson's *A Compendium of Practical Music in Five Parts* (1667 and 1678 editions) there are ten two-part pieces titled 'Lessons by Sundry Authors for the Treble, Bass-Viol, and Harp'. The first and last of these pieces are given in Tr-B score, suggesting that the

⁷² *AMB*, nos. 8-12; *CA*, nos. 92-95, 97-101; *CMA*, nos. 5-8, 25-31 & 37-39; *MHM*, nos. 7-8.

harpist was meant to simply double the string parts or to realize a part based on the Tr-B outline. (II.7.13-22.) However, all of the intervening pieces are laid out with the treble on one page and the bass on the opposite (and inverted) page. Thus, the harpist could only sight-read one of the lines, presumably the (unfigured) bass, suggesting that the harp functioned as a continuo. However, perhaps due to the difficulties associated with typesetting music, a harp part may have been circulated in manuscript, as was the case for the organ parts for Orlando Gibbons's *Fantazies of III Parts*, Locke's *Little Consort*, and Henry Purcell's trio sonatas.⁷³ The name 'Francis Forcer' is found at the bottom of three of the pages containing these pieces; in each case there are two pieces per page and it is possible that the attribution was intended to apply to both pieces. Forcer (1649-1705), a prominent London musician in the 1680s, was an organist. Mainly a composer of light music, he wrote music for organ and composed for the London theatre in the last quarter of the century. Playford published some of his compositions in *Choice Ayres and Dialogues* (1679); many more are preserved in manuscript.⁷⁴ Forcer's pieces for harp consort show him to be a competent composer, capable of attractive, tuneful pieces. However, it is unlikely that they were originally composed for harp consort, similarly to many of the Lawes pieces the suggested instrumentation probably applied retrospectively. Whether or not this is the case, the fact that Simpson included compositions either composed or arranged for a harp consort in both the 1667 and 1678 editions is notable given that the harp generally and the Irish harp particularly had declined in popularity by this time.

By the early 1620s harp consorts appear to have existed at the court of Christian IV of Denmark (1577-1648). Indeed, the Irish harp was popular at the Danish court in the early part of the century, which is unsurprising given the strong cultural (and familial) links between the Danish and English courts at the time. Between late 1601 and early 1602 John Dowland was commissioned to return to England from Denmark to recruit some musicians and purchase instruments. He engaged two musicians: the dancing master Henrik Sandon and the (presumably Irish) harper Carolus Oralii, which appears to be a form of 'Charles O'Reilly'. An entry in the Danish court records dated 24 September 1602 suggests that Sandon and Oralii were not entirely satisfactory:

As we desire that the English harpist and the dancer be discharged because their time is up, we likewise beg of you that you discharge them and please then by granting them the allowance which Dulant [i.e. Dowland] of England has promised and pledged, still you will have to keep the harp because we paid for it.⁷⁵

⁷³ See Holman, 'Organ Accompaniment', esp. 372.

⁷⁴ For a full account of Forcer, see Holman, 'Forcer, Francis', *NGD*, ix. 84-85: includes a worklist & bibliography.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London, 2/1982), 58.

Another Irish harper, Diarmait Albanach (or Darby Scott), was employed at the Danish court from 1621 until his death in 1634. He may have been one of the Scott family mentioned by the harpist Echlin O’Kane in 1779: ‘The oldest Performers by Profession, of Note, were Four Brothers of the name Scot, who lived in the Province of Munster, about two hundred years ago – They, founded their best Harp music’.⁷⁶ Thim’s painting (Illustration 7.3) represents what appears to be a harp consort: a bass viol, an Irish harp (note the curved forepillar, which Thim has initialled), a lute and a transverse flute. Holman suggested that the bass viol player was Thomas Simpson or William Brade, and that the lutenist was John Stanley or Brade’s son, Christian; all were members of the British community of musicians in Denmark at the time.⁷⁷ The flautist remains unidentified. Indeed, his presence in the painting throws some doubt on whether Thim was representing an actual consort group or conveying the variety of instruments available at the court. Nowhere else does a wind instrument appear to have been part of a harp consort, although variations are likely to have existed. The form of harp consort developed at the Danish court (if indeed it is one) may have been derived from the Elizabethan mixed consort, with the flute used as the treble instrument. Alternatively, a violin may have been omitted from the painting and the flute could have played the alto part; many pictures of mixed consorts have at least one instrument missing.⁷⁸ In only one other pictorial source is there evidence of a similar ensemble. This admittedly dubious example comes from the title page of Nicolas Vallet’s *Regia pietas* (Amsterdam, 1620): Illustration 7.4.⁷⁹

Illustration 7.4. Nicolas Vallet, *Regia pietas* (Amsterdam, 1620), title page (detail)⁸⁰



⁷⁶ J. Campbell, ‘An Account of Some Irish Harpers as Given by Echlin O’Kane, Harper, Anno 1779’, *Éigse*, 6 (1950), 146.

⁷⁷ Angul Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof* (Copenhagen, 1892); id., ‘Musical Relations Between England and Denmark in the Seventeenth Century’, *SIMG*, 13 (1911-12), 114-19; Holman, ‘Harp’, 192.

⁷⁸ For example, see the engraving of a mixed consort (lacking lute and flute) by Simon de Passe, reproduced in *Fiddlers*, 137.

⁷⁹ See *Fiddlers*, 177-78.

⁸⁰ Reproduced from *ibid.* 178.

Vallet, who worked in Amsterdam, dedicated the volume to James I, and the title page shows James I as King David apparently playing in a form of harp consort. However, the aim of the picture was to flatter King James, not to portray accurately an ensemble.

A third harper, Edward Adam, is known to have been employed at the Danish court from 1641-43. Adam was apparently a Scottish harper, and was previously employed at the Brandenburg court. Although not specified in the court records, he presumably also played a wire-strung harp. A harp consort may even have reached Poland by the summer of 1617. On 22 June a passport was issued to George Vincent, a servant to the Prince of Poland. Vincent had come to London to acquire some ‘certeyne necessaries’⁸¹ and initially recruited a group of eight musicians – reduced to five by 24 August⁸² – including the bass viol player (and composer of two published collections) William Corkine, and a ‘Donatus O’Chaine’. Seán Donnelly has suggested that O’Chaine was ‘a part latinization of [an Irish harper] “Donnchadh Ó Catháin”’.⁸³ Indeed, another otherwise unknown Irish harper (and ‘gentleman’), John Eustace, was in the service of the Prince of Portugal in Brussels by 1630.⁸⁴ Despite these intriguing references, the Irish harp consort is unlikely to have spread widely on the Continent, except perhaps where there were expatriate British communities, including an exponent of the Irish harp. Assuming that the *Thim* painting represents an ensemble (rather than an assemblage) it is significant that the harp is an Irish harp. Moreover, the date of the painting (early 1620s) would confirm that Lawes did not create the genre from scratch, but that he was playing his part in the development of a pre-existing form. If *Thim*’s painting depicts an ensemble, it further suggests that the harp consort was essentially an Anglo-Irish genre: an ‘Irish harp consort’, the essential ingredients being an Irish harp and (English) bass viol.

Notwithstanding the two-part pieces published by Simpson, Lawes appears to have been the latest composer of harp consorts. However, in addition to the Lawes pieces, MS 5 also contains what appears to be 16 anonymous fully worked out harp parts.⁸⁵ (Transcribed in Volume 2: II.7.23-38.) They are clearly laid out in what appear to be suites, progressing from the fantasias to pavans to ayres (which are essentially almans). However, their internal arrangement is different to Lawes’s harp consorts, which (similarly to the *Royall Consort*) are essentially arranged according to the dance suite order of alman-corant-saraband. The first ‘suite’, in F major, consists of a fantasia and alman (II.7.23-24). They are separated by unused pages on either side: other pieces may have been intended to have been later added. Suite no. 2 is in G major and the pieces (a fantasy, pavan and alman) are numbered 1-3 (II.7.25-27). Suite

⁸¹ *APC* (August 1616-December 1617), 267.

⁸² *APC* (January 1618-June 1619), 247; *CSPD* (1611-1618), 564.

⁸³ Donnelly, ‘A Cork Musician at the Early Stuart Court: Daniel Duff O’Cahill (c.1580-c.1660), “The Queen’s Harper”’, *JCHAS*, 105 (2000), 21(n43).

⁸⁴ Respectively, *CSPD* (1630), 207 (7 March 1629/30), 163 (12 January 1629/30), & 168 (18 January 1629/30).

⁸⁵ First brought to scholarly attention by Holman, ‘Harp’, 201.

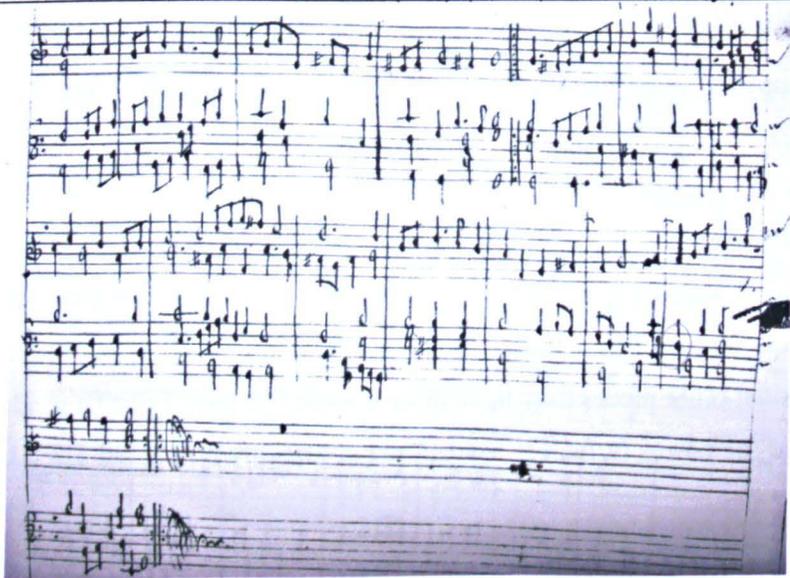
no. 3 is in A minor and the pieces (a 'Fantazia' and six ayres) are numbered 4-10 (II.6.28-34). Suite no. 4 is in C major; the three movements (a 'Fantazia' and two ayres) are unnumbered (II.6.35-37). The final piece is unfinished, with many characteristics of a fantasia (II.6.38).

Much of the evidence suggesting that MS 5 (as a whole) is a harp manuscript comes from its relationship with Lawes's harp consorts. However, there are also many passages and chords in the anonymous pieces unplayable on a keyboard (Illustrations 7.5a-b). Even in the Lawes pieces there are many chords etc. unplayable on a keyboard but easily playable on a harp. Nevertheless, this does not entirely rule out the possibility that these pieces were played on a keyboard with the player approximating the written score as best he could.

Illustration 7.5a. GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, f. 56 (inv.) (detail): awkward keyboard chords (C1)



Illustration 7.5b. GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, f. 54v (inv.) (detail): awkward keyboard chords (C1)



The presence of so many fantasias in the anonymous section is unexpected. The harp consort was a mixed consort, in many ways similar to the Elizabethan mixed consort ensemble in its

unsuitability for fantasias, or indeed for contrapuntal music generally. Throughout the surviving mixed consort repertoire extended passages of imitative counterpoint are seldom encountered (see Ch. 5).⁸⁶ Some passages in the anonymous pieces give the impression of being arrangements of consort pieces. Many of the pieces are contrapuntally complex, usually with three to five melodic lines; several appear to be reductions or adaptations of four- or five-part consort pieces. There also are many thinly textured passages that seem to require other imitative entries, which presumably would be played by the other instruments: e.g. Suite 1, [Fantasia], bars 39-42 (II.6.23). There are also concurrent whole bar rests at bar 25 of the 'Fantazia' in A minor (II.6.28). These features, especially the latter suggest that the pieces are actual parts, not arrangements. Moreover, the pieces are generally not as melodic as one would expect from consort pieces, negating suggestions that they are solo harp pieces. Indeed, the arrangement and texture of the anonymous MS 5 suites is quite similar to Lawes's own harp parts in B.3.

Although it is possible that MS 5 was not copied for the harp, it is reasonable to assess the anonymous pieces in order to see what information they can provide of a possible harp. The range of the anonymous pieces is *D-a''*. There are 16 unisons required between all of the anonymous pieces. The pieces copied by C2 require a harp with at least 33 strings: 28 notes and 5 unisons. This may be a false picture, as there are only two pieces and therefore less information to be gleaned. The pieces copied by C1 (nos. 3-16) require a harp with no fewer than 47 strings, of which 13 would be unisons. If all of the anonymous pieces were to be played on the same harp, it would require at least 53 strings, 16 of which would be unisons: see Examples 7.17 and 7.18.

Example 7.17a-e. GB-Och, Mus. MS 5, range of notes & unisons in anonymous suites

Example 7.17a. [Suite no. 1] in F major

Example 7.17b. [Suite no. 2] in G major

⁸⁶ See *The First Book of Consort Lessons: Collected by Thomas Morley 1599 & 1611*, ed. Sydney Beck (New York, 1959); & *Music for Mixed Consort*, ed. Warwick Edwards (MB, 40; London, 1977).



** = E in MS 5

Example 7.17c. [Suite no. 3] in A minor



* = editorial sharp, implied by harmony

Example 7.17d. [Suite no. 4] in C major



Example 7.17e. Incomplete 'Ayre' in C major



Example 7.18a. Range & unisons of anonymous Copyist 2 pieces



Example 7.18b. Range & unisons of anonymous Copyist 1 pieces**Example 7.18c. Range & unisons of anonymous Copyist 1 & Copyist 2 pieces**

The range of notes needed for the anonymous pieces are all available on the harp needed for nos. 1-21 (see above); however, the configuration of unisons is quite different. If all of MS 5 were to be played (allowing for all notated unisons) by one harp, it would require at least 69 strings, 25 of which would be unisons, suggesting a triple harp. However, as with the Lawes pieces, we are forced to examine the reliability of the unisons notated in the anonymous pieces. Similarly to Lawes's harp parts, the vast majority of the unisons in the anonymous pieces occur from voice-leading where melodies intersect. Several other unisons do not seem to have been intended, resulting from another stem being written when an inner part was added. Indeed, quite often inner parts, and some outer parts, appear to have been added shortly after the piece was copied initially; the ink is mostly the same throughout these pieces. Certainly in the unfinished piece there are two inks – and possibly two hands – at work. Thus, these anonymous pieces may have begun out as quite simple parts, but C1 may have added more detail to the inner parts as it became available to him, as he probably did with his Lawes pieces. Unfortunately, the provenance of MS 5 is unknown, making an estimation of its original performance context almost impossible. One suspects that it has some kind of courtly associations, or copied from a court-related source. However, one cannot say with absolute certainty that the manuscript was compiled for the harp. MS 5 may well be arranged for keyboard – albeit badly – and coincidentally happens to have some harp parts.

No concordances are known for the anonymous pieces, although Holman noted that they 'are certainly well-composed, with many turns of phrase characteristic of William Lawes'.⁸⁷ Layton Ring refuted this, suggesting that they 'are more likely to be by Coprario than by William Lawes'.⁸⁸ It is tempting to suggest that Coprario composed the anonymous pieces,

⁸⁷ Holman, 'Harp', 202.

⁸⁸ Ring, 'Harp', 589. Ring's attribution is supported by the Christ Church library's online catalogue, where no. 21 is also tentatively assigned to Coprario: <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>

giving historical precedence for Lawes's development of the genre, but stylistically this attribution seems unlikely. The anonymous pieces are quite tonally directed, and the imitative themes are less numerous and explored in greater detail than is usual in Coprario's consort music. Furthermore, the arrangement of the pieces into well-developed suites is not a consistent feature of Coprario's music and is more suggestive of Lawes. Indeed, given that the F major anonymous suite was copied by a different hand (C2) to that of the rest of the suites (C1), there is no reason to assume one composer is responsible for all of the anonymous pieces. However, unlikely, it is possible that there are as many as four composers represented in MS 5: Lawes, the composer of no. 21, the composer of the anonymous pieces in F major, and the composer of the remainder of the anonymous pieces. However, given that the anonymous pieces are all in a similar style, it seems probable that the same person composed them all. The majority of the pieces are conceived from similar themes, and the fantasias are quite sectional with frequent homophonic passages. Although the fantasias are in a relatively early style, with vocally derived themes and flowing counterpoint, the anonymous suites retain certain traits suggesting a later composer, such as the juxtaposition of homophonic passages with flowing imitative polyphony or dance-like triple-time sections. These are features of the fantasia that have their origins in the first half of the century, but are suggestive of the later style of, for example, Matthew Locke, where the homogeneity of the fantasia is replaced by several short and distinct sections.⁸⁹ It seems likely that our anonymous suite composer was a rough contemporary of Lawes.

Simon Ives would seem to be a reasonable candidate for these pieces, although a comparison of his signature in the Hatfield House records suggests that he was not one of the copyists. Despite being one of the most interesting of Lawes's contemporaries, a detailed account of Ives is currently lacking.⁹⁰ Born in Hertfordshire in July 1600, by the age of eight he was received into the service of the Cecil family. Nothing is known of Ives in the following years, but it seems that he may have studied with John Ward whilst in the employ of the Fanshawe family at Ware Park, Hertfordshire. By 1634 Ives had built a sufficiently high standing to be commissioned to compose some of the music for *The Triumph of Peace*. The dedications of several of his solo *lyra viol* pieces indicate that he was still connected to the Cecil family, and to members of Lincoln's Inn. He became a member of the London waits in 1637 and Anthony Wood wrote that he was 'a singing man in the Cathedral of St Paul, London and a teacher of music before the rebellion broke out'.⁹¹ In 1661 he returned to St Paul's as a minor prebendary and died on 1 July 1662. Stylistic ascriptions can often be dubious (especially when

⁸⁹ See Tilmouth & Christopher Field, 'Consort Music II: from 1660', in Ian Spink (ed.), *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), 245-81, esp. 245-52.

⁹⁰ For Ives see Holman, 'Ives, Simon', *NGD*, xii. 713-14: includes a worklist & bibliography.

⁹¹ See John Shute, 'Anthony à Wood and his Manuscript Wood D 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford', Ph.D. diss. (International Institute of Advanced Studies, Clayton, Mo., 1979), 184: the quotation is from f. 75v of D 19(4).

incomplete sources are concerned) and should be tentative in the absence of supporting evidence. Nevertheless, several characteristics of Ives's music are present in the anonymous pieces. His music generally has a clear tonal direction, with an emphasis on the tonic-dominant relationship. Dance-like elements are commonly found, such as vibrant dotted rhythms and triple-time sections. He also uses the contrast of mood between sections of pieces to great effect (e.g. from rhythmic polyphony to slow chordal movement), this is especially true of his fantasias, which often juxtapose alternating homophonic and polyphonic passages. In his consort music there is a strong influence of the vocal tradition, using melodies built on repeated and conjunct notes, occasional *cambiata* figures and use of strict imitation over relatively long passages: in the suites for two bass viols this strict imitation often produces a canon, usually at the unison, fifth or octave.⁹²

Whilst the harp consort was undoubtedly a court genre, it is likely that some of the larger households who employed a harper (even on an occasional basis) could have fostered harp consort music. For example, the Cecil family owned an Irish harp from early in the century. It seems that Ives had connections with the family throughout his life and could have composed harp consorts for an ensemble in the Cecil household. Ives (and perhaps Lawes too) may have been introduced to writing for the harp in consort in *The Triumph of Peace*, where 'the Symphony' included a harper. Ives certainly knew Lawes from at least 1633 and probably earlier when they were both up-and-coming London musicians. Indeed, he composed a fine three-part elegy 'on the death of his deare fraternall Friend and Fellow, M^r. *William Lawes*, servant to his Majesty', 'Lament and mourn'.⁹³ Ives was doubtlessly familiar with Lawes's consort music and may even have had access to his harp parts in B.3. If Ives were the anonymous MS 5 composer, it seems likely that he composed his harp consorts around the same time as Lawes or a little later: perhaps sometime between Lawes's death in 1645 and the publication of *Choice Psalmes* in 1648, when he could have had access to Lawes's autographs through Henry Lawes. There is one further piece of evidence to link Ives to the harp consort. The first of the harp consort pieces published by Simpson in the *Compendium* is an arrangement of a song probably composed by Ives titled 'See that Building' (II.7.13). Ives set the song several times for lyra viol and it is attributed to him by Playford in *Musicks Recreation*.⁹⁴ Ives frequently rearranged his compositions and it is plausible that he arranged it for performance by a harp consort.

In conclusion: as the harp consort developed in the early seventeenth century, it no

⁹² His bass viol pieces are discussed in Janet Richards, 'A Study of Music for Bass Viol Written in England in the Seventeenth Century', D.Phil. diss., 3 Vols (Somerville, Oxford, 1961): includes transcriptions of much of the repertoire. See Bibliography for modern editions.

⁹³ Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalmes* (London, 1648).

⁹⁴ For a detailed account of the song see Frank Traficante, 'Procrustean pairing of sentiment and tune: a seventeenth century English strophic song', in Lewis Lockwood & Edward Roesner (eds.), *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson* (New York, 1990), 177-91.

doubt had variations. Indeed, its instrumentation may never have been standardised. Although the essential ingredients appear to have been a bass viol and an Irish harp, the triple harp was probably used on occasion. Many harp parts were probably approximated or realized as fully as possible on whatever kind of harp was available. The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that Lawes composed his later harp consorts (HC26-30) with a specific instrumentation in mind. However, I suggest that HC1-25 existed in a loose grouping of two-part versions prior to 1635, possibly as early as the mid-1620s. It seems most likely that it was only after 1635 that these pieces were given their fixed instrumentation, and fully composed with divisions etc.: this probably happened between c.mid-1635 and c.1637. Indeed, HC1-20 were probably composed in stages: most likely Suites 1-3 (HC1-12), and then Suite 4 (HC13-16) followed by Suite 5 (HC17-20). Suite 6 (HC21-25) was probably composed at a short chronological remove from these first five suites, but it is doubtful that the gap was significant. The last five pieces of the collection appear to have been composed around the same time, although possibly with a break between HC26 and HC27-30. The pavans and fantasia are probably rough contemporaries of the new version of the Royall Consort – indeed the addition of another part in the harp consort texture is a further suggestive parallel between the two collections – and probably date to c.1638. Certainly, 1640 would seem a likely *terminus ante quem*, given the increasing instability towards the end of that year.

The suggestion by some that Lawes composed for the triple harp is simply not borne out by the archival or musical evidence. By the 1690s, Talbot (quoting David Lewis) noted that the triple harp was ‘seldom used in Consort generally alone’.⁹⁵ Indeed, Joan Rimmer conceded that ‘the triple harp has a pungent tone and is difficult to play; it is therefore not surprising to find the statement by Lewis that it was seldom used in consort’.⁹⁶ Talbot’s comments should be noted with some caution as they were made several decades after the death of Lawes and should not be taken as evidence that the triple harp had not been used in consort music. Nevertheless, they seem to confirm (if in the negative) the sentiment recorded by Bacon earlier in the century when he observed that ‘some *Consorts of Instruments* are sweeter than others (a thing not sufficiently yet observed;) as the *Irish-Harp* and *Base-Vial* agree well’.⁹⁷ However, ironically, perhaps the best evidence for the use of the Irish harp for Lawes’s consorts comes from one of its most persistent critics, Cheryl Ann Fulton. In 1983, Fulton recorded many of the harp consorts using a gut-strung triple harp.⁹⁸ Although there is some fine playing, one only needs to listen to this recording to appreciate that the instrument is quite simply acoustically unsuitable for the task. Some consorts are indeed ‘sweeter than others’.

⁹⁵ Talbot MS, Och, 1187, quoted in Rimmer, ‘Talbot: Harp’, 63.

⁹⁶ Rimmer, ‘Talbot: Harp’, 69.

⁹⁷ *Sylva Sylvarum*, Century iii, 61, no. 278.

⁹⁸ *Consort Music for the Harpe, Bass Viol, Violin and Theorbo* by William Lawes. Fulton, Stanley Richie, Roy Weldon and Robert Grossman. Focus Records 843.

The Suites for Two Bass Viols and Organ

Lawes's development of formal structures to accommodate elaborate divisions is perhaps best observed in his pieces for two bass viols and organ. Seven survive, one of which is incomplete (II.8.1-7).¹ Fortunately, both the autograph scores (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2) and parts (GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238, D.240, and D.229) have survived. In the string partbooks the pieces appear to be arranged into suites. First a suite in G minor, consisting of a pavan and two aires. Then four pieces in C major, although it is unclear whether Lawes intended these as two pairs – 'Pauen' {104} and 'Almane' {105}, and 'Aire' {106} and [Corant] {107} – or as one suite. The first pair uses a pavan and alman by Alfonso Ferrabosco II as the basis for an elaborate series of divisions. The relationship between these pieces in the autograph sources is complex. In B.2 the bass viol pieces are in the following order: 'Pauen' {101}, 'Aire' {102}, 'Aire' {103}, [Corant] {107}, 'Pauen' {104}, 'Almane' {105}, and (incomplete) 'Aire' {106}, with the lute suite coming between 'Pauen' {101} and 'Aire' {102}. In D.229 and D.238-40 they come in the order suggested by the VdGS numbering. The bass viol parts of 'Aire' {106} are complete in D.238 and D.240, but only the bass-line of the first strain of the organ is in D.229.

Although few in number, the bass viol pieces are highly significant in our understanding of Lawes's development as a composer of consort music; indeed, much can be understood of Lawes's compositional process by an examination of the relationship between these sources.

Compositions for two equal bass viols with organ accompaniment appear to have begun with John Coprario. Although the idiom is likely to have largely developed from the tradition of setting solo bass viol divisions to an organ accompaniment (see below) the equal lute duets that developed in the late sixteenth century may also have served as a formal model.² Twelve pieces

¹ {101}, {102} & {103} were published in *VdGS Supplement*, no. 91; {104} & {105} were published in *William Lawes: Select Consort Music*, ed. Murray Lefkowitz (MB, 21; London, 2/1971).

² For lute duets see Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford, 2001), 149-56.

by John Coprario for two bass viols and organ survive.³ All are titled 'fantasia' in the sources. They are through-composed, essentially bi-sectional fantasias, formally similar to many fantasias by Ferrabosco; they contain only occasional, and undemanding, division passages.⁴ Janet Richards suggested that Coprario probably composed them c.1615, possibly as part of his duties as a tutor to the royal children.⁵ There is no documentary evidence to support the claim that he was a royal tutor,⁶ however, a date of c.1615 seems likely. The bass viols duets are compositionally more mature than Coprario's viol consorts or lyra viol trios, suggesting this later date.⁷ These pieces were an important step in the development of independent organ parts for serious consort music. According to Richard Charteris:

The writing of chamber music with an independent organ accompaniment that fills out the harmony and uses occasional imitation [...] made its first appearance in England with these pieces by Coprario. Elements of baroque style are evident in these works, with their emphasis on expressive harmonic combinations and with their organ accompaniments that are conceived as harmonic supports to the two string parts.⁸

There are no concordances to suggest that these pieces were arrangements of larger consort pieces; indeed, they are stylistically comparable to Coprario's other two-part (Treble-Tenor) pieces.⁹ Six fantasias for two equal trebles survive by Orlando Gibbons. They have more in common with the Renaissance tradition as exemplified by Thomas Morley's two-part fantasias, and contain more divisions than the Coprario pieces. No organ part survives, although Gibbons presumably extemporized one.

At court, compositions for two equal bass viols do not appear to have been greatly developed until Lawes, although the lyra viol duet appears to have remained quite popular throughout the period (see Ch. 3). Compositions for bass viols and organ appear to have flourished beyond the court during the decade between Coprario's death and Lawes's royal appointment. There are two fantasias for two bass viols in GB-Ckc, MSS Rowe 112-3 (nos. 11 and 12) attributed to William White (*fl.* c.1620), about whom we know little. Because these fantasias have few rests and lack clearly defined sections, Richards suggested that they were

³ *Index* for concordances. All published in a modern edition: *John Coprario: Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Organ and Eleven Pieces for Three Lyra Viols*, ed. Richard Charteris (RRMBE, 41; Wisconsin, 1982).

⁴ The preface of *Coprario: LV Trios* provides a useful and succinct introduction to the Coprario pieces. Although dated in places, also see Janet Richards, 'A Study of Music for Bass Viol Written in England in the Seventeenth Century', D.Phil. diss., 3 Vols (Somerville, Oxford, 1961), which gives a full account of the development of the bass viol duo (with and without organ accompaniment). Refer to Richards for musical examples, except where directed to Volume 2.

⁵ Richards, 'Bass Viol', i. 71-72.

⁶ A point noted by Charteris in *Coprario: LV Trios*, xxi(n4).

⁷ See also *ibid.* preface.

⁸ *Ibid.* vii.

⁹ See *John Coprario: The Two-, Three- and Four-Part Consort Music*, ed. Charteris (London, 1991).

composed before Coprario's bass viol pieces.¹⁰ Although sectional fantasias are generally later it does not necessarily follow that all composers developed at the same pace. It is quite likely that provincial composers were composing non-sectional fantasias after the development of the more instrumentally conceived and sectional fantasias. The White fantasias contain some idiomatic passages, but are essentially vocally derived; no organ parts have survived, and may have been extemporized. There are also six fine pieces for two bass viols and organ composed by John Ward (1571-c.1637), which Richards dated to c.1620.¹¹ Dance forms heavily influence these mostly two-strain homophonic ayres. The bass viols are of equal importance, and although the parts cross frequently they are not as closely spaced as in Coprario's fantasias. The organ is fully written out supplying the harmonies omitted from the strings. Nine bass viol duets by Simon Ives were copied in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31423. Whether they too were originally performed with an organ accompaniment is unclear; none has survived. Although they were copied after 1638 they appear to be early compositions, but later than Coprario's bass viol pieces: perhaps composed in the mid- to late 1620s.¹² Ives appears to have been one of the first composers to experiment with the possibilities of setting one viol against the other for variety, and there are simple divisions in many of the pieces; more elaborate divisions may have been extemporized on the repeats. Two of the ten surviving Ives duos are also found in four-part consort versions.¹³ There are also several (poor quality) bass viol duets by Michael East (c.1580-1648), apparently dating to the late 1630s.

John Jenkins was a virtuoso bass viol player, and one of the most prolific composers of bass viol music. The *Index* currently attributes over 50 pieces for one or two bass viols to him, many of which are difficult to date accurately. They are mostly in a mature instrumental style, with technically demanding divisions. Several are stylistically similar to Christopher Simpson's lessons in *The Division-Violist* (1659).¹⁴ In addition to the six solo bass viol division pieces, over 40 pieces for two bass viols and organ are attributed to Jenkins. Many lack an organ part, but are likely to have had one originally.¹⁵ Andrew Ashbee suggests that the bass viol duos of Coprario and Ward were Jenkins's immediate models.¹⁶ Indeed, two bass viol duets (now lacking an organ part) in GB-Ckc, Rowe MSS 112-3, (aires {1} and {2}) 'remain sufficiently close [in general style] to the Ward and Coprario models to imply that they were composed no

¹⁰ See Richards, 'Bass Viol', i, Chapter 6. The second of White's fantasias was published in *Jacobean Consort Music*, ed. Thurston Dart & William Coates (MB, 9; London, 2/1971), no. 5.

¹¹ See *Index* for sources; also see Richards, 'Bass Viol', i, Chapter 7.

¹² These pieces are discussed in Richards, 'Bass Viol', i, Chapter 8. See also Pamela Willetts, 'Autograph Music by John Jenkins', *ML*, 48 (1967), 124-26.

¹³ *Index* for concordances.

¹⁴ Especially those copied by Francis Withy in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.59-60.

¹⁵ See Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, ii: *Suites, Airs and Vocal Music* (forthcoming), Chapter 8; the information relating to Jenkins in this paragraph is based primarily on Ashbee's account.

¹⁶ *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 195.

later than the 1630s'.¹⁷ Neither piece contains any of the florid division writing common to the pieces in the Jenkins holograph GB-Lcm, MS 921. MS 921 is one partbook of an original set of three, containing the second bass viol part to 21 bass viol duos, and the treble part for 17 of his pieces for treble, bass, and organ: the first bass and organ books are lacking.¹⁸ Most of the pieces in MS 921 date to c. 1640. Certainly, the first six pieces appear to have been in circulation as a group by the late 1630s. Ashbee suggests that Sir Nicholas L'Estrange probably acquired them before the arrival of Jenkins at Kirtling.¹⁹ Annotations in MS 921 show that they circulated as a group in two lost sources; the group also appears in Christopher Hatton's manuscripts GB-Och, MSS Mus. 612-13 (strings), and Mus. 432 (organ), alongside bass viol duos by Coprario and Ward.²⁰ As Ashbee notes, each of these six pieces is

a two-strain air with florid divisions in place of repeats. All have a similar plan: an initial phrase of 4-6 bars, cadencing strongly (usually on the dominant), then a longer answer incorporating imitative writing and closing variously in the tonic (Nos. 38, 37, 63), the relative major (Nos. 45, 44), or the dominant (No. 46). The second strain, except in No. 38, is longer with imitative writing predominating and with little emphasis given to inner cadences.²¹

Lawes and Jenkins appear to have been first to compose elaborate divisions for a pair of bass viols. This is likely to be an outgrowth of the solo bass divisions that developed during the first quarter of the century. Two of the earliest examples of solo bass viol divisions are found in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.246. They were composed by Daniel Norcombe on a pavan and alman by the harper Cormack MacDermott (II.7.4*b* and II.7.5*b*). As Peter Holman notes,

the unusual feature of these divisions [...] is that they are not written on short ground basses but on complete dances, performed with their normal repeats [...] Clearly these examples tell us that when bass viol divisions were written on consort dances, the accompaniment was normally a reduction for keyboard of some or all of the parts of the original.²²

Lawes's bass viol suites derive from the same tradition. Although there are no surviving examples of divisions composed for specific bass viol duets before those by Lawes and Jenkins, it seems likely that elaborate divisions were improvised, especially when professional musicians performed pieces based on simple dance strains. Some of the divisions in Lawes's bass viol pieces are quite demanding. However, they are idiomatic and lie easily under the fingers,

¹⁷ *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 194-96: quotation is from 196.

¹⁸ See Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas L'Estrange and John Jenkins', *ML*, 42 (1961), 30-43; also *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 85-89.

¹⁹ *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 197-98. They are VdGS nos. {45}, {46}, {38}, {37}, {63} and {44}: published in *Six Airs and Divisions for Two Bass Viols and Keyboard*, eds. Donald Beecher & Bryan Gillingham (Ottawa, 1979).

²⁰ See *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 197-98. For Hatton see Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997).

²¹ *Ibid.* 199.

²² Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *EM*, 15 (1987), 191.

although often complicated by the intense speed of the rapid passages of semiquavers and demisemiquavers. The technical difficulties presented by these pieces are evidence that Lawes was composing in this medium for court performances. Several viol players were employed in the LVV during Lawes's tenure:²³ Alfonso Ferrabosco III (1628-42), Robert Taylor (1625-37), John Taylor (1637-42), Daniel Farrant (1607-42), Robert Tomkins (1636-42), and John Friend (1615-42). Indeed, Lawes was a viol player and probably participated in performances. Giles Tomkins (keyboard player in the LVV from 1630) is likely to have accompanied on the organ.

The instrumentation of Lawes's pieces is interesting. In B.2 he titled the G minor 'Pauen' {101} 'For 2 Base Viols and Organ'. The aires follow, but without reference to instrumentation. 'Pauen' {104} and 'Almane' {105}, which are based on pieces by Ferrabosco, Lawes titled 'Pauen: and Almane of Alfonso. sett to the Organ and 2 diuision BaseViolls by :: WjLawes'.²⁴ This pattern is followed in the partbooks, with slight variations.²⁵ These are the earliest references to a 'division viol'. However, it is unclear whether Lawes was describing the function of the bass viol, the smaller sized bass viol known to Simpson and later observers (e.g. John Playford, James Talbot and Thomas Salmon), or both.²⁶ Whether referring to a specific instrument or not, the difference in titling relates to the more complex division writing Lawes composed for the two homage pieces, which are the basis for the most technically difficult divisions in the suites. They are perhaps Lawes's most technically demanding divisions. Elaborate divisions seem to have been a way in which Lawes sought to highlight his musical tributes. The Ferrabosco pieces can be compared to the pavans from the Harp Consort based on compositions by MacDermott and Coprario. These homage pavans also stand out from the rest of the harp consort by virtue of their elaborate divisions (see Ch. 6). Indeed, this raises the question of whether Lawes's 'Fantazia' {135} discussed in Chapter 5 could also have been intended as a tribute piece. However, this seems unlikely as there are no attributions to another composer in the surviving sources, as there are for the other tribute pieces.

Lawes's composition of elaborate divisions for two bass viols seems to be closely linked to the development of the division style generally. Indeed, Murray Lefkowitz noted that

The formal scheme of [Lawes's] 'division' viol suites adheres almost identically to the instructions set forth by Christopher Simpson in his *Division-Violist* [...] Likewise, it should be noted that the 'division' types, i.e. 'breakinge base', 'descant', 'mixt', 'skipping division', 'running division', 'tripla', etc., are the same as those in the *'Harpe' Consorts*, as are the 'ordering' of these types in the repeated strains.²⁷

²³ Dates of royal service are given in brackets.

²⁴ B.2, p. 93.

²⁵ In D.238 the Ferrabosco pieces are only titled by piece, not by instrumentation.

²⁶ Playford, *Brief Introduction* (1664), 88; GB-Och, MS 1187 (Talbot MS); & Salmon, *A Proposal to Perform Musick in Perfect Mathematical Proportions* (London, 1688).

²⁷ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 142.

Although Lefkowitz used this to suggest that Simpson could have modelled his treatise on a study of Lawes's music,²⁸ it seems more likely to be evidence of a well-established tradition, within which both composers were working (also Ch. 6). This does not imply that all divisions were of the same standard or that composers such as Lawes and Jenkins did not push the boundaries. It does imply that by the time Lawes composed his bass viols pieces the art of division had reached a sufficiently mature stage where composers were now moving away from improvisation and using divisions as a compositional resource in consort music. Simpson specifically described the performance of divisions when composing for two bass viols and organ in a passage titled '*Of two Viols Playing together to a Ground*'.²⁹ One can see a parallel between Lawes's use of divisions (especially in the harp consorts and the bass viol suites) and the precepts laid out by Simpson, especially in this passage. Nevertheless, Simpson's examples and descriptions are quite different in their details to Lawes's music. Simpson refers to a loose form based on extemporisation over short ground bass patterns, repeated many times. It is perhaps notable that in *The Division-Violist* Simpson places a great emphasis on variety when composing divisions the same feature that was generally regarded as the key characteristic of a good fantasia. Lawes's pieces utilise many of the techniques but over a shorter duration.

The Suite in G minor

Six of the seven Lawes bass viol duets are arrangements of consort pieces. The three pieces from the suite in G minor ('Pauen' {101}, 'Aire' {102} and 'Aire' {103}) have close links to the early version of Royall Consort. 'Pauen' {101} and 'Aire' {103} are found in four-part versions in the miscellaneous G minor sequence from the two main sources for the old version, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.431-6, and F.568-9 (see Ch. 5). A two-part version of 'Aire' {102} is in a sequence of pieces in another Royall Consort source, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.233-6 (II.5.2). This sequence comes after two suites in D major from the Royall Consort and before the miscellaneous suite in G minor containing 'Pauen' {101} and 'Aire' {103}. The two-part version contains noticeable differences to the version for bass viols and organ. Playford published 'Aire' {102} in *Court-Ayres* (1655); however, there are enough variants between the sources to suggest that Lowe's version was not derived from the print. 'Pauen' {101} and 'Aire' {103} are also found in four-part versions in GB-Och, Mus. MSS 367-70 (nos. 43 and 46 respectively). 'Aire' {103} is incomplete in MSS 367-70, as is the preceding piece, 'Corant' {339}. In 'Corant' {339}, the Altus part was not copied (MS 369), although the piece was titled and numbered, suggesting that the copyist (John Browne) was working from an incomplete or two-part source, or that he simply did not finish these pieces. Neither the Altus nor the first

²⁸ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 96.

²⁹ *Division-Violist*, 48-49. The passage (from the 1667 edition) is reproduced in full in Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 262-64; its relationship to Lawes's division style in the bass viol and organ pieces is discussed below.

treble parts were copied for no. 46. This only occurred for one other piece in the manuscript, no. 53, Maurice Webster's 'Echo' {11}, where again the Altus part was not copied. In each instance, Browne numbered and titled the pieces omitting the music.

'Aire' {103} appears to be a relatively early piece. With [Corant] {339}, it is found near the end of the four-part pieces in the Shirley partbooks (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61).³⁰ Of the various consort versions of 'Aire' {103}, the version for bass viols and organ is closer to the version from the Royall Consort sources than to that in the Shirley partbooks (*cf.* II.5.3*a* and II.5.3*b*). However, several passages in the bass viols version seem to have derived from the Shirley partbooks. For example, the Shirley partbooks is the only source of the consort version to have the dotted version of the opening figure in the first bar of the treble: this is also in the organ part in D.229, but not in B.2 (see II.8.3). If (as argued in Chapter 2) Lawes were finished with the Shirley partbooks by 1633, this would seem to be the earliest consort version of 'Aire' {103}. Further, the Shirley partbooks is the only autograph source for the consort version and therefore the closest to Lawes. In the arrangement of 'Aire' {103} for two bass viols Lawes often has one of the viols playing the bass of the consort version (usually doubled by the organ) with the other viol and organ playing other parts from the consort version. However, there are several bars where the treble line of the organ has newly composed lines not in the consort sources. Given that there seems to be a good deal of overlap from the two consort versions of the aire in the version for bass viols and organ, it seems probable that Lawes composed the latter version from a (now lost) source intermediate between the two consort versions. For example, the dotted opening is retained in the organ part in D.229, but in B.2 Lawes simplified it in favour of straight quavers. Evidently, he worked this adaptation into subsequent consort versions.

The Suite in C major

Ferrabosco's five-part pavan in C major is one of his finest compositions, and indeed one of the finest examples of consort pavans in the repertoire. Judging from the sources, Ferrabosco's alman set by Lawes was originally paired with the pavan.³¹ This pairing is found in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.415-8, GB-Och, Mus. MSS 423-8, GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 3665, US-NH, MS Filmer 4 (three-part), GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7 (two-part), and GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-6 (two-part).³² Lawes's composition of his own (organ) inner parts for the pavan and alman suggests that he may not have had access to the original five-part versions, and may have copied from two-part versions (the two-part versions are in Volume 2: II.8.10-11). It is evident

³⁰ See *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 69-76. Aires {103} & {339} are on ff. 30-30v.

³¹ The pavan & alman are printed in *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger: Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, ed. Christopher Field & David Pinto, (MB, 81; London, 2003), nos. 15 (alman) & 13 (pavan).

³² The alman also survives incomplete (bass only) in a mid-century source GB-Och, Mus. MS 1022, p. 36, no. 82: presumably a two-part version; see also *Ferrabosco: Five & Six Part Consorts*, 243.

from two (related) sources copied by John Merro that Ferrabosco's pavan and alman were disseminated in two-part versions. D.245-7 is an important source of three-part consort music and lyra viol music, however, there is also a two-part sequence (see also Ch. 3 and Ch. 7).³³ The second source, MSS 17795, duplicates the two-part D.245-7 sequence; the pavan is also found in its five-part section.³⁴ Merro's two-part versions of the pavan and Alman ('for Base and Treble violls') combine the treble part with a contrived *basso seguente* from the tenor and bass parts. Whereas the alman does not suffer greatly from its arrangement in two parts, much of the contrapuntal detail is inevitably lost in Merro's arrangement of the pavan. Indeed, the editors of *Musica Britannica* 81 concluded that 'the [two-part] adaptation [of the pavan] is clumsy, and it is very unlikely that Ferrabosco himself was responsible for it'.³⁵ One suspects that Merro was responsible for both two-part arrangements, though it is worth noting that Lawes's outer organ parts of both the pavan and the alman do not differ greatly to Merro's arrangements (*cf.* II.8.5 and II.8.11 (pavan); II.8.4 and II.8.10 (alman)). Textual variations make it unlikely that Lawes copied from either of these two-part sources, but he may have had access to one of the sources from which Merro copied, sources that were likely to have had a court provenance.³⁶

Lawes may have chosen to omit the original inner parts from a five-part version. An analysis of the inks in D.229 confirms that he initially copied only the treble and bass parts, and later added the inner parts. Most of the organ parts for the bass viol suites appear to have been copied using the same black ink, now faded to grey in places; however, on ff. 78-78v (i.e. the C major pieces) the inner parts were added in a darker (black) ink than the outer parts. When the inner parts were added some of the downward stems were redirected, most evident in the first strain of the right hand of 'Almane' {105}. Lawes redirected the (downward) stems of the outer lines where they conflicted with the newly added inner parts. Indeed, the downwards stems suggest that Lawes did not originally intend to add inner parts, resulting in organ parts similar to the harp parts in D.229. This suggests that the organ part in D.229 was the first draft of the piece, the implication being that it was arranged first in D.229 with inner parts subsequently added, and then the viols were probably composed against this organ part in B.2, with the viols finally copied into D.238-40. There are only slight differences between the organ parts in these homage pieces between D.229 and B.2 (see Textual Commentary).

A similar process appears to have been followed in the G minor 'Pauen' {101}. In D.229 there appear to be unison doublings in the top line. These stems show that Lawes originally wrote the treble line with downwards stems, indicating that he initially did not intend

³³ The Ferrabosco pieces are in D.245, p. 186, nos. 3 & 4, and D.246, p. 211, nos. 3 & 4. An inventory is given in *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 139-66; also see John Sawyer, 'An Anthology of Lyra Viol Music in Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7', Ph.D. diss. (University of Toronto, 1972).

³⁴ See *VdGS Manuscripts*, i. 24-36: includes a full inventory and collation details.

³⁵ *Ferrabosco: Five & Six Part Consorts*, 243.

³⁶ See *Fiddlers*, 205-11.

to add an alto-range part. However, after completing the initial copying, Lawes decided to create a fuller organ texture by adding extra notes in the right hand, necessitating the redirection of the treble line stems. As with the homage pieces, this inner part was probably newly composed, as it differs from the consort versions. The pavan is the only one of the G minor pieces to have such revisions (or additions) to the organ part. However, unlike the homage pieces, these revisions do not seem to have taken place much later than the initial copying; indeed, they probably occurred at around the same time. This is suggested by the ink, which is the same throughout the piece. Lawes also made an error in copying the organ part. He omitted three bars in the middle of the second strain (mid-way through bar 33-34 of the transcription). This kind of copying error is found several times in Lawes, where he appears to have copied the wrong bar because of the occurrence of a note of the same pitch (see Ch. 2). Lawes appended the missing bars at the end of the piece. This kind of error is most likely to have happened when Lawes was copying from the consort version, as at this point the main melody crosses between the two trebles. This would again suggest that D.229 represents the first compositional stage in these pieces. Although Lawes's initially sparse organ parts are unusual when compared to his usually full organ textures, a thinner organ part was probably more favourable in these pieces given the division writing, which would have been easier to hear over a thin organ part.

[Corant] {107} was also originally copied (or arranged) in two-parts with the (scant) inner parts added later. Pinto identified [Corant] {107} as a transposed version of 'Corant' {33} from Royall Consort Sett 5 in D major.³⁷ Lawes took the outer parts of the consort version and set them as the organ part. According to Pinto:

It is true that the form of the corant (no. 33) employed is apparently more primitive than that in the 'old' version [of the Royall Consort]. This in turn was worked over before inclusion in the 'new'; but that alone is not justification for giving the bass-viol divisions an early date. It is just as probable that Lawes found the extensive treble repartee that dictates the shape of the full version a distraction from the bass dialogue he was trying to elicit from the piece, and simply cut it out preemptorily.³⁸

Elsewhere Pinto has suggested that the version for bass viols and organ in B.2 was 'made from a shorter prior form, that predates the extant old version'.³⁹ [Corant] {107} bears closer resemblance to the version in the old version sources (E.431-6 and F.568-9) than to the new version source (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3, pp. 92-93) (both versions are given in Volume 2: II.8.8a and II.8.8b; cf. II.8.7).⁴⁰ However, this may simply imply that the organ reduction of 'Corant' {33} is a transitional stage of the piece, in a similar manner to 'Aire' {103}. In other words, it is possible that Lawes compiled the organ part by reworking his version for SSTB

³⁷ *For ye Violls*, 155; & *Royall Consort*, Textual Commentary.

³⁸ *For ye Violls*, 155.

³⁹ *Royall Consort* (New Version), i. p. xv.

⁴⁰ *Index* for concordances.

commonly found without much variation throughout the old Royall Consort sources. The rescoring of the piece in B.3 (see Ch. 5) was most likely done at roughly the same time as the composition of the suites for bass viols and organ. Lawes's approach to compiling the organ part of [Corant] {107} is also interesting. He did not simply score the two outer parts of the consort version. The treble line comprises an amalgam of the two trebles of the old version, necessitated by the crossing of parts and the antiphonal passages of the consort version. The consort versions of [Corant] {107} are all in D major; however, Lawes transposed the piece to C major for the bass viol duet. This suggests that he specifically wanted the corant to complete the suite in C major. Lawes often reused material for different arrangements etc.: many of the viol consorts, for example, are arrangements of earlier pieces.⁴¹

'Aire' {106} (II.8.6) was the last of the seven pieces to be written into B.2 and appears to have been composed differently to the others. It seems that when Lawes chose pieces to be arranged for two bass viols, he decided to include a piece between 'Almane' {105} and [Corant] {107}. With this in mind he left space on f. 78 (inv.) of D.229, in which he then began to compile the organ part for 'Aire' {106}. This all appears to have happened prior to copying the inner parts for pieces {103} to {107} in D.229 (see Chapter 2, Illustration 2.21a), and hence prior to the composition of the scores in B.2. Lawes evidently spent some time choosing the piece to add between 'Almane' {105} and [Corant] {107}; the ink colours imply that there was not too great a delay. 'Aire' {106} is likely to be an arrangement of a pre-existing piece, although composition of a new piece it is not impossible. One suspects that Lawes was arranging one of his own pieces, as he was generally careful to credit other composers where references were made. However, until a concordance for 'Aire' {106} can be identified, homage remains a possibility. (The closest concordance of this piece known to the present author is in a series of pieces associated with *The Triumph of Peace* in the bass partbook GB-Och, Mus. MS 1022 (no. 60). The *Index* attributes the piece to Lawes, and the first two bars are quite similar to BV1: see II.8.9.) Evidence that Lawes was working from an already composed piece is implied further by the fact that he was able to compose the viol parts (including division strains) without an accompanying (organ) part in B.2. In B.2 Lawes fully composed the first bass viol part of 'Aire' {106}, complete with divisions, leaving two staves free for the organ. The second bass viol is complete until the approach to the final cadence of the divisions on the B strain. Here Lawes abruptly abandoned the piece, but, interestingly, it was not crossed out. This may be significant. Throughout B.2 and B.3 Lawes consistently crossed out, incomplete (and complete) pieces, as well as fragments apparently remaining after abstraction of leaves. It seems most likely that the partial organ part for 'Aire' {106} predates the version in B.2, as it omits one bar

⁴¹ See *Lawes: Consort Sets*, vii-ix; & *For ye Violls*, esp. 70-140.

(bar 4) included in B.2 and D.238-40. Although this bar may have been the result of a copying error, it does strengthen the bass-line by the inclusion of dominant harmony (Example 8.1).

Example 8.1. Lawes, 'Aire' {106}, for Two Bass Viols & Organ, Strain 1

Lawes also revised two passages from the division strains of the first bass viol from B.2 to D.240, suggesting that the B.2 version predates the partbooks. In the first revision (bars 8-9) there were originally consecutive octaves on the successive strong beats: Example 8.2a.

Example 8.2a. Lawes, 'Aire' {106}, bars 8-9, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2

He corrected this by moving the first octave to a weak beat and proceeding to a fifth on the first strong beat of bar 9: Example 8.2b.

Example 8.2b. Lawes, 'Aire' {106}, bars 8-9, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238 & D.240

A similar problem led to the second revision. In B.2 Lawes wrote a series of octaves between the dividing viols: Example 8.3a.

Example 8.3a. Lawes, 'Aire' {106}, bars 23-24, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2

the viols dividing the other's original melody for the first three bars. However, from bar 5 the divisions bear little relation to the original melody. Evidently, Lawes strengthened the harmony by moving the dominant harmony of the final cadence back by a minim beat in order to allow for a full perfect cadence. Although the change is slight, it would have had an impact on the accompanying organ part. Certainly, the organ could not have been repeated literally from the B to the B1 strains; an amended part would be necessary for one of the strains. Overall, it would seem to be less troublesome to recompose the viol parts in order to accommodate an organ part that could be literally repeated from strain to division-strain. Seemingly, this is what Lawes chose to do, but never recomposed (or edited) the piece.

From the way in which these pieces were copied into the sources some preliminary conclusions can be posited. The evidence suggests that Lawes probably composed the organ parts first in D.229, but not 'Aire' {106}. From this initial organ part, he probably then made the score versions in B.2, where the divisions were worked out. Finally, the viol parts were copied (with revisions) into D.238 and D.240. This has important implications for understanding the relationship between the various Lawes autographs. Generally, it is understood that that B.2 and B.3 represent Lawes's compositional sketches. It then follows that these pieces were then copied into partbooks. However, if D.229 represents the first stage in the compositional process of the bass viol suites, then it is possible that other pieces were also begun in this (or other) partbooks rather than in B.2 or B.3, which we can no longer take for granted as representing the first stage in the compositional process. This may be of significance for the organ parts of the viol consort pieces, perhaps some of the later pieces were first worked out in D.229; indeed, it has been argued in Chapter 2 that the viol consort section of D.229 was a compositional sketchbook of sorts. This evidence adds weight to the theory that D.229 is not the companion partbook to D.238-40 (see Ch. 2).

Example 8.4b. Lawes, 'Aire' {106}, B1 (Division) Strain

The image shows a musical score for two bass viol parts, BV1 and BV2. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of two systems. The first system has four measures, and the second system starts at measure 23 and also has four measures. The music is characterized by intricate rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and features several ornaments (flourishes) over the notes. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4.

'Aire' {106} is confusing, although it is suggestive of Lawes's compositional process that he was content to compose only the string parts for 'Aire' {106} and then copy them into partbooks, revising as he copied. Indeed, he may have been trying to save time, thinking that he

had the organ part in his head, but found that process did not work. The implication is that Lawes did not always compose in a score format. If 'Aire' {106} is an instance of composing in parts, it was not successful. However, if a similar process were applied to some of the harp consorts, it may suggest that the 'lost' harp parts for Suite 6 were never actually composed. Nevertheless, it remains unclear why 'Aire' {106} was so different to the other six. Furthermore, given that Lawes used pre-existing pieces for most (if not all) of the bass viol and organ pieces, it suggests that this kind of arrangement was relatively common practice; certainly Ives used some of his consort pieces as the basis for his bass viol duets. The form may have developed through out the early part of the seventeenth century by using score reductions of consort pieces against which divisions were improvised. Such pieces could have been arranged and performed with relative ease. They would have been eminently suited to performance in the private areas of the court where we know there were several small chamber organs (see Ch. 1).

The pavan appears to have been Lawes's composition of choice when setting elaborate divisions: as with the harp consorts, the pavans are the highlights of the bass viol suites. Perhaps the most notable feature of the division strains is the way in which Lawes regularly keeps one viol silent as the other divides, usually in an antiphonal style. By adopting this approach Lawes generates new points of imitation and succeeds in creating a greatly contrasting varied repeat. However, he also composed divisions in pairs, again with points of imitation. Indeed, an important point to note of Lawes's division style is his ability to incorporate new contrapuntal ideas into the divisions, in faster note values than the original counterpoint resulting in almost a different version of the piece. 'Pauen' {101} aptly demonstrates this technique (II.8.1). The A, B and C strains begin with simple divisions in the bass viols, usually descanting over the organ bass although much of their material is derived from the consort version of the piece. The A1 division strain begins with simple quaver divisions in imitation between the viols. Much in the manner of a fugal opening, the imitation gives way to development, where the rhythmic intensity gradually builds. This is mostly in fast semiquaver 'mixt' divisions, but again short points of imitation are employed (e.g. bar 23) and frequently the viols move in thirds and sixths (as later recommended by Simpson⁴²). The B1 strain uses similar techniques to the A1 strain, although there is no gradual rhythmic build-up here; the strain begins with imitative semiquaver scalar runs. A noticeable feature of this strain is the short question and answer passages between the viols from bars 47-48, resulting in literal repetition of the short figures between the viols. The figures are short enough for the idiom to be effective, reinforced by Lawes's quick abandonment of the idea. The C1 strain is similar in style to the A1 strain with the gradual build

⁴² *Division-Violist*, 49.

up of intensity. Again, the strain begins with well-worked imitation, even including the organ in bar 67. The 'mixt' divisions continue to the end with both viols coming 'together in a *Thundering Strain of Quick Division*' to conclude.

'Aire' {102} effectively contrasts the brooding intensity of the pavan (II.8.2). The pithy aire is quite a short piece: with divisions, it runs to only 35 semibreve bars, compared to the pavan's 78 breve bars. The division style is the same as the pavan (generally descant and 'mixt' division in quavers and semiquavers). There are many technically difficult passages; however, despite the difficulty of the divisions in these pieces, they lie quite easily under the hand, and multiple stops and chords are rare. The final 'Aire' {103} of the G minor suite is rather more substantial, providing an effective formal balance to the suite (II.8.3). In this piece many of the imitative points are built around repeated-note figures. Much material in the viols (A and B strains) is taken from the consort versions of the piece. The divisions are again conceived largely in imitation, with both viols often crossing parts and exchanging phrases. The question and answer idiom is found in the A1 strain. The G minor pieces work well as a suite, the three pieces providing an overall formal balance. Lawes's divisions are complex, but idiomatic, providing an effective contrast to the undivided strains that paraphrase the consort versions.

The suite in C major is rather more difficult to understand. Its status as a suite is unclear. We are forced to return to the question of whether Lawes intended the four C major pieces to be grouped together as one suite, or as two contrasting pairs.⁴³ The Ferrabosco pieces were clearly written for virtuosi, the originals transformed into vehicles for the elaborate division writing. The divisions are technically demanding, with frequent leaps and changes in register. The pavan is similar in style and form to the G minor pavan (II.8.4). The viols are composed as a pair throughout. Imitation and variety are the central ingredients. Lawes's notation is very specific: even trills are written out. Typically, antiphonal passages build to a studied climax. For example, in the B1 strain Lawes subtly begins the divisions in quavers and crotchets, gradually adding the (newly composed) antiphonal imitative points, building in tempo and intensity to a climax at the strain's end. Unlike the previous pieces divisions are not demarcated to the repeat strains. The C strain begins with the slow descant in the viols, quickly taken over semiquaver divisions. The fast divisions are shared between the viols, which alternate playing a simple quaver descant and semiquaver 'mixt' divisions. Tripla rhythms are briefly added to the end of the strain. The C1 strain continues the semiquaver divisions, with frequent passages of parallel movement and antiphonal exchange building to an intense climax.

Lawes extended the structure of 'Almane' {105} to include second and third division strains: ||A||A1||B||B1||A2||A3||B2||B.3|| (II.8.5). He appears to be trying something new. It stands in high relief to the other bass viol pieces, which only have one division strain (as do

⁴³ Lefkowitz concluded that the four C major pieces consisted of two suites: see Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 139-46.

the Royall Consort and harp consort almans). The formal extension of the alman is to allow for greater variety of divisions, and to match the formal structure of the pavan. The extra strains allow Lawes to explore a new texture. The B1 strain is played by only BV1, which then drops out and BV2 answers by performing solo divisions on the A2 strain. Both viols then join for the A3 strain, which opens imitatively with a triplet motif. Similar tripla divisions are also found in the B1 strain of 'Pauen' HC28 (II.6.28) and in the B.2 strain of HC21 (II.6.21). The rhythmic intensity of the divisions builds in the next strain, which BV2 plays alone: introducing a descending sequential demisemiquaver motif. There is no answering solo strain for BV1; rather, both viols join in another *'Thundering Strain of Quick Division'*.

The divisions in [Corant] {107} and 'Aire' {106} are quite bland in comparison to the extrovert divisions of the preceding homage pieces (II.8.7 and II.8.8, respectively). This could imply that Lawes did not intend for these pieces to be performed as a suite. However, the arrangement of these pieces in the partbooks, where they are laid out continuously (especially in D.229), belies this suggestion somewhat. On f. 78 (inv.) of D.229 Lawes copied the organ parts for 'Almane' {105}, 'Aire' {106}, and [Corant] {107}. 'Almane' {105} and [Corant] {107} appear to have been copied first, in two parts; this would be consistent with the apparent chronology of their composition evident from B.2; although, 'Aire' {106} may have been partially copied after 'Almane' {105} and before [Corant] {107}. Lawes ran out of space for [Corant] {107}, which he began on the last two staves of the page. He finished the piece off at the end of the two staves above (see Chapter 2, Illustration 2.21a). This suggests several things. Lawes was copying from an already composed part (probably a consort version), as he was able to judge exactly the space needed to finish [Corant] {107} on the staves above. He was also carefully trying to maintain the 'formal' presentation layout (see Ch. 2). This is demonstrated by the layout itself; indeed, rather than write smaller notes to fit the part onto one line (as he often did when space was a consideration), Lawes retained the evenly-spaced notes until the end of the piece. This also seems to have been done to allow the copying of 'Aire' {106} on the same page. If he had begun [Corant] {107} on the sixth and seventh staves (i.e. directly beneath 'Almane' {105}) he would have taken up more room on the page, which would have left little space for copying (or finishing) another piece – i.e. 'Aire' {106}, which was obviously intended to be inserted between 'Almane' {105} and [Corant] {107}.

When 'Aire' {106} and [Corant] {107} are placed with the Ferrabosco pieces the contrast of styles is quite distinctive. 'Aire' {106} is quite similar stylistically to 'Aire' {102} from the G minor suite. It is quite short (29 semibreves) and the division strains, although difficult in places, are not as elaborate as the previous pieces. Lawes again decreased the complexity of the divisions in the following piece, [Corant] {107}. If these four pieces were intended as a suite, it could be argued that the elaborate divisions of the first two pieces could result in a suite that was somewhat top-heavy. However, this is not necessarily the case. We do

not find whole suites by Lawes with each piece containing elaborate divisions, except in the suite in G minor discussed above. It was more usual for Lawes to begin a suite with elaborate divisions, or to contrast pieces with simple (or no) divisions with elaborate division pieces: this suite in C major can be seen as a further development of this technique. The suite in C major from the (new version) Royall Consort is a case in point (see Ch. 5). It consists of pavan-ayre-alman-corant-corant-saraband. [Pavan] {49} contains the most elaborate divisions of the collection; however, this is followed by five short movements containing no elaborate divisions whatever (although they may well have been extemporized in performance as necessary). Further, it seems plausible that Lawes intended the large-scale harp consort pieces as additional first movements for the existing suites (see Ch. 7). Again, some of these movements contain elaborate division strains, especially when compared with some of the first 25 pieces. 'Fantazia' {135} is yet another example of this. It contains some complex divisions in the violin and bass viol and is paired with a simple alman and galliard, neither of which contains substantial division passages.⁴⁴ Indeed, the fantasia appears to have been rewritten to incorporate extra divisions, although none was added to the other movements (see Ch. 5).

Thus, variety seems to have been a major consideration in Lawes's formal organisation of suites. However, the elaborate divisions also hint at the function of the pieces. Elaborate divisions suggest a formal concert-type setting where the emphasis was on the performers. Moreover, it seems unlikely that Lawes would be composing paired dances in the late 1630s, by which time English composers were generally composing in suites. Further, if the four C major pieces were intended as two pairs the purpose of the 'Aire' {106} and [Corant] {107} is rather difficult to understand, as they really only make sense within the context of a larger suite. It could also be argued that 'Aire' {106} and [Corant] {107} were the first movements of a larger suite left incomplete by Lawes. Although this is possible, D.238 and D.240 suggest otherwise. In these partbooks the G minor suite is physically separated from the C major pieces by several unused folios: there is no such demarcation within the C major pieces themselves. Tentative though this may be, when considered with the other evidence it is suggestive that Lawes was composing a four-movement suite in C major.

By way of conclusion, the issue of dating Lawes's bass viol pieces remains to be addressed. Their chronology is closely bound with a corollary question of whether Lawes or Jenkins was the first to compose elaborate divisions in this medium. Jenkins's earliest bass viol duets appear to date to the 1630s. Those with florid divisions seem to be slightly later, and likely to have been composed closer to c.1640. Establishing an accurate compositional date for Lawes's bass viol pieces is difficult. However, from their highly developed divisions a date of late in the 1630s seems appropriate. Pinto suggested a date of c.1638, which would seem about

⁴⁴ See *William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites*, ed. Pinto, (MB, 60; London, 1991), 38-46.

right.⁴⁵ 1638 was also the tenth anniversary of Ferrabosco's death, which perhaps gave Lawes the impetus to compose the homage pieces: especially if one of the viol parts was intended to be played by his son, Alfonso III. 1638 was also the year in which John Tomkins died.⁴⁶ Lawes composed an elegy for Tomkins in B.2 (p. 101) immediately after the bass viol and organ pieces. This does not necessarily mean that Lawes composed the bass viol and organ pieces before the Tomkins elegy. Nevertheless, although there is at the end of what appears to be a textless three-part vocal piece, which is crossed out at the start of p. 101 (see Chapter 4, Illustration 4.3), and no physical evidence in the manuscript of an abstracted page at this point. As they are all in the same ink, it seems that the bass viol pieces were written into B.2 at around the same time. Lawes appears to have composed the bass viol pieces on either side of the lute suite, which is written in a different ink; it has been argued in Chapter 3 that the lute pieces date to c.1638. Thus, if the bass viol pieces were composed around the time of the lute suite, a date of c.1638-9 for the latter seems about right.

If a compositional date of c.1638 were accepted it would suggest that both Lawes and Jenkins were composing florid divisions in this medium around the same time; certainly, Jenkins's group of six were composed around this time (see above). As with the fantasia-suites, Lawes and Jenkins seem to have shared a common model in Coprario for their bass viol duets, although Jenkins seems also to have been heavily influenced by John Ward's bass viol duets.⁴⁷ It is difficult to say with certainty whether Jenkins or Lawes was the first to experiment with divisions in this form, or indeed, whether one man influenced the other. However, (as with the fantasia-suites discussed in Chapter 5), it is unlikely to be a coincidence that both explored the same basic formal pattern in this medium: i.e. elaborate divisions replacing repeated strains. Whoever was the innovator, it seems clear that Lawes and Jenkins were increasingly interested in the use of divisions in serious consort music throughout the 1630s. Stylistically, the divisions used by both exemplify many of the rules later outlined by Simpson.⁴⁸ The stylistic similarities between the divisions of Lawes and Jenkins and the precepts later outlined by Simpson strongly suggest that divisions were developing as a shared tradition with much cross-fertilisation, a tradition in which the three men participated rather the suggestion by Lefkowitz that Simpson's treatise was based on a study of Lawes's music.⁴⁹ However, despite the stylistic similarities in their divisions, Lawes and Jenkins used them in a slightly different way as a compositional resource; this refers to Jenkins's pieces that appear to be roughly contemporaneous with those of Lawes: i.e. fantasia-suites Groups I and II and the bass viol pieces from MS 921. As with the

⁴⁵ See *ibid.* xx-xxi.

⁴⁶ Ashbee, 'Tomkins, John', *BDECM*, ii. 1084-86.

⁴⁷ See *Harmonious Musick*, ii. 190-94.

⁴⁸ Ashbee discusses the relationship for Jenkins in *Harmonious Musick*, ii, Chapter 12. For Lawes & Simpson see also Chapter 6, above.

⁴⁹ Lefkowitz, *Lawes*, 96.

fantasia-suites discussed in Chapter 5, divisions are generally better worked into the compositional framework of Lawes's pieces than those of Jenkins. For Jenkins divisions can tend to be somewhat sterile exercises in virtuosity (although usually done with ingenuity and imagination). This is not true of all of his pieces, but in the ones probably composed during the 1630s and 1640s he tends to use divisions for sectional contrast or virtuosic display. Conversely, Lawes's divisions are representative of his development of divisions within serious chamber music, a development that can be traced throughout his main consort music collections. Lawes's written out divisions seem to stem from his use of divisions as a compositional resource, not only for the bass viol but also at times for the violin, harp, and organ. Divisions were staple fare for any bass viol player worth his salt, and generally improvised by professionals.⁵⁰ However, when Lawes began seriously to incorporate divisions into the compositional fabric improvisation was not an alternative, especially because of the way in which he often uses divisions to introduce new imitative points and contrapuntal ideas. Although the improvisation of new points was an established part of the art of division, in many of Lawes's compositions the divisions generally add a new level to the composition. Thus, it is unsurprising that Lawes felt the need to compose specific divisions rather than to leave it to the performers. The notation of a once improvised idiom is a common occurrence. The English equal lute duet is another example of an improvisational medium that became a compositional genre.

Composers continued to write pieces for two bass viols and organ around the middle of the century. Matthew Locke's 12 bass viol duos are dated 1652 in his autograph score (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17801). These are idiomatic pieces arranged into four suites of three movements in C and D major and minor (two short fantasias followed by a saraband or corant). Unlike in Lawes's suites, Locke's viol parts are self-sufficient and do not need accompaniment; he was however an organist and presumably would have realized one in performance.⁵¹ John Hingeston also composed 16 pieces for two bass viols, arranged in four suites of fantasia-alman-alman-corant. Hingeston's duos are quite well composed. They do not require virtuoso technique, although elaborate divisions may have been extemporised in performance. As with Locke, there is no organ part for Hingeston's bass viol duos, although he too was an organist and likely improvised an accompaniment as required.

Although Lawes composed only a handful of pieces for bass viols and organ, they are of great importance in our understanding his use of divisions and they provide a rarely glimpsed insight into his compositional process.

⁵⁰ See Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, 1999), 30.

⁵¹ See also Holman, "'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All': The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music", in Ashbee & Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford, 1996), 353-82.

Conclusions

The central aim of this dissertation has been to understand better William Lawes as a composer. Much of the repertoire discussed dates to after Lawes's appointment to the Lutes, Viols and Voices, strongly suggesting that composition was one of his duties. However, Lawes did not hold an official place as a composer. Between 1625 and 1642 there were three official composer posts associated with the LVV. The first was held (until 1642) by Thomas Ford. Alfonso Ferrabosco II, who replaced John Coprario in June 1626, held the second. Ferrabosco was replaced by his son Henry after his death in 1628. Henry served until 1642, although none of his music has survived. Thomas Lupo held posts as composer to the LVV and to the violins until his death, also in 1628. Stephen Nau filled the latter post; however, Lupo's place as composer to the LVV does not appear to have been officially filled, despite the petitions of Robert Johnson (see Ch. 1). Nevertheless, this is unlikely to have had much bearing on the duties expected of members of the LVV. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the official title of a court appointment did not always accurately reflect the functions of that post. The post of composer probably implied responsibility for compiling the group's repertoire (in addition to some composing); to some extent the posts may have been nominal. Certainly, it seems safe to assume that much of Lawes's music composed after 1635 was composed primarily for performance by the LVV.

Lawes composed in many of the forms established by Coprario, whose music was still performed at the court in the 1630s. However, the consort music composed by Lawes during his royal tenure suggests that musical tastes were gradually changing at court. The most obvious result of this is Lawes's incorporation of elaborate divisions into several of his consort pieces. Divisions were not new. However, the way in which Lawes used them as a compositional tool was, and seems to be closely related to changing functions of many of his pieces. I have argued in Chapter 5 that the Royall Consort began as functional dance music and that by the incorporation of the two 'breaking basses' Lawes moved the collection into the realms of *Tafelmusik*. The new version Royall Consort appears to have had a somewhat flexible performance function; one can easily imagine florid divisions being extemporized in a concert-like situation, prefaced by the fine fantasias and pavans. The harp consorts also appear to have been updated to modify the original function of the collection. I have argued in Chapter 6 that

they began as *Tafelmusik* and were brought into the realm of audience music with the addition of the elaborate divisions. The lra viol trios and the bass viol and organ suites are examples of Lawes's notable retention and revision of existing pieces, whether they be his own or in homage. These conspicuous reworkings suggest that Lawes placed a value on his compositions, a value no doubt that was judged in part by their popularity among his patrons. At the Caroline court, emphasis seems to have gradually shifted towards the performer, largely through the popularity of the art of division. The performance of Lawes's music is crucial to understanding his growing fascination with division writing, and suggests that concert-like performances were becoming the norm in the Caroline court in the late 1630s. The bass viol was the main vehicle for divisions, but with Lawes we see the development of the violin as a division instrument on a par with the viol; a significant change in the function of the violin, which until this point had been largely associated with simple dance music. The development of the Alman-Corant-Saraband (A-C-S) suite seems to have been closely linked to the ideals that governed the art of division: a build to studied climax. Thus, it is no surprise that Lawes's development of the A-C-S suite was intertwined with his division writing.

Closely connected to these questions of stylistic development in Lawes's music is the question of chronology. Throughout this dissertation I have attempted to shed new light on the chronology of Lawes's consort music through a combination of stylistic analysis and source studies. The conclusions can be summarised in the following chronology.

Along with the early Royall Consort pieces, the contents of the Shirley partbooks (GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 40657-61) seem to be some of Lawes's earliest surviving compositions. They were apparently composed before 1633, and comprise several three- and four-part pieces, and two five-part pieces. The majority of the fantasia-suites and the first twenty or so harp consorts are also likely to date to the early 1630s. The latter probably originated in two-part versions performed by whatever ensembles were to hand, and only given their instrumentation (violin, bass viol, theorbo, and Irish harp) and written-out divisions *c.*1635-6. Lawes then appears to have composed HC21-25 before composing the large-scale pieces, HC26-30. This appears to have happened *c.*1637-9, and there does not seem to have been much of a gap between the composition of HC21-25 and HC26-30. Arguably, the most significant piece from the post-1635 period is the revised 'Fantazia' {135}, the revision of which appears to have been done after the fantasia-suite series were completed and added to the partbooks (GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-40); a date of *c.*1637 seems likely. It has been argued in Chapter 5 that several of John Jenkins's fantasias may have inspired Lawes to rework this piece; certainly, there appears to have been much more cross-influence between the two men than previously thought. For Lawes 'Fantazia' {135} appears to mark the beginning of his exploration of elaborate divisions and probably pre-figures the later harp consorts (HC27-30) and the new version Royall Consort. The Royall Consort appears to have originated in the late 1620s in two large SSTB groups in D

major and D minor. The presence of several SSBB pieces in the Shirley partbooks suggests that Lawes was exploring the SSBB scoring in the early 1630s. However, the Royall Consort sequence in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.3 is unlikely to date to before 1637, and appears to be roughly contemporaneous with the large-scale harp consort pieces (HC26-30). The bass viol and organ pieces probably also date to around this period; a date of *c.*1638 seems likely (Ch. 8). Conversely, the lyra viol trios seem to be relatively early works, probably composed during the early to mid-1630s. They also appear to have been revised during the 1630s (see Ch. 4). Between *c.*1633 and 1640-1 Lawes also worked on the five- and six-part viol consorts. This appears to have happened in several stages, with many of the fantasias composed first followed by the aires, many of which Lawes reworked from earlier compositions.¹

Thus, the evidence suggests that much of Lawes's surviving consort music was composed within a period of about two years, *c.*1637-*c.*1639. This appears to suggest somewhat of a compositional lacuna for the remaining years of Lawes's royal service. However, this does not account for the solo lyra viol music, the (now lost) lyra viol consorts, and the vocal music; nor does it account for the vast number of miscellaneous pieces, in two and three parts, attributed to Lawes. In contrast to the two-part pieces, Lawes's three-part consort pieces are relatively few in number and do not appear to have been widely disseminated. They seem to rank among Lawes's earliest compositions, several of which he later mined for material in other media.

It seems strange that more music has not survived from court composers of Charles I's reign. Historical accident has no doubt played its part. Indeed, a substantial amount of Lawes's compositions has simply not survived the passage of time; the scorebooks especially tantalise with their numerous abstracted pages. However, one should be cautious in overestimating the amount of substantial new music – on a par with the Royall Consort or the Harp Consorts – produced at court. Charles appears to have enjoyed listening to a particular repertoire of pieces, such as Coprario's fantasia-suites and Gibbons's fantasias, suggesting something approaching a modern musical canon developing at the early Stuart court. As we saw in Chapter 1, in February 1634/5 the violinist John Woodington was paid £20 'for a whole sett of Musicke Bookes by him p'vided & prickt wth all Coperaries & Orlando Gibbons their Musique, by his Ma^{ty} speciall Comand & Warr'.² Evidently, these pieces had been regularly performed over the previous decade or more. The order to recopy them implies that this repertoire was to be performed regularly in the future. There also appears to have been a distinction between these 'canonic' pieces and the ephemeral music that must have been required at the court on an almost daily basis. It has been suggested in Chapter 7 that much of this daily demand for music at the court

¹ See *William Lawes: Consort Sets in Five & Six Parts*, ed. David Pinto (London, 1979), introduction; *For ye Violls*.

² *RECM*, iii. 150.

was met by the arrangement of two-part pieces by various ensembles, usually performing extemporized divisions. Indeed, improvisation and arrangement are likely to have played an important role in musical entertainment at court; it is suggestive that the LVV were mostly comprised of some of the top instrumentalists in the country, only a few of whom were composers.

Thus, we are perhaps forced to consider the role played by musical notation in the performance of music at court. The issue is much too complex to be fully explored within the context of the present discussion; however, a few observations can be posited. Clearly much of Lawes's music (for example) was not copied for dissemination. None of Lawes's elaborate division writing disseminated widely; indeed, the Harp Consorts only disseminated in two parts without their divisions, and the bass viol duos are not found beyond the autograph sources. Performance seems to be an obvious motivation for notation. Lawes's partbooks (D.238-40 and D.229) were presumably used for performance; however, it seems rather anachronistic to suggest that the pieces therein were performed each time exactly as notated by Lawes: right down to the written-out trills. Indeed, the extent to which such partbooks were followed in performance is unclear. However, performance was a much more dynamic situation than perhaps we imagine today; for example, dance strains were repeated as required, often with divisions, which (according to Christopher Simpson) would have become more complex with each repetition of a strain. This is not to say that the Harp Consorts, for instance, were not performed as written on occasion, but we should perhaps bear in mind the fluidity of performance situations at court, and be aware that this must have entailed a certain flexibility in the authority of the musical notation.

A related question is the role of notation in the composition of consort music. Certainly, Lawes appears to have used notation as a form of composition and revision; evident from the many amendments made to the autographs. By understanding Lawes's process of revisions we can afford ourselves that rare glimpse into what Christopher Field appositely dubbed 'the composer's workshop'.³ It is clear from the evidence presented throughout this dissertation that Lawes did not compose his 'collections' (Royall Consort, Harp Consorts etc.) from start to finish in one rush of creative energy. He appears to have composed quite quickly, but most of these collections were compiled in increments, and many show signs of significant stages of development (presumably as the result of performance). Many of these increments overlapped. Thus, we find areas of cross-influence from one genre to another, especially in the pieces that appear to have been composed c.1637-9. Of course, one must be cautious of applying a strictly unidirectional process to a composer like Lawes: several versions of pieces are likely to have existed in the composer's imagination, as they must have done in performance. Indeed, Peter

³ Field, 'The Composer's Workshop: Revisions in the Consort Music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger', *Chelys*, 27 (1999), 1-39.

Holman has noted that the various settings of popular English pavans (such as 'Lachrimae') in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries 'usually have a common "gist" consisting of the tune, the bass, the implied harmonies in between, and any particularly striking contrapuntal or decorative features in the inner parts'.⁴ It is wholly plausible that composers such as Lawes thought of (at least some of) their music in 'gists'. The various instances of Lawes reusing pieces in different media confirms that notation in a 'fully-composed' version was not always the final stage of a piece. Nevertheless, some of the reworkings of pieces suggest that Lawes may have worked from existing notation rather than simply a memorized 'gist'. Furthermore, however practical the performance or arrangement of (often quite formulaic) dance forms from 'gists' (or two-part outlines), one suspects that it would have been generally quite impractical to approach consort fantasias, or other contrapuntally complex music, in the same manner. Thus, it is difficult to conclude that notation did not play some role in the composition of consort music in the early seventeenth century; however, the extent of this role is perhaps debatable and was presumably closely tied to performance.

In conclusion: whatever the role of musical notation in the performance of music at the Caroline court, it seems clear that improvisation and arrangement played a much larger part in the composition, and supply, of music than the surviving sources suggest. The relationship between notated music and everyday performance was undoubtedly a dynamic one; for example, the increasing use of divisions in serious consort music by the mid-1630s must have been influenced by performance practice and, to some extent, the notation of divisions must have had an influence on the standardization of what was essentially an extemporized practice. Regardless of the position occupied by surviving manuscripts within such a complex relationship, we are fortunate to have collections such as the Harp Consorts complete with Lawes's divisions, which afford us valuable insight into the performance practice of the period, and allow a glimpse of how even humble two-part outlines could be transformed into what is some of the finest instrumental music of the period.

⁴ Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, 1999), 29. A similar idea is also discussed in the introduction to John Ward (ed.), *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford, 1992); see also *Fiddlers*, 144-46.

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