

THE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC OF THOMAS TOMKINS (1572-1656)

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SUMMARY

Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656), organist of Worcester Cathedral and of the Chapel Royal, was one of the most significant English composers in the first half of the seventeenth century. His sacred and secular vocal music has become widely known through modern editions, but although his solo keyboard music has been available in print since 1955 it has received little critical attention and is seldom played. His output for string consort in three to six polyphonic parts has fared even worse: although playing parts of some of the consort pieces have appeared, these are not readily available, and are normally based on only one contemporary manuscript source. At present, therefore, our picture of Tomkins's overall achievements as a composer is incomplete, and therefore distorted, owing to the lack of a detailed consideration of his instrumental output. A critical study of the keyboard music, a complete edition of the consort music, collated from all existing contemporary manuscript sources, with a paleographical assessment of these sources, and an attempt to place this newly edited material in context, define, collectively, the scope of this thesis.

Although many of Tomkins's keyboard works are dated in the composer's manuscript, a strictly chronological assessment of these has not been adopted since this reveals far less of the composer's diversity than successive treatment by genre (preludes, plainsong settings, fantasias, grounds, pavans, variations and miscellanea).

Several general topics which do not fit comfortably into these specific categories are dealt with in Appendices following the critical and paleographical chapters. The transcriptions, with accompanying editorial notes and commentaries, are presented in a separate volume.

VOLUME 1

KEYBOARD AND CONSORT MUSIC

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

- TK Thomas Tomkins: Keyboard Music. Ed. Stephen D. Tuttle.  
Musica Britannica, vol.5 (2nd, rev. ed. London, 1964).
- StevT Denis Stevens: Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656 (London, 1957; rev. 1967).
- BE17 William Byrd: Consort Music. Ed. Kenneth Elliott. The Byrd Edition,  
vol.17 (London, 1971).
- CaldeE John Caldwell: English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century  
(Oxford, 1973).
- CunnB Walker Evans Cunningham: The Keyboard Music of John Bull.  
Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1981.
- DoddV Gordon Dodd (comp.): Thematic Index of Music for Viols. First  
Instalment (n.p., The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1980).
- EECM Early English Church Music
6. Early Tudor Organ Music I: Music for the Office. Ed. John Caldwell  
(London, 1966).
10. Early Tudor Organ Music II: Music for the Mass. Ed. Denis Stevens  
(London, 1969).
- EM Early Music
- FWVB The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Ed. J.A. Fuller Maitland and  
W. Barclay Squire. 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1899; rep. New York, 1963).
- GSJ Galpin Society Journal
- Mor1P T. Morley: A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music  
(London, 1597). Ed. R. Alec Harman (New York, 1973).  
(References are to the reprint of 1973.)
- MB Musica Britannica
1. The Mulliner Book. Ed. Denis Stevens (London, 1951).
9. Jacobean Consort Music. Ed. Thurston Dart and William Coates  
(London, 1955; 2nd, rev. ed. London, 1962).
14. John Bull: Keyboard Music I. Trans. and ed. John Steele and  
Francis Cameron, with additional material by Thurston Dart  
(2nd, rev. ed. London, 1967).

18. Music at the Court of Henry VIII. Trans. and ed. John Stevens  
(2nd, rev. ed. London, 1969).
19. John Bull: Keyboard Music II. Trans. and ed. Thurston Dart  
(2nd, rev. ed. London, 1970).
20. Orlando Gibbons: Keyboard Music. Trans. and ed. Gerald Hendrie  
(2nd, rev. ed. London, 1967).
22. Consort Songs. Trans. and ed. Philip Brett (London, 1967).
24. Giles and Richard Farnaby: Keyboard Music. Trans. and ed.  
Richard Marlow (London, 1965).
26. John Jenkins: Consort Music of Four Parts. Trans. and ed.  
Andrew Ashbee (London, 1969).
27. William Byrd: Keyboard Music I. Trans. and ed. Alan Brown  
(2nd, rev. ed. London, 1976).
28. William Byrd: Keyboard Music II. Trans. and ed. Alan Brown  
(2nd, rev. ed. London, 1976).
44. Elizabethan Consort Music I. Trans. and ed. Paul Doe (London, 1979).
48. Orlando Gibbons: Consort Music. Trans. and ed. John Harper  
(London, 1982).

MD Musica Disciplina

ML Music and Letters

MQ The Musical Quarterly

MR The Music Review

MT The Musical Times

OWNB Oliver Neighbour: The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd  
(London, 1978).

PRMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association

RISM Répertoire International des Sources Musicales

RMARC Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle

## LIBRARY SIGLA

The following RISM classifications have been adopted throughout this study:

- GB (Great Britain)
- Lbl London, British Library
- Lcm London, Royal College of Music Library
- Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library
- Och Oxford, Christ Church Library
- Y York, Minster Library
- EIRE (Republic of Ireland)
- Dm Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library
- US (United States of America)
- NYp New York Public Library
- R Rochester, New York State, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music Library
- S (Sweden)
- Uu Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket
- F (France)
- Pc Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Conservatoire de Musique

## SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

### (i) Keyboard

- To Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Conservatoire de Musique, MS. Rés. 1122  
(olim 18547) (autograph)
- Lbl29996 London, British Library, MS. Add. 29996 (autograph)
- 
- D1 New York, Public Library, MS. Drexel 5611
- D2 New York, Public Library, MS. Drexel 5612
- Fo London, British Library, MS. RM 24 d.3 (Will Forster's Virginal Book)
- FWVB Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. Music 32.G.29 (The Fitzwilliam  
Virginal Book: see list of Bibliographic Abbreviations, p.(i)).
- Ob93 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. Sch. c.93
- Och1113 Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS. Mus. 1113
- Up Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS. Instr. Mus. i hs 408  
(Andreas Düben Tablature)

### (ii) Consort

#### Printed Source:

- SOp Thomas Simpson: Opusculum Neuer Pavanen/Galliarden unnd/Volten so  
zuvor niemal in Truck/Kommen/Auff allerhand Musikalischen In/  
strumenten sonderlich Violen lieblich zu/gebrauchen (Frankfurt -  
am-Main, 1610)

#### Manuscript Sources:

- Dm1 Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS.Z3.4 (1-6)
- Dm7 Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS.Z3.4 (7-12)
- Lbl17792 London, British Library, MS. Add. 17792-6
- Lbl30826 London, British Library, MS. Add. 30826-8
- Lbl3665 London, British Library, MS. Eg. 3665
- Lcm2039 London, Royal College of Music Library, MS. 2039

Ob64 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. Sch. c. 64-9  
Ob245 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. Sch. d. 245-7  
Ob415 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. Sch. e. 415-8  
Och1018 Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS. Mus. 1018-20  
R Rochester, New York State, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music  
Library, 'Jo: Wythie his Booke'  
Y York, The Minster Library, MS. M.3/1-4(S)

## PREFACE

Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656) was the most distinguished member of a family which produced, according to Charles Burney, 'more able musicians, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than any other which England can boast.'<sup>1</sup> Tomkins is probably most famous for his sacred vocal music, especially the anthem When David Heard. This piece, still performed widely today, was apparently popular in the composer's lifetime as, in 1636, Charles Butler mentions its performance at the Oxford Music School: 'The melodious harmony whereof, .... whether I should more admire the sweet well-governed voices, (with consonant Instruments) of the Singers; or the exquisite Invention, wit, and Art of the Composer, it was hard to determine.'<sup>2</sup> Much of Tomkins's music for the Anglican service was brought together in the posthumous collection Musica Deo Sacra (London, 1668), in all probability edited by the composer's son, Nathaniel.

At the time of his death Tomkins was aged 84, and his long and productive life had straddled the reigns of three monarchs (two of whom he served at the Chapel Royal) and the interregnum. The political and religious upheavals of the Civil War and its outcome must have been a profound blow to the composer entering his seventies, and yet his temperament appears to have been outwardly as unshaken by these events as his musical sensibilities were unmoved by the modern styles practised by his younger contemporaries. To the end Tomkins the composer held fast to the values of the generation of Byrd (his teacher at some stage) and Gibbons.

An account of Tomkins's life forms a large part of Denis Stevens's monograph, Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656 (London, 1957), in which much documentary material relating to the composer's musical and social activities in Worcester (where he served as Cathedral organist from 1596 until his death) is adduced. Stevens also includes an overall survey of the music which leaves the reader

in no doubt that in 1956 (the tercentenary of Tomkins's death) the composer's fame rested almost exclusively on the vocal (especially sacred) works. Subsequently the most important contribution to the study of Tomkins has been the publication of all the anthems from Musica Deo Sacra, edited by Bernard Rose (EECM, vols. 5, 9, 14 and 28). It is for his church music that Tomkins has remained best known in print and on record. Nor has his set of madrigals, first published in 1622, been at all neglected. On the other hand, the keyboard music, though available in print since 1955 in the edition of Stephen Tuttle (TK), has received little critical attention and is seldom played. The consort music, amounting to some three dozen items, is even less familiar. Playing parts of some of the 3-part fantasias have been published in unready available editions (mainly transcribed from single sources), and probably because of this Tomkins's reputation as a composer of consort music is virtually non-existent. Happily a complete edition of the consort music is projected by Musica Britannica (edited by Warwick Edwards). Nevertheless, at the present time our picture of Tomkins's overall achievement as a composer is incomplete and therefore distorted owing to the lack of a detailed consideration of his instrumental output. A critical study of the keyboard music, a complete edition of the consort music, collated from all existing contemporary manuscript sources, with a paleographical assessment of these sources, and an attempt to place this newly edited material in context, define, collectively, the scope of the present thesis.

It is particularly fortunate that, in the case of Tomkins's keyboard music, over half the surviving works are preserved in the holograph volume, To. From 1646 onwards many of his pieces were dated; a chronological summary of these dated items is given in Appendix 3. A strictly chronological approach to the keyboard music, however, reveals far less of Tomkins's diversity than does the treatment by genre adopted in Part I. Some general topics which would not fit comfortably into these specific categories have been reserved



for Appendices 1 and 2, while Appendices 4 and 5 present transcriptions of versions of two of Tomkins's keyboard pieces not available in print. It is assumed throughout Part I that the reader has access to the second, revised edition of TK. In all musical examples in the text original note values have been employed; sometimes this has necessitated their restoration in cases where Tuttle halved the values in TK.

No autograph copies of Tomkins's consort music survive, but there is good reason to trust at least some of the texts preserved in contemporary sources, a few of which, through paleographical investigation, it has been possible to connect closely with Tomkins himself, or else with his circle of musical colleagues in Worcester.

The exercises entitled 'pretty wayes: For young Beginners to looke on' which commence on f.192v of Lbl29996, a manuscript owned and partly copied by Tomkins, are not discussed because even if they are the composer's work they are really only abstract contrapuntal elaborations rather than idiomatic keyboard pieces. Nor is reference made to Tomkins's copy of Morley's A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music (1597), preserved in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford. This copy contains some annotations in the composer's hand as well as four canons on p.100-1, but these have no bearing on his keyboard or consort music per se.

#### Footnotes

1. Charles Burney: A General History of Music (London, 1776-89).  
Ed. Frank Mercer. Vol.ii (London, 1935), p.290.
2. Charles Butler: The Principles of Music (London, 1636; rep. New York, 1970 with an intro. by Gilbert Reaney), p.5.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Words are but feeble expressions of gratitude. They are insufficient to convey the magnitude of my debt to Alan Brown. It was his keen appreciation of and enthusiasm for Elizabethan and Jacobean music that first stimulated my own interest in that direction, and which subsequently encouraged me during four years' research. I should like to thank him for his generosity of time and resources, for his active participation in the reconstructions of Tomkins's incomplete 5-part consort pavans (transcribed in Volume 2), for reading the entire manuscript in its final draft and, above all, for his penetrating but tactful criticism which has been an inspiration at every stage.

My thanks are also due to Professor Edward Garden, Dr David Cox, Tom McCanna, William Oxenbury and, especially, to my parents for their unfailing support.

Financial assistance towards periods of study in London and Oxford was provided by the Musica Britannica Trust (a Louise Dyer Award), and the A.M. Dommett Charitable Trust. The purchase of microfilms was made possible by further grants from the Hinrichsen Foundation and the Royal Musical Association.

I am grateful to the British Library and Royal College of Music Library, London; the Bodleian Library and Christ Church Library, Oxford; the Minster Library, York; Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Staats-und-Universität's Bibliothek, Hamburg; the Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala; and the Sibley Music Library, Rochester (New York), for supplying photostats or microfilms of manuscripts or prints in their possession, and for permission to reproduce pages or folios from these as illustrations.

Finally I wish to record my gratitude to Mrs Jean Wilde, whose beautiful typing of this thesis has erased from my mind all memories of the appearance of my handwritten drafts.

PART I

KEYBOARD MUSIC

## CHAPTER 1

### KEYBOARD SOURCES

Tomkins's keyboard music is found in nine manuscript sources. His pieces (only) are listed below in the order in which they appear in each source. Modern spellings have been adopted; the original titles may be found in TK (in the textual commentary, p.163 et seq). [Anon] indicates that the piece is without ascription in that source. Bracketed finals indicate that a piece is incomplete.

To

<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u> (if any)	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
24-7	Fancy for viols		A	33
27-29	Fancy	November 9 1646	G	22
39-41	A Substantial Verse		D	31
71-85	<u>Ut re mi fa sol la</u>		G	35
88	<u>Miserere</u>		G	17
90-4	In Nomine (version 1)	January 20-8 1647	A	5
95-7	[Fancy]	July 8 1647	C	23
97;	Pavan	September 10 1647	G	51
100-1				
98-9;	Voluntary	August 10-September 10	C	24
101		1647		
102-3	Pavan	September 14 1647	G	52
103-5	Pavan: Earl Strafford	September 29 1647	G	41
	(short version)			
105	Galliard: Earl Strafford		G	42
	(short version)			
106-8	Prelude		G	1
108-9	<u>Miserere</u>	September 15 1648	G	13
110-11	Prelude		A	3

<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Date (if any)</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
112-14	In Nomine	June 16 1648	A	8
115-18	In Nomine	May 1648	A	7
118-20	Fancy	October 24 1648	G	25
120	<u>Miserere</u>	May 26 1651	G	15
121-3	In Nomine	October 27 1648	A	9
123-5	<u>Miserere</u>		G	18
126	Verse of three parts	August 12 1650	(D)	26
127,126	<u>Clarifica me pater</u>	September 1650	A	4
128-35	Pavan	April 1650	A	45
[130-4 blank ]				
135	Pavan	August 20 1650	G	54
136-7	Pavan	February 14 1649	G	53
138-41	Galliard: Earl Strafford (long version)		G	44
141	Toy: made at Foole Court		G	67
142-5	Pavan: Earl Strafford (long version)	October 2 1647	G	43
146	Piece of a prelude	July 9 1647	D	2
147	Bitts: or morcells		G	73
147	<u>Ut re mi fa sol la</u>		G	36
148-50	In Nomine (version 2)	January 20 1647- August 2 1650	A	6
[151 blank ]				
152-3	Galliard	October 1 1650	A	46
153	'Go from my window'		G	72
154-5	In Nomine (version 1)	February 1650	D	10
156	Pavan of three parts		G	49
156	<u>Ut re mi fa sol la</u>		G	70

<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Date (if any)</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
157, 173,172	The Perpetual Round	September 7-8 1654	G	66
158-60	In Nomine (version 2)	February 14 1650	D	11
161	[ <u>Ut re mi fa sol la</u> ]		G	37
161,160	Galliard of three parts		G	50
162	<u>Miserere</u>	October 7 1648	G	14
162	<u>Miserere</u>		G	19
163	<u>Miserere</u>		G	20
163, 167,166	In Nomine	June 28 1652	A	12
164-66	<u>Miserere</u>	February 3-4 1652	G	16
168	<u>Ut re mi fa sol la:</u> for a beginner		G	34
169-70	<u>Ut re mi fa sol la</u>	June 30 1654	(C)	71
171	Pavan	September 4 1654	A	47
171-2	Galliard	September 7 1654	A	48
174-81	'Fortune my foe'	July 4 1654	A	61
184	Short Pavan	July 19 1654	G	55

(A list of contents of To - including pieces by Byrd and Bull - appears in TK, p.161-2; no dates are supplied by the editor, nor are cross-references to his edition numbers. Two pieces, the Ut re mi fa sol la, TK 36, and the Ut re mi fa sol la, TK 70, are omitted there but have been restored to pages 147 and 156 above.)

Lbl29996

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title (date)</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
179v-80	A Short Verse	G	27
193-95	Ground: Arthur Phillips [by Tomkins?]	D	40
204v-206	Fancy for two to play	A	32
217v-218v	Pavan: Lord Canterbury (1647)	C	57

FWVB

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
123	Pavan	A	56
130	Ground	G	39
131	'Barafostus' Dream'	D	62
132	The Hunting Galliard	A	58
151	Prelude [Anon]	A	3
207	Worcester Brawls	D	65

(Tregian, the copyist of FWVB, numbered the first four pieces 1 - 4 respectively.)

D1


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<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
90-1	Voluntary	D	30
92-3	Voluntary	A	28

D2


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<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
58-9	The Hunting Galliard	A	58
65	The Lady Folliott's Galliard	A	59
70-1	'What if a Day'	A	64

Fo


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<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
386-9	Prelude [ascribed to Byrd]	A	3
432-44	Robin Hood [Anon]	G	63

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Ob93

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title (date)</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
67-70	<u>Ut re mi fa sol la</u>	G	35
70v-73	<u>Ut mi re</u>	G	38
73v-80	Offertory (1637)		21
80	[Verse i]		74
80	[Verse ii]		75
81v,81	[Verse (or Voluntary) iii]		76

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Och1113

<u>Page</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
135-6	[Fancy]	A	29
139-40, 136	[On a plainsong]	A	68
211-15	Pavan	A	56

---

Up

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>TK</u>
8v-11	Pavan [arranged by Phillips]	A	56

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The Toy: Mr Curch (TK 69) has not been included in the above lists as it is clearly by Farnaby (see Chapter 8, p. 114). The single Galliard, TK 60, which is almost certainly by Gibbons, has also been excluded (see Chapter 6, p.80-1). Robin Hood (TK 63) has been included, despite the lack of any attribution in the only source, Fo, as it may possibly be Tomkins's work (see Chapter 7, p.106). Similarly, the Ground: Arthur Phillips (TK 40) has been retained as Tomkins evidently had some connection with it (Chapter 5, p.68-70).

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The most important source in the above list is To, compiled probably over a number of years by the composer. It is holograph except for the final Index (p.189) in the hand of Tomkins's son Nathaniel, scribbles on p.i by younger members of the family, a legal note in the hand of William Blizzard (p.190, inverted) and papers added by later owners.

The earliest dated piece is Tomkins's Fancy (November 9 1646), TK 22, and the latest his Perpetual Round (7-8 September 1654), TK 66 (see Appendix 3). To was presumably written between these dates (and therefore after Tomkins's duties at Worcester Cathedral were suspended), although p.1-71, containing music by Byrd and Bull, were possibly completed first (1646-7). To is the only source for Byrd's Ut re mi fa sol la, MB 28:58, Gloria tibi Trinitas MB 28: 50 and Verse, MB 27:28, and Bull's In Nomines, MB 14:26, 27 and 29, pieces which Tomkins may have had at first hand from the composers, before 1623 (when Byrd died) and 1613 (when Bull emigrated) respectively. Tomkins's own Fancy for Viols, TK 33 which survives only in To in keyboard score, is found amid Byrd's and Bull's pieces on p.24-7 of To as is the Fancy, TK 22 (9 November 1646) which follows straight on (To, p.27-9), and the Substantial Verse, TK 31 (To, p.39-41).

This early part of To seems to have been intended as a collection of fair copies; it is quite legible and free from errors. The latter part of To became, after 1646, a sketchbook into which Tomkins composed his own pieces, revising as he proceeded - especially in the In Nomine, TK 12 (p.163, 166-7) and 'Fortune my foe', TK 61 (p.174-81). Most of Tomkins's imitative pieces in To (TK 22-6) are possibly refined versions of pieces originally sketched out or improvised while he was still active as a Cathedral Organist, and which he only found time to write out properly in retirement. Neither the frequent cancellations and revisions of passages in Tomkins's steadily deteriorating hand nor the subsequent ravages of time (the ink is now very badly blotted) contribute to the appeal of this part of the manuscript.

Barely legible in places, To makes for difficult reading and even more tiresome transcription.

In addition to the Herculean task of editing such a manuscript, Steven Tuttle also provided a thorough account of To's history and paleography. His remarks are included in TK (p.155-62) and no useful purpose would be served by duplicating his findings here, especially as a recent facsimile of To has been published with an introduction by Francois Lesure.<sup>1</sup> A list of corrections necessary in TK is given in Appendix 1 (these have been discovered by comparison with a microfilm of To procured before Lesure's facsimile appeared) but one point may usefully be considered at this stage. In the introduction to his textual commentary on 'Fortune my foe', TK 61 Tuttle remarks that 'Tomkins gives the player [my italics] directions as to how to proceed from variation to variation' (the same point is made by Stevens).<sup>2</sup> Surely To could never have been intended as a performing copy: it is far too jumbled in appearance for this. To convert the Prelude, TK 1 from a piece ending in G to one ending in D the player would have to turn over some 30 pages to find the revision, TK 2; he would not know where to find the end of Clarifica me pater (no instructions are given at the bottom of p.127 of To); the alignment of the counterpoint is frequently wrong, as at b.7-11 of the In Nomine, TK 8; towards the end of To Tomkins's handwriting is almost illegible to the editor, let alone the performer. It is far more likely that Tomkins's instructions in 'Fortune my foe' - and elsewhere in To - were for the benefit of a copyist. On p.186 of his manuscript he wrote

I Could wish that the great Booke of W<sup>ch</sup> was my Brother Johns.  
Should Be Fayre & Carefully prict W<sup>th</sup> So Judicious A Hand  
& Eye. That the player maye venture upon them w<sup>th</sup> Comfort.  
W<sup>ch</sup> he maye Easily doo. If the notes Be distinctly valued w<sup>th</sup>  
the Semy Brife or minu [minim]: & not to closely Huddled up  
to gether. My Sonnes Judgement may geve Better directions then  
these Weake Expressions: But this By the waye.

Clearly in To the notes are far too 'closely Huddled up together' to be 'ventured upon with comfort' by even the most patient of performers. It is possible that Tomkins wished his manuscript to be copied by his son, Nathaniel, who was probably the editor of his father's posthumous Musica Deo Sacra (1668).

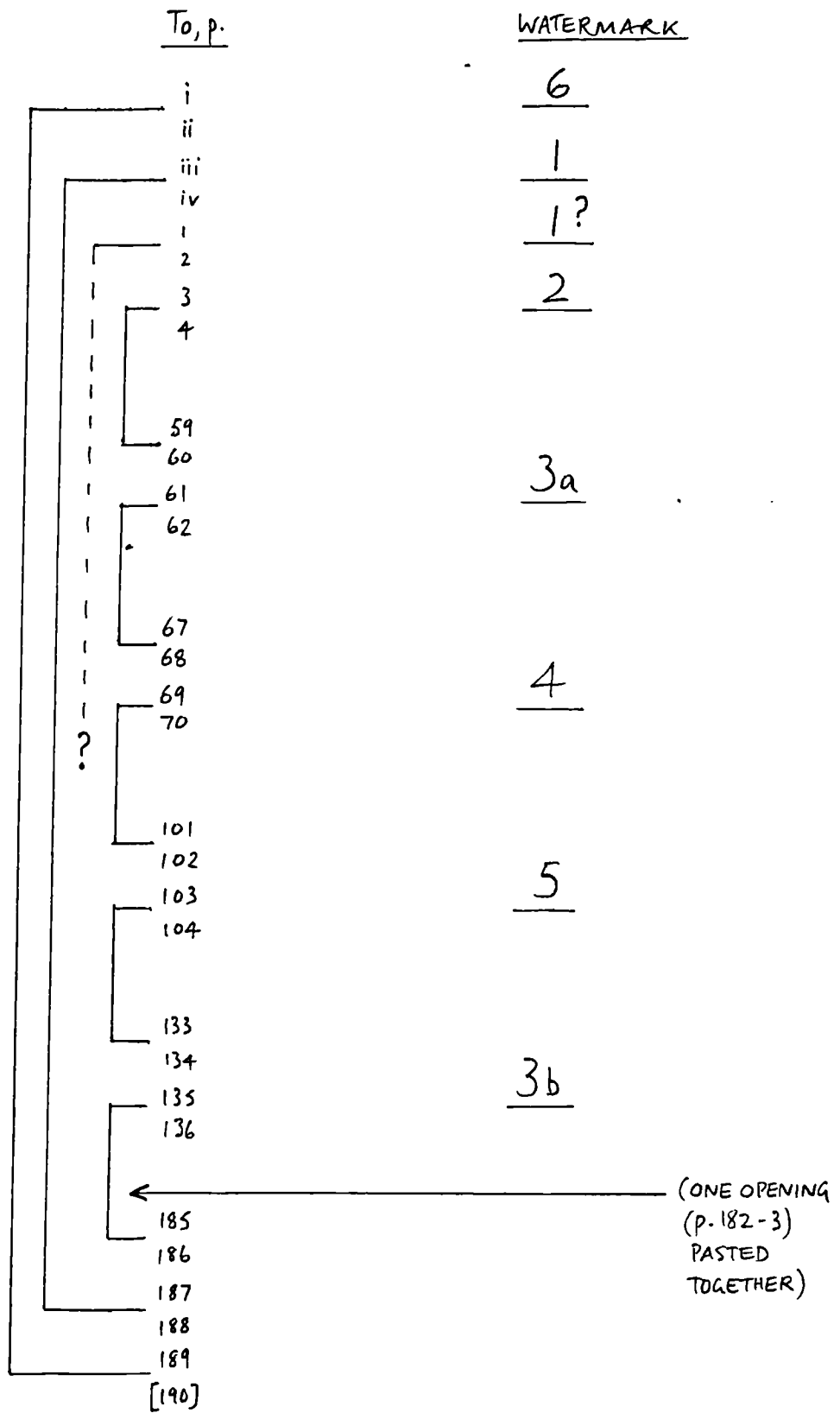
#### Construction of To

Tuttle's admirable description of To stops short of drawing conclusions regarding the manuscript's evolution. He does not deal with gatherings, for example, although the fact that he noticed the same watermark on p.1 and 187 (the virtual beginning and end of To) suggests that there is some relationship between the original beginning and end papers. Probably the paper all consists of double sheets (a large single sheet folded once) on one half of which a watermark appears. That the same watermark (a Sword) appears on both pages 1 and 187 means that these cannot be opposite halves of the same sheet. No watermarks are recorded on the front flyleaves i/ii and iii/iv and it is possible that pages 187/8 and 189/[90] (the latter bearing a grape watermark found nowhere else in To) form their opposite halves. This creates a problem in the case of pages 1/2 as is shown in the hypothetical reconstruction of To's gatherings (Figure 1).

Tuttle is incorrect in stating (under FORM in his description) that the pagination of To is in Tomkins's hand. Comparison of the page numbers with figures occurring in the music text (semibreve tallies, proportion-signs, dates) shows clearly that the pagination was undertaken by a different person, probably whoever added the cross-references and letter-figure combinations (see Appendix 2). Occasionally, cross-references do appear in the composer's handwriting. On p.90 of To he writes of the In Nomine, TK 5 'this is better prickt some xxx leaves after'. Tomkins is drawing attention to the revised version of this In Nomine at p.148 (TK 6), 29 leaves further into the manuscript. Tuttle gives the distance as 27 leaves<sup>3</sup>

FIGURE 1

HYPOTHETICAL SCHEME OF GATHERINGS IN T<sub>0</sub>



(presumably he excludes the blank pages 131-4). Alongside Tomkins's rubric, in a later ink, is the additional reference vide 148, appended by the later annotator. As he, and not Tomkins, added a precise page number, it seems probable that when Tomkins wrote his cross-reference on p.90 (presumably upon the completion of the revised In Nomine, TK 6, dated by him August 2 1650) To was bound but not paginated. This prompts the question of when To was bound and at what stage in its compilation.

Tuttle does not address this question directly; probably he believed To to have been bound before Tomkins wrote the music into it. Stevens also assumes this by implication.<sup>4</sup> Yet the matter is not so simple. Regrettably it has not been possible to examine To at first hand in the present study; the provisional conclusions presented below have been drawn from a study of a microfilm copy and Tuttle's description of the manuscript in TK.

Tuttle lists and describes six watermarks in the paper of To. He numbers these 1 - 6 and gives the pages between which they occur. Of these watermarks numbers 1 - 5 are relevant to the evolution of the musical anthology. Their distribution is analysed in Table 1 (Tuttle's watermark and page numbers are retained). The analysis shows that several individual pieces were begun and concluded on different paper-types. The intervention of successive watermarks (2-3, 3-4, 4-5, 5-3) in the middle of single pieces suggests strongly that the music was written straight through the five main watermark sections (2, 3, 4, 5, 3) after these had been bound together (apparently by 14 September 1647, the date of the Pavan, TK 52 that straddles sections 4 and 5). This position is reinforced by the intermixture of the Pavan, TK 51 and the Voluntary, TK 24 between p.97-101 (p.98 is the verso of 97; 100 the verso of 99; and 102 the verso of 101). The pavan's first strain is written on the bottom half of p.97; p.98-9 contain b. [1-37] of the voluntary; p.100 the second and third strains (to the end of b.26) of the pavan; p.101 b.27 to the end of the pavan and, below this, b.[38] to the end of the voluntary. At the foot of p.97 Tomkins wrote: 'Turne over.

TABLE 1DISTRIBUTION OF WATERMARKS IN To

<u>WATERMARK</u>	<u>PAGES</u>	<u>DISTRIBUTION</u>
1	1 187	Contains Byrd's <u>Ut re mi</u> , <u>MB</u> 28:58, b.1-19 Revisions of Tomkins's Misereres, <u>TK</u> 14 and 19
2	4-60	Extends from Bull's <u>Ut re mi</u> , <u>MB</u> 14:18, b.1 to b.25, beat 2 of his In Nomine, <u>MB</u> 14:23
3	61-8 135-186	Extends from Bull's In Nomine, <u>MB</u> 14:23, b.25, beat 3 to b.19 of his In Nomine, <u>MB</u> 14:30 Extends from Tomkins's Pavan, <u>TK</u> 45 (April 1650), b.51 to the copying instructions quoted above (p. 7)
4	69-102	Extends from Bull's In Nomine, <u>MB</u> 14:30, b.20 to b.19 of Tomkins's Pavan, <u>TK</u> 52 (September 14 1647)
5	103-34	Extends from Tomkins's Pavan, <u>TK</u> 52 (September 14 1647) b.20 to the end of the blank pages (131-4), including b.1-50 of Tomkins's Pavan, <u>TK</u> 45 (April 1650)

Two leaves/for the Residue [of the pavan]' and in confirmation of this instruction he marked clearly 'The Second strayne of the paven' on p.100. On p.101, system 2, he wrote 'The Rest of the Fancy' referring to the Voluntary, TK24 broken off on p.99 (Tomkins used such titles interchangeably). These rubrics must have been written after p.97-101 were bound, and the layout of the music suggests strongly that this also postdated the binding.

However, there are several problems associated with this interpretation of the watermarks' distribution. The separation of the 'short' and 'long' versions of the pavan and galliard written in memory of Earl Strafford, TK 41-2 (To, p.103-5), TK 43-4 (To, p.138-45), dated by Tomkins 29 September and 2 October 1647 respectively by over 30 pages in To is hard to explain if they were written into an already bound volume. It is possible, of course, that Tomkins fitted these works into his anthology wherever there was room, but this does not quite fit the facts. The 'short' version appears on what is now p.103-5; the 'long' version on p.138-45 (the galliard preceding the pavan). There are no less than eleven intervening pieces dated later than 2 October 1647; they are shown in Table 2, extracted from the complete list of Tomkins's works in To on p.1-3 above.

Table 2 prompts several questions. Why copy the 'long' version of the Strafford pair so far away from the 'short' originals when all these intervening pages of the book, To, were still blank in October 1647? Why copy the In Nomines, TK 7 and 8 (May - June 1648) between the later Miserere, TK 13 (September 15) and the even later Fancy, TK 25 (October 24)? Why leave four blank pages between b.50-51 of the Pavan, TK 45 (April 1650)?

None of these questions can be answered satisfactorily if To was already bound as a book when the music was written. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that both 'short' and 'long' versions of the Strafford dances and all of the pieces listed in Table 2 were written on loose sheets which were later bound together rather carelessly without regard for chronology

TABLE 2CONTENTS OF To, p.106-37

<u>To p.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>TK</u>
106-8	Prelude	[none]	1
108-9	<u>Miserere</u>	September 15 1648	13
110-11	Prelude	[none]	3
112-14	In Nomine	June 16 1648	8
115-18	In Nomine	May 1648	7
118-20	Fancy	October 24 1648	25
120	<u>Miserere</u>	May 26 1651	15
121-3	In Nomine	October 27 1648	9
123-5	<u>Miserere</u>	[none]	18
126	Verse of three parts	August 12 1650	26
127, 6	<u>Clarifica me pater</u>	September 1650	4
128-35	Pavan	April 1650	45
[130-4 blank]			
135	Pavan	August 20 1650	54
136-7	Pavan	February 14 1649	53



whenever these were subsequently bound up the blank pages 131-4 were erroneously inserted.

A final piece of evidence may help to narrow down the dates between which, in 1650, To was bound. It will be remembered that Tomkins added a cross-reference on p.90 of To to the In Nomine, TK 6 (above, p.8 ). His direction must have been added once TK 6 was complete (August 2 1650) and clearly implies that by this time To was bound.

It is difficult to reconcile the conflicting (bound-unbound) interpretations of the watermark evidence at present. The only way to determine the matter with certainty would be to have To unbound to analyse the gatherings and to scan the paper with an ultra-violet watermark reader. All that may be said at this stage about the evolution of To as a volume is that its contents seem partially to have been written on separate sheets which were later bound together, and partially to have been written into the book in its bound state. The separation of the paper bearing watermark 3 into two batches (3a: p.69-102 and 3b: p.135-86) and the variety of stave layouts on the page (discussed below) suggest that the binding may have been undertaken in distinct stages, possibly (i) p.1-102 (papers 1, 2, 3a and 4) and (ii) 103-[90] (papers 5, 3b and 6). If so, then the first stage may have been carried out shortly before 14 September 1647 (see above, p.9 ) and the second between April and 2 August 1650. If To was indeed a bound book by the time 'Fortune my foe', TK 61 was written on p.174-81, this would strengthen Tuttle's contention in his textual commentary to this piece (TK, p.198) that 'Tomkins started writing variations on the right hand pages leaving the left hand pages free for additions.'

While writing To between 1646 and 1654 Tomkins had four paper types available to him (2, 3, 4, 5) which he used for music paper. Three regular stave layouts appear: A, eight 6-line staves to the page; B, eleven 5-line staves; C, ten 5-line staves. All of these were drawn with rastra as may be detected by the identical upward or downward curvature at the beginning and end

of each of the five or six individual lines in a stave. Table 3, in which these layouts are combined with the various watermarks, shows their distribution among the music pages of To. The freehand staves (p.147 and 151-87) were probably drawn onto the paper after the loose sheets had been bound, as was layout D, drawn with a ruler and containing either twelve or fourteen staves to a page, on which Tomkins wrote only the In Nomine, TK 6 (2 August 1650).

As the stave layouts form an intermediate stage between the manufacture of the paper and the writing of the music they can help to complete the picture of the evolution of To. Tomkins obviously preferred layout A (eight 6-line staves) since only two of his own pieces, the Substantial Verse, TK 31, and the In Nomine, TK 6, appear on other layouts (B and D respectively). It is possible that mid-way through the Pavan, TK 52 (To, p.102-3) Tomkins came to the end of his supply of loose sheets of paper-type 4 (see Table 1) but continued to the end of the piece on paper-type 5 which carried an identical stave layout (A). This might explain the apparent anomaly between the interruption of a paper-type in the middle of a piece, suggesting that binding preceded writing, and the conflicting evidence (cited above, p.10) suggesting precisely the reverse situation. Maintaining a single stave layout does at least preserve the written appearance of the music on the page throughout the piece. However, this explanation will not suffice for the transition from paper-types 2 to 3 (To, p.60-1) in the middle of Bull's In Nomine, MB 14:23 which is marked also by a change of stave layout from B to C. A similar situation obtains in Bull's In Nomine, MB 14:30 which is also split into two paper-types (3a and 4) and two stave layouts (C and A). These problems remain unresolved, but the differing stave layouts do at least give a clue as to why paper-type 3 was bound in two batches: from p.61-8 3a bears layout C, while from p.135-86 3b bears variously A, D or freehand.

Tomkins's other autograph, Lb129996, which he seems to have owned from about 1600, has been the subject of an extended critical study by John Caldwell<sup>5</sup> and further discussion here would be superfluous except to comment that whereas,

TABLE 3      DISTRIBUTION OF STAVE LAYOUTS IN To

<u>To p.</u>	<u>STAVE LAYOUT</u>	<u>WATERMARK</u> (paper type)
1-4	A	1 (visible on p.1 only)
4-36	A	2
37-60	B	2
61-8	C	3a
69-102	A	4
103-34	A	5
135-46	A	3b
147	Freehand	3b
148-50	D	3b
151-86*	Freehand	3b
187	Freehand	1

\* On pages 157 and 171-3 the freehand staves are vertical, requiring the user to turn the book through 90°.

on the whole, To contains music appropriate more to domestic usage (virginals or harpsichord), Lbl29996 concentrates largely upon a liturgical repertory (for organ) and keyboard partituras.

Other than autograph manuscripts the largest source containing keyboard music by Tomkins is FWVB, perhaps the most significant and certainly the most comprehensive manuscript of English virginal music. FWVB, copied, as is well known, by Francis Tregian while he was imprisoned in the Fleet (1609-19) was first published in full at the end of the last century, along with an introduction to the known history of the manuscript, by Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire. There have been several subsequent contributions to the subject.<sup>6</sup> Only five pieces in FWVB are ascribed to Tomkins. Four of these were numbered by Tregian, as shown in the list at the head of this chapter. The Prelude, TK3 is given anonymously. This piece also occurs in Fo, the index of which is dated 31 January 1623/4. In many details (see the transcription in Appendix 4) Fo's text of the prelude corresponds exactly to that of FWVB, suggesting a possible link between the two sources. Why Forster ascribed the piece to Byrd is not certain, although one or two other pieces in Fo are wrongly ascribed to him, such as [Johnson's Medley] (p.188: incipit in MB27:111) and an alman (p.195: incipit in MB28:109).

Fo is an important source for Byrd's keyboard music and contains in addition to genuine keyboard pieces some arrangements of sacred and secular vocal music by Byrd and others. This repertory will be included in a forthcoming volume of MB (edited by Alan Brown). Existing comments on the manuscript may be found in several studies.<sup>7</sup>

D1, D2.

The <sup>former</sup> manuscript containing mainly dance-like pieces by Bull, Cobb, Cosyn, Facy, Orlando and Christopher Gibbons, Thomas Heardson, Locke, Mercure, Phillips, Roberts, Rodgers, Trésor, and Tomkins was probably compiled by Thomas Heardson about 1650.<sup>8</sup> At the front is a detailed list of contents in which pieces are grouped together in various 'keys': 'Gam:ut' (8 pieces); 'A:re' (27);

'C: Fa:uth:' (6); 'D: Sol re b: me:' (27); 'E: La my' (4); and 'F: fa uth' (3). The figures show the relative popularity of the 'keys', 'A:re' and 'D:sol re b: me:' being the most frequently encountered, 'F: fa uth', surprisingly the least (even less so than 'E La my'). Tomkins's voluntaries, TK 28 and 30 are in 'A:re' and 'D: sol re b: me:' respectively. The whole manuscript is preceded by a page (presumably added by a late 18th-century owner) from Sir John Hawkins's A General History of the Science and Practice of Music<sup>9</sup> containing a copy of the Oxford Music School picture of Christopher Gibbons 'Mus. Doct. Oxon. MDCLXIV [1664]'. An 'Almaine' in 'C: fa:uth:' by him is to be found on p.66 of D1. D2, in which pieces are also grouped by 'keys' has been studied in a recent dissertation and article.<sup>10</sup>

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a paleographical study of the three manuscript sources of Tomkins's keyboard music which have not received detailed treatment in English. These are Ob 93, Och 1113 and Up. Ob 93

This manuscript is a composite, including music of various periods by Anon., Redford (d.1547), Knupfer, Bassani and Tibaldi, as well as Tomkins. The original paper of the section relevant to Tomkins (30.5 x 19 cm - some variations) is in a poor state and has been laminated in places onto modern paper to postpone further decay. In some areas the paper is badly worn around the edges. The format was originally folio but it is impossible to determine the nature of the gatherings.

CONTENTS (iii + 82 fols.)

i-iii blank

Fol.

1 - 14v	Instrumental ensemble sonatas a4 (Bassani)
15 - 32v	'exercises in composition' (J[ames] S[harwood])
	[These pieces for Tr/Tr/B have been removed to MS Mus.Sch. a.641.]
33 - 50v	Ensemble sonatas a6 (Knupfer)
50 - 56v	Anonymous ensemble music a3

Fol.

57 - 60v Anonymous viola da gamba parts

61 - 66v 6 anonymous verses 'for ye Organ'

Incipits: (i) 

(ii) 

(iii) 

(iv) 

(v) 

(vi) 

67 - 70 Ut re mi (Tomkins)

70v - 73 Ut mi re (Tomkins)

73v - 80 Offertory (Tomkins)

80 [Verse] for Edward [Thornburgh] (Tomkins)

80 Another [Verse for Edward Thornburgh] (Tomkins)

80v (inv.) 'A very good verse Called redfordes mean'

[Hymn: O quam glorifica (EECM 6:49)]

81 Anonymous untitled transcriptions

81v - 81 [Verse] For mr Arc [hdeacon] Thornburgh (Tomkins)

82 - 82v (inv.) Anonymous score arrangement

The Offertory, TK21 is ascribed on f.80 to 'Mr Thomas Tomkins: - organist of his maiesties Chapell 1637'. This date is in accordance with the three verses written for 'Arc [hdeacon Edward] Thornburgh' who was created Archdeacon on 3 August 1629 and died in 1645.<sup>11</sup>

Folios 67 - 80v are ruled with ten 6-line staves to a side; f.81 - 82v with eight 6-line staves. Both layouts were drawn with the same 2-stave rastrum.

Four different music hands appear between f.67-81v of Ob93 (containing music by Tomkins): 1, 1a, 2 and 3 in Table 4. Two of these, 1 and 1a, are closely related and it is possible that they are the work of one copyist writing at intervals with a different nib. The composer's own hand appears on f.81v and 81 (the [Verse] or [Voluntary] for Edward Thornburgh, TK76). Hand 3 also bears a striking resemblance to Tomkins's own, especially in the formation of directs at the ends of staves, quaver flags, semiquaver beams and close spacing of the notes. This hand is shown in Illustration 1; the notation of the dotted rhythm on system 1 of f.72 is very similar calligraphically to the opening of the In Nomine, TK5 on p.90 of To. Hands 1, 1a and 2 are all anonymous, but a possible copyist is Richard Browne who is noted on p.1 of To as a copyist of volumes F and G of Tomkins's collection of music manuscripts (possibly including Ob93). The prime characteristic of hand 1 is its flattened diamond-shaped formation of noteheads. Hand 1a, unlike 1 and 2, uses a *b* flat sign rather than *♭* for accidentals.

As may be seen in Table 4, these different music hands are freely intermixed within individual pieces between f.67-81v. This suggests that these leaves were personal to Tomkins and his circle of musical colleagues in Worcester during the mid-to-late 1630s; their contents were perhaps intended for private use among friends. The standard of the music ranges from the extremely difficult Offertory, TK21 (at the end of which (f.80) Tomkins is given his due by three annotators: 'finis Mr Thomas Tomkins/finis Mr Thomas Tomkins./Mr Thomas Tomkins' - the last of these adds once again 'Mr Thomas Tomkins:- organist of his maiesties Chapel 1637') to the extremely simple piece (supplied with fingering) 'for Edward', TK74 (Ob93, f.80). All of Tomkins's own pieces on these folios are unique to Ob93 except for the Ut re mi (TK35; Ob93, f.67-70) which is preserved here in a version predating that of To (see Chapter 5, p.70-4).

'HAND 3'














TABLE 4    DISTRIBUTION OF MUSIC HANDS IN Ob93, f.67-81v

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>Ob 93, fol</u>	<u>SYSTEM (bar)</u>	<u>TK bar</u>	<u>HAND</u>
<u>Ut re mi, TK 35</u>	67	1 - 3	*27 - 39	1
		4 - 5	40 - 7	1a
		1(b.1,2)	48	1a
		1(b.3,4)	49 - 50	2
		2 - 5	51 - 64	2
	68	1 - 5	65 - 78	2
	68v	1 - 5	79 - 87;	2
			118-120, beat 1	
	69	1 - 5	120, beat	2
			2 - 130; 88 - 98, beat 1	
69v	1 - 5	98, beat	2	
70	1 - 4	1 - 117, beat 1;154		
		155 - 8; ending on <u>TK</u> , p.82	2	
<u>Ut mi re, TK 38</u>	70v	1 - 5	1 - 27	1a
	71	1 - 2	28 - 35	1a
		3 (b.1)	36	1
		3 (b.2,beat 1, right hand)	37	1
		3 (b.2,beat 2, right hand)	37	2

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>Ob 93, fol</u>	<u>SYSTEM (bar)</u>	<u>TK bar</u>	<u>HAND</u>
		3 (b.2, left hand)	37	2
		3 (b.3, 4)	38 - 9	2
		4 - 5	40 - 7	2
	71v	1 - 3	48 - 60	2
		4 (b.1-5)	61 - 5	2
		4 (b.6)	66	3
		5	67 - 72, beat 1	3
	72	1 - 5	72, beat 2 - 99	3
	72v	1 - 5	100 - 130	2
	73	1 - 3	131 - 142	2
Offertory, <u>TK</u> 21	73v - 80v		(entire)	2
Verses 'for Edward' [Thornburgh]				
<u>TK</u> 74	80v	2 - 3	(entire)	2
<u>TK</u> 75	80v	4 - 5	(entire)	2
<u>TK</u> 76	81v	1 - 4	1 - 27	?3
	81	1	28 - 36	?3 **

\* The first 26 bars are lacking in Ob93; hexachord statements in a different order to To (= TK 35).

\*\* Composer's autograph.

Three different forms of the G-clef are found between f.67-81v:   and , the last similar to the style adopted by John Merro in Ob 245 and Lbl17792 (see Chapter 9, p. 124 foll.). The F-clefs also exhibit some variety: : : and : of which the third is found in Och 1018 and the fourth in Ob 415, both contemporary consort sources closely connected with Worcester music making, and probably deriving from Tomkins's own texts (see Chapter 9, p. 130 and 137). The C-clefs on f.80 () also occur in this form in Och 1018 (part book 1019, sig.1). Each of these scribal idiosyncracies tends to confirm the Worcester provenance suggested by the contents of Ob 93. Curiously the changes from one clef form to another ( to , for instance) do not always coincide with the changes of music hand. Possibly some clefs were drawn in advance, in which case copyist 1a (for instance) might have begun work on staves already bearing copyist 1's clefs, and later added his own when these pre-existing clefs ceased.

Four watermarks are faintly visible in the paper of f.67-82. Only two of these are at all decipherable because of the heavy quality of the ink showing through from the reverse side of the rather thin paper.

f.69 Pot or Jug (eye-drawing in Figure 2)

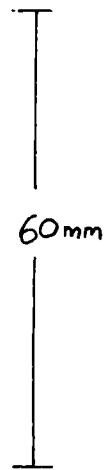
f.70 Indecipherable

f.72 Indecipherable

f.82 Unclear - Pillar or Post?

The watermark evidence is inconclusive. If the indecipherable marks on f.70 and 72 are Pots or Jugs (like f.69) then this would tend to confirm that Tomkins's Ut re mi, Ut mi re and Offertory (f.67-80) were copied as a body of pieces by a group of copyists in the same location (Worcester). The Thornburgh [verses] (or at least the third on f.81v-81.) may have been added after 1637 on a different paper (Pillar or Post mark), ruled with eight, instead of ten staves to a page.

FIGURE 2     WATERMARK IN Ob93, f. 69  
(eye-drawing)



Och 1113

Thurston Dart<sup>12</sup> believed that this manuscript (vii + 255 pages - the last two unnumbered) belonged to William Ellis while he was organist at St. John's College, Oxford, between 1639 and 1646. His assumption was founded on the fact that the initials 'W.E.' are stamped on the outside of the (original) calfskin covers and recur after no.16 in the manuscript.

This has recently been challenged by John Caldwell<sup>13</sup> who has shown that the tiny, intricate music hand in Och 1113 is different from that in Och MS.Mus.1236, known to be by Ellis. The compiler and the date of Och 1113 are therefore unknown.

Och 1113 contains 118 consecutively numbered pieces of which the majority are dances (mainly almans); 53 of them are without ascription (nos. 1 - 15 and 17 - 54) but a large number of these have been identified and are noted in a modern index (20 of the unasccribed pieces are by G. Frescobaldi). Named composers include Bull, Byrd, Cosyn, Ellis(?), Gibbons, Holmes, Johnson, 'Mr John Peterson of Amsterdam' [= Jan Pieterzoon Sweelinck], Pietro Phillipi [= Peter Philips], and Tomkins. The inclusion of works by Sweelinck and Philips may be indicative of a copyist who had access (as Tregian evidently did) to Continental manuscripts. Two factors point to a date of c.1610-30 for this tiny manuscript (21.4 x 16cm). First, it contains music by major composers active during the first three decades of the century (all except Tomkins had died before 1630). Secondly, it contains a text of Tomkins's Pavan, TK 56 in which the ending is clearly a simplified version of that given in FWVB (complete by 1619).<sup>14</sup> Although this suggests a close link between the two manuscripts (Sweelinck and Philips are also represented in both FWVB and Och 1113) there is evidence to the contrary. Och 1113 contains (p.216) a piece entitled 'Almaine' ascribed to Tomkins. The same piece (entitled 'A Toye') is ascribed to Farnaby in FWVB and the piece is clearly by him (see Chapter 8, p.114). The texts of the piece (printed as TK 69 and MB 24:28) differ in a number of

details and a direct copy may be ruled out. If anything the text in Och 1113 corresponds more closely to that in D2 (p.56) in which the piece (entitled here Toy: Mr Curch ) is again ascribed to Tomkins.

The simplified endings of some pieces, the lack of ornaments and the repertory (mainly dances) suggest that the anthology, whatever its date, was intended for domestic and probably amateur use. The inclusion of Bull's 11/4 In Nomine (MB 14:28) as a curio might be indicative of a high degree of cultivation on the part of the copyist or owner.

### Up

This folio manuscript, 20 x 32 cm, known as the Anders von Düben Tablature, was presented to Uppsala University Library by Anders von Düben in 1732. All of its contents are in German organ tablature.<sup>15</sup>

The original owner, Gustav Düben (c.1628-90), may have used this collection as an exercise book or as a collection of pieces with which to occupy himself at the keyboard. The title-page reads as follows: 'Gustavus Düben/Holmensis/ Anno 1641/Lust und Liebe zum Dinge macht alle Arbeit geringe./C.C. [or L.L., E.C. C.L. - readings of the initials vary] Zengell schripsit.' Most of the tablature was probably copied by Zengell, who, like Düben, inherited from his father a position in the Swedish Royal Court Orchestra.<sup>16</sup> Up is dated variously 1641 (title page); 1653 (f.38); 12 October 1643 (f.45v); and 10 January 1637 (f.48). Three foliations have been applied to the tablature. That of Lydia Schierning,<sup>17</sup> giving a total of 44 folios, has been superseded by the Uppsala University Library card catalogue, which counts all folios, written or blank (68).

Up contains 21 pieces (unnumbered by the copyist) although Schierning mistakenly gives the number as 20. The majority of pieces are pavans and galliards (14) by Bull, Byrd, Philips, Tomkins, and continental composers including Scheidt and Sweelinck; the remaining 7 are preludes and imitative works, including occasional arrangements of vocal items.

That the copyist, Zengell, knew Tomkins's Pavan, TK 56 through an arrangement by Peter Philips shows how far the piece penetrated musical Europe. Philips may originally have come to know Tomkins's piece through a printed consort source, SOp (1610).<sup>18</sup> His keyboard arrangement is less wayward and rambling than the versions in FWVB and Och1113, giving a clearer indication of Tomkins's basically polyphonic conception. Philips's arrangement is transcribed in Appendix 5.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 1

1. Thomas Tomkins: Pièces pour virginal 1646-1654. Introduction du Francois Lesure. Fac-similé du MS. autograph de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Rés. 1122 (Geneva, 1982).
2. TK, p.198; StevT, p.131.
3. TK, p.164.
4. StevT, p.125.
5. John Caldwell: British Museum Additional MS 29996: transcription and commentary. Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1964-5.
6. Elizabeth Cole: 'Seven Problems of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book' in PRMA, session 79 (1952-3), p.51-64; idem., 'In Search of Francis Tregian' in ML, vol. 33 (1952), p.28-32; Howard Ferguson: 'Repeats and Final Bars in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book' in ML, vol.43 (1962), p.345-50; H. Diack Johnstone: 'A Fitzwilliam Mystery' in MT, vol.107 (1966), p.496-7; Guy Wuellner: 'The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book: Textural Procedures of the English Virginalists' in MR, vol. 32 (1971), p.326-48.
7. MB27, p.169; MB19, p.225; OWNB, p.23.
8. John Caldwell: 'Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660: the British Isles' in The New Grove.
9. Reprint of London, 1853 ed. with intro. by Charles Gudworth (New York, 1963).
10. Hilda F. Gervers: A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of English Keyboard Music: The New York Public Library MS. Drexel 5612. Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1974; idem.: 'A Manuscript of Dance Music from Seventeenth-century England; Drexel Collection MS 5612' in Bulletin of the New York Public Library, vol.80 (1977), p.503-52.
11. StevT, p.154.
12. MB14, p.159.
13. John Caldwell: 'Sources of Keyboard Music...' in The New Grove.



14. Two fantasias by Byrd are shortened and given new endings in Och1113.  
See the textual commentaries to MB27:26 and MB28:62.
15. I am most grateful to Inge Johansson, Assistant Librarian at the Department of Manuscripts (Music) at Uppsala University, Sweden, for information on the history of Up and for supplying photostat copies.
16. Bengt Kyhlberg: 'Musiken i Uppsala under Stormaktstiden I (1620-1660)' in Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, vol. 30 (1974), p.208; Erik Kjellberg: Kungliga Musiker i Sverige under Stormaktstiden: Studier kring deras organization verksamheter och status ca. 1620-ca. 1720 (2 vols) (Uppsala, 1979), p.518, 701; Bengt Kyhlberg: 'Düben' in The New Grove.
17. Lydia Schierning: Die Überlieferung der deutscher Orgel und Klaviermusik aus den ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts: Eine quellenkundliche studie (Kassel und Basel, 1961), p.95.
18. Although it would have been tedious for Philips to compile a keyboard score (or tablature) from separate instrumental partbooks. Tomkins's pavan is no.7 in SOp and Philips's intabulation no.5 in Up.

## CHAPTER 2

### PRELUDES

Prelude	<u>TK1</u>
Piece of a Prelude (July 9 1647)	<u>TK2</u>
Prelude	<u>TK3</u>

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Along with the toccata, the prelude - a short improvisatory piece intended to introduce a work of more substantial size in the same key - grew out of the Italian Introdutione, described by Gustave Reese as 'a short organ piece combining chord progressions with some figuration....its primary purpose was to give the pitch and mode to the choir or officiant in church'.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most important composer of the introduzione (or 'intonazione') was Andrea Gabrieli (c.1520-1586), first organist of St. Mark's, Venice, from 1584. The idiomatic keyboard style of his Intonazione Primo, Secundo....Ottavo Tono<sup>2</sup> evolved out of his many intabulations of works originally written for voices, such as the Canzona 'Pour ung Plaisir' by Crequillon.<sup>3</sup> Formally the prelude and toccata developed along different lines: whereas the prelude generally retained its spontaneity and brevity the toccata gradually increased in length and complexity. The toccatas of Claudio Merulo (1533-1604) are often in three or more sections alternating virtuoso figuration with imitative counterpoint.<sup>4</sup>

The style of these early Italian keyboard works was not unknown in England. A toccata by Giovanni Pichi similar to examples by Gabrieli and Merulo (incorporating a central imitative section) was copied by Francis Tregian in FWVB (no.95). Despite the accessibility of Italian models, however, English composers were notably reluctant to follow these in preference to native idioms exemplified in the work of Redford, Preston and Blitheman. Tomkins's essays in the preludial style take as their starting point the works of his immediate predecessors Byrd and Bull. On p.ii of To he notes a number of 'Lessons of worthe' by these composers, and although no preludes are included it is probable

that Tomkins was acquainted with their output in this genre. Possibly some preludes by Byrd and Bull were copied into Tomkins's other music books (referred to on p.i of To) which are now lost.

Byrd's preludes are, on the whole, slight works. According to Oliver Neighbour this is because Byrd 'preferred not to distract attention from the main composition by engaging in any preliminary development'.<sup>5</sup> On occasion Byrd's preludes display close thematic concentration. His Prelude, MB27:12 (which Tregian explicitly associates with the Fantasia, MB27:13, in the same key) is built from a single motive used imitatively (with a couple of entries in diminution, b.9-10). Otherwise Byrd utilizes scale patterns passing freely between the hands as in the preludes MB27:1 and 24 and the anonymous Prelude in G (Fo, p.458; FWVB no.120) attributed recently to Byrd.<sup>6</sup> This technical characteristic applies equally to Gibbons's Prelude, MB20:2. In contrast to the reserved quality of Byrd's preludes those of John Bull exploit the virtuoso element to the full. Complicated patterns dart throughout the texture, warming up the fingers of both hands equally. Bull's preludes MB19:117-121 demonstrate the style well. The Prelude, MB19:119 in G might have been known to Tomkins since it includes a number of figures characteristic of his own Prelude, TK1 in the same key. As well as the opening flourish, the broken sixth and octave patterns (b.3-4 and 6-7 of Bull's prelude) each have parallels in Tomkins's piece (b.2, b.15).

Tomkins's Prelude, TK1 is a more substantial and powerful work than any examples by Byrd, Bull or Gibbons. Ranging widely over the keyboard, it would make an impressive contribution to any work that it was intended to precede. Much of the initial passagework is rhapsodic moving in unhurried harmonic steps through chords remote from the 'tonic' G, but available within the temperament of contemporary instruments. From b.6 greater stability of theme and phrasing is introduced: the ornamental character of the opening flourish (b.1) becomes standardized in semiquaver groups of a minim's length which are used antiphonally

(b.6-8) and sequentially (b.9-11) to provide forward movement. The second half (beginning in b.14) exhibits a wider range of figures of virtuoso cast in contrast to the more consciously structured opening section. As a whole the prelude gives the impression of being a refined (ie. written-out) version of an organ improvisation. Its technical demands, although perhaps suggesting the harpsichord, are quite idomatic to the organ, especially b.9-13.

Apparently Tomkins designed his preludes with their traditional function in mind since he provided this one with an alternative ending in D<sup>7</sup> so that it could be played before pieces in that key as well as in G. Technically the alternative ending is almost wholly derived from the latter half of the original (especially the left hand passages at b.15 and 17 of TK1). There are harmonic parallels too: the descending sequential steps of TK2, b.5-8 (establishing at length the move to D) are effective reminders of the passage at b.21-2 of TK1.

It is not possible to determine whether TK1 and its alternative ending were written at the same time or if the ending in D was penned separately to fit a later work in that key. The former solution seems most likely as none of Tomkins's keyboard music written about the same time (July 1647) as TK2 is in the right key. It would therefore seem appropriate to suggest that both TK1 and its alternative ending were 'composed' at approximately the same time as dual purpose works intended both to exercise the player's fingers and to provide suitable introductions to a variety of pieces or occasions. The position of TK1 in To (p.106-8) is, unfortunately, of no help in pinpointing its date. It falls between the Pavan and Galliard: Earl Strafford, TK41-2 (September 29 1647) and the Miserere, TK13 (September 15 1648), all of which postdate the prelude's revised ending in TK2 (July 9 1647). In any case the dating of pieces in this section of To is unsafe because of the circumstances of its binding (Chapter 1, p.9-12).

The Prelude, TK3 is a much earlier work. It occurs (anonymously) in FWVB and must therefore date from before 1619 when the compiler, Tregian, died.

TK3 also occurs (with an erroneous ascription to 'Mr Bird') in Fo, the index of which is dated 31 January 1623/4. A transcription of these early versions of TK3, perhaps predating that in To by over 20 years, is given in Appendix 4.

Tonally the prelude is a little vague, hovering between major and minor versions of A: at b.9-11 the persistent C sharps suggest major (as do the final four bars); on the other hand, there is an odd admixture of G and G sharp within the same bar (8) during this same section and this, combined with passing allusions to C (b.12-13), suggest modality (aeolian on A). Although there is an even distribution of passagework between the hands it is not as adventurous in character as that of TK1 and 2: the compass of TK3 is less wide, for instance, and its left hand part is often placed in the tenor register (sometimes notated in alto clef in To; on an 8-line stave in Fo). Against the somewhat bland semi-quavers Tomkins places some interesting thematic development similar to that encountered in Byrd's Prelude, MB27:12. The descending scalar third in the second half of b.3 of TK3 is treated sequentially (in a dotted rhythm) in b.5-8 while towards the end (b.10-11, 14-16) it is transferred from the treble to the bass and seems to influence the shape of the passagework itself (b.17-18).

TK3 is quite extensively fingered by Tomkins in To. The  $3\ 4\ 3\ 4$  patterns for successive semiquavers in b.2 (printed in TK's text) implies a non-legato approach to articulation rather than broad sweeps of sound. If this is the case then it would help to clarify the ebb and flow of the passagework in a manner similar to one recently proposed for the performance of Bach's keyboard works.<sup>8</sup> Forster also included a number of fingerings in his text of the piece (transcribed in Appendix 4). These are as follows:

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Note</u>	<u>Finger</u>
3	LH 22	3 (note C in Forster's text)
-	- 23	5
-	- 26	2
4	LH 10	2
-	RH 8	4
5	RH 4	4
-	LH 25	5
-	RH 8	4
6	LH 5	3*
-	- 9	5
-	RH 4	4
7	LH 1	3
-	- 9	5
-	RH 4	2 (second half of bt.2:G)
-	LH 25	5
8	LH 13	4*
-	- 22	2
9	LH 13	5
10	LH 9	5*
11	RH 1	4
-	- 2	2
-	- 3	5
-	- 11	3*

Those figures marked with an asterisk differ from the fingering given in To (TK3). In sources of this date the fingering of the left hand is the reverse of modern convention, the little finger being indicated by 1 and the thumb by 5.<sup>9</sup>

A puzzling feature about the organisation of To is the inclusion of many letter-figure combinations which seem to refer to locations of pieces in other

sources known to or owned by Tomkins.<sup>10</sup> Although these are dealt with in detail in Appendix 2, some discussion of their implications regarding the placement of preludes TK1-3 before other pieces seems appropriate here. If the letter-figure combinations in To do indeed refer to page numbers, then TK1 occurs also in source F, page (or folio) 86; source Ib, p.335; and source f., p.42 (at the head of TK1 on p.106 of To are the combinations F.86; Ib.335; f.42). It would then immediately precede the Fancy (October 24 1648), TK25 in sources F and f for according to To, p.118 copies of this piece were preserved at p.87 of F and 43 of f. If the Prelude, TK1 and Fancy, TK25 do indeed form a pair in these two sources, then it may be supposed that TK1 was written before October 24 1648 and therefore probably about the same time as the Piece of a Prelude, TK2 (July 9 1647).

For TK2 and 3 the pairings are less conclusive. In the case of the latter it is possible that it may have been paired with the early Pavan, TK56, in the same key (also preserved in FWVB). The only numerical connections for TK3 in To (F.84; Ib.336; f.42) occur in sources F and f where it is preceded by the Verse of Three Parts, TK26 - a work written some thirty years later and with which it has no musical connection. None of the pairings in F and f are supported by Ib in which TK1 and 3 appear to follow consecutively (Ib.335 and 336 respectively). The only numerical connections in the case of TK2 are with Tomkins's Miserere settings, TK14, 15, 18 and 19, all of which are in the wrong key (G) for the alternative ending (D), and which in any case seem to have been intended as integral 'suites' (see Chapter 3, p.44).

Unlike Byrd's Prelude and Fantasia, MB27: 12 and 13 there are no examples of conscious thematic links between Tomkins's keyboard preludes and his other compositions. Perhaps he did not mind which piece was fitted to which - if at all - provided that the choice of key was appropriate and musical taste was not offended. In this case TK1 might be used to introduce the Pavan, TK51 in the same key (G) and of similar date (September 10 1647); or possibly the Pavan and

Galliard of 3 parts, TK49 and 50, in which the pavan has, in its first strain, a similar harmonic twist (b.4,5: chords D, B flat, G minor) to that near the opening of the prelude (b.2) - although the pavan's modest proportions could be overshadowed by such an imposing preface. Denis Stevens suggests that TK2 be used as a prelude to 'Barafostus' Dream', TK62;<sup>11</sup> this would be an unfortunate choice, juxtaposing Tomkins's mature style with these early variations which are uneven in quality (see Chapter 7, p.103-5).



FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 2

1. Gustave Reese: Music in the Renaissance (rev.ed. London, 1977), p.860.
2. Andrea Gabrieli: Intonationen für Orgel. Ed. Pierre Pidoux (Kassel, 1959).
3. Carl Parrish and John F. Ohl (eds.): Masterpieces of Music Before 1750 (London, 1973), nos. 20/21.
4. Claudio Merulo: Toccate per Organo. Ed. Sandro Dalla Libera. 3 vols. (Milan, 1959). A. Gabrieli occasionally planned his toccatas thus; his Toccata del 6. Tono (Intonationen, p.12) incorporates an imitative section.
5. OWNB, p.222.
6. Oliver Neighbour (ed.): Three Anonymous Keyboard Pieces attributed to William Byrd (London, 1973), no.3.
7. Noted by Thurston Dart in TK (p.2).
8. Peter Williams: 'J.S. Bach's Well-tempered Clavier: A new approach.2' in EM, vol.11 (1983), p.332-9.
9. For a discussion of keyboard fingering in the sources of this period see Peter Le Huray: 'English Keyboard Fingering in the 16th and early 17th Centuries' in Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart. Ed. Ian Bent (London, 1982), p.227-59.
10. StevT, p.131.
11. Ibid., p.133.

## CHAPTER 3

### PLAINSONG SETTINGS

Clarifica me pater (September 1650)	<u>TK4</u>
In Nomine Version 1 (January 20-8 1647)	<u>TK5</u>
In Nomine Version 2 (January 20 1647 - August 2 1650)	<u>TK6</u>
In Nomine (May 1648)	<u>TK7</u>
In Nomine (June 16 1648)	<u>TK8</u>
In Nomine (October 27 1648)	<u>TK9</u>
In Nomine (February 1650)	<u>TK10</u>
In Nomine (February 14 1650)	<u>TK11</u>
In Nomine (June 28 1652)	<u>TK12</u>
Miserere (September 15 1648)	<u>TK13</u>
Miserere (October 7 1648)	<u>TK14</u>
Miserere (May 26 1651)	<u>TK15</u>
Miserere (February 3-4 1652) [3 consecutive settings]	<u>TK16</u>
Miserere	<u>TK17</u>
Miserere [2 consecutive settings]	<u>TK18</u>
Miserere	<u>TK19</u>
Miserere	<u>TK20</u>
Offertory (1637)	<u>TK21</u>
[On a Plainsong]	<u>TK68</u>

Of the nineteen pieces considered in this chapter all except two (the Offertory, TK21 and [On a plainsong], TK68) are to be found in To. The Offertory is in OB93, a keyboard source with which Tomkins was probably closely involved (see Chapter 1, p.15-18). [On a plainsong] is preserved in Och1113, a manuscript with which Tomkins is not known to have been associated.

The autograph versions of To give as near definitive accounts as one could wish for. For instance, the composer supplies no less than six alternative

endings for the In Nomine, TK6, and he even went to the trouble of writing out one In Nomine (TK10) twice in To, the second of these (printed as a separate piece, TK11) incorporating a few subtle changes in the passagework and chord spacing. Although the revised text is differently barred from the original in To, the only significant difference is that it is complete while TK10 is not; it is difficult to justify the full printing of both pieces (ossias to TK11 - in small print - would have been adequate). The same could not be said of the In Nomines TK5 and 6 which also present two versions of the same piece. On p.90 of To Tomkins writes of TK5: 'This is better prickt/some xxx leaves after ; vide 148 infra.' This rubric must have been added at some time after August 2 1650 when the later version (TK6) was completed (some three and a half years after the original piece). The urge to revise may have sprung from the composition earlier in 1650 of TK10 and 11 which set the Gloria tibi Trinitas antiphon in a similar way. All of this suggests that Tomkins's keyboard plainsong settings were composed with great care. In view of this it is unfortunate that, since its compilation, To has become so blotted and therefore tricky to transcribe with complete confidence.

Why these pieces were composed is not immediately apparent. Only one (the Offertory, TK21, dated 1637 in Ob93) certainly predates the cessation of services in Worcester Cathedral on 23 July 1646. [On a plainsong] is undated in Och 1113 but may well be an earlier work since the source appears to have been compiled before 1630 (see Chapter 1, p. 19). No precise liturgical function can have been intended for the rest of the works in this chapter. In the case of the In Nomines this is hardly significant since the English tradition of setting the antiphon Gloria tibi Trinitas was more of a compositional pastime than a serious liturgical practice. This is probably true of most post-Reformation keyboard Misereres also. It must be remembered, in Tomkins's case, that he owned (from c.1600) the important manuscript Lbl29996, which contains in its early layers 14 pre-Reformation settings of Miserere<sup>1</sup> (half of them anonymous) and later on

(f.184-189) an additional 20 by Thomas Woodson (c.1600). Of the ascribed pre-Reformation examples there are four by Redford (d.1547) and one each by Kyrton, ap Rhys and Strowger. These pieces may have provided the stimulus for Tomkins's own *Misereres*. His shorter settings (TK 13-15, 17, 19-20) appear to be of didactic intent and may have provided an initiation for a pupil in the art of adding imitative polyphony to a plainsong. His four undated *Miserere* settings, (TK17-20) are stylistically indistinguishable from the rest, and presumably date from the same time.

Tomkins preferred to set antiphons; only his Offertory, TK21 does not fall into this category. That this is so may be significant: Tomkins had no known Catholic sympathies (though he admired Archbishop Laud), and the Offertory is the only piece in this chapter that might have been suitable for the Anglican rite of Worcester Cathedral (probably it was used at Communion). The Latin antiphons *Miserere* and *Clarifica me pater* were probably set for private recreation (as a contribution to an already long standing tradition) during his enforced retirement from Cathedral duties after 1646. All of his settings are in even or dotted semibreves (sometimes  $\circ$   $\downarrow$ ) throughout in either treble, alto, tenor or bass, with very little decoration of the cantus firmus itself (for example, TK4, b.13; TK7, b.4-5). For reference the antiphons *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, *Miserere* and *Clarifica me pater* as used by Tomkins are given in Example 1, along with the intonation of the offertory, *Felix Namque*, from which he probably derived the ostinato used in TK21.

The cantus firmus employed in TK68 is unknown. Although it contains some plainsong-like features, its opening (a reversed hexachord on G) is quite untypical of chant.

An indispensable reference tool in any assessment of English keyboard plainsongs is John Caldwell's 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England 1500-1660' in MD, vol.19 (1965), p.129; it has recently been supplemented by 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings.... Addenda et Corrigenda' by the same author in MD, vol.34 (1980), p.215.

# EXAMPLE 1 CHANT FORMS USED BY TOMKINS

## GLORIA TIBI TRINITAS (transposed ↑5th)

Musical notation for Gloria Tibi Trinitas, transposed up a fifth. The piece consists of three staves of music, each starting with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are written as stems with flags, indicating a specific rhythmic pattern. The first staff contains measures 1 through 21. The second staff contains measures 22 through 40, with a bracketed measure 23a. The third staff contains measures 41 through 54. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

## MISERERE

Musical notation for Miserere. The piece consists of two staves of music, each starting with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are written as stems with flags. The first staff contains measures 1 through 22, with sharp signs (#) above measures 5 and 10. The second staff contains measures 23 through 26. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

## CLARIFICA ME PATER (↑5th)

Musical notation for Clarifica Me Pater, transposed up a fifth. The piece consists of two staves of music, each starting with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are written as stems with flags. The first staff contains measures 1 through 23, with a dot above measure 12 and an 'x' above measure 15. The second staff contains measures 24 through 45. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

## FELIX NAMQUE: INTONATION (↑5th)

## TK 21: GROUND

Musical notation for Felix Namque and TK 21: Ground. The first staff shows the intonation for 'Felix Namque', starting with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are written as stems with flags. The second staff shows the intonation for 'TK 21: Ground', starting with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notes are written as stems with flags. The word 'OR' is written between the two staves.

'doct: Bull a ground of 6 notes' (To, p. ii)

## In Nomines

The stimulus to compose a variety of In Nomines for keyboard appears to have stemmed from close study of those by Bull.<sup>2</sup> Tomkins copied all but one of Bull's In Nomines into To which is the only source for three of these (see Table 5). Of these, three 'in A re' (it is not possible to say which since all but one of Bull's In Nomines set a transposed version - up a 5th - of the antiphon, and are thus 'in A re') were described by Tomkins as 'Lessons of worthe' (To, p.ii). To judge from p.186 of To Tomkins recognized that some of Bull's In Nomines were better than others: 'These especially: & none But lessons of worthe: to be prickt.... All doct. Bulls offertories [?] /And Innomines the choise of them'.

Tomkins's texts of Bull's pieces are, sad to say, erratic. Accidentals are often omitted, although some that are added in To but omitted in other sources make good sense (for example, MB14: 25, b.37, bass, note 8). As well as accidentals some notes are missing (MB14:21, b.23, alto, note 2) or else wrong (ibid., b.9, note 4 of the treble reads F in To). Sometimes wrong note-values are applied (MB14:21, b.47, the notes of the cantus firmus are halved in length in To). Occasionally there are more serious slips. In MB14:31, b.29 is missing altogether; the exact repetition of the shape of b.28 a third lower seems to have caught Tomkins out.

However, there are compensations. Tomkins's reading of MB14:20, b.15, is arguably more satisfactory than the text preferred by the editors (see their textual commentary to this piece MB14, p.164); it is certainly less fussy, avoiding the very clumsy demisemiquavers and the inelegant dissonance, FED, of which the suspended E resolves obliquely into an octave D (Example 2). Again at b.34 of MB14:23 Tomkins's sequential version of Bull's imitative figure removes the same grammatical fault (this time made even more blatant by the grating dissonant 9th resolving into an octave from above) in Bull's forced canon at the octave (Example 3). (Perhaps Bull's contrapuntal deficiencies are partly the fault of his copyists; or was Tomkins correcting Bull's counterpoint here?)

TABLE 5 : Bull's In Nomines in To.

<u>MB14:</u>	<u>To</u> (page)	<u>Comments</u>
31	41	'gloria Tibi trinitas; doct.Bull: The First:'
26	43	'In Nomine: The Second doct.Bull'. Unique to <u>To</u> .
27	45	'The Third In Nomine'. Unique to <u>To</u> .
29	48	Unique to <u>To</u> .
20	50	
21	53	
22	55	
23	60	
24	62	
25	66	
30	68	<u>To</u> lacks preceding Prelude.

EXAMPLE 2 BULL, IN NOMINE, MB14:20, b.15: VARIANT READINGS

The first system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note, followed by an eighth rest, then eighth notes, and finally a quarter note. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a half note followed by eighth notes. A brace on the left groups both staves. The label To: is written to the left of the first staff. A vertical dashed line separates this system from the second system.

The second system also consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note, followed by an eighth rest, then eighth notes, and finally a quarter note. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a half note followed by eighth notes. A brace on the left groups both staves. The label (MB14) is written above the first staff. A vertical dashed line separates this system from the next section. To the right of the second system, the text [ORIGINAL NOTE-VALUES RESTORED] is enclosed in brackets.

EXAMPLE 3 BULL, IN NOMINE, MB14:23, b.34: VARIANT READINGS

The first system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note, followed by an eighth rest, then eighth notes, and finally a quarter note. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a half note followed by eighth notes. A brace on the left groups both staves. The label (To) is written above the first staff. A vertical dashed line separates this system from the second system.

The second system also consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note, followed by an eighth rest, then eighth notes, and finally a quarter note. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a half note followed by eighth notes. A brace on the left groups both staves. The label (MB14) is written above the first staff. A vertical dashed line separates this system from the next section. To the right of the second system, the text [ORIGINAL NOTE-VALUES RESTORED] is enclosed in brackets.



On a slightly larger scale Tomkins contributed an extended cadence at the end of Bull's In Nomine MB14:25 (printed in MB14) as he was wont to do in his own In Nomines where the codas are important formally. At the end of the preceding piece (MB14:24, b.52-3) Tomkins supplied fingering for Bull's repeated notes. This may be of some use to performers of Tomkins's own In Nomines which are clearly indebted to Bull in certain specific technical demands. One brief passage in TK6 (b.78), for instance, is fingered in To; it adopts the same principle of finger changes for repeated notes as applied by Tomkins to Bull's piece.

Passagework is not the only department in which Bull's influence on Tomkins's In Nomines is to be seen and heard. All of Tomkins's settings are based on a form of the Gloria tibi Trinitas antiphon that is transposed up a 5th. Bull also does this in all except MB14:31 (described by Tomkins as Bull's 'First' In Nomine). All Bull's transposed settings cadence on the transposed final, A, and this procedure is followed by Tomkins in all except TK11 in which he engineers a fine protracted swing to a cadence on D. On p.186 of To Tomkins suggested that in future copies of the anthology some of his own pieces 'in A re' (probably including In Nomines) might be placed with 'Especiall good lessons in that key.... if worthy to come in place' (the 'especiall good' pieces presumably would have included Bull's three 'lessons of worthe' in the same key, mentioned directly above this entry in the manuscript). Tomkins also followed Bull's lead in choosing a slightly modified form of the Gloria tibi Trinitas antiphon in TK5, 6 and 12 (the latter clearly influenced by Bull's MB14:20) in which an extra note was added to the chant (23a in Ex.1). Bull did this in half his In Nomines (MB14:20, 21, 22, 23, 25 and 31). An individual stance was taken up by Tomkins in TK8 in which notes 29 and 30 of the chant were omitted.

There are several formal departures in Tomkins's In Nomines from the typically tripartite scheme favoured by Bull. Bull often concludes with a section in sesquialtera proportion; Tomkins never does this, although he introduces short passages of proportional writing into the heart of TK5, 6, 10

and 11. Perhaps Tomkins's most important contribution is his expansion of the coda. In all his In Nomines he prolongs the final at some length, providing a breathing space in which, free from the progress of the cantus firmus, he could emphasize (with idiomatic keyboard writing outlining simple chordal patterns) the harmonic centre of the work at length. Consequently, Tomkins's In Nomines have both greater breadth and sense of finality than Bull's examples. In TK7 and 8 the coda acts as a counterweight to the fugal opening.

Tomkins's ground-plan in his In Nomines, like that of his distant and immediate predecessors, is a series of imitatively treated subjects unfolding around a cantus firmus. In general, sober imitative ideas give way gradually to more active figures in the course of the piece. Within this overall plan the cadence (almost invariably incorporating a syncopated or suspended 4-3 resolution) is vital as a structural pivot. At these points new (or derived) motives or changes of figuration enter; the length of each of the varied sections thus produced is proscribed by the placement of cadences which are therefore of importance in defining the outward dimensions of each piece.

The breadth of Tomkins's In Nomines may be illustrated by comparing the In Nomine TK5 with Bull's setting MB14:22. Both carry the cantus firmus in the highest voice and in triple metre (Tomkins's copy of Bull's piece gives the cantus firmus in even dotted semibreves whereas F-Pc MS. Rés. 1185 - a sound text for Bull's keyboard music - has a trochaic pattern like Tomkins's TK5).<sup>3</sup> Moreover in this setting Tomkins follows Bull in adding a note (E) to the chant (MB14:22, b.24; TK5, b.25).

Both composers work to a similar plan of successive sections delimited by cadences. Despite some external resemblances, though, the dimensions of the two pieces vary considerably. Walker E. Cunningham<sup>4</sup> has shown that MB14:22 (like most of Bull's In Nomines) is organized in three distinct paragraphs, the first (b.1-23) closing with roulades for the left hand, the third beginning at the proportional change (b.41). In his first section Bull introduces three main ideas (b.1, 5, 9); only the third of these is developed at any length

(b.9 returns at b.14 and b.15 is a decoration of b.10). Tomkins, by contrast, allows his material to develop further. His opening section is longer (b.1 - 30) and is subdivided into two paragraphs (b.1 - 15 and 16 - 30). The first is concerned with the extension of a rising scale from a 5th (b.1) through a 6th (b.7) to a 10th (b.11). Each step is prepared by a cadence (subdividing the whole paragraph) after which the cantus firmus is left either alone (b.7) or at a wide distance from the bass, in each case acting as a point of repose before momentum is regained. Tomkins's left hand roulades at b.25 - 30 (which parallel Bull's at MB14:22, b.19-23) are separated from his first paragraph by a further imitative section that establishes some stability after the continuous growth of b.1-15. By comparison with Bull's compact statement in b.1-24 of MB14:22 (extending to note 24 of his modified chant) Tomkins's first section (TK5, b.1-30) is expansive. His sectional divisions are less clear-cut than Bull's. For example, both paragraphs of TK5's opening section are linked by the recurrence of rising scales. Also, there are flashbacks over a longer time-span: the motive at b.16 is further developed at b.40 after the proportional opening of section two - a device quite beyond Bull's compact phrasing. Tomkins's carefully woven fabric is well able to bear these long range tensions. Thematic recall is present within section two as well: the closely spaced imitative writing at b.43-5 is clearly a reference to b.36-8 (in both passages the cantus firmus descends stepwise, E D C).

Although both composers use the same chant form they cover their ground quite differently. They each cadence strongly at note 24 (b.24 in each piece). For Bull this signals the start of section two; for Tomkins the moment is less important (it subdivides paragraph two of his first section). In the preceding 23 bars Tomkins has introduced less distinct thematic ideas than Bull, but has worked them out at greater length than Bull's sharp focus allows. Bull's sesquialtera is a culmination; Tomkins's is functional, introducing antiphonal matter for later development. Perhaps the most telling formal difference between the two settings is that whereas Bull's polyphony is measured out exactly

to the length of the chant, Tomkins permits himself a prolonged coda on the transposed final, A. This is far longer than any of Bull's negligible codas and has sufficient weight to balance the opening 15 bars' growth.

Tomkins's intentions in marking a 'tempo doppio' proportion-sign (  $\text{D}$  ) for b.55-7 (its duration is shown by asterisks in TK) are unclear. The proportional relationship is represented by halved note-values in the edition but  $\text{D}$  does not necessarily imply a strict doubling of the tempo in performance - only a somewhat faster pace. (This is also probably true of the final section of Byrd's Monsieur's Alman, MB28:88.) The proportion-sign may have been added to keep up the momentum which flags a little - especially in the left-hand - at this point. Perhaps the amendment had better be ignored in performance, though, since it makes nonsense of the phraseology. Without it b.55-7 would consist of three normal bars of  $3/2$  time; the  $\text{D}$  and its cancellation (  $\text{C}$  ) as placed in To (beat 3 of TK, b.57) give two bars of  $3/4$  and one of  $4/4$ .

For some reason Tomkins decided to revise TK5 (no 'tempo doppio' is marked in the revision). This is printed as TK6, and it incorporates both major and minor differences. The minor changes concern details of passagework such as b.28 beat 1, left hand; b.30, beat 3; and b.51 where TK6 inverts the corresponding phrase in TK5.<sup>5</sup> The major changes are structural. Bar 36 of TK5 is considerably altered in TK6. Perhaps Tomkins felt that the close imitation in the original (TK5) was too contrived or fussy in comparison with the more leisurely spacing of the figure in the next three bars and so altered it altogether in his revision. As a consequence of this alteration (and the more relaxed texture compared to TK5) the relationship of the two phrases (b.36-8 and 43-5) is weaker than before. Tomkins's most significant change in TK6 was of the coda, for which, in TK6, he provided six possibilities, all of them longer than in TK5. These codas greatly modify the proportions of Tomkins's original conception. In TK5 the proportions of the three large sections are as follows :

SECTION 1

30\*

(15+15)

(6+4+5+8+7)

SECTION 2

24

(5+4+3+3+2+3+4)

SECTION 3 (coda)

9

\*all figures represent dotted semibreves.

In TK6 they become (variously):

SECTION 1

30

SECTION 2

24

SECTION 3

(i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v) (vi)

27\* 27 28 24 21 15

\*figures in Section 3 are rounded up to the nearest whole value in dotted semibreves. The total length (in dotted semibreves) of TK5 is 63. Endings (i) and (ii) in TK6 give a total of 81, of which they themselves account for exactly one third (27). The total lengths given by the remaining endings are (iii) 82; (iv) 78; (v) 75; (vi) 69. Of these only (iii) is not divisible by 3. Moreover, the sectional lengths of all except (iii) are also divisible by 3: (i) 10 : 8 : 9; (ii) 10 : 8 : 9; (iv) 10 : 8 : 8; (v) 10 : 8 : 7; (vi) 10 : 8 : 5. In TK5 also these sectional lengths may be divided by 3 (10 : 8 : 3). The symbolic use of the number 3 in relation to the Trinity is characteristic of earlier ages; Tomkins's use of number symbolism in his settings of the Gloria tibi Trinitas antiphon may or may not be deliberate.

Similar numerological conceits may underlie the In Nomine TK11 (a complete version of TK10 which was left unfinished in To), which also sports a long coda. Counting the final bar of TK11 as 1, the coda is 15 dotted semibreves long. This, along with the numerical proportions of the rest of the piece, may be of help in understanding its structure.

The phraseology of TK11 is puzzling. After a slowly evolving opening (similar to that of TK5) the phrasing becomes more sharply focused - two groups of four dotted semibreves (b.13-16 and 17-20) followed by five more of five dotted semibreves, each introducing new imitative or figurative material: b.21-5, in sesquialtera proportion; 26-30; 31-5; 36-41; 42-6. The four-bar phrases do not relate directly either to the preceding or succeeding music, and so could be

interpreted as belonging to either b.1-12 (following the pattern of TK5 - accumulating momentum culminating in regular phrases) or b.21 foll. (the four-bar phrases are surely too insubstantial to form a section on their own). The first interpretation regards the groups of five dotted semibreves as a unit (b.21-46 of TK11); this would produce a similar structure to TK5 not only (as mentioned above) in the arrival of regular phrases at b.13 but in the placement of the sesquialtera passage at the start of section two.<sup>6</sup> The second interpretation focuses attention on the strong cadence at the end of b.12 and the following new idea characterized by shorter units in close echo. This is supported by the numerical proportions. Assuming the second of three large sections in TK11 to consist of both the 4- and 5- group phrases (b.13-46 of TK11, the final section - coda - commencing at b.47), then the proportions of the whole are (in dotted semibreves) 21 : 33 : 15 - exactly divisible by 3 (7 : 11 : 5) as in TK5 and 6 (i) (ii) (iv) (v) and (vi). The evolutionary nature of TK11, b.1-12 is indeed distinct from the rest of the piece, especially with regard to the coincidence of phrase and cadence. For example, the figure imitated between alto and bass in the second half of b.7 begins not on the downbeat but the upbeat of the chant's trochaic pattern (the introduction of semiquaver roulades in the left hand in b.9 is similarly placed). Such phrasing is quite foreign to the following pages. In this first section there exists for a while a distinct tension between the metre of the cantus firmus and that of the accompanying polyphony. This tension creates a feeling of large-scale hemiola (clarified by Tomkins's long bars) that weakens the upbeat character at the end of the pattern (Example 4). Seen in this context the arrival of the figure in b.7 is quite logically prepared by a transition from the repeated 'tied' scale pattern (- x - in Ex.4) mapping out a triple scheme, through the more propulsive - y -, to duple grouping.

Formally Tomkins has strayed far from Bull in this piece. In the In Nomine, TK9, he returns at least thematically to the earlier master. His opening is taken from Bull's In Nomine, MB14:22, although in a developed form: the initial

EXAMPLE 4 IN NOMINE, TK II: DUPL-TRIPLE OVERLAP

(4) \* 5

x

y

NEW FIGURE

NEW FIGURE

\* omitted in TK

motive is imitated in three paired entries in TK9, each at a different time or pitch interval (the second - b.2 - corresponds nearly to Bull's first bar). Tomkins's first section is almost the same length (proportionately) as Bull's. Tomkins cadences at semibreve 22 (b.8 - the first of three repeated Es in the chant), Bull at dotted semibreve (bar) 24 (the second of four repeated Es). For his second theme (b.8) Tomkins takes over the notes of the second bar of Bull's alto (CEAG). Beyond such superficial points of contact, however, the two works diverge: Bull concludes with a sesquialtera spun out exactly to the length of the chant; Tomkins has no proportional section but characteristically prolongs the final, A, in a coda. In this piece Tomkins, unlike Bull, does not include the extra note (23a) in the Gloria tibi Trinitas antiphon. The imitative style of TK9 is reminiscent of Byrd's second Clarifica me pater, MB28:48.

The strong cadence on G at b.20 (note 50 - B - in the cantus firmus) is characteristic of Tomkins's treble settings of the Gloria tibi Trinitas melody (TK 5, 6, 10, 11). His procedure requires modification when the antiphon is transferred to the bass, for in this position it limits to a greater extent the possible root progressions of the harmony and the range (and placement) of possible cadences. It imposes a relatively slow harmonic pace and tends towards a continuous harmonic tread rather than clear-cut phrase and cadence schemes. In the three settings in which Tomkins puts the antiphon in the bass (TK7, 8 and 12), recurring techniques distinct from those previously observed are at work. In TK7 and 12 there is a strong cadence early on (note 7 of the cantus firmus on C both times: TK7, b.7; TK12, b.4). A weaker cadence occurs at the same point in TK8 (b.6). Repeated notes in the chant tend to attract answering phrases over simple chord progressions, especially alternating  $\frac{5}{3}$  and  $\frac{6}{4}$  chords: TK7, b.9-10; TK8, b.18-19, 28-9; TK12, b.16-17. Sequential writing occurs when successive chant notes are a third apart (TK7, b.15). Stepwise motion in the chant also produces, on occasion, attractive sequential phrases (TK7, b.21-2; TK8, b.22 foll; TK12, b.19-20, 26-7).<sup>7</sup> Extra scope for exchanges of passagework between the hands is provided for in TK7 and 8 by the trochaic (o d) disposition of the plainchant.



The In Nomine, TK8 (June 16 1648) shares some features with its companion setting, TK7, dated the previous month. It opens with an imitative passage (shorter than in TK7 and on an undecorated presentation of the chant) and includes much material of a similar nature (compare TK7, b.9 and TK8, b.12; 7, b.11 and 8, b.21; 7, b.21-2 and 8, b.18; 7, b.14-16 and 8, b.22-3). An important feature which these two settings share is the treatment of the coda. A prolonged bass A (the transposed final) would tend to restrict the harmonic progressions to  $\frac{5}{3}$  and  $\frac{6}{4}$  chords at the end. As Tomkins preferred to outline his final plagal cadences by strong root progressions, he transferred the final to the treble (it either sounds or is implicit in the upper voices as a pedal A) so freeing the bass. Both settings have codas rather shorter in length than those in the treble settings. Presumably the composition of the companion In Nomines, TK7 and 8, was intended to explore how two pieces containing similar limiting factors could develop differently; as a pair they stand as a fitting demonstration of the composer's lively imagination at the age of about 76.

Tomkins's last essay in the In Nomine genre, TK12 (June 28 1652, written when the composer was above 80 years of age) also places the Gloria tibi Trinitas antiphon in the bass. Unlike his two previous examples this is set in duple metre but nevertheless it contains some striking thematic resemblances to both. In particular the theme at b.26 of TK12 occurs at similar positions in TK7 (b.27) and TK8 (b.30). Much of TK12 derives from Bull's bass In Nomine, MB14:20 (Tomkins's opening fills in the intervals of Bull's theme); of especial interest is the degree of canonic (or quasi-canonic) work (Tomkins's first entry is on the same degree as Bull's but at a longer time interval). As in cases mentioned previously, Tomkins develops his material at greater length than Bull; whereas in Bull's piece canon creeps in intermittently (b.1, 2, 12, 13), a free canon is maintained throughout Tomkins's first half (b.1-14; notes 1-27 of the chant). Thus at the end of a series of In Nomines spanning some seven years, and exploring many charming paths, Tomkins returned in his parting shot at the form to a model by the composer whose own In Nomines provided his original stimulus.

## Misereres

In the autographs of the Misereres, TK17, 13 and 18 respectively occur the numbers 1 (p.33), 2 (p.108), 3 (p.123) and 4 (p.123), which perhaps indicate that these pieces should form a suite.<sup>8</sup> In To Tomkins was possibly following the layout of his manuscript Lbl29996 in which separate Misereres are grouped together. Such grouping had, in pre-Reformation times, a liturgical function, for, according to the Sarum rite, either three or four psalms were sung at Compline and the organist had to be ready after each of these with a polyphonic setting for organ of the Miserere antiphon.<sup>9</sup> Whether Tomkins realised the liturgical significance of these groupings in Lbl29996 is uncertain. His 2-verse setting, TK18 and 3-verse setting TK16 both require continuous performance (the final cadences of each verse run through the sectional divisions which are marked by single, not double, barlines); verse 2 of TK18 carries a separate letter-figure combination (E.195, Ib.334; To, p.124; see Appendix 2). It is unlikely that in either case a strictly liturgical scheme was intended (one separate keyboard antiphon after each psalm). Of those numbered settings mentioned above TK13 and 17 could have been performed liturgically, as could the four other single settings TK14, 15, 19 and 20. Possibly Tomkins had good reason to group TK13, 17 and 18 together since all three pieces tend to move from balanced answering phrases towards closer imitation and a faster harmonic pace in their second halves, and all have codas strongly emphasizing plagal cadences.

The form of the Miserere antiphon used by Tomkins in the earliest dated setting TK13 (September 15 1648) is shown in Ex.1. Unfortunately note 21 (TK13, b.11, second half) is wrongly printed as A instead of F. The rest of Tomkins's settings (unlike his In Nomines) do not incorporate extra notes in the chant, although some minor modifications are introduced. In TK15, 18 and 19 note 5 (F) is sharpened. This forms cadences on D (note 5) in TK15, b.2 and TK18, b.3, and on G (note 6) in TK19, b.3.<sup>10</sup> He also sharpens note 10 (F) in the second verses of TK16 and 18. As in the In Nomines stepwise movement in the chant is often realised sequentially. Notes 6 and 7, for instance, give rise to sequences

in TK16, b.35; notes 15 and 16 in TK18, b.9; and notes 20 and 21 in TK17, b.9. Repeated notes or notes a third apart (of which there are only two examples in Miserere - a somewhat limiting factor) give rise to motivic interplay between the hands: notes 13 and 14, for example (TK15, b.5, 6; TK19, b.7; TK16, b.4; TK20, b.7).

Tomkins's eight settings of the Miserere form a stylistically coherent group of pieces. Their openings frequently stem from scalic material (TK13, 14, 16, 18, 19), and in one or two cases there are close thematic resemblances (TK15, b.5, 6 and TK19, b.7,8). In almost every setting - TK20 is the sole exception - contrast of phrasing and texture is provided by the introduction of balancing phrases in the middle of a piece after a close-knit opening (TK13, b.7,8; TK14, b.7-10; TK17, b.7-9). These unified techniques leave no doubt that Tomkins's undated settings were composed at the same time as the rest.

On a detailed level the Misereres exhibit some individual features. In TK14 and 19 the chant is placed in the alto, giving a higher tessitura for the treble part (generally a' - a''') than in the comparable TK15 in which the treble gravitates towards the tenor cantus firmus. Although TK15 and TK19 contain thematic similarities (noted above), that figure at b.7-8 of TK19 is unique among the Misereres in that it is derived from the consequent part of the bi-partite opening subject, b.2 (itself a unique feature). Verse 1 of TK16 is characterised by a playful tendency to alternate rising and falling scales (b.5-7). Figuratively, Tomkins's most elaborate Miserere is TK16 (3 verses). The 'layered' 3-part writing in verses 2 and 3 may have been influenced by Bull's 3-verse setting of the antiphon, MB14:34 (the disposition of the parts in verses 2 and 3 is identical in both composers' settings). A more direct relationship is suggested by Tomkins's redeployment of Bull's opening. Cadentially there is little resemblance between the two works in verse 1 (Bull's sharpened F in b.5 commits him to a cadence on the following G, whereas Tomkins engineers one around the tenor A two notes later); in verse 2, however, there is quite a close match at notes 5-6, 9-10 and 14-15 of the chant (MB14:34, b.31-2, 35-6, 40-1; TK16, b.17-18, 21, 24-5). Bull's repeated notes and broken sixths were clearly a stimulus to

Tomkins in verse 3. Although these similarities suggest that Tomkins was acquainted with Bull's Misereres as well as his In Nomines, no copies of the former survive in Tomkins's hand.

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This survey of Tomkins's plainsong settings concludes with three single works: [On a plainsong], TK68 (untitled in the only source but considered by Tuttle to exhibit plainsong characteristics), Clarifica me pater, TK4 and Offertory, TK21.

The cantus firmus of TK68 (in even semibreves placed in the treble) does not resemble any known plainsong, and may have been manufactured (perhaps with didactic intent) by Tomkins for a pupil who may have played the cantus firmus. The left-hand roulades at b.9-13 close the first paragraph in a manner reminiscent of Bull, suggesting that Tomkins absorbed Bull's style quite early on (the only source for the piece, Och1113, apparently dates from c.1610-30). The virtuoso conclusion is most attractive.

As in his In Nomines, Tomkins preferred to set a transposed (up a 5th) version of the antiphon Clarifica me pater. Six earlier settings survive (three each by Tallis<sup>11</sup> and Byrd<sup>12</sup>). Tomkins is the only English copyist to make a fair attempt at the title, though he still mis-spelt it 'glorifica'.<sup>13</sup> The form of the chant adopted by Tomkins is shown in Ex.1; it differs slightly from the Sarum melody,<sup>14</sup> especially in the alteration of note 15 from E to D (transposed pitches). This modification was also applied by Byrd in his second setting (also transposed).<sup>15</sup> Tomkins's Clarifica setting is carefully developed motivically around the quite frequent intermediate cadences (b.5, 8, 11, 13). Those at b.8 and 13 coincide with a melodic fall of a third in the chant, and introduce similar imitative patterns - the second group inverting the first. In To all except b.19 (second half) and 20 are written on p.127; the closing flourish is crammed in after the end of Tomkins's Verse of three parts (TK26) at the bottom of the previous page. No indication was given on p.127 as to where the conclusion of Clarifica me Pater may be found.

One of Tomkins's most curious pieces is his huge Offertory, TK21, dated 1637 in Ob93 (f.80). It appears to be based on the offertory intonation Felix [namque]. Tallis set the whole offertory twice, and in FWVB his two pieces were dated 1562 and 1564.<sup>16</sup> A large number of pre-Reformation settings exist by Blitheman, Preston, Redford and others.<sup>17</sup> Tomkins's Offertory resembles none of these as he sets only the intonation (Felix) in an extraordinarily original way: from the notes of the intonation he derives a 7-note idea (see Ex.1) which, after an imitative introduction, is treated throughout the rest of the piece as a migrant ground. It has recently been suggested that Tomkins's ground derives from a different offertory, either Exultabunt Sancti or Benedictus sit.<sup>18</sup> The Exultabunt chant is given in EECM10, p.135, and a setting of it by John Thorne appears on f.37v of Tomkins's Lbl29996, and he surely knew this piece. Benedictus sit was set twice in Lbl29996, by Preston<sup>19</sup> (f.51v) and ap Rhys<sup>20</sup> (f.31v). A further resemblance which might usefully be pointed out is to the 'doct.Bull a grownd of 6 notes' written on p.ii of To (see Ex.1).

Tomkins's Offertory is of enormous scale, but whether it was ever performed complete is debatable since at several points pauses were added in Ob93 indicating either that the work was composed piecemeal or else convenient stopping and starting places to suit short or long performances on different (possibly liturgical) occasions. The Offertory is probably not, therefore, a musical statement by its composer (requiring analysis as a whole), but an all-purpose article from which to select portions as necessary or desired (rather like the Ut re mi, TK35; Chapter 5, p.70).

TK21 is in six main sections, each separated by a pause. They consist of continuous statements of the 7-note ground, and are preceded by an introduction (b.1-15) based on a rhythmically decorated form of the ground, and followed by a coda (b.293-304). The dimensions of each section are shown below.

<u>Section</u>	<u>bar</u>	<u>length</u> (semibreves)	<u>no. of ground statements</u>
Introduction	1-15	44	- - - -
1	15-74	113	16 (1-16)
2	75-118	52	7 (17-23)
3	119-207	93	13 (24-36)
4	208-231	24	5 (37-41: 38-41 in reduced note-values)
5	232-251	20	5 (42-46: reduced note-values)
6	252-292	42	9 (47-55: 54-5 in original note-values)
Coda	293-304	11	- - - -

The total length is 399 semibreves of which the portion taken up by statements of the ground is 344 semibreves. Unlike the In Nomines TK5, 6, 10 and 11, the numerical relationships do not suggest the possibility of a connection between the section lengths and the chant's position in the liturgical calendar (Benedictus sit - if that is the origin of Tomkins's ground - was the offertory for Trinity Sunday); only the total length (399) and that of sections 3, 4 and 6 are divisible by 3.

All except one of the 55 ground statements are on A (the exception is number 53, b.277-81, on D). Occasional prolongations of its final note are found (b.74, 81, 103, 118, 133, 207, 215), their placing being apparently without significance. At b.216 the values of notes 1 - 6 of the ground are halved, reducing the length of each statement from 7 to 4 semibreves; the original values are restored at b.281 (statement 54).

The Offertory is organised on two broad fronts: an opening contrapuntal section (b.1-74) and a series of shorter sections whose purpose is to display a wide variety of keyboard techniques. Tallis's 1562 Felix namque is also notable for its virtuoso style, but apart from passing resemblances the influence of Tallis's piece on that of Tomkins is slight (compare FWVB vol.i, p.432, systems 2 and 3 and TK21, b.119 foll., both of which begin new sections). This could be pure coincidence, for although Tomkins knew Tallis's 1564 Felix namque<sup>21</sup>

(on p.186 of To he notes 'Mr Tallis his offertory' among 'Especiall good lessons in that key of A re to be placed together') nowhere does he refer to Tallis's other setting. The pre-Reformation-type keyboard figures in TK21, b.87-118 could have been inspired by the general style of the liturgical repertory in the early layers of Lb129996 rather than by any specific piece (examples of the 'Office' and 'Mass' repertory of pre-Reformation English organists whose work was known to Tomkins from Lb129996 are printed in EECM 6 and 10 respectively). Most of Tomkins's passagework, here as elsewhere, is of a more modern virtuoso cast (TK21, b.208, 252 foll., for instance).

Tomkins's control of the imitative texture during the first 16 statements of the ground is very fine. He begins with short motives (b.15, last beat, and 16) which soon overlap in stretto (b.19) and, combining in sequences, develop into longer phrases (b.25 foll.). Later whole phrases are treated sequentially (b.31-9) and paired statements are introduced (b.39, last beat - 42, last beat, and b.42-7: both subjects stem from similar material forming statements 8 and 9 of the ground). This ensures a convincing growth from long note-values (principally semibreves and minims in original values) at the opening to flowing quavers (originally) at the close of the contrapuntal section in preparation for the animated textures that occupy the rest of the piece. Whether the Offertory's predominantly virtuoso character was intended for liturgical use must remain an open question. True, it shows 'the transference to the organ of techniques that would normally be considered more appropriate to the virginals';<sup>22</sup> but its style may have raised fewer eyebrows among the communicants at Worcester Cathedral in 1637 than did the organ music of Redford and Preston among the English faithful about a century earlier.





discussion of the possible relation of the antiphons Clarifica me pater,  
Miserere and Gloria tibi Trinitas see Gustave Reese: Music in the  
Renaissance (London, 1977), p.858.

13. For a lucid account of the puzzle see CaldE, p.72.
14. Antiphonale Sarisburiensis. ed.Walter Howard Frere (1901-5), pl.201; see  
John Caldwell: 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England 1500-1660' in MD  
vol.19 (1965), Ex.3, p.142-4.
15. MB23:48, b.15.
16. FWVB, nos. 109, 110.
17. Caldwell, op.cit., p.136-7.
18. CunnE, p.213, n.6. Cunningham gives the title of the former as  
Exultant Sancti.
19. EECM 10, no.6. Also see Denis Stevens: 'A Unique Tudor Organ Mass' in MD,  
vol.6 (1952), p.167-75.
20. EECM 10, no.1.
21. This piece probably inspired Tomkins's own imitative introduction; its  
rhythmic style is similar to Tallis's.
22. Peter Le Huray: Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660 (London, 1978),  
p.170.

CHAPTER 4

FANTASIAS, VOLUNTARIES AND VERSES


Fancy (November 9 1646)	<u>TK22</u>
[Fancy] (July 8 1647)	<u>TK23</u>
Voluntary (August 10 1647)	<u>TK24</u>
Fancy (October 24 1648)	<u>TK25</u>
A Verse of three parts (August 12 1650)	<u>TK26</u>
A Short Verse	<u>TK27</u>
Voluntary	<u>TK28</u>
[Fancy]	<u>TK29</u>
Voluntary	<u>TK30</u>
A Substantial Verse maintaining the point	<u>TK31</u>
Fancy for two to play	<u>TK32</u>
Fancy for viols	<u>TK33</u>
[A short verse] for Edward [Thornburgh]	<u>TK74</u>
Another [short verse for Edward Thornburgh]	<u>TK75</u>
[Voluntary (or Verse)] for Mr Arc[hdeacon] Thornburgh	<u>TK76</u>

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The fifteen works examined in this chapter are entitled variously Fancy (fantasia), Voluntary and Verse. Five lack titles (TK23, 29, 74-6), and in these cases suitable ones are supplied editorially in TK. Tomkins did not trouble to distinguish between such labels in To; for example, TK24 is entitled 'Voluntary' on p.98 whereas on p.101 a continuation of the piece is called 'The rest of the Fancy'. Whether the terms 'verse' and 'voluntary' were indicative of liturgical use (as opposed to the less restrictive 'fantasia' or 'fancy') is difficult to establish, since all the dated autographs in To are later than July 23 1646 when Cathedral services

in Worcester were suspended. Certainly the Short Verse, TK27 and the two voluntaries preserved in D1 (TK28 and 30) would be appropriate in this context, as would the Substantial Verse, TK31. Nicholas Carleton's 'Verse of 4 pts:' which Tomkins copied in Lb129996 (f.200v - 202v) seems more experimental than functional, however, and Tomkins's own verse-like pieces for Edward Thornburgh, TK74-6, were surely for private rather than public ears.

Despite the confused terminology it is possible to categorize Tomkins's imitative pieces. They are of two main types, monothematic (TK23, 27, 30, 31) and polythematic (TK22, 24, 25, 26, 28). Three works stand outside these groups, the [Fancy], TK29, the Fancy for two to play, TK32 and the Fancy for viols, TK33.

Tomkins's [Fancy], TK29 (untitled in the only source, Och 1113, c1610-30) is probably his earliest for keyboard. It is based on the same canzona-like imitative point used by Gibbons in his Fantasia, MB20:5<sup>1</sup>, but although in its first eight bars it modifies Gibbons's contrapuntal scheme slightly<sup>2</sup> and inserts an extra entry at b.5, the remainder of the piece consists of rambling sequences passing through a variety of deflected cadences. The latter part (b.8- 30) does not coalesce with the contrapuntally directed style of b.1-7, and, rather as in consort Fantasia 3/12, the two sections mix no more readily than oil and water. Disappointing as it is, though, TK29 contains features which the composer was to put to more mature use in later keyboard fantasias: first, the development of the alto figure  (b.16) to give thematic continuity as far as b.23; and, secondly, the introduction of contrasting thematic ideas at (b.1-7; 8-16; 16-24; 24-30), directing the course of the work.

Like TK29, the Voluntary, TK30 begins in stretto but whereas in the former false relations are incidental to the counterpoint in the latter they are characteristic. TK30 has the more purposeful design, concentrating on the thorough working out of a single point right up to the final cadence. The piece may have originated as an organ improvisation which was later written down in a 'refined' form. Its phrasing is short winded, and although the




first five entries (b.1-9) gradually expand the keyboard range outwards from the opening D, most imitations occur in pairs between the outer parts, restricting the choice of chords and checking the harmonic pace. Most of the voluntary relies on two pair-types: (i) an octave apart at six minims' distance; and (ii) a twelfth apart at four minims' distance. Moreover, successive pairs sometimes contain bulk transpositions of material (b.11-12; 14-15; 17-18), a typically economical extempore device. Towards the end Tomkins upsets the paired (treble/bass) scheme by introducing a closing threefold entry (inner part/bass/treble).

Sharing common ground with TK30 is Tomkins's Short Verse, TK27. Both pieces keep an imitative motive in almost constant play by virtue of similar self-limiting patterns. Almost two-thirds (b.1-16) of TK27 are governed by entries an octave or twelfth apart at the temporal distance of two minims.<sup>3</sup> As in TK30, Tomkins handles his contrapuntal material with efficiency, re-arranging the parts to do dual service (b.5; 7-8) and forming identical or near-identical cadences on different degrees (b.7;9). Both TK27 and TK30 begin with stretto entries (splitting the theme in half), and maintain the imitative impulse as long as possible.

One or two stylistic features suggest that TK27 is the later work. Although it is, if anything, more saturated with entries than TK30, it introduces material lighter in texture (b.10, last beat - b.12) which brings momentary relief. More important is the modification of the imitative theme towards the end (b.16, last beat (alto) - b.26). Not only is there a slight thematic contrast but also greater variety in the temporal distance of imitation which, though generally extended from two minims to three, incorporates some entries that cut across the plan (b.21 foll.), drawing the piece to an effective climax of rhythmic and harmonic activity. Neither of these points of design are attempted in TK30, and despite its narrower harmonic range the Short Verse seems to climb upon the shoulders of the Voluntary.

It is difficult to date TK27 with precision, but its position in Lb129996 (f.179v-80) is roughly 30 folios further into the manuscript than the trans-

cription of the 4-part madrigal 'Weep no more thou Sorry (Foolish) Boy' from Tomkins's Songs of 1622, and may well predate the composition of the three pieces for Archdeacon Edward Thornburgh no earlier than 3 August 1629 (see Chapter 1, p. 16). These short offerings were first brought to light by Denis Stevens.<sup>4</sup> The first, TK74, is ideally balanced harmonically, moving from C one degree sharp (b.3) and flat (b.9); its two halves are linked by a short episode (b.6-7). Although only the third piece, TK76, is definitely in the composer's hand, TK74 is carefully fingered and distinguishes between single and double stroke ornaments. The combination of ornament and fingering in the left hand, b.4, suggests that the single stroke ornament incorporates a D (played with the second finger) either as a lower mordent (E-D-E) or a slide from the third below (G-D-E). The fingering of the semibreve G at the beginning of b.3 in the left hand implies that the double stroke ornament should also be realised as a lower mordent (G-F -G).

TK75 has a slightly wider harmonic range than TK74, as befits the sequential nature of its theme whose imitation is handled with greater flexibility than in TK76. In this, the longest (and least spontaneous) of the Thornburgh pieces, successive entries are at the octave or twelfth, normally after four minims, and outline frequent cadences in a manner reminiscent of TK27 and TK30. Like TK74, TK76 introduces a small amount of episodic work (b.9-10, 12), and in later entries the first note of the theme is shortened from  to  to . Tomkins's original intention was to bring the piece to a swift conclusion on C at b.15. His reason for doing this is unclear, as it commits the grave error of 'changing the air and leaving the key, which in Fantasia may never be suffered.'<sup>5</sup>

Tomkins's two largest and most intractable monothematic essays are the Substantial Verse, TK31, and the [Fancy], TK23 (July 8 1647). No model for either piece readily asserts itself. Both Byrd and Gibbons favoured a sectional approach to fantasia-like pieces, with successive themes of distinct

character to impart variety.<sup>6</sup> Byrd's longest monothematic section in a keyboard fantasia occurs at the start of MB28:62; it is 57 semibreves long and comprises a round dozen entries of the theme (conveniently numbered by Tregian in F:JVB). Both Tomkins's Substantial Verse, TK31 and [Fancy], TK23 dwarf this at 166 semibreves (36 entries) and 184 semibreves (53 entries) respectively. The only English monothematic fantasia that outdoes Tomkins's efforts is by Philips, FWVB, no.84 (on the same theme as Byrd's MB28:62) whose 251 semibreves incorporate 39 entries of the theme, including a number of middle entries in even breves (Tomkins does not extend his imitative themes in this way). Philips treats his theme as a variable migrant ground rather than an imitative point, and he is not afraid to play this off against successive countersubjects and semiquaver passages. That Tomkins's constructions are organized as pure streams of imitative counterpoint on a single theme, in which subsidiary figures are only rarely allowed to grow (TK31, b.11, TK23, b.29-32), demonstrates admirable economy of means.

In the Substantial Verse the recurrence of an accented passing note formula in the bass (Example 5(a)) is comparable to the cadential figure which knits together the Voluntary, TK30 (Ex. 5(b)). Impenetrable though its structure appears, TK31 does, on close examination, exhibit a broadly recognizable shape, and this is symptomatic of a more rigorous compositional (as opposed to improvisatory) approach than is evident in Tomkins's earlier imitative pieces. Its course is determined by the pattern of single and stretto entries of the theme, represented schematically in Table 6. There is a clear tendency for strettos to become more frequent and prominent as the piece unfolds; equally the number and extent of single entries of the theme between strettos is diminished. Among the stretto entries themselves there exists a satisfying balance between close strettos (a fifth or twelfth apart at a semibreve or minim's distance<sup>7</sup>), and more leisurely overlaps (b.26-7 and 32-3) in which the bass follows the treble at seven minims' distance each time. (The second of these is set a tone higher than the first, producing an effective sense of climax at b.32.)

EXAMPLES

(a)

Handwritten musical notation for Example (a) on a grand staff. The treble clef staff contains a sequence of notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The bass clef staff contains notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3. A bracket labeled 'x' spans the first four notes in both staves. Above the treble staff, there are three flats (b) positioned above the notes B4, C5, and B4. A slur is drawn over the final two notes of the treble staff.

TK 31, b. 3

(b)

Handwritten musical notation for Example (b) on a grand staff. The treble clef staff contains notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The bass clef staff contains notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3. A bracket labeled 'x' spans the first four notes in both staves. Above the treble staff, there is a sharp sign (#) above the note B4. Above the bass staff, there are several vertical lines (accents) above the notes B3, C4, B3, and A3.

TK 32, b. 4

TABLE 6

PLAN OF ENTRIES IN SUBSTANTIAL VERSE, TK31

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Entries</u>
1 - 4	4 ( <span style="border: 1px dashed black; padding: 2px;">3</span> + 1)
5 - 14	5 (D G D G C)
14 - 17	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2 (A E)</span> <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-left: 100px;">3 (E G A)</span>
18 - 25	5 (F G A D G)
26 - 8	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2 (C G)</span> <span style="border: 1px dashed black; padding: 2px; margin-left: 100px;">1 (C)</span>
28 - 30	1 (D)
30 - 2	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2 (E A)</span>
32 - 4	<span style="border: 1px dashed black; padding: 2px;">2 (A D)</span>
35 - 8	2 (G E)
38 - 40	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2 (D A)</span>
40 - 1	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2 (B D)</span>
42 - 3	1 (E)
43 - 5	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2 (A G)</span>
46 - 9	2 (D A/C paired)

Key:

signifies close stretto

signifies weaker stretto



As befits the nature and length of his theme, Tomkins plans the imitations on a broader scale than in TK30 and TK27. He introduces eight cadential episodes (b.7, 9-10, 23-4, 29-30, 34, 37-8, 41, 47-8) ranging in length between three and nine minims, and providing welcome relief from the otherwise omnipresent theme.<sup>8</sup> Three melodic climaxes on a" (the highest note in the piece) are discernible; the first (b.14-15) and third (b.38-9) coincide with stretto entries, while the second (b.32-3) is reinforced by a striking progression involving a  $\begin{matrix} b6- \\ 5-4 \end{matrix}$  suspension and an augmented triad (C#-A-F). Also in step with the stretto pattern is the slackening of harmonic pace in preparation for the final cadence. From b.41 the imitations are concentrated in the upper parts over a slower moving bass line.

In To, p.39, a one-flat key-signature is operative throughout the first two bars in the right hand, and the first seven in the left hand. Its meaning is unclear; probably it does not indicate a transposed (aeolian) mode since the style is too chromatic for modal relationships to be tenable (f' sharp and f' are used - b.3 - as are g' sharp and g' - b.16 - as well as g' sharp and a' flat - b.11, 16).<sup>9</sup>

A significant feature in the design of the [Fancy], TK23 is the placing of five sets of close stretto entries (b.16, 22, 33, 35 and 41). All are at a semibreve's distance, but at various intervals. As in TK31, they are separated by intermediate entries, but whereas in that work there is a simple contrast between single and stretto statements of the theme, in TK23 the situation is more complex. The 'weak' stretti, incidental to the plan of TK31 (illustrated by dotted brackets in Table 6) are characteristic of the theme of TK23. Its three stretto positions are shown in Example 6 (i), (ii) and (iii), of which the most common is (i), the least common (iii). The 'weakest' (most distant) stretto (ii) is used to emphasize cadential points like b.25-7 (Example 7 (a)), closing the first 'half' of the piece (insofar as it is possible to sectionalize this continuous structure); (iii) is incorporated into the second, third and fourth of the close stretti (Ex.7 (b), (c) and (d)). Tomkins's contrapuntal efficiency is also apparent from the last example which shows how

EXAMPLE 6   STRETTO POSITIONS IN TK 23: THEME

(b.1)

(i)

(b.4)

(ii)

(b.12)

(iii)



# EXAMPLE 7 (cont'd.)

Handwritten musical notation for Example 7 (cont'd.), measures 35 and 36. The notation is written on a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 35 begins with a whole note chord in the treble clef, marked with a circled 'w' above it, and a dotted quarter note in the bass clef, marked with a circled 'd' to its left. Measure 36 contains a melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. A circled '36' is written above the first measure of the system. A circled 'iii' with a downward arrow is positioned above the treble staff in the second measure of the system.

Handwritten musical notation for Example 7 (cont'd.), measures 37 and 38. The notation is written on a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 37 features a melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. Measure 38 continues the melodic line in the treble clef and the bass line in the bass clef. A circled 'iii' with an upward arrow is positioned below the bass staff in the second measure of the system.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

the composer makes a little material go a long way; by rearranging a contrapuntal scheme at strategic points the whole structure is clarified, and there is therefore less obligation to invent new contrasting material.

A stylistic feature which suggests that TK23 (July 8 1647) is a later work than TK31 is its use of episodic contrast which is both more prolonged and significant than in the Substantial Verse. The episodes at b.20 and 39, beat 2-41, both have room for 'false' entries of the theme (in alto and treble, respectively), and although the masking function of the quaver runs at b.29-32 is identical to that of the semiquavers at b.11 of TK31, their scope in the present [Fancy] is considerably extended.

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The dimensions (in semibreves) of each section of Tomkins's polythematic works are given below.

<u>TK</u>	<u>Section lengths</u>
22	58 23 34
24	57 24 31 (4 + 12 + 15) 6 (CODA)
25	52 20 30
26	45 18 - (incomplete)
28	61 9 24

Of these the earliest is probably the (undated) Voluntary, TK28, preserved only in D1. It corresponds least closely to the average dimensions (roughly 5:2:3) and maintains its opening point longest, parading just two possible stretto positions (Example 8). As in the Voluntary, TK30 (also in D1) this results in a fair amount of block transposition, with minor modifications (b.11-12; 14-15), and most entries are confined to the outer parts. In addition, the first group of entries gradually expands the keyboard range outwards from the opening note, as in b.1-9 of TK30.

The longer and more purposeful episodes in TK28 probably represent an advance on TK30. Recurring suspension chains (b.6-7; 9-10; 18-19; 22-4) act

EXAMPLE 8 VOLUNTARY, TK 28 : STRETTO POSITIONS

(3)

(a)

(16)

(b)

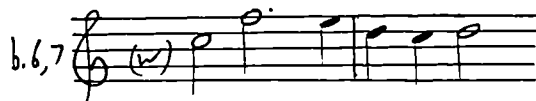
as a kind of refrain and steer a clearer harmonic course through the first section (cadencing on E, B, A and E) than is apparent in TK30. The scribe of D1 evidently understood the distinction between Tomkins's mono- and poly-thematic styles, for on p.92 of his manuscript he clearly labelled the composer's new theme (b.28) 'pointe' (though he missed the additional theme at b.32). Possibly the scribe wanted an example of both types for instructional purposes.

All the remaining sectional pieces, TK22, 24, 25 and 26 share common techniques. In each, the successive themes are well contrasted, those of the later sections being shorter and rhythmically crisper than in the initial paragraphs. This results in marked distinctions of character within the complete design, the middle and final sections exhibiting square cut sequences combining in obvious cadential patterns: TK22, b.21-46; TK24, b.[29-44]; TK25, b.27-40; TK26, b.14-22.

Themes in the opening sections tend to fall into two parts, antecedent and consequent, of which the (subsidiary) consequents are played off as echoes against real entries: TK22, b.10-21; TK24, b.[8], [12], [14]; TK25, b. 5-15. In TK22, 24 and 25 the majority of the entries are consecutive rather than in stretto, giving, in the former, greater breadth of phrasing in the opening section and allowing more room for the development of subsidiary figures. Tomkins's Verse of three parts, TK26 returns to compressed stretti in its first section whose theme is treated with a certain freedom (Example 9), possibly for the sake of harmonic effect (b.3, 6). Judging by the proportions of Tomkins's other sectional pieces the missing conclusion of TK26 (a work related contrapuntally to the Pavan and Galliard of three parts, TK49-50; see Chapter 6, p.91-2) would have reached a final cadence on D after a further 25-30 semibreves.

Possibly Tomkins's selection of several 'points' of contrasting length was influenced by the fantasias of Byrd (particularly MB28:62 and 63) and Gibbons (MB20: 9 and 12). He clearly cast a selective eye over the works of both of his

EXAMPLE 9    TK 26: VARIANTS OF OPENING THEME





predecessors for he rejected Byrd's liking for episodes in dance metre (alman-like in MB27:25, b.28 foll., coranta-like in MB28:62, b.113 and MB28:63, b.108) and Gibbons's penchant for free canonic passages (MB20:12, b.18-19; 22-3, for instance). Nor is Tomkins's derivation of successive themes as frequent or obvious as Gibbons's, although he maintains his initial points for longer. His Voluntary, TK24 is the most indebted to Gibbons's style, including no less than five imitative points, of which the last three are quite closely related. In the Fancy, TK22 the themes of the first and third sections are related by retrograde motion - a device too complicated for Gibbons<sup>10</sup> - as shown in Example 10.

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Although teaching pieces for two players (master and pupil) on one instrument (usually the organ) were not uncommon in late sixteenth-century England<sup>11</sup> the only developed examples of organ duets were both copied by Tomkins in Lb129996. These are Nicholas Carleton's 'Verse for two to play on one Virginal or organe' (f.196v -200)<sup>12</sup> and Tomkins's own Fancy, TK32 (f.204v -206) which he described (f.205) as 'Another of the like'. In both works the notes are carefully aligned with respect to page turns, indicating that Lb129996 could have been used as a performing copy.

How Carleton's and Tomkins's examples relate to an earlier tradition of organ duets in England is unknown. Neither work betrays obvious experimental features; both are more advanced than Strogers's 'Upon ut re my fa sol la' and Byrd's Ut re mi fa sol la, MB28:58, conceived not, strictly speaking, as duets, but as instructional exercises in which the pupil repeated a hexachord pattern in even breves below which the master improvised a succession of technically differentiated 'waves'. At no point in either the pieces of Byrd or Strogers do the two players compete as equals; both Carleton and Tomkins, however, write equally active parts for 'the higher keyes' and 'the lower keyes'. Of the two, Carleton's piece takes a backward glance at the techniques of Strogers and

EXAMPLE 10    TK 22: THEMATIC DERIVATION

b.1

retrograde

b.30

Byrd since it too is based on a cantus firmus - the antiphon Gloria tibi trinitas (see Chapter 3, Ex.1). Tomkins's Fancy is free-composed and is probably the later of the two duets in Lbl29996.

A comparison of the two composers' approaches tends to confirm this view. Three principal themes (Example 11, x y and z) dominate Carleton's verse, although, in view of their very free treatment, distinctions between 'thematic' and 'non-thematic' functions are difficult to make. Because of the extreme plasticity of his themes Carleton's structure lacks focus. The continuations of themes x and y are fairly loosely based on their original shapes. Only z retains its identity (b.35-47) and even this brief period of concentration is dissipated in the rather amorphous final section. Tomkins's Fancy, TK32, is thematically and formally more assured than this. Its content is sharply defined, successive themes diminishing in length, and tending towards shorter note-values (b.2-3, 10, 20, 25, 28). Later 'points' outline obvious chordal progressions (as in TK22, 24 and 25) and give a convincing 'drive to the cadence'. Forward thrust is also regulated by a noticeable drift throughout the piece from imitative treatment in stretto (b.2-3; 10) to echo effects later on (b.20, 25).<sup>13</sup> Like Carleton, Tomkins varies the profile of his themes (Example 12) but not in so extreme a manner as to jeopardise the coherence of his design. Indeed the thematic developments in Ex.12 are structural; the first group has a transitional function, connecting the stretto and echo types, while the extensions in the second group return to a more continuous and climactic imitative texture.

Tomkins's Fancy for two to play is difficult to date precisely, although its last three points unfold as logically as those in the Voluntary, TK24, composed in the same year (1647) as the Pavan, Lord Canterbury, TK57, which occurs 13 folios after TK32 in Lbl29996. Carleton's verse, preceding TK32 by 8 folios, must have been composed by 1630 when Carleton died. TK32 probably originated during the intervening period.

EXAMPLE II CARLETON, 'VERSE OF 4 PTS': THEMES



EXAMPLE 12 FANCY FOR TWO TO PLAY, TK 32 : THEMATIC DEVELOPMENTS



Tomkins's Fancy for viols, TK33 is a keyboard arrangement of a 5-part consort fantasia no longer extant in that form. To's text (p.24-7) was probably not unique as four different letter-figure combinations (c.18, E.5, F.385, Ib.185) appear on p.24, presumably referring to the location of the same piece in other sources (see Appendix 2).

Nathaniel Tomkins indexed TK33 as a 'Fancy for 5 viols' (To, p.190) but although each of the five initial entries of the opening 'point' (b.1, 1, 3, 6, 8) are clear it is impossible to follow five discreet polyphonic parts throughout the fantasia. Beyond the 'exposition' most subject entries are confined to the outer parts of the keyboard texture. Perhaps Tomkins extensively revised the first section of his consort original when making the keyboard version, fearing that on organ or virginals entries in the middle of the texture would not penetrate as clearly as in the string consort medium where the phrasing and balance of a contrapuntal texture could be executed with greater sensitivity. Several incidental details weigh against a literal transcription of the string texture in b.1-27. The decorated octave figure in the left hand at b.15 and the convenient spread of the polyphony between two hands throughout are probably technical adaptations. Also the wide spacing at b.11 and 22-4 is idiomatic to the keyboard but ineffective on viols.

Like the majority of Tomkins's 3-part consort fantasias, TK33 is built upon three contrasting imitative points whose succession is characterized by more continuous runs of shorter note-values, culminating in the ascending quaver scales beginning at b. [40]. This final section probably required the least 'arrangement' as its technical foundation (a scale) is idiomatic to both media, suggesting quite effectively on the keyboard the climactic consort texture of, for instance, fantasias 3/3, 3/15, 6/2 and 6/3 (transcribed in Vol. 2). Unusually the first section of TK33 (longer by about one-third than most of Tomkins's consort examples) comes to a full cadential close in b.27 before proceeding with the subsequent imitations. Normally successive 'points' enter under cover of a cadence, ensuring a continuous flow.<sup>14</sup> Possibly the pause over this cadence indicates that in performance the fantasia could end here.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 4

1. Pointed out by Dart in TK, p.178.
2. Tomkins's parody transposes Gibbons's original down a fourth.
3. The one exception to this occurs at b.2 where the treble entry (D) follows the alto (G) after three minims.
4. StevT, p.153-4.
5. MorlP, p.296. Byrd's Fantasia MB27:27 includes at b.46 an idea similar to that at the opening of TK76 and in Nevell only the portion from b.46 to the end was transcribed. As in b.1-15 of TK76 Nevell's text of Byrd's volunary begins in A minor but ends in C. See Alan Brown: (Review article) 'Oliver Neighbour. The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd....' in Early Music History, vol.1 (1981), p.354-65; especially p.363-5.
6. OWNB, Chapter 11; CaldE, p.63-6.
7. The two exceptions to this are at b.16 and 43-4 where strettis enter a minor third apart.
8. The semiquaver roulade at b.11 is not properly an episode as it masks an entry (on G) of the theme.
9. Tomkins also abandons a one-flat key-signature in his Pavan, Lord Canterbury, TK57; see Chapter 6, p.91-2.
10. Although not for Byrd whose 5-part consort fantasia uses just this device. See OWNB, p.78.
11. Such as Nicholas Stogers's 'upon ut re my fa soul la ij [2]' in Och MS. Mus. 371 (f.20) and Byrd's Ut re mi fa sol la, MB28:58 (To, p.1).
12. Printed at the end of Hugh M. Miller's article 'The Earliest Keyboard Duets' in MQ, vol.29 (1943), p.438. All note values are halved in Miller's transcription; in the following discussion references are to Miller's bar numbers but original note values are retained in examples.
13. Echo effects are pre-empted in the first two introductory bars.
14. The exception is Fantasia 3/4 in which the link between the first two sections (b.25-7) is managed in a similar way to that of the last two in TK33 (b. [39-40] ).

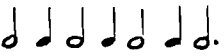
## CHAPTER 5

### GROUNDS AND RELATED KEYBOARD PIECES

Ground	<u>TK39</u>
Ground: Arthur Phillips	<u>TK40</u>
<u>Ut re mi</u> : For a beginner	<u>TK34</u>
<u>Ut re mi</u>	<u>TK35</u>
<u>Ut re mi</u>	<u>TK36</u>
<u>Ut re mi</u>	<u>TK37</u>
<u>Ut mi re</u>	<u>TK38</u>
<u>Ut re mi</u>	<u>TK70</u>
<u>Ut re mi</u>	<u>TK71</u>

In the context of this chapter 'ground' does not necessarily indicate 'ground bass', but simply an abstract pattern of notes repeated in any voice to give, in accumulation, a work of some substance. On p.71 of To Tomkins referred to the hexachord as a 'playnesong'. This gives a misleading impression of the structure of his important hexachord piece TK35: whereas in his plainsong settings Tomkins adds polyphony around a continuously unfolding cantus firmus (presented once), the hexachord piece is built in segments, each a complete presentation of an ascending and descending hexachord. The Offertory, TK21, which is also constructed to this groundplan, has not been included in this chapter since its origins seem to have been liturgical rather than secular. In theory Tomkins's compound settings of the Miserere antiphon (TK16 and 18) are grounds since the whole chant is repeated as a pattern, though at 26 notes the Miserere makes a long ground!



Tomkins's early Ground, TK39 is the second of the numbered pieces of his in FWVB. It is the most ambitious of the early works in scope and the most impressive from the structural viewpoint. It consists of forty-five statements of the ground rounded-off by a coda emphasizing the tonic, G. The length of the ground is the same (but in halved note values) as the 'short ground' formula used by Byrd in his three early grounds,<sup>1</sup> namely a triple pattern . In TK the bars are of course numbered, but the successive statements are not, so, for ease of reference, both statement numbers and bar numbers will have to be given in the following discussion.

As the ground does dual service as treble and bass<sup>2</sup> its melodic, harmonic and rhythmic profiles are adhered to quite strictly. Melodically, the alterations (mainly passing notes) are slight: the substitution of G sharp for B in statement 11 (b. 20) and a decoration of this in statement 17 (b.32) - both of which bring cadential modifications in their train - and the introduction of passing notes, especially in the contrapuntal statements (for instance, statements 8, 12, 14-19 and 37 to the end: b.13, 14, 25-37 and 77 foll.). The harmonic scheme is limited to chords on G, D, C and A minor (except for several significant deviations to be mentioned presently) and, as a rule, there is one harmony to each note of the ground with the exception of bars 1 and 3 which may receive prolonged tonic emphasis (statements 8 and 15: b.13, 14, and 27, 28).

The influence of Bull's keyboard variations is particularly strong, not purely in terms of the exciting keyboard textures<sup>3</sup> but in some structural details as well.

First, the build-up of texture through successively shorter note-values (crotchets - quavers - semiquavers) in statements 1-12 (b.1-22). This may be compared with Bull's Ground, MB19: 102a.

Secondly, the pairing of statements by antiphonal dialogue and contrast of register. Tomkins, like Bull, applies this technique as soon as a continuous texture of quavers or semiquavers has been achieved. In TK39 this occurs at

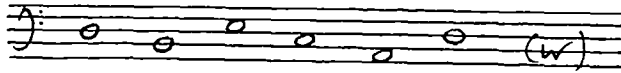
statements 6/7 (b.9-13), 9/10 (b.15-19) and 11/12 (b.19-23). Alternatively, statements may be paired by inverting either the direction of the passagework (statements 16/17: b. 29-33 and 22/23: b.41-45) or by inverting the entire texture (statements 24/25: b.45-49 and 30/31: b.57-62). A parallel in Bull may be seen in *Les Buffons*, MB19:101, vars. 4 and 5.

Thirdly, the use of textural recall, a device used by Bull in 'Walsingham', MB19:35 (vars. 6 and 13) and in *Les Buffons* (vars. 2 and 11). The imitative statements 37 and 38 (b.77-81) recall the canonic writing in statements 16/17 (b.29-33). Similarly, the anticipation of the decorated ground by the entry on A in statements 39 and 41 (b.80 foll.)<sup>4</sup> recalls the anticipation at the beginning of statements 18 and 19 (b.32-37). Also, the descending left-hand double thirds in statements 35 (b.72-74) recall the section in double thirds beginning at statement 22 (b.41 foll.).

An extension of this principle of textural recall used by both Bull and Tomkins is the inclusion of a contrapuntal variation near the beginning of a piece, its subsequent abandonment, and recapitulation towards the end. Bull used the technique in *Les Buffons*, vars. 3 and 14. In Tomkins's ground, imitative writing is introduced in statement 8 (b.13 foll.),<sup>5</sup> but is quickly given up in favour of increased linear momentum; canonic writing appears in statements 16-19 (b.29-37) and is again contrasted with virtuoso passagework; at statement 37 (b.77 foll.) counterpoint re-emerges. The effective contrast between linear and contrapuntal writing is perhaps the most impressive feature of this piece whose form is especially clear and satisfying as a result.

Bull's occasional use of harmonic modifications<sup>6</sup> is yet another feature of his style put to use by Tomkins in TK39. There are five instances of this: (i) b.20; (ii) b.32; (iii) b.70; (iv) b.[89]; (v) b.[92].<sup>7</sup> The last three of these are quite interesting as they have a more significant structural role than Bull's. The harmonic modifications at b.70 and [89] of Tomkins's ground both involve the preparation of the "supertonic" (A minor) harmony by its own "dominant" (E), producing the progression in Example 13.

EXAMPLE 13 GROUND, TK 39, b. 70, 89: HARMONIC  
MODIFICATIONS TO THE GROUND



# 7<sup>°</sup>  
5# # 6 7 # (6)

It is interesting to note that both harmonic deviations follow a group of related statements: the sesquialtera set, statements 27-33 (b.51-70) and the group of imitative statements, 37-42 (b.77-89). Possibly Tomkins's plan was to arrange the second half of the piece around large, stable groups counteracting the rather fragmentary nature of the first half. The supporting pillars of the second half are formed by (i) statements 20-26 (b.37-51) which gradually build up from runs of single semiquaver lines to runs of double thirds; (ii) the sesquialtera set; and (iii) the imitative group mentioned above. Following each of the last two groups is a set of three statements that momentarily check the forward impetus (statements 34-36 and 42-54: (b.70-77 and [90-93])). The outlines of this scheme are clearly marked by the harmonic deviations at b.70 and [89], cited above. The final modification at b. [92] marks the transition between the statements of the ground and the concluding coda.

Tomkins's control of pace in moving between these supporting pillars is exemplary. In the stable groups themselves (for instance, statements 20-26; b.37-51) he uses figuration that moves in step with the rhythmic profile of the ground, giving a sense of repose, whereas at other points (for instance, statements 9/10, 13 and 18: b.15-19, 23-25 and 33-35) the patterns of figuration are manipulated independently of the ground, resulting in a rhythmic conflict which produces forward drive. The opposition of these two types of passagework enables Tomkins to keep the flow of ideas interesting. The structure is not obscured but clarified by the contrast of textures, and this more mature relationship of form and content may indicate that the ground is a later work than the far less successful 'Barafostus' Dream', TK 62.

Two points relating to performance of TK39 may be mentioned here. Tregian's alignment of the left hand chords against right hand scales at b.74-5 is inconsistent in FWVB (see TK, p.186, note 13). In their edition of FWVB Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire rationalized what copyist and composer evidently meant to be a sesquitertia relationship between the hands (compare 'Barafostus'

Dream', TK62, b.91-3). This interpretation was followed by Tuttle in TK39 where, however, the right hand notes are grouped differently making the sesquitertia more obvious to the eye. Nevertheless the notation of the right hand in the FWVB edition (vol.2, p.92, system 1, b.2, 3 and system 2, b.1) may suggest a crisper manner of articulation to the player. Possibly a chord, e' g' c", should be inserted in the right hand halfway through b.97 (and tied over to the chord in b.98) - a chord of C is certainly implied by the left hand passagework here.<sup>8</sup>

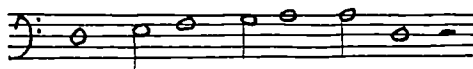
The authorship of the Ground: Arthur Phillips, TK40, preserved in Lbl29996, is far from clear. Here are the views of three musicologists:

- (1) Tomkins did not sign this piece but wrote the name Arthur Phillips at the head of it. This has served to cast some doubt on the authorship of the work. However he listed it with his compositions in the Table of Contents (on f. iv of Lbl MS. Add. 29996) and in the list of Lessons of Worthe (in F - Pc MS. Rés.1122) [To]...in Paris 1122 he made the following entry: Tomkins on these notes. in the Redish/clasped booke and at the right of the entry wrote out the notes of this ground. This is conclusive proof of the authorship. What connection, if any, Arthur Phillips had with the work is not clear; perhaps the ground was his.<sup>9</sup>
- (2) .... the natural grouping of the variations [in Byrd's early Short Grounds] into longer sections would all have been beyond his precursors as they were beyond... Tomkins in his Arthur Phillips ground.<sup>10</sup>
- (3) .... the ascription to Phillips on the music itself is in the hand of Thomas Tomkins, and unless his intention was merely to ascribe the very primitive ground melody to Phillips (as was suggested by Tuttle in MBv [TK]) the piece provides a valuable demonstration of Phillips' technical

skill as composer and performer.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly on the documentary evidence the case could be argued either way. Although Tomkins apparently wrote a piece on the ground he noted on p.ii of To, it cannot be conclusively identified as that in Lb129996 for it cannot be proved that this source is the "Redish clasped booke" referred to by Tomkins.

As Neighbour observes, the Ground: Arthur Phillips is not organized in large spans. Although there are one or two paired statements such as nos. 17 and 18, and the two sesquialteras 19 and 20, the rest of the work is rather like an exercise in manipulating short imitative points either in antiphonal dialogue at the octave (statements 7 and 9) or in close-knit stretti, and at different pitch-intervals (statements 10 and 11). The thematic ideas are limited to ascending or descending scalar patterns, most of which are inter-related, although with varying degrees of skill: if the opening shape of statement 19 is supposed to recall that of statement 11 its point is lost owing to the lack of contrast inbetween. In short, the Ground: Arthur Phillips was probably not intended as a serious composition at all but just an exercise designed to demonstrate competence in the handling of contrapuntal textures. Indeed, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that Tomkins supplied the ground "on these notes"



and Phillips wrote the exercise, incorporating one or two features from Tomkins's own Ground, TK39: such as the 'staggered' 2-part imitation in fifths (at statement 2 in both pieces); the double thirds in the left hand part of statement 12;<sup>12</sup> the sequential point in statement 14 (left hand);<sup>13</sup> and the style of the sesquialteras (statements 19 and 20).<sup>14</sup> Assuming Phillips to be the composer, it is possible that Tomkins then copied the piece into his manuscript, Lb129996, taking care to acknowledge it as the work of Phillips

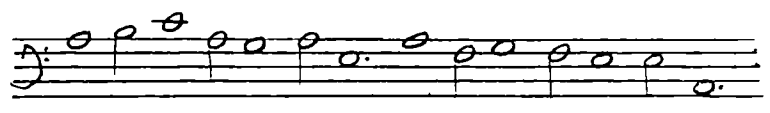
(Tomkins's pupil?) as opposed to his own. The Ground: Arthur Phillips is written on f.193v-195v, interrupting the exercises 'pretty wayes: For young Beginners to looke on' (f.192v-196).<sup>15</sup>

A piece by Arthur Phillips, consisting of 22 'wayes' on a similar (but longer) ground (Example 14) is to be found on p.131-8 of D1. It closely resembles in style TK40.

Tomkins's Ut re mi, TK35 is easily his most substantial keyboard work, worlds apart from the compact and technically easy teaching piece that immediately precedes it in TK. However, it was never intended to be played as a whole, nor were the statements of the hexachord to be performed in a fixed sequence. In To (p.71) Tomkins wrote the following instruction: 'Use as many. or as Few/ as you will. of these many wayes/upon this playnesong:' so the structure of the piece cannot be a matter for analysis. The pauses to be found at certain places in Tomkins's autograph of the Ut re mi probably indicate that the piece was added to as and when Tomkins's inspiration flowed over a period of time. At least one of the shorter hexachord pieces given in TK is an additional 'waye': TK37 is clearly an alternative to the eighth statement of the ground beginning at b.44 of TK35; statement 26 is probably an alternative for 25 (the left hand part is substantially the same in both statements and 25 links neatly into 27); TK36 is possibly an extra 'waye'. The text in TK is based on that of To.

TK35 is preserved in a somewhat different form in Ob93 and also in a 4-part consort arrangement (transcribed in Vol.2 of this study). The different layout of the two keyboard versions is shown on p.179 of TK. In Ob93 the piece originally consisted of only 22 statements, the last not in To but probably by Tomkins. Regrettably the folio containing statements 1-5 has subsequently been lost; of the surviving statements nos.8-22 are consecutively numbered in the manuscript. The hexachords used are shown below (order as in TK35).

EXAMPLE 14 'GROUND: BY PHILLIPS:' (D1, p. 131)



original notation:





<u>Statement</u>	1 - 24	25 - 7	28 - 9	30	31 - 2	33	34 - 8
<u>Hexachord</u>	G - E	C - A	G - E	C - A	G - E	D - B	G - E

In Ob93 all the hexachord statements are on G - E.

In To the text is continuous (without pauses) as far as the end of statement 29. This much of TK35 would seem to have been written down at one go and the remaining bits and pieces were probably composed later. Statement 32 concludes with a breve chord, pauses, the composer's signature and the words 'laus deo'. After this is the word 'Appendix' followed by statements 33-4 (on different hexachords), the latter ending with a further pause and signature. Statement 38 ends at the top of an otherwise blank page (87); it seems that Tomkins left room for further additions.

Tomkins's Ut re mi was probably influenced by Bull's second setting (MB14:18) which Tomkins copied into To starting at p.4 (on p.iii he describes Bull's piece as being 'For the hand' - not necessarily a sarcastic remark). Like statements 1-24 of Tomkins's piece Bull's is based on the G - E hexachord, and there is a short introduction before the first appearance of the hexachord. Tomkins may have regarded his piece as an extension of Bull's, since he quickly introduces 3-part counterpoint, building on Bull's 2-part opening. The syncopations in Tomkins's first three bars are clearly derived from Bull's at b.10-12 of MB14:18. He does not maintain a treble ostinato, however, and whereas in Bull's setting the treble placement allows the unfolding of a structure based on increasing rhythmic elaboration, Tomkins's migrant hexachord allows greater integration with the polyphony (Bull's even notes act as a foil to his passagework). Tomkins's is

musically the superior piece, incorporating greater variety of texture (although according to the composer's prescription contrasting textures are not structurally significant: any appropriate selection of contrapuntal or figurative statements might be used for performance).

In Ob93 statement 24 of TK's text (numbered 21 in the former source) is followed by a concluding statement that is not found in To (Tuttle printed it on p.82 of TK). It is likely that, despite the omission in To, this appendage is the work of the composer. Ob93 is a manuscript to which some of Tomkins's works (including the Ut mi re, TK38 to be discussed below) are unique, and in which he himself played a part as copyist (of TK76, for example - see Chapter 1, p.17 ).

The manuscript shows all the signs of a musical 'scrap-book', personal to Tomkins and his musical friends in Worcester. The only dated piece by Tomkins that it contains is the Offertory, TK21 (1637), and as it was probably written up about this time it precedes the dated pieces in To (of which TK35 is not one) by about 10 years.

Table 7 summarizes the order of the hexachord statements in the three available texts, two for keyboard and one for consort, whose probable chronology is arranged from left to right across the page. In column 1 the statements are numbered from 1 - 22 as in Ob93. By looking across each line of the Table to column 3 the number of the corresponding statement (the same music) in the printed text of TK35 (To) may be found. For example, statement 15 in Ob93 is statement 20 of TK35 (To). The correspondence between the layout of Ob93 and the 4-part consort version transcribed in Vol.2 (abbreviated here as 4C) is represented in columns 1 and 2. For example, statements 14 - 20 in Ob93 occur in the same sequence in 4C but are numbered differently (10 - 16) owing to the omission earlier in 4C of statements 8, 9, 11 and 13 whose idiomatic keyboard style is inappropriate to a viol consort (once again the number order in terms of TK35 (To) may be found in column 3). Statements 21, 22 and 23 in TK35 (To) are lacking in both the other versions, while the final statement 22F in Ob93 (no. 18 in 4C) is lacking in TK35 (To).

TABLE 7

COMPARATIVE ORDER OF STATEMENTS IN UT RE MI

<u>Ob93</u>	<u>4C</u>	<u>TK35 (To)</u>
INTRODUCTION	INTRODUCTION	INTRODUCTION
[1 - 5] b.1-26 lacking in <u>Ob93</u>	1-5	1-5
6	6	6
7	7	7
8	-	8
9	-	9
10	8	10
11	-	11
12	9	12
13	-	13
14	10	19
15	11	20
16	12	14
17	13	15
18	14	16
19	15	17
20	16	18
-----	-----	-----
-	-	21
-	-	22
-	-	23
-----	-----	-----
21 numbered '12' by mistake	17	24
22F (see <u>TK</u> , p.82)	18	-

The second half of b.117 (TK35 statement 18) and b.131 (TK35 statement 20) are lacking in Ob93 and 4C and as the cadential approaches to these points lead directly into statements 21 and 16 respectively in Ob93 (statements 24 and 14 in TK35), and into statements 17 and 12 in 4C, it is probable that these links in TK35 were composed specially by Tomkins to accommodate harmonically a revised order of statements (separating more widely the two sesquialteras) in To. This would explain the divergent endings of statement 13 in TK35 and Ob93 (for the latter see TK, p.182, right hand column, b.86-7). Those statements in TK35 (To) not in Ob93 or 4C were presumably composed at this later stage as well.

That the consort version (4C) postdates the original keyboard text of Ob93 may be argued on the basis of a close study of their texts. At the end of statement 7 (in both keyboard texts) the alto line is filled out in thirds (TK35, b.43). On the keyboard this is a simple technical matter; in consort terms, though, the tenor has to enter for a single bar (b.96 of the transcription in Vol.2) to reproduce this effect - a clumsy solution suggesting an adaptation rather than the composer's original thoughts (more 'stray' notes appear in the tenor at b.53). At b.84 the tenor line is adapted at its end, avoiding the low B of the keyboard version (TK35, b.37), a point which implies the use of the alto viol whose lowest string was C (like the modern viola). A similar alteration occurs in the bass at b.96, low E being substituted for C which exceeds the bass viol's compass, and again at b.108 where low D is substituted for C in the consort texts (TK35, b.69). The wide spacing at b.95, 98-9 and 113 in the keyboard texts is idiomatic whereas, transferred note-for-note to the consort medium, it is not (b.166, 165-6, 195-6); similarly the splitting of individual keyboard lines between two instruments at b.158-9 (alto-tenor) and 174 (tenor-bass) is a rather inelegant compromise. Finally, in the consort version are one or two additional contrapuntal lines not present in either keyboard version which are effective on strings: treble, b.83-4 (TK35, b.36-7); alto, b.138-9 (TK35, b.127-3).

It should perhaps be noted that, in opposition to the above view, b.78-81 of TK35 look suspiciously like an alteration of the consort text (b.114-20) to facilitate performance on the keyboard. In the absence of a sustaining pedal (or pedalboard on the organ) b.114 as set for strings is awkward to play legato on a keyboard instrument. At b.78 of TK35 the tenor line is slightly modified, the rest (a quaver in the original notation) facilitating the stretch to the low G and the immediate contraction of the hand to take the remaining left hand notes. Similarly, at TK35, b.81, the retaken D between tenor and bass in the left hand is a workable keyboard solution to the problem of sustaining the bass minim D at b.119 of the consort arrangement. Regrettably it is not possible to determine at what stage the left hand part of TK b.78 evolved since the top corner of Ob93, f.68, containing this bar has been torn away and the only source is therefore To which probably postdates the consort version. Further points are unhelpful in confirming a keyboard or consort original of Tomkins's Ut re mi. The alto part at TK35, b.115 may either be a decoration of the consort alto (b.200) or the consort part a simplification of an idiomatic keyboard figure. The weight of evidence (though perhaps slender in form) is nevertheless in favour of a keyboard original whose text was as preserved in Ob93. The date of the earliest source of the consort arrangement (Ob64, 1641) is intermediate between dated pieces by Tomkins in Ob93 and To and tends further to confirm that To's text of TK35 is the latest.

The two Ut re mi settings TK70 and 71 may have been intended as 'extras' to the main setting, TK35, although the former seems to be no more than a dull exercise while in the latter the dovetailing of different hexachords C - A and F - D at b.37-8 is untypical of the techniques of TK35. TK71 is clearly unfinished; it was probably intended to stand as a separate piece, which, had it ever been finished, might have continued with further dovetailings leading back to the original C - A hexachord. Originally the texture of the first bar was arranged differently, the highest and lowest parts being interchanged.

Probably of similar date to the large Ut re mi, TK35 is Tomkins's Ut mi re, TK38, which follows immediately in Ob93 (f.70v-73). Although Tomkins's 11 state-

ments (+ coda) of the unusual ground (half as long again as a full hexachord) are not directly modelled on Byrd's earlier 14 statements (MB28:65) the two settings do share some common features. At the halfway point in the ground, for instance, Byrd consistently uses a chord of E as a pivot, a device copied by Tomkins in all except statements 5-7 (b.66-93), where Byrd's canon at the fifth in statement 7 (MB28:65, b.62) is seized upon by Tomkins (especially in his own statement 7 - a close parallel to Byrd's); in pairing successive statements (such as 2 and 3, TK38, b.19-55, and 7 and 8, b.82-103) Tomkins also follows Byrd's example (MB28:65, b.62-82). Nevertheless there are marked differences between the two compositions. Tomkins adds two extra notes to Byrd's ground (TK38, b.17-18), and whereas Byrd feels free to transpose the ground Tomkins never does, although he doubles its speed at b.114 (statement 10), perhaps to compensate for the lack of a sesquialtera section.

CHAPTER 5    FOOTNOTES

1. MB27:9, 43; MB28:86.
2. At statement 41 (b.85) the ground also appears in the alto.
3. For example, the double thirds of statements 22-26 (b.41-51), the sextuplets in the sesquialtera section (statements 32, 33: b.62-70) and the coda (b.93 foll.).
4. The final quaver a' of b.80 is probably intended to be tied across the barline.
5. This is also the first occasion on which the ground is itself modified by the addition of passing notes. All of the imitative work stems from this altered form of the ground.
6. For instance, in the Ground, MB19: 102a, b.40, where, for the first (and only) time in the piece, Bull departs from his rigid chord scheme by momentarily doubling the harmonic pace.
7. In TK39 the editorial bar numbers cease after b.85.
8. I am grateful to Alan Brown for drawing my attention to this point.
9. Steven D. Tuttle, TK, p.186.
10. OWNE, p.121 (Oliver Neighbour).
11. John Caldwell: 'Arthur Phillips' in The New Grove. Arthur Phillips (1605-95) became organist of Bristol Cathedral in 1638 and in the following year was appointed Professor of Music at Oxford University.
12. Cf. statement 22 (b.41 foll.) of TK39.
13. Cf. statement 4 (b.5 foll.) of TK39.
14. Cf. statements 27 and 28 (b.51-55) of TK39.
15. See Hugh M. Miller: 'Pretty Wayes: For Young Beginners to Looke On' in MQ, vol.33 (1947), p.543.

CHAPTER 6  
PAVANS AND GALLIARDS

Pavan: Earl Strafford (September 29 1647) short	<u>TK41</u>
Galliard: Earl Strafford short	<u>TK42</u>
Pavan: Earl Strafford (October 2 1647) long	<u>TK43</u>
Galliard: Earl Strafford long	<u>TK44</u>
Pavan (April 1650)	<u>TK45</u>
Galliard (October 1 1650)	<u>TK46</u>
Pavan (September 4 1654)	<u>TK47</u>
Galliard (September 7 1654)	<u>TK48</u>
Pavan of three parts	<u>TK49</u>
Galliard of three parts	<u>TK50</u>
Pavan (September 10 1647)	<u>TK51</u>
Pavan (September 14 1647)	<u>TK52</u>
A Sad Pavan: for these distracted times (February 14 1649)	<u>TK53</u>
Pavan (August 20 1650)	<u>TK54</u>
Short Pavan (July 19 1654)	<u>TK55</u>
Pavan	<u>TK56</u>
Pavan: Lord Canterbury (1647)	<u>TK57</u>
The Hunting Galliard	<u>TK58</u>
Lady Folliott's Galliard	<u>TK59</u>

Throughout this chapter the first, second and third strains of dances are referred to, respectively, as I, II and III. The addition of superscript strokes denotes the varied reprise of the strain; I' therefore indicates the varied reprise to the first strain.

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Of the nineteen dances listed above only two or three (TK56, 58 and possibly 59) date from the early seventeenth century. The rest are much later and bear dates between 1647 and 1654. All of these latter are preserved in sources that belonged to the composer. TK57 occurs in Lbl29996 (in the composer's hand) and all the rest are in To. For the vast majority of the dances, therefore, the surviving texts are likely to be reliable, although several (TK41-4 and TK50) seem not to have reached a definitive final form, and one, TK57, is incomplete due to missing pages in the source. Only one pavan (TK56) is to be found in more than one source; the two versions (FWVB and Och1113) differ frequently in detail. In fact this pavan gained wider currency as a consort piece (this will be discussed later). The Hunting Galliard, TK58 is to be found in FWVB and D2.

The autograph dances divide neatly into two categories: single pavans and pavan-galliard pairs. The former seem to have been designed specifically as single pieces but one, TK45, apparently began life alone and was later joined to a galliard (TK46). The paired dances exhibit not only external resemblances (such as similarity of date, succession in the manuscript, likeness of key), but subtler affinities of theme and structure. (The early pavan (TK56) and galliard (TK58) found in FWVB are in no sense a pair, despite their shared key; they are separated by some twenty pages in the manuscript and are of quite different temperament.)

Practically all of Tomkins's dance strains are organized contrapuntally. The 'twin-cadence' principle as defined by Oliver Neighbour<sup>1</sup> in Byrd's pavans and galliards hardly ever appears in Tomkins's examples. Instead his strains unfold gradually around carefully planned imitative schemes giving the effect of an unbroken tread from beginning to end. Tomkins probably realised that Byrd's pavans and galliards had stretched the traditional metrical concept of the dance to the limit. He may also have known some of Bull's dance pairs which attempted to carry on this line of development. For instance, Bull adopted

Byrd's twin cadence pattern though this is not always successfully handled. In the Pavan, MB14:129a the cadential placement gives a lopsided effect. Not wishing to fall into a similar trap, Tomkins set out on a different course, and occasionally his contrapuntal thought is so strong that it ranges quite beyond the accepted stylistic norms, approaching instead the texture of his fantasias and voluntaries.

Most of Tomkins's late dances do not contain the traditional varied repeat of each strain. He indicates on only one occasion that a single strain should be repeated. This is after the first strain of his Galliard: Earl Strafford (short version), TK42, where he writes 'bis' (twice). In the long versions of the Strafford pavan and galliard, TK43, 44 the plain and decorated strains (supplied by the composer) are clearly distinguished as 'the playne way' and 'The devisiōn'. Although Tomkins separates individual strains by double bars in To these never appear in conjunction with repeat-marks. Sometimes separation is shown by only a single barline (TK49, I/II; TK51, II/III) and in TK47, 48 and 53 successive strains are not separated at all. Probably Tomkins intended his dance strains to be repeated, but it remains an open question whether or not the customary repeat should be embellished in performance. In TK53 the lack of any dividing-line between II and III in To suggests that the player should carry on rather than take the trouble to repeat strain II; it is perhaps significant that in this case II and III are motivically and contrapuntally similar, so that when played straight through III might sound like a variant of II, obviating the need for repeats. Against this it could be argued that in the case of TK57, a piece similar in style to TK53, divisions were written out by the composer, and these could be guidelines to the player of the required style of decoration. Probably Tomkins thought that, in general, highly ornate reprises might undermine the contrapuntal strength of the original strains, and so hesitated to provide them in most cases. Those for which he did so are TK43, 44, 45, 46 and 57. TK56 contains elaborate divisions in both FWVB and Och1113

(simplified), but it is possible that these were not the composer's own (a point to be discussed later). In TK editorial repeat-marks are supplied for those pavans and galliards lacking such indications in To.

In TK Tuttle preserved all the barlines exactly as they appear in the manuscripts; his bar numbers are retained in this chapter. Tomkins's own barring seems arbitrary and often does not coincide, in pavans, with the basic 4/2 pulse. Given the contrapuntal rather than metrical character of these pieces, strict application of the 4/2 pulse (both editorially and analytically) is more appropriate in some cases than others. Occasionally (for instance, in the Pavan of three parts, TK49) Tomkins aims at a definite triple feeling within the prevailing duple pulse and his barring clearly reflects this.

In this chapter strain lengths of pavans are calculated in semibreves, following Morley's rule: 'a strain they make to contain eight, twelve, or sixteen semibreves....yet fewer than eight have I not seen in any pavan.'<sup>2</sup> Strain lengths in galliards have been measured in dotted semibreves (three minims). This is supported by the one and only time-signature supplied by Tomkins (C for the Galliard of three parts, To, p.161). Rarely Tomkins numbered successive minims in pavans; in TK51, III, they seem to relate to entries of the theme but are erratically applied and have been ignored in this chapter.

Before considering Tomkins's early dances a wrongly ascribed galliard (TK60) of c.1610 requires brief comment. Thurston Dart suggested Gibbons as a possible composer (TK, p.197) and the piece has been included in MB20 (no.24). Ascriptions in the surviving sources weigh against Tomkins's authorship: both Cosyn (Lbl MS.RM.23.1.4) and Tunstall (Lbl Add.MS.36661) give the Galliard to Gibbons, while D2 alone has 'Mr Tompkins'. The piece is quite untypical of Tomkins, largely by virtue of its metrical as opposed to contrapuntal cut. It is wholly typical of Gibbons, though.<sup>3</sup> The style of strains II and III of TK60 comes close to the corresponding strains of MB20:19 in such matters as the sharp harmonies (TK60, b.28; MB20:19, b.18-20) and the clear-cut sequential basses

(TK60, b.31 foll.; MB20:19, b.18 foll.), both features that Gibbons tends to reserve for middle strains. The varied reprises are pure Gibbons, especially the left hand passagework (TK60, b.62; MB20:19, b.27 foll.) and the transfer of semiquavers between the hands. The cadential approaches and ornaments at the end of strains I and III are stylistically close to Gibbons. TK60 is clearly his and may confidently be withdrawn from Tomkins's oeuvre.

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The Pavan, TK56, has been available in print since the publication of FWVB at the end of the last century. It has attracted comment from a number of scholars, among them van den Borren, Stevens and Caldwell.<sup>4</sup> In the seventeenth century the piece was more popular in versions for 5-part consort, to judge from the surviving consort sources which outnumber those for keyboard by 2 to 1. Its reputation as a consort dance extended across the Channel by virtue of its inclusion in SOp (Chapter 9, p.119), and it was presumably from this version that Peter Philips made his keyboard intabulation in Up. A transcription of the 'Pavana Anglica./Thomas Tomkins:/Collerirt./di./Pietro Philippi' is given in Appendix 5. Immediately after the Tomkins-Philips Pavan in Up comes the 'Paduana./Dolorosa./di./Pietro Philippi' in which strain III is based on a rising chromatic motive that is the exact inversion of that used by Tomkins in his final strain. In both pieces (Philips's setting appears also in FWVB, no.80, and may be roughly contemporary with Tomkins's pavan) the chromatic subject is similarly placed. It enters  $8\frac{1}{2}$  semibreves into strain III of TK56 (b.58, bass) and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  semibreves in the Philips piece (FWVB, vol.i, p.324, system 4, b.2, treble). Perhaps the copyist of Up (possibly C.C. Zengell, see Chapter 1, p.20) noted this relationship and placed both chromatic pavans successively in the tablature (Tomkins-Philips, f.8v; 'Dolorosa' - Philips, f.11v).

TK56 is contained in two indigenous keyboard sources, FWVB (no. 123) and Och1113 (no.94, p.211). Although their variant readings of TK56 cover almost two pages of TK's textual commentary, they mostly concern the omission of

accidentals and ornaments. The ending given in Och1113 is a simplified version of that in FWVB (see Chapter 1, p. 19).

Charles van den Borren (basing his observation on the FWVB text of TK56) was of the opinion that in this pavan Tomkins's figuration was 'too prominent'<sup>5</sup>, and while agreeing with Denis Stevens that it is 'not unusual to find exceptional brilliance.... in a work written early in a composer's career when he was - as it were - fresh from school and anxious to show his skill'<sup>6</sup> it must be conceded that the relentless semiquavers soon pall on the ear. The decorated repeat of the middle strain is especially mechanical. Also unsatisfactory are the sudden halts in rhythmic movement - which occur between I' and II, and II' and III (although Tomkins effects subtler transitions into the decorated repeats themselves).

Much of the pavan's appeal derives from its harmonic style which gradually increases in intensity from the abundant suspended 4ths and 7ths of the opening (whose resolutions imply an underlying harmonic stability) to the shifting chromaticism of the final strain. Bound up with the aesthetic effect of this music in performance is the question of instrumentation. It has been suggested that Bull's famous chromatic hexachord fantasia (MB14:17) - preserved, like TK56, in FWVB - is a keyboard arrangement of a piece originally conceived in consort terms.<sup>7</sup> A similar state of affairs may be argued in the case of TK56. In MB9, where Tomkins's piece is printed (no.73) in a consort version based on Simpson's slightly corrupt printed text in SOp, Thurston Dart argued that 'The sources [consulted for his edition, Opusculum, Lb13665 and Lb17792] differ substantially in their readings, and there can be little doubt that they represent three separate arrangements for viols of a pavan written for keyboard.'<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless the predominance of consort sources (see the textual commentary to the transcription of this pavan in Vol.2, p.176-7), with one of which - Ob415 - the composer was demonstrably associated (see Chapter 9, p.139), coupled with the fact that the obsessively contrapuntal texture of the undecorated strains cannot

be conveyed satisfactorily on a harpsichord, all weighs strongly in favour of a consort original.<sup>9</sup> Despite the 'masking' effect of the keyboard idiom, in which, to bolster the feeble sustaining power of the harpsichord, chords may be filled-out with extra notes and rhythmic ideas, beneath this surface veneer is the pure contrapuntal grain of the consort version. The extent to which TK56 is an 'arranged' text may be seen by comparing the opening of II in the consort version (Pavan 5/6) with that in TK56. The sustaining capacity of the harpsichord is quite insufficient to clarify the extended series of overlapping entries in this strain, while the chromatic lines of III can be traced through with ease in the 5-part string medium. The figuration in III' of TK56 utterly destroys the sense of forward drive produced by the intense chromatic overlaps, obscuring the structure in the process.

It should be remembered that neither of the two English sources FWVB and Och1113 emanate from the composer. Like Philips's intabulation in Up, TK56 may well be an arrangement for keyboard of a piece popular in another medium. Philips's version is perhaps the more satisfying for his passagework never clouds the structure. In II', for instance, the phrasing is actually clarified: twice Philips arrests the forward motion, providing points of departure for new motivic expansion (Appendix 5, b.56-8, 61-3). This is in marked contrast to the mechanically regular alternation between the hands throughout II' of TK56. Philips allows his figuration more room for manoeuvre, and the resulting airy design easily surpasses the constriction apparent throughout TK56. The care with which his arrangement was made suggests that he thought Tomkins's consort original worth the trouble of serious transcription from the printed partbooks of SOp.

Of similar date to TK56 is Tomkins's early Hunting Galliard, TK58. Its passagework is far more meaningful than that of the arranger of TK56 (Tregian?), and covers practically the whole range of the keyboard, broadening its dimensions gradually and making the low A (b.40) an inevitable destination.

The galliard's phrasing is clear throughout. In I this is achieved by stretto entries of the 'hunting' theme, whose perfect interval symmetry (see Example 15) makes derivation from a true hunting call unlikely (though the opening and closing 4ths are realistic enough). Tomkins counters the regularity of I (2 + 2 + 2 + 2 dotted semibreves) by irregularity in II (3 + 3 + 2 dotted semibreves), a point obscured by Tregian's haphazard barring (preserved in TK). Whether or not Tregian's characteristic 'curtsey' chord is played at the end will depend on a literal or stylised interpretation of the title 'Galliard' by the performer.

There is no obvious likeness between this piece and compositions entitled 'The King's Hunt' by Bull (MB19:125), Cosyn (Lbl RM.MS.23.1.4, p.75 - unpublished) and Farnaby (FWVB, no.53) although, like Byrd's first Galliard: Earl Salisbury (MB27:15b) and Bull's Vaulting (thumping, dancing) Galliard (MB19:90) it has only two instead of the more usual three strains. In D2 TK58 is referred to simply as 'A Galliard' with no hunting associations. Its text differs in a number of details (see TK, p.196-7) from Tregian's text in FWVB.

Also in D2 is Tomkins's slight but appealing Lady Folliott's Galliard, TK59. The dating of this piece presents interesting conflicts between documentary and stylistic evidence. John Caldwell<sup>10</sup> has suggested that it is an early work, citing the rising left hand figure (b.9) and the low A (a feature of Tomkins's pieces in FWVB, as of Gibbons's in Parthenia) as supporting evidence. In its phrasing TK59 resembles the Hunting Galliard, II by division of its two strains into groups of irregular length (3 + 2 + 3 dotted semibreves of the original notation in both strains). The irregularity is caught precisely by the well-characterised opening theme, reminiscent in treatment to both of Byrd's Earl Salisbury galliards, MB27:15b and c. In particular the development of dotted figures in off-beat patterns (b.6-7) is a Byrd-like feature (compare MB27:15c, II) and may be indicative of an early date for TK59 (written in imitation of Byrd's galliards while Tomkins was Byrd's formal or informal pupil).

EXAMPLE 15 HUNTING GALLIARD, TK 58, I:

INTERVALLIC SYMMETRY OF THEME

INTERVAL:      PERFECT MINOR MINOR MAJOR MINOR MINOR PERFECT  
                  4th    2nd    3rd    2nd    3rd    2nd    4th

NUMBER OF SEMITONES:    5    1    3    2    3    1    5

The diagram shows a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notes are G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. A vertical dashed line is drawn between the C5 and B4 notes. Below the staff, a box contains the number of semitones for each interval: 5 (G-A), 1 (A-B), 3 (B-C), 2 (C-B), 3 (B-A), 1 (A-G), and 5 (G-G). Above the staff, the intervals are labeled: PERFECT 4th (G-A), MINOR 2nd (A-B), MINOR 3rd (B-C), MAJOR 2nd (C-B), MINOR 3rd (B-A), MINOR 2nd (A-G), and PERFECT 4th (G-G).



All of this conflicts with the documentary evidence. In 1654 Tomkins's son, Nathaniel, married Isabella Folliott, daughter of a chapter-clerk in Worcester Cathedral.<sup>11</sup> From this time until his death the composer lived with his son and daughter-in-law at Isabella's inherited manor house in the village of Martin Hussingtree. The tiny dimensions of the galliard, without written-out reprises (typical of his later galliards) suggest a personal touch, rather like the three [verses] written 'for Edward' [Thornburgh] in Ob93. How Lady Folliott's galliard came to be in D2, though, remains a mystery.

The strain lengths (in semibreves or dotted semibreves) of each of the dances discussed above are as follows:

<u>TK</u>	I	II	III
56	16	20	26
58	8	8	-
59	8	8	-

---

Tomkins's remaining dances (all of them autograph) consist of six single pavans, TK51, 52, 53, 54, 55 and 57, and five pavan-galliard pairs, TK41-2, 43-4, 45-6, 47-8 and 49-50.

#### The Single Pavans

All of the single pavans have, or presumably had, three strains. TK57, which is preserved in Lbl29996, has only two surviving strains, the second of which ends in a 'dominant' relationship to the first. Regrettably, the loss of a folio of the manuscript has deprived us of the final strain of this fine work.

The lengths of each pavan's strains are given below.

<u>TK</u>	I	II	III
51	18	18	30
52	16	21	33
53	14	13½	18
54	16	16	16
55	8	8	8
57	18	20	-

Compared to the dance strains of his predecessors, Tomkins's are very long indeed. The longest by Gibbons, for example, is 20 semibreves (MB20:16, III and 18, III) - quite average for Tomkins (TK51, 52). The length of Tomkins's strains normally arises from their contrapuntal design (TK51, III, for instance). In some of the late pavans metre is entirely subservient to the contrapuntal logic, resulting in considerable flexibility of pulse within the standard 4/2. Such flexibility is also a feature of some of Gibbons's pavans (MB20:15, III; 18, III). One of Tomkins's contrapuntal devices is the working-out of two distinct themes (TK52, III and 54, II, for instance). In this respect he borrows freely from fugal styles, as did Gibbons in MB20:15, II, which has two or three ideas.

Tomkins's thorough application of imitative counterpoint in his pavans and galliards places him firmly in Byrd's camp rather than Bull's, whose dance strains are frequently composed piecemeal, but are nevertheless majestic in effect.<sup>12</sup> Although Byrd's pavans often have recourse to imitation (for example in MB27:3 (Sir William Petre); MB27:29, III; MB28:70) they are not usually driven by counterpoint to the same extent as are those of Tomkins (MB28:70 is an exception). For Byrd cadential placement is of supreme importance although he often exploits the ambiguity of 3/2: 6/4 metre in his galliards, especially in his irresistably jaunty example written for Mary Brownlow (MB27:34). For Gibbons counterpoint in both pavans and galliards is normally subservient to a harmonic-metric conception (in the Pavan and Galliard: Earl Salisbury, for example, MB20:18,19). Counterpoint is farthest from Gibbons's mind in his Galliard, MB20:23, II, which opens with more than a passing glance at var.5 of Byrd's 'The Woods so Wild' (MB28:85) over 'drones' a tone apart. Reminiscences of this type never intrude into the rather sober atmosphere of Tomkins's dances, although he was not above introducing a 'folky' element in the second strain of TK54.

Tomkins provides two neat examples of the standard 'long' and 'short' pavans as defined by Morley,<sup>13</sup> TK54 and 55. The latter, specifically titled 'Short

Pavan' in To (p.184) is a very late work (July 19 1654) written as a model (perhaps with an instructional purpose) of figurative embellishment of a short (8-semibreve) strain. At every point the skeleton of the undecorated melody is discernible beneath the rather plain divisions. The composer's barring (here, rarely, with precise metrical significance) cleverly outlines the structure of the semiquaver patterns, splitting the original 4/2 into 4/4 (or 2/2) for the reprises. It bears an identical letter-figure reference (f.58; To, p.184) to the Ut re mi: for a beginner, also of didactic intent. See Appendix 2, Table B(iii) and Chapter 5, p.70.

Despite the metrical associations implicit in the three 16-semibreve strains of the Pavan, TK54 (August 20 1650), its driving force is contrapuntal. In keeping with the disarmingly simple melodic style, Tomkins's imitative approach is light and restricted to exchanges of register between the hands, as at the opening of III. Subconscious - if not explicit - parallels may be traced between the melodic material of all three strains, whose unity of purpose is confirmed by their identical closing cadential tags, a figure dating back at least to Byrd.<sup>14</sup>

The pavan's external proportions become less even on close examination. In II Tomkins crosses duple and triple metre<sup>15</sup> to offset any feeling of predictability in the phrasing (again the triple element is reinforced by his barring). A similar flexibility of pulse is found in TK52, I, also 16 semibreves long. Here the implied triple metre is made even more prominent by recurrent melodic and harmonic sequences (the metrical stresses implied by the bass line are shown in Example 16). Harmonic ambiguity is used to produce an overall triple effect in a quite different way in the first of the two surviving strains of TK57. Here the lack of a change of harmony across the barline initiates a triple feeling; the harmony changes in step with the melodic syncopation, not against it. Duple and triple stresses move into closer alignment as the strain progresses due to a stepping-up of the harmonic pace, marked by the irregularly prepared dissonances in b.4 and the increasingly active bass line - which incorporates an echo of the



treble motive at b.5-6. Extra momentum is given by the drawing together of successive statements of the 3-note treble motive; whereas the first three entries are separated by three minim beats the last two (b.4, 5) are separated by only one.

Particularly impressive in TK57 is the design of the varied reprises supplied by the composer. These highlight the harmonic structure of the undecorated strains. In strain II, for example, cadential rhymes are formed at the end of each of the chromatic 3-note motives (analogous to the diatonic treble motive in I). The layout of the passagework in II' effectively conveys the emotional progress from tension to relaxation; at b.31-2, for instance, the simple transfer of the semiquavers from left hand to right, leaving a straightforward suspended cadence (crotchet movement) in the left hand, catches exactly the ebb and flow of the harmony. Occasional halting of the subtly directed semiquaver flow (b.12-13, 33) introduces just the right amount of light and shade, throwing poignant harmonic moments such as the arrival of the A flat chord (b.33) into relief.

Strain I of TK57 is 18 semibreves long, as is that of TK51, penned in the same year (1647). This strain is a classic illustration of Tomkins's contrapuntally conceived dance idiom. Its irregular length is handled with greater success than any of Bull's examples, even the Pavan, MB19:129a, I. Tomkins's contrapuntal texture is basically of four parts but is always idiomatic to the keyboard so that at b.3 the top part becomes the alto and what sounds like a new part enters above.

The groundplan consists of three paired stretto entries and takes as its point of departure the antecedent-consequent division of the theme. This is perhaps best explained diagrammatically (Figure 3). The transference of the stretto principle from individual entries to pairs (semibreve 11 of Fig.3 where (2) and (3) overlap) shows how deliberate was the composer's contrapuntal approach to form in this pavan. It also avoids too great a sense of regularity in the phrasing; the counterpoise of the gradually ascending treble and descending



bass through the strain also help to propel the music forward in an unbroken thread.

Four days after the completion of TK51 Tomkins wrote a successor, TK52 (14 September 1647), also 'in G sol re', that strays, in its middle strain, even further away from traditional metrical associations. This time the irregular length (21 semibreves) results from Tomkins's melodic treatment.

The initial presentations of the theme shown in Example 17 (treble, b.7-10) split it into clear antecedent-consequent clauses of equal length (four minims). After the prominent cadence on F (b.12) midway through the strain, however, the antecedent is progressively squeezed out of the picture making room for more tightly packed entries of the consequent, compressing the phrase structure in the process. This is possibly a miscalculation by the composer since in performance the strain feels distinctly a semibreve too short. Although the stretto principle is similar in its telescoping effect to that of TK51, I, it is not as successful here. Nevertheless it demonstrates the composer's willingness to sacrifice traditionally balanced dance schemes (originally determined by step patterns but more flexible in stylised dances) to any device ensuring continuous evolution throughout a strain.

Both pavans TK51 and 52 turn unashamedly to the fugal style in their final strains. The densely packed imitations in TK51, III recall the Short Verse, TK27, and the Voluntary, TK30, while TK52, III, approximates to Tomkins's larger imitative essays. The antecedent-consequent type of subject in this strain is of similar length to those met with in TK22-5 and TK28. The smaller dimensions of the pavan do not allow the breadth of treatment usual in Tomkins's fantasias and voluntaries, of course; the first subject of TK52, III is worked through only two paired entries at the fifth (in different octave registers). The changing position of the subject's anacrusis (with successive entries on the second and fourth minims of a 4/2 bar) is a typical feature of TK22 and 23 (both

EXAMPLE 17. PAVAN, TK 52, II: THEME

(7)

ANTECEDENT | CONSEQUENT

(4 minims) (4 minims)



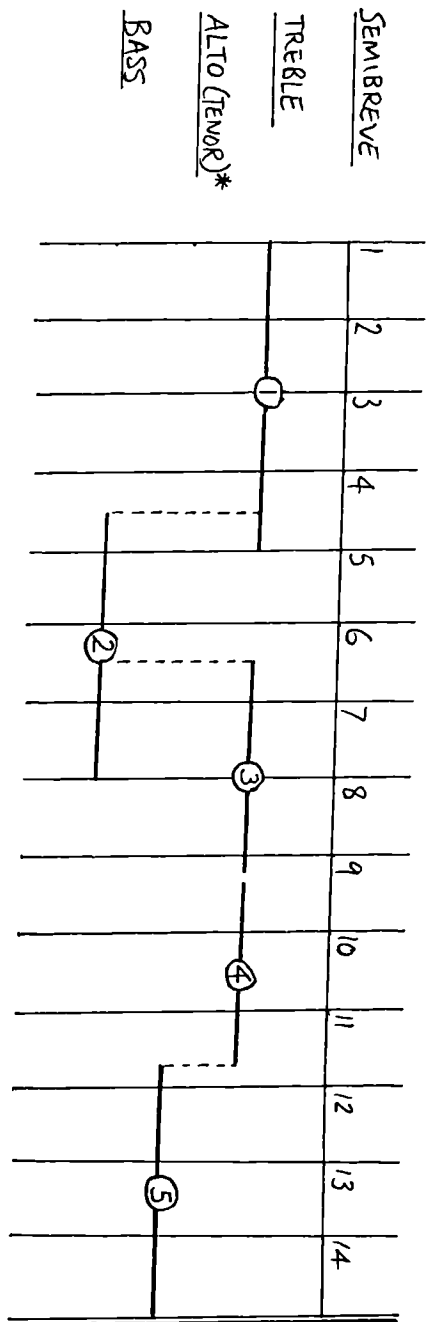
of similar date). After the paired entries of this subject a second takes over for the rest of the strain (as in TK54, II). In contrast to its predecessor this is a unitary idea and is suited to closer temporal distances of imitation, and as in his late fugal pieces Tomkins uses these to draw the work to a climax. Pursuance of a contrapuntal plan again leads to a strain of uneven length (33 semibreves) and as in II the irregularity is prominent in performance (although taken together the imbalances even out, giving a total length of 70 semibreves for the whole pavan).

Also in fugal style is the opening strain of Tomkins's Sad Pavan, TK53, penned just a fortnight after the execution of Charles I. As in TK51, I stretto entries combine to give an irregular length of 14 semibreves (see Figure 4, entries 1-3). The imitative theme (shortened in entries 3, 4 and 5) is similar in design to that of the [Fancy], TK23 in that it has a built-in suspended cadential tag. Tomkins places his cadences with rather more skill than Bull was generally capable of in his contrapuntal strains (for instance, MB19:129a, III). In TK53 they occur at the end of each of the five entries of the subject: on G (b.2); G (b.4, bass); D (b.5); B flat (b.6) and G (b.7). All except the dominant (D) cadence are placed in a regular pattern through the strain arriving at semibreves 4 (G), 7 (G), 11 (B flat) and 14 (G) (spaced 4: 3: 4: 3). Perhaps it was to avoid too obvious a sense of division (4: 3: 4: 3 could be interpreted as two equal parts totalling seven semibreves each) that Tomkins superimposed the stretto entry to give a cadence at b.5 (minim 17 of the strain) which stands outside the mathematical scheme.

Another structural feature worthy of mention is the overall increase in rhythmic activity throughout, more apparent (because continuous) in TK53 than in any of Tomkins other single pavans. Strains II and III are generally concerned with introducing shorter figures in closer imitation and a higher tessitura; in performance the ascent through shorter note-values as well as in register is most effective. One point that the performer will need to bear in mind is that the length ( $13\frac{1}{2}$  semibreves) of strain II as given in TK (following To)

FIGURE 4

PLAN OF ENTRIES IN TK 53, I



\* THE SINGLE ALTO ENTRY IS SHADOWED AT  
THE LOWER SIXTH BY THE TENOR PART.

is probably accidental. It seems that on p.131 of To the first minim beat of b.14 (TK) is a reworking of the last minim beat of the previous bar which, although not actually cancelled in the manuscript, is probably redundant (the repeated tenor figure, C-D-B $\flat$ , is rather lame) and might be omitted in performance. This makes the second strain a round 13 semibreves long, irregular again but having a parallel in TK52, II and III.

Of the six single pavans, four (TK51, 52, 54 and 55) are in the mixolydian mode on G; TK53 is in the transposed dorian (on G with a key-signature of one flat); and TK57 is in the mixolydian mode transposed from G to C (its notation will be discussed below). Sharp and flat excursions from the final are generally in balance in the pavans' outer strains (for example TK51, I, TK54, III) although in transposed mode pieces the tendency is to move flatwards (for example, TK53, III, TK57, I). The cadential degrees in middle strains tend significantly flatwards. In strain II of TK52, for instance, the cadence at b.12 on F (the 'flat' seventh degree characteristic of the mixolydian mode) is carefully prepared. By contrast the preceding strain is tonally suggestive by virtue of its sequential progressions (also a feature of TK54, I, and TK55, I). The sharp harmonies at the opening of TK51, II also imply a more modern, tonal outlook. Of the six pavans this is the only one that tends sharpwards overall in its middle strain. Its flat cadential degrees include two on C (b.10, 14) and one on F (b.11); those at b.10 and 11 are 'interrupted' cadences, prepared by chords of B major and E major respectively, and the rest of the cadences are all on G or sharper degrees.

In assessing the harmonic effect of Tomkins's pavan strains notation is an important consideration. Tomkins's notation of the Pavan: Lord Canterbury (1647), TK57 is unusual. The position is clearly summarized by Stephen Tuttle: 'Tomkins used the key-signature of one flat for the first five systems [of Lbl29996, f.217v] (measures 1-17). He omitted the signature for the remainder of the pavan, writing in the accidentals. No key-signature is given here [TK], the accidentals being written in throughout.'<sup>16</sup>

Although Tuttle was aiming for editorial consistency by employing one pattern of notation in preference to Tomkins's dual system (see Illustration 2) his approach unfortunately obscures Tomkins's curious practice. Despite the fact that the pavan is in the mixolydian mode (the only mode that fits the single transposition denoted by one flat) Tomkins flattens (with accidentals) most of the significant Es as well in b.1-18, making the mode sound like transposed dorian (D - G). This is the same in effect as the modal transposition in Tomkins's Sad Pavan, TK53, also a sombre 'memorial' piece with which both surviving strains of TK57 are comparable. From the notational standpoint, though, strain I of TK57 is not dorian at all but mixolydian, since the E flats are chromatic alterations not indicated in the key-signature. In this transposed mixolydian context B flats are proper to the mode whereas B naturals are chromatic (requiring an accidental). Tuttle's notation reverses their modal implications since he gives no accidental to the chromatic B in b.2 (treble, beat one; tenor beat three, second half) while the B flat in the alto at b.5 (beat one, second half) is made falsely chromatic by the addition of an accidental. Such distortions also confuse the relationship between chromatic and non-chromatic degrees. B flat and E flat appear in TK57 to be notationally equivalent in kind (chromatic alterations) whereas in reality they have opposite significance (the B naturals and E flats are the chromatic degrees).

At the beginning of strain II Tomkins abandoned his one-flat key-signature, perhaps because the style becomes so chromatic (all 12 tones appear).<sup>17</sup> The principle motive of II is a chromatic ascent of three semitone steps occurring on (i) B flat - B natural - C; (ii) C - C sharp - D; (iii) E flat - E natural - F; and (iv) F - F sharp - G. Had Tomkins allowed his one-flat key-signature to stand the notation would have become inconsistent, for in that modal context the transposition of (i) to (iii) would not be equivalent. In (i) the first note (B flat) is proper to the transposed mode, whereas in (iii) the corresponding E flat is chromatic; conversely the middle note of (i) is chromatic (B natural)

ILLUSTRATION 2 : Lb129996, f. 218

This image shows a handwritten musical score for two staves, measures 213 through 218. The notation is dense and complex, featuring a variety of rhythmic values and melodic lines. The first system (measures 213-214) shows a highly active melodic line in the upper staff with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, while the lower staff provides a more rhythmic accompaniment. The second system (measures 215-216) continues this complexity with intricate melodic patterns and frequent accidentals. The third system (measures 217-218) shows a continuation of the dense notation, with the upper staff featuring a prominent melodic line and the lower staff providing harmonic support. The manuscript is written in black ink on aged paper, with some visible smudges and ink bleed-through.

while its counterpart in (iii) is not (E natural). It is surely more than pure coincidence that at the point where such chromatic relationships take over the piece Tomkins withdrew the prevailing key-signature. He evidently regarded it as an inadequate notational tool to express his musical intentions. Regrettably Tomkins's notational subtleties in changing from a modal to a chromatic system are obscured in TK57. What Tomkins may have done notationally in the third strain must remain hypothetical; the loss of the folio containing the conclusion of the pavan is unfortunate.

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Pavan-Galliard pairs

The strain-lengths of Tomkins's paired dances are given below.

<u>MB</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I'</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>II'</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>III'</u>	<u>Comments</u>
41	16	-	16	-	16	-	
42	8	-	8	-	8	-	
43	16	16	16	16	16	21	prolonged final cadence, III'.
44	8	8	8	8	8	8	final cadence in III similar to that in Gibbons's <u>MB20:25</u> , II'.
45	16	16	16	16	16	17	extra semibreve at end, III'.
46	8	8	8	8	8	8	
47	16	-	17	-	15	-	
48	8	-	7	-	9	-	II possibly 8 semibreves long.
49	18	-	22	-	16	-	
50	8	-	8	-	8	-	

Each of the dances in this category has three strains and in two cases (TK43-44; 45-6) Tomkins supplied written repeats. TK41-2 and 43-4 are 'short' and 'long' (that is with written repeats) versions of the same piece. Within individual strains imitation is still the mainstay but the contrapuntal procedures are less sophisticated than in the single pavans, probably because of the need to match detailed features of associated pavans and galliards in a clearly audible

fashion. A complex imitative scheme works so well in a single pavan precisely because it is restricted to one strain; such designs do not transfer well to a different (triple) metre, especially when separated from the first occurrence by several intervening strains. Consequently here harmony takes precedence over counterpoint. The opening of the Pavan: Earl Strafford, TK41, provides an illustration of this: its imitative melodic material is really only an elaboration of a simple harmonic progression I - V - I.

Thematic links between the openings of Tomkins's pavan-galliard pairs are of the most tenuous kind (if, indeed, they exist at all). Nowhere are there displayed such obvious resemblances as occur at the openings of Bull's Pavan and Galliard 'Symphony' (MB19: 68a and b). The only openings among Tomkins's dance pairs that might, at some stretch of the imagination, be considered related are in TK47-8, both of which fall, in different patterns, a fifth, E - A. On a subtler level, though, there are distinctive connections, to be examined in detail below.

One mysterious feature is the recurrence of a 'motto' theme in several of these pavans and galliards, the majority being placed towards the middle of a piece (II or beginning of III). Four forms of the 'motto' are given in Example 18.

The 'short' and 'long' versions of the pavan and galliard written in memory of Earl Strafford were penned six years after the dedicatee was executed in 1641. Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, had his seat in Wentworth, near Sheffield, and in the old parish church there is a fine monument erected to his memory. The inscription reads

THOMAS WENTWORTH  
earle of Strafford, viscount Wentworth, baron Wentworth, of  
Wentworth Woodhouse, Newmarche, Oversley, and Raby; lord  
Lieutenant of Ireland; lord president of the north of England;  
and knight of the most noble order of the Garter. His birth  
was upon Good Friday the 13th Ap. 1593. His death upon the  
12th of May 1641. His soule through the mercy of God lives in  
eternal blisse; and his memory will never dye in these kingdoms. 18

Quite what Tomkins saw in such a man as Wentworth is questionable.

Strafford, who cut his Parliamentary teeth at the age of twenty-one, was ruthless in the pursuit of self-interest and a political pragmatist par excellence. His





career was nothing if not varied, for although he started off as a champion of popular rights (in resistance to Charles I) he soon changed sides and became, in effect, Charles's right-hand man. Presumably Strafford's latterly held Royalist views attracted Tomkins's musical support.

Both TK41 and TK42 are masterpieces of proportion, especially in the use of sequence, which is carried over from the pavan to the galliard. The most significant connection of this type occurs in their middle strains. In the pavan the sequential treatment of the antecedent-consequent figure at the start of II leads quite naturally to a cadence on D at b.10; but instead of making this a point of repose (an expectation engendered by the balanced phrasing of the first part), and introducing the second part of the strain in the following bar, Tomkins treats b.10 as the starting point for a new sequence, which, having been brought in early, upsets the four-square balance of the strain. (A similar sequential device is used by Gibbons in MB20:22, III, giving a 2+3+4 division of the 9-bar strain.) Instead of an 8+8 division of Tomkins's 16-semibreve strain the proportions are 6+10. The true mid-point (the beginning of b.11, where one expects a new sequence to enter) is marked by the simultaneous appearance of the antecedent and consequent portions of the subject ( $\neg \times \neg$  and  $\neg \vee \neg$  in Example 19).<sup>19</sup> At the corresponding point in the galliard similar sequential treatment is applied. The repetition of the syncopated bass figure (slightly masked by the part-writing in the keyboard idiom) implies a cadential rest-point on D at b.10, but, as in the pavan, this becomes a departure point for further sequential exploration. In the pavan the strain's mid-point is marked by the telescoping of thematic elements. An analogous (but not identical) situation may be found in the galliard. The only time that the middle strain's conspicuous scalic opening returns is in the treble at b.11,<sup>20</sup> the exact mid-point of the 8-bar (dotted semibreves, in original notation) strain. At first Tomkins wrote the figure as shown in Example 20 (Tb, p.105; TK, p.187). That he subsequently altered it to conform more closely to b.8 suggests that the recurring shape was of significance to his design.

EXAMPLE 19 PAVAN, TK 41, II

EXAMPLE 20 GALLIARD, TK 42 II, b. '11'  
(ORIGINAL READING)

A further sequential parallel between pavan and galliard comes in their final strains, in both of which ascending sequences of two steps are followed by longer descending patterns.

The thematic connections between the dances are quite close, notably the link between the beginning of strain II of the pavan and strain III of the galliard. Behind these thematic resemblances lie differences of treatment, for whereas in the pavan the antecedent-consequent elements are telescoped, in the galliard the unitary character of the syncopated bass allows only decorative treatment.

Tomkins's addition of varied reprises in the 'long' version of his Pavan and Galliard: Earl Strafford, TK43-4, do not affect the sequential form to any great degree, the main departure being in the addition of a drawn out final cadence at the end of the pavan (increasing its length by five semibreves). One or two minor alterations to chord layout were made in the pavan (the addition of an alto D in b.1, for example).

Tomkins's last pavan-galliard pair, TK47 and 48 (September 4-7 1654) are marked by a subtle approach to phrasing. Each of the pavan's strains divides into two parts but the mid-point is always obscured. In I he uses a metrical device to wrong-foot the listener, the temporal distance of imitation between, respectively, treble and tenor, and treble and bass falling into broad triple spans (Example 21). This duple/triple dichotomy masks the even partition of the 16 semibreve strain. In strain III Tomkins returns to the techniques of TK41, II; the initial sequences imply a cadential break at b.15 (reinforced by the transfer of the treble figure to the bass in the previous bar, preparing the cadence). As in TK41, II, the new sequence overlaps with this cadence, producing an uneven division of the strain.<sup>21</sup> Likewise there is a connection between the sequential techniques of the pavan and galliard; the link is so close here that in strain II of the galliard the sequence moves through the same chords



(C, D minor, E minor), beginning at b.5, as those in the pavan, b.12-14.

The ending of the pavan printed in TK is in no way superior to Tomkins's original (TK, p.190) which prolongs the dialogue between the two highest parts. Perhaps the composer revised the ending to conform more closely to TK41 II in which material not related specifically to the rest of the strain is introduced as an attractive cadential device.

The Pavan and Galliard of three parts, TK49 and 50 are not placed with Tomkins's Verse of three parts, TK26 in To, nor do any of the letter-figure combinations to these pieces suggest that they formed a trilogy in any of Tomkins's other manuscripts. Nevertheless there are features other than the 3-part texture which suggest a link and possibly a similar date (the verse is dated 12 August 1650 on p.126 of To). The imitative treatment in the pavan's second strain is similar in style to that in the first part of the verse, while the combination of variants of both halves of the right hand figure of b.14 later in the strain (b.16-17) is contrapuntally similar to the verse's second part.

In their design TK49 and 50 lack imagination. Both take sequence to the extreme. The best illustrations of the cramping effect this has on phrasing come at the end of TK49, III and in TK50, II, both of which are blandly mechanical and contrived.<sup>22</sup>

A further element which detracts from the success of the pavan is its curious treatment of metre. In small doses the injection of triple metre into a duple context produces an engaging flexibility of pulse (as in TK54, II and TK47, I)<sup>23</sup> but the imposition of a triple metre at the outset emphasised by a repeated dotted pattern (compare the opening of Bach's A flat prelude in Book II of the '48') is only misleading. Presented with a static bass line (on G) the listener has only the dotted rhythm by which to judge the metre, which is clearly perceived as triple from the outset. If a regular 4/2 framework is applied then the length of the pavan's first strain comes to 22 semibreves, and is perhaps an experiment in producing unusual strain lengths by the arbitrary superimposition of 'foreign' metres. The result is not satisfying. Alternatively the pavan's

triple character may lie in the fact that the thematic material of its second strain is similar to that of the associated galliard. In both dances the imitative style is lighter than normal for Tomkins. The galliard's second strain relies more for its forward drive on sequentially arranged phrases, playing on contrasts of register rather than on the interior counterpoint of each phrase. Its opening strain exploits to good effect the ambiguity of the galliard metre (3/2 : 6/4). Perhaps Tomkins's alternative version of this strain could be used for the repeat, reversing and extending the syncopation chain. Possibly Tomkins revised the strain because he felt that the original version tended to split into two equal parts whereas the remaining strains are continuously patterned.

Separated as they are by over six months the Pavan and Galliard, TK45 and 46 do not exhibit such close links as do Tomkins's other dance pairs. The pavan is very tightly bound by imitative writing in the manner of his late fantasias, whereas its associated galliard is altogether different in conception (harmonic rather than contrapuntal), admitting only the lightest imitation (b.12 and 24-5, for instance). The pavan and galliard exhibit surface connections (of mode - 'A re' - and design - three strains, each with decorated repeats), but these seem contrived, as if the composer tried to make the galliard approximate as best he could to the external aspect of the pavan. Beneath the surface resemblances are few. The pavan's contrapuntal textures (stretto at the beginning of I; two voices paired off against the treble at the start of II) do not suit the lighter character of the galliard at all. The nearest the galliard comes to real counterpoint is in brief exchanges of figures between the hands, in dialogue fashion (II, b.12) and the wholesale inversion of the texture halfway through III (b.24). Possibly the pavan was intended at first as a single piece. In its dense contrapuntal style it shares common ground with Tomkins's single pavans: strain I combines three sets of stretto entries (at b.1, 2-3 and 5); as in TK52, II, the latter part of the theme is worked separately from b.6-8; and, like TK52, III and TK54, II the middle strain is based on two distinct themes

(b.17, 20). For some reason Tomkins decided to join to it a galliard, but the marriage is one of convenience only; the two simply do not live happily together as a pair.

The pair's most interesting feature is that their varied reprises occasionally add new material justifying their addition to the undecorated strains formally as well as decoratively. Tomkins tends to decorate in one hand at a time, although at b.43 and 48 of the pavan he ornaments both hands simultaneously. At b.25 of the pavan the treble E flat gives added colour to the harmony (not present in the original, b.17) and initiates a new dialogue between the hands, varying the initial contrapuntal scheme.<sup>24</sup> Further 'touching up' occurs at b.47 (F sharp, tenor, for F natural, alto, in b.37). In the galliard Tomkins inserts an imitative dialogue (b.7, 10) not present at first (b.2).

Tomkins's strain divisions tend always to clarify the originals, as do those of Byrd and Gibbons. This cannot be said of Bull's, which sometimes raise more problems than they solve. In the first strain of his Pavan, MB19:66a, for instance, the beginning of the second half is difficult to locate precisely (b.8? b.10?); we look in vain for a clue in the division, for its running bass semiquavers paper over the cracks of the original while the introduction of a new figure at b.25 only confuses the issue further. Occasionally real clarity is achieved, as in the Queen Elizabeth Pavan, MB19:87a. Bull's division to its final strain - a terror to play - highlights wonderfully the finely balanced structure of the original (8 + 8 semibreves). Taken all in all, however, Tomkins's most satisfying dances, perhaps, are those in which he did not see the necessity of indulging in digital as well as compositional virtuosity.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 6

1. OWNB, p.182.
2. MorlP, p.296.
3. As noted by Gerald Hendrie in MB20, p.103.
4. C. van den Borren, The Sources of Keyboard Music in England. Transl. J.E. Matthew (London, 1914), p.283; StevT, p.149; CaldE, p.146.
5. Van den Borren, op.cit., p.283.
6. StevT, p.149.
7. Full discussion of its performance possibilities may be found in A. Curtis: Sweelinck's Keyboard Music (Leiden and London, 1969; ii/1972), p.147.
8. MB9, p.225.
9. Caldwell believes the pavan to have been conceived for consort; CaldE, p.146.
10. Ibid., p.146.
11. StevT, p.150.
12. CunnB, Chapter IV. Regrettably Bull's jigsaw pieces do not always add up to a complete puzzle (MB19:68a, II) while on other occasions there seem to be several pieces left over (MB19:129a, I). Sometimes, though, Bull's additive method produces a strain of real beauty, as in his pavans MB19:87a, III and 88a, I.
13. MorlP, p.296.
14. See Byrd's Pavan; Delight, MB27:5a, II and III for an illustration of this technique.
15. Compare Gibbons's metrical treatment in MB20:15, III.
16. TK, p.196.
17. The neutralization of the key-signature actually takes effect in b.18 at the end of strain I but this is only because this bar comes at the beginning of a fresh system of f.218; the rest of the system, for which there is no key-signature, contains the first part of strain II.



18. For a full account of Strafford's connection with Wentworth see John Anthony Harrison: A Brief Guide to the Two Churches of the Holy Trinity, Wentworth (Wentworth, 1981), p.6. For Strafford's political career see J.P. Kenyon: Stuart England (London, 1978), p.104-5, 120-2, 124-5 and 126-8.
19. Compare Gibbons's MB20:15, II in which two thematic ideas are combined from b.45.
20. Tuttle's bar numbers in TK42 go astray after b.5 so that his 'b.10' is really b.11. For convenience of reference his printed bar numbers are retained in the discussion.
21. Tuttle believed that half a bar was missing in this strain; see TK, p.190, note 7, for this piece.
22. The overuse of sequence is a failing that Tomkins expunged from another galliard (TK48) at the sketch stage: see TK, p.191. The middle strain of TK50 is hardly more advanced than this.
23. Triple metre is briefly suggested by the shape of the figuration passed from right hand to left at b.59-60 of Byrd's Pavan: Sir William Petre (MB27:3).
24. Compare Byrd's similar harmonic treatment in the Quadran Pavan, MB28:70, b.8, beat 4, bass, F; b.40, F sharp, and Galliard, MB28:71, b.19, adding a seventh (B flat) to the original harmony (b.3). For extra imitative dialogue presented in a varied reprise to a strain see Bull's Pavan 'Symphony', MB19:68a, I', b.9, and Gibbons's Galliard: Earl Salisbury, MB20:19, III'.

## CHAPTER 7

### VARIATIONS

'Fortune my foe' (July 4 1654)	<u>TK61</u>
'Barafostus' Dream'	<u>TK62</u>
'Robin Hood'	<u>TK63</u>

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The composition of keyboard variations in Elizabethan and Jacobean England reached its greatest heights in the work of William Byrd (1543-1623) and John Bull (1562-1628). Some idea of the success and also the adaptability of the genre may be grasped in that the two composers' greatest variations exhibit two extremes of personality. For Byrd, matters of structure were of crucial importance; for Bull (possibly Byrd's pupil) the spirit of adventure, characteristic of a younger generation, was dominant. Between them they had all but exhausted known expressive capabilities of keyboard variation by the early years of the seventeenth century.

For the younger generation that came to maturity around 1600 (of whom Tomkins and Gibbons were foremost) keyboard variations offered no new challenges and did not feature prominently in their work. Tomkins's own efforts in this sphere are few (two authenticated settings of folk-songs and two grounds, one of which may not be his work) and are scattered at the beginning and end of his career. Although they do not form a cohesive body of pieces they are quite useful in tracing the different musical influences at work on Tomkins in these periods of his life.

William Byrd's most important contribution to the composition of keyboard variations lay in the clarification of structure, which resulted principally from contrasts of linear and contrapuntal textures. Mastery of such contrast allowed for a broadening of formal scale: in Byrd's own work, the number of variations ranges from 2 in 'Wilson's (or Wolsey's) Wild',<sup>1</sup> to 22 in 'Walsingham'.<sup>2</sup> His finest achievements are a far cry from the simple mid-sixteenth-century setting of 'The Maiden's Song' by an unknown composer in The Mulliner Book.<sup>3</sup>

The advances made by Byrd include the pairing of successive variations by the use of similar figuration as in 'The Woods so Wild', vars. 7 and 8; the extension of this principle to cover as many as five variations in 'Walsingham' so that a large structure of 22 variations is supported by smaller pillars; and especially the use of counterthemes in imitation against the tune to give thematic and textural variety ('The Woods so Wild', vars. 8-11; 'John come kiss me now', vars. 5 and 6; MB28:35 and 81 respectively).

John Bull was perhaps the leading keyboard virtuoso of his age. Everywhere in his music are passages which break the bounds of known keyboard techniques. In particular, he favoured extended rapid passagework, calling not only for nimble fingers in stepwise scale-runs but control of wrist movement for groups of broken-sixths. It was Bull more than any other composer of this time who opened up a dazzling spectrum of sonorities on the keyboard. His thirty variations on the folksong 'Walsingham' (also set by Byrd) comprise the most remarkable compendium of his keyboard techniques. Some of these are drawn upon by Tomkins in his early variations; two samples are recorded in Example 22(a)-(d).

Tomkins's early keyboard variations, then, reflect the influence of Bull rather than Byrd. It is perhaps to be expected that the up-and-coming composer preferred to ease his way into the style by first trying out the exciting virtuosity of Bull which made an immediate impact on the listener without imposing exacting intellectual demands. It should be remembered that in the first two decades of the seventeenth century Tomkins was more famous as a keyboard player than as a composer. In the composition of attractive keyboard variations lay a means of furthering his reputation both as executant and composer - especially in London musical life.

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'Barafostus' Dream' is the earliest and most immature of Tomkins's keyboard variations. It is to be found in FWVB, compiled by Francis Tregian the younger (d.1619). Even if it were not for this documentary evidence it would still

EXAMPLE 22 INFLUENCE OF BULL'S KEYBOARD STYLE ON TOMKINS'S  
'BARAFOSTUS' DREAM', TK 62

(a) BULL

(b) TOMKINS

(c) BULL

(d) TOMKINS

(a) Bull: 'Walsingham', MB19:85, b. 185

(b) Tomkins: 'Barafostus' Dream, TK62, b. 69-70

(c) Bull, b. 211

(d) Tomkins, b. 28

be possible to identify 'Barafostus' Dream' as an early work stylistically. Bull's influence is readily apparent from the adventurous keyboard figurations (see Ex. 22). The sweeping scale-runs (b.24, 63 and var.7) and double thirds (b.38 foll.) are also characteristic of Bull's keyboard style.

Although on the surface Bull's influence predominates, Tomkins seems also to have attempted to incorporate some of the more 'learned' ideas of Byrd, with questionable success. Two aspects are discussed here, the use of counter-themes against the folk-tunes and formal planning.

Tomkins's handling of counterthemes in imitation is not as mature as Byrd's. Although var.4 is one of the high points of 'Barafostus' Dream' the texture suffers from too many imitative entries crammed into too small a space, making this variation seem stiff and artificial. This is due in part to the fact that the regular harmonic motion implied by the tune calls for more widely-spaced imitative entries of a lighter nature than Tomkins supposed. Content and context are not balanced.<sup>4</sup> The situation is not helped by some rather unorthodox passing dissonances (Example 23) similar to those which Tomkins later excised from Bull's *In Nomines*, MB14:20 and 23 when he copied them into *To* (see Chapter 3 above, p.35). Bull's contrapuntal influence was probably responsible for var.4 of 'Barafostus' Dream'.

Another feature of Byrd's style immaturely reproduced by Tomkins is command of overall structure. In a piece like 'Barafostus' Dream', where the tune is in the treble throughout, the composer is faced with a problem of avoiding monotony without sacrificing the unity which the tune provides. Byrd's solution in 'Sellinger's Round' (MB28:84) and 'O Mistress Mine' (MB28:83) was to make clear textural distinctions by applying a particular type of figuration throughout each variation. In 'Barafostus' Dream' Tomkins applies too wide a range of keyboard patterns, even within single variations, resulting in a lack of formal coherence. A further drawback is that owing to an absence of consistent figuration it is not possible to detect any trace of growth through the piece. In var.6, for example, the texture is not significantly different from that in var.2. The

# EXAMPLE 23 DISCORDS IN 'BARAFOSTUS' DREAM, TK62, VAR. 4

35

(a) (b) (b) (b) (c)

(c)

(a) parallel 7ths ; (b) unprepared 7th ; (c) unprepared 9th

contrapuntal style of var.4 comes as a surprise, being completely unprepared and unsupported by the preceding variations; eventually the imitation is given up in favour of virtuoso scales in double thirds (b.28 foll.).

Flawed though it is, 'Barafostus' Dream' contains some excellent points which foreshadow the composer's later work. Some of the cadential closes (for instance, at the end of vars. 3 and 5) are superb, rivalling Byrd in the control of pace. Also worthy of note is the introduction of sextuplets at the end of var.6, in preparation for the sesquialtera (var.7). The relaxation of tension at this point is excellently contrived, throwing the entire momentum of the latter part of the piece onto the concluding variation, which, despite the rather confusing sesquitertia of b.91-93, provides an effective climax.<sup>5</sup>

In retrospect it is the missed opportunities that detract from the worth of Tomkins's 'Barafostus' Dream'. Although he had evidently digested the external characteristics of the style he was, as yet, unable to organise them into a satisfying structure. For example, at the beginning of var.2 (b.12) he introduces a dotted figure in the left hand which could have been the starting point for a sustained build-up of rhythmic activity in the manner of Giles Farnaby's excellent setting of 'Woodycock' (1B24:40). Instead, Tomkins abandons the idea in favour of more attractive scale-runs. This, alas, is only one of many places in the piece where too great a store is set on surface decoration at the expense of the foundations.

There is a second, anonymous, setting of 'Barafostus' Dream' in FWVB (No.18). This bears no relation to Tomkins's piece and it is very doubtful if he even knew it, let alone used it as a model. On stylistic grounds it is possibly the work of Giles or Richard Farnaby (both represented elsewhere in FWVB), or even Tregian himself. The anonymous setting bears a curious resemblance to the style of Giles Farnaby's 'Loth to depart' (MB24: 41). A further anonymous setting of the tune ('Barrow Faustus') is to be found in F-Pc MS. Rés.1186, f.19, and yet another in D2, p.100 (160), entitled 'Barrowfostus' Dreame'.

The variations on 'Robin Hood', TK63, present problems of attribution. In a table on p.iii of To, listing 'lessons of worthe', Tomkins mentions a composition of his own called 'Robin Hood'. The only piece in the surviving keyboard literature of the English 'Golden Age' bearing this title occurs in a slightly later source than FJVB, Fo.<sup>6</sup> In the first edition of TK (1955) Tuttle assumed that this unascrbed piece and that referred to by Tomkins were one and the same and so included it. There is, of course, no conclusive evidence to support this view. In the second, revised, edition of 1964, Thurston Dart suggested Morley as a possible composer.

For its date (before 1624)<sup>7</sup> 'Robin Hood' is wholly untypical of Tomkins. The idiom is restrained, containing none of the broken sixth and octave patterns, or the bold, wide left hand leaps so characteristic of Tomkins's keyboard style at this stage. The quality of the figuration is also too consistent for Tomkins, although, for this reason, 'Robin Hood' is a more accomplished piece than the rambling 'Barafostus' Dream'.

E.W. Naylor<sup>8</sup> was of the opinion that 'Robin Hood' was by Byrd. Certainly it contains features reminiscent of that composer's style. Structurally, for instance, there is a gradual increase in momentum after the deliberately restrained opening of vars.1-3, a similar plan to that of Byrd's 'Sellinger's Round'. Variations 4 and 5 and also vars. 8 and 9 are arranged in pairs and the sesquialtera variations (7 and 8) build up from triplets to sextuplets, the descending scales of b.113 foll. being developed from the material of b.105 foll.<sup>9</sup> The close imitation through the texture in var.2, b.21 foll. is similar to that of Byrd's 'Fortune', var.3.<sup>10</sup>

As a whole, however, 'Robin Hood' is not really powerful enough to be by Byrd. The over-use of sequence in b.25-29, for example, weighs against his authorship, as does the rather stiff and contrived nature of much of the passage-work, the style of which is similar to that of Morley's 'Nancie' or 'Go from my window'.<sup>11</sup> There is, however, no parallel in Morley's keyboard works for the very fine syncopated cadence that closes var.6 of 'Robin Hood'. Regardless of



their composer, the variations are quite accomplished. Vars. 1-3 are all built from closely related motives; the figure at b.25 is inverted and used first as an accompaniment at the beginning of var.3, and later (b.36) melodically. The imitative style is free and light as befits the simplicity of the folk-tune.

Tomkins's last major work, written when he was well over eighty years of age, is 'Fortune my Foe', TK61, (July 4, 1654). The work has been aptly described as "the ultimate expression of traditional English variation technique".<sup>12</sup> 'Fortune' does indeed summarize the possibilities known to the virginalists within this style (except that there is no sesquialtera variation). If it was Tomkins's intention to bring a tradition to a close then this would explain the extreme care with which he worked over certain passages in To. On many pages the manuscript is so cluttered with revisions that the composer's intentions are unclear. Variations 1-3 follow on in orderly sequence but after this point matters become increasingly confused, odd fragments of one variation being inserted in the middle of another on freehand staves. In addition there are numerous corrections, ranging from the rethinking of incidental details to the recasting of whole passages. In some cases it is quite impossible to tell if a passage should be allowed to stand or if it is a discarded variant; in others different staves intersect forming a jumble of notes which can only be transcribed with considerable difficulty.<sup>13</sup>

Much of the disorderly appearance of the manuscript is not the product of a confused mind but of one constantly refining material in search of an 'ideal' form of expression. Illustrations of the care with which he adjusted tiny details in the texture are not difficult to find. For example, b.90 was sketched, cancelled, re-sketched and then cancelled once again before the final version was arrived at. His eventual choice was identical to the original except for two minor adjustments to the weight of the right hand chords at the end of the bar. The original sketch for var.7 contained a rather harsh unprepared ninth (Example 24) which was refined in the final version (TK61, b.110); it is perhaps worthy of note that in var.4 of the early 'Barafostus' Dream'

EXAMPLE 24 ORIGINAL SKETCH OF 'FORTUNE MY FOE', T. 61, b. 110



x unprepared 9th

Tomkins allowed such discords to pass (Ex.23). Three versions of b.121 of 'Fortune' were tried and no final choice made.

The most interesting revision concerns vars. 7 and 8. Tomkins was evidently dissatisfied with the original ending of the piece - a short coda based on a prolonged plagal cadence beginning at b.127. In To this ending of 'Fortune' is dated "July: 4th. 1654:" (p.181). The first five bars of a revised version of the coda appear on the bottom system of p.181 continuing across to the left on p.180 (TK, textual commentary, p.200 (note 36), 201 (note 42)). The harmonic skeleton of the revision is substantially the same as the original, but whereas in that version the left hand appears, in places, to be only sketched in (for instance, the chord progressions in b.128 and 129) the revision presents a more definite contrapuntal realisation, an illusion of fuller harmony being given by the broken chord semiquaver figuration above it (note 42, b.3). Part of the extra length of the revision (twelve bars in place of five in the original coda) comes from an application of the antiphonal treatment of b.130 to the semiquaver figures in note 42, b.5 and note 36, b.1 which are later extended over a longer span.

The revision shown in notes 42 and 36 evidently led Tomkins to conceive of a much larger and more elaborate conclusion to the piece. To do this effectively the rather slender framework of var.7 had to be bolstered and so it was recast as var.8 which begins similarly but develops along much more substantial lines. Parts of the above revision served as sketches for var. 8 and were incorporated into the final versions.<sup>14</sup>

If Tomkins was satisfied with this later ending why did he not cancel var. 7? It is possible that he decided to provide both a simple and an elaborate ending, leaving the final choice to the performer. In that case the further variation of which there is an incomplete sketch on p.185 of To (textual commentary, p.201, note 49) may have been intended to bridge the gap between vars. 6 and 8 when the elaborate ending was played.<sup>15</sup>

The text of 'Fortune', so far as it can be deciphered from the manuscript, probably comes as close as can be expected to the composer's final intentions. In terms of his own stylistic development Tomkins's 'Fortune' displays a striking reversal of the patterns of influence at work in his early keyboard pieces. At this late stage the musician has supplanted the virtuoso; there is a much more secure grasp of structure here than in the early 'Barafostus' Dream', for instance.

The overall plan in 'Fortune' seems to have been that of alternation between contrapuntal and linear textures in a manner reminiscent of Gibbons's highly sophisticated 'Pescod time',<sup>16</sup> or 'The Woods so wild',<sup>17</sup> in which that composer achieved a novel formal logic involving the association of textures. Gibbons refers back at several points in 'The Woods so wild' to the textures of earlier variations thus clarifying the overall structure. In vars. 1, 6 and 9, for instance, he uses similar imitative material, and in vars. 4, 7 and 8 he adopts a consistent 3-part framework. Vars. 4 and 8 are closely linked: var. 8 recasts the layout of var. 4 as if they formed a pair (extending a principle known and used by both Byrd and Bull). In addition to textural associations there are clear thematic relationships between vars. 2 and 5 and vars. 6 and 9, for example.

Certain of these ideas can be seen in Tomkins's 'Fortune', where they are amalgamated with another, well-tried, aspect of English variation technique, the use of imitative counterthemes to offset the recurring folk-tune. This device was particularly important in Byrd's keyboard variations; in 'Fortune', Tomkins applies it with no less care than his master. Indeed, Tomkins sought to highlight the contrast between the folk-tune and the variety of counterpoints opposed to it. The tune and its bass (passamezzo antico) were sufficiently well-known for them to serve as stable background elements just below the ever-changing facade of counterthemes which actually carry the structure forward.

Var.1 introduces ascending and descending scale - fragments which, although not truly counterthemes, do nevertheless appear throughout the piece, providing a basic shape from which the more strongly-defined counterthemes grow.<sup>18</sup>

The most important thematic link is between vars. 5 and 8. The countertheme of var. 8 is an inversion of that of var. 5 and in performance the association is especially striking. This may be a further reason why Tomkins recast var. 7 (his original ending) into the more expansive var. 8. As will be evident from the textural references to be cited below, var. 8 is clearly the more satisfying of the two ways of concluding the piece because of its connection with both vars. 4 and 5.

There are clear textual links between vars. 3 and 6, 4 and 8, and 5 and 7. The reversion to quavers at b.95 (var. 6) is rhythmically (and motivically) suggestive of the opening of var. 3, whereas the running semiquavers of var. 4 clearly foreshadow those in var. 8, the latter producing a rather thicker, climactic texture. In var. 7, the phrase beginning at b.115 recalls the countertheme of var. 5 and especially its developments from b.76 foll. (this relationship is also hinted at in var. 8 (b.144) - the revised ending).

That Tomkins's 'Fortune my Foe' belongs to a specifically English tradition may easily be shown by comparing it with two continental settings of the same tune, both predating Tomkins's version by some forty years. The first is by Sweelinck,<sup>19</sup> and the second by Samuel Scheidt.<sup>20</sup>

Sweelinck's 'Fortuyn' is, by comparison with his other examples (such as 'Est-ce Mars'<sup>21</sup>) shortwinded, and is probably incomplete. Such similarities as exist between Tomkins's and Sweelinck's settings are unlikely to be more than coincidental. For instance, Sweelinck uses the short scale-fragment from which many of Tomkins's counterthemes grow, and in b.37 (var. 2) Sweelinck builds up an imitative texture comparable to that of vars. 1 and 2 of Tomkins's setting.

Scheidt's 'Cantilena Anglica de Fortuna' has next to nothing in common with Tomkins's setting, and it is hard to grasp the reasoning behind Fétis's assertion that

Tomkins's pieces for organ and harpsichord in M. Farrenc's manuscript [To] are exact imitations of the style of Samuel Scheidt's Tabulatura Nova published in 1624.<sup>22</sup>

Neither the form nor the content of Scheidt's setting have any parallel in Tomkins's. Scheidt opens and closes with full, 4-part statements which frame the textural contrast of the inner variations. These include: antiphonal dialogue, a device which exploits the sonorities of the organ as effectively as Tomkins's figuration fits the harpsichord; a bicinium (var.3) - a texture not used by Tomkins;<sup>23</sup> and a coloratio (var. 4), again untypical of Tomkins.

FOOTNOTES    CHAPTER 7

1. MB27:37.
2. MB27:8.
3. MB1:1.
4. A superb illustration of the suitability of light antiphony in a rigid harmonic framework is provided by vars. 8-11 of Byrd's 'The Woods so wild'. This style of imitative writing is completely at one with the folk idiom (in this case characterised by a repeated 'drone' bass), giving the effect of remarkable spontaneity which Tomkins failed to achieve in var. 4 of 'Barafostus' Dream'.
5. Bars 89-90 of 'Barafostus' Dream' are taken almost exactly from Byrd's Galliard: Sir William Petre, MB27:3 (b). <sup>b.41-2.</sup> Why Tomkins should have 'borrowed' from his master at this point is a mystery; the resemblance is so exact that it cannot be mere coincidence. Whatever the reason it only emphasizes the patchwork nature of the piece as a whole.
6. No.70, 'Robin Hood'.
7. The index of Fo is dated 31st January, 1623/4.
8. An Elizabethan Virginal Book, being a critical essay on the contents of a manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (London, 1905).
9. Compare, for instance, Byrd's 'Walsingham', variations 17 and 18 and 'John come kiss me now', vars. 12-14. The structural placing of sesquialtera variations in 'Robin Hood' is also Byrd-like.
10. MB27:6. Note also the similar design of the cadences at the end of var. 2 in 'Robin Hood' and var. 3 in Byrd's 'Fortune'.
11. FWVB, nos. 12 and 9 respectively. Modern edition, Thomas Morley: Keyboard Works. Trans. and ed. Thurston Dart (London, 1959), nos. 11 and 13.
12. CaldE, p.147.
13. For a blow-by-blow account of the layout of this piece in Tomkins's manuscript see the textual commentary to 'Fortune my Foe' in TK, p.198-201.

14. Compare TK61, b.156-62 and TK, p.200, note 36.
15. If the performer plays both vars. 7 and 8 from TK then 7 must end with a chord of A on b.127, omitting the original coda, b.127-31.
16. MB20:30.
17. MB20:29.
18. In Byrd's 'Fortune' (MB27:6) the same scale-fragment is used but it is confined to var. 2, giving it a more distinctive (but temporary) character than in Tomkins's piece.
19. Modern edition Jan Pieterzoon Sweelinck: Keyboard Works - Settings of Secular Melodies and Dances. Works for Lute. Ed. Frits Noske. Opera Omnia, fasc. 1/III (Amsterdam, 1974), no.2.
20. Tabulatura Nova - Teil II (Hamburg, 1624). Ed. Christhard Mahrenholz. Samuel Scheidt Werke, Band VI/2 (Leipzig, 1979), no.3. The title of the piece in Tabulatura Nova is 'Cantilena Anglica de Fortuna'.
21. Sweelinck: Keyboard Works.... (op.cit.), no.3.
22. F.J. Fétis: Biographie Universelle des Musiciens (Paris, 1860-5). Quoted in StevI, p.154.
23. But used occasionally by Bull, in his fantasias MB14:10 and 11, for example.



CHAPTER 8

'BITTS: OR MORCELLS'

'What if a Day' TK64

Worcester Brawls TK65

The Perpetual Round (September 7-8 1654) TK66

Toy: made at Poole Court TK67

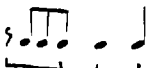
Fragments

'Go from my window' TK72

Bitts: or morcells TK73

The Toy: Mr Curch (TK69) has not been included in this chapter as it is clearly by Farnaby. The piece is listed in FNVB (the prime source for Farnaby's keyboard music) as a 'Toye' by him (no. [252]) and stylistically it closely resembles other keyboard music by Farnaby. The tiny dimensions are typical of his miniaturist approach and in its techniques of division of each strain it is very similar to Tower Hill (MB24:26).<sup>1</sup> TK69 is of identical length and proportion to Tower Hill with which it shares the rhythm of the opening phrase and the closing sequential descent (with explicit rather than implicit suspensions in Tower Hill). The ascription in Och1113 and D2 to Tomkins must be overruled on these stylistic grounds.

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Tomkins's Toy: made at Poole Court, TK67<sup>2</sup> is a short and simple piece technically approachable by a musical amateur. Even within the compact, alman-like dimensions Tomkins manages to work out a pattern of imitative entries, although these are of a short, light and playful character (the first half of the  motive in b.8-15 acting as a bass to the second in a close stretto).

Although Tomkins did not specifically mark repeats for each section these do seem to be implied in To (p.141) and are adopted editorially in TK. The

upbeat character of all three motives in the piece is clearly intended to amuse: although the second half opens with a 4-bar phrase the 'staggered' entries in threes give a harmonic sequence that chases across the beat rather than running in step with it.

Another piece that chases its own tail is the Perpetual Round, TK66, the latest dated piece by Tomkins who was 82 or 83 years of age when it was composed (7-8 September 1654). It is not a 'round' in the popular sense of, say, Cornyshe's 'Ah Robin' (MB18:49) but a continuously unfolding free canon mainly at the fifth between two adjacent parts with a free bass or treble. The whole was provided with a 'division' by Tomkins over which he seems to have expended considerable pains, judging from the number of revisions on p.157, 172 and 173 of To. As suggested by Denis Stevens<sup>3</sup> the sequences, if extended throughout the harmonic circle, would lead ultimately back to the point of departure. However, the 'Round' is not of the same category as Tomkins's chromatic consort Fantasia 3/12 in which such a journey is negotiated with great skill.

As in the Perpetual Round virtuoso writing was supplied by Tomkins in the reprises of each strain of 'What if a Day', TK64, and Worcester Brawls, TK65.

The tune 'What if a Day' is probably of folk origin and is based on 'La Folia'.<sup>4</sup> It was popular during the early years of the seventeenth century, which is probably when Tomkins made his setting.<sup>5</sup> Such a date is supported by the adventurous figuration, clearly influenced by Bull's presumably recent variations on 'Walsingham'<sup>6</sup> (Example 25). Although structurally simple<sup>7</sup> (two variations, each AA' BB' CC'), TK64 is far more substantial as a keyboard piece than the simple setting of a decorated form of the tune by Richard Creighton in F-Pc MS.Rés.1136 (f.15), dated 1636.<sup>8</sup> The forceful character of Tomkins's early keyboard techniques is also exhibited in Worcester Brawls, TK65, in which each of the three strains and reprises is numbered by Tregian in FWVB. The striding left hand octaves of the opening are also met with in 'Barafostus' Dream', b.45 (a piece of similar date, see Chapter 7, p.103) and 'What if a Day', b.9, 11-12 and 36-8. The descending broken chord patterns in the left hand at

EXAMPLE 25 INFLUENCE OF BULL'S KEYBOARD STYLE ON  
TOMKINS'S 'WHAT IF A DAY'

(a) BULL

This musical notation shows a two-staff system. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music consists of six measures of sixteenth-note patterns. The first five measures show a similar rhythmic and melodic structure, while the sixth measure features a sharp sign on the final note of the upper staff. The word 'BULL' is written above the final measure.

(b) TOMKINS

This musical notation shows a two-staff system. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music consists of six measures of sixteenth-note patterns. The first five measures show a similar rhythmic and melodic structure to example (a), but the sixth measure features a sharp sign on the final note of the upper staff. The word 'TOMKINS' is written above the final measure.

(a) Bull: 'Walsingham', MB 19: 85, b. 89

(b) Tomkins: 'What if a Day', TK 64, b. 32-3

b.7-8 and 12 of Worcester Brawls are also met with in similar guise at b.29 of 'What if a Day'.

### Fragments

Judging from the style of the fragmentary variation 'Go from my Window', TK72 it would have been placed fourth or fifth in a full set of variations (the tune was set by Byrd, Bull and Morley).<sup>9</sup> Probably it would have been paired with a similar variation in which the passagework was in the right hand, although as a rule Tomkins prefers in his complete pieces to switch the passagework between the hands within individual variations. The fragment was probably written into To after 1650 since b.3 on p.153 covers over the date October 1 1650 at the end of the Galliard, TK46.

Tomkins's title Bitts: or morcells, TK73 probably also includes the fragmentary hexachord statement TK36 which immediately follows on p.147 of To. TK73 consists of an 8-crotchet fragment with a varied second statement being in sesquialtera proportion. As it begins on a  $\frac{6}{3}$  chord Bitts: or morcells may be a mere sketch, quite attractive in itself, designed for use in the main body of a piece similar to the Ground, TK39 (in the same key). The piece as printed in TK contains certain small differences from Tomkins's fairly legible text in To. A transcription of the fragment as it stands in To is given in Appendix 1.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 8

1. An anonymous piece entitled 'Gigge' in Lbl Add. 30486 closely resembles Farnaby's Tower Hill. See Seven Virginal Pieces (from B.M. Add. 30486). Ed. Frank Dawes. Early Keyboard Music (Schott), vol.3 (London, 1951), no.1.
2. See StevT, p.152-3 for an explanation of the curious title.
3. StevT, p.152.
4. CaldE, p.96.
5. For information on the background to 'what if a Day' see David Greer: '"What if a Day" - an Examination of the Words and Music' in ML, vol.43 (1964), p.304. Greer's account does not mention Tomkins's piece.
6. MB19:35. Bull uses slightly less predictable arpeggios (B minor, for instance) than does Tomkins.
7. Akin to that of Gibbons's masque-tunes for keyboard such as Lincoln's Inn Masque, MB20:44.
8. Transcribed in Martha C. Maas: Seventeenth-Century English Keyboard Music: A Study of Manuscripts Rés 1185, 1186 and 1186 bis of the Paris Conservatoire Library. Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1969, vol.2, p.13.
9. Byrd, MB28:79; Bull, MB19,:123; Thomas Morley: Keyboard Works. Trans. and ed. Thurston Dart (London, 1959), no.13.

PART II

CONSORT MUSIC

## CHAPTER 9

### CONSORT SOURCES: PALEOGRAPHY

Transcriptions of Tomkins's consort music are given in Vol.2 of this study. The purpose of this chapter is to present a paleographical assessment of the manuscript and printed sources of this repertory. Source references throughout are in the abbreviated forms explained on p. iv-v. Previous lists of these sources and their contents have been compiled by Denis Stevens and Gordon Dodd.<sup>1</sup> The former is incomplete (lacking R and Y) while the latter mixes together keyboard and consort sources.

All but one of the sources in Table 8 are in partbook format, and some contain pieces for a variety of media, both instrumental and vocal (Ob245, for instance, contains music for lyra viols as well as viols in consort; Lbl17792 contains, in addition to instrumental music for between three and seven polyphonic parts, a selection of vocal items both sacred and secular). Only one source, SOp, is printed; the rest are manuscripts.

Most of the manuscript sources seem to have been intended for use at private musical gatherings of which the best documented are those held in Oxford and Cambridge colleges from the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> There is some evidence of earlier meetings, especially in the West Country, c.1640-5, at which partbooks containing consort music by Tomkins were in use.<sup>3</sup> Discussion of the circumstances of the music's performance will be resumed in passing later on.

The earliest dated source is SOp, printed in 1610. The manuscript sources span a period of some 40 years from c.1625-67, indicating that Tomkins's fairly small output of consort music maintained a place in the esteem of several generations of musicians, even if this happy state of affairs did not long outlive the composer. Of his consort works the 3-part In Nomines and fantasias were evidently the most durable as they occur in five different anthologies, the earliest copied c.1625 and the latest c.1665.

No autographs of Tomkins's consort music survive, although it is possible,

TABLE 8  
SOURCES OF TOMKINS'S CONSORT MUSIC

Printed Source

Pieces by Tomkins

SOp

Pavan 5/6

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Manuscript Sources

Lbl3665

Pavan 5/6

Lcm2039 (I, III, IV only)

Pavan 5/6

Lbl30826 (I, III, V only)

Pavan 5/6; Pavan 5/9

Ob245

In Nomines 3/1, 2; Fantasias 3/3-16

Lbl17792 (one part lacking)

In Nomines 3/1, 2; Fantasias 3/3-16

Pavans 5/1, 6, 7, 8

Och1018

In Nomines 3/1, 2; Fantasias 3/4-12, 17

R

Fantasia 3/7

Ob415

Pavans 5/1-6, 5/8

Ob64

Ut re mi; Pavan 4/1; Alman 4/1; Pavan 6/1;

Galliard 6/1; Fantasias 6/1-4

Dm1

Ut re mi; Pavan 4/1; Alman 4/1; Pavan 6/1;

Galliard 6/1; Fantasias 6/1-4

Dm7

In Nomine 3/2; Fantasias 3/3-7, 9-12, 14-16

Y

Ut re mi

---



even probable in the case of Och1018 and Ob415, that some of the surviving sources derive from autographs and represent the composer's intentions closely. Other sources, notably SOp, preserve less satisfactory readings.

Some of the sources listed in Table 8 have already been subject to detailed investigation. In such cases relevant citations are given and paleographical discussion is kept to a minimum.

The sources are listed and discussed in broadly chronological order, the exceptions being Lcm2039 which, although possibly dating from 1645-50, has been included here with the early sources of the Pavan 5/6, and Ob415, which was probably copied in 1641-2. Ob415, because of its connections with Och1018 and R, has been placed between those sources and Ob64 (also related to Och1018) which, although probably complete by 1641, contains the same repertory as Dm1 and is therefore best discussed immediately before that source. References to Tomkins's consort works are those assigned in the transcriptions (Vol.2). Fantasia 3/3 is therefore his first 3-part fantasia.

#### SOp

SOp was published in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1610. It consists of five partbooks, each with 17 folios measuring 15 x 20 cm in octavo. 30 pieces are included: 1 by Tomkins; 2 by Farmer; 3 by Dowland; and 24 by the arranger, Thomas Simpson. Surviving copies are at Hamburg, Staats und Universitätsbibliothek,<sup>4</sup> Nürnberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen National-Museums and Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Academische Bibliothek.<sup>5</sup>

For the Hamburg copy (upon which this discussion is based) no original bindings survive, there is no pagination (the leaves are signed A - E), and no watermarks are visible. All the title pages to the five volumes (CANTO/ALTO/TENOR/BASSO/QUINTO) survive. The title page of the Canto book is shown in Illustration 3.

Simpson provided no contents page for SOp. This omission was probably calculated, for Simpson was a canny businessman and his strategy was to induce



the prospective purchaser to thumb through the contents, becoming so attracted to them that he would be unable to resist buying.

Simpson was one of several English musicians who published collections of English dances (chiefly for strings) on the continent during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> His successful publishing career implies that he was well able to gauge popular taste. He must have thought Tomkins's Pavan 5/6 a marketable item, and he seems to have exercised rampant editorial license as his text of the pavan (printed in MB9, no.73) includes a number of melodic and rhythmic ideas of his own invention. (The 'editorial emendations' in SOp's text of Pavan 5/6 do not materially affect the structure; some implications of Simpson's arrangement will be dealt with later in relation to the manuscript sources of this piece, Chapter 10, p.167-8.)

#### Lbl3665

This remarkable large anthology was first described in an 'interim report' by Schofield and Dart shortly after it was purchased by the British Library (then the British Museum) in 1950.<sup>7</sup>

Lbl3665 is one of the few early seventeenth century sources of consort music copied in score and the only such source containing music by Tomkins. According to Schofield and Dart it contains 1034 pages (the volume has subsequently been foliated, Pavan 5/6 being on f.522v, 523) measuring 10½ x 16¼ inches (26.5 x 41.2 cm). It contains between 1100 and 1200 pieces of varied type and appeal (villanellas, madrigals and instrumental pieces a3 - a5) mainly by English and Italian composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Lbl3665 is systematically arranged in 11 groups of pieces numbered from 1 in each group, and is laid out continuously across both facing sides of the open book.

The score was copied by Francis Tregian (also copyist of FWVB, see Chapter 1, p.14). All of his music copying seems to have taken place in the Fleet prison between 1609 and 1619. The regulations concerning prisoners in the Fleet would be rather alarming to a modern prison governor.<sup>8</sup> Prisoners (mostly wealthy recusants) were allowed access to 'public gardens and places of recreation' and were

permitted to buy their meals outside. Some recusants actually begged to be transferred to the Fleet rather than live under house arrest.<sup>9</sup> A system of 'priviledges' operated from which wardens stood to gain huge financial rewards, although Tregian seems to have staved off payment for long enough as when he died in 1619 he owed the warden over £200 for food and drink. After his death there were 'many hundred volumes in his [Tregian's] chamber which he had accumulated!'<sup>10</sup>

Lb13665 was carefully and selectively copied evidently from good printed texts and manuscripts, the former dating, at the latest, from 1615.<sup>11</sup> The final section, containing the 5-part instrumental dances, is probably of slightly later date. Presumably Tregian compiled both Lb13665 and FJVB for private study during his imprisonment, a supposition reinforced by his choice of score rather than partbook format.

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Lcm2039

Only three partbooks (CANTO/ALTO/TENOR) of this original set of five survive. These volumes, in their seventeenth-century leather bindings, are now classified under a single shelfmark, 2039. The Canto, Alto and Tenor books each measure 19 x 14 cm and include respectively 52, 59 and 58 folios, of which 42, 32 and 32 contain music, most of which (including Tomkins's Pavan 5/6) is without ascription in the source. The handwriting appears to date from the first half of the seventeenth century; that of the Canto is different from the Alto or Tenor.

The early history of Lcm2039 is obscure.<sup>12</sup> The partbooks were acquired by the Sacred Harmonic Society between 1852 and 1863 (catalogue number S.H.1751) and subsequently by the Royal College of Music, London (the College's disbursement books shed no light on the date of purchase).

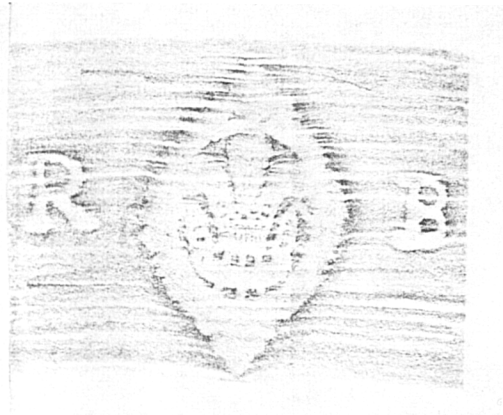
No details of dating may be gained from the watermarks which have had their centres cut out by cropping. Nor do the named composers in the anthology help to define a precise date. The title of all three volumes, 'Mr Derings 2 and 3 parts' led the compiler of the RCM's nineteenth-century catalogue to ascribe the majority of the anonymous pieces - including Tomkins's Pavan 5/6 - to Dering, but

ILLUSTRATION 4

Lcm 2039 BINDINGS: PENCIL

RUBBING OF MOTIF EMBOSSED

ON FRONT COVERS



not all the mixture of unasccribed instrumental and sacred vocal pieces (to texts in English and Latin) are necessarily his. Other named composers include B[enjamin] Rogers (1614-98) and Benjamin Sandley (dates unknown), both of whom contributed to the first edition of Playford's Musicks Hand-maide in 1663.<sup>13</sup> That consorts by these two composers were included in Lcm2039 implies that the partbooks were written up no earlier than c.1640-50 - at least as far as Rogers's works are concerned. A rubbing of the Prince of Wales's feathers embossed on the front cover of each volume is shown in Illustration 4.

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Lbl30826

The contents of this incomplete set of partbooks are listed in Table 9.

Lbl30826 is the only source for Tomkins's Pavan 5/9 (no.22).

The three surviving partbooks (CANTO/ALTO/TENOR) of this set of dances for '5 Violls' (specified on the title-page of the canto book) are in duodecimo format measuring 18 x 14.2 cm (partbook 30827 measures 18.5 x 14.2 cm). They contain respectively 11, 10 and 10 folios grouped in a single gathering in each partbook. One leaf of modern paper precedes the music paper in partbook 30826 and twenty-five follow; in partbooks 30827 and 30828 the music paper is preceded and followed by 2 and 21 leaves of modern paper. The music paper itself bears three distinct watermarks; eye-drawings of these are shown in Figure 5(A-C). A (a pot or jug) is predominant; B occurs only on f.2 of partbook 30826; C occurs only on f.1 of partbook 30827. Marks A and C approximate fairly closely to Heawood 3577 and Heawood 3637.<sup>14</sup> The music paper contains five 5-line staves per side, drawn with a rastrum.

The majority of the pieces included are by figures not famed as consort composers. Some, indeed, were better known as madrigalists (Kirbye, Weelkes)<sup>15</sup> and others (Amner,<sup>16</sup> Wilkinson<sup>17</sup>) in the field of religious music. The 'Trinity College Pavan' (no.17) could refer to either the Oxford or the Cambridge college, but the inclusion of music by Amner and Kirbye, both of whom had connections with East Anglia,<sup>18</sup> favours Cambridge.

TABLE 9

CONTENTS OF Lbl30826-8

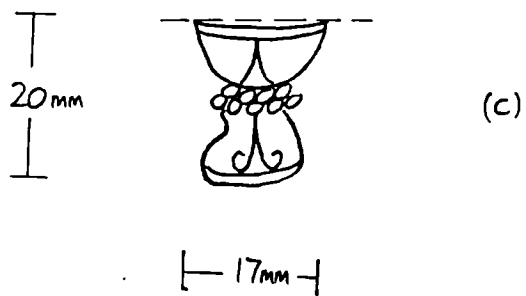
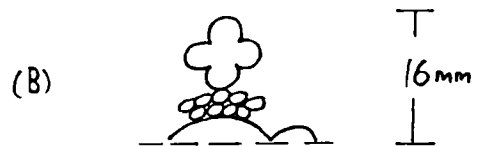
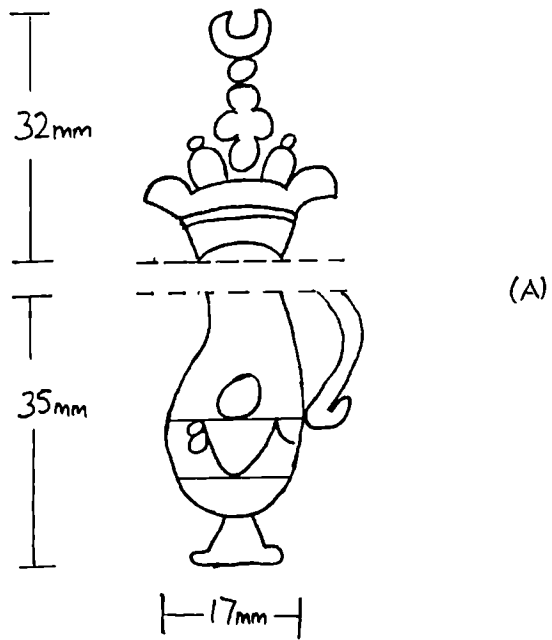
<u>Fol.</u> (30826)	<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>
3	-	Pavan	Amner
3	-	Galliard	Amner
3v	3	Pavan 1	Mason
4	4	Pavan 2	Mason
4	5	Pavan 3	Mason
4v	6	Pavan 5	Mason
4v	7	Pavan 6	Mason
5	8	Pavan 7	Mason
5v	10	Pavan 10	Mason
6	11	Pavan 1	Wilkinson
6	12	Pavan 2	Wilkinson
6v	13	Pavan 3	Wilkinson
6v	14	Lachrymae [Pavan]	Weelkes
6v	15	Pavan 2	Weelkes
7	16	Pavan 3	Weelkes
7v	17	Trinity College Pavan	[anon.]
8	18	Galliard	Harding*
8v	19	Pavan	Kirbye
8v	20	Pavan	Jackson
9	21	Pavan	Stogers
9v	22	Pavan 1	Tomkins
9v	23	Pavan 2	Tomkins
10	24	Pavan	Dethick
10v	25	De la Roy [Pavan]	Gibbons
10v	26	Pavan	Magno Pietro
11	27	Pavan 2	Magno Pietro
11v	-	'I wish no more'	Webb

\*The Galliard 'sett foorth' by Byrd in FWVB (no. 122); MB28:55.

FIGURE 5

LBI 30826: WATERMARKS

(eye-drawings)





Mason's 4th, 8th and 9th pavans were omitted by the copyist who at first numbered that composer's 10th pavan 9, but later corrected it.<sup>19</sup> Mason's Pavan 7 was annotated 'the first straine of this pavin must be last/for the last is the middle and the middle the first.' As this appears to be in a later hand and ink it was presumably added by a player. The circumstances in which Lb130826 was used are not known, unless it was at 'Trinity College'.

All the music is in a single (untidy) hand, save the song 'I wish no more' by Webb (f.11v; 10v; 10v) which was probably tagged-on to the end of each partbook about the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>20</sup>

#### Annotations in later hands

A number of annotations relating to the composers included in Lb130826 appear on f.2 and 2v of partbook 30826; they are reproduced below (editorial material appears in square brackets).

[f.2]

The Dance Tunes in this collection are by/John Amner (1579-1641) [dates in pencil] B.M [us.] and Organist of Ely circ. 1600/George Mason [in pencil: fl.1618] Joint composer with J. Earsden of the Aires/that were played at Brougham Castle etc. See/Earsden in Biog. Dict. of Musicians<sup>[21]</sup> /Wilkinson [in pencil: Late XVI [century]] /Thos: Weelkes [in pencil: 1578?-1640?] Celebrated Composer circa 1600/ Org. of Winchester & of Chichester./Jas. Harding [in pencil: fl.1590] /J. Kirbye One of the Composers of The Triumphs of Oriana etc. 1601/Jackson [in pencil: E] / Stogers (Nichs) A composer of the latter part 16th cent./Thos. Tomkins [pencilled cancellation:1570] One of the Composers of the Oriana etc.

[f.2v]

Dethick./O.Gibbons. Organist of the Chapel Royal in 1604 [actually 1605]/ Composer of Madrigals etc. born 1583.

The following annotations occur on f.11v of partbook 30826:

[f.11v]

[Webb] a composer of the mid 17th c.

[f.11v, pasted slip of modern paper]

11 folios 1878 E.J.H. [presumably the annotator]

[partbook 30827, f.10v, pasted slip of modern paper]

10 fols July 1878 E.J.H. [in pencil: E & G.C.T[?]] [Lbl30826 was purchased by the British Library (then Museum) at Southeby's on July 27 1878 according to a note inside the modern cover of partbook 30826.]

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John Merro's Anthologies: Ob245 and Lbl17792

In recent years John Merro (d.1636) of Gloucester has emerged as one of the most significant English music copyists of the early seventeenth century. His work has attracted the attention of several scholars, in particular, Pamela Willetts,<sup>22</sup> who first identified Merro as a music copyist, Philip Brett<sup>23</sup>, Andrew Ashbee<sup>24</sup> and, most recently, Craig Monson.<sup>25</sup>

Merro's work is concentrated in three anthologies of major importance: US - NYp Drexel 4180-5; Ob245; and Lbl17792. The first and last of these contain both instrumental and vocal music, in contrast to Ob245 which is Merro's purely instrumental repository. Monson has shown convincingly that Lbl17792 was compiled over an extended period of time by analysing the varied qualities of ink used in different sections of the manuscript, and by tracing developments in Merro's handwriting style.<sup>26</sup> He has also been able to show that Lbl17792 was probably begun after the completion of NYp 4180-5 in 1622-5<sup>27</sup> although some evidence points to both of these anthologies being in progress in the 1630 s.<sup>28</sup>

Valuable though these observations are, they are secondary to Monson's purpose of assessing the geographical spread of the consort song repertory through England in the first half of the seventeenth-century. He does not examine Lbl17792 as a paleographical object, nor does he dwell on its instrumental content at all. He does, however, provide a very valuable list of the contents, both vocal and instrumental.<sup>29</sup>

Merro's other collection, Ob245, has not as yet received the detailed study it deserves,<sup>30</sup> and remains to be fitted into the overall picture of Merro's work as a copyist.

Presumably Merro intended his sources for use at musical gatherings in Gloucester, similar to those in Worcester at about the same time.<sup>31</sup> How Merro came by his texts of pieces by London-based composers such as Gibbons is uncertain. Possibly his supplier was Tomkins who, as a member of the Chapel Royal, would have known court composers personally. Merro seems to have had quite close connections with Tomkins's family; he was a signatory to the will of Tomkins's stepmother (dated 29 November 1627) in which she left the composer a mere 10 shillings.<sup>32</sup> (This biographical detail enhances the value of Merro's texts of Tomkins's music as he may have had access to the composer's autographs.)

#### Ob245

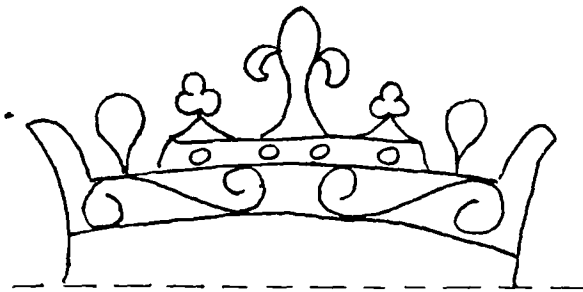
These three partbooks, measuring 22.2 x 16.5 cm, are upright quartos in seventeenth-century brown leather covers (each with a central gold-tooled floral motif) to which the original green ribbon place-marks are still attached (although these are now badly decayed). Unusually partbooks 245 and 246 are paginated while 247 is foliated. Partbooks 245 and 246 contain respectively iv + 288 (240-84 blank) and iv + 287 (272-87 blank) pages; 247 contains 102 (77-102 blank) folios. The gatherings are in 8 throughout, and the paper contains a single indistinct armorial watermark of which only the upper crest is visible owing to its position near the central spine. The heavy quality of the ink (which shows through from the reverse sides of the leaves) also obscures the watermark, although the chain lines in the paper are still visible; they are spaced 2.5 cm apart and run horizontally across the leaf. An eye-drawing of what can be deciphered of the watermark is shown in Figure 6. The copyist appended his name ('John Merro/his booke:') on p.287 (renumbered 285) of partbook 245.

Ob245 is a substantial and important document, deserving of a thorough study in the future. At over 300 items a table of contents would be too long for inclusion here, and not strictly relevant to Tomkins's contribution (16 pieces). Suffice it to say that Ob245's repertory is of three main types: dances (pavans, galliards, almans, corantos, sarabands); 'character pieces', with titles such as 'A snatch and away' (partbook 245, p.34), 'forget me not' (p.35), 'And if you doe touch ile Cry' (p.35) and 'The wild goose Chase' (p.40); and fantasias.

FIGURE 6

Ob 245: WATERMARK  
(eye-drawing)

67 mm



3 VOC:

9

*Fantasia*

10 20

30 40

50

60 70 80 90

Mr. J. H. Jankins

Detailed description: This is a handwritten musical score for Oboe, consisting of ten staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a common time signature, and the instruction '3 VOC:'. A measure number '9' is written below the first measure. The second staff is marked 'Fantasia' and contains measure numbers '10' and '20'. The third staff has measure numbers '30' and '40'. The fourth staff has measure numbers '50' and '60'. The fifth staff has measure numbers '70' and '80'. The sixth staff has measure numbers '90' and '100'. The score concludes with a double bar line and the signature 'Mr. J. H. Jankins'. The music is written in a single system with various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

Mr William Isles sent these ten/  
Bookes to Dr Fell Deane of Ch: Ch:/  
in Oxford for ye use of ye publicke Musicke/  
Schoole [sic] whereof 5 of them are of  
one sort/& 5 of another, they are  
markt with/ye 10 first figures  
at the topp of this page/that  
soe it may be discovered which is/  
wantinge.

Further information occurs on p.iii of partbook 246:

1673:/ There is 6: bookes in parts of  
one sorte of Binding/And 4: more  
of Severall Sortes: In all 10: bookes.

At this time the Professor of Music Praxis at Oxford University was obliged by statute to hold weekly music meetings in the Schola Musicae. Isles's books were evidently in use at these for they are referred to in a list of music books owned by the Schola Musicae at the time of Professor Lowe's death in 1682. The entry is as follows: 'Two sets of Books given by Mr Iles 10'.<sup>38</sup> The only volumes of Isles's gift that have been identified up to now are Ob245 and Ob Mus. Sch. F.575.<sup>39</sup>

The volumes were transferred to the Bodleian Library by a statute of 27 January 1835. At this stage Ob245 was catalogued 'MS CX/3 vols/'; an additional shelfmark 'B4. 1-3' was added to this in pencil.<sup>40</sup> These references are in the hand of Robert Hake, a chaplain of New College who, by order of the Hebdomadal Council in November 1850, was appointed to catalogue the books in the Music School. His shelfmarks suggest that in 1850 Ob245 and Ob415 (discussed below, p. 137-45) were in close proximity for Hake's references for the latter are 'MS CXI/4 vols./' [in pencil: 'B4. 4-7'].<sup>41</sup>

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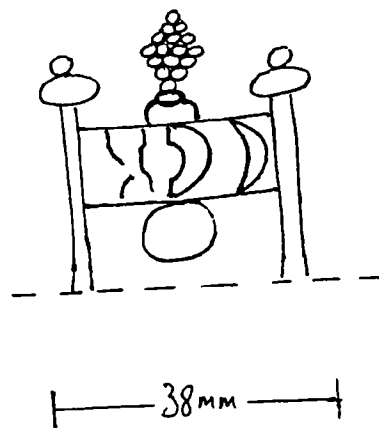
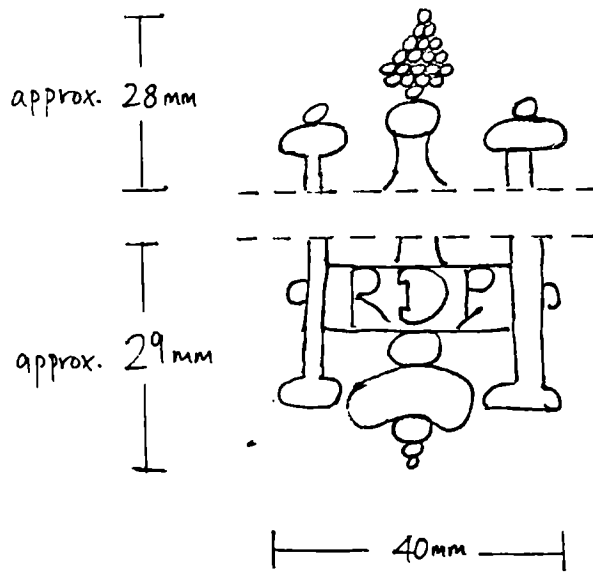
### Lbl17792

Craig Monson has convincingly shown that the starting point for Lbl17792 was Merro's earlier anthology NYp4180,<sup>42</sup> primarily a source of vocal music but containing 20 instrumental fantasias by Byrd, Bull, Ives, Jenkins, Ferrabosco and Gibbons at the end.<sup>43</sup> Lbl17792 was evidently conceived as a predominantly instrumental anthology, containing music by composers working in a more modern style than those represented in the main body of the vocal NYp4180.

FIGURE 7

Lb1 17792: WATERMARKS

(eye-drawings)



chose not to alter the accidentals in Lbl17792 which Merro applied rather carelessly). On f.93 of partbook 17793 (Dering's third 5-part In Nomine) is a (cancelled) annotation in Hutton's hand "In the 2d line ye beginning Mr Marshes Copy hath 2 brief [illegible word] & in line 3d after ye 16th brief, a brief in [illegible] between [illegible] & and 6m.' The authority cited is Dm1, compiled by (or for) Narcissus Marsh for use at music meetings in Oxford c.1660-78 (see below, p.148-9). It is probable that Hutton acquired Lbl17792 for use at these meetings. A selection of Hutton's annotations is given by Willetts;<sup>47</sup> some others are given below. Hutton's success rate in detecting errors detracts somewhat from Merro's reliability.

17793

[f.183]

Two corrections, to Dering's first 5-part fantasia and Gibbons's eighth 3-part fantasia respectively:

[b]

pag: 84 [really folio]      8v

17794

[f.181]

Corrections to Dering's fourth 5-part fantasia and Gibbons's seventh 3-part fantasia respectively:

p. 86 [really folio]      p. 8



The second of these was incorporated into the main text of Gibbons's fantasia in 17794, f.8, on a slip of paper written out by Hutton and pasted over Merro's error which Hutton noted 'here wants a minim'. This rubric was later cancelled, presumably after the correction was made.

17796

[f.97v]

Hutton pasted a correction slip over Merro's faulty conclusion to Ferrabosco's 5-part In Nomine numbered 2.

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Och1018

Och1018 is a set of three partbooks containing consort music by Thomas Tomkins. The volumes came into the possession of Christ Church Library in 1710 as part of the bequest of Henry Aldrich (1647-1710), Dean of Christ Church from 1689 until his death.<sup>49</sup> When he acquired them is unknown. The volumes originally bore the pressmark K.6., which was subsequently changed to G.28-30, and again in about 1900 to the current marks, 1018-20.

The partbooks have not previously claimed the critical attention of musicologists. There are several possible reasons for this: first, the books are in a somewhat confusing state; secondly, they contain only a dozen unascribed pieces by a single composer, Tomkins; and, finally, of his consort works only an incomplete selection of the 3-part music is included. One scholar, Cecily Arnold, looked at the manuscripts some years ago (presumably in the 1950s) and inserted the following note on a slip inside the back cover of Och MS. 1018:

re 1018, 1019, 1020 Christ Church  
Nos. 1-5 and 7-12 are all by Thomas Tomkins and are to be found in the Bodleian Mus. Sch. D.245-7 and in the Brit. Mus. (Add. MSS 17792-6 - part lacking). They are in a different order here and one - no.3 in the Bodleian MSS. is lacking here; but no.6 in this MS. does not occur elsewhere, and from its position, and internal evidence, could be surely attributed to Tomkins.

Cecily Arnold<sup>50</sup>

The contents of Och1018 have been checked more recently by Commander Gordon Dodd.<sup>51</sup>

The three partbooks 1018, 1019 and 1020 are stitched together into a single external cover; each separate volume is in its own thin card cover. None of the original bindings survives; the volumes were put into their present covers around 1900, before which they were loose in their paper covers.<sup>52</sup>

Dimensions.

1018 : 19.8 x 20.2 cm. 7 5-line staves per leaf

1019 : 19.4 x 20.5 cm. 7 5-line staves per leaf

1020 : 19.7 x 20.7 cm. 7 5-line staves per leaf

The following information is found on the front flyleaves of each volume:

1018 : Fantasies for 3 violles/Triplex

[in pencil : G.28]

[at the bottom left-hand corner:] Ch. Ch. Lib/Oxon<sup>53</sup>

1019 : Fantasies for 3 violles/Medius

[in a different hand and ink:] Fantasias Medius./

[in pencil : G.29]

1020 : Fantasies for 3 violles/Bassus

[in pencil : G.30]

The information "Fantasies for 3 violles" is <sup>not</sup> in the same hand as that in which the music and the piece-titles appear in the rest of the manuscript. "Fantasias Medius./" in partbook 1019 is <sup>also</sup> in an as yet unidentified hand, presumably that of a former Christ Church Librarian.

The partbooks each contain twelve pieces, none bearing any ascription but all with a title and the number of polyphonic parts (3). Nos. 1-7 in each book are consecutively-numbered in ink.<sup>54</sup> In partbook 1018 nos. 8-12 are numbered in pencil only (and probably in a later hand); in 1019 nos. 8, 9 and 10 are numbered in pencil, 11 and 12 being unnumbered; in 1020 no.8 is numbered in pencil and the rest (9-12) are again unnumbered. This is probably to be explained by the fact that between nos. 7 and 8 in each volume there are several blank leaves, evidently intended for additional pieces which, for some reason, were never copied. Nos. 8-12 were copied but left unnumbered until the remaining

blank leaves had been filled; the numbering could then have continued consecutively after no. 7. The copyist's task was left unfinished, however, and so although no. 8 as it now appears is indeed the eighth piece in the collection, this was not the original intention. The copyist's plan can be reconstructed though. Nos. 1-7 are scored for Tr/A (or T)/B, and 8-12 for Tr/Tr/B. This consistent approach strongly suggests that the missing pieces would also be grouped together by scoring and the intended fantasias were doubtless Tomkins's three for Tr/B/B.<sup>55</sup> Three fantasias would fit comfortably into the space between nos. 7 and 8 in each volume, working on the same basis as the rest of the manuscript, namely, one piece to two facing sides of the open book. The existing scheme is shown in Table 10.

In all three volumes pencilled signature numbers appear at the top right hand corner of the first folio recto of each gathering. Before sig. 1 and after sig. 5 are two flyleaves which formed makeshift paper covers up to 1900 when the present cardboard covers were added. These paper covers are of different paper-types from that on which the music is written.

From the position of the watermarks (to be discussed in detail in the following section) it is clear that the format is folio. However, there are two major drawbacks to a complete understanding of the gatherings. First, each book is tightly stitched through from front to back about one quarter of an inch in from the fold so that the stitching through the centre fold of each gathering is not visible; and secondly, some folios are pasted together, presumably to prevent tearing, although the pattern of this is not consistent and many of the pasted leaves are now coming apart. These two factors conjure up a nightmare for the paleographer.

The arrangement of each gathering is shown in Table 11. Those figures marked with an asterisk are the correct number of leaves now showing within each gathering.<sup>56</sup> The odd numbers are difficult to account for; the only way of determining the reasons for these anomalies would be to unstitch the partbooks. In the case of 1019, sig. 4, the likeliest explanation is that a leaf has been

TABLE 10

CONTENTS OF Och1018

<u>Piece no.</u>	<u>Transcription (Vol.2)</u>	<u>Title (from partbook 1018)</u>	<u>Scoring</u>
1	3/11	<u>Fantasia of 3 parts</u>	Tr/T/B
2	3/10	<u>Fantasia of 3 parts</u>	Tr/T/B
3	3/9	<u>Fantasia of 3 parts</u>	Tr/T/B
4	3/8	<u>Fantasia of 3 parts</u>	Tr/A/B
5	3/1	<u>In nomine 3 parts</u>	Tr/A/B
6	3/17	<u>Fantasia 3 parts</u>	Tr/T/B
7	3/12	<u>Fantasia 3 parts</u>	Tr/A/B
8	3/7	<u>Fantasia 3 parts. 2 trebles</u>	Tr/Tr/B
9	3/6	<u>Fantasia 3 parts. 2 trebles</u>	Tr/Tr/B
10	3/4	<u>Fantasia 3 parts. 2 trebles</u>	Tr/Tr/B
11	3/5	<u>Fantasia 3 parts. 2 trebles</u>	Tr/Tr/B
12	3/2	<u>In nomine 3 parts. 2 trebles</u>	Tr/Tr/B

TABLE 11

Och1018 : GATHERINGS

<u>Partbook</u>	<u>Gathering</u>	<u>No. of leaves</u>	<u>Pasted leaves</u>
1018	1	3*	None
	2	6	1v 2; 3v 4; 5v 6
	3	9*	1v 2; 3v 4; 6v 7
	4	4	2v 3
	5	8	2v 3; 6v 7
1019	1	2	None
	2	8	2v 3; 6v 7
	3	8	None
	4	7*	2v 3; 6v 7
	5	6	1v 2
1020	1	2	None
	2	8	2v 3; 6v 7
	3	8	2v 3; 5v 6
	4	8	5v 6; 7v 8
	5	5*	1v 2; 3v 4

removed, and this is probably also true of 1020, sig. 5. The irregularity of 1018, sigs. 1 and 3 is more complicated. Obviously there was either a mistake in the signing of each gathering or a misunderstanding in the subsequent binding. Probably the extra leaf at the end of sig. 1 (3) and that at the end of sig. 3 (9) are opposite halves of the same folio; this assumption is in accordance with the position of the watermarks. A possible transposition is suggested in Figure 8: sig. 1/3 becomes sig. 2/1 and sig. 3/9 becomes sig. 2/8, making the number of leaves in 1018, gatherings 1-3, of 2, 8, 8, the same as in 1019 and 1020.<sup>57</sup>

Table 12 shows the signature references for each piece as the manuscript is arranged at present. On sig. 1/1 of 1019 occur fragments which seem to be tenor or contratenor parts from dance strains. None of them fits any consort dances by Tomkins.

Three different watermarks occur in the paper of Och1018, and tracings of these are shown in Figure 9 (a-c). All of the music is written on paper bearing watermark (a) (forming gatherings 1-5). This type of watermark is classified as a 'bend'. It corresponds very closely to Heawood 140,<sup>58</sup> the only difference being the presence of the initials PS in the bottom left hand corner of the latter, which are replaced, in (a), by GS (?) just beneath the mark; Heawood dates this mark 1625. The paper was probably not of English manufacture. Elsewhere, in a very informative article,<sup>59</sup> Heawood remarks that the 'bend' watermark, much used by the firm of W. Riehel (Strasbourg), was often copied in crude form by English paper makers. Mark (a) in Och1018 is far from crude, however, and this points to a French or Dutch origin for the paper.

Watermark (b) - a 'pillar' or 'post' mark - occurs on the following leaves:

1018 the second of the two flyleaves preceding the leaf signed 1;

1020 both of the front flyleaves<sup>60</sup>

Regarding the 'pillar' or 'post' mark Heawood informs us that it was

A mark which makes its appearance in the 'twenties

[1620 s] and becomes particularly common, in the smaller

form, in the next decade. Later its size increases.<sup>61</sup>

FIGURE 8

Och 1018: SUGGESTED TRANSPOSITION OF GATHERINGS

1 - 3

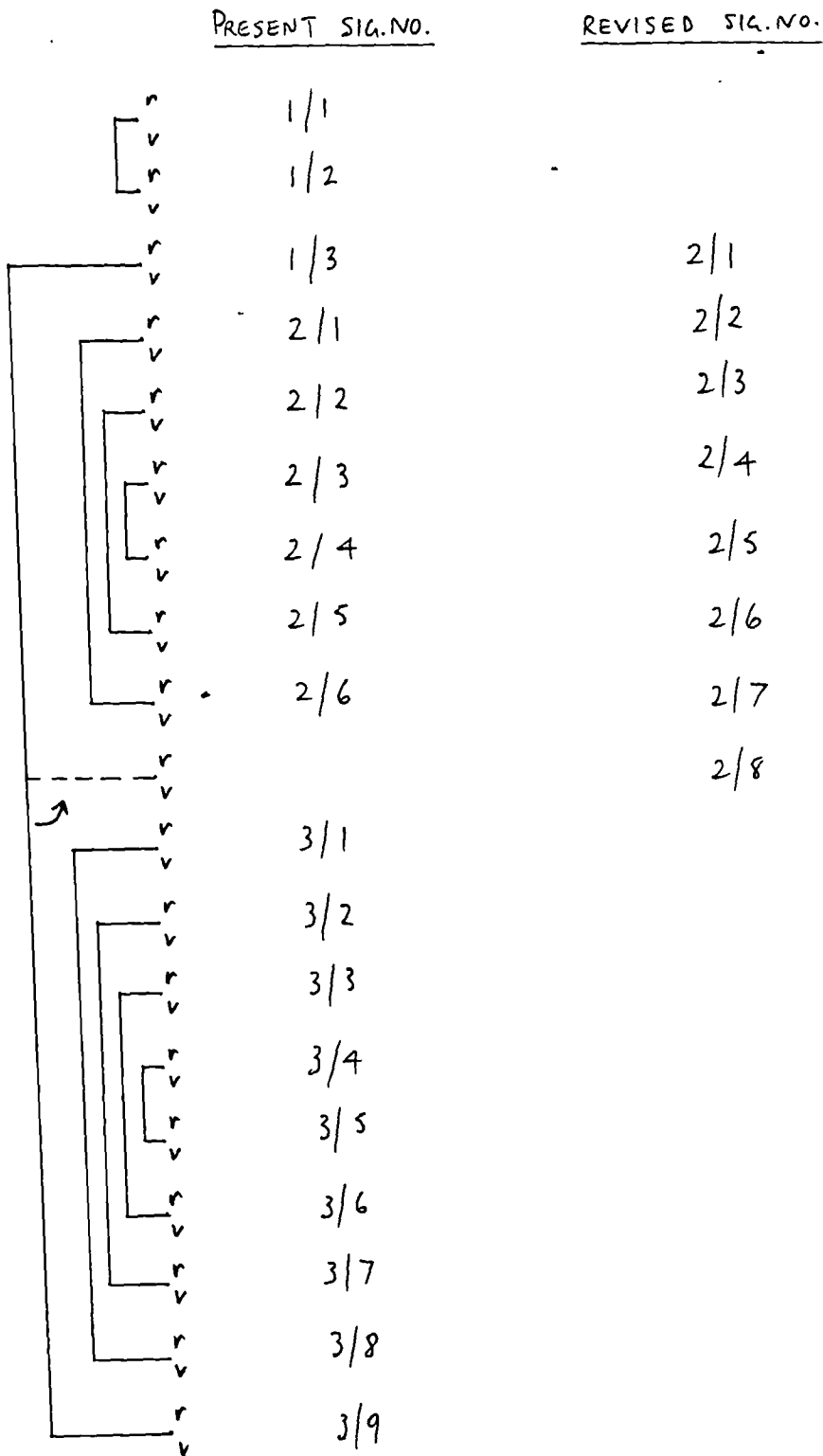


TABLE 12

Och1018: CONTENTS AND SIGNATURE REFERENCES

<u>Partbook</u>	<u>Piece No.</u>	<u>Sig.No.</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1018			Sigs. 1/1-1/3 blank.
	1	1/3v, 2/1	
	2	2/2v, 2/3	
	3	2/4v, 2/5	
	4	2/6v, 3/1	
	5 (In Nomine)	3/2v, 3/3	
	6	3/4v	Sig. 3/5 blank.
	7	3/5v, 3/6	
			Sigs. 3/6v-3/9v blank.
			Sigs. 4/1-4/3 blank.
	8	4/3v, 4/4	
	9	5/1v, 5/2	
	10	5/3v, 5/4	
	11	5/5v, 5/6	
	12 (In Nomine)	5/7v, 5/8	
1019	Anon. dances	1/1	Fragments; 1 part only.
			Sigs. 1/1v-1/2 blank.
	1	2/1v, 2/2	
	2	2/3v, 2/4	
	3	2/5v, 2/6	
	4	2/7v, 2/8	
	5 (In Nomine)	3/1v	Cantus firmus only;
			Sig. 3/2 blank.
	6	3/2v	Sig. 3/3 blank.
	7	3/3v, 3/4	



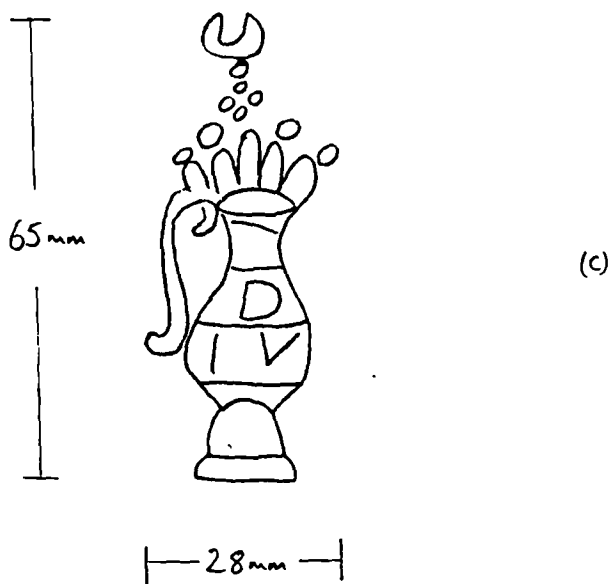
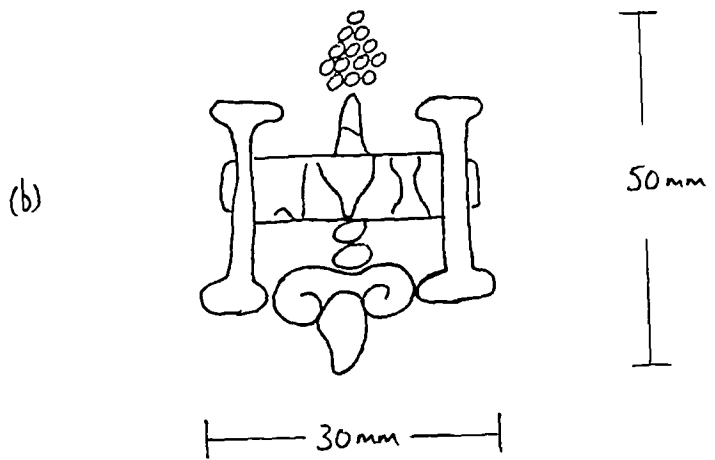
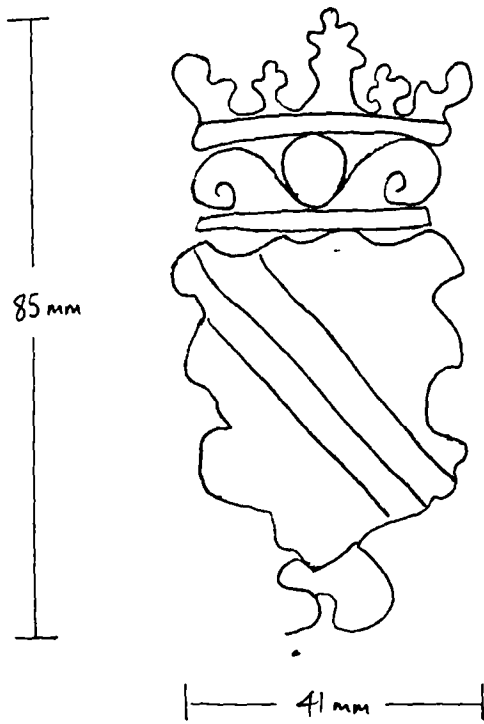
TABLE 12 (continued)

<u>Partbook</u>	<u>Piece No.</u>	<u>Sig. No.</u>	<u>Comments</u>
			Sigs. 3/4v-3/8v blank.
			Sigs. 4/1-4/2 blank.
	8	4/3v, 4/4	
	9	4/5v, 4/6	
	10	4/7v, 5/1	Only 7 leaves in gathering 4; leaf missing?
	[11]	5/2v, 5/3	
	[12] (In Nomine)	5/4v, 5/5	
1020			Sigs. 1/1-1/2 blank
	1	2/1v, 2/2	
	2	2/3v, 2/4	
	3	2/5v, 2/6	
	4	2/7v, 2/8	
	5 (In Nomine)	3/1v, 3/2	
	6	3/3v	Sig. 3/4 blank.
	7	3/4v, 3/5	
			Sigs. 3/5v-3/8 blank.
			Sigs. 4/1-4/3 blank.
	8	4/4v, 4/5	
	[9]	4/6v, 4/7	
	[10]	4/8v, 5/1	
	[11]	5/2v, 5/3	
	[12] (In Nomine)	5/4v	Cantus firmus only; Sig. 5/5 blank.

FIGURE 9

Och 1018: WATERMARKS

(eye-drawings)



Given the small dimensions of mark (b) this paper is probably of a similar date to that bearing mark (a) (c.1625). The initials across the centre bar are incomplete (I V L ?) and therefore of no help in connecting the paper with a particular maker. Heawood believed many of these initialled pillar or post marks to be French.

Mark (c) - a 'pot' or 'jug' - occurs on the following leaves

1018 the first front flyleaf<sup>62</sup>

1019 the second front flyleaf (immediately preceding the leaf signed 1);

1019 the second back flyleaf<sup>63</sup> (the last leaf of the volume).

The specific initials D/IV make this 'pot' or 'jug' mark easy to identify.

It is Heawood no. 3584 and dates from 1624. Heawood believed the paper may be of English origin, although the odds are against this:

"The mark of the pot, jug or flagon so commonly met with before 1600, maintains its pre-eminence in England throughout most of the seventeenth-century, but appears suddenly to drop out of use about 1675 ..... It might be supposed that some at least of the paper so marked was made in this country but the bulk would still seem to have come from northern and western France .... Fairly small in the early part of the century, the size tends to increase after about 1645."<sup>64</sup>

Having established the date of manufacture of the paper one is still faced with the problem of establishing the date of its subsequent use. Depending on its size, Briquet<sup>65</sup> determined that paper would, as a rule, be used up between four and fifteen years after manufacture. The less usual the paper size, the less frequent the use and so the longer the life of a batch. The size of Och1018 is, at about 20 cm. square, rather less than average folio size,<sup>66</sup> and therefore somewhat unusual, but convenient for some purposes, including music books. It is probably fair to say that the music paper was ruled and written in about the early-to-mid-1630s, the flyleaves being added at about the same date.

It is important to keep in mind an essential principle of the bibliographer Allan Stephenson,<sup>67</sup> namely that of 'runs and remnants'. A run of a single paper-type may be very significant for dating purposes. 'Remnants', on the other hand, were odd sheets of a different type inserted purely to use up leftover paper from an old batch, and are obviously of rather less significance. In Och1018, therefore, the use of a single paper type (mark(a)) for the music is of importance in suggesting a date; the odd sheets of marks (b) and (c) for the fly-leaves are less so, although their dates as given by Heawood tie in well with that of mark (a).

All the music, the piece titles, and the numbers are in the same hand except for the curious scribblings on sig. 1/1 of 1019. Some typical features of the main hand (hand 1) are: the 'tear-drop' shape of the minim note-heads which are left open to the right and are completed by the ascending or descending stems; the descending stems, which are always on the right of the note-heads and are generally long (a minimum of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  stave-spaces) and either straight or curving slightly to the right at the bottom; the long quaver flags curving in almost at the base of the stem; and the complete lack of directs - an unusual feature in manuscripts of this date (see Illustration 6).

Hand 2 (the fragments on staves 1-6 of 1019, sig. 1/1) is that of a copyist working with a thinner nib and obviously in a hurry (Illustration 7). The minims, for example, were done in a single stroke, beginning with the note-heads and curving sharply anti-clockwise, giving concave stems. The main interest of this folio, however, lies in the bottom two staves which are occupied by hand 1 (a). This bears a strong similarity to hand 1 and shows some degree of development (the stems are not as upright as those of hand 1, for instance). What can be stated with certainty is that hand 1 (a) is identical to the main hand of Ob64 (see below, p.145-7) which bears the ascription 'George Stratford 1641'. Such tell-tale characteristics as the bass clef at the beginning of stave 7, the slightly backward-slanting descending stems and the discreet downturn of the horizontal bar on the crotchet rest (stave 6) demonstrate the

Fantasia of 3 parts.

This image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Fantasia of 3 parts." The score is written on eight staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is in a historical style, featuring various note values, rests, and accidentals. The first staff begins with a common time signature (C). The music is organized into measures by vertical bar lines. The piece concludes with a final double bar line and a common time signature. The handwriting is clear and legible, typical of a manuscript.

A handwritten musical score consisting of seven staves. The notation is in a cursive style, characteristic of early manuscript notation. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The music is written in a single system, with various note values including minims, crotchets, and quavers. There are several bar lines and repeat signs throughout the piece. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff features a more complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The fourth staff shows a change in the melodic line. The fifth staff has a similar rhythmic complexity to the third staff. The sixth staff includes a sharp sign (F#) and a double bar line. The seventh staff concludes the piece with a final cadence.

connection beyond reasonable doubt. The possibility that hand 1, hand 1 (a) and the main hand of Ob64 belong to the same copyist is supported by the evidence provided by watermark (a) in Och1018, which suggests a copying date of the early 1630s. If Ob64 was copied for George Stratford then it must date from just before 1641 when the ownership was recorded. This is sufficient time for the copyist's hand to have developed slightly between writing the two manuscripts. Clearly, the copyist of Ob64 must have had access to Och1018 at some stage in order to have written the fragment on sig. 1/1 of 1019, so even if the two sources were not copied by the same person they must surely have originated in the same geographical area. In the 1682 list the books are described as "A set bound in Vellam in Folio of Fancies by several Authors 6".<sup>68</sup> The only George Stratford I have so far found with any Oxford connection matriculated from St. Mary Hall, Oxford, on 30th January 1589/90, and therefore too early to be considered here.<sup>69</sup> A later George Stratford (the son of the above ?) also hailed from Gloucestershire and died at Standish in 1669.<sup>70</sup> It is therefore possible (though I suggest it only tentatively) that this is the George Stratford mentioned in Ob64.<sup>71</sup> Both this source and Och1018 may therefore have originated in the Gloucester area in the period c.1630-1641.

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R

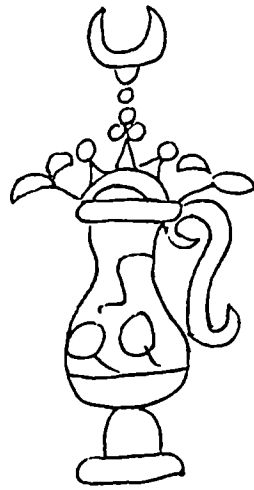
This manuscript, which is known as 'Jo: Wythie his Booke' (no call-mark), is entirely in the hand of John Withy, a bass violist, composer and colleague of Tomkins in Worcester.<sup>72</sup> The three surviving partbooks (ALTUS/TENOR/BASSUS) which comprise this source (one treble partbook is lost) measure 29.5 x 20 cm in folio format gathered in 8s and occasionally in 4s.<sup>73</sup> Two watermarks are visible; tracings<sup>74</sup> are shown in Figure 10 (a) and (b). Mark (a) occurs in the music folios; mark (b) occurs only in the paper covers. The folios in each partbook have been numbered lightly in pencil by a modern annotator. Most of the altus partbook is missing and the surviving portion is quite fragile and has

FIGURE 10

R: WATERMARKS

(tracings)

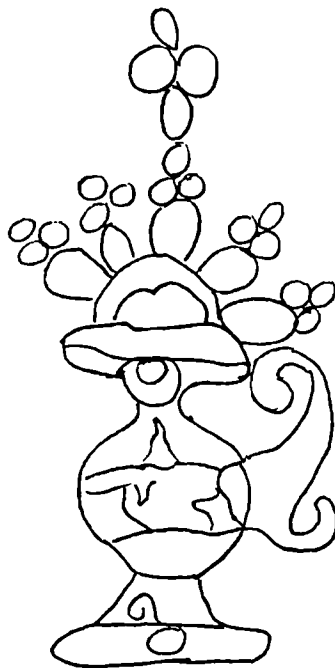
63mm



(a)

32mm

86mm



(b)

43mm



had to be laminated onto modern paper in places. The title-page of the tenor partbook reads as follows: 'Jo: Wythie his Booke/Orlandoe Gibbons 9 Fancies [the set printed c.1620] /Mr Jinkins 5 Fancies<sup>[75]</sup> / J.W. 5<sup>[76]</sup> / [next folio recto:] Mr Gibbons Fantazies/3 parts for the/Violls/Tenor/2 trebl.' [The altus book contains some of the treble parts.]

In addition to the composers listed on the title-page, R contains four fantasias by Hugh Facy<sup>77</sup> and one (3/7) by Tomkins.

The two surviving parts of Tomkins's Fantasia 3/7 are in the Tenor (f.42) and Bassus (f.40) partbooks (the last folios, respectively, of each). The top part of the fantasia (see the transcription in Vol.2) is lacking in the altus book. A sample of Jithy's music hand (from the tenor book) is given in Illustration 8(b).

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#### Ob415

This interesting but regrettably incomplete set of four manuscript partbooks containing fifty pieces for 5-part viol consort dates from 1641-42, and has been known to specialists in Jacobean and Caroline instrumental music for some time. Nevertheless, as recently as 1980 it was remarked that

... editors have apparently fought shy of a thorough investigation of that most interesting set of four out of five partbooks, GB-Ob MSS. Mus.Sch. E.415-8, possibly because of its incompleteness.<sup>78</sup>

The missing partbook is the second treble which was lost at least as early as 1850 when the books in the Oxford Music School were catalogued by Robert Hake. Hake numbered this set MS. CXI, vols. 1-4; a later shelfmark, B.4(4-7), is also visible on the front cover of each book (compare Hake's shelfmarks for Ob245, above, p.127). The present mark, Mus.Sch. E. 415-18 was assigned after 1885 when the manuscripts of the Oxford Music School were transferred to the Bodleian Library.

The contents of Ob415 are shown in Table 13. Although the paper covers of each volume seem to be original they give a wildly inaccurate explanation of what may be found inside:

A Messelania of/ Madrigals Songes Sonets &  
Villanellas/ of fyve partes.

This mis-information was probably appended by a later owner at a time when the dance repertory of Ob415 was no longer fashionable or even adequately understood. Significantly, the handwriting on the covers occurs nowhere else in the volumes. The four partbooks (CANTO/CONTERALTO/TENORE/BASSO) are upright quartos (gathered in 2s) measuring 19 x 14.5 cm. and comprise, respectively, 29, 29, 32 and 33 folios, of which 27, 28, 29 and 27 are ruled with six 5-line staves. The single visible watermark is traced in Figure 11.

It has been suggested that Ob415 was copied by Humphry Withy for his brother, John.<sup>79</sup> This may be correct, though it is difficult to prove. What may now be established with certainty, however, is the identity of a second copyist who added an alman by Ferrabosco II to the end of each partbook. Comparison of Illustration 8 (a) and (b) shows the later copyist to have been none other than John Withy. Illustration (a) is the treble part of the alman by Ferrabosco added to Ob415;<sup>80</sup> Illustration 8(b) is the treble part of Tomkins's fantasia 3/7 in Withy's holograph volume, R (above, p.136-7). The conclusive identification of John Withy as one of the copyists of Ob415 supports Denis Stevens's suspicions regarding its Worcester provenance.<sup>81</sup>

All but one of the fifty pieces in Ob415 are dances. The exception is the textless setting of Monteverdi's madrigal La tra'l sangu'e (no.46)<sup>82</sup> and a secunda pars by Mico in E. 417 (f.27v). The addition by Mico is based loosely on the material of Monteverdi's original (which is presumably why the madrigal was included) and was quite popular, judging from other manuscripts of the period.<sup>83</sup>

TABLE 13

CONTENTS OF Ob415

<u>No.</u>	<u>Folio</u> <u>(from E.415)</u>	<u>Title (from E.415</u> <u>unless otherwise stated)</u>	<u>Key-</u> <u>signature</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Ascription</u>
1	1	Pavan 5 parts [E.416]	—	D	AF [Alfonso Ferrabosco II]
2	1v	Pavan 5 parts	—	A	Mr Tho: Tomkins
3	2	The 4 note Pavan 5 parts	bb	G	Alfonso
4	2v	Pavan 5 parts	b	F	Mr T: Tomkins
5	3	Pavan 5 parts	—	G	Alfonso
6	3v	Pavan 5 parts	—	D	Mr Nicholson
7	4v	Pavan 5 parts	b	D	Mr Mico [originally ascribed to White]
8	5v	Pavan 5 parts	b	F	Mr White [actually by Mico]
9	6	Pavan 5 parts	b	F	?
10	6v	Almayn to ye Pavan 5 parts	b	F	?
11	6v	Coranto	b	F	?
12	7v	Pavan 5 parts	bb	C	?
13	8	Almayn 5 parts	bb	C	?
14	8v	Pavan A:5	—	C	?
15	9	Almane to the Pavan A:5	—	C	?
16	9	Coranta A:5	—	C	?
17	9v	Pavan A:5	bb	F	Mr R Browne
18	10v	Almayn	##	D	AF
19	11	Almayn	##	D	AF
20	11v	Almayn	##	D	AF
21	11v	Almayn	##	D	AF
22	12	Almayn	##	D	AF ['Finis 1641' in E.418]

TABLE 13 (cont'd)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Folio</u> <u>(from E.415)</u>	<u>Title (from E.415</u> <u>unless otherwise stated)</u>	<u>Key-</u> <u>signature</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Ascription</u>
23	12v	Almayn	# #	D	AF
24	13	Pavan A:5	—	A	Mr T: Tomkins
25	13v	A Pavan A5	—	D	Mr Tomkins
26	14v	A Pavan A5: [ <u>sic</u> ]	b	D	Mr Younge
27	15v	Flatt Pavan	bb	C	Mr Younge
28	15v	Almane A:5	bb	C	Mr Younge
29	16	Coranta A:5	bb	C	Younge
30	16v	Sarrabrand A:5	bb	C	Mr Younge
31	16v	Pavan A:5	—	G	?
32	17v	Alman A:5	—	G	?
33	18	Pavan A:5	—	D	?
34	18v	Almane A:5	—	D	?
35	19	Coranta A:5	—	D	?
36	19v	Pavan A:5	—	A	?
37	20	Alman to the Pavan A:5 [E.418]	—	A	?
38	20v	Coranta to the Alman A:5 [E.418]	—	A	?
39	21	Pavan A:5	#	B	?
40	21v	Almane to ye Pavan A:5 [E.418]	#	B	?
41	21v	Coranta to the Alman [E.418]	#	B	?
42	22v	Ut re mi fa sol la Pavan A:5	—	G	Mr Tho: Tomkins
43	23	Pavan A:5	b	F	Mr T: Tomkins [18ber 8 1641' in E.415]

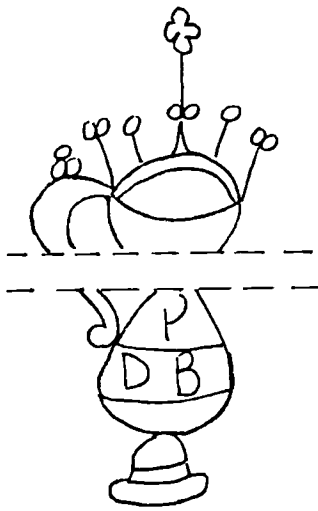
TABLE 13 (cont'd)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Folio</u> <u>(from E.415)</u>	<u>Title (from E.415</u> <u>unless otherwise stated)</u>	<u>Key-</u> <u>signature</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Ascription</u>
44	24	Pavan A:5	—	A	Mr Myco
45	24v	Pavan A:5	b	G	Alfonso
46	25	Latal Sangue A:5:	—	A	Claudio Monteverde
		2 da pte [E.417 only]	—	[A]	Mr Myco
47	25v	Pavan A:5	bb	C	Mr T: Tomkins
48	26	Pavan A:5	bb	G	?
49	26v	Pavan A:5	—	C	AF
50	27	Allman	—	C	Alfonso

FIGURE 11

Ob415: WATERMARK

(eye-drawing)



— 16mm —

(a)

(b)

The image displays two handwritten musical staves, labeled (a) and (b). Both staves are written in treble clef and feature a key signature of one flat (B-flat).  
Staff (a) on the left is marked with a tempo of *Allman.* and includes a measure number of 27. It contains four staves of music, with the first staff also marked *Alfano.*  
Staff (b) on the right is marked with a tempo of *Allegro fimbria.* and contains eight staves of music. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks.

The incipits of the anonymous pieces in Ob415 are shown in Example 26 as an aid to possible future identification. With the exception of the Pavan, no. 48, they fall into two groups, 9-16 and 31-41 inclusive. The incipits are taken from partbook 415; 11, 16, 35 and 38 are transcribed from black notation.

Ob415 is especially interesting in relation to the consort music of Tomkins. Seven of his 5-part consort pavans are included, of which four (nos. 24, 25, 42 and 43) are known only from this source. There is good reason to trust the musical texts of Tomkins's pieces preserved here since it is likely that the composer had a hand in the development of the anthology. On f.31v of partbook 417 is written "Mr Tho: Tomkins/ Mr Humphrey Withy 1642". Opposite this (f. 32) appears the single word "Thomas" in the same handwriting, which is probably that of Humphry Withy (it is certainly not that of the composer). A further personal touch is the dedication of two of Tomkins's pavans (nos. 25 and 42 of the collection) to John Withy, Humphry's brother.<sup>84</sup> The Withys were associates of the composer at Worcester. Both were musical, and John played the viol: on 4 May 1669 Anthony Wood heard 'a division [performed] by Mr Withie on the base viol' in the Oxford Music School before the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Fell.<sup>85</sup> Withy was also recommended by Playford in the preface to Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Jay (London, 1682). A few of his compositions survive.<sup>86</sup>

Despite its incompleteness Ob415 must be regarded as the most authoritative manuscript source of Tomkins's 5-part consort music. In all of the three pavans occurring in earlier sources - nos. 2(5/8), 4(5/1) and 47(5/6) - details are reworked in Ob415. Pavans 5/8 and 5/6 were transposed (respectively down and up a minor third) in the course of revision. The significance of the reworked texts of Ob415 in relation to instrumentation will be examined later (p.143-4).

A very interesting feature of Ob415 is the presence of six "suites" of contrasting dances linked by finals. The suites are as follows:



# EXAMPLE 26 ANONYMOUS DANCES IN Ob415: INCIPITS

The image displays a handwritten musical score for Example 26, titled "ANONYMOUS DANCES IN Ob415: INCIPITS". The score is organized into two columns of musical staves. The left column contains 15 numbered incipits, starting at measure 9 and ending at measure 32. The right column contains 15 numbered measures, starting at measure 33 and ending at measure 48. Each measure is written on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals. Some measures feature complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs. The key signature varies across the measures, with some starting in G major and others in D major or B-flat major. The handwriting is clear and legible, with some annotations like "No." above the first measure of each column.

Four empty musical staves are located at the bottom of the page, below the main score. These staves are blank, with no musical notation or markings.

- [Suite 1] Pavan (9) Alman (10) Coranto (11)
- [Suite 2] Pavan (14) Alman (15) Coranto (16)
- [Suite 3] Pavan (27) Alman (28) Coranto (29) Saraband (30)
- [Suite 4] Pavan (33) Alman (34) Coranto (35)
- [Suite 5] Pavan (36) Alman (37) Coranto (38)
- [Suite 6] Pavan (39) Alman (40) Coranto (41)

The finals and key-signatures may be found in Table 13. All the suites are anonymous except for the third, by Young. Of the anonymous suites only the fourth does not contain rubrics linking the dances together ("alman to ye pavan", "coranta to the alman"). Only occasionally are there thematic connections between successive dances. The openings of the Pavan, Alman and Coranto of the first suite (nos. 9-11) are loosely related by inversion, the pavan and alman spanning respectively, a rising and falling fifth, f' - c'' (see Ex. 26). The Alman and Coranto, nos. 15 and 16, open similarly as do nos. 37 and 38. The closest thematic relationship is that between the Pavan and Alman, nos. 12 and 13, which may be members of an incomplete suite (lacking a coranto).

O 415, which contain a number of revealing performers' markings, provide a useful starting point for an investigation of instrumental music-making in Worcester in the early 1640s, probably presided over by Tomkins and attended by the Withys.<sup>87</sup>

Whereas music meetings in Oxford and Cambridge in mid-17th-century England are reasonably well documented, by contemporary writers such as Anthony Wood and Thomas Mace, similar activity in other provincial centres may only be guessed at. The meetings in Oxford college rooms and at the house of William Ellis (organist of St John's College, 1639-46) were enthusiastically chronicled by Wood during the 1650s and 1660s. Indeed he confessed that 'If he [Wood] had missed the weekly meetings in the house of William Ellis, he could not well enjoy himself all the week after'.<sup>88</sup> In recollecting similar meetings at Trinity College, Cambridge, Mace offers some helpful details concerning the musical repertory and method of performance:

We had for our Grave Musick Fancies of 3, 4, 5, and 6  
Parts to the Organ; Interpos'd (now and then) with some  
Pavins, Allmaines... Powerfully Captivating all our unruly  
Faculties, and Affections... And These Things were Performed  
upon so many Equal and Truly-Sciz'd Viols... Play'd upon,  
as no one Part was any Impediment to the Other... The Organ  
Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All.<sup>89</sup>

Documentary reports of this kind are all too rare, but even without them it would still in a few cases be possible to piece together from surviving music manuscripts something of the conditions in which consort music was performed.

That both Tomkins, the leading English composer of the mid-17th century, and John Withy, a noted viol player, may demonstrably be associated with Ob415 would suggest a high standard of performance when its contents were played, as do a number of performers' annotations made in the partbooks. These markings relate to three distinct stages of preparation for performance: private practice, consort rehearsal and play-through.

The music of Young's Flatt Pavan, Alman and Coranto (nos.26-3) is lacking in the tenor book (though their titles and ascriptions are written out).<sup>90</sup> The missing tenor would seem to have made a consort performance of these pieces impossible,<sup>91</sup> yet in the canto and alto books precise markings were made by players. In the canto, for instance, the beginnings of the second and third strains of all three dances are labelled as such. This may have been to minimize the risk of confusing strains, especially if each was repeated. In the alto, bar-lines have been added in the pavan and alman to make the rhythmic groupings clearer to the eye. Bearing in mind the unlikelihood of full performance the most plausible explanation of these annotations is that they were added by individuals during private practice.

Once in rehearsal the players evidently aimed at an ideal of unanimity, and the partbooks provide some helpful clues to the amount of rehearsal necessary to overcome problems of ensemble. Both tenor and bass parts of

the final, chromatic strain of no.47, Tomkins's Pavan 5/6, are laden with rehearsal marks (Illustration 9(a) and (b)). The striking chromaticism of this piece must have been bewildering to provincial musicians in Worcester, even with the composer to guide them, and the players seem to have been unwilling to rely on their ears alone. Some of the bass entries towards the end come at unexpected points. Their placing is crucial to the counterpoint and makes absolute precision of counting vital. That such detailed barrings and numberings were added shows how much patient rehearsal was required for secure performance: the alterations made to the numbering in places (the figure 16 over the bottom staff of Illustration 9(a) for example) reveal at least one faulty attempt by the players. The two lowest parts were evidently more difficult to fit together than the upper parts, in which rehearsal figures are few. It is possible that the tendency for the tenor and bass bars to change from breve to semibreve groupings towards the end may be indicative of a slight pulling-up as the tactus implied by the bar-lines changes from 4/2 to 4/4. A certain amount of rehearsal time was presumably also devoted to no.17, a pavan by the local composer Richard Browne, as well as to Ferrabosco's almans (nos.20 and 21) and his pavan (no.49), which contain similar rehearsal marks.

Though it is not possible to name with certainty the members of the ensemble and their roles, a number of informed guesses may be made. There is no evidence that Tomkins played a string instrument, but the quotation above from Mace suggests the possibility of the composer's participation in consort music ('The Organ Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All'). Mace assures us that such consort performances as he witnessed were supported by either organ or harpsichord. Tomkins had been organist of Worcester Cathedral since 1596 and of the Chapel Royal since 1621. Though in 1641-2 he would have been almost 70, cathedral documents suggest that his advancing age did not deter him from playing; he is still noted as organist on 16 December 1636:

ILLUSTRATION 9 (a) Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 417 [Ob 415], f. 28v

AND (b) Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 418 [Ob 415], f. 28v

(a)

A: 5. 47. Allegretto Tomk  
Pavan.  
6 7 5 10. 11. 12. 13. 14 15  
16. 16 17. 18. 19. 20 21.

(b)

A: 5. 47. Allegretto T.  
Pavan.  
5  
16. 17.  
18. 19 20. 21. 22. 23.

Att this chamber yt is likewise agreed that the guift of Thomas Tompkins, gent. organist of the cathedrall church of Worcester, being the some of fiftie poundes... shall bee accepted.<sup>92</sup>

In addition to Humphry and John Withy (who played the viol), Tomkins's deputy at Worcester Cathedral, Richard Browne,<sup>93</sup> may well have been a participant, especially as a pavan of his was included as no.17 of Ob415. The connections between Browne and Tomkins are demonstrably close (see Chapter 1, p.17). Other likely performers were Robert Tomkins, the composer's half-brother, who was a viol player in the service of Charles I,<sup>94</sup> John Toy, a minor canon at Worcester, and Archdeacon Edward Thornburgh.<sup>95</sup> It is possible that the group was augmented from time to time by members of the Worcester waits, of whom only the name of their chief, John Browne, is known, from the following injunction of 17 November 1642:

It is ordered that John Browne and his companie of musicians called the waites be suppressed from playing of their instruments about the citty in the morning, and that they may not expect any recompence for their paynes and that the chamberlaynes are desired to give notice unto them of this order.<sup>96</sup>

In the light of this rebuff private music making may have increased in popularity around 1642.

Some pieces in the canto book of Ob415 suggest the use of two violins. Attempts to reconstruct the lost second canto part of the four pavans by Tomkins unique to this source (nos. 24, 25, 42 and 43)<sup>97</sup> reveal a preference in nos. 25 and 42 for extended imitative dialogue between the two highest parts, and both the range and rhythmic character of these parts suit the violin admirably. Firmer evidence of the use of violins in Tomkins's consort dances is provided by comparing the texts of the pavans nos. 4 and 47 in Ob415<sup>98</sup> with those given by the Gloucester copyist, John Merro, in Lb17792. In several passages Merro exchanged the second-and third-highest polyphonic parts; two instances (one from each pavan) are examined here. The first pavan is found only in Ob415 and Lb17792. Merro's version of the end of the pavan is

shown in Example 27. The imitative entry beginning on c' in bar 22 occurs in the third-highest polyphonic part (which Merro labelled 'Quintus'). This entry is lacking in all four surviving partbooks of Ob415; as it is essential to the counterpoint and cannot be an invention of Merro's it must have been in the lost second canto book. The other pavan survives in a far greater number of sources.<sup>99</sup> In Lbl3665 (the earliest reliable manuscript source) the alto cadences as shown in Example 28(a). Merro's alto (in partbook 17793) ends with the higher-lying phrase shown in Ex. 28(b) taken from the quintus in Lbl3665. Why did Merro go to the trouble of resetting these inner parts? The effect of his alterations is to eliminate from partbook 17793 any phrases in the two pavans that descend below the G string of the violin. In Ex.27 the entry on c' subsequently falls to f and e flat; in Ex.28(a) the cadential decoration takes in an f sharp. The simplest solution consistent with both Exx. 27 and 28 is that these pieces were intended - at least by the copyist of Ob415 and probably by the composer - for mixed performance on violins (the two top parts) and viols (the lower parts). This is confirmed, at least in part, by a rubric preceding the pavan no.47 in partbook 416 (alto): '[vi] de lend this to one of the Trebles who hath a lower pt', which is probably an instruction to the alto player to lend his part to the second canto player whose own part here goes too low for the violin. In Ob415 this pavan is transposed up a minor 3rd, to C minor, bringing the whole of the alto part within the range of the violin. For some reason the part written into the lost second canto partbook was the quintus of Lbl3665 (rather than the alto), but despite the upward transposition this still fell below the violin's compass in places and so one of the violinists had to swap partbooks with the alto, a viol player. The two west country sources, Lbl17792 (Gloucester) and Tomkins and Withy's Ob415 (Worcester) achieved similar results in different ways: Merro set the pavan for two violins and viols by exchanging phrases between the polyphonic parts, Tomkins (assuming the slightly revised text to be his) did likewise by upward transposition. Regrettably, the rubric

EXAMPLE 27 PAVAN 5/1 : CONCLUSION IN Lbl 17792

(22)

CANTUS

ALTUS

QUINTUS

TENOR

BASSUS

EXAMPLE 28 PAVAN 5/6 : VARIANT FINAL CADENCES

(a) Lbl 3665:

$K(4/2)$  #

(b) Lbl 17792, partbook 17793:

$K(4/2)$  b



preceding no.47 in partbook 416 does not reveal the identity of the alto player, whose handwriting does not correspond with that of any of the names mentioned in the anthology.

A further hint that violins were played at the Worcester meetings comes in the last five pieces of Och1018 (above, p.130-6). The final group of pieces in that collection is designated for '2 trebles' and the treble writing, as in pavans 5/3 and 5/5, fits the violin well. The treble part of fantasia 3/7 shown in Illustration 8(b) was actually copied by John Withy from Och1018, which would seem to clinch the connection between the Christ Church source and Worcester music meetings. If it does, then the repertory at these meetings included Mace's 'Grave Musick, Fancies of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts' and pavans, as well as lighter 'corantas' (of which Ob415 contains six). The instruments included viols and violins, depending on the style of the music, a mixed ensemble being preferred for certain pieces. Although no written-out repeats are found in the dances in Ob415 there is no reason to suppose that embellishments were not applied, especially with a player of John Withy's calibre present.

#### Ob64

The six partbooks (CANTUS/ALTUS/CONTRATENOR/TENOR/BASSUS i/BASSUS ii) comprising Ob64 are among the largest (and heaviest) seventeenth-century examples in the field of consort music. All six are in their original calf covers and measure approximately 30 x 19.5 cm. Within each volume the pieces are arranged in ascending order of polyphonic parts as follows:

3-part numbered 1 - 47

4-part numbered 1 - 32

5-part numbered 1 - 48

6-part numbered 1 - 33

At the end of each section are many blank leaves, evidently intended for pieces which were never subsequently copied. The total number of pieces is 160.<sup>100</sup> Almost all of these are fantasias.

Six distinct watermarks occur in the paper of Ob64; eye-drawings are given in Figure 12 (a) - (f). From their central position it is clear that the format is folio (mainly in gatherings of 4). The total number of folios in each partbook is recorded (in a modern hand) on the back flyleaves; these are as follows :

Partbook	Folios
64	iv + 275
65	279
66	i + 131
67	200
68	278
69	59 (6-part pieces only)

Each volume contains a record of ownership inside the front cover:

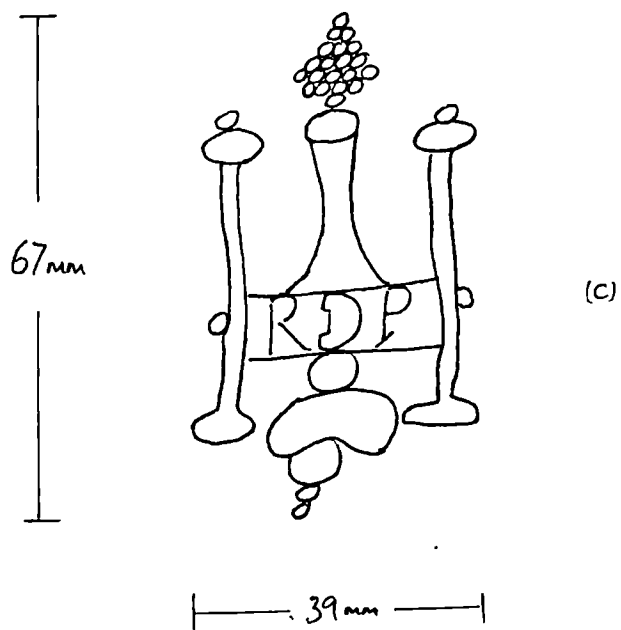
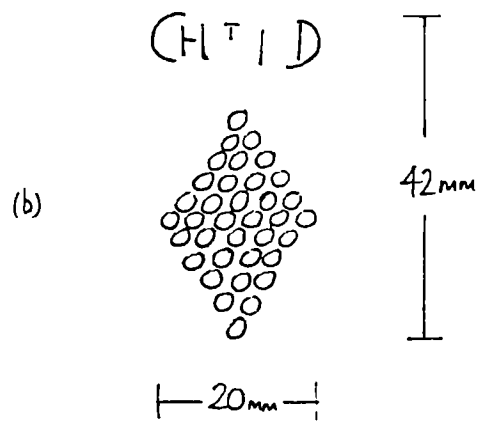
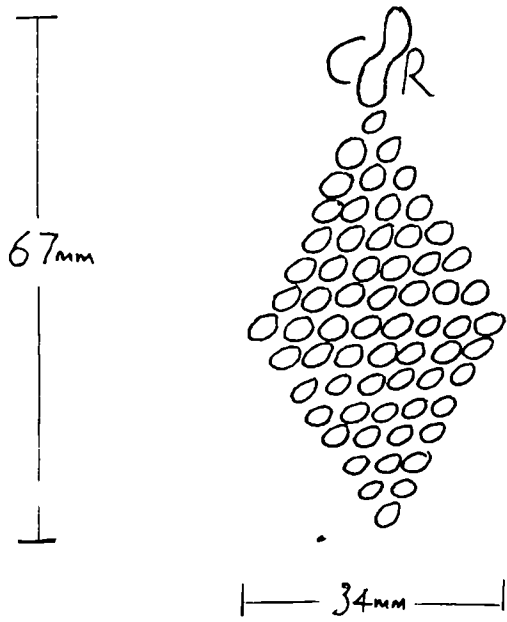
'George Stratford 1641'. This person's connection with Ob64 has been dealt with above (p.136) in relation to the handwriting and provenance of Och1018. Three music hands occur in Ob64, 'X', the main hand, related to Och1018, and two subsidiary hands, 'Y' (the last nine of the 3-part works)<sup>101</sup> and 'Z' (the first eight of the 6-part works). On close examination hand 'Z' betrays many of the characteristics of 'X'. The formation of the note stems, quaver flags and directs is practically identical; the distinction between 'X' and 'Z' is one of style rather than identity and perhaps results from the use of a different nib by the same copyist. The main significance of 'Z', however, is that it also occurs in Dm7, a source dated up to now c.1666. (The dating of Dm7 is examined below, p.149.)

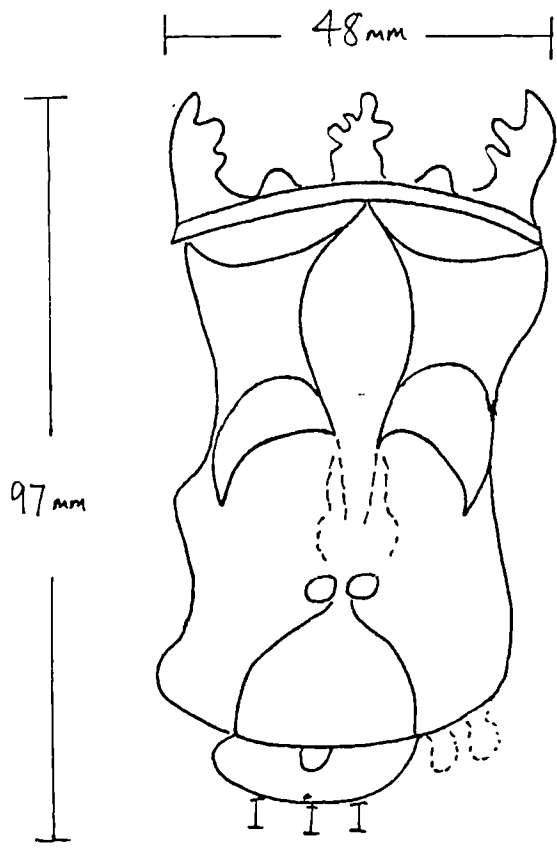
All the music is written on paper with watermarks (a) - (d) whose distribution is shown in Table 14. Watermark (a) is similar to Heawood 2097 (c.1636);<sup>102</sup> (c) is very similar to Heawood 3494 (1633);<sup>103</sup> (b) and (d) do not occur in either Heawood or Churchill's anthologies. The most interesting mark is (c) which is mark (a) of Merro's collection Lbl17792 (c.1625). The wires in Ob64 (c) show greater evidence of wear and tear compared to Lbl17792 (a) (Fig.7),

FIGURE 12

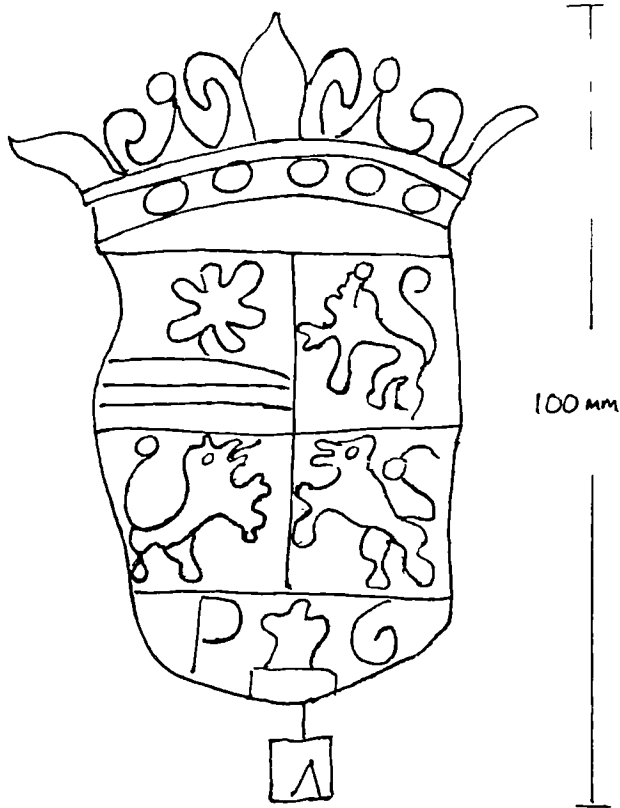
Ob64: WATERMARKS

(eye-drawings)

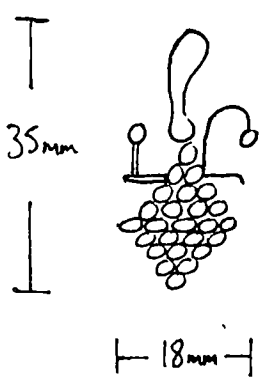




(d)



(e)



(f)

confirming a later date for the paper.<sup>104</sup> Watermark (e) occurs on the first front flyleaves (attached to the inside covers) of partbooks 65, 68 and 69; it is Heawood 580 (1637).<sup>105</sup> Mark (f) is found only on the first front flyleaf of partbook 66; its provenance is unknown.

From Table 14 elements of the copyist's strategy may be deduced. Paper (a) was used for three main groups of pieces: nos. 1-38 a3; nos. 7-40 a5; and nos. 22-33 a6. The function of (b) was to provide for blank spaces between the successive polyphonic sections into which extra pieces might be copied later on (nos. 39-47 a3, for instance). Paper (c) first appears at the beginning of the section of 4-part pieces and is almost exclusively used for the first 21 of the 6-part works. Comparatively rare in appearance is (d), used only at the beginning of the 5-part section and occasionally elsewhere. It would seem that the copyist had only a limited stock of this paper (perhaps left over from a previous batch) and so used it sparingly.

That specific functions were apparently allocated by the copyist to each stock of paper in conjunction with the copying of Ob64 enables several assumptions to be made concerning the manuscript's evolution. The use of a single paper throughout a sizeable group of pieces (for example, (a) in the 3-part works, (c) in the 6-part works) implies that all the pieces in these groups were written up in one sweep within a limited time-span. The first eight of the 6-part pieces were therefore probably written at about the same time as nos. 9-21 despite the variations in handwriting style (possibly due to a change of nib). As paper (b) was intended for later additions the original contents of Ob64 were probably nos. 1-38 a3, nos. 1-30 a4, nos. 1-40 a5 and all of the present 6-part sections. Later additions were nos. 39-47 a3, nos. 31-2 a4, and nos. 41-8 a5. That changes from one paper type to another always take place within a piece (except for the 3-part pieces 39-47 added on paper (b) nearly all of the pieces commence on a folio verso) suggests that the books may well have been bound up before the music was written onto the folios.

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF WATERMARKS IN Ob64

All of the 3-part music in Ob64 is written on watermark (a) except nos. 39-47 which are on (b).

(i) 4-part music

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Watermark</u>			
			<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>
1	Fantasia	R. Gibbons	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)
2	"	"				
3	<u>Ut re mi</u>	Tomkins				
4	Pavan	"				
5	Alman	"				
6	Fantasia	Ferrabosco II				
7	"	"				
8	"	"				
9	"	"				
10	"	"				
11	"	"				
12	"	"				
13	"	"	(d)			
14	"	"	(d)?		(d)	
15	"	"	(c)			
16	"	"				
17	"	[anon.]			(c)	
18	"	Ives	(d)			
19	"	"				
20	"	"		(d)		
21	"	"				
22	"	Ferrabosco II		(c)		
23	"	[anon.]				
24	"	Jenkins	(c)			

TABLE 14 (cont'd)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Watermark</u>			
			<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>
25	Fantasia	Jenkins				
26	"	"				
27	"	"				
28	"	"				
29	"	"				
30	"	"				
31	"	"	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
32	"	"				

(Mark (b) continues to end of 4-part section.)

TABLE 14 (cont'd)

(ii) 5-part music

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Watermark</u>				
			<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>
1	In Nomine	Ferrabosco II	(d)	(d)	(d)	(d)	(d)
2	"	"					
3	"	"					(c)
4	"	[anon.]				(c)	
5	"	Gibbons	(c)	(c)	(c)		
6	"	Ward					
7	"	Cranford	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
8	"	Ives					
9	"	[anon.]					
10	"	"					
11	"	Weelkes					
12	"	"					
13	Fantasia	[anon.]					
14	"	"					
15	"	"					
16	"	Ward					
17	"	"					
18	"	"					
19	"	"					
20	"	"					
21	"	"					
22	"	"					
23	"	"					
24	"	"					
25	"	"					
26	"	"					



TABLE 14 (cont'd)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Watermark</u>				
			<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>
27	Fantasia	[anon.]					
28	"	"					
29	"	"					
30	"	"					
31	"	"					
32	"	"					
33	"	"					
34	"	"					
35	"	"					
36	"	"					
37	"	"					
38	"	"					
39	"	"					
40	"	"					
41	"	"	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
42	"	"					
43	"	"					
44	"	"					
45	"	"					
46	"	"					
47	"	"					
48	"	"					

(Mark (b) continues to end of 5-part section.)

TABLE 14 (cont'd)

(iii) 6-part music

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Watermark</u>					
			<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>69</u>
1	Pavan	Tomkins	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)
2	Galliard	"						
3	Pavan	Byrd						
4	Galliard	"						
5	Fantasia	Tomkins						
6	"	"						
7	"	"						
8	"	"						
9	"	White						
10	"	"						
11	"	"						
12	"	"						
13	"	"						
14	"	"						
15	"	[anon.]						
16	"	"						
17	"	"						
18	"	"		(d)			(d)	
19	"	"						
20	In Nomine	"		(c)				
21	Fantasia	Ward						
22	"	"	(a)	(a)		(a)	(a)	
23	"	"						
24	"	Coprario						(a)
25	"	Ward						
26	"	"			(a)			
27	"	"						

TABLE 14 (cont'd)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Watermark</u>					
			<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>69</u>
28	In Nomine	Ward						
29	"	"						
30	Fantasia	Coleman						
31	"	"						
32	"	Ives						
33	"	Lupo						

(Mark (a) continues to end of anthology; in partbook 69 penultimate leaf is of paper (b).)

## Dm1, Dm7

These complementary collections (each of six partbooks containing consort music for between three and six polyphonic parts) were compiled for Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713) for use at private music meetings held at Exeter College and St. Alban Hall, Oxford, in the 1660 s and 1670 s. The volumes, and Marsh's connection with them, have been thoroughly studied by Richard Charteris.<sup>106</sup>

Charteris has shown that Dm1 and Dm7 which are of identical size (23.7 x 18.5 cm) were planned to complement each other. For instance

Z3.4.1-6 [Dm1] contain the 3pt fantasias of Lupo not in Z3.4.7-12 [Dm7]; also Z3.4.1-6 has Tomkins' 6pt fantasias (all 4) while Z3.4.7-12 has most of his 3 pt fantasias. All 15 would have been included if the spaces left between nos. 23 and 25 and 32 and 34 a3 had been copied up as presumably was the intention.<sup>107</sup>

## Hands

Charteris has traced the handwriting of four different copyists in Dm1, and no less than seven in Dm7. The co-ordination of so many copyists in the planning of so large an exercise as this would have been no mean feat for Marsh in conjunction with his teaching duties at St. Alban Hall and Exeter College. The 11 copyists would have consulted a variety of existing manuscripts from which the texts in Dm1 and Dm7 were drawn,<sup>108</sup> implying that Marsh's musical contacts were good.

Charteris believes that Marsh's entire musical collection<sup>109</sup> was copied for him, largely between 1666 and 1670:

The necessity for a collection of music, more especially partbooks, from which his visitors could play would have been contingent upon Marsh's decision to conduct these music meetings<sup>110</sup> [1666]... it would seem reasonable that these manuscripts were all compiled during the years 1666-1678 at Oxford [Marsh left Oxford for Dublin in 1678]; it would be reasonable to suppose also that most of these manuscripts were extant before 1670. [111]

There is one problem with this interpretation, however. Charteris's hand 'J' (in which all of Tomkins's 3-part pieces appear in Dm7, f. 9v-10;

22v-36) is identical with Ob64 hand 'Z' (Tomkins's 6-part pavan, galliard and fantasias, f.202-209<sup>112</sup>), dated 1641. The fact that groups of works in a similar style (predominantly 3- and 6-part fantasias) by the same composer (Tomkins) were written by a single copyist<sup>113</sup> into two separate anthologies suggest that the copying was strictly limited, both chronologically and geographically.

That Charteris's hand 'J' (= hand 'Z') can be traced to a manuscript dated as early as 1641 weighs against the notion that Marsh's music books were compiled all of a piece in the mid-to-late-1660s in Oxford. Marsh could not have been responsible for co-ordinating Dm7's texts of Tomkins's 3-part pieces in 1641 (he was then aged 3). The likeliest explanation of the provenance of at least part of Dm7 is that they were originally copied for someone else, from whom Marsh later acquired the beginnings of a musical library to which he added as his weekly meetings became established in Oxford after 1666. If, as Marsh's diaries suggest, he resolved in 1666 to conduct 'a weekly consort (of instrumental musick and sometimes vocal)',<sup>114</sup> then a ready-made collection (incorporating Tomkins's 3-part pieces from Dm7) would have made a useful start.

There is, therefore, no real obstacle to an original copying date of c.1641 for parts of Dm7. The main copyist of Ob64 (hand 'J' of Dm7) also contributed in the 1630s to Och1018 (from which most of Dm7's texts of Tomkins's 3-part works were copied<sup>115</sup>), a further pointer towards an earlier origin for parts of Dm7 than is assumed by Charteris.

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## Y

Matthew Hutton (1638-1711), the famous seventeenth-century antiquary, was first recognised as a copyist of consort music manuscripts - including Y - by Pamela Willetts.<sup>116</sup> She identified Hutton as the owner of Lbl17792 and as the copyist of several other manuscripts, but was apparently unaware of his holograph volume, Y, which has been very briefly discussed in an article by

Richard Charteris.<sup>117</sup> Fuller investigation and assessment of Hutton's musical background, interests and achievement has been attempted by the author elsewhere.<sup>118</sup>


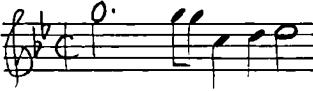


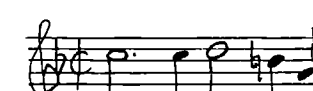
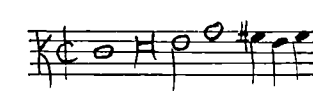
The partbooks contain consort music by Jenkins, Ferrabosco, Ward and Tomkins. Folio 8 of partbook M.3/4(S) is dated, Dec.7.1667. This probably indicates that Hutton made the collection for use at the Oxford music meetings. All four volumes are in their original paper covers; they are entitled Treble, Tenor, Altus, Tenor and Bassus. From Table 15 it may be seen that the contents are arranged in two distinct series of pieces, numbered consecutively from 1-10 and 1-7 respectively.<sup>119</sup> Within each series the items are grouped first by composer and secondly by key-signature. Although the number of polyphonic parts in each piece is given by Hutton only the pieces in Series 1 are titled;<sup>120</sup> those in Series 2 are all fantasias except no.7, Tomkins's Ut re mi, which also survives in two keyboard versions.<sup>121</sup> All the composers represented were popular at the Oxford music meetings.

Each volume consists of 28 folios numbered in a modern hand. Three sorts of paper were used, bearing watermarks (a), (b) and (c) which are traced in Figure 13. Papers (a) and (b) measure 21 x 16.5 cm; (c) is of a smaller width (21 x 15.5 cm). Both (b) and (c) are of rather poor quality and Hutton therefore wrote on only one side of each sheet. In all four volumes the pieces in Series 1 are written on paper (a). Those in Series 2 are on a mixture of (b) and (c) in M.3/1; (c) in M.3/2; and (b) in M.3/3 and M.3/4. Paper (a) is ruled with six 5-line staves per leaf, whereas (b) and (c) contain just five staves. The random mixture of (b) and (c) in the treble book probably indicates that it was copied after the others, using up leftover papers. That this is the case is supported by Hutton's addition of a completion date (Nov.15) at the end of the final piece (Tomkins's Ut re mi) on f.28v of the treble book.<sup>122</sup>

TABLE 15

CONTENTS OF Y







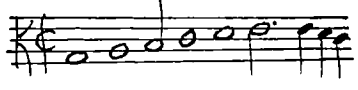
SERIES 1

<u>No.</u>	<u>Fol.*</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Ascription</u>
1	1v, 2		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
2	2v, 3		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
3	3v, 4		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u> (MB26:41)	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
4	4v, 5		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
5	5v, 6		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
6	6v, 7		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
7	7v, 8		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u> (MB26:43)	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
8	8v, 9		<u>Fantasia</u> <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Alfonso Ferabosco</u>
9	9v, 10		None	<u>Alfonso Ferabosco</u> (from M.3/3)
10	10v, 11		None	<u>Alfonso's Ut re mi fa</u> <u>sol la</u> (from M.3/4(S))

\* from M.3/1

TABLE 15 (cont'd)

SERIES 2

<u>No.</u>	<u>Fol.*</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Ascription</u>
1	13v, 14		None [Fantasia] <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
2	15v, 16		None [Fantasia] <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Jenkins</u>
3	17v, 18		None [Fantasia] <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Ward</u>
4	19v, 20		None [Fantasia] <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Ward</u>
5	21v, 22		None [Fantasia] <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Ward</u>
6	23v, 24		None [Fantasia] <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr John Ward</u>
7	25v-28		None [Ut re mi] <u>4 voc.</u>	<u>Mr Tho: Tomkins</u>

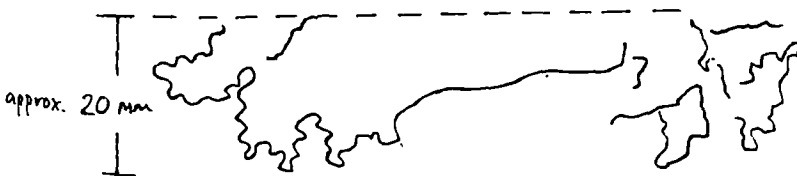
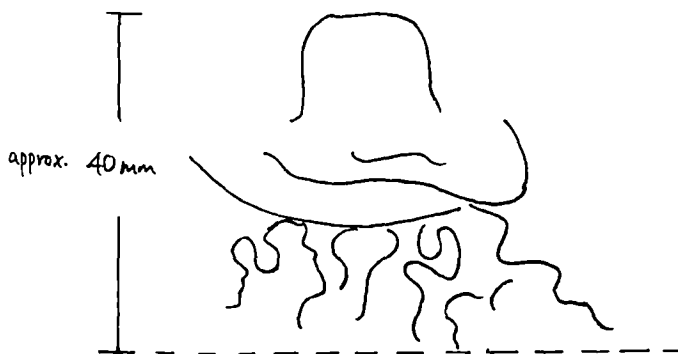
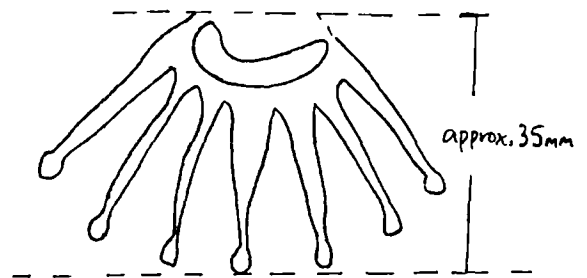
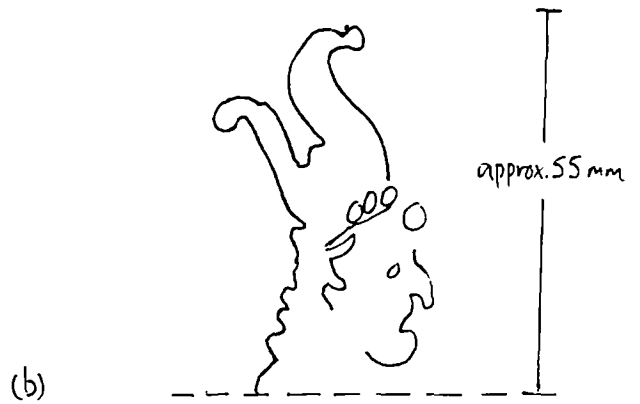
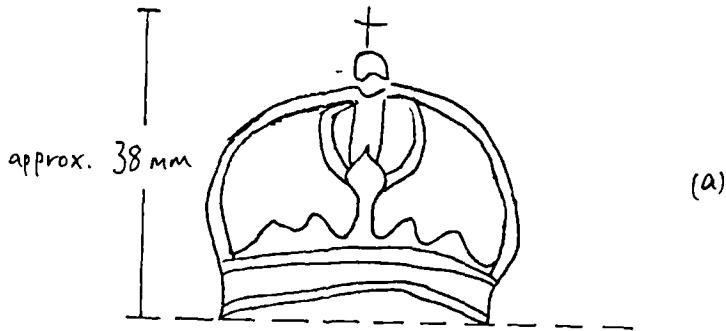
\* from M.3/1

NB The intervening folios between Series 1 and 2 (11v-13 in M.3/1) are blank in all four partbooks, as are the final folios (28v in M.3/1).



FIGURE 13

Y: WATERMARKS (ALL FRAGMENTARY)



(c)

The format is oblong quarto in gatherings of one except for folios 19 and 20 of M.3/1 which are, respectively, the bottom and top halves of an original folio of eleven 5-line staves. This folio was cut horizontally through the middle stave forming two quartos of approximately similar dimensions to those of paper (a), but bearing no watermark.

Hutton's music-hand is highly characteristic; its bold form, large and well-rounded note-heads and marked backward tilt make it one of the most distinctive and memorable of seventeenth-century examples. The general features of its style may be seen in Illustration 10(b) (Chapter 10).

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 9

1. StevT, p.173-4 and 194-6; DoddV, p.183-6.
2. Andrew Clarke (ed.): The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, vol.1 (Oxford, 1891), p.204-5, 237, 256, 264, 273-5; Thomas Mace: Musick's Monument (London, 1676/rep. Paris, 1966; ii/1977), p.234.
3. John Irving: 'Consort playing in mid-17th century Worcester: Thomas Tomkins and the Bodleian partbooks Mus.Sch.E.415-18' in EM, vol.12/3 (1984), p.337-44.
4. For detailed information on the Hamburg copy I am grateful to Dr Bernhard Stockmann, Music Librarian at the Staats und Universitätsbibliothek.
5. RISM, vol.BI/1: Recueils Imprimés XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles I - Liste Chronologique (München - Duisberg, 1960), p.430.
6. Andrew Ashbee: 'Simpson, Thomas' in The New Grove. Other Englishmen who published abroad were William Brade and Valentine Fludd. There must have been considerable demand for English consort dances among continental performers for Simpson, Brade and Fludd published these liberally in anthologies with similar titles. For instance, the title of Brade's Neue ausserlesene Paduanen (1609) is clearly indebted to Füllsack and Hildebrand's Ausserlesene Paduanen (1607). Brade's second volume of Neue Ausserlesene Paduanen appeared in 1614. SOp was followed in 1611 by Simpson's Pavanen, Volten und Galliarden and in 1617 by Opus newer Paduanen. Both Simpson and Brade produced more such sets in 1621, Simpson's Taffel Concert and Brade's Neue Lustige Volten. English consort music continued to be published abroad as late as 1648 when XX Köninklyke Fantasien appeared in Amsterdam, containing music by Gibbons and Coprario. See Thurston Dart: 'A Hand-List of English Instrumental Music Printed Before 1631' in GSJ, vol.8 (1955), p.13-26.
7. Bertram Schofield and Thurston Dart: 'Tregian's Anthology' in ML, vol.32 (1951), p.205-16.
8. See Augustus Jessop (ed.): The OEconomy of the Fleete (London, 1879).
9. Ibid., p.xiii.
10. Ibid., p.141.

11. Schofield and Dart, op.cit., p.203.
12. I am grateful to Mr. Christopher Borner, Reference Librarian at the Royal College of Music, London, for information on the history of these partbooks.
13. See The First part of Musicks Hand-maide..(1663). Trans. and ed. Thurston Dart, Early Keyboard Music (Stainer and Bell), vol.28 (London, 1969); CaldE, p.155, 186; Watkins Shaw: 'Rogers, Benjamin' in The New Grove. Sandley is mentioned as a keyboard player on the title page of Playford's A Musically Banquet (London, 1651).
14. Edward Heawood: Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries (Hilversum, 1950).
15. See Joseph Kerman: The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study (New York, 1962), p.221-33.
16. Amner was organist of Ely Cathedral from 1610 to 1641.
17. See Peter Le Huray: Music and the Reformation in England (London, 1967), p.270-2.
18. Kirbye was household musician to Sir Robert Jermyn at Rushbrooke Hall in Suffolk and died at Bury St. Edmunds in 1634; see Edmund H. Fellowes: The English Madrigal (London, 1925), p.98.
19. See Diana Poulton: 'Mason, George' in The New Grove. Mason was active at least between c.1610-17, probably about the time this manuscript was copied. Actually only seven (not nine, the number given by Poulton) of Mason's pavans were copied in Lbl30826; see Table 9.
20. The words of Webb's song are as follows:
 

I wish no more thou shouldst love me,  
My joyes are full in loving thee;  
My heart's too narrow to containe  
My bliss if thou shouldst love againe.
- Webb's song was included in John Playford's Second Book of Aires (London, 1652).
21. Probably J.S. Sainsbury's A Dictionary of Musicians (London, 1824), the first biographical dictionary published in English. See Peter Ward-Jones: 'Sainsbury, J.H.' [sic] in The New Grove.

22. Pamela Willetts: 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford' in The British Museum Quarterly, vol.24 (1961), p.71-5.
23. MB22, p.173.
24. Andrew Ashbee: 'Lowe, Jenkins and Merro' in ML, vol.48 (1967), p.310-11.
25. Craig Monson: Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1982), p. [133] - 158.
26. Ibid., p.144, 146.
27. Ibid., p.137, 138, 144.
28. Ibid., p.138.
29. Ibid., p.154-8.
30. Mention is made of some of the annotations in this source in Willetts, op.cit., p.73-4.
31. Irving, op.cit. p.339-40; 342-3.
32. Ashbee: 'Lowe, Jenkins and Merro' (op.cit.), p.311.
33. Norman Josephs: 'Okeover, John' in The New Grove; John Morehen: 'The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Part-Book MS93' in ML, vol.62 (1981), p.192; Wyn K. Ford: 'The Life and Work of John Okeover (or Oker)' in PRMA, session 84 (1957-8), p.71; Norman Josephs: 'Withy, John' in The New Grove.
34. Monson, op.cit., Plate 16, p.136.
35. First noted in Willetts, op.cit., p.74.
36. Clarke, op.cit. (fn. 2 above), p.154.
37. For Fell's character (as sharply drawn by Wood) see ibid., vol.1, p.348; vol. 2 (Oxford, 1892), p.26, 82.
38. Margaret Crum: 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection' in ML, vol. 48 (1967), p.28.
39. Willetts, op.cit., p.73.
40. Partbook 245, p.i; there is no shelfmark in the front of partbook 246, but 247 is numbered (in pencil) 'MS CX Vol 3/B4.3' (p.i.).
41. On the outside cover of partbook 415.
42. Monson, op.cit., p.143-8.

43. Ibid., p.153.
44. Ibid., p.144, 146.
45. Two parts of Dering's fantasia were evidently in the now lost books. Hutton numbered the fantasia 14 because it belongs with 13 6-part fantasias by White, Ward and Cranford on f.101v-113v (17792). Hutton also copied Peerson's verse anthem O go not from me on f.129v (17792).
46. For details of Hutton's musical activities in Oxford see John A. Irving: 'Matthew Hutton and York Minster MSS. M.3/1-4(S)' in MR, vol.44 (1983).
47. Willetts, op.cit., p.74, n.2.
48. A modified version of this study is to be found in John A. Irving: 'Oxford, Christ Church MSS. 1018-20: A Valuable Source of Tomkins's Consort Music' in The Consort, vol. 40 (1984), p.1-12.
49. "He was eminently skilled in music, and adapted English words to the airs of many Italian composers. He collected a large musical library, which he left to his college." (Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 1, ed. Sidney Lee, p.251.) Aldrich entered Christ Church in 1662 and took his B.A. in 1666, becoming M.A. 3 years later and D.D. in 1689.
50. As a matter of fact no less than five of Tomkins's 3-part fantasias in Ob245 are lacking in Och1018.
51. DoddV, p.183-6.
52. I am grateful to Mr. H.J.R. Wing, Assistant Librarian at Christ Church, Oxford, for this information.
53. In the hand of Frederick York Powell, Librarian of Christ Church from 1899-1904. Once again, I am indebted to H.J.R.Wing for this identification.
54. The no. "1" in partbook 1019 is in ink but now barely visible, being covered by a thin strip of paper used to repair a tear.
55. Fantasias 3/13, 14, 15.
56. Counting leaves pasted together as two.
57. From the sewing holes in the paper where each partbook has been stitched through it is apparent that the manuscripts have been taken apart and resewn at least once. The signature and paste could have been added at any of these

times, possibly even as late as 1900 when the most recent binding was completed.

58. Heawood, op.cit.
59. Edward Heawood: 'Papers used in England after 1600' in The Library, vol.11 (1930-31), p. 269-299.
60. Given the folio format (where a watermark occurs entire in the centre of one half of a sheet folded once) the fact that watermark (b) is to be seen on both front flyleaves in 1020 suggests that these flyleaves are wrapped around the outside of the five gatherings of music paper. Neither of the back flyleaves bears any watermark and these leaves must therefore be the other halves of the two front flyleaves. W.A. Churchill's Watermarks in Paper (Amsterdam, 1935), p.42, informs us that "In the beginning of the 17thC. writing paper was usually 12-13 inches in height and about 16 inches in width, folded in two, each half sheet measured about 12 by 8 inches." At about 8 inches (20 cm.) square, Och1018 was a fairly small folio. Folio it must be, however, as the watermarks appear whole in the centre of the leaves ("half sheets") and not cut in halves, as in quarto (Lb130826) or quarters, as in octavo (Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Music (London, 1654)). For a clear account of the nature of watermarks, see E.W. Padwick: Bibliographical Method, An Introductory Survey (Cambridge and London, 1969), p.46-51.
61. Heawood, 'Papers' (op.cit.), p.287.
62. The arrangement of the flyleaves in 1018 (marks (c) and (b) on the front two, no marks on the back two) corresponds to that of 1020.
63. This arrangement could either correspond to that of the other volumes or confute it. The second back flyleaf could be the other half of either the first front flyleaf or the first back flyleaf, neither of which bears any watermark. The former, corresponding to the format in 1018 and 1020, is likeliest, although this is impossible to confirm without unstitching the manuscripts.

64. Heawood, 'Papers', p.291. DIV in any case probably stands for the French firm Durand ('V' = 'U'). For Heawood 3584 see Heawood, Watermarks... (op.cit.).
65. C.M. Briquet: Les Filigranes, ed. Allan Stevenson, (The Paper Publications Society, Amsterdam, 1968), p.xviii.
66. See note 60.
67. Allan Stevenson: 'Paper as Bibliographical Evidence' in The Library 5th series, vol. 17 (1962), p.202. Stevenson believes that printers tended to use paper quickly, before it deteriorated in quality. Presumably this criterion would apply to the preparation of manuscripts also.
68. Crum, op.cit., p.28.
69. Andrew Clarke (ed.): Register of the University of Oxford, vol. 2. (Oxford, 1837), p.174. It is not known when this George Stratford died but an Anthony Stratford (his brother?) matriculated on the same day and died in Temple Guiting, Gloucestershire, in 1628. See W.P.W. Phillimore and Leland L. Duncan (eds.): A Calendar of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Gloucester vol. 1, 1541-1650, p.160 (= The Index Library, vol.12 (London, 1895)).
70. His will was proved in the same year ("Stratford, George, Standish"); Edw. Alexander Fry (ed.): A Calendar of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Gloucester vol. 2 1660-1800, p.16 (= The Index Library vol.34 (London, 1908; rep. Liechstenstein, 1968)).
71. There does at least seem to be a family of Gloucestershire Stratfords in the seventeenth century. Yet another George Stratford died at Temple Guiting in 1704. Ibid. p.101.
72. Josephs: 'Withy, John' (op.cit.); Irving: 'Oxford, Christ Church...' (op.cit.) p. 7. Withy's contribution to Ob415 is discussed below, p. 138.
73. For paleographical details of R I am indebted to Louise Goldberg, Rare Books Librarian at the Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, New York.
74. By Louise Goldberg.
75. Viola da Gamba Society nos. 13, 14, 4, 5 and 6; DoddV, p.74.



76. Altogether R contains 12 pieces by Withy himself; DoddV, p.200.
77. A composer prominent in the keyboard source, D1; Susi Jeans: 'Facy, Hugh' in The New Grove.
78. DoddV, p.183.
79. N. Josephs: 'Withy, John' (op.cit.).
80. DoddV, p.40
81. StevT, p.159-60.
82. Il Terzo Libro de Madrigale a Cinque Voci (Venice, 1592). Claudio Monteverdi: Tutte le Opere. Ed. G.Francesco Malipiero (Asolo, 1926-42), vol.3.
83. Monteverdi's madrigal and Mico's secunda pars follow on in sequence in Och MSS. 2, 403-8 and 436, and Lbl MS. Eg. 2485; DoddV, p.168.
84. Pavans 5/3 and 5/4 respectively.
85. Clarke: The Life and Times..., vol. 2, p.158.
86. DoddV, p.199, 200.
87. The following discussion is based on Irving: 'Consort playing....' (op.cit.).
88. Clarke: The Life and Times...., vol.1, p.273.
89. Mace, op.cit., p.234.
90. These pieces and the following sarabande ('Sarrabrand') are unique to Ob415.
91. Unless the tenor was available in another source in use at the Worcester music meetings.
92. Shelagh Bond (ed.): The Chamber Order Book of Worcester, 1602-1650 (Leeds, 1974), p.311.
93. For details on the possible confusion of identity of at least three Richard Brownes in this period see Peter le Huray: 'Browne, Richard (i)', 'Browne, Richard (ii)' in The New Grove, and Morehen, op.cit., note 19.
94. StevT, p.14-16, 159.
95. Ibid., p.50-1, 153-4.
96. Bond, op.cit., p.359.
97. Pavans 5/2, 5/3, 5/4 and 5/5 respectively.
98. Pavans 5/1 and 5/6; see the transcriptions in Vol.2.

99. Listed in the textual commentary to Pavan 5/6.
100. Falconer Madan (ed.): Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol.5 (Oxford, 1905), gives the total as 161 (p.219).
101. Probably these were added on the blank leaves following nos. 1-38 by a later copyist (after 1641).
102. Heawood: Watermarks..... (op.cit.).
103. Ibid. Heawood 3494 bears the same manufacturer's initials, RDP, as mark (c) of Ob64. Heawood ('Papers.....' p.286) believed the paper to be of Dutch origin.
104. For example, the upright pillars are rather more buckled in Ob64 (c) and the ball (bottom centre) is displaced to the left.
105. Heawood: Watermarks..... (op.cit.).
106. Richard Charteris: 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin' in RMARC, no.13 (1976), p.27; idem., A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music, Printed Music and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin (Boethius Press, 1982).
107. Charteris: 'Consort Music MSS.....' (op.cit.), p.38. Charteris mistakes no.27 a3 in Dm7 (Tomkins's In Nomine 3/2) for a fantasia (it is untitled in Dm7), and so there are not 13 of Tomkins's 3-part fantasias, as Charteris implies, but only 12 in Dm7. The missing fantasias are 3/8, 3/13 and 3/17 (In Nomine 3/1 is also lacking).
108. One of these was Och1018, see below, p.163.
109. EIRE - Dm MSS. Z2.1.12; Z2.1.13; Dm1; Dm7; Z3.4.13; and Z4.2.16.
110. Charteris cites Marsh's diary entries as evidence of his having held regular music meetings after the fire of London (1666): 'Consort Music MSS...', p.35.
111. Ibid., p.35-6.
112. Also in Dm1, f.116v-121 (partbook Z3.4(1)).
113. There is no detectable development in style between hands 'J' and 'Z' and they are almost certainly of similar date.

114. Charteris: 'Consort Music MSS...', p.35.
115. P.163 below.
116. Willetts, op.cit., p.72.
117. Richard Charteris: 'Matthew Hutton (1638-1711) and his Manuscripts in York Minster Library' in GSI, vol.28, (1975), p.2-6.
118. Irving: 'Matthew Hutton and York Minster....' (op.cit.)
119. This suggests that Y is a composite of two separate anthologies (both copied by Hutton and similar in scope) which were later stitched together.
120. With the exception of Ferrabosco II's Fantasia (Series 1, no.9).
121. Tb, p.71-87; Ob93, f.67-70; [TK35]. See Chapter 5, p.70-4.
122. The bottom right hand corner of this folio, showing the year, has been torn off.

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## CHAPTER 10

### CONSORT SOURCES : TEXTUAL CRITICISM

This chapter focuses attention on the relationships between the surviving sources of Tomkins's consort music.

The sources are remarkably uniform in quality; only occasionally do they exhibit textual divergences in Tomkins's pieces. Such accidents as do emerge from comparison are minor and can usually be accounted for with little trouble. In several cases it is possible to trace direct copying links between sources so far as Tomkins's pieces are concerned. The strongest connections are those between the sources of his 3-part consorts while the weakest occur in the 6-part music. Both of these categories suggest possible lost sources intervening between texts and this matter is dealt with later.

Prolonged study of the manuscript sources consulted while preparing the transcriptions in Vol.2 has convinced the author that, like modern copy-typists, music copyists in the seventeenth century remained faithful to their copy-texts, only rarely presuming to amend passages according to their personal taste.<sup>1</sup> Their note-for-note copying technique was conditioned by the partbook format in which consort music was transmitted. Copyists were utterly dependent on their copy; because they could only copy one part (from an individual part-book) at a time mistakes in a single part which only show up in relation to the surrounding polyphony (a phrase written in the wrong clef, for instance), could only be detected with difficulty, and were in the great majority of cases unnoticed.

This method of transmission makes direct links between two sources easy either to establish or dismiss. Where such a link can be established there are usually some textual discrepancies which usually appear minor on paper but are significant for the paleographer (a missing quaver flag, for instance) which allow the order of succession to be pinpointed. It is on the basis of such telling minutiae that the following discussion is founded.

### 3-part sources

#### a) Merro's anthologies (Ob245; Lb17792)

In comparing Merro's closely related texts of Tomkins's 3-part consorts it should be noted that in Lb17792 (excepting the Fantasia 3/16) only 2 parts survive owing to the loss of the sextus book.<sup>2</sup> All of Tomkins's 3-part pieces are complete in Ob245.

Comparison of Merro's divergent readings of b.51 of Tomkins's In Nomine 3/2 suggests that Ob245 preceded Lb17792 (Example 29(i) and (ii)). The version of this bar in partbook 246 cannot have been copied from partbook 17796 since the figure  $r^x \neg$  in Ex.29(i) is lacking in Ex.29(ii). The order of copying was presumably the other way round. Merro's text in partbook 246 (p.162, completed on p.161) was originally without the bracketed crotchets. When copying this treble part into partbook 17796 (f.2v,3) Merro omitted figure  $r^x \neg$ ; perhaps he was distracted or confused by the layout of the In Nomine on p.162 and 161 of partbook 246 in which the phrase immediately following  $r^x \neg$  appears on the bottom stave of p.161,<sup>3</sup>  $r^x \neg$  itself completing the bottom stave of p.162. He made up for the missing minim beat  $r^x \neg$  by adding the bracketed crotchets (EF) to partbook 17796. Why Merro then crammed these crotchets into partbook 246 (making that correct part a minim too long) is a mystery. Probably he thought, on reviewing the end of Tomkins's In Nomine in 246, that b.51 began on the bottom stave of p.161 (not thinking to look on p.162) and so incorrectly assumed the ending to be a minim short by comparison with partbook 17796. Polyphonically both Lb17792 and the revised Ob245 give inferior readings to those found in Och1018 and Dm7 which have been preferred in the transcription of the In Nomine given in Vol.2.

A fruitful technique for confirming or refuting a direct copying link between two sources of the same piece is the detailed comparison of clef-changes in lower (especially bass) parts.<sup>4</sup> In Tomkins's 3-part consorts the bass parts often move rapidly through a wide pitch-range (Fantasia 3/8, for instance) necessitating frequent changes of clef to avoid too many ledger-lines above or

EXAMPLE 29 IN NOMINE 3/2, b. 51: VARIANT READINGS

(i)

Handwritten musical notation for variant (i) in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation shows a sequence of notes with slurs and accents. Above the staff, two vertical dashed lines mark 'bar 51' and 'bar 52'. A double-headed arrow between these lines is labeled 'p. 162' on the left and 'p. 161' on the right. Two square boxes containing a sharp symbol (#) are placed above the notes in bar 51. A bracket labeled 'L x J' is positioned below the first few notes of bar 51. A fermata is placed over the final note of bar 51, and a slur with a 'w' (breath mark) is placed over the notes in bar 52.

Ob 245, partbook 246

(ii)

Handwritten musical notation for variant (ii) in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation shows a sequence of notes with slurs and accents. A fermata is placed over the final note of bar 51, and a slur with a 'w' (breath mark) is placed over the notes in bar 52.

Lb 17792, partbook 17796

below the stave (generally of five lines). As noted above copyists of this repertory remained faithful to their copytexts, and where patterns of clef changes are identical in two sources of a piece the probability of a direct copying link is high.

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b) Och1018; Dm7; R

Detailed scrutiny of the clef patterns in the bass parts of the Tomkins fantasias reveals a very strong connection between Och1018 and Dm7.<sup>5</sup> Typically, both sources correspond exactly, as in the case of Fantasia 3/7, for which in partbook 1020 the clef changes are as follows: C3 F3 C3 F3 C4 F4 F3. Dm7, partbook Z3.4(8) reproduces this scheme exactly. In all except one of the fantasias common to both sources the clef changes are identical at every stage. The exception is Fantasia 3/4 where in partbook 1020 the bass part changes from C3 to F3 at b.29; at the corresponding point in partbook Z3.4(8) the change is to F4. This mistake was corrected (in a different hand and ink) to F3, presumably by a violist who found himself playing a third too low.

A further tiny error strongly suggests that Tomkins's 3-part consorts in Dm7 were copied from Och1018. In Fantasia 3/11 the first six crotchet beats on the third stave of sig.2/1v in partbook 1019 (b.22, beat 2, 23; Illustration 6) were accidentally copied out twice in partbook Z3.4(9). Bearing in mind the close relation of the manuscripts, if Och1018 had been copied from Dm7 then one would expect the repeated phrase to have been copied into partbook 1019 as well. But it is not. It is far more likely that the copyist of Dm7 broke off for some reason, and on returning to work copied this phrase out again by mistake. The close correspondence between Och1018 and Dm7 reinforces the case set out above (p.149) for a similar chronological and geographical origin for the two sources.

Also partly copied from Och1018 is R. Its text of Fantasia 3/7 accords very closely with that of Och1018, and the clef patterns in the two sources accord perfectly.<sup>6</sup> As R was the personal copybook of John Withy, the textual

connection between it and Och1018 strengthens the possibility that the latter originated in circles associated with Tomkins in or near Worcester.

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c) Lost Sources

The textual links observed between the sources of Tomkins's 3-part consorts suggests the possibility of at least two lost sources of this repertory.

An apparently close correspondance may be recognised between the texts of Fantasia 3/8 preserved in Ob245 and Och1018. Similarity in the clef patterns is not likely to have been due to a direct copying connection here since in many other details (accidentals, for instance) the two readings diverge. Probably in this piece both Merro and the anonymous copyist of Och1018 used the same (now lost) copytext in which the clef patterns were substantially as preserved in the surviving sources. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this lost text was an autograph, since Merro was evidently known to Tomkins (above, p.125) and the high textual quality of Och1018 (and demonstrable connection - via R - with the Worcester region) may indicate that its copyist was equally well acquainted with the composer.<sup>7</sup>

Not all of the 13 of Tomkins's 3-part consorts in Dm7 can have been copied from Och1018 since only 9 of his pieces are common to both sources. Dm7's copytext for Fantasias 3/3, 14, 15 and 16 cannot be identified among the surviving sources. Merro's Ob245 and Lb117792 can be ruled out since, apart from variant accidentals, the clef patterns in these pieces are completely at odds. The fact that spaces were left in Dm7 for Fantasias 3/8, 13 and 17<sup>8</sup> might indicate that the scribe knew of these pieces, wished to include them, but, despite making provision for them, was not able to gain access to a text. A suggested 'stemma' for the sources of the 3-part music is shown in Figure 14, in which A = autograph and  $\alpha$  = other 'lost' source(s).

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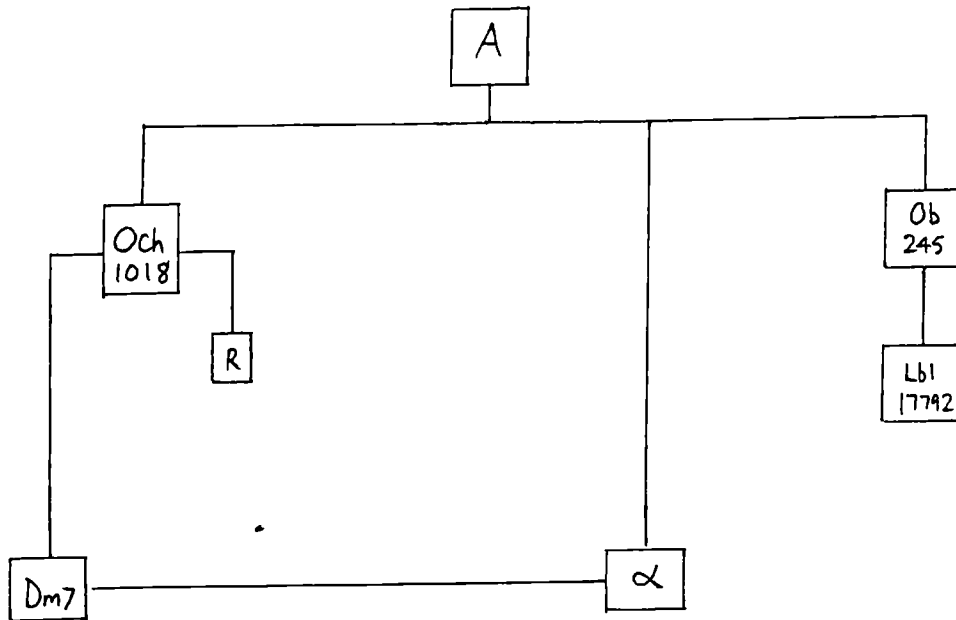
4- and 6-part sources

Three sources of Tomkins's 4- and 6-part consorts survive, Ob64, Dm1 and Y, the latter containing only the 4-part Ut re mi.



FIGURE 14

3-PART SOURCES: STEMMA



Ob64 and Dm1 were evidently not copied from one another as their texts of the 4-part Pavan, Alman and Ut re mi differ greatly in detail. For example, in the pavan, b.15, beat 4, 16, the tenor line lies a third higher in partbook 67 than in partbook Z3.4(6), the version preferred in the transcription.<sup>9</sup> In the alman the clef patterns of the bass line (again of characteristically wide compass) in partbooks 68 and Z3.4(3) do not match; whereas in 68 the clef changes twice, at b.13 (F3 to C3) and b.15 (C3 to F4), in Z3.4(3) the bass remains in F3 throughout. The Ut re mi (entitled 'In Nomine' in Dm1) harbours a long list of textual variants (see the commentary to this piece in Vol.2) of which a selection will prove documentary: the alto B in b.13 is repeated in Ob64 but not in Dm1; in b.91 the third alto note (B) is omitted in Ob64; notes 3-8 of the bass in b.94 are a third too high in Ob64 (compare this scribe's reading of the pavan, b.15, 16 cited above); finally, practically all of the proportional changes in statements 10-13 of the hexachord are precisely notated by the copyist of Ob64 (perhaps indicating that the collection was meant for use by inexperienced players) whereas many of the proportional signs (especially the return to duple  $\text{♩}^{10}$ ) are lacking in Dm1.



By contrast the textual connection of Dm1 and Y in this piece is very close. For example, in both Marsh's and Hutton's copies of this piece b.18 of the alto part is omitted altogether; the temporary clef-changes at b.100-105 of the bass part are identical as are those at statements 15 and 16 of the hexachord; the 6:1 and 9:1 proportional statements are barred in semibreve units; and statements 17 to the end are aligned identically across the bottom two staves in the bass books (partbook Z3.4(3), f.42v; partbook M.3/4(S), f.28; see Illustration 11). That the order of copying was from Dm1 to Y and not vice versa may be shown by reference to three minor discrepancies between the sources, all of which occur in the bass part. At b.98, beat 3-99, beat 3, the rhythm of the bass in Dm1, partbook Z3.4(3) is  (bracketed in Illustration 10(a), stave 3). In Y, partbook M.3/4(S) the rhythm is , the crotchets coming at the very end of stave 3 of Illustration 10(b) and the quavers at the

ILLUSTRATION 10 (a) EIRE-Im MS. Z3.4(3) [Dm1], f. 42

AND (b) Y MS. M.3/4(S) [Y], f. 26

(a)

Handwritten musical score for illustration (a). It consists of seven staves of music. The first staff is marked with a treble clef and a 4-measure rest. The second staff is marked with a bass clef. The third staff is marked with a bass clef and a measure rest. The fourth staff is marked with a treble clef and a measure rest. The fifth staff is marked with a bass clef. The sixth staff is marked with a bass clef. The seventh staff is marked with a bass clef and contains the text "verte fol:" below it.

(b)

Handwritten musical score for illustration (b). It consists of five staves of music. The first staff is marked with a treble clef and a 6-measure rest. The second staff is marked with a treble clef. The third staff is marked with a treble clef. The fourth staff is marked with a bass clef. The fifth staff is marked with a bass clef and contains the text "verte" below it.

ILLUSTRATION 11 (a) EIRE - Dm MS. Z3.4 (3) [Dm], f. 42v

AND (b) Y MS. M.3/4 (5) [Y], f. 28

(a)

Handwritten musical score for 'EIRE' in D minor, 3/4 time. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff is marked with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (D minor). The tempo is marked 'And'. The score includes measures 10 through 19. The notation features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a fermata. The signature 'M. Tho. Tomkins' is visible at the bottom right of the score.

(b)

Handwritten musical score for 'Y' in D minor, 3/4 time. The score is written on five staves. The notation is similar to the first score, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a fermata. The signature 'M. Tho. Tomkins' is visible at the bottom right of the score.

beginning of the next stave. Had the copyist of Dm1 been copying from Y here he would have transmitted the latter rather than the former rhythm.<sup>11</sup> The temporary change of clef from alto (C3) to bass (F4) at b.105 is shown in Illustration 10 (a) and (b). In partbook Z3.4(3) the change is made in the course of a group of four quavers, e'cde, the first note being notated in C3 and the rest in F4. This change is notated differently in partbook M.3/4(S) where all four quavers are in F4. The direct at the end of stave 4 suggests that the first note of the quaver group, e', was originally intended to be in C3. Hutton may have changed his mind when he realised that as the quavers came at the beginning of a new stave it would be simpler and less fussy to change to F4 at the outset. Finally, at b.229, there is a small error in partbook M.3/4(S), two crotchets standing for two quavers (bracketed in Illustration 11 (a) and (b)). If Dm1 had been copied from Y here, it would also have transmitted Hutton's faulty version of this rhythm. It is far more likely that Hutton was working from Marsh's text and that he omitted the quaver beam, a simple mistake.

If the above supposition is correct then it would seem that Marsh's part-books (Dm1) were complete at least as far as the 4-part pieces by 1667 (the date of Y) for Hutton to have used them as a copytext for his own collection.

It is unlikely that the relationship between Ob64 and Dm1 is any closer in the case of Tomkins's 6-part consorts than was noted in his 4-part works. Although in both sources the 6-part fantasias occur in the same order<sup>12</sup> there are a number of significant discrepancies. For instance, at b.19, 20 of the 6-part Pavan the second treble part has breve D (for E) in partbook 65, while at b.50 the second bass has crotchet A (for G) in 69. In the associated galliard, Ob64 and Dm1 disagree about the shape of the opening figure imitated between the two highest parts (Example 30 (i) and (ii)). The figure at b.20, beat 2-21 of the alto in Fantasia 6/1 is repeated in partbook 66. In Fantasia 6/2 there is an interesting discrepancy between Ob64 and Dm1. Illustration 12 (a) and (b) shows both sources' texts of the tenor part (partbook 67, f.142v, 143;

EXAMPLE 30 GALLIARD 6/1, b. 1-2: VARIANT READINGS

Musical notation for Ob 64. It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 3/2 time signature. It contains a melodic line with a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, and an eighth note. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 3/2 time signature. It contains a bass line with a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, and an eighth note. A slur is placed under the last two notes of the bass line. A circled (i) is written above the first measure of the bass line. Vertical dashed lines connect the first and last notes of the upper staff to the corresponding notes in the lower staff.

Ob 64

Musical notation for Dm 1. It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 3/2 time signature. It contains a melodic line with a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, and an eighth note. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 3/2 time signature. It contains a bass line with a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, and an eighth note. A slur is placed under the last two notes of the bass line. A circled (i) is written above the first measure of the bass line. Vertical dashed lines connect the first and last notes of the upper staff to the corresponding notes in the lower staff.

Dm 1

ILLUSTRATION 12 (a) Ob MS. Mus. Sch. c. 67 [Ob64], f. 143

AND (b) EIRE - Dm MS. 23.4 (4) [Dm1], f. 69

(a)

Handwritten musical score for illustration (a). It consists of five staves. The top four staves contain musical notation with various notes, rests, and accidentals. The fifth staff is empty and contains the handwritten text "M. Jantzen" in the center. The score is enclosed in a large rectangular frame.

(b)

Handwritten musical score for illustration (b). It consists of five staves. The top four staves contain musical notation with various notes, rests, and accidentals. The fifth staff is empty and contains the handwritten text "M. Jantzen" in the center. The score is enclosed in a large rectangular frame.

partbook Z3.4(4), f.68v, 69). The alignment of the notes on staves 1 and 2 is virtually identical, for example, along the top staff, beginning with the thrice repeated semibreve C. Especially important is the placement of the descending scale passages (which, in close imitation, bring the fantasia to a climax) directly beneath each other on adjacent staves. This invites trouble since the eye all too easily skips from one pattern to an identical one beneath, missing out the intervening phrase; the problem afflicts copyists as well as players, and this simple optical error may account for the omission of the bracketed phrase in Illustration 12(b).<sup>13</sup> The near identical alignment of the top two staves suggests that Ob64 (Gloucester ? 1641) and Dm1 (Oxford ? 1666-70?) were copied independently from a common source (in which the alignment was the same) which has since disappeared.<sup>14</sup> This 'lost' source must have been easily accessible to both copyists.

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#### 5-part sources

The relationships between Tomkins's 5-part pavans 5/1 and 5/6 common to Lbl17792 and Ob415 have been discussed in Chapter 9 (p.143-4). It is almost certain that Merro's texts in Lbl17792 are rearrangements from sources now lost which may well have emanated from the composer himself. The loss of the autographs is most unfortunate as they might help to clarify the question of instrumentation (p.143 above). In the case of Pavan 5/6, for instance, the only surviving manuscript source that definitely predates Lbl17792 is Lbl3665 (before 1619). The latter may well represent the composer's intentions faithfully (and may therefore be of value in assessing the extent of Merro's alterations) or it may not; it would be nice to know.

Some relationships may be established between the following sources of Pavan 5/6: SOp, Lbl3665, Lbl30826, Lcm2039 (Merro's unique arrangement and Ob415's transposed reworking are ignored in the discussion).



The origin of Simpson's text in SOp is unknown. It differs in detail from the manuscript sources<sup>15</sup> and probably did not have the composer's authority (Simpson paired Pavan 5/6 with a galliard of his own composition in SOp). The most blatant example of Simpson's editorial license occurs at the beginning of the final strain in the second highest polyphonic part (quinto). Simpson's version and that transcribed in Vol.2 are shown in Example 31(a) and (b). Simpson's corrupt text is printed in its entirety in MB9.<sup>16</sup>

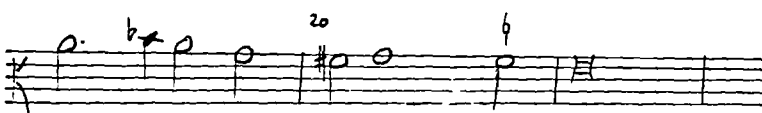
Full details of variant readings between Lb13665 and the incomplete Lb130826 and Lcm2039 may be found in the textual commentary (Vol.2). Among these, two main areas may be singled out here, the notation of pitch and rhythm. The variant accidentals are inconclusive in establishing textual links since at some point each source is at odds with the other two (Example 32(a)-(c)). In Ex. 32(a) the sharpened F and G are clearly preferable; the cadential approach in Ex.32(b) obviously requires a C sharp as does the second minim G in Ex.32(c). The notation of rhythm in Lb130826 is quite often different in detail from both Lb13665 and Lcm2039<sup>17</sup> (which generally concur), implying a separate branch of succession for that source. The connection between Lb13665 and Lcm2039 is especially strong. There are very few variant accidentals and only three minor discrepancies in rhythm, of which the most extreme is shown in Example 33.

A hypothetical stemma for the sources of Pavan 5/6 is shown in Figure 15, in which A = autograph and  $\beta$  = 'lost' source(s).

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EXAMPLE 31    PAVAN 5/6 : VARIANT READINGS OF THE  
BEGINNING OF III

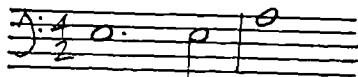
(a) Sop 

(b) others 



EXAMPLE 33     PAVAN 5/6 : OPENING (TENOR)

b.1



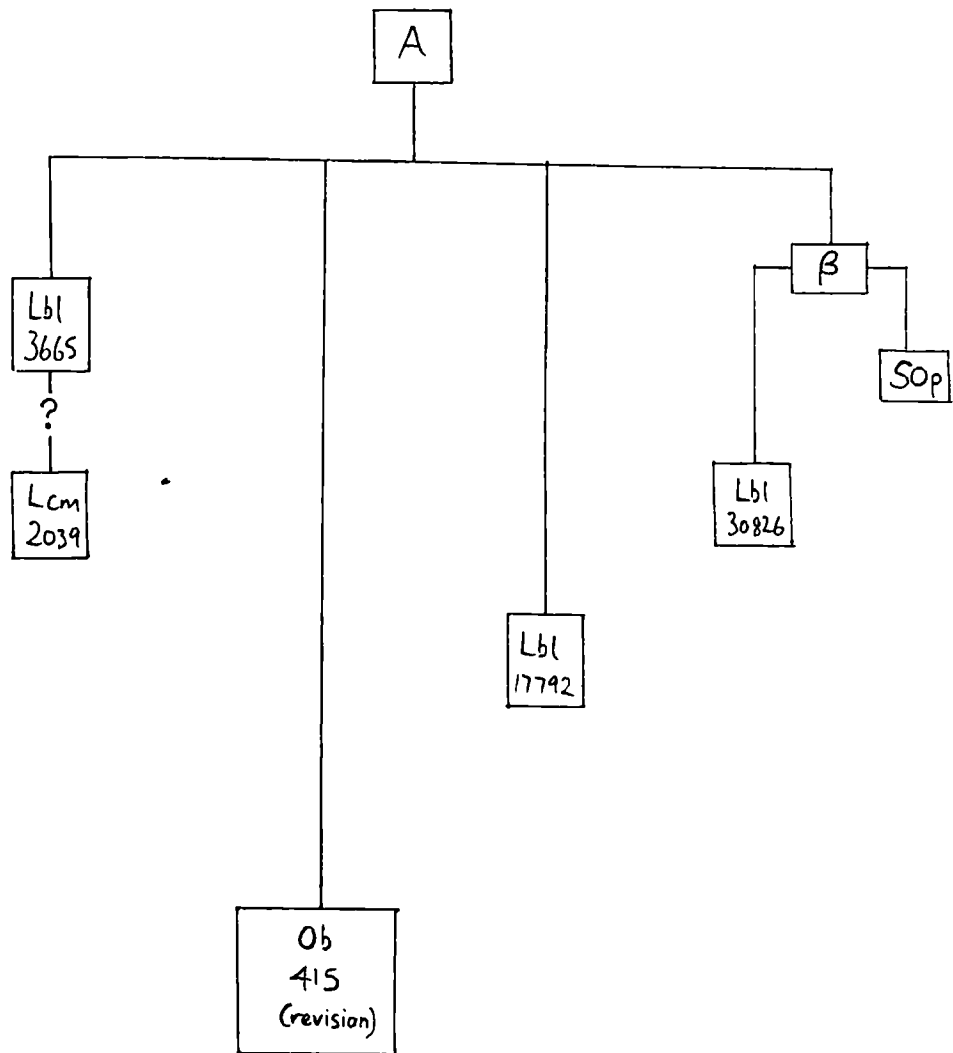
Lb13665



Lcm 2039

FIGURE 15

SOURCES OF PAVAN 5/6: STEMMATA



FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 10

1. This point is demonstrated most clearly by the comparison of patterns of clef changes; see p. 162-3; 166.
2. Fantasia 3/16 is copied in a different series of 3-part works in partbooks 17793, 4 and 5 (it is also separate from Tomkins's other 3-part works in Ob245).
3. Beneath the cantus firmus of the In Nomine 3/1.
4. In Lbl17792 the bass is lost.
5. Apart from the clef patterns both sources correspond very closely in their choice of accidentals; often there are no variant accidentals at all and even redundant accidentals are transferred from one source to the other.
6. That Withy's many redundant accidentals are confined to R surely indicates that Och1018 is the earlier source.
7. Comments on the copyist's selection of pieces for Och1018 may be found in John A. Irving: 'Oxford, Christ Church MSS.1018-1020: a Valuable Source of Tomkins's Consort Music' in The Consort, vol.40 (1984), p.7-9.
8. As noted by Richard Charteris: 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin' in EMARC, vol.13 (1976), p.38.
9. Ob64's inferior reading of the tenor gives consecutive fifths with the bass in b.16.
10. The use of  $\text{♯}$  is not strictly proportional in this context, see Vol.2, p.viii.
11. I am grateful to Alan Brown for this suggestion.
12. In Ob64 these are separated from the 6-part Pavan and Galliard by Byrd's late 6-part Pavan-Galliard pair. BE17:15. See Table 14 (iii) above.
13. The omission of this phrase, affecting b.107-20, is discussed in the textual commentary to Fantasia 6/2, as is the incorrect amendment supplied by a player (below the bottom stave in Illustration 12(a)). In the transcription a reconstruction of this player's probable intention has been attempted.

14. This must have been extant before 1641, the date of Ob64.
15. Principally in the addition of cadential decorations.
16. No.73.
17. For instance, b.6 (bass); 19 (tenor); 20, 22 (treble).

## CHAPTER 11

### CONSORT MUSIC - A SURVEY

Tomkins's 35 consort works (transcribed in Vol.2) comprise the following:

#### 3-part works

2 In Nomines

15 Fantasias

#### 4-part works

Ut re mi

Pavan

Alman

#### 5-part works

9 Pavans

#### 6-part works

Pavan

Galliard

4 Fantasias

---

Tomkins's output of music for viols is small by comparison with that of Coprario, Ferrabosco, Jenkins, Lupo or Ward. In total it would make up a thinner volume even than Gibbons's 42 consorts and only just exceed Byrd's 33 complete pieces. These slight dimensions are reflected by the smaller number of sources of Tomkins's consort music relative to those of his colleagues' work, and the position is reinforced by the fact that a number of the sources



(Ob245, Lb17792, Och1018, R, Ob415) seem to have arisen in circles close to Tomkins himself (see Chapter 9). Apparently, then, although Tomkins was intimately connected with court string composers such as Coprario, Ferrabosco and Lupo, his own consort works (with the exception of Pavan 5/6, printed abroad in SOp) were destined for local rather than national appeal. This fact should not be taken to imply any lack of merit in Tomkins's string music. The majority of pieces are on a high compositional level, and although some features - especially in the 3-part fantasias - are derivative, there is an individual voice in most pieces.

With the exception of Fantasia 3/17 all the extant 3-part music must have been complete by c.1625, for the entire repertory was copied by John Merro in his two anthologies Ob245 and Lb17792 (see Chapter 9 for the dating of these sources). The only source for Fantasia 3/17 is Och1018, probably copied in the mid-1630s. Why Merro omitted 3/17, if it was known to him a decade earlier, is unclear; equally mysterious is why it is also lacking in Dm7 copied from Och1018 between c.1640 and 1667. Possibly 3/17 was composed later than the main body of Tomkins's 3-part consorts (the style of which suggests that they were composed under the influence of court composers, notably Gibbons) for private consumption at home in Worcester, and only ever found its way into the evidently local source Och1018. Some features suggest that the piece was hastily completed (see below, p.178) and this fact may have put off the somewhat selective copyist of Tomkins's pieces in Dm7. At the opposite chronological extreme is Fantasia 3/16, written in a deliberately archaic style (barred in 4/2 in the transcription), which was probably Tomkins's first mature effort in the 3-part idiom, and presumably was completed somewhat earlier than the rest of the 3-part works. It is perhaps not without significance that this fantasia was copied in a separate series of fantasias (that is, away from the main body of Tomkins's 3-part consorts) in Ob245, Lb17792 and Dm7 (it is lacking in Och1018 which preserves a fair quantity of Tomkins's more modern fantasias for two trebles - violins? - and bass). The earliest dated source for the 4-part

and 6-part works is Ob64 (1641). The earliest of Tomkins's 5-part pavans is presumably 5/6, printed in SOp (1610) and preserved in several manuscript sources dating from the first two or three decades of the century; the latest dated is 5/5 (9 October 1641) which is unique to Ob415.

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### 3-part Consorts

Table 16 summarizes some information about the 15 3-part consort fantasias (fantasias 3/3-3/17) in order to present at a glance the overall picture of the shape and size of Tomkins's output in this genre.

The majority of the fantasias have memorable opening points. Although one or two (3/4, 3/15) are quite abstract, others (3/12, 3/14) are highly distinctive; the remainder fall somewhere between these extremes and recall Gibbons's well-characterized themes in his printed Fantasies of Three Parts of c.1620 (MB48:7-15).

The number of imitative points varies considerably from piece to piece. Sometimes the opening idea is maintained for a considerable period (3/5, 3/7, 3/9); elsewhere a variety of shorter imitative sections follow in close succession (3/3, 3/6). Later 'points' are not typically developed at length, although occasional exceptions may be found (3/5, following the sesquialtera section; 3/6, b.55-68; 3/11, b.39-55). The string writing becomes increasingly idiomatic towards the end (involving scale-runs or string-crossing patterns) and figures are imitated in close stretto, often pairing off two voices against the third (3/10, 3/13, 3/15). The increasingly shorter sections inject more rhythmic activity, building gradually, in most pieces, to a climax marked by highly energetic virtuoso lines (calling for accomplished performers) which are sometimes 'patterned' to a greater extent - especially in the bass - than is normal even in the works of player-composers such as Coprario and Lupo (fantasias 3/3, 3/4, 3/8, for example).

TABLE 16

TOMKINS'S 3-PART CONSORT FANTASIAS

<u>Fantasia</u>	<u>Length (semibreves)</u>	<u>Scoring</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Key-sig.</u>
3/3	72	Tr Tr B	G	
3/4	78	"	D	
3/5	71 (83)*	"	G	
3/6	87	"	D	
3/7	73	"	G	
3/8	99	Tr A B	D	b
3/9	85½ (93)*	Tr T B	D	b
3/10	89½	"	D	b
3/11	91	"	D	b
3/12	92	Tr A B	A	
3/13	87	Tr B B	D	
3/14	99	"	G	
3/15	93	"	G	
3/16	132	Tr T B	D	b
3/17	44½	"	C	

\* figures in brackets follow Merro's practice in Ob245 and Lb117792 of counting bars in tripla (3:1) proportion (3/4 in transcription) as a whole semibreve.

Stylistically almost all Tomkins's 3-part fantasias (3/16 and 3/17 seem to be exceptions) are indebted to the works in that genre by his colleagues at court. Specifically they reveal the influence of Gibbons's nine printed fantasias a3, mentioned above, which Tomkins clearly studied very closely. In two of his own fantasias (3/5 and 3/9) Tomkins introduced light, coranta-like passages in tripla (3 : 1) proportion, which are clearly modelled on fantasias 7-9 of Gibbons's set (MB48: 13-15). They make an effective foil to the surrounding closely worked imitative sections. Gibbons's upper parts in these pieces were probably intended for violins rather than treble viols,<sup>1</sup> and this is probably also true of Tomkins's Fantasia 5/5 and, indeed, Fantasias 3/3-7 (Tr Tr B) in which the two highest parts are well suited to the violin finger-board. Possibly these treble-oriented pieces, the most modern in the group, were composed latest. Certainly, of the two fantasias with coranto sections, that for two violins (3/5) is formally more assured than 3/9 (Tr T B). In the latter, both of the long imitative sections surrounding the coranta episode are tightly-packed with entries. The first section (b.1-56) consists of a series of miniature 'expositions' of the theme in all three voices in which the imitative scheme is varied only by manipulating stretto distances (b.12 foll.; b.37 foll.) or by inserting a double rather than triple entry (b.32). By keeping the one theme in almost constant play Tomkins excises all possibilities of episodic contrast from this section (as he does in the final section - b.72-93 - which is thematically related to the first). All the episodic responsibility is thrust onto the coranta section which is simply too short to bear it. This imperfect balance of form and content is rectified in 3/5 in which each of the three sections is conceived in more lightweight terms. The coranta section is longer than in 3/9 and therefore able to contribute more to the whole design. Its phraseology (often involving sequence) is related rather than opposed to that of the surrounding sections which incorporate a greater degree of free contrapuntal writing (much of the alto part in section one is free, for instance) than in 3/9. The sequential phrasing of 3/5 is an advance on the style and formal planning of 3/9; the latter probably represents

Tomkins's first attempt to emulate Gibbons's fantasias MB48: 13-15.

The piece in which Tomkins is most clearly indebted to Gibbons is Fantasia 3/8. Gibbons's influence is felt on several levels. Thematically 3/8, b.34, is comparable to MB48:10, b.71; further parallels include the syncopated thirds at 3/8, b.80 (MB48:10, b.78-9) and the quaver line at 3/8, b.64 (MB48:11, b.13 foll.). Tomkins's second point (b.20-34) is developed in similar style to MB48:8, b.38-50 (to which it is thematically related), while the texture of 3/8, b.65-72 recalls that of MB48:15, b.25-34. Another pointer towards Gibbons's influence in this piece is the exceptionally clear paragraphing (b.1-20; 20-34; 34-50; 50-64; 64-91; 91-9). Two specific instances may be noted: first, the threefold presentation of patterned sequential quavers against staggered descending minims (3/8, b.64-7; 68-73; 74-80), echoing b.29-40 of Gibbons's MB48:11; and secondly, the repeat of the final phrase (b.91-4; 94-9), reproducing on a smaller scale b.40-56 of MB48:11.

Oliver Neighbour has shown that in Gibbons's printed fantasias free extensions are of greater structural significance than the imitative themes themselves.<sup>2</sup> In only two fantasias does Tomkins follow Gibbons's lead, 3/3 and 3/6. Elements of both main themes of 3/3 are separated off for individual development: Example 34 - x - in b.11-17, and - y - in b.24-43. These free extensions account for most of the fantasia's length, as is the case in 3/6, where imitative points at b.1, 25 and 43-4 almost immediately give way to lengthy episodes wholly idiomatic to the string medium, exploiting simple dialogue in different registers. This technique of highlighting episodic work may be seen in Gibbons's fantasias MB48:9, b.20-8 (compare 3/6, b.12-25), MB48:10, b.48 foll. (3/6, b.25 foll.) and MB48:12, b.22-39. The style of 3/6, b.68-87 parallels that of MB48:14, b.10 foll. An untypical feature of 3/6 is the lengthy sequential extension of the imitative point in b.55-68 (later points are normally of short duration); examples in Gibbons occur at b.10-23 of MB48:14 and b.18-39 of MB48:15.

EXAMPLE 34    FANTASIA 3/3 : THEMES

b. 1

Handwritten musical notation for Example 34, b. 1. It shows a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of six notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), and A4 (quarter). A bracket underneath the notes from A4 to C5 is labeled with an 'x'.

b. 18

Handwritten musical notation for Example 34, b. 18. It shows a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of six notes: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), and A4 (quarter). A bracket underneath the notes from A4 to C5 is labeled with a 'y'.

More often Tomkins concentrates on imitation to the virtual exclusion of episodic contrast (3/7, 3/10, 3/11). In 3/11 he achieves subtle varieties of texture by confining all entries beyond the exposition of the opening theme to the bass, with free upper parts. Fantasias 3/10 and 3/11, though scored for the same forces (Tr T B), exhibit quite different dimensions. 3/10 maintains the opening point for roughly two-thirds of its length (b.1-53) while in 3/11 the corresponding point covers barely the first third of the piece. 3/10 is of similar proportions to Lupo's Fantasia, MB9:10 in which b.1-27 are dominated by a single idea. Lupo achieves greater formal cohesion than in Tomkins's 3/10 by relating his two sections (b.1-27 and 27-45 of MB9:10) thematically and by inserting duet passages, giving a stronger feeling of breadth than is apparent in Tomkins's piece (although he links his two sections with at least as much skill as Lupo by preparing his second theme under cover of the final entries of the first (b.48)). As in 3/9, which also prolongs its opening subject disproportionately, Tomkins seems to have sensed a design fault in 3/10 and so set out on a different course in 3/11. In addition to the free upper parts mentioned above, he combines in 3/11 the best formal features of Lupo's and Gibbons's fantasias. The two balancing 5-bar phrases at b.39-50 (beginning with a reduced texture like the duet passages in Lupo's MB9:10) contrast, in their harmonic and metrical pacing, with the surrounding seamless polyphony. Their placing recalls Gibbons's MB48:7 (b.14, 20) and MB48:9 (b.20-8), while the lengthy development of the point introduced at b.39 is also indebted to Gibbons (MB48:8, b.22 foll.; MB48:9, b.20-36). Tomkins's 'saturated' contrapuntal texture at b.50 foll. is typical of Gibbons (MB48:14, b.14-23, for example) as is the sequential link at b.61-4 (compare MB48:14, b.23-5 and 27-8). This final point illustrates something of the two composers' personal approaches to the form. Gibbons prolongs his sequential passage (beginning at b.23) for 14 bars, leading to a firm cadential close (b.36); Tomkins, on the other hand, restricts the growth of his sequence (on the same theme) to just 3 bars, so

preparing for the entry of the next closely worked idea at b.64. Tomkins's design establishes clearly the precedence of imitation over episodic contrast.

Fantasias 3/13 and 3/15 stress canonic elements which may have been inspired by works such as Coprario's Fantasia, MB9:3. In neither work does Tomkins maintain the canonic writing as long as Coprario (nor does he introduce canons through duet passages as at b.25, 30, 44 of MB9:8). The writing becomes quite free from b.25 of 3/13, and in 3/15 the close canon between the outer parts at b.19-27 is followed by a series of freer strettis, sometimes involving the double exposition of material (b.32-40). Both pieces include clear cadential paragraphs (3/13, b.40-6; 50-4; 65-7, 68-70, 71-3; 3/15, b.40-50), and occasional risky dissonances (3/13, b.5, entry on G; 3/15, b.65-7, unprepared 7ths) none of which is quite as extraordinary as the dissonances at b.17-18 of Coprario's MB9:8.

Tomkins's most remarkable piece for 3-part strings is surely his chromatic fantasia, 3/12. There is no shortage of chromatic writing in early seventeenth-century England<sup>3</sup> but Tomkins's contribution in the first part of this piece is surely one of the most original and forward-looking. It is based not on a transposing hexachord like MB9:23 and 39, but on a theme of Tomkins's own invention which modulates according to a scheme more complex than any of those devised by his contemporaries. The theme begins on successive descending whole-tone steps, beginning in the treble and imitated by the lower parts in strict canon 3-in-1 at the fifth below, giving entries on all 12 chromatic tones (treble: e<sup>n</sup>, d<sup>n</sup>, c<sup>n</sup>, b-flat<sup>n</sup>, a-flat<sup>n</sup>, f-sharp<sup>n</sup>/alto: a<sup>n</sup>, g<sup>n</sup>, f<sup>n</sup>, e-flat<sup>n</sup>, c-sharp<sup>n</sup>, b/bass: d<sup>n</sup>, c<sup>n</sup>, b-flat<sup>n</sup>, a-flat<sup>n</sup>, f-sharp<sup>n</sup>, e). The chromatic section ends at semibreve (bar) 42<sup>4</sup>, by which time there have been nine treble entries, eight alto entries and eight bass entries. The remainder of the fantasia is quite 'normal', centred on A minor (and its related harmonic areas) with a sharpened third at the final cadence. Thematically the opening section bears no relation to what follows, giving a rather unsatisfactory form to the whole, as if two entirely separate pieces had been stitched together.



The chromatic fantasia is certainly an unusual piece. Also unusual, and more problematical, is Fantasia 3/17. Stylistically it has little in common with the rest of Tomkins's 3-part fantasias. As may be seen from Table 16 it is uncharacteristically short (about half the typical length). It makes use of only one imitative theme (though this is not as archaic as that of the monothematic Fantasia 3/16, discussed below). In addition the treble line is broken up into short phrases punctuated by rests; there are parallel 5ths between the upper parts at b.40; and in the same bar the bass part splits into two, the higher of which is the final entry of the sole imitative theme (the two lines are just about playable on a single instrument). The length of the piece may be deceptive; possibly it was composed in a hurry and had not reached its final form (which would presumably have taken in two or three more imitative points) when copied into Och1018. The abrupt conclusion might even be the work of the copyist who, in some haste, miscopied the treble part (adding the quaver decoration E D) so forming consecutives with the alto.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the pitches E D in b.40 were copied twice by accident; a hypothetical 'original' reading of b.39-40 is shown in Example 35.

The monothematic Fantasia 3/16 is the longest (132 semibreves) of its kind. Its length is gained by avoiding perfect cadences: by a half-close at b.17, occasioning a second, 'dominant' exposition of the theme (with the three parts in the same intervallic and temporal relationship as originally); and by interrupted cadences, either implicit (b.32, neatly introducing a bass entry on B flat) or explicit (b.28, 41, 54, overlapped by bass entries on G, C and F respectively). Thematically the only alterations during the entire piece are the slight shortening of the first note, producing syncopation (b.7, 10, 20, for instance), and the diminution of its note values (by a factor of four) from b.56. Variety of contrapuntal resource is sadly lacking in the preceding 55 bars. Allowing for variations in the length of the theme's initial note the temporal distance of all paired imitations is two minims, with the sole exception of that at b.26-8 (bass and treble) where this is extended to six minims. 3/16 has no metrical or sequential episodes, little variety of harmonic

EXAMPLE 35 FANTASIA 3/17: SUGGESTED 'ORIGINAL'

READING OF TREBLE, BAR 39-40.

40

A handwritten musical score for three staves, covering bars 39 and 40. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and phrasing slurs.

40

Och 1018:

A handwritten musical score for a single staff in treble clef, covering bar 40. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with phrasing slurs.

pace, and barely any trace of idiomatic string writing. It is a pity that the least typical of Tomkins's 3-part consorts should have been chosen to illustrate his style in MB9 (no.13).

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### In Nomines

The two In Nomines, 3/1 and 3/2, were clearly written as a pair, a point evidently not understood by the copyist of Dm7 who included only 3/2. In 3/1 the Gloria tibi Trinitas antiphon is placed in the middle part in even semibreves, while in 3/2 it appears in the bass, disposed in a persistent trochaic (♩ ♩) pattern. This rhythm is highly individual and possibly unique among Elizabethan and Jacobean consort In Nomines. A triple conception was also favoured by Tomkins in his keyboard In Nomines (TK5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11), but whereas there he frequently transposed the chant up a fifth, in both his consort settings he retains the D final. The second setting is prefaced with the time-signature  $\text{♩}$  in Ob245, Lb117792 and Dm7 (rather than  $\text{♩}$ ). Also unusual is the 3-part scoring, Tr A B, in 3/1 and Tr Tr B in 3/2. The smallest number of polyphonic parts current in Elizabethan and Jacobean consort settings is four (Byrd and Gibbons wrote, respectively, two and one 4-part In Nomines). The only extant plainsong setting that combines Tomkins's triple metre and the 3-part string medium is Thomas Preston's O Lux Beata Trinitas, MB44:5, which disposes the plainsong in even perfect values (dotted semibreves in transcription) in the bass. Other settings employing perfect values (and a  $\text{♩}$  time-signature) are Ferrabosco I's In Nomine a 5, MB44:49 (alto cantus firmus), and Mundy's In Nomine a 5, MB44:54 (tenor).<sup>6</sup>

The theme imitated in the treble parts of 3/2 may have been suggested by Byrd's second 4-part setting.<sup>7</sup> Occasionally the plainsong is broken in 3/2 (b.35-6, bass) as it is at a roughly equivalent point in BE17:17 (b.38-9). Tomkins's conception is quite different from Byrd's, however. He deliberately exploits the possibility inherent in the 3-part idiom of setting two equal trebles figuratively against the bass by maintaining a vigorous dialogue in the

upper parts (violins) throughout the whole length of the piece (55 dotted semibreves).

The style of In Nomines 3/1 and 3/2 suggests that the order of their composition was as preserved in Merro's sources. Whereas 3/1 (in which the cantus firmus appears 'traditionally' in even semibreves) admits close imitative dialogue between the outer parts only sporadically from b.23 onwards, 3/2 makes an issue of it from the start and carries it through without interruption. Additionally, the final note (D) of the cantus firmus is prolonged for 13 semibreves (b.55-67) in 3/1, whereas in 3/2 the premeditated treble dialogue is paced out exactly to the length of the chant (b.1-54), rounded off by a plagal close.

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#### 4-part consorts

The dimensions of Tomkins's three extant examples of 4-part consort music are given below.

	<u>Length (s)</u>		
<u>Ut re mi</u>	231	(18 statements of G - E hexachord)	
	<u>I II III</u>		
Pavan	16	16	16
Alman	8	8	8

Tomkins's output in the 4-part medium is slight by comparison with the work of his predecessors. There are no free fantasias or In Nomines, for instance, although such pieces were popular among Elizabethan composers (25 examples by White, Parsley, Parsons, Tallis, Taverner and others - excluding Tye - are printed in MB44) as well as Tomkins's closer contemporaries. His teacher, Byrd, evidently favoured the 4-part idiom in which he left four fantasias,<sup>8</sup> two In Nomines<sup>9</sup> and ten other settings of the plainsongs Christe qui lux, Christe redemptor, Miserere, Salvator Mundi, Sermone Blando and Te lucis.<sup>10</sup> Coprario, Ferrabosco II and Ward each composed fairly extensively for consorts

of four viols.<sup>11</sup> Only Gibbons neglected the 4-part medium to the same degree as Tomkins, leaving just three works, two fantasias with double bass viol and an In Nomine. Gibbons's most important consort music, like that of Tomkins, was for 3- and 6-part forces, and especially the fantasia, 'the form that allowed him the greatest freedom to choose his course, drawing upon his personal repertory of texture, phraseology and melody, to move forward in his own sure-footed way.'<sup>12</sup>

The genesis of the keyboard and consort versions of Tomkins's Ut re mi has already been discussed in Chapter 5 (p. 70-4). Statements 8, 9, 11 and 13 of the keyboard text given in TK35 were omitted in the consort arrangement as they were conceived strictly in keyboard terms rather than the abstract polyphony that renders the rest of the piece equally satisfying on keyboard or strings.

It was suggested in Chapter 5 that the consort arrangement of the Ut re mi separates the two keyboard versions in Ob93 and To, and was probably effected about 1640, a date borne out by Ob64 (1641). Possibly the arrangement was made for a specific occasion and for specific performers. The 4-part Pavan, which is a polyphonic reduction of Pavan 5/1 (complete by the mid-1620s and copied by Merro in Lbl17792) may have originated in the same circumstances, as, too, may the Alman with which it is associated in both Ob64 and Dm1. Both pavan and alman correspond in their 'standard' length of 16 (or 8) semi-breves (tabulated above) and their strains cadence on the same degrees (I, F; II, D; III, F). In fact the cadences correspond exactly throughout the first two strains as shown below.

<u>Pavan (bar)</u>	<u>(cadence)</u>	<u>Alman (bar)</u>	<u>(cadence)</u>
4	C	4	C
8	F	8	F
13	C	13	C
16	D	16	D

Strains II and III of the alman begin on the same degrees as the corresponding pavan strains (B flat and  $C_3^6$  respectively) and with similar melodic shapes. Although the cadence patterns do not match in the final strain the imitation of descending scales in the alman (b.17-20) is clearly an attempt to recreate the closely argued polyphony of the pavan. These points all tend to suggest that the alman was composed to stand alongside the 4-part arrangement of the pavan.<sup>13</sup> The nature of the alman's bass part calls for an accomplished executant on the bass viol; the part may have been intended for John Withy, for whom Tomkins wrote two pavans (5/3 and 5/4) about the same time (they are unique to Ob415, dated 1641-2).

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#### 5-part Consorts

As in the case of the 4-part Ut re mi Tomkins's Fancy for 5 viols, TK33 has been discussed as a keyboard piece as it appears in To (Chapter 4, p. 62). The amount of 'arrangement' in the keyboard score (To, p.24-7) is difficult to assess and reconstruction of the consort original from the free keyboard polyphony (which seems to vary between three and four parts for much of the time) is, sadly, not a viable proposition.

The dimensions of Tomkins's nine remaining 5-part consorts (all pavans) are summarized in Table 17. These comprise roughly one quarter of his output for strings.

Over half of the 5-part consort pavans lack one part or more owing to the loss of partbooks. Pavans 5/2, 5/3, 5/4 and 5/5 lack part II in Ob415, and Pavan 5/9 lacks both II and IV in Lb130826. As no other sources for these dances survive, reconstructions of the missing parts are provided in the transcriptions.

While the lacunae in pavans 5/3 and 5/5 were, in general, quite easily restored, those in pavans 5/2 and 5/4 (the latter based on a migrant hexachord) proved more problematical owing to their less overtly imitative textures. Also puzzling was the opening of strain III of Pavan 5/5 where the missing treble

TABLE 17

TOMKINS'S 5-PART CONSORT PAVANS

<u>Pavan</u>	<u>Length (s)</u>	<u>Clefs</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Key-sig.</u>
	I II III			
5/1	16 16 16	G2C2C3C4F4	F	b
5/2	18 21 31	G2-C3C4F4	A	
5/3	20 22 34	G2-C2C3F4	D	
5/4	18 16 18	G2-C3C4F4	G	
5/5	20 18 26	G2-C2C3F4	F	b
5/6	16 20 26	C1C2C3C4F4	A	
	<u>Ob415:</u>	G2C1-C3F4	C	bb
5/7	16 16 16	G2C2C2C4F4	F	b
5/8	16 17 16	G2C2C2C3F3	C	bb
	<u>Ob415:</u>	C1C3-C4F4	A	
5/9	26 20 32	G2-C3-F4	D	b

is clearly unsupported for the best part of b.20. The version offered in the transcription maintains the shape of the imitative point announced by the other parts, but should not be regarded as the only workable solution. To some extent the discussion of pavans 5/2, 5/3, 5/4, 5/5 and 5/9 below takes into account the editorial reconstructions and so any conclusions should be regarded as provisional.

Although a number of composers - principally Byrd, Gibbons and Ferrabosco - adopted a polyphonic rather than homophonic approach to the composition of pavan strains, Tomkins took the process to its logical conclusion. As in his keyboard pavans (see Chapter 6) he relied unashamedly on closely knit imitative textures to support his extremely expanded strains (longer on average than those of his predecessors and contemporaries) resulting in the almost total abandonment of dance idiom. Perhaps the only consort pavan to retain a link with its terpsichorean roots is 5/1 which opens with a catchy syncopation in the treble. Otherwise Tomkins seems to have regarded the pavan as a very serious form indeed. His conception was far removed from that of Brade (MB9:56), Dering (MB9:61) and Holborne (MB9:66), who introduced imitation only sporadically into their principally homophonic and characteristically metrical strains. Nowhere does Tomkins append fanciful titles to his pavans like Holborne in his 1599 set.<sup>14</sup> Nor does he copy Holborne's long, beautifully constructed treble melodies,<sup>15</sup> preferring instead to build the whole strain from shorter motives which gain weight on repetition within their polyphonic context.

The final strain of Pavan 5/7 provides a good illustration of Tomkins's contrapuntal approach. A skeleton of the imitative process is shown in Example 36. By steadily increasing the frequency of imitative entries he ensures continuity of line through the strain and a logical climax (the middle of Ex.36). Also the contrapuntal plan subtly diverts attention from the gently rising and falling contour of the composer's blueprint for the strain (Ex.36(b)).

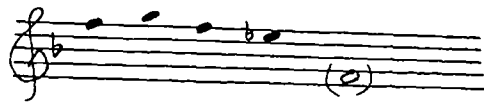


# EXAMPLE 36(a) PAVAN 5/7, III: ENTRY PATTERNS

bar: 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

- DENOTES FULL ENTRY
- DENOTES SUBSIDIARY OR IMPLIED ENTRY

EXAMPLE 36(b) CONTOUR OF PAVAN 5/7, III



Beauty of treble contour is by no means confined to the final strain of 5/7. The closing section of the first strain of Pavan 5/6 (the most widely appreciated of Tomkins's pavans during his own lifetime) is based on falling scale steps imitated at a semibreve's distance in alternate fifths and fourths through the texture (b.3-8). This is skilfully grafted onto the famous opening theme in the 'dominant' bass entry (b.3) so that the whole strain seems to unfold in a single unbroken span. As in the descending chromatic steps of strain III the imitative texture - and hence the continuity - only becomes clear in the consort medium, in which the possibility of subtle shading of dynamics can highlight the part-writing (a point argued in Chapter 6, p.82-3). Equally finely drawn is the treble line in strain II, rising a step at a time through ascending scalar fourths to the final cadence on E. A similar technique underlies the treble line in strain I of Pavan 5/2 (Example 37). Figure - x - in Ex.37 is put to subtle use in the remaining strains. Without its prefix (the ascending third) it forms a countersubject to the main idea at the start of strain II, while in the final strain (b.20-4) the prefix returns, clearly referring back to the opening and providing a kind of over-arching unity. A similar thematic connection is made between the first and last strains of Pavan 5/9 (Example 38).

Contrapuntally Tomkins's pavan strains come close to the full-blown fantasia style in their dependence on imitation both to generate forward movement and to organize large paragraphs. The fantasia idiom is embraced most firmly in Pavan 5/4 ('Ut re mi fa sol la') in which the three strains consist simply of successive statements in treble, bass and treble, of the hexachord (G - E in strains I and II; C - A in III) around which the 'free' parts weave a polyphonic web no less intricate than in the 4-part Ut re mi fantasia. In the comparatively relaxed strain II the three middle parts are imitative while the treble shadows the contour of the bass hexachord; this reduction in polyphonic activity (from four free parts to three) both prepares for and justifies the saturated texture of strain III, an impressive overall design.



Pavans 5/3 and 5/5 concentrate on extended dialogue between the two highest parts, possibly intended for violins (see Chapter 9, p.143). This feature is uncharacteristic of Tomkins's earlier pavans and may well have been an experimental feature, suggesting that the two dances were composed specifically for inclusion in Ob415 (1641-2), their only source. The former is entitled 'A Pavan 2 Trebles' (partbook 413 f.16v) and dedicated to J[ohn] Withy (a bass, not a treble player), while the latter bears the date October ('8ber')9 1641 in all four extant partbooks. The treble dialogue never approaches the strictly canonic technique of Byrd's 5-part fantasia, BE17:8, but tends nevertheless to standardize the harmonic pace and specifically the function of the bass line (in the final strain of 5/3 and strain II of 5/5). The final strain of 5/5 builds to as impressive a polyphonic climax as is found in any of Tomkins's 3- or 6-part fantasias. Along with 5/4 it helps to compensate for the lack of fantasias by Tomkins for this polyphonic grouping.

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### 6-part Consorts

In Dm1 Tomkins's entire output (six pieces) for 6-part consort follows in sequence (f.116v in partbook Z3.4(1)) beginning with the Pavan and Galliard a6 and continuing with fantasias 6/1-4. In the earliest dated source, Ob64, (1641), the dances (f.202) are separated from the fantasias by Byrd's Pavan and Galliard BE17:15a and 15b. Whether all six of Tomkins's pieces were written as a group is difficult to establish. Certainly the pavan and galliard are related (C final: the third flattened in the Galliard), and although they exhibit diverse characteristics the four fantasias exhibit common technical features and may form a series.

Formally Tomkins's Pavan a6 develops along different lines from Byrd's 6-part pavan which closely follows it in Ob64, although like Byrd he chose the unusual transposed mixolydian<sup>16</sup> (also used in the first strain of the Pavan, Lord Canterbury, TK57). As in his 5-part pavans Tomkins relies in strains I and II on varied contrapuntal combinations to drive each strain along. In contrast

Byrd relies almost totally on antiphony in his piece - a device which Tomkins admits only gradually. Strains I and II of his pavan begin with short antiphonal periods of two and three bars respectively, preparing for its climactic use throughout III. The associated galliard is altogether more antiphonal, approaching the style of Byrd's (BE17:15b) quite closely. In the outer strains Tomkins's phrasing is more subtle than Byrd's:

I : 3 + 2 + 3 bars (dotted semibreves)

III : 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 1 bars  
└──────────┘

(The bracket denotes a parallel between the antiphony of b.17-18 and 22-3 in strain III which cadence at the lower fourth (C - G) and fifth (G - C) respectively.)

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The dimensions of Tomkins's four 6-part fantasias are summarised in Table 18. It will be noted that not only does the overall length increase but that the opening and closing sections carry progressively more weight within the whole. All four fantasias are for the same instrumental combination: two equal trebles (probably violins, judging by the compass which extends to top C in 6/1), altos (or tenors) and basses.

Fantasia 6/1 is in four main sections, each cadencing firmly on G. Section 1, outlining the field of harmonic activity, is subdivided cadentially at b.10. Its second part introduces a wider chordal range (principally B flat and F) in a clear antiphonal framework (Example 39(a)). Section 2 exploits stretto entries of an antecedent-consequent theme (- x - and - y - in Ex.39(c)) whose two parts are developed separately (Ex.39(c) and (e)). The function of this section is primarily harmonic: the majority of the stretto entries of - x - are in the bass, reinforcing their restricted harmonic range (all entries are on chords i, iv and v, see Ex.39(d)). The treatment of - y - acts as a 'dominant preparation' (D) for b.56 (Ex.39(f)). Bars 56-65 form the only free episodic link in the piece (again restricted mainly to chords i, iv and v). Section 3 develops the antiphonal texture of b.11-23. It is built on a two-stage

TABLE 18  
TOMKINS'S 6-PART FANTASIAS

	<u>Length (s)</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Key-sig.</u>
6/1	118: 1-23; 23-56; (56-65); 65-102; 102-18 (clefs: G2G2C2C2F3F3)	G	b
6/2	125: 1-50; 49*-73; 73-94; 94-125 (clefs: G2G2C3C3F4F4)	G	
6/3	130: 1-56; (56-63); 63-85; 85-130 (clefs: G2G2C3C3F4F4)	G	b
6/4	165: 1-71; 70*-89; 90-165 (clefs: G2G2C2C2F3F3)	F	b

\* At these points the new imitative theme overlaps the cadence at the end of the preceding section.

# EXAMPLE 39 FANTASIA 6/1 : STRUCTURE OUTLINE

(a)

ANTIPHONAL

TWICE TWICE

v i iv (v i iv) i

(b)

v (iv) v i

(c)

(II) 25 (27)

(I) (VI, IV) (III, II) (V/I, VI) (II)

i i iv iv i i v

(UNBOXED NOTES INDICATE SINGLE, RATHER THAN STRETTO, ENTRIES OF THEME -x-)

(d)

i iv ... i v ...



(Ex. 39 cont'd.)

(e)

(47) 48

IMITATIVE DISTANCE CONSTANT (2 m)

(f)

47 48 49 50 51 52 ----- 56

(VI) (III) (II) (I) (V) (II)

(PEDAL D) - VI

(g)

(67) 68

STAGE 1 <-> STAGE 2

(h)

67 102

(UNBOXED NOTES INDICATE ENTRIES OF STAGE 1 ONLY)

(Ex. 39 cont'd.)

102

(j)

(i) # (v i4) (i) b 3 # (v i b)

118

(iv v i b)

102 118

(k)

(i iv v i b)

harmonic progression (essentially in four polyphonic parts) as shown in Ex.39(g) and, like the antiphonal motive of b.11-23, involves three functional chords. Its development through the section is shown in Ex.39(h); as in Section 2 there are a number of single entries (in the bass). The harmonic content of the final section (b.102-18) is summarised in Ex.39(j). By comparing the simplified versions of b.11-23 (Ex.39(b)) and b.102-18 (Ex.39(k)) it may clearly be seen that their harmonic content corresponds. One counterbalances the other, framing the intervening sections.

Fantasia 6/2 shares some common ground with 6/1. Again there are four sections, the first of which is subdivided and marks out the harmonic space; and there are flashbacks to techniques used in earlier sections (Sections 4 and 2 in 6/2; Sections 3 and 1 in 6/1). The proportions of 6/2 are somewhat different from those of the first fantasia of the series. Its first section is longer, there is greater room later on for episodic contrast (b.73-94), and whereas in 6/1 the climax came in Section 3 in 6/2 this is reserved for the final section (b.94-125).

Section 1 (b.1-50) is based on imitations of a striking chromatic motive and falls into two parts, the first cadencing on G at b.28 (VI) and overlapping with a second round of imitations (starting in IV, b.24), this time with the theme's chromatic twist in quavers instead of crotchets and a tendency towards pairing (b.33-4, 37 and 45-6), and vertical rather than horizontal false relations (b.40 - C sharp/C; b.42 - F sharp/F). This second part is itself subdivided by a deflected cadence on D (b.41). The theme of Section 2 (b.49-73) is a diatonic version of 1 (Example 40(a) and (b)) and combines in stretto entries first presented in two or three parts and subsequently transferred through the whole polyphonic texture, so lending coherence and direction. This has been aptly termed 'cell-technique' by Joseph Kerman.<sup>17</sup> Tomkins uses it to good effect here as from b.62 each successive entry ascends scalewise (A B flat C D E flat F G A B flat C D) in octaves above the bass, at a constant spacing of one

EXAMPLE 40    FANTASIA 6/2: CHROMATIC AND  
DIATONIC THEMES

b. 1:  } (a) CHROMATIC

b. 2:  } (a) CHROMATIC

b. 49:  (b) DIATONIC

semibreve to a climax rudely interrupted by the homophony of Section 3 (b.73-94), a four-square dance-like episode with a characteristic upbeat. Possibly Tomkins was influenced by the dance-like episode at b.59-67 of Gibbons's 6-part Fantasia, MB48:32. He is more expansive than Gibbons here, but does not permit a fully-fledged dance as Byrd had done in his 6-part fantasias, BE17:12 and 13 (though he evidently found Byrd's homophony appealing).

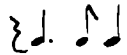
The climax in Fantasia 6/2 is reserved for the final section (b.94-125) where scale cascades (sometimes outlining  $\frac{6}{3}$  chords as at b.115 and 120) eventually flood through the whole texture. The 'cell-technique' here harks back to Section 2, its most important distinguishing feature being that it is rhythmically active but harmonically static (confirming the final, G), whereas the reverse is true of b.49-73.

There are firm connections between the opening sections of fantasias 6/3 and 6/2. Both comprise two imitative points (which subdivide their respective sections) but the thematic relationship is less obvious in 6/3 (Example 41(a) and (b)). Tomkins effects a subtle transition between the subsections (i) and (ii); (ii) announces two ideas simultaneously<sup>18</sup> of which the lower voice is the decorated bass cadence (b.36-9) closing (i). After a six-bar (3 + 3) transition (of sharper focus than the corresponding b.56-65 of 6/1) follows a homophonic dance episode (b.63-85), syncopated, antiphonal and slightly longer than in 6/2 (b.73-94). It closes on the dominant, justifying the antiphonal continuation of the fourth and final section. As at b.11-23 and 67-102 of fantasia 6/1 the antiphonal harmonic progression contains three 'active' chords (Ex.41(c)). The contrary motion of Exx.41(b) and (c) is clearly related and this establishes a thematic link between the final section and that beginning in b.36-9 comparable to those in fantasias 6/1 (sections 3 and 1) and 6/2 (sections 4 and 2).

Technical comparisons may also be made between the opening sections of fantasias 6/1, 6/2 and 6/4, all of which outline the field of harmonic activity as a springboard for later development and contrast. Fantasia 6/4 boasts the longest opening section (71 bars) among Tomkins's 6-part fantasias, and is based



on a single imitative idea whose consequent part is worked independently of its antecedent from b.50 to clinch the move to the dominant (b.71). A sketch of the opening section's harmonic profile is shown in Example 42(a).

By concluding such a substantial opening rhetorically on the dominant Tomkins invites a lengthy continuation; in fact the piece continues for a further 97 bars. This begins with an imitative section (b.70-89) in which the pitch-entries of the subject (roughly one-third the length of the opening theme) reinforce the cadences on C (prolonging the dominant) at b.77 and 89 (Ex.42(b)). As in fantasia 6/3, Tomkins ends with an antiphonal section (greatly expanded here) exploring features absent from the first half of the piece: strong rhythmic characterisation; homophony; an enlarged chordal range, outlining clear-cut and sometimes sequential phrases (b.95-9, and 105-9); and contrasting phrase lengths (one bar at b.95 and 126, two at b.105 and three at b.117). It falls into two large spans announced by repetitions of the dotted  rhythm (b.90 and 111 foll.). The second of these contains references to the thematic shape of b.11-23 of fantasia 6/1 (6/4, b.126 foll.) and the memorable chromatic figure of 6/2 (6/4, b.151). Whether these backward glances, coming at the end of Tomkins's largest fantasia, are intentional or otherwise<sup>19</sup> they round off an impressive series of four highly individual and yet related fantasias which stand as Tomkins's crowning achievement in the consort field.

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EXAMPLE 42 FANTASIA 6/4: HARMONIC STRUCTURE  
OF SECTIONS 1 AND 2

(a)

1 2 3 4 5 20 25 36 40 50 57 60 71

(III) (II) (I)

x y

v

(b)

(70) (IV) (I) (II) (I) (II) (I)

PITCH ENTRIES:

70 77 89

(III) (IV) (I) (II) (I) (II) (I) (II) (III) (I)

(V) (VI) (VII) (VIII) (IX) (X) (XI) (XII) (XIII) (XIV) (XV) (XVI)

CADENCE (V) CADENCE (V)



FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 11

1. A suggestion first made by Thurston Dart. See his article 'The Printed Fantasias of Orlando Gibbons' in ML, vol.37 (1956), p.345.
2. Oliver Neighbour: 'Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625): The Consort Music' in EM, vol.11 (1983), p.352.
3. For example, Bull's chromatic Ut, re, mi fantasia, MB19: 17; Carleton's Verse of 4-parts in Pieces from the Tomkins Manuscript. Ed. Frank Dawes. Early Keyboard Music (Schott), vol.4 (London, 1951); and Ferrabosco's famous chromatic hexachord fantasias (MB9:23 and 39). The Carleton and Ferrabosco pieces were certainly known to Tomkins as these are all in Lbl29996, owned and partly written by Tomkins. See Frank Dawes: "Nicholas Carleton and the Earliest Keyboard Duets" in MT, vol.92 (1951), p.542, and E. Walker (ed.): "An Oxford Book of Fancies" in The Musical Antiquary, no.3 (1912), p.65 foll.
4. Assuming the  $\text{C}$  time-signature to indicate semibreve grouping, as in the transcription. A different interpretation of the opening (in  $3/2$ ) is given in Ernst H. Meyer: Early English Chamber Music, 2nd, rev. ed. by the author and Diana Poulton (London, 1982), p.187.
5. A similar decoration leads to unprepared discords in b.6 of Pavan 5/1 in Ob415; see the Textual Commentary to the transcription in Vol.2.
6. Mundy's 5-part Sermone Blando, MB44:43 sets the chant in even perfect semibreves for verse 2.
7. BE17:17.
8. BE17: 4-7.
9. BE17: 16-17.
10. BE17: 24-33.
11. For Coprario see Richard Charteris: John Coprario: a Thematic Catalogue of his Music (New York, 1977); for Ferrabosco's 4-part works (and editions) DoddV, p.34-7; for Ward, ibid., p.190-1.
12. Neighbour, op.cit., p.356.

13. In the course of reduction from five parts to four one imitative entry on F at b.20 of the pavan (the third highest part) was lost (compare the transcription with that of Pavan 5/1 in Vol.2).
14. Anthony Holborne: Pavans, Galliards, Almains and other short Aeirs for viols, violins and other musicall winde instruments (London, 1599; rep.1980 ed. Bernard Thomas).
15. Meyer op.cit., p.119-21.
16. The galliard's transposition (*bb*) is different (dorian twice transposed, as in TK53). The pairing of dances in major and minor is curious. In MB9:91 a flat is missing from the prefatory stave to the part labelled "treble viol II", a part probably intended for the violin.
17. Joseph Kerman: The Masses and Motets of William Byrd (London, 1981).
18. Ferrabosco II opens his 6-part Fantasia, MB9:78 with a two-fold figure; this is also true of his 4-part Fantasia, MB9:22.
19. The context of the chromatic 'quote', in particular, implies that 6/4 postdates 6/2.

A P P E N D I C E S

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## APPENDIX 1

### CORRECTIONS TO TK (second, revised edition)

The intention of this appendix is not in any way to detract from the brilliant work of Stephen Tuttle in TK, nor does it claim to be exhaustive in its search for mistakes. To, the principal source, is, at the best of times, unattractive to read and often Tomkins's precise intentions are a matter of some conjecture. Consequently I have generally refrained from offering alternative interpretations, preferring instead to accept Tuttle's editorial decisions (derived from first hand study of the manuscript) as coming as near as possible to the 'correct' realisation of the text. The appendix, restricted as it is to minutiae, serves merely as an adjunct to TK; its purpose is to enable the reader or player to make slightly more efficient use of the edition.

The corrections listed below are confined to the musical text in all but a few instances. Sometimes Tuttle halves note values in the transcriptions but refers without comment to original values in the textual commentary (for example, in the Miserere, TK14). Ambiguity of this sort has been avoided here by quoting both the original note values from To or another source and, where appropriate, giving their equivalent in the edition.

Numerals in brackets refer to Tuttle's editorial notes in his textual commentary for the piece under consideration; rh = right hand, lh = left hand; s = soprano, a = alto, t = tenor, b = bass; other abbreviations are explained in the conclusion of the Editorial Note on the consort music in Vol.2 of this study (p.(ix), (x)).

Tuttle's editorial procedure regarding the duration of accidentals within a bar, explained in point 1 on p.xiv of TK, is not always consistently applied. Editorial accidentals - point 1(b) - are occasionally lacking as, for example, in TK43, b.61 s 20 (F ♯); TK45, b.29 s 21, 23 (B ♯); and TK62, b.43 t 6 (C ♯). The missing accidentals tend always to be towards the end of a bar. Tuttle opts for rather long bars in TK, and it is possible that at a late stage in the

preparation of his transcriptions he decided to change from 'short' to 'long' bars in certain pieces (making a single 'long' bar out of two 'short' ones), but did not notice that, having erased the barlines, some accidentals in his transcriptions were in force throughout a 'long' bar (no longer being cancelled by the barline), and so required editorial cancellation instead. Such re-barring might also explain the strictly unnecessary duplication of G # in TK8, b.18; the sharps would all be required if the six minim beats were split into two bars of three minims each. The same applies to the duplicated F sharps in b.19, right hand. In none of the above cases does any ambiguity arise; the correct pitch (# or b) is always discernible from the context.

PRELUDE, TK1

Bars 1-18 were numbered in semibreves (1-41) by Tomkins in To (p.106-7). The first semibreve beat of b.9 is numbered both 20 and 22; the second semibreve beat (numbered 21) of this bar appears on extra freehand staves at the foot of p.106 and prefaced 'Take in this Revision bit [or bis (twice)? - the final letter is obscured in To by a bass clef]'. Tomkins's intentions are therefore unclear. The possibilities for the performance of b.9 are (i) the first semibreve beat followed by the second, then the first, then the third; (ii) the first semibreve beat followed by the second played twice, then the first, then the third. Both are unsatisfactory; TK gives a more sensible version but is contrary to Tomkins's numbering.

PRELUDE, TK3

14 a 5: q. (To, p.111).

IN NOMINE, TK6

The following rubrics are omitted in the textual commentary (TK, p.164): To, p.149, end of system 6 '+ Turne over:'; below system 7 'on the left hande syde:'

IN NOMINE, TK7

Original sketch (To, p.110) has no t-s.

IN NOMINE, TK8

Date (June 16 1648) not in Tomkins's hand but that of a later annotator who added the letter-figure combinations (see Appendix 2).

28 lh 1: Tuttle supplies editorial rests for the second, third and fourth crotchet beats but there is no stem for the crotchet C thereby implied at the beginning of the bar. Perhaps it would have been simpler to represent the cantus firmus by an editorial semibreve instead.

31 rh beats 4, 5: the tenor line (in crotchets) is doubled at the upper octave in To (p.114). Tuttle does not print this alto line in parallel octaves (resolving the preceding F#) but notes it in his commentary (TK, p.166). However, the alto pitch may have been intended by Tomkins (in preference to the tenor) since he took the trouble to indicate the octave jump C - C (beat 3) clearly in the manuscript with a direct on the left hand stave as well as a notated middle C for the right hand.

IN NOMINE, TK10

2 lh 6, 7: rhythm c A c D (To, p.154) but dotted as in TK in the revision, TK11 (To, p.158).

18 lh 3: o (To, p.154) but present in the revision TK11 (To, p.158).

20 a 11, 16; b 9: all should be ed. q .

21 lh 12: o (To, p.155).

34: (23) misplaced (should refer to second minim beat in the left hand).

38 rh: the notes of the cantus firmus are probably not tied (To, p.155) but joined by a slip of the pen.

IN NOMINE, TK11

9 a beat 6: q F has a flat cancelling the previous sharp (To, p.158).

IN NOMINE, TK12

19-20: original version (TK, p.168(4)) illegible in To but  
20 t 1 has fingering 5 in the first draft.

MISERERE, TK13

10: the notation of the left hand in To (TK, p.169(5)) is probably designed to indicate technical execution of the passagework (which, for the first time in the piece, clashes with a note of the cantus firmus). The notation was presumably intended to indicate that the note A should not be retaken when playing on a single manual.

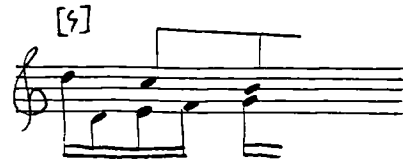
11 beats 3, 4: cantus firmus should read F, not A.

MISERERE, TK14

15 t 1: the ornament on the G is clearly a double stroke (TK, p.169(9)).

MISERERE, TK17

14 s 9: probably as follows



bar reference for 15 misplaced

[FANCY], TK23

16 t 10: c. (originally m.) D should be placed further to the left.

34 rh beat 1. chord F A D: D should be dotted but not the F.

36 rh 6: tie lacking to next bar.

37 lh chord 5 (D F): two different note values on the same stem (both are of the same value (g) in To (p.96) and should be minims in TK whose following F is probably an error).

45 lh 2: there is a (cancelled?) m. G (c. in TK) a minor third above the E in To (p.97).

At 46 lh beats 1, 2 the tied g A probably represents a particular type of keyboard articulation (silent finger changing on the A) rather than an ordinary tied value.

46 rh 4: two different note values on the same stem; the F is clearly s in To (p.97) though this clashes with the following E.  
50 rh 4: the C is differently notated in To (p.97), a single notehead representing both m. and m .  
54 a 2: dot for G lacking in To (p.97). Reference for bar 55 lacking.

VOLUNTARY, TK24

No bar numbers in TK.

TK, p.55, system 1, b.4 (= b.29). rh a 2 (B flat): should be tied to following note.

TK, p.55, system 7, b.2 (= b.46). lh 1: two different note-values on the same stem. The notation of the left hand of this bar is unclear in To; the G of the second left hand chord may be tied over from the previous chord.

FANCY, TK25

33 s 8: dot for D lacking in To (p.120).

A SHORT VERSE,  
TK27

2 s 1: Tuttle's realisation in TK, p.177 (1) seems incorrect. There is a correction at this point in Lb129996 (f.179v) but what Tuttle gives as a crotchet D is really a cancelled minim E (corrected to G on the stave line above).

18 a: the rest (originally of a crotchet's duration: Lb129996, f.179v) is not editorial.

VOLUNTARY, TK28

Bar number reference [40] lacking in TK.

[FANCY], TK29

Beneath first alto entry is letter e (Och1113, p.135).

Bar number reference [30] lacking in TK.

VOLUNTARY, TK30

T-s  $\text{¢}$  omitted in TK (D1, p.90).



A SUBSTANTIAL

VERSE, TK31

The 1-flat key-signature lasts until the end of b.7, not b.6  
(TK, p.178 (1)).

40 s 3: the rest is not editorial (originally a minim rest in  
To, p.41).

FANCY FOR

VIOLS, TK33

Bar-numbers lacking after 30 in TK.

UT RE MI: FOR A

BEGINNER, TK34

Original (not halved) note values retained in TK.

Bar number reference [25] lacking in TK.

UT RE MI, TK35

Ending from Ob93 (TK, p.82) in halved note values.

GROUND, TK39

74 rh 18: F  $\dot{h}$  in FWVB.

Bar numbers cease after 85 in TK.

[97] rh: a chord of C (tied to that in the next bar) is probably  
required here but is not in FWVB.

GROUND: ARTHUR

PHILLIPS, TK40

T-s clearly  $\text{C}$  in Lb129996, f.193v.

PAVAN: EARL

STRAFFORD, TK41

Bar numbers lacking after 10 in TK.

GALLIARD: EARL

STRAFFORD, TK42


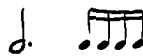

Bar number reference [10] placed a bar late (TK references  
retained below).

11 a 3: no G visible (To, p.105).

14 rh chord 1: GE should be  $\underline{q}$  (originally  $\underline{c}$  in To).

PAVAN: EARL

STRAFFORD, TK43

TK, p.188 (13): Tomkins's original intention (To, p.144) was probably ; when he amended this to  he presumably forgot to cancel the original crotchet (all note values halved in TK43 and TK, p.188 (13)). In TK41, b.[19] and TK47, b.17, Tomkins notates the same figure  (To, p.105 and 171).

PAVAN, TK45

24 s 13: double stroke ornament (To, p.129).

28 lh beat 2 (chord C E C): s E m C (To, p.129); TK's text is more sensible, giving added clarity to the bass (see TK, p.189(1)).

Bar numbers wrong from 30 onwards.

GALLIARD OF THREE

PARTS, TK50

1 rh beat 2: q B q A q B? in To (p.161); halved values in TK.

13 b beat 5: probably even rather than dotted rhythm but To very unclear (p.160).

18 lh: bass line originally an octave lower in To as follows:  
q G A B C s D (see TK, p.192(7)).

PAVAN, TK52

19 b 1: D should not be dotted.

PAVAN, TK57

For comments on the notation of this piece see Chapter 6, p.92-3.

HUNTING GALLIARD,

TK58

31 lh beat 3: should be a minim chord.

'FORTUNE MY FOE',

TK61

3 t 1: should be dotted.

32 b 6: gB in To.

101 b 5: final quaver clearly E, not D (see TK, p.199(31)).

119 t 14, 15: g AE (To, p.181).

132: no designation 'The 8. waye' in To (p.176); see TK, p.201 (44).

'BARAFOSTUS'

DREAM, TK62

36 lh 9: E should be dotted.

Bar numbers wrong from 45 onwards.

'ROBIN HOOD',

TK63

151 b: ed. rest (c) required on beat 3.

WORSTER BRAWLS,

TK65

T-s  $\text{¢}$  in FWVB.

10 a 4: D has double stroke ornament in FWVB.

THE PERPETUAL

ROUND, TK66

5 lh 12: o (To, p.157).

'GO FROM MY

WINDOW', TK72

Bars 1 - 4 appear on the system below b.5 (To, p.153).

BITTS: OR

MORCELLS, TK73

A transcription of this piece follows at the end of the appendix.

BITTS: OR MORCELLS - TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

Source: To, p.147 Bitts: or morcells:

Original note values and barring retained.

Bracketed time-signatures editorial; 3:1 proportion-signs original.

The proportional (3:1) sign in b.5 refers to the tenor line in the second half of the bar.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Bitts: or morcells". The score is written on two systems of staves. The first system consists of two staves, likely representing a lute or similar instrument, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. A bracketed time signature [3/4] is present. A proportional sign 3:1 is written above the staff, and a bracketed time signature [d=d] is written above the staff. The second system also consists of two staves, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. A bracketed time signature [5/4] is present. A proportional sign 3:1 is written above the staff. The piece ends with the word "[UNFINISHED]" written in brackets.

## APPENDIX 2

### LETTER-FIGURE COMBINATIONS IN To

An intriguing feature of To is the meaning of the numerous letter-figure combinations (touched on in Chapter 2, p.8-9) added to Tomkins's works. Both Tuttle (TK, p.157) and Stevens (StevT, p.131) believe them to refer to the location of other copies of Tomkins's keyboard works in manuscripts owned by the Tomkins family, an assumption adopted here. It is difficult to imagine what else the letter-figure combinations might refer to; neither lengths of pieces (in semibreves, minims, crotchets?) nor signature numbers for gatherings seem plausible alternatives.

Stevens is quite wrong in suggesting that Tomkins himself added the letter-figure combinations. None of these is in the composer's hand; as Tuttle points out they were added by the compiler of the index on p.189 of To (probably Tomkins's son, Nathaniel). Tomkins's own hand is easily distinguishable from that of the later annotator. Assuming this person to have been Nathaniel Tomkins, he probably appended the letter-figure combinations to his father's rough texts in To when making fair copies in accordance with the composer's request (To, p.186) quoted in Chapter 1, p.7.

These letter-figure combinations have never been systematically catalogued before. The following Tables therefore present, in order

- A. Titles of pieces by Tomkins and their associated letter-figure combinations;
- B. Grouping of pieces by these combinations.

TABLE ALetter-figure combinations of Tomkins's Keyboard Works in To

<u>TK</u>	<u>Short title (date)</u>	<u>Letter-figure reference</u>
1	Prelude	Ib 335 F86 f42
2	Piece of a Prelude (9/7/1647)	Ib 98 F79 f26
3	Prelude	Ib 336 F84 f42
4	<u>Clarifica me Pater</u> (1650)	Ib 98 F166 f54
5	In Nomine (20-8/1/47)	Ib 224 G139
6	In Nomine (20/1/47-2/8/50)	Ib 224 K191 [TK:101] G139 [om in TK]
7	In Nomine (5/48)	Ib 200 c46 F190
8	In Nomine (16/6/48)	Ib 201 c47 F191
9	In Nomine (27/10/48)	Ib 97 F165 f53
10	In Nomine (2/50)	Ib 94
11	In Nomine (14/2/50)	Ib 94 F[?] 166 f55
12	In Nomine (28/6/52)	Ib 92 f54
13	Miserere (15/9/48)	Ib 334 f29 E195
14	Miserere (7/10/48)	Ib 319 f27 E167
15	Miserere (26/5/51)	Ib 319 F277 f27 E167
16	Miserere (3-4/2/52)	f56 k3.26
17	Miserere	f31 E196
18	Miserere	Ib 334 E195
19	Miserere	Ib 334 f27 E194
20	Miserere	Ib 319 F277 f277 E167
22	Fancy (9/11/46)	Ib 264 F472 g138
23	[Fancy] (8/7/47)	Ib 270 F40 g162
24	Voluntary (10/8-10/9/47)	E 356 g161
25	Fancy (24/10/48)	Ib 96 f43 F87
26	Verse of three parts (12/8/50)	Ib 95 f41 F83
31	Substantial Verse	Ib 25 F105 b3
33	Fancy for viols	Ib 135 F385 c18 E5

<u>TK</u>	<u>Short title (date)</u>	<u>Letter-figure reference</u>
34	<u>Ut re mi</u> : beginner	f58 G187
35	<u>Ut re mi</u>	F35 G126/3.2. [?] G146 g147
36	<u>Ut re mi</u>	f59 [ <u>TK</u> :f50]
37	<u>Ut re mi</u>	[none]
41	Pavan: Strafford (29/9/47)	Ib 274 g159
42	Galliard: Strafford	Ib 275
43	Pavan: Strafford (2/10/47)	Ib 274 d69 g159
44	Galliard: Strafford	Ib 274 d70 g164
45	Pavan (4/50)	Ib 276 F12 d71 g182
46	Galliard (1/10/50)	Ib 276 F13 d73 g185
47	Pavan (4/9/54)	Ib 255 F172 f60 E101
48	Galliard (7/9/54)	E 102
49	Pavan of three parts	Ib 57 F169 f57 E252
50	Galliard of three parts	Ib 57 F169 f57 E254
51	Pavan (10/9/47)	Ib 150 F160 g163
52	Pavan (14/9/47)	Ib 264 F161 g164
53	Sad Pavan (14/2/49)	Ib 248 g173 d56
54	Pavan (20/8/50)	Ib 249 F169 f57 E211
55	Short Pavan (19/7/54)	Ib 293 F170 f58 E236
61	Fortune my foe (4/7/54)	Ib 214 F243 e21 [ <u>TK</u> : c21]
66	Perpetual Round (7-8/9/54)	Ib 218 f77 [?] 51
67	Toy: Poole Court	f 60
70	<u>Ut re mi</u>	[none]
71	<u>Ut re mi</u> (30/6/54)	f 58

TABLE B  
GROUPING BY LETTER-FIGURE COMBINATIONS

(\* denotes transposed dorian mode)

(i)	<u>Ib</u>	<u>TK (final)</u>
	25	31 (D)
	57	49 (G); 50 (G)
	92	12 (A)*
	94	10 (D)*; 11 (D)* [In Nomine transposed to A but final cadence on D]
	95	26 (D)
	96	25 (G)
	97	9 (A)*
	98	2 (D); 4 (A)*; 18 (G)
150		51 (G)
185		33 (A)
200		7 (A)*
201		8 (A)*
214		61 (A)
218		66 (G)
224		5 (A)*; 6 (A)*
248		53 (G)*
249		54 (G)
255		47 (A)
264		22 (G); 52 (G)
270		23 (G)
274		41 (G); 43 (G); 44 (G)
275		42 (G)
276		45 (A); 46 (A)
293		55 (G)
319		14 (G); 15 (G); 20 (G)
334		13 (G); 18 (G); 19 (G)
335		1 (G)
336		3 (A)



(ii) <u>F</u>	<u>TK</u> (final)
12	45 (A)
13	46 (A)
35	35 (G)
40	23 (C)
79	2 (D)
83	26 (D)
84	3 (A)
86	1 (G)
87	25 (G)
105	31 (D)
160	51 (G)
161	52 (G)
165	9 (A)*
166	4 (A)*; 11 [?] (A)*
169	49 (G); 50 (G); 54 (G)
170	55 (G)
172	47 (A)
190	7 (A)
191	8 (A)
243	61 (A)
277	15 (G); 20 (G)
385	33 (A)
472	22 (G)

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(iii) <u>f</u>	<u>TK</u> (final)
26	2 (D)
27	14 (G); 15 (G); 19 (G)
29	13 (G); 18 (G)
31	17 (G)
41	26 (D)

<u>f</u>	<u>TK (final)</u>
42	1 (G); 3 (A)
43	25 (G)
53	9 (A)*
54	4 (A)*; 12 (A)*
55	11 (A)*
56	16 (G)
57	49 (G); 50 (G); 54 (G)
58	34 (G); 55 (G); 71 (G)
59	36 (G)
60	47 (A); 67 (G)
77	66 (G)
277	20 (G)

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(iv)	<u>E</u>	<u>TK (final)</u>
	5	33 (A)
	101	47 (A)
	102	48 (A)
	167	14 (G); 15 (G); 20 (G)
	194	19 (G)
	195	13 (G); 18 (G)
	196	17 (G)
	211	54 (G)
	236	55 (G)
	252	49 (G)
	254	50 (G)
	332	66 (G)
	356	24 (G)

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(v)	<u>g</u>	<u>TK</u> (final)
	138	22 (G)
	147	35 (G)
	159	41 (G); 43 (G)
	161	24 (G)
	162	23 (G)
	163	51 (G)
	164	44 (G); 52 (G)
	173	45 (A)
	182	46 (A)
	185	53 (G)*

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(vi)	<u>d</u>	<u>TK</u> (final)
	56	53 (G)*
	69	43 (G)
	70	44 (G)
	71	45 (A)
	73	46 (A)

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(vii)	<u>G</u>	<u>TK</u> (final)
	126	35 (G)
	139	5 (A)*; 6 (A)*
	146	35 (G)
	187	34 (G)

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(viii)	<u>c</u>	<u>TK</u> (final)
	18	33 (A)
	46	7 (A)*
	47	8 (A)*

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(ix) b                      TK (final)  
          3                      31 (D)

---

(x) e                         TK (final)  
          21                      61 (A)

---

(xi) k                        TK (final)  
          191                      6 (A)\*

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(xii) k                      TK (final)  
          3.26                      16 (G)

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It is not possible to associate these letters conclusively with those manuscripts listed by Tomkins on p.i of To (TK, p.159) for while some (E, F, G) fit the rest do not (A, B, C, D and H on p.i of To are not mentioned among the letter-figure references, while some that are - Ib, K, f, for instance - are not listed on p.i of To at all). K, a reference mentioned once only, might refer to volume C in Tomkins's list which apparently belonged to John Tomkins, bore 'ye Karmes' and was dated 1630.

Several provisional observations might be drawn from Table B, concentrating on key, form and date.

KEY

For the most part the fair copies made by Nathaniel Tomkins of his father's rough texts in To were grouped accurately by key, although by connecting the preludes TK1 (G) and TK3 (A) in sources F (84-6) and f(42), and also the Pavan, TK47(A) and Toy: made at Poole Court, TK67 (G) he contravened the instruction on p.186 of To:

And what ever Fancies. or Selected  
Voluntaries. of worthe: to be placed  
in their owne native keyes not  
mingling or mangling them together  
wth others of a [cancelled] Contrary  
keys: but put in theyr Right places.

Particularly strong in its grouping by key is E (Table B (iv) in which most pieces have G final (E 167-332). E, like most, if not all, of the letter groups, was probably copied in separate stages, which would account for the pieces in A copied earlier (E 5-102) and C copied later (41-3, 53-60) than the main body of works in G.

#### FORM

Ib, F and f tend to group pieces by form. Ib groups six of the Misereres in two series (Ib 319, 334) and all four of the Strafford memorials (Ib 275-6). Both F and f connect the Pavan and Galliard of three parts with the Pavan, TK54 (F169, f57). Misereres are again grouped together in f (27, 29, 31), as are preludes (f42), transposed In Nomines (f53-5) and 'didactic' pieces, TK34 and 55 (f.58). Some groupings are less coherent, however, such as the Fancy, TK22 and the Pavan, TK52 (Ib 264) - though both have G final - and the Pavan, TK47 and Toy, TK67 (f.60).

#### DATE

Most letter groups embrace a wide spread of dated pieces and are therefore not precise enough to enable them to be used as a basis for placing undated pieces in chronological sequence. One source, g, does seem to have been copied with regard for date. Of its twelve pieces (including fugal works, dances and a hexachord) eight bear dates between November 1646 (TK22) and October 1647 (TK43). Some of these, at least, seem to have been copied as a group, possibly at the same time (g159, 161, 162, 163, 164). Following are pieces dating from 1649-50 (g173-85; TK45, 46, 53) probably copied after the main body of pieces. As the

Ut re mi, TK35, appears between the earliest dated piece in g (the Fancy, TK22 (November 9 1646)) and the main body of 1647 pieces, this may be indicative of a date of late 1646 or 1647 for the text of Tomkins's hexachord setting in To. This piece is also referred to (twice) under letter G, a group containing the In Nomines, TK5 and 6 (January 20 1647 - August 2 1650). The evidence is suggestive but not conclusive.

APPENDIX 3

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF TOMKINS'S KEYBOARD MUSIC DATED IN To

1646	<u>TK22</u>	Fancy	November 9
		-----	
1647	<u>TK5</u>	In nomine (version 1)	January 20-28
	<u>TK23</u>	[Fancy]	July 8
	<u>TK2</u>	Piece of a Prelude	July 9
	<u>TK24</u>	Voluntary	August 10 -
			September 10
	<u>TK51</u>	Pavan	September 10
	<u>TK52</u>	Pavan	September 14
	<u>TK41-2</u>	Pavan (and Galliard): Earl Strafford (short)	September 29
	<u>TK43-4</u>	Pavan (and Galliard): Earl Strafford (long)	October 2
		-----	
1648	<u>TK7</u>	In nomine	May
	<u>TK8</u>	In nomine	June 16
	<u>TK13</u>	Miserere	September 15
	<u>TK14</u>	Miserere	October 7
	<u>TK25</u>	Fancy	October 24
	<u>TK9</u>	In nomine	October 27
		-----	
1649	<u>TK53</u>	A Sad Pavan: For these distracted times	February 14
		-----	
1650	<u>TK10</u>	In nomine (version 1)	February
	<u>TK11</u>	In nomine (version 2)	February 14
	<u>TK45</u>	Pavan	April
	<u>TK46</u>	Galliard	October 1
	<u>TK6</u>	In Nomine	August 2
	<u>TK26</u>	Verse, of three parts	August 12
	<u>TK54</u>	Pavan	August 20
	<u>TK4</u>	Clarifica me pater	September

1651	<u>TK15</u>	Miserere	May 26
-----			
1652	<u>TK16</u>	Miserere	February 3-4
	<u>TK12</u>	In nomine	June 28
-----			
1654	<u>TK71</u>	Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la	June 30
	<u>TK61</u>	Fortune my foe	July 4
	<u>TK55</u>	Short Pavan	July 19
	<u>TK47</u>	Pavan	September 4
	<u>TK48</u>	Galliard	September 7
	<u>TK66</u>	The perpetual Round	September 7-8
-----			

Two other keyboard pieces by Tomkins are dated, but neither of them appears in Tb. These are:-

<u>Ob93</u>	Offertory	1637
<u>Lb129996</u>	Pavan, Lord Canterbury	1647
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APPENDIX 4

TRANSCRIPTION OF PRELUDE, TK3 FROM Fo AND FWVB

Handwritten musical score system 1. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/2 time signature. The music features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, some beamed together, and a few slurs. The bass staff contains a bass clef and a series of chords, including a G major chord, a D major chord, and a G major chord with a sharp sign. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score system 2. It consists of two staves. The treble staff starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a 3/2 time signature. The music includes a melodic line with a slur and a fermata over a note. The bass staff has a bass clef and contains chords and a melodic line with slurs. Fingering numbers are present: a '5' above the first measure of the treble staff, and '3 5 2' and '2' below the bass staff in the second and fourth measures respectively. The system ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score system 3. It consists of two staves. The treble staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a 3/2 time signature. The music features a melodic line with slurs and a fermata. The bass staff has a bass clef and contains a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. Fingering numbers '10', '4', and '4' are placed above the treble staff in the second, third, and fourth measures. The system ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score system 4. It consists of two staves. The treble staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a 3/2 time signature. The music includes a melodic line with slurs and a fermata. The bass staff has a bass clef and contains a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. Fingering numbers '5', '3', '5', '(5?)', and '4' are placed below the bass staff in the first through fifth measures. The system ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score system 5. It consists of two staves. The treble staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a 3/2 time signature. The music features a melodic line with slurs and a fermata. The bass staff has a bass clef and contains a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. Fingering numbers '2', '5', and '5' are placed below the bass staff in the first, second, and third measures. The system ends with a double bar line.

20 4 5 3

This system contains the first four measures of music. The treble clef staff has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. Measures 1-3 feature a continuous eighth-note melody in the right hand, with fingerings 2, 4, 5, and 3 indicated above the notes. The bass clef staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

25

This system contains measures 5-8. Measure 5 begins with a whole note chord in the treble clef. The right hand melody continues with eighth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes in measure 7. The bass clef staff continues with accompaniment, featuring a triplet of eighth notes in measure 7.

30

This system contains measures 9-12. Measure 9 has a whole note chord in the treble clef. The right hand melody continues with eighth notes. Measure 10 features a triplet of eighth notes in the bass clef. Measure 11 has a whole note chord in the treble clef. Measure 12 continues the right hand melody.

35

This system contains measures 13-16. Measure 13 has a whole note chord in the treble clef. The right hand melody continues with eighth notes. Measure 14 features a triplet of eighth notes in the bass clef. Measure 15 has a whole note chord in the treble clef. Measure 16 continues the right hand melody.

35

This system contains measures 17-20. Measure 17 has a whole note chord in the treble clef. The right hand melody continues with eighth notes. Measure 18 features a triplet of eighth notes in the bass clef. Measure 19 has a whole note chord in the treble clef. Measure 20 continues the right hand melody.

TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

The general editorial policy follows the same principles as in the transcriptions of the consort music in Vol.2. The  $2/2$  time-signature is editorial but the original barring in both Fo and FWVB has been retained. One or two rests have been added editorially as necessary (these are placed in square brackets). Fingering in Fo is shown in the transcription.

Sources : A Fo, p.386-89 A Parludam Mr Bird

B FWVB, no.151 Praeludium [anon.]

t-s:  $\text{C}$  (AB) / 1 rh 1: chord C E A C (A) / 3 b 1: o (A) / 4 t 4: A (A) /  
5 s 1: no orn (B); lh 1: bass E om (A) / 8 rh 2:  $\sharp$  (A); lh 3: o (B) /  
16 s. 1-3: rhythm  $\underline{q} \underline{q} \underline{c} \underline{c}$  (B) / 17 t: o (A) / 19 a: rhythm  $\underline{m} \underline{c} \underline{c}$  (A) /  
21 rh 1: o (B) / 25 a 3-4: E D (A); s 4: o (A) / 26 s 1: no orn (B) /  
27 s 6-7: no orns (B) / 29 a beat 2:  $\underline{c} G \underline{c} E$  (A) / 30 s 1:  $\underline{q}$  (B);  
t 1: no orn (B); rh 11-14: om (A) / 32 a 1: om (B); lh chord: C sharp om (A);  
s 6-7: o (B) / 33 rh 1: no orn (B) / 36:  $\underline{b}$  chord (AB)

APPENDIX 5

TRANSCRIPTION OF 'PAVANA ANGLICA THOMAS TOMKINS COLLIERI  
DI PIETRO PHILIPPI' FROM Up

5

Handwritten musical score system 1, measures 1-5. The system consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) with a grand staff bracket on the left. The music is in 2/2 time. Measure 1 has a whole note chord in the bass and a half note in the treble. Measures 2-5 show a melodic line in the treble and a bass line in the bass. Measure 5 has a fermata over the final note.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, with a grand staff bracket on the left.

10

Handwritten musical score system 2, measures 6-10. The system consists of two staves. Measures 6-10 show a melodic line in the treble and a bass line in the bass. Measure 10 has a fermata over the final note.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, with a grand staff bracket on the left.

15

Handwritten musical score system 3, measures 11-15. The system consists of two staves. Measures 11-15 show a melodic line in the treble and a bass line in the bass. Measure 15 has a fermata over the final note.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, with a grand staff bracket on the left.

20

Handwritten musical score system 4, measures 16-20. The system consists of two staves. Measures 16-20 show a melodic line in the treble and a bass line in the bass. Measure 20 has a fermata over the final note.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, with a grand staff bracket on the left.

25

Handwritten musical score system 5, measures 21-25. The system consists of two staves. Measures 21-25 show a melodic line in the treble and a bass line in the bass. Measure 25 has a fermata over the final note.

30

Musical score system 1, measures 30-34. The treble clef contains a complex melodic line with many beamed notes and slurs. The bass clef contains a simpler accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

35

Musical score system 2, measures 35-39. The treble clef continues the melodic line with various intervals and slurs. The bass clef provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

40 45

Musical score system 3, measures 40-44. Measures 40 and 45 are marked above the staff. The treble clef features a series of slurs and beamed notes. The bass clef has a steady accompaniment.

50

Musical score system 4, measures 45-49. Measure 50 is marked above the staff. The treble clef has a melodic line with some rests. The bass clef continues with a rhythmic accompaniment.

Musical score system 5, measures 50-54. The treble clef has a melodic line with some rests. The bass clef continues with a rhythmic accompaniment.

55

Musical score for measures 55-59. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). Measure 55 features a complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth and thirty-second notes in the right hand, while the left hand plays a simple bass line. Measures 56-59 continue with similar textures, including some rests and dynamic markings.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, positioned below the first system.

60

Musical score for measures 60-64. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music continues in the same key signature and time signature. Measure 60 shows a more active right hand with sixteenth-note runs. Measures 61-64 feature a mix of rhythmic patterns and rests in both hands.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, positioned below the second system.

65

Musical score for measures 65-69. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 65 begins with a dense texture of sixteenth notes in the right hand. Measures 66-69 show a continuation of this texture with some melodic lines in the left hand.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, positioned below the third system.

70

Musical score for measures 70-74. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 70 features a melodic line in the right hand. Measures 71-74 continue with a mix of rhythmic patterns and rests in both hands.

Two empty musical staves, one for the treble clef and one for the bass clef, positioned below the fourth system.

75

Musical score for measures 75-79. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 75 begins with a melodic line in the right hand. Measures 76-79 continue with a mix of rhythmic patterns and rests in both hands.



80 85

90

95

100

# 105



TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

The time-signature and barring are editorial. Some rests not present in the original tablature but necessary to clarify the part-writing have been added without comment. A tablature key is shown at the end of the transcription.

Source: Up, f.8v-11 Pavana Anglica Thomas Tomkins Collected by Pietro Philippi

68 t o : D in source / 79 t 1: # in source / 93 t 2,3: octave higher in source / 103 s beat 3: dsq in source.

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