

**THE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC
OF
PETER PHILIPS
ITS SOURCES, DISSEMINATION
AND STYLE**

Volume 1

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ABSTRACT

The Instrumental Music of Peter Philips: its Sources, Dissemination and Style

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There are fifty-one instrumental pieces by Philips, many of which occur in versions for ensemble, keyboard and lute. The sources have a wide geographical and chronological span. This research is based upon an extensive first-hand examination of the sources of Philips's instrumental music, and a detailed comparative study of the textual variants of each piece.

The thesis divides into three parts. In the first, a biographical chapter relates Philips's instrumental music to the changing nature of his employment. Then the main sources of his instrumental music, the manuscripts copied by Francis Tregian, are discussed at length. The remaining keyboard sources are considered, followed by consort and lute sources.

In Part 2 the technique of intabulation is shown to be central to Philips's keyboard style. A distinction is made between arrangements made by Philips of his own works, those made by him of other composers' works, and settings of his music made by others. A case study of the 'Dolorosa Pavan' is used to illustrate how widely Philips's music was disseminated, and allows us to establish a *stemma* of sources which helps us to elucidate - and improve - our understanding of their inter-relationships. A second case study attempts to establish the origins of the pavan dated by Tregian to 1580: the original 'model' on which the keyboard piece is based has not survived. The thesis ends with an attempt to place Philips's instrumental repertory in the context of his contemporaries, using Philips's music as a 'touchstone' to refer to relationships (mostly stylistic) with other composers.

Part 3 comprises transcriptions of Philips's instrumental pieces. The texts of each source for a piece are given in parallel with the minimum of editorial adjustment: Part 3 is intended to be a reference tool, not an edition.

Contents

Volume 1

<i>Contents Volume 1</i>	ii
<i>Contents Volume 2</i>	v
<i>Contents Volume 3</i>	vii
<i>List of Sources</i>	
<i>Sources containing the instrumental music of Peter Philips</i>	x
<i>Other sources to which reference is made</i>	xii
<i>Handlist of Instrumental Works by Peter Philips</i>	xiv
<i>Editorial Method</i>	xix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxii
<i>Preface</i>	xxiv
 PART 1	
Chapter 1 A Biography of Peter Philips	
Introduction	1
The Principal Sources	2
The English Period	5
The Italian Period	11
Travels with a New Patron	15
The Antwerp Period	18
Marriage	19
Musical Life in Antwerp	20
Visit to Amsterdam	23
The Archducal Court at Brussels	
Continued Contact with Antwerp: the Inheritance	28
1601-1611: Philips and Colonel William Stanley	30
Ordination	32
Pay and Conditions at Court	34
Conclusion	36

Chapter 2	The Tregian Manuscripts	
	Introduction	39
	Francis Tregian	40
	Fitzwilliam Virginal Book	
	Introduction	44
	Physical Description	45
	Purpose of the Manuscript	50
	Notation	53
	The Meaning of the Crosses	59
	The Date and Origin of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book	64
	The Contents	70
	Peter Philips and the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book	75
	3665	
	Introduction	82
	Physical Description	83
	Scribal Practice	89
	Organization of the Manuscript	92
	Purpose of the Manuscript	95
	Tregian's Sources	98
	Peter Philips and Tregian's Supply of Sources	103
	Drexel	
	Introduction	111
	Physical Description	112
	Organization of the Manuscript	115
	Drexel and Peter Philips	117
	Conclusion	118
Chapter 3	Keyboard Sources	
	Introduction	119
	1113 and 1003	123
	Lynar	130
	Berlin	
	Introduction	137
	Physical Description	138
	The Scribes	147
	Philips's Passamezzo Galliard	164
	Liège	166
	89	180
	Turin	
	Introduction	184

	The Organization of the Collection	185
	Chronology	185
	Provenance of the Manuscripts	187
	The Turin Manuscript and Peter Philips	194
	408	197
	Eysbock	204
	Caus	207
	Ohio	212
	Conclusion	213
Chapter 4	Consort and Lute Sources	
	Introduction	217
	423-428	218
	437-442	219
	439	220
	36526A	221
	Bautzen	221
	Board	221
	Browne	222
	Dallis	224
	Dlugoraj	226
	Dublin	226
	Fuhrmann	227
	Florida	229
	Füllsack	229
	Holmes	231
	Kassel	233
	Kempis	238
	Montbuysson	238
	Morley	245
	Rude	247
	Robinson	248
	Schele	248
	Simpson	255
	Swart	256
	Valerius	257
	Vilnius	258
	Walsingham	260
	Weld	261
	Wickhambrook	262

Contents

Volume 2

<i>Contents Volume 1</i>	ii
<i>Contents Volume 2</i>	v
<i>List of Sources</i>	
<i>Sources containing the instrumental music of Peter Philips</i>	vii
<i>Other sources to which reference is made</i>	ix
<i>Handlist of Instrumental Works by Peter Philips</i>	xi
PART 2	
Chapter 5	Intabulation Procedures in the Instrumental Music of Peter Philips
	264
Intabulation	265
Intabulation of Vocal Works	272
Intabulation of Instrumental Ensemble Works	275
Style of Keyboard Figuration	280
Dolorosa Pavan: a Case Study in Stemmatology	281
The Keyboard Intabulation	284
Lynar and FVB	285
FVB and an English Branch of the Stemma	288
Lynar and a Continental Branch of the Stemma	292
Berlin: a local Spanish Netherlands Branch of the Stemma	296
408: a Remote Source	299
The Stemma of Sources	303
Chapter 6	The Origins of the 1580 Pavan
	304
Introduction	308
The Mixed Consort Sources	310
A Feature of the English Sources	312
English Lute Sources	320
Instrumental Ensemble Versions	323
A Continental Four-part Version	324
The Remaining Keyboard Sources	326
Continental Lute Sources	326
Conclusion	326

Chapter 7	Philips and his Contemporaries: Some Issues of Dissemination and Stylistic Correspondence in relation to his Instrumental Repertory	
	Introduction	328
	Early Influences: Elizabethan Dances Arranged or Transmitted by Philips	328
	The 1580 Pavan: its Dissemination and Influence on the Continent	331
	Stylistic Correspondence with Byrd and Morley	334
	Parallels and Interchange with some English Composers	
	Philips and Dowland	335
	Philips and Tomkins	339
	Passamezzo Pavan and Galliard	345
	Fantasia-G	350
	Conclusion	352
	Bibliography	355
Appendix 1	Inventory of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book	368
Appendix 2	Contents of 3665	401
Appendix 3	Contents of Drexel	420
Appendix 4	Berlin:	
	Index	423
	Inventory	426
	List of Concordances	437
Appendix 5	Contents of Turin	446

Contents Volume 3

<i>Contents Volume 3</i>	ii
--------------------------	----

List of Sources

<i>Sources containing the music of Peter Philips</i>	v
<i>Other sources to which reference is made</i>	vii

<i>Handlist of Pieces</i>	ix
---------------------------	----

<i>Editorial Method</i>	xiv
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I Intabulations of Vocal Works

1	Amarilli	1
2	Bon jour	8
3 & 4	Chi fara (2 settings)	13
5	Deggio dunque	28
6	Io partire	32
7	Ma voi	37
8	Ecco l'aurora	41
9	Fece da voi partita	47
10	Margot	56
11	Le Rossignol	60
12	Tirsi	70
13	Freno	75
14	Cosi	80

II Intabulations of Instrumental Works

15	Almande	83
16	Aria del Gran Duca	89
17	Dolorosa Pavan	
	a) Transcriptions in staff notation	92
	b) Lute sources in tablature	122
	c) Kempis	136

18	Dolorosa Galliard	140
19	Paget Pavan	153
20	Paget Galliard	168
21 & 22	Piper's Galliard (2 settings)	175
23	Berlin Galliard	182
24	Tomkins Pavan	186
25	1580 Pavan	
	a) Keyboard	194
	b) Ensemble	204
	c) Mixed consort	208
	d) Bandora: mixed consort parts and a related lute setting	223
	e) Cittern	228
	f) English lute versions	230
	g) Continental lute versions	244
	h) Lute duet	253
	i) Vocal arrangement: Valerius	265
	j) Vocal arrangement: Swart	269

III Keyboard Works

A The remaining dances

26	Galliard (PP)	270
27	Passamezzo Pavan	271
28	Passamezzo Galliard	
	a) Berlin	281
	b) FVB	284
	c) Parallel transcription of concordant strains	288

B Keyboard Fantasias

29	Fantasia (F)	291
30	Fantasia (G)	295
31	Liège fantasia	306

C Liturgical Keyboard Works

32	Benedicam Dominum	308
33	Veni Sancte Spiritus	310

IV The Remaining Instrumental Ensemble and Mixed Consort Works

34	Aria	313
35	Bassano	314
36	Pavan (F)	315
37	Galliard (F)	317
38	Füllsack	318
39	Galliard (Consort Lessons)	319
40	Galliard-PP	323
41	Holborne Galliard	324
42	Morley Pavan	330
43	Morley Galliard	333
44	Nowils Galliard	334
45	Passamezzo Consort	336
46	Consort Fantasia 1	362
47	Consort Fantasia 2	365
48	Trio 1	367
49	Trio 2	369
50	Trio 3	371
51	La Vecha	373

List of Sources

1. Sources of the Instrumental Music of Peter Philips

1003	Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. MS 1003.
1113	Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. MS 1113.
36526A	London, British Library, Add. MS 36526A.
3665	London, British Library, MS Egerton 3665.
408	Sweden, Uppsala, Universitets Bibliotek, Instr. mus. hs. 408 (<i>olim</i> 108).
423-8	Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. MSS 423-428.
437-42	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. E. 437-442.
439	Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. MS 439.
89	Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. MS 89.
Bautzen	Germany, Bautzen, Stadt- und Kreisbibliothek, Druck 13.4°.85: Manuscript additions to Besard, <i>Thesaurus Harmonicus</i> .
Berlin	Poland, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellńska (<i>olim</i> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), MS 40316 (<i>olim</i> 191).
Board	Woodford Green, Essex, private collection of Robert Spencer: <i>Margaret Board Lute Book</i> .
Browne	Woodford Green, Essex, private collection of Robert Spencer: <i>Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book</i>
Caus-1	Salomon de Caus, <i>Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes</i> , Frankfurt am Main, 1615; repr. Paris, 1624.
Caus-2	Salomon de Caus, <i>Institution Harmonique</i> , Frankfurt am Main, 1615.
Dallis	Eire, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 410 (<i>olim</i> D.3.30): <i>Dallis Lute Book</i> .
Dlugoraj	Germany, Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt, MS II.6.15: <i>Lautenbuch des Albert Dlugoraj</i> .
Drexel	United States, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Drexel MS 4302: <i>Sambrooke Manuscript</i> .

-
- Dublin** Eire, Dublin, Trinity College, Manuscript additions to Tallis and Byrd, *Cantiones quae ab Argumento Sacrae Vocantur, Quinque et Sex Partium*, London, 1575 (shelfmark B.1.32).
- Eysbock** Sweden, Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens, Tabulatur nr. 1: *Elisabeth Eysbock's Keyboard Book*.
- Florida** Joachim van den Hove, *Florida*, Utrecht, 1601 (RISM 1601¹⁸).
- Fuhrmann** Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, *Testudo Gallo-Germanica*, Nuremburg, 1615.
- Füllsack** Zacharias Füllsack & Christian Hildebrand, *Ausserlesener Paduanen und Galliarden...*, Hamburg, 1607 (RISM 1607²⁸).
- FVB** Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 168 (*olim* Mus. 32. G. 29): *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*.
- Holmes** Cambridge University Library, MSS Dd.3.18, Dd.5.20, Dd.5.21, Dd.14.24 (mixed consort partbooks); Dd.2.11, Dd.5.78.3, Dd.9.33 (lute books).
- Kassel** Germany, Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhard'sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 4° MS Mus. 125 [1-5].
- Kempis** Nicolaus a Kempis, *Syphoniae Unius, Duorum, Trium, IV, V, et VI Instrumentorum*, Antwerp, 1642.
- Liège** Belgium, Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 153 (*olim* 888): *Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium*.
- Lynar** Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lübbenau MS Lynar A1.
- Montbuisson** Germany, Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhard'sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, MS 4°. Mus. 108.1: *Victor de Montbuisson's Lute Book*.
- Morley** Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Consort Lessons*, 1599; 2nd edn. 1611.
- Ohio** United States, Ohio, Case Western Reserve University, MS folio bound in Ernest David and Matthis Lussy, *Histoire de la Notation Musicale*, 1882, opposite p. 114.
- Robinson** Thomas Robinson, *New Citharen Lessons*, London, 1609.
- Rude** Johann Rude (Rudenius), *Flores Musicae*, Heidelberg, 1600 (RISM 1600^{5a}).
- Schele** Germany, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek MS M/2768 (*olim* ND.VI 3238): *Ernest Schele's Lute Book*.

- Simpson 1621** Thomas Simpson, *Taffel-Consort*, Hamburg, 1621 (RISM 1621¹⁹).
- Swart** Willem Swart, *Den Lust-hof der Nieuwe Musycke*, Amsterdam, 1603.
- Turin i-xvi** Italy, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, Raccolta Giordano 1-8 and Raccolta Foà 1-8.
- Valerius** Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck*, Haarlem, 1626 (RISM 1626¹⁴).
- Vilnius** Lithuania, Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, MS 285-MF-LXXIX: *Königsberg Manuscript*.
- Walsingham** Hull University, Brynmor Jones Library, DDHO/20/1-3 (treble viol, flute, bass viol partbooks); United States, Oakland California, Mills College Library, Bender Collection, Parton Manuscripts, MS without shelf number (cittern partbook).
- Weld** Private collection of Lord Forrester: *Weld Lute Book*.
- Wickhambrook** United States, New Haven, Yale University, School of Music Library, Special Collection Ma.21.632: *Wickhambrook Lute Book*.

2. Other sources to which reference is made

- 30485** London, British Library, Add. MS 30485.
- Adriaensen** Emmanuel Adriaensen, *Novum Pratum Musicum*, Antwerp, 1592.
- Dowland** John Dowland, *Lachrimae*, London, 1604.
- Dublin Virginal Book** Eire, Trinity College, Marsh's Library, D.3.30: *Dublin Virginal Book*.
- Ghirlanda** *Ghirlanda di Madrigali a Sei Voci*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse), 1601 [RISM 1601⁵].
- Holborne** Antony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, Almains*, London, 1599.
- Lynar A2** Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lübbenau MS Lynar A2.
- Mulliner** London, British Library, Add. MS 30513: *Mulliner*
- Nevell** Privately owned, *My Ladye Nevells Booke*.

-
- NM** G. Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche*, Florence, 1602.
- Padova** Italy, Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1982.
- Paris 1185** France, Paris, Fonds du Cons., Rés. 1185.
- Phalèse 1583** *Musica Divina*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse & J. Bellère), 1583.
- Phalèse 1591** *Melodia Olympica*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse), 1591 [compiled by Philips].
- Phalèse 1592** *La Fleur des Chansons d'Orlande de Lassus*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse), 1592.
- Phalèse 1593** Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali a Cinque Voci*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse), 1593.
- Philips 1603** *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse), 1603.
- Simpson** T. Simpson, *Opusculum. Neuer Pavanen Galliarden Courenten und Bolten*, Frankfurt, 1610.
- Striggio** Alessandro Striggio, *Il Desiderio Secondo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci*, Venice, 1566.
- Tisdale** Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 782 (*olim* Marlay Additions No. 15), *Tisdale or Bull Virginal Book*.
- Varietie** Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute Lessons*, London, 1610.
- Willoughby** Nottingham University Library MS 16.16c: *Willoughby Lute Book*.

Handlist of Instrumental Works by Peter Philips

ABBREVIATION	SOURCE	FOLIO, PAGE, NO.	PIECE NO. IN VOL. 3
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	Mixed Consort		25
	Holmes	Various	
	Morley	no. 8	
	Walsingham	no. 7	
	Ensemble		
	36526A	f. 5	
	439	p. 117	
	Dublin	p. 27	
	Kassel	p. 37	
	Keyboard		
	Eysbock	f. 25 ^v	
	FVB	no. 85	
	Ohio	p. 114	
	Turin xv	f. 58	
	Lute		
	Bautzen	p. 39	
	Board	f. 5 ^v	
	Browne (bandora part)	f. 14	
	Dallis (solo)	p. 254	
	Dallis (duet)	pp. 82/83	
	Dallis (ground)	p. 124	
	Dlugoraj (in <i>G</i>)	p. 80	
	Dlugoraj (in <i>C</i>)	p. 82	
	Florida	f. 92	
	Holmes: Dd.2.11	f. 98 ^v	
	Montbuysson (ground)	p. 79	
	Robinson (cittern)	no. 11	
	Rude	no. 92	
	Vilnius	f. 53 ^v	
	Vilnius (bandora)	f. 38 ^v	
	Weld	f. 2 ^v	
	Wickhambrook	f. 12	
	Vocal Ensemble		
	Swart	f. 38 ^v	
	Valerius	pp. 136-8	

ABBREVIATION	SOURCE	FOLIO, PAGE, NO.	PIECE NO. IN VOL. 3
<i>Almande</i>	Ensemble		15
	3665	p. 1032	
	Keyboard		
	1003	f. 5 ^v	
	1113	no. 111	
<i>Amarilli</i>	Lynar FVB	p. 318 no. 82	1
<i>Aria</i>	Simpson	no. 3	34
<i>Aria del Gran Duca</i>	Ensemble		16
	3665	p. 1032	
	Keyboard		
	Berlin	f. 19 ^v	
<i>Bassano</i>	3665	p. 1027	35
<i>Benedicam</i>	1113	no. 118	32
<i>Berlin Galliard</i>	Berlin	f. 7 ^v f. 31	23
<i>Bon jour</i>	FVB	no. 79	2
<i>Chi fara</i>	Caus-1 FVB Lynar	f. 38 ^v f. 78 p. 218	3
<i>Chi fara</i>	Liège	f. 42	4
<i>Consort Fantasia 1</i>	437-442	no. [90]/20	46
<i>Consort Fantasia 2</i>	437-442	no. [91]/21	47
<i>Cosi</i>	FVB	no. 72	14
<i>Deggio</i>	1113	no. 112	5

ABBREVIATION	SOURCE	FOLIO, PAGE, NO.	PIECE NO. IN VOL. 3
<i>Dolorosa Galliard</i>	Ensemble		18
	3665	p. 1022	
	Keyboard		
	Berlin	f. 8	
	FVB	no. 81	
	Lynar	p. 231	
	408	f. 20 ^v	
	Lute		
	Holmes (Dd.9.33)	f. 15	
<i>Dolorosa Pavan</i>	Ensemble		17
	3665	p. 1022	
	Keyboard		
	Berlin	f. 6	
	FVB	no. 80	
	Lynar	p. 226	
	Turin xv	f. 61	
	408	f. 17 ^v	
	Lute		
	Fuhrmann	p. 181	
	Holmes (Dd.5.78.3)	f. 65 ^v	
	Holmes (Dd.9.33)	f. 14 ^v	
	Schele	p. 97	
	Division viol		
	Kempis	no. 26	
<i>Ecco</i>	Lynar	p. 223	8
<i>Fantasia-F</i>	FVB	no. 88	29

ABBREVIATION	SOURCE	FOLIO, PAGE, NO.	PIECE NO. IN VOL. 3
<i>Fantasia-G</i>	FVB Turin vii	no. 84 f. 58	30
<i>Fece</i>	FVB 1113	no. 73 no. 116	9
<i>F-Galliard</i>	3665	p. 1023	37
<i>F-Pavan</i>	3665	p. 1023	36
<i>Freno</i>	FVB	no. 71	13
<i>Füllsack Pavan</i>	Füllsack	no. 5	38
<i>Galliard-CL</i>	Morley	no. 9	39
<i>Galliard-FVB</i>	FVB	no. 87	26
<i>Galliard-PP</i>	3665	p. 1031	40
<i>Holborne</i>	3665	p. 1027	41
<i>Io</i>	1113	no. 114	6
<i>Liège</i>	Liège	f. 5	31
<i>Ma voi</i>	1113	no. 115	7
<i>Margot</i>	FVB	no. 83	10
<i>Morley Galliard</i>	3665	p. 1026	43
<i>Morley Pavan</i>	3665	p. 1024	42
<i>Nowils</i>	3665	p. 1030	44
<i>Paget Galliard</i>	Ensemble		20
	3665	p. 1024	
	Keyboard		
	FVB 408	no. 75 f. 25 ^v	

ABBREVIATION	SOURCE	FOLIO, PAGE, NO.	PIECE NO. IN VOL. 3
<i>Paget Pavan</i>	Ensemble		19
	3665	p. 1025	
	Keyboard		
	FVB 408	no. 74 f. 22 ^v	
<i>Passamezzo Galliard</i>	Berlin FVB	f. 4 ^v no. 77	28
<i>Passamezzo Pavan</i>	Berlin FVB Lynar	f. 2 ^v no. 76 p. 172	27
<i>Passamezzo Consort</i>	Drexel 423-8 437-42	p. 373 nos. 14-15 no. [89]	45
<i>Piper's Galliard</i>	Berlin	f. 8 ^v f. 30 ^v	21 22
<i>Rossignol</i>	1113 FVB Lynar	no. 117 no. 86 p. 214	11
<i>Tirsi</i>	FVB	no. 70	12
<i>Tomkins</i>	408	f. 14 ^v	24
<i>Trio-1</i>	Caus-2	p. 42	48
<i>Trio-2</i>	Caus-2	p. 47	49
<i>Trio-3</i>	Caus-2	p. 50	50
<i>Vecha</i>	3665	p. 1031	51
<i>Veni</i>	89	p. 22	33

Editorial Method

The transcriptions in Volume 3 preserve as many features of the original sources as possible. They do not constitute a performing edition. Nor are they diplomatic transcriptions, since it has been necessary to make some editorial adjustments. Five-line staves with G- and F- clefs are used to aid comparison between sources. Scribal errors are not corrected, though sometimes attention is drawn to them by an editorial comment enclosed in square brackets.

The volume is organized by genre: first come the intabulations of vocal works, in which the original models are given above keyboard intabulations; the text of a vocal piece is given in one part only. Next come the settings for keyboard of instrumental ensemble works, mostly by Philips himself. Then the remaining keyboard works are transcribed, divided into three groups: the remaining dances, the fantasias, and the liturgical pieces. Finally, those ensemble pieces for which there is no corresponding keyboard intabulation are transcribed.

Where there is a decorated *reprise* in a keyboard or lute version, the music of the ensemble version has been printed out, even though this does not appear in the source. This enables the reader to compare the ensemble 'model' with the decorated text of the keyboard or lute piece. When a lute source does not have a decorated reprise, but a keyboard equivalent has, the tablature is given only the first time.

The source abbreviation as given in the list of sources (Volume 1, pp. x-xiii) precedes each transcription, along with original ascriptions: information taken from the beginning of a work is shown in *italic* type, that taken from the end of a piece in Roman type, and that from a contemporary index is enclosed in rounded brackets. Folio, page and line changes are indicated in square boxes beneath the staff (this information is omitted in sources consisting of partbooks where the changes in each book do not coincide). *Custodes* are only given when they occur in the source. Prefatory staves contain the original clefs, key signatures and

mensuration signs. Clef changes within the musical text are editorial; original clef changes are indicated in an oval box by letter name of the clef followed by staff-line (counting from the bottom line of the original staff).

Bar numbers occur at the beginning of each system. In duple mensuration there is one semibreve to the bar; in triple mensuration there is one dotted semibreve to the bar. Original barlines join the staves together, whereas editorial barlines do not.

Original beaming has been retained. Original stem direction is retained for keyboard pieces, except where a beamed pair has one tail up and one tail down. Stem direction is not retained for ensemble pieces, which are sometimes notated with more than one part on a staff. Occasionally it is not clear whether notes should be beamed as one group or two: in such cases the larger group is beamed, but a vertical slash (|) indicates the possible subdivision.

All note values are original, even when their duration carries over a barline. If a dot of prolongation is positioned away from the note it alters, then it is moved next to it unless there is a tie (e.g. if the dot of a dotted minim is positioned after a barline, detached from the minim, it will be positioned with the minim in the transcription unless there is a slur tying the two symbols). Breve and long rests have been broken into semibreve rests.

All accidentals from sources written in staff notation are reproduced. A distinction is made between placement before a note, above or beneath a note, and at the start of a bar. In **Lynar** the two forms of sharp are distinguished by the use of the sharp and double-sharp signs.

Lute sources are transcribed both in tablature and staff notation; keyboard sources which are in keyboard tablature are given only in staff notation. In the transcription into staff notation, accidentals are given as they occur in the tablature and *apply only to the note which*

they immediately precede. Sometimes cautionary small accidentals are given to avoid ambiguity; these also apply only to the note which they precede. In tablature each note has its pitch and rhythm determined independently: where pitch is indicated with no rhythm sign, diamond-shaped noteheads are used in the transcriptions. Where the rhythm is known, but the pitch lacking, cross-shaped noteheads are used. In lute tablature, the angular form of the letter 'c' is transcribed as the letter 'r'. Ornaments in lute tablature are transcribed as the nearest keyboard equivalent.

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The large number of sources involved in this study has meant that I have had to rely on a great many librarians and their staff. Some have allowed me to consult the manuscripts and prints in their care, and have without exception been very helpful. Others have furnished me with photocopies or microfilm copies with efficiency, or have taken the trouble to reply to my enquiries, sometimes going out of their way to furnish me with the required information. I would like to thank all those who have helped me in libraries across the world, but in particular I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the staff at the Music Faculty Library, the Bodleian Library and the British Library.

A number of other people have helped in various ways. Christopher Stenbridge introduced me to Philips's keyboard music, while Geoffrey Webber and Richard Vendome pointed me towards a Philips source (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS 40316) when I was looking for a subject for an undergraduate dissertation. Julia Craig-McFeely generously allowed me access to her database of lute sources. Robert Spencer graciously sent me photostats of sources in his possession. I have received help translating material (which would otherwise have taken a long time to read) from Rosemary Pearce, Lorenz van den Meij and Edward Warrington.

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Preface

Peter Philips (c. 1561-1628) has been unjustly neglected in the revival of Tudor music. Although some of his motets were performed at Westminster Cathedral under Richard Terry in the early years of this century, most of his music remained unknown until 1970, when Lionel Pike completed his dissertation on the vocal music, and John Steele published *Select Italian Madrigals for Musica Britannica*.¹ Even today his music is rarely performed, though recently there have been a small but growing number of recordings devoted to him.

Philips's reputation has suffered in the twentieth century because he was an emigré: unlike composers such as John Dowland and Richard Dering, Philips never returned to England. He has not been considered alongside his English contemporaries because he worked on the continent, and composed no vocal music for the reformed liturgy of the Church of England; equally, his English birth has prevented inclusion with his continental contemporaries. However, Philips's contemporaries placed him with the greatest composers of the day. He became the highest paid organist at the archducal court at Brussels, receiving more than Bull or Cornet in 1613. Philips's music was known throughout the continent, as far afield as Lisbon, Stockholm and Poland.

Philips's music was also known in England, for Henry Peacham writes:

Nor must I forget our rare countryman, Peter Philips, organist to their *altezzas* [highnesses] at Brussels, and now one of the greatest masters of music in Europe. He hath sent us over many excellent songs, as well motets as madrigals. He affecteth altogether the Italian vein.²

Peacham considers composers in order of preference: Philips's vocal music is singled out for mention after the motets of Byrd, Victoria and Lassus, and after the madrigals of Marenzio, Ferrabosco and Vecchi; composers of the stature of Monteverdi, Monte, Rore, A. Gabrieli, Dowland, Morley and Weelkes are merely listed. Philips is the only Englishman other than

¹*Pike D.Phil, Steele 1970.*

²*Peacham, p. 115.*

Byrd to be singled out as worthy of particular note. Philips's contemporary reputation lasted well into the eighteenth century, where he is included between Dowland and Morley in Hawkins's *A General History of Music*: Hawkins quotes Peacham, and adds that he was 'better known to the world by the Italian name of Pietro Philippi' and that he was 'an exquisite composer of vocal music both sacred and profane'.³

Philips published more music than any English composer of the period other than Byrd: his contemporary reputation seems to have rested more on his published vocal music than on the instrumental music, which survives mostly in manuscript sources. Philips was not primarily an instrumental composer, unlike composers such as Dowland and Bull. There are only fifty-one instrumental pieces,⁴ a manageable number which, with the aid of new computer technology, allows the parallel transcription of each piece as it occurs in each source. This differs from the usual approach to the study of instrumental music in theses, where a scholarly edition is presented as part of the submission: the transcriptions in Volume 3 reproduce as much as possible from the sources, with little editorial alteration.⁵ The aim is to provide 'clean' texts, which will allow the reader to see how the argument (especially in chapters 5 and 6) relates to the primary material. It is hoped that the transcription will be a useful reference tool for scholars and performers.

The thesis examines the dissemination of Philips's music by studying its transmission in the sources. The sources are discussed, then the pieces are considered in relation to the sources, in order to establish a *stemma*. Philips's two most popular and widely disseminated

³Hawkins, p. 585.

⁴Pavans and galliards are counted separately, as are the individual *partes* of madrigal settings. The total omits all pieces known to be by Philip van Wilder (who often occurs in manuscripts as 'Mr Philips'), and a doubtful lute fantasia in Holmes.

⁵Editorial procedures are stated on pp. xix-xxi.

pieces, the *Dolorosa Pavan* and *1580 Pavan*, are highlighted in two case studies. At the same time, Philips's compositional procedures are identified, and the final chapter attempts to place Philips's style in the context of the music of his contemporaries. Throughout the thesis Philips's work is seen in the light of what is known of his biography: the first chapter offers a new interpretation making use of previous archival research by A.G. Petti, J. Steele and G. Spiessens.

All pieces with an ascription to Peter Philips are included in the survey, as are pieces occurring anonymously but known to be by him. A fundamental distinction is made between works composed or arranged by Philips, and arrangements of these works by other composers. In some late-sixteenth century lute sources there is a confusion between Peter Philips and Philip van Wilder, who often occurs as 'Mr Philips'. Some sources contain pieces by both composers: in most cases the correct attribution can be established easily, so that those works known to be by van Wilder are excluded from study.⁶

There are as many sources of Philips's instrumental music as there are pieces, but most sources contain only one or two works. Sources have been examined at first hand wherever possible: only in a few cases did the location of a source make this impossible. Inevitably some sources are treated more fully than others. The manuscripts copied by Francis Tregian are the most important sources for Philips's music, and as yet have not been the subject of detailed study, so they are treated at greater length. Other sources are discussed less fully, and with reference to previous researchers' findings: sometimes an examination of a source allows further refinement of such findings, but space does not allow an extensive

⁶See Ward 1992, pp. 3-5, *Humphries* and *Bernstein*. Ward argues that a pavan in Nottingham, University Library, MS 16. 16c. (*Willoughby Lute Book*) is more likely to be by Philips than Wilder, but his dating of the manuscript to c. 1570 (p. 44) would make the source too early for Peter Philips.

exposition. Attention is concentrated on those sources which preserve works which are known to have been composed or arranged by Philips. Sources containing a number of Philips's works are treated in greater depth than the many sources which have only one piece by him. Less emphasis is laid on those sources containing an arrangement of a single Philips piece by another - usually anonymous - composer. In particular, lute sources are treated more briefly than keyboard sources: few contain more than one arrangement of a Philips piece. There is no evidence that Philips was a lutenist, whereas his reputation as an organist and virginalist was considerable; a slight bias towards the keyboard works therefore seems justified. Furthermore, there is research on lute sources of this period in progress, and an extensive treatment of these sources would either duplicate the work of others, or quickly become outdated.⁷

Some explanation of geographical terms as they are used in this study is required. 'Netherlands' is used to refer to all seventeen provinces inherited by Philip II on his accession: it does not denote merely the northern provinces which now constitute the Netherlands. The expressions 'Spanish Netherlands' and 'south Netherlands' are used for those provinces which remained under Spanish occupation, and in which Roman Catholicism was the established religion. The terms 'United Provinces' and 'north Netherlands' are used for the northern Protestant provinces. 'Flemish' is used in a broad sense, as in 'Anglo-Flemish' keyboard notation, and its meaning is not confined to Flanders.

Abbreviations are used in the main body of the text for printed and manuscript sources: these are given in **bold type**. The abbreviations, together with a full references for each primary source, may be found in the list of sources on pp. x-xiii. Modern editions,

⁷In particular, Julia Craig-McFeely has been carrying out doctoral research on English lute sources at Oxford University.

books and articles are identified by a keyword in *italic* type: full references for these may be found in the bibliography.

Philips's instrumental pieces are identified by short titles in *italic* type: these do not necessarily correspond with any contemporary title. The handlist of instrumental works by Philips (Volume 1, pp. xiv-xviii) gives the concordant sources for each work, its location in them, and the number of the corresponding transcription in Volume 3, where the original ascriptions may be found before the start of each piece. In Volume 3, ascriptions found in a source at the beginning of a piece are given in *italic* type, those occurring at the end of a piece are in Roman type, and information taken from a contemporary index is also in Roman type (but enclosed within round brackets). In the text of Volume 1 original ascriptions are given in 'quotation marks' in order to distinguish them from the short titles.

Foliation of manuscripts is represented as follows: f. 12 (the *recto* side of folio 12); f. 12^v (the *verso* side of f. 12). References are given in the order: f. [or ff.] folio number [in arabic numerals], system number (counting from top of page) [lower-case Roman numerals], bar number [arabic numerals]. Page references follow a similar pattern, with p. for page and pp. for the plural. The abbreviation for 'following' is 'seq' to avoid confusion with the abbreviation for folio.

In the description of manuscripts a distinction is made between 'empty' folios (which have been pre-ruled, but contain no music) and 'blank' folios (which have not been ruled and contain no music). A distinction is made between 'rastration' and 'ruling': where a rastrum has been used to rule all or some of the lines, the heading 'Rastration' is used; where lines have been drawn individually the heading 'Ruling' is used.

There are fifty-one instrumental pieces⁸ by Philips in forty-three sources.⁹ Most are dances or keyboard intabulations of vocal works: there are no contrapuntal fantasias for ensemble, and only one for keyboard. The *1580 Pavan* is the most widely disseminated work, occurring in twenty-six sources. It is discussed in Chapter 6. The *Dolorosa Pavan* also achieved contemporary popularity, occurring in 9 sources (1 ensemble, 5 keyboard, 3 lute).¹⁰

There are thirty-three keyboard works. No less than twenty-three are intabulations of pre-existent polyphonic models. Philips is unique among English composers in making many keyboard arrangements of vocal works. There are fourteen keyboard intabulations of vocal works, including two independent settings of Alessandro Striggio's *Chi fara*. Of these fourteen vocal intabulations, half are based on models by Marenzio: *Io* and *Ma voi* are the second and third *partes* of Marenzio's *Deggio*; *Freno* and *Cosi* are the second and third *partes* of Marenzio's *Tirsi*, and the remaining piece is *Ecco*. Three vocal intabulations are based on works by Lassus: *Bon jour*, *Margot* and *Rossignol*. There is also an intabulation of a polyphonic version of Caccini's *Amarilli*, and a setting of Philips's own *Fece da voi*. As well as these keyboard pieces, two madrigals by Philips (*Quando Urania* and *E quando fra le rose* from **Philips 1603**) are found in an ensemble source, 437-442.

⁸Individual *partes* of madrigals are counted separately, as are pavans and their corresponding galliards. The total includes *Consort Fantasia 1 & 2* (six-part madrigals by Philips in 437-442), *Ecco* (which is unattributed in **Lynar**, but is contained within a group of Philips's pieces), *Füllsack Pavan* (which is probably not by Philips), and *Galliard-CL* (the galliard which accompanies the *1580 Pavan* in **Morley**, which may not be Philips's work).

⁹Manuscript collections comprising more than one volume (**Holmes** and **Turin**) are counted as one source.

¹⁰**Dd.9.33** and **Dd.5.78.3** counting as one source, here called **Holmes**.

In Chapter 5 it will be shown that keyboard works which exist in versions for ensemble are also intabulations. In addition to *1580 Pavan* and *Dolorosa Pavan* there are eight more keyboard intabulations of instrumental ensemble works.¹¹ Of these, three are modelled on works by other composers: John Dowland (two settings of *Piper's Galliard*) and Thomas Tomkins (a pavan in *A* minor, referred to here as *Tomkins*).

There are four further keyboard works which may be intabulations, but for which there is no known model: *Benedicam*, *Fantasia-F*, *Galliard-FVB* and *Berlin Galliard*. *Benedicam* appears to be a keyboard setting of a motet. The structure of *Fantasia-F* suggests that it may be an intabulation of a secular vocal work, perhaps an early essay in intabulation technique written when Philips was in Rome (it is dated 1582 in *FVB*). *Galliard-FVB* may have originated as an ensemble piece. *Berlin Galliard* is in a similar style to *Piper's Galliard* and *Paget Galliard* and, like them, may be an intabulation of an ensemble piece which is no longer extant.

Only five keyboard pieces are not intabulations. The *Passamezzo Pavan and Galliard* are similar in style to the pair by Byrd, but also incorporate features of style from elsewhere (see Chapter 7). The *Fantasia-G* fits within a Netherlands tradition of contrapuntal fantasia writing (see Chapter 7). *Liège* is entitled 'Fantasie' in *Liège*, its unique source, but has the character of an Italian toccata: it is the only piece by Philips to display the influence of Andrea Gabrieli.¹² *Veni* is a plainsong setting in a strophic style which has the chant in the bass throughout.

¹¹The total omits the keyboard version of *Aria del Gran Duca* (transcribed in Volume 3, no. 16), which is probably an arrangement made by another composer (perhaps Peeter Cornet) of the piece by Philips preserved in 3665.

¹²Claudio Merulo seems to have had a greater influence on Philips, particularly his style of figuration (see Chapter 5).

There are twenty-four ensemble pieces, of which six are used as models for keyboard pieces. With the exception of the *Passamezzo Consort*, no ensemble piece occurs in more than one source. All but six of the ensemble works are contained in 3665. Two works (*Aria* and *Füllsack Pavan*) are arrangements made by the compilers of their respective sources and *Galliard-CL* may have been composed by Morley to pair with Philips's 1580 *Pavan* in **Morley**. Five works in 3665 are designated as arrangements by Philips of pieces by other composers: *Holborne* and *Nowils* are based on extant works by Antony Holborne, *Morley Pavan* and *Galliard* are based on pieces by Morley, and *Bassano* is a galliard modelled on an unknown original by Augustin Bassano.

It is possible to establish a chronology for Philips's instrumental works. The scribe of FVB, Francis Tregian, provides dates for many works. These dates cover a wide chronological range, and do not appear to be dates of copying. The presence of dates affixed to intabulations of vocal works suggests that they refer to the year in which the keyboard setting was made. In the case of the 1580 *Pavan* the original ensemble piece (which has not survived) probably dates from considerably before the 1580 date of the keyboard piece.¹³ However, it is probable that the ensemble model of the *Dolorosa Pavan* dates from the same year as the keyboard setting because its composition seems linked to Philips's eventful trip to Amsterdam in 1593.¹⁴

It is possible to establish likely dates for some of the other works. The *Aria del Gran Duca* must date from after the composition of Cavalieri's choral *ballo* written for the Florentine *intermedi* of 1589 from which the bass derives. The *Paget Pavan* and *Galliard*

¹³See Chapter 6.

¹⁴See Chapters 1 and 5.

were probably written in memory of his patron, Thomas Lord Paget, who died in 1590. The clear relationship between Philips's setting of *Holborne* and one found in *Adriaensen* suggests a date of c. 1592 for the arrangement. Philips's intabulations of works by Marenzio are probably from c. 1593, the year of their publication in *Phalèse 1593*. *Fece* dates from c. 1596, when Philips's madrigal (on which it is based) was published. The *Galliard-CL* was composed before its publication in 1599. The three trios in *Caus-2* date from before its publication in 1615.

In two cases there are two distinct versions of the same piece. The version of *Passamezzo Galliard* in *Berlin* is clearly an earlier version, so presumably was written before the date given for the piece in *FVB*. There is no means of dating *Chi fara*, but there are two independent settings of which that preserved uniquely in *Liège* seems to be the earlier; *Liège* probably dates from the same period.

It is likely that the rest of the instrumental repertory dates from c. 1590- c. 1610. The *Passamezzo Consort* was composed probably towards the end of this period: its six-part texture, with overlapping equal *cantus* parts, belongs more to the Jacobean than to the Elizabethan period. It is difficult to place works like *Aria*, which is contained in *Simpson* (1621) and was probably arranged by the compiler. An analogy may be drawn between the vocal duetting of the two top parts and the interweaving *cantus* parts of *Passamezzo Consort*.

The table below summarizes the chronology of those works by Philips for which it is possible to propose a date of composition. A date affixed to a pavan is taken to apply also to its galliard.

Piece	FVB Date	Other dates
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	1580	Ensemble original c. 1575
<i>Fantasia-F</i>	1582	
<i>Aria del Gran Duca</i>		After 1589
<i>Paget Pavan and Galliard</i>		c. 1590
<i>Passamezzo Galliard (Berlin)</i>		Before FVB version of 1592
<i>Passamezzo Pavan and Galliard (FVB)</i>	1592	
<i>Holborne</i>		c. 1592
<i>Dolorosa Pavan and Galliard</i>	1593	
<i>Marenzio madrigals</i>		After 1593
<i>Rossignol</i>	1595	
<i>Fece</i>		c. 1596
<i>Galliard-CL</i>		Before 1599
<i>Bon jour</i>	1602	
<i>Amarilli</i>	1603	
<i>Margot</i>	1605	
<i>Fantasia-G</i>		After 1597
<i>Trio 1, 2, 3</i>		Before 1615

Chapter 1

A Biography of Peter Philips

INTRODUCTION

The instrumental music of Peter Philips needs to be understood in relation to his life and career in the Spanish Netherlands. Any assessment of stylistic influences on Philips's music, or his influence on other composers working in the Netherlands, has to consider the extent to which his years in Italy influenced his music; whether an English influence can be detected in the instrumental music; and the extent to which the musical environment in the area around Antwerp and Brussels was Italianate.

Philips's life divides into a number of distinct periods: from his birth in c. 1561 to his escape to the continent in 1582 (his 'English' period); from this latter point until 1585, when Philips was in Rome (the 'Italian' period); five years spent in the service of Lord Thomas Paget, with whom he travelled widely in Europe; then in 1590 he settled in Antwerp where he remained until 1597, except for an eventful journey to Amsterdam in 1593 (the 'Antwerp' period); lastly, in 1597 he obtained an organist's position at the archducal court in Brussels, where he remained until his death in 1628.

Scholars have discovered a number of archival documents relating to Philips's life. A.G. Petti came across a reference to Philips whilst working on the letters and despatches of the poet Richard Verstegan; he undertook some additional research, and published two articles which include transcripts of a number of contemporary documents.¹ John Steele has

¹*Petti CRS, Petti MMR, Petti RH.*

also worked on Philips's biography.² Recently, Godelieve Spiessens uncovered archival evidence pertaining to Philips's years in Antwerp (in particular details of his marriage), and to his ordination.³

THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES

Most of the sources of information about Philips are primarily concerned with his imprisonment and interrogation by the Council of The Hague after he was accused of plotting the assassination of Elizabeth in 1593, but they also contain details of his activities before this date.

1. A Letter from Richard Verstegan to Father Persons

Verstegan to Father Persons, 13 January 1594, Stonyhurst Archives Coll. B. f. 152 (transcr. *Petti CRS*, pp. 203-5)

In a letter from Richard Verstegan to Father Persons in Rome⁴, dated 13 January 1594, there is a detailed account of Philips's journey to Amsterdam in 1593, as well as other information about his life to that date.

Verstegan came from a family of Dutch origins, and was involved in the clandestine publication of Catholic books and pamphlets. In 1582 he fled to France, and then moved to Rome in 1584. He stayed there for a year, continuing his publishing activities, and so would

²*Steele 1970*, p. xvi; *Steele 1980*.

³*Spiessens*.

⁴Robert Persons was an influential Catholic exile who became a Jesuit and had a great influence over the development of both the English College at Douai, which was founded by William Allen in 1568, and the English College at Rome. He was one of the first Jesuit missionaries to England, arriving with Edmund Campion in June 1580.

probably have met Philips, who was in Rome from 1582 until March 1585. After another brief spell in France, he moved to Antwerp in 1586, where he eked out a living as a poet, as well as publishing Catholic books and pamphlets.

Philips settled in Antwerp in 1590, and evidently knew Verstegan well: Verstegan states that his account of Philips's trip north was received at first hand on Philips's return to Antwerp at Christmas 1593. Verstegan was involved in the despatch of letters and books to and from England, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy and France. There seems to be a connection between Verstegan and Francis Tregian, the copyist of the manuscripts which contain the greatest number of Philips's instrumental works: Verstegan prefaced his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (Antwerp, 1605) with a sonnet 'Fr. Tregian' which almost certainly refers to the younger Francis Tregian with whom we are concerned, not his father. Bearing in mind that Verstegan and Philips seem to have known each other over a period of some years, first in Rome, and later in Antwerp, it seems likely that Verstegan is a reliable source of information about Philips's life.⁵

2. Letters from Gilpin to Lord Burghley

State Papers Holland, xlvii, f.46, Gilpin to Lord Burghley, 11 September 1593 (quoted in *Petti MMR*, p. 60)

State Papers Holland, xlvii, f.62, Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593 (quoted in *Petti MMR*, pp. 60-61)

State Papers Holland, xlvii, f.68, Gilpin to Burghley, 27 September 1593 (quoted in *Petti MMR*, p. 61)

⁵For Verstegan's life, see introduction to *Petti CRS*.

George Gilpin was one of Elizabeth's most trusted agents in her dealings with the United Provinces. In his capacity as acting ambassador to the Low Countries, Gilpin wrote a number of letters to Burghley⁶ in England concerning Philips's case. These contain biographical details of Philips's past as well as an appraisal of Philips's predicament in 1593. Verstegan mentions Gilpin's presence at Philips's interrogation by the Council of the Hague, so presumably Gilpin's information about the events of 1593 is accurate. Although there is no evidence that Gilpin had had any contact with Philips before 1593, it is likely that Gilpin would have examined Philips in person before writing to Burghley. Hence it may be assumed that the information in these letters is reliable.

4. Certificate of Residence in Brussels

The Certificate of Residence in Brussels is the most authoritative document pertaining to Philips's life. It is dated 4 August 1597, and includes details of his life up to that date. It is signed by Philips himself, so is presumably accurate.⁷

5. The *Weesmeesterskamer* Document of 1601

In 1984 Erik Duverger discovered an interesting *Weesmeesterskamer* ('orphan-masters') document in the Antwerp town archives dating from 1601.⁸ This provides information about Philips's marriage, and is transcribed by Spiessens.⁹ Spiessens went on to

⁶William Cecil was created Baron Burghley in 1571, and was one of the most powerful men in England. At this time he was Lord High Treasurer of England.

⁷Archives du Royaume de Belgique, Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience. 1398t. (Transcr. in *Petti RH*, fn. 1, p. 58). Philips's signature is reproduced in *Steele 1970*, p. xxii.

⁸Stadsarchief Antwerpen, *Weesmeesterskamer* 248 (October 1601), ff. 1-20^v.

⁹*Spiessens*, pp. 112-113.

discover entries in parochial registers for Philips's marriage and for the baptism of his child.

THE ENGLISH PERIOD

Peter Philips was born about the year 1561, since the certificate of residence 1597 gives his age as '36 annes'. He was a chorister at St Paul's Cathedral under Sebastian Westcote, the master of the choristers, who in 1582 died leaving 'to Peter Phillipps likewise remayninge withe me sixe poundes thirtene shillings fower pence'.¹⁰ It seems that Philips, along with four others named in the will, continued to reside with Westcote until his death in 1582.

It may be significant that Sebastian Westcote was a Roman Catholic recusant. The first reference to him occurs in the household records at Hatfield House, in connection with expenses for a play performed by the St Paul's boys in 1551-52. After Elizabeth's accession, the court accounts show that Westcote continued to provide plays for the Queen: it seems that 'he was such a favourite with Elizabeth as to retain his place in that Church'¹¹ despite his religion. Unlike the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, Westcote was responsible for the education of children, and should have been deprived of his post after the visitations of 1559,¹² at which everyone was expected to take the oath of supremacy. Correspondence between Bishop Grindal¹³ and Lord Robert Dudley¹⁴ shows that Grindal tried to have

¹⁰The will of Sebastian Westcote was dated 3/4/1582, and proved on 14/4/1582 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury 14 Tirwhite). Transcribed in *Hillebrand*, pp. 327-330.

¹¹Rev Dr Nicholas Sander, report to Cardinal Moroni, 1561 (Vat. Archiv. Arm. lxiv. 28, ff. 252-74). See *Catholic Record Society*, i, p. 21.

¹²On 11 August, 12 October and 3 November.

¹³Edmund Grindal (c.1519-83) was a Marian refugee with strong Calvinist leanings who was at that time Bishop of London, and later became Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Parker.

Westcote excommunicated,¹⁵ no doubt because schoolmasters were specifically required to take the oath from 1563. Payments to Westcote for plays performed in 1564 show that Grindal was unsuccessful, but there is also a bond dated 8 November 1564 between Grindal and Westcote under the terms of which Westcote had until Easter to submit.¹⁶ However, it seems Westcote never renounced his allegiance to Rome, for in November 1577 Westcote's name appeared in a list of recusants drawn up by John Aylmer, Bishop of London,¹⁷ and from 21 December 1577 until the following March he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Perhaps the Queen regretted the absence of the play normally provided for her at Christmas by Master Sebastian and the boys of St Paul's, and organized his release, for the plays resumed in the following year.¹⁸

The place of Philips's birth and his parentage are matters for conjecture. He was probably born in London, although it is possible that he came from elsewhere: St Paul's was in the enviable position of being able to bring in gifted boys from outside the capital.¹⁹ It is possible that Philips's father was a 'William Philips, gent. 40', who was imprisoned in the Marshalsea according to a list of papists drawn up in 1579.²⁰ He is the right age to have

¹⁴(...continued)

¹⁴Dudley was one of the Queen's favourites who had entertained hopes of marriage (see Neale, pp. 82-88).

¹⁵*Flood*, pp. 153-4; *Hillebrand*, pp. 120-122.

¹⁶*Hillebrand*, pp. 122-23 and 326.

¹⁷*Fellowes*, p. 37.

¹⁸Details of Westcote's career are given in *Arkwright PMA*, pp. 117 seq.; *Flood*, pp. 149 seq.; *Arkwright MA*, pp. 187-89; *Hillebrand*, pp. 1-356 (especially Chapters 4 and 5).

¹⁹*Matthews & Atkins*, pp. 153 seq.

²⁰'List of papists imprisoned, anno 1579, in divers places in the realm. Their names, qualities and ages', transcr. in *Strype*, II/ii, p. 660.

been Peter Philips's father, and was a Roman Catholic.²¹

The entry in the 1579 list describes William Philips as a gentleman, so if Peter was his son, would a chorister's education have been deemed suitable for the son of a gentleman?²² In fact the description 'gent' may not mean a great deal: heralds were prepared to make out a coat of arms for payment, and what mattered more than anything was occupation and bearing. Sir Thomas Smith wrote in his *De Republica Anglorum* that:

As for gentlemen, they be made good cheap in England. For whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, who studieth in the universities, who professeth liberal sciences and, to be short, who can live idly and without manual labour and will bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman ... shall be taken for a gentleman.²³

William Philips was a Catholic, and in prison for his religion. It would have made sense for him to arrange for his son to be brought up by Westcote, who was a man of the same religion, a known recusant who enjoyed a measure of royal protection.

It appears that Philips was a pupil of William Byrd: there is a reference to Byrd as 'ma[est]ro que fue de P^o. Flippi' in diplomatic correspondence between the secretary of Archduke Albert in Brussels and his envoy in England dating from 1608-09 in connection with the Archduke's commission of an organ from John Bull.²⁴ The connection between

²¹He was incarcerated in the same prison, at the same time, as the elder Francis Tregian, father of the scribe who copied the main sources of Philips's instrumental music (see Chapter 2).

²²The Choir School did not have the same status as the Grammar School: Westcote was almoner, charged with the welfare of the boys as well as being responsible for their musical activities: see *Hillebrand*, p. 106.

²³Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum. The maner of government or policie of the realme of England*, London, 1583. (quoted in Rowse 1950, p. 244).

²⁴O. Neighbour, review of Cunningham, in *Early Music*, xiv, 1986, p. 95; S. Jeans, 'Bull, John', *New Grove*.

Byrd and Philips may well have been through Westcote: in a recent unpublished paper, Roger Bowers argued that Byrd had been - like Philips - trained both in music and religion by Sebastian Westcote at St Paul's.²⁵ In 1554 the choristers of St Paul's and the vicars choral made separate petitions to the Court of Exchequer for payment with arrears of a yearly revenue granted to them in the second year of Edward VI's reign. Both parties were represented by Westcote. Unfortunately none of the original documents associated with the case have survived. However, there are copies both of the decree and patent which list the plaintiffs. Bowers argues that demonstrable inconsistencies in the lists that have survived mean that the name 'John Burde' may well have been 'William Byrd' in the original documents. This hypothesis is strengthened by the testimony of Edward Rimbault, who had had access to the original petition - now lost - at first or second hand. He writes that:

William Bird, or Byrd...was educated in the music school of St Paul's Cathedral...in 1554 he was senior chorister of St Paul's...when his name occurs at the head of the school in *a petition for the restitution of certain obits and benefactions* which had been seized under the Act for the Suppression of Colleges and Hospitals in the preceding reign.²⁶

Philips wrote a fantasia on a subject used by Byrd,²⁷ and the latter's influence may be detected in Philips's other keyboard music, so an association between the composers in Philips's formative years seems likely. Both Byrd and Philips enjoyed the patronage of Thomas Lord Paget, whose brother Charles was a pupil; both appear to have had links with

²⁵R. Bowers, 'Pupil and Master: William Byrd and Sebastian Westcott at St Paul's Cathedral', unpublished paper, 21st Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, University of Wales, Bangor, 22-25 July 1993.

²⁶E. Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-Book or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal from 1561 to 1744*, new series 3, Camden Society, 1872, p. 189.

²⁷Both are included in FVB: No. 84/15 (Philips); No. 261 (Byrd).

the Tregian family.²⁸

Peter Philips's name occurs in the *Visitation Book* of Bishop Edwin Sandys, *Bishop of London's Registry*, in a list of the choir of St Paul's for the year 1574.²⁹ The list of boys begins with 'George Bowring', who is followed by 'Thomas Morley' and 'Peter Phillipp'. It is generally assumed that Morley was a chorister at Norwich Cathedral, but the earliest reference to him there is a promise of the position of master of the choristers in a document dated 16 September 1574. A connection with Byrd has been deduced from the dedication of Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* to Byrd, whom he addressed as his master, and hitherto it has been supposed that this period of study took place between the offer of employment and the vacancy arising in 1583.³⁰ However, the occurrence of Morley's name in the *Visitation Book* may indicate that he was for a time a chorister at St Paul's: perhaps he began as a chorister at Norwich, but was discovered by Westcote and moved by him to St Paul's. The *Visitation Book* probably lists the boys in order of seniority, and by 1574 Morley would have been at the end of his career as a treble. It may be that the Dean and Chapter of Norwich wished to secure Morley's future services in 1574 precisely because they had previously lost him to St Paul's. He seems to have moved back to Norwich by 1575-6, where his name appears in the Cathedral's financial records.

Morley's keyboard music, like that of Philips, is clearly influenced by Byrd, as is some of his vocal music. There also seems to be a link between Philips and Morley: Morley included pieces by Philips in his *Madrigals to Five Voices*, 1598, and in his *First Booke of Consort Lessons* of 1599; Philips arranged a pavan and galliard by Morley which have

²⁸See Chapter 2.

²⁹Transcribed in *Hillebrand*, p. 111.

³⁰'Morley, Thomas', *New Grove*.

survived in 3665; Morley's *Gaude Maria Virgo* is a reworking of a piece by Philips.³¹ Both composers shared an interest in Italian music: Philips went to study in Italy, and adopted an Italianate style in his vocal music; Morley imitated Italian madrigal style in his own work, and also published collections of madrigals by Italian composers, perhaps furnished by Peter Philips.³² Both men were about the same age, so it is likely that both were choristers at St Paul's and fellow students of Byrd.

In FVB Tregian dates a pavan 1580, and notes that it was 'the first one Philips made'.³³ The appearance of this early Pavan (*1580 Pavan*) in sources dating from soon after 1580 may mean that this date refers to the keyboard piece in FVB, not to the original upon which it was modelled. Philips would have been twenty years old in 1580: surely this is too late a date for Philips's first ever pavan. Significantly, Westcote left his 'cheste of vyalyns and vialls' to St Paul's Cathedral 'to exercise and learne the children and choristers there': this rather suggests that the boys were given training on bowed stringed instruments, so it may be that the instrumental version of the *1580 Pavan* dates from Philips's training under Westcote at St Paul's, and that the keyboard intabulation can be dated to 1580.

³¹*Pike ML*, pp. 127 seq.

³²Although Italian prints were widely disseminated, note that Morley published a book of canzonets in 1595 that were largely arrangements of pieces taken from Felice Anerio's *Canzonette a 4 voci* of 1586: Anerio was *maestro di cappella* at the English College at Rome while Philips was organist there (see below).

³³FVB No. 85/16, p. 161.

THE ITALIAN PERIOD

On the death of Westcote, Philips lost a valuable patron and protector. He left England in early August 1582 'to live after his cōscience and to sie Italie where he had harde y' there were many excellent men of his facultie'.³⁴ Philips left his native land 'po.' la foy catholique',³⁵ but also to study his art in Italy.

Persecution of the Catholics in England had increased after the papal bull of 1570, and saw a further escalation in the early 1580s when the first Jesuit missionaries began to arrive from Rome. Philips lost the protection he would have had under Westcote just at the time when the government was feeling threatened by the influx of seminarists from the continent, and by an increasingly hostile Spain. Philips was in a vulnerable position: he was a young man, with his loyalties unproven. By contrast, William Byrd was twenty years his senior, had served faithfully under Elizabeth, and had patrons such as Edward, Fourth Earl of Worcester. Byrd managed to combine the apparently irreconcilable, being a 'stiff papist and a good subject'.³⁶ The year 1582 was the right time for Philips to go abroad to study; much of his vocal music in particular testifies to his years in Rome.

The Second Diary of the English College at Douai³⁷ records that Philips stopped off there on his way to Rome:

³⁴Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593.

³⁵Certificate of residence in Brussels.

³⁶Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 1670, p. 582. Quoted in *Fellowes*, p. 36.

³⁷The English College at Douai was established in 1568 by William (later Cardinal) Allen, an English academic who fled the country on Elizabeth's accession. Originally intended as a haven for Catholic academics fleeing their homeland, it became a seminary for secular priests who returned home as missionaries.

18 die [of August] ex Anglia venerunt ...
 D. Petrus Phillippus musicus ... qui ad nostra
 eaque superiora communia sunt admissi³⁸

By October he reached Rome, where an entry in the *Pilgrims' Book* at the English College³⁹
 for 20 October 1582 reads:

Petrus Philippus Anglus diocesis [blank space]
 receptus fuit hospitio 20 October: 1582.ad.12.
 dies⁴⁰

George Gilpin writes in 1593 that he 'was player on y^e organis in y^e English Jesuit
 College'.⁴¹ However, the certificate of residence in Brussels tells us that :

Il a demeure [=demeuré] le space de trois ans
 au service du Seig.^r III^{me} Cardinal Farnese
 defunct

Cardinal Farnese⁴² was a patron of the English College, so perhaps the scribe of the
 certificate of residence was simply referring to Philips's position as organist, which might
 have been endowed by Farnese. However, the use of the word 'demeuré', conjugated with
 'avoir',⁴³ suggests that he resided with Farnese, although in this context the verb could simply
 mean that he spent three years in Farnese's service. The exact meaning is not clear, but this

³⁸*Douai Diaries*, ed. T.F. Knox, ii, p. 190.

³⁹The English College was formally constituted by the Pope in 1579 as a seminary for missionary priests, and was placed in the hands of the Jesuits. It occupied the site of the English Hospice, and continued to provide hospitality to English visitors to Rome. See *Gasquet*.

⁴⁰Transcr. in *Steele 1980*.

⁴¹Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593.

⁴²Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was an important patron of the arts, not to be confused with Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, who was his nephew.

⁴³When conjugated with être, demeurer has other meanings, none of which have the sense of residing with someone.

is the only document which has Philips's signature, so if Gilpin is right it is surprising that there is no mention of him here as organist of the English College.

The first organist at the English College to be named in the records is Bartholomeo Burchiomi for the years 1594-95.⁴⁴ Philips is not named in the archives, but this has little significance: the archives record payments to unnamed organists (some of which appear to involve repair work to the instrument) before 1594.⁴⁵ Sega's visitation of 1596 records that 'there are five non-residents paid by the college: the physician, surgeon, agent, maestro di cappella, and the organist'.⁴⁶ Although this evidence dates from later than Philips's residence in Rome, it shows that it would have been possible for him to combine service in Farnese's household with organ-playing duties at the English College. Perhaps Philips was paid by Farnese for playing at the English College, which would explain why Philips's name does not appear in the records.

It is possible that Philips was a student at the English College, which might also explain why there are no records of payments to him for playing the organ. Later, under interrogation in 1593, Philips was to admit to having 'been at confession with the Jesuits', which could be a reference to his activities at the English College. Perhaps Philips knew Father Persons: it would be reasonable to suppose that Verstegan sent Persons the detailed description of the events that befell Philips in 1593 because he had known Philips personally. Persons was a Jesuit: this in itself might be sufficient reason for Philips to admit that particular allegation against him.

Any studies that he may have undertaken did not lead him to ordination as priest: he

⁴⁴*Casimiri*, p. 15.

⁴⁵*Culley*, p. 20.

⁴⁶*Culley*, p. 15.

went on to marry, and it was not until many years after his wife's death that he became one. It is possible that he was tonsured and admitted to minor orders while in Rome: although there is no recorded benefice prior to 1610, the wording of the document confirming his appointment at St Vincent in that year implies that he had been in minor orders before his ordination to the priesthood (see below), and there would have been nothing to prevent him from marrying.

Lionel Pike demonstrated that Philips's vocal music owed more to the Roman style of Palestrina than it did to the English school.⁴⁷ Philips also wrote keyboard intabulations of vocal madrigals and chansons. Marenzio is Philips's preferred composer of Italian madrigals for the purpose of intabulation: he was active in Rome during Philips's stay. Other composers in Rome - Palestrina and Anerio - were later represented in Philips's anthology *Melodia Olympica* of 1591. However, although Philips evidently acquired a taste for Italian music during his time in Rome, it does not seem that the intabulations of Italian madrigals date from this period. The dated works in *FVB* show that the vocal intabulations were made during the last decade of the sixteenth century and the first of the seventeenth. By the end of the sixteenth century, Italian influence was already felt strongly in the Spanish Netherlands: when Philips wrote Italianate vocal music and intabulated madrigals he was fitting into a prevailing trend; he was not responsible for bringing Italian influence to the Spanish Netherlands.

⁴⁷*Pike D.Phil.*

TRAVELS WITH A NEW PATRON

On 19 March 1585 Philips left Rome with a new patron, Thomas Lord Paget, and travelled with him throughout Europe for the next five years.

Lord Paget was a prominent English Catholic. Thomas Lord Paget and his brother Charles seem to have been involved with Catholic musicians, including Byrd. A document of c. 1581 lists 'the names of c[er]tain parsons who be great frends and ayders of those beyond the seas', together with the places where they can be found; it includes 'M^r. Byrd ... at the L^d Padgettes house Draughton'.⁴⁸ Perhaps Philips's name was already known to Paget through his former teacher, Byrd.

In 1583 Paget had fled to the continent. Camden, in his *Annals* (1635), attributes Paget's flight in 1583 to the failure of the Throgmorton plot⁴⁹:

Thomas Lord Paget and Charles Arundel a courtier privily fled the land, and withdrew themselves unto France, who with others devoted to the Romish Religion grievously wailed and complained among themselves, that the Queen was without their desert alienated from them through the subtle practices of Leicester and Walsingham⁵⁰

At the Star Chamber enquiry on the death of Northumberland held on 23 June 1585, Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, attributed political motives to Paget's departure for the continent.⁵¹ However, Paget's letters to his mother and to Lord Burghley on his arrival on

⁴⁸P.R.O., Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth, cxvii, p. 137 (*Fellowes*, p. 39).

⁴⁹Walsingham discovered through his spies that Mary Stuart was plotting a Spanish invasion with Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Francis Throgmorton was discovered to be the chief agent of Mary; he was arrested in 1583, and papers containing a list of Catholic noblemen and havens where foreign forces could land were discovered (see *Neale*, pp. 266-268).

⁵⁰Quoted in *Hicks*, pp. 36-37.

⁵¹Following the Throgmorton Plot of 1583, and the Parry plot of 1584-5, Northumberland was charged with treason and placed in the Tower. He was found shot through the heart in
(continued...)

the continent suggest that the move had been planned for some time, and that he was motivated by conscience and the difficulty of hearing Mass in England.⁵² In his letter to Burghley, Paget emphasises his patriotism, pledging that he would never side with a foreign power against the Queen.

Paget first went to Paris where he spent some time with his brother Charles. In June 1584 the English Ambassador to Paris made a formal demand for his surrender into English hands, but the French King declined to comply. Paget left Paris later in that year, travelled to Milan, and on 22 February 1585 he arrived in Rome to beg a pension from the Pope. He was unsuccessful, so he left Rome on 19 March, taking Philips with him.

There are several possible reasons why Philips left Rome at this particular time. Philips reached twenty-five years of age in 1585, which was the upper age limit imposed by the statutes of the English College: if Philips was connected to the College as organist or student, his reaching the maximum age for students may explain why he left. Furthermore, the college was going through a difficult period in its history, with some of the students showing signs of rebellion against the Jesuit authorities, resulting in a serious outbreak of unrest and indiscipline in 1585, which culminated in a visitation under Cardinal Sega in August: perhaps Philips left to avoid these internal conflicts.⁵³ The College had financial difficulties: in the College's annual report to Rome for 1585 it is noted that 'at the close of the year 1585 our diminished income compelled us to reduce the number both of our Fathers

⁵¹(...continued)

his cell, which prompted claims that he had been killed by government agents. Elizabeth ordered an enquiry in the Star Chamber which produced a pamphlet condemning Northumberland as a traitor (see *Read*, p. 40).

⁵²'Paget, 3rd Baron Paget', *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵³*Gasquet*, p. 88; *Meyer*, p. 113.

and of the students.⁵⁴ Maybe Philips had to leave because of the financial conditions. Whatever the explanation, there was no question of his returning to England: persecution of the Catholics was mounting, particularly of those who came from Rome. The year 1585 was that in which *An Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other suchlike disobedient Persons* went on to the statute books; Philips would have found it difficult to dissociate himself from the Jesuits and to establish his loyalty. The arrival of Lord Paget was fortunate, for it gave Philips an opportunity to leave Rome, and to travel widely in Europe with a new patron.

A letter dated 30 September 1585 from Thomas Rogers, one of Walsingham's spies in Paris, to his master suggests a political motive for Paget's next movements:

Lord Paget's coming from Rome is to meet with Thomas Throgmorton at Genoa, where they will take shipping for Spain, for furthering the invasion there.⁵⁵

Paget did go to Spain by way of Genoa, taking Philips with him, but he went to collect a pension from the king of Spain following his failure to secure one from the Pope, not for any treacherous reason.⁵⁶ Paget returned to Paris in September 1586, and in the following year he and his brother were both attainted for treason. Paget spent the whole of 1587 and the first half of 1588 in Paris, except for a brief journey to Brussels in March 1588. In June, Paget went to Antwerp, shortly before the Armada set sail, and in February 1589 he arrived in Brussels. Philips accompanied Paget on his travels: it was with Paget that he first came to Antwerp and the Spanish Netherlands.

⁵⁴Culley, p. 15.

⁵⁵*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Service, of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, Addenda, 1580-1625*, London, 1872, p. 153.

⁵⁶References to his Spanish pensions in letters from Mendoza to Philip II (9/10/1585 and 11/5/1586), and from Mary Stuart to Mendoza (20/5/1586). *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish 1580-1586*, London, 1896, pp. 550, 557, 581.

Early in 1590 Lord Paget died, and Philips presumably wrote the *Paget Pavan and Galliard* in his memory. Although the pieces are undated in the FVB, and the ascription of the pieces in 408 suggests that the dedicatee was Paget's brother Charles, it is unlikely that the dedication is to Charles rather than to Philips's patron. Charles seems to have been the more politically active of the two brothers: he was engaged in some rather involved political intrigue, and may well have been a double agent in the employ of the English government.⁵⁷ However, in one of the letters from Gilpin to Burghley concerning the events of 1593, Gilpin quotes Philips as saying that 'he never had any thinge to do for [Charles] Paget',⁵⁸ so it is more likely that Thomas was the dedicatee. 408 is a quite a late source:⁵⁹ no doubt by the time it was compiled the scribe associated the name Paget with the infamous Charles rather than the lesser-known Thomas.

THE ANTWERP PERIOD

On Paget's death in 1590 Philips settled in Antwerp. In 1591 Phalèse published Philips's anthology *Melodia Olympica*; Phalèse was later to publish all Philips's own vocal music. The dedication of *Melodia Olympica* places Philips in Antwerp, and is dated 1 December 1590. This means that Philips must have made the move from Brussels to Antwerp by this time.

⁵⁷This is the central argument of *Hicks*.

⁵⁸Gilpin to Burghley, 27 September 1593.

⁵⁹Most of the music in this manuscript was copied by Caspar Casparus Zengell, who was born in 1620 and matriculated at Uppsala University in 1633.

Marriage

In 1984 the art historian Erik Duverger discovered a reference to a marriage contract between Peter Philips and Cornelia de Mompere in a document from 1601.⁶⁰ This marriage contract, which had been concluded in the presence of the Antwerp notary J. Walewyns, has not survived. However, the musicologist Godelieve Spiessens searched the town archives at Antwerp and found a reference to the wedding in parochial registers, as well as records showing the date on which the first and only child of the marriage was baptized.⁶¹

The marriage of 'Petro Philippo Anglus' and Cornelia de Mompere took place on 26 May 1591 in the Antwerp O.-L.-Vrouwekathedraal, witnessed by Jaspar Hoelvelt for the bridegroom and Bartholomeus Mompere for the bride.⁶² The bride must have been resident in the cathedral parish for the wedding to have taken place there.

The wedding tells us something of Philips's life in Antwerp. Bartholomeus (de) Mompere was either the father or brother of the bride: both were painters. Jaspar Hoelvelt was probably a painter too,⁶³ so it seems that Philips moved in the circle of painters as well as musicians during his time at Antwerp.

The parochial records of St.-Jacobskerk show that Philips's daughter, Leonora, was baptized there on 7 June 1592.⁶⁴ This indicates that Philips and his wife had settled in the parish of St.-Jacobskerk. The godmother was Susanna de Mompere, the sister of Cornelia.

⁶⁰E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, I/1, No. 11.

⁶¹*Spiessens*, p. 108.

⁶²Stadsarchief Antwerpen, *Parochieregister*, 195 (*Huwelijken O.-L.-Vrouw 1589-1612*), p. 979.

⁶³*Spiessens*, p. 108.

⁶⁴Stadsarchief Antwerpen, *Parochieregister* 47 (*Dopen St.-Jacobs 1591-1606*), f. 25^v.

The godfather was Cornelis Pruym of Pruyn(en)/Pruenen (1533-1598). Pruym was an important and wealthy figure in Antwerp society, playing a significant role in the town's political life. He was also a great patron of music, taking an active interest as a singer and lutenist. The composer Cornelis Verdonck was in Pruym's service for more than twenty years. It is likely that Pruym's presence at the baptism of Philips's daughter indicates that he was one of Philips's patrons.

Musical Life in Antwerp

The inclusion of music by local Antwerp musicians in Philips's collection *Melodia Olympica* of 1591 illustrates how he was very much a part of the musical life of the town. Many of the composers represented had connections with Pruym. There are three madrigals by Verdonck, who was in Pruym's employ. Similarly, Hubert Waelrant was under Pruym's patronage. Musical evenings at the houses of the wealthier patrons of the arts were customary in Antwerp at this time, so Philips would have had a chance to meet other composers and musicians at Pruym's house.⁶⁵ Similar musical evenings took place at the house of Andrea Pevernage: although he died in 1591, the inclusion of works by him in *Melodia Olympica* makes it likely that Philips associated with him.

Melodia Olympica also shows that Italian music was already well established in Antwerp: the pieces by native composers are in Italian style. Philips's Italian training meant that he was in a good position to obtain employment, but it is doubtful whether he played any significant role in bringing Italian music to the Spanish Netherlands. It was the presence of a significant number of Italian merchants and bankers in Antwerp which led to the vogue for

⁶⁵*Spiessens*, p. 109.

Italian music. An examination of the dedications of Philips's vocal prints published during his years in Antwerp indicates that he looked towards wealthy Italians for patronage. *Melodia Olympica* was dedicated to Giulio Balbani, who came from a family of Italian merchants and bankers which had settled in Antwerp: the wording of the dedication suggests that Philips had already enjoyed a measure of patronage from him. Philips's *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali* for six voices was published by Phalèse in 1596, and was dedicated to another Italian living in Antwerp, the Florentine printer and bookseller Alessandro di Giunta. In 1597 Philips moved to the Brussels court, an altogether different environment: prints issued after this date tend to be dedicated to people connected with the court.

The most significant composer of instrumental music in Antwerp was Emmanuel Adriaensen (c. 1554-1604). Philips's keyboard music shares some similar compositional techniques with the lute music of Adriaensen: intabulation procedures are common to both composers, and they share similar tastes in their choice of vocal model. The two composers would have moved in the same circles, so could hardly fail to know each other: Adriaensen had held Pruym's son at the child's baptism, and Giulio Balbani's brother Francesco was godfather to one of Adriaensen's children. Hence Adriaensen is connected with two music patrons whose names are linked to Philips.

There is a clue to the nature of the patronage enjoyed by Philips in one of Gilpin's letters. Gilpin tells us that 'he maintained himself by teachinge of y^e virginals, being very cunning thereon'.⁶⁶ In a later letter Gilpin expands on this, saying that 'he got his lyving by teaching of children in instruments havinge never had penny interteynement nor any money

⁶⁶Gilpin to Burghley, 11 September 1593.

from ye kinge of spaine or his lieutenants'.⁶⁷ Presumably the children in question would have been the sons and daughters of the affluent civic dignitaries. There may be just a tinge of bitterness in Gilpin's description: perhaps Philips had hoped for the patronage of the Duke of Parma, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1578 to 1592, and nephew of Cardinal Farnese. It could be that Farnese had taken offence at Philips's leaving Rome with a new patron, so that his nephew did not employ Philips. However, we must remember that the source of this information is indirect, and that Gilpin was writing at a time when Philips was in prison on a charge of treason: clearly it was imperative for Philips to establish his political innocence at such a sensitive time, and to emphasize his musical profession whilst distancing himself from Spanish money. Indeed, the repetition of the information already supplied in the first letter in the subsequent correspondence, with its denial of financial support from Spain, suggests that Philips's means of subsistence was very much an issue during his interrogation: it suggests that the reply Gilpin received from England to his first letter raised this specific point.

Francis Tregian, the scribe of *FVB*, dates eight out of nineteen of Philips works. If it is assumed that the galliards to the pavans were composed at the same time, then the total rises to ten. Moreover it would be reasonable to suppose that the *Paget Pavan and Galliard* were written shortly after his patron's death and that Philips's setting of his own madrigal *Fece da voi* dates from about the time of its publication in 1596. This means that thirteen out of the nineteen pieces in *FVB* can be dated. Of these, only three date from after Philips's move to the archducal court at Brussels. If *FVB* is taken to be representative of Philips's keyboard output, then it seems that the bulk of this music was written during his Antwerp

⁶⁷Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593.

period.

Written keyboard music often had a pedagogic purpose, so it is perhaps no surprise to find that most of Philips's keyboard music dates from a period at which it is known that he was teaching children to play the virginals. The musical environment at Antwerp, with its musical evenings at which professional musicians associated with their patrons, must also have encouraged Philips to place his keyboard music into notation, either to play himself or - more likely - to provide material for musical patrons and their friends to play. When Philips moved to the archducal court at Brussels in 1597 he exchanged civic patronage for a salaried post: sacred vocal music gradually replaced the Italian madrigal and instrumental music in Philips's output, as he adapted to the different demands of his new employment.⁶⁸

Visit to Amsterdam

Cornelia de Mompere died on 26 July 1592, less than two months after the baptism of Leonora, leaving Philips a widower. The child was brought up by her grandmother, leaving Philips free to pursue his career.

In or around the beginning of 1593, Philips visited the Protestant north 'to sie and heare an excellent man of his faculties in Amsterdam'.⁶⁹ This was undoubtedly Sweelinck, who according to Baudartius was 'renowned before all other organists, this praise being readily accorded him by Peter Philips, the accomplished organist and musician at Brussels'.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Note that two out of three intabulations of works by Lassus which are dated in FVB come from after 1597, perhaps reflecting court taste rather than that of Philips's Italian patrons in Antwerp.

⁶⁹Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593.

⁷⁰G. Baudartius, *Memoryen ofte Cort Verhal der Gedenckweerdichste Gheschedenissen van Nederland*, Arnhem, 1624, ii, Bk. 12, p. 163 (quoted in Curtis 1972, p. 31; Petti RH (Dutch in footnote 12, p. 59).

On his return journey he fell ill at the port of Middelburg, where he spent several weeks recovering, 'conversant wth such as delighted in music'.⁷¹ He may have come into contact with the Grauwels family of harpsichord makers: an instrument with the system of short octave necessary to play the *Dolorosa Pavan and Galliard* has survived.⁷² English instruments of the period do not have the split-key short octave which would allow both D and F#, and E and G# in the bottom octave.⁷³ However, the surviving Grauwels instrument dates from 1600. Philips is likely to have encountered instruments with split-key short octave in Italy, so it is possible that the influence was that of Philips on the Grauwels family. Alternatively, it could be assumed that the existence of such an instrument by Grauwels from 1600 indicates that they made such instruments before this date which have not survived: it could be argued that the composition of the *Dolorosa Pavan and Galliard* in 1593 strengthens this hypothesis.

During Philips's stay in Middelburg, Roger Walton, 'sometime page unto the Earle of Northumberland that was slaine in the towre, beeing at midelbourg caused him to be apprehended, and accused him of many notable treasons'.⁷⁴ Walton maintained that Philips had journeyed north with the intention of sailing from Middelburg to England to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. Walton, Philips, and Robert Pooley (another accused by Walton) were sent to the Hague for interrogation by the municipal authorities. Whilst in prison, Philips wrote the *Dolorosa Pavan and Galliard*; Berlin has 'compōsta in prigione' beside the entry for the pavan in the index, and the work is dated 1593 in FVB.

⁷¹Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593.

⁷²See Curtis 1972, pp. 29-30, and Koster, pp. 84-86.

⁷³Indeed, it is doubtful whether they had short octave at all.

⁷⁴Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593.

The charges were taken seriously in the Protestant north because of English paranoia over possible assassination attempts. A.O. Meyer writes that fear of invasion and assassination 'developed into a nervous panic' in the 1590s.⁷⁵ A proclamation of 1591 established eight-man committees in every parish in England to conduct house-to-house searches for Jesuits and secular priests, and to check on inhabitants' beliefs and attendance at church. The influential Jesuit, Father Persons, responded with a pamphlet in 1593 which served only to make the situation worse:⁷⁶ Elizabeth's government replied with *An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience* and *An Act for Restraining Popish Recusants to some certain Places of Abode*.⁷⁷ The fear of invasion was not entirely without foundation: the memory of the Spanish Armada must still have been fresh, and in 1593 - the year in question - Philip II of Spain was preparing another armada to be launched against England (although in the event these plans came to nothing). It is no wonder that the English and the Dutch were sensitive about any allegation of a plot to assassinate the English Queen.

On 10 September 1593, Philips, Walton and Pooley arrived at the Hague, where they were imprisoned to await interrogation. On 21 September Philips was confronted with the charges against him: he denied them, and made 'earnest sute to be released'. Gilpin, however, requested the further detention of both Walton and Philips (despite the latter's illness) for further questioning, and to allow time for correspondence with London. Both men were examined again on 27 September: Walton reaffirmed his accusations, saying that he had been told of Philips's intentions by Charles Paget, to which Philips replied that 'he neuer had

⁷⁵Meyer, p. 349.

⁷⁶Meyer, p. 352-353.

⁷⁷*Statutes at Large*, ii, 1593 CAP1 and CAP2, pp. 658-662.

any thinge to do for [Charles] Paget'.⁷⁸ Walton accused Philips of being amongst Catholics, including Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who joined the King of France in a procession which set light to an effigy of Elizabeth on the Day of the Barricades (12 May 1588) in Paris.⁷⁹ Philips denied that the event had ever taken place, pointing out that the king had left Paris before that date. Then Walton asked Philips whether Elizabeth was the supreme head of the Church, to which he answered that she was not; Philips had to translate the exchange into Dutch for the Council. Gilpin then asked him 'if he had bene at confession with the Jesuytes', to which he replied in the affirmative, no doubt thinking of his years in Rome. However, Philips remained adamant that he was innocent of any involvement in a plot to assassinate the Queen. Philips was able to call on the testimony of some Italian merchants who related that 'to have his company and musicq' they had travelled with him, and that they were satisfied 'that he came not thether to passe into England to kill the Queen as the other had affirmed'.⁸⁰ Their nationality is significant: Philips was travelling back to Antwerp with people of the same social group as his patrons.

Philips and Walton were both detained until towards the end of December, when Philips was released 'vpon seurities not to stir hence w.thout lycence of ye Counsell of State' after the arrival of a letter from Noel de Caron, agent for the United Provinces in London. Later, the Earl of Essex wrote - presumably on behalf of the Privy Council of which he had just become a member - that 'of Philipes they never understood other then that he had followed his soorte of musiyck, and for Walton he was a poore fellow and had nothing else

⁷⁸Gilpin to Burghley, 27 September 1593.

⁷⁹'The Sixteen called the Catholic Duke de Guise to Paris, which caused the King, Henry III, to call in Swiss troops, which provoked the populace to revolt and the King to leave Paris, which was as the Sixteen had hoped.' *Salmon*, pp. 250-51.

⁸⁰Gilpin to Burghley, 27 September 1593.

to live by but by such meanes'.⁸¹ Verstegan tells us that other evidence showed that Walton had brought five or six men to the gallows in England by such accusations, and that he would have done the same to Philips 'yf he had had the assistance of Topclif', the infamous torturer and persecutor of Catholics. Edward Stafford, English ambassador to France in 1588, wrote of Walton that 'he hath neither God nor religion, a very evil condition, a swearer without measure ...[and] a notable whoremaster'.⁸² He had worked as a spy for Walsingham in 1588, and later for Cecil; in 1593 he was employed on a mission to the Low Countries by Essex, who was dissatisfied with his work: this may explain the letter from Essex to the Hague exonerating Philips and condemning Walton. Philips was allowed to leave soon after the letter from Essex arrived, and was back in Antwerp in time for Christmas.

Frits Noske asserts that Philips met Sweelinck for a second time in Antwerp in 1604, on the latter's visit to buy a new harpsichord for the Amsterdam magistracy.⁸³ Noske offers no documentary evidence for a meeting, though it seems likely that the two would have seen each other: Baudartius writes of the esteem in which Philips held Sweelinck,⁸⁴ and Philips borrowed a theme from Sweelinck for a madrigal, *Chi vuol vedere*.⁸⁵ Likewise, Sweelinck made a keyboard setting of Philips's *1580 Pavan*.

⁸¹Verstegan to Fr. Persons, 13 January 1594.

⁸²Petti CRS, endnote 9, p. 206.

⁸³Noske, p. 118.

⁸⁴G. Baudartius, *Memoryen*, quoted above.

⁸⁵Pike D.Phil, p. 4.

THE ARCHDUCAL COURT AT BRUSSELS

In 1594 the new Viceroy, Archduke Ernest of Austria, visited Antwerp accompanied by the court Chapel, which included the composer Jan van Turnhout.⁸⁶ Spiessens suggests that Turnhout may have played a part in helping Philips to obtain preferment at the Brussels court: Philips included a piece by Turnhout in *Melodia Olympica*, and probably knew Turnhout when he was in Brussels with Paget prior his move to Antwerp in 1590.⁸⁷ The dedication in Philips's first book of madrigals of 1596 states that he had recently returned to Antwerp. This is dated 8 January 1596, so his absence would have been in the previous year. Fétis writes that Philips went to Rome for a few months in 1595, but offers no evidence.⁸⁸ The most likely explanation is that he visited Brussels in connection with his forthcoming appointment. By 1597 Philips was one of the three organists at the court of Archduke Albert in Brussels, a post in which he was to remain until the end of his life.⁸⁹

Continued Contact with Antwerp: The Inheritance

After his move to Brussels, Philips maintained his ties with Antwerp. These were family ties as well as professional. Philips must have remained in close contact with Phalèse, who published all his vocal music. Philips's daughter, Leonora, was in the care of his

⁸⁶Archduke Ernest became viceroy in 1594 but died in the following year. Albert became Archduke in 1595, and arrived in the Spanish Netherlands in 1596.

⁸⁷*Spiessens*, p. 110.

⁸⁸Fétis, 'Philips, Peter', *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*.

⁸⁹Archduke Albert of Austria was made Governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1595. On his death in 1598 Philip II left the Netherlands not to his son Philip, but to his daughter Isabella, who was to marry her cousin the Archduke. The 'archdukes' ruled under the umbrella of Spanish power, but with a certain degree of autonomy, until Albert's death in 1621. See *Parker 1979*, p. 164-5; *Parker 1977*, p. 233-4.

mother-in-law, Susanna Halfroos. Leonora died on 20 December 1599, barely seven years of age.

A *Weesmeesterskamer* document dated 1 October 1601 gives an account of the way in which the inheritance was distributed in accordance with the marriage contract of 1591 between Peter Philips and Cornelia de Mompere (which has not survived). Cornelia died in 1592, and even if the settlement of the inheritance was postponed until after the death of Leonora in 1599, the delay in the implementation of the terms of the contract is hard to explain. Perhaps the terms of the original contract stipulated that it be implemented on a change in Philips's social status, such as remarriage.

The introduction to the 1601 document describes Cornelia as the lawful wife of 'Sr Petre Philippo, organist of their Highnesses', and gives the dates the deaths of Cornelia and Leonora. The inheritance was to be divided between Philips and Cornelia's other relatives. The orphan-masters drew up an inventory of the family house and its contents, to which were added monies owed to Philips. He was required to draw up a list of all receipts and expenditures from the date of his wife's death, and to account for his possessions. This included a list of music books, which unfortunately has not survived. Against this were set debts on the house: it appears that Philips had borrowed money, notably from two Italians⁹⁰ and an English cornett player at court.⁹¹ Other debts included expenses for Leonora's funeral which had been paid by Susanna Halfroos, Philips's mother-in-law, from which it can be deduced that she had been taking care of the child.⁹²

⁹⁰'Sr Junta' can be identified as Giunta, Philips's patron and dedicatee of the first book of madrigals; 'Sr Orsuch' was probably Jean Orsucci Bernardszoon, an Italian merchant who lived in Antwerp from 1597 to 1640.

⁹¹Antonio Chambers.

⁹²The terms of the settlement are given in much greater detail in *Spiessens*, pp. 110-111.

1601-1611: Philips and Colonel William Stanley

In 1601 Philips's salary was only 9 stuivers a day, which at 20 stuivers to the guilder makes a total of 54 guilders for a four-month period. This compares unfavourably with the total of 305 guilders he received for a similar period in 1613.⁹³ This explains both his need to borrow money from Italian bankers and merchants (as revealed in the 1601 document), and the patronage he received from William Stanley in the years up to 1612.

William Stanley was a Catholic who believed that England should be won back to Rome by force of arms: he commanded a regiment of like-minded English soldiers in the Spanish army.⁹⁴ A list of 'those I have seen on the other side [of the sea]' drawn up by Diaper, and dated 25 September 1593, lists Sir William Stanley alongside Charles Paget amongst those who are 'daily about the court [of Brussels]'.⁹⁵ In 1598 Stanley was the dedicatee of Philips's book of eight-part madrigals.

Petti writes that nothing is known of Philips's life between 1603 and 1610,⁹⁶ but in fact it seems that his connection with Stanley was maintained during these years. After the failure of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, Guy Fawkes implicated Stanley in his confession.⁹⁷ Stanley was arrested and imprisoned in Brussels: a peace between England and Spain had

⁹³Chambre des Comtes MSS 1837 and 1838, Archives générales du Royaume, Brussels (*Spiessens*, pp. 110-11, and *Petti RH*, pp. 55).

⁹⁴Earlier in his career he had been loyal to the English government, and like Charles Paget he seems to have vacillated between loyalty and treason. ('Stanley, Sir William', *Dictionary of National Biography*).

⁹⁵*Strype*, iv, p. 230.

⁹⁶*Petti RH*.

⁹⁷*Loomie*, p. 101.

been signed in 1604, and the archdukes were ready to make peace with the north, so they had to respond to such accusations.⁹⁸ The allegation was groundless: Stanley was negotiating with the English government for a pardon.⁹⁹ Cecil exonerated him in a letter dated 30 January 1606, and he was released. A service of thanksgiving was held in the Church of St. Pierre in Malines (Mechlin): 'it was a most elaborate ceremony, made more splendid by the choristers of the Archduke directed by his [Stanley's] friend Peter Philips, the master of the Chapel Royal.'¹⁰⁰ Sir Robert Cecil protested at the celebration, but received an official reply that Stanley was both devout and fond of music.¹⁰¹

Philips visited Malines again in 1611, this time to examine the new organ in the Church of St Rombaut with some colleagues, and also to assist with the celebration of Easter. The town accounts show payment for these services:

wine presented to Mr. Peter Philips, organist, and others of the Chapel of His Highness, for the inspection of the new organ installed in St. Rombaut's Church, and also for other offices done by the same for the observation of the religious Services of easter 1611

XXIII^l£ XV^s ¹⁰²

It is likely that Stanley, as the Archduke's governor for the region, was responsible for Philips's employment by the town.

⁹⁸Geyl, pp. 250-259.

⁹⁹'Stanley, Sir William', *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁰⁰Loomie, p. 178.

¹⁰¹Morey, p. 129.

¹⁰²Comptes communaux de Malines, 1610-11, f. 165v. Dutch in Bergmans, pp. 9-10; transl. in Petti RH, p. 54.

Ordination

Until recently it was not clear whether Philips was ever ordained. In his article for *The New Grove*, John Steele insists that Philips's appointments to canonries and chaplaincies were the result of simony, a practice so widespread that even choirboys benefited, and that there are no grounds for the 'unwarranted assumption that he became an ordained priest'. However, Spiessens has uncovered evidence proving that Philips was ordained to the priesthood.

It has been suggested above that the division of the inheritance in 1601, eight years after the death of Cornelia de Mompere, must have been precipitated by a change in Philips's social status. Philips did not remarry: the Certificate of Residence of 1597 does not mention a wife, and any subsequent remarriage after this date would presumably have resulted in the division of the inheritance. There is no evidence to suggest that Philips married in 1601, so an alternative explanation for the implementation of the marriage contract in 1601 is that it was caused by Philips's decision to be ordained to the priesthood.

On 24 March 1609 'Petrus Philippi, beneficatus nostrae dioecesis' was ordained priest.¹⁰³ The wording indicates that Philips had had some ecclesiastical preferment in the diocese before becoming a priest, which suggests that he had entered minor orders, probably when in Rome. The settlement of the inheritance in 1601 probably indicates that his entry into the Church began this far back. On 9 March 1610 Philips was appointed to a canonry of the collegiate church of St Vincent, Soignies, which he was to exchange for a similar position as chaplain at St Germain, Tirlemont on 25 January 1621.¹⁰⁴ According to the title page of

¹⁰³ Archief Aartsbisdom Mechelen, *Mechlinensia*, reg. 60, f. 142^v.

¹⁰⁴ Archives générales du Royaume. Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience Reg. 942, ff. 60-61, 63-64. Transcr. *Bergmans*, pp. 23-26.

the *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Antwerp, 1623), he was also a canon of Béthune.

John Steele notes that, in the document granting Philips the appointment at St Vincent, the title 'pbr' (presbyter) is crossed out and 'Mre' substituted. Steele argues that this shows that Philips was not a priest,¹⁰⁵ but now that it has been established that he was ordained to the priesthood another explanation must be found. According to Steele, a similar correction is found in the same document in an entry for the year 1616: this suggests that the corrections were made some time after the entries were made. If 'Mre' were a contraction of 'maestre' it could be that his reputation as a musician was greater than that as priest: certainly he is described as 'Mro' ('maestro') in the court accounts (see below). Alternatively, it could be an abbreviation for 'Magister', referring to a university degree.

Philips's ordination means that he was not the father of Gerard Philipi, an engineer at court; nor was Marie Philipps, who became a nun at the age of twenty in 1614, his daughter. Anthony Wood states that Arthur Philips, a clerk at New College, Oxford, and later Heather Professor, was 'nearly related, if not descended from him [Peter Philips]':¹⁰⁶ although a family connection is possible, Arthur could not have been Peter's descendant.

At the funeral of Albert on 12 March 1621 Philips headed the procession of chaplains of the royal chapel in the funeral cortège. An engraving of the procession by Corneille Galle appears in Jacques Francquart's *Pompa funebris ... Alberti Pii* (Brussels, 1623), and is reproduced in *The New Grove* article on Philips. This confirms Philips's clerical status, though not necessarily his priesthood. However, the titlepages of his volumes of sacred works draw attention to his priesthood: the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1613 refer to him as 'R.D.', an

¹⁰⁵Steele 1980.

¹⁰⁶Wood, p. 900.

abbreviation for 'Reverendus Dominus', a title which denotes priesthood.¹⁰⁷ 'R.D.' occurs on the titlepages of all his publications from this point on, with the exception of *Les rossignols spirituels* of 1616.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps it is significant that Philips published no more secular vocal works after the date of his ordination. Similarly, there are very few instrumental pieces which can be dated from after this point.

In a list of 'Dead Friends and Acquaintances' for 1628, Dr John Southcote entered 'Peeter Philips Pr. Bruxelles'. Again, this confirms Philips's priesthood: Southcote was a 'Priest and Doctor of Theology at Louvain',¹⁰⁹ so presumably would have known whether or not his friend was ordained. Philips may have met members of the Southcote family during his time at St Paul's, for Sebastian Westcote mentions John Southcote's grandfather, 'Mr Justice Sowthcote', and 'Mr John Sowthcote's wife' in his will.¹¹⁰

Pay and Conditions at Court

The accounts of the Archducal court show that Philips received 'dix aunes de drap au prix de six livres l'aune' for participating in the funeral service for Archduchess Maria of Austria, held on 12-13 December 1611 in Brussels. They also reveal that he was in continuous service from 1612-18.¹¹¹ Philips always heads the list of organists, being

¹⁰⁷*Spiessens*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁸This is a collection of religious verses intended for the religious instruction of children for which Philips provided simple arrangements of popular tunes. In this it differs from all his other publications, and is the only one not published by Phalèse.

¹⁰⁹*Morris*, p. 365.

¹¹⁰Westcote's will is transcribed in *Hillebrand*, pp. 327-330.

¹¹¹Chambre des Comtes MSS 1837 and 1838, Archives generales du Royaume, Brussels (*Petti RH*, p. 60, footnote 21).

described as 'Mro. Pedro (or P^o) felipe organista'. In 1613 his salary for four months was 305 florins, whereas John Bull and Vincent Guarini received only 250 florins, and other organists including Pierre Cornet received even less. In a spy's list of English Catholics in the Netherlands dated 1614, Philips is described as 'Musitiens to the Archd'.¹¹²

The lifestyle enjoyed by Albert and Isabella led the court into financial difficulties, and salaries were often paid in arrears. Although Philips's ordination has now been established, his ecclesiastical posts were no doubt intended at least in part to supplement his salary as organist. The accounts show that Philips would have been glad of this income. The regular salary Philips received in 1613 was replaced by irregular *ex gratia* payments by 1617: he received 250 florins in August 1617, and 300 florins on 13 October 1620.

Philips's publications of sacred vocal music were dedicated to people at court. In 1598 the first book of eight-part madrigals was dedicated to Colonel William Stanley; in 1613 the *Gemmulae Sacrae* were dedicated to Pierre de Campis, a chaplain and singer of the Brussels royal chapel; and in 1616 the *Deliciae Sacrae* were dedicated to Albert and Isabella. Philips remained in the service of the Archduke: on 30 December 1624 Mathiew Langhedul claimed payment for the restoration of the organ of the royal chapel, and states that it had been approved by 'le maitre organist de la chappelle ... Pietro filippini'.¹¹³

Other musicians at the Brussels court included Jan-Jacob Turnhout and Géry Ghersem, who was *maestro di cappella* in 1611. The court retained three organists: in 1611 the other two were Joachim Zacharias and Peeter Cornet. Philips appears to have been the senior of the three by 1613, and it is interesting that Jan Brueghel de Velours, 'painter to their

¹¹²P.R.O. S.P. 77 no. 11. p. 250.

¹¹³*Bergmans*, p. 11; *Straeten*, ii, p. 314.

highnesses', chose to depict Philips's music in his painting *The Allegory of Hearing*.¹¹⁴ Although most of Philips's keyboard music dates from before his appointment at court, the undated Fantasia in FVB (No. 84/15) is in some respects similar to those of Cornet. In 1613 the organists were augmented by the arrival of John Bull from England: he stayed at court for less than a year before moving to Antwerp. Nothing is known of the relationship between Bull and Philips: there is no trace of an influence of Bull on Philips's music, partly because the extant keyboard works date from before this date, and partly because Bull adapted his own style to Netherlandish compositional techniques.¹¹⁵

CONCLUSION

Questions of style and influence in the instrumental music of Peter Philips have to be discussed in relation to his life and career. This thesis will go on to show that Philips drew upon a continental - and by the early seventeenth century, specifically Netherlands - tradition which involved the intabulation of pre-existing vocal works. This influence is best understood in relation to patterns of patronage in Antwerp, the period during which most of his instrumental music was written. During this time he would have been involved in musical evenings which would have required keyboard performance by Philips himself, and perhaps performance of his instrumental music by his patrons and fellow musicians. He also taught the virginals to the children of his patrons, for which he would have needed written keyboard pieces.

¹¹⁴The painting is now in the Prado Museum, Madrid. Brueghel paints partbooks in which 'de Pietro Phillippi Inglese, Organista' is clearly visible.

¹¹⁵*Souter D.Phil*, Chapter 4.

The thesis will also show that Philips had not abandoned his English heritage. While the intabulation of vocal works was a continental trait, similar arrangements of pavans and other dances is as much an English as a continental compositional procedure. Elements of harmony and figuration certainly derive from the works of his teacher, Byrd, and fellow pupil Morley.

The final and longest period of Philips's life at the archducal court is the least significant in terms of the instrumental music. The composer concentrated on writing sacred vocal music after his ordination. Few instrumental pieces date from after 1600, and none is known definitely to date from after 1605. However, Philips did help to disseminate his instrumental music after his ordination: he provided Tregian with copies of the instrumental pieces copied into 3665 as late as 1612.¹¹⁶

Philips may, therefore, have felt that the vocation of priesthood was incompatible with the production of secular music: however, the gradual shift from secular to sacred composition at about the turn of the century probably owes more to changes in his employment. Until 1597 Philips worked for secular, civic patrons most of whom were wealthy Italian merchants or bankers. The publications of madrigals from 1596, 1598, and 1603 offer a retrospective glimpse of the music Philips wrote at Antwerp. The instrumental pieces also come from the same period. Philips did not publish a volume of sacred music until the *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1612,¹¹⁷ fifteen years after his arrival at court. It would be reasonable to suppose that this volume reflects Philips's activity between his arrival at court and the date of publication. Philips may be seen responding to new patterns of patronage:

¹¹⁶See Chapter 2.

¹¹⁷Although three motets by Philips were included in Herrer's anthology, *Hortus musicalis*, Munich, 1609, and two more appeared in a similar collection printed in Strasbourg in 1611.

after his appointment in 1597 he was expected to write sacred vocal music for the chapel. Similarly, instead of writing instrumental music for performance at the houses of his patrons, or for their children, Philips's would have been responsible for some of the organ music in Chapel, but this did not need to be committed to paper. Philips's instrumental music dates from a period throughout which he relied upon the patronage of a number of individuals; following his move to Brussels he had the security of a salaried position, which could be bolstered by further ecclesiastical appointments when economic conditions at court became difficult.

Chapter 2

The Tregian Manuscripts

INTRODUCTION

Francis Tregian (1574-1619) has been identified as the scribe of three important early seventeenth-century music manuscripts. The best known of these is Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 168 (*olim* Mus. 32. G. 29), the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (FVB), a large anthology of keyboard music. The other two manuscripts are closely related: New York Public Library at Lincoln Centre, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Drexel MS 4302, the *Sambrooke Manuscript* (Drexel), is a continuation of London, British Library, MS Egerton 3665 (3665). These volumes are devoted to vocal and instrumental ensemble music, by mostly Italian and English composers.

These three manuscripts together form the most important source for Philips's instrumental music. The FVB contains more pieces by him than any other source, including some for which there are no known concordances. For pieces which do exist in other sources, the FVB texts are good and probably relate closely to Philips's autograph (which has not survived for any piece). In the case of his instrumental music preserved in 3665 and Drexel, most ensemble pieces survive only in these sources. The impression is that the scribe of these manuscripts had direct contact with Philips.

Although it is known that Tregian was the scribe, there is some confusion in the secondary literature about when and where they were compiled. The answers to these questions have a bearing on an understanding of how Philips's music was transmitted to Tregian. This study investigates the relationship between Tregian and Philips, and argues that Philips provided Tregian with not just his own music, but also that of other composers, both continental and English. In addition, it will evaluate Tregian's reliability as a scribe, offering some preliminary observations on his copying of Philips's music, and an assessment of his

texts of music by other composers.

Francis Tregian

The name of Francis Tregian was first proffered as a possible candidate for the copyist of the FVB by Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire in their edition of the manuscript of 1899,¹ and half a decade later this hypothesis was confirmed by Cole's discovery of samples of Tregian's hand.²

Francis Tregian was born in 1574, one of eighteen children of the elder Francis Tregian, who suffered imprisonment in the Marshalsea and the Fleet between 1577 and 1603 before eventually obtaining his freedom and fleeing to Lisbon, where he died in 1608.³ The younger Francis Tregian was sent abroad at the age of twelve to be educated at Eu and at the English College of Douai, during its exile in Rheims. Both Francis and his brother Charles were recognised as being exceptionally gifted students, and in 1592 Francis moved to Rome to become steward to Cardinal Allen, the founder of the English College at Douai and a leading figure in the English Catholic community on the continent. In a list of Allen's household of 1594, he is described as 'noble, twenty years old, a scholar, extremely intelligent, and well grounded in philosophy, music and Latin.'⁴

¹*The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, ed. J.A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1899 (repr. with corrections and additional material by Blanche Winogron, Dover edn., 1979-1980)

²*Cole ML*, pp. 28 seq. Ruby Reid Thompson has recently cast doubt on the attribution of these sources to Tregian in *Thompson*. However, after a first-hand examination of two out of the three manuscripts, the present writer can find no reason to reject Tregian as the scribe.

³Boyan and Lamb, *Francis Tregian*, 1954.

⁴'Francesco Tregiano, camarero, servitore di due anni, molto nobile, di 20 anni, secolare di ingenio delicesissimo dotto in filosofia, in musica et nella lingua latina' (quoted in *Boyan & Lamb*, p. 105; English transl. from *New Grove*).

Tregian is recorded as having made one visit to his father in prison: in May 1594 Tregian journeyed to England to see his father.⁵ The visit occurred shortly before Cardinal Allen's death in 1594; indeed, Tregian returned to Rome to deliver Allen's funeral oration on 16 October 1594.

After Allen's death Tregian is described as 'being with the Archduke' in September 1603, presumably in Brussels.⁶ He was attached to the household of Archduke Albert, and may have served in his army.⁷ Tregian, with his interest in music, could hardly have failed to meet Philips at the Brussels court.

It is at this point in his life that there are conflicting accounts of his movements in the secondary literature. Cole writes of Tregian's attempts to regain the family house, 'Golden', 'after his return from exile in 1605',⁸ yet Boyan and Lamb write that when Tregian's father 'passed through Brussels on his way to Spain in 1606, it was...to see his son'.⁹ According to Boyan and Lamb, Tregian did not return to England until the death of his father in 1608.¹⁰ Certainly he was convicted of recusancy in 1609, and this has led many writers to assume that his imprisonment dates from the same year, and that the manuscripts were copied by him during a lengthy ten-year imprisonment until his death in 1619.¹¹ In fact, there is no evidence that he was imprisoned before about 1613 or 1614. This need not preclude the

⁵S.P. Dom. Eliz., ccxlviii, 105.

⁶S.P. Jas 1. iii, p. 77.

⁷*Boyan & Lamb*, p. 115.

⁸*Cole ML*, p. 29.

⁹*Boyan & Lamb*, p. 115.

¹⁰*Boyan & Lamb*, p. 115.

¹¹*FVB Dover*, p. viii; *Dart 1951*, p. 206; *Bergsagel*, p. 10; *Charteris 1976*, p. 376; *Neighbour*, p. 23; *Dart 1980*; introduction to *D'Accone*.

possibility that his imprisonment began before its fact was recorded, but there is evidence to show that this is unlikely.

Tregian's imprisonment was connected to his financial dealings of the period, although he was not sent to the Fleet because of them, as Cunningham suggests.¹² In 1607 Lady Hunsdon sold her life interest in the Tregian estates for £6500 to the younger Francis Tregian.¹³ This shows that Tregian was in England before his father's death in 1608. In order to raise the money, Tregian had to resort to his neighbour and tenant George Spry; in return for this help he had to sell Spry various manors, including Trewithen. In 1609 Tregian was convicted of recusancy, and subjected to the law of *praemunire* whereby the crown confiscated two-thirds of his property. It was not until 1613 that 'the full sum of £6500 was handed over to her ladyship [Lady Hunsdon] by the young Tregian in Spry's presence at her house in Blackfriars in 1613'.¹⁴ Eventually Tregian could no longer pay the heavy fines imposed on him for recusancy, so was sent to the Fleet prison. The first record of his incarceration is an appeal by him to the King for clemency in 1614,¹⁵ and his presence in person at Blackfriars in 1613 makes it unlikely that his imprisonment dates from before 1613. One of the documents discovered by Elizabeth Cole is a hurriedly-written note on the back of a deed dated 1612, again suggesting that at this point he still had his freedom.¹⁶

In summary, it appears that Tregian did return to England before his father's death in 1608: Boyan and Lamb took the reference to Tregian being in Brussels in 1603 together with his father's visit to Brussels in 1606 to mean that Tregian was still there in that year,

¹²Cunningham, p. 13.

¹³Excheq. Spec. Com. 5194, 5 Chas. I (Rowse 1941, p. 374).

¹⁴Rowse 1941, p. 374.

¹⁵Hist. MSS., Comm. House of Lords MSS. Report iv, vol. iv, p. 120.

¹⁶Cole ML, p. 30.

but in fact there is no evidence stating that this was the reason for the father's visit; indeed, the Douai diary from which it is known that the father visited Brussels tends to suggest that his son was not there by omitting any mention of him.¹⁷

The Fleet was an open prison, with preferential treatment for those who could afford it. Tregian had his own room in which he amassed a large library of books, and spent time copying out music. In 1619 Tregian died in prison, and there was an argument between the Warden and Tregian's friend Sir Francis Englefield over the books. The Warden claimed Tregian's library as recompense for debts that Tregian had incurred whilst in prison, but Tregian had bequeathed the books to Sir Francis; Tregian's sisters intervened, and they went to Sir Francis Englefield. Tregian's library was never catalogued, and nothing is known of its subsequent history: the notes in the margins against some of the pieces that Tregian copied give a glimpse of what it must have contained, and it is possible to build up a picture of the prints which he probably possessed by reference to the contents of the manuscripts of which he was the scribe.

¹⁷'And so being about to go first to Brussels and then to Spain, he desired to visit this College on his way' (quoted in *Boyan & Lamb*, p. 112).

FITZWILLIAM VIRGINAL BOOK

Introduction

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 168 (*olim* Mus. 32. G. 29), the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (FVB) is the best known source of English music for keyboard to have survived from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is the source which contains the highest number of pieces by Peter Philips. The FVB comprises a vast anthology of keyboard music, encompassing old (Tallis and Blitheman) and new (it includes a piece dated 1612), English and continental, sacred (plainsong settings by Bull, Tallis and others) and secular. There is only one scribe, who has been identified as the younger Francis Tregian (1574-1619).¹⁸ In total, there are 297 pieces by thirty named composers.

The FVB was published in Leipzig in an edition by W. Barclay Squire and J.A. Fuller-Maitland in 1894-99. This is still available in a Dover reprint with corrections by Blanche Winogron.¹⁹ In many ways it was a remarkable achievement: for the first time the most substantial manuscript of English keyboard music was available in print, which allowed the music that it contained to become known and performed. The edition is for the most part faithful to the text: there are few errors. However, the editors felt free to transcribe older notational practice (such as black notation) into modern notation without comment. Similarly, although the original mensuration signs are usually given when they occur at the start of a piece, the editors generally modernise them when they occur during the course of a work so that there is no indication of the original proportional relationships. The notation of accidentals has been modernised, as might be expected. There are a number of errors in the transcription of the titles.

In some ways the continued availability of this edition has had a rather unfortunate effect on recent research on the repertory. As yet there is no critical study of the FVB -

¹⁸*Cole ML*, pp. 28 seq.

¹⁹*FVB Dover*.

indeed, it lacks an overall appraisal of the sort which can be found for manuscripts such as the Lynar tablatures - no doubt because of its continued availability in a Dover reprint of the nineteenth-century edition.

Physical Description

FVB is a manuscript containing keyboard music notated on two six-line staves in mensural notation. It measures 339 mm high by 220 mm wide. There is evidence throughout the volume that the folios have been trimmed down to this size: some page numbers have been clipped, and there are a number of annotations in the outer margins which have been partially lost. FVB has two flyleaves, 209 leaves containing music (ff. 1-209 *recto*; f. 209^v is ruled but contains no music), another eleven leaves which are ruled but empty (ff. 211-220), a further five containing a nineteenth-century index (ff. 221-225 *recto*; f. 225^v is blank), and finally three folios which are completely blank (ff. 226-228). There is a contemporary pagination in the top outer corners of each page for pp. 1-419. The music ceases on p. 418, and the remaining pages are paginated in modern pencil: the number for p. 431 is given as 401, altered to 301, and changed again to 501, so pp. 431-456 are paginated 501-523.

The Paper

The paper has chainlines at intervals of 26 mm. One of the watermarks is a crozier: Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire noted the similarity of this watermark to the municipal arms of Basel.²⁰ There is an illustration of this coat of arms in Volborth's *Heraldry of the*

²⁰FVB Dover, p. v.

World:²¹ the only differences between the arms and the watermark are that in the former the crozier is encased in a shield, and that the latter has three balls suspended from beneath the crozier with a letter 'C'. The crozier watermark is by far the most common; examples may be found on ff. 429 and 503 [*recte* 433]. One of the watermarks in 3665 has a similar device, suggesting that the paper for both manuscripts was obtained from the same paper mill.

Collation

The Collation of the FVB is as follows:

COLLATION	
pp. 1-12	A ⁶
pp. 13-24	B ⁶
pp. 25-36	C ⁶
pp. 37-48	D ⁶
pp. 49-60	E ⁶
pp. 61-72	F ⁶
pp. 73-84	G ⁶
pp. 85-96	H ⁶
pp. 97-108	I ⁶
pp. 109-120	K ⁶
pp. 121-132	L ⁶
pp. 133-144	M ⁶
pp. 145-156	N ⁶
pp. 157-168	O ⁶
pp. 169-180	P ⁶
pp. 181-192	Q ⁶
pp. 193-204	R ⁶

²¹*Volborth*, p. 113.

pp. 205-216	S ⁶
pp. 217-228	T ⁶
pp. 229-240	U ⁶
pp. 241-252	W ⁶
pp. 253-264	X ⁶
pp. 265-276	Y ⁶
pp. 277-288	Z ⁶
pp. 289-300	Aa ⁶
pp. 301-312	Ab ⁶
pp. 313-324	Ac ⁶
pp. 325-336	Ad ⁶
pp. 337-348	Ae ⁶
pp. 349-364	Af ⁸
pp. 365-376	Ag ⁶
pp. 377-388	Ah ⁶
pp. 389-400	Ai ⁶
pp. 401-412	Ak ⁶
pp. 413-424	Al ⁶
pp. 425-440	Am ⁸
pp. 441-456	An ⁸

An ink blot on the opening pp. 310-311 suggests that the folios were arranged in their present order at the time of the manuscript's compilation. On p. 385 there is a paste-on flap over lines iii-iv, and there is another at the top of p. 386. There are some symbols which overlap the flap and the folio, showing that it was pasted on the page by the scribe before the music was entered. The flap lifts up, and it seems that the scribe originally intended to copy another piece. The use of paste-ons suggests that the volume was in a bound state by the time Tregian was copying on pp. 385-6, otherwise he would have used fresh paper. However, this must have been a previous binding, since the page numbers and annotations in the margin have been clipped in the process of trimming the pages for the present binding. There is a contrast

with 3665, where it will be shown that the paper was in an unbound state as the music was copied.

Rastration

There are staves ruled on pp. 1-510 [*recte* 1-440]; there are no staves on pp. 511-525 [*recte* 441-455]. There are ten staves ruled throughout, producing five two-staff systems to the page. There are outer margins of *c.* 25 mm, and inner margins of *c.* 17 mm. The top margin is *c.* 20 mm and the bottom margin is *c.* 34 mm.

The use of six-line staves in the FVB is usually taken as evidence of its Anglo-Flemish provenance, but in fact the paper has been rastrated with a five-line rastrum and then an extra line ruled.²² Hence on p. 279, v, top staff, the top five lines extend into the margin, whereas the sixth line stops at the margin. Frequently the sixth line of a staff is not straight, and differs in length from the other lines. This is best observed on the pre-ruled empty pages (pp. 420-510 [*recte* 420-440]), and on p. 358. The staves are just over 13 mm high, and are *c.* 11-12 mm distant from one another.

The Binding and Inscriptions in the Manuscript

The binding is of crimson morocco, enriched with gold tooling, especially *fleur de lis*. Inside the front cover there is the following inscription, presumably dating from the eighteenth century:

²²The same technique is used in *Lynar*, and the similarity in rastration between this manuscript and the FVB, which is known to be of Anglo-Flemish origin, increases the probability that it is likewise a source compiled in the Netherlands, and not a German source as Curtis has argued.

Queen Elizabeth's | Harp. Book | [new hand:] Purchased at the sale of
 Doctor Pepush's | Collection By R. Bremner 1762 | [change of pen:] for 10
 guineas. | [Fitzwilliam bookplate] | Given by M^r Bremner to Lord
 Fitzwilliam.²³

There is a further inscription on the first flyleaf, which is marked 'ii' in the top right corner,
 in a different hand:

Vide Sir John Hawkins's history of musicke in 5 volumes quarto, 1776. |
 Vol.5 - page 403, when mention is made of this | curious and truly
valuable manuscript. | "Queen Elizabeth's virginal book is yet in being, +
 many of the lefsons" | "in it have proved so difficult, as to baffle [?]even
 most expert players on" | "the harpsichord." Steevens notes on Shakspeare -
 Winter's tale. | ____ | Vide Burney's History of Musick, in quarto, Vol. 3,
 page 15. - 1789 - | "If her Majesty was ever able to execute any of the pieces
 that are preserved in a " | "manuscript, which goes under the name of Queen
Elizabeth's Virginal Book," | "she must have been a very great player, as
 some of the pieces which were composed ["] | "by Tallis, Bird, Giles
 Farnaby, D^r Bull, + others, are so difficult that it" | "would be hardly
 possible to find a master in Europe who would undertak [*sic*] and" | play one
 of them at the end of a month's practice." | ____ | Vide Burney - Vol.3 -
 page 86 - & - 91 - | ____

The reference to Steevens's notes on Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, published in 1803, dates
 the second inscription in the early years of the nineteenth century. The cover is more
 characteristic of the seventeenth century than of the eighteenth or nineteenth. The present
 binding is not the original, though dating probably from the seventeenth-century. It was
 carried out after the manuscript had left Tregian's possession: it seems unlikely that Tregian
 would have allowed his annotations and page numbers to be clipped, often to the point of
 illegibility.

On pp. 511-519 [*recte* 441-449] there is an index with 'Henry Smith, Richmond,
 Scripsit - from a M.S. Index in the Possession | of M^r Bartleman. | 24 March 1816' at its
 end.

²³This inscription is discussed in *Johnstone*.

The Purpose of the Manuscript

Elizabeth Cole believed that the book was intended for the use of Tregian's father and his other relatives who were with the elder Tregian in the Fleet: she argued that the FVB was copied in the Netherlands, and shipped in relays to London (a claim which will be examined below).²⁴ She claims that the elder Tregian had an instrument with a split-key short-octave, necessary to play Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan*, but offers no evidence in support of this hypothesis.

The process of copying reveals that the scribe worked with painstaking care over the appearance of the music: it does not have the appearance of a volume intended primarily for practical use. The manuscript is the work of a connoisseur, a collector of music who compiled this great anthology primarily for his own private satisfaction rather than for performance. None the less, the volume may have been used for performance, since there are fingerings given for a small number of pieces.²⁵

Tregian's Numeration

The scribe seems to be fascinated by numbers: he numbers the strains of the dances, and later in the manuscript he also labels the decorated repeats 'rep'; similarly, he numbers the variations of variation sets, and the entries of the subjects of fantasias. The preoccupation with numbers extends to counting the semibreves contained in the plainsong settings of the *Felix namque* by Tallis.²⁶ In *A Grounde* by Thomas Tomkins (no. 130) the scribe writes '45' in the outer margin next to p. 241, iii: this is the number of times which the ground is repeated, and the position of the number '45' corresponds to its last occurrence (there is a

²⁴Cole *PRMA*, p. 61.

²⁵However, it is possible that fingerings were copied from Tregian's exemplars.

²⁶I am indebted to Dr John Caldwell for this observation.

coda of scalar passage-work to end the piece). The numbers of sections within a piece occur between the staves.

On p. 268, iv the number '28' is written in the left-hand margin corresponding to the number of bars in the piece by the end of that line. In this case the number is given probably to enable the scribe to count the number of bars he has copied in his exemplar on the resumption of his work.

In the first part of the manuscript (the first ninety-five pieces) the contents are numbered on two levels: each piece is numbered consecutively in the left-hand margin (the first level); pieces by some individual composers are numbered in sequence (see below) between the staves at the start of a piece as they occur through the manuscript (the second level). After no. 95 there is a gap of four pages (pp. 176, iv - 180 are empty) before the scribe resumes copying on p. 181. It is significant that p. 181 is the start of a new gathering. From this point in the manuscript the main level of numbering ceases, and numbers are given only for works by some individual composers. Hence, in this present study, piece numbers after this point in the manuscript are editorial.

Sometimes pieces by an individual composer will be grouped together (as with Philips's works), but more often a composer's works will be scattered through the manuscript. In either case, they will be numbered consecutively as they occur in the manuscript. For example, on p. 72 piece no. 39 (first level numbering) is numbered '1', the first of the pieces by Giles Farnaby to occur in the manuscript, but the piece following it - no. 40 - is by Orlando Gibbons: the next piece by Farnaby - no. 53 - is then numbered '2'.²⁷ This suggests that the numbers were added after the music was entered. Note that

²⁷The numbering of Farnaby's works is maintained through most of the manuscript. One piece (*Tower Hill*, no. 245) is omitted, and the numbering of his works ceases on p. 379. An Alman by Robert Johnson 'sett by Giles Farnaby', no. 147, is also omitted: the attribution to Giles Farnaby is an addition to the ascription to Robert Johnson, made presumably after the pieces were numbered.

some composers (for example, Thomas Morley and William Byrd) do not have the second level numbering of individual composers' pieces.

The numbers are usually level with the first staff of the first system of a piece, but in the case of Byrd's *Passamezzo Pavan*, no. 56 (p. 102) there was not enough room to fit the piece number between the page number and the title of the piece, confirming that the piece numbers were added later. This also shows that the page numbers were inserted as the scribe copied, but that the titles were added contemporaneously with the music.

The Titles

Although the numbers were added after the music was entered, the titles seem for the most part to have been entered as the music was copied. The title hand gets progressively smaller at the same rate as the music hand, suggesting that the titles were inserted at the same time as the music. The few obvious exceptions support this view: the title 'A Gigge' for the last piece on p. 306 is in a lighter ink, so was added later. Similarly, the ascription 'W.B.' at the end of 'Sr. Jhon [sic] Grayes Galiard', which occurs at its end (p. 306, ii) is a later addition. The ascription of no. 282 to Munday at the end of the piece is also a later addition: the composer of the piece is not really in question, since it is entitled 'Mundays Gloy', but it is significant that the inscription at the end is one of the few to carry only the composer's surname. It might be argued that the division of a title or composer attribution into two lines was the result of their later addition: however, linebreaks seem to be the result of scribal whim, since the ascription 'William Byrd' is broken on p. 365, ii, even though there is sufficient space for it to have been placed on one line.

The scribe is also interested in the relationships between the pieces he has copied, and provides a number of cross-references. The title of no. 100 by William Byrd is interesting

as it associates a 'Praeludium to the Fancie, pag. 94' [p. 188 in *FVB Dover*]. This is a very early example of the pairing of an - admittedly short - prelude with a fugal movement. Also interesting is the direction 'Perge' placed after the ascription of piece no. 101 to Byrd: this is from the Latin 'pergere' ('to continue'); hence the scribe is directing the consecutive performance of the two Byrd fantasias, no. 101 based on 'Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la', and no. 102 based on another solmization theme, 'Ut, mi, re'. On p. 374 there is a note in the margin parallel to the title of Byrd's *Fantasia* (no. 261) which reads 'Vide P. Philippi sopra | l[a] modesima fuga. | pag. 158.'; this refers the reader to a fantasia by Philips on the same subject.²⁸ This concern for establishing connections between pieces, coupled with his numbering of individual composers' works as they occur through the manuscript, shows that the scribe copied with the pages that he had completed very much in mind, and that he read over what he had written. Frequently in other manuscripts of this period the same piece is copied twice, the scribe apparently unaware of the duplication, but in the 297 pieces of *FVB* there are very few repetitions.²⁹

Notation

The following discussion of Tregian's notational practice will place special emphasis on the part of the manuscript devoted to Philips's works, so far as possible taking examples from his pieces.³⁰

²⁸There is another marginal note parallel to line iii which reads '... la fuga. | e fuggita'. This corresponds to the point at which entries of the opening theme cease.

²⁹*Go from my Window* is given as no. 42 by John Mundy, and as no. 9 by Thomas Morley: the clash of attribution presumably reflects Tregian's exemplars, and he includes a note in the margin at the end of no. 42 referring to no. 9, showing that he was aware of the duplication. The other repetitions occur among the short corantos near the end of *FVB* (see Appendix 1 in Volume 2, nos. 193, 204, 223 and 264).

³⁰Unless otherwise stated, the musical examples are taken from the *FVB* texts.

General Features of Tregian's Hand

The FVB is in one hand throughout, a hand which remains surprisingly consistent given the quantity of music involved. The most variable symbols in a hand that changes over a period of time are clefs, accidentals, and *custodes* at line ends, but in FVB these retain the same appearance. The hand becomes progressively smaller and neater as the copying progresses. The barlines are drawn freehand, and get straighter as the manuscript goes on. Demisemiquavers have four flags instead of the normal three. The scribe of the FVB frequently gives noteheads in the inner parts of a texture without stems or flags: usually these notes can be taken to have the same values as the outer parts.

The start of each piece is indented. The mensuration signs are given in front of the barline at the start of each piece. Towards the end of the manuscript Tregian sometimes begins a piece mid-way through a system.

Free-voiced Keyboard Notation

In the FVB the top staff corresponds to the right hand and the bottom staff corresponds to the left.³¹ The keyboard notation employed by the scribe gives the notes which are to be played, so each note need only occur once. This type of notation is typical of Italian prints and of English keyboard collections, and can also be found in some Netherlands and German sources in mensural notation. It differs fundamentally from the approach to be found in keyboard tablature, where the individual polyphonic voices are preserved, and a note which can be sounded only once on the keyboard is written twice. However, Tregian is interested in the voice-leading, and uses *custodes* to show the movement

³¹There are some exceptions to this general observation: for example, in the Philips *Fantasia-G* (no. 84/15) the bar containing the twenty-third entry has a spread of a tenth in the top staff; the lower note should be taken with the left hand. In the same piece, p. 161, ii, 8, the alto *G*, written in the lower staff, should be played with the right hand.

of a part from one staff to the other.

In this ‘free-voiced’ keyboard notation, a held note in one voice part may be written as a shorter value if another voice converges upon it in the course of its duration: each note is given a length corresponding to how long it can be held before being released or re-struck. A good example can be found in Philips’s *Chi fara*, p. 148, iii, 6 where the bass note is notated as a dotted crotchet

instead of a minim because the tenor arrives on the same tone on the fourth

quaver of the bar (see Example II.1).

Another example worth citing occurs in Philips’s *Le Rossignol*, where the

C and E in the lower staff are cut

short to quaver length in order to

make way for the top part in the

upper staff (see Example II.2).

CHI FARA



FVB, p. 148, iii, 6



Lynar, p. 218, 5

Example II.1



Le Rossignol, p. 162, v, 3

Example II.2

The Beaming of the Shorter Note-values

For the most part the shorter note-values are beamed according to interval, and there does not appear to be a correlation between phrasing or articulation and the



Example II.3

subsequent grouping of these notes.³² When a group of quavers begins with a leap of a sixth, the first note will be separated from the rest (see the *Passamezzo Pavan*, p. 143, v, bar 11 for an example of a downward leap; p. 144, i, bar 12 for an example of an upward leap). Octaves are beamed as illustrated in Example II.3. Quavers and semiquavers are never beamed together: hence, scalic passage work beginning with a quaver and then continuing in semiquaver movement will have the first note (the quaver) detached from the ensuing semiquavers.

In duple mensuration quavers and semiquavers tend to be grouped in fours or eights, the latter becoming more common as the copying proceeds and the hand becomes smaller. Sometimes a quaver following a dotted crotchet will be beamed with a following group of four quavers.

Occasionally quavers will be found grouped in two pairs of two quavers where a single group of four quavers might be expected. When this does occur, it tends to be part of a trill figure: in Example II.4 the beaming serves to draw attention to the upper auxiliary.



Example II.4

Ornament Signs

There is a profusion of single- and double-stroke ornament signs in the works by English composers, but they occur less often in works by continental composers. In this respect it seems that Philips followed continental practice, for with a few exceptions (most notably the *Fantasia-G* no. 84) his keyboard pieces do not contain very many ornament signs.

³²It should be stressed that these remarks apply only to the FVB: there does seem to be such a correlation in other sources of keyboard music from the seventeenth century.

Accidentals

Walker Cunningham points to Tregian's 'incoherent accidental practice', and writes that in the texts for the Bull pieces contained in FVB there are 'significant variants from the more solid texts of Paris 1185'.³³ Cunningham explains this by suggesting that either Tregian was simply reflecting his exemplars, or that he altered such details at will.

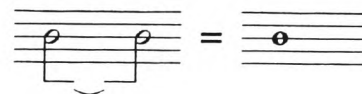
There are examples of this 'incoherent accidental practice' in the Philips pieces. There are a number of accidentals which are unique to the FVB, and are clearly wrong. The alto *F#* in b. 40 of the *Dolorosa Pavan* is found neither in the other concordant sources, nor in corresponding place in the reprise. Another example is the *G#* in b. 89: there is no ambiguity surrounding which note it governs, and it is clearly a mistake. The most striking example is the clash of *Bb* and *B#* in b. 12 of *Amarilli*: the *B#* cannot be intended.

Neither of Cunningham's explanations for Tregian's accidental practice is credible. The texts of the Philips pieces (and indeed those of other composers) tend to be good, and to have derived from reliable exemplars. The 'incoherent accidental practice' is not part of a wider corruption of texts, whether due to Tregian or his sources. More importantly, the examples cited from the Philips pieces show that the accidentals are unlikely to have been added by Tregian consciously: their incoherence is such that they make no musical sense; they are not merely a matter of taste. The most likely explanation for the addition of accidentals which clearly were not intended by the composer is that the accidentals were added after the main music text. Whilst mistakes such as these are almost inconceivable if the scribe were writing them in context as he copied, they are more understandable if he was adding them music already entered.

³³Cunningham, p. 14.

The Notation of Semibreves and Ties

In the early part of the manuscript semibreves are notated as they are written today; similarly, the notation of ties conforms to twentieth-century practice. Later in the manuscript the scribe adopts his own idiosyncratic method of tying notes together, and semibreves are written as two tied minims (occasionally minims are given as two tied crotchets): the notes are tied firstly with two horizontal lines at the top of the stems of the notes facing inward, and then with a slur sign (see Example II.5): it is the combination of the two which is unique.

**Example II.5**

A transition from the earlier practice to the later may be detected. The first use of both methods of tying occurs in no. 41 (p. 77, i, 1) where two crotchets are tied to create a note of a minim's duration; all the other tied notes in this piece are notated with just the modern sign for a tie, and no other notevalue is broken in two and tied in this way. There are no more examples of this new notational practice until no. 47 (p. 88, iii). In the following piece, no. 48, the two practices are mixed as the scribe ties a semibreve to a crotchet which has the horizontal line of the new practice; both the old and the new ways of notating ties and semibreves are used in this piece. In no. 51 the new method of notating semibreves is reserved for syncopated semibreves. Gradually the new method of notation becomes dominant. In no. 52 almost all syncopated semibreves are broken into two tied minims, and there are the first examples of ordinary, non-syncopated semibreves being similarly divided; the first occurs on p. 95, v, 7. The notation of non-syncopated semibreves remains that of the older practice until the group of Philips pieces, with a few exceptions. On p. 126, iv, 6 a minim is divided into two crotchets which are tied both by horizontal lines and a tie; the same also occurs at the bottom of the same page at the start of the sixth section of the piece.

The division of semibreve into two tied minims is reserved for occasions on which another part is moving in minims.

It is not until a group of pieces by Peter Philips that semibreves are notated systematically as two tied minims: up until this point the procedure was reserved for ties across barlines and semibreves moving in syncopation, then occasionally when another part is moving in minims against the semibreve, and only very occasionally were they notated in this fashion for no apparent reason. The scribe retains this practice for the rest of the manuscript. The sudden standardization of scribal practice in the group of Philips pieces indicates that they were probably written as group, and copied in close chronological proximity. It also suggests that there was probably a gap in the copying before these pieces were entered.

The Meaning of the Crosses

Throughout the manuscript there are small crosses (+) marked in the musical text, often accompanied by a similar cross in the outer margin. These are used to draw attention to errors in the musical text, technical musical errors (such as consecutive octaves or fifths), notes in the margin, and other points of interest.

Errors of Omission

The scribe proof-read his musical text, noting errors, and placing crosses in the margin to allow the errors to be located quickly. It seems that the scribe rarely made a mistake which called for an erasure, since only in a few instances are there signs of correction. Most of the crosses seem to have indicated mistakes which could be rectified by an addition to the musical text. Hence, for many of the crosses there is no evidence as to what the error was because it has been corrected without leaving a trace.

There is one occasion on which it can be shown that a cross has been used to indicate an error of omission: on p. 185, v, 2 there is a cross which has a corresponding cross in the margin, by which the scribe has put 'd'. The cross in the musical text is placed above a *D* in the tenor, so it is evident that the error of omission has been rectified.

The hypothesis that the scribe used crosses most often to indicate errors of omission is supported by the texts of the pieces by Philips: when compared to the readings in *Lynar*, a source which is evidently close to the FVB on the *stemma* of sources,³⁴ there are frequently notes missing in the FVB version. The scribe copied with painstaking care, so there are few corrections, but he appears often to have omitted notes.

On p. 254 there is a cross placed beneath the last bar under which there are a number of symbols: some are hardly recognisable, but they include a notehead with stem, a sharp, and a flat. It seems that in this instance there was more than one error, so the scribe made a hieroglyphic reminder of what needed attention.

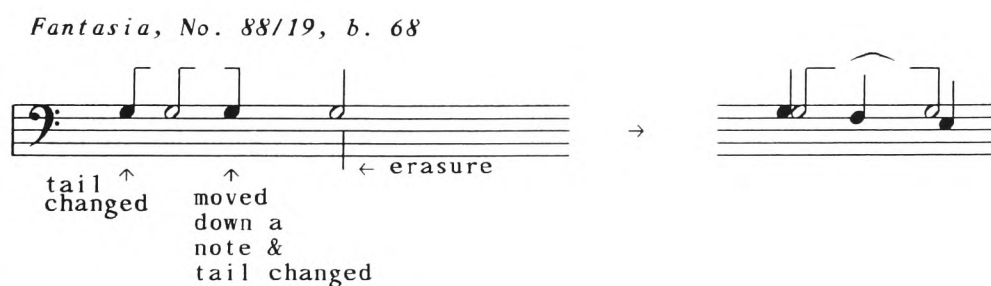
Larger-scale omissions could not be corrected quite so easily, and the scribe uses other symbols to relate a missing segment of several bars to its location in the main text. At the bottom of p. 238 there is a square with small circles attached to each corner situated with two bars; these are intended to be included between p. 238, iv, 3 and p. 238, iv, 4 where there is a similar device. In the margin parallel to p. 238, v there is a cross beneath which there is a small triangle pointing upwards; there are two similar triangles in the two bars to be inserted, pointing to specific errors. There is evidence that these were corrected: there are signs of an erasure and correction above the second triangle. These triangles, often associated with a cross, serve to point with greater accuracy than the crosses at the salient feature, be it a mistake in copying or a point of interest. The triangles are only used in the later part of

³⁴See discussion of *Dolorosa Pavan* in Chapter 5.

the manuscript; they first occur at the bottom of p. 159, one being placed under p. 159, v, 5 and another under p. 159, v, 6. Their meaning in this context is not clear: there are no obvious errors, and the triangles do not appear to point at any specific part of either bar concerned. Later these triangles appear to have the same use as the crosses. On p. 341, v, there is a triangle pointing towards the rest in the alto at the start of the last bar: presumably this had been omitted.

Errors requiring an Alteration to the Text

There are some occasions on which a cross marks an error which required an alteration rather than completion. On p. 61, i, bar 1 there is a cross; a cross also occurs in the margin. In this case there is an obvious erasure: the stem of the ninth quaver in the alto has had a stem protruding below the beam erased. In the fourth bar of Bull's *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* (no. 215, p. 317) a cross is placed by the first note in the alto, which has been



Example II.6

emended from an *A* to a *G*. In Philips's *Paget Pavan* there is a cross in the first bar of the triple mensuration which occurs eight bars into the repeat of the second section (p. 140, ii, 5). There is no note in the margin to explain, but the bar as it stands does not quite work, and departs from the other source which contains the piece (408). It may be that the scribe intended to alter the quavers of the FVB reading to the crotchets of 408. In b. 68 of Philips's

Fantasia-F (no. 88/19) there is an arrow pointing to an error: this has been corrected, so the arrow has a stroke through it. The original text with its correction are shown in Music Example II.6.

Technical Errors

On occasion a cross is used to draw attention to a technical musical error. On p. 228, v there is a cross under the first bar, and in the left-hand margin there is the number '8'. In this case the cross indicates the presence of consecutive octaves, hence the '8' in the margin. The cross in b. 13 of Philips's *Amarilli* is probably intended to draw attention to octaves between the cantus and the tenor: there is no note in the margin, but the location of the cross would suggest that this is the error to which it refers, and there are no consecutive octaves in *Lynar* (the other concordant source for this piece).³⁵ There is a cross in a bar on p. 166, i, 3 in the Philips *Fantasia-F* no. 88/19 containing octaves between tenor and bass. On p. 372, iii there is a cross in the margin which has a corresponding cross against bars 8-9: this time the error is represented by dotted lines showing consecutive fifths.

Points of Interest

At the end of no. 42 on p. 80, iii the scribe uses a cross in the margin to draw attention to a marginal note which reads 'Vide p. 21'. He refers the reader from no. 42 to no. 9, which are the same piece. Here the cross may have been inserted by the scribe to remind him to add the annotation in the margin, or it may simply serve to draw attention to it and date from the time that the cross was added. In either case, the note itself illustrates once again how the scribe was interested in the music more as a collector than as a

³⁵However, there are consecutive fifths between tenor and bass at this point in *Lynar*.

performer.

On several occasions the scribe uses a cross to indicate the doubling of a note between the staves. The music in the FVB is notated as a free-voiced texture: when the part-writing and voice-leading produces a unison, that note is given just the once. On p. 134, in the ninth variation of Byrd's *The Bells* the note *D* is given in both staves; there are two crosses in the musical text marking these notes, and one in the margin with 'Vn' (= 'Un[ison]') by it. Similarly, on p. 121, ii, 2 a cross marks the doubling of a note between the staves, and the abbreviation 'Vn' for 'Unison' occurs in the margin. There is another example in the eighth bar of the third strain of Philips's *Paget Pavan* where the alto and tenor converge on a *D* on the last crotchet of the bar; here there is no cross or explanatory note in the margin. In each case the unison doubling seems to be the result of the scribe's uncertainty as to which hand should play the note. The existence of these marginal notes shows that it was the scribe who was distributing the notes between the hands, and that he was not simply copying the layout of his exemplars. This means that we should not expect there to be an exact correspondence between the FVB and concordant sources in terms of the distribution of notes between the staves.

Since the choice of clefs used depends to a great extent on which staves carry which notes, it should not be expected that there should be a correspondence of clefs between concordant sources. In Philips's *Le Rossignol* the *Bb* at the start of p. 162, v, 4 is given twice, once in the 'B' space and once in the 'D' space. This suggests that the scribe was working from an exemplar with different clefs; perhaps it is significant that the one of the other sources of the work, *Lynar*, has a bass clef which differs from the FVB by a third in the other direction.

The Meaning of the Larger Crosses

As well as small crosses and triangles there are also larger cross-like symbols (see Example II.7) which probably have some meaning, but there is nothing about the way that they occur in the manuscript to give a clue as to their significance. They always appear in the margins, often occurring several times in one piece.

**Ex. II.7***The Date and Origin of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*

There is a debate as to whether the FVB was begun in the Netherlands, or after Tregian's return to England. There are two questions which need to be addressed: firstly, whether or not the FVB was begun in the Netherlands; secondly, when the contents were copied. In both cases the answer lies both in some elements of scribal practice and in the contents of the volume.

The Views of Cole, Curtis, and Cunningham: A Summary

Elizabeth Cole notes that the presence of pieces dedicated to Lords Montegle and Morley as separate persons dates the FVB before 1618. Lord Morley was Lord Montegle's father, so on his death in that year the son assumed the second title.³⁶ She argues that the Tregian manuscripts were written whilst their scribe was still on the continent, that sections were copied as the exemplars came to hand, and that these were then sent in relays to London. In her view these manuscripts were intended for use by the elder Francis Tregian, the scribe's father, and for the members of his family who stayed with him in the Fleet prison. The first ninety-five pieces are separated from the rest of the manuscript by a gap of four empty pages. Cole believes that this represents the 'bulk donation of Peter Philips with

³⁶Cole *PRMA*, p. 56.

nothing later than 1605', that it was rolled up with Bull's *Walsingham* on the outside, and despatched to London.³⁷ Whilst it is possible that this section of the manuscript was sent over the sea in the way in which she suggests, the implication towards the end of her paper is that both the FVB and 3665 were despatched in batches for the use of Tregian's father in prison. Clearly the latter is impossible, since the elder Francis Tregian was released in 1603, and left England in 1606, whereas the scribe of the Tregian manuscripts used sources dating from as late as 1615 (see below on 3665 and Drexel).

Alan Curtis addresses both the question of the country of origin and that of the date of the FVB. Tregian employs redundant final chords of a breve duration, a notational feature which Curtis finds in a Netherlands source, London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 29485 (Soldt). He suggests that such chords may have been 'a traditional feature of Northern continental keyboard notation'. He adds in a footnote that the 'use of the term 'Rep.' (*Reprinse*) for the various repeats may also be a Flemish feature'.³⁸

The latest date to occur in the FVB is 1612, attached to Sweelinck's hexachord fantasy (no. 118).³⁹ However, Curtis believes that part of the volume was copied somewhat later: he notes that there is a setting by Richard Farnaby of 'Fayne would I Wedd', which was first published in Campion's *Fourth Booke of Ayres* of 1617. However, there are pieces concordant with *Parthenia* of 1612/13 which were not copied from the print: one of these, a pavan by Gibbons (no. 292), occurs after Richard Farnaby's piece, so it is not possible that Tregian copied the Farnaby piece in about 1617 having copied the pieces concordant with *Parthenia* before the appearance of the print. It seems that Richard Farnaby must have obtained this piece in a manuscript copy made before the publication of the print, a possibility

³⁷Cole *PRMA*.

³⁸Curtis 1972, p. 37.

³⁹The date itself occurs at the end of the piece, p. 218, end of system v.

recognised by Curtis but dismissed as 'not very likely'.⁴⁰

Cunningham notes that Tregian is recorded as being in prison for the first time in 1614. Persons argues that the copying took place only whilst Tregian was in prison, so it began in 1614.⁴¹ Cunningham argues that it is reasonable to think that the work on the manuscripts was begun before that date in order for it to be completed by Tregian's death in 1619. He writes that 'neither the Drexel nor Egerton collection [Drexel and 3665] contains music that seems later than about 1612', and that 'Tregian was working from scores already in his possession rather than from new sources to which he had access during his imprisonment'. In general terms this does appear to be true, but the presence in 3665 of pieces known to have been copied from a Cifra print of 1615 shows that Tregian did receive some of his sources during the course of his imprisonment. Whereas Cole argues for an early date, bringing the completion of the first ninety-five pieces to a date before 1605, Cunningham suggests that 1612 marks the point at which the sources had been gathered together, and the time at which the copying process began.⁴²

'Redundant' Final Chords and 'Rep.'

A close examination of the notational features which Cole and Curtis regard as typical of Netherlands practice shows that they can be explained in other more satisfactory ways. There is no evidence to suggest that Cole and Curtis are right to assume that FVB was begun on the continent.

⁴⁰Curtis 1972, p. 90.

⁴¹J.C. Persons, *The Sambrooke Book: Drexel 4302*, M.Mus diss., Wichita State University, 1969, p. 26.

⁴²Cunningham, pp. 13-14.

The use of redundant final chords of breves has been noted as a characteristic of the FVB, and a feature which might be taken to suggest a Flemish influence. However, Tregian begins to include such final chords only after copying the *In nomine* by Blitheman (no. 50) which ends with a chord made up of black breves.⁴³ It seems that the scribe transcribed an older piece which ended with a chord of breves, liked the appearance of the breves at the end of the piece, so began to apply them to other pieces which would not normally have them. They occur in Nos. 51-52, not in Nos. 53-57,⁴⁴ and then become fully established as the norm in all the pieces from no. 59 onwards.

The occurrence of the abbreviation 'Rep.' in the FVB is another feature which has been used to argue for Flemish influence in the notation of the FVB, even though it could equally well be an abbreviation for the English word, 'Repeat'. In any case, it seems rather to be the scribe's response to the unusual structure of no. 61, in which he marks the first section '1', the decorated repeat 'rep', the next section with a small '2', which then has its 'rep'; then follows the second strain proper, marked with a large '2', its repeat marked 'rep', which is followed by a section marked with a small '2' and its reprise. By labelling the sections thus, the scribe draws attention to the harmonic identity of the two sections and their reprises marked with the small 2: they share the same harmonic framework. Once again the scribe appears to be the connoisseur interested in the music he is collecting rather than the performer. Unsurprisingly, the 'Variatio' (no. 62) which follows shares the same structure. It is only from this point in the manuscript that the indication 'rep' accompanies decorated repeated strains.

⁴³This is not apparent in *FVB Dover* in which the presence of black notation is not recorded.

⁴⁴No. 57 does have a final chord of breves, but this is a part of the normal notation of the piece.

It is clear that Tregian was establishing his notational practice in the first part of the FVB. The somewhat idiosyncratic notation of semibreves only becomes standard in the group of Philips pieces, suggesting that they were entered as a group, probably with a gap between them and the previous pieces. This makes it unlikely that the whole of the first section of ninety-five pieces was the 'bulk donation' of Philips. It is clear from the gap between the Philips pieces and those which surround them that the early stages of the manuscript were copied in fits and starts, and it is possible that the folios were transported from place to place. However, there is no palaeographic evidence to support the claim that the copying began on the continent. Indeed, it could be said that the *Soldt* manuscript is more English in appearance than Flemish: it is similar both to FVB, written by an Englishman, and to Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 782 (*olim* Marlay Additions no. 15), *Tisdale* (also known as the Bull manuscript).⁴⁵ Both of the notational features cited by Curtis can be explained with reference to the context in the manuscript in which they first occur. Furthermore, in both cases the feature is introduced more than half-way through the first layer of copying, and continues after the break between Nos. 95 and 96: if Tregian were using Flemish methods of notation, we should expect the reverse of what appears to be the case, and for there to be a decline in their use after his arrival in England.

The Significance of the Date 1612

Cunningham's argument is flawed in several respects. He offers no evidence for his assertion that the FVB was begun after Tregian's sources had been collected together, but bases his hypothesis on the unsubstantiated premise that Tregian worked from sources already in his possession, rather than from sources sent to him whilst in prison. Some of Tregian's

⁴⁵Microfilm edition by Harvester (*Tisdale*); modern edn. by A. Brown (*Tisdale edn*).

sources must have reached him after his imprisonment: the Cifra print dates from 1615, and there is a Rimonte print from 1614.⁴⁶

Apart from the sources which are known to have reached him after Cunningham's cut-off date, it is quite possible that some of Tregian's other sources date from after 1612, but contain music and texts of pieces which have been copied themselves from earlier sources, or that Tregian received a source after 1612 which itself had been copied at an earlier date. Hence the fact that the *Prelude* (FVB no. 24) concordant with *Parthenia* (1612/13) was not copied from the print therefore has little significance. Tregian may well have received sources after 1612. However, there is no reason to suppose that Tregian waited until he was in possession of his exemplars before starting: he would have copied sources which were in his possession before 1612 whilst awaiting the arrival of others.

Cunningham himself recognises the possibility of chronological anomalies, arguing that 'the evidence suggests that Tregian's sources may actually predate *Bu* [Paris 1185],⁴⁷ which was almost certainly copied first'. He reminds the reader that 'it is useful to remember that lost, intermediate sources may often account for apparent chronological absurdities'.⁴⁸ This assertion weakens his argument concerning the date after which the FVB was copied. There is nothing in the 1612 date which tells us that it was begun in that year. Nevertheless, the date 1612 does indicate a *terminus a quo* for that particular piece. In all the other instances where Tregian attaches a date to a work in the FVB, it is shown to be that of composition, not that of the source, nor that of copying. For example, the *Dolorosa Pavan* is dated 1593 in FVB, a date corroborated by Berlin in which it is described as having been composed in prison: 1593 was the only year in which Philips was imprisoned. Hence 1612

⁴⁶See the summary of the contents of 3665 in Appendix 2.

⁴⁷For the full bibliographical reference, see the inventory of the FVB in Appendix 1.

⁴⁸Cunningham, p. 14.

must be the earliest possible date by which Tregian could have acquired the piece.

The position of Sweelinck's hexachord fantasia in FVB means that it is unwise to assume that 1612 marks either the beginning or the end of the copying of the manuscript. In terms of the number of folios copied, Sweelinck's piece lies approximately in the middle of the manuscript;⁴⁹ out of a total of two hundred and ninety-seven pieces, it is no. 118. Since the manuscript was bound prior to the entry of its contents, this means that approximately half of the copying must have been performed after 1612. If 1612 is taken neither as the start of the copying nor as the terminus, but as the central point, an interesting pattern emerges. For the purposes of this hypothesis it will be assumed that Tregian continued working up until his death in 1619, and that he worked on the keyboard manuscript alongside the other manuscripts. Assuming that Tregian copied at a steady rate, then if he spent the years 1612-1619 copying approximately half of the FVB, he would have commenced work on the first half in about 1605. This date is significant, for it corresponds to the latest date to occur in the first layer of the manuscript (Nos. 1-95): Philips's *Margot* (no. 83/14, p. 156) is dated 1605.

The Contents

It is most unlikely that the FVB was begun on the continent, as Cole maintains, because the first part of the manuscript (Nos. 1-95) contains music by little-known, minor figures in English music history. Elsewhere in the manuscript there is a piece by composer with a Dutch or Flemish name, Jehan Oystermayre, but this occurs much later (no. 260, p. 373) and can be explained with reference to other music, such as Sweelinck's hexachord fantasy of 1612, which must have been sent over to Tregian from the Netherlands. English

⁴⁹There are 418 pages of music, four of which do not carry music: Sweelinck's piece begins on p. 216.

composers represented in the first part of the FVB include John Mundy, Ferdinando Richardson (*alias* Heybourne), Thomas Oldfield, Nicholas Strogers, and Martin Peerson, none of whose music was widely disseminated on the continent. Indeed, until the Peter Philips section there is no music by a composer working outside England. It seems that the first part of the manuscript, far from reflecting the work of a scribe living on the continent, shows every sign of English provenance. The Philips pieces were probably separated from the pieces preceding them (as shown above), so represent the first pieces in the FVB to have been copied from a source sent over from the continent.⁵⁰

The Transmission of the Dated English Pieces

The first date to occur in the FVB is 1590, which is appended to Byrd's *The Woods so Wild* (no. 67). This is the only piece to be dated before the group of Philips pieces. Other than these the next pieces to have dates affixed to them are the Tallis *Felix namque* settings (Nos. 111-112). These carry the dates 1562 and 1564 respectively.

There are dates attached to Byrd's piece and to settings of the *Felix namque* by Tallis in other contemporary sources. However, in the case of Byrd's piece, the date in London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 30485 (30485) is in an eighteenth-century hand. This means that it was added either with reference to the FVB, or to Nevell, a reliable Byrd source which also dates the work. Neither setting of the *Felix namque* in the FVB has a concordant source with correct date, although a setting in 30485 corresponds to the second setting in FVB, but carries the date given to the first. Again the date has been added in a later hand. It seems that a later owner of 30485 had access to the FVB: he added the date

⁵⁰There are more names of minor English composers in the rest of the manuscript (nos. 96-297): Thomas Warrock, James Harding, William Tisdall, Edmund Hooper, and William Inglott are all represented.

to the Byrd piece, then muddled the settings of the *Felix namque*, placing the date of one of those in the FVB against the one that he found in 30485. Hence Tregian was responsible for the known dates of the works which he copied occurring in 30485, and this suggests that he had some connection with the Byrd and Tallis circle, or with sources originating from it.

There is other evidence in the manuscript to substantiate the view that Tregian had connections with Byrd, and through Byrd with Tallis. There is a note in the margin by p. 312, line iv which reads ‘R. Byrd. | filas’.⁵¹ The *Pavan* by Byrd (no. 167) has a note in the margin by p. 285, iv (the end of the piece) which tells us that it was ‘the first t[hat] ever hee m[ade]’.⁵² The only other similar note occurs by Philips’s *1580 Pavan*,⁵³ and there is reason to suppose that Tregian had a connection with Philips too.

The dated piece by Byrd, and the inclusion of a piece which Tregian describes as Byrd’s first pavan in an annotation in the margin suggests a close connection between Tregian and Byrd. In 1594 Tregian paid a visit to his father, the elder Francis Tregian, in prison in England, and in the same month a letter from a government spy makes an association between ‘Byrd, the brother to Byrd of the Chapel’ and the Tregian family.⁵⁴ Hence there is documentary evidence linking the Tregian family to the Byrd family.

It is possible that it was as a result of these events in 1594 that Tregian obtained the dated Byrd and Tallis works. If so, Tregian’s father was the means by which these works

⁵¹*FVB Dover*, p. ix, reproduces a faulty transcription from Chappell. Perhaps it is a reference to Byrd’s daughter, Rachel.

⁵²It occurs as ‘the firste pavian’ in Nevell, but the way in which Tregian presents the information in the margin suggests knowledge acquired at first hand rather than a deduction made from the title of a piece.

⁵³p. 161, iv, r.h. margin: ‘The first | one Phi[lips] | made’.

⁵⁴A letter from Benjamin Baird to Morgan Jones dated 28 May 1594 (quoted in *Fellowes*, p. 43).

were transmitted from Byrd to Tregian. It is plausible that some of the undated English repertory - the pieces by Blitheman and Tallis, and the earliest works of Byrd - were also transmitted to Tregian by his father, the elder Francis Tregian. It seems likely that Tregian would have maintained his father's association with the Byrd family, so it is possible that some of the English works were given to him after his arrival in England. The proposed personal connection between the Tregian family and Byrd is supported by the presence of two pieces by him, the titles of which have been replaced by a dedication to Tregian: the piece which occurs as 'Hugh Aston's Ground' in *Nevell* is found as 'Treg. Ground' in the FVB (no. 60); no. 93 is a 'Pavana Ph. Tr.' - presumably a reference to Tregian's sister, Philippa - which has no dedication in any of the concordant sources. The only other works in the manuscript with similar mention of a member of the Tregian family are a pavan by Tisdall (no. 214), and the *Dolorosa Pavan* of Peter Philips (no. 80), who likewise had an association with Tregian.

A perusal of the *Musica Britannica* edition of Byrd's keyboard music and its critical commentaries reveals that, in the case of pieces for which there are concordant sources, Tregian's texts do not match up to those in *Nevell*.⁵⁵ Therefore it could be argued that Tregian's readings were 'at the mercy of the sources that came his way',⁵⁶ and were not copied from exemplars obtained from the composer's circle. However, in the case of Philips's music Tregian appears to have used the same source as did the scribe of *Lynar* for those pieces they have in common, yet Tregian offers somewhat less satisfactory texts than those of *Lynar*. This implies that the slightly inferior quality of some of the Byrd texts contained in the FVB need not signify that Tregian obtained them from a more distant source.

⁵⁵*Byrd MB* 27/28.

⁵⁶*Neighbour*, p. 23.

It is significant that only Nevell and the FVB give a complete text for *Rowland* (FVB no. 160). In *Byrd MB 27/28*, Alan Brown suggests that it is likely that the scribe of Nevell, John Baldwin, made use of Byrd's holographs for most pieces; those dedicated to Lady Nevell were presumably written specifically for the volume.⁵⁷ Hence there appears to be a close connection between Nevell and Byrd. Therefore the fact that Nevell and the FVB are the only sources containing this piece in its entirety lends support to the hypothesis that there was a connection between Tregian and Byrd.

The FVB contains more pieces attributed to Byrd than any other source, including many *unica*. The presence of works by him unknown to any other source is consistent with the theory that Tregian obtained the music from the composer or his circle. However, there are a number of pieces for which Tregian provides an unusually bad text, and there must be some doubt over the authenticity of the ascriptions of some of the *unica* to Byrd. Although Tregian had access to good copies of some of Byrd's music from the composer and his circle, other pieces must have come to him by more circuitous routes. The pieces by Byrd contained in the earlier part of the manuscript seem to offer good readings when compared to other sources of Byrd's music; works occurring later in the manuscript are more varied in their quality of text. This suggests that the links with the Byrd family grew weaker as the copying progressed. In this respect it is significant that the pieces by Byrd which have the name 'Tregian' attached to them, suggesting personal contact between the families, occur in the earlier part of the manuscript.

⁵⁷*Byrd MB 27*, p. 173.

The Music of the Farnabys

There is only one piece by Giles Farnaby in the sources of virginal music which does not occur in the **FVB**.⁵⁸ It follows that Tregian probably had direct access to the Farnabys' music, and Elizabeth Cole uncovered documentary evidence linking the composers to the scribe. A list of the Tregian estates from 1576/77 contains a reference to 'Mr Farnabies cottage' as one of its assets.⁵⁹

Peter Philips and the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book**Peter Philips and the Transmission of his own Music*

Tregian attaches dates to ten out of nineteen pieces by Philips in the **FVB**. These dates occur in no other source of Philips's music, so indicating a personal association between composer and scribe. The dates appear to be those of composition: the date 1593 for Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan* is corroborated by the index in **Berlin** in which the writer claims that it was composed in prison; Philips was indeed imprisoned in 1593, showing that both sources are accurate. A connection between Tregian and Philips is also suggested by the marginal note by the *1580 Pavan*, describing the pavan as 'The first | one Phi[lips] | made'. The only other similar annotation describes the first pavan of Byrd. The accuracy of Tregian's dates has just been established, so it is reasonable to suppose that both the dates and the snippet of biographical information were provided by the composer himself.

Philips and Tregian followed the same route around Europe. Philips passed through the English College at Douai in 1582; Tregian arrived at the English College in 1586. Philips

⁵⁸*Farnaby MB 24*, no. 22.

⁵⁹*Cole PRMA*, p. 64.

lived in Rome from 1582 to 1585; Tregian became chamberlain to Cardinal Allen in Rome in 1592. Philips entered the service of Archduke Albert at the archducal court at Brussels in 1597; Tregian was also there by 1603. It would have been at the Brussels court that the two men had the opportunity to meet for the first time, and with Tregian's obvious interest in music it is hardly credible to believe that they did not move in the same musical circles.

In addition to their direct personal contact, Tregian and Philips shared mutual friends and acquaintances. Philips gave the Antwerp poet, Richard Verstegan, a first-hand account of his eventful return journey from Amsterdam, and the latter relayed it to Father Persons in Rome;⁶⁰ the same Richard Verstegan prefaced his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (Antwerp, 1605) with a sonnet 'Fr. Tregian'; this almost certainly refers to the younger Francis Tregian, not his father. Verstegan was a key figure in the Catholic communications network in Europe, and in particular played an important rôle in the shipment of Catholic material to England.⁶¹ It is likely that Verstegan's channels of communication between England and the continent provided the means by which Philips could send his music over to Tregian. The Tregian family had connections with the Byrd family; Philips was one of Byrd's pupils.

It is possible that the links between Tregian and Philips extend back a generation: Tregian's father, the elder Francis Tregian, had a servant named John Philips. It is conceivable that John Philips was related to Peter Philips: however, Philips was not an uncommon name in the late sixteenth century, and there is no evidence other than the coincidence of a name to support the hypothesis.

⁶⁰This letter dates from January 1594, when Tregian was still in Rome, so it is possible that he first heard of Philips on the Catholic grapevine in Rome.

⁶¹For an account of his life, see the introduction to *Petti CRS*.

The Spelling of Philips's Name

The way in which Philips's name is spelt in the Tregian manuscripts often reveals the source of his music: in 3665 there are two five-part madrigals taken from a continental print which are attributed to 'Pietro Philippi', whereas the two which come from Morley's book are given to 'Peter Philipps'.⁶²

In the FVB the ascriptions of the first seven of Philips's pieces make use of the Flemish spelling 'Peeter'. After this the normal English spelling prevails. This signifies that Tregian's source used a Flemish spelling, but that after copying seven pieces Tregian assumed the spelling of his country of abode. The use of the Flemish spelling of Philips name occurs in no other source, which suggests that Tregian used a Netherlands source related to the composer for these pieces: Philips is known to have adapted fully to life in the Lowlands - for instance, the account of his trial in Verstegan's letter reveals that he could speak Dutch, and translated the accusations made against him - so the Flemish spelling of his name is consistent with the view that he was responsible for supplying Tregian with his music.

The Dated Pieces by Philips

The dates of the pieces in the FVB offer an insight into Philips's life and work. They appear to be accurate, since some are corroborated by independent evidence. The dates show that Philips was active as a keyboard composer in England before he left for the Continent: Tregian includes a *Pavana* dated 1580 which has the marginal annotation 'the first one Philips made', and *Fantasia-F* dated 1582 which may or may not date from before Philips left for

⁶²The evidence of the spelling of Philips's name in 3665 will be dealt with in the appropriate section.

the Continent in that same year.⁶³

The majority of the dated pieces seem to belong to his years in Antwerp. Only three pieces carry dates which show that they were composed when he was resident at the Brussels court: these are *Bon jour* (1602), *Amarilli* (1603), and *Margot* (1605). Significantly these are all intabulations of vocal models, a procedure almost unique to continental keyboard composers, and one which was particularly prevalent in the Netherlands. Although the other undated intabulations of vocal works could date from after Philips's move to the Brussels court, it is more likely that they are the products of his Antwerp years.

The association of the bulk of Philips's keyboard compositions with his years at Antwerp is revealing, because it helps to explain the absence of the liturgical keyboard pieces which might be expected of the highest paid organist at the archducal court at Brussels. In the letters from the ambassador to the northern provinces to Burghley regarding Philips's imprisonment in 1593 Gilpin writes of Philips's life in Antwerp that 'he maintained himself by teachinge of y^e virginals, being very cunning thereon'.⁶⁴ Elsewhere Gilpin expands on this, saying that 'he got his lyving by teaching of children in instruments havinge never had penny interteynement nor any money from ye kinge of spaine or his lieutenants'.⁶⁵ In Chapter 1 it was shown how Philips responded to the changing patterns of patronage in his career: at Antwerp he wrote madrigals and instrumental music for domestic performance at the houses of his civic patrons; at Brussels he wrote motets for the court chapel, and played on the organ liturgical music which did not need committing to paper.

⁶³Although it could be an early intabulation of a vocal piece written in Rome (see Preface), there are also English features, such as the syncopated cadence figures (e.g. Volume 3, no. 27, b. 14) which are typical of cadential progressions both in Byrd's and Morley's keyboard works.

⁶⁴Gilpin to Burghley, 11 September 1593.

⁶⁵Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593.

Peter Philips and the Transmission of other Music from the Continent

The date 1612 placed against Sweelinck's hexachord fantasy (no. 118) is the only other date to occur in the manuscript apart from those attached to the works of Byrd, Philips, and Tallis which have been considered above. It is the latest date, and has played a part in the discussion about when the FVB was compiled.

It is likely that Philips provided Tregian with his exemplar for this piece, and perhaps for some of the other continental music. A personal link between Philips and Sweelinck is documented: Philips visited Amsterdam in 1593; they may have met again on Sweelinck's visit to Antwerp in 1604 to buy a new harpsichord for the Amsterdam magistracy;⁶⁶ and according to Baudartius Philips honoured Sweelinck as 'a Phoebus or Apollo'.⁶⁷ It is significant that *Drexel*, one of the other two Tregian manuscripts, contains motets by Philips copied from a Phalèse print of 1612; Philips is the most probable source of the prints of his own music.

Peter Philips and the Transmission of English Music

The strong likelihood that Philips was responsible for supplying sources of continental music to Tregian comes as no surprise. However, there is evidence in the manuscript itself which seems to indicate that he was responsible also for supplying music written by English composers.

There is a note in the left-hand, outer margin of p. 226 next to line three which has been trimmed away, and is not all that clear. It reads 'Makn. la. | Philip. Do.' Presumably

⁶⁶Although Philips was at the Brussels court by 1604, his connections with Antwerp through the Phalèse publishing house were maintained. If he had made the effort in 1593 to go all the way to Amsterdam to see Sweelinck, it seems probable that he would have journeyed to Antwerp to renew the acquaintance.

⁶⁷See p. 23.

it applies to the piece on p. 226, the *Pavan* by Thomas Tomkins (no. 123). Although the meaning is far from clear, as is so often the case with Tregian's marginal annotations, 'Do.' is probably an abbreviation for 'donum', 'donatio', or the Italian 'dono', so the second line of the inscription tells us that the piece was given to Tregian by someone by the name of 'Philip'. Peter Philips is a likely contender, but without any other corroborating evidence linking the Tomkins piece to Philips it would not be possible to make such a claim with any degree of certainty.

Fortunately there is a setting of this *Pavan* by Philips which is preserved in 408. Philips therefore knew this piece and had a high enough regard for it to make a setting of it himself. Interestingly, it occurs also in an ensemble version, the third strain of which is printed in the article on Tomkins in *The New Grove* where it is described as 'one of the outstanding instrumental works of the entire period'.⁶⁸ This is a five-part piece, so Tomkins's keyboard version would appear to be the result of a process of intabulation analogous to that involved in Philips's intabulations for keyboard of his five-part consort works.

Tregian provides a good text for the consort piece in 3665: its inclusion in the at the end of the group of Philips's consort works suggests that he was responsible for the transmission of the consort piece as well as the keyboard intabulation. Philips appears to have had access to both the consort and keyboard versions of Tomkins's *Pavan*. In the light of the importance of intabulation technique in Philips's keyboard works (which will be discussed in Chapter 5), it seems likely that his setting was based on Tomkins's ensemble work.⁶⁹

⁶⁸P. le Huray, 'Tomkins', *New Grove*, 1980. The piece is edited in *Tomkins MB 59*, nos. 26a and 26b.

⁶⁹A possible connection between Philips and Tomkins will be explored further in Chapter 7.

408 is a late source for Philips's music, and the absence of his setting of Tomkins's Pavan in any English sources makes it likely that Philips composed it after his move to the continent. Although it is reasonable to suppose that Philips was responsible for the transmission of his own music and perhaps that of his continental colleagues to Tregian, there would be no reason to suppose that he was responsible for supplying Tregian with English music without the association of Philips's name with the piece by Tomkins. Tomkins was not an emigré, but lived and worked in England. Philips's provision of Tregian with the Tomkins piece has important implications, for it allows the possibility that Philips was responsible for the transmission of English music as well as continental. It seems that the Tomkins piece was distributed abroad where it fell into the hands of Peter Philips, who then sent it back to England as a part of his donation (or donations) to Tregian. It could even be that Philips was Tregian's contact with Byrd, who had been Philips's teacher, and that it was through Philips that Tregian obtained some of the pieces by Byrd that he copied.

Introduction

London, British Library, MS Egerton 3665 (3665) is one of three surviving manuscripts to have been copied by the younger Francis Tregian; it comprises a vast anthology of music in three to five parts and encompasses vocal motets and madrigals as well as the instrumental music with which we are primarily concerned. The manuscript is divided into sections according to the number of voices, and within them according to genre and composer. The composers represented are mainly of Italian and English nationality, the former reflecting the cultivated taste of a man who had lived in Italy as chamberlain to Cardinal Allen in the early 1590s.

The British Library acquired the volume at the sale of the Hurn Court Library, which had belonged to the Earl of Malmesbury, in the Spring of 1950. The music librarian, Bertram Schofield, and Thurston Dart immediately recognised the hand as being the same as that of the FVB.⁷⁰ Shortly after the discovery of 3665 Elizabeth Cole demonstrated beyond all doubt that the scribe of the FVB and 3665 could be identified as Francis Tregian the younger (1574-1619).⁷¹

Recently the manuscript has become available in an invaluable facsimile edition with an introduction by Frank A. D'Accone.⁷² The present work has made full use of this edition, but the original manuscript was also consulted. The facsimile does not reproduce the manuscript full size, which makes the text - particularly the annotations found in the margins - difficult to read to the point of illegibility. The manuscript itself is much clearer than the facsimile edition.

⁷⁰*Dart 1951*, pp. 205 seq.

⁷¹*Cole ML*, pp. 28 seq.

⁷²*London, British Library, MS Egerton 3665 ("The Tregian Manuscript")*, facs. edn. with an introduction by Frank A. D'Accone, Garland, New York and London, 1988.

Physical Description

Binding

On arrival at the British Library the binding of 3665 was in such poor condition that the folios were rebound in two volumes. Both have identical covers of maroon leather and cloth over board. Each volume is entitled 'Tregian Manuscript of Madrigals and Instrumental Music'. A remnant of an earlier eighteenth-century binding of brown half-leather tooled in gold is affixed to the inside of the front cover of the first volume: this carries the title 'MANUSCRIPT MUSICK'. There is no trace of the original collation since the folios are individually mounted.

The Paper

The leaves measure 412 mm high by 266 mm wide. At present, pp. 1-392 (folios 1-198) comprise the first volume, and the remainder of the manuscript can be found in the second. The folios of the first volume are preceded by a modern flyleaf; the first four leaves are unruled and unpaginated, but two carry an incomplete index in a mid-seventeenth-century hand. There are eight additional pages and a modern flyleaf at the end. Likewise, the second volume has a modern flyleaf at the start; at the end it has a folio (numbered iv) that was reconstructed in 1951 from nine paper strips recovered from an earlier binding. In addition, there are two photocopies of folios from 3665's companion volume, Drexel (numbered v and vi), two further folios, and a modern flyleaf.

The manuscript is divided into sections which group the pieces by their number of parts, genre, and composer. The music is copied across the pages of each opening, except at the start of some of the main sections of the manuscript: at the beginning of a section the copying begins on a *recto*, with no music written on the *verso* of the previous folio.

The pages are numbered by the scribe 1-1034. However, Tregian's numbering excludes a number of leaves, strips, and scraps which carry music;⁷³ there is a modern pencil foliation which includes these. The presence of these leaves indicates that the manuscript was arranged in its present form after the music was copied; this contrasts with the practice of the scribe in compiling the FVB. On a number of occasions the re-ordering of the manuscript necessitated re-copying some folios. For example, in Section 8, on the unnumbered page on the *verso* of p. 303, there are two madrigals by Monteverdi later included in Section 9,⁷⁴ but here obscured deliberately by a new folio numbered p. 304 affixed to it. In Section 6, the *recto* of f. 87, the other side of the folio from p. 173, is identical to p. 149 (f. 75), except for the addition of a sketch at the bottom. This shows that originally Ferrabosco's motets finished with no. 31, the last piece on p. 173, and that the manuscript continued with the five-part section of his madrigals (pp. 174 seq.). Then Tregian decided to insert some more motets, so he recopied one page, covered over the duplicated page, and inserted some extra folios. It is clear that Tregian copied complete sections of the manuscript in an unbound format: whilst the double-page layout means that music had to be copied with the folios assembled in the correct order, the presence of duplicates of some pages which were made upon the reorganization of the manuscript's structure shows that the folios were not actually bound.⁷⁵

Tregian left annotations in the margins of his manuscripts: these, as well as the page numbers, have been clipped by the trimming of the pages, presumably at an earlier binding.

⁷³Details of these can be found in *D'Accone*, p. vi.

⁷⁴These are incomplete because the music reads across each opening, so only half of the music is present.

⁷⁵It is worth observing that 3665 contains a fair number of empty folios, a feature usually associated with manuscripts bound before use. This shows that evidence such as this should be used with caution: the presence of empty folios need not mean that it was bound prior to the entry of the music.

In a few cases, the trimming of the folios was so severe as to clip the clefs at the beginning of the lines.⁷⁶ It is possible that they were trimmed at the first time of binding. However, two of the titles which occur for the main sections of the manuscript have been clipped in the trimming process, and replaced in a different hand. The original title of the second section (p. 33) is in a lighter coloured ink than that of the music, but it is in Tregian's hand. At this point in the manuscript the words of the madrigals are in a brown ink which does not correspond to that of the music, showing that the texts were added afterwards. The ink colour of the texts is not the same as the title: Tregian appears to have added the title at a different time from both the music and its texts. The top of Tregian's title has been clipped in the process of trimming, and has been replaced with a title in a different hand. The title of section 3 on p. 65 has not been clipped so severely. In this case the topmost title is in the same ink as the music, and it is in Tregian's hand. The bottom title which has been substituted for the partially clipped one is not in Tregian's hand, and uses an ink which is darker than that in which the music is written. The hand in which the trimmed titles have been replaced is characteristic of the seventeenth century, suggesting that the trimming of the folios dates from the same period, and not from the eighteenth-century binding in which it was received by the British Library.

The trimming of the pages was not carried out by Tregian, otherwise the replacement titles would be in his hand. However, the fact that all of his manuscripts appear to have suffered in this way suggests that the trimming of the folios dates from the same time. This means that it probably dates from the seventeenth century, shortly after they left Tregian's possession.

D'Accone noted the presence of a watermark of a Post with the date 1613.⁷⁷

⁷⁶pp. 556 and 558.

⁷⁷*D'Accone*, p. vi.

However, this watermark occurs only once, and is to be found on a strip of paper (labelled f. 516) covering f. 517. This strip was probably added at the time at which the manuscript was assembled, which was considerably later than 1613, so the presence of this watermark is not significant: the date does not provide evidence of the time at which copying began. Excluding the flyleaves, there are two main watermark types in 3665; these are illustrated in Example II.1, alongside the watermarks from FVB. The following table shows their location in the manuscript:

WATERMARKS IN 3665	
Page	Watermark Type (1 or 2)
1-32	2
33-64	1 and 2
65-232	2
233-254	1
255-306	2 (except folio 154 [an unpaginated strip] = 1)
307-392	1
393-834	2
835-998	1 [1 of the sieves produces a very faint watermark]
999-1016	1 and 2
1017-end	2 [and one strip of the dated watermark 3, f. 516]

Watermark 1 is the more interesting of the two: it incorporates the crozier and balls design found in the watermarks of the FVB. This suggests that the source of paper for both manuscripts was the same, and that Tregian had access to his supplier for a long period of time, including the term of his imprisonment. Hence Tregian probably obtained his supply of paper in England, even if it was imported from elsewhere, which supports the view that

Example II.1

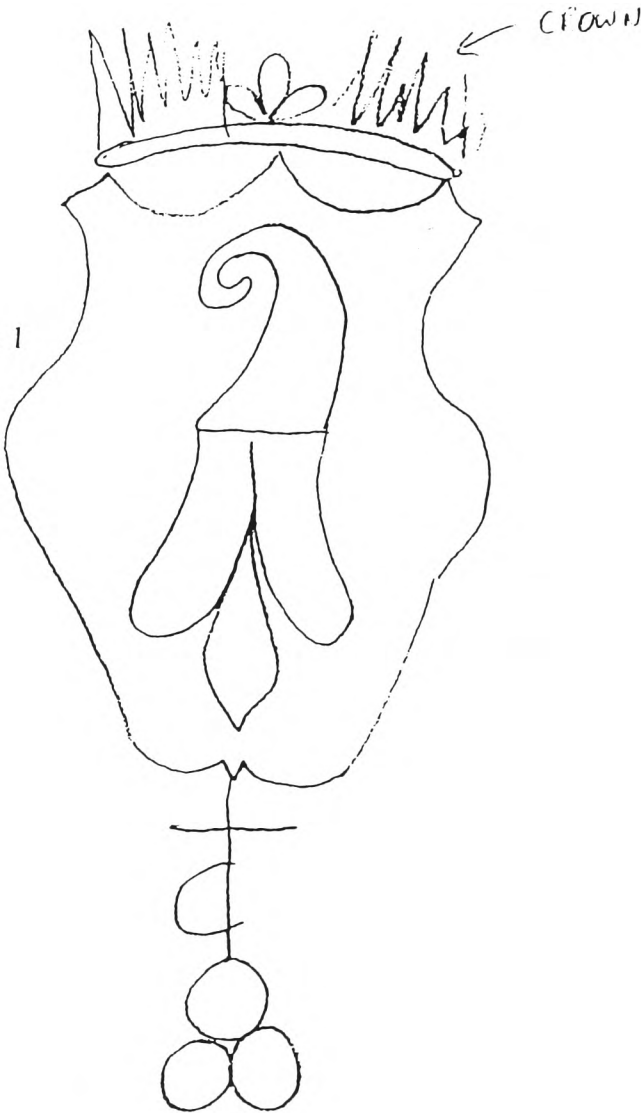


FVB, Watermark 1



Arms of the canton
of Basel-Stadt
(head of a bishop's
crozier) - Volborth,
Heraldry of the World,
p. 113

3665, Watermark 1

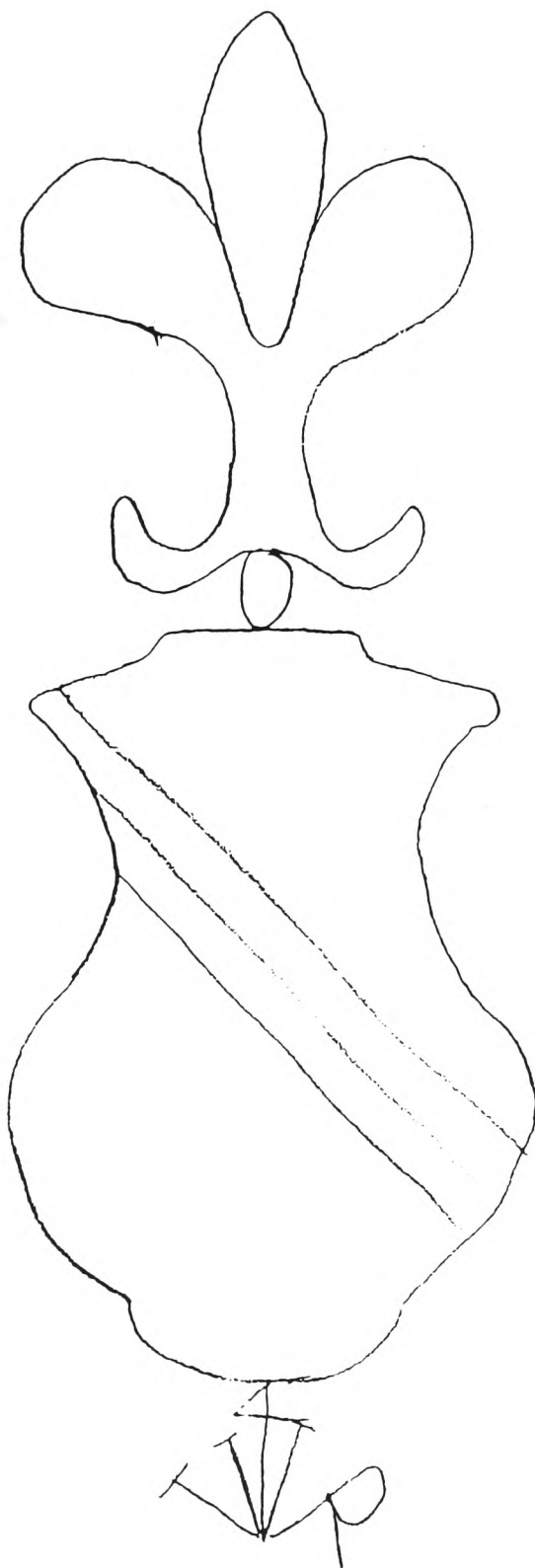


NOT ALWAYS
PRESENT →

FVB, Watermark 2

87b

3665, Watermark 2



the Tregian manuscripts were copied entirely in England.

Rastration

All the folios appear to have been rastrated in advance of the music entry, and barlines were pre-ruled with between 22 and 25 bars to a line. There are ruled inner and outer margins. There are forty-nine ruled but otherwise empty pages;⁷⁸ f. 154^v is completely blank. The empty pages tend to correspond with the structural divisions of the manuscript: the volume is organized primarily into sections according to the number of voice parts, and Tregian appears to have ruled more folios for each section than he used. Indeed, Section 4 is unusual in following on from Section 3 without any intervening empty leaves.

The folios containing music in three parts have eighteen staves to the page, grouped to form six systems. The pages of four-part pieces have twenty staves to the page, grouped as five systems. The pages of five-part pieces again have twenty staves to the page, but grouped to form four systems.

Occasionally one staff in a system is not straight, showing that a single-staff rastrum was used.⁷⁹ Two sizes of single-staff rastrum were used in 3665: one was used to rastrate the pages for three-part works; the other was used for the rest of the manuscript.⁸⁰

⁷⁸These are pages 30-32, 64, 84-85, 100, 170-172, 366-392, 994-998, 1012-1016, 1020, 1034.

⁷⁹For example, p. 64, ii, staff 2.

⁸⁰The difference in size was a millimetre, but the measurement had to be taken from the photographically reduced facsimile so the real difference is somewhat greater.

Scribal Practice

There is one hand in 3665, that of Francis Tregian.⁸¹ Tregian's hand is neat and clear throughout, and is remarkably consistent. There is not even the variation in size found in the FVB. On pp. 402-403 there are some paste-ons over some staves of Tregian's own piece which occurs on these pages: these stand out from the rest of the manuscript because the hand is finer and smaller, so they were presumably added some time later, after it had been bound. However, an examination of the manuscript from the first page to the last shows a consistency which suggests that the manuscript must have been compiled over a relatively short period of time. This may mean that the FVB was the first of the Tregian manuscripts to be started, and that work began on 3665 and Drexel sometime later.

There are very few errors in copying, although D'Accone observes that there are variations in the spelling of the text in works which carry one when these are compared with concordant sources.⁸² Where a text is present, it is given only once, under the bass part: if the bass is resting it migrates to the next part up.

Tregian probably copied into score from partbooks, using one at a time rather than working on all of them at once. In Section 9, no. 213/41 (*Ingiustitia d'Amor* by Coprario), the bass part is missing. Tregian has fleshed in the final bass notes of the cadence, but there is nothing in the bass for the rest of the piece. This indicates that Tregian worked through the partbooks one at a time, probably working from the top to the bottom.

⁸¹Except for the addition of titles to replace those which have been trimmed, and some large crosses which are placed by selected pieces by an unknown writer in pencil, who also adds some other symbols which also have no clear meaning.

⁸²D'Accone, p. vi.

The ties and semibreves of 3665 conform with modern notational practice rather than the idiosyncratic forms which evolved in the FVB. In the FVB Tregian began to use breve final chords regardless of context, and this is also the practice in 3665.

The barlines are pre-ruled, and hence of a fixed length. Generally Tregian fits a semibreve's worth of music into a bar. Sometimes he fits only half a bar of his exemplar into a bar of the manuscript, and writes '½' against it. Alternatively, if two bars of the original will fit into one of his bars, then he will indicate this by writing '2' against the bar concerned.

Each piece is numbered at the start. Works are separated by three bars; the number is positioned in the middle bar. Attributions of works to composers are positioned at the end of each piece, and are given following the symbol ~ even when no text is present; when there is a text, the symbol serves to divide the end of the text from the ascription. Tregian shows the same interest in numbers in 3665 as he does in FVB: he writes '174' at the end of piece no. 7 on p. 111, the total number of semibreves in the piece.

Tregian is as concerned here as in the FVB to cross-reference pieces: he adds details of how the separate parts of a madrigal relate to one another only on those rare occasions on which he has not copied them consecutively: for example, on p. 201, ii he writes '2^a Parte della | Sestina. A la dolce | Vedi. pag. 221'; the first part of the madrigal (*Sestina*) is to be located on p. 221. At the end of a section of Ferrabosco's music, he refers the reader to more works by the same composer later in the manuscript with 'Piu Vedi | di Alfonso | pag. 976'.

The Meaning of the Small Crosses and Triangles

The small crosses to be found in the FVB occur also in 3665. They are particularly prevalent in the early stages of the manuscript, Section 1. Here, in almost all cases, the cross appears to be related to technical errors, most commonly consecutive octaves or fifths. On

one occasion the technical fault seems to be an unprepared dissonance between the top two parts (p. 20, vi, 5). On p. 12, ii, bar 17 a cross is used to mark an entry in the middle part on a *D* which conflicts with a *C* sounding in the bass. Similarly, crosses point to the resultant clash between an *A* in the second part and an entry on a *G* in the fourth part on p. 322, ii, 1.

Sometimes crosses are used to mark points of interest rather than 'grammatical' errors: on p. 61, iv, 14 there is a cross by the first of a series of imitative entries; on p. 78, iii, 13 crosses appear to show nothing more than thirds between the cantus and tenor. On occasion they may have been added to draw attention to where the parts cross (perhaps to aid study at the keyboard): on p. 109, i, 5 crosses indicate the movement of one part from *E* to a *C* as another part moves from *C* to *E*, thus exchanging notes; on p. 118, ii, 21 there is a cross against the last note of the middle part as it moves above the second part. Sometimes Tregian uses a cross to point to a place where two parts converge upon a unison note (p. 191, ii, 20 between staves 3 and 4; p. 201, i, 16 between the bottom two staves). Piece no. 15 on pp. 410-411 provides a particularly striking example of this practice: there are frequent unisons between the two cantus parts, and some between other parts, each marked with a cross. On p. 427, iv, 21 there are four crosses, but they do no more than to show unison and octaves between parts: on the second beat, two crosses mark octaves between voices one and three; on the fourth beat two more mark the unison between voices three and five. In p. 342, i, 1 crosses are used to mark an 'English cadence'.

On p. 20, vi, 18 there is a small triangle accompanied by 'Note sol. la': this refers not to the music, but to the text which reads 'se. la'. A triangle is also used to point to a flat misplaced next to an *A* in p. 148, iii, 20.

On rare occasions a cross seems to have been used to mark an error which was then corrected: on p. 79, ii, staff 2, 13 a cross is accompanied by sign of erasure and correction. In b. 12 of p. 335, iv there is a cross by a correction of a *G* to an *A* in the third voice. On

p. 164, iv there is a cross in b. 10 above an erased note which is tied into the next bar. Tregian found that he did not have enough space to indicate clearly what the note should be, so extended the appropriate line of the staff at the beginning of the line and placed the correct note on it with a corresponding cross. Here a cross is used to link a correction to its place in the musical text. Sometimes crosses are used in conjunction with dashes to mark out a section in one voice which is - to use the word which Tregian adds in the margin on such occasions - 'false'.⁸³

The large 'double' crosses in the margins occur more frequently in 3665 than in the FVB. It is difficult to establish their meaning by discerning a regular pattern because they occur most frequently in the outer margins, so that many have been clipped by the trimming of the folios, suggesting that still others are missing from the manuscript as it has come down to us. They appear to be functional rather than purely decorative, but as yet no clear pattern has emerged, and there is no clue to their meaning. The frequency with which they occur varies from section to section: some pages have at least one per staff, but some sections of the manuscript - the works of Lupo and Deering - lack them altogether.

The Organization of the Manuscript

The contents of 3665 are organized systematically, first by the number of parts, and secondly by composer or exemplar. Tregian divides the manuscript up into eleven main sections, giving each a title:

⁸³For an example, see p. 293, ii to p. 292, iii, 3rd voice.

No.	Pages	Tregian's Title
1	1-29	Villanelle. a. 3.
2	33-63	Madrigali. a. 4. di Luca Marenzo.
3	65-83	Fantasie a 4 di Alfonso Ferabosco. il figliuolo.
4	86-93	Madrigalette. di Alf. Ferabosco il Giovane
5	94-99	Arie di F. Anerio.
6	101-169	Mottetti di Alfonso Ferabosco Senior. a. 5.
7	174-232	Madrigali di Alfonso Ferabosco Seniore a 5.
8	233-365	Fantasie.
9	393-993	Madrigali a 5 di Diversi Autori
10	999-1011	Fantasie et Pavano a 5 di Alfonso Ferabosco il figinolo
11	1017-1199	Canzone et Pavane di diversi

As with FVB, Tregian uses two complementary numbering systems: however, where FVB numbers each piece consecutively, 3665 begins a new sequence with each new section in the manuscript. The second numbering system corresponds to the practice in the FVB: Tregian keeps track of the works by individual composers. In sections 8 and 9, the contents of which make up the bulk of the manuscript, both numbering systems exist side by side. In sections 3, 4, 6, and 7 only one number is necessary since the two systems coincide. Similarly, sections 2 and 5 have only one layer of numbering: both have additional pieces at the end, some of which are numbered, some of which are not. Section 1 has both levels of numbering for the first fifty pieces by Marenzio, even though they coincide; the main numbering continues at no. 51 for the some anonymous works, and the second level is re-introduced for groups of pieces by Coprario.

The numbering of the instrumental pieces in the last two sections tends to be less systematic: they are often given titles rather than numbers. Dart and Schofield were the first to point out that Tregian had a change of plan shortly after starting work on the eighth section: some pages have been cut out, and others inserted in such a way that the music and

pagination would continue logically. Whilst the numbering of the works of groups of pieces by individual composers remains consecutive for the most part, the main numbering system was destroyed, such that nos. 1-17 are followed by 174-220, and then 63-106.⁸⁴ However, except for this section, Tregian's numbering remains accurate. It would seem from the evidence of the change of mind in section 8 that the piece numbers were inserted as the copying process progressed, but that the page numbers were added after the work was complete. The presence of numbers at the ends of sections anticipating a piece which was never copied confirms this.⁸⁵ Similarly, it is suggested by the presence of pieces without numbers at the end of Section 2: if the numbers had been added after compilation, then every piece would be numbered. If the numbers were added as the manuscript was copied, then the disruption of the main sequence of numbering in Section 8 confirms that the volume was bound after copying.

Since both numbering systems start afresh at the start of each new section, Tregian was able to put the numbers in during the copying process without the risk that they would not be consecutive when the manuscript was put together at the end of the copying. This provides an interesting contrast to *FVB* where Tregian starts numbering the pieces consecutively from the start of the manuscript. In the *FVB* the numbers for the works of individual composers appear to have been entered after the manuscript was assembled. The contrast in practice between these two Tregian manuscripts can be explained by reference to their contents. In 3665 Tregian frequently copied entire prints, so it made sense to write the numbers in as he worked. However, in the *FVB* the sources were probably more diffuse, so

⁸⁴See the table of contents in Appendix 2.

⁸⁵A number is given for a one hundred and twenty-eighth piece at the end of the section of three-part pieces, but it is followed by empty staves. A number '10' has been copied in preparation for a tenth Anerio piece in Section 5, but instead there is a gap before some fantasias by Eustache du Caurroy. At the end of Section 6 there is an extra number (44) for a piece that was never copied.

it was better to leave the numbering of individual composers' works to the end.

The Purpose of the Manuscript

3665 raises interesting questions of how - or indeed whether - its repertory was performed.⁸⁶ Although most of its contents comprises vocal music, the text occurs only under the bass part, or is sometimes indicated by a short textual incipit. This may be a reflection of the purpose for which the manuscript was compiled: Tregian was scoring up music from partbooks in order to study; he was more interested in technical musical matters than in texts, and this is reflected in the use of small crosses to point to technical grammatical errors in the music. However, the matter cannot be so easily explained: in Section 6, devoted primarily to motets by Ferrabosco, there are two *In nomine* settings. The part carrying the plainsong is marked 'In Nomine' in one, and the bass part is similarly marked in the other: this could be construed as being either a title or a textual incipit. The important point is that they are included in this section at all. Either they are vocal *In nomine* settings (perhaps intended to be sung to solmization syllables), or they are instrumental works misplaced in a section of vocal pieces, or all the pieces in this section are intended for instrumental performance.

Section 8 is given over to 'Fantasie', a word which to the modern reader implies instrumental music. However, although they do not carry texts under the bass, Tregian provides many of these pieces with textual incipits. Sometimes these involve just one word (for example, the Coprario pieces, Section 8, nos. 182-183, 264-267). The similarity with the *In nomine* settings is clear: in all these pieces only a textual incipit is given. In the case of the Coprario pieces, they are clearly conceived as instrumental works, yet equally they

⁸⁶These have been addressed with specific reference to the works of Coprario by Richard Charteris in *Charteris* 1976.

evidently had texts at some point. The distinction between vocal and instrumental is far from clear: it may be that these pieces represent the contents of an exemplar containing instrumental intabulations of vocal pieces, or simply untexted partbooks. Note that the end of Section 1 consists of three-part textless pieces by Coprario, again with short Italian incipits.

Tregian reinforces the main title of Section 8 for a group of pieces taken from a print published by Michael East in 1610 by placing a heading 'Fantasie' above the first of them, Section 8 no. 70. However, these pieces have Italian incipits which might be taken to imply vocal performance. Note that the title of the exemplar implies a similar ambiguity: the print is *The third set of bookes wherein are pastorals, anthemes, neopolitanes, fancies, to five and six parts: apt both for viols and voyces* (emphasis is editorial). Tregian chose to see these particular works as instrumental, but included their titles from the print.⁸⁷

Section 9 is devoted to madrigals, according to its title. However, the very first piece appears to be instrumental, a fantasia on 'ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la'. There is no text: the solmization syllables are all that are given. No texts are included in this section until no. 5. It is possible that some kind of vocalized performance was intended. However, D'Accone notes that the start of Section 9 is chaotically organized, suggesting that Tregian had not yet decided how the section was to be planned.⁸⁸ The inclusion of a piece which is so evidently intended for instruments in a section avowedly devoted to vocal madrigals suggests that this was perhaps the first section which Tregian copied. Several other factors support this hypothesis. Firstly, it has been established that the folios were not bound at the time the music was copied. Secondly, there is a considerable gap between Section 9 and the previous

⁸⁷Tregian gives a reference to the print, so we know that he was not copying from an intermediate source.

⁸⁸D'Accone, p. viii.

section, created by a large number of empty folios: this is analogous to the gap between the two layers of the FVB. The title 'Madrigali a 5 Diversi Autori' is a general one: the five-part sections of music by specified composers were probably begun once substantial sources of their music had become available. Similarly, it is likely that the three- and four- part sections were later: the latest source which Tregian used comes in Section 2.

The ambiguity of 3665 in matters of performance is created in part by the way in which Tregian entered the music. There is evidence to suggest that the texts were added after the music. In the section containing four-part madrigals by Marenzio which begins on p. 33 the words are written in a light brown ink, contrasting with the black ink of the music. Although in as vast an undertaking as the compilation of the Tregian manuscripts it would be unwise to assume that this practice remained the norm, it does suggest that the words had a secondary importance for Tregian.

3665 constitutes a vast anthology of music - both vocal and instrumental - which has been transferred from partbooks to score. The question of instrumental versus vocal performance may not strictly be relevant: Tregian copied the music from partbooks into score for private study, perhaps to play through at the keyboard; there is no evidence that it was ever intended for performance.⁸⁹ None the less, the careful organization of 3665 into sections corresponding to genre, number of vocal parts, composer, and prints from which the music was taken, means that it is possible to give some significance to the placement of the *In nomine* settings. There was undoubtedly a greater fluidity in genre designation in the early seventeenth century than we may imagine. It may be that Tregian's manuscript offers a

⁸⁹An exception is a set of partbooks (Oxford, Christ Church Library, MSS 510-514) discovered by Pamela Willetts which contain fragments of a set of part-books copied by Tregian. The pieces here were copied from 3665: it may be that Tregian compiled the manuscript for study and as a reference book from which he could copy parts for those pieces that he wanted to perform (see *Willetts*).

unique insight into the way a seventeenth-century musician would have thought about music: Tregian provides a fundamental score from which either vocal or instrumental parts could be made, and from which it would be possible to make - or even play - a keyboard setting.

Tregian's Sources

Tregian provides valuable information about the sources from which he was copying in annotations made in the margins and by the titles of pieces. He appears to have used both prints and manuscript sources. Tregian does not always cite his sources, but the work of Thurston Dart⁹⁰ and Frank D'Accone⁹¹ has done much to establish them. D'Accone shows that Tregian frequently copied the entire contents of a print consecutively.

There is nothing to be gained by reiterating D'Accone's findings, since the facsimile edition is readily available. However, D'Accone offers a catalogue of concordant sources to which he has added the numbers of the pieces in 3665 that were taken from them: in Appendix 2 the same information is given, but with the sources placed against the pieces.

Prints: Music by Individual Composers

Many sections in the manuscript comprise a copy of an entire print, but in the case of a popular composer his works might pass through several reprints or editions. Most of the Italian music in 3665 was first printed in Italy, usually at Venice or Rome, and it should not be forgotten that Tregian lived in Rome as Cardinal Allen's steward at the end of the sixteenth century. This in part accounts for Tregian's taste for composers currently in fashion during his years in Italy, although the works of these composers continued to remain popular

⁹⁰Dart 1951, pp. 209-216.

⁹¹Introduction to *D'Accone*.

in Italy and outside well into the seventeenth century.⁹² Hence a number of Italian prints were reissued by Pierre Phalèse in Antwerp. This means that it is just as possible that Tregian obtained his copies of prints, first published at the end of the sixteenth century, in editions produced in the Netherlands in the first decade and a half of the seventeenth century.

There are instances where it is clear that the source used by Tregian was a Phalèse reprint. The inclusion of *villanelle* by Marenzio in the first section of the manuscript suggests strongly that, at least in some cases, a later Antwerp reprint was used rather than the Italian original. The first fifty pieces in 3665 are taken from the first five books of *canzonette* and *villanelle*, originally published in Venice and Rome between 1584 and 1587. They were often reprinted, the last time by Phalèse in 1610. It is significant that the Phalèse edition placed all the pieces in one volume: hence, it is not too much of a surprise to find that Tregian's selection of pieces encompasses all five of the original prints.

In the case of other composers the situation is less clear cut: for example, Section 5 contains nine *arie* from Felice Anerio's first book of *Canzonette a Quattro Voci* published by Giacomo Vincenti and Ricciardo Amadino in Venice in 1586. Anerio was one of the leading composers of his day active in Rome, and it is perfectly possible that Tregian obtained his copy during his sojourn there in 1592-1594. However, the volume was reprinted five times in all, the last time by the Antwerp publishing house of Pierre Phalèse in 1610, so it could be that - as with the Marenzio *villanelle* - Tregian obtained these pieces from the Phalèse print.

Although some prints used by Tregian were reissues from the publisher Pierre Phalèse, it can be shown that others were not reprints from the early seventeenth century, but dated as far back as the 1580s. For example, he indicates in a marginal note that he possessed

⁹²In particular, Tregian shares a predilection for Marenzio with Philips.

Lucrezio Quintiani's *Primo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci* of 1588, from which he copied all twenty madrigals. Most of Section 9 comprises works by individual composers, in particular Monteverdi and Benedetto Pallavicino: except for a few pieces, the entire contents of Monteverdi's first five books of madrigals are present; only Books 3 to 5 were reprinted by Phalèse, so Italian prints were presumably used.⁹³ Many of the prints used by Tregian were reprinted in Italy well into the seventeenth century, and no doubt found their way to the Spanish Netherlands via Italian merchants. Tregian may well have received both Italian reprints and those of Phalèse from his contacts in the Spanish Netherlands.

There are some cases where Tregian can be shown to have had access to more than one exemplar of a work: Schofield and Dart observed that five of the madrigals by Ferrabosco in Section 7 had Italian texts, so were presumably taken from the Italian prints of his madrigals published by Angelo Gardano in 1587, but also had English titles in the margin from the English versions to be found in Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, published in London in 1597.⁹⁴ Tregian includes another piece from Yonge's anthology, which has traces (a single word, 'Wine') of the English title 'The wine that I so dearly got'. However, in this case no Italian original is known: Tregian does not include a text.

Tregian refers to prints which have not survived into the twentieth century. He copied seven madrigals from the seventh book of madrigals by Girolamo Belli, which is no longer extant. Tregian tells us that Mogens Pederson's second book, from which he took ten works, was published in 1611: this too has not survived.

⁹³Unless there were reprints of the first two books by Phalèse which are today unknown.

⁹⁴*Dart 1951*, p. 212.

Prints: Anthologies

Amongst the anthologies which Tregian copied there seems to be a predominance of northern prints of the very last years of the sixteenth century and the opening decade of the seventeenth century. Particularly worthy of note are the nineteen works drawn from Phalèse's *Paradiso Musicale* (Antwerp, 1596), and the twenty pieces from his *Novi Frutti Musicali* (Antwerp, 1610). Madrigals from Italian prints are fewer in number than those from northern presses, and tend to date from earlier.

The Cut-off Point for Tregian's Sources

Tregian used a number of prints which must have been shipped to him from the continent. The latest dated source used by him is the print *Madrigali a Cinque Voci di Antonio Cifra maestro di capella nella Santa Casa di Loreto Libro Terzo*, published in Venice by G. Vincenti in 1615. This is the latest date to be associated with any of the Tregian manuscripts, and marks the cut-off point for his sources. The year 1615 marks that of publication, so it is reasonable to suppose that Tregian acquired it some time afterwards. It is possible that Tregian gained access to some earlier prints after 1615. It is known that Tregian was imprisoned in the Fleet by 1614, so the presence of works taken from a print of 1615 shows that he was in receipt of material whilst in prison. Cunningham argues that Tregian collected his sources before starting work, and placed the commencement of copying at about 1612 before Tregian went to prison.⁹⁵ The inclusion of the Cifra print amongst Tregian's sources disproves this hypothesis: Tregian continued to receive prints whilst he was in prison, and probably copied material as it became available to him.

⁹⁵Cunningham, p. 13.

D'Accone argues that Tregian copied prints as he obtained them. Section 9 forms the bulk of the manuscript, and is made up mostly of material copied from prints. D'Accone has observed that it begins in a way which suggests that Tregian was unsure of how it was to be organized. The earlier works in this section come from some of Tregian's earliest exemplars. There are seven madrigals by Monteverdi (nos. 8-14), all of which occur in Paulus Kaufmann's *Fiori del Giardino*, Nuremberg, 1597. These works had been included by the composer in his second and third books of madrigals, prints also used by Tregian in 3665. D'Accone writes that 'it may ... mean that Tregian did not have at hand many of the volumes he subsequently used and that he scored blocks of works from printed sources only as they became available to him, which would also explain why the works of the most frequently represented composers do not appear consecutively.'⁹⁶ If D'Accone is right, then this shows that the chronology of the prints need not reflect the order in which Tregian obtained them.

Manuscript Sources: The Royal Library

Although Tregian was eventually imprisoned for his recusancy, a religious offence which hinged on his loyalty to the state, it appears that Tregian had access to the Royal library. Tregian states in the margin that he copied *Italia mia* (Section 9, no. 479) 'ex libris Henr. 8. circa | annum 1520'.⁹⁷ Indeed, it appears that Tregian had access to other volumes from the King's library: at the end of the first piece of Section 6 there is a note in the margin 'Reg[is] | Mott[etti]'.⁹⁸ A connection with the royal library is also suggested by some

⁹⁶D'Accone, p. ix.

⁹⁷The part-books from which the piece was taken are still extant, and are now held in the Newberry Library, Chicago. There is a modern edition by Colin Slim, who demonstrates the connection between the sources by reference to the duplication of a scribal error (*Slim*, p. 7).

⁹⁸**Drexel** contains two more pieces described as 'Ex libris | Henri 8 | circa ā | 1520'. The second is 'in laudem | Henrici. 7.' Both have a cantus firmus with the text 'Henricus (continued...)

biographical information provided for Philip van Wilder, whom Tregian identifies as a musician at the court of Henry VIII in the ascription of a piece to him.⁹⁹

John Bergsagel has shown that Tregian had contact with a group of Danish musicians who were in the service of Queen Anne between 1611 and 1614.¹⁰⁰ Tregian included works taken from prints by Mogens Pedersøn and Melchior Borchgrevinck in **3665**; more significantly, there is a pavan by Jacob Ørn (= 'Jacomo Aquilino') in **Drexel**, the continuation of **3665**. It is likely that Tregian obtained access to manuscripts from the royal library through his association with the Queen's musicians.¹⁰¹ It follows that these manuscripts, although representing the earliest pieces in the collection, were obtained along with the prints sometime between 1611 and 1614.

Peter Philips and Tregian's Supply of Sources

It has been shown that Tregian acquired at least some of his sources after his imprisonment in 1613/14. These were continental prints which must have been sent to him. In addition, a high proportion of the music is contained in Phalèse prints published in the Lowlands well after Tregian's return to England. Peter Philips was an important figure in the transmission of continental and English keyboard music in the **FVB**; an examination of **3665** and **Drexel** shows that he was equally important in the supply of Tregian with sources of

⁹⁸(...continued)

Dei gratia Angliae rex'. The association of these pieces with Henry VII rather than Henry VIII makes it more likely that they were taken from a source from the Royal Library than that they were copied from a book which had been associated with Henry VIII by tradition.

⁹⁹p. 57, v, end of work: 'Maestro Phillippo. di Fiandra. chi Visse circa | l'Anno. 1520. in Inghilterra; musico | del Re Henrico octauo'. This is an example of an annotation difficult to make out in the facsimile edition, but which is perfectly clear in the manuscript.

¹⁰⁰*Bergsagel*, pp. 9 seq.

¹⁰¹Tregian was not in prison at this point in time as Bergsagel thought, so it was not necessarily the case that the musicians sought Tregian out (*Bergsagel*, p. 13).

vocal music.

In 1622 Henry Peacham writes that Philips sent over vocal music.¹⁰² Although Peacham is evidently thinking of Philips's own works, it is quite possible that he would have been responsible for the dissemination of other prints published by Phalèse. The relationship between Philips and the Phalèse publishing house must have been quite good, for not only did Phalèse publish all of Philips's vocal music, but also he entrusted him with editing an anthology, *Melodia Olympica*, 1591. The connection between Tregian and the poet Richard Verstegan has already been mentioned in connection with the supply of Philips's keyboard music,¹⁰³ and it is likely that Verstegan was the channel through which Philips was able to provide Tregian with prints of vocal music.

Philips and the Transmission of his Instrumental Music

In 3665 Philips is represented by instrumental dances, both original works of his own and arrangements of the works of others. Some of these may have been composed before Philips's departure for the continent in 1582, but the keyboard version of the *Dolorosa Pavan* is dated 1593 in the FVB, a date confirmed by other evidence. It is reasonable to assume that the other dates given for Philips's keyboard works in the FVB are also accurate. These mostly date from after Philips's departure for the continent, which means that it is more probable that Philips sent these pieces to Tregian than that Tregian obtained them from

¹⁰²Quoted in the Preface.

¹⁰³see p. 76.

English sources. Philips's instrumental ensemble works were never printed, and most are unique to 3665. The inclusion of *unica* in 3665 confirms the connection between Philips and Tregian.

Philips and the Transmission of English Music

There is evidence in 3665 to show that Philips gave English music to Tregian. There is a marginal note which may be a reference to Philips: as with most such notes, it is incomplete because of the trimming of the folio on which it occurs, so it should be used only with caution. It occurs on p. 314 in the left hand margin parallel to the first system. It reads '...di | [Ph]ilippi'. In 3665 the ascriptions of most of Philips's music makes use of the Italian form of his name: most of the word 'Philippi' is present in this annotation. The system against which it is placed contains the end of Section 8, no. 69 and the start of no. 70. No. 70 is the first of a set of pieces taken from a collection published by Michael East in London in 1610, so it is unlikely that Philips was responsible for supplying them to Tregian.¹⁰⁴ No. 69 is an *In nomine* setting by Nicholas Stogers, so perhaps the note is attached to this piece. Its composer is represented also in the FVB, significantly by a piece which occurs immediately after the Philips group. Nicholas Stogers (fl. 1560-1575) belongs to an earlier generation of composers, one whose works would have been familiar to the young Peter Philips before his departure for the continent. He was Parish Clerk at St Dunstan in the West, London, 1564-75. His music is often found with that of Byrd and Parsons, so he may have associated with them in 1560s. The idea that Philips was responsible for the transmission of this piece is not implausible.

¹⁰⁴Tregian actually cites the date of the source under the number of the first piece.

Section 11: 'Canzone e Pavane di diversi'

The title 'Canzone e Pavane di diversi' for the last section of 3665 is misleading, for with the exception of the first pieces by Farrant, all the works it contains are dances, and all but six of these have some connection with Philips.

Warwick Edwards provides an account of the structure of Section 11 which may be summarised in tabular form:¹⁰⁵

Sub-group	Nos.	Contents	Comments
1	1177	Pavan, Daniel Farrant	Isolated from other pieces by blank staves
2	1178-1189	Philips	Numbered sequence of dances ascribed to Philips
3	1190-1193	Bassano	Copied from a different source: 1. starts on new opening 2. Pieces no longer numbered 3. Different appearance of ink and noteheads 4. No attributions to Philips
	1194-1195	Ferrabosco & Lupo	
4	1196-1200	Philips	Reverts to Philips source
	1201	Tomkins Pavan	

Holman points out that Tregian could have obtained the dances by Philips direct from the composer when both men were at the Brussels court in 1603, and believes that they may have been taken from a collection compiled by Philips for the group of six 'suonadori de violini' known to have been employed in 1589 by Albert's predecessor as governor of the Netherlands.¹⁰⁶ However, judging from the dates given for their keyboard equivalents in FVB, most of the five-part dances in 3665 were written while Philips was resident at

¹⁰⁵Edwards *Ph.D.*, p. 263.

¹⁰⁶Holman, p. 154.

Antwerp, and well before his connection with the Brussels court. The only piece that may possibly be later on stylistic grounds, the *Passamezzo Consort* in Drexel, is - significantly - in six parts. It is more likely that Philips sent his instrumental contribution along with a copy of Sweelinck's hexachord fantasy dated 1612 in FVB and prints dating from after Tregian's return to England.

The older pieces in Section 11 by composers such as Bassano and Lupo who were active in the London of the 1570s may have been obtained by Tregian in London: the arrangement of the section as described by Edwards (see above) supports this view. However, it is possible that they form a repertory taken by Philips with him when he left for the continent in 1582, the works he played in his youth under Westcote. If this is the case, then the exclusion of the *1580 Pavan* may only be explained if the original version was in four parts, so could not be placed in a section restricted to pieces in five parts, or if it were for mixed consort.

Holman identifies nine original compositions by Philips.¹⁰⁷ There are three pavan and galliard pairs, numbered one to three by Tregian and giving six pieces. Another galliard (D'Accone's no. 1197) is also by him, as is the work following it, *Vecha* (no. 1198), a setting of the Italian chord sequence. If the title 'Alman Tr.' (no. 15) is a dedication rather than an indication of authorship, then this work too is original.

Holman identifies six more pieces which are settings by Philips of works by other composers. The pavan and galliard pair no. 4 (D'Accone nos. 1185-86) is ascribed to 'Thomas Morley, sett by P. Philip': a lute version of the pavan exists in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute Lessons*, London, 1610, and there is a keyboard arrangement by Ferdinando Richardson in the Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 782 (*olim* Marlay Additions

¹⁰⁷Holman, p. 148.

no. 15).¹⁰⁸ Nos. 5 and 6 (D'Accone nos. 1187-1188) are galliards by Holborne and Bassano which have a joint ascription to the composer of the model and to 'P.P.' No. 1196, 'Nowils Gagliard', also proves to be a galliard by Holborne. Holman thinks it likely that these galliards were all arranged from lute originals, which in the case of the Holborne pieces predated the print of 1599.¹⁰⁹ However, in Chapter 5 it will be shown that the practice of intabulation in Philips's keyboard works is always from ensemble to keyboard, never the other way around: Philips was working within a continental, and specifically Netherlands, tradition of instrumental intabulation of polyphonic pieces for keyboard or lute. It is more likely that all these pieces were based upon ensemble pieces, and that, where no such work has survived, concordant lute versions illustrate this compositional process.

The *Aria del Gran Duca* (D'Accone no. 1200) is a setting of a bass derived from a passage in Cavalieri's choral *ballo* in the Florentine *intermedi* of 1589 which spawned a vast number of vocal and instrumental compositions.¹¹⁰ One such setting can be found in **Berlin**, a source for Philips's keyboard music: this keyboard setting is clearly related to Philips's piece in 3665, and is probably an intabulation of it made by someone other than Philips. The presence of this piece and the Italian chord sequence 'La Vecha' shows that Philips was not restricted to his English heritage in his writing for instrumental ensemble. Obviously Philips's piece dates from after the wedding of 1589, and probably from after the publication by Malvezzi of the music for the Florentine *intermedi* in 1591: it could be that it was written for Archduke Albert's wedding of 1598.

The last piece to have a connection with Philips is the pavan by Tomkins. The keyboard setting in FVB has a note in the margin beside it which may refer to Philips (see

¹⁰⁸Microfilm edition: *Tisdale*; ed. by A. Brown (*Tisdale edn*).

¹⁰⁹*Holman*, p. 150.

¹¹⁰See *Kirkendale*.

above), and there is another keyboard setting ascribed to Philips of the same piece in 408. The inclusion of the work at the end of a group of pieces by Philips suggests that it may have been transmitted alongside them.¹¹¹

According to Holman the remaining pieces (D'Accone nos. 1190-1195) have no obvious connection with Philips, and 'seem to come from the English court of the 1570s, not the Netherlands of the 1590s'.¹¹² However, it is possible that these are works which Philips had known in England before he left in 1582. In support of this hypothesis, it is known that the St Paul's boys played stringed instruments under Westcote, and there is the presence of a Bassano galliard arranged by Philips. On the other hand, Warwick Edwards points out that these pieces start on a new folio, and seem to be a separate group interpolated in the source Tregian used for Philips's music. If this earlier repertory was transmitted to Tregian by Philips, it gives an indication of the formative influences on his instrumental style.

The Spelling of Philips's Name in the Tregian Manuscripts

The spelling of Philips's name in the Tregian manuscripts may reveal valuable clues as to Tregian's sources for his music.¹¹³

In 3665 there are four five-part madrigals by Peter Philips. These are taken from two sources. Two (nos. 499-500; see Appendix 2) come from a continental print, *Paradiso Musicale di Madrigali et Canzoni a Cinque Voci, di Diversi Eccellentissimi Autori*, published by Pierre Phalèse of Antwerp in 1596: for these Tregian gives his name in the Italianised form, 'Pietro Philippi'. The other two (nos. 516-517; see Appendix 2) are copied from Morley's *Madrigals to Five Voices*, published in London in 1598: here an English form of

¹¹¹A link between the two composers is also likely on stylistic grounds (see Chapter 7).

¹¹²Holman, p. 151.

¹¹³See the discussion of the matter with regard to the FVB.

his name is used, 'Peter Philipps'. Thus Tregian is seen to reflect the provenance of his sources in his ascriptions of these works to Philips.

This is an essential background for a consideration of the ascriptions placed against Philips instrumental works. In the majority of these works the ascription is abbreviated to 'P.P.' The identity of the composer in question is not in question, for these works occur alongside pieces with the full inscription 'Pietro Philippi'. The use of Italian for those pieces where the name is given in full is evidence that the Philips pieces were provided by a continental source, and were not obtained by Tregian in England, a view corroborated by the lack of concordant sources for these works in England. The abbreviation of the attribution to just two letters is also revealing: Tregian gives full ascriptions for every other piece in the manuscript where the composer is known, the only exceptions being his own works. The same holds true in the *FVB*.¹¹⁴ The only explanation for Tregian's abbreviation of Philips's name is that there was a personal relationship between the two men, and that these pieces were provided by Philips in manuscript when he sent over music prints for Tregian to copy.

¹¹⁴The only exception is 'W.B.' for Byrd, another composer with whom the Tregian family seems to have had connections.

DREXEL

Introduction

United States, New York Public Library at Lincoln Centre, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Drexel MS 4302: *Sambrook Manuscript* (Drexel) is the third extant Tregian manuscript, and forms a continuation of 3665. Drexel contains one work by Philips, the six-part *Passamezzo Pavan*. The manuscript's location in the United States prohibited a first-hand examination, so the study of this source relies on a microfilm copy.

Inscriptions

The first folio to contain music (the fourth folio in the volume) is headed 'ffrancis Sambrook his Booke'.

On the first folio of Drexel an eighteenth-century hand expresses the opinion that 'This Book is worth its weight in Gold - | This I found myself'. The second folio carries a binder's title. The third folio in the volume has been pre-ruled: it has systems of four staves, so can never have been intended for copying the music in Drexel, which contains pieces in five and more parts. In the middle of the *recto* of the third folio is: 'John Allcock - | 1745'. On the *verso* of the same folio are found the comments of various owners of the volume:

[Hand of John Alcock:] N.B. All ye Leaves that are torn out of this Book were plain ones, and very much damag'd by Sea-water.- | All the following Music was wrote out of the Vatican (or Pope's Library) at Rome. [Hand of John Parker:] I do not find any | authority for this a[ss]ertion of Doctor Alcock. John Parker¹¹⁵

Parker continues with some information about Sambrooke:

The name of Francis Sambrooke (the same whom I suppose | to have been former po[se]sor of this book) is subscribed to a | Copy of Verses printed together with Milton's Sonnet in a | Collection of "Choice Psalmes put into Musick for three Voices | "composed by Henry & William Lawes." - Published with an | engraved head of King Charles I." in 1648. J. Parker

¹¹⁵On. p. 537 Alcock repeats the information: 'N.B. all the leaves w^{ch} are torn out, were | plain ones - '.

Rimbault adds:

Francis Sambrooke died 1660 aged 70, and was | buried in Salisbury Cathedral |
Edward Rimbault

Dart notes that there was a Francis Sambrook who was Clerk of Records to the Bishop of Salisbury's Courts in 1662. The volume was purchased from Rimbault at a sale on 3 August 1877 by Joseph Drexel of Philadelphia, and it was bequeathed along with the rest of Drexel's collection to the Lenox Library, which now forms part of the New York Public Library.¹¹⁶

Physical Description¹¹⁷

Drexel comprises 450 pages (225 folios) containing music in five, six and eight parts. The volume measures 280 mm by 410 mm.¹¹⁸ It is in the same hand as the **FVB** and **3665**, which has been identified as that of Francis Tregian. The folios have been severely trimmed, as was the case with the **FVB** and **3665**: there are traces of a title at the top of the first page of music, probably in Tregian's hand, which has been clipped. The music is copied across the pages of each opening, following the practice in **3665**. Tregian orders the music according to the number of parts and by composer.

Whereas the pagination in **3665** is consistent, and appears to have been added after compilation, in **Drexel** it does not always follow sequentially. Pages are missing between sections, and between groups of pieces by the same composer within sections. The page numbers as they stand suggest that the folios are in the correct order: the missing pages are presumably the empty folios removed by John Alcock. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that

¹¹⁶*Dart 1951*, p. 208.

¹¹⁷The scope of this study is necessarily restricted by the location of the manuscript in the United States.

¹¹⁸*Edwards Ph.D*, p. 217.

the page numbers were added after compilation in the same manner as 3665. Page numbers are restricted to the *recto* of each folio: any numbers which may have been on the *verso* of the folios has been lost in the trimming.¹¹⁹ The last page number in Tregian's hand is 201: after this point the numbers continue in a later hand, following the established pattern by paginating the *recto* only of each folio.¹²⁰ There are missing pages in the latter part of the manuscript; it is clear that these pages were removed after the addition of page numbers to those folios which lacked them.

Elizabeth Cole used the first of the inscriptions in support of her argument that the Tregian manuscripts were started on the continent, and shipped to Tregian's father in England.¹²¹ Cole's hypothesis has been rejected in relation to the FVB. There is no reason to suppose that the missing folios were damaged at the time of copying: their removal may be as a result of damage caused after the manuscript's compilation.

The pages on which the first two sections (containing Nos. 1-67) are copied were pre-ruled with four five-staff systems. Section 3 to Section 7 (Nos. 68-339) have pages ruled with three six-staff systems to the page. The last section (Nos. 340-347) has two eight-staff systems pre-ruled on every page.¹²² Barlines were ruled before the entry of the music. Often there are empty systems and pages at the end of sections.¹²³

¹¹⁹There is no trace of such numbers, so it is possible that in Drexel Tregian numbered on the *recto* of each folio.

¹²⁰The new paginator misses the *verso* of Tregian's p. 201, so that Tregian's p. 203 becomes the new paginator's p. 202.

¹²¹Cole *PRMA* p. 61.

¹²²The page numbering in this manuscript is not always sequential, so the references are to the sections as delineated by Tregian's titles, and to the contents which have been numbered sequentially in Appendix 3.

¹²³pp. 78, ii - iv (end of Sections 1); 108-109, ii-iv (end of Ferrabosco motets); 119, iv (end of Clemens non Papa piece); 261-262, ii-iii (end of Section 3); 307-308, ii-iii (end of (continued...))

The quality of the microfilm meant that it was not possible to assess the meaning of crosses and other annotations in the way that it was in the other two Tregian manuscripts. However, Drexel appears to follow the FVB and 3665 in regard to the use of crosses, the preoccupation with numbers, and the inclusion of marginal annotations.

There are examples of crosses marking obvious corrections: on p. [34], iii, 19-22 they occur next to errors in the fourth part down; a cross in the margin is used to draw attention to a series of dashes against the second part in p. [34], iv which indicate a longer passage requiring correction. At the end of Orlando di Lasso's *In me transierunt* (no. 6), Tregian records the length of the piece by the number of semibreves it contains (172). At the end of *Inclina Domine*, the eighth motet by Ferrabosco in Section 3, there is a note which reads 'Vide Quoniam a. 4.' This refers the reader to 'Quoniam tu Domine, a4, 2a pars Inclina' in 3665, no. 156. Tregian's collection is organised primarily by number of parts: the pre-ruled folios prohibited the consecutive copying of pieces in two or more *partes* where the number of voices in each *parte* was not consistent. However, Tregian cross-referenced the individual parts of such works in his marginal annotations: the presence of one half of a piece in a four-part section of 3665 and the other half in a six-part section of Drexel shows that the two manuscripts should be considered as one collection, and that Tregian worked upon the sections within these sources simultaneously, not consecutively.

¹²³(...continued)

Marenzio); 313-314, ii-iii (end of Morley piece); 369-370, ii-iii = Blank (end of Section 4); p. 537 = rastrated, but no barlines.

The Organization of the Manuscript

Drexel falls into eight sections:

no.	Title/Contents
1	[5-part motets, various composers including Philips]
2	Motetti a 5 di Alfonso Ferabosco Figliuolo.
3	Motetti di Alfonso Ferabosco il Padre a. 6.
4	Mottetti et Madrigali a 6. di Alfonso Ferabosco Seniore Madrigali a 6.
5	Madrigali a 6 di Luca Marenzo.
6	Madrigali a 6 di Pietro Philippi. Pauan Passamezzo di Pietro Philippi. a 6.
7	Madrigali a 6 di diversi Authori.
8	Madrigali a 8 di Pietro Philippi

A full inventory is given in Hugo Botstiber’s account of music manuscripts held by the New York Public Library.¹²⁴ A table showing concordances with printed sources is given in Appendix 3.

Drexel is a continuation of 3665, and was compiled in a similar way: the music was copied before the manuscript was bound. The location of the manuscript in the United States means that it is not possible to provide detailed evidence from the manuscript itself, but the presence of a folio in 3665 containing a fragment of Philips’s six-part Passamezzo Pavan shows that this page was recopied in order to include the piece amongst the six-part works in Drexel. This suggests that Drexel - like 3665 - was copied before the folios were bound.

The number ‘15’ is placed at the end of the fourteen motets by Ferrabosco in Section 2 in preparation for the entry of another piece: this shows that the numbers were written as

¹²⁴Botstiber.

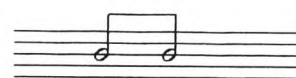
the music was copied. After some empty staves (pp. 108-109, ii-iv)

the section continues with a piece by Clemens non Papa, and eight

works by Marenzio (the last of which is incomplete, and therefore

unattributed). It is likely that these latter pieces should have been

placed in Section 1 rather than with the Ferrabosco motets of Section 2. The impression that this section has been chaotically organised is reinforced by the different hand in which the last piece of this section is written: although the clefs, numbers, accidental signs and text all match Tregian's normal hand, the noteheads are less rounded than usual, and notes are tied as illustrated in Example 9.



Example 9

Section 3 also shows signs of having been restructured. The title 'Mottetti et Madrigali a 6. di Alfonso Ferabosco Seniore.' occurs on p. 177 above pieces which have been numbered 16 and 17 in relation to the previous section. The heading 'Madrigali a 6.' before no. 86 occurs in the middle rather than at the top of the page, so it should be considered a sub-heading under the more general heading on p. 177. The number '16' placed against the first piece following the general title on p. 177 is a later addition, suggesting that two sections have been combined. A section containing motets and madrigals by Ferrabosco once began with Nos. 84-85 (=Tregian's Nos. 16-17). Additional motets were added before this section, and the two motets at the start were numbered so that the sequence continued across the divide between sections.

Tregian evidently began to copy a ninth eight-part Philips madrigal at the end of the last section. The title is given, clefs are provided for pp. 559-60, and the first fourteen notes of the cantus have been entered. The rest of pp. 559-60 is empty. The manuscript ends with the start of a section which was to contain Marenzio pieces in ten parts.

Drexel and Peter Philips

It is significant that two sections in this manuscript are specifically devoted to Philips, and in addition there are fourteen motets by him in the first section. The arrangement of 3665 and Drexel by number of parts means that Philips's vocal music is concentrated in the latter. Philips tended not to write five-part madrigals, but concentrated on six- and eight- part settings. Tregian includes pieces from all three madrigal publications. Philips published his first volume of sacred music in 1612, a collection of five-part motets: Tregian copied a selection of these in the opening part of Drexel. The cut-off point for Tregian's sources in the FVB seems to be 1612, and the latest source used in the other two manuscripts dates from 1614, so there are only two Philips prints dating from before 1614 which Tregian did not use: the volume of eight-voice *Cantiones Sacrae* (Antwerp, 1613) and the *Gemmulae Sacrae* for two to three voices and continuo, published also in 1613. The exclusion of these sources indicates that Tregian had obtained the donation of Peter Philips by 1612 or 1613.

The close relationship between Tregian and Philips is reflected in Tregian's possession of all the prints of Philips's music issued up to the cut-off date for Tregian's sources. The inclusion of instrumental works found in no other source shows that Philips provided Tregian not only with prints of his own works, and those of others composers, but also with unpublished material.

CONCLUSION

The manuscripts compiled by Tregian in the early years of the seventeenth century comprise the most important source of Philips's instrumental music. In the case of those pieces contained in the **FVB** which have concordances with other sources, Tregian's texts are some of the best, only surpassed by **Lynar**. Tregian preserves a number of pieces which are unique to these manuscripts.

The **FVB** was probably the first manuscript to be started, but it is probable that the volumes of ensemble music were compiled alongside the keyboard source, not after its completion. All the volumes were written in England; there is support for the view that the **FVB** was begun on the continent. Copying began well before Tregian's imprisonment in 1614, but continued after this date until his death in 1619.

Tregian obtained the music which he copied from a number of people, including Byrd and his circle, and Peter Philips. Philips is likely to have been responsible for the transmission of a great deal of vocal music, as well as the instrumental pieces by him included in all three sources.

All the prints of Philips's own music which had been issued in the years up to and including 1612 were used by Tregian. It is likely that Philips's contribution reached Tregian in at least two consignments. The first contained keyboard music written before c. 1605, and was included at the end of the first layer of the **FVB**. This was probably the earliest contribution to be obtained from the continent. The second was made up of prints of his own vocal music (the latest being the book of motets issued by Phalèse in 1612), the instrumental music contained at the end of **3665**, and the Sweelinck piece in **FVB** dated 1612. The association of Philips with the Phalèse publishing house means that it is likely that Philips supplied Tregian with reprints of earlier Italian publications. Peter Philips seems to have played a key rôle in the production of the manuscript sources compiled by Tregian.

Chapter 3

Keyboard Sources

INTRODUCTION

Peter Philips's keyboard works form the most significant group of pieces within his instrumental music. In Chapters 5 and 6 it will be shown that the lute pieces ascribed to Philips are arrangements of pieces by him made by other composers. By contrast, the keyboard music is mostly of Philips's own composition: the only exceptions are three independent settings of the *1580 Pavan* in **Turin**, **Eysbock** and **Ohio**.¹ Hence it is reasonable to devote more space to the keyboard than to the ensemble and lute sources.

The keyboard music is contained in eleven manuscript sources and one printed source.² The amount of detail given for each source depends both on its importance in relation to Philips's music, and on the existing secondary literature for it. Although **Lynar** provides the best readings for the Philips pieces it contains, the excellent articles on the **Lynar** manuscripts by **Werner Breig** in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* make a prolonged discussion of its physical characteristics unnecessary.³ Attention has been focused on **Berlin**, an important source for Philips which has not been covered in any detail by other writers.

In this chapter the provenance of each source will be established: their geographical spread gives an indication of how widely Philips's keyboard music was known, and an idea of its possible influence; their dates show the length of time during which his music retained its popularity. A study of the distribution of Philips's music among the sources of the period is necessary before the discussion of the music and its style in Part 2: in particular, the case

¹Significantly, the *1580 Pavan* is the most common piece to be found in the ensemble and lute sources.

²Philips's music is found in two volumes of **Turin**, but these are considered as one source.

³*Breig*.

studies of *Dolorosa Pavan* (Chapter 5) and *1580 Pavan* (Chapter 6) complement the more general discussion of the sources here.

	F V B	1 1 1 3	L Y N A R	B E R L I N	L I È G E	8 9	T U R I N	4 0 8	E Y S B O C K	C A U S	O H I O
No./Page/ Folio:	N	N	P	F	F	P	vol F	F	F	F	
<i>Tirsi</i>	70										
<i>Freno</i>	71										
<i>Cosi</i>	72										
<i>Fece</i>	73	116									
<i>Pagget Pavan</i>	74							22 ^v			
<i>Pagget Galliard</i>	75							25 ^v			
<i>Passamezzo Pavan</i>	76		172 ^s	2 ^v							
<i>Passamezzo Galliard</i>	77			4 ^v							
<i>Chi fara</i>	78		218		42					38 ^v	
<i>Bon jour</i>	79										
<i>Dolorosa Pavan</i>	80		226	6			xv 61	17 ^v			
<i>Dolorosa Galliard</i>	81		231	8				20 ^v			
<i>Amarilli</i>	82		318								
<i>Margot</i>	83										
<i>Fantasia-G</i>	84						vii 58				

⁴Five-bar fragment.

	F V B	1 1 3	L Y N A R	B E R L I N	L I È G E	8 9	T U R I N	4 0 8	E Y S B O C K	C A U S	O H I O
No./Page/ Folio:	N	N	P	F	F	P	vol F	F	F	F	
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	85						xv 58		25 ^v		⁵
<i>Rossignol</i>	86	117	214								
<i>Galliard</i>	87										
<i>Fantasia-F</i>	88										
<i>Ecco⁶</i>			223								
<i>Galliard</i>				7 ^v 31							
<i>Piper's Galliard</i>				8 ^v 30 ^v							
<i>Almande</i>		111 ⁷									
<i>Deggio</i>		112									
<i>Io</i>		114									
<i>Ma voi</i>		115									
<i>Benedicam</i>		118									
<i>Veni</i>						22					
<i>Liège</i>					5						
<i>Tomkins Pavan</i>								14 ^v			

⁵Manuscript fragment bound in Ohio, Case Western Reserve University, copy of David & Lussy, *Histoire de la Notation Musicale*, 1882, p. 114.

⁶Anonymous, but contained within the group of pieces by Philips.

⁷Also in 1003: the pieces in 1003 were copied from 1113.

A piece from Liège, attributed to Philips by Flor Peeters, is not his work.⁸ The transcription into German tablature of Peter Philips, *Cantiones Sacrae Octonis Vocibus*, Antwerp, 1613 in the Pelplin tablatures (Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium, 304-8, 308a) is not included in this discussion.

⁸Peeters, p. 102.

1113 and 1003

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS 1003 (1003) contains a selection of pieces copied from Oxford, Christ Church Library MS 1113 (1113). 1003 contains only one piece by Philips: it is textually almost identical to 1113, so only the latter source will be considered.

1113 contains 118 pieces by Italian and English composers notated in keyboard score; it includes seven keyboard pieces by Philips (see Table on p. 120-21). For some time 1113 was thought to be in the hand of William Ellis because the initials 'W.E.' are stamped on the front cover.⁹ Ellis lived from 1620 to c. 1674, thus placing the manuscript in the 1640s at the earliest. However, the hand does not match that of Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS 1236, which is known to have been copied by Ellis: John Caldwell believes that it could date from as early as 1620,¹⁰ and there is nothing in the manuscript to suggest a later date.

1113 measures 214 mm wide by 159 mm high: this oblong format is unusual in English manuscripts of the early seventeenth century. The vellum binding is contemporary, but the initials 'W.E.' that are stamped in gold on the front and back cover may have been added by a later owner. Modern leaves containing a list of contents have been pasted to the inside cover.

1113 is made up of 127 folios preceded by three flyleaves, and followed by one endpaper. The music copying begins on f. 1^v. A contemporary pagination begins on f. 1^v, which is numbered 1, and continues to p. 253. The ink differs from that of the music, so the page numbers were added after the music was entered.

The collation is as follows:

⁹This theory was first proposed in *Dart 1955*, p. 159.

¹⁰*Caldwell*, p. 151.

i-5	A ⁸
6-13	B ⁸
14-21	C ⁸
22-29	D ⁸
30-37	E ⁸
38-45	F ⁸
46-54	G ⁹ [G ⁹ is a single leaf]
55-62	H ⁸
63-70	I ⁸
71-78	K ⁸
79-86	L ⁸
87-94	M ⁸
95-102	N ⁸
103-110	O ⁸
111-118	P ⁸
119-122	Q ⁴
123-end	R ⁸ [R ⁴ removed; R ⁷⁻⁸ = flyleaf & pastedown]

Each page has six six-line staves rastrated with a single staff *rastrum*. The staves measure just under 10 mm high, the lines being separated by c. 2 mm.

The manuscript is in one hand throughout. The presence of English instructions (such as 'turn over') indicates an English nationality. Barlines are drawn freehand through one staff. There are notational similarities between 1113 and FVB, confirming a date of c. 1620: semibreves are sometimes broken into two tied minims, and occasionally a minim is broken into two tied crotchets; the middle notes of chords often lack stems; the smaller note-values are sometimes beamed in large groups, with the angles of the beaming changing with the direction of the musical line. The top and bottom staves correspond to the right and left hands respectively, a feature common to FVB as well as to Italian keyboard prints.

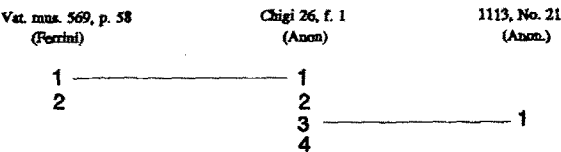
On the flyleaves ii-iii there is a contemporary index. The compiler of the index is not

the same as the scribe. The pieces ascribed to 'B.C.' in the manuscript are listed under '[Benjamin Cosyn] B.C.' in the index, suggesting that the writer of the index was unsure of the attribution. The pieces are numbered through the manuscript: the page numbers and the piece numbers are in the same hand, that of the scribe.¹¹

1113 falls into two parts: the first (pp. 1-130) contains only Italian music, including pieces by Frescobaldi;¹² the second has music which is mostly by English composers, both those active in their native land, and those - like Philips - who lived on the continent.¹³

The Italian repertory does not carry ascriptions for individual pieces. Many of the pieces that comprise the first layer are taken from the revised 1616 edition of Frescobaldi's first book of toccatas (which included a number of modifications, as well as an extra variation set on *La Follia*).

Silbiger establishes a concordance between 1113, no. 21, and the third of four variations on the *Aria di Fiorenza* (or *Aria del Gran Duca*) in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Chigi Q. IV. 26, f. 1. The Chigi manuscripts date from c. 1640. None of



Example III.1

the other three variations occurs in 1113, but the first appears in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Vat. Mus. 569, p. 59, with an independent second variation. This manuscript carries the dates 1661 and 1663 on the titlepage. The relationship between

¹¹1-118. An extra piece has been numbered 110a by the compiler of the index.

¹²The only exception is a piece by 'W.E.'

¹³The contents of the second section are listed in *Memed*, pp. 89-90.

these sources is shown in Example III.1.¹⁴ In Vat. Mus. 569 there is an ascription to Ferrini, which led Warren Kirkendale to attribute all these variations to him.¹⁵ Silbiger criticises Kirkendale, arguing that ‘it appears unwarranted to extrapolate an attribution given in one source to variations appearing only in another source’.¹⁶ The ascription of one variation to a composer does not imply authorship of a variation associated with it in a separate source, but without any ascription. Variation form in the early seventeenth century allowed composers to add their own variations to existing ones by their teachers or colleagues.¹⁷ The records of the Roman churches record payments to Ferrini from the 1630s to the 1660s,¹⁸ but he was active much earlier as organist of S. Luigi dei Francesi from 1619-1623:¹⁹ hence, even if Ferrini was the composer of the piece in 1113, it could have been written before the Roman manuscripts were compiled. Although Silbiger acknowledges the weakness of the attribution of the variation on *Aria di Fiorenza* in 1113 to Ferrini, he none the less dates the manuscript to c. 1650. Silbiger also found concordances between 1113 and Rome, Biblioteca Doria, Pamphilj, MS 250A, which he dates somewhere between 1630 and 1650. It opens with a sequence of pieces (Toccata-Ricercar-Canzona) two of which (Toccata-Canzona) appear in 1113 as Nos. 35 and 36. On f. 31 of the same manuscript there are two pieces (Toccata-Canzona) which occur in 1113 as Nos. 32-33 and 34. However, nearly all of the repertory in these mid-century Roman manuscripts is anonymous. The Chigi sources and Rome

¹⁴Extracted from *Silbiger Sources*, p. 54, Table 10.

¹⁵Kirkendale, p. 73.

¹⁶*Silbiger Sources*, p. 55.

¹⁷For example, there are consecutive variations on *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* by Sweelinck, Duben and others.

¹⁸*Silbiger JAMS*, p. 59.

¹⁹*Silbiger JAMS*, p. 48.

Biblioteca Doria Pamphilj MS 250A contain many pieces which were composed a generation earlier. As well as pieces copied from Frescobaldi prints, there are many *unica* attributed to him: although Silbiger refutes their authenticity, it is likely that these pieces, and the anonymous repertory, had circulated for many years prior to their inclusion in the Roman manuscripts. The anonymous nature of the repertory these manuscripts contain makes it difficult to date the pieces: there is no way to prove that the anonymous works were composed contemporaneously with the sources in which they survive. The repertory in the Roman sources is not associated with mid-century composers: it is a mistake to assume that its presence means that it is contemporary with the manuscripts. 1113 contains a similar repertory, but in many respects appears to be of an earlier date: in particular, there are notational similarities with FVB, and the English repertory can all be dated to before 1620.²⁰ This makes it likely that the Roman sources examined by Silbiger are retrospective in outlook, and utilise exemplars dating from somewhat earlier.²¹ Hence 1113 and the Roman sources share a repertory, but not a common date of compilation.

The second section of the manuscript contains music by English musicians, and is arranged by composer: pp. 131-162 contain pieces by B.C., Tomkins, Gibbons and Byrd; pp. 163-86 and 223-234 are devoted to Bull (pp. 187-222 are not arranged in any apparent order by composer); the last pages (pp. 235 seq.) carry a group of pieces by Philips. All the pieces by Byrd, Gibbons, Bull, Sweelinck and Philips may be dated before 1620, and much of the repertory in this section comes from c. 1600.

Orhan Memed has shown that the scribe of 1113 may have had access to Paris 1185,

²⁰Silbiger is wrong to claim that the handwriting 'seems a much later vintage' than c. 1620 (*Silbiger JAMS*, p. 77). The letter forms in text and clef forms in the music correspond with other manuscripts of the period written by English scribes.

²¹Similarly, Turin contains repertory from much earlier than the date of copying: some of this was copied from prints; pieces such as those by Philips were copied from manuscripts.

possibly after it had come into the possession of Benjamin Cosyn but before he had altered it.²² **Paris 1185** is thought to be a Bull holograph: it passed into Cosyn's possession, perhaps as early as 1613 (the date of Bull's flight to Brussels), and he still owned it in 1652 when he compiled an index.²³ Memed accepts Silbiger's dating of 1113 to c. 1650, but his own work lessens the authority for such a claim. If **Paris 1185** was used by the scribe of 1113 when compiling the second layer of the manuscript, before the alterations were made to **Paris 1185**, and before the index was compiled in 1652, then it is unlikely that the Italian repertory of the earlier layer of the manuscript was entered as late as 1650.

The Philips pieces occur in a group at the end of the manuscript. They stand out from the rest of the English works by the use of the Italian form of Philips's name: the other composers in the section of English music have English names; even Sweelinck's name has been anglicised in the ascription of no. 85 ('M^r John Peeterson of Amsterdam'). This suggests that the scribe obtained the Philips pieces from a different source from that of the other works. The texts of pieces by the other composers in the English section tend to be of poor quality,²⁴ whereas the texts of Philips's pieces compare favourably with their concordant sources, strengthening the view that they were obtained from an independent source.

The choice of Philips's pieces included in the manuscript reflects either the taste of the scribe, or that of his exemplar. The use of the Italianate form of Philips's name is mirrored by the inclusion of intabulations of - mostly Italian - vocal music. The only piece modelled on an instrumental work is the *Almande* (no. 111); there is also a *Benedicam Dominum*, probably an intabulation of an otherwise unknown motet which is unique to 1113.

²²Memed, pp. 86 seq.

²³Caldwell, p. 127.

²⁴See the description of 1113 in *Musica Britannica*, vols. xiv, p. 159; xix, p. 225; xx, p. 92.

The pieces by Philips in 1113 which are concordant with FVB and Lynar appear to have readings that are closely related these sources. It has been shown that it is reasonable to believe that Tregian obtained his sources for Philips pieces from the composer, and even if this were not the case, Tregian had finished his copying by his death in 1619. The close correspondence between FVB and 1113 shows that the scribe of the latter had access to a reliable exemplar, probably dating from about the same time as FVB. However, it is unlikely that 1113 derives from FVB: there are many pieces in FVB that are not in 1113, and - more significantly - there are pieces in 1113 that are unique to that source. The reading of *Rossignol* (the only piece common to 1113, FVB, and Lynar) has more in common with Lynar than with FVB.

One of the *unica* of 1113 is a keyboard setting of the *Almande* which is to be found in a consort setting in 3665. It is ascribed to Philips in both sources. The inclusion of the piece in a group of works by Philips, most of which may be proved independently to be his, suggests that the keyboard intabulation is his work.

The setting of Marenzio's *Deggio*, *Io*, and *Ma voi*, is unique to 1113. These pieces are clearly ascribed to Philips, and their occurrence in the group of pieces by him lends support to their authenticity. The intabulation of vocal works is the main compositional process employed by Philips, and Marenzio is his favourite composer of vocal models for intabulation, so the presence of another madrigal setting unique to 1113 is no surprise.

1113 was copied by an Englishman with a taste for Italian music as well as for that of his own country. The oblong format of the volume - unusual for English sources, but the norm for Italian keyboard manuscripts - and the location of the Italian pieces together at the beginning of the manuscript suggests that it may have been started by the scribe while travelling in Italy. A visit to Rome would account for the inclusion of unique local anonymous repertory. The English layer was then added on the scribe's return home.

LYNAR

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lübbenau MS Lynar A1 (**Lynar**) comprises a large collection of keyboard music which contains the works of English, Italian, German, French and Netherlandish composers. It includes five pieces by Philips which are also to be found in FVB. In addition, there is a five-bar fragment of Philips's *Passamezzo Pavan* and a setting by Sweelinck of Philips's *1580 Pavan*. An intabulation of Marenzio's *Ecco l'aurora* occurs in the middle of the group of Philips's pieces: this may also be his work (see Table, pp. 120-21).

Lynar is a significant source of Philips's keyboard music because its readings provide the best texts for the works it contains. It is also an important source for Sweelinck: Curtis writes that **Lynar** consistently gives the best texts for at least sixteen of the Sweelinck pieces.²⁵ Seiffert mistakenly identified the scribe as Matthias Weckmann, a pupil of Jacob Praetorius who had studied with Sweelinck. The texts of the Sweelinck pieces and the inclusion of significant works not known in any other source made such a direct line of transmission plausible. Although Seiffert's assertion that the copyist was Weckmann has now been discredited, the view that the Sweelinck pieces in **Lynar** have a direct line of descent from the composer is still tenable. Philips's association with Sweelinck is well documented (see Chapter 1): his pieces occur alongside Sweelinck in **Lynar** and were presumably transmitted along with them.

The **Lynar** manuscripts have been studied by other writers: in particular, Werner Breig has published an exhaustive survey of them, which includes an inventory.²⁶ Some of Breig's work could be refined, but the present study will not duplicate his findings: although **Lynar** is a manuscript of central importance in the study of Philips's keyboard music, there is space for only a general description here.

²⁵Curtis 1972, p. 45.

²⁶Breig.

Lynar is bound in parchment. There are 178 folios which measure 307 mm high by 193 mm wide. The folios have been paginated in pencil by Max Seiffert up to and including p. 331; p. 332 and the last twelve folios do not contain music, so have not been numbered. There is no music entered on pp. 16-17 or 80-86.

There is no correlation between the gatherings of the manuscript and where individual pieces begin and end: many works overlap two gatherings. The collation of the manuscript is contemporary with its compilation: the presence of empty folios suggests that the manuscript was bound before the music was entered, though there is calligraphic evidence that the manuscript's contents were not copied in the order in which they now appear.

Breig identifies the paper as having been made in Strassburg in the period 1607-15. Paper from Strassburg was sold throughout Europe, and was to be found in the Netherlands, so the German origin of the paper does not provide any information as to where the manuscript was compiled.²⁷

The music is notated on two six-line staves. However, a close inspection of the manuscript reveals that systems of two five-line staves were ruled by hand without a *rastrum* prior to the manuscript paper entering the hands of the scribe. The copyist then added a sixth line to each staff using a different ink,²⁸ a procedure also followed by Tregian in *FVB*. The height of the pre-ruled staves gets progressively shorter, and the width progressively wider, towards the end of the book. There are five two-staff systems to the page.

The paper was pre-ruled with a space of 20 mm left for titles before the first staff of every page. The scribe uses this area for the title of each piece, but extends the top staff of each page backward to create a normal length staff for the rest of the pages taken up by the

²⁷*Breig*, p. 97. Strassburg was a free city within the Holy Roman Empire until Louis XIV seized it in 1681.

²⁸Only two pieces make use of two five-line staves without the addition of a sixth line, those by Cornet on pp. 310-315 (nos. 71-72).

piece. He drew the extension to the top staff several pages in advance, estimating the number of pages required for each piece. Sometimes he misjudged the amount of space needed for a piece, and ruled too many pages in advance: in such cases the title of the next piece occurs over his hand-ruled staff extension. The scribe's alteration of the existing ruling to suit his own ends shows that the paper was bought ready-ruled.

The music in *Lynar* is in one hand throughout. The ink type is uniformly black for the musical notation. Breig noticed that the formation of the clefs, mensuration signs, and sharp signs varied through the manuscript, suggesting that the music was not copied into the volume in the order in which it is found. The manuscript is organized by composer, or by the nationality of the composers within a section. In his exhaustive survey of the *Lynar* volumes, Breig analyses the scribal differences in detail.²⁹ The progressive change of the hand in *Lynar* suggests that - unlike the Tregian manuscripts - it was written over a considerable period of time.

Lynar was long thought to be an autograph of Matthias Weckmann, a view which originated with Seiffert's identification of him from the initials 'M.W.' for a piece in the manuscript.³⁰ Lydia Schierning was the first to challenge this assumption when she pointed out that Weckmann usually appears as 'M.W.M.' in other manuscripts.³¹ Curtis adds that his initials are usually interlocking, and also that other initials occur in the manuscript (for example, 'D.B.' for Dr. Bull), so the presence of these particular initials has no significance in the identification of the scribe. Curtis discovered some samples of Weckmann's hand in the Lüneburg Ratsbücherei, and by comparing the scribal characteristics of these with *Lynar*,

²⁹Breig, pp. 108-111.

³⁰Seiffert.

³¹Schierning.

Curtis was able to demonstrate conclusively that the manuscript was not Weckmann's work.³²

Curtis believes *Lynar* to be a German source of the 1650s on the basis of certain notational forms, the presence of German titles for some pieces, and the German repertory which it contains. He also extrapolates the name of Jan Adam Reinken as the copyist by interpreting a sign at the end of the *Dolorosa Galliard* on p. 233 as a decorative form of the letter 'R'.³³ However, German is only used when a work is a setting of a piece with a German title. The anthological nature of *Lynar* is such that titles in several languages are to be expected: the titles depend on the nationality of the composer and the genre of a work, not on the nationality of the scribe (ironically, Italianate works by Christian Erbach - a south German - carry Italian titles). The link that Curtis tries to establish between the manuscript and Reinken is tenuous.

Schierning suggests that the contents of *Lynar* made north German provenance unlikely.³⁴ She argues that the use of six-line staves indicates a Netherlands origin, quoting from the preface to Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova* (1624); five-line staves are associated with German sources, and six-line staves with Anglo-Flemish ones. The fact that the sixth line has been deliberately added to the five lines of the German manuscript paper lends support to Schierning's assertion that the manuscript was copied by a Netherlander. Schierning dates the manuscript c. 1615-20, since - without Weckmann - Cornet and Erbach are the youngest composers represented in it. The Spanish Netherlands provenance of *Lynar* is confirmed by

³²Curtis 1964, p. 46.

³³Curtis 1964.

³⁴Schierning, p. 79.

the presence of the Spanish spelling of 'tocata' in some of the titles.³⁵

Lynar shares a common repertory as well as similar notational features with FVB, suggesting that the scribes had some exemplars in common.³⁶ Most of the English pieces occur in both sources, including all of those by Philips. The only piece by Farnaby to occur in two sources where both attribute it to him is 'Muscadin' (FVB no. 293) or 'Kempe's Morris' (*Lynar*, p. 268).³⁷ despite the different titles, the texts differ only in minor details, and probably stem from the same source. The correspondence between FVB and *Lynar* in terms both of notation - the addition of a sixth line to pre-ruled five-line staves - and of repertory suggests that they have a similar provenance: *Lynar* should be considered as a Netherlands source.

In *Lynar* the main group of pieces by Philips is located in the midst of a section of Sweelinck's works, suggesting that all were copied from a common exemplar. Many of Sweelinck's works are unique to the source. It is likely that this exemplar was connected with Sweelinck, and through Sweelinck with Philips, which would explain the exemplary texts for his works. The fragment of Philips's *Passamezzo Pavan* on f. 172 comes at the start of a group of pieces which contains Sweelinck's setting of the *1580 Pavan*. *Lynar* is the only source for Sweelinck's setting, strengthening the view that the scribe obtained exemplars for Sweelinck and Philips from the former.

The designation 'de Italia' in the title of *Passamezzo Pavan* is unique, but the ink of the title does not match that of the music, suggesting that it is a later addition: the title 'Passamezzo' is often accompanied by such a designation in sources from the period. There

³⁵See RILM thesaurus. There are two title hands in *Lynar*: the Spanish spelling is used by the title hand which corresponds to that of the music text. Other titles were added later, and use the more conventional spelling 'toccata'.

³⁶Or exemplars which shared a common branch on the *stemma* of sources.

³⁷*Farnaby MB 24*, No. 38.

are ornament signs at the start, and a later form of the sharp sign (# = Breig, form 'b') is used than in the other Philips pieces.³⁸ At the end of the first full bar, the last minim in the bass has been corrected from a *Bb* to a *D*. There is no obvious reason why the piece was never completed. It may be significant that it occurs at the end of a gathering: perhaps the Sweelinck pieces which follow had already been entered, so the scribe stopped copying when he realized that he would not have room to complete it; or it may be that the scribe began to copy the piece on to p. 172, and stopped when he noticed that he was not copying it into the section containing the Philips pieces. However, it is not the only incomplete piece in the manuscript: the 'Toccata 2di Toni' by Sweelinck which begins on p. 14, i, breaks off on p. 15, v, after which there follow two empty pages. It is possible that the scribe began to copy both pieces from exemplars which fell out of his possession before he had managed to finish.

Philips's setting of Caccini's *Amarilli* stands apart from his other works in *Lynar*. It is not located with the bulk of his work on pp. 214-233, but begins on p. 318. It belongs to a group of pieces by Spanish Netherlands composers, including Cornet, near the end of the manuscript. Significantly it is unattributed, suggesting that the scribe did not know that it was by Philips, so could not place it with the composer's other works. The notational forms used by the scribe for this piece differ from those used for the other Philips pieces, notably in the formation of the F-clef and the type of sharp sign employed.³⁹

It seems likely that the exemplar used by the scribe for this piece was a different source from that used to copy the other Philips pieces. The inclusion of this piece alongside

³⁸Breig illustrates the various forms of musical symbols used by the scribe in *Breig*, p. 109.

³⁹F-clef is Breig form 'b' (form 'a' in other Philips pieces); sharp is Breig form 'b' (form 'a' in other Philips pieces). See *Breig*, p. 109.

works by Cornet and 'M.W.' points to the exemplar being of Netherlands origin, perhaps stemming from Cornet himself.⁴⁰ Of the four pieces concordant with FVB,⁴¹ three have dates supplied by Tregian in the latter source. Of the pieces in the main section of Philips's music, *Rossignol* was composed in 1595, *Chi fara* has no date, and the *Dolorosa Pavan* is dated 1593. It seems likely that all these pieces were composed in the mid-1590s, and were transmitted to the scribe of **Lynar** in the same exemplar. *Amarilli* has a later date than these works: according to Tregian it was composed in 1603. This suggests that the piece was transmitted to the scribe of **Lynar** in a different - later - exemplar from that containing the other Philips pieces. A comparison of the readings of this piece in **Lynar** and FVB shows that the musical texts correspond closely, but that the level of concordance between them is not as great as between the readings of the other works they share. As with the other pieces by Philips, the **Lynar** reading is preferable to that of FVB. The correspondence between the two readings of *Amarilli* in FVB and **Lynar** shows that the scribe of the latter must also have had access to a reliable source, probably one associated with Philips's colleague Cornet, one of the other organists at the archducal court.

The main group of Philips's works has an anonymous intabulation of Marenzio's *Ecco L'Aurora* interpolated between *Chi fara* and the *Dolorosa Pavan*. Its inclusion at this point in the manuscript suggests that it may be a work by Philips which the scribe omitted to ascribe to him. Alternatively, it may have been inserted here to be alongside other intabulations of vocal pieces: it follows Philips's settings of *Rossignol* and *Chi fara*. Although it is not altogether typical of Philips's intabulations, there are sufficient stylistic features in common with other Philips works for a tentative attribution to be made.

⁴⁰The second scribe of **Berlin** describes himself as a pupil of Cornet, and provides ascriptions of pieces in that manuscript to Philips. This suggests that Cornet possessed copies of works by his fellow organist at the Brussels court.

⁴¹Counting the *Dolorosa Pavan* and *Galliard* as one piece on the assumption that they were composed at the same time.

BERLIN

Introduction

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS 40316 (*olim* 191), **Berlin**, contains keyboard music in mensural notation by Italian, Flemish, English, and German composers. It is similar in scope to **Lynar**: both manuscripts offer a significant number of pieces by south German composers. **Berlin** has nine pieces by Peter Philips (see Table on pp. 120-121). The readings of those pieces which are concordant with the **FVB** and **Lynar** tend to be inferior. There are four galliards which are unique to the source. **Berlin** is an important source of Philips's keyboard works, and there has been no detailed study of the manuscript until now.⁴²

Until recently, it was assumed that the manuscript had been destroyed by fire in World War Two, and that the only access to its contents was through a microfilm at Harvard made before the war. In fact there was no fire, and it survived along with other music manuscripts from the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, which had been evacuated in 1941 to Grüssau (now Krzeszów) by way of nearby Schloss Fürstenstein. Richard Vendome has recently confirmed that **Berlin** is now at the Biblioteka Jagiellńska in Kraków.⁴³

Berlin contains three works by Sweelinck, and most of the known keyboard compositions of Pieter Cornet, so it is usually considered to be of Spanish Netherlands provenance. The inclusion of English music would be expected, particularly that of Philips, who was working on the continent. There are also pieces by Italian composers: Frescobaldi is represented by six pieces, Giovanni Gabrieli by three⁴⁴, and there is a toccata by the Roman organist, Paolo Quagliati. Italian music disseminated widely in both manuscript and

⁴²There is a brief description of Berlin in *Vendome BIOS*, pp. 18 seq.

⁴³Letter to *Musical Times*, August 1982, p. 530.

⁴⁴Although two of these are attributed to Christian Erbach elsewhere: see *Erbach CEKM* 36, iv.

printed form, and musicians such as Philips had studied in Italy, so Italian pieces would be expected in a Spanish Netherlands source. Perhaps most significant are the works by south German composers: Christian Erbach is the best-represented composer in the manuscript, with fifteen pieces attributed to him. Although *Berlin* was probably compiled in the Netherlands, there also seems to be a strong connection with south Germany.

It is possible to distinguish three hand forms in the manuscript: the first scribe was responsible for copying most of the music; the second scribe compiled an index which contains the pieces copied by himself, as well as most of those copied by the first scribe; the third scribe copied the last few pieces in the source.

Physical Description

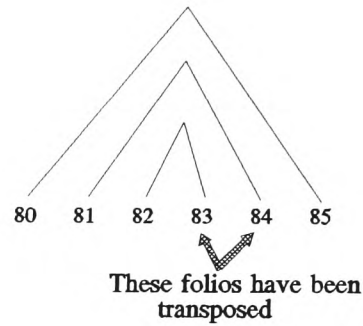
Berlin is not in good condition: there is a lot of 'show-through' of ink, and there are many tears and holes in the paper. The manuscript has a modern binding and flyleaf; the binding has 'Orgelbuch' on the spine. There is a nineteenth-century contents page which gives an alphabetical list of the composers represented in the source, after which follows a reference to Winterfeld's book on Giovanni Gabrieli.⁴⁵ The manuscript originally had a contemporary flyleaf followed by 85 folios, of which two are now missing; the folios measure 385 mm high by 284 mm wide.

The modern flyleaf (which is pasted to the cover) and the nineteenth-century contents page are stitched in with the rest of the manuscript. The present arrangement fails to take into account two missing leaves, ff. 61-62, the existence of which can be deduced from the contemporary foliation (which jumps from f. 60 to f. 63); from the way in which a piece breaks off in the middle at the bottom of f. 61^r; and from a 'ghost' entry in the index

⁴⁵ Winterfeld, *Joh. Gabrieli...*, Berlin, 1834, ii, pp. 107^r (C.G.A.V. von Winterfeld, *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1834).

referring to a piece on one of the missing folios, a piece which has not been misplaced elsewhere in the manuscript. Folios 61 and 62 were included in the original binding since they were present at the time of foliation, when the second scribe compiled the Index.

There is evidence to show that some folios have been rearranged at a later binding: the folios containing the piece which begins on f. 82^v are clearly in the wrong order. If f. 83 is transposed with f. 84 the piece flows from the bottom of f. 82^v to f. 84, then from the bottom of f. 84^v to the top of f. 83, and from the bottom of f. 83^v to the top of f. 85.⁴⁶ The contemporary foliation ceases at f. 81, so it is likely that the folios were confused on rebinding. Example III.2 illustrates the last gathering in the manuscript, and shows that in order for the folios which have been numbered



Example III.2

83 and 84 to be transposed, they must have been separate leaves. With the exceptions of the missing folios, and the transposed leaves of the last gathering, it seems that the original arrangement of the manuscript has been preserved through successive rebindings.

There is evidence to suggest that the manuscript was bound before it reached the second scribe. A piece on the *recto* of f. 52 in Hand 2 is incomplete: the scribe was unable to continue because the *verso* of f. 52 already had music entered by the first scribe, which

⁴⁶An edition of this piece in *Watelet* prints it exactly as it occurs in the manuscript. This edition has been accepted uncritically by writers such as Apel and Curtis, so that the schematic representation of its structure in *Apel 1967* p. 390 gives a necessarily false impression.

flows on to f. 53.

The collation of Berlin is shown in the following table:

COLLATION OF BERLIN	
Modern pastedown, 19th C. contents page, Index, ff. 1-5	A ⁸
ff. 6 - 9	B ⁴
ff. 10 - 17	C ⁸
ff. 18 - 21	D ⁴
ff. 22 - 29	E ⁸
ff. 30 - 33	F ⁴
ff. 34 - 41	G ⁸
ff. 42 - 45	H ⁴
ff. 46 - 53	I ⁸
ff. 54 - 57	K ⁴
ff. 58 - 60 [61 - 62] 63 - 67	L ^{8[10]}
ff. 68 - 71	M ⁴
ff. 72 - 79	N ⁸
ff. 80 - 85	O ⁶

With the exception of the Index page, the chainlines in the seventeenth-century paper in the manuscript run horizontally rather than vertically, and the watermarks appear at the top or bottom of a folio ‘on their side’, at a 90° angle from the normal position. Hence each folio in the manuscript is a single leaf of paper, not a half of a folded bi-folio. Normally each leaf would have been folded down the middle of the vertical plane to produce two folios, with chainlines running vertically and a watermark in the centre of one of them. The leaves of the manuscript have been joined together and reinforced at the centre prior to binding, with the result that the clefs of the first system of Philips’s *Dolorosa Pavan* on f. 6, ii, are now hidden behind the central reinforcement.

There are ten types of watermark in **Berlin**, which are presented full size in Example III.3.⁴⁷ They are characterized by ramparts, an open gateway with portcullis, and towers: these features are common in the heraldic devices of towns in the territory that made up the Holy Roman Empire. Some of the watermarks are unclear: two of them have traces of a single-headed eagle (Ex. III.3c and Ex. III.3e), and there are also lines which could be part of a wing in Ex. III.3b. More significant is the double-headed displayed eagle of the Imperial arms in Ex. III.3f, and a further clue to the provenance of the paper is given by the occurrence of the letter 'K': it signifies that the paper comes from the paper mills at Kempten.⁴⁸ The double-headed eagle was used by free imperial cities to emphasise their status, and the placing of a mural crown on top of the shield of their coat of arms was standard practice.⁴⁹ Vendome implies a connection with the Imperial city of Augsburg, which is only fifty miles from Kempten,⁵⁰ but the coat of arms of Augsburg is unusual for an imperial city: it does not have the imperial eagle, nor the towers, ramparts and gateways usually found in the arms of imperial cities. However, the old town of Kempten became a Free Imperial City in 1289, so it is likely that the heraldic features of the watermarks refer to Kempten itself. The most common watermarks are those illustrated in Ex. III.3a and Ex. III.3d.

⁴⁷They represent examples of those watermarks in which some features can be identified. They are given in numerical order of the folios from which they have been traced.

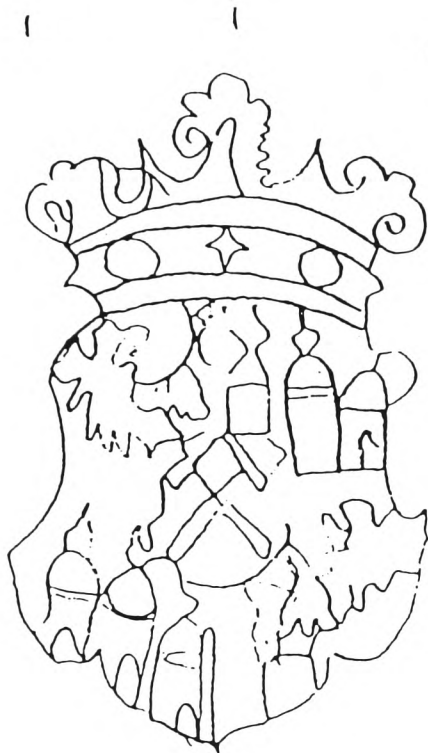
⁴⁸Briquet discusses the double-headed eagle in *Briquet*, i, pp. 30-31; the watermark resembles Briquet no. 298.

⁴⁹*Woodcock*, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁰*Vendome BIOS*, p. 23.

EXAMPLE III.3: WATERMARKS

a) Folio 15



b) Folio 16



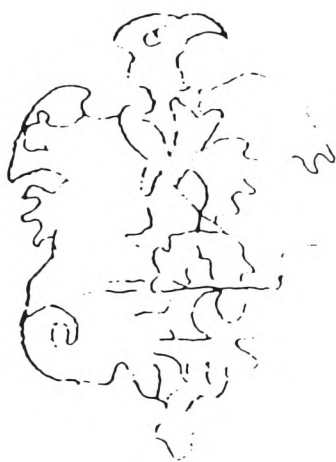
d) Folio 66



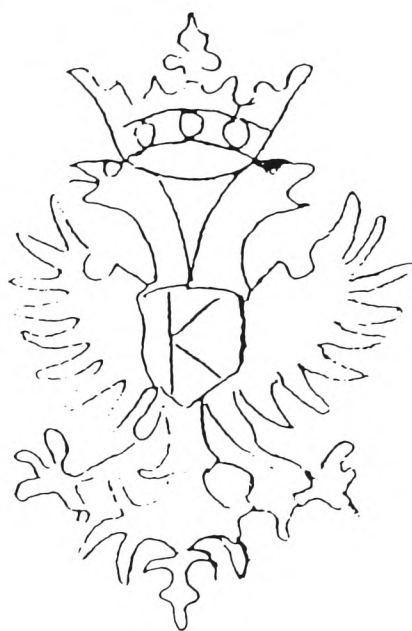
c) Folio 30



e) Folio 70



f) Folio 81



Rastration

The music is written partly on two five-line staves, and partly in open score on four five-line staves. Assuming that the present order of the folios preserves that of the original binding, it would appear that the first scribe copied the music which he wanted to notate on two staves up to f. 62^{vs}, placing the music which he wanted to notate in *partitura* on the folios rastrated with four-staff systems, from f. 66.⁵² The second scribe entered his work on the empty folios, the single folio 52 (where he ran out of room: see above), and ff. 63-65^v. The third scribe added to the end of the manuscript.

Two-staff Rastration: Folios 1-49^v; 51^v-65^v; 74-81^v

A two-staff rastrum is used to produce six systems of two five-line staves to the page. From f. 1 to f. 31 each system is 34 mm high; from f. 32 to f. 57^v each system is 35 mm high; from f. 58 to f. 65^v each system is 34 mm high; and from f. 74 to f. 81^v each two staff rastration is 34 mm high. Hence, two *rastra* were used. There are upper and lower margins of between 23 mm and 30 mm, outer margins of between 23 mm and 30 mm, and inner margins of about 10 mm. The *recto* of f. 74 has an additional five-line staff ruled in brown ink between the first and second systems, and ff. 78^v - 81^v have an extra five-line staff ruled between systems 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, 4 and 5: a five-line rastrum is used, giving an additional staff which measures 13 mm high, which is 1 mm shorter than a single staff of the two-staff rastrum.

⁵¹f. 60^v if the missing folios contained music copied by the second scribe.

⁵²It is interesting that the first scribe appears to have begun to notate Frescobaldi's fantasia 'Sopra 'l GuGu' [*sic*] in two-staff keyboard layout on f. 74, only to decide that it would be better served in four-part open score, and start again on four-staff rastrated paper (f. 71, iv).

Four-staff Rastration: Folios 50-50^v; 66-73^v; 82-85^v

A four-staff rastrum is used to give five systems of four five-line staves to the page. Each system is 55.5 mm high. There are upper and lower margins of c. 20 mm, outer margins of c. 20 mm, and inner margins of c. 10 mm. There are regular barlines ruled at intervals of 14 mm on ff. 50-50^v ruled through each system, and on ff. 66-70^v ruled through the whole page.

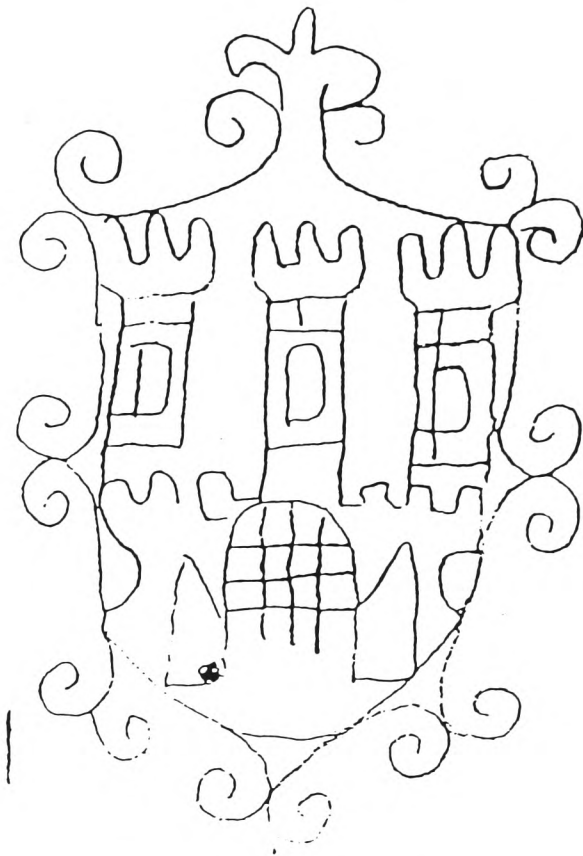
Index

The index is in the hand of the second scribe, and is written on a different type of paper from the rest of the manuscript. It is much thicker than the other folios, the chainlines are vertical rather than horizontal, and the watermark is 'upright'. The watermark has ramparts, an open gateway with portcullis, and three towers, so may originate from the same mills as the rest of the paper (Ex. III.4). However, such designs are common throughout Europe, and the details differ from the other watermarks: the towers are of a different shape from those in the Ex. III.3a; and both doors of the gateway are clearly shown to be open, whereas in Ex. III.3d only one door is visible. The watermark is not found elsewhere in the source, so it seems likely that this leaf was added by the second scribe. The index includes all the pieces in Hand 2, so was compiled after Scribe 2 had completed his work. It does not include the works of the third scribe. The Index is transcribed in Appendix 4.

Foliation

There is a contemporary foliation in brown ink at the top right hand corner of each *recto* up until f. 81, after which it is continued in modern pencil. Since the first scribe uses black ink, and the other two scribes use brown ink, the foliation could not be the work of the first scribe. The Index to the manuscript is in the second hand, and contains folio references,

EXAMPLE III.4: Watermark on the Index Folio



so the foliator has to be the second scribe. Although the foliation continues on to leaves which now contain Hand 3, these must have been empty folios numbered in preparation for the addition of more music.⁵³ Folios 15 and 16 have been trimmed by about 10 mm along their outer edge, clipping the original folio numbers, which shows that they were trimmed at a later binding, after the second scribe had added the folio numbers; modern pencil folio numbers have been added to these folios. There is also a modern pagination in pencil at the bottom right hand corner of each *recto*; the *verso* of each folio is not numbered.

The Scribes

Characteristics of the Scribal Hands

There are three hands in **Berlin**: Example III.5 illustrates their respective clef forms. Hand 1 is responsible for the majority of the music. Hand 2 very rarely uses a *custos* at the end of a system. The second scribe compiled the index, where he calls Cornet 'mio m[aest]ro'.⁵⁴ He includes some dates in his copying, the last of which is 30 September 1625, so he had finished his work by about this time. Both Hand 2 and Hand 3 use straight lines for ties. Hand 3 is small, and is often quite spread out; he is responsible for only a handful of pieces.

Thurston Dart suggested that the scribe who was Cornet's pupil was probably Abraham Strauss,⁵⁵ but in the second volume of Bull's keyboard music, Dart mistakenly identified the *first* hand ^{as} his, going on to suggest that the second hand might be Cornet's.⁵⁶

⁵³This lends support to the hypothesis that Berlin was in a bound state on entering the possession of the second scribe.

⁵⁴Under the heading 'Corrente', with the entry for the piece on f. 63.

⁵⁵Dart 1971, p. 27.

⁵⁶Bull MB 19, p. 225.

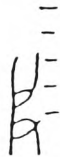
EXAMPLE III.5: Clef Forms

a) Hand 1

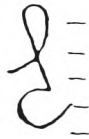
b) Hand 2

C-clef

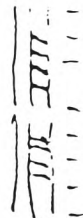
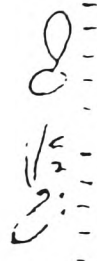
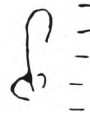
Bass Clef



C-clef



c) Hand 3



Similarly, Alan Curtis asserts that *Berlin* was ‘compiled by a pupil of Cornet’,⁵⁷ which leads him to conclude that the inclusion of music by Erbach in the manuscript indicates that his work was well known in the Netherlands. However, it is the *second* scribe who calls Cornet ‘mio m[aest]ro’, and he copied only five of the pieces in the manuscript, none of which are compositions by South Germans.

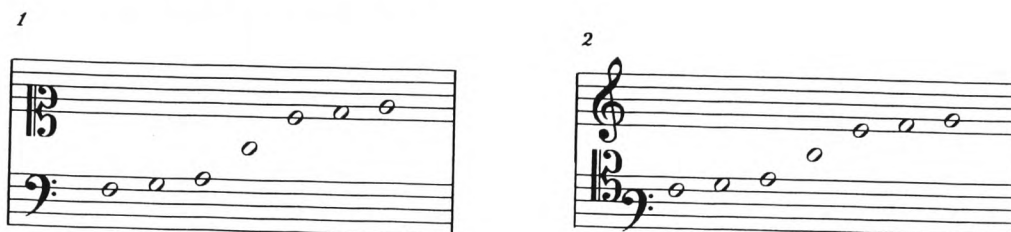
It is important to remember that the Spanish Netherlands were tied to southern Germany and Austria through the Hapsburg family. After the abdication of Charles V in 1555, Spain and the Netherlands passed to Philip II, while Ferdinand II, Philip’s brother, became Holy Roman Emperor. Archduke Albert of Austria ruled the Spanish Netherlands on behalf of Philip II: he was Philip II’s nephew and had grown up at the Spanish court. None the less, there is a connection through the Hapsburgs between the Brussels court and South Germany.

The First Scribe: a South German working in the Spanish Netherlands

The first hand is remarkably consistent, and shows no signs of development, so it is likely that the first scribe was active over a relatively short period of time. There are features which suggest that the manuscript was compiled in the Spanish Netherlands: the two-staff keyboard notation employs two sets of clef combinations in both of which the staves run together such that there is only one possible location for any given note (see Example III.6). This contrasts with the Anglo-Flemish sources, such as the *FVB* and *Lynar*, but is a feature shared with a source known to have been compiled in the Spanish Netherlands, *Liège*.

The inclusion of works by William Browne supports a Netherlands provenance: apart from *Berlin*, his works exist only in other sources from this region, *Liège* and **89**. One of

⁵⁷Curtis 1972, p. 139.

CLEF COMBINATIONS IN *BERLIN*

Example III.6

his pieces in *Berlin* was copied by the second scribe, who as a pupil of Cornet must have been working in the Spanish Netherlands: this supports the view that the first scribe, who copied the other pieces by Browne, was also working in the region. Similarly, there are works by Philips in both *Berlin* and *Liège* 153 which are unique to their sources. Sources which have a provenance from further afield tend to contain a relatively small number of his better-known instrumental pieces, so the presence of otherwise unknown pieces by Philips would tend to suggest a local provenance. The presence of works by obscure English composers such as Sergeant Major Kennedy, who may have been a soldier in the Irish or Scots regiment of Archduke Albert's army,⁵⁸ also lends support to the view that the manuscript was compiled in the Spanish Netherlands, whatever the first scribe's nationality.

Although *Berlin* was clearly compiled in the Spanish Netherlands, there is evidence to link the manuscript with South Germany, and to suggest that the scribe may have come from the Augsburg region. The paper comes from Kempten, near Augsburg: in itself, the origin of the paper is not sufficient to prove a German connection, since paper from the paper mills of the region was exported to other countries (including the Spanish Netherlands), but a connection between the manuscript and the Augsburg area is supported by the inclusion of

⁵⁸*Vendome BIOS*, p. 22.

music by Christian Erbach and Hans [Johann] Leo Hassler, both of whom lived and worked in Augsburg under the patronage of the Fugger family.

When **Berlin** is considered in relation to the other sources for the music of Erbach and Hassler, it seems more probable that it was compiled by a South German with local knowledge of South German composers, than that the scribe was a Netherlander who copied pieces by them that were circulating widely in the Spanish Netherlands. Of the ten sources of music by Erbach listed in the introduction to the edition of his music in *Erbach CEKM 36* only four use staff notation, the rest being in German Keyboard Tablature. Out of these four, one is the source under discussion (**Berlin**) and one is a late source (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 5368), leaving **Lynar** and **Lynar A2**. These manuscripts are related, and in the same hand, so may be considered together: they represent a large collection of music of all nationalities, including a section of French works, in which the works of Erbach are not especially prominent.⁵⁹ Hence all the most significant sources for Erbach's keyboard music are in tablature, and of South German provenance.

What distinguishes **Berlin** from Anglo-Flemish and Spanish-Netherlands manuscripts is that, with the exception of concordances for Philips and some Sweelinck works with **Lynar**, all the other sources with which **Berlin** is concordant are of South German origin. **Lynar** and its companion volume - **Berlin**, Staatsbibliothek, Lübbenau MS **Lynar A2** - are large anthologies which contain music from most regions in Europe, so music from South Germany is to be expected. In **Berlin**, however, the inclusion of a substantial body of pieces by Erbach, and the concordances with South German rather than northern manuscripts, implies a South German nationality for the first scribe.

The use of five line staves distinguishes **Berlin** from other Anglo-Flemish sources,

⁵⁹**Lynar A1** has five (of which two are of doubtful attribution) and **Lynar A2** has nine, out of a total of 126 pieces.

such as the FVB. The preface to Samuel Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova* (1624) implies that five-line staves were Germanic as opposed to the six-line Anglo-Flemish staff.⁶⁰ Clearly the problem with 'Anglo-Flemish' notation is that the voice-leading becomes obscured: German organists would have been more familiar with German keyboard tablature, in which the individual voice lines are preserved, so Scheidt chooses *partitura* staff notation in preference to two-staff notation for his 'new tablature'. *Partitura* layout occurs in Italian keyboard prints of the period, but is rare in manuscript sources. The presence of both five-line staves and the use of *partitura* for some pieces corresponds to the description of Scheidt's new notation. The folios rastrated for *partitura* layout occur towards the end of the volume, but contain works in Hand 1 as well as the later Hand 3: the *partitura* rastration was used by the first scribe, not added by one of the later scribes.

The absence of gothic script in the titles is not necessarily significant: the works preserved in the manuscript tend to be Italianate, including the pieces by the south Germans. There are intabulations of *Italian* madrigals rather than of German vocal pieces; in other contemporary manuscripts, Gothic script is usually reserved for pieces requiring German titles. It may be significant that the first scribe uses an unorthodox spelling, 'toccada', for the more usual 'toccata' (the spelling used by the second scribe in the Index and on f. 35^v for the title of the Erbach toccata): this may indicate that he was a German; more certain evidence is that he spells Giovanni Gabrieli as 'Joan Gabriel'. Of course, he may have simply been reproducing what he found in his exemplar, but his exemplar would thus have been a German one. Most works attributed to Gabrieli in Berlin are ascribed to Erbach in concordant sources (see the concordance in Appendix 4). Conflicts of attribution in the sources containing the music of south German composers are common because Erbach and Hassler had studied in

⁶⁰Translation in *Apel* 1949, p. 20.

Italy: the inclusion of pieces by Gabrieli amongst those by Erbach might be expected if the scribe had used an exemplar stemming from the Erbach's own manuscripts. The presence of works by Italian composers copied from German exemplars strengthens the view that the first scribe was a German. Perhaps he was connected in some way to the court at Brussels: Albert was Archduke of Austria as well as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.

Another conflict of attribution involves a work which is ascribed to Carlo Luython, a Netherlander: in concordant sources it is given to Jacob Hassler.⁶¹ Luython moved to the imperial court chapel at Vienna as a chorister, so it could be that the differing ascriptions resulted from his music circulating in south Germany alongside that of the Hasslers.

Berlin stands apart from other Anglo-Flemish and Spanish-Netherlands sources which have concordances with south-German manuscripts also because of the inclusion of music by otherwise unknown composers from the region, such as Abraham Strauss, whose music otherwise was not widely disseminated. Very little is known of Abraham Strauss, but there is sufficient to be able to refute Dart's suggestion that he was the first scribe. Strauss was an organist in Vienna, a member of a family which was in the service of the Hapsburgs for several generations; he died in 1598.⁶² There may be a link between Strauss and Luython: the latter's masses were published by Nikolaus Strauss,⁶³ perhaps a relative of Abraham Strauss (although Strauss is a common name). If Strauss were the scribe, then the first part of the manuscript would have to have been completed by his death in 1598. However, the pieces by Frescobaldi concordant with *Il Primo Libro delle Fantasie a Quattro*, 1608, are so closely related to the print that they must have been copied from it: the scribe is unusually

⁶¹See list of concordances in Appendix 4.

⁶²Geiringer, p. 53-54.

⁶³Nicolai Straus, *Collectio Missarum 7 vocum*, Prague, 1609 (See Fétis, *Biographie Universelle*, v, p. 384).

accurate in his copying, especially of accidentals, and the pieces occur consecutively both in Berlin and the print (nos. 7-9).⁶⁴ Hence the manuscript dates from after 1608, so Strauss could not have been the scribe.

The first scribe may have been a composer: at various points he appears to be composing directly into the manuscript. In Strauss's intabulation of Rore's madrigal *Ancor che col partire* there is a paste-on covering bars 2-6 of f. 49, vi: some of the original is still visible, and it is apparent that it was very different from the final version. It seems that the scribe was reworking the passage rather than correcting a mistake in his copying. The first scribe also provides a decorated version of the repeat of the final strain of Philips's *Dolorosa Galliard* which is not found in any other source: here he is simply ornamenting an entire strain which has an identical written-out repeat in the other sources. There are a number of competent anonymous pieces, such as the canzonas on ff. 50-51^v, which may be the work of the first scribe.⁶⁵

The work of the first scribe contains many paste-ons correcting errors in the copying. The errors are frequently mistakes involving the interval of a third created by mis-transposition by a line or a space.⁶⁶ There are many erasures, and a number of the paste-ons seem to have been added during the copying process, once the scribe realized that he had made a mistake: the error was covered over by the paste-on, then the scribe entered the correction and continued copying onto the page itself, with the musical text overlapping the paste-on and main page. It is clear that the first scribe - or someone else - checked the

⁶⁴See the concordance in Appendix 4, f. 58. Surprisingly, the scribe does not preserve the four-part score of the print, but notates the pieces on two five-line staves. It is worth noting that the print was issued following Frescobaldi's visit to the Netherlands in 1608.

⁶⁵However, since these works form a small section in the manuscript, it is possible that they are by some other unnamed composer. Note that the sketch at the bottom of ff. 1^v-2 is in the third hand, so is not the work of the first scribe.

⁶⁶For example, see the 'Fuga Christian Erbach' beginning on f. 53^v, iv. A paste-on in the *ricercar* by Erbach beginning on f. 47^v, iii has become unstuck, and it is possible to see that the error was the misplacement of the notes by a third.

accuracy of his copying, marking the presence of mistakes with 'NB' in the margin.⁶⁷ If the first scribe were a south German rather than a Netherlander, then it could be that the relatively high proportion of errors in his work is due to his being more used to German keyboard tablature than to staff notation: there are fewer mistakes in the pieces which he notates in open score, which accords with the view expressed by Scheidt that German keyboard players would find pieces notated in *partitura* easier to read than the short-score notation of the English and Flemish.

The first scribe was erratic in his inclusion of accidentals. On occasion it is clear that an accidental was entered at the same time as the note to which it is attached: in the third bar of the untitled piece which begins on f. 20, an accidental is deleted along with its note, and a correction inserted, suggesting that both were entered at the same time. However, the occurrence of very cramped accidentals shows that the first scribe evidently returned to his work and added some of the accidentals at a later date. It is possible to tell whether an accidental is contemporaneous with the initial copying, or whether it is a later addition, by the spacing: on f. 3, i, 6 the accidental was obviously written before the note which follows it was copied; on f. 3, vi, 5 the accidental was clearly added later, and there is not quite enough room for it.

The Beaming of the Smaller Notevalues in the Pieces Copied by the First Scribe

There is unusually clear evidence of a relationship between the beaming of smaller notevalues and articulation in the work of the first scribe. Although much of the time the beaming is regular, there are occasions when it is clear that the scribe has purposefully altered his original beaming. The best example is in 'M' James his Galiard' on f. 12^v, where he changes a single quaver followed by two beamed quavers into a group of three beamed

⁶⁷See the pieces beginning on folios 20^v, 36^v, vi, 57, iii, 3, in Appendix 4.

quavers (Example III.7). Another interesting example from the Philips pieces occurs in the *Dolorosa Pavan*: the original beaming followed that given in the FVB, but at some point the scribe returned to the piece to add beams joining the pairs of semiquavers, to make a single group of four (Example III.8). From this it is clear that the beaming of the smaller notevalues had a significance for the scribe.

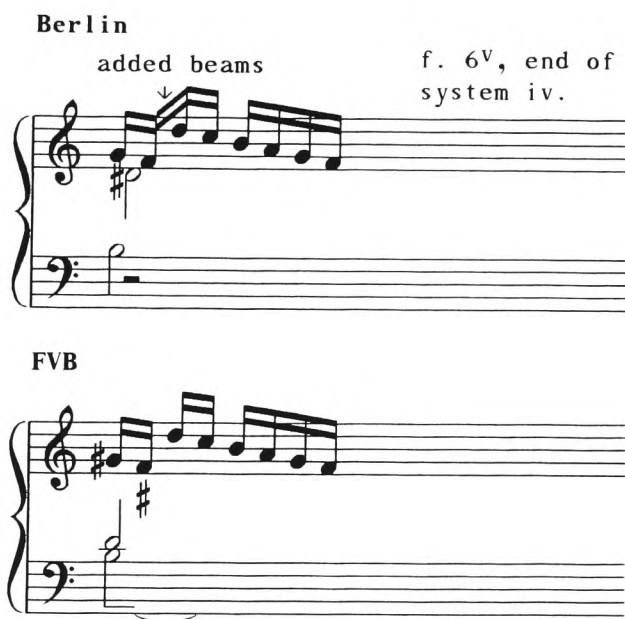
In pieces in triple metre the beaming of the smaller notevalues is often used to suggest

a subtle metrical interplay between parts. For example, in the triple section of the *Passamezzo Pavan* on f. 4, i, the prevailing metre is 6/4. In the FVB, many groups of quavers are beamed in fours, giving a conflict of metre between 6/4 and 3/2. The scribe of Berlin is more inclined to beam the quavers in sixes, giving a 6/4 metre in both hands, but uses beaming to produce less predictable metrical groups. Example III.9 shows two bars from this section of the piece, giving both sources.

The discrepancies in the beaming between the FVB and Berlin show that, as with *musica ficta* and ornamentation, there was a variety of practice. The presence of the same



Example III.7

Example III.8 *Dolorosa Pavan*, b. 69.

FVB

Berlin

Example III.9 *Passamezzo Pavan*, b. 179-80

galliard in two differing versions in **Berlin** (ff. 7^v and 31) provides an illustration: although many bars share the same beaming patterns, there is a degree of discrepancy between their beaming of the smaller note-values in proportion with discrepant readings of accidentals or ornamental figures. Sometimes there are inconsistencies within the space of a few bars in the same piece: compare the *cantus* of the first bar of the repeated first strain in the *Dolorosa Galliard* with the bass in the bar following (Example III.10).⁶⁸

The Second Scribe

There are fewer errors, and no paste-ons, in the work of the second scribe. The second scribe has added titles to some pieces entered by the first scribe: these include works by Cornet on f. 16^v and f. 35^v, and by Philips on ff. 7^v and 30^v. The second scribe records

⁶⁸An analogy can be drawn between inconsistent beaming of the smaller note-values in early keyboard music and inconsistent bowing indications in late eighteenth-century writing for strings.

Berlin
Dolorosa Galliard,
 b. 9–10.



Example III.10

the dates on which two pieces by Cornet which he copied had been sent to him: 6 November 1624 on f. 63, and 30 September 1625 on f. 65.⁶⁹ The second scribe describes himself as Cornet's pupil in the Index, so it is reasonable to suppose that the attributions to Cornet are correct. The dates are precise as to the day, confirming that the scribe was closely connected to the composer. The scribe was obviously familiar with his master's work, for he notes that the *Fantasia* by Cornet which begins on f. 16^v is incomplete, lacking the third part.

Apel deduces from the use of Italian in the titles of pieces that the second scribe was 'an Italian pupil of Cornet'.⁷⁰ The second scribe studied with Cornet, but the question of his nationality is less certain, since Italian terminology is normal in music manuscripts of this period. Bearing this in mind, it is perhaps more significant that the second writer three times uses a Spanish version of William Browne's name, Guillermo Bruno.⁷¹ Cornet's life is not well documented, and it is possible that he is the Pedro Cornet who sang in the 'capilla flamenca' (made up of Netherlanders) in Spain before returning to Brussels in 1599. This would explain Cornet's sudden appearance in Brussels, becoming a court organist in c. 1600, and then organist at the Church of St. Nicholas (1603–6).⁷² If this is the case, then it is possible that the second scribe was a Spanish pupil, who may even have come to the Spanish

⁶⁹For the inscription, see inventory in Appendix 4.

⁷⁰Apel 1968, p. 659.

⁷¹Vendome SNKM 2, p. 7, footnote 3.

⁷²Vendome BIOS, p. 23.

Netherlands with his 'maestro'. Alternatively, he may have been a fellow Netherlander who had Spanish contacts, either as a musician working in Spain, or simply as a Netherlander working under Spanish rule. An examination of the way in which the first two scribes use the double-stroke ornament sign makes this second possibility the more likely, and gives added weight to the theory that the first scribe was German.

There are double-stroke ornaments in a number of the pieces in the manuscript, mostly in works copied by the first scribe. They occur in the pieces which begin on ff. 16, 19^v, 20, 22^v, 25 (only one), 28, 28^v (one each for 'Ad te' and 'Eia Ergo'), 29, and 29^v, all of which are in Hand 1; and 52, 63, 64, 64^v, and 65, all of which are in Hand 2. In both cases the ornament signs are limited to a fairly small number of folios in close proximity, suggesting that each scribe had an exemplar containing pieces with ornaments that he used at a particular stage in his copying. Although there are ornaments in more pieces copied by the first scribe than by the second, the second scribe will use them consistently throughout a piece, whereas in those pieces copied by the first scribe they tend to be concentrated at the beginning. This indicates that the first scribe had access to sources containing them, but that he did not consider them to be important enough to include throughout a piece; perhaps this is indicative of a German rather than Anglo-Flemish nationality. Double-stroke ornaments occur in all but one of the pieces copied by the second scribe, making it more likely that he was a Netherlander than of Spanish nationality. There are no double-stroke ornament signs in the works attributed to Philips.

The Second Scribe and Peter Philips

Berlin contains several galliards attributed to Philips which are unique to the source. The second scribe includes these in his index, and takes the opportunity to draw attention to similarities between them. At first it is not entirely clear what he means, but a close look at

what he writes (see transcription of Index in Appendix 4) reveals that he is noting the concordance of the galliard on f. 7^v with that on f. 31, and the concordance of the galliard on f. 8^v with that on f. 30. All the galliards are listed under a sub-heading 'Galliarde.' in the section headed 'Passamezzo e Pauane'. The first to be given is the 'Galliarda di d° P.P....fol. 7B'. Then follows the galliard to the *Dolorosa Pavan* on f. 8, including the information that it was composed in prison: this is the only place in the manuscript where it is attributed to Philips. The next galliard to be listed is 'Galliarda di d° re fa fa la...fol. 8B'. Underneath this, and slightly indented, comes 'Questa gaillarda [*sic*] e Transposta à càrta [fol.] 30' - 'the same galliard, transposed, on folio 30'. These galliards are two different settings of John Dowland's *Piper's Galliard*, one transposed by the interval of a second: they are considered in a discussion of Dowland's influence on Philips in Chapter 7. Under the reference to the galliard on f. 30 comes 'Come l']l'istesso la 1^a Gallida [*sic*] à fol. 31.', slightly indented which gives the impression that it is in some way connected to the previous piece. However, the scribe is clear that it is concordant with the *first galliard*, in other words the first to be listed, that on f. 7^v. The pieces are indeed related, the piece on f. 7^v being a more decorated version of that on f. 31. The two galliards were obviously circulated together in the Spanish Netherlands: they occur in close proximity on both occurrences in the manuscript, suggesting that they were copied from two different exemplars.

Cornet was an organist at the Brussels court with Philips, so it is possible that the scribe based his attribution of the pieces on f. 7^v and f. 30^v on the word of his teacher. Alternatively, if the scribe himself had connections with the court, then it is possible that the scribe would have known Philips personally. Similarly, although the first scribe entered the *Dolorosa Pavan* and *Galliard* by Philips, it is the second scribe who adds attribution to Philips in the index, and supplies the information that it was composed in prison, evidence corroborated by Tregian's date in FVB, the year of his imprisonment at The Hague (see

Chapter 1). The second scribe therefore is seen to provide reliable information, so his attributions of *unica* to Philips may be considered to have authority.⁷³ The style of the four unique galliards (ff. 7^v and 31, ff. 8^v and 30) is similar to Philips's *Paget Galliard*, confirming his authorship.⁷⁴

The 'Aria del Gran Duca' on f. 19^v in Hand 1 could be Philips's work: there is a consort setting of the *Aria del Gran Duca* by Philips in 3665 which bears a very close resemblance to the keyboard setting found here. In particular, the descant correspondence between the two versions is unusual in the repertory of *Aria del Gran Duca* settings. However, the *Aria del Gran Duca* in Berlin is positioned in the middle of a section devoted to pieces by Cornet, rather than with the bulk of pieces by Philips. Although two galliards attributed to Philips on ff. 30^v and 31 are also isolated from the rest of the Philips pieces, these do not come in the middle of a succession of pieces by another composer, and both occur in different versions earlier in the manuscript amidst the other Philips pieces. Furthermore, the structure of the settings does not match exactly, and there are small differences in the bass. Hence it is possible that the piece in question is a setting of the *Aria del Gran Duca* composed by Cornet, but influenced by Philips's instrumental piece: it is significant that the title in Berlin is a shortened form of that found in 3665.⁷⁵ The last section of the setting is related to Sweelinck's *Balletto del Granduca*, bars 17-20, suggesting that the composer was a Netherlander, even if not Cornet.⁷⁶

⁷³The second scribe also supplies the information that William Browne was known as 'La Janetton' in the title to the one piece by Brown copied by him (f. 52), which suggests a closer connection between composer and scribe than is the case with the first scribe.

⁷⁴The influence of Dowland on the *Paget Galliard* and the keyboard intabulations in Berlin is discussed in Chapter 7.

⁷⁵'Aria del Gran Duca Ferdinando di Toscana P.P.' becomes 'Aria del Gran Duca'. For titles for other settings, see *Kirkendale*.

⁷⁶*Sweelinck*, Fascicle iii, No. 1.

Alterations made by the Second Scribe to the work of the First Scribe

It is clear that the second scribe did not merely add to the manuscript, but made practical use of the material supplied by the first scribe: on occasion he has made alterations to the musical text. In one instance this involves the addition of notes, continuing a downward scale in the alto part on f. 24^v, ii, 6-7 in a lighter coloured ink.

In pieces composed by Philips copied by the first scribe, and in the *Ballet* on f. 13, there are a number of accidentals which are in a light brown ink. Ink colour is not in itself a guide to scribal identity, for at times the second scribe uses an ink which is sufficiently close to that used by the first scribe to be confused with it. For example, in f. 30^v, ii, 3 the last bass note and its sharp are both in a lighter ink, but they are in Hand 1: the first scribe returned himself at a later date and made the correction with a different coloured ink.⁷⁷ Similarly, there are a number of corrections in a lighter ink in Erbach's *Chromatic Fantasia*, some of which are in Hand 1 and some of which are the work of the second scribe: on f. 42^v, iii, 2 there is a correction which is in Hand 1; on f. 43, iii, 5-6, there is a correction in Hand 2. None the less, ink colour is an indicator which, in conjunction with other evidence, shows that the second scribe added accidentals to pieces copied by the first scribe.

In Philips's *Passamezzo Pavan* and *Galliard* there are a number of flats that are in a light ink, and that are angled in a way which is unique to the second scribe: in Example III.11 the flat from f. 4^v, v, 5 shows the upright form of Hand 1; the one taken from f. 65, vi, 2 is a flat at an angle in Hand 2; and in between there is one of the flats from the *Passamezzo Galliard* (f. 4^v, v, 7) added by the second scribe, which matches Hand 2 both in angle and size. The situation with sharp signs is more difficult to determine: whereas each hand had a characteristic form of the flat sign, the nature of the sharp sign means that all

⁷⁷There is other evidence of the first scribe correcting his work (see above).

EXAMPLE III.11

Hand 1	Hand 2?	Hand 2
f. 4 ^v , v, 5	f. 4 ^v , v, 7	f. 65, vi, 2
		

hands have a variety of sizes and shapes. However, it is clear that at least some of the sharps in the Philips pieces which are in a lighter colour ink are later additions by the second scribe.

In the *Ballet* on f. 13, Hand 1 uses a brown ink, so it is possible that all the sharps are his, whereas the form of some of the flats indicates that they are definitely later additions by the second scribe. With the exception of this piece, the addition of accidentals by the second scribe to pieces copied by the first scribe seems to have been limited to the pieces by Philips. The works by Philips are the only pieces notated in black ink by the first scribe which have accidentals added in a light brown ink. The extra flats are definitely the work of the second scribe; the sharps may be additions by either scribe, but the presence of the flats in Hand 2 makes it likely that the added sharps in these pieces were also added by him.

The Third Scribe

The third scribe acquired **Berlin** at some point after 30 September 1625, the latest date in the second hand to occur in the manuscript. He added five pieces and a sketch; these include a fantasia by Sweelinck, some anonymous works, and two pieces by composers active in South Germany, Hassler and Luython.

Philips's *Passamezzo Galliard*

In Part 2 of the thesis it will be shown that the readings of Philips's pieces - and specifically his *Dolorosa Pavan* - in **Berlin** are related to those in **FVB** and **Lynar**. Generally the texts of **Berlin** are of inferior quality. They also appear to be earlier than the texts of **FVB** and **Lynar**. In particular, the *Passamezzo Galliard* is substantially different from the version found in **FVB**: not all the variations are the same, and there is no *saltarello* section in **Berlin**; those variations which are present in both sources do not occur in the same order.

The first scribe was using an earlier exemplar than that used by Tregian, probably an intermediate exemplar stemming from a previous version of Philips's piece. It is likely that Tregian obtained Philips's keyboard pieces by 1605, so the intermediate source would date from before then. It is possible that the version present in FVB represents a revision made specially for Tregian: if so, it is difficult to be sure whether the date of 1592 affixed to *Passamezzo Pavan* in FVB is that of original composition or revision; since the date is attached to the pavan, which is concordant with Berlin, the former is more likely.

LIÈGE

Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, MS 153 (*olim* 888), *Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium* (Liège), is a manuscript containing keyboard music in mensural notation, some of which is clearly intended for the organ (although there is no specifically liturgical organ music in the volume). As its title suggests, the manuscript once belonged to the library of the Crutched Friars of Liège.⁷⁸

Liège was transcribed by Guilmant, and published by Durand in Paris shortly before the organist's death.⁷⁹ It has been used as a source for individual composers' music, and Robert Judd has recently provided a more detailed study of the manuscript.⁸⁰ The works contained within it are invariably titled 'Fantasie' or 'Echo', and Bernard Foccroulle has produced a study of the anonymous echo pieces which was published in 1986, but based on research carried out in 1980.⁸¹

The source contains two pieces attributed to Peter Philips, the 'Fantasie de petro philippi' (Liège) on f. 5, and the 'Fantasie de petro philippi' on f. 42, which is a setting of *Chi fara* independent of the setting in FVB. A comparison of the Liège *Chi fara* with the sources of the other setting shows that the former is less polished and not as mature as the latter,⁸² so is probably earlier.⁸³

The volume is in an upright format measuring 368 mm x 247 mm, although there are irregularities due to the trimming of the folios. It contains a title page followed by 76 folios, which have two foliations: the earlier numbers them 1-76, and this is the one used by

⁷⁸For details of the manuscript's history, see *Dart* 1963, pp. 21-23.

⁷⁹*Guilmant*.

⁸⁰*Judd*, Chapter 7.

⁸¹*Foccroulle*.

⁸²See transcription in Volume 3, nos. 3 & 4.

⁸³The Italianate style of *Liège* on f. 5 has led to its placement after the Gabrieli intonations.

Guilmant in his edition; there is also a modern foliation in blue ink which numbers the folios 1-77 including the title page, and this is the foliation used by Judd, which will be followed here. Neither foliation is contemporary with the manuscript.

The paper is ruled using a five-line rastrum to give twelve five-line staves to a page. However, these are spaced to give the illusion of six ten-line staves, and the scribe uses clefs in such a way that the two five-line staves run together as one ten-line staff, with each note having only one possible location on the staff. It follows that the distribution of notes between the hands does not correlate to the staff in which they occur. Judd maintains that the division of notes between the hands is indicated by stem direction, but on examination this does not appear to be the case.⁸⁴

Schierning refers to the use of one staff of ten lines in the manuscript as being Italianate, and the use of two five-line staves as being typical of the practice in the Netherlands.⁸⁵ Focroulle sees the use of five-line staves as being typical of French notation of the period.⁸⁶ However, the way in which the two five-line staves run together to make one ten-line staff recalls **Berlin**, another Spanish Netherlands source.

The original binding has not survived: the restoration of the manuscript in 1988 replaced the nineteenth-century covers. Each folio is separately mounted, and the order of copying was different from the present order of the folios. The title page reads:

Liber fratrum Cruciferorum | Leodiensium | [decorative underlining] | [library stamp] | 30 d'Auoust [90 mm from bottom]

There is no reason to connect the date 30 August on the title page with the year 1617 given on the *verso* of the last folio. There is no reference to the contents of the book on the title

⁸⁴Judd, p. 305, fn. 5.

⁸⁵Schierning, p. 86.

⁸⁶Focroulle, p. 23.

page, and it is different paper from that of the rest of the manuscript, so it is unlikely to have been originally associated with the volume. The paper is unusually thick (c. 0.5 mm) and has a rough texture; there are no watermarks.

There has been disagreement over the number of scribal hands contained in the manuscript: Dart believed the manuscript to have been copied by a single scribe over a period of years, with the exception of no. 51 on f. 75^v.⁸⁷ Seiffert similarly held that there was one scribe.⁸⁸ Vendome argues that there are three hands,⁸⁹ and Schierning refers to several hands.⁹⁰ Judd follows Dart's position, but argues that no. 51 has the same scribal characteristics as the following three pieces, and that the whole manuscript is the work of one man.⁹¹

Judd allows that there are several distinct stages in the development of the hand, but suggests that the evidence from the manuscript does not sustain the argument that there was more than one scribe. In particular, he points to changes in the clef and *custos* formations⁹², but suggests that the comparison of folios containing different styles of clef and *custos* formation shows also the overall similarity of hand, and in particular the characteristic shape of the descending note-stems, which have a similar angle of descent throughout the manuscript.⁹³ In fact, the descending note-stems serve to differentiate two distinct hand-

⁸⁷Dart 1963, p. 24.

⁸⁸Seiffert, p. xlii.

⁸⁹Vendome BIOS, p. 28.

⁹⁰Schierning, p. 86.

⁹¹Judd, p. 310, fn.9.

⁹²Judd, p. 311: facsimiles of f. 2 and f. 17, showing differences between earlier and later styles of hand.

⁹³Judd, p. 310.

forms: on some folios the stem emerges from the left of the notehead, as in modern practice, but on others it descends from the middle of the notehead.⁹⁴ In the first of these forms the noteheads are more rounded (Example III.12a), whereas in the second they are thinner and at a slant (Example III.12b). It can be demonstrated that the first of these hand-forms develops through several transitional stages into the second, and that there is only one scribe at work in the volume. The common scribal identity for the two distinct hand-forms is confirmed by the style of the anonymous echo pieces which occur in both handforms: these anonymous works on the whole are of little merit, are almost certainly the work of the scribe, and preserve a stylistic unity regardless of the hand-form in which they are written.

Judd divides the stages of development into Handform A, Handform T (Transitional), and Handform B: he gives a table summarising hand-forms used in each piece.⁹⁵ Folio 58^v is unequivocal proof that B is a later stage of hand than A, since B finishes a piece that A started. Judd suggests five stages of copying.⁹⁶ With the exception of nos. 51-54, which are held to be the earliest pieces to be copied, Judd does not think it 'possible to determine a more specific chronological order within the individual stages'.⁹⁷ However, by a close examination of the different inks and quills used by the scribe, and a consideration of the way in which his hand develops within Judd's stages of copying, a new, more refined, chronology

⁹⁴Practice varies with open noteheads, although there is a clear contrast on f. 58^v, where both methods occur. However, filled noteheads with stems are invariably different, the shape of the noteheads with downward stems being unmistakable.

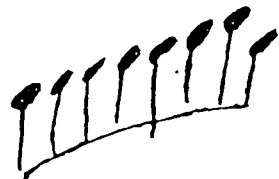
⁹⁵*Judd*, p. 313.

⁹⁶*Judd*, p. 315.

⁹⁷*Judd*, p. 315.

EXAMPLE III.12

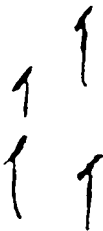
a) Hand A



f. 2, v, 3

b) Hand B

(i) Crotchets from f. 36, vi



(ii) f. 33, iv, 4



of the manuscript may be established.⁹⁸ The following table summarises the stages of the copying, labelling the earlier transitional stages A1 to A4, and retaining Judd's Transitional Handform T and the later Handform B.⁹⁹

STAGES OF COPYING IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER			
STAGE	HAND	FOLIOS	PIECES
1	A1	75 ^v - 77 ^v	51-54
2	A2	18 - 32 ^v 35 - 35 ^v 40 - 41 ^v 1 - 5,iv	17-23 26 30-31 1-8
3	A3	5,v - 5 ^v ,i 42 - 44,i 5 ^v ,ii - 6	9 (opening) 32 9 (conclusion)
4	A4	6 ^v - 13,v 44,ii - 51 ^v 55 ^v - 56 ^v ,v	10-13 33-36 39
5	T	13,vi - 16 ^v 56 ^v ,vi - 58 ^v ,iii,2 59 - 69 ^v	14-15 40 (opening) 41-46
6	B	58 ^v ,iii,3 - 58 ^v ,iv 17 - 17 ^v 36 - 39 ^v 33 - 34 ^v 52 - 55 72 - 75	40 (end) 16 27-29 24-25 37-38 47-50

The 'Fantasie de petro philippi' (Liège) on f. 5 is no. 9, and the 'Fantasie de petro philippi' on f. 42 (the setting of *Chi fara*) is no. 32. From the table above it can be seen that although these pieces are now separated in the manuscript, they belong to the same stage of copying: the scribe interrupted his work on no. 9 to enter no. 32, returning to the first piece

⁹⁸There is not enough space in the present work to provide an account of the changes in hand and ink.

⁹⁹The table should be used in conjunction with the inventories provided in Judd, pp. 306-309, and in Focroulle, pp. 36-47.

at a later date.¹⁰⁰

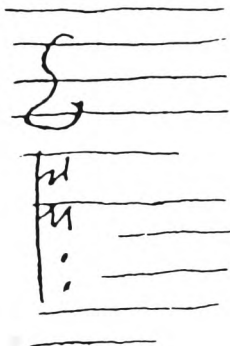
No. 9 starts on the fifth ten-line staff of f. 5 in black ink. The scribe uses the form of the G-clef illustrated in Examples III.13 and III.14: as with the G-clefs in the music copied up to this point, it crosses through three lines, in this case extending from just above the top line of the staff to just below the third line from the top. At the top of f. 5^v a close inspection reveals that the scribe left the piece incomplete midway through the second bar, only to return to it at a later date. The continuation uses a different ink type which, although similar to that with which the piece was begun, can be distinguished from it. The scribe left the piece having entered the first half of the top part in the second bar of the top line. The hand in which the rest of the piece (from f. 5^v,ii,2) is written is noticeably different from that in which it was begun, suggesting that it was completed only after a certain amount of time had elapsed. Example III.15 shows the exact point at which the later hand resumes work. The G-clef is made with three strokes of the quill, and from f. 5^v,ii these do not always meet, as in Example III.16a; the hand becomes less tidy as the piece progresses, suggesting a certain hurriedness on the part of the scribe. In general, the G-clef form is larger, and covers four lines of the staff rather than just three, as illustrated in Example 16b; the abbreviated form of the bass clef is used - Example 16a. In the G-clefs the lower loop is often wider than the previous form, and also the top curve is slightly wider. This larger form becomes the norm after this stage in the copying;¹⁰¹ the larger form cannot be related to the position of the clefs on the ten-line staff since the distance between the G-clef and the C-clef, and between the C-clef and the F-clef, remains constant. At the start of the piece, the barlines, *custodes*,

¹⁰⁰Note that this is not the only time the scribe leaves a piece in the middle of copying: on f. 58^v there is an even greater contrast between the hand in which a piece was started, and the hand with which it was finished.

¹⁰¹There are a few exceptions, with the occasional larger G-clef in the music copied to this point, and a few smaller G-clefs after.

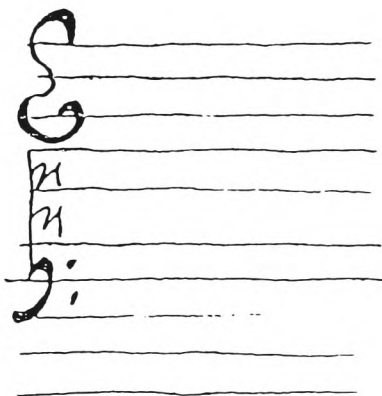
EXAMPLE III.13

f. 77, iii



EXAMPLE III.14

f. 2, iv



EXAMPLE III.15

Diamond noteheads
signify new ink-type

f. 5^v, 1, 2

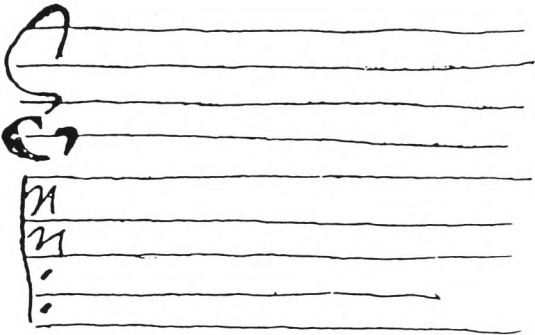
↑ Filled notehead
changed to minim

Printed musical notation on two staves. The top staff features a series of diamond-shaped noteheads. The bottom staff features a series of filled noteheads. A box at the bottom left contains the text "f. 5^v, 1, 2". An arrow points from the text "Filled notehead changed to minim" to a filled notehead on the bottom staff.

EXAMPLE III.16

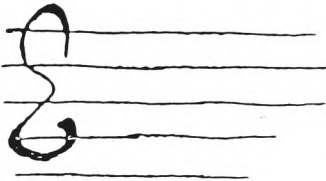
(a)

f. 5^v, iii



(b)

f. 5^v, iv



and accidentals were in the same colour ink as the music: from the barline which marks the end of b. 2 onwards, they are in a lighter brown ink, suggesting that they may have been added after the notes had been entered.¹⁰² Similarly, at the bottom of f. 5 (the earlier part of the piece to be copied) the ties between the bass notes from b. 3 to b. 4, and between the top notes in b. 8 to b. 9 are in a light brown ink, which makes it likely that they are later additions from the time at which the scribe returned to his work, or possibly from even later.

It is likely that the scribe interrupted his work on no. 9 in order to copy the more substantial intabulation piece by Philips, no. 32. This work is written with the same ink as the start of no. 9, and, as in the previous piece, the barlines, *custodes*, and accidentals are all in the same ink as the notes. The piece uses the form of the G-clef extending over three staff lines, adding further weight to the hypothesis that it was copied after the scribe had temporarily abandoned the first of the Philips pieces. The normal form of the C-clef, and the modern form of the F-clef, are used.

The pieces which follow the end of no. 9 share the same scribal characteristic as the continuation of the Philips piece, suggesting that nos. 10-13 were copied soon after the completion of no. 9 (see Table above).

Dart discusses the manuscript's provenance in some detail, showing that it came from the library of the Crutched Friars. This being the case, it is likely that the scribe would have been someone from within the community. Dart discovered that their organist from 1610 to 1624 was Guillaume Huet. He was blind, so could not have written the music.¹⁰³ Dart further noted that the only person from Liège named in the manuscript (between nos. 30 and 31, on f. 40^v) was Fr. Gerardus Scronx.

¹⁰²There is further evidence that at times the scribe entered the notes before adding other elements of the notation: on f. 58^v, ii, 2 he has entered note-heads, but omitted to add the necessary ledger lines.

¹⁰³Dart 1963, pp. 25-62.

Scronx's name stands out in the manuscript: his is the only piece where the attribution is given at the end, rather than as part of the title at the beginning, and it is the only name which uses red ink and capital letters. There are specific references to him in the order's archives from 1619-23.¹⁰⁴ There are other references to a 'Fr. Gerardus' as early as 1600, who may or may not have been the same man. Scronx came from a family prominent in the area during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, producing a number of ecclesiastics, clerks, and musicians, including Lambert Scronx who worked on the revision of the Liège Breviary in the early seventeenth century, and Arnold Scronx, who was bequeathed a harpsichord by a Lambert Pietkin in 1690.¹⁰⁵ José Quitin suggests that he may have been a pupil of Huet.¹⁰⁶

Some of the archival references from the year 1619 are to 'Griffario Scronx' rather than to Gerardus; Quitin casts doubt on Dart's assumption that they are the same man¹⁰⁷, but without good reason. The references to the scribal work of the 'Griffario', or notary, would be appropriate for the scribe of Liège. If this is so, it may be significant that the order's treasurer paid himself 10 *fl.* 'for going to Brussels and back again with Fr. Gerardus' in 1611,¹⁰⁸ establishing a connection between the Scronx and Brussels, where Philips was active at that time.

It is recorded that Scronx gave money on several occasions for masses to be said, so was obviously well-off and generous in his disposition. This might explain the inclusion of

¹⁰⁴Judd found some more in 1623 (Judd p. 317). They are taken from Liège, Archives de l'Etat, Couvents des Croisiers de Liège, Régistres aux recettes et dépenses, vol. 44 (1618-1628), ff. 3, 5, 6^v.

¹⁰⁵Dart 1963, p. 26.

¹⁰⁶'Scronx', *The New Grove*, 1980.

¹⁰⁷'Scronx', *The New Grove*, 1980.

¹⁰⁸Dart 1963, p. 26.

elaborate titles, which otherwise seem out of place in a volume evidently intended for practical use at the organ. Scronx was a modest composer, and would have had use for such a volume, so Dart suggested him as a possibility for the identity of the scribe.¹⁰⁹

The date on the last folio probably refers only to the piece which it follows, which is from early in the history of the manuscript's compilation. Therefore it is possible that the manuscript was completed at a later date, increasing the likelihood that Scronx was the scribe. Apel pointed out that the echo pieces contained in Liège are unusual for a date as early as 1617.¹¹⁰ Notice also that there is a greater propensity for echo pieces as the copying progresses: out of a total of fourteen echo pieces only five are in the hand of A or T. These represent 12% of the pieces copied by Handforms A and T. The remaining 9 echoes in Handform B make up a significantly larger proportion of Handform B's work: thus of thirteen pieces copied by Handform B, nine (i.e. 69%) are echo pieces. This lends support to the date belonging to the individual piece rather than the manuscript as a whole. Scronx is the only name in the manuscript to have an ecclesiastical title, thus standing out from the other composers named in the manuscript, so it is probable that he was the scribe.

Other than Scronx, the only other composers mentioned in the manuscript are Andrea Gabrieli, Claudio Merulo, Sweelinck, Philips, and William Browne. The pieces by Gabrieli and Merulo both existed in published form prior to the compilation of the manuscript. Judd thinks that the 1593 print was probably the exemplar for the Gabrieli pieces;¹¹¹ he goes on, however, to show that the scribe of Liège was not using the Merulo prints as his exemplars,

¹⁰⁹Dart 1963, pp. 23-27; 'Scronx', *The New Grove*.

¹¹⁰Apel 1967, p. 344.

¹¹¹Judd, pp. 336-8. Judd shows that Schmid's *Tablatur Buch* was not the scribe's source, and that Dart is wrong to maintain that the 1593 print could not have been the exemplar (Dart 1963, p. 27).

but an intermediate source stemming from them.¹¹² Italian keyboard publications had a wide circulation in the Netherlands, and were often copied into manuscripts: these pieces certainly emanated from the prints, whether copied directly or indirectly. The presence of Merulo's works in a Spanish Netherlands source is significant because it shows the extent of his influence in the area: Philips's keyboard intabulations are nearer in style to Merulo's than to those of any other Italian composer.

The remaining composers - Sweelinck, Philips, and Brown - all have links with the Spanish Netherlands. Sweelinck and Philips knew each other, and undoubtedly remained in contact after Philips's visit to Amsterdam in 1593; Philips may well have helped to circulate Sweelinck's music in manuscript form in the area around Brussels. As a Catholic, he could have had contact with monastic houses in the vicinity: Liège is not far from Brussels, so it could well be that Philips was responsible for the transmission of his own two pieces and the Sweelinck works.

William Browne was also active in the region, however, and could equally well have provided Scronx not only with his own piece but Philips's too, and through Philips, with Sweelinck's. There are two theories as to Browne's identity: both are explored by Vendome in his edition of pieces from **89**.¹¹³ William Browne's music survives only in manuscripts compiled in the Spanish Netherlands: *Liège*, **89**, and *Berlin*. Browne's piece in *Liège* on f. 44, ii is the only work by him which has a concordance: it occurs in **89**, where it is unattributed. However, the piece as it occurs in *Liège* could not have been copied from **89** because it is unattributed in the latter; it is equally unlikely that *Liège* was the source of **89**,

¹¹²*Judd*, p. 320. Ironically, Dart disagrees here too, claiming that the Merulo pieces correspond closely with the prints (*Dart 1963*, p. 27).

¹¹³*Vendome SNKM 2*, pp. 3 seq.

since the ending in the latter has been abbreviated in a less satisfactory way.¹¹⁴ This means that the piece must have been circulating in the Brussels-Liège region in another manuscript at around 1620. According to Vendome, it shows the influence of Cornet and Sweelinck.¹¹⁵

It may be significant that the intabulation of *Chi fara* occurs in a volume containing repertory intended specifically for organ. The inclusion of echo pieces suggests this instrument; also, there is the occasional indication of ‘cornet’ registration. Caus used Philips’s other setting of *Chi fara* for performance on a water organ, so it appears that intabulations of secular vocal works were not confined to the harpsichord: the organ could imitate sustained singing far more readily than a plucked keyboard instrument.

¹¹⁴Judd, pp. 333-5.

¹¹⁵Vendome SNKM 2, 5, 32.

Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS 89 (89) contains liturgical organ music in mensural notation, which is in accordance with the role of the organ described in *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, 1602.¹¹⁶ The music includes four complete organ masses, single Mass movements, twenty-two hymns, and Magnificat settings.¹¹⁷ There is one piece by Philips, comprising ten versets on *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (the piece is wrongly entitled 'Veni creator spiritus'), which begins on p. 22.¹¹⁸

89 forms part of the bequest of Richard Goodson to Christ Church library in 1718. It measures 195 mm wide by 302 mm high, so it is in upright format. It has four flyleaves followed by 172 folios. The manuscript is made up of twenty-three gatherings, mostly of eight folios, the first nineteen bearing contemporary numbers at the centre of the foot of the first page of each gathering. The first gathering is a compound of two smaller ones, the first of eight folios [sixteen pages], the second of twelve, wrapped round with a single sheet of four pages (numbered 1-2 and 28-29). The first ten pages bear numbers that are a curious mixture of pagination and foliation, but after this point the pagination is regular and continues to p. 314; the last fifteen folios, and the *verso* of the sixteenth, are numbered in modern pencil. No piece after the contemporary pagination ceases is included in the index, suggesting that the pagination dates from the time at which the index was compiled, and that the pieces at the end of the volume were added after this point.

The binding is of vellum-covered card. The music was copied out first in loose gatherings, which were then assembled for binding: the music often overlaps the breaks

¹¹⁶*Dart 1971*, p. 30.

¹¹⁷Inventory in *Vendome BIOS*, pp. 29-31.

¹¹⁸Raymond Harrison Kelton attributes three further pieces to Philips on stylistic grounds in his thesis *Kelton*, p. iv and pp. 170-173. However, since this is the only plainsong setting ascribed to Philips, there are insufficient grounds on which to accept these pieces as Philips' work.

between the gatherings, and there is evidence that the folios were trimmed after the music was copied.¹¹⁹ The spine is strengthened by a printed book entitled *Du Dernier Judgement*. The covers have been impressed with diamond-shaped ornaments widely used for gilding at this time. The music is notated on systems of two six-line staves: there are four systems to the page. The staves are printed with two groups of four to the page: such a layout would have permitted the folios to be assembled either in a full format, or folded in two to give an oblong quarto format. The paper is watermarked with a shield on one half of the paper, counterbalanced either by a sprouting heart, or by a monogram P and W, on the other.¹²⁰

The first flyleaf is blank. The second has an index which was compiled after the page numbers had been added: it excludes the pieces from the disordered parts of the manuscript (pp. 1-27, and pp. 314-345). The hand of the music, index, and numbers is the same. The third flyleaf is blank, but has a modern index affixed to it. The *recto* of the fourth flyleaf contains a 'Canon in fubdiatefsaron et diapaſon' to the text 'Non nobis domine'.

The hand in which the music is copied is uniform throughout the manuscript, and is the work of one scribe. There are similarities between this hand and one of the scribal stages in Liège, though these are not sufficient to prove a common identity of scribe. There are other similarities between 89 and Liège. Both manuscripts were intended for performance at the organ: 89 contains liturgical organ music; Liège contains echo pieces requiring an organ for performance. Both manuscripts include references to organ registration: 89 has a verset headed 'Pro elevatione por le cornetto', and two settings of 'Tu solus altissimus' also

¹¹⁹The top of the title on p. 47 was evidently trimmed. Similar evidence may be found on pp. 76, 94, 96, etc.

¹²⁰The description is based on the writer's examination of the manuscript, and on Dart 1971, pp. 28-30. Dart provides illustrations. Kelton found the monogram and shield in Heawood, plate 83, nos. 522, 528 and 858, all of which were taken from books from Douai (Kelton, pp. 5-6).

have the cornet stop indicated; Liège has a 'fantasia per sonar Le Cornetto' as well as indications in other pieces for the use of this stop. Both manuscripts have music in which there are brilliant solo passages, both for the right hand and the left. These two manuscripts, along with **Berlin**, are the only sources of William Browne's keyboard music: the one piece by Browne to occur in more than one source is contained in Liège on f. 44 ('Fantasie de Wilhelmo Brouno'), and anonymously in 89 on p. 200 ('a 3 Tocata'). A similar provenance for these manuscripts is therefore likely. The similarity of a 'Fantasia del primo tono' by Cornet in **Berlin** (f. 20^v) to the first thirty bars of an untitled piece in 89, p. 322, provides a link between 89 and a third source compiled in the Spanish Netherlands. It seems that **Berlin**, Liège, and 89 were all compiled in the Spanish Netherlands at about the same time. The recorded dates in the first two of these manuscripts indicate that a date of c. 1620-25 would be appropriate for all three.

There is no reason to suppose that Dart was right to identify the scribe as Richard Dering. However, the scribe was probably an Englishman. Unlike Liège, 89 is notated on six-line staves: this supports the view that the scribe was English rather than from the south Netherlands. He uses English letter forms,¹²¹ and the word 'quavers' to correct rhythmic errors on pp. 299 and 333. There are frequent occurrences of the two-stroke ornament sign. The scribe was not Philips: the correction of an error (a mis-transposition by the interval of a third) at the end of the only piece ascribed to him suggests that the scribe was copying from an exemplar, and that he was not familiar with the piece. Most of the works in 89 are anonymous. It seems unlikely that the scribe was one of the named composers in the manuscript. It is possible that a clue to the identity of the scribe once lay in the folios missing from the end of the volume.

¹²¹In particular, the formation of his 'e' is similar to that of the scribe of 1113.

Richard Vendome provides an inventory of the manuscript.¹²² From p. 28 the contents follow a logical sequence, but the opening pages of the manuscript are chaotically organised: the pagination and foliation are confused, as is the arrangement of the gatherings. The repertory is miscellaneous, including a toccata by William Browne, some versets for the Mass, and Peter Philips's 'Veni Creator'. Even within the section of versets there is confusion: some are in the wrong order. This contrasts with the structured nature of the remainder of the manuscript's contents.

¹²²Vendome *BIOS*, pp. 29-31.

TURIN

Introduction

There are three pieces by Peter Philips in the collection of sixteen volumes of keyboard music written in New German Keyboard Tablature which comprise Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, Raccolta Giordano 1-8 and Raccolta Foà 1-8 (**Turin i-xvi**).¹²³ These manuscripts were copied by a single scribe between 1637 and 1640, they constitute the largest collection of keyboard music from this period: there are 2703 folios in total, on which are copied 1770 pieces.¹²⁴

The collection has been the subject of an article by O. Mischiati in which he provides a full inventory for all sixteen volumes.¹²⁵ More recently, Robert Judd has examined the manuscripts, concentrating his attention specifically on **Turin ii** and **iv**.¹²⁶

¹²³The historical reasons for the division of the collection into two groups are related neither to the compilation of the source nor to their acquisition by the library in Turin. Therefore the sixteen volumes should be considered together as a single collection: in this study the volumes will be numbered consecutively from i to viii (Giordano), and from ix to xvi (Foà). Mischiati gives an account of the history of **Turin** from the eighteenth century to the present, and the division of the volumes into two groups in the nineteenth century (*Mischiati*, pp. 2-5).

¹²⁴*Mischiati*, pp. 1-2.

¹²⁵*Mischiati*.

¹²⁶*Judd*, pp. 215 seq.

The Organization of the Collection

Volume	Genre
i and ii	Toccatas
iii and iv	Versets (Organ Masses, Magnificats, Hymns)
v	Motets (without texts)
vi to ix	Ricercars
x to xi	Canzonas
xii to xiii	Madrigals (without texts)
xiv	Correnti, Gagliards, etc.
xv	Passamezzi, Intrade, Gagliards, etc.
xvi	Allemands, Balletti, etc.

Judd, p. 218

The scribe was evidently very conscious of genre distinctions, and each volume is restricted to one. He even deletes imitative sections from at least 34 toccatas in the first two volumes;¹²⁷ fourteen of these appear in the volumes devoted to the ricercar.¹²⁸ This suggests that the pieces were deliberately split up, and that the lack of imitative sections in the toccatas was not merely the result of copying from exemplars which lacked them.

Chronology

Most of the volumes have notes which record the dates of payment to the scribe; only Turin i, ii, vii, and xi lack them. Hence it is possible to reconstruct the chronology of the manuscripts. The following table is adapted from Judd, p. 220.

¹²⁷Nos. 2-10, 15-17, 60, and 64 in Volume i; nos. 3, 18, 44-46, 50, 52, 56, 58-65, and 67-70 in Volume ii.

¹²⁸vi/77 = ii/44; vi/80-90 = i/2-10, 15-16. See *Mischiati*, pp. 23-24 & 59.

VOLUME NUMBER	CONTENTS	DATE BEGUN	DATE FINISHED
vi	Ricercars	-	9/37
ii	Toccatas	before 9/37	¹²⁹
i	Toccatas	before 9/37	¹³⁰
ix	Ricercars	before 1/39	3/2/39
xvi	Allemande etc	before 1/39	9/5/40
xi	Canzonas	-	¹³¹
x	Canzonas	1/39	after 4/39
vii	Ricercars	-	¹³²
viii	Ricercars	before 6/39	29/10/40
xii	Madrigals	before 8/39	after 10/39
xiv	Correnti etc	before 11/39	3/4/40
xiii	Madrigals	before 11/39	after 5/40
xv	Passamezzi etc	before 11/39	14/11/39
iii	Versets	before 12/39	-
iv	Motets	before 6/40	29/10/40
v	Versets	before 10/40	-

¹²⁹There are no dates given in volumes i or ii. Mischiati argued that i was begun before vi was finished because some imitative sections in the toccatas of vol. i also appear in vol. vi (Mischiati, p. 11). The absence of dates suggests that this volume was copied before dates were added on a more regular basis at the beginning of 1639.

¹³⁰Mischiati links volume ii to volume ix: the first 11 fugues of Volume ix are expressly referred to as being sections from toccatas in volume ii (*Mischiati*, p. 11, and inventory on p. 66). Mischiati was puzzled because he could not locate the toccatas. Judd shows that in some cases the scribe has mistaken volume ii for volume i, and notes that Diruta's *Transilvano* was shared between them (*Judd*, p. 220).

¹³¹Judd has volume x preceding volume xi, but Mischiati notes that the scribe writes 'qui principia questo libro primo de Canzoni' at the start of vol. xi.

¹³²Probably copied before volume viii, where latest date is found. Dates occur ever more frequently in the period 1639-40, so it is likely that 1640 marks the end of the copying. This volume has no dates, so is likely to date from before 1639.

From this evidence it is clear that the scribe began some of the manuscripts whilst still completing others. Each volume was copied successively in the order in which it now stands. The record of payment seems incomplete, with only one date recorded from before the beginning of 1639. There were clearly several volumes under way in 1638, though none is marked with a date in that year. The scribe must have started copying before September 1637 since at least 202 folios were copied before that date. Similarly, he must have worked beyond October 1640, the last date in *Turin v* (f. 44^v), since there are 95 more folios after this point in the manuscript.¹³³

Provenance of the Manuscripts

Although the Turin tablatures are known to have resided in Italy since the eighteenth century, there is no reason to suppose that they originated there. The dates which occur in the manuscripts (ranging from 1637 to 1640) give an indication of the time at which they were compiled; their notation in German keyboard tablature (which was never used outside German-speaking areas) and their contents suggest that they are of south-German origin.

Scribal Characteristics and the Nationality of the Scribe

The Turin manuscripts are in one hand throughout, and the titles were added at the time of copying by the same hand. The scribe has an Italianate hand, and uses the Italian language.¹³⁴ Mischiati suggested he was a South German who had been strongly influenced by Italian customs.¹³⁵ Judd thinks it more likely that he was an Italian working in south

¹³³For a more detailed discussion of the chronology, see *Judd*, pp. 220-222.

¹³⁴Judd asserts that he makes exclusive use of the Italian language (*Judd*, p. 222), but he copies the German titles from Hassler's *Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng*, 1601, in Volume xiii (Foà 5), Nos. 109-140.

¹³⁵*Mischiati*, p. 6.

Germany who had been there long enough to become thoroughly acquainted with New German tablature.¹³⁶

The vocal intabulations in *Turin* iv, xii, and xiii, together with most of the *ricercars*, were probably copied from partbooks, so clearly the scribe had a good knowledge of mensural notation as well as tablature. Some aspects of the notation are regularly altered: two tied minims in an exemplar will be written as a single note; there is a general lack of regard for ties; and final chords are often rearranged. The rhythm signs fall into groups of a semibreve's worth; breves are usually shown by two semibreves tied together, but occasionally by a dot of augmentation (which is also sometimes used to indicate prolongation by a half of the preceding note). Sometimes rhythm signs appear only for one part when the other parts are moving in conjunction with it.¹³⁷ As a rule, the rhythmic groupings of the smaller notevalues are no larger than four notes. The G# and F# in the bottom octave are rarely to be found, suggesting perhaps that much of this repertory was copied with an instrument with short-octave in mind.

German tablature was not used outside German-speaking areas, and its ease of use here makes Mischiati's view that he was a native German the more likely. A German scribe would probably have been familiar with other notational systems, whereas German keyboard tablature would be entirely alien to an Italian. The scribe was working from exemplars in staff notation, and it is inconceivable that an Italian would have taken the trouble to use a foreign notational system. If, as Judd claims, the system of notation was chosen by the patron, then he would have employed a local German keyboard player thoroughly familiar with the tablature rather than an Italian. *Turin* was most probably compiled by a German

¹³⁶Judd, p. 222.

¹³⁷In the transcriptions, notes which have no rhythm signs are interpreted by relation to those which do have them, or by using common sense: in each case, such notes are given with diamond-shaped noteheads.

keyboard player who had studied in Italy.

Repertory

The repertory contained in the Turin tablatures reflects that which would be expected in south Germany in the first part of the seventeenth century. The collection includes much Italian music, which was disseminated widely both in prints and manuscripts and had exerted a great influence on south-German music since the middle of the sixteenth century. The presence of a large body of music by native south-German composers strongly suggests that the manuscripts originated there. Most of the Italian music is by Venetian composers: Frescobaldi is also represented, and there are a few pieces by less well-known Italian composers which appeared in German printed anthologies. The absence of all but a few English dances (these occur in **Turin xv** and **xvi**), the lack of pieces by Netherlanders other than Sweelinck, and the total exclusion of Spanish and Neapolitan composers is striking.

Turin contains nearly the entire output of Hans Leo Hassler, and he is the best-represented composer in the collection. Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS. 1982 (**Padova**), one of the more important sources for the music of Hassler and Erbach, is entirely contained within the Turin collection.¹³⁸ **Padova** dates from c. 1630, somewhat before the Turin collection, and like the Turin manuscripts it is notated in New German Tablature. Leonhardt thinks that **Padova** was probably the exemplar used by the scribe of the Turin tablatures for these pieces:¹³⁹ they share the same readings of pieces which differ in other sources, there are no conflicts of ascription, and they contain pieces unique to these two sources.

¹³⁸*Mischiati*, p. 20.

¹³⁹*Sweelinck*, fascicle 1, p. xxiv.

The scribe made use of two of Hans Leo Hassler's prints, *Lustgarten* (1601) and *Sacri Conventus* (1601/1612). The order of the 1601 edition of *Sacri Conventus* differs from that of the 1612 edition, so it is possible to show that the scribe was using the later edition. This is best illustrated by reference to **Turin iv**: pieces number 14 onwards (ff. 23 seq.) each have a number at the end corresponding to the number of the piece in the 1612 edition, but not that of 1601.¹⁴⁰ Mischiati maintains that the pieces are not attributed, but this is misleading: in fact, the first pieces in the section taken from *Sacri Conventus* bear Hassler's initials, and the presence of the numbers for the rest would mean that a reader could infer that the remaining pieces were also by him.

The connection with the Hasslers can be seen reflected in the choice of some of the Italian music. In **Turin iv** the motets by various Italian composers¹⁴¹ are intabulated from an anthology put together by Caspar Hassler (RISM 1598² = 1601² = 1613¹), the brother of Hans Leo and of Jacob.¹⁴² Still more Italian pieces, as well as some by Hans Leo Hassler, are taken from an anthology by Georg Gruber in memory of Giovanni Gabrieli and Hans Leo Hassler (RISM 1615²).¹⁴³ Both these exemplars were printed by P. Kauffmann in Nuremberg; therefore Judd is incorrect in saying that no pieces were copied from printed sources with a provenance from German-speaking regions.¹⁴⁴

The presence of much of the Italian music in the collection can be explained by reference to the printed sources from which they were taken. However, there were also direct

¹⁴⁰See inventory in *Mischiati*, p. 44.

¹⁴¹*Mischiati* states on p. 7 that they are motets by Andrea Gabrieli, but this is not borne out by an examination of his inventory of the manuscript on p. 43. Composers include Merulo, Gregorio Aichinger, Hans Leo Hassler, Ascanio Trombetti, Giovanni Gabrieli.

¹⁴²See inventory, *Mischiati*, p. 43, pieces nos. 3-10.

¹⁴³See inventory, *Mischiati*, p. 46, pieces nos. 41-47.

¹⁴⁴*Judd*, p. 218.

links between the three Venetian composers represented in the manuscripts (Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, and Claudio Merulo) and the Hasslers. Both Hans Leo Hassler and Jacob Hassler studied in Venice, hence the obvious Italian influence on their work. This might explain the presence of works by these composers not represented in the surviving printed collections, and apparently unique to the source.¹⁴⁵ Mischiati thinks that the works by Merulo were drawn from a source close to the composer.¹⁴⁶ There are a number of works which are misattributed to Hans Leo Hassler when in fact they belong to Merulo or G. Gabrieli. If the hypothesis that the scribe made use of the direct connection between Hassler and the Venetians is correct, then it is possible that this involved the scribe using materials copied in Hassler's hand: the use of initials in the ascriptions of works to members of the Hassler family (see below) increases the likelihood that the scribe's exemplars came from the Hasslers. Hence, if Hassler's own manuscript was the scribe's exemplar, there may have been no means whereby the latter could distinguish Italianate music by Hassler himself from that of the Venetians. It would be natural for the scribe to attribute all works in such an exemplar to Hassler: Hassler would have compiled it for his own use, and therefore attributions to composers need not have been present.

Mischiati points to the use of abbreviations, usually just initials, for members of the Hassler family. In fact, what is most striking is that for the most part the names of other well-known composers are not reduced to their initials, but given in a partly abbreviated form. The use of composers' initials in ascriptions of works to them is common in manuscripts of the period, but is usually restricted either to composers who would be well-known (Sweelinck, Frescobaldi, the Gabrielis and so on), or to the scribe's own works. In **Turin** the abbreviations for H.L. Hassler might fall into the first category, but the initials

¹⁴⁵It is possible that either prints or manuscripts containing these works have not survived to the present day.

¹⁴⁶*Mischiati*, p. 8.

'I.B.H.' for Johann Benedict Hassler in **Turin xii** (attached to no. 12) suggest a local connection.¹⁴⁷ Johann Benedict Hassler was not known at all outside Augsburg. Therefore, the presence of initials only in attributions to the Hasslers, when other names are given in a fuller form, is indicative of a close connection with the south-German organists, especially the Hasslers, in Augsburg.

The Connection with the Fugger Family

The connection with the Hasslers is convincingly demonstrated by Mischiati, but the Turin collection was obviously commissioned by a wealthy patron, not compiled by someone in the Hassler circle for his own use. The *ad hoc* payments to the scribe which are recorded in the manuscripts suggest that the collection was not compiled by the scribe for his own use. They do not seem to be volumes prepared for everyday purposes, either for private amusement or for professional use. Rather, the collection seems to represent an anthology compiled for a rich patron.¹⁴⁸

Mischiati suggests the Fugger family of Augsburg as the most likely source of patronage for the venture.¹⁴⁹ Their well-known library was extensive, and would have provided the resources needed for such an undertaking. Furthermore, both Hans Leo and Jacob Hassler, as well as Christian Erbach, were in the service of the Fuggers. It would have been normal for manuscripts of these musicians to have been deposited with their patrons as

¹⁴⁷In fact it is misattributed to him: it is taken from Samuel Scheidt's *Tabulatura Nova* of 1624, ii, no. 3. Mischiati believes it to be a deliberate act of misattribution, which would be compatible with the record of his negligence as an organist in the city records of Augsburg. However, note that according to Mischiati these initials are in a different hand. (*Mischiati*, p. 8.). Note also that there are conflicting attributions within the collection, presumably reflecting the scribe's use of different sources. For example, **Turin vii**, no. 9, is concordant with **Turin viii**, no. 58: the former is ascribed to Hassler, the latter is the third of three *ricercars* by Carl van der Hoeven (= van der Hove).

¹⁴⁸*Mischiati*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁹*Mischiati*, p. 9.

a mark of respect, hence it would be reasonable to suppose that the Hassler autograph postulated above would have become part of their library. Such a source would have contained the pieces by Hassler which are unique to the Turin tablatures.

Much of the Turin collection is retrospective in nature, and presumably reflects the contents of the Fugger's library. However, there are signs that the library of source materials was kept up to date: in the earliest volumes to be copied, **Turin i** and **Turin vii**, the scribe includes the toccate from Frescobaldi's *Fiori Musicali*. This was published in Venice in 1635; the earliest volumes of **Turin** were begun about 1637, so there was only a short lapse of time between publication and copying. It seems likely that the Fuggers made use of their commercial agents to procure additional material for their collection.

Mischiati's theory has yet to be proven conclusively. Robert Judd develops Mischiati's hypothesis in a new direction: he shows that the resources for such an undertaking would have been scarce at the time of copying: Augsburg was still recovering from the Thirty Years War at this period, and the Fuggers' financial empire was in a state of collapse.¹⁵⁰ Judd thinks that the commissioner was a wealthy German Roman Catholic who wished to acquire a comprehensive collection of Italianate keyboard music from the Fugger library: he did not pay for the work in a lump sum, but made regular smaller payments, suggesting that he or an agent was in Augsburg in the period of copying.¹⁵¹

None the less, there are certain features which might suggest that Mischiati was right to point to the Fugger family as the commissioner. The copying enterprise was vast, and suggests a wealthy patron, but the poor quality of the paper, and the way in which the scribe saved space wherever possible by continuing one piece immediately after the next, suggest economy. The Italian provenance of the paper makes it more likely that it was acquired for

¹⁵⁰Judd, pp. 216-217, gives a brief account of the history of the city at this period.

¹⁵¹Judd, p. 301.

the Fuggers by one of their agents than that it was obtained by a local, wealthy Catholic patron as Judd suggests. If the patron were local, then he would be more likely to use German-produced paper than foreign Italian paper. The incomplete and irregular records of payment to the scribe may provide a clue as to whether the volumes were commissioned by the Fuggers, or by some other patron. The way in which payments begin part-way through the copying would be compatible with the Fuggers paying the scribe after the point at which they could no longer afford to pay him a retainer. Although this has to remain a hypothesis, it would explain the paradox between on the one hand paying for such an extravagant exercise, and on the other the economy in the use of poor quality paper, and the economical use of space by the scribe. Perhaps these volumes represent an attempt by the Fuggers to preserve a music library which their financial crisis would force them to sell.

The Turin Manuscripts and Peter Philips

Turin xv (Foà 7)

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, **Turin xv** contains two pieces ascribed to Philips. Both are well-known and much-disseminated works, the *1580 Pavan* and the *Dolorosa Pavan*. The last date to occur in **Turin xv** is 14 November 1639 on f. 122^v, so the volume must have been completed shortly afterwards. This gives an indication as to the date at which the Philips pieces were copied: although it is difficult to be certain, Judd's table summarizing the chronology of the manuscripts (see above) suggests that the volume would have been started sometime in 1639. Hence the source is a late one for Philips music. It is only to be expected that the reading reflects the long chain of dissemination, and contains a certain amount of corruption.¹⁵² The presence of the dynamic mark 'piano' (f. 93^v) and the

¹⁵²The transmission of the *Dolorosa Pavan* is considered in Chapter 5.

direction 'piu presto' (f. 94) reinforces the fact that the manuscript dates from the mid-century.

The manuscript comprises 180 folios gathered regularly in fours, with two eighteenth-century flyleaves at the beginning, and one eighteenth-century flyleaf at the end. Folios 123^v, ii to the end are empty. The folios measure 225 mm high by 355 mm wide. There is an eighteenth-century foliation on the bottom right of each *recto* from f. 1 to f. 123. The foliation of ff. 124 - 180 is continued in modern pencil in the bottom left of each *recto*.¹⁵³

The paper was ruled and bound before the music was entered. Each page has been ruled horizontally to provide four 'music areas' or systems.¹⁵⁴ The scribe employs a double-page layout, reading across the pages of each opening. The manuscript is in one hand throughout; the scribe uses a dark-brown ink.

The double-page layout means that although the *1580 Pavan* begins at the start of f. 58, ii, the title 'Pauana. | Philippi.' occurs at the end of f. 57^v, ii. The 'Pauana Dolorosa' begins on f. 61, ii, separated from the *1580 Pavan* by three anonymous English works. The title given for the *1580 Pavan* should not be misread as an ascription of the work to Philips: the piece in **Turin xv** is an independent arrangement.¹⁵⁵ It is significant that there is no ascription of the *Dolorosa Pavan* to Philips: the authorship of neither piece was known by the scribe.

The Galliard normally associated with the *Dolorosa Pavan*, and linked to it thematically, is not present in **Turin**. It seems likely that the way in which the volumes were organized by genre led to the omission - perhaps unintentionally - of the *Dolorosa Galliard*.

¹⁵³The pencil foliation has been added since Mischiati examined the manuscript.

¹⁵⁴Elsewhere in the collection (e.g. **Turin v**), when the works to be copied only involve two or three voice parts, the scribe makes further subdivisions to provide up to eight music areas.

¹⁵⁵See Chapter 6.

Turin vii (Giordano 7)

The remaining Philips piece in the collection is *Fantasia-G*, which is contained in **Turin vii**, a volume devoted to contrapuntal works. It carries the title ‘Fuga | a 4. voc: | di Pietro | Philippi.’ on f. 57^r, i; the music begins on f. 58, i.

Turin vii has two eighteenth-century flyleaves, then 172 folios collated in fours, and two flyleaves at the end. There is a table of contents dating from the eighteenth century on the *verso* of the second flyleaf. The folios measure 225 mm high by 360 mm wide. The foliation is in red ink, and dates from the eighteenth century. The manuscript is foliated 1 to 170, with f. 163 duplicated. This error has been corrected in modern pencil, and the remainder of the volume (ie. the new f. 164 to f. 172) bears corrected pencil foliations which are continued on to the last (previously unfoliated) folio. The scribe uses black ink, and a dark brown type such as that used for **Turin xv**. On ff. 70^r - 71 the black ink changes to dark brown within a piece.

The presence of the attribution to Philips contrasts with the lack of ascription for the other two works in **Turin**, suggesting that the scribe copied it from a third exemplar. In the *Fantasia* there are none of the ornament signs to be found in the other two pieces by Philips, suggesting that it does not share a common source with either.¹⁵⁶ The volume has no dates, so is likely to date from before 1639.

¹⁵⁶This is particularly significant because the reading of the piece in **FVB** contains more ornaments than any other piece by Philips.

Uppsala, Universitets Bibliotek, Instr. mus. hs. 408 (*olim* 108), 408, is a carefully written manuscript in New German Tablature comprising 68 folios. Composers named in the collection include Scheidemann, Bull, Tomkins, Byrd, Sweelinck, Scheidt, Schildt, Anerio, Striggio, Frescobaldi, Froberger, and Philips. The manuscript has been described briefly by J. O. Rudén, who includes an inventory.¹⁵⁷

The volume measures 195 mm wide by 315 mm high, so is in an upright format.¹⁵⁸ This indicates a northern or German provenance, as opposed to the oblong format of Italian manuscripts.¹⁵⁹ It comprises sixty-eight folios which are bound in parchment. There is one watermark, illustrated in Example III.17.

The manuscript is collated as follows:

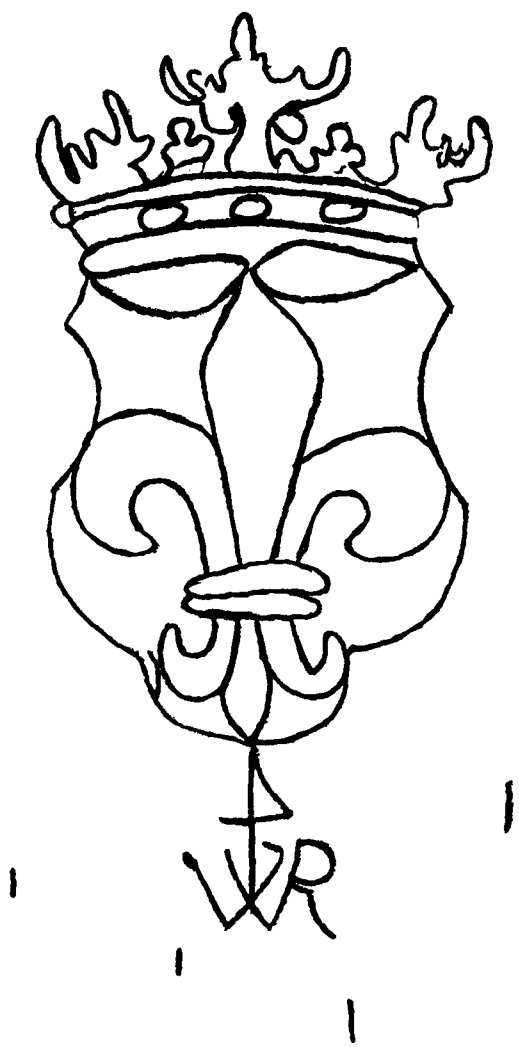
COLLATION OF 408	
ff. 1 - 8	A ⁸
ff. 9 - 24	B ¹⁶
ff. 25 - 32	C ⁸
ff. 33 - 43	D ¹¹
ff. 44 - 57	E ¹⁴
ff. 58 - 68	F ¹⁴ (12-14 removed)

¹⁵⁷Rudén, p. 77.

¹⁵⁸The height is constant through the manuscript; the width of the folios varies from 192 mm to 197 mm, averaging 195 mm.

¹⁵⁹*Silbiger Sources*, pp. 17-18.

EXAMPLE III.17



Leaf 54

Each folio has system areas divided off by ruled lines; some folios also have margins ruled. The size of the margins varies, as does the number of systems to the page:

FOLIOS	No. of SYSTEMS
1-5	BLANK
5 ^v -28	6
28 ^v -29	8
35 ^v -36	BLANK
36 ^v -38	6
38 ^v -45	BLANK
45 ^v -53	5
53 ^v -61	BLANK
<i>REST OF PIECES COPIED FROM THE OTHER END OF THE VOLUME</i>	
68-64 ^v	6
64-63 ^v	BLANK
63-61 ^v	3 large systems, divided by double lines. ¹⁶⁰

The presence of blank folios and empty staves suggests that the volume may have been bound before the music was entered, an impression confirmed by the fact that sections of music are not defined by the gatherings.

The music is entered in New German Keyboard Tablature in double page layout. There are two pieces which have been copied starting from the end of the book. There is an old foliation which begins on f. 5 in the hand of Lydia Schierning; this is somewhat inaccurate, omitting blank folios. A new foliation has been added to the bottom right-hand

¹⁶⁰The eight-part 'Dixit Dominus' on ff. 63-61^v is not given in Rudén's inventory. The systems are divided by double lines, and there is a further division between the top seven parts and the eighth bottom part by use of a single line. It is possible that this marks off the pedal part from the other manual parts.

corner of each *recto*: it is used in this study.

Folio 1 is a title page which reads:

Gustavus Duben | Holmensis: | Anno 164i | Lust Und liebe Zum Dinge
Macht alle | Arbeit geringe [bottom right-hand corner:] C. C. Zengell: |
Schripsit [bottom of the last word has been trimmed away]

There are two hands present in the manuscript, which may be presumed to belong to the names which occur on the title page. In his book on John Bull, Cunningham erroneously states that the original layer of 408 was completed by Gustav Duben in 1641, omitting all reference to Zengell, the first owner of the manuscript. The hand belonging to Duben can be identified by reference to the many other manuscripts known to be in his hand which are also held in the Universitets Bibliotek, Uppsala. The remaining hand must be that of Zengell.

Zengell copied the music on ff. 5^v-34 in the order in which it now stands: his hand is regular and neat. The conformity of the music script and titles indicates that the latter were included by the Zengell during the entry of the music. This contribution forms the bulk of the manuscript: he copied nineteen out of twenty-eight pieces.

Caspar Casparus Zengell was born in 1620 in Berlin,¹⁶¹ and matriculated at Uppsala University in 1633. In his book on music in Uppsala, Kyhlberg gives a brief biography of Zengell.¹⁶² His contribution to the manuscript comprises only pieces by English and German composers.¹⁶³ If the variations on the 'Pavana Hispanica' are counted as one piece, then five out of the twelve pieces copied by Zengell - nearly fifty per cent - are the works of

¹⁶¹Kyhlberg *STM*, p. 14-15.

¹⁶²Kyhlberg *AUU*, p. 208.

¹⁶³The 'Pavana Hispanica' includes variations by Sweelinck as well as by Scheidt: however, Scheidt was a pupil of Sweelinck, so Sweelinck's variations were presumably transmitted through him.

Philips.¹⁶⁴

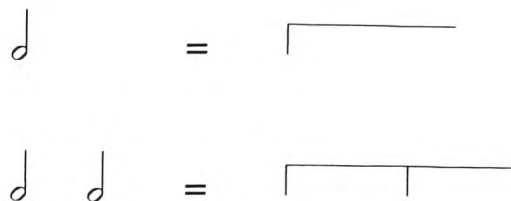
Gustaf Duben
(c. 1628-90) was the
second owner, and
copied the music on the
remaining folios.¹⁶⁵

Duben started working
from the back, then
made insertions at
various points in the

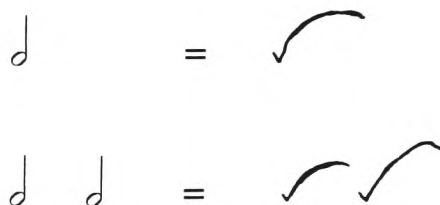
manuscript; some of **Example III.18**
his pieces are

incomplete. Duben's script has different character formations, particularly for the rhythm signs (Example III.18). Occasionally Duben uses one of Zengell's rhythm signs: it appears that Duben began by copying Zengell's notational forms, then gradually evolved his own. The 'Praeludium' on ff. 47'-50 is unmistakably Duben's work, but the rhythm signs still resemble those associated with Zengell. The early Duben hand is also to be found in the 'Praeludium' and 'Canzon' on ff. 68-64' (reading from the end of the volume): it is probable that, on acquiring the manuscript, Duben started adding his own work from the back of the volume to avoid conflicting with music which had already been entered.

ZENGELL



DUBEN



¹⁶⁴Even if each variation is counted separately, five out of eighteen pieces would be by Philips, still a high proportion.

¹⁶⁵The manuscript remained in the possession of Duben's descendants until it was presented to Uppsala University Library in 1732: see *Irving*, p. 20.

In Scheidemann's intabulation of Anerio's 'Mio cor' (ff. 45^v-48) both forms of rhythm signs are to be found: this piece represents a transitional stage in the evolution of Duben's script from the rhythm signs employed by Zengell to the forms which are found in the other Duben manuscripts. This suggests that 408 was one of the earliest manuscripts on which he worked. The remaining pieces copied by him, the 'Paduan Lachrime' (ff. 34^v-35), 'Ricercare' (ff. 50^v-53) and 'Dixit Dominus' (ff. 63-61^v) use Duben's rhythm signs exclusively.

Duben copied only German and Italian music: he did not add any English pieces to the collection. Duben studied in Germany on a Royal grant in 1645-47.¹⁶⁶ However, the date on the title page, and the development of his hand through this manuscript, make it likely that the manuscript dates from before this trip.

There are corrections of Zengell's work in Duben's hand in an ink different from that used for the entry of the music. This proves that Duben made use of the material copied by Zengell. The corrections are limited to the one piece, the 'Galliarda' and its variations by Scheidemann which begin on f. 7^v.¹⁶⁷ It may be that they were the result of Duben's study trip to Germany, especially since there are no alterations to the English pieces in the manuscript.

The dates in the volume are in a different ink from the music, and are later additions. All the dated works are in Duben's hand: it is possible that he was responsible for adding the dates. The latest date is 1653 appended to the Froberger toccata. It is not clear whether the dates - two of which are precise to the day - are dates of composition or of copying, but in either case they indicate that the manuscript was still in use after 1650.

¹⁶⁶Rudén, p. 77.

¹⁶⁷ff. 7^v-8 on systems i, v, and vi, and on 8^v-9.

408 is a late source of Philips's music, containing 'Paduana Dolorosa di Pietro Philippi' on f. 17^v, 'Galliard Dolorosa' on f. 20^v, 'Pavana Scharla Paget Petri Philippi' on f. 22^v, 'Galliard Schar Paget Petri Philippi' on f. 25^v, and - unique to the source - 'Pavana Anglica Thomas Tomkins Collierirt di Pietro Philippi' on f. 14^v. The readings of those pieces concordant with manuscripts nearer the root of the *stemma* of sources have inevitably become corrupted.¹⁶⁸ The *Paget Pavan* and *Galliard* were probably written for Philips's patron, Lord Thomas Pagget, but the scribe of one of the intervening sources has assumed the title to refer to Thomas Pagget's infamous brother, Charles.

408 is the only source of a keyboard intabulation of a five-part pavan by Thomas Tomkins. The model for this work is included at the end of a section of Philips's pieces in 3665, and it seems that Philips may have been responsible for the transmission both of this piece and of Tomkins' own keyboard setting to Francis Tregian. It is difficult to evaluate the work on stylistic grounds: like the other Philips pieces, it too will have been altered and changed in the process of transmission. Zengell uses the Germanic 'collerirt' when describing Philips's intabulation of the Tomkins piece, whereas Duben uses the Italian 'intavolata' for the intabulation of the 'Lachrime Pavan' by Schildt. Both words could equally well be applied to describe the compositional processes in Philips's keyboard works.

¹⁶⁸See Chapter 5.

EYSBOCK

Stockholm, Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens, Tabulatur nr. 1, *Elisabeth Eysbock's Keyboard Book* (Eysbock) contains music in New German Keyboard Tablature. It has been described by Thurston Dart,¹⁶⁹ and by J. O. Rudén.¹⁷⁰ Eysbock dates from about 1600. It contains 'Pavana Angelica', an independent and unattributed setting of Philips's most popular piece, the *1580 Pavan*. Since this piece is an arrangement made by someone other than Philips, Eysbock is not an important source for his music. It belongs to a category of sources - mainly for lute - which preserve settings of the *1580 Pavan* made by other parties.¹⁷¹

The manuscript comprises sixty-four folios, including the title page. The volume measures 310 mm high by c. 200 mm wide. There is a pencil foliation in a modern hand which begins on the title page. The manuscript was bound by the library in 1916, prior to which the folios were kept in a paper folder dating from the eighteenth century. A note on the title page reveals that it was bought in Aachen in 1775, and presented to the Swedish Academy of Music two years later. It also bears the stamp of the Utile Dulci Society, a predecessor of the Academy founded in 1766, some of whose members were involved in the establishment of the Academy. The manuscript is in a single-page layout, except for ff. 45-54 and 55^v-64 which are in a double-page layout, reading across the pages of each opening.

¹⁶⁹Dart 1962.

¹⁷⁰Rudén, pp. 66-68.

¹⁷¹The lute sources for these works will be dealt with in Chapter 4.

After the eighteenth-century inscription, there follows in a contemporary hand:

[Brown, faded ink:] Madame | Eliſabett [brown→black ink:] Eÿſbock |
gehordt diſs bucgh | [ornamental decoration]¹⁷² | \$ A Madama: |
Madamaſelle Eliſabetha Eiſbock de francofort | apertient ce pnt: [*sic*] liure
qui le trouue ou le | \$ prendt et non le rand et ung grand Forfant \$ | \$\$
[Stamp of the Utile Dulci]¹⁷³ | \$ Le verd de Mer lunique Colleur. \$ | Je
adore pour mon bon heur. | Tel qui deſire na reſpos — | \$.

From the title page it appears that Elisabeth Eysbock was resident in Frankfurt when the music was copied. Rudén assumes that the music was entered by Elisabeth herself,¹⁷⁴ but it is more likely that the book was compiled by her music tutors.

Dart proffers the suggestion that Eysbock was a Protestant, possibly of Dutch nationality, on the basis of the attempt at French, and the ‘special geographical and musical characteristics of the ninety-odd pieces’.¹⁷⁵ However, although the pieces are not altogether typical of *keyboard* manuscripts of the period, the repertory is very similar to that of German lute manuscripts. These contain the same mixture of dances, particularly galliards, courantes and passamezzos. Pieces are often labelled as ‘Angelica’, ‘Engelterre’, or ‘Engelscher’; or ‘Italye’, or as a ‘Deutscher Danz’. The mixture of languages, dances, and settings of popular tunes is typical of German lute manuscript collections (eg. **Montbuysson**, **Schele**) and of German lute prints (eg. **Fuhrmann**). Many lute manuscripts of the period, such as **Montbuysson**, had a didactic purpose: the simple arrangements of pieces such as the 1580 *Pavan* were ideally suited to teaching the young. There is no reason to accept Dart’s suggestion: the use of German tablature makes German nationality more likely.

¹⁷²Reproduced in *Dart* 1962, p. 6.

¹⁷³*Dart* 1962, p. 5.

¹⁷⁴*Rudén*, p. 67.

¹⁷⁵*Dart* 1962, p. 6.

It is possible to distinguish three hands in the manuscript. The first scribe entered most of the music, being responsible for the pieces up until f. 43^v. The first scribe must have been in possession of the manuscript for some considerable time, since the hand changes considerably. The hand at the start of the volume is quite large, but is generally smaller after f. 13. The hand is characterized by the way in which the rhythm signs for single notes of smaller value always slant to the right, and this takes an extreme form later in the manuscript. This nearly horizontal form first occurs on f. 31, after which both forms are used for a few folios, until the new form becomes dominant by f. 35. The first hand is responsible for the first occurrence of 'Madame Elisabeth' on the title page.

The other two hands are easy to distinguish from the first hand. Both occur towards the end of the volume, and both use double-page layout.¹⁷⁶ The second scribe copied ff. 44-45 and ff. 52^v-54^v; the third scribe was responsible for ff. 45^v-52, and ff. 55 to the end. Rudén provides an inventory.¹⁷⁷ He fails to notice the presence of the second hand on ff. 52^v-54^v. He mistakes the third strain of the *1580 Pavan* setting (f. 27, iii-iv) for a separate piece. An untitled piece on f. 30-30^v is omitted. Although the manuscript was in a loose form until its binding in 1916, it is likely that the music was entered in the order in which it now stands, with the exception of the pieces copied by the second scribe on ff. 52^v-54^v, which presumably pre-date the contribution of the third scribe.

¹⁷⁶With the exception of f. 55 and f. 64^v, which are in single-page layout.

¹⁷⁷Rudén, pp. 66-68.

CAUS

Salomon de Caus was a French-born engineer and architect. He studied mathematics and mechanics before journeying to Italy. He was in the employ of the archducal court at Brussels in 1605. By 1610 he had travelled to England where he served Prince Henry, and would have known John Bull who at the time was the head of Prince Henry's household musicians, and who also had an interest in building organs. Caus had an interest in water organs.¹⁷⁸ When in the service of Prince Henry he constructed several water organs for his patron at Richmond. After the death of Henry on 6 November 1612, Caus entered the service of the Elector Palatine Prince Friederich V, and laid out the gardens at Heidelberg Castle, which were famous for their fountains, grottos, mechanical sculptures and a water organ. Caus's treatise *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes* describes in detail his designs, including the water organ which played a setting of *Chi fara* by Philips. When Frederick was exiled to Holland in 1620 Caus returned to France, where he became the engineer and architect to the King: in 1624 he reprinted *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes* in Paris. Mersenne cites Caus in his *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636-7).¹⁷⁹

Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes was first published by Caus at Frankfurt am Main in 1615.¹⁸⁰ The title page reads:

LES RAISONS DES | FORCES MOVVANTES | Auec diuerſes Machines | Tant
utiles que plaisantes | Aus quelles ſont adioints | pluſieurs deſſeings de grottes | et
fontaines | Par | SALAMON DE CAVS | Ingenieur et architecte de ſon | Alteſſe
Palatine Electorale. | A Francfort en la boutique de Jan Norton. | 1615

The first part of the work is a scientific treatise in which the mechanical problems associated with the construction of fountains and water-powered machines are explored. It is made up

¹⁷⁸The term 'water organ' as used here refers to organs which are entirely worked by water. For an introduction to this type of instrument, see *Jeans*, and *Williams*, pp. 219 seq.

¹⁷⁹*Cunningham Ph.D*, p. 223.

¹⁸⁰Facsimile edition, Amsterdam, 1973.

of short, numbered, chapters; in numbers xxviii-xxxii Caus considers the problems posed in the design of barrel organs turned by water.

On ff. 38^v-39 he includes the first sixty-five bars of Philips's setting of Striggio's madrigal *Chi fara* notated in keyboard score of two five-line staves, which serves to illustrate Problem xxx. This is concerned with the way in which the barrel, turned by water, depresses the keys of a keyboard which sounds the pipes. An illustration on f. 38 depicts a barrel on which the opening of *Chi fara* (which is given in mensural notation over the page) is pinned: the length of each note is determined by the length of the blocks which are attached to the barrel. This provides us with valuable evidence on how the music would have sounded in the composer's own day.¹⁸¹

It is possible to estimate the duration of each note and the length of the silences of articulation between them by a close examination of the illustration on f. 38. The first semibreve appears to have a quaver taken out of it; the right-hand minim lacks the last semiquaver. The latter sounds against a dotted crotchet followed by two semiquavers: note that the last of these sounds in the silence of articulation of the minim. Quavers look as though they are slightly over half length; semiquavers are sounded for fractionally less than their written length.

The diagram can tell us nothing about tempo. However, it does suggest a fairly even performance of the written-out trill figures in which the number of notes played corresponds to the notation. It is difficult to be certain whether this represents performance practice in the Spanish Netherlands in the early seventeenth century, performance practice at the Heidelberg court at the same period, or whether the close correspondence between the diagram on f. 38

¹⁸¹However, the evidence of barrel organs does have to be treated with a certain amount of caution. It may be argued that a 'performance' on a barrel organ need not reflect the performance practice of a harpsichordist, or even an organist.

and the written score on f. 38^v is to enable the reader to compare the two.

The choice of *Chi fara* for a water organ piece is interesting. Madrigal intabulations are usually assumed to be best suited to the harpsichord or other stringed keyboard instrument because of their secular nature. However, another setting by Philips of *Chi fara* is to be found in *Liège*, a manuscript which was definitely intended for use at the organ. The secular title is omitted in *Liège* - it is headed 'fantasie' - suggesting that the scribe was not keen to emphasise the piece's secular origins. Hence, two of the four sources containing Philips's intabulations of this piece are associated with the organ. It seems that intabulations of secular vocal pieces were played on the organ as well as stringed keyboard instruments. The choice of this instrument for such works does make sense: aside from the association of the organ with voices in sacred vocal music in the church, the sustaining qualities of the organ match those of the human voice.

Caus's text most closely resembles that of *Lynar*, the source which contains the most reliable readings of Philips's keyboard pieces. However, Caus's text contains some obvious errors, most commonly involving mistaken note values. The inclusion of only sixty-five bars of the piece (which Caus notes in an ascription at the end of the piece) necessitates altering the musical text at the final cadence.¹⁸²

Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes was reprinted by the author in Paris in 1624. This shows that Philips's music was known in France. There are some very small differences between the 1615 print and the 1624 edition:

¹⁸²See the transcription in Volume 3.

BAR	ALTERATION
3, fifth note	Filled in
5, r.h.	Sharps in front of notes
8, r.h.	semiquavers beamed as one group
15, alto	No tie
16-17, r.h.	No tie for C
19, tenor	2nd minim omitted
32, l.h., first beat	minim: tail down
39, beat 3	Additional A minim
43, tenor, beat 3	Minim A omitted
61, tenor, beat 3	Minim tail down
End	Ascription differently placed

In the 1615 edition, the music on f. 38^v is printed upside down; this is corrected in the 1624 edition.

Institution Harmonique was published by Caus at Frankfurt am Main in 1615.¹⁸³ Divided into two parts, it examines first the intervallic proportions in music, then proceeds to a discussion of contrapuntal theory based in part on Zarlino.¹⁸⁴ Philips's trios are included in Part ii to illustrate the practice of writing in three parts; they are unique to the source. Two-part counterpoint is illustrated by short examples; there are no examples given to illustrate writing in four or more parts.

The three trios by Philips were included by Guilmant in his *Archives des Maîtres de l'Orgue*,¹⁸⁵ but in fact no instrumentation is specified. They are intended as academic illustrations in a treatise on composition, not as pieces to be performed. Stylistically, they could equally well be sung as played by instruments. Their character reflects the didactic

¹⁸³Facsimile edition, New York, 1969.

¹⁸⁴For a discussion of the first part, see *Cunningham Ph.D.*, pp. 224-225.

¹⁸⁵*Guilmant*, pp. 169 seq.

purpose for which they were written.

The only extended musical works included by Caus in his publications are by Philips. They presumably knew one another at the Brussels court; it is no surprise to find the most eminent organist at court collaborating with the court engineer. Although neither print was published until after Caus had left Brussels, their substantial size makes it likely that the author began work on them well before their date of publication. Although it is possible that Caus remained in contact with Philips after moving from Brussels, it is more likely that he took the pieces which were later included in his publications with him when he left. It is reasonable to suppose that he also had copies of other pieces by Philips.

Caus worked for a number of different patrons after leaving Brussels. He may have been responsible for the transmission of Philips's music to England when he entered the service of Prince Henry. However, none of Philips's music which Caus is known to have possessed can be shown to have reached England through him: Tregian seems to have acquired Philips's keyboard music by about 1605, and the ensemble music together with Sweelinck's contribution after 1612, so Caus could not have been responsible for providing Tregian with his exemplars. The only other English keyboard source, 1113, contains pieces unique to the manuscript suggesting that the scribe obtained his exemplar from a source other than Tregian, but the exclusion of *Chi fara* from a 1113, a manuscript containing more vocal intabulations than instrumental dances, means that Caus is unlikely to have been the source of this music.

The publication of these two prints in Frankfurt shows that Caus was responsible for the transmission of at least some pieces by Philips to Germany. *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes* was reprinted by the author in Paris in 1624, so at least one of Philips's pieces was known in France by this date.

OHIO

There is a fragment of a keyboard setting of the *1580 Pavan* in manuscript additions to a copy of Ernest David and Mathis Lussy, *Histoire de la Notation Musicale*, 1882, opposite p. 114, held at the Case Western Reserve University, Ohio (**Ohio**).¹⁸⁶ The manuscript fragments date from the early seventeenth century.

The setting of the *1580 Pavan* in **Ohio** is unrelated either to the keyboard piece in the **FVB** or to the other settings in **Turin** and **Eysbock**. It is an independent arrangement made by someone other than Philips. The piece is in mensural notation, and is incomplete: it is transcribed with the other keyboard versions of the *1580 Pavan* in Volume 3. The title 'philips pavin' occurs at the end: the spelling suggests an English provenance.

¹⁸⁶There are references to this fragment in *Curtis 1972*, p. 99; *Charteris 1977*, p. 36; *Bukofzer*.

CONCLUSION

Peter Philips's keyboard music is contained in two English sources, **FVB** and **1113**. They contain different selections of pieces, so are not directly related on the *stemma* of sources.¹⁸⁷ This shows that Philips's keyboard music reached England by routes unconnected with Tregian. It may be significant that **FVB** and **1113** are the only sources for Tomkins's keyboard setting of his pavan in *A* minor, which appears in a consort setting in **3665** (and elsewhere) and was intabulated by Philips (**408**). Philips may have been responsible for the transmission of both versions to Tregian (see Chapter 2), and there seems to be a stylistic correspondence between Tomkins's Pavan and Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan*.¹⁸⁸ **1113** contains music by 'B.C.', the initials of Benjamin Cosyn, who had access to Tomkins's holograph: perhaps the scribe of **1113** had access to material associated with Cosyn or Tomkins, including music by Philips. The earlier layer of **FVB** was copied soon after 1605; **1113** dates from the period 1616-c. 1620, but the scribe's exemplar for Philips's works may have been written c. 1600.

Lynar, **Berlin**, **Liège**, and **89** are all Netherlands sources dating from c. 1617 to 1625. **Lynar** and **Berlin** are the only sources for the keyboard works of Cornet - Philips's colleague at the Brussels court - confirming their Netherlands provenance.

Turin, **408** and **Eysbock** are all notated in German keyboard tablature. **Turin** was compiled from 1637 to 1640 in Augsburg. The pieces by Philips in **408** were copied by Zengell, a German who was responsible for the dissemination of Philips's music to Sweden in the late 1630s (before 1641). **Eysbock** was copied in Frankfurt in c. 1600. These sources show that Philips's music had reached Germany by 1600, and remained in currency until the mid-century.

¹⁸⁷The scribe of **1113** was primarily interested in intabulations of vocal music, which contrasts with the scribe of **Berlin**, who chose to copy dances.

¹⁸⁸See Chapter 7.

The presence of Philips in two of Caus's publications illustrates how his music could travel with his colleagues at the Brussels court when they moved to new patrons. Caus spent time in England, though there is no evidence that he distributed Philips's music there. Both volumes were published at Frankfurt, and Caus worked for Friederich V at Heidelberg, so he was responsible for the dissemination of *Chi fara*, the three trios, and perhaps other music to Germany. The reissue of **Caus-1** in Paris in 1624 shows that Philips's music - at least one piece - was known in France by this date.

Lynar, **Berlin** and **Turin** all contain music by south German composers; they are also the only surviving manuscript sources of Giovanni Gabrieli's music, probably transmitted through German composers such as Erbach and the Hasslers who studied with the Gabrielis in Italy. **Berlin** and **Turin** contain some pieces in common with conflicting attributions: these probably resulted from their scribes copying from exemplars emanating from south German composers who did not distinguish clearly enough between their own works and those of their teacher. **Lynar** is a large anthology encompassing keyboard music from all countries, but **Berlin** contains a surprising quantity of German music for a Netherlands source: the first scribe was probably German. The governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Albert, was Archduke of Austria, which may explain the activity of a German scribe in the south Netherlands. Although **Turin** contains little music by Netherlands or English composers, the pieces by Philips were probably transmitted through the contact between south Germans and the archducal court at Brussels.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹John Steele suggests an influence of Jacob Handl on Philips's double-choir music through the connection between the court at Brussels and the imperial court at Vienna and Prague. (Steele 1992). The musical links between them need further investigation.

Berlin and Liège share notational characteristics. These manuscripts and 89 include repertory that achieved only a local circulation (eg. the works of Browne). This provides a clue to the value of the Philips texts they contain: each contains some unique works; Berlin and Liège have fundamentally different versions of pieces known in other sources. These manuscripts preserve texts of Philips's works as they were locally disseminated. Although in close geographical proximity to the composer, the sources are distant in the sense that their texts derive from exemplars far removed from the root of the *stemma*. Philips's music would have been copied more extensively in the area nearest him: ironically this led to these two sources adopting less authentic versions corrupted by the plentiful supply of exemplars in the region.

FVB and Lynar preserve the best texts for Philips's works. Tregian probably obtained his from the composer; Lynar may have been copied from exemplars associated with Sweelinck, and through him with Philips. The more accurate texts of these sources suggest that there are fewer intermediate stages between them and the composer.

The main group of Philips's pieces in Lynar contains works composed in the 1590s, and was probably copied from an exemplar dating from c. 1600, but before 1603 (the date of *Amarilli*). The pieces by Philips occur within a section devoted to Sweelinck, so it is likely that the works of both composers were copied from the same exemplar. It is possible that this exemplar stemmed from Sweelinck: Philips met Sweelinck at least once (see Chapter 1), so the inclusion of music by these two composers in the same exemplar might be expected. Lynar contains many Sweelinck *unica*, and has long been considered to stem from Sweelinck or his pupils, hence the mistaken belief that it was copied by Weckmann. Certainly the quality of the Philips texts transmitted in Lynar is consistent with the possibility that they stem from Philips himself and were transmitted through Sweelinck.

Amarilli was copied from a different exemplar at a much later date: the scribal hand

has changed considerably from that of the main Philips section. The reading for *Amarilli* is of a comparable quality to the earlier pieces: its location amongst works by composers working in the Spanish Netherlands suggests that it emanates from the circle of Pieter Cornet, one of Philips's colleagues at the Brussels court.

Chapter 4

Consort and Lute Sources

INTRODUCTION

There are twenty-eight consort and lute sources of Peter Philips's instrumental music. Whereas most of the keyboard sources of his compositions contain more than one piece, most of the consort and lute sources contain just one, most commonly the *1580 Pavan* or *Dolorosa Pavan*. They include some of the earliest sources of Philips's instrumental music: **Dallis** contains the *1580 Pavan*, and carries the date 1583, just three years after the date given by Tregian for the keyboard version. The latest source is **Kempis**, published in 1642.

The descriptions of the sources in this chapter provide a necessary background to the discussion of Philips's music in the remaining chapters (Part 2 of the thesis). It will be argued that, where a piece exists in versions for different forces, the consort and lute versions described in this chapter were adapted by other composers from an original piece by Philips.¹

The number of sources under discussion precludes an extended discussion of all of them. Some are given a brief description, with bibliographical references to direct the reader to fuller accounts elsewhere. Others are treated in more detail, either because they are particularly important in the arguments developed in later chapters, because the present author's research adds significantly to our understanding of a source, or because they have not been discussed in the secondary literature.

The chapter is arranged as a catalogue, in alphabetical order by the source abbreviations. This facilitates the location of information about sources referred to in Part 2, which is located in Volume 2. The heading for each entry is divided into two by a horizontal

¹However, it will be argued that the consort versions in 3665, one of the Tregian manuscripts discussed in Chapter 2, are the models upon which the keyboard pieces are based.

line. The abbreviation is given above the line, with other information about the source: manuscripts are distinguished from prints, and the genre of each source's contents is shown. A distinction is drawn between mixed consort sources (for a colourful array of melod and plucked stringed instruments), and ensemble sources, by which is to be understood ensemble music for melody instruments, whether or not specific instruments are listed. The term 'texted ensemble' is used on two occasions for sources in which one or more parts has a text added. All the lute sources use French tablature unless otherwise indicated.

Beneath the line each piece by Philips is listed. First the abbreviation is given, according with the handlist of pieces in the introduction. Then any contemporary inscriptions are transcribed: information taken from the beginning of a piece is shown in *italic* type; that taken from the end of a piece is in Roman type; that taken from an index is in rounded brackets, (). Finally, the location of each piece is indicated by its number in the source, or its page or folio number. Numbers in square brackets, [], refer to editorial numbering where these have been added to a facsimile edition or are included in a published inventory.

423-8	6 manuscript partbooks	Ensemble
<i>Passamezzo Consort</i>	<i>A 6 voc: Tenor [etc.]: peter: phillipes pauin Deo gratias</i>	Six-part pieces, no. 14

Oxford, Christ Church Library, MSS 423-428 (423-8) are partbooks containing ensemble music. They belong to a collection once owned by John Browne (1608-91), which is discussed in two complementary articles, one by Nigel Fortune and Iain Fenlon, the other by Andrew Ashbee.²

²Fortune, Ashbee.

Philips's *Passamezzo Consort* was copied by the original owner of the partbooks, who was also responsible for the organization of the source into sections with headings indicating the number of parts. The hand of this scribe is not found in any of the other sources associated with Browne, which suggests that they were copied before they came into the possession of Browne and his circle. Ashbee notes that the hand looks noticeably earlier than the other hand in the source, and that the repertory is late Elizabethan and early Jacobean.³ Other composers represented in the earliest layer include Lupo, Coprario, Ferrabosco II, Ward, Dering, White, Peerson and Milton.⁴ This layer of the source dates from the early seventeenth century.

437-42	6 manuscript partbooks	Ensemble
<i>Passamezzo Consort</i>	M ^r Phillippes	no. 19 [89]
<i>Consort Fantasia 1</i>	<i>Fantasia</i> M ^r Phillippes	no. 20 [90]
<i>Consort Fantasia 2</i>	<i>Fantasia</i> M ^r Phillippes.	no. 21 [91]

(From the i9th to the 2ith Fancy of 6pts M^r Phillippes)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. E. 437-442 (437-42) are partbooks containing music for a consort of like instruments. In an introduction to the microfilm of the manuscripts published in the Harvester series, Margaret Crum provides a full description.⁵

The source contains fantasies for strings in three to six parts, though this designation encompasses dances such as Philips's *Passamezzo Consort* as well as more contrapuntal genres. The hand is that of a scribe writing in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

³Ashbee, p. 49.

⁴For a list of works by these composers copied in the source, see Ashbee, pp. 49-50.

⁵Crum.

All the parts are marked 'ex[aminated]', often accompanied by the initial 'F', probably 'F. Withy', who later owned the books. The main scribe indexed each volume, and designated the partbooks as follows:⁶

- | | | |
|----|--------|------------------------|
| 1. | MS 437 | Treble |
| 2. | MS 441 | Treble. The fift booke |
| 3. | MS 438 | Contratenor sexta pars |
| 4. | MS 442 | [Tenor] The sixt booke |
| 5. | MS 440 | 2 Base Basfus |
| 6. | MS 439 | 1 Base Medius |

Other composers included in the source are Lupo, Jenkins, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Ward, Coperario and Gibbons.⁷

The two *Consort Fantasias* are madrigals taken from **Philips 1603**.⁸ The scribe copied *Consort Fantasia I* from open score, not from partbooks: in b. 13 a sharp has been placed in 442 against an *E*, whereas it is intended for the *C* in 440. These are adjacent parts, so the scribe could easily have been confused by the placement of the sharp in his exemplar, and copied it into the wrong part.

439	Manuscript partbook	Ensemble
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	[No ascription]	p. 117, iv

Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS 439 (439) is a partbook which contains a bass part for Philips's *1580 Pavan* on p. 117. No other parts have survived. This manuscript was probably part of a set of partbooks of music for instrumental ensemble, not a bass part for a mixed consort piece.

⁶The order in which the books are listed conforms to the order of the voice parts for Philips' pieces, working from top to bottom.

⁷An inventory may be found in *Crum*, pp. 112-118.

⁸See Preface.

3665

This is the main source for Philips’s consort music, and is discussed in Chapter 2.

36526A	Manuscript partbook	Ensemble
1580 Pavan	[No ascription]	f. 5

London, British library, Additional MS 36526A (36526A) comprises fragments copied by one scribe taken from tenor and bass partbooks, and bound together in their present arrangement on transfer from the Department of Printed Books on 10 October 1900. The music includes the greater part of John Dowland’s *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of Foure Partes*, 1597. Only the bass part of the *1580 Pavan* is preserved, but the nature of the fragments suggest that it would have been a piece for instrumental ensemble.

Bautzen	Manuscript	Lute
1580 Pavan	<i>Pavana</i> <i>Philippi</i>	p. 39, v

Germany, Bautzen, Stadt- und Kreisbibliothek Druck 13.4°.85: manuscript additions to Besard, *Thesaurus Harmonicus*. A continental lute source of Philips’s *1580 Pavan* which uses its own idiosyncratic rhythm notation (see transcription in Volume 3).

Board	Manuscript	Lute
1580 Pavan	<i>Philipes</i> <i>paven</i> Philipes pavan	f. 5 ^v [no. 17]

The Margaret Board Lute Book, part of Robert Spencer’s private collection, has been published in a facsimile edition with an introduction by its present owner.⁹ Margaret Board

⁹Board.

was the first owner of the book, and she copied pieces 1-35, 37-104 and 188.¹⁰ Hence the *1580 Pavan* is in her hand.

Some of the watermarks suggest that the paper was made in France towards the end of the sixteenth century. The end-paper watermarks are English, dating from c. 1620.¹¹ Spencer suggests that the paper was bound up and sold as a blank lute book at about this time. This dating is confirmed by a reference to ‘Doctor Dowland’ on f. 30: the doctorate is first mentioned in Thomas Ravenscroft’s *First Book of Psalms*, 1621. Spencer asserts that two of the pieces (Nos. 36 and 187 in the facsimile edition), and the theoretical tables on f. i, are in Dowland’s hand: these pieces must have been copied before his death in 1626. The manuscript dates from c. 1620, and the presence of these tables suggests that Dowland may have taught Margaret Board.

The source contains a number of grace signs, most commonly indicated by a dot or a cross before the tablature letter. In Volume 3 these are reproduced in the transcription of the tablature, and have been transcribed into staff notation with reference to Robert Spencer’s conjectural interpretation of their meaning,¹² using contemporary keyboard ornament signs.

Browne	Manuscript	Mixed consort part (bandora)
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	Phillips pauin	f. 14
<i>Galliard-CL</i>	Phillips galliard	f. 10

The *Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book* (formerly known as the ‘Braye Tablature Book’) is also in Robert Spencer’s private collection, and belongs to the group of manuscripts

¹⁰Numbers taken from the facsimile edition.

¹¹The watermarks are reproduced in the facsimile. Spencer uses *Briquet* and *Heawood* for their identification.

¹²Spencer, introduction to *Board*.

owned by John Browne (see above on 423-8). It has two layers: there are bandora parts for use in mixed consort, and three bandora solos, which date from c. 1600;¹³ the remaining pieces are for lyra-viol, and were probably added c. 1635-40. The source is described by Warwick Edwards, who gives an inventory for the earlier layer.¹⁴

The book measures 276 by 206 mm, and is bound in a contemporary calf binding which bears the initials 'T.B.' None of the scribes who wrote in the other manuscripts associated with Browne is responsible for the earliest layer. Ashbee suggests that the initials stamped on the cover may refer to John Browne's father, Thomas (1567-1621): he was apprenticed to a Thomas Turner whose name occurs on f. 95. It is likely that John Browne inherited the book from his father.¹⁵

Browne contains alternative bandora parts for many of the pieces included in **Morley**: only in two cases ('Alisons knell' and Alison's 'Response pavin') is the manuscript close to the print.¹⁶ This suggests that other books once existed to make up a set of parts for mixed consort: the other mixed consort sources (**Holmes**, **Morley**, **Walsingham**, and Philip Rosseter's *Lessons for Consort*, London, 1609) have considerable overlap in the works they contain, but these are often very different arrangements of the same piece. It is significant that the two pieces with an exact concordance between **Morley** and **Browne** are by a composer best known for mixed consort works: it may be that these were originally conceived for mixed consort, whereas many of the other pieces were popularly arranged for the genre.

¹³Ashbee, p. 49. Edwards dates the layer to the first decade of the seventeenth century (*Edwards Ph.D*, p. 310).

¹⁴*Edwards Ph.D*, pp. 308 seq.

¹⁵Ashbee, p. 49.

¹⁶*Edwards, Ph.D*, p. 310.

Caus

Solomon de Caus's *Institution Harmonique*, Frankfurt am Main, 1615, part 2 contains three trios by Peter Philips: the source is discussed in Chapter 3 alongside Caus's *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes*.

Dallis	Manuscript	Lute
1580 Pavan	Pavin treble Philips [p. 82] Pav[in] bassus Philips [p. 83]	pp. 82 & 83 [Lute duet]
1580 Pavan	Philips p.	p. 124 [duet ground]
1580 Pavan	Pavana del Petro Philippes	p. 254 [lute solo]

Eire, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 410 (*olim* D.3.30): *Dallis Lute Book* (Dallis) is bound with the unrelated 'Dublin Keyboard Manuscript'. It is described in an article jointly authored by John Ward and his students.¹⁷ It contains Philips's 1580 *Pavan* three times, which testifies to the popularity of the piece. First it occurs as a lute duet, the two parts being laid out on facing pages. Then it occurs as duet ground, which matches the earlier version but in addition has elaborate divisions for the repeat of each strain. Finally, it is set as a lute solo.

Dallis has a Latin inscription in red ink on p. 12 which reads in translation 'I began on August with Mr Thomas Dallis as my preceptor. Cambridge 1583'.¹⁸ The same hand recurs at various points through the manuscript. August 1583 is not necessarily the date at which copying commenced: the inscription gives the date at which the owner's tuition with Dallis commenced, not when the volume was started.

¹⁷Ward 1967.

¹⁸Ward 1967, p. 19. The Latin is given in the inventory, p. 25.

The contents of the volume make an earlier starting date a strong probability.¹⁹ There are 228 works (mostly for lute solo), including music by Newman, Brewster, Cotton, Parsons, Strogers, John Johnson and Byrd, all of whom were active in the 1560s and 1570s. For an English lute source, *Dallis* has an unusual number of concordances with continental prints.²⁰ The latest print is Adriaensen's *Pratum Musicum*, Antwerp, 1584: most date from considerably earlier. This confirms the impression that the source was completed quite soon after the date on which *Dallis*'s pupil began his studies; it also conforms to the conservative taste of the compiler's choice of English music. Indeed, the conservative nature of the collection led Lumsden to the conclusion that it 'might have been begun anything up to ten or twenty years earlier' than 1583.²¹ The evidence of the repertory is corroborated by the absence of a seventh course, which would be expected in a later source.

A reference on p. 59 indicates that one scribe thought p. 17 to be 'folio 2', suggesting that the folios are no longer bound in their original order. This means that it is not possible to determine when Philips's pieces were entered. The inclusion of several different arrangements in *Dallis*, including two that are related (the more elaborate ground on p. 124 and the duet), suggest that versions of the *1580 Pavan* were copied at different times. If the date for the *1580 Pavan* in *FVB* is that of composition, then Philips's pieces may have been among the last to be entered. If - as seems likely - the date refers to the keyboard arrangement, then the model on which the keyboard piece is based could have been composed much earlier, and various arrangements (made by *Dallis*, his pupil, or an unknown lutenist) entered during the late 1570s.

¹⁹There are full inventories in *Ward*, 1967, pp. 23-40, and *Lumsden*, pp. 232-243.

²⁰*Ward* 1967, p. 20.

²¹*Lumsden*, p. 142.

Dlugoraj	Manuscript	Lute (German tablature)
1580 Pavan	<i>Pauana Phi lippi: 3</i>	p. 80
1580 Pavan	<i>Pauana Phi lippi: 4</i>	p. 82

Dlugoraj, which is dated 1619, contains 460 pieces for seven- and eight-course lute notated in German lute tablature. Like many other German manuscript compilations of lute music from the period, it is organized by genre and contains a cosmopolitan mix of music from different countries. The source has come to be known by the name Albert Dlugoraj, a composer whose music appears in the manuscript. The *1580 Pavan* occurs twice, the first time pitched in G, the second in C.

Dublin	Manuscript additions	Ensemble
1580 Pavan	<i>philips pavin</i>	p. 27 (leaf sig. G)

A copy of Tallis and Byrd’s *Cantiones, Quae ab Argumento Sacrae Vocantur, Quinque et Sex Partium...* (London, 1575), held in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, with the shelfmark B. 1. 32 (**Dublin**), has manuscript additions that include the *cantus* part only of Philips’s *1580 Pavan*. **Dublin** is described in an article by Richard Charteris, and his numbering of the pieces added to the partbooks has been adopted here.²² All the partbooks have survived: twenty-five pieces have been added to the empty staves and unused parts of the folios in a late Elizabethan hand which ‘might possibly belong to a certain “William Roke” whose signature appears on the title page of four of the partbooks’.²³ Nothing else is known of the provenance of these additions. Charteris provides a list of the additional contents (pp. 400-401), which include pieces by Farrant, Robert Parsons, Tallis, Byrd,

²²Charteris 1981, pp. 399-401.

²³Charteris 1981, p. 400.

Dowland, Woodcocke, and Richard Nicolson. The last two names suggest an Oxford provenance: Richard Nicolson was at Magdalen College, Oxford from the 1590s to the 1630s, and his music was disseminated only in sources with an Oxford connection. There are also two pieces by ‘Mr Phillips’ (ie. Philip van Wilder), as well as no. 19, ‘phillips pavin’ (Peter Philips’s *1580 Pavan*), on p. 27 (the leaf carrying the signature G).

Some parts have text underlaid, others lack it: some pieces are consort songs, others intended for vocal performance; yet more are instrumental works. The copying is incomplete, with titles only being given in some partbooks for music that was never entered. The number of parts surviving for each work varies from just one (as is the case with Philips’s *1580 Pavan*) to four, yet no piece appears to be complete. Perhaps the remaining parts were similarly copied into another set of partbooks, or maybe the copying was never completed.

The *cantus* part for the *1580 Pavan* is unique amongst the sources for the piece in having rests of six minim’s duration at the start, implying the same sort of imitative opening typical of his other string consort works. The presence of tenor and alto parts for some of the other pieces indicates that this source is for string consort, not mixed consort. The tenor parts of Nos. 16 and 17 are entitled ‘Dowlands Larchrimae [*sic*] the 5. parte’, so it is possible that the piece by Philips is also for five instruments.

Fuhrmann	Print	Lute
<i>Dolorosa Pavan</i>	<i>Pavana dolorosa.</i>	p. 181

Georg Leopold Fuhrmann’s *Testudo Gallo-Germanica* (Fuhrmann) was published by him in 1615 at Nuremburg.²⁴ There is an original copy in the British Library; it is also

²⁴The title means ‘French-German Lute’; ‘testudo’ is Latin for tortoise, and was used for the lute because of its tortoise-like shape.

available in a facsimile edition.²⁵

Fuhrmann gives a list of composers represented in the volume on the *verso* of the third leaf. Although three English-born composers (John and Robert Dowland, and ‘M. Aloyson, Anglus’) are included in the table, it is significant that Philips is not mentioned here, and that his *Dolorosa Pavan* is nowhere attributed to him in this source. Fuhrmann is concordant with Schele, a manuscript that does contain an ascription of the piece to ‘P.P.’ There are also some small errors in Fuhrmann not found in Schele. Fuhrmann obtained the piece either directly from Schele, or from a shared common ancestor.

Beneath this table in Fuhrmann there is an index of pieces, in which the *Dolorosa Pavan* is included. The print is organised by genre, then any extra space is filled with supplementary material which does not fit into this scheme; such pieces are noted in the index under ‘Subplementa quære’. However, the index is far from accurate. The *canzone* begin on p. 20, not p. 22; the *voltes* start on p. 175, not p. 179; the ‘Pavana Dolorosa’ - the piece in which we are interested - starts on p. 181, not p. 180;²⁶ and the ‘Pargamasco’ begins on p. 182, not p. 181. In particular, the list of supplementary pieces is both inaccurate and far from complete.²⁷ The inclusion of ‘Spagnolet’ in the index is confusing: it refers to just the one piece, which occurs in the midst of the pavan section.

The inaccuracies in the index are indicative of a careless attention to details of typesetting. The page number on p. 108 has the last two digits transposed, and the last digit

²⁵Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, *Testudo Gallo-Germanica 1615*, Institutio pro arte testudinis, Series A, Band 2, 1975.

²⁶Fuhrmann indicates the presence of a supplementary piece on p. 180 further down the same column in which he gives that page for the *Dolorosa Pavan*.

²⁷The following corrects the index, the second page reference being the correct one: 23=22, 28=29, 48=58. Pages 47 and 62 are given in the index, but do not contain supplementary pieces. The following pages do contain supplementary pieces, but are not given in the index: 5, 40, 67, 74, 80, 104, 113, 115, 119, 124, 127, 140, 144, 146, 147, 160, 165, 168.

of the page number on p. 147 is on its side. **Fuhrmann** has two galliards with the number sixteen. The heading at the top of p. 100 should refer to the piece by Georg Schew which begins on p. 99, iv, but instead has the heading for the previous piece. George Vesper has his name misspelt 'Vvsper' in the index of composers (see above). On p. 133, vi the letters 'o' and 'u' in the word 'courant' have been transposed. The heading at the top of p. 185 should refer to the piece which begins on that page, the title of which ('LAe Grre') seems to be a mangled attempt at 'La Guerre', but instead it has the heading for the previous piece.

The page containing the two indices has a brief explanation of lute tablature at the bottom of the page. Fuhrmann distinguishes the two forms of rhythm notation: that employing the tails of staff notation he terms 'gallic', that employing the rhythm signs from German keyboard tablature he calls 'German'. In other words, he sees the rhythm notation as stemming from the notation of keyboard music: he associates keyboard tablature with German practice, and staff notation with the French.²⁸ He indicates up to four diapasons in his explanation, and the pieces in **Fuhrmann** vary in their requirements, demanding between six and ten courses.

Florida	Print	Lute
1580 Pavan	PAuana Pietro Filippi.	f. 92

Joachim van den Hove published his collection of lute music, *Florida*, at Utrecht in 1601. A copy held by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was consulted for this study. An index on f. 110^v divides the contents first by genre, listing vocal intabulations and fantasias first, and then the remaining pieces. The sixty-four pieces of the first group are then organized according to the number of voice parts: fantasias come first, then four-part madrigals, five-

²⁸In London, British Library, MS Sloane 1021 the scribe (Johann Stobaeus, 1580-1646) describes the beamed rhythm signs of the German notation as 'Organistischer'.

part madrigals and so on until ten-part madrigals. The pieces in eight and ten voices are arranged for two lutes. The choice of vocal music intabulated for lute perhaps betrays the Netherlands origins of Hove: composers include Verdonck, Croce, Pevernage, Pallavicino, Sweelinck and Marenzio, the sort of composers to be found in similar lute collections published at Antwerp by Emmanuel Adriaensen,²⁹ and also to be found in Netherlands vocal anthologies of the same period, such as the one compiled by Philips in 1591.³⁰

The second group consists mostly of dances, which are organized by type (passamezzo, pavan, galliard, almande etc). There are also a few settings of popular English and Netherlands tunes, again revealing the compiler's nationality. The *1580 Pavan* is one of the few in the collection to have the composer's name incorporated in the title.

Füllsack	Print	Ensemble
<i>Füllsack Pavan</i>	<i>Paduana à 5 Pietro Philippi</i>	no. 5

Ausserlesener Paduanen und Galliarden mit fünff Stimmen Erster Theil (Füllsack) was published by Zacharias Füllsack and Christian Hildebrand at Hamburg in 1607.³¹ It comprises five partbooks containing ensemble music for melody instruments. A complete set of partbooks survives at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. The best-represented composer is Brade, but there are also works by English composers such as James Harding's well-known galliard, and pieces by Holborne and John Dowland. No. 5 is a pavan attributed to Philips: it is a weak work, not up to the standard of the rest of Philips's extant consort music (see transcription in Volume 3). It is characterized by a technique recalling *cantus firmus* in the final strain, and it is possible that the wide dissemination in Germany of

²⁹*Pratum Musicum*, 1584 and *Novum Pratum Musicum*, 1592.

³⁰P. Philips, *Melodia Olympica*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse), 1591.

³¹There are two modern editions: *Mönkemeyer 1986* and *Engelke*.

Philips's famous *1580 Pavan*, which uses a similar technique but with the held notes in the *cantus* rather than *bassus*, led the publishers to misascribe the work to Philips.³²

Holmes	Manuscript			
Dd.2.11	Lute	<i>1580 Pavan</i>	Phillips Pauen	f. 98 ^v
Dd.5.78.3	Lute	<i>Dolorosa Pavan</i>	[No ascription]	f. 65 ^v
Dd.9.33	Lute	<i>Dolorosa Pavan</i>	Cromatica pauana	f. 14 ^v
		<i>Dolorosa Galliard</i>	The Galliarde	f. 15
Dd.5.21	Treble viol		<i>phillips pauen</i>	f. 2 ^v
Dd.3.18	Consort lute	Mixed consort parts for <i>1580</i> <i>Pavan</i>	<i>Phillips pauen</i>	f. 18 ^v
Dd.14.24	Consort cittern		<i>phillips pauen</i>	f. 9 ^v
Dd.5.20	Bass viol		[P]hillips Pauen	f. 2

The set of related lute and consort manuscripts held in Cambridge University Library is one of the largest and most important sources of lute and mixed consort music to have survived. All the manuscripts are in the same hand, which Ian Harwood has identified as that of Matthew Holmes, Precentor and Singing-man at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1588 to 1597, and Chanter and Singing-man at Westminster Abbey from 1597 to his death in 1621.³³

Diana Poulton derives an order of compilation from a study of the deterioration in the handwriting.³⁴ Dd.2.11 is the earliest: a reference to Dowland's Oxford degree, conferred on him in 1588, suggests that it was started after this date. It was probably completed by 1591, when Katherine Darcy married Gervase Clifton: all her pieces carry her maiden name. Poulton argues that Dd.5.78.3 is next in chronological order, but may have overlapped with Dd.2.11. The evolution in Holmes's notation is most apparent in Dd.9.33, which Poulton

³²Holman, pp. 164 seq.

³³Harwood 1963, pp. 32 seq.

³⁴Poulton 1972/82, pp. 98-100.

believes to have been the next to be copied. Katherine Darcy appears as 'Mrs Clifton' in Dd.9.33 on f. 28: Poulton suggests that the piece was probably entered between her marriage in 1591 and Clifton's knighthood in 1597, but other pieces in Dd.9.33 were probably copied somewhat later. Dd.9.33 has two inscriptions in Holmes' hand on f.96^v, the first of which is dated 28 February 1600.³⁵ Finally, a piece by Cutting on f. 18 includes Sir Fooke [Fulke] Greville's title: he became a Knight of the Bath in 1603.

The study of the dissemination of the *Dolorosa Pavan* in Chapter 5 will show that Holmes probably copied from FVB, or from Tregian's exemplar for the piece. Tregian probably started work on FVB in England in about 1605, so Dd.9.33 must date from somewhat later than Poulton supposed. Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan* occurs on f. 14^v, near to the piece by Cutting from after 1603: it is likely that this manuscript was copied in the first decade of the seventeenth century in London, not during the last decade of the previous century in Oxford. Warwick Edwards suggests that Rosseter's 'Labergere' was copied from the composer's *Lessons for Consort* of 1609.³⁶ This is a more likely date for the source, and it is possible that - as Edwards points out - the omission of Lady Clifton's title resulted from the use of an exemplar dating from before her husband's knighthood.

The inclusion of the accompanying *Dolorosa Galliard* alongside the *Dolorosa Pavan* in Dd.9.33 might suggest that it was the earlier of the two sources of the latter piece. However, the small differences between Holmes's two copies of the piece indicate that both were taken from a shared exemplar (which must have included the *Dolorosa Galliard*): each manuscript contains notes not present in the other. The addition of a *diapason* at b. 97 in Dd.9.33 may signify that in fact this was copied later. Philips's piece occurs near the

³⁵Transcribed in *Fenlon 1982*, p. 139. Fenlon notes that this folio has been reversed. This suggests that it could be an interpolation.

³⁶*Edwards Ph.D.*, p. 305.

beginning of Dd.9.33, and near the end of Dd.5.78.3: assuming the contents were copied in the order in which they now stand, it seems that the copying of these two manuscripts overlapped in the same way that Dd.5.78.3 seems to have been started before the completion of Dd.2.11. There are no clues in Dd.5.78.3 as to its date, but equally there is nothing about the manuscript that denies the possibility that its completion was as late as c. 1605.

The consort books are contemporaneous with the earlier stages of Dd.5.78.3: the hand matches this stage in the copying of the lute manuscripts, but there are references to Oxford which date the consort books to before Holmes' move to London in 1597. They date probably from the 1590s.³⁷ Although some of the copying is inaccurate, the presence of corrections in some pieces shows that the books were put to practical use. The set of parts is incomplete, lacking the violin and bandora books: however, some of the violin parts, including the one for the *1580 Pavan*, were entered into the recorder book (Dd.5.21) leaving these pieces lacking an alto part instead. These parts may have been intended originally for treble viol: the last two letters of the designation 'violan' have been added at a later date. The survival of the lute partbook is particularly fortunate, since none has survived for Morley or Walsingham.

Kassel	5 manuscript partbooks	Ensemble
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	[No ascription]	p. 37

Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murchard'sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 4^o MS Mus. 125 (Kassel), comprising five partbooks, contains the only known complete version of the *1580 Pavan* for five equal instruments. An account of Kassel may be found in an

³⁷Edwards Ph.D, pp. 300-301.

unpublished dissertation by Christopher Wool.³⁸

Kassel contains fifty-three pavans, all anonymous and untitled, followed by six contrapuntal pieces. So far, only thirteen pavans have been identified, all of which are by English composers. These include works by Richard Alison, William Byrd, John Dowland, Antony Holborne, Edward and John Johnson, Thomas Morley, Peter Philips, Richard Reade and Nicholas Stogers. The remaining pavans are clearly also English in style. With the exception of a piece by Bull, the contrapuntal pieces seem to be by musicians of an earlier generation: composers of the pieces which have been identified include John Taverner, Robert Parsons, Christopher Tye and Brewster.³⁹

There are five partbooks measuring 140 mm high by 190 mm wide, and bound in brown leather embossed with a circular gold crest on the front. The leaves are paginated 1 to 53 in a contemporary hand: the pagination is consistent in all the partbooks, so that a piece occurs on the same page in each. There is also a modern foliation.

The music is notated by one scribe, whose hand is neat and clear, though the music texts contain many errors which render them unsuitable for performance. The ink and hand are constant throughout.

All partbooks are made up from the same paper, which has watermarks similar to Briquet type 1959.⁴⁰ They occur at the top of the page in all partbooks except the fourth, where they occur at the bottom of the page. Often only parts of the watermark are visible. The watermark is characterised by a star with circle, and a lion which has two paws for each limb. The shape  is found in Briquet type 1959, and also in Kassel at the top of the

³⁸Wool.

³⁹For a more detailed account of these pieces, see *Holman*, pp. 157 seq.

⁴⁰Briquet.

watermark on f. 28 of the fifth partbook. However, the initials 'P' and 'W' which occur in Briquet 1959 do not appear in Kassel. The watermark Briquet 1959 was used in paper manufactured at Eisenach in 1592, and it is likely that the paper used for Kassel also comes from there. Wool points out that Eisenach is only 50 km from Kassel, and that the Landes- und Murchard'sche Bibliothek in Kassel possesses other books from the court at Kassel whose paper is from Eisenach.⁴¹

In spite of the provenance of the paper, Wool argues that the partbooks cannot have been associated with the Kassel court because they are not mentioned in two inventories made of music books at the court, first in 1613 and then again in 1638.⁴² However, the omission of Kassel from the 1613 inventory is not as significant as Wool thought, since there is also no reference to Montbuysson, a source which was also compiled at the court at Kassel:⁴³ the entries refer exclusively to prints, not manuscripts.

Wool suggests a connection with the Dukes of Bavaria based on the tentative identification of the crest embossed on the front of each partbook as theirs.⁴⁴ However, he is unable to find any evidence for English musicians working at the Munich court c. 1600, whereas English musicians are recorded at the Kassel court. Neither is there any record of the Munich court acquiring paper from the Eisenach paper mills.⁴⁵

The Landgrave Moritz (1572-1632) presided over a rich cultural life at his court at

⁴¹Wool, p. 26.

⁴²The catalogue of music is transcribed with another of instruments from 1613, and a later catalogue of 1638 in Zulauf, pp. 99-115 and 119-136. They are discussed in *Charteris* 1986.

⁴³See the discussion of this source below.

⁴⁴Wool, pp. 29 seq.

⁴⁵Wool, p. 33.

Kassel from 1592 to his abdication in favour of his son Wilhelm in 1627.⁴⁶ Two companies of itinerant English actor musicians were active at his court. The first, led by Robert Browne, was given a passport to travel to the Netherlands in February 1591/92, and entered the service of Moritz Landgrave of Hesse in 1594 or 1595. The company remained there until 1598, and was replaced in 1601 by a company under the direction of Richard Machin.⁴⁷ Most of the pieces in Kassel probably arrived at Kassel with these troupes, but one pavan by Dowland has an unusually good text: this can be explained by reference to Dowland's visit to the court at Kassel in 1594.⁴⁸

The inclusion of a 1613 Coprario print in a catalogue of music in the possession of the Landgrave of the same year suggests that Moritz maintained a good channel of communication with England.⁴⁹ The list includes a number of other prints from England, and also prints produced by emigré Englishmen such as Brade and Simpson. According to the catalogue, Moritz possessed a copy of Philips's *Melodia Olympica*, an anthology of Italian madrigals which included four of his own and was published in Antwerp in 1591. The connections with England extended beyond the cultural, for Queen Elizabeth I of England became godmother to Elizabeth of Hessen in 1596.

The location of Kassel in the same library which holds *Montbuysson* and other books from the Kassel court, the use of paper from Eisenach, and the known presence of English musicians at the Kassel court suggests that Kassel was copied in Kassel, not Munich as Wool concludes.

⁴⁶For more information on musical life at the Kassel court, see Wool, pp. 27 seq.; Hartleb, pp. 31-32; introduction to *Souris*, and the material below on *Montbuysson*.

⁴⁷For a brief account of the activities of these two troupes, see Holman, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁸Poulton 1972/82, pp. 30-35.

⁴⁹See Zulauf and Charteris 1986.

The pavans in **Kassel** are in five parts for instrumental ensemble, a scoring which was becoming increasingly popular both in England and on the continent in the early years of the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ However, Wool shows that many of the dances in **Kassel** were adapted from pieces originally scored for four parts.⁵¹ Voices III and IV are often inferior to the other parts in terms of the number of obvious errors they contain. He argues that parts III and IV are often an added fifth part: sometimes the fifth part corresponds directly to III or IV, at other times the fifth part and another part are shared between III and IV. Wool concludes rightly that 'as the [sixteenth] century progressed five-part sonority was thought to be desirable irrespective of any intrinsic damage done to four-part technique'.⁵² Holman finds concordances between **Kassel** and other English string consort pieces in just three cases.⁵³ There are eight more concordances with the English mixed consort sources.⁵⁴ The inclusion of pieces by composers such as Alison and Reade who are associated with the mixed consort repertory suggests that other pieces may also represent adaptations from this repertory. In the case of the piece by Alison, his 'Sharp Pavan' no. 29, the *altus* and *quintus* of **Kassel** are related to the flute part of **Walsingham**.

In Chapter 6 it will be argued that Philips's *1580 Pavan* in **Kassel** falls into the category of pieces that were originally of four parts, but it is possible that it was adapted from a mixed consort original. The issue is not at all clear cut, for even if **Kassel** was arranged from a four-part or mixed consort piece, the original work could have been for other

⁵⁰This is reflected in the prints containing dances for five equal instruments, including those issued by Holborne and Dowland in England, and the publications of Brade and Simpson in Germany, not to mention the consort pieces by Philips in 3665.

⁵¹Wool, Chapter 3.

⁵²Wool, p. 50.

⁵³Holman, p. 158.

⁵⁴Holman, pp. 158-159.

forces.

Kempis	Printed partbook	Viol
<i>Dolorosa Pavan</i>	<i>Pavana Doloroſa pour la Viola di Gambi [sic], avec ſon Baſſo Continuo particulier pour l'eſpinette</i>	no. 26, p. 18

Nicholaus a Kempis’s *Symphoniæ VniVs, Dvorvm, Trivm, IV, V, et VI Instrumentorum* (**Kempis**) was published at Antwerp by Phalèse in 1642. One partbook (‘Pars Quarta’) survives in the British Library. Its contents are divided into ensemble pieces (pp. 1-11) and works for division viol (pp. 12-22), as is made clear at the foot of each page, and by the index on the last folio. The last piece in the book (no. 26), is ‘Pauana Doloroſa pour la Viola di Gambi, avec ſon Baſſo Continuo particulier pour l’eſpinette’, a set of brilliant divisions on Philips’s piece. It appears to have been adapted from Philips’s keyboard version of the piece, since ornamental figures have been borrowed from it on a number of occasions. The connection with the keyboard version is strengthened by the naming of a keyboard continuo instrument in the title. Kempis gives the number of semibreves in each strain above the last note in it: these figures are one short of the number of semibreves in the keyboard version.

Montbuysson	Manuscript	Lute (duet ground)
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	<i>philips paguane</i>	p. 79

Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhard’sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, MS. 4^o. Mus. 108.1, *Victor de Montbuysson’s Lute Book* (**Montbuysson**), the first of seven unrelated volumes held in the Landesbibliothek under the call-number 108, was written at the court of the Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel. It contains an international repertory of lute music; there are also some pieces for voice and lute. The 131 folios measure 150 mm high by

184 mm wide, and are foliated in a contemporary hand.

The only piece ascribed to Montbuysson in this source has been edited in an anthology of lute music by French-born composers.⁵⁵ There is no title page at the start of the volume, but on f. 54 there is a title page which reads:

Livre de tableture de lhut pour madame Elisabeth princesse de hessen | Commencé
par Victor de montbuysson, le dernier Januier 1611

This led Diana Poulton to describe **Montbuysson** as being two related books bound together, the second of which was signed by Victor de Montbuysson in 1611.⁵⁶ However, this is a misleading description, since the two parts of the manuscript are related by their contents and by common physical characteristics. They share a contemporary seventeenth-century binding of vellum; they have pages of the same dimensions and paper type. Both parts of the manuscript have hand-ruled, vertical left- and right-hand margins on some folios, as follows:

MARGINS IN MONTBUYSSON	
Both Margins:	Folios: 1 - 4 ^v , 6 ^v - 20, 22 - 53, 61 ^v - 62 ^v , 64 - 69, 86 - 89, 93 ^v - 95, 97 - 100 [Inner margins only: outer trimmed]
Left Margin Only:	Folios: 69 ^v - 71, 77 ^v - 78, 96 - 96 ^v
Right Margin Only:	Folios: 92 ^v - 93, 95 ^v [l.h. margin trimmed away]

The existence of folios which appear to have had their margins trimmed away is significant, for it suggests that some of the paper was ruled up before being bound. The presence of such folios throughout the volume confirms that the volume should be seen as one manuscript, not as two separate but related manuscripts. There is no connection between the presence of margins and the scribal hand. The tablature lines and staves are hand-ruled. Their size, and the number of staves to the page, vary considerably through the manuscript, being dependent on the type of piece and the scribe.

⁵⁵*Souris*.

⁵⁶*Poulton 1964*.

Although Poulton was wrong to regard Montbuysson as two separate though related books, Souris assumed that Montbuysson was the only scribe to work on the manuscript.⁵⁷ In fact the manuscript contains the work of a number of scribes. The following table provides a summary of the division of labour between the scribes:⁵⁸

SCRIBAL HANDS IN MONTBUYSSON			
Hand	Folios	Characteristics (x-form refers to tablature letter)	Identity
A	54-61; 63-72; 74 ^v [= fragment]; 75 ^v -76; 77 ^v -81 Also, folio 5.	C-form = a Rhythm form = a A-form = a	Montbuysson: copying follows title page (f. 54). Hand of title page matches that of titles and music script.
B	72 ^v -73; ? 81 ^v -86; 89 ^v	C-form: b Various A forms	
C	86 ^v -89	C-forms differ from those employed by Montbuysson.	
D	? 21 ^v -23; 25 ^v [top]; 92 ^v -100	C-form similar to a Rhythm form = b Different title hand F-form not slanting.	Piece on f. 92 ^v copied from Fuhrmann , so scribe working after 1615.
E	1-2 ^v		
F	3-4 ^v ; 23 ^v -25 ^v [bottom]		
G	12 ^v -20; 26	C-form = c Rhythm form = c	M.L.H. = 'Moritz Landgrave Hessen'

The following table indicates which folios are blank (left column), and which have staves but are otherwise empty (right column):

⁵⁷*Souris*, pp. xxiv and xxxvi.

⁵⁸In the time available to study this manuscript, it was not possible to establish whether any of the hands given in this table are related, so it is possible that some of the hands distinguished in the table are different stages in the hand of a single scribe.

BLANK FOLIOS		EMPTY FOLIOS	
20 ^v - 21		41	
53 ^v		52 ^v - 53	
55 ^v		100 ^v [partly - ruled staff at top of page]	
73 ^v - 74			
75			
76 ^v - 77			
80 ^v			
90 - 92			
101 - end	[f. 110 has 'Ruonine' written on it]		

From this table it can be seen that most of the blank and empty folios occur after f. 54. There are no folios prior to f. 54 which are blank or empty on both *recto* and *verso*. The last thirty folios are all blank. The greater propensity to leave folios blank or empty after the title page on f. 54 shows that Montbuysson took over Elizabeth's lute book, and arranged for it to be bound with some empty folios on to which he copied more music. The volume was then handed on, presumably to his successor.

There is no evidence that the folios have been re-ordered. Ink blots on f. 90 from the music entered on f. 89^v show the music in the later section of the manuscript to have been entered after the binding took place. Interestingly there is a stub of a removed folio between ff. 89 and 90, so in this instance the folio was removed before the music was entered. This in turn indicates that the volume was bound, presumably in its present form, prior to the entry of music by Scribe B, who was responsible for the music on f. 89^v.

The manuscript was compiled at the court at Hesse-Kassel. The pieces after the title page on f. 54 were written for Princess Elizabeth of Hesse, the daughter of the Landgrave Moritz. However, there is evidence which shows that the earlier part of the volume was compiled for her as well: there is a reference to 'mad[emoiselle] la premiere fille d'Hessen'

in a courante by 'M.L.H.' on f. 15'. The manuscript was Elizabeth of Hesse's lute book, into which her tutors copied music. There is another reference to Elizabeth in the title of a courante to be found on f. 26.

It is possible to establish the identities of two of the scribes. Montbuysson copied some of the later part of the manuscript: his copying can be matched against his autograph on the title page, f. 54. The initials 'M.L.H.' occur as ascriptions to the pieces in the section copied by Scribe G, so it is likely that 'Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen' was himself the scribe at this stage in the manuscript. It seems unlikely that another scribe working at court would refer to his master just by his initials.⁵⁹ Furthermore, he was a keen musician, and wrote motets for performance in his Chapel,⁶⁰ so it is quite conceivable that he would have entered his own pieces dedicated to his daughter.

The English influence at the Kassel court has been mentioned above in connection with Kassel, but there was also French influence there: Montbuysson was one of a number of French lutenists who were active in Germany in the early years of the seventeenth century.⁶¹ Victor de Montbuysson was born in c. 1570; according to the list of composers in Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus*, Cologne, 1603, he came from Avignon ('Victor de Montbuisson Avenionensis'). His French nationality is often reflected in contemporary records, and in music prints: for example, his music is ascribed to 'Victor Gallus' in J.D. Mylius, *Thesaurus*

⁵⁹Souris believes that Montbuysson was the only scribe, and that he included these pieces in homage to his patron (*Souris*, p. xxv).

⁶⁰Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622, p. 99. See also Moritz Landgraf von Hessen, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Werner Dane, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik, 2e Reihe, Landschaftsdenkmale Kurhessen, Bd. 1, Kassel, 1936-38.

⁶¹J.B. Besard visited the court at Kassel in 1597, which would explain the presence of pieces in his publications by Montbuysson. Another Frenchman active in the region was Charles Bocquet, who moved to the court of Elector Palatine Friedrich IV in 1599.

Gratiarum, Frankfurt, 1622.⁶²

Sometimes Montbuysson's name is to be found translated into German: 'Victor von Bergwald Lautenist und Sprachmeister'.⁶³ This suggests that he combined the roles of lutenist and language teacher. Moritz was an able linguist himself, and in 1599 founded a school, the 'Collegium Mauritianum', in which he communicated his knowledge of eleven languages to the young men at court; Heinrich Schütz studied at his patron's school from the age of fourteen. Montbuysson was placed in charge of the education of Jörg Schimmelpfenning, who later became Kapellmeister at court;⁶⁴ such apprenticeships were common throughout Europe, and the Landgrave entrusted a number of his musicians with the education of the young. Perhaps it was after his ability had been proven with Schimmelpfenning that Montbuysson was given the care of the Princess Elizabeth in 1611, when she was aged fifteen.

The unusual number of titles in French is indicative of the pedagogic purpose to which the manuscript was put. The employment of a Frenchman such as Montbuysson as tutor for the Princess Elizabeth reflects the French influence on German courts at this period. However, the court was also influenced by Italian music; indeed, the Kapellmeister was the Italian Rosso, and Moritz arranged for the musically gifted young Schütz to study with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice. The Italian influence at court is reflected in the earlier part of the manuscript, before it fell into the possession of Montbuysson: there are a number of German and Italian vocal works intabulated for lute (Souris notes that there are fewer such

⁶²*Souris* p. xxii. There is no longer a copy of this source (see *Souris*, p. xxxvi).

⁶³St. Arch. Marburg, 4d, 36. Cited in *Souris*, p. xxii. The court records, including the catalogues of music and instruments, are now housed at Marburg.

⁶⁴*Souris*, p. xxiii.

works after f. 54).⁶⁵ The illustration of how to perform the Italian *grosso* at the bottom of f. 35 indicates that Elizabeth's tutors before Montbuysson gave her instruction in performing Italian music.

Composers represented in the manuscript include Philips, Hassler, and Mercure of Orleans, a composer who features particularly prominently in **Schele**. The presence of their names suggests that Montbuysson had access to music by better-known composers than his predecessors. Indeed, much of the music prior to f. 54 seems to be that of the scribe. In the earlier layers, pieces by the 'great masters', when they occur at all, are anonymous. Montbuysson gives attributions for most of the pieces by other composers. Music by composers other than the scribes tends to occur in the later section copied by Montbuysson.

The identity of the scribe who copied ff. 92^v-100 remains unknown, but it is reasonable to suppose that he was another tutor. There is some evidence that he used Fuhrmann's *Testudo Gallo-Germanica*, which dates from 1615. The scribe miscribes a piece on f. 92^v to Dowland because, in **Fuhrmann**, it occurs immediately after a setting of Dowland's *Lachrimae* by Valentinus Strobilius. The title of the latter is given at the end, so the confusion arose when the scribe assumed that it referred to the following work rather than the previous piece.⁶⁶ The use of **Fuhrmann** by Scribe D (see table of scribal hands above) signifies that he could not have gained possession of the manuscript and started copying before 1615. Two out of three pieces by Dowland which occur after f. 54 were copied from **Fuhrmann**.⁶⁷

⁶⁵*Souris*, p. xxiv.

⁶⁶This error is explained by Diana Poulton (*Poulton 1972/82*, p. 506), who wrongly assumes the scribe to have been Montbuysson.

⁶⁷*Souris*, p. xxv, fn. 37.

There seems to be a connection with two related sources, **Schele** and **Fuhrmann**. Diana Poulton showed how the scribe (of **Montbuysson**) misattributed a piece that he copied from **Fuhrmann**; *Mercure of Orleans* occurs in both **Montbuysson** and **Schele**; and there is a close correspondence of reading between the texts of Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan* as it occurs in **Fuhrmann** and **Schele**.

Morley	Printed partbooks	Mixed consort
1580 Pavan	Phillips pauin.	no. 8
Galliard-CL	Galliard to Phillips Pauin	no. 9

Thomas Morley's *The First Booke of Consort Lessons*, London, 1599 (**Morley**) is the first printed source of mixed consort repertory. Unfortunately, there is no complete set of partbooks for the 1599 edition, but some of the missing parts survive in a reissue of 1611 (also incomplete). Between them it is possible to make up all the parts except for the lute. It seems from the other - mostly manuscript - sources of music for mixed consort that the role of the lute was the most developed: it decorated the repeated strains with brilliant divisions. Indeed, it is this which probably explains why the lute book has not survived: whereas repeats are indicated in the other partbooks, in the lute book they would have been written out, necessitating the use of a different format.⁶⁸

The following table shows the location of the surviving copies:

⁶⁸Beck, p. 37.

LOCATION	EDITION	PART
Royal College of Music II. E. 40	1611	Treble viol
Oxford, Christ Church Library, 805	1599	For the Flute.
London, British Library, K. 1. i. 7	1611	For the Flute.
London, British Library, K. 1. i. 21	1599	For the Bafe Violl.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MM 410	1599	For the Cithern
Oxford, Christ Church Library, 806	1599	For the Pandora
Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California	1611	For the Pandora

The 1611 edition is expanded, but otherwise the musical texts match. There are small differences in layout resulting in line breaks occurring at different points in the 1611 edition.

The title pages read as follows:

1599 Edition (all partbooks)

THE | FIRST BOOKE OF CON- | fort *Leſſons*, made by diuers exqui- | ſite
Authors, for ſix Inſtruments to | *play together*, the *Treble Lute*, the | Pandora, the
Citttern, [*sic*] the Baſe- | *Violl*, the *Flute & Treble-Violl* | Newly ſet forth at the
coſt [*sic*] & | *charges of a Gentle-man*, for his pri- | uate pleaſure, and for diuers
o- | *thers his frendes which de-* | light in Muſicke. | Printed at London in Little
Saint Helens by *William Barley*, the | *aſſigne of Thomas Morley*, | and are to be
ſolde at his ſhop | in *Gratious ſtreete*. | CVM PRIVILEGIO AD | Imprimendum
ſolum. | 1599

1611 Edition

THE | FIRST BOOKE OF | Conſort *Leſſons*, made by diuers | *exquiſite Authors*,
for ſix In | ſtruments to play together: viz. | the *Treble Lute*, the *Pandora*, | the
Citterne, the *Baſe-Violl*, | the *Flute* and the *Treble-Violl*. | Collected by *Thomas*
Morley, | Gentleman, and now newly cor- | rected and enlarged. | LONDON: |
Printed by *Thomas Snodham* for | *Iohn Browne* and are to be ſolde at | his ſhop S.
Dunſtones church- | yard in *Fleetſtreet*. | The Aſſigne of *William Barley*. | 1611.

Note that it is the lute which heads the list of instruments in both editions, reflecting its more virtuosic role. The mixed consort repertory was performed by town waits, and Morley's preface is specifically directed at the London Waits.

The pieces are numbered and carry titles, but there are no attributions of pieces to particular composers. It is not clear whether Morley did more than just 'collect' the contents of *Morley* together, as the title page to the 1611 edition has it. It would be reasonable to suppose that Morley had a hand in arranging the pieces - described as 'newly set forth' on the 1599 title page - which he had gathered for mixed consort. *Morley* has been edited by Sidney Beck, and discussed by other writers.⁶⁹

Rude	Print	Lute
1580 <i>Pavan</i>	(<i>Pavana Anglica</i>)	Book 2, no. 92

A copy of Johannes Rude's *Flores Musicae*, Heidelberg, 1600 may be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. *Rude* is divided into two books, both of which are dominated by intabulations of Italian madrigals by composers such as Nanino, Striggio, Marenzio, Ferretti, Palestrina, de Monte, Macque, G. Gabrieli, Wert, Caccini, Vecchio, Ferrabosco and Rore. German composers who studied in Italy, such as H.L. Hassler, are also represented. Book 1 contains 95 intabulations; book 2 has 49 intabulations of pieces with Italian titles, then 26 with German titles, and finally 59 dances. No titles are given for pieces as they occur in the volume, but they are numbered to allow reference to an index of works where Philips's piece is called 'Pavana Anglica'.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Beck; Holman, pp. 135; Edwards *Ph.D.*, p. 275 seq.

⁷⁰See Lobaugh.

Robinson	Print	Solo cittern
1580 Pavan	Philips Pauin.	no. 11

Thomas Robinson, *New Citharen Lessons*, London, 1609 contains the only known arrangement of Philips's piece for solo cittern. A copy is held by the British Library. As the title suggests, the volume is an instruction book on playing citterns of four to fourteen courses. Robinson provides fifty-three numbered pieces, graded in order of difficulty: these include some works for two citterns arranged on two pages to be played by players sitting opposite one another. The first eight pieces are attributed to the author by his initials at the end of each piece. Above no. 8 Robinson writes 'the first lesson both for instruction and also to play alone as a good proficient'. There are no further ascriptions to Robinson, and pieces include arrangements of Dowland's *Piper's Galliard* as well as Philips's *1580 Pavan*. However, 'Robinson's Riddle' (no. 25) is presumably by the author, as are nos. 38 and 42, and it is reasonable to assume that the remaining pieces are either original compositions or arrangements by him.⁷¹

Schele	Manuscript	Lute
<i>Dolorosa Pavan</i>	<i>Pauana Dolorosa. P.P.</i>	p. 97

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek MS M/2768 (*olim* ND.VI.3238): *Ernst Schele's Lute Book* (Schele) is a large collection of lute music collected in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Composers represented in the manuscript include Robert Ballard, Bocquet, Dio. [Diomedes], John Dowland, Anthoine Francisque, Ferrabosco (of Bologna), Gregory [Huwet], Mercure d'Orleans, P.P. [Peter Philips], Johann Rude, and Nicolas Vallet. There are also initials of other unidentifiable composers. There are fifty-three *corantes* in the

⁷¹Ward 1979-81, pp. 73-82.

manuscript, of which fourteen have names attached, the rest being anonymous.⁷²

The manuscript measures c. 329 mm high by 213 mm wide (some folios have been excessively trimmed). The volume has two flyleaves, followed by eighty-four folios which have been paginated 1-168. The ink of the pagination does not always match that of the music, and it seems that the pages were usually numbered prior to the music being entered: on p. 68 the page number '8' has been made clearer by an alteration in the same ink as the music at that point in the manuscript, an ink which is darker than that used for the pagination. The whole manuscript was not paginated at the same time: on pp. 80 seq. the ink matches that of the music script. There are eight six-line, hand-ruled, tablature staves to the page. The following table shows the relationship between the collation of **Schele** and the organization of its contents:

⁷²Various spellings are used: 'corante', 'courante', 'corant', 'corrente'. Poulton writes that a number of these can be explained by reference to concordant sources (*Poulton 1972/82*, p. 449).

STRUCTURE OF SCHELE			
pp. 1 - 16	A ⁸ (outer bifolio reinforced)	Section 1: Praeludia	
pp. 17 - 32	B ⁸ (outer bifolio reinforced)	Section 2: Pavans	
pp. 33 - 48	C ⁸	Section 3: Fantasias	
pp. 49 - 64	D ⁸	Section 4	a) pp. 49-67: Corantes
pp. 65 - 80	E ⁸		b) pp. 68-77: Toccate
pp. 81 - 96	F ⁸		c) pp. 78-96: Corantes
pp. 97 - 112	G ⁸	Section 5: Beginning of Pavan section. (pp. 105-112: blank.)	
pp. 113 - 128	H ⁸	Section 6: Beginning of a section of corrente (pp. 120, ii-128: blank)	
pp. 129 - 144	I ⁸	Section 7	a) pp. 129-32: blank
pp. 145 - 152	K ⁴		b) pp. 133-40: various genres
pp. 153 - 168	L ⁸		c) pp. 141-54: dances
			d) pp. 155-68: blank

The opening of pp. 154-155 shows that the scribe closed the book before the ink had dried: there is a mirror image of p. 154 on the otherwise blank p. 155. This shows that the folios were already arranged in gatherings when the music was copied, and were probably bound. Pieces cross over the boundaries of gatherings D⁸ to F⁸, proving that the book was bound before the music was entered.⁷³

There are two hands present in the manuscript. The first was responsible for most of the copying.⁷⁴ Poulton assumes the scribe to be Schele himself; Ness identifies the hand as

⁷³The ink blots noted above would be explained if the music had been entered into the gatherings before they were actually bound. The way in which the three gatherings form one unit suggests that the gatherings had been bound prior to the scribe using the book.

⁷⁴The second scribe copied p. 95, vii-viii; p. 96, v-viii; p. 116, i-vi; p. 117-120, i; p. 133, v-viii; p. 140, i-vii; p. 141, i-vii; the pieces on pp. 149-154.

that of Joachim van den Hove, the best-represented composer in the source.⁷⁵ However, the title-page is in the hand of the main scribe, and reads:

Tabulatur Buch | Música e vinúm la[e]tificant cor hominis | [bottom right:] Ernſt
Schele. | Anno i6i9:

so Schele is the scribe. The year 1619 marks the completion of Schele's copying. Other dates, ranging from 12 June 1613 (p. 69) to 23 September 1616 (p. 80), occur throughout the manuscript. There are no dates after p. 90, so it is likely that pieces copied by Schele after this point in the manuscript were entered between 1616 and 1619. The dates in Schele are more likely to be those of copying than those of composition or acquisition; they are precise to the day, so do not refer to printed sources. Occasionally a date is associated with a place: the ascription for the earliest dated piece, by van den Hove, ends 'In Leyden den 12 Júny anno 1613'; a piece on p. 47 is headed 'Fantasia incerti a Frankfurt 2.xmb. [December] Anno 1615'. Some dated ascriptions name the composer; others are anonymous, perhaps the work of the scribe himself.

The dates do not occur in chronological order, and the rather strange organization of the manuscript is best illustrated by two pieces copied on the same day. On p. 17 and p. 76 the date 16 February 1614 is given. The first piece is located at the start of the second gathering, which corresponds to the beginning of a section of pavans. The other is in the middle of the section dedicated to toccatas, a section which is not arranged chronologically (see table). Where a date occurs by a piece which does not begin at the top of a page, it is likely that the previous piece belongs to the same period of copying. Sometimes this hypothesis is supported when a piece carrying just a year is followed by one with a more precise date: it is probable that the more precise date belongs to both.

⁷⁵Ness, p. 37.

At first there appears to be no explanation as to why the manuscript as it stands is not in chronological order. However, a closer examination reveals that it is arranged by genre, but that empty spaces are often filled by short *corantes* in a different coloured ink. The scribe usually began each section of his work with a new gathering, and often preferred to begin a new piece on a fresh page.⁷⁶ Those *corantes* which are dated come from 1615. Within each section, or layer, of copying there is chronological progression, judging from the dated pieces.

The first gathering (pp. 1-16) contains *passaggi*, *praeludia*, and other comparable forms. It is composed straight through (i.e. the pieces cross over page boundaries). There is a corante on f. 16 which does not fit into the genre to which this layer of the manuscript is dedicated, but this probably represents a later insertion made to fill up an available space. Similarly, there is an inconsequential scale on f. 16, viii, which was similarly inserted.

The second gathering (pp. 17-32) contains pavans and other large-scale dances. The description of the modes at the bottom of p. 19 is a later insertion in a darker ink: the scribe evidently left the bottom two staves of p. 19 empty to begin the next piece on a fresh page, and returned later to fill up the space. The scribe seems anxious to start new pieces on a fresh page: on p. 31, he left the bottom four staves empty, and started the last pavan of the gathering on p. 32. At a later date the space left on p. 31 was filled with a corante.

The third gathering (pp. 33-48) is devoted to fantasias; once again there are spaces filled by *corantes*. In this section of the manuscript both fantasias and *corantes* are dated 1615, suggesting that the *corante* interpolations throughout the manuscript were made at this stage in the copying. Dates precise as to the day are given only for some of the fantasias. The

⁷⁶However, as noted above, some sections extend over more than one gathering, so that pieces overlap the divisions between them.

first fantasia to carry a date ('Anno 1615') is on p. 45, towards the end of the gathering. The next to have a date is on p. 46, which carries the title 'Fantasia Ballard a Paris [stylized] Anno 1615 10 Febr.' The last date in the section of fantasias, on p. 47, is 2 October 1615. This makes it likely that the *corantes* in this section were added later than the fantasias, but nonetheless only shortly after the fantasias were entered. The title of the last fantasia, 'Fantasia incerti a Frankfurt', shows that the scribe was travelling, and had reached Frankfurt by the time this piece was entered, so the geographical names refer to the scribe's location as well as to the nationality of the piece to which they are attached. The titles of fantasias and corantes in the latter part of the section are often French, which may imply that the scribe was resident in Paris at the time that they were copied.

The next three gatherings seem to belong together, since pieces cross over their boundaries: there are three sections, but these do not correspond to the boundaries of the gatherings. The outer sections, pp. 49-67 and pp. 78-96⁷⁷, contain dances, mostly *corantes*. The date 1615 occurs alongside one on p. 64, suggesting that they were copied at the same time as the previous layer. Some date from slightly later, carrying the date 1616. The last corante is headed 'Corante à Napoli ean [= en] 22 Sept Anno 1616', showing that the scribe was in Naples by this point. The corantes continue on p. 78 with a 'Corante di Napoli', and on p. 80 there is a 'Corante della Motte di Napoli. 23 Sept. Anno 1616.' Hence, at first glance it would appear that the scribe worked chronologically from the first section of dances to the second. However, on p. 90 there is a 'Courante Venetys à Monfieur Tuenbüyfen 24 Apr: Anno 1616', which dates earlier than the piece on p. 80, and dates from only a few days after the 'Corante venetys anno 1616. 18 April' to be found on p. 66. Hence, it is possible to see that the scribe visited Venice in April 1616, before moving on to Naples by

⁷⁷The *volte* on p. 77, vii is probably a later addition. The pieces at the end of the section, pp. 95, vii - 96v, are in the hand of the second scribe.

September. It is not clear why he did not copy these dances in chronological order. There are nineteen pages in each of the outer sections, and ten pages in the middle of them. However, it is not possible that they were originally ordered in a different way because the first ends on a *recto*, the second starts on the *verso* of the same folio, and similarly the second section ends on the *recto* of the folio on which the third section begins.

The two pages of the opening pp. 68-69 show that the sometimes curious arrangement of the manuscript is the result of the first scribe's idiosyncrasy, not the result of re-ordering the folios. The piece on p. 68 is dated 1614, after the piece on p. 69 which has 1613. The two folios are in the middle of the gathering, so form a single bifolio. Hence it is not possible that they have become re-arranged in the wrong order. The earlier piece begins at the top of p. 69, and runs down to p. 69, line vii. At this point the scribe realized that he was running out of room, so continued writing at the bottom of p. 68, line viii, continuing across the opening of the double page to p. 69, line viii. The implication is that there was already music copied on p. 70, the *verso* of p. 69. Although the piece on p. 70 is undated, that on p. 71, ii is dated in May of 1613, earlier than the work on p. 69. The piece beginning on p. 70 runs on to the top of p. 71, which means that it must date from before the piece starting on p. 71, ii, and therefore it dates from before the piece on p. 69. Hence the scribe was not just avoiding a page turn by completing the piece on the bottom of p. 68, but was unable to continue copying over the page. From this study of the double page opening of pp. 68-69, it is clear that the scribe began to copy at random in the middle of the book. The volume was bound before the scribe began to write: otherwise he would have written across a bifolio, or simply found a fresh sheet of paper on which to finish.

The seventh gathering begins with Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan*, and the page has the same appearance (in particular the same quill and ink were used for the title) as the earlier section of the manuscript containing pavans (pp. 17 seq.) The piece immediately following

the *Dolorosa Pavan* breaks off in the middle. It is possible either:

that the scribe began the pavan section with Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan*, only to realize in the middle of copying the piece immediately following it that there was music copied on p. 100, so he began a new section of pavans on p. 17.

or:

that the first fantasias occurring in the third gathering date from much earlier than the ones copied in France in 1615, and were written before the section of pavans. The scribe copied pavans up until p. 32, then ran out of room, so began a new section devoted to pavans on p. 97, the beginning of the seventh gathering.

Significantly, the page following the *Dolorosa Pavan* and the beginning of the aborted piece is empty. The end of the manuscript is chaotically organized, and contains a mixture of pieces in several genres in both hands. A section of *correnti* is begun on p. 113, but like the previous section it is not continued. There is another section devoted to dances on pp. 141-54. The later part of the manuscript contains many blank pages (see table above).

Simpson	Printed partbooks	Ensemble
<i>Aria</i>	<i>Aria Peter Philips</i>	no. 3

Thomas Simpson, *Taffel-Consort erster Theil von allerhand...*, Hamburg, 1621 (Simpson) contains an *Aria* by Philips that is unique to the source.⁷⁸ Four of the partbooks survive at the Herzog August Bibliothek; the continuo part may be found at the British Library. Unlike the *Füllsack Pavan*, this composition may well have originated with the composer to whom it is ascribed. It is unlike any other consort piece by Philips. In part this

⁷⁸For an account of this source, see *Holman*, pp. 253-256.

is because of the scoring for four parts (three high parts and bass) and continuo, which may owe more to Simpson than to Philips. However, this is a late source for Philips’s instrumental music, most of which seems to have been composed in the 1590s. The *Aria* may well be a unique sample of a rare instrumental piece from late in Philips’s career: the Italianate cadences, the dialogue between the upper parts, and *basso continuo* are features to be found in Philips late vocal music.⁷⁹

Swart	Printed partbook	Texted ensemble
1580 Pavan	(Wy Engelen goet, Peter Philippi pavaen. 38)	

Willelm Swart’s *Lust-hof der Nievwe Mvsycke*, Amsterdam, 1603 (Swart) contains pieces in four and five parts with devotional religious texts, including a vocal setting of the *1580 Pavan* to the text ‘Wy Engelen goet’ (We good angels). Philips’s pavan is the only piece that can be shown to be such an arrangement of a popular piece widely circulated at the turn of the century.

Only the *superius* part-book survives, at the British Library. It measures 187 mm wide by 136 mm high, and comprises fifty-six folios; folios 5-55 are foliated by the printer. The unnumbered folios 55^v to 56^v carry an index. There are five staves of five lines to each page. The staves are printed; each staff is 11 mm high. The original binding has not survived. The dedication on f. 2 is to King James I.

Philips’s pavan occurs on f. 38^v. The folio is headed ‘A4. SVPERIVS’. The title page tells us that the publication has pieces ‘for singing and playing on all musical instruments in four and five parts’, so the presence of Philips’s pavan in the section of four-part pieces is highly significant: it shows that the piece was known in four- as well as five-part polyphonic

⁷⁹In particular, the duos and trios from his *Paradisus Sacris*, Antwerp, 1628.

versions. The index - or 'Register' - confirms that the inclusion of Philips's pavan under this heading is no mistake of typesetting: it is given with the other four-part works as 'Wy Engelen goet, Peter Philippi pauaen. 38'.⁸⁰

Valerius	Print	Texted ensemble
1580 Pavan	<i>Stem: Pavane Philippi met den Bas</i>	pp. 136-38

The 1580 Pavan occurs in Adriaen Valerius's *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck* ('The Netherlands Anthem of Commemoration') with a nationalistic Dutch text. Valerius's *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck* (Valerius) was published posthumously in Haarlem in 1626. The British Library has an original copy; it has also been published in facsimile.⁸¹

Valerius belongs to an early seventeenth-century genre of Protestant Netherlandish writing in which contemporary history was interpreted by analogy with Old Testament scripture.⁸² It recounts the history of the wars between the Netherlands and Spain from 1555 to 1625 from the Protestant, northern point of view. Valerius was a Zeelander who expressed his patriotic sentiments in word, engraving, and music. The text, in prose and verse, relies heavily on the contemporary history of the Netherlands, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historien van Onser Tijden*, 1605, by Emmanuel van Meteren. The writing is broken by songs and dances commemorating particularly important events, and illustrated by historical engravings, featuring *Leo Belgicus* in various guises.

⁸⁰Note that the 1580 Pavan arrangement in Kassel may have been arranged from a four-part version (see above and Chapter 6).

⁸¹Valerius.

⁸²Simon Schama examines this literature in *Schama*, Chapter 2. He gives an account of Valerius on pp. 97-100.

There are seventy-six songs in *Valerius*, set with accompaniments for seven-course lute and four-course cittern, many with a bass part too. Although the inclusion of Dutch patriotic song texts is not unusual, but a practice adopted in other similar works of the period, the inclusion of music is not so common: usually authors would give only the names of the tunes to which their texts should be sung. The patriotic texts appear to have been provided by Valerius himself. However, the melodies are taken not only from Netherlandish popular tunes of the period, but from those of other countries as well. This is apparent from the organisation of the table of contents by the national origin of the melody. Some of these melodies have survived to the present day: *Valerius* includes one of the earliest appearances of *Wilhelmus van Nassouwe*, the Dutch national anthem; other melodies can be traced in German Protestant chorale books and Dutch Calvinist hymn books. It is possible that Valerius composed some of the tunes himself.

It is ironic that Valerius chose to set one of his patriotic texts to Philips's pavan: as a Catholic sympathetic to the Spanish cause, Philips could not have approved. It seems unlikely then that Valerius was aware of the Catholic sentiments of the composer of the piece: the 'Philippi' of the table of contents is more a title than an attribution, and the piece is listed under the heading 'Pavanen', rather than with the group of English melodies. Similarly, the title on p. 137 is 'Pavane Philippi met den Bas': here 'pavan Philippi' seems to apply to the name of the melody, and is not intended to convey authorship. The 1580 *Pavan* circulated widely, often under the title 'Pavana Philippi', but not necessarily with an ascription to Peter Philips.

Valerius was born in c. 1575 at Middelburg, and it was only in 1606 that he established himself as a notary in Veere, the town in which he died prior to the publication of *Valerius*. It was at Middelburg that Philips stayed for a period of convalescence on his way back to Antwerp from his visit to Amsterdam to see and hear Sweelinck in 1593.

Philips’s pavan dates from 1580, and represents one of his best keyboard pieces from the period before his trip to meet Sweelinck, hence it is likely that he would have taken the piece with him. Therefore it is possible that Philips transmitted the piece to the Middelburg region in person in 1593.

Vilnius	Manuscript	Bandora & Lute
1580 Pavan	<i>Seguitur Paduana Philippi.</i> <i>P.Ps.</i> Finis	f. 38 ^v (Bandora part for mixed consort)
1580 Pavan	<i>Pavana Philippi.</i> Finis	f. 53 ^v (Lute)

Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, MS 285-MF-LXXIX, *olim* Königsberg, Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Msc. A116. fol. (Vilnius) contains over 260 German, English, French and Netherlandish pieces for lute solo, lute duet and trio, and bandora solo. There are also bandora parts for mixed consort works. It has been published in a facsimile edition with an introduction by A.J. Ness and J.M. Ward.⁸³ It was compiled at the court of the Margrave of Brandenburg at Königsberg sometime between c. 1590 and c. 1618 (the period to which those pieces that can be dated belong, ending with the abdication of Elector Johann Sigismund in 1618) by a large number of scribes.⁸⁴ The original shelfmark indicates that it had entered the Archiv des Herzogtums Preußen in Königsberg before 1704.⁸⁵

The international character of the volume is not peculiar to the Brandenburg court, ‘where the cultures of western Europe met those of Prussia, Poland and Lithuania’,⁸⁶ but

⁸³Ness.

⁸⁴Ness, pp. 12-16.

⁸⁵Ness, p. 17.

⁸⁶Ness, p. 12.

common to most continental lute sources of the period. In a similar way to that in which **Schele** appeared to be chaotically organized with dates not occurring in chronological order, the scribes present in **Vilnius** do not occur in order, but spread through the manuscript: as with **Schele**, the explanation is that an attempt was made to organize the collection by genre.⁸⁷

The court at Königsberg, like that of Kassel, welcomed travelling troupes of English actor-musicians such as that of ‘Johann Spencer Ennglender’ which first arrived at the electoral court in 1604. Spencer obtained the patronage of the Margrave, and remained attached to the court until 1618: when his company travelled, it described itself as ‘the Margrave of Brandenburg’s servants, the English Comedians’. It is likely that Philips’s *1580 Pavan* was transmitted through these English actors.

Walsingham	Manuscript partbooks	Mixed consort
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	<i>Phillips Pauen</i> Peeter. Phillipps. [see below]	no. 7

Walsingham is the earliest mixed consort source for the *1580 Pavan*, comprising four partbooks (the lute and bandora parts have not survived). Three books (treble viol, flute, bass viol) are deposited in Hull University, Brynmor Jones Library, DDHO/20/1-3; the cittern partbook is now located in Oakland, California, Mills College Library, Bender Collection, Parton Manuscripts. The contents were copied by the lutenist Daniel Bacheler in the household of Sir Francis Walsingham between 7 June 1586, when at the age of fourteen he became Walsingham’s page, and sometime around 1588, the date entered against two of his

⁸⁷See table in *Ness*, p. 15.

own pieces in the collection.⁸⁸ Bacheler appears to have remained with the Walsingham family after the death of Sir Francis: he moved to the household of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who had married Lady Francis Sidney (Walsingham's daughter), where from October 1594 the records show payments to him. The flemish spelling 'Peeter' in the ascription of the *1580 Pavan*, together with some correspondence between **Walsingham** and continental versions of the piece, suggest that Bacheler obtained his copy after Philips had settled in the Spanish Netherlands in 1590; the copying was completed probably sometime between this date and 1594. Warwick Edwards provides a short description of the source with an inventory in an article for *Music and Letters*, and a fuller account in his thesis.⁸⁹ **Walsingham** contains twelve pieces by Alison, seven by Bacheler, one by Philips, one by 'Johnsonne', one by 'R.B.' and nine anonymous works.⁹⁰

Weld	Manuscript	Lute
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	<i>Pauane M^r Phillips</i>	f. 2 ^v

Weld is a lutebook in the private collection of Lord Forester, and was discovered by Robert Spencer.⁹¹ It is named after John Weld (1581-1666), since his name appears stamped on the binding. **Weld** contains thirty-nine lute pieces, one of which has a bass in staff notation appended.

The pieces are notated in a very neat hand which uses the same ink throughout, suggesting that it was compiled over a short period of time. It bears no resemblance to the

⁸⁸See *Batchelor*.

⁸⁹*Edwards ML*, pp. 209-211; *Edwards Ph.D.*, pp. 270-275; *Ward 1979-81*, p. 159.

⁹⁰In addition, there are titles for two works which were not subsequently entered, and the bass part only for one further piece.

⁹¹*Spencer*, pp. 48-49.

signatures of John Weld or Dorothy which occur in the manuscript and in other contemporary documents.⁹² Although the book belonged to John Weld, since his name appears on the cover, it was not compiled and bound especially for him: the final ‘e’ of ‘Welde’ is separated from the rest of the word by the line of a gilt rectangle, showing that the name was stamped on the binding after the other decoration.

The appearance of the hand is very similar to **Board**, and may have been written by the same scribe (Margaret Board). Most right-hand fingering is marked, and all but two pieces have the ornament signs + and # found in **Board**. Furthermore, the texts for the *1580 Pavan* are closely concordant in the two sources. The similarity in physical appearance of the tablature to **Board** suggests a date of c. 1620 for **Weld**.

Wickhambrook	Manuscript	Lute
<i>1580 Pavan</i>	Finis a paayne by M ^r Phillips	f. 12

New Haven, Yale University, School of Music Library, Special Collection Ma.21.632: *Wickhambrook Lute Book* (**Wickhambrook**) was edited by Daphne E.R. Stephens in 1963.⁹³ Although her transcription of the *1580 Pavan* has some curious voice-leading, suggesting that she was unfamiliar with the other sources of the piece, the edition contains some valuable information about the manuscript.⁹⁴

The name is taken from the address of a previous owner, so reveals nothing about the manuscript’s provenance. The history of the book before 1939 remains unknown, though it was compiled in England, and dates probably from the last decade of the sixteenth century.

⁹²*Spencer*, pp. 54-55.

⁹³*Stephens*.

⁹⁴*Stephens*, pp. 113 seq.

Stephens has identified the watermark as Briquet Nos. 8077-8079, used for paper manufactured in France or the Low Countries between 1564 and 1598.

There are twenty-five folios, numbered 2 to 26. Only leaves 10 to 17 carry music. Stephens identifies two scribes, the later of whom copied Philips's piece. Most of the pieces copied by the first scribe are by John Johnson; the second scribe copied Dowland, Holborne and Philips. Dowland's 'My Lord Willobies tune' commemorates a victory at the siege of Bergen in 1589, so the second scribe was working after this date. However, the absence of diapasons dates the manuscript no later than 1600, and probably before c. 1596.⁹⁵

⁹⁵*Poulton 1964.*