



The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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[3]

JOHN OKER/OKEOVER

JOHN BENNETT

John Oker or Okeover made a minor but not negligible contribution to English consort music: nineteen compositions, in three and five parts, workmanlike if hardly outstanding.¹ Manuscript sources are scarce, and his music may never have circulated widely. Two pieces were published over thirty years ago in *Jacobean Consort Music*,² but they remain rarities, and the revival of the viol has largely passed him by.

An outline of Oker's life, by W. K. Ford, appeared in 1958 in the *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*.³ He was an organist, first of Wells cathedral 1620-40, then of Gloucester cathedral until the Civil War stopped music there in 1644, stayed on in Gloucester during the Commonwealth, returned to Wells at the Restoration, and died shortly afterwards. How viols fitted in seemed uncertain. Ford's account is followed in *The New Grove*,⁴ but nothing fresh on Oker seems to have come to light, except as music copyist at Gloucester.⁵

This paper first explores the composer's origins and musical background before 1620, hitherto obscure. It then attempts to survey his works for viols in their historical context. Finally it offers a solution to the problem of the two versions of his name.

Early Life

According to Ford the 1620 organist was previously unknown at Wells. His origins must be looked for elsewhere. The rare surname led Ford to postulate a connexion with the Staffordshire gentry family of Okeover, but this could not be demonstrated.

The name can also be found at Worcester, in a promising context. Nathaniel Patrick, organist of Worcester cathedral 1590-95, had an associate named John Oker, who joined in a bond for Patrick's marriage (1593) and helped to make an inventory of Patrick's goods after his death (1595). This was mentioned without comment in a book about the cathedral organists published early this century,⁶ but has apparently not been investigated.

¹ Ten fantasies a3 in GB-Ob Mus. Sch. MSS D.245-7 (not Christ Church as in *Grove*); seven fantasies and two pavans a5 in Lbl Add. MSS 17786-91, one of the fantasies (no. 7) also in Add. 17792-6. See Gordon Dodd: *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (1980-82), whose numbering is used here. Oker also wrote a few anthems.

² Thurston Dart and William Coates, (eds.): *Musica Britannica*, ix, 'Jacobean Consort Music' (London, 1955), no. 45 (Fantasy a5 no. 5) and no. 70 (Pavan a5 no. 2)

³ W. K. Ford: 'The life and works of John Okeover', in *PRMA*, lxxxiv (1957/58), 71-81

⁴ *The New Grove* (London, 1980), vol. 13, 523

⁵ J. Morehen: 'The Gloucester cathedral part-book MS 93', in *Music & Letters*, lxii (1981), 192-6

⁶ Ivor Atkins: *The early occupants of the office of organist ... at the cathedral of Worcester* (Worcestershire Historical Society, London, 1918), 32-33

Patrick's associate is described in the bond as John Oker *alias* Cooke of St. Michael's in Bedwardine⁷ - Patrick's own parish, lying next to the cathedral. The churchwarden's accounts contain various references to John Oker (Ocker), the last in 1617.⁸ He was assessed in the middle ranks for poor rate, and sometimes witnessed the accounts. He seems to have been a builder, who supplied boards (1597) and tiles (1614) for church repairs; and illiterate, since he signed the accounts and his own will (quoted below) by mark. Evidently not himself the composer: the parish registers record the burial of 'John Oker' on 3 January 1619/20 and 'Ann Oker widow' on 22 May 1623.⁹

[4] However, this couple's eldest son Jhon the sonne of Jhon Oker' was baptised at St. Michael's Worcester on 7 October 1595,¹⁰ a date compatible with the musician's known career. If the boy showed any gift for music, the proximity of the cathedral and his father's connexions would help. Patrick's successor, Thomas Tomkins, organist and master of the choristers 1596-1646, married Patrick's widow (1597),¹¹ and must have been known to the elder John Oker. The Minister of St. Michael's, John Fido, was a minor canon of the cathedral.¹²

The musical establishment at Worcester cathedral can be glimpsed at intervals in a few surviving treasurer's accounts. Those for 1611, covering the twelve months from Michaelmas 1610, include quarterly lists of ten choristers, numbered in order of seniority. For the first two quarters no. 1 is 'Nathaniel Tomkyns', obviously Thomas's son, the future canon of Worcester, and no. 2 is John Oker alias Cook'.¹³ 3 John Oker afterwards slips to the bottom of the list, suggesting that his voice was breaking. His likely age and the combination of name and alias leave no reasonable doubt that the chorister was the builder's son.

Each quarterly list is countersigned 'ita est Tho. Tomkyns', and elsewhere in the same accounts Tomkins is paid as 'Instructor choristarum', Clearly young John Oker would have learned his musical ABC from Tomkins. Being a chorister alongside the organist's son could

⁷ Worcester Record Office (WRO): Worcester consistory court, marriage bonds, 1593, no. 78b. Alias surnames were not uncommon near the Welsh borders: their significance is obscure.

⁸ *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's in Bedwardine, Worcester, from 1539 to 1603* (ed. J. Amphlett, Worcs. Hist. Soc., Oxford, 1896), 114-152; continuation in WRO, MS b.850/BA/2335/16b (iv), ff. 4-25

⁹ WRO, microfilm of original parish registers of St. Michael in Bedwardine, Worcester, under dates named. Ann is identified as the widow of the elder John Oker by his will, v. note 21 below.

¹⁰ St. Michael's registers, *q.v.* note 9

¹¹ Atkins, *op. cit.*, 44

¹² *Ibid.*, 36, showing Fido's cathedral connexion. He is named as minister of St. Michael's in the churchwardens' accounts fr 1611-14.

¹³ Worcester cathedral archives, MS A. 26, which also contains the only other surviving detailed pre-civil war accounts, those for 1619, 1639 and 1642. Thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester and to the Rev. Canon J.R. Fenwick (archivist) for access to the cathedral archives.

have fostered this connexion; and his initial choir ranking implies some general musical ability as well as his voice.

Choristers of the period sometimes learned instruments too. A 1569 Worcester 'visitation' enquired whether the master of the choristers was 'apt and willing to instruct them in singing and playing upon the organs according to the statutes'.¹⁴ Two Worcester choristers of Thomas Tomkins's period turn up later as organists, no doubt thanks to his tuition. Canon Nathaniel Tomkins 'could play better on the organ than on a text'.¹⁵ Richard Browne, no. 1 chorister in 1639 and a singing-man in 1642, became organist of Worcester after the Restoration.¹⁶

Viols were 'an important element in the education of choirboys' in mid-sixteenth century London and by the early seventeenth century in some other cathedral choir-schools, e.g. Exeter.¹⁷ An apparently less noticed instance is Gloucester, where in 1628 one of the singing-men, John Merro, was teaching the 'children' (choristers) 'to playe upon the Vialls'.¹⁸ Practice at nearby Worcester would probably be similar, especially since Tomkins composed for viols and his father was precentor of Gloucester (1610-25). Two Worcester choristers of John Oker's generation come to notice later as viol players - Humphrey Withy and his brother John, both associated with Tomkins in a midcentury viol-playing circle at Worcester.¹⁹ Humphrey Withy, hitherto a rather shadowy figure, appears as no. 5 chorister in the 1611 list. John Withy's name occurs as no. 5 chorister in the 1619 Worcester accounts.²⁰ He became a viol composer.

A leading chorister like John Oker would thus probably have studied organ and viols (perhaps composition too?) under Thomas Tomkins. He would be equipped to have become the musician known to history. Contemporary composers known

[5] or thought to have begun as choristers include Ward (Canterbury), Orlando Gibbons (King's, Cambridge), the Lawes brothers (Salisbury) and Locke (Exeter), not to mention lesser names like John Withy at Worcester itself. In Oker's case proof eludes us, but it is a reasonable working hypothesis. Some other pointers are noted below.

¹⁴ W. H. Frere (ed.): *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the period of the Reformation* (London, 1980-10), vol. 3, 230

¹⁵ Atkins, *op. cit.*, 52

¹⁶ Worcester cathedral accounts (*q.v.* note 13); *The New Grove*, vol. 3, 346

¹⁷ Ian Woodfield: *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 213 and 247, footnote.

¹⁸ Account-book of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, 1628/29, quoted by A. Ashbee in Introduction to *John Jenkins: Consort music for viols in four parts* (London, 1978), xv

¹⁹ John Irving: 'Consort playing in mid-17th century Worcester', in *Early Music*, xii (August 1984) 337-344. Ob Mus. Sch. MSS E.415-8, a collection of consort music, contains the names 'Mr. Tho. Tomkins' and 'Mr. Humphrey Withy', and includes two Tomkins pavans marked 'made for Jo. Withy'.

²⁰ Worcester cathedral accounts, 1611 and 1619. Humphrey Withy's origin as a chorister was noted by Atkins (*op. cit.*, 61 footnote) but John Withy is not in *The New Grove*.

The chorister had apparently left Worcester before 1620. His father's will, dated 24 September 1619,²¹ divided the residue of the estate between Anne my wife, John my sonne and Samuel my sonne', but his house, 'shopp' and trade implements were to revert after Anne's death to Samuel. Odd to pass over the elder son, unless John was already launched on some other career elsewhere. The sons were joint executors, but the will was proved at Worcester on 16 July 1620 by Samuel alone. The new organist had been sworn in at Wells on 16 February the same year.²²

Later in 1620 a new organ was built at Wells cathedral by Thomas Dallam, who had recently (1613) built one to Tomkins's design at Worcester.²³ Did the new Wells organist know the Worcester organ? Dallam was of course well-known; but a curious detail independently suggests some Worcester connexion. The case for the 1613 organ was made by one of the Worcester singing-men, Robert Kettle. The Wells organ account too (1621) includes a substantial payment to 'Mr. Kettle', and in 1624 'Robert Kettle' became a vicar-choral of Wells.²⁴ Could this be Oker's influence?

Between 1611 and 1620 there are two references elsewhere to a musician of the same name, both apparently short-term assignments which the Worcester Oker could have held before fetching up at Wells. On the wall of the organ-loft at Winchester College are scratched the letters 'M IO: OKER: ORG.' (Magister Iohannes Oker organista?), possibly in association with the date 1616 on another part of the wall. A Winchester historian has suggested that the Wells man was organist at the College for a few years before 1616.²⁵ The Worcester chorister would have been eighteen in 1613. Such a post could be the start of a musical career; Thomas Weelkes had held it briefly in youth (1598-1601).

The other instance occurs in the Essex household of William 2nd Lord Petre (Thorndon and Ingatestone Halls), where the resident musician was Richard Mico. Among the Petre papers is an inventory of music books 'left at Mr. Mycos going away' endorsed 'all of which were placed in the charge of John Oker June 1616 - with a chest of vialls.'²⁶ Mico was back by the 1620's, probably sooner. Understudying someone of Mico's calibre implies a rising young musician, and the reference to viols tends to link this man with the consort composer.

²¹ WRO, wills in Worcester probate registry, 1620, no. 117.

²² *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (HMC), *Wells II*, 376

²³ Worcester cathedral MS D 248; *HMC Wells II*, 376-9; *The New Grove* vol. 5, 156 (Dallam)

²⁴ Worcester cathedral accounts, 1611 and 1619, and MS 248; *HMC Wells II*, 379 and 384 (allowing a year's probation).

²⁵ Alan Rennie: *The story of music at Winchester College, 1349-1969* (Winchester, 1970), 12-13

²⁶ Essex Record Office, MS D/DP.E.2/8. See John Bennet and Pamela Willetts: 'Richard Mico', in *Chelys*, vii (1977), 32

It might be questioned whether an unknown Worcester youth from a simple home would be likely to get responsible posts so far afield. But means existed, although their actual use is conjectural. As a chorister he would have had a free grammar school education.²⁷ A pupil of Tomkins would be a strong candidate as organist of another west-country cathedral. Arthur Lake, dean of Worcester (1608-13) in Oker's chorister days, became bishop of Bath and Wells (1616-26).

[6] He was a generous patron, interested in music (he 'led the way' over the 1613 organ).²⁸ As Warden of New College Oxford from 1613 to 1616 Lake would also be influential in the sister foundation at Winchester (his own old school) just when Oker's name turns up there. And Tomkins's old master William Byrd was a neighbour and intimate of Lord Petre, who himself had Worcestershire connexions.²⁹

Religion prompts another query. William Lord Petre was a Catholic, and the household musician would have to provide music for the illegal Roman rite in his private chapel. Another Catholic like Mico might be expected. Yet in Jacobean England the religious breach was not yet quite absolute. William Petre had recently (1604-13) employed as resident tutor to his sons a man who evidently conformed to the established church before and after his Petre service, though presumably a covert Catholic symphathiser (William Smith, Oxford graduate and subsequently Warden of Wadham College).³⁰ Why not a musician too—a less sensitive post than tutor? Byrd himself illustrates how musical careers could sometimes transcend the religious differences of the times.

If the 'working hypothesis' is accepted, we may thus see John Oker as an example of a provincial boy of humble origins who 'made good' through music.

Consort music

Grove states that 'the five-part fantasies and pavans date from before 1640, the three-part works from after that date; they were possibly composed for local meetings during the Commonwealth'. Precise dating of consort music is seldom possible. But taking into account the manuscript sources and the character of the music itself, a reverse sequence seems more likely, and earlier dating generally.

²⁷ *Documents illustrating early education in Worcester* (ed. A.F. Leach, Worcs. Hist. Soc., London, 1913), lvii and 138

²⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 11, 408-9; biographical preface to Lake's *Sermons* (London, 1629; by his chaplain)

²⁹ William Petre married a daughter of the Earl of Worcester, and in 1612 their eldest daughter married William Sheldon of Beoly in Worcester. The Earl and Sheldon were both Catholics, and any cathedral connexions are speculative. The Byrd-Tomkins link seems rather more likely.

³⁰ Nancy Briggs: 'William 2nd Lord Petre', in *Essex Recusant*, vol. 10 (1968), 55; R.B.Gardiner: *Registers of Wadham College, Oxford* (London, 1889), 3

Anthony Wood wrote that Oker 'hath composed several ayres of 2 and 3 parts for the violin and viol which are, I think, extant'.³¹ But the surviving Oker trios are not in fact 'ayres'. The source calls them each 'fantazia', and they are built of imitative contrapuntal parts with no regular melodic pattern, nor anything above the frets of the treble viol. The manner is Jacobean rather than mid-century. It looks as though Wood can scarcely have known Oker's music well (unless he was alluding to some later trios, now lost like the duos). Whether or not the known three-part pieces were played (with violins) at Wood's Oxford meetings during the Commonwealth, they seem old-fashioned to have been composed for such a context.

The unique source (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. MSS D. 245-7) was compiled by John Metro of Gloucester. Oker's fantasies a3 must have been completed before Metro's death in 1639. Elsewhere in *The New Grove* D. 245-7 is dated 'c.1620'.³²

These fantasies are uniform in style and tonality (A minor) and give the impression of having been written at one period by a composer not without talent but with a limited vocabulary. Broadly speaking they belong to the conservative Gibbons/Tomkins school and lack for example the 'Italianisms' of Coprario. Certain affinities with Tomkins a3 suggest themselves, such as the use

[7] of thematic fragments and of rapid keyboard-style passage work. One fantasy, no. 2, opens like a paraphrase of Tomkins a3 no. 5. In general they might be earlyish works composed under the influence of Tomkins. Merro had connexions with the Tomkins family, through whom Oker's music might have reached him before Oker became more widely known.

Some of Oker's five-part consort works recall his manner a3. The majority however seem more melodious, with traces of madrigal influence, and seem better organised harmonically, particularly fantasies 2, 3 and 5 (which alone in all Oker's work use a one-flat key signature), and both pavans. This second group leave the impression of being nearer to the mainstream of English consort style, and it is difficult not to regard them as later than his three-part fantasies rather than *vice-versa*. Composition as a whole was perhaps spread over a longer period than the relatively homogeneous three-part set.

The development of his consort style suggests contact with more 'modern' influences than Tomkins. This could have begun in Petre service. The Petres were a musical family in touch with the fashionable life of nearby London. The music placed in Oker's charge included Italian madrigals and the later works of William Byrd, whom he would probably have met. Mico's consort music would have been in use in the house, and Oker could have studied with him if their service overlapped

³¹ A. Wood: *Fasti Oxoniensis* (ed. P. Bliss, London, 1815), vol. 1 col. 468, recording Oker's Oxford degree in 1633.

³² A. Ashbee, letter in *ML* lxxviii (1967), 310-11; *The New Grove* vol. 17, 716, s.v. 'Sources of instrumental ensemble music'

sufficiently. The critical commentary to *Jacobean Consort Music* draws attention to a ‘double choir’ effect found in several of Oker’s fantasies a5. Mico (among others) used it too, and there are one or two thematic resemblances between the two composers (e.g. Oker fantasies nos. 2 and 3 with Mico no. 4). ‘Modern’ influences were not lacking at Wells too, as shown below.

The source containing his complete five-part works (British Library MSS. Add. 17786-91) has been attributed to the early years of the seventeenth century,³³ which would rule out a composer born in 1595 unless he were a child prodigy. However, a more recent study suggests that the group of pieces which includes Oker’s were added to the part-books later, and implies that uncertainty about Oker’s career is an obstacle to more precise dating of this important manuscript.³⁴ Composition must fall before 1640 because the source calls him ‘Wellensis’ - but how much before?

In 1633 he received the degree of bachelor of music at Oxford (as noted by Ford: not 1630 as in *The New Grove*). Residence was not then required for a music degree; it was more like a modern honorary degree, based on reputation and backing.³⁵ The inference is that by the early 1630s Oker was regarded as an established musician. Since there is no evidence of distinction as a performer, the degree presumably recognised his merits as a composer, with a considerable output already to his credit.

There is converging evidence from Wells. The cathedral has the remains of a collection of manuscript music formerly belonging to the vicars-choral (a corporate body comprising cathedral singers and organist, with quarters nearby).³⁶ Ford mentions this indication of domestic music-making but does not particularise.

[8] Most of the surviving items are in fact later than Oker’s Wells period. There are however the tenor and bass part-books of some five-part Italian madrigals, their covers stamped with the name of Oker’s immediate predecessor Richard Browne, organist of Wells 1614-19.³⁷ An incomplete part-book of anonymous Italian madrigals probably dates from the same period.³⁸ All the madrigals are textless except for their opening words, recalling Roger North’s observation:

³³ P. Brett, (ed.): *Musica Britannica*, xxii, ‘Consort Songs’ (London, 1974), 175

³⁴ Craig Monson: *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 159-60, 169, 174

³⁵ *Registers of the University of Oxford* (ed. A. Clark, Oxford, 1887), vol. 2 part 1, 148-9

³⁶ Thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of Wells, and to Mr. L. S. Colchester, hon. Archivist, for access to the records of the Vicars-Choral, which supplements the cathedral’s own records calendared in *HMC Wells*.

³⁷ Wells Vicars-Choral (WVC) Music MSS 2 and 3. The tenor book is inscribed ‘Francesco Soriano. The 4th Sett. December the 17, 1612’—presumably the date of copying (Soriano’s fourth book was published in 1602). There are also madrigals by Ruggiero Giovanelli (reprinted in Antwerp 1606).

³⁸ WVC, Music MS 1

The earlyer consorts were composed for 3,,4 and more parts for songs in Itallian or Latine ... And in England when composers were scarce, these songs were copyed off, without the words, and for variety used as instrumentall consorts, with the first words of the song as a title.³⁹

Instrumental performance of vocal chamber music was evidently developing at Wells by Oker's time. Instrumentation would depend on what happened to be available, and might originally have been mixed. But shortly after Oker's arrival a deed of gift dated 20 January 1622/23 from Henry Southworth of Wells esq. (a cathedral benefactor) presented to the vicars-choral

one Cheste and five instruments of musicke called Wyolls ... to the chiefest use and behoofe of those who cann play thereon, to bee used art such their Civil Convocations and meetings as the major parte of them shall thinke fitt.⁴⁰

Composers were no longer 'scarce'. Oker could be expected to exploit this new resource, and might even have inspired it. The 'cheste' fits his larger-scale work (laid out for the usual 2Tr/2T/B). He might well pick up a more tuneful and expressive style from playing those madrigals: if so, here is another example of the Italian influence on English consort music discussed in a recent *Chelys* article.⁴¹ Perhaps also from John Ward's madrigal-type fantasies a5, fragments of which survive among the Wells MSS.⁴² All this strongly suggests that most of Oker's five-part fantasies and pavans were written for these Wells players, probably in the 1620s.

The vicars-choral evidently played viols for pleasure and to enhance their corporate life, not as part of their cathedral duties. Yet in the nature of the case they were trained musicians and in a position to meet regularly. Standards might be quite high. The fourteenth-century Tudor-panelled Vicars' Hall is intimate in scale and would make a responsive setting for viols.⁴³ In general, too little is known about the public for whom consort music was written or the circumstances of its original performance. Here we seem to have an interesting close-up.

Elsewhere too there are indications that cathedrals, like country houses, were sometimes the focus of amateur viol consorts: for example Worcester (see above) and Gloucester, to judge by Metro's collections

³⁹ John Wilson (ed.): *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 340; extracted from *Memoires of Musick* (1728)

⁴⁰ WVC, Indenture Book, 1617-1661, f. 17v

⁴¹ Joan Wess: 'Musica Transalpina, Parody, and the Emerging Jacobean Viol Fantasia', in *Chelys*, xv (1986), 3-25.

⁴² WVC, Music MS 4. Bass parts only of four fantasies a5, see Dodd: *Thematic Index (q.v.)*, s.v. Ward. Composed before 1620, though no evidence when they reached Wells. Ward, like Mico, uses 'double choir' effects.

⁴³ A 'music club' met there in the early 18th century, see E. Hobhouse (ed.): *The diary of a west-country physician, 1684-1726* (Rochester, 1934), 39-42

and a post-Restoration catalogue.⁴⁴ Another cathedral organist who wrote string fantasies is Michael East at Lichfield. George Herbert, viol-player as well as poet, used to attend regular music meetings after services at Salisbury cathedral.⁴⁵ There are no doubt other instances. Oker's story suggests that viol consort music among cathedral musicians generally may deserve further study.

His name

Oker or Okeover? The Staffordshire family used both spellings (among other variants) in the fifteenth century, and only standardised as Okeover in Henry VIII's time.⁴⁶ A branch might have moved to neighbouring Worcestershire before then. But the chorister's father clearly had no pretensions to gentility. If any connexion with the gentry family existed, it must have been fairly remote.

Usage of the two names in the composer's own lifetime is not haphazard but shows a definite pattern. He was baptised as Oker. He appears as Oker in the Worcester cathedral accounts, the Winchester organ-loft and the Petre papers (the alias Cook is confined to Worcester). At Wells the Chapter Act Books and other cathedral documents refer to him throughout as Oker or occasionally Oaker. In the vicars-choral's records he can be traced as Oker up to 1628.⁴⁷ A vicars' book of grants and sales beginning in 1632 contains frequent specimens of his signature as one of the 'Seniors': from August 1633 onwards it is John Okeover'.⁴⁸ Cathedral accounts dated 1636/37 show a payment to 'Mr. Oker' for which he signs in receipt John Okeover'.⁴⁹ At Gloucester (see Ford) he is Okeover in 1640 and 1642, but Oker or Oaker again in 1656 and 1660. When entries in the Wells vicars' book resume after the Restoration the signatures from September 1660 to April 1662 are John Oker'. His burial is not on record.

The more elaborate version of the name was evidently introduced on his own initiative when he was already nearly forty, and is confined to the decade before the civil war. The turning-point seems to have been his Oxford degree, conferred in July 1633 on John Okeover' (no middle V—perhaps a phonetic rendering?).⁵⁰ In those Cavalier days he might possibly have seen presentational advantages in spelling his name like

⁴⁴ R. M. Andrewes: 'Hidden treasure at Gloucester?' in *Viola da Gamba Society Bulletin*, 28 (1966). The catalogue includes 'Fancies' for TrTrB by 'Mr. John Oker'—presumably those in the D.245-7 set, rather than lost works as surmised by Ford.

⁴⁵ Izaak Walton: *The Life of Mr. George Herbert* (London, 1670), reprinted in Temple Classics edition (London, 1898), 186

⁴⁶ Major-General the Hon. George Wrottesley: 'An account of the family of Okeover ...', in *Staffordshire Historical Collections*, vol. 7 N.S. (London, 1904), 49-70

⁴⁷ WVC, Act Book 1593-1628, Register 1622-28, and 1627 list of vicars-choral in MS Various 1

⁴⁸ WVC, Various 2 (with continuation in separate cover)

⁴⁹ *HMC Wells II*, 418

⁵⁰ Wood: *Fasti* (reference in note 31)

the gentry family, whether or not he could actually claim descent from them - rather as John Cooper had become Giovanni Coprario when everything Italian was in fashion. This could also explain the reversion to plain Oker after the civil war.

Taking his life as a whole, there is a decided majority in favour of 'Oker', which might now be acceptable as the norm.

In conclusion, a comparison of the composer's name-changes with manuscripts of his music provides two musical sidelights. Metro calls him 'Mr. Okar'; Add. 17786-91 on the other hand uses mostly 'Okeover', but occasionally 'Oker', as though by copyist's lapse. This supports the suggested sequence of the three-part and five-part sets. Moreover, since Add. 17786-91 is an Oxford source, associated with New College, which presented the composer for his degree, it seems possible that the five-part set was completed by 1633 and copied into these part-books during his visit to Oxford (under his new name) for the ceremony. Did he perhaps present these compositions, or a selection of them, as the customary 'exercise' for his degree?

Postscript: Since this paper went to press, the three-part fantasies have been published in the U.S.A., in the 'Barrington Series', edited by Martha Bishop, and attributed to John Okefer' (a spelling not observed elsewhere).

[12]
THE ORIGIN OF
ALFONSO FERRABOSCO THE ELDER'S
SIX-PART FANTASIA C224

RICHARD CHARTERIS

The late sixteenth-century music manuscript in table-book format, GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390, includes a six-part composition on the opening of folios 15v and 16r where it is attributed variously: 'qd alfoncius' and 'qd alfoncies';¹ attributions which refer undoubtedly to Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588).² Whereas the manuscript volume bears the inscription on the title-page 'A booke of In nomines and other solfainge songes of v: vi: vii: and viii: parts for voyces and Instruments', none of the works transcribed in this source appears with text underlay, though most of the works of vocal origin are given a title. In view of the fact that Ferrabosco's composition has been considered until now to be unique to Lbl Add. MS 31390, and in view of the fact that the work is without a title in this source, it is not unusual that the piece was published with the title of 'Fantasy' in David Pinto's edition in the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain's Supplementary Publications no. 135 (London, 1980). Nor is it surprising that this same piece was described as a fantasia and included in the work-list of instrumental compositions in John V. Cockshoot's article on Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder in *The New Grove* (London, 1980). Despite the designation of this composition as an instrumental work in the above sources, the present writer expressed some doubt about its inclusion in the instrumental section of his own book: *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588): A Thematic Catalogue of His Music with a Biographical Calendar* (New York, 1984); a book in which this composition bears the catalogue number C224, and in which there is the comment that this work 'seems to have been transcribed from a no longer extant vocal original' (see page 161).

Further light can now be shed upon the origin of Ferrabosco's composition in Lbl. Add. MS 31390 as a result of my discovery of its appearance in GB-Cfm MU. MS 734 (otherwise known as 24 E 13-17), a set of early seventeenth-century partbooks lacking one volume.³ The first section of these part-books includes thirty-two numbered compositions which comprise instrumental transcriptions of six-part Italian madrigals (twenty-six works), Latin motets (three works) and French chansons (two

¹ See Jeremy Noble: 'Le Répertoire Instrumental Anglais: 1550-1585', in Jean Jacquot (ed.): *La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1955), 91-114

² For details of this composer's biography see my thematic catalogue cited towards the end of this paragraph, and see my article 'New Information about the Life of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588)', *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, xvii (1981): 97-114

³ Further details about this manuscript source are found in Thurston Dart: 'The Repertory of the Royal Wind Music', *The Galpin Society Journal*, xi (1958), 70-77; and Richard Charteris: 'A Rediscovered Source of English Consort Music', *Chelys*, v (1973-1974), 3-6

works) at numbers 1-31, and a fantasia at number 32. Among works by Felice Anerio, Jerome Bassano, Giovanni Croce, Orlando de Lassus, Luca Marenzio, Francesco Rovigo, Horatio Vecchi and a number of unattributed works, there are nine pieces attributed to 'AF: seig^r' (Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder): numbers 1 (C197), 3 (C159), 4 (C160), 11 (C157), 12 (C158), 15 (C154), 16 (C155), 19 (C156), and 24 (C29). To this list of Ferrabosco's works in the first section of Cfm MU. MS 734 can now be added the piece at number 13 (C224), which is the same composition as Ferrabosco's piece in Lbl Add. MS 31390. Indeed, a close study of the part-books in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,

[13] reveals that the volume with the bass part of number 13 has an identical attribution to 'AF: seig^r'; however, the attribution, which is in ink, is barely visible on account of the fact that the copyist has erased the attribution and thus blurred the ink on the stave. Presumably the erasure was made because the copyist thought he had committed an error, but the copyist stands contradicted by the attribution to Ferrabosco in the only other source, and by some evidence of Ferrabosco's musical style in the piece concerned. While the only other source of this work, Lbl Add: MS 31390, has a complete copy of this piece, Cfm MU. MS 734 is missing one of the parts: the second alto part as seen in *Instrumental Music*, volume ix of my edition of the *opera omnia* of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, series no. 96.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this discovery is that the main copyist of the Fitzwilliam Museum part-books includes a title with Ferrabosco's work in each part-book, though the copyist omits any further text. The title appears variously as 'Sur la rossee' and 'Sur la rosse', the final word being a slightly corrupt spelling of the French word for dew: 'rousee'. These words are the beginning of a French chanson text set by six other composers during the sixteenth century. The first composer to do so was Pierre Passereau (fl. 1509-47), whose four-part setting was published in *RISM* 1536.⁴ Just as the celebrated chanson 'Susanne un jour' which was set to music by many sixteenth-century composers, often modelled upon the original setting by Lupi, Passereau's setting of 'Sur la rousée' provided the model for the settings of other composers; though the degree of correspondence is greatest in the works of three composers: Jhan Gero (fl. 1540-55), whose two-part setting appears in *RISM* G1626 published in 1541; Pierre Certon (d. 1572), whose six-part setting appears in *RISM* C1718 published in 1570; and François Roussel (c. 1510-77), whose six-part setting appears in *RISM* R2720 published in 1577. The other two composers who set 'Sur la rousée' are: Nicolas Millot (fl. 1556-86), whose five-part setting appears in *RISM* 1572²; and Rinaldo del Mel (c. 1554-c.98), whose four-part setting appears in *RISM* 1597¹⁰. The only point of contact between Passereau's setting and that of Millot, is the

⁴ The music variants in Cfm MU. MS 734 are worth noting when underlaying the text to Ferrabosco's piece. It was not possible to include these music variants in the commentary to volume ix of my edition of the *opera omnia* of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* series no. 96

common dactylic rhythm of the opening three notes. However, the connection between Passereau's composition and Mel's work is a little more convincing, for the first eight notes of Mel's opening subject are derived from Passereau's opening theme. The full text of the chanson is:

Sur la rousée fault aller*
La matinée
Pour le rossignol escouter
Soubz la ramée,
Tenant sa dame soubz le bras
En luy demandant par esbatz
Une accolée,
Et puis le renverser en bas,
Comme amoureux font par esbatz,
Sur la rousée.

[14] (*The first line in the settings of Mel, Millot and Roussel reads: 'Sur la rousée m'y fault aller'. In the settings of Millot and Roussel the word 'rousée' is divided into two syllables rather than three syllables as in all the other settings.)

The initial words 'Sur la rou-sé-e fault al-ler' or 'Sur la rou-sée m'y fault al-ler' along with the two following words 'La matinée' can easily be underlaid in the opening section of Ferrabosco's work. While it is possible to underlay the remainder of the text, there are passages in which the distribution and/or choice of underlay is open to different interpretations.⁴

Ferrabosco does not begin his composition by quoting the opening subject of Passereau's chanson, though he does retain the dactylic rhythm of Passereau's first three notes. Nevertheless, Ferrabosco reveals his 'deepe skill', as Thomas Morley described it in 1597,⁵ by setting the opening words 'Sur la rousée' with the same four-note melodic figure which Passereau, and subsequently Ghero and Roussel, used to begin their setting of separate statements of the words 'La matinée' (the second line of the text). This clever method of quotation is the only reference which Ferrabosco makes to Passereau's chanson.

There is, however, a point of musical contact between Ferrabosco's setting and that of Millot. At the stage when the text 'Sur la rousée' returns at the conclusion of both settings, Ferrabosco and Millot use a descending triad to set some of the statements of these words; the triad is used to set the final line of the text in the *superius*, *tenor*, *quinta pars* and *bassus* parts of Millot's five-part setting, whereas the same figure is used in the soprano, first and second alto, and tenor parts of Ferrabosco's six-part setting. Whereas it is impossible in this case to identify which work was composed first, it is very likely that Ferrabosco's chanson 'Sur la

⁵ Thomas Morley: *A Plaine & Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), 180. I should like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the Australian Research Grants Scheme which has materially assisted me in the preparation of this article.

Chelys, vol. 16 (1987), article 2

rousée' was composed about the same time as his four other chansons (all for five voices), and well before the mid 1570s.

REFERENCES:

RISM 1536⁴: Passereau: *Livre premier contenant xxix. chansons à quatre parties* (Paris, 1536); see George Dottin, (ed.): *Passereau Opera Omnia*, no. 45 in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* ([Rome], 1967), no. 16

RISM G1626:Ghero: *Il primo libro de madrigali italiani et canzoni francese à due voci* (Venice, 1541); see Lawrence F. Bernstein and James Haar, (eds): *Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance I* (New York, 1980), no. 31

RISM C1718:Certon: *Les meslanges ... esquelles sont quatre vingt dis-huict tant cantiques que chansons spirituelles, & autres: a cinq, a six, a sept, & a huict parties* (Paris, 1570)

RISM 1572²: Millot: *Mellange de chansons tant que vieux autheurs que des modernes, à cinq, six, sept, et huict parties* (Paris, 1572)

RISM R2720:Roussel: *Chansons nouvelles miser en musique a iii. v. et vi parties* (Paris, 1577); see Greer Garden, (ed): *François Roussel Opera Omnia*, no. 83 in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), volume v, no. 55

RISM 1597¹⁰:Mel: *Le rossignol musical des chansons de diverses et excellens autheurs .., à quatre, cinq et six parties* (Antwerp. 1597)

[16]
SIR ROBERT BOLLES BT.
OF SCAMPTON

MARGARET URQUHART

Detailed study of the musical patrons of the seventeenth century is a prerequisite if the hitherto vague outlines of the lives of the musicians with whom they can be associated are to be further developed. As men and women of rank, they feature more in contemporary documents and what can be reconstructed of their lives and family relationships provides a backcloth against which their protégés come into sharper focus. Christopher Simpson is already a case in point, for it was recently established by this means that after Sir Robert Bolles' death in 1663, he was employed by John Pynsent, a wealthy civil servant, to teach his grandson, Sir John St Barbe.¹ These findings were sufficiently encouraging to prompt the present study, since Sir Robert Bolles, as has been generally known, was Simpson's patron after the Civil Wars.² This period in Simpson's life has not however been investigated in any detail. Sir Robert Bolles, like Sir John St Barbe, is an interesting man in his own right and it is as such that he is presented here.

Sir Robert, who was baptised on 17th April, 1619 at Scampton,³ was the grandson of Sir George Bolles Kt., a Lord Mayor of London, who had become rich by trading as a grocer between London and the provinces, with the occasional journey to the Levant and Constantinople.⁴ In 1590, Sir George married Joan Gates (née Hart) a widow, daughter and heir of his business associate Sir John Hart, another Lord Mayor of London. It was by this marriage that Scampton came to the Bolles, together with other Lincolnshire manors.⁵ The Bolles were a Lincolnshire family of ancient pedigree while the Harts had their chief residence at Sproston Court in North Yorkshire. Sir George had also acquired the manors of Sneaton, Eskdaleside and UGGLEBARNBY in the Whitby area about 1600, presumably in support of lands held there by Sir John Hart.⁶ That Christopher Simpson's family was settled in this area, among a group of recusants who had the protection of catholic land-owning families such as the Radcliffes of

¹ Margaret Urquhart: *Sir Johns St Barhe Bt. of Broadlands* (Southampton, 1983), 20, 24

² Christopher Simpson: *The Division Viol*, 1st Edition, dedicated to Sir Robert Bolles Bt. (London, 1659); 2nd Edition, dedicated to Sir John Bolles Bt., 1665.

³ Lincolnshire Archives Office, Scampton Parish Records

⁴ Robert G. Lang: 'London's Aldermen in Business 1600-1625' *The Guildhall Miscellany*, vol. iii, No. 4 (April 1971), 249

⁵ In the Chancery Court document, P.R.O. C10470/8 (1669), the Lincolnshire manors were listed as Scampton, Poolham, Thimbleby, Woodhall, Coates, Driby, Saltfletby, Sutterby, Wragby and Bursland.

⁶ Sneaton was conveyed to Sir George Bolles in 1602; UGGLEBARNBY and Eskdaleside in 1604. Low Borrowby, Morton and Nether Siltton were lands belonging to Sir John Hart which he left to his grandson, Sir John Bolles in his will of 1603/4. (See V.C.H. *North Riding, Yorkshire*, vols. i and ii).

Mulgrave Castle, the Chomleys of Whitby and the Smiths of Egton Bridge, raises the question as to whether the Bolles and the Simpsons might not have had a deeper acquaintanceship.

Described in official documents as cordwainers, Robert and Christopher Simpson (the father of the musician) were leaders of Sir Richard Chomley's company of actors. They performed plays and interludes in the great houses of the area and were constantly at odds with the law and classed as vagrants if they worked outside their parishes.⁷ Their dramatic expertise, which included some of the earliest recorded performances of Shakespeare outside London, would suggest that the Simpsons had a connection with theatres there. The Bolles could have known of them from that context or through reports from relations and agents in the Whitby area. Sir Robert, although of a younger generation, may

[17] have been less well informed, but with his particular interest in the arts, it could be that he had some prior knowledge of the Simpsons and that when he eventually met Christopher, he had more than artistic reasons in mind when he took on his protection.

When Sir George Bolles died in 1621, he was succeeded by his son John who was created the first baronet in 1628.⁸ Sir John had four sons, George, Conyers, John and Robert.⁹ Conyers and John died in infancy and George at the age of nineteen in 1632. Robert's first tutor was Godfrey Carrington. After about a year, John Dagger took over from Carrington and five years later, at the age of fifteen years and three months, Robert was admitted as a fellow commoner to Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge.¹⁰ This college which was founded in 1596, had been a particular interest of Sir John Hart, Sir Robert's great-grandfather who left the college a substantial bequest in his will of 1603/4. In 1618, Sir George Bolls added a further £200 in support of this.¹¹ Nothing can be established of the details of Sir Robert's time at college as the Butler's Accounts for the period have not survived. He was taught music by Thomas Mace, the author of *Musick's Monument*, who was then a young man in his early twenties.¹² He had been appointed a Lay Clerk in the choir of Trinity College in 1635. In the same year Roger Le Strange, son of Sir Hamon Lestrange of Hunstanton, a patron of John Jenkins, entered Sidney Sussex as a fellow commoner. He also became a skilled performer on the lute and the viol and belonged to Sir Robert's circle

⁷ G.W. Boddy: 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', *North Yorkshire County Record Office Journal*, vol. iii (April 1976)

⁸ John Burke and John Bernard: *The Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England*. (London, 2/1844)

⁹ L.A.O. Haugh and Scampton Parish Registers, Baptisms - George, 1613, Conyers, 1614, John, 1624

¹⁰ Admissions Register, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge

¹¹ The Accompte Booke, Sidney Sussex College; See also V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, vol. iii, 482

¹² Thomas Mace: *Musick's Monument* (London 1676), 235

of friends.¹³ Lady Bolles left Sir Roger ‘the silver possett Cupp with all things belonging to it in her will of 1672.¹⁴

On 4th February 1635/36, Charles Louis, the young Elector Palatine and nephew of Charles I visited Cambridge in the company of the Chancellor, the Earl of Holland and many other distinguished guests. He was entertained in the traditional manner with orations, gifts and honorary degrees. Robert Bolles was one of a group of students, chosen from the various colleges, who received the honorary degree of Master of Arts by command of the king at the ceremonies on the second day of the visit. He was not yet seventeen years of age.¹⁵

The next stage of his life began with his marriage on 14th October 1637 to Mary Hussey, one of the five daughters of Sir Edward Hussey Bt. of Honington.¹⁶ The Husseys were an important Lincolnshire family, Sir Edward being the Sheriff of Lincoln at the time. An epigram of Martial was translated and charmingly applied to the occasion by an unknown author.¹⁷

To Robert Bolles is Mary Hussey wed.
The God of marriage fruitful make their bed.
Thus cinamon mixt with Spikenard one become
Thus massike wine with Attick honey-combe.
Thus Elmes with vines are joyn’d: lothe-tree in wet,
And myrtle in ye shore loves to be set.
About their bed let concord allways watch:
Let sweet love aye attend so meet a match.
May she him love, when old grown: and to him
Let her, when aged, not aged seem.

[18] Their first child, Isabel, was baptised at Scampton on 22nd January, 1639/40 and the second, John, on 8th June 1641.¹⁸ A record of the baptism of their third child, Katherine, has not been found. An approximation of the year of her birth can be deduced from the allegation of her marriage to Thomas Washer in 1669 when she was said to be about twenty-two.¹⁹ Since she was older than Robert (1647), Mary (1648) and Elizabeth (1649), 1646 is suggested for her date of birth. Anne, the seventh child, has two baptismal dates in the register of St Andrew, Holborn, namely the 24th February

¹³ John Wilson (ed): *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 355, 308

¹⁴ P.R.O. Prob. 11/148. The Will of Lady Bolles

¹⁵ Cambridge University Archives, Grace Book Z, 308, 4th February 1635/36. See also Cooper’s *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. iv 274

¹⁶ R.G. Cole: *The History of Doddington, Lincoln* 1897. The marriage took place in the church at Honington. He was nineteen and she was twenty. The Husseys inherited Doddington in 1652.

¹⁷ B.L. Sloane 292, f. 3, An Epigram of Martial in his 6th book of ye marriage of Pudens and Claudia Peregrina: translated and applied to Mr. Rob. Bolles and Mrs. Mary Hussey.

¹⁸ L.A.O., Scampton Parish Register

¹⁹ *Allegations for Marriage Licences, Dean and Chapter of Westminster*, 1558-1699. 1669 Thomas Washer of Lincoln’s Inn, Gent. Bachelor abt 26 and Mrs. Catherine Bolles of St Andrew’s Holborn, Spinster abt 22, by consent of her mother, Dame Mary Bolles, widow, St Pancras Middlx.

1651/2 and 24th February, 1652/53.²⁰ Olympia, who was baptized in St Giles-in-the-Fields in January 1654/55 was their eighth and last child.²¹ The gap of five years in the sequence of births suggests Sir Robert's absence from home between 1641 and 1645. The London births are also interesting as they indicate the return to the Bolles traditional sphere of activity.

The Lincolnshire gentry were at first unwilling to commit themselves one way or the other at the opening of the conflict between the King and Parliament. In June 1642, they subscribed to the Militia Ordinance of Parliament at the instigation of Lord Willoughby.²² The King's visit to Lincoln in July brought a turn in his favour. On the 20th, Charles Dallison, the Recorder of Lincoln, a catholic, made the speech of loyalty on behalf of the city and was knighted by the King.²³ The Bolles were among the sixty-five names of those who subscribed horses to be disposed throughout the county, but for some months there was reluctance to use them except in defence of the county. In December of that year, when the King issued his Commission of Array from Oxford to his loyal subjects in Lincolnshire, Sir John Bolles, his son Robert, Sir Edward Hussey and Sir Charles Hussey were prominent on the list, under the leadership of the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Newcastle and Viscount Newarke.²⁴

Turning now to the role which Sir Robert played in the wars, here the documentary evidence is sparse. In the state papers of 1645/46, which dealt with his delinquency, he stated that he never had any command nor did he bear arms against Parliament. He had applied for his pass before Naseby and he had been 'driven to go to Newarke within the King's quarters' but that he had only lived there and becoming dissatisfied with the proceedings, procured Mr Speaker's pass to enable him to come to London. He further stated that his certificate had not been returned by the Committee of York and requested a copy of the certificate of the Committee of Lincoln.²⁵ He is referring to the Battle of Naseby of June 14th 1645 followed by the final Siege of Newark which ended with the surrender of the King to the Scots in May, 1646. His name does not appear on any of the lists of soldiers which have survived. One would have expected to find him on the Newark siege lists together with his friend, Sir Charles Dallison, who was a colonel.²⁶ Bolles was only twenty-two at the time of the Array and the most attractive role for a young man of his artistic ability could have been involvement in the musical and dramatic entertainments which were a feature of the courtly approach to battle in these times. The Duke of Newcastle maintained a minor

²⁰ The Parish Register of St Andrew, Holborn, Guildhall Library, London

²¹ The Parish Registers of St Giles-in-the-Fields. She died at Scampton, aged about two.

²² Clive Holmes: *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War*, 1974, 41

²³ B.L. 190. g. 12,21 1. *Mr. Charles Dallison, Recorder of Lincoln*, his Speech to His Majesty, printer for William Gay, Aug. 3, 1642, and delivered on 20th July.

²⁴ B.G.Binnall: 'The Commission for Array for Lincolnshire, 1642', *The Local Historian* (Lindsey Local History Society), no. 23, April 1931, 2/3

²⁵ *Committee for Compounding Felonies*, 1643-1660, Sept. 1645 and 28th Oct. 1645

²⁶ *Newark-upon-Trent - The Civil War Siegeworks*, RC of Hiss. Mon., Appendix i, 76

[19] court in York which pleased the Queen when she visited the city in February 1643.²⁷ His general was the poet and dramatist, Sir William Davenant. James Shirley, the playwright and Christopher Simpson, the musician were also there, the latter being quartermaster in the Horse of Lord Henry Cavendish, the younger son of the Duke.²⁸ Shirley and Simpson later dedicated works to Sir Robert. Thomas Mace, Sir Robert's music teacher who was also present, wrote a graphic description of the singing of psalms in York Minster during the siege of 1644, when the congregation which included 'an abundance of People of the best rank and quality' were in danger of being struck by the occasional 'cannon bullet' coming in through the windows.²⁹

When the fine of £1500 was proposed by the Committee for Compounding Felonies on 30th September, 1645, it was reported that Robert Bolles was a 'fierce, violent and active man'. As we shall later see, he was on a list of suspected persons in the English counties some ten years after this. The reason may lie in his association with catholic royalists. There may also have been other activities which made him a suspect which have not yet come to light. The fine was paid by monthly instalments by the month of May of 1646, the estate discharged and his pardon sealed.³⁰ The case of his father, who was a man of more than sixty years when the wars started, is more obscure and there is no evidence that he took any active part other than being a Commissioner for Array. He did not appear before the Committee and at his death in 1648, his case was still unsettled.³¹ Sir Edward Hussey of similar age and infirm, was fined £10,200, which was reduced to £8,750 in February 1648. After his death in March of that year, his widow Elizabeth, and Rhoda, the widow of Fernando, Lord Fairfax, a Parliamentary leader, made joint application for the relief of the second instalment of this fine because of the financial difficulties which followed Sir Edward's death. Their efforts, which were unsuccessful, were on behalf of Lady Fairfax's son, Thomas Hussey, her son by a previous marriage, who was the heir.³²

In the aftermath of defeat, the problems of Royalist families were severe and temporary solutions such as the mortgaging of lands led to further

²⁷ There is a brief account of the Duke of Newcastle's court life at York in C.V. Wedgwood's *The King's War* 167.

²⁸ A list of Indigent Officers, 1663, f.24:

Lord Henry Cavendish Horse Captain
Thomas Markenfield's Troop
John Pullen Lieut. York(shire)
Edw. Hardcastle Cor(net) York(shire)
Robert Chambers Cor(net) Westmore.
Christop. Sympson Q(uartermaster) York(shire)

I am indebted to Brigadier Peter Young for this list.

²⁹ Thomas Mace: *Musick's Monument*. 19

³⁰ *Journal of the House of Lords vol. viii*, 383. *Committee for Compounding Felonies 1643-1660*, 905 and 1088

³¹ *Committee for Compounding Felonies, 1643-1660*, 11th Oct. 1650, 830

³² C.C.F., 1643-1660, 25th May, 1650, 1023

complications which were to delay recovery for many years. Such were the burdens that fell upon the shoulders of Sir Robert when his father died and they continued to affect his son John even more seriously, when he succeeded him in 1663. For a man of Sir Robert's ability and position, any hope of a traditional career in local or national affairs was blocked and this for a man of twenty-nine years must have been very frustrating indeed. In the depth of misfortune he turned to music, and gave himself to the protection of the art and its exponents.

That innocent, and now distressed Muse, driven from her Sacred Habitations, and forced to seek a livelihood in Streets and Taverns where she is exposed, and prostituted to all profaneness, hath in deplorable condition, found a chaste, and cheerful Sanctuary within your Wals, where she is cherished, encouraged and adorned, even by the hands of your Noble self, Your Vermous Lady, and most hopefull Children; besides others; whom you keep and maintain on that Accompt.'³³

[20] These were the words of Christopher Simpson who was one who had reason to be grateful to Sir Robert for shelter and a livelihood, 'when the Iniquity of the Time had reduced me (with many others of that common calamity) to a condition of needing it.'³⁴

Nothing has survived of the walls of Scampton Hall except the ornamental gateway which was restored recently by the efforts of the Bolles Family Association of America. Pevsner, who compared the arch to the engravings of Jacob Francart, considered that it had probably been built by Sir John Bolles.³⁵ The sets of three tear drops which are important decorative features and the fact that the gateway was left standing, suggest that it may have been built by Sir John after the death of George, the heir, in 1632 as a memorial to his three sons, George, Conyers and John.

The manor of Scampton with its appurtenances was settled upon Sir George Bolles, his wife and issue by Sir John Hart in 1603.³⁶ It lies five miles to the north of Lincoln and to the west of the Roman Road, known as Ermine Street. The manor-house which was situated to the west of the church, was called Scampton Hall, according to Illingworth.³⁷ From Sir John Hart's will of 1603, it is clear that building works were in progress at Scampton which was then occupied by a tenant, Richard Bridges. The inventory taken after Sir Robert's death, gives the impression of a Jacobean house with its great upper dining room, withdrawing room, high gallery, low gallery, music-room, great low parlour, low studio (library) and hall—in all some twenty rooms, with a counting house, kitchens, larders, cellars,

³³ Christopher Simpson: *The Division Viol* (London, 1659)

³⁴ Christopher Simpson: *The Division Viol* (London 1665)

³⁵ N. Pevsner and J Harris: *The Buildings of England - Lincolnshire*, 35 and 67

³⁶ P.R.O., Prob. 11/103. The will of Sir John Hart

³⁷ The Rev. Cayley Illingworth: *A Topographical Account of the Parish of Scampton in the County of Lincoln and of the Roman Antiquities lately discovered there, together with Anecdotes of the Family of Bolles*, 1808

still-house, brewery, dairy and stables.³⁸ Among the smaller rooms were 'Mr Simpson's Chamber' and 'Mr Smyth's Parlour'. Simpson's room was furnished with a bed and bedstead, a quilt, coverlet and hangings. 'Mr Smyth' was Thomas Smith, son of Humphrey Smith who had married Sir Robert's aunt, Anne Bolles. He became a ward of the Bolles after his father died in 1638.³⁹

The high gallery, usually a space at the top of the house which was used for recreation, contained a box with a double bass viol, two treble viols, a theorbo, a lute and a pair of organs valued at £60. This room may have been the setting for the rehearsal of large-scale works. The music-room which was furnished with two leather chairs, four leather stools, three joynt' chairs and three little stools, had in addition a cypress table, two shifts for the viols, two pictures and three boxes. There were thirteen viols in this room and a pair of harpsichords. The latter were described as 'out of order' at the time of the inventory but it is possible that by this date, Sir Robert's musical activities had been transferred to the London house.⁴⁰

It is not known precisely when Simpson arrived at Scampton following the taking of York in 1644, but if he was there for the period of Sir John's education which probably began when the boy was eight, the year 1649 can be suggested. On the other hand, if he was in any danger as a catholic and a royalist soldier, he may have found his way there much earlier. Among others at Scampton at this time were the boy's tutor Edward Gelsthorpe, a scholar of Caius College,

[21] Cambridge, who had 'suffered' for his loyalty to the King.⁴¹ Later, he became a fellow of the college where he had a distinguished academic career. He contributed a long poem in Latin to the 'Division Viol' (First Edition) which ended with the prophetic words:

Quam late regnabit enim tua gloria, cujus
Arte Chely aeternus conciliamr honos.

How wide your [Simpson's] fame will spread and hold sway,
For through your skill, eternal honour is secured for the viol.

Then there was Richard Cooke of whom Anthony a Wood wrote 'he was taken into the patronage of Sir Robert Bolles, a great encourager of music in the times of affliction and sequestration and lived in his family with Christopher Simpson for several years.'⁴² A set of four pieces by Cooke can

³⁸ L.A.O. Admin. 1663-64/157. An inventory of the household goods of Sir Robert Bolles Baronett, late of Scampton in the County of Lincoln deceased as it was taken by Robert Dawson and William Darby, March 14th, 1663.

³⁹ P.R.O. C10 53/5, 1659. Described as a ward of Sir Robert Bolles.

⁴⁰ Mace said that Sir Robert possessed two Pedals or harpsichords with pedal stops.

⁴¹ Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), Charles 11, Oct. 6th 1663

⁴² Anthony Wood: D19(4), f39, Bodleian Library, Oxford. I am indebted to Dr Andrew Ashbee for this reference

be found at the end of an important Jenkins manuscript; other pieces by him are included in Playford's *Court Airs* of 1655.⁴³

Further testimony to Sir Robert's patronage of music is voiced in the dedication by James Shirley to his play 'The Imposture' of 1652 in which he wrote:

Your indulgence to Musick and singular love to the worthy professors eminently shows the harmony of your soul and while poetry is received a Musical] part of Humane knowledge, I cannot despair of your candid entertainment. Sir, I beseech you take it as an earnest of any thoughts to serve you. I am assured it brings with it besides the acknowledgement of your last obligation upon me, ambitious desires to preserve my interest in your favour.⁴⁴

The public performance of plays was restarted late in 1659 by private sponsors, such as the performance of the Honourable Company of Grocers on 29th October 1659 in honour of Sir Thomas Allen, the then Lord Mayor, entitled 'London's Triumph'.⁴⁵ Sir Robert could have had an interest in this. Performances in private houses before this date were common and it may have been in this private sphere of dramatic activity that Sir Robert was obligated to Shirley.

The years of restricted movement at Scampton were over by 1652 or 1653. At the baptism of Anne, Sir Robert and Lady Bolles were at his house 'in High Holbourne at the Elme Tree'.⁴⁶ In February 1654/55, his name appeared on a list of suspected persons in London when he was said to be lodging near the King's Head Tavern in the parish of Sir Giles-in-the-Fields.⁴⁷ This is supported by the date of the baptism of his youngest child, Olympia in January 1654/55 in that same parish. He was also on a similar list at this time which related to the English counties.⁴⁸ In April, 1656, John, the heir, was entered as a fellow commoner at Caius College, Cambridge, at the age of fifteen.⁴⁹ Despite the earlier family support of Sidney Sussex, the college of Oliver Cromwell would not be considered a suitable place for the son of so ardent a royalist.

In 1659, Sir Robert acquired the lease of nos. 16/17 in the Great Piazza of Covent Garden. This particular building faces the parish church of St Paul's to the left of Russell Street.⁵⁰ Here in this beautiful square, designed by

⁴³ John Jenkins: 27 Fantasias and a Pavan for Tr, BB and Org. Ob Mus. Sch. MSS E. 406-409. John Playford: *Court Airs*, 1665

⁴⁴ James Shirley: *The Imposture*, from *Six New Plays* (London, 1653), B.L., E. 1226

⁴⁵ William van Lennep: *The London Stage*, Part I

⁴⁶ Parish Register of St Andrew, Holborn, Guildhall Library, London

⁴⁷ Lbl, Add. MS 31014, vol. i, List of Suspected Persons in London and Westminster, 1655-56

⁴⁸ Lbl Add. MS 34013, vol. iii, List of Suspected Persons in various English and Welsh Counties, 1655

⁴⁹ Admission Register, Caius College, Cambridge, 295

⁵⁰ F.H.W. Shepherd (ed.): *Survey of London*, vol. xxxvi, 97, Westminster City Library. The Rates Books of St Paul's Covent Garden, Overseer's Accounts, 1659, H441, Poor Rate, H4, 1663

lingo Jones, he was at the centre of London's recovering artistic life and had as neighbours

[22] many other distinguished noblemen of his day. At the beginning of the century, the Bolles had been a London-based family who acquired land in Lincolnshire. Isolated by the wars at Scampton, their roots had deepened there. The return to London must have given them great joy and hope for a better future.

In the developments which led to the return of Charles II on 29th May, 1660, General Monck played a leading role and in February of that year he gained military control of London. A printed document *A declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the late King, now residing in and about the City of London*, which was signed by supporters of General Monck, included the names of Sir Robert Bolles, Sir Roger LeStrange and Christopher Simpson.⁵¹

At the Restoration, Sir Robert's status improved dramatically. On the 9th October 1660, he was nominated to the Grand Jury for the trial of the regicides. The proceedings of the jury which were held at Hick's Hall were presided over by Sir Orlando Bridgman, who addressed the jurors as 'the Grand Inquest for the body of this County of Middlesex'. After his speech, a bill of high treason was presented against some thirty-two persons. Witnesses were called and the Grand jury returned the indictment of 'Billa vera'. The court then adjourned to the Old Bailey to approve a jury and commence the trial.⁵²

The following year in April, Sir Robert was elected one of the two members of parliament for the City of Lincoln.⁵³ On 11th May he was further elected to the Committee of Elections and Privileges.⁵⁴ He was not destined to enjoy his return to public life for long however, as he fell ill during the summer of 1663. He wrote his will on 8th July adding memoranda on the 14th. He lingered until 13th August, when at the age of 44 he died at his house in Covent Garden. His body was brought in the evening by torchlight to the church of St Swithin Stone in the City where he was buried in the family vault beside his grandfather, Sir George Bolles.⁵⁵

The will, which was witnessed by Charles Dallison, Peter Metcalfe, James Eastland, Christopher Simpson and Robert Saunderson and the memoranda by Charles Dallison, Christopher Simpson, Robert Saunderson, Philip Ayres and Theophilus Browning, reveals the sad state of his financial position.⁵⁶ The day before the will was written, he had placed all his land

⁵¹ Lbl 190. g. 13 (266), A declaration of peaceable Royalists

⁵² Cobbet's Complete Collection of State Trials, vol. v, 949

⁵³ J.H.C., April 1661

⁵⁴ I.H.C., 11th May, 1661, 246

⁵⁵ The Register of St Swithin Stone and St Mary Bothaw United, transcribed by Clifford Webb, April 1974 (typescript), Guildhall Library, London.

⁵⁶ P.R.O. Prob 11/12. The will of Sir Robert Bolles, Bt. Sir Robert left a ring with the King's head cut in a cornelian and set in plain gold to Sir Charles Dallison, described as Serjeant at Law. James Eastland, a member of a Lincolnshire family, had been secretary to Prince Rupert in 1644. Philip Ayres (1632-1712) was a poet, translator of plays and

holdings in the hands of three trustees, Sir Thomas Williamson of Great Markham (husband of Jane, the sister of Lady Bolles), Sir Edward Ayscough of South Kelsey (husband of his sister Isabella), Thomas Smith (his cousin) and their heirs. They were directed to redeem the lands mortgaged and to do everything that was reasonable to settle his affairs. The manor of Scampton was conveyed to them by Indenture of Bargain and Sale for one year upon trust that when the heir, later Sir John Bolles, should pay £7000 towards the discharge of the debts and portion of his father, limited to his younger children, then the trustees would settle and convey the Manor of Scampton to Sir John's use for life remainder.⁵⁷ Before his death, Sir Robert had also agreed to the marriage of his son John to Miss Elizabeth Pynsent, the second daughter of John Pynsent, a wealthy civil servant, who was a prothonotary

[23] of the Court of Common Pleas. The marriage portion of £7000 effectively returned Scampton to Sir John for life.⁵⁸ The wedding took place at St Andrew Holborn on 28th November 1663, when Sir John was twenty-three and his wife Elizabeth twenty. This was not the end of Sir John's financial embarrassment however, but merely a patch over immediate problems and a hope for further recovery.

Sir John was left his father's household goods, diamonds which had belonged to his grandmother, his musical instruments, clocks, watches, plate, guns, sword; and other arms, a locket set with eight diamonds and eight rubies and five rings. Christopher Simpson was left five pounds but the financial crisis which followed Sir Robert's death was so severe that the payment of this legacy and others was still outstanding after Simpson's death in 1669.⁵⁹ The depth of this crisis is patently clear in the will of the younger son Robert, who, writing in the year 1674 stated that he had not been paid the legacies left to him by his father or his grandfather.⁶⁰ Sir John Bolles was declared an outlaw for debt in 1671 and spent some three years abroad. One document returned was witnessed in Antwerp.⁶¹ The Bolles never recovered their Jacobean prosperity and the line ended in 1746 with the death of Sarah Bolles, Sir John's daughter by his second marriage to Elizabeth Corbett.⁶²

author of books and pamphlets. Robert Saunderson was described in the will, as a servant of Sir Charles Dallison.

⁵⁷ L.A.O. Misc. Docs. 251/14, Sir John Bolles, his title to the manor of Scampton

⁵⁸ L.A.O. Misc. Docs. 251/14

⁵⁹ P.R.O., Chancery Proceedings, Whittingham 106/19, 1672

⁶⁰ P.R.O. The Will of Robert Bolles, Prob. 11 345/68. Robert Bolles wrote his will on 15th April 1674, at the age of twenty-five 'designeing to adventure in His Majesties Fleete with the present Expedition of Warts by sea against the Hollanders.' He was killed in an engagement at sea in August. (P.R.O. 55, c9, 70/ 10, 1678). He had previously been apprenticed (1663) to Giles Davey, a London grocer. This attempt to make a merchant of Robert was not successful. He was said to have been very idle and keeping bad company. Finally he absented himself from his master's service and was said to have embezzled money. His will lists twenty-six persons to whom he owed money.

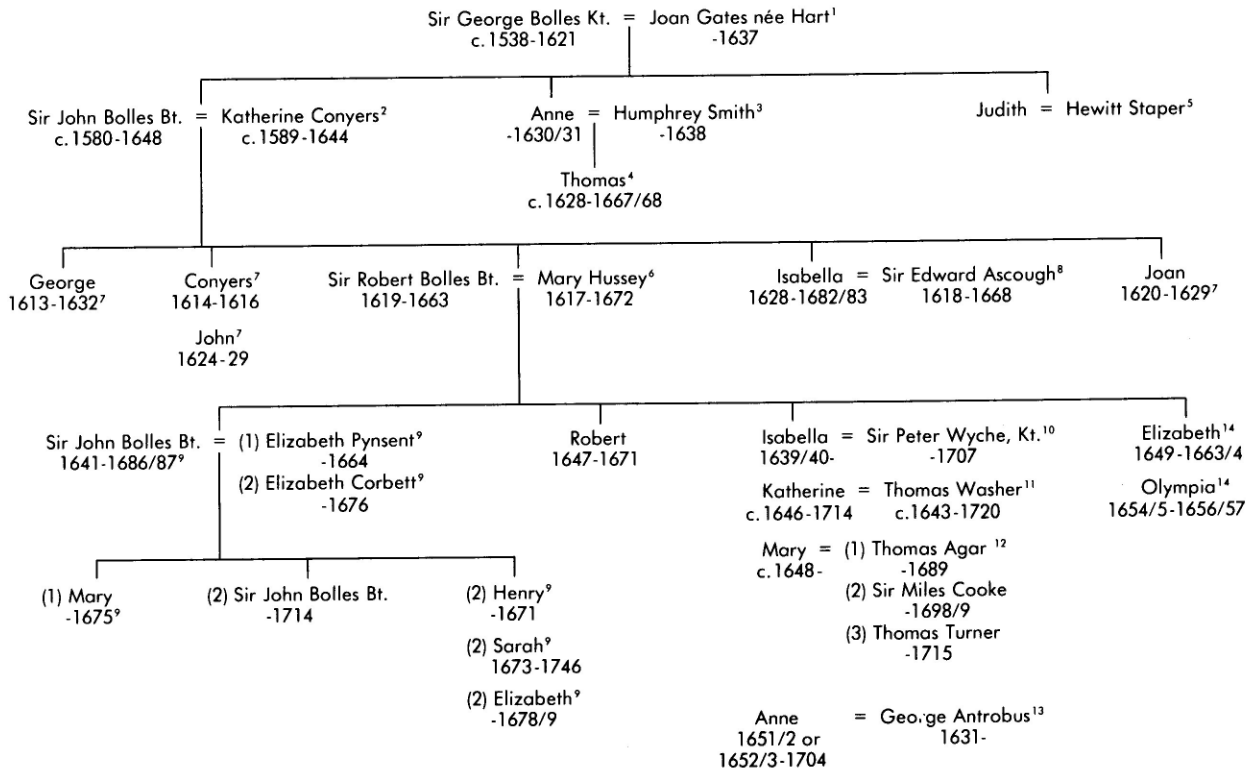
⁶¹ P.R.O., C10, Whittington, 106/19, July, 1671. See also the *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1672, 35, 217, 104-6; 1674, 101

⁶² P.R.O. Prob. 11/345. The will of Sarah Bolles of Shrewsbury, 1746

Sir Robert Bolles was an able man, deeply interested in music and the arts, whose career and inheritance were critically affected by the Civil Wars. His wartime role remains obscure. There are good reasons for believing he was at York with the Duke of Newcastle where he could have met Simpson, but he was too young to have emerged in any leading position. Since he was not a soldier, he could well have been engaged in the organisation of courtly entertainments. The activities at Scampton would suggest previous experience in circles in which music-making survived even in war-time. The length of the 'Scampton' period, imposed by the privations of defeat, gave stability and a sense of purpose to his efforts. Simpson's role was undoubtedly important and his contribution unusual. There was his virtuosic performance on the bass viol, centred in the improvisation and composition of sets of divisions, his ability to impart his skill and the clarity of thought which enabled him to analyse and present his art for the instruction of others. With so many violists of quality meeting regularly, the idea of Simpson writing a book must have been discussed and encouraged. His friendship with John Jenkins appears close and of some standing. Others who can be associated are Dr Charles Coleman, John Carwarden and Matthew Locke, all contributors to the introductory material of the first edition of 'The Division Viol' of 1659. The unusual number and quality of these plaudits suggest an affectionate camaraderie which had developed over many meetings. Another unusual feature of Simpson's work was his awareness of the European musical scene. His other compositions, the suites of dances and the programmatic 'patchwork' sonatas, have a swifter flow of harmony and dissonance and a more pronounced relationship between melody and bass than is discernable in English

[24] viol music before 1659. Thus far, we can only trace his activities from about 1642, when he served under the Duke of Newcastle in the north. We know nothing of his education, where he acquired these particular musical skills or his awareness of musical developments outside England. Sir Robert's 'sheltering' of Simpson was passed on to his son and through him to John Pynsent. The high regard in which he was held by the family appears to have overridden the fact that he was a catholic. It is a great tribute to Sir Robert that in adversity and doubtless considerable danger, he was able to provide the setting and the inspiration for the consummation of Simpson's art and to attract the principal characters for the last great scene of the history of the viol in England.

THE BOLLES FAMILY



THE BOLLES FAMILY

Various spellings of the name have been found of which Bolles appears to have been the preferred version. Others are Bowles, Boles, Bolle and Bole. The family of Sir George Bolles, Kt., descended from a younger branch of the Lincolnshire family, Bolle of Haugh and his grandson, George son of Sir John Bolles, the first baronet, was born there. Sir George's grandfather, Godfrey of Gosberton (d. c. 1532/33) had several sons, of whom Thomas was Sir George's father. Another branch of the family, stemmed from Godfrey's heir, Richard Bolle of Boston and his son Sir Charles Bolle, Kt., of Haugh. Pedigrees can be found in Burke's *Extinct Baronetage* and in some of the copies of Illingworth's *A Topographical Account of the Parish of Scampton*. The present version adds further details from various sources which are given below.

1. Joan or Joanna, the daughter and heir of Sir John Hart married firstly German Gates in 1577. The marriage to Sir George Bolles took place in St Swithin's in 1579. H.S. vol. xxv *Marriage Licences granted by the Bishop of London*.
2. Katherine Conyers was the third daughter of Thomas Conyers of East Barnett, Hertfordshire. H.S. vol. xxii *The Visitation of Hertfordshire*. Sir John and Lady Bolles were buried in Scampton Church.
3. G.E. Cockayne: *Some Account of the Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of the City of London*, 1897, 77. The funeral certificate of Anne Smith, dated January 6th, 1630/31 states that they, had four sons, George (age 26), Humphrey (age 25), John (age 14) and Thomas (age 13). College of Arms, MS 1.2.
4. L.A.O. Scampton Parish registers
5. Judith Bolles married Huett or Hewitt Staper, the second son of Richard Staper, a London merchant.
6. See H.S. *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* for an account of the Husseys of Honington. Lady Bolles was baptized at Honington on 16th July 1617, and was buried in St Swithin's on 30th November 1672.
7. L.A.O. Haugh and Scampton Parish Registers
8. See *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* for an account of the Ascoughs of South Kelsey. They were married at Scampton on the 10th September 1645. She was Sir Robert Bolles's sister and not a daughter as recorded by Burke. She was buried in St Swithin's at her own request.
9. Sir John Bolles, Sir Robert's heir, first married Elizabeth Pynsent in 1663 and secondly Elizabeth Corbett in 1668. There was one child, Mary, of the first marriage who died in 1675 and was buried as was her mother in St Swithin's. The deaths of this group can be found in *The Register of St Swithin Stone and St Mary Bothaw United*, transcribed by Clifford Webb, April 1971. A typescript is held in the Guildhall Library in London. Elizabeth Corbett was a daughter of Sir Vincent Corbett of Morton Corbett. The banns were called at Hinderwell on 20th August 1668 and presumably they were married there. Their daughter Sarah, the last of the line, was baptized in St Paul's Covent Garden in 1673.
10. Sir Peter Wyche Kt., was a grandson of Richard Wyche, a London merchant, who had married Elizabeth Saltingsall, a daughter of a Lord Mayor of London. Although Isabella, Lady Wyche bore four sons, they were outlived by their uncle

Sir Cyril Wyche, Bt., who became one of the three heirs of Sarah Bolles. He died without an heir in 1756.

11. Katherine and Thomas Washer had two sons, John and Thomas. John was one of the three heirs to the Bolles estate. His brother, the Rev. Thomas Washer of Snodland was Sir John St Barbe's godson. Their grandmother, Elizabeth, was a sister of John Pynsent. The Washers were married at St Pancras, Middlesex on 24th August 1669.

[29] 12. *The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Register of the Collegiate Church of Abbey of St Peter, Westminster*, 1876, 28n. Mary Bolles's first marriage to Thomas Agar of the Middle Temple took place either at St Martin's-in-the-Fields or in the private chapel of Clarendon House on 8th June 1671. Sir Miles Cooke was a younger son of Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, Gloucestershire. Thomas Turner of Kingston, Kent, a Master in Chancery, had also been married twice.

13. See the *Antrobus Pedigrees*, London 1929, 35, for the details of George Antrobus's family. He was the son of Henry Antrobus of Brook in Nether Knutsford, a merchant taylor of London. They were married in 1668 and had several sons, including Thomas who was baptized at St Paul's Convent Garden in 1675. She was buried at St James Clerkenwell but described as late of the parish of St Gregory.

14. Elizabeth was baptized and died at Scampton; Olympia was baptized at St Giles-in-the-Fields and died at Scampton.

[30]

THE FOUR-PART IN NOMINES OF JOHN WARD

VIRGINIA BROOKES

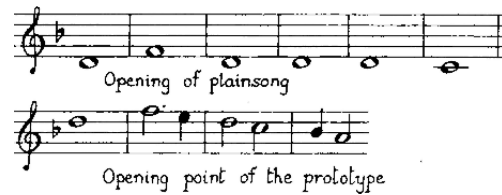
John Ward (1571-1638) is an important figure amongst the later generation of In nomine composers. He was the most prolific, (leaving five a4, one a5 and two a6, each a fine work); moreover in his set of five a4 one may see not only his experiments as a contrapuntist but also trace the development of the later species of In nomine composition from a quasi-vocal style to one which is idiomatically instrumental.

Ward's four-part In nomines are virtually unknown to the modern viol consort, never having been published in playing score, and they may also have been equally unknown to his contemporaries since they are extant in only one source, (F-Pc MS F770) a score book dating from the later years of Charles 1. His composition a5 however is to be found in four, and the two six-part In nomines in nine and eleven sources respectively. This apparent lack of enthusiasm for the four-part compositions was probably because although many of the earliest consort In nomines were in four parts, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century the five-part composition had become standard, with works a6 next in popularity. Ward was therefore reverting to an earlier and by then rather unfashionable texture; so unfashionable in fact by the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, that the compiler of one important source, GB-Lbl 31390, included only those four-part works which had been updated by the addition of a fifth part. In all the In nomine repertoire from about 1600 only two other compositions a4 exist, one each by Weelkes and Gibbons, both apparently early, immature works and both of which are to be found amongst some other very early four-part In nomines in the source GB-Ob Mus. Sch. MSS D.212-6. If the number of extant sources is any indication of contemporary popularity, the apparently unfavourable reception given to Ward's four-part works was amply compensated for by the popularity particularly of his six-part In nomines.

The In nomine was already about seventy years old when Ward applied himself to it and it had undergone changes in keeping with the general changes which occurred between the years when one compositional style prevailed whatever the resources, and the assumption of a more specifically instrumental style which was no longer suitable for voices. By Ward's lifetime instrumental and vocal music had assumed their separate identities and one receives a strong impression that although no instrumental designation is given (indeed there is no designation for any In nomine apart from one duet for keyboard) the viol consort is implied.

The consort *In nomine*, like most other consort music of the time, is constructed on a series of imitative points worked one after the other in the free parts around the *cantus firmus*. The working of each point is concluded by a cadence after which a new point is introduced so that most *In nomines* fall into clearly defined sections each identified by the working of a specific point. The first point in very

[31] many *In nomines* is one based on the first notes of the plainsong as in the prototype, and this relatively simple opening usually belies what is to follow.



The melodic material from which the *In nomine's* points are constructed varies between arched vocal-style phrases and more specifically instrumental ones. Many *In nomines* contain a mixture of both types, usually starting with a vocal-style point and progressing to the more exciting instrumental material. As an extreme example of this variety, William Munday's *In nomine* no. 2¹ opens with a point based on the plainsong.

bar 1



By bar sixteen the music has become rhythmically complex and during the last quarter it degenerates into an exercise in conflicting duple and triple rhythms. In Byrd's *In nomine* a5 no. 4² a single point is transformed from its first appearance as



to



and becomes



by bar 41.

¹ For a printed edition see Paul Doe, (ed.): *Musica Britannica*, xlv, 'Elizabethan Consort Music: I' (London, 1979), no. 54

² Printed edition see Kenneth Elliot, (ed.): *Collected Works of William Byrd*, xvii, 'Consort Music' (London, 1971)

The leisurely opening point in Gibbons's *In nomine* a5³



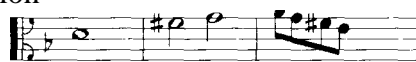
(each entry of which is concluded with an elaborate little cadence figure) never completely disappears, but is enveloped in counterpoint which becomes increasingly complex so that by bar 52 virtuosic sequential figures dominate the composition:



[32] In spite of the wide variety of melodic material and its varied treatment, the structure of the *In Nomine*, with its succession of points worked one after another, is almost invariably the same. In almost the entire repertoire only Ward's five *In nomine*s a4 differ from this plan in that he opens his compositions with not one, but two or even three points which are worked concurrently throughout the first section before being replaced by the more conventional single point. Apart from this, Ward's construction is traditional enough with four or five sections of continuous counterpoint, each section clearly defined by its point.

Ward's counterpoint tends to be strictly imitative so that he sometimes achieves exact repetition both of vertical and horizontal sections. His counterpoint tends to be characterised by sharply-defined lively figures which include such idiomatic string writing as rapid repeated-notes, quick arpeggiated figures and leaping octaves. He sets the *cantus firmus* conventionally on D and in the second voice part in his four-part works, though in his larger scale *In nomine*s he varies both the position and the tonality. His initial counterpoint never reflects the opening notes of the plainsong, although the traditional first phrase is to be found throughout the repertoire, and it is his predilection for introducing more than one point at the opening of the work which give his four-part *In nomine*s their unique character.

In Ward's *In nomine* no. 1, the only one of the set with the additional title 'Fantasia', the first point starts with the interval of a major third each time it enters, belying the minor third of the first notes of the *cantus firmus* when it enters in bar 4. It is the second point however which dominates the first section



First Point of the first section



Second point of the first section

of the work and which by bar 20 is presented fused to the first one. A cadence concluded on the first beat of bar 31 completes the first section of the work in which although two points are introduced together, one

³ Printed edition see Thurston Dart and William Coates, (eds.): *Musica Britannica, ix, Jacobean Consort Music* (London, 1955), no. 52

predominates over the other. The second section opens with a point more specifically instrumental than the previous ones and is worked into each of the voice parts before the music reverts to a more vocal style, in longer note values.

In In nomine no. 2 three points are introduced concurrently in the first section and each receives equal treatment. Point (a)



is followed at the distance of one crotchet beat by (b)



[33] and then three crotchet beats later by (c)



Although (b) and (c) might be regarded as a variation on, the same point, with Ward's regard for strict imitation it seems more likely that they are intended as three points, even though two are so similar. So exact is Ward's imitation in this work that bars 9 and 10 are an almost literal reproduction of bars 1 and 2; and bars 5 and 15 are almost identical. The first twenty-five bars are a close working of these three points, which produces some satisfying contrary motion. The second section of the work is more conventional, though the point contains a consistently sharpened third, which again conflicts with the minor thirds of the plainsong; and it is not until the third section that the work begins to exhibit any truly idiomatic string writing with the introduction of this point in bar 60.



The third In nomine is in a more truly idiomatic string style than any of its predecessors and falls into several sections of continuous counterpoint, each clearly defined by the new points. During the first fifteen bars three very distinct points are worked concurrently by the three free voice parts, each voice starting with a different point and having each in succession.



The points are announced in the top voice part in the order (a) (b) (c) (a) (b) and then in the third part as (b) (c) (a) (b) (c) and the order in the lowest part is (c) (a) (b) (c) (a) (b). This means that there is an almost complete repetition of the opening music during bars 8-11. The second section of the work starts in bar 16 with a new point worked in all the free voice parts, its angular lines providing precise and shapely contrapuntal figures well suited to exact repetition.

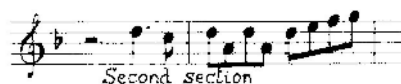


[34] This new point is interrupted between bars 25 and 31 by the reappearance of the three opening points each one of which is heard in succession in the free parts though in a different order from before. The interpolation of previously heard material into the working of a new point is unusual enough to be of special interest. The final section of the work demands particular agility from the bass player.

Two points are introduced together in the first section of In nomine no. 4. They are similar in construction and operate both independently and as a pair of answering phrases.



The simultaneous working of these points during the first thirty-two bars produces a clear, crisp texture with a good driving force behind it. The instrumental character of the music is reinforced with the introduction of the point which defines the second section of the work



and still further by the next point in the third section



which finally becomes fragmented as the imitation disintegrates, bringing the work to a sparkling conclusion.

In nomine no. 5⁴, the last of the four-part works, is perhaps the most exciting and truly instrumental piece in the set. Three contrasting points (examples (a) (b) and (c))

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 29



[35] are worked together in the first section and their order is so organised that unlike *In nomine* no. 3 there is no repetition of sections of the music. The closely worked scale passages of the second section are followed in the third by a point with a distinctly 'brassy' fanfare flavour. The final point is announced simultaneously in the two lower voices and is a figure familiar to string compositions after about 1600 (but rarely used in an *In nomine*) and one which lends itself to effortless sequential repetition.



Ward has used this figure both in single and in paired entries above or below more slowly moving free counterpoint and it is the only appearance of sequence in this set of *In nomines*. In the final section there is more use of chromaticism than in any other of Ward's *In nomines* and the consistent E flats in the free parts when the cantus firmus is on F (as it is much of the time between bars 84 and 100) results in a gravitation towards B flat major. This is technically the most demanding of Ward's *In nomines* a4 as well as being the most varied and imaginative.

As a set these five works are particularly interesting: not only do they contain some unusual contrapuntal techniques for the time, which enable us to trace Ward's thoughts as a developing composer, but also they chronicle the progress of the later *In nomine* and indeed of instrumental music of the period generally from a relatively undemanding vocally-conceived composition to one which calls for a new degree of technical competence, particularly from the bass player.

[36]

CLEMENT WOODCOCK'S APPOINTMENT AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

ROBERT FORD

Clement Woodcock's five surviving instrumental works have earned him the reputation of one of the more competent of the early writers of consort music. To date, however, only two pieces of biographical information have surfaced. These involve on the one hand Woodcock's demonstrable association with Chichester Cathedral from 1570 or 1571 until his death in 1589, and on the other hand the connection between the composer and Lbl Add. MS 31390, a *Tafelbuch* of consort music, which Warwick Edwards has suggested.¹ It can now be shown that in the half-decade immediately prior to taking up his post at Chichester, Woodcock was employed at Canterbury Cathedral.

Woodcock's date and place of birth are unknown, but can be surmised from the evidence now at hand. To work backwards for a moment: on 6 October 1574 the Dean and Chapter of Chichester passed an Act that 'John Wodcocke was by the Dean's order, admitted chorister from Michaelmas last.'² This was assuredly a son, aged between eight and ten, of Clement Woodcock, then Organist and Master of the Choristers. Woodcock must therefore have married—probably sometime in his twenties—no later than about 1565. It was about this time that he arrived at Canterbury Cathedral. A birth-date between 1540 and 1545 seems reasonable.

Clement Woodcock cannot have been the son of the Laurence Woodcock who was an important figure at Chichester. Thurston Dart, in his musical jaunt through W. D. Peckham's transcriptions of the Act Books of Chichester, mentions all three Woodcocks as a 'Chichester family' but does not pursue the matter.³ Ecclesiastical historians have since done some work on Chichester and its clerics and we are their beneficiaries.

Laurence Woodcock was a student and fellow at New College, Oxford, from 1508 to 1520, whence he had a B.C.L. in 1516-7 and a B.Can.L. in 1532. In 1522 he was one of the first appointees to one of Bishop Sherburne's 'Wiccamicall' Prebends at Chichester—the point of

¹ For Woodcock's career at Chichester see W. D. Peckham's *The Acts of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, 1545-1642*, Sussex Record Society vol. Iviii (1959) and Thurston Dart's article derived from this, 'Music and Musicians at Chichester Cathedral, 1545-1642', *Music and Letters* xlii, 3 (July, 1961), 221-226. The discussion of Lbl Add. MS 31390 in Warwick Edwards's unpublished PhD dissertation 'The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music (Cambridge, 1974) is on 90-97.

² Peckham: *op. cit.*, 92, no. 789.

³ Dart: *op. cit.*, 225-226.

which was that these new Prebends would be genuinely resident at the cathedral. Woodcock held a great number of clerical appointments—two Prebends, two Deaneries of exempt status, and at various times, a number of parochial benefices. He resigned all except one parochial benefice in 1560, which has given rise to the speculation that he was a Romanist in his religious beliefs. He died in 1567.⁴

In the early 1540s, when we surmise Clement Woodcock was born, Laurence Woodcock was at the height of his career. Clerical marriage was not legal in England until 1549, and would scarcely have been considered by a Roman Catholic priest in any case. It is nonetheless possible, even likely, that the older man was the younger's uncle; any nepotism involved in the musician's appointment at Chichester, however, would have been of a posthumous sort, since Laurence was

[37] dead long before Clement arrived on the scene. The entry in Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis* on Laurence supplies the information that he was of St Dunstan-in-the-East, London.⁵ Indeed, a number of London parishes teem with Woodcocks during this period, and included among them were Aldermen and rich merchants.⁶ Unfortunately many of the extant registers do not begin until the 1550s, and Clement's name has not yet surfaced. Nonetheless, a birth in London and a career as a boy chorister at one of the London/Westminster choral establishments seem quite feasible.

Clement Woodcock spent some five years at Canterbury Cathedral. His appointment there was heralded by a letter from the eminent Nicholas Wotton (*c.* ? 1497-1567), privy councillor, former secretary of state, foreign ambassador *par excellence*, and Dean of both York and Canterbury Cathedrals. From March of 1565 until mid-1566 Wotton was at Bruges negotiating trade arrangements with the merchants there. From

⁴ As sources for Laurence Woodcock's life, see W.D. Peckham: *The Acts of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, 1472-1544 (The White Act Book)*, Sussex Record Society vol. lii (for 1951-1952) and Joseph Foster: *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford: 1891), vol. iv 1674. For a conspectus of Woodcock's career at Chichester, see M.J. Kitch: 'The Chichester Cathedral Clergy at the Time of the Reformation' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. cxvi (1978), 277-292; 283; see also the sources noted here. For the possibility that Woodcock resigned because of 'conscience' see Timothy J. McCann: 'The Clergy and the Elizabethan Settlement in the Diocese of Chichester' in *Studies in Sussex Church History*, ed. M.J. Kitch (London, 1981), 99-123, 107 and *passim*.

⁵ See Foster: *op. cit.*; unfortunately, Laurence Woodcock does not mention Clement (or any other relation) in his will (West Sussex Record Office (WSRO) STA I/A f.5) dated 23 March 1560 and proved 7 September 1567, thus closing one avenue towards connecting the two men.

⁶ From the various volumes printed by the Harleian Society it is clear that substantial numbers of sixteenth-century Woodcocks lived in many London parishes, including St Peter's Cornhill, St James Clerkenwell, Christ Church, Newgate, St Margaret Moses, Friday Street, St Olave Hart Street, St Clement East Cheap, St Mary Aldermanbury (including the Alderman, Ralph Woodcock) and St Lawrence Jewry. Unfortunately, the unprinted first register for St Dunstan-in-the-East (London, Guildhall MS 7857/1) does not begin until 1558.

Bruges on 17 September 1565 he wrote this letter to his Chapter at Canterbury:

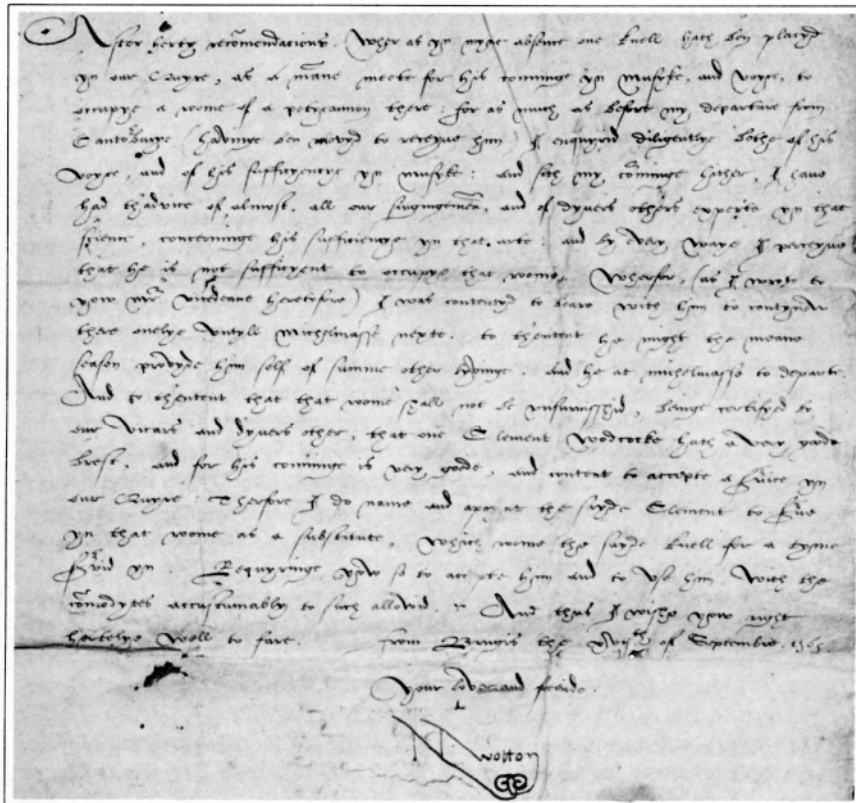


Plate I: A Letter by Nicholas Wotton to his Chapter at Canterbury; (Bruges, 17 September 1565)

[38] To my lovinge Brethren
Mr vicedeane and the Chapitre
of Christchurche yn Cantorbery
these be delyverd.

After herty recommendations. Wher as yn myne absence one Knell hath ben placyd yn our Quyre, as a manne meete for his conninge yn musyke, and voyce, to occupye a roome of a petycannon there: for as much as before my departure from Cantorburye (havige ben movyd to receyve him) I enquyred diligently bothe of his voyce, and of his sufficiencye yn musyke: and sith my comminge hither, I have had th'advise of, almost, all our singingemen, and of dyvers others experte yn that science, concerninge his sufficiencye yn that arte: and by every waye I perceyve that he is not sufficyent to occupye that roome. Wherfor, (as I wrot to yow mr vicedeane heretofore) I was contentyd to beare with him to contynew there onelye untill michelmasse nexte. to th'entent he might the meane season provyde him self of summe other lyvinge. and he at michelmasse to departe. And to th'entent that that roome shal not be unfurnisshid, beinge certifyed by our vicars and dyvers other, that one Clement Wodcocke hath a very goode brest, and for his conninge is very goode, and content to accept a service yn our Quyre: Therefore I do name and apoynt the sayde Clement to serve yn that roome as a substitute, which roome the sayd Knell for a tyme servid yn. Requyringe yow so to accepte him and to use him with the commodytes accustomed to such allowid. And thus I wishe you right herteley well to fare.

from Brugis the xvijth of September 1565
Your lover and frende.
N Wotton (AS)⁷

The matter of the election and admission of the lesser ministers of cathedral foundations was from time to time at different places a problem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The strict reading of the Letters Patent and of the Statutes of Henry VIII's New Foundations gave these privileges to the Dean alone and to the Vice-Dean and Chapter only when the Dean was absent.⁸ In 1547 the Royal Visitors had had to deal with a complaint from the Canterbury Chapter against Wotton and had concluded that by 'absence' was meant the Dean's being out of the country.⁹ By the seventeenth century, on the other hand, it had become the case in most cathedrals that appointments were made by the Chapter with or without the Dean. The last pre-Civil War Dean of Canterbury, Isaac Bargrave (Dean, 1625-1643), attempted to reassert his rights in a series of actions that created a feud of major proportions, and which was settled only after a number of interventions by the Archbishop and a special Chapter Act solemnizing the compromises which were worked out.¹⁰

Wotton, however, was a powerful man, and his word seems to have carried weight even when, in fact, he was out of the country. The survival of Wotton's letter appointing Woodcock probably attests to the Chapter's desire to keep a record of this slightly irregular appointment, and it may have been produced as evidence during the strife of the early seventeenth century.

Wotton's very active interest in the music at the cathedral is worthy of note, and even more so since, for all his travelling, he could scarcely have visited there much more often than his required periods of residence. Wotton's interest in

⁷ This letter is found in Canterbury Cathedral Archives, 'Box in the Basement A'. It is given a *literatim* transcription here aside from the expansion of double *m/n* and *er* abbreviations.

⁸ The Henrician Statutes, as found for example, in Canterbury Cathedral Archives Lit. MS e.34, specify that the lesser ministers 'eligentur autem per decanum aut eo absente per vicem decani et capituli;' the Letters Patent (same source) allow even less doubt.

⁹ See Walter H. Frere, (ed.): *Visitation Article and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* Alcuin Club, vols. xiv-xvi (London, 1910), vol. ii 140-142; the dispute was renewed at the time of Archbishop Parker's Visitation of 1573-4 (*op. cit.*, vol. iii 362), when Matthew Godwin was Dean.

¹⁰ The special Chapter Act of 24 June 7 Charles I, 'ordered to be laid in the Chest,' resulted in the defeat of the Dean 'for the maintenance of peace and charity for the time of Mr Deanes continuance in his place without prejudice to the right either of his Successors or the Prebends.' (Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Add. MS 51, no. 25). The amended statutes given to the cathedral by Archbishop Laud in 1635/6 ended the dispute by changing the wording of Statute 22 to 'Eligentur autem per decanum et capitulum;' see *The Statutes of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ, Canterbury* (privately printed for the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, 1925), 44-47.

[39] music in general is easily demonstrated; several of his letters mention music and the high esteem in which he holds it, and a number of musical instruments are mentioned in his will. In one letter, written on 9 August 1539, while he was still only Rector of Ivychurch, Wotton wrote to his secretary about his need for two servants: ‘& for because I am often tymes soow solitarye, I wold have suche as canne synge & playe upon sume instrument, yf they cowde speake latyn besyde: or any other strawnge langwige, I wolde lyke theym the better.’¹¹ Woodcock’s career as an instrumental composer and, presumably as a viol player as well lends credence to the possibility that he too had served in someone’s household during his youth, perhaps the household of someone well-known to Dean Wotton.

The importance attached to the cathedral’s music at this time is also revealed by the willingness of the Dean and Chapter to do without a clerical musician, a Minor Canon, as was required by the church’s statutes, in favour of a better musician who was a layman—a ‘Substitute’ or, as he is referred to in some cathedral records, a ‘Conduct.’ During the 1560s and 1570s Minor Canons, formerly not expected to do much more than plainsong chanting, began to take their places among the performers of polyphonic music. Thus, the concept of the ‘Substitute’ had been initiated some years earlier at Canterbury in order to deal with an acute shortage in the number of clergy, and especially in the number ‘meete for [their] conninge yn musyke, and voyce, to occupye a roome of a petycannon.’ This is one of the few cases where such a change in the cathedral’s establishment was not made in the first instance for financial purposes; the Canons of the Chapter could pay the laymen less than their clerical counterparts. Canterbury was not alone in utilizing this scheme (Rochester did also, for instance), but was the only cathedral known to this author to continue its use into the seventeenth century and beyond. At Canterbury the post, like that of a junior vicar-choral in some of the Old Foundation Cathedrals, was regarded by Chapter and incumbent alike as a stepping-stone to a full lay-clerkship, with its higher rate of pay.

Thomas Knell, B.A. seems to have been admitted by the Chapter at Canterbury, as the Dean’s letter implies he was, at the St Katherine’s Chapter (November/ December) 1563. The Chapter Acts from the period were badly burned in the late seventeenth century and the act survives only in fragmentary form.¹² The Treasurers’ Books attest to Knell’s having been paid from first term 1563-4 (beginning Michaelmas) until

¹¹ Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Christ Church Letters, vol. i, f.3 (document 3).

¹² See the Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Act Book for 1561 to 1568, f.34v; Knell’s B.A. degree is well attested through various sources, but there are only two possible candidates from the *Alumni* lists of Oxford and Cambridge—a Thomas Newall, an Oxford B.A. of 19 February 1543-4 (Foster, *op. cit.* vol. iii 1058—probably not our man, given the early date) and a Thomas Nevel, who was a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1560 (John and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienris; Part I from the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-27), vol. iii 244—a very plausible identification).

the fourth term of 1564-5 (ending at Michaelmas).¹³ This again accords with the chronology presented in the Dean's letter, where he allowed Knell to remain at Canterbury until Michaelmas (29 September) 1565. Although Knell's personal history is not entirely known, he is recorded as having held a great number of parochial posts in quick succession before and especially after his stay at Canterbury.¹⁴ His degree and perhaps some special patronal connections as well seem to have kept him employed—but not as a singer!

Woodcock appears in all the surviving Treasurers' Books at Canterbury between the first term of 1566-7 (the book for 1565-6 is missing) until the fourth

[40] term of 1568-69 (the books for 1569-70 and 1570-1 are also missing), having been granted a full lay clerk's place beginning in the second term of 1567-8. In the course of the year 1566-7 he was paid for serving as consultant to one of the lay clerks who was seeing to the copying of new music books:

[Solut] ... Ac Ricardo Coaste uno laicorum clericorum ecclesie predicte pro penis suis in facturis et picturis canticlorum pro choro xliijs et Clementi Wodcoke uno conductorum in eadem ecclesia pro consilibus suis penis xx.s¹⁵

We know that Woodcock was certainly at Canterbury as late as July 1570, when his name was included on the schedule of those summoned to appear at the Archbishop's Visitation on the second of that month.¹⁶ He duly appeared and exhibited against someone in or something about the church on 4 July.¹⁷ Perhaps these unknown complaints, if they were to surface, would explain Woodcock's removal to Chichester.

Dart, following the Chichester Act Books, places Woodcock's earliest mention as Master of the Choristers on 21 November 1571; the formal accounts of the cathedral, however, show him being paid 53s. 4d. as organist for the whole year from Michaelmas 1570 to Michaelmas 1571; this coincides more precisely with his last appearance at Canterbury only

¹³ These dates are derived from the Treasurers' Rough Accounts - the Treasurers' Books (Misc. Accounts 40) - and the formal New Foundation Accounts at the Canterbury Cathedral Archives (NF 5).

¹⁴ For Knell's various appointments, see the first Register of Archbishop Parker as published in W.F. Frere (ed.): *Registrum Matthei Parker, Diocesis Cantuariensis, A.D. 1559-1575*, trans. E. Margaret Thompson, Canterbury and York Society Publications, vols. xxxv, xxxvi and xxxix (Oxford, 1928-1933), 570, 768, 857 and 863 (Warehorne 1559/60 and Lyming, 1569) and George Hennessey: *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898), lxx, 113, 144, and 178, with their notes (St Nicholas Acon, Hackney and St Bride's, Fleet Street). The Thomas Knell who was minister at Ashford in 1552 (see *Archaeologia Cantiana* viii, 102) may or may not have been the same man—perhaps the 1543-4 Oxford graduate). After he resigned his last London appointment on 23 March 1573/4 (St Bride's, Fleet Street), Knell is heard of no more in the dioceses of London and Canterbury.

¹⁵ New Foundation Account no. 5; all abbreviations have been expanded.

¹⁶ *Registrum Matthei Parker, op. cit.*, 535.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 541.

two months earlier.¹⁸ From this point, Woodcock's career as Organist, Master of the Choristers and Priest Vicar (from 1 April 1574, which means that he must have taken orders not too long before) can be followed from a reading of the Chapter Acts and Communars' Accounts. He was paid supplements at various times in his career, in token of the importance he had within the musical establishment at the cathedral. His death in early 1590 (he was buried in the Subdeanery on 9 February 1589/90 and administration of his goods was granted to his wife Agnes on 18 March 1589/90) cut short his enjoyment of the living of Rumboldswyke, to which he had been presented by an appreciative Chapter on 7 November 1589.¹⁹

Finally, we must take up the question of Clement Woodcock's relationship to Lbl Add. MS 31390, one of the most important sources of Elizabethan consort music.²⁰ Warwick Edwards' plausible theory that Woodcock was the copyist of this anthology must now be discarded; the eight signatures surviving in the Canterbury Treasurers' Books for 1567-8 and 1568-9 can in no way be reconciled with any of the writing in this manuscript.²¹ I give an example in Plate II. This is not to deny the possibility that Clement was known to the compiler (probably a man named Worm or Wormall), who certainly had Chichester connections; the Organist and Master of the Choristers was especially well-placed to serve as a conduit for the consort repertory, since the teaching of viols to the boys was doubtless part of his job. But, unfortunately, we cannot ascribe the writing of one of the era's most impressive manuscripts to one of its better-known composers.

[41]

¹⁸ WSRO Cap. 1/23/3, f.125v., under *feoda*.

¹⁹ Woodcock's burial is noted in W.D. Peckham: 'The Vicars Choral of Chichester Cathedral, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. lxxviii (1937), 126-159-151; his administration is on f 10. of WSRO STD iii/ 1; and the presentation (with a date differing from both notices in the Chapter Acts—Peckham, 1545-1642, *op. cit.*, 123-124) is in WSRO Ep iii/2.

²⁰ See Edwards' dissertation, *op. cit.*, and, for an inventory of this manuscript, Jeremy Noble: 'Repertoire Instrumental Anglais (1550-1585)' in Jean Jacquot (ed.): *La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance* (Paris, CNRS, 1955), 91-114.

²¹ Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Misc. Accounts 40.

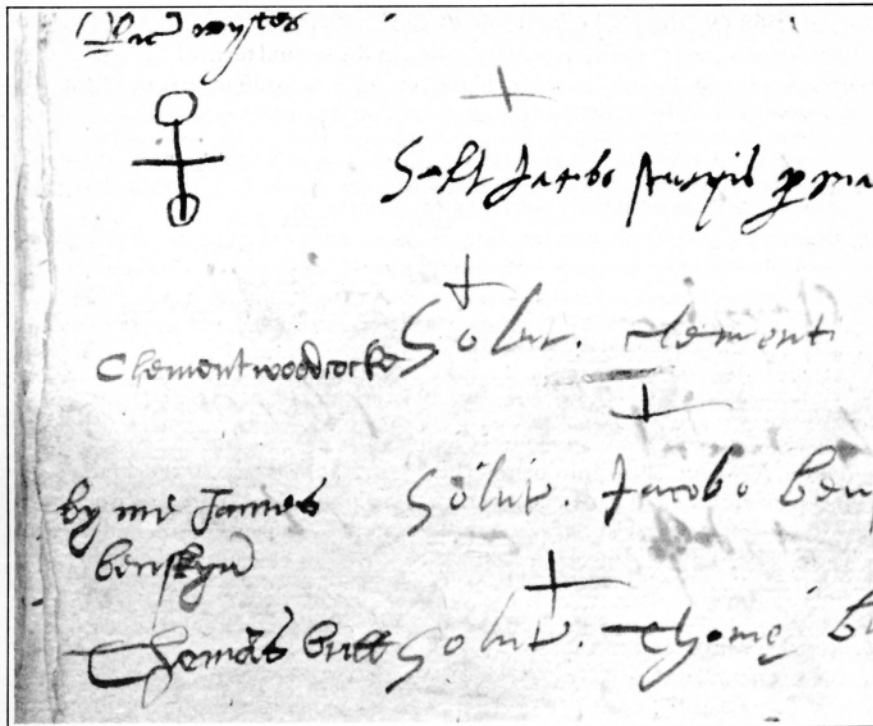


Plate II: Clement Woodcock's signature (and others); Canterbury Treasurers' Books for 1567-9

Postscript:

Dr. Ian Payne's article 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, c.1594-c.161 Archival and Biographical Evidence' (*M&L*, lxxviii (April, 1987), 128-140) came to my attention while this article was being sent to print. In a note on page 132 he demonstrates that Clement Woodcock was a Lay Clerk at King's College, Cambridge, for all of the year 1562-3 (King's College Archives, Mundum Book for 1562-3, under 'Pensioner.'). It was doubtless thence that he came to Canterbury.

[44]

Benjamin Hely: *The Compleat Violist*.

Edited by Hermelinde Klemt.

The tutor 'The Compleat Violist or An Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Viol' published in 1699 is now available in facsimile edited by Hermelinde Klemt. The English facsimile has been translated into German with the usual introductory material in German.

It is uncertain whether the tutor itself is by Hely but much of the unaccompanied music in the book was composed by 'the late famous master Benjamin Hely'. The teaching material itself is of little value to viol players—there is a section on basic rudiments and only some brief information on holding the viol and bow.

The bulk of the book consists of a series of graded pieces for unaccompanied viol. Although the easiest psalm tunes are in the treble clef ('being chiefly designed for young Practitioners') they are for performance on the bass viol, the treble viol having died out some years before; these tunes are ornamented in seventeenth-century style with shakes, beats, forefalls and backfalls, and thus throw an interesting light on performance-practice at the end of the century. There follows a series of airs and dances using treble, alto and bass clefs, again ornamented appropriately in the same style. It is, however, the later pieces in the book by Hely which are of the greatest musical worth. The concluding two suites of unaccompanied bass viol music in A minor and A major (available in a modern edition together with his 6 Sonatas for two bass viols and continuo in 'The King's Musick' Series) are fine works, each having the customary Almand, Courant, Saraband and Gigg, which present a challenge to the viol player.

IAN GRAHAM-JONES

[44]

J. S. Bach *Three Sonatas for Viola da Gamba (Viola) and Harpsichord BWV 1027-1029*. Edited by Hans Eppstein. Bärenreiter, 1987. £8.99

J. S. Bach *Sonatas BWV 1027-1029 for Viola da Gamba (Violoncello) and Obligato Harpsichord*. Edited by Lucy Robinson. Faber Music, 1987. £9.50

Our appetites for new editions of these works were whetted by Lucy Robinson's article in Chelys vol. 14 (1985). She mentions there three imminent editions; that by Lawrence Drefus for Peters is still to come, but meanwhile another has appeared from Heugel, edited by Jean-Louis Charbonnier (each Sonata separately at £8.25). In appearance the Heugel version is neat, though perhaps a little small; readers of Chelys will not be concerned that it includes no alternative to the gamba part, but its failure to correct the handful of mistakes in the Bach-Gesellschaft text makes it less acceptable than the two editions listed above; and there is no point in spending £8.25 for one sonata when you can get better

[45] editions of all three for so little more.

The Bärenreiter edition is reproduced from Series VI vol. /I of the Neue Bach Ausgabe. It omits the five pages of facsimiles, and has an ill-translated Preface, with references to the piano and the tenor-bass gamba (meaning a normal six-string bass); it gives some information on the hypothetical original versions of the works, but nothing on the musical text. The music is printed very boldly; the appearance is in fact a little disproportionate without the larger margins of the NBA printing. The cream paper is more relaxing on the eyes than Faber's brilliant white. The Faber edition has the advantage of a thorough introduction by the editor (in English, German and French), together with a page on the sources by John Butt and a critical commentary. Eventually, there will be thorough commentary to NBA VI. 4, but meanwhile the additional information available in the Faber edition must make it the obvious choice for the inquisitive and conscientious player. Faber also includes two pages of well-chosen facsimiles. This is particularly important for showing the ambiguity of slurs; both editors agree on their interpretation in the harpsichord part at the end of the *Adagio* of the Sonata in G, but Bärenreiter gives the performer no clue that there is any doubt. Both editions generally concur in their interpretation of the sources, with some differences from older editions.

My preference is for Faber; but Bärenreiter is probably better for those who just want a clear edition to play from and are not concerned about editorial problems.

CLIFFORD BARTLETT

[45]

George Frideric Handel *Sonatas: Violin and Basso Continuo*.

Urtext Edition by Donald Burrows. Peters, 1985 [1987].

2 vols. £10.50, £ 11.00

Our concept of the canon of Handel's music for solo instrument and continuo has been transformed over the last few years. Chrysander's augmented opus has been replaced by a new standard, the separate Faber editions of the flute, recorder and violin sonatas and the Nova edition of the oboe sonatas. So does this new Peters edition have anything to offer? It is certainly larger than the Faber, whose *The complete sonatas for violin and basso continuo* contains only five works (HWV 358, 361, 364, 359a & 371). The contents of the Peters volumes are as follows, described by the Chrysander opus number, the Faber sonata number and the HWV number:

- | | | |
|---------|--------|--|
| Vol. I | p. 6: | Sonata in G minor (op. 1/6; Faber no. 3; HWV 364) |
| | p. 16: | Sonata in D minor (cf. op. 1/Ib; Faber no.4; HWV 359a) |
| | p.28: | Sonata in A (op. 1/3; Faber no.2; HWV 361) |
| | p.40: | Sonata in D minor (op. 1//9; HWV 367x) |
| | p.58: | Sonata in A (op.1/14; HWV 372) |
| | p.68: | Sonata in E (op.1/15; HWV 373) |
| Vol. II | p. 5: | Sonata in G (Faber no. 1; HWV 358) |
| | p.12: | Sonata in D (op. 1/13; Faber no. 5; HWV 371) |
| | p.29: | Sonata in G minor (op. 1/10; HWV 368) |
| | p.38: | Sonata in F (op. 1/ 11; HWV 369) |
| | p.58: | Sonata a Cinque (HWV 288) |
| | p.74: | Allegro in C minor (HWV 408) |
| | p.78: | Sonatina from <i>Il Trionfo del Tempo</i> |
| | p.80: | Sonata movement in A minor (HWV 412) |
| | p.82: | Fantasia in A (HWV 406) |
| | p.85: | Allegro (unaccompanied) in G (HWV 407) |

The four sonatas from the traditional set of six which are spurious (op. 1/10, 11, 14 & 15) have been included here: I suspect that pressure from the publisher (teachers still expect their pupils to learn them) has limited the clearest sign-posting of their status, but the editor is unequivocal about it. Their presence, though, does mean that what might have been one volume has been expanded to two, with the consequent increase in price. But the other additions to the Faber set are justified. It is convenient that several smaller works are gathered together, and the presentation of the *Sonata a Cinque* in a version for violin and keyboard was long overdue. (Peters also issue it separately for £3.50; orchestral parts are available from the present writer.) Both Faber and Peters include a separate bass part.

The editor is one of our foremost Handelian scholars, so the detailed musicological and textual work has been thoroughly done, and he has been well-served by his publisher. I would have preferred a general paragraph about

appropriate dynamics in the introduction concerning their addition to the musical text; but they are not too obtrusive and at least are bracketed. When writing about the edition a few months ago, I noted the tendency to make the harpsichord part go a little high; that was then a theoretical matter, but having since used the edition and forced myself to play the written part (after so many years of trying to ignore editorial realisations, that is quite difficult!) I can only reaffirm that the principle of keeping the hands as close together as possible is disregarded too often here. In that respect Peter Holman's versions for Faber are preferable.

This is certainly the most comprehensive collection of Handel's violin music. Many users will already have the Faber edition; unless they are utter Handel enthusiasts, they should just buy the separate version of the Sonata a Cinque. But if I was starting from scratch, I would favour Peters unless I was certain that I would never need any of the spurious sonatas nor want the other items it alone contains.

CLIFFORD BARTLETT

Byrd Consorts a3 and a5 and *Tomkins Complete Consorts a6* each with score and parts, edited by George Hunter. Northwood Editions.

When the review copies arrived, my initial reaction upon seeing them was longing to sit down with a trusted consort of viols to play through the music. Here were sets of parts practical, clear, pleasing to the eye, with each volume containing a good meal for the viol player's evening consumption, where no time need be lost searching for the next piece, or in distributing more parts. Jug looking through the books, I found myself welcoming them, my confidence in the editor burgeoning. Here, surely, was someone who understood the enthusiasm; problems and potential pitfalls of the keen viol player; the layout is clear an open, carefully avoiding page-turns within a piece; the notes themselves at neither too big nor too small, the clefs are sympathetically chosen and the nigh help is given at the right time to enable one safely to shoot the rhythmic rapids in which Byrd, in particular, delights.

A dip into the introductory material increased this sense of joyful anticipation it is informative, interesting, scholarly and eminently readable, itself imbue with an infectious enthusiasm. All sources are given and the textual commentary is copious.

Byrd Three Part Consorts - Four Fantasies. £7.00 (July/August, 1987)

MSS of Fantasies 1 and 2 appear in two different sources in keys a fourth apart Fantasy no. 3 also appears in two keys in different sources and this fortuitous fact has inspired the editor to offer the first three fantasies in this collection in both high and low keys, thus increasing their possible use. No. 4 is in one key only since its wider range would render it uncomfortable to play in transposition. Fantasies 1, 2 and 3 are offered, therefore, with clefs treble, tenor and bass for the higher settings and with two alto clefs and bass for the lower. In every case much prefer the lower keys and indeed have grown very fond of no. 2, low on the treble (as it appears in English Consort Series 11). Northwood's edition, unless you have the luxury of an alto-clef-reading treble player, does not provide for this combination.

The first three fantasies are typical 'rounded' Byrd, meditative and calm, no. 3 being a mere 18 perfect bars long; Fantasy no. 4, the source of which exists only in a keyboard version, is interesting in that, although experts all agree that it started out as a composition for three viols, the music holds strong echoes of Byrd's keyboard carillon of bells and is quite different in character from the preceding pieces.

There are no particular technical difficulties in these pieces, and they should be useful to a wide range of players of all standards.

Chelys 16 (1987), review (4)

Byrd Five Part Consorts - Fantasy; Prelude and Ground, Browning; Pavan
£8.00 (July/August 1987)

The first of these and Browning have been available for some time in the Alex Ayre edition, but the Prelude and Ground and the final Pavan are valuable

[48] additions to the viol player's library. All except the Pavan must have posed the editor many problems; but once again he has found all the helpful solutions and the music has a clarity which is a joy to play from; triplets are inconspicuously bracketed, clearly showing the main pulse; page turns are avoided; and even in the Prelude and Ground the music never seems crowded on the page. In the final Pavan, the second and fourth lines are provided with alternative clefs to allow the easy formation of the recognised 'Byrd Consort' of equally spaced viols i.e. treble, alto, tenor, small bass and large bass viols. In Browning, the words have been helpfully underlaid for each entry of the theme to show the phrasing and emphasis needed.

Fantasy a 5 starts slowly, climbing out of somnolence, but soon breaks into merry folksong ditties thrown between the two trebles. A galliard section follows, and the whole is rounded to a peaceful close in the opening tempo but with a satisfied sense of having travelled somewhere and achieved something. But I missed the tied notes around bars 66 to 75 which the editor has replaced with two crotchets.

The Prelude and Ground stutters all over the place; Browning is a rhythmic and 'listening' test for all the players, and the final Pavan, from a keyboard piece, is very pleasant.

But beware! These pieces are not for the beginner! This collection is a very meaty one for the experienced player. But if you enjoy a challenge These are amongst the finest pieces in the repertoire.

Tomkins Complete Consorts a6 - Pavan and Galliard; Four Fantasies.
£10.00 (July/Aug 1987)

Once again this edition has the openness and clarity we have come to expect from Northwood editions.

The Pavan and Galliard, though not an obvious pair, could without jarring effect be played as such. There is a pleasing major/minor tonality with the fleeting spice of occasional false relations to enjoy. The Galliard is attractive, with trebles echoing each other at a bar's interval, a momentary pre-echo of the later Ayre rather than the usual Galliard opening.

The Fantasies are well crafted, starting slowly with gradually increasing momentum through gathering crochet and quaver movement, often in repeated patterns, towards the end. The music is in the 'antique style', and rather ponderous, perhaps. I must admit though that I was left disappointed by our

playthrough and I do not think this was the fault of the players! The music sounded strangely thick and unbalanced. One example we discovered was the very last chord of the fourth Fantasy where the two bass viols end up only a third apart while the rest of the chord is wider spread. Late Beethoven apart, the ear finds most satisfying, and perhaps the viol most resonant, the chord which bears near relation to the natural spread of harmonics, that is, with the wide spread at the lower end and the notes above made up of smaller intervals. Turn this upside

[49] down and the music can sound lumpy and ungainly.

Fantasy no. 1, already available in English Consort Series 17, is the most pleasing of the set, though it lies high on the top four voices. Nos. 2 and 3, in a more comfortable range, have the flowing lines viols love to play. No. 4 is quite different, showing antiphonal effects, dotted rhythms and repeated notes more happily suited to wind instruments. The editor suggests that this and no. 1 may well have been intended for sackbuts and cornetts. The top lines, however, do reach top B flat and C where a fairly good cornett player would be needed for comfort.

I look forward to getting to know these better. I do not feel I have yet 'solved' them in my mind!

ANNE JORDAN

[49]
CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Editor,

Congratulations on a most valuable issue for 1986. May I add a couple of footnotes to Graham Dixon's thoughtful and I think valid discussion of continuo instrumentation in early and middle baroque music, as opposed to the fairly standard harpsichord-plus-melodic-bass in late baroque music? When he cites my quotation (*Interpretation of Early Music, New Version*, London, 1974, 36061) from Praetorius, which he accepts for Germany but then suggests that 'it is open to question how far Donington should go in applying the same conditions to Italy', I think he may be overlooking the extent to which Praetorius is here translating Agazzari's Italian instructions with a few concurring comments of his own. In effect, Praetorius tried his best to acclimatize the new Italian styles, especially of Monteverdi; and my own hesitation would much rather be as to how far he succeeded as yet in Germany, where 'the textures' as Graham Dixon well points out, are 'a good deal fuller than those of almost all Italian music of the period.' True; but of course Schütz was entirely on the side of Monteverdi, and his influence must presently have been paramount.

My only other point concerns the ambiguity of the term violone, as to which Stephen Bonta has published (*Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, iii, 1977, 64-99; the same, iv, 1978, 5-42) such definitive evidence that the contrabass register, though sometimes intended, is no more commonly intended than the written bass register: a factor of the utmost importance for

[50] performance practice. I have actually heard seventeenth century trio-sonatas played with harpsichord and contrabass, alone, on the bass part, no doubt because it was called violone or equivalent, but sounding so lugubrious that I shook my head over the musicianship which could tolerate that much sonorous absurdity. No: violone may mean a member either of the viol or of the violin family, either in the bass or in the contrabass register, where it can very normally double at the octave below rather than rumbling along as an unlikely loner. And Graham Dixon is certainly aware of this, since he refers in his footnote (5) to the second of Stephen Bonta's articles mentioned above. But many of his readers may not be aware of it, and it does not appear to come across as explicitly as I might have wished in Graham Dixon's article.

I very well remember transcribing many years ago for the Donington Consort a trio sonata by John Blow for which the manuscript has 'violone'; but I had no hesitation, for England at that date, in playing it on the gamba. For Italy, three distinct sizes of bass violin would equally have been possible, and all manner of scholarly proof has now been assembled to set out the alternatives available. The most recent dropped this very morning into my post-box (or rather an announcement of it did, so that I have not yet seen the book): Walter

Salmen, ed., *Kontrabass und Bassfunktion* (Innsbruck 1986). But Stephen Bonta had already got the essential information clear: violone may equally stand for a bass or a contrabass string instrument, according to context.

I support Graham Dixon entirely in his argument that the late-baroque standard continuo of keyboard with melodic bass instrument had not established itself, and may not even have been very common, in the earlier baroque. It was far from invariable, though it certainly became the norm, even in the later baroque. But it was throughout the baroque period among the possibilities where the context suited (e.g. not, I agree, in much typical solo monody of the chamber variety; but perhaps yes, in many early operatic contexts); and I would not myself go quite so far as Graham Dixon in discouraging it for the early period. In short, we have here, as we both I am sure agree, yet one more instance of that general principle which I among others have always preached so insistently: in baroque interpretation, variability is the name of the game.

ROBERT DONINGTON

[50]

Dear Editor,

I should like to add some further remarks to my article on the English music which belonged to Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel (1572-1632) published in your journal volume 15 (1986) 33-37. At the time when I wrote my article I had no reason to question the date given in the catalogue of Moritz's music library, for the date of 14 February 1613 was reproduced without any qualifying comments in several twentieth century publications; these publications include: Ernst Zulauf: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräfllich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel bis auf die Zeit Moritz des Gelehrten* (Kassel, 1902), Christiane Engelbrecht, *Die*

[51] *Kasseler Hofkapelle im 17. Jahrhundert* (Kassel 1958), and, one book which came to my attention following the submission of my article, W. Braun: *Britannia Abundans: Deutsche-Englische Musikbeziehungen zur Shakespearezeit* (Tutzing, 1977). Shortly after the publication of the article it occurred to me that the original date in the catalogue might be an old-style date, and so I wrote to several archivists in the locality of Hess who have since confirmed that this is indeed the case; the German protestant states of which Hess was one did not adopt the reforms to the calendar proclaimed in Rome in 1582 until the year 1701. Therefore, the new-style dates of the various catalogues of music and instruments belonging to Moritz and Wilhelm found in Marburg, Hessischer Staatsarchiv, Bestand 4b: 46a nr. 3, 4 and 5 should read respectively: 14 February 1614, 2 February 1614 and 22 January 1639. This information requires that the remark which I made towards the end of the article should be revised. As the catalogue (which includes two references to music by Coprario) is dated 14 February 1613 speculated originally that Coprario's conjectured visit to Moritz's court could have occurred before the date 14 February 1613. However, as this date is now known to be an old-style date, it is now possible to speculate that Coprario's conjectured visit to Moritz's court could have occurred when he travelled between London and Heidelberg in 1613, leaving London in April of that year.

One further point needs to be made about my article: the item listed at number 3 in section III of the manuscript catalogue and cited on page 34 of my article was published in 1605 (see RISM 1605 16).

RICHARD CHARTERIS
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N.S.W. 2006
Australia

Chelys 16 (1987), letter 3

Dear Editor,

I have been invited by a scholarly press in Scotland to compile a collection of new writings about William Byrd, to be published in time for the 450th anniversary of his birth in 1992. May I, through the hospitality of your columns, ask any reader who has to hand hitherto unpublished material, or who is keen to write a new essay, to send me the title, and either an abstract or, if the piece is already written, a copy? I should also be grateful to be put in touch with anyone known to be researching about Byrd, whom I could approach personally. All communications will be acknowledged.

RICHARD TURBET
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