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at White-hall before the King’

**The work and influence of
Christopher Gibbons
(1615–76)**

by Paul Michael Stubbings
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Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Too little is known of Christopher Gibbons' life and work: the vicissitudes of record keeping have been particularly cruel to this quiet servant, a major figure in the Tallis-Byrd-Tomkins lineage, whose eminence, pioneering and industry were much celebrated in his day. Key data are missing from the stories of other great artists from early modern British history—none more so than Henry Purcell. Yet, whilst the near-hagiographical status enjoyed by Britain's *Orpheus* has had admirers joining biographical dots in romantic flights of fancy, in the case of Gibbons, too much has been pieced together using a starting point that the man was a drunk. (We have one particular biographer's notes to thank for this.) A new investigation of the structure of teaching practices at court now brings welcome clarity to the biographies of both men. Purcell, through his formative years, knew and admired Gibbons. For him and the other Children of the Chapel—John Blow and Pelham Humfrey—their earliest memories would have included Gibbons' dazzling, virtuosic improvisations, the élan of which accompanied an air of confidence at Whitehall, as the organ, long outlawed, became, literally overnight, the clamorous object of political defiance. These vignettes of theatrical brilliance were captured by their inquisitive quills, and thus the flowering of a peculiarly English *stylus phantasticus* came to be preserved. This study examines performance aspects surrounding the three extant double-organ voluntaries that were intended for a new type of instrument Gibbons had commissioned at phenomenal expense from the greatest of craftsmen. Through these and other pieces, Gibbons' influence on his successors, particularly Blow and Purcell, is assessed to be significantly greater than previously estimated. Further, the present study finds his distinctive compositional style deeply rooted in three well-loved Restoration anthems long-attributed to Purcell. It is the aim of this thesis that Gibbons' reputation as a Father of Modern English Church Music be earnestly and urgently reappraised.

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RISM sigla

F-Pn/Pnm	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Paris
GB-Bu	Special Collections, Main Library, University of Birmingham, Birmingham
GB-CA	The Archives and Library of Canterbury Cathedral, Canterbury
GB-Cfm	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
GB-Cjc	St. John's College, The Library, Cambridge
GB-Lbl	The British Library, London
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music, London
GB-Lsp	St. Paul's Cathedral Library, London
GB-Lwa	Westminster Abbey Library, London
GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
GB-Och	Christ Church, Oxford
GB-Ojc	St John's College Library, Oxford
GB-WB	Wimborne Minster, The Chained Library, Wimborne
GB-Y	Minster Library, York
J-Tn	Nanki Ongaku Bunko, Tokyo
US-LAuc	University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Chicago, IL
US-NYp	New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, New York City, NY
US-R	Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY

All sources in the body text are GB unless otherwise listed.

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List of abbreviations

Chapel	Chapel Royal - where ‘chapel’ (not captialized) refers to a building
HMP	<i>Hear my prayer, O Lord</i>
LCA	Lord Chamberlain’s Accounts
NPOR	National Pipe Organ Register ¹
NUU	<i>Not unto us, O Lord</i>
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
WAM	Muniment collection, Westminster Abbey

¹ National Pipe Organ Register, <www.npor.org.uk>.

Conventions

Pitch names are given in the Helmholtz system.

Biographical dates are given at the first entry.

Care has been taken to use the new-style calendar throughout, except where quoted (e.g. '1683–4'). Dates have generally been standardized to day-month-year format, except in the case of Lafontaine's date referencing from *The King's Musick*, which reverses this order, quoted verbatim.²

References to the organ music of Christopher Gibbons are drawn from the printed edition Clare G. and John Caldwell Rayner, ed. *Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676), Keyboard Compositions* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1989). References for Gibbons' consort music are drawn from the Viola da Gamba Society's *Thematic Index*.³ References for all other of Gibbons' works are from Volume 2 of Clare Grill Rayner, 'A Little-Known Seventeenth-Century Composer, Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676),' diss., Indiana University, 1963.

References to Blow's voluntaries are from the modern edition John Blow, *Complete Organ Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1996).

Modern barring and bar numbers have been used, except where indicated.

While 'Gibbons' is sometimes used to signify Christopher, to be clear 'Orlando Gibbons' or sometimes simply 'Orlando' is always specified when the reference is to the father.

'Jr' and 'Sr' are used throughout to further aid clarification.

The capitalized word 'Note' is used throughout Chapter Three to imply the beat of the bar. This is to avoid confusion of the word 'beat' which in this period is an ornament.

'Solid-note' is used throughout Chapter Three to indicate the precise rhythmic implication of a written-out grace.

² Henry Cart De Lafontaine, *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460–1700)* (London: Novello, 1909).

³ 'Christopher Gibbons.' <<https://vdgs.org.uk/thematic/G.pdf>> (pp. 5–12) (Accessed 5 December 2022).

Prelude: a Brief Perspective on the Organ in European Culture

A note about the organ in the pre-industrial age

Before the Industrial Revolution the organ was unquestionably one of the greatest feats of human technical and mechanical accomplishment. This ‘Wondrous machine!’ of Brady’s 1692 Ode *Hail! Bright Cecilia* was by far the most complex and indeed the loudest devices known to the Western world.⁴ Made up of thousands of interconnected, bespoke parts, entirely handmade, the instrument was intended to impress, not only aurally, but visually, as at Exeter Cathedral where ‘its stout framing similar to that of a half-timbered house’ sat high aloft the pulpitum.⁵

Detailed records exist of the construction of a large instrument for King’s College, Cambridge, constructed in 1605–6 by the Dallam firm, entirely on-site, over 58 weeks.⁶

⁴ Nicholas Brady (1659–1726). Charles Burney (1726–1814) used the following words: ‘An organ is so operose, complicated, and comprehensive a piece of mechanism, that to render it complete in tone, touch, variety, and power, exclusive of the external beauty and majesty of its form and appearance, is perhaps one of the greatest efforts of human ingenuity and contrivance.’ (Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Periode* (London: Bechet, 1789), III: 436.)

⁵ Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 117. See Picture 2: 1662–5 organ by John Loosemore (1616–81).

⁶ Ibid., 74. Costing £371. 17s. 1d. this approximates to 41.7 times the average man’s salary of the day, using data from Table 16 of Gregory Clark, ‘Average Earnings and Retail Prices, UK, 1209–2017.’ <www.measuringworth.com/datasets/ukenncpi/earnstudyx.pdf> (Accessed 5 December 2021). The imposing alate Great case exists to this day, albeit in a different position on the central screen; the original Chaire organ was lost, probably during the Commonwealth, to be replaced in 1661. See James Boeringer, *Organa Britannica: Organs in Great Britain 1660–1860* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1989), I, 209–11.

Some years earlier, Thomas Dallam (1575–*c.* 1620) received a royal commission, in collaboration with the Queen’s clockmaker Randolph Bull (*ante* 1550–1617), to build an organ, intended as a gift to the Sultan of Turkey, to smoothe diplomatic relations between England and the Ottoman Empire—‘a church organ [...] made for a country where they didn’t exist and which knew nothing about them.’⁷ He was also to deliver it personally, transporting the instrument 3,500 nautical miles from Deal to Constantinople. Chief amongst a convoy of gifts, the organ was gilded, jewel-encrusted and painted in rich colours; it was operated either by a barrel mechanism set in operation by a clock, or played manually from its own keyboard, and incorporated complex automaton, a mechanism for the movement of the planets around the sun, and a display for the waxing and waning of the moon. The cost of the instrument was £550, an extraordinarily large amount.⁸

After undergoing necessary repairs *in situ*, the day came for Dallam to present England’s gift to the Sultan. He described in his diary that, precisely on the hour:

the chime of 16 bells went of, and played a songe of 4 partes. That being done, tow personages which stood upon to corners of the second storie, houldinge tow silver trumpetes in there hands, did lifte them to their heads, and sounded a tartarra. Then the muzicke went of, and the organ played a song of 5 partes twyse over. In the tope of the organ, being 16 foute hie, did stand a holly bushe full of blacke birds and thrushis, which at the end of the musicke did singe and shake their wynges. Divers other motions there was which th Grand Sinyor wondered at.⁹

⁷ Ibid., 20.

⁸ The pay of a craftsman working in 1600 being 10.9*d.* per day, and the annual average earnings £8.87, gives a total of 62 years’ combined salaries. See Tables 2 and 16 at Clark, ‘Average Earnings and Retail Prices, UK, 1209-2017.’ By way of comparison, the modern Rolls-Royce car costs around 10 times the average annual salary. Using the same method calculation, James Cox’s (*c.* 1723–1800) 1781 Peacock Clock in the Hermitage State Museum, St Petersburg cost 102 years’ salaries.

⁹ Gathorne-Hardy, *The Sultan’s Organ*, 134.

When the Sultan asked how the keys moved untouched, Dallam proceeded to demonstrate the organ, whereupon the assembled ambassadors were left ‘astonished, bewildered, stupified and completely enraptured.’¹⁰ ‘The success of the organ had made the Sultan more determined than ever to get Dallam to remain in Constantinople and work for him’, promising him anything he wanted, ‘including two of the Sultan’s concubines or, if he preferred, any two virgins, the most beautiful he could find anywhere in the whole country.’¹¹

Nearer home, the rich merchant towns of the early seventeenth-century United Provinces of the Netherlands vied with each other to furnish their churches with the grandest, most opulent spectacles of the artform. At the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam, for example, the main organ took up the entire west wall, where it still stands to this day, its commissioning and construction taking a full ten years to complete.¹² As there are likely to be many strong parallels with this royal instrument and the Christopher Gibbons’ Whitehall chapel organ, completed not ten years later—explored in Chapter Two, in ‘A Revolution at Whitehall’—its description (from the church’s website) is reproduced here:

In the seventeenth century, the presence of organs in a Protestant church was the subject of controversy. Radical church ministers argued that churches should not be used for anything other than the preaching of sermons. In their view, organ music was unnecessary; a dangerous luxury that might easily arouse sinful thoughts. The Protestant minister J. J. Calckman [born 1565] wrote that the playing of an organ ‘tempts people to thoughts of carnal desire, and not to express sorrow to God for their sins’. The city’s government took a different view. They emphasised the educational value of music. They commissioned costly organs – such as those in De Nieuwe Kerk – and hired organists to give concerts. These were intended partly to keep people out of the public houses. Thus, De Nieuwe Kerk functioned as a public music auditorium, where organ music could be heard almost every day. [...] In 1645 the City of Amsterdam decided to commission a great organ for De Nieuwe Kerk. Ten years later, it was ready.

¹⁰ Ibid., 137–8.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² 1645–55.

The best artists had collaborated on it, and the result bore testimony to their brilliance: a monumental instrument, with the appearance of a classical temple. The decorations all relate to music. Standing on the organ is King David with his harp, together with women depicting the arts of singing and playing music, while the painted panels beneath show David's anointment as king. The lower panels show musicians, with the painter himself appearing behind a pane of glass. When the panels are open, we see on the left David's march of triumph after he has killed Goliath, and on the right David playing the harp for Saul. Music is also a recurrent theme in the other decorations, such as in the relief under the organ, which includes the symbols of Amsterdam.¹³

¹³ 'Organs.' *De Nieuwe Kerk Amsterdam* <www.nieuwekerk.nl/en/organs> (Accessed 5 December 2021).

Introduction

The journey started with my appointment to St Martin-in-the-Fields, where I learnt that Christopher had gone before. This quirky music attracted me, and I made a recording of the A Minor and introduced items into concerts and services whenever I could.¹ But there were many questions. Firstly, why was I the only one playing it, and why but a handful of pieces? (Why had my friends not even heard of this famous son of a famous father?) Even though I had studied early music—first with Francis Jackson, then with the brilliant HIP team in Manchester, later majoring in pre-1750 performance under Jacques van Oortmerssen in Amsterdam—why was this still so tricky to play and unfathomable to understand? The ornamentation didn't seem to me to be English (not in the Virginals sense, at any rate), but who could tell me why my hunch that a French Baroque interpretation might work best? How could such a mannered, eccentric 'fantastic style' both start and end with Christopher Gibbons? Crucially, why did the textbooks regard him as just another 'transitional' composer when his music was to me so deeply Baroque?²

His being the life of an active, well-educated and well-connected musician occupying the period from before the English Civil Wars until well into the Restoration, any study of Christopher Gibbons will shed copious light on the nature of change both in general musical

¹ It emerged later that my 1996 CD from St Martin's had included the very first recording of this work.

² As discussed in Rayner, 'A Little-Known Seventeenth-Century Composer', 3–4, 25–26, 51, 52, 229–30, quoting on p. 4 Ernest Walker: 'Christopher Gibbons is another of these transitional figures'. (Ernest Walker. *A History of Music in England. 3rd Edition Revised and Enlarged by J. A. Westrup*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952))

taste, and on the repertoire and performance practices of his instrument, the organ. This study demonstrates how his work in the twin disciplines of performance and pedagogy cast the seeds of early English Baroque style onto the extremely fertile ground of the brilliant minds of the next generation.

While the name of Christopher Gibbons achieves mentions in most studies of the English Baroque—mostly in Purcell studies; seldom in reference to Pelham Humfrey (*c.* 1647–74), but occasionally to John Blow (1649–1708)—up until now Gibbons has played a fleeting cameo role in the history of English music. Much of his work as a composer is presumed to be lost; however, as an improviser, not all is lost. Of the hundred or more string fantazias, for example, only 14 survive.³ Previous dedicated academic study starts and ends in 1963 with Clare Rayner's portrait of *A Little-known seventeenth-century composer, Christopher Gibbons*.⁴ (The book *That Famous Musitian* was planned, but only 22 pages of essential biographical information was released by *Musica Disciplina*.)⁵ John Harley's work *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* draws together a wealth of carefully-researched information, and has given many strong leads, yet the 33 pages dedicated to Orlando's only musical child does not stray far from sound biographical facts.⁶ Richard Egarr heralded something of a revival through the Academy of Ancient Music 2012 CD: *Christopher Gibbons: Motets, anthems, fantasias*

³ 'Christopher Gibbons.' <<https://vdgs.org.uk/thematic/G.pdf>> (pp. 5–12) (Accessed 5 December 2022). See also footnote 37.

⁴ Rayner, 'A Little-Known Seventeenth-Century Composer.'

⁵ Clare G. Rayner and Sheila Finch Rayner, 'Christopher Gibbons: 'That Famous Musitian', *Musica Disciplina* 24 (1970).

⁶ John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2018).

✪ *voluntaries*, which contains strong liner notes, given from the perspective of an evangelical performer who, like Rayner, had discovered a ‘little-known composer’.

The scope and methodology of the study

The study weighs all the known facts about Gibbons against the conventions of the day. This has been particularly valuable to studying patterns of the mechanisms of the ‘King’s Musick’, where record-keeping is patchy. The lengths to which court went to ensure the welfare of orphans, for example, is relevant to the stories of both Gibbons Junior and Purcell Junior (*c.* 1659–95), also Gibbons’ colleague Henry Cooke (*c.* 1616–72). The method of research has also drawn on subsidiary factors, such as rental agreements, parish records and eyewitness accounts, as well as mapping the norms, so as not to rely on conjecturing from incomplete institutional records.

Broadening out from biographical detail, the study progresses into the under-researched areas of organology and performance practice. Bicknell’s seminal book *The History of the English Organ* gave an excellent overview.⁷ Boeringer’s encyclopaedic three-volume *Organa Britannica: Organs in Great Britain 1660–1860* likewise provided enlightened, thoroughly-researched inspiration.⁸ In the wider European context, Michael Praetorius’ (1571–1621) treatise *Syntagma Musicum* (1614–20)—representing the first attempt to provide a biography for the organ—has been close at hand.⁹ Much fine work on the organs of the Tudor Period was

⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*.

⁸ Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*.

⁹ Michael Praetorius, Quentin Faulkner, *Syntagma Musicum II, De Organographia, Parts III – V, with Index*

carried out in the past 20 years by Goetze and Gwynne, whose groundbreaking activity in reconstructing instruments for the Royal College of Organists' *Early English Organ Project* was informed by decades of research, supplemented by that of John Harper.¹⁰ Work around the Transposing Organ stems back to J. Bunker Clark's research in the early 1970s, but with regard to the English double-organ, other than that repeatedly hinted at by Boeringer, academic study has hitherto been cursory.¹¹

A thorough working knowledge of seventeenth-century ornamental practice was gained through performance of the extant *oeuvre* of the English virginalists, of anonymous music contained in minor English sources, and through the organ works of Johann Jakob Froberger (1616–67, an exact contemporary of Christopher's) and Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643, born in the same year as Christopher's father), of which there is evidence to suggest that Christopher Gibbons may have been a powerful exponent. This study broadens yet further to uncover the impact that Christopher Gibbons had on the next generation, Pelham Humfrey, Blow and Purcell. A relationship between Gibbons and the latter is noted in most biographical studies on Purcell, notably Zimmerman, Holman and Adams.¹²

(Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2014).

¹⁰ David Force's recent work on the organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music added a helpful background context. (David Robert Stuart Force, 'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend: The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music,' diss., The Open University, 2019.)

¹¹ J. Bunker Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments and the Transposing Organ* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1974).

¹² Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695 His Life and Times* (New York City: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1967), 43–5; Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 7, 44; Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of His Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 4–5.

Court biographical information is drawn from *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* as well as from Ashbee's indispensable *Records of English Court Music*, which sought to update *The King's Musick*.¹³ (For the purpose of mapping trends and conventions, the advantage of having the opportunity to interrogate a PDF version of *The King's Musick* has been incalculable. For this reason, and for the fact that transcriptions tend to be richer by degree, references to Lafontaine are here maintained and cross-referenced against Ashbee's. Missing entries drawn from Ashbee are cited accordingly, and occasionally *vice versa*.) For pragmatic aspects of the work of musicians at the Restoration, Rebecca Herissone's thought-provoking materials take our knowledge of the period far further than all before.¹⁴ Likewise, Candace Bailey's work is a particularly valuable resource for the appreciation of context.¹⁵ Geoffrey Cox's Oxford Ph.D. thesis of 1984, and subsequent book *Organ Music in Restoration England: A Study of Sources, Styles, and Influences*, remains an outstanding reference point.¹⁶

¹³ Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music: 1485–1714* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 1986). Also De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*. Also *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, comp. Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, assist. Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, Volumes I and II (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). Also William Lovegrove, John Harley, Andrew Ashbee and Marmaduke Alford, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2020).

¹⁴ See Bibliography.

¹⁵ Particularly Candace Bailey, *Seventeenth-century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren: Harmonie Park Press, 2003).

¹⁶ Geoffrey Cox, 'Organ music in Restoration England: A study of sources, styles and influences,' diss., University of Oxford, 1984. Also Geoffrey Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England* (Taylor & Francis, 1989).

The present research stems from four key statements. Firstly, the reference made precisely three weeks after the king's triumphant entry into London: 'Mr Gybbons approved of by y^e King at Baynards Castle; and an organ to be made for him./ For ye ~~organs~~ verginalls in ye Presence in Mr. Warwick's place.'¹⁷ How could a redundant provincial cathedral musician be immediately sworn into a position of such eminence? Of all the many important and urgent matters of state, why is this appointment so key? Why was Charles involved personally? What was the organ made for Gibbons, and why too was this of such high priority?

Secondly, Caldwell identifies a 'paucity of double voluntaries in the early seventeenth century in spite of the numerous references to chair organ.' Gibbons' three double-organ voluntaries appear to represent an entirely new departure for English organ music, but when and for whom were they written? Should their style be seen as a radical departure, or the zenith of achievement? Had the use of the organ changed, and did the organ really die out in England over the course of the Reformation, to be resurrected with a symbolic status at the Restoration? Is the term 'double organ' the same as a 'pair of organs'? Were these originally improvisations, if so when and why were they transcribed, copied, and why were copies still in circulation long after the composer's death? Why does Purcell's famous *Voluntary for ye Duple Organ* exist in two entirely different versions?

Of the performance of this repertory, why is Cox able to assert that Gibbons' ornamentation is essentially French in character? Cooper urges that performers should play the ornaments as indicated, rather than 'as a rough guide to a freely ornamented

¹⁷ Strikethrough original. Thomas Warwick/Warrocks Jr (d. 1652).

performance.’¹⁸ Is this actually sound advice for the performer, particularly given that notation is otherwise so capricious? Are there precise decorative formulae, if so why are there no tables before the end of the century? Is it that the ornamentation belongs essentially to the Virginalist School? If so, why is the notation different? Were ornaments different in the hands of professionals as from amateurs? What stops should be used, and what did these instruments sound like anyway? What purpose did the rambling extensions have?

Finally, Adams states that ‘There is little evidence [of Gibbons’ influence] on Purcell’s compositional practice.’¹⁹ Why, if this is the case, does Gibbons’ music at times sound so Purcellian? Why, for example, does Purcell’s *Hear my Prayer, O Lord* have so much in common with Gibbons’ doctoral anthem *Not unto us, O Lord*, written 20 years earlier, when Purcell was ostensibly three years old? Why do other items in *Purcell’s Great Scorebook* in the Fitzwilliam Museum share so many characteristics with Gibbons’ compositional character?

This study has gathered biographical information and manuscripts from source material through access to two main resource channels. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Rayner’s Ph.D. thesis, which sought to compile all the extant sources of Gibbons’ attributed works. While some additional sources have since been located, in the UK and abroad, this remains a vital body of work.

The vast holdings of the National Library of Scotland has been an outstanding and freely accessible resource. Amongst its 24 million items it holds many expensive and rare

¹⁸ Blow, *Complete Organ Music*, xxv.

¹⁹ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 5.

volumes of sheet music, the entire 1980s Gale microform series, including the reels for Christ Church Oxford, Bodleian Library and, amongst others, many relevant manuscripts from the British Library. Further, the internet has been a vast, indispensable sea of information, something that was not available to Rayner. Liberal access to *British History Online*, *Findmypast*, *Google Books*, *Archive*, and the many digitized documents, has been invaluable, as have the precision tools of their search facilities. Blogs and family histories, which are credited throughout this thesis, have also played their part. The fully-searchable *National Pipe Organ Register*, containing over 35,000 contemporary and historical records, has been an invaluable, if not always entirely accurate resource.

Likely few publications will have done as much to damage a composer's reputation than the American Institute of Musicology's 1989 ostensibly *urtext* volume 18 of *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* which is littered with inaccuracies, and by its own admission (pages xv–xvii) fails to collate an important additional source discovered since its first edition (1967). It includes, amongst its 40 pages, 19 pages of incomprehensible late seventeenth-century ramblings previously disregarded by Cox to be the work of someone other than Gibbons.²⁰ Sadly, Bray's painfully negative review of this publication in *Early Music* will have done nothing to raise Gibbons onto his pedestal.²¹ Likewise, Shannon's 2014 book *The Evolution of Organ Music in 17th Century*, which draws directly from the above resource (and whose first edition (2012) managed to promote many more damaging errors), draws highly

²⁰ Cox, 'Organ music in Restoration England.'

²¹ J. Bray, 'Review of Keyboard Compositions by C. Gibbons,' *Early Music* 21, no. 1 (1993).

uncomplimentary conclusions.²² Fortunately, Cox had by that point included into volume three of the 1986 *Faber Early Organ Series* Gibbons' *Voluntary in A Minor for Double Organ*, and Langley had incorporated the same, as well as three verses for single organ, into volume two (1988) of *English Organ Music An Anthology from Four Centuries in Ten Volumes*.²³ The Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor appeared in 1907, in Novello's *Old English Organ Music*, adapted by West into a showpiece for a modern Romantic instrument.²⁴

Central topics and arguments

Scrutiny of official papers, such as Lord Chamberlain's Accounts, has illuminated a rigid system of professional formation at court. The first chapter of the study enumerates for the first time how musically-gifted boys, trained as singers, were retained for court service as articulated pupils, to be presented for preferment to official court positions, first as unpaid 'Extraordinaries'—a professional apprenticeship, usually at their eighteenth birthdays—to be confirmed into the same positions at the age of majority as paid 'Ordinaries'. For those possessing skills of leadership—such as the famous names associated with Tudor and Stuart church music—professional placements in key positions awaited them, very often at provincial posts, which in turn heralded preferment to even more prestigious roles.

As children, they had entered a well-funded and well-regulated music industry—a *Sistema*, to adopt a modern-day concept. Court had immediately afforded them an elite

²² John R. Shannon, *The Evolution of Organ Music in the 17th Century* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2014), 133ff. Rayner, *Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676), Keyboard Compositions*.

²³ Called *Vers for y^e organ* in Och Mus. 47, pp. 41–2.

²⁴ John Ebenezer West, ed. *Old English Organ Music, No. 28* (London: Novello, 1907).

technical and practical conservatory training, forming, as it does today, the established alternative path to university. Graduating as professionals, a good many of them were to feed back into the system—whilst being handsomely paid—through teaching the next generation. Musicians would enjoy the benefits of the security of court patronage throughout their entire careers, often in the service of several successive monarchs, as in the example of singer and lutenist Thomas Heywood (fl. 1672–88), whose career model is presented as a case study.

It is notable that a very significant proportion of the accepted dates of musicians featuring in this study remain estimated. This is the case with many of the headline musicians: Pelham Humfrey, Benjamin Cosyn, Henry Cooke, Richard Dering, John Taverner, William and John Mundy, both John Readings and every musician member of the Purcell family except Edward Sr. Some have strong discrepancies to their dates: Matthew Locke (a variance of up to three years), Byrd (four to five years), Jeremiah Clarke and Christopher Simpson (four or five years), Walter Porter (about nine years), John Coprario, ten or more years, the most extreme being Tallis, whose birthdate has, over time, varied by a full 20 years. In some cases an estimation has not even been attempted, such as for Henry Purcell Sr, William Brown, Edward Braddock, Thomas Warwick, John Barnard, Thomas Woodson, John Redford, Richard Alwood and Christopher Gibbons' successor Christopher Preston; indeed this is the case for Heywood too. Whilst the accuracy particularly of the dates of birth may not appear to play any significant role in the appreciation of music, false assumptions can very easily be made, on details such as place of birth and work, milieu, colleagues, patrons and training, and in more radical cases, on aspects of stylistic, even political/national

influence, and of performance practices. Filling an information vacuum may, in some cases, have led to distortion of facts and inevitable perpetuation of misinformation.

By mapping the court careers of minor servants such as Heywood it was possible to appreciate a graduation through what was a Royal Academy of Music in all but name. To be used with care, a new heuristic template for court career progression may reveal missing biographical detail for major players, such as Pelham Humfrey, Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625), Henry Cooke, Matthew Locke (*c.* 1621–77), even Blow and Purcell, as discussed in the closing pages of Chapter One. Such mapping also promotes the notion that Purcell's and Blow's early tenure as organists of the Abbey became part of their professional formation, alongside further occupational training at the Chapel. Likewise, strong assumptions can be made that Christopher Gibbons and Henry Cooke, boys born in the same year to fathers working together as musicians in the Chapel Royal, would have entered court service together, and it is highly probable therefore that, knowing how their stories unfold, their two lives followed precisely parallel paths.

Drawing on the factual evidence alone, it is difficult to make sense of Gibbons' astonishing rise to prominence in 1660. Previous biographers suggest that he arrived in London from a minor provincial role, somehow to enter the Restoration Court at the very highest level, automatically sworn into three of the nation's most prestigious and well-connected musical roles, being one of Charles' closest and most trusted servants 'in Private'. In succeeding to his father's roles in Charles II's court, Christopher's career mirrors Orlando's service to Charles I. It is further argued that Christopher occupied key positions up until his death—not, as has previously been put forward, that he drops away into implied alcohol-

induced decline—which suggests a much longer, and stronger, influence on the next generation than previously estimated.

Chapter Two examines the history and fate of the organ as a liturgical instrument, particularly the seismic changes it underwent during the sixty-year period between Christopher Gibbons' birth and death. In order to make sense of the notation and expressions of Christopher Gibbons' organ music it became of vital importance to establish the exact nature of the so-called 'transposing organ' on which Reformation organists had trained. While much 'software' is to be found in the thousands of pages of strangely transposed organ scores, barely a scrap of 'hardware' exists, in the respect of an instrument on which to play it. However, this research highlights two particularly compelling historical artefacts: original front pipes from an early-1620s organ now at Stanford-on-Avon (representing the oldest extant pipework in Britain), and the remnants of an unaltered Ioannes Ruckers (1578–1642) harpsichord in Edinburgh, furnished with an unmodernized transposing capability. Assumptions made about pitch relationships within these instruments chime with Michael Praetorius' 400-year old theories on the nature of the early organ in Germany, such that it may now be seen that, thanks to the limited liturgical function imposed on the organ during the English Reformation, these insular organs held onto vestiges of late medieval liturgical practice that were once typical throughout continental Europe. Praetorius' assumptions on the nature of the medieval organ are hereby confirmed for the first time.

Whilst the detail in these pages might at times seem far distant from the Gibbons story—explaining the gallimaufry of technical terms relating to the duality of the organ makes particularly heavy reading!—it is important for the reader to hold in mind that the

revolution Gibbons initiated at Whitehall in 1663–4 was the moment that the English organ finally jettisoned all trappings of the organ's transposing, medieval past. Many of the politico-religious reasons for this revolution are explained, but it has not been possible to include the complex areas of church and state politics in great detail; these matters are well documented in the literature. In a similar way, aspects of musical rhetoric in the work of composers and improvisers could ideally have been afforded greater depth of discussion and emphasis. Neither has it been possible to include in this chapter anything but essential detail surrounding absolute pitch and temperament. A connection with the Netherlands is explored, and it is surmised that Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), who spearheaded the development of the Dutch Organ School, may too have played a part in the organ revolution at Whitehall. Further, through the extensive study of sixteenth and seventeenth-century literature, the present research makes a confident assertion that the two-manual organ as we know it arrived in England not until the summer of 1663, some 50 years later than previously thought. Study of the sources also gives rise to speculation that the Whitehall organ may have incorporated pedals—some 50 or so years before previously thought for British instruments—bringing it in line with general continental practice.

The entire corpus of pre-Commonwealth music suitable for performance on the organ is surveyed, and is found to fit into five categories: virtuoso music for virginals; consort transcriptions and accompaniments; anthem and psalm accompaniments; compositions and compositional exercises based on plainsong; as well as a small number of solo liturgical pieces.

The transmission of Gibbons' double-organ improvisations is discussed towards the end of Chapter Two. The evidently hastily-notated original source, in all probability made by

the teenage Blow, has not survived, but the material is preserved in the second layer of the organbook Och Mus. 47. Some careful graphological study has uncovered a great many similarities to the young hand of Henry Purcell, suggesting in turn that this manuscript was prepared by an organist with Chapel Royal training: someone, as Milsom posits, sharing a ‘closeness to Christopher Gibbons’.²⁵ (With further work it may be possible to draw a stemmatic connection with a payment in 1676 from Westminster Abbey ‘To Henry Pursell for pricking out two bookes of organ parts v l.’, particularly in light of the correspondence here to Gibbons’ year of death.)²⁶

Chapter Three concentrates on performance practice issues surrounding Christopher Gibbons’ double-organ voluntaries. An exhaustive survey of ornamental practices in Restoration organ music was completed, taking into account both the embellishments denoted by free symbols and those represented through the precise notation of pitches. The survey is informed by an examination of instrumental, vocal and keyboard ornamentation going as far back as manuscript sources and the writings of theorists allows. Comparison of French and English practices show how elements of what came to be regarded as *le goût français* flourished in England long before their codification by Jean-Henri d’Anglebert (1629–91) in 1689: English virginalists and viol players stood at the forefront of the development of colourful, expressive, exuberant ideas.

²⁵ John Milsom, ‘Christ Church Library Music Catalogue.’ <<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+47>> (Accessed 13 September 2021). MSS consulted: Cfm 88, Lbl RM MS 20.h.8, Ob Mus.Sch.c.26, Lbl Egerton MS 2956, Bu MS 5001.

²⁶ Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 197.

Based on virginalist, string and dramatic vocal practices, Christopher Gibbons' graces are surprisingly more stylized than those of the later Baroque. They incorporate complex flourishes, divided and composite ornaments, *gruppos* and ribbons of ornamentation; ornaments are applied not only to the note itself, but also before and after. This study determines that Restoration ornamentation begs unprecedented freedom from the performer.

The study offers, seemingly for the very first time, practical advice on the interpretation of Restoration keyboard ornamentation. Many of its conclusions are illustrated by the ornamental practices found in Blow's organ music. The closeness to Christopher Gibbons nominates Blow as the authentic voice of Gibbons' playing style, in the interpretation of the double-organ voluntaries.

It is known that Purcell studied and modelled Gibbons' consort music.²⁷ Through his copying into Cfm 88 of material where Gibbons' unmistakably distinctive voice is decidedly heard, strongly suggests that Purcell also knew Gibbons' choral music. By comparing the two composers' compositional language across genres many assumptions can be made as to the active influence from the older to the younger musician. Gibbons' style is full of characterful turns of phrase, idiosyncratic harmonies, theatrical drama and quirky ornamental detail. Yet, a great many traits that are considered Purcellian are to be found already in the older composer's work, which, in the case of the anthem *Not unto us, O Lord*, can be categorically dated to well before Purcell could have been active as a composer.

²⁷ See Robert Thompson, 'The sources of Purcell's fantasias,' *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society* 25 (1997), 95.

That Purcell chose to preserve in his *Great Scorebook* three anthems assessed now to be keenly stylistically aligned to the work of Christopher Gibbons—*Remember not, Lord, our offences* (Z.50), *Lord, how long will thou be angry?* (Z.25) and *Hear my prayer, O Lord* (Z.15)—accelerates an understanding of Purcell's relationship with his teacher, a topic explored in the final chapter. More profoundly, acceptance that the author of these pieces—technically anonymous, but long-attributed to Purcell on account of their being in his hand—is indeed Henry Jr, seemingly in emulation of his late master, cements a far greater level of respect than has previously been evaluated.

It is unfortunately beyond the scope of the study to examine activities in theatre music, where, in *Cupid and Death*—with co-writer Locke—Gibbons made a significant contribution to the development of English opera. Neither has it been possible to fully evaluate the impact of his work with some of the country's most eminent string players in pushing forward the genre of the trio sonata in Britain. Also, how, in finding himself at the vanguard of the Chapel's desire to introduce the choral presentation of Coverdale's prose Psalms, his beautiful Single Chant in G Major appears to represent the very first, fledgling step. Gibbons' role as the originator of Anglican Chant suggests he is responsible for what in succeeding centuries has become a key component of the very sound of Anglicanism.

Regrettably, a possible link between Froberger, Frescobaldi, their mentor Athanasius Kircher (1602–80) and Gibbons' first wife Mary Kercher/Kircher (died *c.* 1655) has not

revealed itself through the course of the study. This tantalizing connection will hopefully be one day brought into fuller light.

The reader will be aware of the many hundreds of footnotes, some of them very long. These have been placed outside the main text so as not to disturb the flow of the central narrative. These notes offer a separate strand of contextual commentary, and contain, from time to time, some challenging findings and radical propositions.

Chapter One: Biographical Update and Re-evaluation

Introduction

John Harley's thorough investigation into Christopher Gibbons' life would seem to offer little room for biographical update.²⁸ Yet there remain many stretches of Gibbons' life where hard historical facts are scant, particularly the first 23 years, and the final decade of his life. Lacking proper knowledge as to his whereabouts, his work and his relationships, hinders the ability to flesh out the person and personality of the man; discovery of such patterns would doubtless lead to a better appreciation of his work, and the possible discovery of hitherto unknown materials and achievements.

Piecing together the evidence at such a temporal distance presents many difficulties. There exists a corpus of records and first-hand contemporary record-keeping and commentary. There is a good deal more information to be derived from secondary sources, when information has been transmitted indirectly via second-hand information gathering and testimonies. Within other documentation there exists rather too much hearsay, clouded interpretations and vague recollection. Here, later commentators have tried to piece together lost facts or, for good or ill, have driven the narrative in one direction or another to suit the writer's standpoint. The study tests and evaluates the three classes of evidence, but it does so alongside examining the norms, conventions, precedents and the seemingly unimportant

²⁸ Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*.

minutiae of professional and social operation and interaction. (One of the most revealing aspects to the study, for instance, has been to chart precise chronology and timing via an online date calculator.) The study reveals Christopher Gibbons' lifelong association with the 'King's Musick', one of the world's oldest musical institutions.²⁹

Biographers from Anthony à Wood (1632–95) onwards have tended to paint Christopher Gibbons' rise to fame with an almost rags to riches' air—a famous orphan cast out to the provinces, awarded Restoration posts in London because of an absence of skilled labour following a bleak Commonwealth—with an unfortunate descent back into rags towards the end.³⁰ Whilst this paints a romantic picture of post-war gloom into which brilliant boys Pelham Humfrey, Blow and Purcell would burst, the view of Christopher Gibbons sits very much at odds with contemporary commentary. A biographical standpoint that highlights some quiet sinecure at Chapel, alongside a short tenure at the Abbey, significantly narrows Gibbons' contribution to English musical society.³¹

²⁹ In charting the earliest mentions of the Royal Choir, Roper notes that the *Red Book of the Exchequer* mentioned it first in 1135, during the reign of Henry I. See E. Stanley Roper, 'Music at the English Chapels Royal c. 1135–Present Day,' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 54 (1927), 21.

³⁰ The earliest Gibbons' biographical detail comes from the Oxford antiquary and amateur musician Anthony à Wood. See Anthony à Wood and Philip Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London: F. C. and J. Rivington; et al., 1813). The current online edition of *Dictionary of National Biography* throws up significant questions over the accuracy of Wood's work. Over 50 entries discredit and discount Wood's claims, citing a range of responses from 'doubtful', 'muddled', 'contradictory', to 'improbable' and 'false'; many entries refer to Wood's 'over-exaggeration', 'underestimation', 'implausibility', and criticise his surmises and attributions as 'inadequate', 'confusing', 'glossed', 'guessed at', 'mischievous', even 'scandalous'. Many commentators refer to a lack of authority or corroborative documentary evidence in Wood's assertion and deductions—there is certainly an absence of the substantiated referencing of modern scholarship—and criticise him for recording information second or third hand or erroneously conflating the facts. Yet, parallel contemporary records that would help illuminate the world of Wood's time, are not forthcoming, and therefore the information that Wood supplies carries undue weight.

³¹ Precisely this detail is also lacking relating to Orlando's 20-year tenure at court. It could also be compared that Orlando's tenure at the Abbey was but two calendar years. Official records, even

It would be unhelpful to credit his fame to his relationship with his father: Orlando died before Christopher was ten years old. Christopher must therefore have earned his celebrity through his own skill and strength of personality. It should be remembered that Lodewijk Huygens (1631–99), son of the architect of the Dutch Organ School, had in 1652 heard ‘a famous organist by the name of Gibbons play on a little positive organ.’³² The year prior, Gibbons was listed in Playford’s *A Musicall Banquet* among those of the ‘many excellent and able Masters’.³³ Three years later John Evelyn (1620–1706) would describe him as ‘that famous musitian’.³⁴ It is therefore more appropriate to view these latter appointments as the apotheosis of an already illustrious career—Gibbons had by this point a thirty-year working life already behind him—rather than a late start, or a lucky break.³⁵ It would be somewhat incredible if this West Country lad gained his fame from four years’ largely unrecorded duty as organist at Winchester.³⁶

Would his fame then be for his theatre and consort work? His involvement in what is credited as the first English opera (precisely at the time when Evelyn is writing of his fame)

hearsay, fall silent about Christopher Gibbons after 1664.

³² Huygens’ diary entry for 10 March 1652. See Lodewijck Huygens, and Alfred Gustave Herbert Bachrach, *The English Journal* (E. J. Brill/Leiden University Press, 1982), 92. See also below, p. 69.

³³ See p. 68. John Playford Sr (1623–1686 or 1687).

³⁴ See p. 70.

³⁵ Holman has: ‘Gibbons spent his youth and early adult career in the West Country, only coming to London, it seems, after he lost his post as organist of Winchester Cathedral.’ (Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 266.)

³⁶ Curiously, Wood does not even mention Winchester in Gibbons’ biography. For the full text, see footnote 139; see also Part Four: Winchester Cathedral.

and as a composer of at least a hundred string fantazias is noteworthy, and may have had some bearing on Evelyn's and Huygens' comments.³⁷

What emerges from knowledge of his biography is that Gibbons is an individual of considerable musical and social standing in his own right. Moreover, Gibbons' outstanding professional career is supported by two letters of exceptional provenance: the court itself. The first, written 23 June 1638, is a 'comand' from the Lord Chamberlain to install Christopher to his first responsible position, at Winchester.³⁸ The second is directly from the king, dated 2 July 1663, recommending him for an Oxford degree.³⁹ Both letters speak of a length of service at court.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the most accurate detail of Christopher Gibbons' life comes from his appointments at the apex of his career. Firstly, is that the king appoints Gibbons to his private music, but 21 days after his arrival in London.⁴⁰ Christopher's name soon appears in the *Cheque Book* and on the subsidy lists of the Chapel Royal.⁴¹ Finally, the receipt of a

³⁷ See Rayner, 'A Little-Known Seventeenth-Century Composer,' 21. By way of comparison, Gibbons' string output is comparable to John Coprario's (b. c. 1570–80; d. 1626) 96 extant three- to six-voice fantasias.

³⁸ The full text is reproduced at p. 59.

³⁹ The wording of Gibbons' Oxford Doctorate is to be found in full at footnote 121.

⁴⁰ 19 June 1660: 'Mr Gybbons approved of by y^e King at Baynards Castle; and an organ to be made for him./ For ye ~~organs~~ verginalls in ye Presence in Mr. Warwick's place.' (PRO, LC3/2; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 3. The strikethrough is original.) In the memorandum quoted, 'verginalls' replaces the deleted word 'organs'. Quoted in Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 247.

⁴¹ *Cheque Book*, f. 44r (Andrew Ashbee and John Harley. *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*. (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2020), 120.)

payment in arrears at Michaelmas (29 September) 1661 is for the year's duty as Organist at Westminster Abbey.⁴²

It is precisely because records are so clear for this particular period of court history that biographers have tended to highlight the latter years of Gibbons' work, rather than to look back at factors that placed him in three of the most prestigious and well-connected musical roles in England; certainly there is no hard evidence of his success, or celebrity, coming directly out of his work at Exeter or Winchester.

The study takes note of the admission procedure, of retention, professional placements, preferment and succession, and determines a template for the careers of musicians working at court.

⁴² WAM 33695, consulted 15 November 2022.

Part One: The Making of a ‘Musitian’⁴³

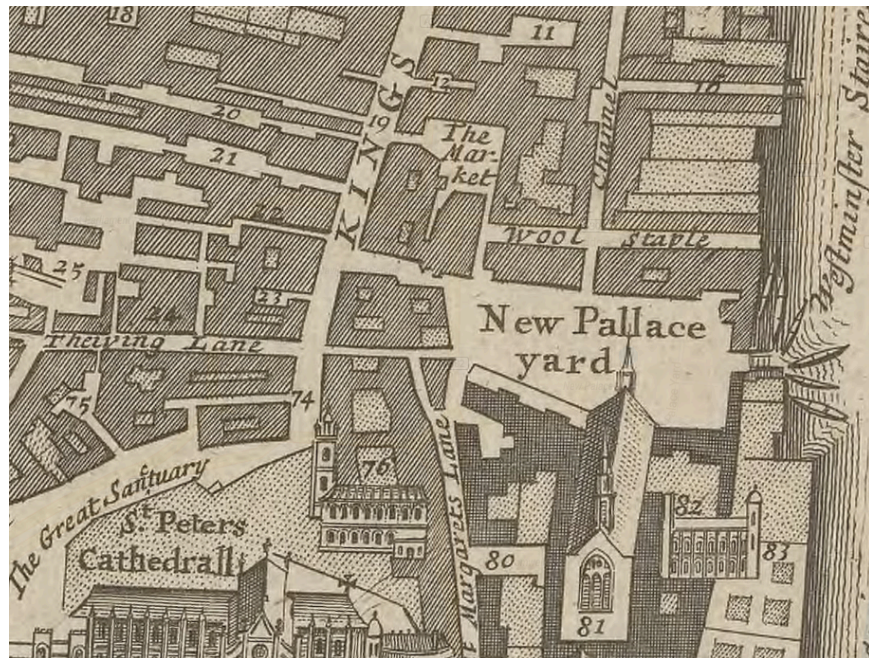
The baptism of Christopher Gybbons in the registers of St Margaret’s, Westminster is given as 22 August 1615: a Saturday. There being no Holy Days in the preceding week, it is taken that Christopher’s birth fell within the seven-day period between 16 and 22 August. James, the first child to Orlando and Elizabeth, had died in infancy.⁴⁴ An older sibling, Alice, had been born in 1613; three more daughters, Ann, Mary and Elizabeth Jr and another son, Orlando Jr, were baptised during the period 1618–23. Whereas before the Reformation, royal servants were housed in the palace, Orlando and Elizabeth were at the time of Christopher’s birth renting a house in the bustling marketplace of Round Wool-staple, just north of the Palace of Westminster, between the Abbey and the chapel.⁴⁵ Orlando had by that point been a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal for at least six or seven years.⁴⁶

⁴³ Reference to Christopher Gibbons ‘that famous musitian’, from Evelyn’s diary for 12 July 1654. William Bray, ed. *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Washington & London: M. Walter Dunne, 1901), 289. For the complete quotation see p. 70.

⁴⁴ Baptised at St Margaret’s, Westminster on 2 June 1607 and buried two days later. (Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 32.) Elizabeth Gibbons *née* Pattin/Patten: b. possibly 1590, d. 1626.

⁴⁵ Perhaps since as early as January 1605, presuming his promotion as Gentleman Ordinary at the age of 21 years. Since 1544 the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal had been expected to live locally, whereas previous postholders had been billeted within the palace. (David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1990), 281.) ‘A century later in 1663’, Baldwin adds, ‘we learn of an instruction at a chapter meeting held in the Whitehall vestry that “all gentlemen of his Majesties Chappell shall have their habitations within or near the City of London, to be ready to attend at all times when the Deane or Sub Dean shall summon them.”’ (Ibid., 280.) Round Wool-staple was located in the sixth of eight wards of the Parish of St Margaret’s Westminster, incorporating Old Palace, Round Wool-staple, and the Bowling Alley. (Sheffield hriOnline, ‘Stype, Survey of London (1720).’ https://www.dhi.ac.uk/stype/TransformServlet?page=book6_057 (Accessed 13 December 2021).) ‘The Woolstaple [is] a very ordinary Place or Lane, but lying on the Back-side of the new Palace Yard, unto which it hath a Passage out of Channel Row, and another into the Market, as also into King’s-street by the Gate house: This Place was of greater Note when the Woolstaple [Wool Market] was here kept’. (Ibid., book 6, chapter 5, p. 63.)

⁴⁶ Orlando is first mentioned in records as Gentleman not until 1608 (Ashbee, *Records of English Court*



Picture 1: Christopher Gibbons' birthplace. *A MAPP of the Parish of St MARGARETS Westminster taken from the last Survey with Corrections 7 B* (detail).⁴⁷ Today Wool Staple is Bridge Street. 'Round Wool-staple' is the ancient wool market labelled here 'The Market', the busy mercantile heart of Thorney Island; today the site is precisely the southern end of Whitehall/Parliament Street, being the north entrance to Parliament Square.⁴⁸

In an age when professional skills passed down from father to son, and given a likely genetic predisposition, it may be assumed that Christopher would have been brought under the

Music, IV: 19.) and as 'his Majesty's organist' in 1618 (*Ibid.*, IV: 43.). Harley points out that he may have spent some time waiting as a Gentleman Extraordinary. (Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 28, footnote 9.) Harley also notes the possible relationship between John Bull (1562/3–1628) and Orlando's brother Edward Gibbons (c. 1568–c. 1650), summarising that this may explain how Orlando's talents came to be recognized. (*Ibid.*, 30.)

⁴⁷ Lbl Online Gallery, 'A Mapp of the Parish of St Margarets Westminster (John Strype's Second Edition of Stow's Survey, 1755).' *Maps Crace Xi, 7b* <www.bl.uk/onlinegallery> (Accessed 13 December 2021).

⁴⁸ See also William Bardwell, *Westminster Improvements. A brief account of ancient and modern Westminster. Second edition* (London: Smith & Elder, Fraser, Weale Williams, & Reid, 1839), 22.

influence of music from the outset. It would probably have been no different in Orlando's own upbringing, about which nothing is known—neither his father's. Harley surmises:

Orlando Gibbons grew up in a household where music was the family business. An ability to play a number of instruments and to write music when required was most likely taken as a matter of course. It is clear that he learned to play keyboard instruments, and his fluency as a composer for strings suggests that he learned the viol as well. He learned enough of composition to be able to write music of some complexity by his early twenties.⁴⁹

Orlando and Elizabeth would doubtless have prayed that their son would follow his father's footsteps into such an established, secure, high-standing and well-paid career. Equally, to the artistically-sensitive court community, whose job was to recruit musically-gifted children into the king's musical entourage, the birth of a son to one of their finest will have been keenly noted. Philipps elaborates:

high wages, royal patents and grants, and preferential treatment made life so profitable for royal musicians that they jealously guarded their appointments and trained their sons and kinsmen to inherit them. Places came to be granted not only to the present holders, but with survivorships—that is, provision for the holders' heirs—and in reversion, a provision for an appointment once the holder had died. Such reversionary appointments allowed fathers to arrange for their sons' placement in the royal service and effectively denied outsiders opportunity to qualify for openings when they appeared. Sons could then keep offices as sole possessors once their fathers had died, preserving place and income in the family.⁵⁰

By the time Christopher was old enough to read, aged maybe seven or eight, it is likely he will have been incorporated into court life under the wing of his father, who was already 'his Majesty's organist'. As boys' names are rarely recorded in court records during this period, there can be no evidence that he did or did not enter as a Child of the Chapel.⁵¹ Nonetheless,

⁴⁹ Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 24.

⁵⁰ G. A. Philipps, 'Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I,' *Music & Letters* 58, no. 1 (1977), 40–1.

⁵¹ See footnotes 76 and 104. He may have joined the ranks of boys in the King's Private Music, either as an appointed 'Ordinary', or waiting in the wings as an 'Extraordinary'. Boys from the Private Music

Chalmers asserts that Christopher was ‘of his chapel.’⁵² Mould infers the same.⁵³ Rayner offers a wholly plausible but unsubstantiated claim that Christopher studied until the tutelage of Nathaniel Giles (c. 1558–1634), while Harley does little more than hint at a role for the boy in his father’s workplace.⁵⁴

Orlando died at Canterbury on Whit Sunday in 1625 whilst preparing for the arrival of Charles I and his new bride to be married at Canterbury. Following a hasty autopsy Orlando was buried in the cathedral the following day. As the Chapel Choir was already in attendance at Canterbury by that point, it may be assumed that Christopher will have been at his father’s side at the time of his death.⁵⁵

Christopher’s mother was still renting the house in Round Wool-staple when she died thirteen months later, leaving as orphans Alice (aged nearly 13), Christopher (nearly 11), Ann (seven-and-a-half), Mary (five), Elizabeth (four) and baby Orlando (almost three).⁵⁶

evidently sometimes doubled as singers in the Chapel. It can be determined that Christopher was not a Chorister of Westminster Abbey, as the names of the ten boys are recorded for James I’s funeral in 1625. (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 4.)

⁵² For the full text see footnote 120. This statement will be further analysed below in ‘Breeding up boyes’.

⁵³ Alan Mould, *The English Chorister* (London: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2007), 423.

⁵⁴ Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 233.

⁵⁵ Margaret Toynbee, ‘The Wedding Journey of King Charles I,’ *F.S.A. Archaeologia Cantiana* 69 (1955), 75–89. Christopher was at the point of his father’s death nine years and nine-and-a-half months old.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Gibbons’ burial notice is registered in *St Margaret’s Memorials of St. Margaret’s Church, Westminster*. (Arthur Meredyth Burke, *Memorials of St. Margaret’s Church, Westminster* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd, 1914), 544.) Usually in this period rent was to be paid in advance, from Easter 1625 until the Easter following her death at the beginning of July 1626; she was rated as ‘Widdowe Gibbons’ in the *Overseers’ Accounts for St. Margaret’s, Westminster*. (Paul Vining, ‘Orlando Gibbons: The Portraits,’ *Music & Letters* 58, no. 4 (1977), 415.)

Nothing is known of where Christopher, double orphaned a month before his eleventh birthday, grew up, or whether he continued his schooling. Rayner with certain authority states that, on the death of her husband, Elizabeth Gibbons took the family to live in Exeter with Orlando Senior's brother Edward. However, there is no sound evidence to support this claim.⁵⁷ Rayner's assurance presumably came from Wood, who noted that Christopher was 'bred up from a child to music under his uncle Ellis Gibbons organist of Bristol.'⁵⁸ This sentence is however to be treated with suspicion, for the chronology is mistaken: Ellis died in London in 1603, neither was he organist at Bristol.⁵⁹ Wood likely transposed 'Ellis' for 'Edward' and 'Bristol' for 'Exeter' but even this remains questionable, as John Lugge (c. 1587–after 1647) had been organist at Exeter since 1603, staying in that position until 1647. Uncle Edward had indeed been teaching the Exeter choristers since 1608.⁶⁰ In what capacity he taught is also open to debate: a year later he is to continue to 'teache the choristers and secondaries of this churche in instrumentall Musicke.'⁶¹ Moreover,

⁵⁷ Rayner and Rayner, 'Christopher Gibbons,' 152. While in Exeter in 1633 a Christopher Gibbons was indeed witness to a will, but this in itself cannot provide cast-iron evidence that Gibbons was resident in Exeter. The original will perished in the second world war means that corroboration is now impossible. See Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 234 footnote 6. It is noted that Gibbons is a common name at around this time in the Parish Registers for the Exeter district.

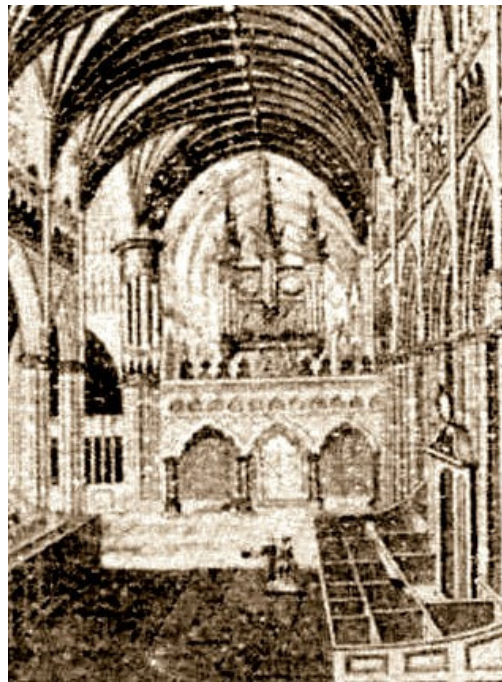
⁵⁸ Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 278.

⁵⁹ Again, this clause is questionable, as Christopher would have been old enough to have been 'bred up from a child to music' under his own father—a valuable fact inexplicably lost on Wood.

⁶⁰ Edward Gibbons was nominated a layman to a priest-vicar's place there the following year and promoted to Succentor in 1615. See Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 17–24.

⁶¹ Exeter Cathedral, D&C 3553, f. 11r–12r. Prior to Edward Gibbons' arrival at Exeter he was paid as 'informator of the choristers' at King's College, Cambridge, but again the capacity of this teaching role is unknown. See *Ibid.*, 18.

the fact that the children's mother was buried in St Margaret's, Westminster casts doubt on the suggestion that the family could have relocated to Exeter.



Picture 2: Exeter Cathedral in the eighteenth century, showing the Double Diapason pipes.⁶²

Twenty-eight months elapsed between Elizabeth's burial and the formalization of the custody of six minors to Edward, who was at that time almost sixty years of age.⁶³ The children would

⁶² Interior of Exeter Cathedral, <<https://alanjohnphillips.weebly.com/gorgeous-georgians.html>> (Accessed 29 November 2021).

⁶³ Harley notes the formalization of his wardship to Edward dated 27 October 1628 (citing PRO, Prob. 6/13, f. 52). See Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 230.

have been sent away immediately following their mother's death, as was commonplace, directly to their new guardian in Exeter, then a several-day journey away by coach.⁶⁴

It is hereby propounded that Christopher was not one of the children who made that long journey. It seems almost inevitable that Christopher, already proficient in music and seen as a promising prospect for continuing court service, must have stayed on at Whitehall in his capacity as one of the choristers.⁶⁵ Here there was strong support in place to maintain boys away from home, as well as children from poor families and those orphaned. Further, a suggestion from later on in Christopher's life is that Lady Alice Hatton (born 1585) may have had oversight of Christopher's continuing welfare: as wife of the late Sir Christopher Hatton II (c. 1581–1619), the couple had been close neighbours to the Gibbons family at the time of Christopher, Alice and Ann's birth, and it is entirely likely that they were the godparents to at least two of the Gibbons children, Christopher and Alice, their namesakes.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Ben Johnson, 'The Stagecoach.' <www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/The-Stagecoach> (Accessed 6 February 2022). Stagecoaches operated in the summer months, and only in good weather. In 1658 the trip between London to Exeter took four days. (National Archives, 'Living in the 17th Century.' <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/living-in-the-17th-century> (Accessed 5 December 2021).) Exeter Cathedral Library and Archive show that Edward Gibbons was twice granted extended leave of absence from the cathedral (1609, 1620), but nothing is registered for the period immediately following his brother's or his sister-in-law's deaths. It would appear that Edward spent no time in Westminster looking after Elizabeth nor attending to the orphans.

⁶⁵ The only other boy in the family was Orlando Junior, not yet 3, who would have been far too young to have the promise of entering the Chapel as a Child. Harley suggests that he was indeed cared for in Exeter, and probably was to die there c. 1650. (Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 230, 271.)

⁶⁶ Ibid., 36–8. A possible connection to a later chapter of Christopher Gibbons' life is his fiancée's residence at Smithfield at the time of his first marriage. See under Part Five: London. The Hattons had been patrons to Orlando, so the suggestion of ongoing patronage and support is not unreasonable. Lady Hatton may well have welcomed Christopher on occasion at their home at St Bartholomew the Great Parish, Smithfield. Her own son, also called Christopher (Christopher Hatton III, 1605–70), was ten years older, and it is not inconceivable that he cut an older brother figure. They would both enjoy prominent court careers. (Whilst the court was in Oxford, 1643–6, Hatton was made Comptroller of the Royal Household; later, at the Restoration he was made a privy counsellor. (Victor Stater, 'Hatton, Christopher, first Baron Hatton (bap. 1605, d. 1670).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 20 April 2021).) An essence of Alice Hatton's

An Orphan at Court

Pertinent to Gibbons' story is his status as orphan. Seldom do we read of Children of the Chapel being 'dismist'—and this was likely because they were of no further musical use to court.⁶⁷ But court was certainly not blind to the needs of orphans: apprenticing a promising musical boy meant lodgings and the payment of a maintenance livery for some time thereafter.⁶⁸ Even boys who were too young or untrained in music might still be provided crown patronage if their petitions were answered.⁶⁹

Seven months after Christopher was orphaned, the court applied for his admission to the Charterhouse at the first available place.⁷⁰ Christopher would likely have served the statutory three years as a Child of the Chapel to qualify for ongoing court assistance.⁷¹ The

parental warmth is exemplified in a letter to her son Christopher, thought to have been written whilst he was away at at Jesus College, Cambridge, aged then about 15, which reads: 'SONNE, I have received both your letters, and am glad to see your hand mende. [...] Thus, desiering God of His greate goodnes to bless you and all your studies and indevers, I rest Your verie loving mother, ALES HATTON.' (Edward Maunde Thompson, *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton* (Camden Society, 1878), 3–4.)

⁶⁷ Throughout *King's Musick* only 11 boys are marked as 'dismist'/'discharged', and with the exception of Croft, all are not encountered again in LCA. (Curiously, Croft's notice of dismissal carried on p. 434 of De Lafontaine's *King's Musick* is not carried in Ashbee II, p. 65.)

⁶⁸ See Philipps, 'Crown Musical Patronage,' 39.

⁶⁹ Two very human accounts are recounted in Philipps: 'Henry Lanier's [d. 1633] widow, Joan, asked that their son Andrea be "trained in the quality of music". The Crown responded that the boy's kinsman Andrea should take him into his care to give him instruction as soon as he was able. A comparatively full account exists for a similar petition from 1641. Margaret Dorney, widow of a royal violinist, reminded the king of his promise that her son would replace his father in the royal service. Her husband had long served the Crown and had gone with Charles and Buckingham to Spain in 1623, but his death left no means to support his widow and six children except for his office at court. Mistress Dorney included in her petition a testimonial signed by seven court violinists, and soon thereafter her son was sworn in as a violinist. Because he was a child, his place was to be filled by some able replacement until young Dorney was sufficiently trained, but he was to receive his wages and livery immediately.' (Ibid. Philipps cites here De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 88, 108.)

⁷⁰ Letter printed in Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 233.

⁷¹ Such support is certainly in the spirit of ongoing care as witnessed in the Edict of King James 1604.

letter was written in good faith, for it would have been received during the time when the boy's future lay in the balance, but, because of his subsequent orphanhood, it can now be stated with some certainty that Christopher was not taken into Charterhouse.⁷² At any rate his wardship to his uncle would be formally confirmed a further 15 months onwards from that point, when there would have been no possibility that a plea of poverty could be sustained, as Edward Gibbons was an extremely wealthy man.⁷³

See Hillebrand, 'The Early History of the Chapel Royal,' 82.

⁷² Records at Charterhouse that would lead to an understanding of whether or not Christopher took up his approved place are now lost. (Edward Mellor Jameson, *Alumni Carthusiani: A Record of the Foundation Scholars of Charterhouse, 1614-1872* (London: Grove Park Private Press, 1913), 8.) The opinion of the present Charterhouse archivist Stephen Porter (as referenced in a letter from Charterhouse organist Graham Matthews to the present author, 26 February 2020) is that he took up his place. However, this opinion is contradicted by Porter himself on p. 28 of his book *London Charterhouse*: 'He was nominated to a Scholar's place in January 1627 and accepted by the governors in the following June, but if he did take up the place he would have relinquished it in 1628 [*sic*], after his mother's death.' (Stephen Porter, *London Charterhouse* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2009), 28.) Given that Christopher's mother had in fact died almost a year before his nomination, Porter's previous contradictory position makes the notion of Gibbons having held a place for any length of time seem improbable. Christopher would indeed have been eligible to enter Charterhouse as a Poor Boy, but not as an orphan.

⁷³ Walker recounts that Gibbons 'married Two Wives which were Gentlewomen of *Considerable Families and Fortunes*; the First a near Relation of the Lord *Spencer's*, and the Second of the *Ancient Family* of the *Bluets* in this County: By which means he had gotten a *very considerable Temporal Estate*.' (Italics original.) (John Walker, *An attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, etc., who were Sequestr'd, Harrass'd, in the Late Times of the Grand Rebellion* (London: F. Nicholson, R. Knaplock, R. Wilkin, B. Tooke, D. Midwinter, and B. Cowse, 1714), ii: 32. See also Wikipedia, 'Manor of Holcombe Rogus.' <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manor_of_Holcombe_Rogus> (Accessed 4 September 2021). See also Part Five: Exeter.)

Part Two: The Royal Music School

Mould is rather hesitant with his assessment that the ‘King’s Music’ was ‘the nearest thing Britain had to the Royal Academy of Music and that its choristers were the student body.’⁷⁴ The institution was clearly a long-established industry, where children from across London and indeed throughout the kingdom, were trained and influenced by an ‘incomparable network of musicians’.⁷⁵ Not all were choristers, but many in the system began their musical journey as singers: when a boy showed strong musical proficiency, he was marked out for special training. In addition to the statutory 15 children from the two chapels, accounts reveal that there were other children kept ‘for the Private Music’, seemingly specifically for wind instruments and for singing; some, but not all of these boys, had been recruited from Chapel ranks.⁷⁶ Philipps notes that, in the reign of Charles I, Louis Richard (fl. 1625–44) received

⁷⁴ Mould, *The English Chorister*, 129.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁷⁶ For example, 19 September 1676: ‘Warrant dormant to pay to John Blow, appointed master of the children of the Chappell Royall, in place of Pelham Humphries, deceased, the sum of £80, for keeping and teaching two singing boys, to be educated in the private musick, for two years ended St. John Baptist last past, and henceforth to pay him £40 per annum’ (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 309. See also Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 165. See also Mould, *The English Chorister*, 131–3.) Of the very many references to the giving and receiving of specialist education is that of John Mason, Thomas Mell and Henry Gregory being paid for ‘educating two boys in the art of music’—in their case, wind instruments (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 172. See also Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 28). The word ‘collectively’ is later used—for example 1665, St. John the Baptist (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 160)—implying that the responsibility of teaching the various disciplines was divided among them. From 1668 the name of Grabu added to the list of those retaining boys for service, at which point there would have been at least six boys being trained for service in the ‘Kings Musick’. at this point then there were at least six boys trained for service in the ‘King’s Musick’. Dennison and Wood further speculate: ‘Cooke was made master of the boys in the Private Music as early as 29 June 1660, and it may well have been these boys, about four in number, who formed the nucleus of the Children of the Chapel Royal of whom Cooke had been appointed master by 29 September 1660.’ (Peter Dennison, and Bruce Wood, ‘Cooke, Henry.’ *Grove Music Online*

payments of £440 per annum for ‘keeping a group of boys under his direction’.⁷⁷ That boys were destined for continued service is captured in the warrant below, as is the notion that such apprenticeships were part of an ongoing cycle of ‘breeding up boys in the quality of musique’. In a modern way of thinking, the boys were *protégés*, maintained expressly for preferment to his Majesty’s musical service.

1639–40, January 12. Whereas Andrea Lanier [died 1660], one of his Majesty’s musicians for the wind instruments, hath long since received Order from his Majesty for the trayning and breeding up of two boyes or youtnes in the quality of musique, for which his Majesty was pleased to settle upon him a competent intertainment to be had in the exchequer and great Wardrobe. Forasmuch as I understand that some question is made of the payment of what is settled by his Majesty to that purpose, because the two boyes he lately had, named John Hixon and Francis Smith, are, because enabled, preferred to his Majesty’s service, these are to certify that in their room I have appointed two others to be bred by him in musique, namely William Lanier and Thomas Lanier.⁷⁸

The expression ‘boyes or youtnes’ implies that they were articulated at an early age. Lafontaine notes that, on 17 December 1683, Henry Jr was appointed as ‘keeper, mender, maker, repairer and tuner of the regals, organs, virginals, flutes and recorders, and all other kinds of wind instruments, in the place of John Hingston [c. 1606–83], deceased’, he may previously have been apprenticed to his former master. Purcell’s first court record (10 June 1673) confirms that he had started on this path some ten years earlier, aged ostensibly 13 years, nine

<www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 27 August 2021).)

⁷⁷ Philipps, ‘Crown Musical Patronage,’ 29. ‘Lewies Richards’ is listed under the ‘Musicians’ section of the ‘Accounts for the funeral of Queen Anne. List of servants of the late Queen’ (1618, De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 52). In 1625 it is confirmed that this ‘Lewis Richard’ was one of eleven of the ‘Queen’s servants who came over with her’, with ‘3 little singing boys’ (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 59. See also Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 244–5).

⁷⁸ De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 104; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 103. Elsewhere boys are ‘committed to [Andrea Lanier’s] care to learn the science of the flute and cornet’ (e.g. De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 78).

months.⁷⁹ Further, it is deduced from the following warrant that such boys or youths were educated in addition to, and as distinct from, the cohort of Chapel boys.

1663, May 24. Warrant to pay to William Gregory, John Mason, Thomas Mell and Henry Gregory, for the apparelling and breeding up of two boys in the art of musick for the wind instruments, in the place of Andrea Lanier, deceased, and for and in consideration of their summer and winter liveries, the sum of £59. 13s. 4d., and to deliver to them twice a year during his Majesty's pleasure the materials for their summer and winter liveries.⁸⁰

Also responsible for accommodating and clothing their pupils the tutor received the payment of a respectable fee of £29. 16s. 8d. per boy per annum.⁸¹ The precise nature and duties of these apprenticeships is largely unrecorded, but alongside the practical and theoretical aspects of learning several instruments, they were likely fully involved in the instrumental, vocal, choral and theatrical life of court, playing, singing, acting, copying and composing. It seems there were valuable understudy opportunities too: John Bannister Jr (1662–1736) is listed, in 1674—aged then about 14—amongst seasoned court musicians in the violin band; further detail for the responsibilities of Lanier's two boys is gleaned from the following warrant: 'one to wait on the tenor cornet and the other on other occasions.'⁸²

These children would have been introduced to the rich variety of instruments and styles represented at court, as well as to the host of professionals involved: all manner of stringed instruments, double reeds, sackbuts, horns, fifes, guitars, regals, harps, bagpipes,

⁷⁹ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 462. Also Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 126, 208. See also p. 89. The expression 'in ordinary, without fee' equates to an 'extraordinary' position.

⁸⁰ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 158; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 45.

⁸¹ £30 in the case of Blow and Turner and £40 in the case of Pelham Humfrey. £30 represents 2.3 times a man's average salary; £40 is three times, equating to the basic salary of an musician 'in ordinary'. (Calculated via Table 16 at Clark, 'Average Earnings and Retail Prices, UK, 1209-2017.')

⁸² De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 97, 282.

kettle-drums, and trumpets in abundance; ‘English chamber musick’ was presented alongside French Opera and the music of the ‘Italian musicians’.⁸³ A child fortunate enough to find himself educated at court received the depth of experience and the range of opportunity as one would expect at a modern conservatory of music, surpassing, practically speaking, that of a university music degree.

LCA reveal relatively little about singing activities of the statutory boys of the King’s Chapel, and even less of the three boys of the Queen’s Chapel. For both cohorts, their schedule may have been something akin to that of a cathedral chorister attending a choir school. Boys had access to lessons on a variety of instruments: strings (specifically violin and viol); wind instruments (cornetto and flute; trumpet is never specified)—and lute and theorbo, harpsichord, virginals and organ, alongside singing lessons and ‘the art of musick’, presumably theory, composition, improvisation, harmony and counterpoint.⁸⁴ The boys took part in regular theatre productions, although at the Restoration much less intensely so than at

⁸³ For French Opera see *Ibid.*, 269. For English Chamber Music see De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 190; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 74 (for 24 November 1666). For the Italian musicians: ‘1670, July 9: Giovanni Sebenico and Symon Cottureau appointed Italian musicians in ordinary for the private musique’ (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 224; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 222).

⁸⁴ Mould may be mistaken in his observation that, ‘Nowhere in the Lord Chamberlain’s accounts do we find mention of anyone delegated to undertake instrumental teaching to the choristers. The probable solution is that Cooke did teach his boys their instruments but that only the teaching of singing and theory were covered by his salary as chorister master.’ (Mould, *The English Chorister*, 133.) For, later in the accounts the following ‘article of agreement’ is to be found between the then Master of the Children, Pelham Humfrey, and John Lilly (1612–78), musician in ordinary for the theorbo, with the Master of the Children entitled to take a cut of the fee payable: ‘1673, September 29. The said John Lilly shall from time to time and at all times after the date of the agreement teach and instruct four of the said children (to be appointed by the said Humfreys) on the viol and theorbo, in place of the said Pelham Humfreys. In consideration whereof Humfreys shall pay to him the sum of £30 yearly out of such salary as shall be paid to the said Humfreys, or a proportionally greater or lesser sum according to the salary received’ (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 260; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 129–30).

the beginning of the century, when the Children of the Chapel had become a famed and experienced troupe of boy actors.⁸⁵ The 12 or 13 boys of the King's Chapel lived with the Master of the Children—a practice originating from the mid-sixteenth century—in what might be described as a large boarding house; they were cared for by their Master, with servants and nurses.⁸⁶ A busy boarding school, it is observed that there were also occasionally boys known as 'extraordinaries'—perhaps the seven-year-olds known in cathedrals as pre-probationers—as well as older teenage boys retained for court service, the care and training of whom was a paid privilege that was afforded Cooke throughout his tenure as Master of the Children, as Pelham Humfrey and Blow were to have in his succession.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ By this point their association with the abusive aspects of theatrical production had ceased. (Richard Dutton, 'The Revels Office and the Boy Companies, 1600–1613: New Perspectives,' *English Literary Renaissance* 32, no. 2 (2002), 324–51.) See also below, Parts Three and Five.

⁸⁶ Mould, *The English Chorister*, 74, 130–132. Cooke was provided £30 'for the Diet, Lodging, washing and teaching of each of ye children of ye Chapel Royal.' Also '1676, November 8. Warrant to pay Mr. John Blow, master of the children of the Chappell the sum of £143 for the children learneing on the lute, violin and theorbo, and for strings and other expenses; and for his charges and expenses in his going to Windsor, Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester to fetch boyes from these Quires for his Majesty's Chappell Royall in 1676; and for a nurse, chamber rent and firing for keeping of John Cherrington, one of the children of the Chappell, being sick of spotted fever' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 311–12; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 165–6).

⁸⁷ 'Accounts ending Michaelmas, 1662. Bill for clothing for a Chappell boy extraordinary' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 149). '1669, January 9th: Capt. Cook has £40; composer of the private musick £40 : master of the boys £48; for 2 boys in the private musick £40; £20 for strings in the private musick' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 210). Pelham Humfrey's succession of Cooke's is confirmed thus: '1673, July 24. Order to prepare a bill for a patent to be granted to Pelham Humfryes for keeping and instructing two boys for his Majesty's private musique for voyces, and to have the sum of £24 yearly for every of them which Henry Cooke lately had [...] in all the sum of £108 yearly during his naturall life' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 258; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 128). In 1665 Cooke was clearly 'maintaining' and teaching three boys, Pelham Humfrey, Blow and Blundivile: '1665, May 17. Warrants to pay Capt. Henry Cooke, master of the Children of his Majesty's Chappell Royall, the sum of £40 yearly for the maintenance of Pelham Humphryes; £30 yearly for the maintenance of John Blow; and £30 yearly for the maintenance of John Blundivile; late children of his Majesty's Chappell, to commence 25 December last past' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 178–9; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 63).

The LCA do not cover the appointments, activities and expenditure in the Queen's Chapel, although they do occasionally make tangential references, such as the fact that there were but three boys whose maintenance was exactly the same as the boys of the King's Chapel.⁸⁸

As a Child of the Chapel, Christopher would have lodged with Nathaniel Giles, Master of the Children, and be taught and cared for principally by him. Another prime musical influence on him would have been Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656), composer and church musician of impeccable pedigree, and Orlando's junior organist at the Chapel.⁸⁹ It may well have been he who continued to instruct Christopher at the keyboard following Orlando's death. Independent of an already enviable genetic make-up, this would put Christopher's musicianship into the Tallis–Byrd lineage, something that even his father had not enjoyed. Other influences would have been Richard Portman (died *c.* 1656), organist at the Abbey; John Tomkins (1586–1638) who also held the post of organist at St Paul's; a little later, John Tomkins' brother Giles (1587–1668); and Thomas Day, (died *c.* 1654) who was to succeed Nathaniel Giles as Master of the Children in 1634.⁹⁰ Christopher's milieu would have included the illustrious Whitehall musicians William Lawes (1602–1645), Elway Bevin (*c.*

⁸⁸ '1664, October 8. Warrant for liveries for the three children of the Queen's Chappell, like in every respect as to the children of his Majesty's Chappell' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 172; seemingly not calendared in Ashbee).

⁸⁹ See '(1) Thomas Tomkins' in Peter Le Huray, John Irving, and Kerry McCarthy, 'Tomkins family.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 5 March 2021). Also Peter Le Huray, and John Harper, 'Gibbons, Orlando.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 6 Nov. 2021).

⁹⁰ For a suggestion that Christopher Gibbons apprenticed with or was articulated to Portman, see footnote 125.

1554–1638), John Dowland (1563–1626), Walter Porter (born *c.* 1587–1595; died 1659), Thomas Warwick, Henry Lawes (1596–1662), likely also his lifetime colleague Henry Cooke.⁹¹ Warwick, Day, William and Henry Lawes also held appointments in the Private Music, whose names appear alongside many of the finest clans of musicians working in England at the time: the Laniers, Bassanos, Ferraboscas, Lupos and the Mells.⁹²

‘Chappell boy gone off’⁹³

Hillebrand identifies that the practice of sending boys to university, whose voices had changed, was revived through an edict issued by King James in 1604.⁹⁴ The expression ‘gone from the chapel’, familiar from LCA, represents the point at which boys transitioned either to university or passed into the mechanism of Private Music. While Chapel records cannot cast light on the extent of university up-take, it is patently clear that every child was looked after long beyond the tenure of their chorister years.⁹⁵

1677, November 13. Warrant to pay to John Farmer, heretofore a child of his Majesty’s Chappell Royall, his voyce being changed and he being gon from the Chappell, the sum of £90, due for his maintenance for three years, from 25 March, 1672,

⁹¹ Dennison, ‘Cooke, Henry.’ See Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood’s Template. It may also be possible to add Byrd in this list: a William Byrd is listed as a ‘Gent of the Chapel’ on the Chapel lists until 1619. (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, IV: 50.) Byrd died in 1623. It is feasible, therefore, that he continued in this capacity for some years further, overlapping for a year or two with Christopher Gibbons, although Byrd would by that point have been extremely ancient.

⁹² John (ii), Alfonso, Clement, Jerome, Nicholas and Andrea Lanier; Jeronimo (ii), Andrea, Henry, Anthony (ii) and Edward (ii) Bassano; Alphonso Ferrabosco (i and ii), Henry Ferrabosco; Thomas and Theophilus Lupo; Stephen and Davis Mell.

⁹³ Title taken from De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 46 (for 7 October 1605) and elsewhere.

⁹⁴ Referenced above at footnote 71.

⁹⁵ See in particular Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 313–44.

by warrant from the Earl of Manchester, allowing him £30 yearly during His Majesty's pleasure, which allowance hath not been paid.⁹⁶

1673, October 20. Estimate for furnishing each boy of the Chappell (as they change their voyces) with two suites and cloaks and with all double proportion of linnen and other necessities.⁹⁷

James' edict clearly states that boys were only sent to university if their 'voices become insufficient or unmeet for the service of us our heires or successors'. Whilst the word 'university' is not encountered in LCA, these records do however reveal which boys were 'sufficient and meet' for that service. Yet, although Chapel records quite often tally a date before which a boy suffered a change of voice, this is unfortunately not very illuminating, as often the boy's year of birth is unrecorded. Calculating this important life-event is a precarious matter, and a central range of 15–18 is proposed.⁹⁸ Little can be determined about Christopher's genetic disposition, but it is generally supposed that his father stopped singing as a boy aged 15 years, 4 months.⁹⁹ Blow's voice changed aged 15-and-a-half; William Turner

⁹⁶ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 325–6; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 175. 'His Majesty's pleasure' seems to imply financial assistance until the boy's twenty-first birthday or until a preferment could be granted. More research work is required in this regard.

⁹⁷ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 262; seemingly not calendared in Ashbee.

⁹⁸ A recent study identified 76 independent signals for male puberty timing. (Ben Hollis et al., 'Genomic analysis of male puberty timing highlights shared genetic basis with hair colour and lifespan,' *Nature communications* 11, no. 1 (2020).) The largest genomic analysis of puberty timing in men and women conducted to date (released in 2017) has identified 389 genetic signals associated with puberty timing: four times the number that were previously known. (University of Cambridge, 'Hundreds of genes that influence timing of puberty identified.' *Science Daily* <www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2017/04/170424141318.htm> (Accessed 27 August 2021).)

⁹⁹ That Orlando was singing regularly in the Choir of King's College, Cambridge until Michaelmas 1598 may indicate that his voice changed a short time before his fifteenth birthday. (Reference via Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 24.) This must however be treated with caution, since Michaelmas 1598 was the date at which Orlando's brother Edward resigned his duties as 'informator'. See *Ibid.*, 18. This was also the time of the new academic year, following Orlando's graduation as a sizar of the college at Easter 1598. See *Ibid.*, 24. Given that a four-year period of Orlando's childhood history is unaccounted for—Michaelmas 1598 to May 1603—it is tentatively suggested that Orlando may have transferred, encouraged by his uncle Edward's friend John Bull, Chapel Royal Organist, to take up as senior treble in the Chapel Royal Choir. See footnote 46. Aged not yet fourteen-and-a-half, Orlando

(1651–1740) likewise was about 15; Michael Wise (c. 1647–87) about 16; Francis Pigott (1665/6–1704) 17 or 18. It was not uncommon for a boy to be singing with his unchanged voice aged 17 or 18; William Croft's (1678–1727) boy's voice was seemingly still going strong well into his twenty-first year.¹⁰⁰

'Breeding up boyes' ¹⁰¹

Much is made of the practice of 'impressment' of children at court, particularly given its ignoble associations found in early theatre. What is less understood is that of 'retention'.

As has already been noted, either side of the Restoration there are many references in LCA to 'late child' ('late' in the sense of 'former'), and of boys whose voices have changed:

1673–4, January 26. Warrant to pay to William Turner, late child of his Majesty's Chappell Royall, whose voice being changed, went from the Chappell, the sum of £30 by the year, by the space of four years, from Michaelmas, 1666, to Michaelmas, 1670, in all £120.¹⁰²

1683–4, March 5. £30 to be paid to Dr. John Blow, master of the children of the Chappell Royall, every year during the King's pleasure, for the maintenance of Francis Pigott, late a child of the Chappell, whose voyce is changed and is gon from the Chappell. Two suits of clothes, etc., also provided.¹⁰³

would have two or more experienced treble years ahead of him. (Bull himself had transferred to the Chapel as a senior boy from Hereford Cathedral.) This would help explain how Orlando's career at court immediately flourished, with a natural promotion to Gentleman Extraordinary, following a period of 'maintenance'. See below.

¹⁰⁰ Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, II: 64. For consideration of Pelham Humfrey and Henry Purcell's boyhood career in Chapel, see Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood's Template.

¹⁰¹ An expression found in several places in LCA: see for example the warrant dated 24 May 1663 (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 158) quoted at p. 33.

¹⁰² De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 264; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 132.

¹⁰³ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 365; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 211.

Turner and Pigott had clearly been marked out as exceptional prospects.¹⁰⁴ Turner, one of the first choristers to sing in the Restoration Chapel, was retained at court for at least four years following his change of voice in 1666—simultaneously holding a youthful position at Lincoln Minster some 150 miles away—then, at the age of his majority, was appointed ‘for the lute and voice’ in place of his Master Henry Cooke, remaining in that position, alongside singing in the Chapel, for the remainder of his life, totalling, incidentally, some eighty years of court service under seven successive monarchs.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, Pigott, in a matter of just 13 years, would succeed Purcell as ‘First Organist’ of the Chapel.¹⁰⁶

Further, it is seen that boys were retained for sundry purposes, namely as ‘yeoman of the chapel’—that is, vestry assistants, perhaps as a route into the ministry—or as ‘pages’.¹⁰⁷ Boys were also retained as singers in the Private Music, where Christopher Gibbons, Cooke, Pelham Humfrey and Blow held defined positions of responsibility.

¹⁰⁴ There is no reliable tradition of recording the names of the Children of the Chapel. Throughout Ashbee’s *Records of English Court Music* Vol. IV (1603–25) but a single reference is found (to one ‘Davies’, at p. 39); no chorister names are entered in the period covered by Vol. III (1625–49); after 1660 the boys’ names are much more common. Where they are specifically mentioned in these later records, it is noted that William Norris (c. 1669–1702) joined as a Child of the Chapel aged 7 or 8 and was still singing as a boy for the 1685 Coronation, aged 16 or 17, being further retained and still active in Chapel some 25 years later. (Lists taken from Baldwin’s Appendix entitled ‘Chapel Royal Personnel’—Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*.) Robert Jones was still in the Chapel Choir 24 years after he joined (1512–36); and Henry Everseed, 29 years (1585–1614); John Clarke is found to be still active some 30 years after he joined. See *Ibid.*, 421.

¹⁰⁵ Turner was evidently appointed Master of the Choristers at Lincoln in 1667. See Don Franklin, ‘Turner, William (ii).’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 7 March 2021).

¹⁰⁶ Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 312.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Twelve pages’ are referenced in De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 270 (for 18 April 1674), as one of many references to the ‘pages of the Chapel’. However, as Cooke is referred to as the ‘Master of the Pages’ in Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 69 (not referenced in De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*) it is clear that there is certain interchangeability and unreliability in the terminology.

The yeomen of the Chapel, called also ‘pistelers’, were two in number. They were usually appointed from Children of the Chapel when their voices changed. They received each a daily stipend of 3d. and clothing.¹⁰⁸

1673, July 24. Order to prepare a bill for a patent to be granted to Pelham Humfryes for keeping and instructing two boys for his Majesty’s private musique for voyces, and to have the sum of £24. yearly for every of them which Henry Cooke lately had.¹⁰⁹

Thomas Heywood

A particularly vivid illustration of the career structure available to court musicians can be traced through LCA regarding singer and lutenist Thomas Heywood, who spent his entire career at court, from Child to Gentleman, almost from birth to death. Heywood is seen to rise through a series of promotions, holding four simultaneous positions in the ‘King’s Musick’.

1673, April 12. Warrant to provide and deliver to Pelham Humphryes, master of the children of his Majesty’s Chappell Royall, for the use of Thomas Heywood, late child of the Chappell, whose voyce is changed, and is to goe from the Chappell, two suits of plain cloth, two hatts and hattbands, four whole shirts, four half shirts, six bands, six pair of cuffs, six handkerchiefs, four pair of stockings, four pair of shoes and four pair of gloves.¹¹⁰

1673, April 12. Warrant to pay to Pelham Humfryes, master of the children of his Majesty’s Chappel Royall, the sum of £30 by the year during His Majesty’s pleasure for keeping of Thomas Heywood, late child of the Chappell, whose voyce is changed and is gon from the Chappell. To commence 25 December, 1672.¹¹¹

The first warrant is quite usual: the issue of fine clothing and an allowance: two essentials to help kickstart a career.¹¹² The second warrant illustrates how musical boys were retained for

¹⁰⁸ Harold N. Hillebrand, ‘The Early History of the Chapel Royal,’ *Modern Philology* 18, no. 5 (1920), 69–70.

¹⁰⁹ De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 258; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 128.

¹¹⁰ ‘De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 253; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 123.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² For instance, regarding the maintenance of John Reading Jr (c. 1685–1764) for 22 December 1699: ‘Also for the sum of £20 to be paid to him, being the usual allowance’ (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*,

future service—as with Turner and Pigott. Whilst other warrants are not always as specific as Heywood's, this practice seems to have been established from at least the start of the seventeenth century. It makes practical and economic sense that a child impressed into Crown service at an early age, and inculcated in Chapel ways, be trained up, not just in singing, but in theory, composition and instrumental practice, so as to become an experienced and reliable member of the community of adult musicians that surrounded the monarch.

The next that is seen of Thomas is from the following year, when he is to be admitted, perhaps even in the sense of trialled, as an 'ordinary without fee', and that has his professional post already marked out for him.

1674, April 23. Warrant to admit Thomas Heywood musician in ordinary to his Majesty without fee, to come in ordinary with fee on the death, surrender, or other avoydance of John Rogers, now musician in ordinary to his Majesty for the French lute.¹¹³

The following warrant grants further subsistence.

1674–5, January 4. Warrant for the payment of £30 yearly to Thomas Heywood, late child of his Majesty's Chappell, whose voyce is changed and is gon from the Chappell, for his keep and maintenance. To commence 25 December last past, 1673, notwithstanding a former warrant in April, 1673.¹¹⁴

434; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, II, 65).

¹¹³ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 270; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 137. Occasionally accounts show 'appointed [...] extraordinary without fee for the first vacancy' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 184 (seemingly not calendared in Ashbee) for 28 October 1665). For an example of the 'avoydance' principal see 21 July 1669: 'Warrant to swear and admit William Clayton musician in ordinary to his Majesty in the private musick without fee, to come in ordinary with fee upon the next avoydance of any of the private musick' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 218; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 92—calendared as 27 July).

¹¹⁴ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 283; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 146–7.

And finally, two-and-a-half years after his swearing in as an ‘ordinary without fee’, he is promoted to an annual fee of £100 for life; it can be assumed that by that point Heywood was a highly valued servant.¹¹⁵

1676, October 23. Warrant to prepare a Bill for a patent to grant to Thomas Heywood the office of musician in ordinary to his Majesty for the lute, in the place of John Rogers, deceased, with wages of £100 by the year, the first payment to commence Michaelmas, 1676.¹¹⁶

The date of his appointment as Ordinary gives a birthdate of around October 1655, meaning voice change by the age of 17-and-a-half. This was followed by immediate retention. His appointment as Extraordinary aged 18-and-a-half is fulfilled through promotion to an Ordinary’s role at 21.

But Heywood’s already impressive story is not quite finished. In 1679 he is listed as one of the sixteen Gentlemen of his Majesty’s Chapel Royal, and in 1685 as one of the ‘musicians for the private music in ordinary to his Majesty King James II’; two months later he is the subject of a warrant for the swearing in as a tenor (alongside Henry Purcell Jr as ‘Harpsicall’ player) for ‘his Majesty’s private musick in ordinary with fee and salary.’¹¹⁷

Heywood’s records are more complete than many others, where the path from Chorister through to Gentleman is very often not at all obvious. Here each phase can be neatly tallied. The events in Heywood’s life, as with Turner’s, form what might be regarded as

¹¹⁵ Lafontaine includes a table of salaries for Ordinaries ranging from £20 to £200. (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 209–10.)

¹¹⁶ De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 310; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 165, 231.

¹¹⁷ De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 339, 371–372; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, II: 2–3.

a career template for the promising child entering court. (The concept of the template is to be explored further in Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood's Template.)

Christopher Gibbons' records are particularly poor throughout nearly every stage at court. Curiously, his father's records at court are also obscure, as are Henry Cooke's. Applying Heywood's model provides a route to understanding the careers of court musicians whose records are less than complete.¹¹⁸

Christopher Gibbons' upbringing

It is observed that, between 1625 and 1762, all organists at the Abbey had been retained at court following their years as Children of the Chapel.¹¹⁹ It would be very surprising indeed if the sole exception to this pattern was that of a musical child born into the heart of Whitehall,

¹¹⁸ Baldwin alludes to a gap in the entries from 1633 to 1638, and a hiatus between 1638 and 1660, 'which the Register fills as far as it can'. (Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 423.) The last appointment made in the Cheque Book before the civil wars was that of Richard Portman in 1638. According to Baldwin, other appointments likely made during this period (taking into account appointments recorded up until the turn of the century where no fixed start-date exists) were for William West, Raphael Courtville, Randle Jewett, Randolphe Jewett, William Jewett, Thomas Purcell, Christopher Gibbons, John Goodgroome, Edward Lowe, Henry Cooke, George Cooke, George Low, John Cave, Henry Purcell Sr and Jr, Edward Coleman, Gregory Thorndale, Durant Hunt, Philip Tynchare, William Howes, William Tucker, William Hopwood, Richard Hart, Thomas Haywood (if this is Thomas Heywood, much information is known about his early years at court), Alphonso Marsh, John Sayr, George Bettenham and William Child. It is entirely feasible these were Children of the Chapel retained directly into service; some of whom may have served alongside Christopher and Cooke in their chorister years. Records of Children are not available with any reliability until 1660.

¹¹⁹ The succession is: Portman, appointed 1625; Christopher Gibbons; Albertus Bryne (c. 1621–68); Blow; Purcell; Croft and John Robinson (b. c. 1682). According to Le Huray and Morehen, Portman is said to have stayed on at the Chapel Royal after his voice broke. (Peter Le Huray, and John Morehen, 'Portman, Richard.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 7 March 2021).) It also appears that Croft also stayed on as a protégé of Blow's perhaps even until his twenty-first birthday; John Robinson, organist at the Abbey from 1727 likewise kept on until around the age of 21. (Watkins Shaw, H. Diack Johnstone, and Winton Dean, 'Robinson family (i).' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 7 March 2021).) At the Chapel, a similar succession of about 90 years is surmised, between Portman and Croft.

son of one of the most illustrious of court musicians, whom he would ultimately succeed, yet someone for whom the vagaries of record-keeping and the vicissitudes of time totally obscure his presence in the court annals. Yet, circumstantial evidence tells us that Christopher Gibbons was ‘honoured with the notice of Charles I. and was of his chapel.’¹²⁰ More compelling yet are the words of Charles II, written in a letter to Oxford University on 2 July 1663, which assert that Gibbons ‘hath from his youth, served Our Royall Father & Our selfe.’¹²¹ This final declaration carries the strongest indication that Christopher Gibbons was indeed brought up a servant at court.

By the time of his mother’s death, Christopher would have served the statutory three years as Child of the Chapel, and so, according to James’ edict of 1604, would automatically qualify for long-term support.¹²² In 1632, he entered his eighteenth year, and is likely at this

¹²⁰ Chalmers writes of Orlando Gibbons: ‘His son, Dr. Christopher Gibbons, was also honoured with the notice of Charles I. and was of his chapel. At the restoration, besides being appointed principal organist of the chapel royal, private organist to his majesty, and organist of Westminster-abbey, he obtained his doctor’s degree in music at Oxford, in consequence of a letter written by his majesty Charles II. himself in his behalf in 1664.’ (Alexander Chalmers and John Nichols, *The General Biographical Dictionary* (London: J. Nichols, 1812), 15: 471.)

¹²¹ The full text reads: ‘Trusty and wellbeloved wee greet you well Whereas the bearer Christopher Gibbons one of y^e. Organists of Our Chapple Royal hath from his youth, served Our Royall Father & Our selfe & hath soe well improved himselfe in Musicke as well in Our owne Judgem^t, as y^e. Judgements of all men wellskilld in y^e science as y^e hee may worthily receive y^e hono^r & degree of Doct^r therein wee in consideration of his merit & fitness thereunto, have thought fit by these Our L^res to recommend him unto you & to signify Our gracious Pleasure to you that hee be forthwth admitted & created D^r in Musick he performing his Exercise, & paying all his due ffees any Statute or Custome w^hever to y^e contrary not wthstanding And for &c.:’ (PRO, SP44/12, pp. 23–4; CSPD, 1862, p. 191; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, VIII: 159. See Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 262.) The word ‘youth’ in the context of the period implies the years before a twenty-first birthday. (Sarah Elizabeth Mawhinney, ‘Coming of Age: Youth in England, c. 1400–1600,’ diss., University of York, 2015.) The phrase, ‘honoured with the notice of the king’, is clearly a special recommendation for ongoing court patronage.

¹²² Referenced at footnote 71.

point to have been articulated to Thomas Day. As Private Musician, Day had taken in one or two boys ('for vocall musick') annually for many years.¹²³ This would have been a good choice for Gibbons, for Day also held the responsibility of Organist and Master of the Choristers at the Abbey, working formerly with Christopher's father and succeeding him as Abbey Organist. Day would retire from the Abbey the following year in order to take up Giles' position as 'mr of ye children' at the Chapel.¹²⁴ Christopher is likely, then, to have stayed with Day for a further two-and-a-half years, until his twenty-first birthday in August 1636. During this period, he would have met or certainly been aware of Thomas Holmes (1606–38), sworn in as Gentleman in 1634, whom he was to succeed but four years later as Organist at Winchester. Like Heywood, Christopher may well have been sworn as Extraordinary at this time, with promise of preferment awaiting him, and whilst there is no record of it, he may well have apprenticed as one of the organists at the Abbey.¹²⁵

¹²³ The first such warrant, 25 May 1626, shows that Day had already been carrying out this task, perhaps for up to a decade before: 'Warrant for allowance of £20 by the year to be made to Thomas Day, musician, for the custody and teaching of a singing boy for the service of the King according to the like allowance made to him when the King was Prince of Wales.' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 61; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 17) There is no evidence that the Master of the Children Nathaniel Giles retained boys in this way. Day seems to have undertaken this role through to at least 1641, when, at the Restoration, Cooke took on the mantle, Pelham Humfrey after him and Blow thereafter. See, for Day: De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 106–7 (for Michaelmas 1640 to Michaelmas 1641); for Cooke: De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 117; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 6 (9 November 1660); for Pelham Humfrey: De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 250; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 120–21 (30 November 1672); and for Blow: De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 309; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 165 (19 September 1676). On his appointment in 1634, Day was to start the tradition of Masters of the Children taking in youths, an expectation that duly passed to his successors.

¹²⁴ 25 February 1634: 'Dr. Giles mr of the Children deceased Ja. 24. Thomas day was sworne mr of ye children in his place'. (Hillebrand, 'The Early History of the Chapel Royal,' 261.)

¹²⁵ Gibbons likely continued his apprenticeship with Richard Portman. Portman succeeded Day in 1633 both as Organist and Master of the Chorister Boys, staying in these roles until at least 1638, at which point he succeeded John Tomkins as Organist of the Chapel Royal. Following the Interregnum, Gibbons was to succeed Portman in both roles. A closeness to Portman may account for 'Verse for ye

Part Three: Servant at Court

Extraordinary Gentleman

Court Ordinaries were well-paid and highly valued servants who were granted many privileges. Their positions were sought after and carefully guarded; quite often inherited from father to son, they represented a comfortable, secure and respected profession.¹²⁶ The common route to ‘Ordinary’ was via the ‘Extraordinary’ system: ‘Gentlemen Extraordinaries’ were men or youths prepared to work without salary while waiting for a position to come free, or, as it now appears, until a youth reached the age of their majority. Boden illuminates:

In addition to the thirty-two gentlemen of the Chapel Royal who received wages, there were a few others whose appointment was purely honorary. These ‘gentlemen extraordinary’ were appointed by the monarch, or dean, or on the vote of a majority of the gentlemen in ordinary either to honour their outstanding skill or because they had helped the Chapel in some remarkable way.¹²⁷

Accounts suggest that the names of the Extraordinaries came from the ranks of previously anonymous boys already schooled in the court system.

Harley speculates that Orlando, on relocating to Whitehall from Cambridge, must have spent two years waiting as a Gentleman Extraordinary.¹²⁸ Henry Purcell Jr, brought up

Double Organ Mr Ric: Portman’ being associated with Gibbons’ *Verse for ye Single Organ* in WB P.10.

¹²⁶ Baldwin quotes Dean Say: ‘[Chapel clerks] enjoy in the court the status of gentlemen’. (Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 276.) The legal protection of the role is captured by the phrase ‘with all rights and profitts’ (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 303; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 159, for 8 May 1676).

¹²⁷ Anthony Boden, *Thomas Tomkins: The Last Elizabethan* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2017), 62. Four such Extraordinaries were in attendance at the coronation of James I in 1603. The importance of the status of the Extraordinary is noted in the fact that, although they could not yet receive an Ordinary’s salary, they were each granted a servant. (Noted from Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, IV: 4.) There is no mention of any other special privileges or expenses.

¹²⁸ Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 28 footnote 9. See also footnote 46. Also Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood’s Template.

in the Chapel, would have to wait a whole decade, without fee, to occupy Hingeston's role as keeper and repairer of his Majesty's organs; likewise Samuell Bentham waited ten years for his salaried place.¹²⁹ In 1700, Thomas Parkinson took up his appointment in the private music, having five years earlier been placed fifth (that is, behind four others) on the 'first avoidance' system.¹³⁰ That Thomas Tomkins waited 18 years for preferment gives an extreme example of the patience required, but also a sense of quite how highly regarded, and also how fiercely guarded, these key court roles were.¹³¹

An experienced singer and keyboard player lodging at court, and one familiar with the routines of Chapel life, Christopher would soon likely be admitted a 'Gentlemen of the Chappell extraordinary'. He may also have found an 'extraordinary' place in the Private Music.¹³²

Judging by his later career, exposure to the private theatrical events at court during this period doubtless made a strong impression. One such production, James Shirley's lavish court masque *The Triumph of Peace*, staged in 1634 at breathtaking expense, with its mile-long initial procession, grand scenery and expensive costumes, could not have escaped his

¹²⁹ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 361; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 208, for 17 December 1683. For Bentham, see Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 425.

¹³⁰ Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, II: 127.

¹³¹ Boden, *Thomas Tomkins: The Last Elizabethan*, 62. (Boden cites Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 275.)

¹³² Later records belonging to Charles II's court list several 'Musicians for the Private Music in Extraordinary' and 'Musicians in Extraordinary' alongside the 'Violins in Extraordinary' and the 'Musicians for the Wind Instruments in Extraordinary'. (*The artistic establishment: Musicians 1660–1837 in Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Court Officers, 1660–1837* (London: University of London, 2006), 11: 185–199.)

attention—he may himself have been involved in the preparations, or even taken a supporting (therefore unacknowledged) performing role.¹³³ Twenty years later, Gibbons would work alongside Shirley in the staging of *Cupid and Death*.¹³⁴

Musicians in Ordinary

Any notice of Gibbons' preferment before 1660 is lost—as indeed it has also been for Cooke and Locke—for such information would fall precisely in the period where records are unreliable and incomplete. However, the most compelling piece of evidence that reliably confirms that Christopher occupied a formal servant's role, is the letter of June 1638, written from court by the Lord Chamberlain to John Young (1585–1654), Dean of Winchester (quoted at page 59). That it is from the office in charge of royal servants implies that Christopher was a member of the King's Chamber—the household 'above stairs,' which included the Chapel.¹³⁵ As there were many keyboard instruments about court, the king's statement that Christopher 'served Our Royall Father & Our selfe...' might imply that he held any one of 'privy virginalist' roles, something his father had held before him.¹³⁶ But, if Wood's

¹³³ The details and cost of the production are taken from Cicely Veronica Wedgwood, *The King's Peace, 1637-1641* (London: Collins, 1955), 55.

¹³⁴ Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 240–1. See also Part Five: Commonwealth Theatrical Activities.

¹³⁵ 'The Lord Chamberlain has the Principal Command of all the Kings (or Queens) Servants above Stairs (except in the Bedchamber, which is wholly under the Grooms [*sic*] of the Stole) who are all Sworn by him, or by his Warrant to the Gentlemen Ushers. He has likewise the Inspection of all the Officers of the Wardrobe of the King's Houses, and of the removing Wardrobes, Beds, Tents, Revels, Musick, Comedians, Hunting, Messengers, Trumpeters, Drummers, Handicrafts, Artizans, retain'd in the King's or Queen's Service; as well as of the Sergeants at Arms, Physicians, Apothecaries, Surgeons, &c. and finally of His Majesty's Chaplains.' (A. Bell, *The present state of the British court* (London: W. Taylor and J. Osborn, 1720), 21.)

¹³⁶ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 92; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 85, for December 1635: 'Warrant for payment of £26 to Mr. Edward Norgate [1581–1650] for mending and repairing his

assertion is to be believed, that Christopher Gibbons had been ‘organist to king Charles I and II’, then he must either have served as Privy Organist—as had Orlando before him, and Warwick after him, and indeed as he would later become himself—or as private musician to Charles (as Prince), or as one of the organists working in the Chapel.¹³⁷ Hawkins’ note that Christopher Gibbons was one of ‘a few musicians of eminence, who had served in the former capacity under the patronage of Charles I’ sits alongside Bumpus’ retelling of Burney that ‘of all the musicians connected with the Chapel Royal at the death of Charles I none came forward to claim their former posts but Dr. [William] Child [1606/7–97], Dr. Christopher Gibbons, Edward Lowe [c. 1610–1682], John Wilson [1595–1674], Henry Lawes, and Captain Henry Cook.’¹³⁸ Wood’s concluding remark on Gibbons’ upbringing then begins to ring true, ‘for his great merits in that faculty [music], had a place conferred on him in his majesty’s chappel before the civil war’, and so all three pieces of secondary information add understanding to the king’s testimony on Gibbons’ esteemed service at court.¹³⁹

Majesty’s organs at his several houses.’ Orlando Gibbons is listed as ‘privy organ’ at the funeral of James I (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 58; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 2).

¹³⁷ Wood’s diary entry for 10 February 1664 reads: ‘Convocation, wherein the king’s letters were read for Christopher Gibbons, organist to king Charles I and II, to be admitted Dr. of Mus., paying his fees and doing his exercises; but what prevented him from coming I know not. A person most excellent in his faculty, but a grand debauchee. He would sleep at Morning Prayer when he was to play on the organ.’ (Anthony à Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), ii: 5.) The text recalls a similar reference relating to the tenure of service of Thomas Tallis (c. 1505–85), who in a petition of 1577 claimed to have ‘served yor Matie and yor Royall ancestors these fortie yeres.’

¹³⁸ John Hawkins, *A General History Of The Science and Practice Of Music: In Five Volumes* (London: Payne, 1776), III: 348. John Skelton Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music, 1549–1889* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1908), Vol. I: 121–122. See also footnote 197. Bumpus’ (1861–1913) statement is true of Child, who had been the organist at St George’s Chapel, Windsor since 1634, and of Lowe, who served as organist at the Chapel Royal of Charles I’s Oxford Court, and of Wilson (in the Chapel since 1635), Henry Lawes (since 1627) and likely Cooke. For a note of Cooke’s court career see Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood’s Template.

¹³⁹ Wood’s text reads: ‘This person, who was son of Orlando Gibbons mentioned in the Fasti, the first

Gentleman of the Chapel Royal

Preferment to the high social standing of ‘Gentleman’ would typically have occurred in the years after his twenty-first birthday.¹⁴⁰ Christopher’s own birthday then would have triggered his appointment, or promise of an Ordinary appointment (the so-called ‘first avoydance’ system) and, like Heywood, he may already have had a place reserved ‘in reversion’.¹⁴¹ The most obviously suitable appointment for Christopher’s skills would have been in the Chapel, just as his father before him, as a ‘Songman’ with ‘additional duties’.¹⁴² It is noted, however, that in the allowances of mourning liveries for ‘Chappell and Vestrye’, the Master of the

vol. col. 406. was bred up from a child to music under his uncle Ellis Gibbons organist of Bristol (mentioned in the said *Fasti*, col. 258.) and for his great merits in that faculty, had a place conferred on him in his majesty’s chappel before the civil war. After the restoration of king Charles II. he was principal organist of his chappel, his principal organist in private, master of the singing boys belonging thereunto, organist of Westminster, and one of his majesty’s private music. He had a principal hand in a book entit. - *Cantica Sacra*: Containing Hymns and Anthems for two Voices to the Organ both Latin and English, Lond. 1674, in fol. ... [sic] This doct. Gibbons died in the parish of St Margaret’s within the city of Westminster; an. 1676.’ (Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i, col. 833.) Hawkins full text reads: ‘Christopher Gibbons, the son of the celebrated Dr. Orlando Gibbons, was bred up from a child to music, under his uncle Ellis Gibbons, organist of Briftol ; he had been favoured by Charles I. and was of his chapel. At the reftoration he was appointed principal organift of the king’s chapel, organift in private to his majesty, and organift of Weftminfter-abbey. In the year 1664 he was licenfed to proceed Doctor in music of the univerfity of Oxford in virtue of a letter from the king in his behalf, in which is a recital of his merits in thefe words, “the bearer Chriftopher Gibbons, one of our organifts of our chappell royal, hath from his youth ferved our royal father and ourself, and hath so well improved himfelf in music, as well in our judgment, as in the judgment of all men skilled in that science, as that he may worthily receive the honour and degree of Doctor therein.” He completed his degree in an act celebrated in the church of St. Mary at Oxford on the eleventh day of July in the year abovementioned.’ (Edward Hopkins, John E. F. Rimbault, *The Organ: its History and Construction* (London: Robert Cocks, 1870). Also Hawkins, *A General History*, IV: 412–413.)

¹⁴⁰ For an outline of the social category of gentleman in the seventeenth century see Walter Alison Phillips, *Gentleman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 604–6. The Gibbons family was by definition already of ‘gentleman stock’. For a description of the Gibbons family Coat of Arms, see Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 3.

¹⁴¹ For ‘first avoydance’, see footnote 113.

¹⁴² Harley writes of Orlando’s position in Chapel as ‘an organist with choral experience’, rehearsing the choir on occasion, as would a moden-day assistant organist in a cathedral. (*Ibid.*, 29.)

Children (Giles) received the same as Gibbons as ‘privy organist’—indicating a parity—but two yards more than Tomkins the ‘organiste’.¹⁴³

Details relating to the roles of gentlemen singers is captured in LCA:

I doe hereby order that his Majesty’s musitians abovenamed doe wayte and attend in his Majesty’s Chappell Royall as they are here sett down, five in one month and five in another. Soe that each person attend every third month, or they will answere the contrary.¹⁴⁴

It is quite possible during this period of scant record keeping that Christopher Gibbons also occupied a position of Deputy Master of the Children.¹⁴⁵

‘The Private Musick’

Gibbons’ association during the 1650s with so many of the court’s finest musicians supports the notion and adds credence to a variety of statements that he occupied positions in the Private Music from before the war. As it will be seen in Part Five, Gibbons’ musical circle during the Commonwealth was that of the former ‘King’s Musick’, under his patron, a former senior courtier. This body of men had composed for, played and sang at the great ceremonial occasions such as New Year’s Day and royal birthdays, and also, in smaller groups, for court balls and at the king’s dinner. Their business extended into theatrical

¹⁴³ Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 3–5.

¹⁴⁴ De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 237; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 109–10.

¹⁴⁵ There is but a single reference to this role: ‘1631, July 14. Warrant to pay William Crosse, deputy master of the children of his Majesty’s royal Chappell, the sum of £25, disbursed by him from 1626 to 1630 in the execution of his office’ (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 77; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 61).

activities and ‘entertainments’, a standing feature for private musicians, both formally and informally, by license.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ ‘1663, November 12. Order for the apprehension of all musitians playing at any dumb shows, modell, gamehouses, taverns, or any other places, in the city of London and Westminster without leave or lycence from the Corporation of the Art and Science of Musick’ (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 162; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 49).

Part Four: Professional Development

Court youths who were marked out for promotion to positions of leadership were sent out into training placements, and these were followed by their first appointments. Placements are noted in the musicians' teens and twenties: it is the case for Turner, working for two years at Lincoln; for Jeremiah Clarke (*c.* 1674–1707), organist for four years at Winchester College; Francis Pigott at Magdalen College, Oxford for two years; Purcell and Blow at Westminster Abbey and Pelham Humfrey in France and Italy.¹⁴⁷ Critics have often seen this aspect as 'pluralism'—a way to supplement income—and this will of course be true in some cases.¹⁴⁸ But in the spirit of a Music Academy, where investment in apprenticeship and training are key, placing young musicians into the hands of experienced masters will have duly accelerated the musical and social development of this next generation. Although no evidence survives, Christopher Gibbons may have spent his training years in a combined role at the Chapel and the Abbey, like Blow and Purcell after him. However, a few years later came a chance for him to put that training into experience.

Winchester Cathedral

The nation's former capital had long enjoyed intimate connections to the monarch. Towards the very end of his reign, in 1683–5, Charles II was to build his provincial palace at

¹⁴⁷ The same could be argued of Bull at Hereford, Croft at St Anne's Soho, Wise at Windsor and Salisbury, Tallis at Dover or Canterbury or St Mary-at-Hill.

¹⁴⁸ Philipps, 'Crown Musical Patronage,' 32, 41.

Winchester, where architect Christopher Wren (1632–1723) had planned for the long gardens of ‘King’s House’ to descend to the cathedral.

Christopher Gibbons was 23 when he was appointed to the cathedral. It was at Winchester where he would court his future wife, daughter of Prebendary Robert Kercher (c. 1569–c. 1644). Kercher himself had strong connections in London, both to the Inns of Court and as life-long Prebendary of Twiford at St Paul’s.¹⁴⁹ Gibbons would maintain connections with Hampshire throughout his life, on account of a property he acquired by virtue of marriage.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Kercher/Kircher/Kerchier. Listed as ‘Robert Kerchier DD’, this was a position he held for very nearly the entire duration of ministry (1614–45), returning to London once every month according to the cathedral rota. (For information on the names and duties of the Prebendaries of St Paul’s see NC State University, ‘Virtual St Paul’s Cathedral Project.’ <https://vpcathedral.chass.ncsu.edu/?page_id=153> (Accessed 27 August 2021).) Kercher was also Rector of Corfe Castle from 1600 to 1644 and Chaplain to Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) from 1601. Both of these roles had significant connections with the Hatton family. See footnote 66 and elsewhere. For the key points of Kercher’s career University of Cambridge, ‘A Cambridge Alumni Database.’ <<https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk>> (Accessed 28 August 2021).

¹⁵⁰ The property, in Freefolk, is discussed in Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 248–249, 277–278. For further speculation on Christopher Gibbons’ ongoing connections with the cathedral see Vining, ‘Orlando Gibbons: The Portraits,’ 415–29. N.B. The wikipedia article on Winchester Cathedral states that Christopher Gibbons’ patronage aided the revival of church music after the Interregnum, although no reference is given. (Wikipedia, ‘Winchester Cathedral.’ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Winchester_Cathedral> (Accessed 4 September 2021).)



Picture 3: The organist's house at Winchester (with the residence of the Master of the Choristers), built into the walls surrounding the cathedral.¹⁵¹

Ecclesiastically, Winchester was the embodiment of Laud's vision of an Anglican cathedral, where fine music and dignified liturgy were pivotal aspects of the worship.¹⁵² The appointment would have a certain symbiosis, with Gibbons managing colleagues and parochial and social duties, whilst meeting the demands of an ecclesiastical and civic schedule; and in enacting Laud's vision he will have ensured ways of doing, and of thinking, associated with the Chapel at Whitehall. Further he will undoubtedly have contributed and influenced, and developed as a composer and teacher.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Author's photograph.

¹⁵² William Laud (1573–1645). See Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and The British Churches,' *The Historical Journal* 53, no. 4 (2010). Thurley states: 'perhaps the most Caroline beautification 1634–5 was the introduction of organs and their repair and embellishment. New Choir organs were introduced into the chapels at Whitehall and Hampton Court Palace.'

¹⁵³ Gibbons' autograph teaching materials are preserved in *Mary Kercher's Book* (Och Mus. 92), annotated 'This book belonged to the Honourable Mis- Mary Kircher 1643.' John Milsom, 'Christ Church Library Music Catalogue.' <<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+92>> (Accessed

The Dean of Winchester noted in his diary for 23 June 1638: ‘My L. Chamberlains letter was reade in the behalfe of Mr. Gibbons to be our organist.’¹⁵⁴ Two days later he wrote:

I admitted Jo: Silver [c. 1606–66] Mr of the Queresters and singing man, and Ch: Gibbons organist and singing man [Minor Canon]. His plase is to be made him worth 30 lib. per An. at my L. Chamberlain’s comand, and because the Mr. of the Quiristers is allowed 40 lib., whereof Gibbons hathe 10 lib. we addet to Jo: Silver the uther singing mans place to make his oup.¹⁵⁵

The formal admission of Gibbons and Silver took place at a Chapter meeting the next day, the former listed as ‘Christophorus Gibbons Organista’, alongside ‘Mr John Silver Magsr Choristarum’.¹⁵⁶ Before that point, Thomas Holmes had been in charge of both organ and choir. The roles were divided at the co-appointment of Gibbons and Silver, to be combined again following Gibbons’ departure, through Silver, who held both offices until his death in 1666.¹⁵⁷ It would thus seem that the new role was made specially for Gibbons.

The efficacy of Gibbons’ appointment is captured in the cathedral’s Caroline statutes for ‘improvements to worship and learning’ of precisely the same year, 1638. Statute 21 is quoted here in full:

Of the Qualities, election, and admission of minor Canons and clerks etc
Foreasmuch as We have determined that God must be honoured before all things by hymns, psalms and unceasing prayer is in this Our church, We decree and will that so far as may be the six priests whom we call minor Canons, the Deacon also and the Substitute, together with the Master of the Choristers and the Organist, as well as the

13 September 2021).

¹⁵⁴ John Young, *The Diary of John Young, Dean of Winchester* (London: S.P.C.K., 1928), 140.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 141. The accounts of Winchester Cathedral for 1640 confirm that John Silver Sr (c. 1606–c. 1666) received £35 and Gibbons £30. Accounts examined during site visit 15 August 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Winchester Cathedral *Chapter Book*, 1622–45, f. 56r (1638). Ditto.

¹⁵⁷ That an organ was again in use at Winchester by the end of 1661 is referenced in the cathedral accounts for 23 November 1661 when a ‘candlestick for the organ’ was purchased. Ditto.

ten lay clerks, all of whom We establish for the continual singing of the praises of God in the choir of Our Church, shall be learned, of good report, and honest conversation, and furthermore expert in singing, the which We will to be certified by per judgement of those in the same Church who are well skilled in the art of musick.

Statute 26 adds the following detail:

We decree and ordain that in Our Church aforesaid at the choice and appointment of the Dean and Chapter [...] there be six Choristers, boys of tender years, of resonant voices, and apt for singing, to serve the choir, minister and sing. To train these boys, and imbue them with modesty of manners, as well as in skill of song and in playing cunningly upon instruments of musick, We will that there are chosen, beside the ten clerks before named, one who is of honest repute and uncorrupt life, skilled in singing and playing upon the Organs, who shall apply himself zealously to playing at the right time and to singing of divine Offices, and shall take pains also to teach and train the choristers.¹⁵⁸

But apart from the details offered in the statutes, almost nothing is known about Gibbons' musical activities in Winchester. His tenure was relatively short-lived, as in December 1642, Winchester fell victim to anti-Royalist brutality. Very little of the musical apparatus can have escaped intact, as this frequently quoted passage from Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle* makes vividly known:

they found great store of popish-bookes, pictures, and crucifixes, which the Souldiers carried up and down the streets and Market-place in triumph, to make themselves merry ; yea, and they for certaine piped before them with the Organ-pipes (the faire Organs in the Minster being broken downe by the Souldiers), and then afterward cast them all into the fire and burnt them ; and what (thinke you) was the case of those Romish Micha's, when their pretty petty Popish and apish-gods were thus taken from them, and burnt in the fire before them.¹⁵⁹

The *Chapter Book* has the word 'absent' found against Gibbons' name for 1642; for 1643 the expression 'K.S.' is entered against his name, presumably denoting 'King's Service'; and the

¹⁵⁸ The statutes were signed by the king, and on every page (on the completion of each statute) by Archbishop Laud. It is also pertinent to Gibbons' appointment that Laud was the Dean of the Chapel. Ditto.

¹⁵⁹ John Vicars, *Magnalia Dei Anglicana, Or Englands Parliamentary-chronicle* (London: J. Rothwell and T. Underhill, 1646), 227.

following two years the word ‘absent’ found again.¹⁶⁰ Gibbons is listed as absent in 1660, then the following year the word ‘resignat’ is entered. The cathedral accounts further clarify:

Admissio Johis Silver [...] in officid Organista in loco Chr Gibbons qui a offrend
resigabit 14. June 1661.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ For 1644 the scribe also penned an illegible note. For an interpretation of ‘King’s Service’ see below.

¹⁶¹ Information collated from a site visit to Winchester Cathedral Archive at the Hampshire Record Office (site visit 15 August 2018).

Part Five: Civil War and Interregnum

For any church musician, the start of the civil war would have been turbulent and harrowing. These were unsettled times for them throughout, and the period sees Gibbons moving frequently between places and various roles. Gibbons was driven out of Winchester, only to have a new position at Cambridge terminated soon afterwards. He may have travelled to rejoin his family at Exeter—also to fight for the king. In the space of the following ten years he was in Oxford, became resident in Wiltshire, settled in London, married (and not long afterwards buried) his wife, remarried to start a family, all the while teaching, performing, composing and directing.¹⁶²

St John's College, Cambridge

His note of absence in Winchester Cathedral's *Chapter Book* indicates that Gibbons left long before the Surrender of Winchester at the end of September 1645. Transferring back to Whitehall at this point was not an option, as, already by January 1642, the king had fled the palace, and the London area was under the control of the Parliamentarians.¹⁶³ Gibbons probably relocated to the family seat of Cambridge—at least for the while. The following

¹⁶² For his residence in Wiltshire see E. J. Bodington, 'The Church Survey in Wilts, 1649–50,' in *Wiltshire archaeological and natural history magazine Volume 41*, ed. E. H. Goddard (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1920), 38. This informs that '[1650] Elizabeth Kercher and Marie Kercher the wyves of Doctor Taylor and Mr. Christofer Gibbons the presente Tennants. The three lives all in beinge.'

¹⁶³ Peter Stone, 'Whitehall Palace in the Stuart period.' *Civil War and Restoration* <www.thehistoryoflondon.co.uk/whitehall-palace-in-the-stuart-period> (Accessed 28 August 2021). After 1 January 1642 the LCA record ten new court musical appointments, but only for the reason of 'avoydance' by death.

entry is found for 1642 in the *Rental Book of St John's College*, an institution with strong connections to Winchester: 'Payed to Gibbons the Organist for his quateridge — 4l — 10s — 0.'¹⁶⁴ For a professional church musician, such 'secular' employment should have been an appropriate and safe option.¹⁶⁵ He cannot have stayed in that role long, however—likely for the length of this single, well-paid 'quateridge'—for Cromwell had entered the University in August 1642 intent on pillage.¹⁶⁶

Exeter

In July 1644, King Charles made Exeter the base for his activities in the West.¹⁶⁷ The king himself was present in the city in July and September 1644. Prince Charles, as titular commander of the Royalist forces in the West Country, arrived there for a month at the end of August the following year.¹⁶⁸ The city finally surrendered to Parliamentarian forces in April 1646.

¹⁶⁴ *St John's College, Rental Book* SB4.5, f. 2261, as cited in Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 234–5. Richard Foxe (c. 1448–1528), sometime Bishop of Winchester, was in 1509 the first of eight executors to the foundation of St John's College. (University of Cambridge, 'St John's Top 5: the Foundation Charter.' <www.joh.cam.ac.uk/st-johns-top-5-foundation-charter> (Accessed 28 August 2021).)

¹⁶⁵ A decade later, Gibbons had found comfortable employment at the Chelsea home of John Danvers Jr (c. 1585–1655)—see p. 69.

¹⁶⁶ Sue L. Sadler, 'From Civilian to Soldier: Recalling Cromwell in Cambridge, 1642.' <www.olivercromwell.org> (Accessed 28 August 2021).

¹⁶⁷ See also David Cornforth, 'Princess Henrietta Anne Stuart.' <www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_people/stuart.php> (Accessed 28 August 2021). Also David Cornforth, 'Exeter during the Civil War.' <www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/civilwar.php> (Accessed 28 August 2021). Also David Plant, 'Timeline 1645.' *British Civil Wars, Commonwealth and Protectorate (1638–1660)* <<http://bcw-project.org/timelines/1645>> (Accessed 28 August 2021).

¹⁶⁸ Rufus Bird and Martin Clayton, *Charles II: Art & Power* (London: Royal Collection Editions, 2017), 21.

The ‘K. S.’ noted in Winchester’s *Chapter Book* offers a clue as to Gibbons’ activities at this time, but further detail that Christopher became active in conflict is given via another valuable primary source: a petition to the king regarding a property—dated February 1661 and signed by the Archbishop of York, the Dean of Westminster, and the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, Exeter and Worcester.

Christopher [...] was constrayned with the reverend Deane and Prebends to flye into his late Ma^{ties}: Garrisons where he tooke upp Armes and faithfully served his late Ma^{tie}: during all the warr.¹⁶⁹

It seems likely that, at some point after leaving Cambridge and before summer 1644, Gibbons travelled to Exeter, both to rejoin his family and also to fight for the Royalist Cause in the West. A footnote in *Documents relating to the history of the Cathedral Church of Winchester* suggests that Christopher Gibbons ‘carried the £1000 lent [*sic*] to the King, by his uncle Edward, Priest-Vicar of Exeter Cathedral, who for this service had his estate confiscated, and was made homeless in his eightieth year.’¹⁷⁰ In spite of the dramatic Royalist narrative, the

¹⁶⁹ ‘Petition of Christopher Gibbons to the King’ in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, volume 76, no.13, 28 February 1661. (The petition is printed in full in Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 249.) It is of significance that Gibbons was able to summon such eminent signatories in support of a domestic, copyhold issue: these were all senior dignitaries who had the ear of the king. It also points more deeply towards personal or professional relationships with the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Durham and Worcester. More work is required in this regard, but this letter underlines that Gibbons was extremely well connected at the uppermost echelon of society.

¹⁷⁰ F.T. Madge W.R.W. Stephens, ed. *Documents Relating to the History of the Cathedral Church of Winchester in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Simpkin and Co, 1897), 105. No reference is given for these statements. This account, however, tallies with Chalmers who states: ‘Of Edward Gibbons, it is said, that in the time of the rebellion he assisted king Charles I. with the sum of one thousand pounds; for which instance of his loyalty, he was afterwards very severely treated by those in power, who deprived him of a considerable estate, and thrust him and three grand-children out of his house, though he was more than fourscore years of age.’ (Chalmers and Nichols, *The General Biographical Dictionary*, 15: 471.) Further detail is explored at Christine Gibbins, ‘Search for George Gibbins.’ <<http://gibbinshatleykelpie.blogspot.com/2009/03/search-for-george-gibbins.html>> (Accessed 28 August 2021). (N.B. Harley notes that he liked to style himself ‘Gibbins’. Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 18.) Gibbins elaborates: ‘when asked for £50 for the Parliamentarians (Roundheads) he refused and was turned from his home and estates, even though he was some 80 years of age along with his aged wife and three of his grandchildren c.1645. [...] An account has survived of the treatment metered out to

fact that Edward was expelled from his accommodation at the cathedral is confirmed in a local account.¹⁷¹ The Gibbons family had other comfortable estates in the area at their disposal however, at Ashley Park, Dunsford and Canonteign.¹⁷² It is acknowledged that the latter had become a Royalist garrison:

During the civil war, Canon-Teign was garisoned for the King, and was esteemed a strong fort. In the month of December, 1645, it was taken by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the command given to the parliamentary colonel, Okey, who afterwards suffered as one of the regicides.¹⁷³

Edward. Writing in 1704 a relative recalled how Gibbons aged about 88 yeares, was summoned before Mr. Adam Bennert, Mr. Richard Crossing, Mr. Richard Saunders and others, Commissioners for the Parliament, and there ordered to pay them £50, which if he refused to pay he must forthwith be carried on shipboard and appeare in London at Goldsmyth's Hall. Gibbons refused and so next day they granted a warrant directed to 3 men to seize all his goods, which they did, not leaving him a bed, nor so much as a dish or a spoone, and turned him and his wife and three grand children and four servants to doore and seized all his estate. Edward Gibbons seems to have died in 1650. A decree by the PCC granting the admin of his affairs to Rose Swanton, evidently a niece of one of his daughters ['nept ex filia'] is dated 17 Jul 1650. Not recorded as being buried in the cathedral, the parish registers of Dunsford are incomplete.' (Footnote 173 adds further detail on sequestered estates.) The responsibly of Christopher's carrying £1000 (if indeed this is true) should not be underestimated, for this amounts to 88.4 years' worth of the average working man's salary, almost £3m by today's reckoning. (Calculation via Table 16 of Clark, 'Average Earnings and Retail Prices, UK, 1209-2017'.)

¹⁷¹ See footnotes 162 and 170.

¹⁷² For a note on Edward Gibbons' wealth see footnote 73.

¹⁷³ Vicars, *Magnalia Dei Anglicana, Or Englands Parliamentary-chronicle*, Vol. 4, 336. Details of Edward Gibbons' considerable estates are given in Gibbins, 'Search for George Gibbins.' This states: 'Tiverton: Bargin and sale by William Peterson Doctor in Divinity, one of the Cannons Resident of Exeter, to Edward Gibbons of Exeter, Batchellor in Musicke, of the grounds. Landes, pastures, etc. called Middlehill in Tiverton containing by estimation in the fourth part of the grounds, landes, etc. called Aishley Parke containing about 1000 acres and all woodes, wastes, waters, rentes, reversions, services etc. belonging to Middlehill.' Also in PRO E115/172/99: 'These are to certefie you that Eward Gibbons of the parishe of St. Paules within the countie of the cittie of Exon, Gent where he hath made his aboade and dwellinge for manie yeres past is in the said parishe rated and taxed towards the payment of the Third Subsidie of ffive entire Subsidies granted to his Majesty in the late Session of Parliamt, holden att Westm'att Six poundes in landes as well for his estate in Dandiland within the parishe of Dunsford in the hundred of wonford in the countie of Devon as for all his estate elsewhere which att the request of the said Edward Gibbons wee his Majesties commissioners for the said Subsidie with in the said cittie & countie of Exon have thought good to signifie yeven under or handes & Seals the Three & Twentieth daye of September Anno Dm 1628'; and referencing Exeter City Archives ('book 61, page 201') citing 'Edward Gibbons of the Canonton [Canonteign] in Christow'. (See also Daniel Lysons, Samuel Lysons, 'General history: Etymology and historical events,' *Magna Britannia* 6 (1822). The colourful, well-connected figure of Edward Gibbins calls for further



Picture 4: Canonteign Manor (sometimes called Canonteign Barton), at Christow, near Chudleigh, Devon.¹⁷⁴



Picture 5: The Dandylands estate at Dunsford, Teignbridge, Devon.¹⁷⁵

future research.)

¹⁷⁴ Picture courtesy of The Times (Canonteign Manor, <<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/neighbours-fear-cavalier-plans-for-royal-retreat-canonteign-manor-jrkb6vng7>> (Accessed 17 February 2022)).

¹⁷⁵ Picture courtesy of Google Maps.

London

Following the third and final siege of Exeter, Christopher probably continued to live with Uncle Edward for a short while at Dandylands in Dunsford.¹⁷⁶ However, by the following year he had returned to London to marry Mary Kercher at St Bartholomew-the-Less, Smithfield, on 23 September 1646, where Mary maintained an association with this tiny parish.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Cf. footnote 162.

¹⁷⁷ Kate Jarman, Trust Archivist at Barts Health NHS Trust, states (personal communication, 9 February 2021): 'At this date, in order for a marriage to take place in a parish church, at least one of the couple would generally have had legal settlement (usually, though not always meaning that they were resident) in the parish. If one of the couple was from another parish, the marriage would usually take place in the parish of the bride', and confirms that the entry for the marriage states in full 'Christofer Gibbons of Winchester and Mary Kercher'. Jarman adds: 'Female staff of the hospital were at this date either employed as nurses or domestic servants, and although there are no staff lists as such, such staff are occasionally named in the Minutes of the Board of Governors. [...] I can find no record of a Mary Kercher (or Kercher or variant spellings), although this does not entirely rule out that she may be recorded in the hospital records for the period. However, since several online sources name Mary as daughter of Dr Robert Kercher, Prebendary of Winchester, it seems unlikely that she would have worked at the hospital, since these roles were at this point fairly menial and low-status. Residents within the hospital precinct came from a cross-section of society, and it is quite possible that Mary Kercher's family and/or Christopher Gibbons rented properties within the precinct (the boundaries of which corresponded with those of the parish) from the hospital, thereby providing the connection with the parish.' It may also be that Mary's father Robert, who held a long-term position as visiting canon at St Paul's, kept his London home in this area, but a stone's throw away from the Bishop of London's residence. That Christopher migrated to this area perhaps underlines a connection with his godmother, Alice Hatton, noted at footnote 66. Her family, the Fanshawes, had a long-standing connection with the area, and her husband Christopher 'apparently spent his adult life at court, at his town house in St. Bartholomew's'. ('Hatton, Sir Christopher (1581–1619), of Clayhall, Ilford, Essex and St. Bartholomew-the-Great, London,' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604–1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush, John P. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>> (Accessed 12 December 2022).) Alice's father Thomas lived and died a few hundred yards south in Warwick Lane, at the south end of the lane where Amen Court now stands. Alice herself was baptised in Christchurch Newgate Street, which assumes her birth in Warwick Street, indeed she appears to be living here until 1602 on the eve of her marriage on 13 March. Alice's brother, who died in 1635, lived in St Sepulchre's Parish, and there were distant relatives (via her father's first wife's family) in St Bartholomew Close (but in St Bartholomew-the-Great Parish), and Alice's uncle Godfrey acquired a house in Pye Corner (in St Bartholomew-the-Less Parish) in 1576, wherein he died, and left it to Alice's father. Accordingly, via her father's will, he left (to Alice's tutor Alexander Richardson) 'the occupation of all those bowses, gardens, stables, buyldings and edifices, sett, lyeing and being in the parishe of little Saincte Bartholemewes nere weste Smithfeild Londoⁿ.' (Joseph Jackson Howard, *Hatton, Sir Christopher (1581–1619), of Clayhall, Ilford, Essex and St. Bartholomew-the-Great, London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1876). See also Herbert Charles Fanshawe, *The history of the Fanshawe family* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: A. Reid, 1927).) Certificates of the widowed Alice Hatton show her continuing residence in the parish of St Bartholomew-the-Great from 1622 to 1628 (PRO, E115 series, documents 184/8, 192/68, 204/40, 208/87, 211/16.

Gibbons's name, included in Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* of 1651 among those of the 'many excellent and able Masters' recommended to those desiring a teacher 'For the Organ or Virginall', provides a further suggestion that Christopher had previously been active at court.¹⁷⁸ The prominent musicians listed here, which included several who would take a part in the production in 1656 of Sir William Davenant's (1606–68) *The Seige of Rhodes*, had with certainty served as musicians in Charles I's court: Thomas Bates (died 1671), Edward Coleman (1622–69), and Charles Coleman (died 1664), Henry Cooke, William Webb (c. 1600–57), Richard Portman, George Hudson (died 1672), John Cobb (c. 1600; died after 1654) and Davis Mell (1604–62).¹⁷⁹

Thus having briefly set downe these few necessary and easie principles of the theoricke part of Musick, I shall with you good successe in the practick part, which will soone bee obtained by the helpe of an able Master, this City being at present furnished with many excellent and able Masters in this Art and Science, some of whose names for information of such as desire to become Practitioners therein, I have heere inserted.

For the Voyce or Viole.		For the Organ or Virginall.
Mr. Henry Lanes.	Mr. Edward Colman.	Mr. Richard Portman.
Mr. Charles Colman.	Captaine Cooke.	Mr. Christopher Gibbons.
Mr. William Webb.	Mr. Henry Farabosco.	Mr. Randall Jewet.
Mr. John Birtenshaw.	Mr. John Harding.	Mr. John Cobb.
Mr. George Hudson.	Mr. Jeremy Skewle.	Mr. John Hinkston.
Mr. David Mell.	Mr. John Goodgroome.	Mr. Farmelow.
Mr. Thomas Bates.	Mr. John Este.	Mr. Brian.
Mr. Stephen Ring.	Mr. William Paget.	Mr. Benjamin Sandley.
Mr. Thomas Maylard.	Mr. Gregory.	Mr. Benjamin Rogers.
	Cum multis aliis.	Cum multis aliis.

Table 1: List of musicians tabled in the preface of Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* of 1651.

See also Edward A. Webb, *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921), 248–91. Unfortunately for the 'Inhabitants of London in 1638' section, the parish of St. Bartholomew-the-Great is missing.) Further, the existence of a public house known as the 'Catherine Wheel' is noted at the opposite (north-west) corner of Smithfield, north of Chick Lane, called today East Poultry Avenue. Christopher left a short 'verse' to which he appended the words 'Drunke from the Catherine Wheele'.

¹⁷⁸ John Playford, *A Musicall Banquet* (London: T.H., 1651).

¹⁷⁹ Whether or not Christopher had any familial and/or tenancy relationship with one Charles Gibbons, who owned and ran Gibbons' Tennis Court (precisely in the administrative ward of Christopher's residence)—see also footnote 205—which was used as a theatre from around 1653, and where Gibbons' colleague Davenant had a performance history, is an intriguing thought.

Gibbons' work during the 1650s is acknowledged by several writers. Aubrey later reminisced with the following account of John Danvers' 'Chelsey-House, & Garden':¹⁸⁰

Above [over] the Hall is stately Roome of the same dimension : which hath the same Prospect, wherein in an excellent Organ of ... Stoppes, of Cedar. Sr John was a great Lover of Musick, & especially of J. Coperarios Fancies : which were [are] for an Organ, a Sagbot, & a Viola : equivalent to five parts, these were performed by Chr. Gibbons his Organist (since Dr) ... that was Sagbuteer and his Butler to King Charles 1st and Humphrey Madge [died 1679] his Valet de Chambre Violinist. The House is vaulted all underneath : which meliorates the sound of the Musique and these musicians having played these Fancies so often : & being regulated by Kit. Gibbons, they made the best Harmony that ever I heard.

Aubrey appended the following note: 'Memorandum Sr Jo Danvers had once a month the Kings Musick come to him to Chelsey. sc. before the civil warres.' The passage and its accompanying memorandum confirms several important things about the music-making activities of those involved. Firstly, that Christopher had secular employment as Danvers' organist.¹⁸¹ Aubrey suggests that musicians of the calibre of Gibbons and Madge (respected as one of the country's leading virtuoso violinists) played together routinely, seemingly for many years. It also informs that Gibbons led the group from the keyboard as the senior member.¹⁸²

It is instructive to compare Aubrey's comments alongside a similar account by Lodewijk Huygens, who heard Gibbons in 1652 at the house of virtuoso violinist Davis Mell,

¹⁸⁰ John Aubrey (1626–97) was writing in 1691 (Ob Aubrey MS Z. f. 56–9). The passage was quoted for the first time in Reginald Blunt, *By Chelsea reach; some riverside records* (London: Mills & Boon, 1921), 259–60. The date and year of the Aubrey's visit is unrecorded. It would imply the early 1650s—for Lodewijk Huygens had visited the house in March 1652 and was similarly entertained—yet no later than 1655, the date of Sir John's death. Huygens' visit is recorded below.

¹⁸¹ The entry on John Danvers published in John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 734. It appends the following footnote: 'A great friend of the king's partie and a patron to distressed and cashiered cavaliers, e.g. captain Gunter, he served; Christopher Gibbons (organist); captain Peters, etc.—Lord Bacon's friend.'

¹⁸² Gibbons' skills may have been further utilized in the 'neat little chappelle or oratorie finely painted' which evidently dated from the time when the house belonged to Thomas More (1478–1535). See *Ibid.*, 25.

another prominent musician active in the court of Charles I. Mell too was to be promoted to notable posts in the reign of Charles II, while Madge took up his former post in the violin band.¹⁸³

[25 March 1652] We went on to our destination, that is, Mr Mell's, in order to hear some music played. So we did. When we entered they were playing a concerto for organ, that Gibbons played, bass viol and two violins, one of which was played by the master of the house, who played admirably well. After that they played another concerto for harpsichord, lute, theorbo, bass viol and violin. The harpsichord was played by Rogers, whose compositions were being performed, while his brother played the lute. At about seven o'clock we left.¹⁸⁴

On 12 July 1654 John Evelyn wrote in his diary about finding Gibbons at Magdalen College Oxford. The manner of Evelyn's writing is most telling: Gibbons was so well-known—even before his Restoration zenith—that the mere mention of his name conveyed the magnitude of the encounter:

there was still the double *Organ*, which abominations (as now esteem'd) were almost universally demolish'd: Mr. Gibbon that famous *Musitian*, giving us a taste of his skill & Talent on that Instrument.¹⁸⁵

Commonwealth Theatrical Activities

Little is known of the first performance of the masque *Cupid and Death* by the pre-Restoration Court Playwright James Shirley, for which Gibbons wrote music. Clare supposes that 'it is

¹⁸³ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 282–3. See also Peter Holman, 'Mell, Davis.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 28 August 2021). The practice of domestic rehearsals is mentioned in a letter by Lucy Hutchinson quoted in Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 252–3. It states: 'the King's musicians often met at [Coleman's] house to practise new airs and prepare them for the king'. Gibbons' professional association with Mell and Madge explains the extent of his writings in the trio sonata genre.

¹⁸⁴ Lbl Egerton MS 1997, f. 68, 83v–84r; translation from the Dutch based on Huygens, *The English Journal*, 105.

¹⁸⁵ Bray, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 289, 341. Italics original.

probable that Christopher Gibbons [...] was the major, possibly the sole, contributor for the first production.’¹⁸⁶ Clarke added that *Cupid and Death* was written originally for private performance some time between 1651 and 1653, and that this masque was subsequently presented in an entertainment for the Portuguese ambassador who had come as guest of Cromwell’s government. ‘Accompanied by fine new music by Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons, enlivened by dances by Luke Channen, and fitted out with splendid scenery’, writes Clarke, ‘it was probably performed at Whitehall on 26 March 1653.’¹⁸⁷ The statement strongly suggests that Gibbons may have played a part as one of Oliver Cromwell’s musicians.¹⁸⁸ In spite of its private airing, Gibbons’ song *Victorious men of earth* was popular enough to be printed in that year, 1653.¹⁸⁹

The performance of Davenant’s *The Siege of Rhodes* at the playwright’s home at Holborn in 1656 provides the final compelling suggestion that Christopher had worked with

¹⁸⁶ Janet Clare, *Drama of the English Republic, 1649–1660* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 160.

¹⁸⁷ Ira Clark, ‘Shirley, James (bap. 1596, d. 1666), playwright and poet.’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 20 March 2021). The reference to Locke is through the work’s public revival in Leicester Fields in 1659 for which he fleshed out the elder’s score by providing recitatives and other dramatic material. The result was much more akin to opera than masque.

¹⁸⁸ That *Cupid and Death* was performed at Cromwell’s Court adds a new perspective on Gibbons’ musical activities during the Republic. Gibbons was not Cromwell’s Organist—that was Hingeston’s title—but Gibbons’ expertise in the area of dance music, opera and song point to later positions in Charles II’s Private Music and may also reflect the formal court appointments that he occupied at the tail end of Charles I’s reign and into the Protectorate. See Part Three: ‘The Private Musick’. It was noted above that Gibbons worked for Oliver Cromwell’s fellow Regicide Sir John Danvers Jr. Seemingly musicians such as Hingeston and Christopher Gibbons were quite prepared to perform what appears to be a political *volte-face* in order to follow employment. (Danvers had himself switched political allegiance around 1640. See Sean Kelsey, ‘Danvers, Sir John (1584/5–1655), politician and regicide.’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 12 December 2021).

¹⁸⁹ Bronwyn Ellis, ‘“Victorious Men of Earth”: Political Aspects of James Shirley’s *Cupid and Death*,’ *Language & History* 52, no. 1 (2009).

musicians of this circle for quite some time. The vocal music was composed by Henry Cooke, Henry Lawes and Locke, and the play's instrumental music by Charles Coleman and George Hudson. The singers were Cooke, Locke, Gregory Thorndell (fl. 1656–75), Edward Coleman, John Harding (fl. 1641–84), Henry Purcell Sr (died 1664) and Edward Coleman's wife Catherine (died after 1669). The so-called 'Instrumental Musick' consisted of Christopher Gibbons, who highly likely directed the ensemble from the keyboard, William Webb, Humphrey Madge, Thomas Baltzar (1631–63), Thomas Bates and John Banister Sr.¹⁹⁰ These were some of the country's most eminent musicians, again, many of whom had been employed in Charles I's Court.¹⁹¹ All were subsequently sworn to places in the Chapel and/or the King's Private Music at the Restoration.¹⁹² Pertinent to the present discourse is the fact that both *The Seige of Rhodes* and *Cupid and Death*, which perpetuated private theatrical performance at a time when public theatre was banned, drew heavily on the pool of experience from court. Logically speaking, Gibbons is unlikely to have been the exception. The evidence points to Gibbons having long been a central figure at the heart of English musical endeavour, involved in court, church and theatre at the very highest levels; this would indeed explain why Evelyn needed few words to describe his fame.

¹⁹⁰ It was customary at this time for the ensemble to be directed from the keyboard, as illuminated by Aubrey's diary entry above (p. 69).

¹⁹¹ Baltzar evidently only arrived in London around the middle of the 1650s. Bates and Banister's pre-Restoration activity at court, if any, is unknown. Henry Purcell Sr and Edward Coleman's dates of incorporation at court are not recorded or are inconclusive in Baldwin's lists. (Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*.) Locke's prior connection with these singers is the subject of speculation. See below: Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood's Template (Matthew Locke).

¹⁹² Apart from William Webb who had died. For a note on Locke's possible connection to the Court of Charles I see Ibid.

Part Six: Apotheosis

The Restoration Chapel is an example of just how brilliantly the academy flourished. The two musicians, Cooke and Gibbons, tasked with rebuilding Chapel music, were supremely educated and experienced, and had likely worked together for their entire lives.¹⁹³ The new intake of boys—Pelham Humfrey, Wise, Blow, Turner, Thomas Tudway (c. 1650–1726)—was exceptional: they were to become the leading musicians in the land, running the music at the Chapel Royal, Salisbury, St Paul's, Lincoln and King's College Cambridge; they would all become significant composers.¹⁹⁴

The swiftness of re-founding the choir, restoring the organ, and swearing Cooke and Gibbons into formal appointments, shows something of the king's priorities, and must surely have occupied the authorities for a number of months prior to May 1660. Cooke is first mentioned at the end of June, and Gibbons was approved in the Private Music a few days earlier yet—within just three weeks of the king's return to Whitehall.¹⁹⁵ Gibbons was also

¹⁹³ A projection of the parallel careers of Cooke and Gibbons is explored at Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood's Template (Henry Cooke).

¹⁹⁴ Mould, *The English Chorister*, 129. At court alone, Blow was to become variously a 'Musician for the Virginalls', 'Composer for the Vocal Music', 'Master of the Music', 'Master of the Children of the Chapel', 'Tuner of regalls, organs and all wind instruments' and 'Organist'. See also: Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood's Template (John Blow).

¹⁹⁵ Gibbons was to succeed Thomas Warwick, who had directly succeeded to Orlando's places both in the Private Music and in the Chapel. For the text of his approval by the king at Baynard's Castle on 19 June 1660 see footnote 40. (Holman suggests that privy appointments such as this were made only by the king himself. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 286.) Christopher Gibbons' admission was 17 November 1660: 'Warrant to admit Christopher Gibbons musician upon the virginalls, in the place of Thomas Warwick, deceased, with the yearly wages of £86 to be paid quarterly' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 118; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 7).

named Principal Organist of the Chapel Royal, with Edward Lowe and William Child as co-organists.¹⁹⁶ Gibbons was at this same time appointed as Organist of Westminster Abbey, and thus he succeeded his father in all three of the most distinguished musical positions in the kingdom.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ That he is first or principal organist is affirmed by the advert at the beginning of July 1664 that was placed in the *London Gazette*. The full text reads: 'CHristopher Gibbons Doctor in Musick, and principal Organist to His Majesty in private and publick, had stoln out of his house, which is in New street, betwixt the [Almonry] and Orchard street in Westminster, the 26th of June, between 9 and 12 in the Morning, a Silver Tankard, to the value of near Seven pounds, with the marks of C G E on the handle: the reward for any that can give tidings of the same to the said Mr. [sic] Gibbons is Two pounds.' (*London Gazette*, no. 588, 3–6 July 1671, via Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 246.) Gibbons was resident locally, where his co-organists Lowe and Child were some 60 miles away in Oxford and 25 miles to the west in Windsor. The division of duties is reproduced at Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 29–30, footnote 14. Dearnley adds that the organists would have been expected to compose for Chapel. He further comments that the position of composer of the Chapel was created in 1699 for Blow. Prior to this, no Chapel servant was specifically charged with composing new music; new music was provided either from members of the choir, or the organists, or from outsiders such as Locke. Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music, 1650–1750* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 57–8.)

¹⁹⁷ Baldwin notes the high status of this position. (Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 285.) Hawkins wrote in 1776: 'The next step towards the revival of cathedral service, was the appointment of skilful persons for organists and teachers of music in the several choirs of the kingdom; a few musicians of eminence, who had served in the former capacity under the patronage of Charles I. namely Child, Christopher Gibbons, [Benjamin] Rogers [1614–98], Wilson, Low, and others, though advanced in years, were yet living; these were sought out and promoted; the four first named, were created doctors, and Child, Gibbons, and Low were appointed organists of the royal chapel; Gibbons was also made master of the children there, and organist of Westminster Abbey.' (Hawkins, *A General History*, IV: 689.) It is unlikely that Gibbons occupied the role of Master of the Children *per se*, as Cooke was appointed to this role certainly by Michaelmas 1660. ('1660 to 1661, Michaelmas. Allowance paid to Henry Cooke, master of the boys of the King's Chapel' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 117).) On Cooke's death in 1672, it is clear that Pelham Humfrey was sworn directly into Cooke's position; at any rate Gibbons would have been very aged by this point. It is possible, however, that he would have shared directing duties with Cooke, particularly when the latter was engaged in Chapel impressment. (See for example: '1661, July 4. Warrant for the payment of £23 16s. 9d. to Henry Cooke, master of the children of the Chappell, for fetching five boys from Newarke and Lincoln [sic] for his Majesty's service' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 134; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 19).) A more logical explanation is that Gibbons held a position of 'Teacher of the Singing Boys to the King', a role which Thomas Day had previously occupied.



Picture 6: The Abbey's Restoration organ, as redecorated in 1695.¹⁹⁸

The following account gives insight surrounding the provision of music at the Abbey in the early days of the Restoration:

Accounts of Richard Busby, D.D., 1664.¹⁹⁹ The money computed by John Needham (Gent.) receiver of the college.

“Cantator in choro Henry Purcell £8 and 40s.

In ^re chorist Henry Purcell £10.

Cantator in choro per stipend et regard—

John Harding, Christopher Chapman,

Henry Purcell, Edwd. Braddock,

William Hutton, Owen Adamson,

Thomas Hughes, Peter Amblett, Thomas Shorter,

¹⁹⁸ From WAM 33728. See Dominic Gwynn, 'Purcell's Organ at Westminster Abbey: A Note on the Cover Illustration,' *Early Music* 23, no. 4 (1995).

¹⁹⁹ Richard Busby (1606–95). This account appears to be the quarterly payment for Michaelmas Term 1663. Gibbons' salary from the Abbey thus augmented his basic annual salary from the Chapel by the same amount, £40.

Thomas Condry, Thomas Finnell--each £8 and 40s.

“Choristicus--

Et in denariis solutis Henry Purcell,

Pro datum chorist ad—lxvi^s viy^d

Intoto hoc anno xxxiiy[£] vi^s viy^d.

Ac etiam et contess Hen^o Purcell, pro

Chorist. xx[£].

Organista Chr. Gibbons £10. [...]

“To George Dalham, for tuning the organ this year, 40s.

“To John Hill, for playing on the cornett in the church this year, £4.

“To the organist for rent of his house, £8.²⁰⁰

“Given to the organist out of the rents at the taking of his degree, £5.²⁰¹

“Given by order to the christened Turke—nil.

“Jan. 11, 1664—“J. DOLBEN, *Decanus*.

WAL. JONES, *Sub Decanus*.

H. KILLIGREW.

S. BOLTON.

CHARLES GIBBES.

ROBT. SOUTH.

RIC. PERRINCHIEF.”²⁰²

²⁰⁰ This line is difficult to interpret. A Chapter minute dated 23 May 1631 records that ‘all the 16 singingmen ar now by the Care and charges of the Deane and chapter provided of houses.’ (WAM Chapter Act Book II, f. 51 (carried in Mortimer, Richard, and C. S. Knighton. *Westminster Abbey Reformed: 1540–1640*. (Abingdon-on-Thames: Taylor & Francis, 2018), 108).) It is perhaps likely that Christopher Gibbons was obliged to rent larger accommodation than could be provided for by the Abbey. (Discussed below.) If £8 represents the quarterly subsistence, this represents an ‘extremely high moderated rent’ for the period. (Doreen Evenden, *Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 162.) Blow and Henry Purcell Jr were to enjoy similar, as carried in the Abbey Treasurers’ Accounts (consulted by the author 15 November 2022). N.B. The account 1681–2 is discussed below as representing Purcell’s appointment to the official role of Organist at the Abbey.

²⁰¹ Gibbons’ degree of ‘Doctor of Musick’ was completed in an ‘Act’ at the University Church, Oxford, on 11 July 1663. (Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 262–3.)

²⁰² Quoted in William H. Cummings, *Purcell* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington,



Picture 7: Portrait of Christopher Gibbons, oil on panel, English School (1664), inscribed 'A. V. Dyck fecit'.
Faculty of Music Collection, Oxford University/The Bridgeman Art Library.²⁰³

1881), 10–1. Cummings uses the modern calendar throughout, thus this is indeed January 1664.

²⁰³ See also Rachael Emily Malleson Poole, *Catalogue of portraits in the possession of the university, colleges, city, and county of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 155.

Gibbons would also soon take over from Henry Purcell Sr in the latter role.²⁰⁴ By 1664 Gibbons was resident with his family in a large new house in New Row in Westminster, some two hundred yards from the Abbey and not a great many steps further to the Chapel.²⁰⁵ A busy household, Christopher and Elizabeth looked after seven-year-old twins Christopher Jr, Elizabeth Jr, six-year-old Mary and four-year-old Anne.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Purcell Sr died on 11 August that year.

²⁰⁵ New Row is variously named New Way and New Street. Hearth Tax records convey that this was a large home, with six hearths. ("Hearth Tax: Westminster 1664, St Margarets Westminster, New Way" in Centre for Metropolitan History, 'London Hearth Tax: Westminster 1664: St Margarets Westminster, New Way.' *British History Online* <www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/westminster/1664/st-margarets-westminster-new-way> (Accessed 8 February 2021).) By early the following century Strype notes that: 'Orchard-street, very long, with good Buildings, which are well inhabited: On the North Side is a Place called New Way, which hath Houses on the West Side, the East being Sir Robert Pye's Garden-Wall.' (See hriOnline, 'Strype, Survey of London (1720),' Bk 6: Ch.5: 66.) Very little seems to have changed by early-nineteenth century: 'NEW WAY, Westminster, is about twelve houses on the right hand side of Orchard Street, going from Dean Street.' (James Elmes, *A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs* (London: Whittaker, Treacher and Arnot, 1831), 318.) Immediately before the Restoration, the family was living in the heavily populated parish of St Clement Danes, in the Temple Bar district immediately north of the Strand, just outside of the City walls. Strype has this: 'Temple barr: The twelfth and last Ward was in the Parish of St. Clement's and Strand within the Liberty of Westminster. *Temple Bar*, ward of the Duchy of Lancaster: The Bounds of this Ward were from Temple-Bar to the White Hart in Strond [*sic*]. Christopher Gibson, Inn-keeper, was the Headborough of this Ward, and it was called as the rest, by his Name, viz. Christopher Gibson's Ward.' (See hriOnline, 'Strype, Survey of London (1720),' Bk 6: Ch.4: 57.) On his return to England in 1663, Alice Hatton's nephew lived for the space of two years in the same ward—in Boswell Court; this connection may be entirely coincidental. Gibbons' connections to the Hatton family are discussed briefly at footnote 66.

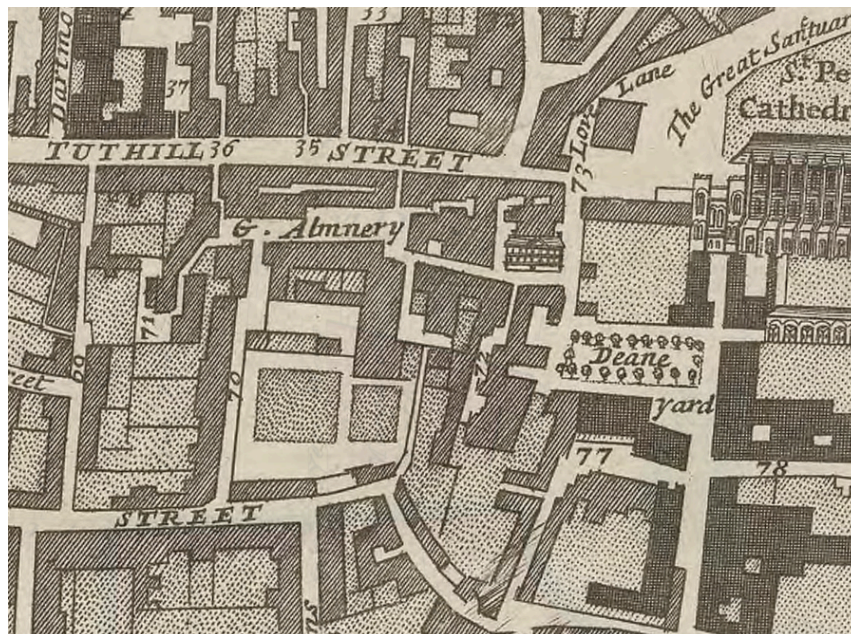
²⁰⁶ It is a matter of speculation as to whether Christopher and Elizabeth prepared their own son Christopher Jr for royal service. He would have entered at around Summer 1664 at the earliest, staying at least until summer 1676, just before his father's death. Such precise detail is typically unforthcoming: no names are to be found in this period of boys entering service—all that is known is that there were 12, sometimes 13, statutory boys. (13 boys are recorded in De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 153 (for 4 December 1664). According to De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 157 and Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 44, Cooke took '13 boys of the Chappell' to Windsor at April 1663.) Christopher Jr was not one of the eight boys in attendance at Windsor between May and September 1674, which was a cohort of boys at different stages of vocal maturity (one boy would leave Chapel the following year; two the following; two the following; one thereafter, and two some five years later). 'Boys gone off' do tend, however, to leave a trail behind in the court's unpaid accounts: e.g. in the nine years between 1668 and 1676 there are numerous mentions of Richard Hart (kept for service by Cooke to enjoy lifelong service at court), Henry Montagu (his mother being paid £30 maintenance per year 'during his Majesty's pleasure'), Thomas Tudway and John Farmer (both retained by Henry Cooke for service as pages of the Chapel (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 209)). For a choir of a dozen members, with one or two boys departing at the end of each year, records are very obviously

Whilst he would stay in his court roles for the rest of his life, records show that Gibbons' formal employment at Westminster Abbey lasted six years, 1660–66.²⁰⁷ Gibbons may thereafter have played an active part of the musical apparatus of the Abbey, as suggested by Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), when, in February 1668, the two went to visit an organ located at the Dean of Westminster's lodgings.²⁰⁸

incomplete. As well as may be, this is no proof either way that Christopher Jr completed a full tenure, either as Child of the Chapel, neither in the Private Music (under his father's direction), nor in the Queen's Chapel (under Christopher Sr's friend Locke). Whatever his start in life, Christopher Jr seems perhaps not to have developed his musical gene and his name is not seen in connection with a musical career. In point of fact, his name is not encountered again. Only female progeny are mentioned in the mother's will—'my said Three Daughters Elizabeth, Mary and Ann'—proved 22 January 1683. (Her will is transcribed in full in Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 277–81.) It must necessarily be that Christopher Jr died before his twenty-sixth birthday. There is, however, mention of a 'Christopher Gibbon' living in Westminster in 1677. (Results via Find My Past, 'Westminster Rate Books 1634-1900.' <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk>> (Accessed 30 August 2021).) This is just as likely to be a reference to the final calendar year of Christopher Gibbons Sr's residence there (to 20 October 1676).

²⁰⁷ Gibbons was formally succeeded in 1666 by Albertus Bryne as Organist and Thomas Blagrave (c. 1620–88) as Master of the Choristers. The Abbey muniments for that accounting year show payments expressed as 'χπο Gibbons ½ Albert Bryne ½' for the role of Organist, and 'χπο Gibbons ½ Thomas Blagrave ½' for that of Master of the Choristers. (The Abbey accounts were consulted by the author on 15 November 2022.) The import of Gibbons' moving away mid-term is not recorded. The accounts frequently signal an employee's half-year of service, but in Gibbons' case, this likely reflects the arrangements during the worst period of the Great Plague, the half-year July 1665 to February 1666, when the court fled Whitehall. See below.

²⁰⁸ Samuel Pepys, 'The Diary of Samuel Pepys.' <www.pepysdiary.com> (Accessed 6 February 2018). Diary entry for 24 February 1668. Gibbons was still occupying his house in New Row; he was very likely living here accommodation until his final days—cf. footnotes 206 and 216f.



Picture 8: Christopher Gibbons' last residence and place of death.²⁰⁹ *A MAPP of the Parish of St MARGARETS Westminster* (detail). New Row is that marked as 70 descending southwards from G[reat]. Almery [*sic*] to Orchard Street (here 'STREET'). The Gibbons family home may have been the large corner property on the bottom left of New Row, above the first letter 'E' of 'STREET' (see footnote 216). Today the site is at the centre of the back elevation of the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (precisely at 'Gate 2 Goods in'), on Abbey Orchard Street.

²⁰⁹ Lbl Online Gallery, 'A MAPP of the Parish of St MARGARETS Westminster (John Stow's first edition of Stow's survey, 1720); Maps Crace XI, 7A.' <www.bl.uk/onlinegallery> (Accessed 13 December 2021).

The early years of the Restoration saw, on the one hand, a combination of the rebuilding of normality, and on the other, the redesigning of a brave, strong politico-cultural and religious landscape. 1663 brought Gibbons his doctorate and a new trailblazing organ to Chapel. Two years later King Charles was faced with an enormous challenge to his progress: the Great Plague, where the death toll reached a peak of 7,000 per week in the middle of September 1665. With his family and his court, he fled to Salisbury in July and Parliament met in Oxford. Plague cases ebbed over the winter, and it was deemed safe enough for Charles to return to London in February 1666.²¹⁰ It is not known where Christopher and the family spent the plague years.²¹¹

A warrant dated January 1668, admitting Christopher Preston (died before 1 Jan 1690) to Gibbons' place in the Private Music, appears to herald Gibbons' decline.

1667–8, January 20. Warrant to admit Christopher Preston musician in ordinary to his Majesty for the virginalls and private musick, without fee, in the place of Dr. Christopher Gibbons, to come in ordinary with fee after the decease of the said Dr. Gibbons, then to enjoy the same places with the wages and fees of £46 per annum and £40 per annum, the same as Thomas Warwick, deceased, or any other formerly enjoyed.²¹²

However, as has already been noted, this is for the promise of an Ordinary role in the future, and does not imply imminent retirement.²¹³ Seven entries in *Pepys' Diary*, from May 1661 to

²¹⁰ Royal Museums Greenwich, 'The Great Plague: Heavenly antidotes against the plague In this time of Generall Contagion.' <www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/great-plague> (Accessed 28 August 2021). See also Christopher Falkus, *The Life and Times of Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972).

²¹¹ It is feasible that the Gibbons family made use of the inherited property at Freefolk. See p. 57.

²¹² De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 199. This indicates two separate roles, as illustrated in De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 207.

²¹³ Hingeston, for example, was active in his post as 'organmaker and keeper', alongside his unpaid assistant Purcell, for the ten years up until his death. See p. 34.

August 1668, share lively tales of eating, drinking and active music-making.²¹⁴ Furthermore, as has also been noted, the family was still living in local accommodation until at least July 1671.²¹⁵ Elizabeth's continuing residence until well into the following decade is compelling evidence that Christopher may also have died in the house, on 20 October 1676.²¹⁶ Without information to the contrary it can be reasonably assumed he was of sound enough mind and body until the very end.²¹⁷

With regard to Gibbons' very final years, it is clear from LCA that from 1674 the king spent much time at Windsor; although the summer months were often spent there, Gibbons is never listed among those attending His Majesty at Windsor.²¹⁸ It is also noted that Gibbons is

²¹⁴ Pepys, 'The Diary of Samuel Pepys.' Diary entries for 19 May 1661, 13 June 1662, 21 December 1662, 27 May 1663, 23 December 1666, 24 February 1668 and 3 August 1668.

²¹⁵ According to the overseers' accounts for the parish of St Margaret's. See footnote 57 of Harley, *Orlando Gibbons*, 245–6.

²¹⁶ According to an affidavit dated 30 December 1683 and enclosed with Elizabeth Senior's will, Elizabeth was 'at her house in Orchard Streete' at the time when she amended it. (The affidavit is printed in full at *Ibid.*, 281–2. The will itself is at *Ibid.*, 277–81.) This confirms two factors: firstly that the family had ongoing tenancy on their home well after Christopher's death in 1676; also, the house is now mentioned as 'in Orchard Streete', may pinpoint the property occupying the corner of New Row and Orchard Street. See Picture 8.

²¹⁷ Musicologists have noted Gibbons' ongoing activity through the following warrant: '1672, July 1. Warrant unto Dr. Gibbons and Mr. Pickering to provide mourning for the sergeant trumpettor, twelve trumpettors and one kettledrummer, the drumme-major, four drums and a fife, for the funeral of the Earl of Sandwich' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 245; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 116). Their surmise would seem erroneous, for the Mr Pickering is likely the trumpeter Arthur Pickering, and the Dr Gibbons here a scribal error for the trumpeter (Mr) Francis Gibbons, the trumpeter mentioned '1694, March 19. Delivered to Mr. Francis Gibbons, one silver trumpet, new made, weight 35oz. 2dwt. Received by me, Francis Gibbons' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 416; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, II: 186 (the trumpet's weight recorded here as 35oz. 3dwt.)). Elizabeth's burial beside Christopher in the Abbey cloisters further underlines the significance of the pair's long-term association with the Abbey.

²¹⁸ In the lists of those who attended at Windsor, Blow is organist in 1671, and Child in 1674. It might be expected however that Child, who had been organist at Windsor for his entire career, would generally have been in residence.

not listed as a player in the ‘Masks’ of 1674 and 75.²¹⁹ There are no notices of retirement, and nothing more is forthcoming from this source. Gibbons was fit enough to take on the post of organist at the fashionable Royal Parish Church of St Martin-in-the-Fields in the same year. It is entirely probable that he held the post alongside his duties at the Chapel, until the very end.²²⁰

²¹⁹ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 280–81, 290.

²²⁰ Benjamin Cooke held Post of Organist at St Martin-in-the-Fields for over 30 years alongside his role at the Abbey; he was named in both roles right up to his death. Gibbons’ appointment to the church in 1674 carried a respectable salary of £20 per annum. (The record of the appointment is quoted in *Ibid.*, 264.) Unfortunately, nothing is known about his work and duties there.

Addendum: Further Applications of Heywood's Template²²¹

Applying Heywood's template to the biographies of Henry Cooke, Pelham Humfrey, Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell Jr and John Blow may assist in the understanding of their wider careers. The template may help in the appreciation of the lives and work of other musicians whose court records are likewise limited.

Henry Cooke

It is observed that the shape of Cooke's career superimposes exactly onto that of Christopher Gibbons. Cooke is believed to have been born in the same year 1615; both enter the Chapel as young children—in the case of Cooke, it is recorded that he was aged 8 or 9.²²² Both boys' fathers die when they were ten; their voices change sometime either side of 1632; both were likely retained. (Cooke is still there in 1642, aged 27 or thereabouts, when he scratched and dated his signature on a pane of glass in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey.) The two may both have been subject to court preferments during the period where records are incomplete; both fight for the Royalist cause; both return to find work together on the London theatrical scene and in teaching, both being recommended in Playford's *A Musicall Banquet*; both (re)enter significant roles in the Restoration Chapel, and in Private, and remain there, well paid, for the remainder of their lives, being both buried in the Abbey cloisters.

²²¹ As developed at pp. 43ff.

²²² Baldwin mentions him specifically as a Chorister—according to Grove, 5th edition—as indeed Christopher is so named. (Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 423.)

Locke's court career may have had a similar chronological alignment to that of Cooke and Gibbons.

Matthew Locke

Locke's formal connection with the First Caroline Court is wholly unrecorded. There exists a contemporary note, penned with certainty after February 1664 once Gibbons had been awarded his Doctorate, in the hand of Playford's printer Edward Jones (died 1706) that states: 'Dr Christopher Gibbons [...] was the music master of Mathew Lock.'²²³ (Locke would have been between 5 and 8 years younger than Gibbons.) Given his own theatrical activities in the 1650s, the statement brings into the open Locke's possible arrival in London during the early 1640s, and, just as is the case with Christopher Gibbons, may point to an unaccounted start at court and a certain invisibility within official records. Locke's biographical timeline is itself extremely sketchy, particularly in the first two-decades of his life. For example, it is not known for certain where or when Locke was born.²²⁴ Exeter Cathedral Library and Archives show that Locke was paid for pricking music at the cathedral in 1639. With Richard Carter, he was chastised on 29 August 1640 for fighting, and both ordered 'to behave themselves more soberly and orderly hereafter appoint payne of expulsion', presumably from the choir. Locke inscribed the organ loft in 1638, and there is reference to another graffitus 'ML / 1641' elsewhere at the cathedral.²²⁵ It is understood from Locke himself that he was in the Low

²²³ Lbl Add. MS 17799, f. 2, as cited in Matthew Locke & Christopher Gibbons, *Cupid and Death* (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1965), 78.

²²⁴ Based on his portrait at Oxford, his birthdate is calculated to be between March 1621 and March 1623.

²²⁵ As recorded in Peter Holman, 'Locke [Lock], Matthew.' *Grove Music Online*

Countries in 1648, but the intervening years (viz. early 1641—when he may have left Exeter for London—to early 1644) the LCA fall silent, which could certainly allow for him to take up an unaccounted Extraordinary position at court, exactly tailored to the timeline between his nineteenth year and his twenty-first birthday. Such an appointment would soon propel him into one or more coveted promoted posts, and this would well explain how Locke appears to emerge, fully integrated into the London theatrical scene of the 1650s, working for and with his ‘master’, alongside countless other eminent musicians from the pre-Commonwealth Court. It would position him for rapid future promotion to wind, violin and composition posts in the Restoration Court and as the Queen’s Organist at Somerset House; the immediacy of Locke’s appointment to these roles, together with the fact that he had produced the music for Charles II’s triumphant return to London (to accompany the 20,000-strong foot and horse procession through Whitehall), more than suggests that he too had a prominence and significance to court music from before the civil wars.

John Blow

Blow was one of the first Children of the Restoration Chapel, entering at some point in the winter of 1660/61, likely in his twelfth year. Blow’s first formal appointment, playing the organ at Westminster Abbey, apparently came in December 1668.²²⁶ Applying Heywood’s template to Blow’s birthdate (usually cited as 23 February 1649) it is reasonable to speculate

<www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 25 April 2021).

²²⁶ Edwards states that Blow was appointed to Westminster Abbey in 1669, and adds that the Abbey records do not note Purcell’s appointment. ‘FGE’, ‘Dr. John Blow (1648–1708),’ *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 43, no. 708 (1902), 81.

that Blow was initially placed there by the Court in an apprentice role, aged 19 years. It is said that he held that role until Michaelmas 1679 (when, as the well-rehearsed story goes, he gave it up in favour of his teenaged pupil Henry Purcell).²²⁷ According to a white marble cartouche erected on the wall near his grave in Westminster Abbey, Blow was organist there for ‘about 15 years’.²²⁸ But if his tenure as organist be reckoned as 1668–79 followed by 1695–1708 (thus ten years 8 months, plus 12 years ten months), the calculation is very nearly 25 years, not 15. Such a detail supports the notion that some of Blow’s first spell at the Abbey was part of a demanding and high-profile training position, between the Abbey and the Chapel, at least in part as ‘scholar to the excellent Musician Dr Christopher Gibbons’, as is inscribed on Blow’s memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey.²²⁹

²²⁷ Adams, in 1886, titivates with: ‘In 1680 he was removed to make way for Purcell’. (William Henry Davenport Adams, *Good Queen Anne* (London: Remington & Company, 1886), 176.) It seems unlikely that Blow’s duties at the Abbey would have sat well with duties at the Abbey, from July 1674, as Master of the Children of the Chapel, which involved regular summer sojourns to Windsor lasting very many weeks (something that Christopher Gibbons seemingly did not find time to include alongside his Abbey duties).

²²⁸ Westminster Abbey, ‘John Blow: Musician and Composer.’ <www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/john-blow> (Accessed 28 August 2021). The memorial is otherwise correct in the detail of his age (‘60th year of his age’) and in the length of his tenure at Chapel (‘for the space of 35 years’, which, taken from his admission as a Gentleman Ordinary, is indeed 34-and-a-half years).

²²⁹ Mention is made of Blow’s succeeding Giles Tomkins (c. 1587–1668) at the Chapel: on 9 January 1668 he is listed at the end of a long list of payments. Blow would have been aged almost 19, but the account does not state whether this was as Ordinary or Extraordinary. It is seen that on 27 February 1674 that he commenced that position at Christmas 1668, and that he received a livery for the years 1669 onwards, with wages of £40 ‘to commence 25th March 1669’ (noted 9 November 1674). It is noted that his 21st birthday would indeed fall within this livery year, suggesting promotion to Ordinary at precisely this time. Bruce Wood, ‘Blow, John.’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 25 April 2021). See also ‘FGE’, ‘Dr. John Blow (1648–1708),’ 82.

Henry Purcell Jr

Purcell's professional entry onto the Abbey staff is thought to be around Michaelmas 1679.²³⁰ His spell there, at least in this early part was, like Blow before him, likely to have been formative. This is borne out by the fact that he was living in All Hallows the Less parish in the City of London and not in local or tied accommodation at Westminster (as had Christopher Gibbons before him), at least from the time of his marriage (in 1680) until at least the burial of their first son Henry (in July 1681).²³¹ Purcell had, however, worked in his post-chorister years maintaining the Abbey organ; he also carried out valuable copying duties, both there and at the Chapel. On 14 July 1682 he was admitted as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, succeeding Lowe as one of the three organists.

Using all the data available, it is proposed that Purcell was appointed officially as Organist at the Abbey at some point during the accounting year 1681–82—at any rate, after summer 1681. He likely moved into local accommodation at this point, where it is noted that he received a subsidy for his rent, again as had Christopher Gibbons before him.²³²

²³⁰ See Peter Holman, and Robert Thompson, 'Purcell, Henry (ii),' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 28 August 2021). Shrock notes of Purcell that 'at twenty he was appointed *one* of the organists at Westminster Abbey'. (Italic added.) Shrock does not give a source for this. (Dennis Shrock, *Choral Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 321.)

²³¹ He is known to have moved to Westminster by Easter 1682 in advance of his appointment to Chapel Royal Organist, succeeding Lowe. See footnote 226. Also Holman, 'Purcell, Henry (ii).' For further detail on the organist's accommodation at Westminster see pp. 75ff.

²³² Cf. footnote 200.

Notwithstanding the unreliability of court record-keeping, the study has found no concrete evidence to support that Heywood's template was ever broken. It is distinctly plausible that preferment to valuable 'ordinary' court appointments was never granted whilst a candidate remained under the age of majority.²³³ This said, whilst it would be temptingly informative to apply the template over all musicians working in the system, caution should naturally be exercised. Applying the template to Pelham Humfrey, for example, could indeed take care of the many biographical anomalies, but would throw up a birthdate of two or even three years earlier than previously thought.²³⁴ Likewise, applying the template to Henry Purcell Jr could helpfully fill in very many biographical details not available elsewhere. However, adjusting Purcell's biography to align with the date of his preferment at court at the age of 21 would offer speculation that Henry Jr was born three years earlier than the currently accepted date of 1659.²³⁵

²³³ A good example is Orlando Gibbons, who was sworn in a month after his twenty-first birthday, having been an Extraordinary for about two years; also William Turner returns to the Chapel on 11 October 1669 to sing 'Counter Tenor'—presumably either as an Extraordinary or Supernumerary—before being appointed 'for the lute and voice' also aged 21.

²³⁴ Anomalies such as his admission in March 1666 as 'musician for the lute in the place of Nicholas Lanier [1588–1666], deceased.' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 185; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 71, for 10 March 1666, calendared in the latter as 20 March. That this is an Ordinary's place is confirmed in De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 200 (for 27 January 1668). The date of commencement also being noted in De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 187 and Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 81, for 20 May 1666.) A senior appointment 'in ordinary' at such a young age would be unlikely, given the template. As such, this would indicate a birthdate of before 25 March 1645, two or even three years earlier than previously thought (viz. by 26 October 1646); this would also render a rather late change of voice, not impossibly in the boy's twentieth year (see 'Chappell boy gone off' on pp. 39ff). Referencing the astonishing amounts of 'Secret Service moneys' received to defray the charges of Pelham's near two-year journey to France and Italy (Cummings, *Purcell*, 103–4) £450 is an astonishing investment in one who had not yet reached the age of majority.

²³⁵ Establishing Purcell's date of birth with any certainty is problematic. The year 1659 is derived from speculation, being estimated from four key factors. Interpreting each of the factors is fraught: collectively they prove to be inconclusive and ultimately they throw up a range of possible calendar years and different ages at death. The four factors are, firstly, the memorial tablet erected posthumously in Westminster Abbey by Purcell's teenage pupil and later patron Dame Annabella

Howard née Dyve (1676–1728) stating ‘Obijt 21^{mo} die Novembrs/Anno Aetatis suae 37^{mo}/Annoq Domini 1695’. Secondly, Purcell’s appointment as ‘Composer in Ord: with Fee for the Violins’ on 10 September 1677, the date of which is now widely conjectured to be his eighteenth birthday. (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 231.) Thirdly, a frontispiece bearing the words ‘*Vera Effigies Henrici Purcell, Aetat: suae 24*’ (original italic) included in Purcell’s own publication of the 12 *Sonnata’s of III Parts*, printed by John Playford Jr and John Carr (fl. 1672–95) in June 1683. (Henry Purcell, *Sonnata’s of III Parts* (London: J. Playford and J. Carr, 1683a).) And lastly, a pair of identical portraits taken from two posthumous publications, ostensibly depicting the composer in 1695. Taken at face value, the first factor seems compelling enough. The dating of the tablet at Westminster Abbey must necessarily be shortly after Purcell’s interment, for its erection is acknowledged by Frances Purcell in *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698). (That it is this distinctive text, and not any other, is confirmed by a near-contemporaneous account carried in the ‘48th Jest’ of Joe Miller, *Joe Miller’s Jests: Or, the Wits Vade-Mecum* (London: T. Read, 1739), 10.) However, in the seventeenth century, use of the phrase ‘aetatis suae’ is not consistent, meaning, interchangeably, ‘at the age of’ and ‘in the year of’. (See James Innes-Mulraine in ‘Anne Bradstreet, America’s first published woman poet and John Milton solve the problem of ‘aetatis suae.’’ <<https://jamesmulraine.com/2014/08/26/anne-bradstreet-americas-first-published-woman-poet-and-john-milton-solve-the-problem-of-aetatis-suae-and-kit-marlowes-portrait-too-right-to-be-wrong/>> (Accessed 20 March 2023).) Interpreted as ‘in his 37th year’ the birth-year of 1659 is reached. Equally by this method, however, for a late winter birthday, 1658 could be reached. Were Purcell ‘at the age of 37’ when he died, 1657 could be reached. Knowledge of precise age at death relies on the precise dates of birth, which are missing in the case of so many composers of the period. A reference in the hand of Purcell’s contemporary, the printer/bookseller Edward Jones (d. 1706), states on f. 36 that ‘Hy. Purcell was born in 1658’ and on the same folio confusingly goes on to state that he died ‘in the 35th year of his age’. (Lbl Add. MS 17799, as cited in Locke, *Cupid and Death*, 78. By no means unique to Purcell, establishing verifiable dates is a minefield. For example, Harley notes that in a letter dated 2 October 1598 written in Byrd’s own hand states that he is ‘58 yeares or therabouts’, yet in his will, dated 15 November 1622, he describes himself as ‘in the 80th year of [his] age’, suggesting a birthdate falling anywhere between 1539 and 1543. (John Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 14.) The fourth factor agrees with both the date and the age given on the tablet. Purcell’s official portrait by Robert White (1645–1703) appears as the frontispiece of *Orpheus Britannicus*, published in 1698, after the composer’s death, and is identical to that used the previous year by Henry Playford (1657–1709) in his publication of Purcell’s 1694 *Te Deum and Jubilate*. Both carry the inscription ‘Aetat: suae : 37 . 95 .’. But, while the dates agree, the portraits offer further uncertainty, for the year cypher looks to have been inserted as an afterthought: the ‘. 95 .’ is noticeably squeezed in to the right of ‘37’. This is unaccountably clumsy on the part of the country’s leading engraver—and there is otherwise plenty of space on the line. Also, according to every one of the plates by White held by the National Portrait Gallery, dates are always engraved in full four-digit form; they are often prefixed with ‘A.D.’ or ‘Anno Domini’ and some have the intermediate shortening: ‘Año Dom’. (All of White’s 608 portraits in the National Portrait Gallery were consulted via National Portrait Gallery: Robert White (1645-1703), Engraver <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp07727/robert-white?role=art>> (Accessed 20 March 2023).) Adding to the uncertainty is again the inconsistency in the meaning of ‘aetatis suae’ which is found throughout White’s work. (White’s 1687 portrait of John Rawlet (NPG D29629) shows the ‘Aetat.’ to be the sitter’s age at death, whereas his 1700 portrait of William Bates (NPG D29666) depicts the sitter in his 74th year.) From what is known of his very final years, Purcell was in decline, unable to complete a backlog of theatrical commissions (Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 255–66), yet this regal, even godlike pose, memorializes a man at the height of his powers and in rude health. While White’s portrait is based on a painting by John Closterman (1660–1711)—as the text on the left-hand side implies—the date of Closterman’s lost original cannot be verified. (The also undated Closterman portrait hanging in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 1352) is believed to be a ‘later studio replica, possibly by John Baptist Closterman...circa 1695 or after’. See Malcolm Rogers. ‘John and John

Baptist Closterman: a catalogue of their works.' *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 49 (1983): 257. Also National Portrait Gallery: Henry Purcell. <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp03677/henry-purcell>> (Accessed 16 March 2023).) White may indeed have modelled his portrait on true likeness, and he seemed to know for certain that the sitter was aged 36 or 37. But White's image is through the eyes of Closterman and, as we cannot be certain when that original was captured, would it not be feasible that the latter had depicted the composer a few years before, precisely at the height of the composer's theatrical fame? The third factor cannot be accepted as concrete evidence that Purcell was 23 or 24 in 1683. Likely composed as an echo to the 12 sonatas published by Corelli in 1681 as his opus 1, it is known that Purcell's publication, self-published, likewise as his opus 1, suffered certain delay. Purcell's wording suggests that the whole project had been planned for some time, meaning that some of the earlier plates (very likely including the frontispiece) may well have been prepared a number of months before eventual publication. (Purcell's apology, carried in the section 'To the Reader' in the 'Violin Primo' partbook, reads: 'There has been neither care, nor industry wanting, as well in contriving, as revising the whole Work; which had been abroad in the world much Sooner, but that [the Author] has now thought fit to cause the whole Thorough Bass to be Engraven, which was a thing quite besides his first Resolutions.' (Henry Purcell, *Sonnata's of III Parts* (London: J. Playford and J. Carr, 1683b.) Presumably this is a reference to the new availability of plate engraving by Thomas Cross Jr (fl. 1683–1732), and, indeed, Purcell's sonatas are assumed to be Cross' first work, 'a revolution in English music publishing' (William Gamble, *Music Engraving and Printing: Historical and Technical Treatise* (United Kingdom: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, Limited) 1923, 55). Problems with the publication of this volume are discussed in Rebecca Herissone, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013), 54–6. See also Dussauze, 'Captain Cooke and His Choir-boys,' 4–5. Cheryll Duncan reminds that 'as the publisher of his own *Sonnata's*, Purcell would have been responsible for commissioning the engraved portrait [from Robert White].' (Cheryll Duncan, 'Henry Purcell and the Construction of Identity: Iconography, Heraldry and the 'Sonnata's of III Parts' (1683).' *Early Music* 44, no. 2 (2016): 271–88.) Further proof that this method of dating is precarious is found in Playford's own publication *An introduction to the skill of musick : in three books [...] Printed by A. G[odbid] and J[ohn] P[layford] the younger (c. 1655–85)] for John Playford* from the same year, 1683, which likewise contains a portrait of Playford 'Aet: suae 57'. Playford's portrait, made by Frederik Hendrik Van Hove (c. 1628–98), is in fact exactly the same image, touched up a little in the face, as one from around a decade earlier, when the sitter was apparently 47. (What is more, the portrait of Playford in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG D30451), engraved by David Loggan (1634–92) and published in 1680, depicts a decidedly older man!) It is probable then that both of these portraits, Purcell and Playford, were commissioned and prepared well in advance of their 1683 publications.

Purcell's date of preferment at court affords serious speculation that he was born quite a bit earlier than has been hitherto concluded. Accepting the date as on (or after) the composer's twenty-first birthday would fix his birth to late 1656, that is, up to eighteen months earlier even than that offered by a confused Edward Jones. This would, in turn, mean young Henry's entry to the Chapel shortly after his ninth birthday rather than just after his sixth—the latter being uncomfortably early in terms of musical, vocal and literacy development—and his change of voice more centrally within the typical range 15–18, namely 16-and-a-half rather than 13-and-a-half (see 'Chappell boy gone off' on pp. 39ff); it would also place his being paid for tuning the organ at the Abbey aged 18 rather than 15, and his apprenticing there under John Blow, aged 23. Purcell's first entry in LCA is 10 June 1673, when he is sworn into Hingeston's place as 'keeper, mender, maker, repairer and tuner of the regals, organs, virginals, flutes and recorders and all other kinds of wind instruments whatsoever, in ordinary, without fee, to his Majesty, and assistance to John Hingeston, and upon the death or other avoidance of the latter, to come into ordinary with fee.' (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 126.) At a tender 13 years and nine months, this seems unconscionably young for such a role, particularly for the promise of a full place. (Perhaps Lafontaine was also thinking along these lines when he wrote: 'Bumpus says

that Henry, the younger, was born in 1658, so that he was fifteen years old when he left the Chapel—are we therefore to believe that at this age he was appointed to a responsible post?’ (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 463.) A similar consideration of a birthdate confused by a lack of verifiable information is raised by Spink and Wainwright regarding Walter Porter: ‘[his] voice must have broken between 1603, when he was a Westminster Abbey chorister at Elizabeth I’s funeral, and 1612, when, on 15 February, he sang tenor in George Chapman’s Middle Temple and Lincoln’s Inn masque. [...] It is perhaps more likely that these two events occurred when he was 16 and 25 years old, respectively than when he was 8 and 17.’ (Ian Spink, and Jonathan P. Wainwright, ‘Porter, Walter.’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 6 March 2021).) Shay and Thompson’s disagreement with Herissone over the date written into the contents page of Cfm 88 results in what Herissone terms as scholars being ‘uneasy’ about her proposed date of 1672, ‘which puts Purcell’s age to thirteen or fourteen when he began to copy the manuscript’. (Herissone, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, 55. In fact, any date in the Julian Calendar for 1672 would put Purcell’s hitherto accepted age between 12 years, 6 months and 13 years, 6 months.) A re-evaluation of Purcell’s date of birth in light of contractual arrangements at court may go some way in serving to salve their unease.

Chapter Two: Music for a Double-Organ

Introduction

The immediate post-Restoration era started with two entirely different schools of organ-building. One was the new style brought in by Bernard Smith [c. 1630–1708], inevitably having a considerable measure of Continental influence; the other was a revival of the native, pre-Commonwealth school. For a short time the two existed side by side, but the old soon gave way to the new.²³⁶

Before considering any commentary on works and practices, it is important first to recognise that the ubiquity of the organ in our modern world makes it difficult to appreciate that these complex machines were a remarkable presence in the pre-industrial age.

This chapter starts by examining all that is known of the nature of the liturgical organ throughout seventeenth-century England. Because Christopher Gibbons' career spans both schools in question, it is reasonable to expect to find that his music reflects the passage from old to new. Two pieces selected from Oxford sources help illustrate this change. In Part One, the old style is represented by his intonation-type verse entitled *In A*, and in Part Two, the new type of organ is revealed through Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor.²³⁷ The performance of Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries represents the very moment that the

²³⁶ Cecil Clutton and Austin Niland, *The British Organ* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1963), 62.

²³⁷ *In A* is found in a single source Och Mus. 1179 (p. 39) copied towards the end of the later layer of the MS whose final page bears the name of George Luellen, dated 1690. The untitled, anonymous Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor is copied into both Och Mus. 47 (pp. 26–29) and Och Mus. 1176 (ff. 5–6). It is copied four more times around the turn of the century into three sources, namely Lbl Add. MS 31468, ff. 41v–43 (as part of *Voluntary in D: Dr Gibbons*); twice in Lbl Add. MS 34695, ff. 25v–27 (*Verse for the double organ: Dr Gibbons*), and again at ff. 29v–35 (untitled and anonymous); as well as in Lbl Add. MS 31446, f. 24v.

English organ became a modern, unison instrument.²³⁸ Part Three, therefore, examines how earlier practices, including those that were common in the wider European context, lingered on due to the organ's severely restricted use: and how, with certain irony, a Reformation that sought to rid the church of its Catholic past ended up preserving it. Whilst its tonal development stagnated, the organ's capacity to be a brilliant accompanying tool assisted the growth of the Anglican Choral Tradition in ways not hitherto fully appreciated.

Analysing this instrument-related information alongside the music that was prepared for it reveals the Restoration organ to be so different from the pre-Commonwealth model, that, in a sense, they can scarcely be viewed as one and the same instrument. This study seeks to challenge received understanding of how the organ developed through the course of a peculiarly insular English Reformation, and forces an appraisal of how and why it took a necessarily different path to that of continental practice. Old-style organs contained pipes exclusively of principal and flute tone that were eminently suitable for accompanying voices and instruments, and for playing their 'serious and undramatic' solos.²³⁹ There was no role for soloing out a chorale tune or *cantus firmus*, nor the requirement for any great inventiveness; *discant* was long removed from the organist's tool box, indeed any ostentatious display from the organ loft was roundly criticized.²⁴⁰ The enforced limited role meant that, except in cathedrals and the larger, affluent town churches—and in communities far removed from the

²³⁸ See Chapter Two, Part Two: A path to unison.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁴⁰ Michael J. Greenhalgh, Roger Bowers, *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2012), 148. The short, non-challenging material performed as voluntaries is examined in Chapter Three: A Survey of Ornamentation Practices (p. 201).

fulcrum of political power—the organ was practically moribund: it was used to introduce and accompany singing, but seldom was it heard otherwise.²⁴¹ A resurgence of interest in providing cathedrals with new instruments is crystallized in the 1633 contract for the instrument at York Minster, showing the English liturgical organ to be a supreme accompanimental tool—the so-called ‘Transposing Organ’.²⁴² The organ in England otherwise resisted development, unlike, for example, in Protestant Germany and Catholic France where it was cherished and where it did decidedly flourish.²⁴³

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the process of the weakening of modal theoretical practice appears to have ushered in the decline of an age-long requirement for the organ to transpose.²⁴⁴ Organ builders concerned themselves then with reconciling matters of

²⁴¹ Willis notes: ‘[organists] duties were to praise God, set out the melodies of the songs, and keep the voices in time and together. When the organ played without voices, it should be sure to give the singers a fit tune to lead them into song, and to play the occasional verse to give the singers a break. It was not desirable for organ music to incite laughter, sport or dancing, organists were warned not to ‘abuse their skill by prophane & wanton playing.’ (Jonathan P. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Taylor & Francis, 2016), 140.) In 1570 in Hull, the organ was heard but four times during the course of a service, likely four times in a whole week. (See John Harper, ‘Changes in the Fortunes and Use of the Organ in Church, 1500–1800,’ in *Studies in English Organ Music*, ed. Iain Quinn (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2018), 59–72.) In England in general, the use of the organ to introduce and accompany the psalms is patchy: Temperley points out that no accompaniments for the Metrical Psalms have survived. (Nicholas Temperley, ‘Organ Settings of English Psalm Tune,’ *The Musical Times* 122, no. 1656 (1981).) Post-Restoration understanding of pre-Commonwealth organ voluntary is captured in Tudway’s copying of *Prelude upon ye Organ as was then usuall before ye anthem* by Edward Gibbons (in Lbl MS Harl 7340, ff. 193v–194. See p. 209). At the Chapel Royal, the organ accompanied movement of clergy, and was also used at the ‘offertorye’. (See Cox, ‘Organ music in Restoration England,’ 8.) In 1623 the Dean and Chapter of Exeter ordered that the organ be used ‘with the Psalmes before and after morning prayer’. (See Susi Jeans, ‘The Musical Life of Exeter Cathedral 1600–1650,’ *Quarterly Record* 43 (1958), 105.)

²⁴² To be explored in detail below.

²⁴³ According to Bicknell there were only 18 new or largely new organs built in the period 1540 to the end of the century. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 44–5.) Bicknell charts what he calls the ‘decline in the craft of organ building after the Reformation’ through his Chapter Three (pp. 41–59).

²⁴⁴ For the latest thinking on theoretical teaching see Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Also Peter Hauge, ‘English Music Theory c.1590–c.1690,’ diss., City University, 1997, 220. Also Jessie Ann Owens, ‘Concepts of Pitch in English Music

absolute pitch, and instruments were modified to iron out their internal pitch discrepancies. Undervalued, then reviled and ultimately persecuted, the English church organ smouldered on, only to burn out altogether, by parliamentary decree.²⁴⁵ Compared with the eve of the Reformation, where there were thousands of organs in churches, fewer than two dozen instruments were in a playable state to celebrate the re-establishment of the Church following the Interregnum.²⁴⁶

It was in Whitehall where the resolve for the organ to emerge from the embers was most keen. Charged by turbulent socio-political change and the desire for the country to rise

Theory, c.1560–1640,' in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Routledge, 1998). A growing awareness of tonality throughout the period is raised on pp. 117ff.

²⁴⁵ Ellis inserts a practical note: 'the cost of maintaining organs and hiring an organists became prohibited—not so much as a result of a religious conviction but a financial one.' (Bronwyn Irene Ellis, 'These sad, distracted tymes: the impact of the Civil War and Interregnum on English music, c.1640 to c.1660,' diss., Tasmania, 2004, 111.) Yet their removal was also very much politically charged, as on 9 May 1644 came the following decree: 'An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition; [...] all Organs in Churches taken away.' ('May 1644: An Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition,' in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911).) See also Evelyn's quote at p. 70.

²⁴⁶ This study has found 16 organs. (Information sourced from various sources including Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*. Also National Pipe Organ Register.) For the extent of medieval organ in England activity see Martin Renshaw, 'Discovering the origins of English music.' <<http://soundsmedieval.org>> (Accessed 2 September 2021). Also Royal College of Organists, 'Tudor Organs.' *English Organ Project* <www.rco.org.uk/library_tudor_organs.php> (Accessed 2 September 2021). Also Nicholas M. Plumley, *The Organs of the City of London from the Restoration to the Present* (Oxford: Positif Press, 1996). On the subject of the destruction of the organ(s) at Westminster Abbey, Bloechl states: 'Writing in the midst of sustained controversy over religious ceremony during the 1642–48 conflicts between Charles I and the parliamentarians, the Presbyterian John Vicars contrasted the current condition of liturgical music at Westminster with its pre-civil war state: "A most rare and strange alteration in the face of things in the Cathedral Church at Westminster. Namely that whereas there was wont to be heard nothing almost but Roaring-Boyes, tooting and squeaking Organ Pipes and the cathedral catches of Morley, and I know not what trash; now the Popish Altar is quite taken away, the bellowing organs are demolisht and pull'd down, and the treble, or rather trouble and base singers, Chanters or Inchanters, driven out; and instead thereof, there is now set up a most blessed Orthodox Preaching Ministry"'. (Olivia A. Bloechl, 'Protestant Imperialism and the Representation of Native American Song,' *The Musical Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (2004), 44.)

from the nadir of civil war, the Restoration afforded an opportunity for Chapel Royal musicians to carve a new confident path, unfettered by an uncomfortable past. The organ shed its many antediluvian vestiges to become a symbol of newness and defiance. Financed at staggering cost, Gibbons' new instrument was supplied by Robert Dallam (c. 1602–65), son of Queen Elizabeth's favourite Thomas Dallam, assisted by his son Ralph (died 1673), the latest generations of the veteran family of recusant Catholic organ builders which had fled the commonwealth in 1643.²⁴⁷ With casework painted by artist Peter Hartover/Herthewer (fl. c. 1674–c. 1690), and joinery by 'Master Joiner of the Office of Works' Thomas Kenwood (fl. 1660–82), and the works supervised by 'that miracle of a youth Mr Christopher Wren'—as Evelyn was to call him—it would have been both an aural and visual trailblazer.²⁴⁸ Bristling with the imitative colours of the trumpet, cornet and crumhorn, and with bright mixtures and mutation stops—and crucially with two interdependent divisions—is was the ideal vehicle for Gibbons to develop his athletic, flamboyant, brightly-coloured musical aesthetic. His new, virtuosic role for the English organ at once restored the vibrancy and confidence of the Virginalist School and possessed great capacity to further the ideals of the Baroque in England.

Problems with nomenclature

In charting the development of the English organ, the present study has navigated persistent problems in the terminology used by historians, players, organ builders and non-professionals.

²⁴⁷ See also Prelude: a Brief Perspective on the Organ in European Culture.

²⁴⁸ Evelyn's Diary entry for 11 July 1654. Bray, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 287.

It is particularly troublesome when the same words or phrases are used to describe different concepts. At the root of much present misunderstanding is the term ‘double’; ‘single’ also has a variety of differing definitions. See Table 2.

‘Double’	An octave lower, being the pitch relationship, for example, between open diapason and principal.
	Organs with two complete sections—essentially two instruments placed one in front of the other, forming a ‘double organ’—or an instrument with two manuals, one on top of the other.
	The description of a large instrument, based on the lowest pipe being 10’ rather than one based at 5’ pitch. ²⁴⁹
	In a manuscript, the indication to play on the Great Organ, in which case the words ‘Great’ and ‘Double’ are synonymous.
	The notes of the ‘extra gamut’, with double letters <i>CC</i> , <i>DD</i> , <i>EE</i> and <i>FF</i> . ²⁵⁰
	In organ scores, referring to the ‘double viol’.
	Where one instrument, or line, doubles another.
	The expression ‘double principals throughout’ (as used by Antony Duddyngton in 1519 at All Hallows, Barking) has no obvious meaning. ²⁵¹
‘Single’	Used to distinguish the 5-foot Chaire Organs from the 10-foot Double or Great Organs. ²⁵²
	In scores, the indication to play the Chayre Organ, as distinct from the Great; here ‘single’ and ‘little’ are variously used. ²⁵³
	A Consort Organ.
	A reference to the ‘single viol’ in organ parts, or a reference to the ‘consort viol’. ²⁵⁴
	The practice of continuo playing (or being played on the ‘Little Bass’). ²⁵⁵

Table 2: Problems surrounding organ construction and organ music: ‘Double’ and ‘Single’.

²⁴⁹ Doubly confusing is the use of the term in a reference to the secondary instrument: Hathaway’s 1665 Chaire Organ at Gloucester was described as ‘altogether insufficient [...] as it hath neither shape nor Modell of a double organ’ (Ob Mus.Sch.c.304a).

²⁵⁰ That is, *C–F* (at 8’).

²⁵¹ Seen at footnote 272 and discussed in Part Three: A ‘payre of organys’.

²⁵² Kinsela elucidates that the term ‘single’ denoted a keyboard compass down to *F*, whereas the double keyboard extended below *gamma ut* to ‘double C-fa-ut’ (or ‘CC’, today’s *C*). (David Kinsela, ‘A Taxonomy of Renaissance Keyboard Compass,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 54 (2001), 376.)

²⁵³ See Part Two: Repertory for the English double-organ.

²⁵⁴ Ephraim Segerman, ‘English Viol Sizes and Pitches (Late 17th century sizes),’ *FoMRHI Quarterly* 38, comm 597 (1985). See also footnote 441.

²⁵⁵ Cf. footnote 441.

For clarity, the term ‘double-organ’ (hyphenated, except when appearing in quotation) is here used to indicate a two-manual organ in the modern sense, where both manuals, one atop the other, share a unison keying system. Issues surrounding use of the term ‘a pair of organs’ are discussed at length in Part Three.

Another misunderstanding is the word ‘voluntary’, which by the Restoration had become a synonym for organ music, but previously indicated various aspects of ‘free’ musical form, with no guarantee of performance on an organ.²⁵⁶ The phrases ‘Double Voluntary’ and ‘Voluntary for Double Organ’ serve to highlight the extent of the issue.

In an organ context, even the word ‘choir’ presents problems (where the *choir* sings in the *choir/quire*, supported by the *choir* organ at *choir/quire* pitch). To help clarify, this study uses the lowercase spelling ‘quire’ for ‘quire pitch’, whereas the location of the music is in the church’s ‘Quire’ (capitalized); ‘choir’ as a body of singers is always lowercase, whereas ‘Choir’ (capitalized) is a section/manual of the organ. Further, the word ‘chair’ is thought to have been a corruption of ‘choir’ (or indeed *vice versa*), as the Elizabethan lowercase ‘o’ is easily misread as ‘a’.²⁵⁷ However, the ‘*Chair* Organ’ should be seen as a different concept to the ‘*Choir* Organ’—just as ‘Positives’ were not the same as ‘Portatives’. (The fact that the *Chaire* Organ both overhangs and accompanies the choir, when it is sometimes referred to as the ‘Choir Organ’, offers further opportunities for confusion.)²⁵⁸ At any rate, the standalone nature of the

²⁵⁶ See Aitken, ‘The Voluntary: 1550 and after,’ 250. See also p. 101.

²⁵⁷ See Peter Williams, and Christopher Kent, ‘Chair organ.’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 27 July 2021). Also Charles Francis Abdy Williams, ‘The Evolution of the Choir Organ,’ *Musical Times* 48, no. 767 (1907).

²⁵⁸ See below, ‘Lytell organis’.

Chaire Organ section should not be confused with the integral nature of the *rückpositiv* division, which is a central thesis to Part One below. ‘Chorus’ in an organ context identifies the stacking of octave ranks, for example in the four-octave chorus 16-foot, 8-foot, 4-foot, 2-foot.

For clarity, the ‘Great Organ’ is here abbreviated to ‘Great’ or ‘Great Organ’ (capitalized), and likewise it is ‘Chaire Organ’ or simply ‘Chaire’, adopting Tomkins’ spelling from 1613. Sources with alternative spellings (‘Chayre’, ‘Gret’, etc.) are quoted using their original spellings. Pipe-length measurements are hereon abbreviated thus: 5’.

The word ‘division’ is often used in organ design to mean one of two (or more) sections of the organ; it is also used to refer either to the manual, or to the pipes contained within the section—or indeed the location of that section. Where the section of the organ is standalone and not integrated to the main instrument (and is therefore not etymologically a ‘division’) the word ‘section’ is used. This meaning of ‘division’ should not be confused with a stop being ‘divided’ treble/bass (neither should it be confused with the actions, method and the instrument played by the Division Violist). ‘Stop’ and ‘rank’ are generally synonymous, although the stop can refer to the lever drawn by the organist. ‘Specification’ is a list of the stops available to the player, or that specified in a contract.

Much difficulty is encountered by pitch in the seventeenth century, being at once relative and absolute concepts. Some writers have attempted to clarify matters by using inverted commas for the former. Where there is the opportunity for confusion, the terms ‘relative’ and ‘absolute’ are used.

A word on the word ‘Voluntary’

‘To make two parts vpon a plainesong is more hard then to make three partes into voluntary.’²⁵⁹ Morley’s aside, found in the third part of *A plaine and easie introduction*, has misinformed a long-held understanding that true liturgical solo organ music of the day was always in three parts.²⁶⁰ But the context of Morley’s discourse—under the section ‘composing or setting of Songes’—draws a distinction between compositional modelling (for example setting a ‘plainesong or ground’ or ‘anie common knowne plainesong or hymne’), and free inspiration (the patchwork of learnt figures put together at will, and giving the impression of spontaneity, but which is not based on any other pre-existing material).²⁶¹ Morley continues elsewhere with the observation ‘some will be so excellent in points of voluntary vpon an instrument as one would thinke it vnpossible for him not to be a good composer’, then further, ‘euen as one with a quicke hand playing vpon an instrument, shewing in voluntarie the agilitie of his fingers.’²⁶² The two latter references use the word ‘voluntary’ as we might now use ‘improvisation’.²⁶³ Morley continues, ‘and generally of euery thing seruing for the formal

²⁵⁹ Thomas Morley (1557–1602). Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), 126.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 116.

²⁶¹ ‘Plainesong or ground’ is from the title page itself. See also *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 182, 150.

²⁶³ Or an ‘extemporisation’ in the case of Burney who, in 1770 faced with a distinguished audience in Venice, ‘played a Voluntary, for I could neither see, nor remember anything, I was so frightened.’ (Charles Burney, *Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy, 1770* (London: Folio Society, 1969), 84.) It also links to Pepys, whose encounter with fine *extempore* playing is recorded in his diary for Friday 21 August 1663: ‘After dinner [...] went all to Greenwich [...] to the musique-house, where we had paltry musique, till the master organist came, whom by discourse I afterwards knew, having employed him for my Lord Sandwich, to prick out something (his name Arundell), and he did give me a fine voluntary or two.’ The word ‘improvise’ is not encountered in its present sense until the early nineteenth century. According to the *Middle English Companion* the word is found earlier, c. 1429, having the definition ‘suddenly/unexpectedly’. Words connected to *extempore* do not appear at this time. See

and apte setting together of parts or soundes, for producing of harmonie either vpon a ground, or voluntarie.²⁶⁴ The subtlety here is the implication of a move away from rigidity. The use of ‘plaine-song’ in this context, then, appears just to refer to a set theme on which to set counterpoint or descant; the word ‘voluntarie’ is used for the act of freely-composing; Morley makes it plain to serious students of music, that once they had mastered counterpoint to a ‘plainsong’—being a compositional rite of passage—they would find the writing of three-part counterpoint a relatively easy challenge.

According to Caldwell, the first piece to bear the title ‘voluntary’ is a short movement in *The Mulliner Book* (c. 1550–75) by Richard Alwood (fl. c. 1550), freely composed and semifugal in style.²⁶⁵ The noun ‘voluntary’ then functions as an equivalent to ‘*Prelúdio*’ in Florio’s *World of Words*, as ‘a proheme [an introduction] in Musike, a flourish or voluntarie before a song or any musike.’²⁶⁶ Some titles betray this original purpose and context, such as Byrd’s *A lesson of voluntarie*.²⁶⁷ For capricious keyboard works ‘voluntary’ tended to give way to the title ‘Fantasy’. Conversely, as Aitken suggests, the Church, disliking the title ‘Verse,’ which

article on ‘Improvise’ in Middle English Compendium, <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>> (Accessed 12 September 2012).

²⁶⁴ Morley, *Plaine and Easie*, 196.

²⁶⁵ No. 17 in *The Mulliner Book* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1952). See also John Caldwell, ‘Voluntary,’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 12 September 2021).

²⁶⁶ John Florio (1553–1625). ‘World of Words 1598-1611.’ <www.pbm.com/~lindahl/florio/412small.html> (Accessed 9 December 2021).

²⁶⁷ William Byrd (b. c. 1539–43; d. 1623). No. 29 of *My Ladye Nevells Booke*. Lbl MS Harley 2034 contains at ff. 75–6 notation for ‘The VOLUNTARY before the MARCH’, dated 1688 but described as an ‘Old English March’. (See Byrne, Maurice. “The English March and Early Drum Notation.” *The Galpin Society Journal* 50 (1997): 44, 45, 66.)

was no longer appropriate to the English Service, sought to substitute for it ‘Voluntary’, carrying with it the apt association with the organist’s usual act of playing impromptu.²⁶⁸

Lasocki discusses in his article ‘Preluding on the Recorder in England in the early 18th Century’ the apparently extremely popular English tradition of the improvised woodwind ‘prelude’.²⁶⁹ Here the titles ‘prelude’, ‘flourish’ and ‘voluntary’ appear to be synonymous. On the topic of ‘flourishing’ Lasocki quotes Roger North’s (1651–1734) manuscript essay ‘The Excellent Art of Voluntary’ (c. 1715–20):

I shall begin with the manner of flourishing upon a key, with which masters take a liberty upon all instruments, at the entrance of a consort [i.e. a public concert], to possess the audience with [that] key whereof the scale is used in the succeeding harmony; and then the music is easier and more readily entertained. The *pratique* of this has so great a share, and so well intromits an idea [of] voluntary, that I have taken it as an article of that practice. It consists only in sounding the proper accord-notes [i.e. chord notes] of an assumed key successively, and then breaking or mixing those notes as may best be done. *dividendo*, *consonando*, or *arpeggiando*, with what elegance and variation the fancy suggests or capacity admits: sometimes slow, and often very swift and coming off slow, always observing strictly a proper consonance with the key note, and placing the emphasis accordingly. . . . ([that is] the emphasis is to be laid on the key note or its accords in passing, and the rest of the notes touched more slightly ...). And the following may serve for an example; but observation of masters will inform much more exquisitely the manner of flourishing.



[Before a consort] the like may be performed in several manners by any number of instruments, with perpetual variety of fancy in each, and no one much regard what another does; and in all that disorder upon the-key the sound will be rich and amazing.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 250.

²⁶⁹ For example, the book *Preludes and Voluntaries for Treble Recorder* was published in 1708 and *Select Preludes and Volleritaries* in 1729/c. 1730. See David Lasocki, 'Preluding on the Recorder in England in the early 18th Century,' *Recorder and Music* 6, no. 7 (1979).

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 194–5. Modernized spelling and parentheses by Lasocki. See also J Wilson, ed. *Roger North on*

Part One: 'A Pandora's Box of pitches'²⁷¹

For the organist, matters of pitch and related timbre are of elemental importance, yet these practical, mundane aspects receive scant attention in print. At the most basic level, the organist chooses levels of timbral brightness governed by carefully-scaled ranks of pipes sounding at successively higher octaves. For the early organ this was the sole dynamic consideration. A traditional school of thought, perpetuated in recent attempts to recreate the organs of the great Tudor composers, understands that instruments, from at least the early 1500s until almost the end of the following century, possessed a secondary chorus of slightly narrower-scaled ranks whose sole purpose was to provide the organist with a moderately quieter, thinner alternative.²⁷² It is difficult to appreciate the logic, then, as now, that churches should have afforded such an expensive luxury, as, for example, at Magdalen College, Oxford, where the *circa* 1631 instrument had two entire and ostensibly identical four-octave principal choruses, such that it contained on a single manual two Diapasons, two Principals, two

Music (London: Novello, 1959b), 143.

²⁷¹ Borrowed from Kinsela, 'Taxonomy,' 354.

²⁷² For the traditional understanding of why organs contained unison stops see Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 58–9. In reconstructing 'Tudor Organs' from the Wingfield and Wetheringsett fragments in 2001–2 (also at St Teilo in 2010) Goetze & Gwynne made tonal assumptions based on the wording of the extant contracts of All Hallows, Barking (1519) and Holy Trinity, Coventry (1526). Here the term 'double principals throughout' signified to them two ranks pitched in unison to each other. A similar tonal decision was made for the Hupalo & Repasky reconstruction on loan to Stanford University, Palo Alto (visited 1 August 2019). See Dominic Gwynn, 'The Story of the Suffolk Fragments and the Making of the Tudor Organs.' <www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/story-suffolk-fragments-making-tudor-organs-dominic-gwynn> (Accessed 2 September 2021). Also Hupalo & Repasky Pipe Organs, 'The Tudor Organ.' <www.hupalorepasky.com> (Accessed 2 September 2021). For the Barking and Coventry contracts see Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 26–40.

Fifteenths and two Two-and-twentieths.²⁷³ By the end of the seventeenth century, a fundamental change happened to the understanding of the perceived function and purpose of older organs. This was expressed by Renatus Harris Sr (c. 1652–1724) who, surveying the Magdalen College instrument in Oxford, which had been made originally by his own grandfather, could see no practical use for such duplication of ranks at the unison:

Whereas the great organ consists of eight stops, namely, two diapasons, two principals, two fifteenths and two two-and-twentieths, one of which stops, and several pipes in the other, have been spoiled by Preston [in 1680]; finding by experience that when two unisons are together in an organ as two principals, two fifteenths, etc., that they never agree well together in time, and one stop of each sort is in a manner as loud as two of the same name; for which reason neither in my organ at the Temple, nor in those which I make for the King, after the open and stopped diapasons, none of the rest are of the same denomination. [...] In the choir [*sic*] organ there are one stopped diapason, two principals, one recorder and one fifteenth, so that in these five stops there are no less than three unisons.²⁷⁴

There is a considerable body of evidence that the organist was also required to transpose at intervals other than the octave. Roberts alludes to a ‘bewildering array of sight transpositions English organists of this period were expected to be able to carry out.’²⁷⁵ Morley expresses

²⁷³ Specification printed in *Ibid.*, 82. Further illogic sees that the Chaire Organ of this instrument included yet two more principals. It is highly improbable that the principal ranks of this instrument stood at the same pitch, to sustain four appreciable grades of dynamic. Just as improbable is Thomas Thamar’s 1665 contract at Winchester which specifies three unison stops called, identically, ‘Small Principall’.

²⁷⁴ From *The Proposals of Renatus Harris to the Reverend the President and Fellows of Magdalen College in Oxford, for repairing and making several alterations in their Organ, 17 July, 1685* (Lbl MS Harl 4240 f. 116^b) via Edward Francis Rimbault, *The Early English Organ Builders and Their Work from the Fifteenth Century to the Period of the Great Rebellion* (London: Wm. Reeves, 1865), 87–9. See also *Harris’s Agreement with the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford to Improve and Enlarge his Grand-father’s Organ. (From the Appendix to Dr. Bloxam’s Registers of Magdalen College.)*, *Ibid.*, pp. 89–91. The question of whether these pipes had always stood at the unison is addressed in Part Two.

²⁷⁵ Helen Roberts, ‘Reconstructing Verses by Henry Loosemore and John Coprario: Practice-led Research with Three Artefacts.’ <www.researchcatalogue.net/view/944310/962095/100/1350> (Accessed 2 September 2021), section 5. See also Andrew Johnstone, ‘As It Was in the Beginning’: Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music,’ *Early Music* 31, no. 4 (2003), 511–8. Also Part One: ‘Lytell organis’.

that the organist was the expert in that particular art.²⁷⁶ The *Chirk Organbook* and the *Batten Organbook* contain a wealth of evidence that the intervals of a fourth and the fifth were used most frequently in transposition, depending on whether the organist chose to accompany on a 5' stop (playing down a fourth) or its sub-octave 10' (playing up a fifth).²⁷⁷ However, the fourth-fifth method may not have been an exercise of transposition *per se*, but merely adapting notation so as to reach the tonic. Thereby, the organist addressed issues of locality—that is,

²⁷⁶ Written regarding the difficulties of transposing up a tone. See footnote 326.

²⁷⁷ J. Bunker Clark, 'Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators,' *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968). Adrian Batten (1591–1637). See also Peter Le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle Partbooks,' *Early Music History* 2 (1982). Also Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments*, 41. As Roberts succinctly puts it : 'In some cases, organ accompaniments are notated a fourth apart from their corresponding vocal sources to accommodate the high pitch of the organ and use a particular combination of clefs to indicate the need to transpose to the organist.' (Roberts, 'Reconstructing Verses by Henry Loosemore and John Coprario: Practice-led Research with Three Artefacts,' section 4.) Bunker Clark writes that the *Batten Organbook* (Ob Tenbury 791) contains in almost a thousand pages numerous transpositions of up a fifth and down a fourth, as well as indications to play at different octaves. These, he writes, are to be found in verse settings where organ parts are needed. He cites similarly-transposed material in Och Mus. 6 (*Chirk Organbook*) and Och Mus. 1001, and Ojc MS 315, itself containing well over a thousand pages of transposed and non-transposed material, noting versions for ferial and festal use. At p. 44 he goes on to relate that in Durham Cathedral's early seventeenth-century organbooks Morley's *Verses Service* has the verse sections transposed a fourth down and the choruses a fifth up. The implication from Bunker Clark is that the organist swapped manuals. The notion of 'static registrations' is echoed in Rebecca Herissone, *To fill, forbear, or adorne* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 45–7. Yet Boeringer notes that, whilst the Durham organ did indeed possess two manuals, they were separated, such that the organist would be inconvenienced to move across when a verse progressed to a chorus. (Even in 1662 the two sections of the organ were both separate and separated, their keyboards opposite each other. Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, III: 299.) Given that verse anthems very often leave no time between sections, this solution is unworkable. (For a consideration of the use of stops in verse anthems see footnote 321.) Johnstone adds: 'Owing to the rapid stylistic innovations that followed the Restoration, much pre-Commonwealth church music quickly fell into an oblivion [...] Those works that did live on in the repertoires of cathedral and collegiate choirs were soon being sung to the accompaniment of new or adapted organs that were no longer transposing instruments. As a result, the old transposed organ parts were now obsolete, and were superseded by new parts notated at choir pitch. Thus, in an organbook from the period (Lbl Add. MS 34203) copied by George Loosemore (d. 1683), works by Humfrey, Blow and Purcell rub shoulders with untransposed accompaniments to the still popular "short" services by Tallis and Byrd.' (Johnstone, "As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music,' 518.) Bunker Clark further relates that in Durham Cathedral MSS A1 and A2 the *Jubilate*, *Kyrie* and *Creed* are at quire pitch and the *Te Deum* is transposed. See Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments*, 46. This supports the notion that the main organ was used in a festal context. (The *Te Deum* was used when the *Gloria* was sung at Mattins every Sunday, except in Advent, Septuagesima, Lent and Passiontide, and on feast days and in Eastertide.)

performing music created or rehearsed at a different location (for example, music for an organ pitched in C needing to be performed on an organ pitched in F, or vice versa)—or adapted the music to occasion, for example, changing ferial for festal. The notion offers a firm clue as to what was meant by transposition for organists of the period, and may help explain what the ‘Transposing Organ’ actually did.

Much has been written about matters of historical pitch.²⁷⁸ Setting absolute pitch aside, a fundamental issue is that of ‘keying’—that is, which key served which pitch. The crux of the problem was raised by Mendel who quotes Pietro Aaron (*c.* 1480–after 1545) writing in 1539:

bisogna che prima tu consideri la chorda ouer positione, chiamata C fa ut, con quella intonatione che a te piacere... (You must first consider the string or degree called C, giving it what pitch you please).²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ The subject of the discrepancies of and alterations to organ pitch is an extremely complex matter about which many conflicting views have been aired in print. Notable writers on general historical pitch stretch from Ellis in 1880 through to Haynes and Segerman in the 2000s. Ellis compiled a complex paper to chart the variation of pitch standards from 1511 through to his present day. (Alexander J. Ellis, ‘On the History of Musical Pitch,’ *Journal of the Society for Arts* 28, no. 1424 (1880), 305.) He outlined the lowest recorded pitch of $a^1=374.2$ at L’Hospice Comtesse near Lille, a then dilapidated instrument dating from 1700, where a^1 sounded $f^{\#1}$ by modern standards; the highest recorded pitch was recorded by Praetorius, in what he called ‘North German, very old’, as $a^1=567.3$, a sharp $c^{2\#}$. See also Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002). Segerman wrote considerable provocative and detailed material for FoMRHI Quarterly and The Galpin Society (see bibliography). Mendel’s work in the 1940s was pivotal to the present study, particularly below, in Part Three. (See Arthur Mendel, ‘Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries – Part I,’ *The Musical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1948). Also Arthur Mendel, ‘Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,’ *Acta Musicologica* 21 (1949). Also Arthur Mendel, ‘Pitch in Western Music since 1500. A Re-Examination,’ *Acta Musicologica* 50, no. 1/2 (1978).) The story of a particular instrument’s pitch journey is read in the oldest extant metal pipework in Britain, at St Nicholas’ Stanford-on-Avon (dating from *c.* 1620), as surveyed in Ephraim Segerman, ‘Basic accountancy in organ pipe history,’ *FoMRHI Quarterly* 97, comm 1670 (1999). See also p. 127. Changes involved, over time, cutting the length of each pipe, adding a patch and making (then later filling) a scoop in the back of each pipe, also shifting the pipework, as well as changing which key operated which pipe.

²⁷⁹ Mendel cites his source as ‘*Toscanello in Musica*, Venice, 1539, *Libro Secondo*, Cap. XLI’. See Mendel, ‘Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,’ 28.

In fact, Aaron was introducing a familiar concept of aural practice: the ‘movable *doh*’ of *sol-fa*. Serendipitously, the earliest extant English organ contract (for an organ completed in 1520) shows that the pitch of the new instrument was to be ‘of Dowble Cefaut [...] the pryncipalle to contayne the length of v foote so following Wythe Bassys called Diapason to the same conteynyng lengthe of x foot or more.’²⁸⁰ However, as the foot was also not an absolute measurement, and that there can be no knowledge as to the instrument’s wind pressure, understanding this instrument’s true pitch becomes impossible, save that ‘organ pitch’ would appear to have been different to the standard pitch of today.²⁸¹ Multiples of 5’ was a common theme for organs throughout Europe.²⁸² Bicknell notes that the oldest organ case in Britain, at Old Radnor (c. 1500–30), had pipes of a 5’ principal contained in its two lower flats; the Durham organ (in its pre-1686 state) had 10’ Open Diapason and 5’ Principal pipes labelled as ‘double C fa ut’.²⁸³

²⁸⁰ The organ of All Hallows, Barking. Antony Duddyngton’s contract (1519) is reproduced in Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 28.

²⁸¹ Ellis charts the (then) known historical measurements for the ‘foot’, noting a 12% diversity. (Ellis, ‘On the History of Musical Pitch,’ 306.) For a compelling commentary on pipe lengths and scaling, wind pressure and the effect of ‘atmospherics’ in Johnstone, “As It Was in the Beginning”: Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music,’ 506-9.

²⁸² See Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 102. On the measurement of a 5’ pipe, Johnstone states that the ‘textbook pipe-lengths for a typical modern Open Diapason are 5.13 feet for G and 4.84 feet for A^b, so such a pipe exactly 5 feet long should indeed sound midway between those two pitches.’ He also states that the actual length of the 5’ pipe at Stanford-on-Avon is 5 foot 1½ inches; this corresponds to the historic ‘5-foot’ organ case at St Mary’s, Old Radnor, Powys, which ‘provides for a speaking length of up to 5 feet 2 inches’. (Johnstone, “As It Was in the Beginning”: Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music,’ 509, 519.)

²⁸³ Ibid., 519. Also Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 43. Bicknell also surmises that the 20’ pipes of Loosemore’s 1665 instrument at Exeter Cathedral were probably those made for the Playssher Organ in 1513–14. See Ibid., 39-40. Illustrated at Picture 2 (p. 29).

‘Lytell organis’²⁸⁴

English liturgical organs such as that at All Hallows, Barking, were single manual instruments pitched in F. It is logical that, at the Reformation, these organs were appropriated for their new liturgical function. Chaire Organs developed in the early years of the seventeenth century were pitched differently to their Great Organs; more correctly it should be said that the two sections were ‘keyed’ differently.²⁸⁵ Organ builders later used an expression ‘Gamut in D, sol re’ to denote that the sections were pitched differently from each other.²⁸⁶ It can be said with some certainty that these so-called ‘little’ organs were 5’ instruments. The greater organ was based on 10’ pitch, being a ‘double’ of the smaller.²⁸⁷ Since each section of the organ, at Windsor for example, contained a principal stop of 5’ length it has hitherto been presumed that the two manuals must necessarily have shared the same absolute pitch. This study proposes that this is a misunderstanding, and that the 5’ principal pipe on the Great Organ was keyed by the lowest note available on the Great manual—the *C* key—and that its 5’ counterpart on the Chaire Organ was keyed by the then lowest key on the Chaire manual—then an *F* key.²⁸⁸ Thus the two sections of the organ were not pitched a fourth apart, but

²⁸⁴ A phrase used at Sandwich in 1496. See Williams, ‘Chair organ.’

²⁸⁵ Edmonds states that the Chaire can be traced back at least to Thomas Dallam’s work at King’s College Cambridge 1605–6, where the accounts refer to ‘chayre and great organ’ as well as the ‘little and greate Organs’. See Bernard Edmonds, ‘The Chayre Organ: An Episode,’ *BIOS Journal* 4 (1980), 20.

²⁸⁶ The implication being that, whilst the compass of each manual had by that point become exactly the same, as at Winchester in 1665, possibly even at York in 1633, the keys operated pipes in their respective sections at different pitches. Their Chaires, now descending to *C*, meant that its pipework was no longer based on 5’, but now at 6’. The expression ‘Gamut in D, sol re’ would have assisted understanding of this manual’s pitch in relation to that of the Great.

²⁸⁷ As first noted in Thomas Dallam’s 1609 rebuild of the organ at St George’s Chapel Windsor. See Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 51. Also Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, I: 175.

²⁸⁸ Caldwell was the first to suggest that ‘the two-manual instrument of the early seventeenth century

rather ‘keyed’ a fourth apart (and when the sub-octave 10’ diapason was used instead of the 5’ principal, the keying would have been a fifth apart).²⁸⁹ While no surviving example of this pitch relationship is preserved anywhere in the organ world, the existence of a Ruckers 1638 ‘Transposing Double’ harpsichord, with its two manuals keyed a fourth apart, helps provide insight into the issue.²⁹⁰ It is of particular relevance that, according to Blankenburg writing in 1739, for a period of almost thirty years the Ruckers family built all two-manual instruments in this transposed way.²⁹¹ These were instruments whose prime function was to allow for the variance of pitch, not tone; all but a handful were later modified into two-manual instruments with keyboards aligned in the usual way. There is no evidence that early British organs with two manuals were ever disposed in this way: indeed, on the contrary, Great and Chaire sections seem always to have had keyboards placed quite separately from each other. However, a rare description of such an instrument in the Welsh Borders may point to this being as commonplace as the harpsichords of the period. See below: A ‘Transposing Double’ for the Welsh marches.

may even have emerged as a combination of the two [pitch standards] [...] the “chair” organ was of F compass at high pitch, while the “great” organ was of C compass at low pitch’. (John Caldwell, ‘The Pitch of Early Tudor Organ Music,’ *Music & Letters* 51, no. 2 (1970), 162.)

²⁸⁹ In modern orchestral parlance Great Organs were ‘F instruments’ and Chaires were ‘C instruments’. (Neither however would yet be at modern concert pitch.)

²⁹⁰ See Picture 9 below. For a description of this uniquely preserved instrument see Edinburgh University, ‘Double-Manual Harpsichord: Ioannes Ruckers, 1638.’ <<https://collections.ed.ac.uk/stcecilias/record/96070>> (Accessed 5 September 2021).

²⁹¹ Mendel, ‘Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,’ 33 (footnotes 13 and 14). See also John Koster, ‘History and Construction of the Harpsichord,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to the Harpsichord*, ed. Mark Kroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Ruckers Double-keyboard Harpsichord



Picture 9: Double-keyboard Harpsichord (Ioannes Ruckers, Antwerp, 1638),
St Cecilia's Hall, University of Edinburgh. (Author's photograph.)

Manuals set a fourth apart appears to have been the state of Thomas Tomkins' new organ at Worcester Cathedral, 1613, the first large organ in England for which full details survive.²⁹² However, the crucial point about the pitch relationship between the greater and lesser sections of that instrument is carried in a letter by Tomkins' brother Nathaniel (1599–1681), written some half a century later, where the author makes it clear that the two sections 'Great' and 'Chaire' were indeed related by a perfect fourth:

'The great Organ wch was built at Worcr consisted of 2 open diapasons of pure and massy mettall double F fa ut (of the quire pitch and according to Guido Aretines scale (or as some term it double C fa ut according to ye keys and musiks) an open pipe of ten foot long. ye diameter 7 inches & a half..²⁹³

As choral foundations were improved and their anthems were provided with accompaniments, it became commonplace for the smaller organ, or 'portative' (the word implies the instrument's movability) to be placed next to the greater organ, or 'positive' (denoting its fixed position); a single professional would operate both instruments and they could also share the same organ blower.²⁹⁴ Judging by numerous references to the 5-stop Chaire at St Paul's (such as at Salisbury in 1636 where John Burward placed the new little organ 'up to the Great organ [...] to the Model and fashion of the Choir [*sic*] Organ as St Paul's Church, with 5 stops'), London's cathedral set the trend in this regard.²⁹⁵ The success of

²⁹² As confirmed in two separate sources. See Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 78.

²⁹³ Nathaniel Tomkins writing to John Sayer, May 1665 (Ob Mus.Sch.c.304a, f. 141r).

²⁹⁴ Bicknell notes the origins of a Chaire Organ at Christ Church, Oxford as early as 1546, where 'a pair of organs with a turned chair to the same', some three years after Tye's first ventures into verse anthem form. (Ibid., 50.) The present study notes the development and circulation of the verse anthem as a form was via composers operating in Chapel Royal circles. See the following footnote; also footnote 298.

²⁹⁵ Bunker Clark notes that in Durham MSS A 1–6 several of the compositions by London composers are the only ones transposed. (Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments*, 46.) Regarding the St Paul's model, Christopher Wordsworth cites: '1635. Contract for enlarging the great

the new arrangement is confirmed in Archbishop Laud's visitation of Lichfield Cathedral in 1635, where a report contained the following recommendation:

That the two pair of organs in your church, which are much defective, be speedily amended, and if it will stand with the grace of your church, and be more convenient and useful for your quire (as we conceive it will) that you put them both in one, and make a chair organ of them.²⁹⁶

Festal voluntaries (perhaps even all voluntaries) were to be played on the solemn and grand Great Organ facing the congregation, with 10' gravitas, and at 'organ pitch'.²⁹⁷ This is precisely the situation described at St George's Chapel, Windsor in 1609–10.²⁹⁸ In churches

Organ and adding a Choir [*sic*] Organ to it: "That the said John Burward [...] cause to be repaired the Great Organ [...] now standing [...] in the same Church." [...] He also bargains "to set up to the said great Organ a Choir Organ according to the Model and fashion of the Choir Organ of St. Paul's Church, London, with 5 stops, 1 Stopt Diapason of Wood, 1 Flute of Wood, and Principal of Metal, [plus 'one smal principall & one 22tie', as at Lichfield, 1639–40, also Worcester, 1613] together with the Case" '. (Herman Hagen, ed. *Wiltshire archaeological and history magazine*, no. 48 (1939), 223.) This 5-stop design was still being made in 1662 at Durham and in 1665 at Winchester. Boeringer states that the 'Model' in question was that built by William Beton, and that the organs at Durham (ante 1662) and York (ante 1633) were all 'of the same making'. (Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, III: 294.) The arrangement of two organs in close proximity can be very clearly seen in the high-resolution image of Wenceslaus Hollar's (1607–77) view of the Quire in Old St Paul's (?1656). (Wenceslaus Hollar, 'Choir of Old St. Paul's Cathedral.' <<https://collections.artsmia.org/art/8862/choir-of-old-st-pauls-cathedral-wenceslaus-hollar>> (Accessed 6 February 2022).) Force notes a rash of Chaire Organs in the provinces and at university colleges between the years 1605 (at Windsor) and 1664 (at Exeter). (Force, 'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend,' 14.)

²⁹⁶ 'Orders Enjoined by the Most Reverend Father in God [...] Depending in the Diocese of Lichfield, Anno Domini MDCXXXV.' [Reg. Laud, foil. 237. b, 238. a.] Quoted in William Laud, William Scott, James Bliss, *The works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847), 484.

²⁹⁷ The 10' rank brings the Great Organ's fundamental pitch to a fifth below quire pitch. Diapason is a Greek word meaning 'running through' and is perhaps the origin of the expression 'double principals throughout'. According to *Merriam-Webster* it is a Middle English word whose first known use is c. 1501 but in the sense of 'a burst of sound'. See 'Diapason' in *Merriam Webster Dictionary* <https://www.merriam-webster.com/> (Accessed June 18 2021).

²⁹⁸ At Windsor, Thomas Dallam rebuilt the 'Instrument Consistinge of a greate Organ and a Chayre portative' (which he also referred to as 'the said twoe instrumentes') where an existing positive of 1599 was adapted to stand on the screen as a Chaire, together with a new great organ. A note of what was specified in the contract is found at Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 75. The method of Dallam's reconstruction is discussed in Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, III: 175. Edmonds adds: 'From this we get the picture of organs in various parts of the building being gathered into one place and coalesced [...] sometimes, as at King's College, Cambridge, the instrument was entirely new; though there also, the 1606 Accounts show, the chayre organ was in its own separate case.' Edmonds, 'The

with rood screens—like Windsor—the larger organ faced the congregation and the smaller, the choir.²⁹⁹ Often the two instruments were placed at one side of the Quire—usually the north side and somewhat raised up, as seen in representations at Canterbury and Lincoln, but occasionally, as at Magdalen College, on the south side of the Quire.³⁰⁰ The beauty of either arrangement is that equal support could be given to both congregation and choir: the strong Great Organ projecting well towards the people, and the Chaire Organ being perched just a little above the singers' heads, overhanging the choir, in close communication.

In his article 'The Chayre Organ: An Episode', Edmonds' choice of title proved to be apt, for the 'Chayre Organ' is something really quite exclusive to the seventeenth century in England.³⁰¹ It should not be confused with integral *rückpositiv*-type department on German organs, for example, where the colourful soloing out of reed stops and synthetic stops was part of Reformation organ culture.³⁰²

Chayre Organ: An Episode,' 26.

²⁹⁹ Great organs placed on the pulpitum had two fronts, resulting in a pair of great open diapasons, perhaps originally non-unison, but after the Restoration almost certainly unison. For a discussion of east and west diapason fronts see p. 138.

³⁰⁰ Edmonds notes that monastic Quires had been a place for the religious, just as the naves were for the people. At the Reformation, he writes, chancels were occupied by 'robed singers in imitation of the monks of old'. (Ibid., 27.)

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² *Rückpositiv* describes the division of a *werkprinzip* organ located behind the organist's back; the action necessarily travels under the organist. Force notes that the *rugpositief* was a feature of organs in the Netherlands from the mid-fifteenth century. (Force, 'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend,' 24.) There is no evidence to suggest that the actions of English Chaire Organs ever travelled under the organist.

This study examined all that is known about every two-manual instrument built in England during the hundred years before the Restoration.³⁰³ It found that, in every case, organs were two separate units. These units were often recorded as quite far apart, their keyboards quite often opposite or separate from each other; by no means were the two sections always back-to-back or one in front of the other. A ‘parent and child’ arrangement is disproved by the fact that Chayre Organs did not need their Great organs, but were purchased, restored, moved, added, replaced, and variously described as separate entities.³⁰⁴ The notion of the organist turning to play the Chaire Organ is inferred in Pickering’s 1844 definition of the noun ‘chair’:

Chair. From the Anglo Saxon Cyran, acyran, to turn, to turn about, to turn backwards and forwards. A chair is a species of seat. It is not fixed, but a movable seat, turned bout and returned at pleasure. It is a chaer-seat.³⁰⁵

Practical solutions with keying

Willis summarizes that one of the few functions of the organ in Reformation liturgy was to introduce singing with the appropriate key and mood.³⁰⁶ Precisely what and when the organist accompanied is debatable, but the fact that a huge number of organ-accompanied verse

³⁰³ See Introduction: The scope and methodology of the study.

³⁰⁴ This is except for Chirk, the only pre-Restoration organ known to have had two manuals one on top of the other. See below. The Chaire organ at Canterbury Cathedral was referred to as a separate organ until 1753. See Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, II: 57–8. Boeringer (p. 180) further remarks that all Chaires were replaced in the early years of the eighteenth century.

³⁰⁵ Charles Richardson, *A New Dictionary of the English Language* (London: Wm. Pickering, 1844), 120. Cf. the movements of the person in charge of a meeting, turning to garner the views of others, and also ‘to take something in hand’, from whence the word ‘charwoman’ (doing ‘chores’).

³⁰⁶ Cf. footnote 241. Huygens also believed that one of the principal roles of the organist was to introduce the psalms and to set the mood. (Henry A Bruinsma, ‘The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7, no. 3 (1954), 208.)

anthems were written between the early years of the Reformation and the civil war, suggests that this particular use of the organ was acceptable to church authorities, since the organ's primary role was to support the clear and immediate delivery of psalm texts. As Roper explains:

The florid contrapuntal style had now to give place to something 'understood of the people'. Cranmer's letter to the King (1544) suggests 'that the song that shall be made would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note'. This was adopted under Edward VI., in 1547, when it was ordered that 'No anthems were to be allowed but those of our Lord and they in English, set to a plain and distinct note, for every syllable one.'³⁰⁷

Clarity of text was a pre-requisite for all aspects of Reformation worship, although composers did not shy away from extended use of elaborate polyphony within chorus sections: the verse anthem being a less restrictive form for composers and organists than the ubiquitous Metrical Psalm singing.³⁰⁸

With the organ's festal and ferial units gathered together, the organist would simply turn towards one section or the other, depending on whether they were supporting the congregation or accompanying the choir.

As compelling as this seems, no source has hitherto convincingly illustrated this notion. However, included among Christopher Gibbons' compositions is a unique pairing of anthem accompaniment with organ solo, which has the singular potential to change our accepted understanding of the nature of the pre-Restoration organ in Britain.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ Roper, 'Music at the English Chapels Royal c. 1135–Present Day.'

³⁰⁸ Day's *Whole Book of Psalms* of 1562 ran to 500 editions during the next 125 years. As seen in footnote 241, many congregations seem anyway to have sung unaccompanied.

³⁰⁹ Whilst this appears to be the only extant example of an accompaniment paired with an anthem, the

In A

The organ verse called *In A* is related to the verse anthem, *How long wilt Thou forget me, O Lord?* in that the first four bars of the former are all but identical to the introduction of the latter, except for the striking difference that the solo verse—to introduce the choir to the key and mood of the anthem—is pitched a perfect fifth higher. (The two incipits are reproduced on p. 118). The transposition not only provides evidence of the organist's dual function of playing voluntaries on one section and accompaniments on the other, but confirms the Ruckers-Worcester arrangement, as noted above. It also categorically affirms Nathaniel Tomkins' description that the organ's two sections contained identical pipes that were served by different keys: the verse would have been played on the Great Organ—at organ pitch, using the Open Diapason 10'—and the accompaniment played on the Chaire at quire pitch, using flute tone.³¹⁰

existence of two voluntaries related by the separation of a perfect fifth is discussed at footnote 519.

³¹⁰ That this accompaniment descends to *D* signifies the next change to organ design: the Chaire's extension downwards to include notes of the 'Double Gamut'. See below: 'A most excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking Organ'. The transposition also accounts for the unusually high tessitura of $c-c^3$, and that the lower stave does not stray from a c-clef placed on the fourth line. *In A* does not entirely reference the composer/copyist's awareness of tonal structure, as some commentators have noted, with reference to this very MS. (See Owens, 'Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory, c.1560–1640.') Rather, it indicated to the organist that this is 'keyed in A', much like in the *Chirk Organbook*, whose ff. 1 and 15 both use the expression 'keede in A : re : '.

Incipits of Christopher Gibbons' *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord?* and *In A*



Picture 10: The opening of the printed edition of Christopher Gibbons' *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord?* in its three-voice setting for 'Two Trebles or Tenors' (with 'Bassus' for chorus) and basso continuo, as printed in Playford's *Cantica Sacra* (Second Set, 1674) p. 17 (via John Playford, *Cantica Sacra II* (London: W. Godbid, J. Playford, 1671)).



Picture 11: The opening of Christopher Gibbons' *In A* (Och Mus. 1179, p. 39).

A ‘Transposing Double’ for the Welsh marches

Ripin observed the existence of two different devices to enable and simplify keyboard transposition: these were shifting the keyboard sideways, or having two keyboards displaced by a certain fixed interval.³¹¹ While Ripin was unaware of any ‘Transposing Doubles’ as organs, the contemporaneous Ruckers key arrangement may well have been that employed at Chirk Castle in the Welsh marches.



Picture 12: The Chapel of Chirk Castle, Wrexham County Borough, Wales. (Image courtesy of Flickr.)

The organ in the castle’s small chapel (Picture 12) built in 1631 by London builder John Burward, is the only known pre-Restoration organ in Britain to have had two manuals one on

³¹¹ Usually by a perfect fourth, although O’Brien has suggested that a harpsichord by Ioannes Ruckers in Hampstead might originally have had a different arrangement, with the two keyboards a tone apart. (Edwin M. Ripin, and John Koster, ‘Transposing keyboard.’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 14 July 2021) citing Grant O’Brien, *Ruckers: A Harpsichord and Virginal Building Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).) Also Ripin, ‘Transposing keyboard.’

top of the other—specified as ‘two settes of keyes’: ‘lower sett’ and ‘upper sett’.³¹² This was a relatively inexpensive organ compared to other contracts of the day: the total cost was £150 for a two-manual ten-stop domestic organ (compared with £185 for Dallam’s five-stop single-manual organ at St John’s College, Cambridge, but four years later). The comparatively small price likely reflected that all the pipework was contained in a single cabinet 12½’ high, 9’ wide and 6½’ deep.³¹³ That the cabinet contained three expensive ostensibly identical metal ranks suggests that these were largely or entirely borrowed from each other.³¹⁴ The presence of the words ‘from gamut upwards’ for the Open Diapason (nominally a 10’ rank) confirms this theory, as it suggests that the *G* of the ‘upper sett of keyes’ equalled the *C* of the lower.

Reynolds and Harper posit that the series of partbooks copied for the castle chapel and completed around 1638 may well have been used in connection with the organist of nearby Wrexham, William Deane (c. 1575–after 1638). Deane seemingly brought singers to Chirk from 1632 ‘as occasion demanded’.³¹⁵ Le Huray adds that Deane and his Wrexham

³¹² John Burward/Burwood (fl. 1618–42) is noted as organ builder to the Royal Household, 1629–38, but had repaired and tuned the organ at Westminster Abbey in 1625. (David Stanley Knight, ‘The Organs of Westminster Abbey and their Music, 1240–1908,’ diss., King’s College, London, 2001, I: 34.)

³¹³ See Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 369. The Chirk organist would not have needed to turn, therefore the smaller of the two sections of this instrument is not properly called a ‘Chaire Organ’, but rather in the modern sense a ‘Choir Organ’. See Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 86–9. Also William Reynolds, ‘Chirk Castle Organ and Organ Book: An Insight into Performance Practice,’ *Journal of BIOS* 21 (1997), 321–3.

³¹⁴ It was commonplace for organs to share larger, expensive pipes in this way, through a process which Harris termed ‘by communication’. (Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 77–8. Also Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, I: 50.)

³¹⁵ Deane was the organist at St Giles’, Wrexham from 1620 and at both Wrexham and Chirk Castle from 1630. Le Huray points out that ‘the status of the organist at Wrexham [...] was probably comparable more with that of a cathedral appointment than with that of organist in a town parish church.’ (Huray, ‘The Chirk Castle Partbooks,’ 20.) Reynolds comments: ‘It is possible that much of the music contained in the Chirk manuscripts was also performed at St Giles’s, Wrexham, although

singers provided music in the chapel ‘in cathedral style whenever the Lord President of the Welsh Marches was in residence’; the *Chirk Organbook* was presumably taken along too.³¹⁶ The numerous transpositions in the book suggest that the church organ at Wrexham was keyed differently to the castle organ.³¹⁷ Some anthems are transposed, but not all; the copyist (or the player) used various expressions to indicate where, or where not, to make the transposition.³¹⁸ The vast majority of anthems are in quire pitch, but all verse anthems are written out a fifth higher (and one a fourth lower).³¹⁹ The implication is that the verse anthems were accompanied at Chirk on the Great by the flute-toned ‘stopt diapason’ keyed a fifth higher, or the ‘Recorder’ keyed a fourth lower, depending on the tessitura of the organ part and the desired tone.³²⁰ This provides a firm clue as to why the *Chirk Organbook* existed in the first place: verse-anthems required to be accompanied by flute-toned ranks, which unusually in the case of Chirk were both found on the Great.³²¹

we are, as yet, unaware of any related extant manuscripts.’ (Thomas William Reynolds, ‘A Study of Music and Liturgy, Choirs and Organs in Monastic and Secular Foundations in Wales and the Borderlands 1485–1645,’ diss., University of Wales, Bangor, 2002, 190–2, 256.) See also Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources*, 364–9.

³¹⁶ *Chirk Organbook* (Och Mus. 6). See Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 158.

³¹⁷ Ibid. Le Huray argues that the *Chirk Organbook* may actually have been the ‘*Wrexham Organbook*’.

³¹⁸ Le Huray comments: ‘By no means all the accompaniments are so transposed, however, and in several cases the copyist has explicitly reminded the organist to make the necessary transposition: against Luge’s *Short Service* (No. 17), for instance, he has written ‘to be keyed in Gam ut’ (the piece is written out in C, not G), and against Tallis’s *Out of the deep*, which immediately follows it, he has added ‘Mr Tallis Anthem followeth: in ye same key’—namely G, not C. (Huray, ‘The Chirk Castle Partbooks,’ 26.)

³¹⁹ Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources*, 370. For a commentary on other early seventeenth-century English organbooks at footnote 277.

³²⁰ For commentary of the suitability of these stops for accompaniment see footnotes 349 and 351.

³²¹ See below. See also references to ‘Gamut in D sol re’ in Part Two: A path to unison.

Practical solutions with shifting

It is a curious fact that English specifications before the nineteenth century do not carry foot measurements in their specifications, neither do older organs have these designations marked on their stopheads. This may be because of a long-standing tradition of organs incorporating stops at pitches outwith the usual multiples that give unison-sounding ranks.

Notwithstanding the indications contained in the transposing organbooks, the extent to which the organist needed to shift pitch is largely unrecorded. Gwynne and Goetze refer to ‘techniques of transposition by the player, which may have been quite subtle (by a fourth, a fifth or a tone).’³²² The need to transpose is obvious: to obtain a comfortable pitch for singers; accommodating the varying pitch standards of instruments; or even to play music in a difficult key while using the fingering of an easy one.³²³ But it also helped accommodate the conversion of vocal parts written in so-called ‘high clefs’ into standard clefs.³²⁴

³²² Goetze & Gwynn, 'Wetheringsett Organ: New Organ in Tudor Style.' <www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/the-new-wetheringsett-organ> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

³²³ Quoting Ripin, 'Transposing keyboard.' On the subject of transposition for singers, Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90) and Lodovico Zacconi (1555–1627) agreed that ‘the range should be comfortably sung, and stay in the “natural” human range’ otherwise the outcome would be ‘forced, tiring and difficult to sing’. (Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche di M. Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia* (Venice: Pietro da Fino, 1558), part IV, chap.3.; Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica* (Venice: Girolamo Polo, 1592), chap.59, f.51v.) To which Michael Praetorius added practical advice: ‘Avoid singing high in general: the singers get hoarse quickly and the sung text hard to understand. [...] The human voice sounds much more attractive and sweeter in its middle and lower registers than it does when it must cry out and shriek very high and above its proper limits.’ (Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 15–6.)

³²⁴ See Andrew Johnstone. “‘High” Clefs in Composition and Performance.’ *Early Music* 34, no. 1 (2006): 29–53. A list of sources implying downward transposition of pieces with high clefs is assembled at ‘High Clefs (so called “chiavetta”) and Transposition.’ Early Music Sources.com <www.earlymusicsources.com/youtube/high-clefs> (Accessed 17 September 2021). [N.B. The web-address spelling here is correct.] It may be noted that apart from four of Dering’s Italianate, small-scale *concertato* Latin motets (transcribed in *Musica Britannica* Vol. 87) and likely composed in Brussels or Rome, no English music is known to have used high clefs; the English did not generally use *chiavette*.

Traditional understanding is that keyboard accompanists used *chiavette* for carrying out their transpositions. Segerman neatly sums up the method as follows:

During the 16th century, transposition on [keyboard] instruments by an interval other than a fourth or fifth was considered difficult (voices can transpose by any interval). If one had two keyboards a fifth apart, and exercised the transposition down a fourth from the higher-pitched keyboard and the transposition up a fourth from the lower-pitch keyboard, the pitch levels available are

1. that of the lower-pitched keyboard
2. a tone higher than 1, being a fourth lower than the higher-pitched keyboard ,
3. a minor third higher than 2, a fourth higher than the lower-pitched keyboard, and
4. a tone higher than 1, the higher-pitched keyboard

Thus the interval of a fifth between the two keyboards is fairly evenly divided into four pitch levels available to meet varying needs.

The early 17th century Flemish ‘transposing’ harpsichord could well have largely been used this way.³²⁵

Chiavette clearly suited the modal language of earlier Renaissance repertories, but the development of a more tonally ambitious palette must have brought irreconcilable tuning issues for the transposer, and unpalatable limitations, particularly for the organ.³²⁶

³²⁵ Ephraim Segerman, ‘English Organs and Transposing Skills,’ *FoMRHI Quarterly* 69, comm 1127 (1992), 35. See also the section on the Ruckers’ Transposing Double on p. 110.

³²⁶ It is noted that through the entire *Tudor Church Music* series, composers set music in one of only three key signatures: that is, very seldom in two flats, very often in one flat, and most of all with no key signature. Praetorius wrote that transposition a fourth downward involves the difficulties with unfamiliar accidentals; worse still, he added, it calls for frequent use of d^\sharp in cadences. (Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 80-82.) Praetorius suggests that there be two keys for d^\sharp/e^b and two for g^\sharp/a^b which is precisely what Smith incorporated in his non-transposing organ of 1688 for Temple Church, requiring an additional 150 pipes across the whole organ. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 129–31.) Morley comments on transposition and the problems with solmizing songs with more than one flat, and credits the organist with being able to make sense of this by employing transposition methods familiar to him: ‘The musick is in deed true, but you haue set it in such a key as no man would haue done, except it had beene to haue plaide it on the Organes with a quier of singing men, for in deede such shiftes the Organistes are many times compelled to make for ease of the singers, [...] whereas by the contrary if your song were prickt in another key any young scholler might easilie and perfectlie sing it, and what can they possiblie do with such a number of flat b^b [*sic*], which I could not as well bring to passe by pricking the song a note higher?’ (Morley, *Plaine and Easie*, 156.) On the subject of temperament, see Mark Lindley, ‘Temperaments,’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 11 July 2021). Through her recordings in Section 7, Roberts illustrates tuning problems when transposing by a tone. (Roberts, ‘Reconstructing Verses by

Consequently, there are no known notated transpositions by the interval of a second, yet, after the Restoration, it is notable that this interval of transposition becomes more commonplace.³²⁷

Roberts discusses the specific use of cornetti and the organ at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. Their pitch was a tone apart, a discrepancy which Roberts terms the ‘Christ Church scenario’.³²⁸ In working out the reconstruction of pre-Restoration items in US-NYp MS Drexel 5469 Roberts notes that the manuscript contains ‘none of the transposition signifiers (*chiavette* clef combinations, transposition rubrics) that would imply anything other than an “at pitch” or “as written” performance.’

Coupled with the temperament difficulties already noted, it raises questions about the extent of the early seventeenth-century liturgical organ’s inherent capacity to transpose, as distinct from that achieved by the skill of the player.

Henry Loosemore and John Coprario: Practice-led Research with Three Artefacts.’ Schlick (in 1511) prefigured a reminder, perhaps even a warning, that organs need to be ‘suited to the choir, and properly tuned for singing’. (Quoted in Mendel, ‘Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries – Part I,’ 28-45.) Although beyond the scope of the present research, numerous notational problems observed in the *Mulliner Book* stem from the inclusion or omission of B^bs. It would follow that these issues may have been brought about by the transposition of organ parts.

³²⁷ In WB P.14, p. 25 Child’s ‘Te Deum in E^b Pric’kd [*sic*] a note Higher’; in Och Mus. e.450, an organ part is noted as ‘prikt a note higher for ye violins sake’. Johnstone comments that ‘a new transposition was at times now being practised. Gibbons’s “short” evening service, the last work in the volume [Lbl Add. MS 34203], is written out in the key of “Gamut” rather than the original “F fa ut”. [...] While it is unclear why this one source should contain two different pitch standards, their presence reflects a growing diversity in Restoration organ building.’ (Johnstone, “As It Was in the Beginning”: Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music,’ 518.)

³²⁸ Roberts, ‘Reconstructing Verses by Henry Loosemore and John Coprario: Practice-led Research with Three Artefacts.’ See also p. 124.

Ripin notes that shifting actions are not entirely unknown, citing the extant 1559 chamber organ by Michael Strobel at Schloss Churburg, whose keyboard can be shifted by a whole tone.³²⁹ Arnolt Schlick (born c. 1455–1460; died after 1521), writing in 1511, knew of such a mechanism (one that he used every day), which, he said, ‘including its Rückpositiv, two manuals, and pedal, and on all stops, [...] can be made a tone higher by pulling a stop, and can be restored to the lower pitch whenever one wants, or whenever the plainsong or other melody strains the voices.’³³⁰ Ripin notes the limited utility of both methods, due to tuning difficulties. He does, however, refer to organs which were made without such compromises: at Innsbruck, for example, where in 1513 a second small organ was tuned a whole tone higher, and at Halberstadt, where the 1718 organ had two sections with separate keyboards placed to the side, one tuned to ‘Chorton’ the other at the lower ‘Cammerton’. Ripin adds that in Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, organs tuned to quire pitch would include one or more stops at chamber pitch.³³¹

³²⁹ For a demonstration of the Churburg instrument see Peter Waldner, ‘Die Baldachinorgel auf der Churburg,’ <www.youtube.com/watch?v=tUwqaxwreOM> (Accessed 3 September 2021). The shifting mechanism is demonstrated at 07:00 but unfortunately is not heard.

³³⁰ Arnolt Schlick, *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 1511). Cited in Mendel, ‘Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,’ 38.

³³¹ Writing in 1604, Heinrich Compenius, who was to build the new organ for the Magdeburg Cathedral, described the specification of the old one to be replaced. Of the 21 stops, Compenius listed six as being at ‘choir pitch’, while to twelve others he attached the remark ‘ist nicht Chor Thon’. (Quoted in *Ibid.*) Elsewhere Mendel cites Schlick’s recommendation that an instrument employ ‘two organ pitches a tone apart and for two choir pitches a 4th apart, the lower of which is the same as the lower of the organ pitches.’ Mendel goes on to list 11 organs constructed between 1513 and 1725 (including Halberstadt) that had provision for alternative pitches; the instrument at the Marienkirche, Mühlhausen offered three pitches. (Mendel, ‘Pitch in Western Music since 1500. A Re-Examination,’ 39.)

Thus the need for a variety of pre-transposed ranks may not be so far-fetched. Morley referred to the importance of transposition at the tone and he implies that organists' liturgical instruments were the right tool for the purpose.³³² The Chirk organ specification also indicates that it contained the type of device once available in Central Europe: one that may have allowed a shift of pitch without the need for any act of transposition, nor the use of *chiavette*, nor even by changing manuals. It is noted that the 'small principall' of the upper manual falls outwith the usual octave displacements: the organ contract gives 'open diapason', 'principall', 'small principall', then 'a fifteenth' and 'a two and twentieth'. (In all specifications heretofore, the 'small principall' sounded the octave between the principal and the twenty-second: in other words, it was a 'fifteenth'; yet at Chirk both were provided.)³³³ This opens up the distinct possibility that notes played by Chirk's 'small principall' sounded sharper than the 'principall' proper, in probability anywhere between a semitone and a fifth, but most likely to have been a tone, a minor third, perfect fourth or perfect fifth, given notional precedences explored below.

The concept of two different pitches being readily available from the same key, simply by stopping one set of pipes and engaging another, may explain why the *circa* 1631 Magdalen College organ was designed with two full parallel Great choruses.³³⁴ In theory, the two pipes of differing lengths could be labelled with the same inscription (for example 'C fa ut'), yet these pipes would not sound the same absolute note. The absence of physical materials from

³³² See footnote 326.

³³³ Viz. at Magdalen College, Oxford where the wording leaves no room for interpretation: 'Two Smal principals or 15ths of metal'. The specification is printed in Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 78.

³³⁴ See p. 104.

the period makes this difficult to prove, but there is one piece of compelling tangible evidence that fully supports this theory.

The organ of Christopher Gibbons' upbringing

Evidence suggests that the organ now standing in St Nicholas' Church, Stanford-on-Avon, was that built for the chapel at Whitehall. Dated *circa* 1620 it may well have been made to Orlando Gibbons' design, and the vehicle for his organ playing, at least for a short while; it is highly likely, then, to be the instrument on which Christopher first learnt.³³⁵

Although inside the case has been empty for very many decades, the organ's original facade pipes represent the oldest surviving metal pipework in England.³³⁶ Martin Goetze, who examined and measured all the extant materials, discovered the presence of two duplicated pipes in the casework, which he believed was brought about by the merging of the two original principal ranks when the instrument was modified in 1690. 'The two extras', he wrote, '[are] slightly smaller in scale, and it is clear from the [surviving original] windchest

³³⁵ Note that, although this instrument appears to have spent a short time in Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, and seems to have been built by the same builder (as explored in John Harper, 'The Dallam Organ in Magdalen College, Oxford.' *British Institute of Organ Studies* 9 (1985): 51–64), the present study, in embracing Boeringer's exhaustive research in Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, I: 266–78 and further weighing up all the available evidence relating to the comings and goings of the organs in Magdalen College, Hampton Court, Tewkesbury Abbey, Stanford-on-Avon and the chapel at Whitehall, establishes that this is an entirely separate organ to the larger Dallam organ referred to at pp. 104ff and elsewhere in this thesis. The larger instrument was built for Magdalen College *c.* 1631 and now resides, much altered apart from its front case, in Tewkesbury Abbey; the smaller was built around ten years earlier for Whitehall Chapel and now rests, as an entirely empty case, in St Nicholas', Stanford-on-Avon. The relationship between the two instruments is made more complicated by the fact that the latter was at some point converted from its origins as a Great Organ, into a Chaire Organ, as examined by Goetze and Gwynn. See Goetze & Gwynn, 'Stanford on Avon, St Nicholas: Conservation Work on ca. 1631 Organ Case.' <www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/conservation-work-st-nicholas-stanford-avon-leicestershire> (Accessed 3 September 2021).

³³⁶ Ibid.

that they are drawn from the other principal.³³⁷ Goetze's measurements show that the duplicated second principal is shorter than the first by a tone. (He does not go as far as making the connection that the two principal ranks might have sounded a tone apart.)

By extension, therefore, the Dallam organ built *circa* 1631 for Magdalen College, may be understood as providing two choruses varied in pitch rather than in tone.³³⁸ This would indeed be an example of a *transposing* organ rather than simply a *transposed* organ.³³⁹ The possibility that the pre-Restoration organ established its supremacy as a tool for transposition because it contained both keying *and* shifting elements—that is, transposed *and* transposable elements—is explored below.

³³⁷ Martin Goetze, 'Transposing Organs and Pitch in England: response to Eph Segerman's Comm 1290,' *FoMRHI Quarterly* 78, comm 1329 (1995), 42.

³³⁸ Cf. pp. 104 ff. It is noted that the 1613 Great Organ at Worcester also contained two such choruses—over three octaves rather than four. These six ranks being joined by a Twelfth and a Recorder (items which specific mention will be made later)—and in the Chaire there was another three-octave chorus, joined by a wooden diapason and a wooden flute. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 78. N.B. Bicknell's footnote 23.) In his letter (quoted at p. 112), Nathaniel Tomkins later recalled at Worcester '2 open diapasons [...] consisted of an open pipe of ten foot long'. It seems pedantic to point out that, of the two pipes mentioned, only one is described as 'ten foot long', but this echoes the detail in Duddington's Barking contract: with 'Bassys [...] conteynyng lengthe of x foot or more' (cf. p. 108). Further, the five-stop organs at Knole House (c. 1600) and at Magdalen College, Oxford (Chaire Organ, c. 1631), also the six-stop table organ by Christianus Smith (1643), each contained a pair of principals within extremely small specifications. And whilst Clutton and Niland knew that 'the presence of two open unison stops [from *c*¹] of differing scale and power, especially in such a small organ, is entirely without precedent in any other country at this period', they sided with the surmise that 'all pairs of duplicated ranks in pre-Commonwealth organs were graduated in power.' (Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 58-9.)

³³⁹ The traditional understanding of the 'transposing organ', as one that was merely 'transposed', is explained in Roberts, 'Reconstructing Verses by Henry Loosemore and John Coprario: Practice-led Research with Three Artefacts.'

The organ case at St Nicholas' Church, Stanford-on-Avon.³⁴⁰



Picture 13: The empty case of the early seventeenth-century Dallam organ at St Nicholas' Church, Stanford-on-Avon. (N.B. The dummy Chaire screen, added later, is omitted in this view.)



Picture 14: A longer view of the same, showing the gallery which may have supported the instrument in Whitehall chapel.

³⁴⁰ All images courtesy of Flickr.



Picture 15: A view of the underside of the organ loft.



Picture 16: Detail from the top of the casework, showing intertwined *fleurs-de-lis* (see p. 150).



Picture 17: Detail from the top of the casework.

‘A most excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking Organ’³⁴¹

Just over a decade after the Dallam firm had installed this instrument at Whitehall, Robert Dallam was planning something of an entirely different magnitude in the Northern Province.

The musical concerns of York organists are buried within the description of an ambitious and expensive new organ completed at the Minster in 1634, Dallam’s major work.³⁴² Both the York and Whitehall organs appear to reveal that the alignment of ranks to the unison was not a prerequisite; that they also contained no stop capable of soloing out a melody, means that the presentation of an obligato line accompanied by a supporting accompaniment was neither possible, nor yet desired.

The York contract is of vital importance, then, as it not only offers leads on matters of organ’s development, and on pitch, but also points to the organ’s increased liturgical activity.³⁴³ It is the only example in the British context to include a price breakdown for every

³⁴¹ ‘A retrospective account of psalm singing during the siege of York of 1644, accompanied by “a most Excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking-Organ” being “let out, into all its Fulness of Stops” ’. (Peter Webster, ‘The relationship between religious thought and the theory and practice of church music in England, 1603–c.1640,’ diss., Sheffield, 2001, 147.) Both quotes are from Thomas Mace, *Musick’s Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, 1676), 19.) N.B. Having recently attended a service at York Minster, the present author is able to confirm the kind of affect that the 1634 organ may have had on Mace, as, from the nave, the acoustic strongly favours bass frequencies, and adds a particular and distinctive bloom to diapason tone.

³⁴² Christopher Kent, ‘Dallam, Robert (c. 1602–1665), organ builder.’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 17 July 2021). See also Peter Aston, ‘The Organs of York Minster, 1634–1803,’ *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1564 (1973), 637. Also Peter Aston, ‘Music since the Reformation,’ in *A History of York Minster*, ed. Gerald Edward Aylmer and Reginald Cant (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 406. Also David Griffiths, ‘A Musical Place of the First Quality’. *A History of Institutional Music-making in York, c.1550–1990* (York: York Settlement Trust, 1994).

³⁴³ Webster comments: ‘There are however certain difficulties in interpreting evidence such as [the York specification]. Firstly, without the presence of musical sources containing the music actually played on these instruments, or evidence of a related choral establishment, it is difficult to establish with any security the way in which the instrument was used. An organ could as well be used to accompany the singing of metrical psalms as complex choir repertoire.’ (Webster, ‘The relationship between religious thought and the theory and practice of church music in England, 1603–c.1640,’ 147.)

component of the instrument's pipework.³⁴⁴ In addition, this is the first contract for an organ with two manuals to contain information on the number of pipes contained in the ranks of both sections. An assumption can thus be made that each manual had the same number of keys, but it remains uncertain how and if they were aligned to each other.³⁴⁵ As the comparative price of ranks of pipes at the different octaves would seem to make proportional sense, no new information can be gleaned about the relationship between the two great choruses.³⁴⁶ The price for the two Great Open Diapasons is unhelpfully lumped together, likewise for the two Great Principals, which makes it difficult to read the pitch relationship between them.³⁴⁷ It cannot be discounted, however, that these ranks did not sound at unison with each other. Whatever, because Dallam put in only one 'fifteenth' and only one 'twenty-second', it is deduced that the provision of two full, four-octave Great choruses was no longer a priority, unlike at Magdalen College Oxford, an instrument built by the same builder two years earlier.

³⁴⁴ The contract dated 21 March 1633 and specification are given on pp. 84 and 86 in Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*.

³⁴⁵ Whilst it is likely that they both began from C, this can only be conjectured.

³⁴⁶ Viz. £40 for the lowest octave; £12, for the next octave; £8 for the twelfth, £6 for the fifteenth, and £5 for the twenty-second, giving ratios of about 100%, 30%, 20%, 15% and 12.5% respectively for the lengths of the metal ranks of pipework. However, the Chayre's 'small principall of tynne' being inexplicably cheaper (sharper) than the same on the great may be indication and proof that the Great had an element that was flatter in pitch. (Contemporary prices from Daniel König, 'Price list of organ parts.' <www.orgelteile.cz/en/price-list> (Accessed 3 September 2021). It was found that today's tin prices corresponded well with the pricing structure given in the York contract.) N.B. That Dallam specifies 'eight stoppes' on the Great, but lists only seven 'items' for nine separate ranks, cannot be accounted for.

³⁴⁷ This instrument did not have east and west fronts, but only a single front at the north side of the Quire. For commentary on east-west facing organs see p. 138.

Notwithstanding the difficulty in interpreting the specification without information on keying and pitching, several key points about relative pitch come to the fore:

- 1) The Great twelfth is the same price as the Chayre recorder, which implies that their absolute pitch may have been the same.
- 2) The Chayre ‘recorder of tynne’, described as ‘unison to the voice’, is likely to have been at quire pitch, whereas other pipework on the Chayre was perhaps not.
- 3) The Chayre’s £8 ‘Flute of wood’ is significantly (£2) cheaper than its companion wooden Diapason—of very similar construction and material—suggesting a higher pitch (but not as much as an octave, or even half).³⁴⁸
- 4) The metal recorder on the Great is £2 cheaper than the metal recorder on the Chayre, suggesting its sharper absolute pitch.
- 5) The price of the Great recorder is the same as the great small principall—and specified as ‘unison to the said principall’—further suggesting that there was a familiar pitch relationship between these three ranks over the two sections.

Out of this analysis come four chief deductions. Firstly, that the Chaire’s ‘flute of wood’ may have been to accompany instruments at consort pitch.³⁴⁹ Secondly, that the York organ sought thereby ambitiously to combine the Great Organ, the Chaire Organ with the Consort Organ,

³⁴⁸ In other contracts this rank is usually stopped, cf. Winchester, 1665: ‘stopp diapason of wood’. For a consideration of the use of these stops in verse anthems, see footnote 321.

³⁴⁹ Webster points out that ‘the use of sackbuts and cornets was common throughout the Jacobean cathedrals as well as the Caroline’. (Webster, ‘The relationship between religious thought and the theory and practice of church music in England, 1603–c.1640,’ 161.) See also commentary above on Christ Church Cornetts (p. 124). Force discusses the notional transfer of domestic music-making into liturgical settings, and vice versa, and the habit of singing of metrical psalms in the home. (Force, ‘A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend,’ 256.) As York Minster owned a set of viols, the wooden rank in question may have been the type described by Force as particularly suited to the accompaniment of viols and voices: ‘The essential characteristic of the consort organ is its sound [...] The combined effect of wooden pipework, narrow scales, low cut-ups and specialised voicing techniques produces a tone quality that was specifically designed to complement the harmonic content, speech characteristics and overall homogeneity of the string consort.’ (Ibid., 59. For further commentary on the Consort Organ see p. 163.) On the organ’s employment of the name ‘recorder’, Lasocki describes the sound of the wind instrument as ‘warm, rich in harmonics, and rather introverted’. (David Lasocki, ‘Recorder,’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 1 July 2021).) On the subject of the liturgical use of viols, Webster notes the ownership of a set of viols also at Trinity College, Cambridge, St Paul’s, Ely, Winchester, Canterbury, Peterborough, Gloucester and Lincoln. (Webster, ‘The relationship between religious thought and the theory and practice of church music in England, 1603–c.1640,’ 261.)

all at their own varying pitches.³⁵⁰ Thirdly, the variance of flute-toned pitch may explain the presence of two or three tonally similar ranks gathered together on a single section.³⁵¹ The two recorders may have transposed by a tone or a minor third, just as Calvisius (1556–1615) noted in a letter to Michael Praetorius (‘one or two soft stops, open or gedackt, of 8’ pitch, tuned a whole tone or a minor third lower the rest of the organ, to be used in concerted music’).³⁵² Lastly, the ‘twelfth’ on the Great, rather than being an element used together in chorus, may have been a transposed rank sounding at quire pitch, allowing for the presentation of choral material in a festal context.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ Force notes: ‘[In] the post-Restoration Court where strings were used in the liturgy in Whitehall chapel and the Catholic royal chapels, it may be noted that consort organs were present as well as the larger liturgical organs.’ (Force, ‘A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend,’ 256.)

³⁵¹ At Lichfield, 1639–40, Robert Dallam supplied ‘one flute of wood to singe to’; Pease provided ‘two stopt diapasons of wood’ on his 1662 old-style Chayre at Canterbury, whereof five stops were flute-toned. A consideration is that organ builders added stopped diapasons to their Chaires to allow access to the notes below the Gamut. (The word ‘diapason’ originally carried a connotation connected with *tessitura*, see footnote 297.) Without a pitch explanation, it is otherwise difficult to explain the logic, and their expense. It may also help to understand the phrase ‘unison to [another rank]’, such as at Carlisle where, in 1661, the organ was a one manual instrument that included flute, stopped diapason and a ‘recorder unison to the voice’, and at Winchester, which in 1665 specified ‘one Recorder of wood unison with the great principall’; the phrase implies that other ranks were off-unison.

³⁵² Quoted without reference from Praetorius in Mendel, ‘Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,’ 37-8.

³⁵³ It is unfeasible that the ‘twelfth’ on Thomas Dallam’s 1613 organ at Worcester could have been used as a chorus rank. The Great principal-toned ranks clearly rendered the first four partials, but the use of a strong ‘principal twelfth’ within three unison ranks, could only have resulted in aural confusion. (The third partial would later feature on almost every Baroque organ, but as a small-scaled rank to strengthen the fundamental when brighter harmonics were added.) Neither would the Worcester ‘twelfth’ be used as a combination-rank for a solo, such as the flute-toned twelfths which proliferated on organs in France and elsewhere. Twelfths on early English Chamber organs had an alternative function as small-scaled mixture-like agents, where, for example on the aforementioned 1643 Christianus Smith organ the twenty-second breaks back to the twelfth at *c*¹. On the typical *ripieno* of the Italian Renaissance-Baroque organ, the first non-unison partial is in fact the *decimanona* (the nineteenth, not the twelfth); the ‘principal twelfth’ has no place in the German Renaissance tradition, neither in the Spanish. (The *Docena* on large early Spanish organs was above the sub-octave *Flautado Mayor de 26 Palmos*, also making it a nineteenth.) The medieval *blockwerk* included this partial, but only as an integral component of the full range of harmonics. (Lawrence Phelps, ‘A Brief Look At The French Classical Organ, Its Origins and German Counterpart.’ <<https://lawrencephelps.com/>>

Parallels with this instrument are to be found in the post-Restoration organ that Robert Dallam planned for New College, Oxford, thirty years later.³⁵⁴ The reader must navigate through considerable confusion in Dallam's wording, and, as at York, it is impossible to be sure which keys operated which pipes.³⁵⁵ Setting absolute pitch aside, but assuming that both manuals began from the same nominal pitch, Dallam proposed to build two organs in one, that is, two separate principal and flute consorts on each manual: a set of principals at 24', 12', 6', 3' on the 'grit organe', mirrored by principals at 8', 4', 2' and 1' on the 'Chere organe'; with a full flute chorus in the Great, at 16', 8', 4', 2 2/3', and 1', and in the Chaire at 6' and 3' (to which he later proposed to add mutations at higher pitches).³⁵⁶ The organ was to include a variety of character stops and mixtures. 'The flut de alman' and 'The nasone stope'

Documents/Articles/Phelps/abrieflook.shtml> (Accessed 3 September 2021).)

³⁵⁴ The full text of the New College proposal is given in Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 110.

³⁵⁵ Mendel discussed a similar problem in his examination of Praetorius' descriptions, citing Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 168-70. Here two organs in Hamburg contained coincidental 12' and 8 foot-based choruses. Mendel was, however, unable to admit the notion of choruses being available at different pitches. (Mendel, 'Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,' 30.) On both the Hamburg instruments, the pedal was able to contribute at either pitch. These pitches would not originally have been designed to work together, however F. C. Schnitger thought to maintain two non-unison ranks—the *Principaal* 22' and *Rohrquint* 12'—as gravelly quints, and when in 1725 he harmonized the two tonalities of the 1645 van Hagerbeer organ at the Grote Kerk, Alkmaar. These distinctive ranks are maintained to this day. See Flentrop Orgelbouw, 'Alkmaar, Grote- of St. Laurenskerk, grote orgel.' <www.flentrop.nl/restauratie/alkmaa_laur_grot.html> (Accessed 3 September 2021).

³⁵⁶ Dallam was in the habit of keying his instruments from C: in his 1653 organ at Lanvellec both manuals start on the same note C. See Festival Lanvellec, 'The Robert Dallam Organ (1653).' <www.festival-lanvellec.fr/en/therobertdallamorgan> (Accessed 3 September 2021). Also Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 112. The fact that Dallam's organs in Brittany seem to have been pitched at around $a^1=390$ —about a tone lower than present day—adds further uncertainty as to which note played what he describes as an 8' pipe. Assuming this to be a modern C may lead to an inaccurate reading. For further commentary on 6' standard see p.139.

on the Great, and ‘The flute’ and ‘The antheme stop in vide [=wood]’ on the Chaire, probably allowed the organist to venture into other transpositions.³⁵⁷

Read in conjunction with the York contract, and just like Praetorius’ Hamburg organs mentioned at footnote 355, Dallam’s extraordinarily complex proposal for New College, Oxford shows that the organs of Christopher Gibbons’ youth appear to have had differently-pitched choruses, as well as ranks tuned to convenient instrumental and vocal pitches. This would have offered the pre-Commonwealth organist the full range of *chiavette* transpositions, but without the need for any act of transposition on the organist’s part.

³⁵⁷ Certain double reed instruments and flutes are known to have been at low pitch. See Robin. Stowell, Lawson, Colin, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 180–1. Were Dallam’s manuals also intended to be a certain interval apart (which, given that the scheme is already complex seems unlikely), then this organ would have been an extremely unwieldy ‘Pandora’s Box’. With transposition already built into the Oxford and York instruments, it is certain there would be no need in those places for transposed organbooks.

Part Two: A path to unison

Dominic Gwynn writes of a ‘ferment in the English organ world’ at the Restoration. A number of organs were built at pre-war pitch but later converted. Many organs newly built after the Restoration were almost immediately rebuilt or replaced.³⁵⁸

A clue to the so-called ‘ferment’ lies in the laconic statement ‘Gamut in D, sol re’: that is, organ builders sought to adapt keyboards of this old state (a fourth apart) so as to align to the same absolute pitch as each other.³⁵⁹ The first reference to two Great diapasons being unison to each other is found in the contract for the new post-Restoration organ at Wells Cathedral, where Robert Taunton’s instrument of 1662 was to be a ‘well tuned usefull and beutiful double organ [with] Two open Diapasons of Mettall the longest pipe of *each* Twelve foot and halfe [...] Two Principalls of Mettall. Six foot longe the longest pipe.’³⁶⁰ Two phrases stand out: ‘well tuned’ may imply that the instrument would be ‘tuned to itself’, as it were: viz. ‘the longest pipe of each’ would measure the same as the other. Taunton made use of these two unison diapasons each for the two organ fronts: on the west front, facing the congregation, and on the east front, facing the choir, a situation familiar to many pulpitum-sited organs.³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, 130. The list of Restoration projects that were later altered is given in Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 117.

³⁵⁹ Great ‘second diapasons’ and the ‘principal twelfth’ thus being surviving remnants of the organ’s transposing past.

³⁶⁰ *Italic added.* It is not as clear how the principals related to the diapasons in terms of pitch—‘the longest pipe’ implies that one was still sharper than the other. See also footnote 338. The contract is dated 3 July 1662, and reproduced in Goetze, ‘Transposing Organs and Pitch in England: response to Eph Segerman’s Comm 1290,’ 62.

³⁶¹ The Great, forthright in speech, faced the congregation so as to project more directly into the Nave. See Christoph Ketterer, *To Meddle with Matters of State* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 63. Also Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 66.

Two diapasons on the Great became standard for all large British organs from this point onwards.³⁶² Substantial rebuilds of pre-war instruments jettisoned the double chorus, but invariably left the two expensive diapasons as ‘large’ and ‘small’, irrespective of whether they were also divided east-west. This means that pipes standing formerly a tone apart were shifted to being at unison with each other: diapason ranks that were once identical in tone but differed in pitch became identical in pitch but differed in tone, and it is precisely at this point that the need for two or more principals ceased in British organ building.³⁶³

At some point in the second or third decade of the 1600s a new 6’ standard became available, brought about by the Chaire Organ pitch descending to the key of *C* to match that of the Great, as appears to be the case at Chirk. Organ builders would later settle standard keying on these 6’ pipes when their instruments were converted to unison. The complex process of how ‘fa’ became ‘gamut’, as the result of moving nominal pitch by a fourth and a

³⁶² The all-new 2017 Tickell organ at Manchester Cathedral has precisely this formation. See Manchester Cathedral, 'The Cathedral Organs.' <www.manchestercathedral.org/worship-music/music/the-cathedral-organs> (Accessed 3 September 2021).

³⁶³ This was the unsatisfactory situation of the many ‘doubled ranks’ that Renatus Harris found at Magdalen College. See p. 105.

fourth again, is explained by Mendel.³⁶⁴ Organ builders called this new state ‘Gamut proper’, and church records regularly show new keys being bought for organs.

The performance of Christopher Gibbons’ double-organ voluntaries in Whitehall captures the very moment that the English organ became a unison instrument. The Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor requires a compass of CC to a^2 on the so called ‘little organ’ and AA C to a^2 on the Great, suggesting a compass typical of Consort Organs: $CC-c^3$ on both manuals, with the $C^\#$ key on the great operating the AA .³⁶⁵ Both sections of the organ must now conform to each other in absolute unison—both in terms of keying and pitching—and

³⁶⁴ Mendel, ‘Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,’ 32, footnote 12. See Mendel’s ‘first interpretation’—although he reaches a different conclusion by it. The so-called ‘Old organ’ is the state of the two sections just as that described by Nathaniel Tomkins above (p. 112); the ‘abandoned project’ is the state reached at York, where the quire pitch, descending to C , pushed organ pitch down to GG ; the ‘new project’ is the state at which the English organ emerges towards the end of the century, epitomised in Gerard Smith’s ‘Double Gammut’ organ built in 1691 at Ely, where both manuals carried the same nominal pitch and the same number of keys. This was one of the few contracts in early English organ building to specify both the number of pipes as well as the complete compass of the Great Organ, namely ‘Double Gammut and the highest C Solfa in Alt [...] consisting of fifty three pipes’: this likely calculates to $GGAA-c^3$ (‘long octave’). Thamar’s Winchester contract of 1665 does not include compass detail. It appears to have a 13’ AA pipe and, as the number of pipes on both manuals is 51. This suggests $AA BB C D E F-d^3$ on the Great, and a fully chromatic $C-d^3$ on the Chaire. (51 notes is the same as at York in 1633.) The notion of all manuals being aligned with the same number of notes, however, does not appear to have been important. See for instance Bernard Smith’s 1695–7 three-manual organ for St Paul’s Cathedral, London, where the Great had the compass $CC DD-c^3$, the Chayre Organ $FF GG AA-c^3$, and the Echo $c-c^3$. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 137.) The important point is that, organs were built in (or modified to) what might be called the new unison manner, where each rank, each pipe and each manual carried the same actual and nominal pitch (mutations and mixture excepting).

³⁶⁵ Thus $C AA D-c^3$, as described in Force, ‘A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend,’ 258. In Christopher Gibbons’ A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary the Great extends to c^3 . It is noted that in all the organ pieces and accompaniments studied, the note BB is almost never used, neither BB -flat. Pieces connected to the Whitehall chapel show the presence of the additional low $F^\#$ on the Positive, suggesting a fullish chromatic compass in the bottom octave.

can now rightly be termed ‘divisions’. The Chapel Royal organ would therefore have been the first liturgical instrument in the British Isles to be based on 8-foot *C*.³⁶⁶

A Revolution at Whitehall

Pepys captures something of the excitement of the restoration of organs to Whitehall and Westminster:

This day the organs did begin to play at White Hall before the King.³⁶⁷

To White Hall chapel...Here I heard very good music, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life.³⁶⁸

I to the Abby and walked there, seeing the great confusion of people that come there to hear the organs.³⁶⁹

The reason for the great haste with which Chapel music was restored is outlined by Thurley:

The Chapel Royal [...] was the department of the royal household that attended to its spiritual needs. It is now accepted that the etiquette of the Tudor and Stuart court owed a great deal to the monarch’s public attendance at chapel, and its yearly pattern was heavily influenced by the church year. This recognition places the royal chapels in a central position in the choreography of the court. It also allows historians to view these important buildings in a new light as one of the most important ceremonial

³⁶⁶ According to Ellis, Smith’s first organ in England (which he believed was at Whitehall in 1662) stood at $a^1=474.1$ (as at Durham), and was modified later to $a^1=441.7$, although he does not note when. (Ellis, ‘On the History of Musical Pitch,’ 326, 330.) On the shift of a semitone the *Calendar of State Papers* has: ‘Recommendation to the Lord Treasurer of the petition of John Hingeston, keeper of his Majesty’s organs and harpsichords, praying an order for payment of 100*l.* agreed by him to be paid to Barnard [*sic*] Smith for taking half a note lower the organ in the chapel.’ (12 August 1676.) (‘Whitehall Palace: Buildings,’ in *Survey of London, volume 13*, ed. Montagu H. Cox and Philip Norman (London: London County Council, 1930), p. 275.)

³⁶⁷ Pepys, ‘The Diary of Samuel Pepys.’ Diary entry for 17 June 1660. Thomas Rugge wrote on the very same day: ‘The Seventheen [*sic*], his majesty’s Chapell att whithall was fitted wth organs and all other things fitt for his majesty, which was the first day that his majesty was att his devocetion there.’ (Lbl Add. MS 10116, f. 103.)

³⁶⁸ Ibid. (8 July 1660.)

³⁶⁹ Ibid. (30 December 1660.) Rugge noted the month before: ‘Organs sett up in Westmister Abby, and that way of worrishop as was in King’ James dayes, with bishopps and curates, etc.’ (Lbl Add. MS 10116, f. 134r).

spaces in the royal houses, rather than merely an adjunct to the great outer rooms, the presence chamber and privy chamber.³⁷⁰

Little survives of the meticulous planning that took place to ensure the swift restoration of the Chapel's and Abbey's musical infrastructure. A temporary chapel was set up in the king's presence chamber, since to make the Chapel Royal suitable for the king's use—a place where 'the beauty of holiness created by James I and Charles I [...] was destroyed and reduced to whitewashed space', and where the organ had been removed—was going to take longer.³⁷¹ Charles' eagerness to re-establish the etiquette of his father's court also speaks of his intentions for its music. Thurley comments:

This was a truly exceptional act to take place in one of the king's principal houses with a fully operational chapel and one that was calculated to show the king's rejection of the architecture and liturgy of the previous regime.³⁷²

Regarding the provision of organs at Whitehall only a short quote from John Playford Jr exists:

at the time of your Majesties most happy Restauration [I] did procure both the Organ and Books belonging to your Majesties Chappell Royall, w^{ch} had bin embezled³⁷³

³⁷⁰ Simon Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618–1685,' *Architectural History* 45 (2001), 238.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 250.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 255–6.

³⁷³ See John Playford Jr's petition to the king (March 1674) in Andrew Freeman, 'Organs Built for the Royal Palace of Whitehall,' *The Musical Times* 52, no. 822 (1911), 522.

Two years later this instrument was under repair:

23rd July, 1662 [...] 'to John Hingeston, keeper and Repayer of his Mats organs the summe of seaventy six pounds five shillings for mending and repaying of his Mats organs in his Mats Chappell Royal at Whitehall'.³⁷⁴

The Abbey organ—which so thrilled Pepys—was likewise an old instrument coaxed back into use.³⁷⁵ Knight comments:

At some time during 1660 and 1661 a payment of £120 for the organ is recorded in an account of 'Extraordinary Disbursements since the Restoration of ye Dean and Chapter of West[minster] to Michaelmas 1662' (WAMS 44,030A; ii/371 also in 44,024; ii/371). We have no record showing to whom this money was paid or how much work was done for it.³⁷⁶

The following quote from Hawkins also captures something of the pressure to establish music in the Chapel, and suggests that the old organ was insufficient for the king's musical aims:

Immediately upon their arrival Smith was employed to build an organ for the royal chapel at Whitehall, but, as it was built in great haste, it did not answer the expectations of those who were judges of his abilities.³⁷⁷

Bernard Smith has often been credited with the work of bringing the old instruments back to working order both at the Abbey and in the Palace at Whitehall, but it was indeed Robert Dallam who built the organ at Whitehall chapel.³⁷⁸ However, the precise date of Smith's arrival in England from The Netherlands continues to be the subject of much debate.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁴ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 146.

³⁷⁵ 'After dinner to Westminster, where I went to my Lord's, and having spoke with him, I went to the Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral!' (Pepys, 'The Diary of Samuel Pepys,' 4 November 1660.)

³⁷⁶ Knight, 'The Organs of Westminster Abbey and their Music, 1240–1908,' I: 42. That this was the old organ is discussed in *Ibid.*, I: 40.

³⁷⁷ Hawkins, *A General History*, IV: 353.

³⁷⁸ For a new consideration of Bernard Smith's biography and work, and particularly of his arrival in England, see Appendix.

³⁷⁹ In the eighteenth century, by Hawkins and Burney; in the nineteenth, by Hopkins and Rimbault, and

‘A fair doble organ’

The reference ‘Mr Gybbons approved of by ye King at Baynards Castle; and an organ to be made for him’ dates back to LCA for 1660.³⁸⁰ This is unlikely to refer to the aforementioned organ, restored to the chapel through the auspices of Playford, and there is no record of the ‘making’ of an organ until payments of an astonishing £950. 9s. 0d. are transferred from the Treasury over several years, injected as part of an eye-watering £66,720 expenditure on new furnishings to restock the royal palaces:³⁸¹

Pr. seale for providing an organ for Whitehall Chappell. Our will and pleasure is, that you forthwth prepare a Bill for our Royall signature to Passe our privy Seale warranting [...] the sume of 900*l.* for y^e furnishing and providing a fair doble Organ for ye use of our Chappell in our pallace of white Hall ye sd sume to be received by y^e said John Hingeston.³⁸²

in more recent times by Edwards, Freeman, Clutton and Niland, de Graaf, Boeringer, Rowntree, Knight and Vlagsma. See Ibid. Also Burney, *A General History of Music*. Also Hopkins, *The Organ: its History and Construction*. Also ‘FGE’, ‘A Master Organ-BUILDER. Father Smith,’ *The Musical Times* (1905). Also Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*. Also G. A. C. de Graaf, *Literatuur over het orgel* (Amsterdam: G. A. C. de Graaf, 1957). Also Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*. Also John Pickering Rowntree, Andrew Freeman, *Father Smith, Otherwise Bernard Schmidt, Being an Account of a Seventeenth Century Organ Maker* (Oxford: Positif Press, 1977). Also Knight, ‘The Organs of Westminster Abbey and their Music, 1240–1908.’ Also Auke H. Vlagsma, ‘Barent Smit, orgelmaker in Hoorn en in Engeland,’ *Het Orgel* 116, no. 3 (2020).

³⁸⁰ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 120.

³⁸¹ Between April 1660 and September 1662. (Bird and Clayton, *Charles II: Art & Power*, 214. See also ‘Minute Book: March 1666,’ in *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 1, 1660-1667*, ed. William A. Shaw (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), 702-3. The latter states: ‘March 1666 John Hingeston's affidavit [...] on the receipt of the 900*l.* for the Great Organ in His Majesty's Chapel Royal at Whitehall in the years 1662–3–4. (Total fees 50*l.* 9*s.* 0*d.*). Ordered: to be allowed to said Hingeston.’ Hingeston was thus the broker.)

³⁸² Freeman, ‘Organs Built for the Royal Palace of Whitehall,’ 522. Freeman cites *State Papers, Domestic: Carolus II* (Entry Book 9, p. 14), 21 October 1662. Consulting LCA, the average annual salary of a court musician in 1669 was £86, with many earning £40 p.a. which can be compared to the average annual average man's earnings being £13. (Clark, ‘Average Earnings and Retail Prices, UK, 1209-2017.’)

It would be usual for additional payments to have been made for the design and installation of the organ loft and for decoration to the organ.³⁸³ Thurley writes that the completion of the new organ in Summer 1663, coincides with the revealing of the new chapel, which evidently appeared very different from that before.³⁸⁴

Belonging to the shared heritage of Flemish and French organ building, its timbre must have been exceptionally rich and colourful, and as brash and loud as the clamour of bells, the like of which had not been heard on British shores since the Middle Ages.³⁸⁵ The action must necessarily have been uncommonly light and responsive. Gibbons' highly stylized ornamentation too possessed a strong aural relationship with contemporary French practice, as will be explored at length in Chapter Three.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ The cost of the 1664 New College organ, for example increased by a hefty 50% once the gallery and case were taken into account. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 112.) Wren's engagement in the Chapel was long before his appointment in March 1669 as Surveyor of the King's Works. Around this time Charles had engaged Wren privately to make a design for rebuilding Whitehall Palace. (Kerry Downes, 'Wren, Sir Christopher (1632–1723), architect, mathematician, and astronomer.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 5 August 2021). See also the following footnote.) In the late 1690s Smith, as the royal appointed organ builder, would work with Wren, as royal architect, under the supervision of Blow, royal organist, on Smith's *magnum opus* at the new St Paul's Cathedral. See also footnote 412.

³⁸⁴ Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618–1685,' 256. The instrument was subsequently moved over, as on 20 August 1663 Wren was instructed to 'erect a large organ loft...in the place where formerly the great Double organ stood' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 160), 'taking downe a stone window in the Kings Chappell where the Organ is to stand' (Lbl Harl MS 1618, f. 6). This latter stage was probably only finished in Spring 1665, as indicated in the warrant for 28 April: 'Warrant for the delivery of a crimson taffata curtain to Mr. John Hingston, keeper and repairer of his Majesty's organs, for the great double organ in his Majesty's Chappell Royall at Whitehall' (De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 178).

³⁸⁵ A reference to the noisy tenth-century *hydraulis* at Winchester. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 14–6.) See also pp. 175ff.

³⁸⁶ Williams states that the reeds and cornets of French Classical tradition derived from the developments in Flanders and the Low Countries. (Steven C. Williams, 'Tracing Seven Hundred Years of Organ Registration 1300 – Present.' <<https://alcm.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/StephenCWilliamsRegistrationTimeline2012.pdf>> (Accessed 4 September 2021).) See also Fenner

A case for an organ with pedals?

It is quite possible that [the pre-Restoration organ, specifically the era of Bull] sometimes did have two manuals and a pedal, as Lowinsky states, as such instruments also occur in Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. There is just as much proof for this assertion as against it, because no English organs and hardly any dispositions of this period have survived, as they have done in the other three countries. But in England as on the continent there is hardly one trace in the music itself of necessary pedalling or manual changing.³⁸⁷

Van Der Meer's assessment suggests that the concept of a pedal part had no proper place in England until the end of the century, once continuo practices had firmly established themselves.³⁸⁸ Although evidence of pedals can be dated to 1721, organists knew of continental practices, if not first hand, at least by reputation.³⁸⁹ The new organs at Wimborne and New College, Oxford, appear not to have been furnished with pedals, but, alongside introducing reeds and composite stops characteristic of Franco-Flemish organ culture, Dallam's Chapel Royal organ may likewise emulate continental practice in being the first to incorporate its pedals.³⁹⁰ It is likely that these were of the simple 'pull down' variety (without

Douglass, *The Language of the Classical French Organ* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

³⁸⁷ John Henry Van Der Meer, 'The Keyboard Works in the Vienna Bull Manuscript,' *Tijdschrift Der Vereeniging Voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 18, no. 2 (1957).

³⁸⁸ Hauge, 'English Music Theory c.1590–c.1690,' 234. See also Force, 'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend,' 263.

³⁸⁹ In 1712 Renatus Harris was unsuccessful in his proposal to build a six-manual and pedal organ for the west end of St Paul's Cathedral, London. (Stephen Bicknell, 'The Renatus Harris proposal for St. Paul's Cathedral.' <www.stephenbicknell.org/3.6.17.php> (Accessed 5 September 2021).) The earliest manuscript in England to mention the use of pedals—indicated by the term *col pedali* in two pieces dated 1637 and 1649—is in a seventeenth-century source of Italian keyboard music (Och Mus. 1113). Bailey suggests that these pieces were brought over by Froberger, passing through the hands of Christopher Gibbons. (Candace Bailey, 'William Ellis and the transmission of continental keyboard music in restoration England,' *Journal of Musicological Research* 20, no. 3 (2001), 211.) Also John Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Dover, 1985), 151. Occasional references are made to 'peds' or 'pedal', a keyboard instrument with a swelling mechanism. (See Mace, *Musick's Monument*, I: 235.)

³⁹⁰ For at least the whole of the century, French organs possessed strident pedal pipes used to sound the

being able to sound their own pipes), but equally, Gibbons' may have wished to command the gravitas of a Double Diapason rank, of the kind he will have known from his uncle Edward's organ at Exeter.³⁹¹

Ghosts of a simplistic pedal part exist in Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries. For instance in the A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary, reinforcing of the cadence at bars 40–41, and in the pedal point from bar 51 to the end. At this point Lbl Add. MS 31446 contains a curious doubled bass part, where the lower octave reinforces the top, offset by a crotchet.³⁹² Further pedal activity is suggested in Gibbons' C Major Double-Organ Voluntary at bar 26, where an offset *D* connects forwards to an oddly notated offset note *d* at bar 28. This example suggests that the florid bass solo under a long, suspended triad—an almost uniquely characteristic trait of Christopher Gibbons' organ music—may have started life being underpinned by a dominant pedal point, and suggests that Gibbons may have played all such passages in this way.³⁹³ He thus reinforces cadences in the A Minor Voluntary at bars 40–41 (Lbl Add. MS 34695 has the *e* in bar 25 reinforced an octave lower); in the D Minor at bars 6–9, 12–13; also in the final cadence of the C Major Double-Organ Voluntary

plainsong tenor *en dehors*.

³⁹¹ Illustrated on p. 29.

³⁹² This arrangement of a bottom note that is separated from the top is a feature of much of Blow's organ music, which too may have been composed for this instrument, most notable in Voluntaries Nos. 5b and 6 and the *Psalms Tunes*.

³⁹³ Rendered thus, it prefigures the *en taille* movements of the French Classical school. Nevertheless, without the pedal point it recalls the type of *Diminution de la Basse* in Nivers' *Livre d'Orgue* of 1665 (for example at p. 3 of that publication). See also Chapter Three, Nivers' 'Demonstration' (1665) on p. 231. Similar examples of possible pedal underpinning are observed in Blow's Voluntaries 1 and 6. Further, Blow's music contains some curious manual solutions to possible pedal activity: for example the 'drag' section at bb. 32–5 in No. 19, where b. 33 should probably be an *F#* in octaves resolving to *G* (with the bass *E* not until b. 34). The 'slow' section in No. 12 also suggests pedal treatment.

(pedal *E* at bar 802; the suggestion here is that it should be held on through bar 81, resolving to *F* in the following bar, then cadencing on *C*). In the C Major [Single] Voluntary, doubled bass notes define the cadences at bars 20–22¹ and bar 42, all similarly offset.³⁹⁴



Figure 1: The pedal ghost *C* in the third bar links to the same note in the antepenultimate bar, and beyond: Blow Voluntary No. 1 (Lbl Add. MS 31468, ff. 38v–40, bb. 55–9).

Influences from abroad

Ellis refers to a legend that Bernard Smith was ‘sent for’ at the Restoration, to reinstate, repair and install organs to the royal palaces.³⁹⁵ But it was Robert Dallam who in 1663 received the royal commission to build the new organ at Whitehall:³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ The corrupted text of the lesser C Major [Single] Voluntary (No. 3 in Rayner, *Christopher Gibbons* (1615–1676), *Keyboard Compositions*, 40.) shows elements of having been originally conceived for a double-organ. Adapted for less elaborate, single manual instruments—where the C Major passage at f. 15v of Och Mus. 1176 may have once formed its conclusion, the first part of the piece being copied into ff. 2r–2v of the same MS. *Verse for ye Single Organ* in WB P.10 may likewise have been intended for double-organ: the title would perhaps better read for ‘an arrangement for ye Single Organ’. On the subject of adaptation, the copyist’s solution for the bassline at b. 50⁺ of Gibbons’ A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary is a crotchet *G*[#]. (Lbl Add. MS 31695 and Och Mus. MSS 47 and 1176.) This gives an unsatisfactory tritone before the ensuing *D*. (A naturalized *G*—as proposed by Caldwell in *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* 18—makes even less sense, as it further weakens the harmony (viz. first-inversion of the dominant minor to subdominant minor.) Two London MSS solve the issue with an *A*. (Lbl Add. MS 31468 and 31446.) However, given the established descending motivic pattern—*c G# E*—it is entirely logical that the composer intended another two quavers to descend a further two melodic thirds, *C* then *AA* (the lower note was presumably not always available). The original MS may have shown very nearly the same bass line as bb. 44⁺–45 of the D Minor Double-Organ Voluntary—an athletic plummet through no fewer than 11 intervals: three octaves over seven beats. Bass reinforcing notes are found in the final cadences of Blow’s Voluntaries Nos. 8, 11 and 18 and at various points in Nos. 1–3, 19–23.

³⁹⁵ Ellis, ‘On the History of Musical Pitch,’ 330.

³⁹⁶ This came into print only in 1986, with Ashbee’s first volume of *Records of English Court Music*. It is likely that Ellis’ misunderstanding was because of confusion propagated by Hawkins and Burney.

paid to sondry persons who were employed in makeing a double organ for his Mats. Chappell in Whitehall – viz. To Robert Dallam for making the great Organ for his Mats said Chappell £600. And more to him for makeing an Addition to the said Organ and a new Stopp with Conveyances and another sett of keyes £50. In all £650.³⁹⁷

Dallam had previously described himself as ‘of the Citty of Westminster Organmaker’.³⁹⁸ He had also styled himself ‘organist to the Queen of England’; it is perhaps no coincidence that he left for the Morlaix in the Brest peninsula at around the same time as the queen left for Brittany.³⁹⁹ Official records on these important matters are silent, but it was indeed he who had in 1640 built a new instrument for Queen Henrietta Maria’s private chapel at Somerset House.⁴⁰⁰

One of the earliest conclusions of the present study was that the Dallam company—likely Thomas assisted by son Robert or possibly vice versa—had also built an instrument for

Hawkins’ contrary statement is reproduced above, p. 143. In truth, these two family firms were even by this point diametrically opposed. Professional friction between the Dallam-Harris clan, recusant Catholics exiled in France, and Bernard Smith, a Protestant exiled in the United Provinces, would ultimately flare up in what Bicknell describes as ‘the celebrated “Battle of the Organs” [...] one of the odder episodes in the history of English organ building’, of which Burney wrote ‘Dr. Blow and Purcell, then in their prime, performed on Father Smith’s organ [...] [Renatus] Harris [c. 1652–1724] employed M. Lully, organist to Queen Catherine, to touch his organ, which brought it into favour, and thus they continued vying with each other, for near a twelvemonth.’ (The saga is reproduced in full in Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 128–31.) Burney seems here to have made a pun out of the Christian names of the Queen’s Organist Draghi, calling him Lully. (Burney, *A General History of Music*, III: 437–8.)

³⁹⁷ Accounts for 11 April 1666. (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 69–70.) In point of fact, almost £1,000 was spent (as above).

³⁹⁸ In the 1635 contract for St John’s, Cambridge. (Andrew Freeman, ‘The Organs of St. John’s College Cambridge,’ *The Musical Times* 54, no. 847 (1913).)

³⁹⁹ Stephen Bicknell, and Michel Cocheril, ‘Dallam family,’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 13 November 2021). Unfortunately no reference is given for the quote. See also Christopher Kent, ‘Dallam, Robert (c. 1602–1665), organ builder,’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 13 November 2021).

⁴⁰⁰ There is no known account of this organ’s removal or destruction.

the King's Chapel at Whitehall some ten years before, as discussed above.⁴⁰¹ This was a sumptuous and beautiful organ. The empty case stands to this day in St Nicholas' Church, Stanford-on-Avon, as one of the oldest certainly, but also amongst the most harmonious and well-proportioned organ cases in the British Isles.⁴⁰² Although the original colouration has sadly not survived, certain ornamental detail remains, replete with heraldic imagery, including the many intertwined *fleurs-de-lis*. The latter is likely a reference to Henrietta Maria's succession, but also perhaps to her name—of the purity, chastity and virtue of *lilium candidum* (the Madonna Lily). Painting and literature of the day frequently portray Henrietta Maria as the 'lily', joining Charles, the 'rose'. (Here, instead of a rose, the case is mounted with the insignia of the king's supremacy, a crown atop a mitre.) This instrument may thus have been presented to Charles and his new queen as a gift.

From 1660 urgent efforts were carried out to re-beautify Whitehall chapel—'cleansed' by the former regime—which included reinstating Dallam's exquisite craftsmanship, first through reinstalling Charles I's old-style liturgical organ.⁴⁰³ Then, over the following four years, replacing it with another much grander instrument in a more outgoing style—as befitted the emerging progressive ethos of the Second Caroline Court—and of a pattern that could both demonstrate a legitimacy and suggest a common musical heritage with neighbouring royal houses. To enact Gibbons' vision, the choice of a trusted organ builder of

⁴⁰¹ Some years prior, Thomas Dallam was contracted for 'the making of a fair double organ to be set up in the Chapel Royal at Edinburgh in Scotland', for which he was paid £350 between July 1616 and July 1617. (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, IV; 44. 46, 168.)

⁴⁰² Photos at pp. 129ff.

⁴⁰³ Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618–1685,' 253–69.

royal pedigree would have been an obvious one, and sending out for Robert Dallam would at once tie together the old order with the new, and thereby to give a powerful, authentic stamp.

Butt writes of the early Restoration period that the craft of organ building could not have benefited from the continuous tradition that led to ‘such spectacular results in many areas on the Continent’, rather that it was ‘hardly advanced beyond that of the pre-Commonwealth era.’⁴⁰⁴ Whilst this is true of the conservative projects commissioned from Pease at Canterbury, for instance, it is undeniable that the craft advanced immeasurably under the Commonwealth activities of Dallam and Smith.⁴⁰⁵ The new work of these two families, hand in hand with Gibbons’ artistic guidance, as Bicknell put it, ‘affects the entire future of English organ building’.⁴⁰⁶

Further, a connection between the old and the new may lie in influence from the Netherlands. Groenveld has the following:

[Frederick Henry of Orange] felt highly honoured when Charles I of England married off his daughter Mary to William, his son. He thus did his utmost to lend assistance to King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria when, soon afterwards, the English Civil War broke out. Secondly, when asked for money by the queen, he immediately furnished large sums.⁴⁰⁷

Enter Constantijn Huygens Jr, Lord of Zuilichem, eminent statesman, polymath and savant, who had managed the estate of the Orange dynasty since 1630, first as secretary to Prince

⁴⁰⁴ CD booklet, p.5 (John Butt, 'A Purcell Companion: Organ Works (Vol. 6),' *Harmonia Mundi* CD.)

⁴⁰⁵ See Bicknell, chapter six: Interlude—The Dallams in France 1642–1700. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*.)

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 93. For earlier French influences at court see p. 220ff.

⁴⁰⁷ Simon Groenveld, 'The House of Orange and the House of Stuart, 1639–1650: A Revision,' *The Historical Journal* 34, no. 4 (1991), 955.

Frederick Henry then in 1647 for Prince Willem II, brother-in-law of the exiled Prince Charles. Knighted by James I, an Anglophile fluent in English, Huygens would visit England seven times during his lifetime.⁴⁰⁸ When Prince Charles moved to The Hague at the end of June 1648, a yearlong guest of his brother-in-law the young prince of Orange, Charles would doubtless have come under the influence of Willem's eminent servant Sir Constantijn Huygens.⁴⁰⁹

Relevant to the present discourse is that Huygens was also a musician of note, and his passionate advocacy of the organ in both its sacred and secular contexts led him to be regarded as the architect of the Dutch Organ School.⁴¹⁰ Huygens' long-term friendship with

⁴⁰⁸ He had earlier been in the employ of Sir Dudley Carleton (1573–1632), the English envoy at the court in The Hague, who would later become a leading figure of the Personal Rule of Charles I. Towards the end of his career, Huygens became First Councillor and Exchequer to Prince Willem III, the future king of England. (For Huygens' biography and an overview of his artistic achievements see Adelheid Rech, 'Music in the Time of Vermeer.' <www.essentialvermeer.com> (Accessed 31 August 2021).) In the late 1630s Huygens used his connections with Nicholas Lanier, Master of the King's Musick, to acquire a set of six fine old English viols. Huygens also received a gift of a 'viole angloise' in 1659. (Michael Jonathan Fleming, 'Viol-Making in England, c.1580–1660,' diss., The Open University, 2001, 8.)

⁴⁰⁹ According to Fraser, Charles and James were 'more or less dependent on the charity of the Prince of Orange.' (Antonia Fraser, *King Charles II* (London: Hachette UK, 2011), 78.) Also Paul Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 4 September 2021). That Huygens was resident in the Hague throughout the period is confirmed by letters in *Early Modern Letters Online* <<http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

⁴¹⁰ Bruinsma relates Huygens' forcible response, in 1634, to a call to ban the organ entirely from the Dutch Reformed Church: 'This serious attack upon the organ brought a reply from one of the most learned and highly respected men in the history of the Netherlands, Constantin Huygens (1596–1687). Widely traveled, and a friend of philosophers, poets, and musicians in England, Germany, and Italy, Huygens recognized the need for a radical change in the standards of organ usage in the Netherlands, but he did not wish to eliminate the abuses of the organ by eliminating the organ itself. His now-famous book on the use or misuse of the organ in the Dutch churches, published at Leiden in 1640, not only gives us an excellent picture of the state of church music in the Netherlands of his day. It also lays down the principles for the proper use of the organ in the worship service that have guided Dutch Reformed organists to the present time.' (Bruinsma, 'The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640,' 210.) Bruinsma cites here Huygens' *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, Leiden 1640.) See also American Guild of Organists, 'North Central: Dutch Organ Culture During the Reformation.' <www.agohq.org/north-central-dutch-

Froberger, which began in 1649, is particularly pertinent to the Gibbons story. Also, in 1651–2, Huygens' third son Lodewijck, was sent on a diplomatic mission to England where he heard Gibbons play at the house of Davis Mell.⁴¹¹

The extent and nature of the relationship between Christopher Gibbons, Huygens, Froberger, Bernard Smith—and also by extension Kircher and Frescobaldi—is worthy of further investigation.⁴¹²

organ-culture-reformation> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

⁴¹¹ See p. 69. Huygens' second son, the mathematician Christiaan Huygens, maintained a personal professional relationship with Christopher Wren. Huygens' acknowledgement of Wren's contribution to *The Measurement of Time and of Longitude at Sea*, is found in the letter to Robert Moray, 10 February 1662. (Michael S. Mahoney, 'Christian Huygens: The Measurement of Time and of Longitude at Sea,' in *Studies on Christiaan Huygens*, ed. H.J.M. Bos et al (Lisse: Swets, 1980), 234–70.)

⁴¹² In the late 1650s Huygens maintained active correspondence with Hendrik Bruno (1617–64), fellow poet and Co-Rector of the Latin School in Hoorn. (Bruno was Latin teacher by correspondence to Huygens' sons.) Hoorn was the town wherein Bernard Smith lived and worked. (Ben Leek, 'Bruno, Beroemd Dichter,' *Oud Hoorn kwartaalblad* 4 (2013). See also Huygens ING, 'Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687.' <<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens>> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Also Appendix. An account of Smith's character and intellect is given in Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 75.) Further, Smith was a member of a scientific society founded by Richard Bentley (1662–1742), Rector Magnificus of Trinity College and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge: '[In October 1697] Bentley formed a club, or evening meeting of a few friends, who happened to be among the greatest intellectual characters that the history of mankind can produce: this society, which met once or twice a week in the librarian's apartments in St. James's, consisted at its foundation of Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. John Evelyn, Mr. Isaac Newton [1643–1727], Mr. John Locke [1632–1704], and Dr. Richard Bentley: names sufficient in themselves to render illustrious the age in which they lived, and the country which gave them birth?' (James Henry Monk, *The life of Richard Bentley, D.D* (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1833). Also Vlagsma, 'Barent Smit, orgelmaker in Hoorn en in Engeland,' 31. Also footnote 383.) According to King 'the celebrated organ-builder [...] when [Bentley] first became Master, this gentleman promised to make him a noble organ for his College chapel.' (Lord Peter King, *The Life of John Locke: With Extracts from His Correspondence, Journals, and Common-place Books* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), 205.) A fine portrait of Smith hung 'formerly in the Old Music School' at Oxford University. (Reproduced at the front of Rowntree, *Father Smith*. Also Poole, *Catalogue of portraits in the possession of the university, colleges, city, and county of Oxford*, 157.) Huygens' long-term friendship with Froberger, which began in 1649, is of particular relevance to the Gibbons story. See Philip Christian Molhuysen and Petrus Johannes Blok, *Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1911), columns 1180–91. Froberger visited Paris in 1652 where he possibly met Chambonnières and Louis Couperin, from whence he travelled on to London. (G. B. Sharp, 'J. J. Froberger: 1614–1667: A Link between the Renaissance and the Baroque,' *The Musical Times* 108, no. 1498 (1967).) Huygens remarked in a letter that he had encountered there a musician who had 'evidently much profited from conversations with Mr Froberger, showing much of

The Chapel Royal model

In 1660 the Church of England was vigorously re-established. The invitation ‘In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem’, introduced to the 1662 BCP, allowed for the offering of choral music beyond the Psalms and Canticles, and this simple rubric helped define the Anglican choral tradition.⁴¹³ Much energy and money was poured into repairing

his method and rhythm in playing some of his pieces, in the highest style I have ever seen.’ (Paul Collins, *The Stylus Phantasticus and free keyboard music of the North German Baroque* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2017), 92.) It is tempting to speculate that the musician in question was Christopher Gibbons. Huygens’ third son Lodewijk had helped set up of the Dutch Embassy in London, at precisely this time. (Gordon Campbell and Thomas N Corns, *John Milton: life, work, and thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 239.) A letter from Froberger to Athanasius Kircher tells of how the author met Gibbons during the visit ‘as a result of the mutual acquaintance.’ (Candace Bailey, *Seventeenth-century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), 218. Bailey quotes Siegbert Rampe, ‘Das ‘Hintze-Manuskript’—Ein Dokument zu Biographie und Werk von Matthias Weckmann und Johann Jakob Froberger,’ *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 19 (1997). Unfortunately, the primary source of the meeting of the two musicians, and of this quote, is not carried in Bailey’s citation (which is Ulf Scharlau, ‘Neue Quellenfunde zur Biographie Johann Jakob Frobergers,’ *Die Musikforschung* 22 (1969).)) It too is tempting to think that the ‘mutual acquaintance’ was Constantijn and, to accept Bailey’s speculation, that Gibbons’ first wife Mary Kercher/Kircher may have been related to Athanasius Kircher. (Bailey, *Seventeenth-century British Keyboard Sources*, 238: footnote 32.) As tantalizing though the connection may be between Mary and her namesake, unfortunately nothing concrete has yet come to light. (Pepys stopping off to meet Gibbons, immediately following leaving his Kircher’s *Musurgia* to be bound, but two days after his excitement at having bought it, is a conjectural connection. (Pepys, ‘The Diary of Samuel Pepys,’ 24 February 1668.)) Froberger’s final visit to England is recorded by Mattheson, assembled from Froberger’s own notes. (Some scholars, including Bailey, doubt the accuracy of Froberger’s own reminiscences—see Bailey, *Seventeenth-century British Keyboard Sources*, 238: footnote 31.) Froberger recounts meeting Gibbons for a second time: ‘While on his way to England in 1662, Froberger was robbed and left almost destitute. Arriving in England, Froberger found his way to the Court Organist, presumably Christopher Gibbons, who fortunately spoke some French. Gibbons took pity on him and found him a job as organ-blower at the wedding of Charles II, and in the following festivities at the palace; but he apparently did not recognize Froberger. On one occasion, when Froberger’s attention was distracted by the distinguished personalities, he over blew the bellows and the enraged Gibbons struck him. Later, when all the musicians were eating in another room, Froberger struck a dissonant chord on the organ, and resolved it in so masterly and distinctive a style that he was immediately recognized by a lady sitting at the King’s table, who had once studied with him. Upon learning his identity, the King commanded a harpsichord to be brought in, and Froberger entertained the King and his guests.’ (Rayner and Rayner, ‘Christopher Gibbons,’ 156: footnote 31. Their translated account taken directly from Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer ehren-pforte* (Hamburg: Verf., 1740), 88-9.) See also footnote 389.

⁴¹³ The phrase is found in the order for both Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, placed after the collects and before the five prayers beginning with ‘A Prayer for the King’s Majesty.’ Regarding the singing of non-metrical psalms, the reinstitution of Coverdale’s revised Psalter meant that the method of employing reciting notes of plainchant had to be revived. Instead of reverting to plainsong psalm tones, homophonic chants were developed, reminiscent of the foursquare nature of the metrical

pre-war organs, and some churches commissioned new organs in the old style.⁴¹⁴ In choral foundations there was eagerness to capture the progressive spirit, and the ‘brilliant musical tradition’ that had quickly developed at the Chapel Royal was imitated by ‘private noblemen and Cathedral Chapters [...] as far as their resources allowed’.⁴¹⁵ Their model was not the old order of the Transposing Organ, but rather the new continental model as exemplified in the Chapel Royal. Immediate imitators were to be found at Wimborne and Oxford, and the so-called ‘Ladies’ organ’ at Lichfield Cathedral.⁴¹⁶ The distinctive timbre of Sesquialteras, Cornets and Trumpets would become standard in Britain for nigh 200 years, as well as

tunes. The first-dated ‘Anglican Chant’ in its modern form is found on p. 7 of *Binfield’s Choral Service* (*Winton Use*), being a ‘single chant’ copied direct from a Winchester Cathedral source; it is labelled ‘Dr. C. Gibbons, 1660’. (John Bilson Binfield, *The Choral service of the Church* (London: D’Almaine & Co, 1846).) Writing in 1846, the author of the *Christian Remembrancer* asserts that ‘Bibliographists [*sic*] [...] profess to have found seven composers [...] that flourished in this course of a hundred years [1600–1700], namely—Dr. Christopher Gibbons, Thomas Purcel, Edward Purcel, Henry Purcel, Daniel Purcel, Pelham Humphries, and Dr. Blow.’ The writer goes on to state that only the chants by Gibbons and Blow are reliably ascribed. (‘English Ritual Music,’ *The Christian Remembrancer* 12 (1846), 162–3.) The first collection of psalm tunes is that gathered in the *Wimborne Organbook* dated 1670 (ff. 6v–7r), where these charming homophonic miniatures—all single chants replete with rhythmically-notated reciting notes—by Blow, Turner, Edward and Henry Purcell Jr, Haywood and Wise, may represent the very first compositional steps for these first Children of the Chapel after the Restoration. (Holman and Thompson suggest that the Edward Purcell in the *Wimborne Organbook* is probably the uncle (b. c. 1655) of Edward Purcell (Sr) (1689–1740). Peter Holman, and Robert Thompson, ‘Purcell, Edward.’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 29 July 2021).)

⁴¹⁴ Clutton and Niland note ‘about eight important organs were either built or planned after 1660, along traditional lines.’ (Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 62.) See also Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 104–21.

⁴¹⁵ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church: Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 84.

⁴¹⁶ ‘The organ that Hacket set up was obtained by the subscriptions of ladies. The bishop writes: “An Organ is bespoke at £600 price, to be call’d the Ladies Organ, because none but the honourable and most pious of that sex shall contribute to that sum.”’ (A. B. Clifton, *The Cathedral Church of Lichfield* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1900), 71.)

throughout the colonies, until the influences of German Organ building came in the mid-eighteenth century.⁴¹⁷

Wimborne and Oxford: connections with Christopher Gibbons

The *Wimborne Organbook* of 1670 contains two of the earliest datable double-organ voluntaries, suggesting that the organ at Wimborne Minster—of a year after Dallam's organ at the Chapel Royal—may have been built, or sometime subsequently remodelled, as a modern double-organ.⁴¹⁸ Its 12 stops contained mutations, sesquialtera and cornet, and the small Chaire would have been suitable to provide the accompaniment for a double-organ voluntary.⁴¹⁹ A trumpet rank was not included, but as Bicknell notes, unlike the Dallams and Smith, who had worked abroad, English organ builders had no tradition of reed making.⁴²⁰

Wimborne is not 40 miles from Winchester and only 16 to Corfe Castle, where Gibbons' father-in-law had been Rector for 44 years. Christopher's influence at Wimborne is

⁴¹⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*. The first two-manual organ in Boston, Massachusetts—'possibly the first actually built expressly as a church organ'—contained thirteen stops fashioned tonally along Chapel Royal lines. (Barbara Owen, 'Eighteenth-Century Organs and Organ Building in New England (Part II: Music in Homes and in Churches),' *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630–1820* 54 (n.d.).) See also Goetze & Gwynn, 'St Lawrence Whitchurch, Edgware: New Church Organ Based on 1716 Gerard Smith Organ.' <www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/st-lawrence-whitchurch-edgware-1994> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Also Goetze & Gwynn, 'The Organs Used by George Frederick Handel.' <www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organs-used-george-frederick-handel-dominic-gwynn> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

⁴¹⁸ Organ by provincial builder by Robert Hayward (fl. 1663–84) of Bath. (Boeringer, *Organa Britannica*, I: 295. Also Betty Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Wimborne Minster, 1408–1972* (Bournemouth: Kenneth Mummery, 1984), 6-7.)

⁴¹⁹ Matthews states that there were 13 stops but it is noted on p. 8 that the Chaire's Fifteenth was not added until 1764. (*Ibid.*, 8.)

⁴²⁰ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 115.

keenly felt, as the organbook contains Portman's Double-Organ Voluntary (thought by Cox to have once been in the possession of Gibbons), works by Frescobaldi (suggested by Bailey to be transmitted by Froberger via Gibbons), as well as Gibbons' own *Verse for ye Single Organ*.⁴²¹ The connection was consolidated by the appointment in 1664 of John Silver Jr (1632–94), son of John Silver Sr, who had served as the Master of the Choristers at Winchester alongside Gibbons his organist.⁴²²

Silver Jr's older contemporary at Winchester, William King (1624–80), was appointed the very same year at New College, Oxford at the high salary of £50 a year. King was the son of George King (died 1665), organist of Winchester College also during the years that Gibbons was at Winchester Cathedral. Around the time of King's appointment, New College authorities had their attention turned to the new organ at Whitehall. The original grand vision, discussed above, had not surfaced, but a new proposal was submitted by Ralph Dallam on 10 March 1662. Two full years elapsed before a note appeared in the bursars' accounts that 'the Company having been told that in several other New organs in other Churches they had more stops than our Organ in New College, I was desired to consider, and advise with

⁴²¹ See Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England*, 82. Cox also supposes a direct connection with Gibbons and the Frescobaldi pieces contained here in preceding folios of WB P.10. See also Bailey, 'William Ellis and the transmission of continental keyboard music in restoration England,' 217-9. In general terms, the Minster repertoire maintained a vibrant connection with Whitehall. The organbook WB P.10—inspected by the author during a site visit to Wimborne Minster's Chained Library in August 2018—is an important early English source for Frescobaldi, elaborating the link between Christopher Gibbons and Froberger (see footnote 389).

⁴²² Silver Jr served as a chorister in 1640, a 'probationer Lay Clerk' in 1660, was appointed Lay Vicar in 1661; he had resigned from Winchester Cathedral by June 1663. (Information via the Hampshire Record Office, visited August 2018.) See also Betty Matthews, and Ian Spink, 'Silver, John.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 25 July 2021).

the Seniors whether it would not be fitt to add some extraordinary stops, as the Trumpet Stop, the Cornet Stop, & some others.⁴²³

Silver and King's eagerness to have an instrument of the Chapel Royal model points to their being organ pupils of Christopher Gibbons. The *Winchester Organbook* (Och Mus. 88) provides rich connections between Gibbons, Silver Senior at Winchester and King at Oxford, and between Silver Jr's choral repertory at Wimborne and the Chapel Royal at Whitehall.⁴²⁴

Repertory for the English double-organ

Caldwell identifies a 'paucity of double voluntaries in the early seventeenth century in spite of the numerous references to chair organ.'⁴²⁵ The present study reveals a clearer picture: there are *no* such original double-organ voluntaries from that time, neither could there be until 1663 with the introduction of a suitable two-manual model, having two 'divisions', its keyboards and pipes aligned to unison.

The five earliest examples of what appear to be double-organ voluntaries are by Orlando Gibbons and John Luge, all preserved as *unicas*. Two pieces by Orlando are to be found in *The Cosyn Virginals Book: A ffancy for a double Orgaine*, and Fantasia [in g], both dated *circa* 1620.⁴²⁶ Describing the 'clumsy arrangement of the manual changes towards the end [...]

⁴²³ Dated 16 March 1664. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 111-2.)

⁴²⁴ John Milsom, 'Christ Church Library Music Catalogue.' <<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music>> (Accessed 13 September 2021).

⁴²⁵ Caldwell, 'The Pitch of Early Tudor Organ Music,' 162.

⁴²⁶ Nos. 7 and 11 from Orlando Gibbons, *Werke für Orgel* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1998). Cosyn's autograph title page is dated either side of the contents table: '16' then '20' (*The Cosyn Virginals Book* Lbl RM MS 23.1.4). Benjamin Cosyn (c. 1570–c. 1652).

of this peculiar Gibbons/Cosyn arrangement' Cox discredits *A ffancy for a double Orgaine* then tersely does likewise to the Fantasia, however goes on to suggest that 'some genuine pre-Restoration double-organ voluntaries by John Lugge and Richard Portman have survived.'⁴²⁷

Lugge's three voluntaries used to be described as 'the best examples of this peculiarly English genre written before the Civil war.'⁴²⁸ Bailey concludes that they display 'virtuoso passages quite unlike most contemporary keyboard music [...] and are the most modern keyboard works in Och Mus. 49.'⁴²⁹ Certainly these pieces appear to play an unusual and unique part in the early English organ repertory.⁴³⁰ The three voluntaries are intricately woven, but the bass line is poorly integrated for organ music, lying far below the accompaniment; the lack of ornamentation is also telling and there are a great many difficulties for the player to make a successful rendition; distinctly odd are the *fermatas* in the bass and the indications 'or . 8 . above' in the upper.

It should of course be remembered that the definition of 'voluntary' at the beginning of the seventeenth century is of a piece wrought in free counterpoint. All of the above observations point to the likelihood that these are organ parts for a 'viol consort to the organ':

⁴²⁷ Geoffrey Cox, 'English Organ Music to c.1700,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 194-5.

⁴²⁸ John Steele, 'Lugge, John.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 16 September 2018). The voluntaries are found in Och Mus. 49 (pp. 233-42), which Milsom dates to the 1640s, and further suggests that this is the composer's autograph. (John Milsom, 'Christ Church Library Music Catalogue.' <<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+49+%28pp.+200--243%29>> (Accessed 13 September 2021).) The first and second are entitled *Voluntarie . 3 . pts* and the third *Voluntarie . 3 . & 4 . pts*.

⁴²⁹ Bailey, *Seventeenth-century British Keyboard Sources*, 87.

⁴³⁰ The third appears to have a new section grafted on at b. 29 (modern barring) which follows neither in the prevailing key nor texture, nor even the number of voices.

either a *basso seguente* part for the organist to play and direct from, or short-score for composing or copying, or both; the designations ‘double’ and ‘single’ (later ‘d.’ and ‘s.’) thus may show the music played by double and single viols.⁴³¹ The octave-higher indications may relate to the virtuosity of the First Treble player, and the curious *fermata* markings show the phrasal interplay of two bass parts, just as in the suites of Coprario, where the bass rests to leave the organ carrying the bass alone.⁴³²

Regarding the designation ‘double’, it is found that Lugge, employed from July 1638 as a liveried musician at Tawstock House, the seat of the newly-married Earl of Bath, was writing for a ‘very great’ double bass viol:

In common with many owners of great houses, the Bouchier family maintained an active musical establishment, as can be seen from a Tawstock inventory taken on 9 March 1639, which included:

*In the Great Chamber...one fair organ, £100...; The Stair Case...1 organ with virginal, 1 chest of viols, one very great double base viole, one Irish harp, one little viol, one violin;...*⁴³³

The ‘little viol’ here is likely represented by the word ‘single’ used in these three transcriptions.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ Wilson notes that ‘independent [organ] parts for fantasies [...] were first provided on a regular basis by Coprario, Jenkins and W Lawes; before 1620 no individual parts are found [...] and separate organbooks do not appear until 1620s [...] most of these are short scores of the viol parts.’ (Michael I. Wilson, *The Chamber Organ in Britain, 1600-1830* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2001), 13.)

⁴³² Andrew Ashbee, ‘Music for Treble, Bass and Organ by John Jenkins,’ *Chelys* 6 (1975), 25.

⁴³³ Italic original. Todd Gray, ‘Henry, 5th Earl of Bath and Rachel, Countess of Bath, 1627-1655,’ in *Devon Household Accounts, 1627-59* (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1996), 221. See also Victor Loosemore, ‘Organists, Composers and Organ Builders,’ *The Story of a Loosemore Family* <www.dvsonline.co.uk/loosemore/family1/fam1ch3.htm> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Also Julie Ann Sadie, ‘Handel; in Pursuit of the Viol,’ *Chelys* 14 (1985).

⁴³⁴ See also footnote 441 below.

Verse for ye Double Organ Mr Ric: Portman appears in the post-Restoration *Wimborne Organbook*, yet the composer died in 1656.⁴³⁵ Whilst it makes a satisfactory double-organ voluntary, like the Cosyn/Gibbons and Lugge transcriptions, Portman's *Verse* is blighted by problems: the left hand solo passages are not sufficiently differentiated in terms of the nature of the material, and the crudely placed indicators of 'Double' and 'Single' make for uncomfortable changes of manual—indeed the piece is far easier to play on a single manual. This aside, the tessitura of the bass solos gives suggestion that Portman's contribution to the genre shows how organists successfully adopted consort idioms into their keyboard writing.

Several fine examples of double-organ voluntaries exist from the first decades after the Restoration. Alongside those by Christopher Gibbons, there are seven by Blow, and a single contribution each from Hingeston, Locke and Purcell, and a number of successful examples by anonymous composers.⁴³⁶

Hingeston's contribution is from the time of the installation of the new double-organ at Whitehall—he was 'keeper of the organs' and also a proficient organist.⁴³⁷ Copied

⁴³⁵ WB P.10. This, Portman's only surviving solo organ music, is found, an *unica*, at the reverse (ff. 3v–4r).

⁴³⁶ Locke included a piece entitled 'For a Double Organ' towards the end of *Melothesia*, an example of musical form. (Matthew Locke, *Melothesia: Or, Certain General Rules for Playing Upon a Continued-bass. The First Part* (London: J. Carr, 1673), 82.) Seven double-organ voluntaries are published in Blow, *Complete Organ Music*. These are: No. 24 *Another Duple Voluntary* from Lbl Add. MS 31468 (copied by Davis c. 1700) and *A Double Voluntary* in Ldc 92d (slightly earlier than 1717); No. 26 *A Voluntary for the Double Organ* from Lbl Add. MS 31446 (c. 1698); No. 27 *A Vers for the Double Organ* from Lbl Add. MS 31468 (c. 1700); No. 28 *A Double Vers* from Lbl Add. MS 34695 (c. 1700); *Vers for ye Cornett and Single Organ* from Lbl Add. MS 2959 (c. 1700); and *A Voluntary for ye Cornett stop* from Lbl Add. MS 31468 (Davis c. 1700). Purcell's single contribution to the double-organ voluntary genre is discussed below in Chapter Four: Influence and Legacy.

⁴³⁷ De Lafontaine, *King's Musick*, 164. Hingeston was Cromwell's organist; he was also in charge of 'his Highness Musique', a band of eight musicians and two boys. (Lynn Hulse, 'Hingeston [Hingston], John.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 1 August 2021).) The grand irony, often remarked upon, is that Hingeston and the two boys were frequently requested by the Protector to perform Dering's Latin motets. See Ellis, 'These sad, distracted tymes: the impact of the Civil War

alongside Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries in Och Mus. MSS 47 and 1176, Hingeston's offering also shares signs of the successful application of consort idioms—indeed Bailey agrees that the 'thematic technique is strikingly similar to that of his consort music'.⁴³⁸ But unlike the tight counterpoint of Lugge, the upper lines of the accompaniment are not strictly contrapuntal. Moreover, they suggest the function of an organ part, filling out the harmonies and supplying richness to the cadences, rather than the usual doubling of instrumental parts.⁴³⁹ The most agile sections are found in the bass, which also plays in dialogue with itself. Again, there is no ornamentation, but vivid, keyboard-like flourishes are to be found in the concluding section. To echo Bailey, it is noted that the music compares favourably as such with the composer's autograph *basso seguente* organ part entitled *Fantazia a 3. for Treb. Con. & Base*.⁴⁴⁰ Here the abbreviation 'Con.', rather than denoting a continuo part, as might be inferred, stands for 'Consort'. 'Con.' is therefore synonymous with the 'Consort' or 'Little' Bass, the smallest of three types of bass viol. 'Base' here denotes the music of the

and Interregnum on English music, c.1640 to c.1660,' 83.

⁴³⁸ Bailey, *Seventeenth-century British Keyboard Sources*, 20.

⁴³⁹ This fourth contrapuntal voice (the alto line) is in fact very fragmented and poorly shaped. At b. 23, for example, the organ's alto part merely weaves the crude alternation of $f^{\#1} e^1 f^{\#1} e^1 f^{\#1}$.

⁴⁴⁰ Ob Mus.Sch.e.382 pp. 2–3.

virtuoso ‘Great’ Bass.⁴⁴¹ Such a scheme could also be applied to Cosyn’s and Portman’s Voluntaries, where ‘Single’ almost certainly signifies the use of the Consort Bass.⁴⁴²

A Voluntary for y^e Duble Organ By M Henry Purcell (Z.719)

Purcell’s single contribution to the genre is a genuine curiosity. Research has led the present author to conclude that it is not the work of Henry Purcell. Every piece of Purcell’s extant organ music exists in a single, unique source.⁴⁴³ The *Voluntary for ye Duble Organ* is partnered with an untitled single voluntary, ascribed to ‘Mr: H: Purcell’, catalogue number Z.718.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ Hingeston’s ‘voluntarie’ contains designations ‘Little’ and ‘Bass’ whereas the ‘Fantazia’ has ‘Little’ and ‘Great’ (and ‘L’ and ‘G’). It must be noted that the use of the word ‘Bass’ as a designation for an organ manual is unprecedented. (‘Bass’ could well have indicated the bass section of a divided compass, such as in the Double-Organ Voluntary on the Hundredth Psalm Tune (Z.721)—described briefly below—but Hingeston’s ‘Bass’ ascends far higher. The designation ‘both’ towards its close appears then to reference the interplay between two rather equal bass voices towards its final cadence.) In *Fantazia a 3. for Treble. Con. & Base* the range of the sections specifically labelled ‘Little’ is $A-g^1$, whereas the range of that of ‘Bass’ is $D-a^1$: both correspond exactly to range of a typical Consort Bass tuning and that of the Bass Viol (being D, G, c, e, a, d^1). Hingeston left a ‘great double Basse’ to William Gregory Jr (1624–91) in his will of 1683. (Joëlle Morton, ‘The English Greate Dooble Basse, 1600s,’ *Bass World* 41, no. 3 (2019), 35.) The expression ‘Consort or Single Bass’ is sometimes encountered. See Ephraim Segerman, ‘The Sizes of English Viols and Talbot’s Measurements,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 48 (1995), 36. An advert from *The Daily Courant* from 30 March 1710 carried a revealing text: ‘To be sold cheap, a good Walnut-Tree Harpsichord 3 Stops Unison, fit for Consort or Single Playing. Inquire at Mr Julian’s [...] in Lombard street.’ (Michael Tilmouth, ‘Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719),’ *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 1 (1961), 75.) Mace also employs the phrase ‘either for *Consort*, or *Single Use*’. (Italics original. Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, I: 235–6.) Logically, this implies that the concept of ‘single playing’ is synonymous with ‘consort playing’: to seventeenth and early eighteenth-century musicians, the terms ‘consort organ’ and ‘single organ’ may thus have been interchangeable. The term ‘Single Organ’ occurs seldom in titles. However, in the *Wimborne Organbook*, Christopher Gibbons’ *Verse for ye Single Organ* has a compass D to a^2 which falls precisely within the tessitura of a Consort Organ; it also implies that music for ‘Single Organ’ is necessarily at Consort Pitch.

⁴⁴² The designation is not unlike Praetorius’s ‘Little Bass’, which plays a continuo role. See Robert Jesselson, ‘The Etymology of the Words ‘Violin’ and ‘Violoncello’.’ <www.cello.org/newsletter/articles/celloetymology.htm> (Accessed 31 August 2021).

⁴⁴³ Purcell’s collected organ works are gathered into Hugh McLean, ed. *Henry Purcell: Organ Works (Revised Edition)* (London: Novello, 1967).

⁴⁴⁴ The double-organ voluntary is in Lbl Add. MS 31468, ff. 24v–27v, copied by William Davis; the

The first 18-and-a-half bars of both works are practically identical, save the occasional ornamental discrepancy.⁴⁴⁵ Scholars have taken the ascriptions to Purcell unquestioningly, even though, at bar 20, the pieces diverge, to progress in a different style; they are also structurally and stylistically apart from any other piece of extant Purcell, either for organ or any other genre. The common portion does, however, owe a great deal to Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntary style, and these voluntaries' openings were most likely inspired by him. A slow-paced, fugal accompaniment proceeds from the tenor register 'charged with the Baroque emotional content found in Christopher Gibbons, Blow, and Matthew Locke', as Downes put it.⁴⁴⁶ Incorporated in the opening point of the double voluntary is a divided ornament—here the opening semibreve is divided into four separate crotchets, each being individually ornamented.⁴⁴⁷ The fugue progresses into a muscular and virtuoso left hand solo, never shy from being involved in the imitation, and the section closes in a toccata-like flourish. Other stylistic features include accented chromatic notes, producing augmented chords either on strong, prominent beats or passing through quickly, *échappées* and other ornamental features, angular patterns, zig-zag shapes and bell-like figuration, all typical of Christopher Gibbons' compositional style, also the free-flowing counterpoint with few

Single Voluntary from Lbl Add. MS 31446, ff. 9v–10v, copied by George Holmes.

⁴⁴⁵ The latter's bb. 23–28¹ also sharing a very close resemblance to the former's bb. 20–24¹. There are indications that the single voluntary may have started life as the version for double-organ. This is true also of Christopher Gibbons' *Verse for ye Single Organ* in the *Wimborne Organ Book* and his C Major [Single] Voluntary. (As in footnote 441.) Gibbons' A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary is rendered as a single voluntary in Holmes' Lbl Add. MS 31446.

⁴⁴⁶ Imogen Holst, ed. *Henry Purcell: Essays On His Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 69. Quote by Ralph Downes in chapter seven: 'An Organist's View of the Organ Works.'

⁴⁴⁷ See Chapter Three, Part One: Divided Ornaments.

cadence points, and typically twisting harmonies. But the key hallmark of a direct emulation of Gibbons' double-organ voluntary style is the placing of a static high tonic triad between bars 16 and 19 to accompany a thrilling, vivid left hand solo, traversing very nearly three octaves.

At the dividing point, where the two voluntaries break off to go on their separate ways, the double-organ voluntary loses its tight textural and formal control, and proceeds from entry to entry in undisciplined and frankly unsatisfying fashion (which Downes politely describes: 'But some crudity and ungainliness in the intervening harmonic structure suggest an incomplete mastery of the material').⁴⁴⁸ A further theme—lacking the grandeur of the first—is introduced at bar 51⁴, and the work settles into a closing fugato section, promising at its start, but ultimately equally unsatisfying, on account of many harmonic, textural and melodic quirks (not helped by numerous copying mistakes).⁴⁴⁹

Downes writes: 'The piece for Single Organ is stylistically the superior, and is simpler and more direct.'⁴⁵⁰ It maintains some of its stylistic integrity after the halfway divide, and structurally it is closely aligned to Gibbons' *Verse for ye Single Organ* and the Double-Organ Voluntaries in D Minor and C Major—namely a four-part fugal section, followed by a moment of harmonic stasis, then fugue, toccata and static elements combined, before the

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 71. In fact, this extension to the original material sounds decidedly like those applied to Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries as found in Lbl Add. MS 31446, 34695 and 31468; it also shares striking characteristics to the extensions to three Blow Voluntaries (Nos. 26, 28 and 30). See below: Dissemination of the double-organ voluntaries of Christopher Gibbons. See also p. 320.

⁴⁴⁹ Judging by the errors in copying at bb. 75 and 76 it is logical to presume that the extension is not the work of Davis the copyist. For a discussion about the culture of adding extensions to pre-existing works, see Chapter Four: A tradition of extensio.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 69.

introduction of a new, more active point halfway along, with diminution and toccata-like elements to close.

Double-Organ Voluntary on the *Hundredth Psalm Tune* (Z.721)

One of the most attractive voluntaries of the period is the *Hundredth Psalm Tune*.⁴⁵¹ Once attributed to Purcell, and given the catalogue number Z.721, exists in an *unica* ascribed to ‘Mr Henry Purcell’ by Harrison.⁴⁵² Its appearance in Lbl Add. MS 34695 may be linked to the performance of this work on the one-manual Father Smith organ at the Bishop’s Palace in Bishop Auckland, rendered as a Cornet Voluntary for that instrument’s divided cornet stop.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ No. 48 of Blow, *Complete Organ Music*. Dating the piece to 1677, Cooper states that ‘Blow seems far more likely to be its author than the teenage Purcell, to who the sole attribution is a source [Lbl Add. MS 34695, ff. 27v–28v] dating from about the beginning of the 18th century’ (Ibid., p. 98). See also p. 89.

⁴⁵² See section below, Holmes, Harrison and the North East.

⁴⁵³ See p. 171.

Dissemination of the double-organ voluntaries of Christopher Gibbons

It is notable that all sources of the double-organ voluntaries share a connection with Christopher Gibbons through pupils of Blow.

Organbooks Och Mus. MS 47 and Och Mus. MS 1176

The organbook Och Mus. 47 contains in its first layer ten organ accompaniments derived from Barnard's *First Book* of 1641, followed in its second layer by 13 keyboard pieces for organ, double-organ and harpsichord.⁴⁵⁴ The singlemost important source for all three of Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries, copied around or at the time of the composer's death, this second layer (pages 25–54) was likely derived from a lost organbook

⁴⁵⁴ John Barnard (b. 1591; fl. c. 1641). See Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's first book of selected church musick: Genesis, production and influence,' diss., York, 2009.

compiled by Blow, made at the time when he was Gibbons' pupil.⁴⁵⁵ (Judging by the problems the copyist encountered, this was strewn with errors.)

Och Mus. 1176 appears to have been copied directly by Lowe from Och Mus. 47 not long afterwards. (The chief distinction between the two sources is that Och Mus. 1176 contains solo keyboard music only, whereas Och Mus. 47 contains both solos and accompaniments.)⁴⁵⁶ Lowe did not have a double-organ by that point, so it is entirely possible that his manuscript may have found its way to New College's recently-appointed organist William King, and it is tempting to think that the pieces may have been used to demonstrate

⁴⁵⁵ Milsom conjectures that Och Mus. 47 may be as early as 'early 1660s'. (John Milsom, 'Christ Church Library Music Catalogue.' <<http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+47>> (Accessed 13 September 2021).) The keyboard pieces are by Christopher and Orlando Gibbons, Blow and Hingeston, all musicians with a common connection to the Chapel. The last item in layer 2 (pp.53–4), the anonymous *Upon ye Bells*, is likely by Lowe. Its chime, repeated 11 times, employs six notes a–c. Christ Church's Wolsey Tower housed a ring of six bells (plus a 'Great' bell recast as 'Great Tom' in 1680 and hung in Tom Tower) transferred from Osney Abbey to the cathedral soon after 1546. (Christ Church Oxford, 'Bell Ringers and Bells.' <www.chch.ox.ac.uk/visiting-and-learning/bell-ringers-and-bells> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Also Martin Biddle, 'Wolsey's Bell-Tower,' *Oxoniensia* 53 (1988).) *Dove's Guide* shows that four of the 'heavy ring' of six bells exist to this day, namely nos. 7 (1640), 9 and 10 (both c. 1410) and the tenor (1589), representing 1, 3, 4 and 6 of the original ring, and giving a six-note scale of D Major. (Central Council of Church Bellringers, 'Dove's Guide for Church Bell Ringers.' <http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=vr_coAEACAAJ&hl=&source=gbs_api> (Accessed 4 September 2021).) Lowe's imitation of its chime directly matches the pitch used inside the cathedral, known because the 'Christ Church Cornetts', bought for the choir in 1605, are pitched a whole tone higher than modern. Martin confirms: 'These instruments were unusual in falling outside the quire pitch grid system, and were probably made to match the pitch of the organ at Christ Church, which also fell outside the common system.' (Darryl Martin, 'The English Virginal,' diss., Edinburgh, 2003, 202. J. Drake, 'The Christ Church Cornetts, and the Ivory Cornett in the Royal College of Music, London,' *The Galpin Society Journal* 34 (1981). See also p. 124.) Lowe would not have needed to copy his own *Upon ye Bells* into Och Mus. 1176.

⁴⁵⁶ With regard to the keyboard solos, items 1–8 (ff. 2–13r) of Och Mus. 1176 are the same as items 11–18 (pp. 25–42) of Och Mus. 47, except that the order of the 2nd and 3rd items is switched.

Robert Dallam's new instrument there, conceivably built in precisely the manner of his 1663 Whitehall organ.⁴⁵⁷

Holmes, Harrison and the North East

A second wave of copying occurred around the turn of the century in the shape of the three important sources Lbl Add. MSS 31446, 31468 and 34695. MS 31446 once bore the inscription 'George Holmes his Book, 1698, at my Lord Bishop of Durham's.' Two of Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries—the A Minor and the D Minor—are included there anonymously: both append long, unskilled extensions that are certainly not by Gibbons.⁴⁵⁸ They appear in this manuscript as two of 27 pieces for the organ by Blow, Michelangelo Rossi (1601/2–1656), Purcell Jr and Tallis.⁴⁵⁹ The bookplate cites Holmes (c. 1680–1720) as a 'pupil

⁴⁵⁷ For William King and the new organ at New College, Oxford see above, p. 157.

⁴⁵⁸ Holmes would have been around 17 or 18 at that time. The rambling and improvisatory extensions are a mystery: presumably they were intended to cover a extensive movement in a large building. The D Minor extension in Lbl Add. MS 34695 (at ff. 31r–35r) is a particular hotchpotch of styles and seemingly miscellaneous quotes. Very oddly, the opening point of Gibbons' A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary is quoted at b. 102. A Cornet Voluntary is quoted at b. 78 (bb. 33–42³ of Blow's Voluntary No. 27), but precisely at this point (b. 80) there are signs that something has gone awry in the copying: at the end of b. 79 the MS has a page turn; the reverse folio (at b. 80) employs a different key, timbre and texture (and the word 'cornet' used for the first time, but without any time given to draw the stop). This new section would fit better as an alternative extension to the A Minor Voluntary, and would explain why it contains a self-quote. (Because the C Major Trumpet Voluntary from the Susi Jeans MS is copied as a separate item from the middle of f. 33v, it is fair to assume that it never belonged to the extension in the first place. Blow's fine Voluntary No. 2—found unasccribed at ff. 53v–54 of the same MS—too appends a rambling (and literally anonymous) extension at ff. 54v–55, which should also be regarded as a degrading.)

⁴⁵⁹ See Rebecca Herissone, 'Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts,' *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* <<https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=16614>> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

of Blow'.⁴⁶⁰ Cummings suggests that Holmes may have been related to Thomas Holmes, Gibbons' predecessor at Winchester, but no evidence of their relationship has come to light.⁴⁶¹

The connection with Holmes' patron Nathaniel Crewe (1633–1721), Bishop of Durham from 1674 to 1721, is also worthy of brief note. Crewe had been a student in Oxford—presumably the 'Nathaniel Crew' who Anthony Wood listed as a new member of William Ellis' (fl.1639; died 1680) Oxford Music Meetings in 1659: 'Nathaniel Crew: violin and viol; always out of tune.'⁴⁶² His relationship with Lowe—listed as the meeting's continuo player—can be traced from that point onwards. Lowe became Crewe's organist when the latter became Bishop of Oxford, and would certainly have maintained professional contact through mutual work at Whitehall.⁴⁶³ Holmes' position was as domestic organist to Crewe's palaces at Durham Castle and Auckland Castle from 1698 until 1705.⁴⁶⁴ Little information

⁴⁶⁰ Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013a), 99. Cummings also asserts that Holmes was a Child of the Chapel Royal in about 1688 or 1689, although he neglects to reveal his source. (William H. Cummings, 'George Holmes,' *The Musical Times* 54, no. 845 (1913).)

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. This George Holmes cannot however have been Thomas Holmes' son, as Cummings muses, as the latter died in 1638 and the former was born c. 1680. See also Norman Josephs, and Hilda Gervers, 'Holmes, Thomas.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 7 August 2021).

⁴⁶² Margot Johnson, 'Crew [Crewe], Nathaniel, third Baron Crew (1633–1721), Bishop of Durham.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (Accessed 28 July 2021).

⁴⁶³ Crewe had been Bishop of Oxford 1671–4. (Ibid. See also William Sidney Gibson, *Dilston Hall, Or, Memoirs of the Right Hon. James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1850), 193–8.) Made a peer in 1661 'for his instrumentality in the restoration of Charles II'; he was one of the king's chaplains in ordinary in 1666, and made Clerk of the Closet in 1669; he was Dean of the Chapel Royal for a short time after Lowe's death. See Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008), 150.

⁴⁶⁴ Ian Spink, and Graydon Beeks, 'Holmes, George.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 7 August 2021).

has come to light about his instrument at Durham.⁴⁶⁵ Although Auckland Castle only had a small one-manual organ with a divided cornet, built by Bernard Smith in 1688, the cathedral's 'good, perfect, laudable and harmonious great Organ and Chair Organ' will have provided an eminently suitable vehicle for the performance of Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries.⁴⁶⁶

Lbl Add. MS 34695 is in the hand of one Nicholas Harrison, a professional copyist working in the Gateshead area in the early eighteenth century.⁴⁶⁷ Harrison copied both of the double-organ voluntaries from the Holmes source, along with their lengthy extensions, but it is curious that Harrison added an alternative ending to the A Minor. This starts convincingly well, in character with the Gibbons' material, yet soon dissolves into ramble.⁴⁶⁸ The double-organ voluntaries may have been copied for use at St Edmond's, Sedgefield, which lies ten miles away from Auckland Palace. The 'College in Durham' (now the Parish Church of St Edmond) received an organ by Gerard Smith Sr (fl. 1689–1729) in 1708 paid for by the Bishop's Chaplain Theophilus Pickering (1662–1710).⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ The entry in the National Pipe Organ Register is for a two-manual 14-stop '1667 Smith?'. It is tempting to think that this instrument was built as a double-organ along Chapel Royal lines.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. Appendix.

⁴⁶⁷ A bill dated 8 November 1709 states that Harrison lived at this time in Gateshead. (Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 291–292 (footnote 51).) Further, an administration bond is granted for 'Nicholas Harrison, of Gateshead' on 4 August 1712 (DPRI/3/1712/B121/1–2).

⁴⁶⁸ A Trumpet Voluntary, different to that from the Susi Jeans MS, is inserted at b. 147, and the extension remains unfinished.

⁴⁶⁹ Prebendary of Durham, formerly the Rector of Gateshead and from August 1705 the Rector of the College at Sedgefield. (Robert Surtees, 'Parish of Sedgefield,' in *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham: Volume 3, Stockton and Darlington Wards* (London: Nichols and Son, 1823).) See Durham Cathedral Archives, 'Catalogue of foundation documents and records of members.' <<https://n2t.durham.ac.uk/ark:/32150/s1k3569433c.xml>> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Like Crewe, Pickering was musical: a singer, he deputized for long stretches as a lay-clerk at Durham Cathedral.

At around the turn of the eighteenth century, Worcester musician William Davis (c. 1675/6–1745) compiled a book of keyboard pieces Lbl Add. MS 31468. This manuscript is an important source of English organ and harpsichord music composed during the second half of the seventeenth century. Here, the same two double-organ voluntaries from Holmes and Harrison's manuscripts sit alongside organ music by Christopher Gibbons' successors at the Chapel Royal: Purcell, Blow and Croft.⁴⁷⁰ As a chorister and an assisting organist at Worcester, Davis was under the musical influence first of Vaughan Richardson (c. 1670–1729) then subsequently of Richard Cherington (1688–1724).⁴⁷¹ Both Richardson and Cherington had been choristers together under Blow, and (particularly given that the two would become cathedral organists) had very likely been his organ pupils.⁴⁷²

It seems entirely plausible that the original parent source copied by Purcell, Holmes and Harrison was Blow's own—now lost—transcribed by Blow, perhaps as a pedagogical exercise, in the early days of his choristership at the Chapel and under the tutelage of Christopher Gibbons.⁴⁷³ On account of these connections, the richly integrated ornamental

Fleming writes: 'Some time during 1709 and 1710 the [cathedral] choir was reduced to only four lay-clerks though they were assisted by the prebendary Theophilus Pickering (d. 1711) who also received a lay-clerk's salary.' (Simon Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711–1811: A Documentary Study,' diss., Durham, 2009, 8, 47.)

⁴⁷⁰ It is in fact the sole extant source of Purcell's *A Voluntary for ye Double Organ* Z.719. Additionally, there are a number of other anonymous pieces and a suite by Davis himself. See David Newsholme, 'The Life and Works of William Davis (c. 1675/6–1745),' diss., York, 2013, 33.

⁴⁷¹ Cherington had been a Child of the Chapel in December 1677, when £2. 0s. 3d. was paid 'For ye Bonesetter for cureing ye broaken legg of Richard Cherrington one of ye chappell.' (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 176.)

⁴⁷² Newsholme, 'The Life and Works of William Davis (c. 1675/6–1745),' 14–8. The boys are listed together in the records for 1679, with Blow, their Master. (Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 183, 185–6.)

⁴⁷³ Blow would have been 14-and-a-half at the time. (See also Addendum: Further Applications of

style of that contained in the manuscripts in the British Library, rather than pointing to later performance practice, may in fact be an accurate record of Gibbons' own distinctive performance style, as captured directly by the teenaged Blow and disseminated amongst his pupils.⁴⁷⁴

Heywood's Template.) N.B. A reference to 'Mr. Chr: Gibbons' at the head of the A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary in Add. MS 31468, f. 21v would pinpoint the originating source(s) to *c.* 1663, as 'Mr' in reference to Gibbons usually signifies the time before his Doctorate of February 1664, after which he is known almost exclusively as 'Dr'.

⁴⁷⁴ It is within the manuscripts of this final wave of the copying of Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries that the majority of sources for Blow's organ music are also to be found—24 out of the 30 printed in Blow, *Complete Organ Music*, xxv. However, Cooper debates the authorship of these pieces in Barry Cooper, 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music,' *Music & Letters* 75, no. 4 (1994).

Part Three: A ‘payre of orgonys’⁴⁷⁵

To best appreciate Christopher Gibbons’ contribution to the modernization of the organ in Britain, and to understand more about the instrument’s rise to pre-eminence as an accompanimental vehicle, it became important then to determine whether the limited liturgical function imposed upon it during the Reformation had in fact preserved vestiges of late medieval practices. Through the study of Gibbons’ *In A*, the research findings showed that church organs possessed a remarkable facility to transpose. But how long had this function been available to the organist, why had it grown up, and were matters in these islands different to those in continental Europe?

Before the Reformation it was not unusual for English churches to have two, three or four organs located in the various parts of the building where liturgical activity took place; at Durham Cathedral there were as many as five:

There was 3 paire of organs belonginge to the said quire for maintenance of gods service, and the better selebratinge thereof one of the fairest paire of the 3 did stand over the quire dore only opened and playd uppon at principall feastes, the pipes beinge all of most fine wood [...] The second paire stood on the north side of the quire beinge neuer played uppon but when the 4 doctors of the church was read, viz., Augustine Ambrose Gregorye and Jerome beinge a faire paire of large organs called the cryers. The third paire was dayly used at ordinary seruices.⁴⁷⁶

It would follow that these instruments stood at different (absolute) pitches according to their liturgical function—incrementally sharper, for ‘better selebratinge’ the penitential, ferial and

⁴⁷⁵ Title taken from a description of the organ at Sandwich, 1444. (Stephen Bicknell, 'Double organ.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 22 July 2021).)

⁴⁷⁶ From the retrospective account of an earlier situation from *The Rites of Durham*, c. 1593 (as quoted by Edwards in Dotted Crotchet, 'Durham Cathedral,' *The Musical Times* 46, no. 747 (1905), 300-1).

festal offices (the word ‘cryers’ perhaps being a reference not only to the power of the ‘large organs’ but also to their elevated pitch?); even their decoration seems to have reflected their liturgical status.⁴⁷⁷ It is not unreasonable to speculate that each organ may also have been pitched and tuned in a particular mode.

The word ‘organs’—or more accurately the phrase ‘pair of organs’—is frequently observed in late medieval sources.⁴⁷⁸ The specificity of duality is usually likened to an equal partnership, as in the words ‘trousers’ or ‘scissors’—indeed that an organ requires a pair of lungs in order to sustain its tone. However, the present study observes a distinction between ‘organ’ and ‘organs’ may be more pertinent than previously understood.

Ely Cathedral clearly possessed more than one pair of organs in 1396, when a total of £5 ls. 5½d. was spent ‘pro organis ex parte australi ecclese operand. & emendand. [for working on and repairing the organs from the eastern part of the church].’ This bill included ‘In 12 springs empt...3d [Spent on 12 springs...3d].’ Bicknell points out that the 12 springs may imply that the organ had 12 notes.⁴⁷⁹ Numerous contemporary depictions illustrate instruments with a case front containing 12 pipes, which would be consistent with their

⁴⁷⁷ Canterbury Cathedral had a so-called ‘public organ’ on the upper floor of the North Transept, well away from the enclosed Quire. (Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 17.)

⁴⁷⁸ The plural ‘organs’ is from the Latin *organa* (meaning ‘instrument’, as distinct from its singular form *organum* which describes the *organa*’s output), a word probably derived from the Greek *organon* (a ‘tool’, or even a ‘hand tool’: one that has a specific function). The phrase ‘a pair of organs’ is ubiquitous in English from at least the early fourteenth century (Westminster Abbey, 1304) until at least Pepys. To this day, the French and the Spanish refer to organs in the plural. The medieval *hydraulis* at Winchester evidently had two players each in control of his own set of pipes: ‘“Two like-minded brothers” [...] seated at the same bench, each playing his own manual’. (Jean Perrot, *The Organ, from Its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 230.)

⁴⁷⁹ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 18.

compass spanning three interlocking hexachords and the average range of the human voice. More often, however, organs had one more pipe, the 13 steps spanning four interlocking hexachords.⁴⁸⁰ The Greek and Roman water organ, the *hydraulis*, frequently had 12 or 13 pipes, such as that depicted on the third century engraved *sardonix* in the Hertz Collection, British Museum, or on the late 4th century–5th century *Caracalla contorniate* also in the British Museum; and in the fourth-century Tomb inscription of the ‘Rusticus’ organ in Rome.⁴⁸¹ With particular relevance to this study, the early third-century Aquincum organ currently in the Budapest Museum had four rows of 13 pipes, where each rank appears to be tuned differently to each other.⁴⁸²

For the accompaniment of plainsong, a compass of an octave-and-a-half would have been suitable for rendering several modes successfully, but certain modes would always be at a high tessitura. In time, keyboards would gradually incorporate the requisite keys to bring the

⁴⁸⁰ See also the image of an organ with a single row of pipes from the *Prayer Book of St Elizabeth* (13th century) in Vienna National Library. See Case Western Reserve University, ‘Organ (Medieval).’ <<https://caslabs.case.edu/medren/medieval-instruments/organ-medieval>> (Accessed 5 September 2021).

⁴⁸¹ Perrot, *The Organ*, 84-5. See also The British Museum, ‘Contorniate R.4912.’ <www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-4912> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Also Museo della Civiltà Romana, ‘Tomb inscription of Rusticus, with engraved picture of an air-powered organ.’ <www.museociviltaromana.it> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

⁴⁸² Aquincumi Múzeum, ‘The Aquincum organ.’ <www.aquincum.hu> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

total of accidentals to their familiar five.⁴⁸³ Their incorporation allowed for accompanying singing at a comfortable range, but also to provide the inflected tones found in later plainsong.

Transposition was clearly a routine task for the medieval organist, but given that transposing using the same set of pipes can lead to poor intervallic relations, a pair of independently tuned ranks provided a particularly elegant solution. The majority of medieval iconography shows not one, but two rows of pipes: 13 pipes on the front, with mouths facing forwards, matched by 13 pipes on the rear, also facing outwards.⁴⁸⁴ What is more, the two ranks look identical in every way (unlike the depictions of later organs with chromatic keyboards).⁴⁸⁵

Curiously, organologists have overlooked the fact that this two-sided instrument of two identical ranks can well be described as ‘a pair’. (The dual aspect extends to the description of the 1519 Barking organ with its so-called ‘double principals throughout’, and the *circa* 1631 Magdalen College, Oxford organ with two ostensibly identical choruses.) As noted in Part One, there is no convincing musical reason for an expensive duplication of pipes.

⁴⁸³ Kinsela asserts that ‘the keyboard received its full complement of five accidentals not long before notation began.’ (Kinsela, ‘Taxonomy,’ 353.) Liturgical organs were clearly different to the secular instruments evolving independently, whose repertoire may be characterised in the *Robertsbridge Fragment* of *c.* 1355, employing 27 consecutive notes, *cde-ē²*, also the *Faenza Codex*, *c.* 1370, where 24 notes are employed, *c/e-d²ē²*. (Ibid., 367.)

⁴⁸⁴ Perrot, *The Organ*, 270.

⁴⁸⁵ Wikipedia, ‘Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece.’ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Master_of_the_Saint_Bartholomew_Altarpiece> (Accessed 4 September 2021). See also the Charles Van Deursen collection of medieval and renaissance organ images at Charles Van Deursen, ‘Portative Organ Art.’ <www.pinterest.com/cvandeursen3193/portative-organ-art> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Even Perrot, narrating the development of the early organ, questioned the existence of two identical ranks. He was forced to put this almost ubiquitous depiction down to artistic license. (Perrot, *The Organ*, 279.)

Early representations of organs appear haphazard, with randomly appearing black notes and blowing mechanisms; a number even have their pipes ranged from treble to bass. Their key array is generally a less obvious matter: organs, both secular and liturgical, show a wide range of levers, keys and buttons—one row, two rows, sometimes three, often one-and-a-half, occasionally two-and-a-half, and with varying numbers and patterns of white versus black notes. Setting aside artistic license, it is likely these images represented the key array at various stages of development.⁴⁸⁶

In her survey of 287 organs in the miniature drawings of medieval illustrated manuscripts, Marshall comments that ‘two distinct and often identical rows of keys are shown in many illustrations of the organ keyboard’.⁴⁸⁷ She lists 66 portative and positive organs (31 in the fourteenth century and 35 in the fifteenth) with more than one set of keys, visible or implied. Although the quality of depiction is variable, it is possible to interpret this data such that very nearly half of the instruments studied have two rows of buttons.⁴⁸⁸ Marshall, however, rejects the idea that the two rows characterize a second manual, and concludes that the representations are an artistic shortcut to drawing chromatic keys.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Kinsela, ‘Taxonomy,’ 355-8.

⁴⁸⁷ Marshall cites the miniature on f. 108v of the Bodleian’s *Romance of Alexander*, showing a portative keyboard with two rows of buttons. Two rows of buttons are even more explicit on other depictions, namely Lbl Add. MS 28962 f. 281; Lbl MS Cotton Tiberius A. VII/5; Aix BM MS 100, p. 183; Lbl RM MS 7B. viii, f. 3r; Lbl MS Harl 2917, f. 93; Paris, Bib de l’Arsenal MS 601, f. 2v. (Kimberley Marshall, *Iconographical Evidence for the Medieval Organ in French, Flemish and English Manuscripts* (New York: Garland, 1998), 87.)

⁴⁸⁸ At least 18% of instruments are depicted with two rows of buttons, and as many as 47% (dependent on the level of clarity).

⁴⁸⁹ Marshall writes: ‘It is possible that the second row of keys denotes a second manual. This is unlikely, however, because the key arrangement occurs on positives as well as on larger positives. Given the small wind capacity and light weight of portative organs, the presence of a second manual would be

The present study examined a series of realist representations (paintings that were not studied by Marshall), dating from mid-fourteenth to the late-fifteenth century. Four particular depictions, three by Hans Memling (born *c.* 1430–40; died 1494) and one from the School of Van Eyck (Netherlands, fifteenth century), are carefully observed representations; all four depict liturgical instruments being played solo, or accompanying instruments and voices; all have consecutive buttons in two clear rows, and their pipes stand in two identical rows of roughly one-and-half octaves of diatonic, constant scaling.⁴⁹⁰ The paintings, reproduced below, are ‘The Fountain of Grace’ (detail) (after Van Eyck, 1440–50), ‘The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donors’ (detail), also called ‘The Donne Triptych’ (Hans Memling, *c.* 1478), ‘The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine’ (detail) (Hans Memling, *c.* 1480), and ‘God the Father with Singing and Music-making Angels’ (detail) (Hans Memling, 1483–94).⁴⁹¹

impractical. The representation of two identical rows of keys might be interpreted as an artistic shortcut to drawing a keyboard where the chromatic keys are interspersed between the diatonic keys of a modern keyboard. But it would surely have been easier to insert small chromatic keys between the diatonic keys, rather than drawing extra additional row to depict interspersed chromatic keys.’ Marshall concludes that the depictions carrying two rows of buttons are ‘a result of inexact copying of other miniatures rather than an inaccurate portrayal of instruments observed in real life.’ She goes on to suggest that these keyboards may have existed in this way in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ‘as an intermediate stage between a diatonic keyboard and a chromatic keyboard with interspersed keys for the chromatic note.’ (Ibid., 87–8.)

⁴⁹⁰ The pipe array of the detailed Renaissance organ portraits is wider than an octave, and, given the constant scaling of the pipes (which renders a shallower pipe array than scaled pipes), suggests the octave-and-a-half tessitura.

⁴⁹¹ Other fine representations are to be found in the frescos of *St Cecilia* by Andrea di Bonaiuto da Firenze (1365) in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. (‘Detail of the frescoes (Andrea di Bonaiuto da Firenze) in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.’ <www.flickr.com/photos/mirjam75/552110112/> (Accessed 4 September 2021).) Also in *The Coronation of the Virgin* by Catarino di Marco da Venezia (*c.* 1375). (‘Coronation of the Virgin (Catarino di Marco da Venezia).’ <www.gallerieaccademia.it/en/coronation-virgin-1> (Accessed 4 September 2021).) Also the *Angel Musician from the Reliquary of St Ursula* by Hans Memling (*c.* 1489). (Art in Flanders, ‘Angel Musician from the Reliquary of St Ursula (Hans Memling).’ <<https://artinflanders.be/en/artwork/reliquary-saint-ursula-55>> (Accessed 4 September 2021).)

It is striking that in so many of the images studied, the player's whole hand is raised into the upper set of keys. This would suggest that the upper set was particularly useful.

Some realist representations of Dual Diatonic organs



Picture 18: 'The Fountain of Grace' (detail) (after Van Eyck, 1440–50).⁴⁹²

⁴⁹² Museo del Prado, 'The Fountain of Grace (Jan van Eyck).' <www.museodelprado.es> (Accessed 4 September 2021).



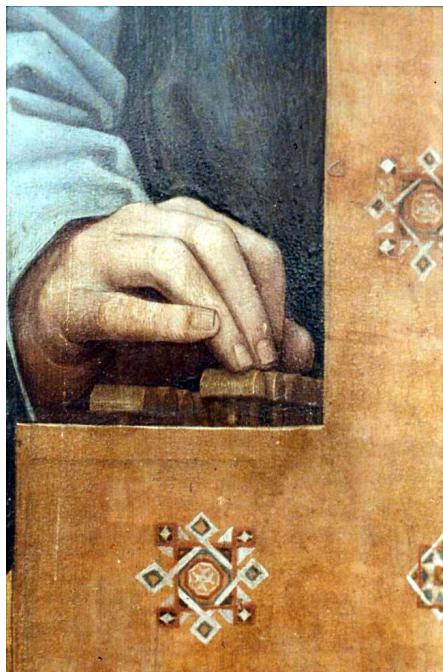
Picture 19: 'The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donors' (detail), also called 'The Donne Triptych' (Hans Memling, c. 1478).⁴⁹³

⁴⁹³ The National Gallery, 'The Donne Triptych (Hans Memling).'
<www.nationalgallery.org.uk>
(Accessed 4 September 2021).

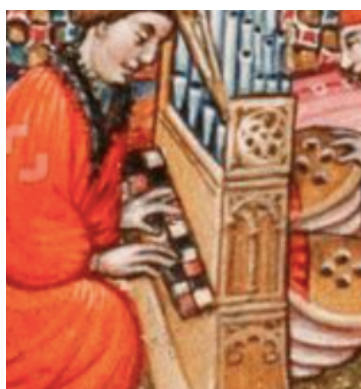


Picture 20: 'The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine' (detail) (Hans Memling, *c.* 1480).⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ Met Museum, 'Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Barbara (Hans Memling).'
<www.metmuseum.org> (Accessed 4 September 2021).



Picture 21: 'God the Father with Singing and Music-making Angels' (detail) (Hans Memling, 1483–94).⁴⁹⁵



Picture 22: Various coloured keys in the *Book of Hours of King Alfonso V*, 1442 (Lbl MS Add. 28962).

⁴⁹⁵ 'God the Father with Singing and Music-making Angels (Hans Memling).'
<www.kmska.be/en/collection/artworks/christ-with-singing-and-music-making-angels> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

Dual Diatonic

In 1949 Mendel prepared an engaging paper for *Acta Musicologica* in which he raised numerous questions both about the transposing functions (and the transposed states) of organs before 1600. Working with Praetorius' understanding that 'two keyboards evolved, both without "black" keys: one, the "♮ dur" with keys for "B[♮] c d e f g a b[♮] c' d' e' f' ", 'the other, the "b mol" for "c d e f g a b[♭] c' d' e' f' g' a' ".⁴⁹⁶ Mendel tried to ascertain (i) whether these two keyboards coexisted in a single organ, and (ii) whether they were at the same pitch or at different pitches, by putting forward a series of four 'arrangements' for the placement of keys for each manual.⁴⁹⁶ Towards the end of the paper, almost as an aside, Mendel set out a further two arrangements, where the nominal pitches were placed a second apart from each other, acknowledging Schlick's enthusiasm for shifting by this interval.⁴⁹⁷ Mendel's sixth arrangement, with the 'b moll' keyboard placed a second lower than the '♮ dur' he considered 'would be thoroughly practical', but immediately dismissed it, as 'it seems sophisticated, and we know nothing in the sources that points to anything like [that of arrangement 6]'.⁴⁹⁸

Taking Mendel's discarded hypothesis as a starting point (and by flipping the keyboards over) gives the key pattern shown in Figure 2:⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ Mendel, 'Devices for Transposition in the Organ before 1600,' 25.

⁴⁹⁷ See p. 125.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 39.

⁴⁹⁹ The reason for flipping over becomes clear at Figure 4: the flat notes thus appear on the top set of buttons, as they would develop in the *Obertasten*. (Kinsela, 'Taxonomy,' 355.)

c	d	e	f	g	a	b \flat	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'
B	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	

Figure 2: Dual diatonic—nominal pitches separated by a second.⁵⁰⁰

Another pipe added to the top note of the lower set completes the key pattern but, more importantly, increases versatility in the available transpositions (see below). The resulting key pattern is of two sets of 13 buttons:

c			f				c'			f'		
	c			f				c'			f'	

Figure 3: Dual diatonic keyboard layout, with only the nominal *tritus* tones marked.

⁵⁰⁰ N.B. The pitches are not of the Helmholtz system.

Perrot provided clear evidence that these pitches (relative to their common unison) were precisely those of the very early medieval organs. His interpretation of tenth and eleventh-century sources via Anonymous of Berne, in the eleventh century *Berne Codex*, showed that some organs sounded the ‘doh scale’, as he called it, whilst others sounded the ‘lah scale’ (or the second Gregorian mode, called *protus plagal*).⁵⁰¹ Rearranging the nominal pitches to align with pairs of sounding pitches (the duplicated pipes of identical organ fronts) gives the following:

B♭	c	d	e♭	f	g	a♭	b♭	c'	d'	e♭'	f'	g'
B	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	(g')

Figure 4: Dual diatonic—relative sounding pitch.

It is observed that the majority of the pipes will now be visually paired (c-c, d-d, f-f, g-g, c'-c', d'-d' and f'-f'), and the five sharper pipes of each other pair (the single pipes B, e, a, b and e) can be internally modified to maintain the aesthetic of two sets of identical tubes.

With the *tritus* tones c and f keys marked onto the relevant keys as in Figure 3, notation, via analogous c and f clefs, is extremely simple to navigate.⁵⁰² Such an arrangement

⁵⁰¹ Perrot, *The Organ*, 259–60.

⁵⁰² A consideration is that the keynotes may have been coloured darker or lighter than intervening

allows instant transposition by a minor third, simply by the use of the upper or the lower set of buttons. Yet this already versatile key arrangement has the potential to achieve so much more: with a modicum of skill on the player's part—tantamount to today's piano student knowing to reach up to the black keys in order to strike the B^b needed for the scale of F Major—not one, but four transpositions of all seven modes can be accessed—see Table 3.

buttons, in which case depictions would have revealed something akin to the modern keyboard repeated pattern of 2 and 3 accidentals. Evidence to suggest that keynotes were coloured survives in a depiction in the *Book of Hours of King Alfonso V*, 1442 (Lbl Add. MS 28962) reproduced on p. 184. Just as in Figure 3, their *tritus* tones do not line up and have large and small spaces interspersed between.

		starting note of simple presentations of the mode	transposition requiring one substitution N.B. the substitution is noted in brackets
Dorian	upper set	f	c (a)
	lower set	d	g (b ^b)
Phrygian	upper set	g	d (a)
	lower set	e	a (b ^b) *
Lydian	upper set	a ^b *	e ^b (a) also B ^b (e, a) **
	lower set	f	B (B ^b / b ^b)
Mixolydian	upper set	B ^b	f (a)
	lower set	g	c (b ^b)
Aeolian	upper set	c	g (a)
	lower set	a *	d (b ^b)
Lochrian	upper set	d	a ^b (a) *
	lower set	B	e (b ^b)
Ionian	upper set	e ^b	B ^b (a)
	lower set	c	f (b ^b)

* The expected highest note is out of range, suggesting that these transpositions are unsuitably high. Transposed down the octave is likewise out of range.

** This scale is also available on the upper set of keys starting at the low B^b, incorporating the two substitutions e and a.

Table 3: Available transpositions in the Dual Diatonic system.

Several valuable points emerge from this analysis:

1. With the exception of the instances marked with * above, where the upper note falls out of range, music is very easily presented in two tessituras, a higher one and a lower one; their ranges are separated by the interval of a minor third.⁵⁰³
2. Each mode generally has two more transpositions available, one a tone higher than high presentation, the other a tone lower.
3. The available transpositions span a perfect fifth (with the exception of Phrygian and Lochrian where it is a perfect fourth).⁵⁰⁴
4. The pitch difference between a manual's presentation and its transposition is a perfect fourth.⁵⁰⁵
5. The substitutions fall into two categories, where b^b 's and a^b 's are exchanged for their equivalent lettername from the other manual.
6. Chromatic inflections are not possible to every transposition.⁵⁰⁶

To summarize, putting the two diatonic systems together on one organ does seem rather sophisticated, as Mendel suggested, but three pieces of clear evidence point to the existence of such an arrangement on late medieval organs: firstly, that two sets of identical looking ranks of pipes are common to countless contemporaneous images; secondly, that two rows of identical looking keys/buttons are clearly visible in a number of realist images; and thirdly, that a plausible account of relative pipe lengths reveals the existence of two complementary

⁵⁰³ The usefulness of transposition by a minor third relates to Nicola Vicentino's (1511–1575 or 1576) comment that 'modes are transposed a minor third or a whole tone downwards [...] for practical reasons'. (1555 *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* pp. 46r–47v.) Transposition by a minor third was also valued by Michael Praetorius.

⁵⁰⁴ The transpositions thus relate directly to the *chiavette* transpositions known to keyboard players of the sixteenth century. See p. 123. It also eloquently feeds Gwynne and Goetze's hunch that 'techniques of transposition by the player, which may have been quite subtle (by a fourth, a fifth or a tone).' (Gwynn, 'Wetheringsett Organ: New Organ in Tudor Style.')

⁵⁰⁵ Relating to the fourth-fifth keying aspects explored in Part One: 'A Pandora's Box of pitches'.

⁵⁰⁶ For information on the notational suppression of these irregular semitones see Rebecca Maloy, 'Scolica Enchiriadis and the 'Non-Diatonic' Plainsong Tradition,' *Early Music History* 28 (2009).

diatonic systems in use from the tenth century onwards. This seems to supply the missing evidence that *cantus durus* and *cantus mollis* keyboards could have been set one above the other—a fact that Mendel (and, for that matter, Praetorius) thought possible, but could find no proof.

This conclusion supports the proposal that these ‘tools’ for liturgical accompaniment had grown up as ‘pairs of organs’, with their dual tonalities providing inherent transposition capabilities, and where alternate keying was an integral feature. Such practises lingered on in Britain while transposition remained a common task, but were swept away in the early years of the Restoration, when English organ design took a leap forward into the Early Modern period, and where the desire on the part of the player was to move the listener.

Chapter Three: A Survey of Ornamentation Practices in Restoration Organ Music 1660–1705⁵⁰⁷

Introduction

English instruction manuals only set out to explain what may have been expected of performers in a domestic and amateur context; sadly, there is no single table for English organ music, neither any known descriptions of its ornamental practices. The written-out decorations found in the sources of Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries therefore give an unique insight into a new, highly stylized performance practice. Gibbons' role for the organ is unlike anything that came before. Here the expressive liberties of French and Italian keyboard and vocal practice mix with long-established local virtuosic influences. A performance of the double-organ voluntaries that totally embraces Gibbons' decorative system—with all manner of flourishes, initial and terminating turns, appoggiaturas of varying speeds of execution, and particularly the distinctive long appoggiatura—renders an effect approaching a typical French organ *dialogue*, and whose graces, likewise, are but a step away from the exuberance contained in d'Anglebert's *Marques*.⁵⁰⁸ Yet, examination of the fashion

⁵⁰⁷ The upper parameter is borrowed from 'Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts' of Herissone, *Musical Creativity*. Herissone explains, 'The *terminus ad quem* for the catalogue has been set at approximately 1705, but this is of course a largely arbitrary date, which cannot be applied consistently since many sources cannot be dated with precision. For manuscripts clearly copied after *c.* 1700, the overriding criterion for inclusion has been evidence of continuity with Restoration repertory, approaches and functions.'

⁵⁰⁸ Reproduced on p. 235.

for French gracing from around the time of the height of Purcell's powers observes that English music was not merely under the spell of a prominent *goût français*, but rather it had, over the course of the previous 50 years, absorbed, amplified and systematized the theatrical, rhetorical graces of indigenous instrumental practice, over which time decorative influences had passed freely between France and England. It is argued that Christopher Gibbons' experimental work from the early Restoration Period played a significant role in shaping ornamental practices that would in turn influence the expressive ideals of the high Baroque.

Organ Culture immediately prior to the Restoration

Music History would have us understand that the dazzling virginalists, who were indeed organists, enjoyed parallel notoriety in their careers at church.⁵⁰⁹ Actual evidence for this is scarce. Smith charts through seventeenth-century England the changing taste at court and the changing role of keyboard music in society.⁵¹⁰ Rayner adds to this picture the 'sudden disappearance' of the Virginalist School and notes a period of barrenness immediately caused by the death of the major Elizabethan composers Byrd (died 1623), Bull (died 1628) and Orlando Gibbons (died 1625).⁵¹¹ But examining the sources there is nothing to suggest

⁵⁰⁹ Candace Bailey, 'Orlando Gibbons, Keyboard Music, and the beginnings of the Baroque: New Considerations of a Musical Style,' *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 37, no. 2 (2006), 140-2.

⁵¹⁰ David Smith in Andrew Woolley and John Kitchen, eds. *Interpreting historical keyboard music: sources, contexts and performance* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2016), 22.

⁵¹¹ Rayner, 'A Little-Known Seventeenth-Century Composer,' 28-9. Rayner goes on to table the composers who had died in the decade or so between before 1633: Edmund Hooper (d. 1621), Peter Philips (d. 1628), John Danyel (d. 1630), Thomas Campion (d. 1620), Robert Johnson (d. 1633), Thomas Bateson (d. 1630), John Cooper/Coprario (d. c. 1626), Thomas Weelkes (d. 1623), Alfonso Ferrabosco (d. 1628), Philip Rosseter (d. 1623), John Parsons (d. 1623), Nicholas Strogers (d. 1625), Michael Cavendish (d. 1628) and Richard Dering (d. 1630). Further, one might also add the deaths of composers and/or organists in the period stretching into the Commonwealth: John Dowland (d.

that the quiet role of the church organ had altered much at all in the period from mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century, even in the repertoires passed down to us by these famous men, with a period of a musical optimism under Elizabeth's rule that developed the Chaire and inspired the development of the organ-led verse anthem.⁵¹² But a decade later the organ passed into deliberate neglect before being completely silenced by an ordinance of lords and commons, and the organ, its players and its culture were all but swept away, as unwelcome remnants of England's past.

Bailey explores what she believes to be a flourishing organ culture in the South West based on patterns of transmission of the keyboard fantasias of Orlando Gibbons.⁵¹³ Whilst Orlando's fantasias may have been actively studied by musicians working in the Royalist cities which form 'a belt from Exeter and Bristol to Canterbury' (as Bailey suggests), their use in the liturgy is extremely doubtful. The historical facts relating to liturgical music simply suggest nothing of the secure contribution to Divine Service that had established itself early on in north German Lutheranism, neither the secular-civic use of organs tolerated in the mid-seventeenth century by the Dutch Reformed Church.⁵¹⁴ English clerics increasingly pursued

1626), John Holmes (d. 1629), Nicholas Carleton, (d. 1630), Richard Dering (d. 1630), John Munday (d. 1630), George Kirbye (d. 1634), Adrian Batten (d. 1637), Elway Bevin (d. 1638), John Wilbye (d. 1638), Giles Farnaby (d. 1640), John Amner (d. 1641), William Lawes (d. 1645), John Luge (d. c. 1647), Hugh Facy (d. c. 1649), Edward Gibbons (d. c. 1650), Martin Peerson (d. 1651), Benjamin Cosyn (d. 1653), Richard Portman (d. 1655 or 1659) and Thomas Tomkins (d. 1656).

⁵¹² See Chapter Two: Music for a Double-Organ. Also that the organ seems to have enjoyed healthy times supported ultimately by Laud's liturgical reforms of the 1630s. Bicknell notes encouragement for building organs through the Laudian Revival. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 69-90.

⁵¹³ Bailey, 'Orlando Gibbons, Keyboard Music, and the beginnings of the Baroque: New Considerations of a Musical Style,' 144.

⁵¹⁴ Following the Resolutions of the Church Council of the Hague, 1641. (Bruinsma, 'The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640,' 212.)

Genevan reforming ideals which ended superfluous fancy and ostentation, and that put organs and organists firmly in their place.

In his preface to Orlando Gibbons' organ works, Knizia highlights the interchangeability of the organist's repertoire: here he proposes the pieces' usefulness to an ecclesiastical setting.⁵¹⁵ Yet, a work as florid and ornamental as William Brown's (fl. c. 1600–25) Toccata in Och Mus. 89, or Byrd's *Fancie*, No. 41 from *My Ladye Nevells Booke*, could simply have had no place in Divine Service.⁵¹⁶ Divorced from the two key areas of the organ's slim liturgical remit—namely, supporting the congregation's understanding of the Word, and accompanying the singing—this music would have been a diversion considered 'secular' at best, and sacrilegious at worst.⁵¹⁷ Seemingly only short passages of solo music were permitted by the authorities, to be played between the psalms and the first lesson, at the conclusion of the Litany, before the anthem, to cover movement, or to introduce the psalm or anthem.⁵¹⁸

The paucity of pieces specifically written for solo organ is usually explained by notions of organbooks being destroyed in the religious upheavals of the middle of the century—which is of course entirely plausible—also that organists were expert improvisers who anyway did not need their materials to be written down. Arguably, Orlando left some of the most

⁵¹⁵ Gibbons, *Werke für Orgel*, vi.

⁵¹⁶ *My Ladye Nevells Booke*, Lbl MS Mus. 1591. Brown's Toccata was likely written for the Jesuit College at Liège. (John Caldwell, and Alan Brown, 'Brown [?Browne], William [Brouno, Bruno; Guillermo, Guillermo; 'La Janetton'].', *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 12 September 2021).)

⁵¹⁷ As discussed above in Chapter Two: Introduction.

⁵¹⁸ In some churches organists played between the psalms, as two sources of Robert Parsons' *Preces and Psalms* 6–7 bear out with the rubric 'heare ye organs doe play' (Ojc MS 180, f. 6).

inventive, confident offerings within the genre. He was, after all, the most senior organist in the land: his organ output speaks of a confidence untroubled by religious reform: a natural progression from an optimism for liturgical musical expression encouraged in the first 20 years of Elizabeth's reign; the nature of these works also seems to fit well with the ideals promoted in Laud's liturgical reforms in the years immediately following Orlando's death. Yet, looking more critically at this body of works, it is difficult to be entirely convinced that this is original organ music at all, save two short 'intonations'.⁵¹⁹ Harder still would be to accept that this is music conceived for an ecclesiastical setting, as Knizia proposes.⁵²⁰ In fact, the word 'organ' is not used, save for one piece, *A ffancy for a double Orgaine*, and here the epithet unhelpfully amplifies the work's idiomatic importance as such, and because it was copied during the composer's lifetime, it has been generally assumed to have a stronger association with the composer's compositional intentions and performance practice than other extant items transmitted posthumously.⁵²¹ This study's examination reveals this to be a compilation work—sadly there is no alternative source with which to corroborate—and, as the work of Orlando Gibbons, *A ffancy for a double Orgaine* should now be discounted.⁵²² But a

⁵¹⁹ Nos. 3 and 4: contrapuntally-crafted vignettes of a single point, that set the pitch, tempo and mood. However, the authorship of these pieces is in doubt.

⁵²⁰ Knizia explains: 'The present edition offers a selection of [Orlando] Gibbons's keyboard compositions, which are essentially well-suited to the organ. Although any of his works could be played on the organ, this selection draws on pieces that could be destined for performance in an ecclesiastical setting. All the pieces except one could also be played on other keyboard instruments, especially the virginal or harpsichord.' (Gibbons, *Werke für Orgel*, vi.)

⁵²¹ *A ffancy for a double Orgaine* from *The Cosyn Virginals Book* (Lbl RM MS 23.1.4, ff. 102v–103r).

⁵²² Note in the first instance a crude juncture at b. 27, where an inexperienced melodic tritone heralds a change of melodic material, rhythmic energy, contrapuntal character and indeed the number of voices. The first section (up to the end of b. 26) is reminiscent of *A Short Preludiu of 4 parts*, although it is greatly inferior in coherence and character. The second section (bb. 27–128) contains trivial, workaday imitation, poorly phrased in two and three-bar periods, whose crude harmonic in-fill

piece of solo organ music it most surely is—likely made for social or recreational purposes and to be played on the Double C (CC) Organ in Cosyn’s private Chapel at the Charterhouse.⁵²³

Perhaps more typical of provincial liturgical music is the repertory contained in F-Pn Rés 1186, in the hand of Robert Creighton (1593–1672).⁵²⁴ Essentially a keyboard book, it includes copies, transcriptions and arrangements of vocal and instrumental music, representing a snapshot of musical activity of the pre-war years.⁵²⁵ Here, the sacred rubs shoulders with the secular: on the one hand, there are liturgical accompaniments and solos, hymn and psalm arrangements; on the other hand, dances, variation sets, join madrigals, Scottish airs, and popular tunes both old and new. There are also very many solos and accompaniments by Byrd.⁵²⁶ Orlando Gibbons is represented too, in a voluntary of two short

contains little valuable melodic or contrapuntal interest. It speaks nothing of the usual finesse of his interlocking phrasing and tumbling imitation, the sprung rhythms and heightened climaxes always recognizable in Orlando Gibbons. Particularly weak and anonymous are the sections at bb. 57–65, 74–83, and especially at bb. 99–105 and bb. 116–122 (bar numbers from *Ibid.*). Conversely, some sections are good (e.g. bb. 123–7), but could well have been written by any competent performer-composer of the period. A further ‘join’ at b. 128 ushers in a brilliant last section, texturally and harmonically more far-reaching than the foregoing: 29 bars of tight, invertible counterpoint, realized in four-part texture. (The first section was too in four voices.) This brilliant final section now demonstrates why Cosyn had cause to honour Orlando’s name! A prodigious composer, copyist and arranger, Cosyn contributed around 50 pieces to the companion volume known as *The Bull-Cosyn MS* (F-Pn Rés 1185 (olim 18548)), most of which were either composed or transcribed by him.

⁵²³ For a suggested explanation of the terms ‘ten.’ and ‘base’ in this and in No. 11. See above, Chapter Two: Repertory for the English double-organ.

⁵²⁴ Robert Creighton (1593–1672), an amateur musician, was at this point Regius Professor of Greek and public orator of Oxford University, and canon residentiary and treasurer of Wells Cathedral. A figure central to the Restoration story, from his being King’s Chaplain to Charles I, he was to follow the young Prince Charles in exile as a member of the court, becoming Chaplain to the restored king.

⁵²⁵ The MS is dated to the latter half of the decade. (Creighton’s own compositions include on f. 22r a simple keyboard triple-time dance, dated 1638; f. 40r has a simpler dance very much in Renaissance style, dated 1635; f. 92 is dated 1636.) It likely spans a wider period of compilation than these dates imply.

⁵²⁶ Creighton should well have been aware of Byrd’s legacy through a previous association as prebendary

sections, 20 and 13 bars respectively.⁵²⁷ A simpler side to his keyboard output is noted—one that should have certainly made it into the collected editions. But, as is usual for this composer, the music is melody-led, with well-paced phrasal harmonic flow, at once preparing the momentum to shape harmonic peaks, then relaxing into natural cadences; the small amount of polyphonic interplay is supported by a bass-line that is both simple and directional.⁵²⁸

In conclusion, Puritan ideals of worship dictated that music must be sincere, stolid and staid, unadventurous, unobtrusive and devoid of show; likewise, the timbre of the instrument was softly spoken, pure and polite. Organists knew not to upset religious sensibilities or cross any lines of decency with the ecclesiastical authorities.⁵²⁹

Manuscripts from before the civil wars show organ music—perhaps better ‘music possibly suited to performance on the organ’—falling into five distinct categories, namely:

at Lincoln Minster.

⁵²⁷ Although the title does not imply it, this is likely two separate voluntaries.

⁵²⁸ A similar sobriety is to be found in the Voluntary in A Minor in the Cummings’ collection, the original now lost but preserved as the first item in John E West, ed. *Old English Organ Music, No. 31* (London: Novello, n.d.). Such is this work’s simplicity, that scholars—including the meticulous Harley—appear to have missed it entirely. The smooth part-writing, sequential elements and control of harmonic tension all point to Gibbons’ true liturgical organ style.

⁵²⁹ As early as 1569 Byrd was severely reprimanded, suspended without pay at Lincoln Minster, for organ playing regarded as ‘too popish’. (Joseph Kerman, and Kerry McCarthy, ‘Byrd, William.’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 12 September 2021).) In 1630 Thomas Warrock Jr, Gibbons’s successor at the Chapel Royal, was prohibited by the Dean (for the whole month of March) from playing ‘verses on the organ at service tyme [...] by reason of his insufficiency for that solemn service.’ (Peter Le Huray. *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 71.)

Virtuoso music for Virginals; Consort transcriptions and accompaniments; Anthem and Psalm accompaniments; Compositions based on Plainsong; Solo liturgical music.

A survey of music from immediately prior to the Restoration suitable for performance on the organ

i) Virtuoso music for Virginals

The richly elaborate repertory of music for Virginals seems to have been interchangeable between the different types of keyboard instruments at a players' disposal, and possibly used for a variety of music-making purposes.⁵³⁰ And, while works such as Byrd's *A fancie* from *My Ladye Nevells Booke* are indeed playable on the organ, likewise Tomkins' *Voluntary: August 10, 1647*, a keyboard style as ostentatious as this could not have found its place within English Reformation liturgy.⁵³¹ They may have been used in a secular setting, such as when an organ was played at dinner, and in the private rooms of patrons.⁵³² Whilst there are relatively few ornamental signs (all of the double-stroke kind), the many rapid scales and thrilling rising sequences will doubtless have raised Puritan hackles.⁵³³

⁵³⁰ A note in Knizia's preface to Orlando Gibbons' organ works sums this up admirably. (See Footnote 520.) Aitken explains further: 'That was certainly the intention of the continental tablatures which, from Paumann's "*Fundamentum organisandi*," 1452 (said to be the oldest Organ School extant), resemble "*Mulliner's Book*" in consisting of transcriptions of songs, elaborations upon plainsong tunes, a few verses and very few compositions of an independent character.' (Aitken, 'The Voluntary: 1550 and after,' 250.)

⁵³¹ Byrd's *A fancie* is published as organ music in Volume 2 of James Dalton, ed. *Faber Early Organ Series* (London: Faber & Faber, 1998). The broken left-hand accompaniment at bb. 46–7 is however not organ-like. Tomkins' Voluntary is published as organ music in Stephen Tuttle, ed. *Nine Organ Pieces* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1955).

⁵³² For instance when the Merchant Taylors Company entertained King James on 16 July 1607: 'whilst the KING sate at dinner [...] [Bull played] the most excellent melodie upon a small payre of organes' which were specially brought in for the occasion. (Walter Thornbury, 'Threadneedle Street,' in *Old and New London: Volume 1* (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878).)

⁵³³ It is noted that the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* contains very little ornamentation throughout; it is predominantly of the double-stroke variety.

ii) Consort transcriptions and accompaniments

Judging by the number of three and four-part contrapuntal pieces preserved in short-score, Jacobean players must have enjoyed collecting, studying, crafting and performing music conceived in the consort style. Transcriptions of viol consorts, along with the organ parts themselves, are to be found alongside countless arrangements of popular airs and dances. Such material forms the majority of examples within the present subheading, yet, notwithstanding that music for viol consort was undoubtedly a favoured style amongst Puritans, it remains highly doubtful as to whether its performance was encouraged liturgically. It is feasible that this style of music was tolerated in some churches on account of its unchallenging sobriety and rational logic, but for many Puritans, the music's association with times of recreation would have been at odds with the serious intent of Divine Service.

The fine line between consort transcription and solo organ music is crossed in the anonymous untitled movement found in Och Mus. 1113 (p. 162) which, on closer inspection, is an transcription of a three-part *Fantasia* for strings by Coperario, extended into a longer work.⁵³⁴ Notwithstanding its beginnings as music for string consort, its extension legitimises it as true organ music.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁴ The *Fantasia à 3* (RC 11; VdGS 5; Meyer 7, also John Coperario, 'Fantasia for 3 Viols, RC 11.' <[https://imslp.org/wiki/Fantasia_for_3_Viols%2C_RC_11_\(Coperario%2C_John\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Fantasia_for_3_Viols%2C_RC_11_(Coperario%2C_John))> (Accessed 12 September 2021).) While Cox states that the opening point is identical to that of Coperario's *Fantasia à 3* for strings, he seems to have missed the fact that the latter shares 13 of its 26 bars with this work. (See page v. of the preface of Volume 2 of Dalton, *Faber Early Organ Series*.) Och Mus. 1113 is a keyboard book containing works of Italian and English origin, copied by an unidentified English scribe probably in the 1620s.

⁵³⁵ See also A tradition of extensio (p. 318).

A lack of ornament signs gives a further clue as to the original purpose of other works in this collection, for instance that by Cosyn at page 133. Consistently in three rigidly imitative parts, its texture recalls the interplay of consort music. Another tell-tale issue is the presence of many harmonic gaps in the harmony, likely filled in performance by the continuo player.⁵³⁶ The aforementioned Coprario work too contains pronounced harmonic gaps within its first, transcribed section, but crucially not in the newly-composed part. Its companion piece on page 137 also requires the continuo player to bind the two upper parts to an extremely low, separated-out bass part. Odd spacing, the crossing of parts, little ornamentation and the duplication and sharing of notes betray the original compositional purpose of these transcriptions.⁵³⁷

iii) Anthem and Psalm accompaniments

Countless accompaniments are found in organbooks of the day, many with just the soprano and bass notated, their inner parts left presumably to be filled out by the organist. Metrical Psalm accompaniments fall into this category too, such as the beautiful settings of Psalm 67 and Psalm 4 on f. 16r of F-Pn Rés 1186.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Further, missing harmony notes and patches of sparse imitation suggest that Tomkins' [Fancy] *July 8 1647* (No. 23 of *Musica Britannica* Vol. 5) may have originated as a five-part consort work, here transcribed into a somewhat uneven-textured transcription of mainly four-parts, occasionally five. (Thomas: Tomkins, *Keyboard Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1955).) While chords without thirds is not in itself of great import, it is noted that there are decidedly few examples in seventeenth-century English organ music.

⁵³⁷ Similarly devoid of ornamentation is a voluntary by Facy in US-NYp MS 5611, p. 6. Striking here—but also unidiomatic—is the very low texture of passages, such as bb. 27–31, 39–43.

⁵³⁸ The notes and rhythms fit texts from *Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalter*. (Sternhold, Thomas, John Hopkins and Others, *The Whole Book of Psalms Collected into English Metre* (London: John Day, 1562).)

iv) Compositions based on Plainsong

An intriguing area of composition is the plainsong-based music found in sources throughout the English Reformation, right up to the Restoration. It follows a tradition of *cantus firmus*-based settings stretching back into English Catholic history, when the organ played its *alternatim* role with the choir, for Psalms, Antiphons, Offertories and suchlike. Observers have generally assumed that the post-Reformation performance of pieces connected with the abolished Latin Rite were intended for the organ, on account of their unambiguous religious foundation.⁵³⁹ Pre-Reformation examples were generally a single part grounded onto the sustained notes of the *cantus firmus*, such as those by John Redford (died 1547), whereas post-Reformation English samples are fairly consistently in three parts—or as Morley has it, ‘two parts vpon a plainesong’.⁵⁴⁰ Performance of the liturgical items contained in *The Mulliner Book* and in the later *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* may have been intended for the organ, but their performance in church is questioned.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ With the Act of Uniformity of 1559, the Use of Sarum became all but impossible to celebrate outside seminaries, and even they were ultimately suppressed. (Catholic Online Catholic Encyclopedia, ‘Sarum Rite [Sarum Use].’ <www.catholic.org/encyclopedia> (Accessed 12 September 2021).)

⁵⁴⁰ Morley, *Plaine and Easie*, 126. See also the foregoing footnote. The full quote is ‘to make two parts vpon a plainesong is more hard then to make three partes into voluntary...’. Whilst the present context surrounds the setting of an actual Gregorian Chant, Morley uses the word ‘plainsong’ to signify the setting of any pre-existing or pre-conceived melody, whether original or made up. (Alan Brown, ‘Invented Plainsongs in Keyboard Settings Ascribed to Tomkins and Gibbons,’ *Music & Letters* 95, no. 1 (2014).)

⁵⁴¹ John Caldwell, ‘Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660,’ *Musica Disciplina* 19 (1965), 129. Caldwell notes that the keyboard settings ‘served a useful purpose as technical exercises for both composers and performers; and the art of descanting upon a plainsong was still a part of the normal training of a composer by the time Morley came to write *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).’ But Morley does not associate the activity of ‘descanting upon a plainsong’ with the organ, nor even with the keyboard: as already observed above (p. 101), here it is in relation to ‘the setting of song’. The expression ‘the plain song’ was still in common parlance, as seen from the title-page of *Sternhold and Hopkins’ Psalter* published in the final year of the sixteenth century. Here, the ‘plain song’ is synonymous with the ‘Psalm Melody’ or ‘common tunne’. But neither the organ nor any keyboard instrument is mentioned; in fact, other instruments are invited, since the singing of

Of the music being presently discussed, the category of three-part plainsong-based compositions represents the greatest body of work, and also the most carefully preserved. The very final manifestations of the genre, leading right up to the eve of the Restoration, are by Orlando Gibbons and Tomkins.⁵⁴² Caldwell discusses the notion that such works may stem from a string tradition.⁵⁴³ Hugh Facy's *Ave maris stella* is typical of these settings: nothing stands out as particularly idiomatic for performance on the organ; and the great separation between the hands (here *C-a* and *b-b*^{b2} [the original notation is *c*³]), although possible on the organ, seems much better suited to bass and treble instruments, the treble passage at bar 14, and in the bass at bars 32–4, being particularly string-like in character.⁵⁴⁴ Works of this kind emanating from South West England may belong to a tradition of adherence to Catholic

psalms was both a domestic act of worship, as well as a public one. (See Richard Alison, *The Psalmes of David* (London: William Barley, 1599).) The last keyboard pieces to be based on Sarum melodies were written by Tomkins between 1647 and 1652. He wrote them down in F-Pc Rés 1122, into which he had copied a *Gloria tibi Trinitas* by Byrd and many of Bull's *In nomine* settings. Irving holds his cards closely to his chest that Tomkins' 19 liturgical pieces (see footnote 542 following) were ever performed in church, not least because 'only one (the *Offertory*, *Musica Britannica* Vol. 5, No. 21, dated 1637) certainly predates the cessation of services in Worcester Cathedral on 23 July 1646.' He echoes Caldwell, saying that Tomkins' settings of the *In Nomines* were 'more of a compositional pastime than a serious liturgical practice'. (John Irving, 'The instrumental music of Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656)', diss., University of Sheffield, 1984, 33.)

⁵⁴² 19 such plainsong settings by Tomkins are known to survive, printed as Nos. 4–21 and 68 of Tomkins, *Keyboard Music*. Of the 198 pieces contained in Lbl Add. MS 29996—a volume which Tomkins appears to have owned and to which he contributed (in 1647)—some 110 pieces are plainsong based, including 23 settings by Redford, 20 *Miserere* settings by Thomas Woodson (d. after 1605) and 13 anonymous *Miserere* settings; eight anonymous settings of *Felix namque*. (See Irving, 'The instrumental music of Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656)', 32–51. Also Caldwell, 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660.' Supplemented by John Caldwell, 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660 (*Musica Disciplina*, Vol. XIX, 1965, 129–153). Addenda Et Corrigenda,' *Musica Disciplina* 34 (1980). Also Brown, 'Invented Plainsongs in Keyboard Settings Ascribed to Tomkins and Gibbons.' Also RISM UK, <<http://uk.rism-ch.org/catalog/800268373>> (Accessed 12 September 2021).)

⁵⁴³ Caldwell notes this distinction in those pieces entitled *In Nomine*, reserved for arrangements, as opposed to the title *Gloria tibi Trinitas* for original keyboard works. (Caldwell, 'Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660,' 129–30.)

⁵⁴⁴ US-NYp MS 5611, p. 8.

ceremony, still very much alive, and publicly so, in the far-flung reaches of the West Country.⁵⁴⁵

A distinctive feature of this style composition is that the plainsong runs throughout in long notes of equal length—a full bar’s length (or two repeated notes per bar, in even note lengths or sometimes in rhythm), regardless of changes in time signature—in the upper or middle voice (infrequently in the bass), where two parts of free imitation sound alongside, but where the *cantus firmus* stands firm, very seldom drawn into imitative play.⁵⁴⁶ Thus the two compositional elements are stylistically diametrically opposed. Often the plainsong is incanted before voices enter in *stretto*.

The two contrapuntal voices are in fact frequently difficult to play, even without the third part, due to elaborate metrical modulation (and very often with a section in *sesquialtera* and/or *tempo doppio* proportion), complex cross-rhythms and cross-phrasing. This stands in sharp contrast to the serenity of the *cantus firmus*, delivered in the simplest, plainest form, and immune from the complexities of proportion. The full, three-part texture, then, becomes extremely difficult for one person to play satisfactorily. In certain examples, such as Taverner’s *In Nomine* from *The Mulliner Book*, one might even say that the pieces are ‘impossible’ to play:

⁵⁴⁵ See Bailey’s research cited above on p. 195. Cities such as Exeter, where Facy was organist, is a great distance from the capital, and seventeenth-century travel was slow. Also significant is that Facy is thought to have converted to Catholicism during his protracted absences from the cathedral. (Susi Jeans, and Andrew Cichy, ‘Facy [Facye, Facey, Facie, Facio], Hugh.’ *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 12 September 2021).)

⁵⁴⁶ Indicative of performance by pluckers rather than for the sustaining sound of the organ. Morley states: ‘The making of twoe or more notes for one of the plainsong, which as (as I tolde you before) is falslie termed *dupla*, and is, when a semibriefe or note of the plainsong, wee make two minimes’. (Morley, *Plaine and Easie*, 78.) In Bull’s *gloria tibi Trinitas* (F-Pc MS Rés 1112) the *cantus firmus* is sounded in a *trippla* semibreve-minim rhythm.

where the spread of voices becomes too wide for hands to play satisfactorily; where the imitative voices cross back and forth to intersect the plainsong line, with the *cantus firmus* thus being passed between hands. The independence of the two layers mean that notes are ‘shared’ or frequently collide, and the plainsong is sometimes displaced by an octave so as to accommodate the complex interplay that surrounds it.⁵⁴⁷ It is almost as though a second player, or perhaps more correctly, a second instrument, is required to render the whole.⁵⁴⁸ And yet, the counterpoint seems curiously independent of the plainsong, so much so that it often works convincingly in itself, as a *bicinium*.

A contrary view, proposed here, is that the repertory in question may indeed be liturgical, but not for the Established Church. Although the evidence is not forthcoming, and beyond the scope of the present work, this repertory may represent an unbroken tradition of

⁵⁴⁷ John Taverner’s (b. c. 1490–1545) *In Nomine* from *The Mulliner Book*, No. 35. Caldwell discusses the possible reason for the transcription in Caldwell, ‘Keyboard Plainsong Settings in England, 1500–1660,’ 129–30. The displacing by the octave seen for example at b. 14 in the aforementioned *gloria tibi Trinitas* by Bull, from F-Pc MS Rés 1112, where a bar’s worth of plainsong is shifted to the tenor only to resume its place in the soprano for the rest of the piece. The *Mulliner Book* (Lbl Add. MS 30513, dating between c. 1545 and 1570) contains nigh two dozen such settings, where problems of single-performer rendition are amplified further, with impossible stretches (even between hands), the sharing of many notes through the confluence of lines from different voices, sections of *cantus firmus* lines rendered at a higher or lower octave (sometimes both, in octaves) and overwide textural gaps. This intersection of clear contrapuntal lines is not something that the organ does particularly well, becoming texturally confusing; neither is it wholly natural for one person to want to attempt. In later settings, such as Bull’s *In nomine* (No. XXXVII in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*) the *cantus firmus* appears much more integral—the two-part counterpoint is conceived for two hands to play without difficulty, without hand-crossings attempting to accommodate a fickle plainchant line. The plainsong, running through the middle, does not interfere greatly with the imitation, neither are there shared notes (apart from notes that are simply restruck) nor uncomfortable stretches and exchanges of hands. All is eminently playable by a single performer. These later settings had at last fully incorporated the *cantus firmus* as an integral *obligato* line, and this in itself may suggest a change in compositional purpose. See also footnote 549.

⁵⁴⁸ Although Italian in origin, and a good deal earlier, No. 5 (ff. 55v–56v) of the *Faenza Codex* (I-FZc 117, dating from c. 1400) gives a very early example of a discant part sounding alongside a *cantus firmus* at the same pitch, implying performance either by two performers, or by two instruments, or that the notation has been realized incorrectly.

plainsong-based music in worship in the homes of recusants. This would also explain the multi-purposed keyboard nature: that is, its suitability for performance on any keyboard type that was available. Indeed, in so many cases, so generic is the counterpoint, and devoid of idiomatic detail such as ornamentation, that this music may have been composed for any combination of domestic instruments in mind, keyboard or otherwise, and the plainchant played or sung with whichever resources had been assembled.⁵⁴⁹

v) **Solo liturgical music**

The natural idiom of organ music—across all periods—is a tension between lively imitative interplay and solid chorale-like homophony. The former provides textural variation and forward motion, and also imparts intellectual and spiritual rigour: polyphonic texture is particularly well-suited to the organ's evenness of voicing throughout its tessitura. The

⁵⁴⁹ Consideration of this special repertory in this light deserves further exploration. 14 works of this kind are preserved in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, where a connection with recusant activity has been postulated but not proven. (Ruby Reid Thompson, 'The "Tregian" Manuscripts: A Study of their Compilation,' *The British Library Journal* 18, no. 2 (1992).) Of the 121 pieces in *The Mulliner Book*, over half are based on Catholic liturgical chants, with 22 works like those described above. (While scholars make little of this, Thomas Mulliner's Catholic Faith must surely be suspected?) Writing about a gathering at the home of Richard Bold, William Weston writes: 'In this instance, they set aside for the celebration of the Church's offices. The gentleman was also a skilled musician, and had an organ and other musical instruments, and choristers, male and female, members of his household. During those days it was just as if we were celebrating an uninterrupted octave of some great feast. William Byrd, the very famous English musician and organist, was among the company.' (New World Encyclopedia, 'William Byrd.' *New World Encyclopedia* <www.newworldencyclopedia.org> (Accessed 12 September 2021).) The assembled company here mentioned could have performed such clandestine plainsong settings together: the professional, Byrd, providing the complex imitative counterpoint, enjoined by worshippers rendering the unison plainsong through singing and/or playing instruments, a symbolic act of communion. The chants were well known and were therefore not printed: untraceable when the Puritan authorities called, and as the priest scurried into the Priest Hole. The above-mentioned is not unlike Frescobaldi's *Recercar con obligo di cantare la quinta parte senza toccarla* (F 12.44 from Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Fiori Musicali* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1635), 84.) As the rubric suggests, a fifth voice—being a six-note textless ostinato, found at the head of the score—is added, to be sung, not played. The additional, secretive voice is wholly detachable from the accompanying polyphony, which, in fact, works perfectly well without it.

literature typically contains many long notes, a high degree of solemnity, and an opportunity to make dramatic use of the acoustic space. Organ music often captures a feeling of the *extempore*.

Yet, true solo liturgical organ music of period of the English Reformation is not in the least obvious. One of the more troubling aspects is that the expression ‘for organ’ is so seldom prescribed. Apart from Orlando Gibbons’ *A ffancy for a double Orgaine*, the entire period renders up just two more. Scholars have hitherto accepted the words unquestioningly.

A short piece by Edward Gibbons bears the superscription *A Prelude upon ye organ as was then usuall before ye Anthem*.⁵⁵⁰ It has traditionally been assumed that it is a prelude to the same composer’s anthem that follows directly in the source, *How hath the city sate solitary*, but, as has been pointed out, Gibbons’ prelude shares no thematic connection with the anthem.⁵⁵¹ It is strictly in four equal imitative voices throughout. It does not fit well under the hands, and at times is even uncomfortable to play.⁵⁵² Its open harmonies suggest either the filling out of a continuo instrument or the omission of a fifth voice.⁵⁵³ Here is no ornamentation whatsoever. Curiously, the latter section, from bar 18, contains ten minims’ worth of invertible counterpoint that is practically identical to bars 67–76 of Tomkins’ *Almighty God, the fountain of*

⁵⁵⁰ The title is from Tudway, from his retrospective Lbl MS Harl. 7340, f. 193v–194r compiled in 1717. The volume of 63 pieces is entitled *Services and Anthems [...] from ye Reformation [...] down to ye Accession of Queen Anne [...] [collected] A.D. MDCC[X]VII*. The composer is described as ‘Edward Gibbons, Custos of ye College of Preists Vicars [...] of Exeter, 1611’, the year in which he was promoted to this position, rather than necessarily being the year of this *unica*’s composition or transcription.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., f. 194r–199v. See Harvey Grace, ‘The Compleat Organist, VIII. Of Old English Organ Music (Continued),’ *The Musical Times* 55, no. 857 (1914), 454.

⁵⁵² E.g. bb. 16, 18, 32, 34.

⁵⁵³ Particularly bb. 10–11, 17–18, 21–22, 32–33.

all wisdom, with corresponding harmonic quirks and vagaries of *ficta* (notwithstanding that the pieces are in different keys from one another). All in all, rather than being a prelude to the anthem, this appears to be a transcription of the anthem itself, which would account for the uneven phrase lengths of an associated, now lost, sung text.

The other piece bearing the word ‘organ’ is by Nicholas Carleton (born *c.* 1570–75; died 1630): *Verse for two to play on one Virginal or organs*. The title is in Tomkins’ hand; the word ‘organ’ perhaps added as a personal afterthought.⁵⁵⁴ Both it and the aforesaid prelude, on analysis, have little to commend them as idiomatic organ pieces; more likely they fall into category iii) above, or more probably category ii).

Thomas Tomkins provides the majority of surviving works of the period for likely performance on the organ. Irving lists 15 keyboard works in the section ‘Fantasias, Voluntaries and Verses’, as well as a further 19 plainsong settings of the kind discussed in category iv) above.⁵⁵⁵ As Tomkins was in the habit of dating compositions, it is notable that much of the extant compositional activity was done in his later years: all dated autographs in F-Pc Rés 1122 are after 23 July 1646, the date on which services in Worcester were suspended.⁵⁵⁶ Whilst the word ‘organ’ is not used, of all 15 extant ‘Fantasias, Voluntaries and

⁵⁵⁴ (Lbl Add. MS 29996, f. 196v–200.) This is followed at f. 205, also in Tomkins’ hand, by the title *Another of the like*, being his *Fancy - for two to play* [usual title]. The Carleton piece was thus perhaps its model.

⁵⁵⁵ Irving, ‘The instrumental music of Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656),’ iii: 32–51, also iv: 52–63.

⁵⁵⁶ The fine organ at Worcester Cathedral (discussed at length in Chapter Two) was broken up on 25 September 1642, one of the earliest musical casualties of the Great Rebellion.

Verses', only seven are identified by the present author as exemplars of pieces suitable for performance in the liturgy.⁵⁵⁷

In conclusion, scholarly editions such as the renowned *Faber Early Organ Series* give a buoyant impression of the organ in the first half of the seventeenth century as a solo instrument with a large and exciting repertory.⁵⁵⁸ A false impression, as it turns out: it would be a slim volume indeed of organ music thought with certainty to be conceived to support the liturgy. This, of course, is the nub of the matter: the role of the liturgical organist was limited, and his contributions presumably largely improvised; nothing here should distract or offend, and, like the extant organ music of Tomkins, Orlando Gibbons and Weelkes, it should contain little in the way of ostentation and ornamentation: only simple, basic, polite expressions are to be found. The extant keyboard music of Orlando Gibbons proves that, even at court, there was an expectation of the organist providing simplistic organ music. And Tomkins, on the face of it one of the most prolific of composers of organ music, left but a handful of pieces that

⁵⁵⁷ Viz. Nos. 26, 27, 29, 30, 74, 75 and 76. No. 26, dated 12 August 1650, is of the 'intonation' style discussed above on p. 197. No. 27, tentatively dated by Irving to c. 1629, may be an accompaniment for viol consort, but fits well under the hand and is staid and reverent enough to have also been used as liturgical organ music; likewise No. 29, probably the earliest of the group. (This piece shares material with Gibbons. See footnote 519.) No. 30 strikes Irving as a written-down improvisation, due to its tendency to rely on 'bulk transposition'; No. 76 could likewise be classed in this way. No. 31, rigorously contrapuntal and not at all improvisatory, is texturally the most complex of the set. The interplay between 'choirs', the impossible stretches, the many shared notes, broken voice-leading and the awkward complexity of the final cadence suggest a bigger canvas: there is a slim possibility that this piece started life as a six-part consort work, or perhaps even another 'for two to play'? Nos. 74 and 75 are simple verses for a pupil to play. Otherwise, No. 24 fits into category i) 'Virtuoso music for Virginals', while Nos. 22, 23, 25 and 28 appear to be of category ii) 'Consort Transcriptions and accompaniments'.

⁵⁵⁸ Under the General Editorship of James Dalton, the first three volumes (*England, 1510–90; 1590–1650; 1660–1710*) were prepared by Geoffrey Cox. (Dalton, *Faber Early Organ Series*.)

would with any certainty fit into the current category. It might therefore be assumed that all of what has been passed down in the present category are pieces written for or by students, as models of what was expected, and their simplicity of decoration explained both by the notion of performance practice being taught at the keyboard itself, and by the extent to which such ‘foolish vanities’ may have been tolerated by the Puritan Church.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁹ The quote, cited in Burney, is from p. 178 of *The Seventy-eight Fautes and Abuses of Religion, in the Protestation of the Clergie of the Lower House within the province of Canterbury* (1536) which declared that ‘Synging, and saying of mass, matins, or even song, is but roryng, howling, whistelyng, mummyng, conjuring, and jogelyng, and the playing at the organys a foolish vanitie.’ (Burney, *A General History of Music*, IV: 14.)

A new liturgico-political role for the Organ at the Restoration

The public spectacle of organ playing right at the heart of political and regal power reflected in aural terms both the powerful artistic ambitions of the monarchy and a new confidence for the Church.⁵⁶⁰ Vanished was any ghost of the ‘Distracted Tymes’ of controlled puritanical order: Gibbons’ improvisations exaggerated the very soundworld that the destructive zeal of Puritan vandals would have liked to have wiped from the national memory.⁵⁶¹ The organ trumpeted the king’s return, and ecclesiastical and regal ceremony celebrated the resumption to normal life. But normality was heavily dosed with *fiesta*—and so was Gibbons’ music.

‘In exile [...] the king developed a strong understanding of the importance of magnificence, ritual and ceremony in the expression of regal authority’ and was ‘keenly aware of the importance of royal tradition and magnificent display in enforcing the legitimacy of his restoration [...] At the beginning of his reign the king [...] reinstated a host of traditional royal ceremonies: [...] the rituals of the Chapel Royal. These spectacular ceremonies were powerful representations of royal authority that emphasised Charles II’s right to rule.’⁵⁶²

Gibbons’ own revolution—as directed from the keyboard—demanded that the vehicle of its execution also carried the appropriate gravitas. The new instrument at Whitehall was no longer polite and sober—it may thus have struck an uncomfortable reminder of the old order. Its confident, arresting tone—a consort of imitation stops such as the crumhorn, cornet,

⁵⁶⁰ ‘I to the Abby and walked there, seeing the great confusion of people that come there to hear the organs.’ (Pepys, ‘The Diary of Samuel Pepys.’ 30 December 1660.) Also ‘(Lord’s day). To White Hall chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard very good music, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life.’ (Ibid. 8 July 1660.)

⁵⁶¹ Quoted from Tomkins’ *A Sad Paven for these Distracted Tymes* (dated 14 February 1649). The Long Parliament’s radical legislation had targeted not just new ‘popery’: pre-Reformation survivals once acceptable to the Elizabethan and Jacobean church were now regarded as ‘Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition’. (Julie Spraggon, ‘Puritan Iconoclasm in England 1640–1660,’ diss., London, 2000, 2.) See also footnote 245. See also the passage on anti-Royalist brutality in Vickers’ *Parliamentary Chronicle*, p. 60 and footnote 96.

⁵⁶² Bird and Clayton, *Charles II: Art & Power*, 55.

trumpet and shimmering mixtures—became at once an aural alignment with the royal households of Europe, and hereby contributed, in aural terms, in hailing the nation's reemergence onto the world stage.⁵⁶³ A celebration of the joint creative agency of the performer and instrument maker, this was at once a noisy political and artistic statement of intent. To some, Gibbons' soundtrack to this momentous Restoration will have been rich, unusually colourful, exotic; to others it will have appeared crude, bombastic, disrespectful; indeed it may have appeared that the player was drunk. Organs restored to their majestic, cavernous setting, now ringing and declamatory, could relish in quixotic scales, trumpet dialogues, fanciful accented bass melodies and spontaneous ecstasy. Gibbons' very presence at the organ will have been distinctly discomfiting, and the dextrous, rhetorical, theatrical music must surely have been calculated to fly in the face of the toppled former regime. To them, such ostentation and virtuosic display belonged to the Catholic world.⁵⁶⁴

The manuscripts imply an overt and distinct approach that is dramatically different from any keyboard music that came before. The multi-purpose double-stroke is found alongside all manner of wild written-out graces—exuberant ribbons of ornaments and startling appoggiaturas of daringly bright dissonance, complex relishes, elegant terminations

⁵⁶³ The opulent and distinctive, clamorous tone-quality of the 1601 instrument by Flemish organ builder Mathijs Langhedul (d. c. 1636) had been popularized at the Parisian aristocratic church of St-Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais; the style and specification of this regal organ would soon become standardized throughout the courts of France. (Phelps, 'A Brief Look At The French Classical Organ, Its Origins and German Counterpart.')

⁵⁶⁴ It should be remembered that the Puritan authorities at Lincoln did not just reprimand Byrd, but suspended him for organ playing regarded as 'too popish': a harsh and public early-warning to all church musicians working in the service of the Reformed Church. See also footnote 529. Any suspicion of Christopher Gibbons harbouring a Catholic faith is not recorded, yet his dealings with Rome, via Froberger, and possibly Kircher and Frescobaldi, would also doubtless have raised hackles amongst those beyond the comfortable, hallowed corridors of Caroline Court life.

and division-like flourishes. Like the composer's consort music, where the figuration is already agile and virtuosic, the additional decoration provides a new level of richly energetic, dissonant complexity, reflecting something of the unbridled decorative style that began to flourish throughout all the arts, and, like the theatre in those early years of the Restoration, radiated exuberance, energy and unaccustomed freedom.⁵⁶⁵

'Incommunicable by wrighting' ⁵⁶⁶

The reason for ornamentation [...] it was musically far more part and parcel of the whole tissue and often, it must be confessed, the *raison d'être* of the music.⁵⁶⁷

Above all, singing and playing had to be accomplished with grace, an aesthetic concept so closely linked to ornamentation that the plural form *grazie* was applied generically to all the small-scale ornaments that came into vogue around 1600. These new ornaments (also called *accenti*, *affetti* or *maniere*) co-existed with the more elaborate *passaggi* or diminutions, which were remnants of Renaissance practice.⁵⁶⁸

From the first quarter of the seventeenth century in England the study of ornamental practice through rhetorical principles of the *seconda pratica* gave performers license to imbue their compositions with free decorative detail. Playford and North, however, both agreed that gracing was not possible for composers to notate, and, while the latter ranked embellishing as

⁵⁶⁵ See also Terence Charlston's essay "Now swift, now hesitating" (Terence Charlston, "'Now swift, now hesitating': The Stylus Phantasticus and the art of fantasy," *Musica Antiqua Magazine* (2012).)

⁵⁶⁶ Quoted from Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 149.

⁵⁶⁷ Janet Dodge, 'Ornamentation as Indicated by Signs in Lute Tablature,' *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9, no. 3 (1908), 319.

⁵⁶⁸ S. A. Carter, 'Ornaments: Italy, 1650–1750.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 6 October 2020).

the apex of musical skills, he declared that ‘the Spirit of that art is Incomunicable by wrighting’.⁵⁶⁹ Thomas Mace (1612 or 1613–c. 1706) added:

The comon decorums [...] Curiosities, and Nicities in [...] the Adorning of your Play (for your Foundations surely Laid, and your building well Readr’d, you may proceed to the Beautifying, and Painting of your Fabrick).⁵⁷⁰

Robert Dowland (c. 1591–1641) added:

You should have some rule for the sweet relishes and shakes if they could be expressed here as they are on the LVTE: but seeing that they cannot by speach or writing be expressed, thou wert best to imitate some cunning player, or get them by thine own practise...⁵⁷¹

The words ‘grace’ and ‘gracing’ give an indication as to why ornamentation was important to players: delivering elegant, melodic contours was clearly the guiding principle. Textbook understanding is that the biting mordent (here ‘beat’) is employed as an accent, and a *tremolo* (here ‘shake’) allows possibilities to sustain the transient tone of plucked instruments. Whilst this may be true for pluckers, it is certainly not so with winds and for singing; better the *messa di voce* be employed to maintain intensity, alongside accents and articulations.⁵⁷²

At a deeper level, according to Maravall, writing of the Counter-Reformation, the ‘radiant and triumphal aspects’ of Baroque music reflects ‘an epoch of fiesta and splendour’, a ‘freedom from ills’ through which art could both laugh and cry.⁵⁷³ The true characteristics of

⁵⁶⁹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 149.

⁵⁷⁰ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 102. See also p. 252.

⁵⁷¹ Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (London: Thomas Adams, 1610), 12.

⁵⁷² The *messa di voce* should also be understood as an ornament.

⁵⁷³ José Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 155–6. Maravall comments: ‘A few decades of harsh suffering influenced the creation and diffusion of a spirit of disenchantment, of dissillusionment. [...] The Baroque departed from a

Baroque, he argues, are of unrestrained complexity, where exuberance can be combined with simplicity of form; composers had a passion for the outlandish and they longed for novelty; they took satisfaction in the most banal caprice and artifice that could stun the public with its grandeur, opulence and richness.

Maravall also offers some significant pointers as to why artists in the first flush of the Restoration indulged in outlandish decorative style. He assesses that first two decades of the reign of Charles II was ‘the final phase of decadence and degeneration, until a time of restoration towards a new epoch begins before the end of the century.’⁵⁷⁴ Behaviours in the first half of the period in question may be viewed (at least in the higher echelons of society) as an over-compensation to the ‘tragic epoch’ of sadness, of plague, moral disorder, corruption and war.

Decorous music can also be calculated to impress, and, in the case of Christopher Gibbons, his creative agency helped drive home several key political points, not only of the celebration of God and of humanity, following a long period of time when display and showmanship in church were demurred, but also to ceremonialize the re-establishment of Church, parliament and the monarchy. All of this flew in the face of those who had sought to restrict and destroy what others now sought to cherish. For this was indeed a revolution, and a kind of musical ‘counter-reformation’.

consciousness of disaster and suffering and expressed it.’ (Ibid., 150.)

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 149.

Ornaments provide emphasis and panache, or feed and prolong intensity, melodic connection and harmonic intrigue; they give a sense of searching and impromptu.⁵⁷⁵ They inject a rhythmic or percussive element; help to point entries and dialogues, pinpoint inflections and to reveal voice-leading; they can help give the illusion of crescendos and highpoints, or to give character to a passage of darkening descent.

The concept of trying to notate music born out of improvisation raises many philosophical questions, and the very act of notating it carries a catalogue of problems. Huygens knew, for example, the notation of Froberger's improvisations to be so utterly inexact a science, that 'only someone who had heard Froberger play could successfully repeat his more expressive compositions'; Froberger himself had often complained that his works were impossible to perform properly from score.⁵⁷⁶ The relationship between the thrust and stasis of an unfolding improvisation, for example, is troublesome to capture with any strong degree of accuracy. This in itself raises the fundamental question: is the resulting score intended only to be an *aide memoire*: a mere snapshot of a past act of ephemeral communication? Is it possible, or even advisable, for an improvisation to be recreated?

The interpretation of decoration carries a high degree of subjectivity. Yes, ornamentation should allow personalization of the received text, and at best it should also

⁵⁷⁵ Some Italian Renaissance treatises suggest an inexhaustible range of decorative solutions. See, for example, R. Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi esercitare* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1592).

⁵⁷⁶ See David Schulenberg, 'Between Frescobaldi and Froberger: From Virtuosity to Expression.' <https://schulenbergmusic.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Schulenberg_Froberger_AMS-NE_2016_examples.pdf> (Accessed 20 November 2021).

inject something of a creative element. Yet, the extent and nature of decoration extends both out of the originator's purposes and the performer's striving for expression, making this one of the more elusive topics in performance practice.

Foreign and indigenous influences

With regard to the art of gracing in the seventeenth century, two ends of a decorative spectrum are clearly determined: one stemming from Italy, the other from, or via, France. The kaleidoscopic possibilities of the divisions and diminutions of sixteenth-century Italian vocal decoration are illuminated, for example, by Riccardo Rognoni (c. 1550–1620) in his *Passaggi per potersi essercitare* of 1592.⁵⁷⁷ On the other hand, the stylized manner of *tremblements* or *agréments* as practised by virtuoso *clavecinistes* was codified by d'Anglebert in 1689, a poetic document that so intrigued J S Bach (1685–1750).⁵⁷⁸ The English virginalists sought to fill their music with a light, quick elegance and, while string players had been given many samples of the art of diminution, this was the means and the encouragement for players to

⁵⁷⁷ For a comprehensive list of all sources, from 1511 until the end of the seventeenth century, that deal with 'ornamentation and diminutions', see 'Sources Database.' *Early Music Sources.com* <www.earlymusicsources.com/Sources-database> (Accessed 17 September 2021). In point 19.87 of his online 'extended biography' (Frederick Hammond, 'On interpreting Frescobaldi's 'Toccate'.' <<http://girolamofrescobaldi.com>> (Accessed 9 September 2021)), Hammond illuminates the traditional Italian Renaissance understanding of ornamentation: 'Italian practice distinguished two types of ornament, the smaller localized decoration (*effetto*, *accento*) and the extended virtuoso *passaggio* or *gorgia*, applied in varying degrees to both vocal and instrumental music. Smaller ornaments were essentially decorations of simple melodic progressions, usually conjunct ones; they normally occupied half the value of the note to which they were applied. Ornaments could be written out in full; they could be indicated by a conventional sign either alone or combined with a contextual shorthand; or they could be added freely by the performer in customary places (e.g. cadences).'

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. *Klavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (c. 1720), f. 3v. D'Anglebert's table is reproduced on p. 235.

improvise.⁵⁷⁹ Much earlier, Diego Ortiz (c. 1510–c. 1576), through his *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones* of 1553, had offered students models and instructions so they, too, could learn to improvise on their own.⁵⁸⁰

The prevailing view of English music at the Restoration is that it adopted a French system. True, there had been a fluidity of influential musicians back and forth from England and France, such that the developments of French violists were closely related to the activities of the English, and although the solo viol tradition had begun in Italy by the mid-sixteenth century, the influence of the virtuoso solo viol tradition arrived in France from England rather than from Italy. It is known, for instance, that the celebrated French violist André Maugars (c. 1580–c. 1645) travelled to England in around 1620 and remained in the service of James I for about four years.⁵⁸¹ He was schooled in the ornamental method of English viol-playing before returning home to Paris as court violist.⁵⁸² Maugars belongs to a tradition of French musicians at the English Court, particularly after Henrietta Maria's arrival at London in 1625, where she was encircled by servant 'Musitiens' who had come over with her.⁵⁸³ Other French

⁵⁷⁹ Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist, or An Introduction to Playing upon a Ground* (London: 1659).

⁵⁸⁰ Diego Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones* (Rome: Valerio Dorico & Luigi Dorico, 1553).

⁵⁸¹ Patxi Xabier del Amo Iribarren, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics,' diss., Leeds, 2011, 106–7.

⁵⁸² Shaun Kam Fook Ng, 'Le Sieur de Machy and the French Solo Viol Tradition,' diss., Western Australia, 2008, 25. Coming almost full circle, Jean Lacquemant/Lacman's [Du Buisson] (c. 1622–c. 1681) suites of 1666 and 1674, containing simple teaching pieces in the main, show influence of French lute music on the virtuoso harmonic style which Maugars had brought from England. (Robert A. Green, 'Jean Rousseau and Ornamentation in French Viol Music,' *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 14 (1977), 16.)

⁵⁸³ See Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, III: 244ff. (Also PRO, SP 16, vol. 474, f. 3, p. 10.)

musicians, several of whom were lutenists, were also in London during Charles I's reign until 1642 when the court was disbanded.⁵⁸⁴ During the interregnum, Prince Charles—half Stuart; half Bourbon—spent part of his exiled years in Paris. In the autumn of 1662, now king, he had his father's *Quatorze Musiciens* restored and augmented as 'Four and Twenty Fiddlers', replicating that which he had experienced as a guest of the French Court, although all on English soil were English.⁵⁸⁵ From the following year, half a dozen French were employed to attend at Whitehall.⁵⁸⁶

To examine a history of ornamental practice on the organ it is necessary first to consider the complex interplay and cross-fertilization of viol and lute performance practice back and forth between France and England. The fact that most of the early viol virtuosos began their musical careers playing the lute, guitar and theorbo, suggests a cross-application of technical and musical ideas of ornamentation—these instruments being fretted and with similar function of left hand-technique.⁵⁸⁷ French lutenists working in England played a part in influencing indigenous viol-playing. Their influence was reflected back, strengthened, to

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ See also *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Court Officers, 1660–1837*, 185–99.

⁵⁸⁶ See also Eleanor Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage (1660–1702)* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960), 165. 'John Bannister or Banester [...] is said to be the first Englishman to distinguish himself on the violin but was dismissed from the service of Charles II after making an impertinent remark about the appointment of French musicians to the royal band.' (Westminster Abbey, 'John Bannister.' <<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/john-bannister#i13337>> (Accessed 11 September 2021).) Also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, specifically pp. 290ff.

⁵⁸⁷ As Gough tastefully puts it: 'The viol was invented in the late 15th century, the love-child of the vihuela and the bow.' (Orlando Gough, 'The Albion Project.' <www.fretwork.co.uk/new-projects> (Accessed 11 September 2021).) For discussion on the interchangeability of viol and lute playing through the period see Eric Crouch, 'The English Solo Lyra Viol: A 21st Century Perspective on a 17th Century Musical Instrument,' diss., Open University, 2012.

the French Court through the viol, an instrument becoming extremely popular in France, at a time when the instrument's light was beginning to flicker almost everywhere else in Europe.⁵⁸⁸ The 'Lyra-way' of playing firmly placed the viol in the forefront of the solo instrumental genre in England, and the viol thus established itself in France as a virtuoso polyphonic instrument.⁵⁸⁹

Of the symbol-type notation, Nicholas Vallet (c. 1583–c. 1642) writing in 1615 in his *Le Secret des Muses* designated just two ornaments: a comma denoting an upper appoggiatura; and a cross to signify the 'tremolo'.⁵⁹⁰ Lute ornamentation, as explained in Marin Mersenne's (1588–1648) *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), likewise makes use of the comma ornament.⁵⁹¹ Called 'tremblement' it evidently had different meanings to different performers, so it was perhaps the first ornament needing to be codified in this manner.⁵⁹² Mersenne signifies a range of different signs for the principal-note upper-mordent, the upper-auxiliary appoggiatura, and both continuous and short lower-mordents.⁵⁹³ Further, there is an explanation of the

⁵⁸⁸ Rousseau acknowledged in his *Traité de la viole* the reputation amongst Europeans of the English manner of performance on the viol. (Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1687).)

⁵⁸⁹ The smaller bass viol was called a 'Lyra viol' associated with Tobias Hume (c. 1579–1645), Christopher Simpson, William Corkine (fl.1610–17) and Charles Coleman (d. 1664).

⁵⁹⁰ Nicolas Vallet, *Petit Discours (Le Secret des Muses)* (Amsterdam: Nicolas Vallet, 1615). The term *tremolo* used to signify the rapid alternation of two notes, and not in the sense of the Italian vocal reiterated *trillo* or a string-player's finger-vibrato.

⁵⁹¹ Prepared by Parisian lute teacher Jehan Basset (c. 1597–1636) in vol. 3, *Livre second des Instrumens*, prop. ix, 79 of Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1636).

⁵⁹² 'Now the one which is formed in this fashion: (,) is called the ordinary tremblement, and most people use no other character to express all the different sorts.' (Ibid.)

⁵⁹³ The upper-auxiliary appoggiatura called *accent plaintif*, is different from other meanings of 'accent' as explored below in Part One: The Forefall. Dodge's translation and explanation of Mersenne's specific and technical language is used above. (Dodge, 'Ornamentation as Indicated by Signs in Lute

combination of ornaments that include the upper appoggiatura followed by mordent and the lower appoggiatura followed by a (lower) shake. It is pertinent to the present study that Mersenne also takes care to introduce a dash to identify ornaments employing the diatonic semitone or for chromatic inflection.⁵⁹⁴ Although tabled here in a French treatise, it would be erroneous to see these graces as exclusively French: Mersenne's treatise represents a drawing together of common decorative practice informed by decades of composition-performance from across genre and place, where each grace will have been influenced by a different combination of factors.

Twenty or so years later, in 1659, Christopher Simpson (born *c.* 1602–6; died 1669) published his *Division-Violist*.⁵⁹⁵ Given the closeness of ornamental style between plucked and bowed fretted instruments, Simpson's table (which was actually prepared by Charles Coleman, who was both lutenist and viol player) unsurprisingly includes all the graces from Mersenne. It further introduces a range of melodic, rhythmic and combination graces. Principal-note and upper-auxiliary alternations are here too, along with linked ornaments, forming decorative, virtuosic ribbon-ornaments, such as the so-called 'double relishes'. It is a table as rich and complete as any.

Tablature.')

⁵⁹⁴ See commentary below in Part One: The Smooth Graces.

⁵⁹⁵ Simpson, *Division-Violist*.

Simpson's 'Graces' (1659)

Whilst clearly intended for the amateur string player, Simpson's table of graces pursues an entirely different order of richly expressive gracing, covering as it does a range of appoggiaturas, slides, escape and anticipatory tones, shakes and finger vibrato, turns and complex compound ornaments—in his explanatory text he even hints at a rhetorical relationship between ornamental choice and the affections.⁵⁹⁶ Simpson's Table reveals an expressive gamut that is unparalleled in French ornament tables until d'Anglebert some 25 years later.

Smooth graces

Beat. exp: Backfall exp: Double-Backfall exp: elevation.

exp Spinger. exp: Cadent. exp: Backfall-shaked exp:

Shaked graces

Close Shake. exp: Shaked Beat. exp: elevation exp:

10 Cadent. exp: Double Relish exp: or thus: exp:

For these, I am obliged to the ever famous Charles Colman Doctor in Music

⁵⁹⁶ The amateur here: 'such as be Lovers, or Learners'. (Preface to Ibid.)

Of these, some are more rough and Masculine; as, your shaked *Beats* and *Backfalls*; and therefore more peculiar to the *Basse*. Others more smooth and feminine; as, your *Close-shake* and *Plain-Graces*, which are more natural to the *Treble*, or upper Parts. Yet when we would express Life, Courage, or Cheerfulness, upon the *Treble*, we do frequently use both shaked *Beats* and *Backfalls*: as, on the contrary, smooth and swelling *Notes*, when we would express Love, Sorrow, Compassion, or the Like; and this, not only on the *Treble*, but sometimes also upon the *Basse*. And all these are concerned in our *Division-Viol*, as employing the whole Compass of the *Scale*, and acting by turns all the Parts therein contained.

Table 4: Simpson–Coleman’s table of graces (1659).⁵⁹⁷

Simpson’s ‘beat’ is the symbol for the (usual) forefall; the backfall is signified by a comma above the note; and the elegant ‘double-backfall’ by two commas, one atop the other.⁵⁹⁸ The latter, along with the smooth ‘elevation’ that follows, could well be applied before the Note, according to context.⁵⁹⁹ The ‘spinger’ (perhaps a typographical error for ‘springer’) is a simple *échappée*.⁶⁰⁰ There are several types of shake represented in the table relating to virtuoso Divisionist practice. Firstly, the ‘Backfall Shaked’, the falling shake which starts with the upper auxiliary and alternates with the principal note. (The ‘close shake’ concerns us little, as is a string matter, being a one-finger vibrato.) Next, the ‘Shaked Beat’, the rising shake which starts on the lower auxiliary and alternates with the principal note. The beautiful ‘shaked elevation’ approaches its upper-auxiliary shake with a three-note slide—a smooth ‘elevation’—and terminates in a turn and a forefall. The shaked ‘Cadent’ similarly rises in a

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁹⁸ As indeed it is in Mace’s table, albeit before the printed note.

⁵⁹⁹ Mace’s ‘Whole-fall’ (q.v.).

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. footnote 671. Channing has the sp(r)inger confusingly notated as a forefall, and his anticipatory-note ‘cadent’, appears as a backfall.

three-note slide then falls three notes to the next solid-note. As discussed already, the ‘Double Relish’ belongs to an old tradition of measured melodic diminutions.⁶⁰¹ Simpson prescribes upper-auxiliary shakes, as the so-called ‘Double Relish’, running directly into the usual two-note turned termination.⁶⁰²

Like manuscripts of sixteenth-century keyboard music, lute tablature contained decorative formulae that was both division-like and of ideogrammatic notation, yet a freedom was employed that was neither of these. Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger’s (c. 1580–1651) *Libro d’Intavolatura di Chitarone*, 1604, is the first document to explain the *trillo*, not as a reiterated ‘vibrato’ in the Italian vocal sense, but as an alternating shake.⁶⁰³

According to Dart only two ornament signs appear in Jacobean manuscripts of music for the lute: a cross (either + or x) and a double cross (like a modern sharp symbol).⁶⁰⁴ These signs usually appear by the side of the tablature letters they affect (used as shorthand signs rather than being spelled out in the manner of contemporary vocal graces). It is therefore with peculiar irony that no realizations for these signs exist to help interpret their use. The *Downes Manuscript* from the first quarter of the seventeenth century merely puts forward the

⁶⁰¹ Further variants of the Double Relish are given at Table 14 (p. 269) in examples (a) through (d).

⁶⁰² Both Double Relishes in Simpson’s table progress from a long starting note, although it should be noted that this is not in this instance an appoggiatura, but rather the principal note.

⁶⁰³ Dodge notes the implied use of the upper-auxiliary note, as the symbol (an upward oblique line with dots top and bottom) occurs continually on open strings; a principal-note start is presumed here. (Dodge, ‘Ornamentation as Indicated by Signs in Lute Tablature,’ 321.)

⁶⁰⁴ Thurston Dart, ‘Ornament Signs in Jacobean Music for Lute and Viol,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 14 (1961), 30.

same symbols, for viols, but at least we can learn their names: the cross is called the ‘falle’, and the sharp the ‘shake’.⁶⁰⁵ It is not at all conceivable that the name of the former is related to forefall/backfall; indeed in d’Anglebert’s *Marques* this idea is called *cheute*, a word which also has connections to the idea of falling.

The specific influence of lute graces on organ performance is altogether more difficult to quantify. Organists may have been inspired by the clarity and projection that lutenists applied to repeated segments of the *cadenza doppia*, for example (discussed below at Table 14 on page 269); they may even have performed them in a stylized fashion, perhaps incorporating a graceful acceleration. Equally, their relishes may have enjoyed a particularly melodic treatment. Sadly there are neither contemporary references nor indications, even hints, in the scores. There is, however, just the smallest clue that the *stile brisé*—a performance decoration uniquely inspired by the lutenists—may well have been adopted as a feature of organ performance too, as in the final four bars of Christopher Gibbons’ A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary.⁶⁰⁶ Similarly, it may be possible that players accommodated an *inégaie* quality, just as the lute players did.⁶⁰⁷ The anonymous Verse from Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 67r—a manuscript of Canterbury origin—contains some 11 bars of practically continuous dotted rhythm.

⁶⁰⁵ Robert Downes’ table of ornaments from Lbl Egerton MS 2971 from the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

⁶⁰⁶ See also T. Dart, ‘Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book for the Lute,’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 11 (1958).

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Edward Bevin's 'Graces in play' dating from around 1630, offers stylized, fingered, rhythmic solutions to single and double strokes.⁶⁰⁸ Helpful to an extent, it really only accounts for shorthand formulae for a melodic realization of longer note-values, here the minim; in other words, it is more akin to the Divisionist approach than to free gracing. Scholars are quick to corroborate the evidence found in Bevin with that of Prendcourt some 70 years on, and, putting two and two together, lead some to conclude that the single stroke always stood for the rising three-note slide.⁶⁰⁹ The slide will have been one of many actual solutions.



Table 5: Bevin's keyboard graces (c. 1630), Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 5r.

⁶⁰⁸ Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 5.

⁶⁰⁹ 'Captain' (François de) [Gutenberg von Weigolshausen], b. 1640s; d. 1725. Prendcourt's table of graces for harpsichord, in YM MS M.16(s), pp. 12, 120. See also the discussion at footnote 743. For an example of Prendcourt's lasting influence, see the preface to Fuller-Maitland and Squire, *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, xvi. This states: 'the [single-stroke ornament] apparently indicates a slide of a third upwards, or a double-appoggiatura, and possible occasionally a mordent.' Prendcourt may have confused the graceful melodic links between ornamented notes to bring him to the conclusion that English graces always employed a three-note slide.

Bars 3²–4 of the realized solution (on the lower system) equates to the range and shape of the Simpson's 'double relish'.⁶¹⁰ The double stroke of the final ornament is interesting on two counts. Firstly that, whereas two oblique lines between symbols represent the shaken element that is to be realized in demisemiquavers, two strokes passing through the stem remind us of modern reiteration shorthand for division into measured semiquavers, which is indeed how Bevin expresses it. (One can also observe in the realization that single line ornamentation may be leisurely, as compared to that indicated by double lines. It cannot be known whether this is coincidental.) The little hook at the start of the fourth grace is of disproportionate interest to its size, as it implies that the player starts the ornament from the upper note. Not yet an *appuyer* grace, but this is perhaps the very first time that the upper-auxiliary start is both specified and represented through symbol.

The double-organ voluntaries of Gibbons draw together composition and performance practice into a new soundworld. Gibbons approached the art of gracing from a peculiarly wide base. He uses and amplifies the common graces of the day, both by drawing on and extending the ornamental practices as expounded in Simpson, to imitate the turns and complex *gruppos*, slides and *coulés* of voices and instruments, and the dramatic, capricious flourishes of the kind of virtuoso keyboard music that brought his father fame. Telling also is Gibbons' preference for the 'long appoggiatura' (where the dissonant element is drawn out as long as possible), here used to harsh and poignant effect. Nowhere in the ornament tables is

⁶¹⁰ See also p. 224. Presumably Bevin's mistake is the addition of a sharp for the penultimate note (as the ornament passes nowhere near an *f*^{#1}).

the ‘prepared shake’ encountered so early and so vividly as in this small body of work.⁶¹¹ Veering away from the polite elegance found in English organ music, whilst making full combined use of the brisk rhythmic divisions and *tremblement*-types of decoration, Gibbons achieves the highest order of expressive melodic gracing.

These ultra-vivid practices appear to sit in sharp contrast to developments in France, where simplicity of grace is the order of the day. The first extant table of keyboard ornaments in a French source, Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers’ (c. 1632–1714) *Observations* of 1665, was clearly intended for the competent professional organist with a very good standard of instrument at his disposal.⁶¹² It illustrates that French musicians prized a pureness and simplicity of graceful ornamental style; what was being recorded in these earlier French keyboard sources is a world away from the systematized graces as codified by d’Anglebert in 1689. Entirely conceivable is that organist-composers were revealing a personal rather than national taste: Nivers’ 1665 table encompasses nothing more than beat, shake and a turned shake (executed both ‘également et promptemēt’); it also covers the realization of the *port de voix*.⁶¹³ Likewise, Jacques Champion de Chambonnières’ (1601–72) *Démonstration des Marques* of

⁶¹¹ See below: ‘Appuyer Gracing’ (p. 289), ‘Prepared Shake’ (p. 289) ‘Long Appoggiatura’ (p. 287). Frescobaldi and Froberger’s use of preparations are different, as they fulfil a harmonic function as ordinary suspensions in the *durezza e ligature* tradition. In French lute music a lingering in the first few elements of accelerating reiterated segments to a ‘tremolo’ is observed, as discussed in Part One: The Shake. The opening two bars of Froberger’s Toccata IX is a fine example for organ of rhythmic reiteration of segments.

⁶¹² Guillaume Gabriel Nivers, *Premier livre d’orgue* (Paris: The Author and Robert Ballard, 1665).

⁶¹³ See the preface to *Ibid.* In the section ‘De la Distinction et du Coulement [sliding, slurring or running together] des Notes’, the *port de voix* is explained as an aspect of touch. For a mid-seventeenth-century French keyboard player the concept of the *port de voix* as a brisk element seems very different to that used by organists of ten and twenty years on. See Part Two: The Long Appoggiatura.

1670 is a meagre affair, with a simple tremolo, mordent, *port de voix*, turn, *coulé* and *Harpegement*. There are no signs of *appuyer*-gracing here: simple finesse is the order of the day. The four French tables of ornaments are discussed briefly below—Nivers’ *Demonstration* of 1665, Chambonnières’ *Marques* of 1670, Raison’s *Demonstration* of 1688 and d’Anglebert’s *Marques* of 1689.

Nivers’ ‘Demonstration’ (1665)

One could be forgiven for thinking that Nivers’ meagre table must have been compiled for the amateur musician, but the volume contains difficult, stylized music for experienced organists with considerable instruments at their disposal. And although this music is detailed and decorated, it bears little stylistic resemblance to that of d’Anglebert some 20 or more years later; by this point d’Anglebert advanced the decoration of keyboard music to an entirely new realm of expressive possibilities. Even though it is at times heavily ornamented, in Nivers none of its richness is encountered.

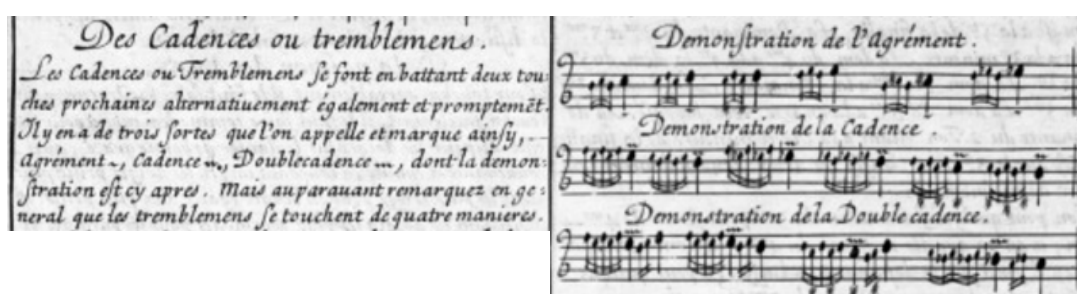


Table 6: *Demonstration de l'Agrément*, from Nivers’ *Livre d’Orgue* (1665). (Preface, p. 2.)

The chief observation is that there is no long appoggiatura to any of the shakes. Only with d'Anglebert, much later, does this expressive device become enshrined as a grace. Reference to the *port de voix* as a short appoggiatura comes to light in the section on 'ornamental touch'. (See Table 7).



Table 7: *De la Distinction et du Coulement* [sliding, slurring or running together] *des Notes*, from Nivers' *Livre d'Orgue* (1665). (Preface, p. 3.)⁶¹⁴

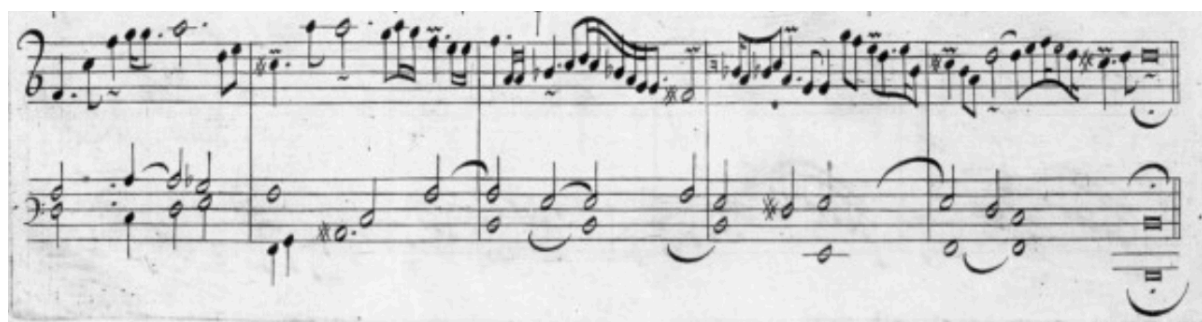


Figure 5: p. 4 of Nivers' *Livre d'Orgue*, showing *ports de voix* in the final system of the *Récit de Voix humaine*.

⁶¹⁴ While Nivers uses the little line that might be interpreted as forefall or backfall, this is merely for demonstration.

Regarding the *port de voix* (as seen in Table 7 and Figure 5, and as distinct from usage by later composers),⁶¹⁵ it is noted that the quaver before the Note is split into two and slurred into the next, the dissonance being before, rather than on the Note. By d'Anglebert the dissonant component of his *port de voix* moves onto the Note.

The table also shows lower-auxiliary starts to beats (called here '*l'Agrément*'), and upper-auxiliary starts to shakes ('*Cadence*'), and also upper-auxiliary-start turned shakes ('*Double cadence*').

Nivers' '*coulade*' is related to Simpson 'slur', except that, for polyphonic instruments, the preference seems to have been for the bottom note to be held.

Chambonnières' 'Marques' (1670)

Chambonnières incorporates a variety of new signs, otherwise this is a very simple table compared with later French sources.



Table 8: Chambonnières' *Demonstration des Marques*, from the preface of *Les Pièces de Clavecin, Livre Premier* (1670).

⁶¹⁵ In Chambonnières, for example, as seen in Table 8.

The shake in Chambonnières' music is nearly always joined by the turn notated in solid-notes.

Raison's 'Demonstration' (1688)

Compared to the simple and pure expressive concepts of Nivers and Chambonnières, note, in the following two tables, the explosion of a richly and excessive style of gracing.

Vous trouverez plus de Chiffres en beaucoup d'Endroits, C'est pour parvenir à bien couler les Intervalles et les agrèmens qui y sont et pour bien placer la main aux endroits qui seroient douteux pour Ceux qui n'ont pas eu de bons principes. Je ne doute pas q. vous ne sachiez bien que le pouce de chaque main est le 1^{er} doigt ainsi du reste jusqu'au 5^{me} qui est le petit. Si se rencontre quelqu'un qui ait de la peine à placer ses doigts coe. ils sont marqués, il n'a qu'à toucher les pieces coe. si il n'y avoit point de Chiffre. Je ne parle point des doigts qu'il faut mettre pour les cadences, Coulés, harpegem. et autres. Cause que je les marque aux endroits difficiles. Je feray seulem^t une Demonstration des Cadences et Agrèmens.

Demonstration des Cadences, et Agrèmens.

Il faut lever le 1^{er} doigt avant de terminer la Cadence
Il ne faut lever le 1^{er} doigt qu'après avoir posé l'ut le dern^r re de la Cadence tout avec le dern^r re pour

Table 9: André Raison's (c. 1650–1719) *Demonstration des Cadences, et Agrèmens* (1688).

D'Anglebert's 'Marques' (1689)

Table 10: *Marques des Agrements et leurs significations*, from d'Anglebert's *Pièces de clavecin* (1689).

In summary, although there may be a common perception of a French stylistic dominance on ornamentation in Restoration repertory, familiar expressive devices were almost certainly established in England and travelled in due course across the channel; this appears to be the case on paper at least, as will be seen. There will, of course, have been a measure of interchangeability of ideas wherever there was travel and communication, and as composer-performers relished in novelty, caprice and grandeur. But certain decorative aspects, such as the prepared shake, even the upper-ornament *per se*, were not the sole preserve of the French:

these expressions became so systematized by their composers that they have come to be understood as theirs.

This study proposes that, at a time of strong Italian influence in English music and life in general, it was the English who through the virtuoso virginalist and viol traditions had been standing at the forefront of developing dazzlingly colourful ornamental ideas; Elizabethan composers in particular, in turn had left a powerful influence on the continent. The Restoration gave the English a musical platform to share some new highly-charged expressions that will doubtless have won appeal. From his position at the highest musical echelon of English Society, as the King's First Organist Christopher Gibbons was tasked with finding an aural expression of confidence in a restored, forward-looking order. His performances on the world stages of Whitehall and Westminster will doubtless have aroused strong curiosity, and they are likely to have transmitted their powerful expressive formulae forward once again to the European courts, and to the door of the French Court composers in particular, just as Maugars had done some half-a-century previously.

The Application of Graces

In the *Complete Organ Music of John Blow*, Barry Cooper urges that 'modern performers should pay close attention to [the ornament signs] and in general play them as indicated, rather than just use them as a rough guide to a freely ornamented performance.'⁶¹⁶ This advice is perhaps more appealing than that found in many performing editions, which at best, almost invariably

⁶¹⁶ Blow, *Complete Organ Music*, xxv.

resort to reproducing the inadequate table for ‘Harpsichord or Spinnet’ published under the Purcell name, or, at worst, unhelpfully suggest that the performer should ‘use their discretion’.⁶¹⁷ Given the inconsistency in ornamentation symbols across the sources—perhaps especially within and across the music of Blow—and considering that this is a period where little importance was attached to consistency in spelling, even of places and proper names, should we really expect to apply any sound level of uniformity?⁶¹⁸ It was a token of the performer’s prowess that he could move a listener’s sensibilities, and this will have included the artifice of gracing *ex tempore*. Pier Francesco Tosi (c. 1653–1732) urged musicians to ‘make new Graces, from whence ... he will chuse the best’:

[to use them] as long as he thinks them so; but, going on in refining, he will find others more deserving his esteem ... he will increase his Store of Embellishments in a Stile which will be entirely his own.⁶¹⁹

Thus the application of embellishment should be an inventive and personal part of the interpretative process, and as such will be authentic to the original purpose of the repertory; it should be a liberating experience for the performer and listener alike.

⁶¹⁷ Howard Ferguson’s interpretation of the graces is found in Howard Ferguson, *Keyboard interpretation from the 14th to the 19th century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 148–50. The quote is to Rayner, *Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676), Keyboard Compositions*, xiv. Here Caldwell states: ‘Most likely the [...] the ornaments were added at the discretion of the performer, a practice typical of Baroque performance. The present editor [*recte* Clare G Raynor (1967)] hopes that the performer will use the same discretion in interpreting these voluntaries, since it was impractical to indicate which MS produced which ornament.’ The Purcell here, however, is Henry’s widow Frances (1659–1705). See below.

⁶¹⁸ Even in Frescobaldi’s detailed and well-prepared publications, it is noted that accidentals, ties and other details are very often inconsistent, even misleading.

⁶¹⁹ P. F. Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song* (London: J. Wilcox, 1743).

The century saw the first codification of ornamental practice and the emergence of so-called tables of graces.⁶²⁰ But more helpful are the invaluable written-out ornaments to be found in (or correlated through) repertoire in contemporaneous sources. These manuscripts likely served as teaching resources, or were records of performance practice, or perhaps of new-found expressive formulae. However, no English table exists for actual keyboard ornamental practice until Frances Purcell's aforementioned *Choice Lessons* right at the end of the century, destined for the domestic, amateur market. This means that performers must determine just about everything about this aspect of performance practice from the manuscripts themselves.⁶²¹

Purcell's 'Graces' (1696)

It should be remembered that Frances Purcell's imperfect table relates to amateur music-making for harpsichord and spinet, and as such may be far removed from the idiomatic graces associated with the professional organist. It is also over 30 years later than many of the Restoration sources explored in this study. Purcell's graces certainly seem lighter, seldom producing any risk of ugliness: this is *gentil* music for the professionally genteel.

⁶²⁰ It is difficult to know whether the tables, embedded within parent treatises, were retrospectives of common practice of the day, or consciously aimed at promoting a richer level of artistry and expression. They are, however, unlikely to represent the desire on the composer or publisher's part to standardize, given that homogeneity in written communication of the period was, in the main, largely anathema, and the means by which they conveyed information seemingly extraordinarily haphazard.

⁶²¹ Henry Purcell, *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinet* (London: Playford, 1696).

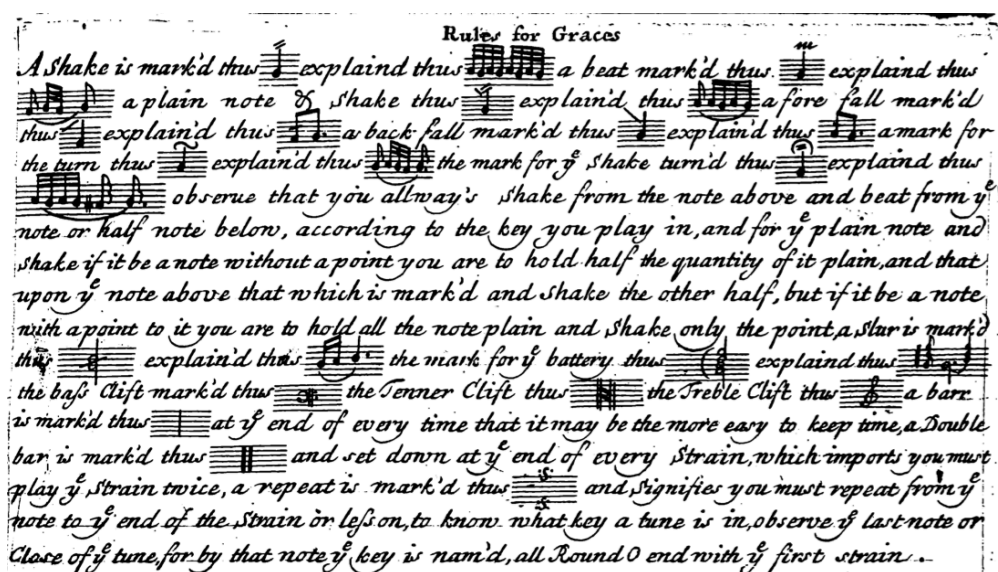


Table 11: Frances Purcell's 'Rules for Graces' from the fourth page of the preface to *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (London, 1696).

Howard Ferguson's 1975 revision adds a tie to Purcell's 'plain note & Shake'.⁶²² This is probably erroneous, as Simpson's parallel symbol the 'backfall shaken' contains the repeated upper auxiliary note, just as in Purcell's.

In the case of Christopher Gibbons, it is fortunate that trouble was taken to record his performing style in generally precise and comprehensible detail. With no available system to express the stylized complexity of Gibbons' decorative innovations, the transcriber was limited to the solid-notes of conventional notation.⁶²³ Here, certain ornamental shapes are

⁶²² See also footnote 691 on p. 272.

⁶²³ The term 'solid-notes' coined so as to show a distinction to the shorthand signs.

recognisable from the Simpson–Coleman table, and others seem new and fresh. However, the transcriber also used the ubiquitous double stroke (with the very occasional single stroke), presumably to denote the accents and alternations of the standard ornamental keyboard practice of the day. It is the purpose of the present study to look into the contour and context of each of these symbols, and into the ornamental shapes conveyed through solid notes, so as to present the complexity of its findings in detail in Parts Two and Three.

The nature of the organ is such that all notes are as strong as each other, thus the relative lengths of keystrokes determine the relative strength of solid-notes versus graces. For instance, in Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries, it is noted that the left hand invites a firmer, rougher degree of embellishment.⁶²⁴ Whilst Hunter acknowledges that the 'concept of improvised embellishment transcends the instrumental context', Christopher Gibbons, more than any English organist-composer, treats his instrument almost as a keyed wind consort.⁶²⁵ Part Two charts the boldness of his decorative style.

Composers, lulled by the persuasive expressive qualities they encountered through vocal and instrumental music, doubtless found their new ideas troublesome to commit to paper. Alongside the single and double strokes used since Elizabethan times, a much wider catalogue of ornamental shapes is encountered than is generally used today, a range 'as

⁶²⁴ Simpson informs: 'Of [the graces], some are more rough and Masculine; as, your shaked Beats and Backfals; and therefore more peculiar to the Basse.' See Simpson–Coleman's table of graces (1659) on p. 225. The study looked into the possibility that Christopher Gibbons may have been left-handed, however, the slant of his handwriting, his note-formation, and particularly the angle of his barlines, indicate that he was not.

⁶²⁵ Desmond Hunter, 'The Application of (Ornamental) Strokes in English Virginalist Music,' *Performance Practice Review* 9, no. 1 (1996), 79. Double and single strokes were not transplanted by so-called Italian symbols until well into the seventeenth century.

sophisticated and comprehensive as the French *Agréments*'.⁶²⁶ And, whilst there is not much of a stenographic overlap within the separate repertories for keyboard, strings, lute and winds, there is a distinct concurrence of expressive intention peculiar to time and place.

In general terms, it is observed that, throughout early English keyboard music, ornament symbols are not used with any level of consistency. Their performance must likewise have lacked consistency too, or perhaps that consistency was a quality that was not at all important. A telling example is the interchangeability of sigla in *Melothesia*, a publication of keyboard music that was evidently overseen by the composer himself, according to the title-page, but where ornamentation is poorly inconsistent from piece to piece as well as within pieces.⁶²⁷ Where there seems to be general agreement, however, is in the application of upper-ornaments and of lower. The anonymous *Rules for Gracing on the Flutes* found in John Channing's manuscript book of *circa* 1695 establishes the essential guiding principle that 'all Ascending Prick't notes are Beaten. all Descending are shaken.' This notion appears to hold true for the earlier repertories too, where, for example, Orlando Gibbons' keyboard works conform to this pattern in the overwhelming majority of instances.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁶ See Section 6 of Kenneth Kreitner, Louis Jambou, Desmond Hunter, Stewart A. Carter, Peter Walls, Kah-Ming Ng, David Schulenberg, and Clive Brown, 'Ornaments.' *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 12 September 2021).

⁶²⁷ Locke, *Melothesia*.

⁶²⁸ Hunter, 'The Application of (Ornamental) Strokes in English Virginalist Music,' 78. Hunter posits that the double and single strokes found in music for virginals were not associated with specific formulae. Fingering preserved in Lbl Add. MS 31403 (probably dating from the first half of the seventeenth century) and through *Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book* (c. 1620, Lbl RM MS 23.1.4), confirms this view. The preference for the single over the double stroke, or vice versa, seems in some cases to be entirely variable, perhaps even down to a copyist's taste, or indeed haste (much as one might alternate a single or double stroke through the pound sign, as did the Bank of England more or less equally since 1725 until 1971—the so-called 'one-bar' and 'two-bar' style—intermittently and sometimes concurrently. (The Bank of England, 'Withdrawn banknotes.' <www.bankofengland.co.uk/

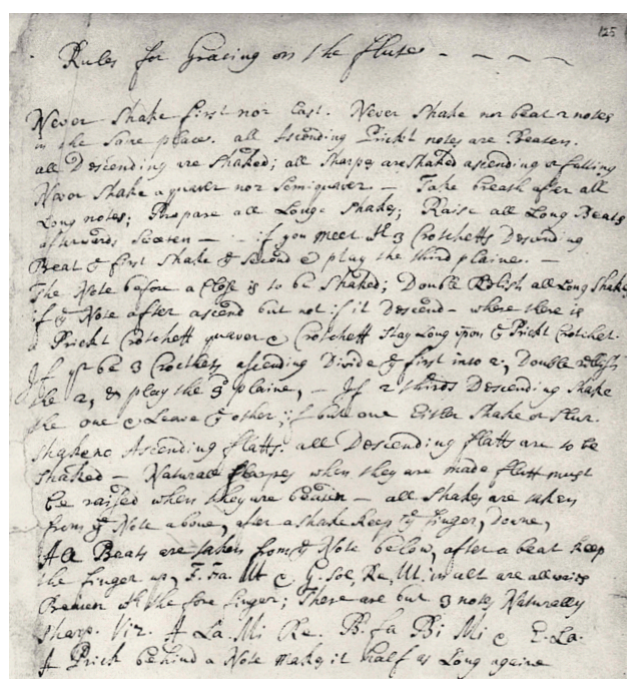


Table 12: John Channing's *Rules for Gracing on the Flute* (c. 1694). Lbl Add. MS 35043, f. 124v–125r. A series of rules for adding ornaments on ascending, descending and repeated notes. The 1695 rules were incorporated into most English tutors until as late as 1780.

banknotes> (Accessed 13 September 2021).) In *Parthenia* (1612–3), the copyist employs only through-the-stem double strokes for the entire volume, save for eight seemingly randomly placed single-stroke ornaments within a 12-bar section of Orlando Gibbons' *The Lord of Salisbury his Pavin*, and another in Orlando Gibbons' *Galiardo* (No. 16, at b. 3). In Lbl MS Mus. 1591 (*My Ladye Nevells Booke*, of 1591) the copyist John Baldwin uses only a handful of single-stroke signs (on f. 46 only) among many hundreds of double-stroke symbols contained within its 192 folios of music. There is also one on f. 141r, but this may conceivably have originated as the correction of a minim to a semibreve. Whilst many commentators after Hunter have offered solutions to the association of particular signs with particular ornament types or groups, the apparent inconsistency of ornamental application continues to frustrate one of the chief aspects of performance practice. The present study has, however, revealed certain trends in the printed music of Orlando Gibbons. For instance, in *A Fancy in C fa ut*, ignoring the many ornaments placed at the start of a point and those placed on repeated notes, it is observed that 69% of single strokes are found when the note rises from a lower note, and 79% of double strokes are found when the ornamented note falls from a higher note. A study of Orlando Gibbons' *A ffancy in Gamut flatt* revealed 86% falling double strokes, with 79% rising single strokes. Thus the evidence, at least from these latter two pieces, points to single strokes likely representing simple under-ornaments—forefalls, or more likely beats—and double strokes signifying over-ornaments, or shakes. (As for the ornaments placed on a note to start a point, and for those placed on repeated notes, a mixture of single and double-stroke signs is deployed.) Further, through analyzing harmonic function, there is compelling evidence that their incidental ornaments often, if not generally, invite a principal-note start, just as the biting mordents of modern practice. Fingering from Lbl Add. MS 31403 and RM MS 23.1.4 strongly confirms this as a principle, even though the signs themselves are unreliable.

RULES FOR GRACING ON THE FLUTE

Never shake first nor last [note]. Never shake nor beat 2 notes in the same place. all Ascending Prickt notes are Beaten. all Descending are shaken; all sharpes are shaken ascending or falling. Never shake a quaver nor Semi-quaver.—Take breath after all Long notes; Prepare all Longe shakes; Raise all Long Beats afterwards Sweeten—; if you meet wth 3 Crotchets Descending Beat y^e first shake y^e second & play the third plaine.—The Note before a Close is to be shaken; Double Relish all Long Shakes if y^e Note after ascend but not if it descend—where there is a Prickt Crotchett quaver & Crotchett stay Long upon y^e Prickt Crotchett. If y^e be 3 Crochets [*sic*] ascending Divide y^e first into 2; Double relish the 2, & play the 3^d plaine.—If 2 thirds Descending shake the one & Leave y^e other; if but one Either shake or Slur. Shake no Ascending flats. all Descending flats are to be shaken—Naturall sharpes when they are made flatt must be raised when they are beaten—all shakes are taken from y^e Note above, after a Shake keep y^e finger, downe, All Beats are taken from y^e Note below, after a beat keep the finger up. F.Fa.Ut & G.Sol, Re, Ut in alt are allwaies Beaten wth the forefinger; There are but 3 notes Naturally sharp. Viz. A La.Mi Re. B.fa Bi Mi & E.La. A Prick behind a Note makes it half as Long againe.

Table 13: Transcript of Table 12, above.

There are six interrelating categories of ornaments: firstly, the ‘smooth graces’ and the ‘shaked graces’.⁶²⁹ Then upper-auxiliary ornaments and the lower-auxiliary ones; those before the Note, and those found on the Note.⁶³⁰ Further distinction is drawn between languorous ‘prepared graces’ and short, rapid ‘incidental graces’; this also distinguishes the ‘structural’—in cadential and melodic decoration, for instance—from the ‘superficial’—as it is used in passagework. The use of decorative links between notes falls almost into a separate category,

⁶²⁹ Terms borrowed from Christopher Simpson’s *Division-Violist* (1659). Here the author differentiated between decoration that was smooth and that which was shaken: ‘Smooth is, when in rising or falling a Tone or Semitone, we draw [...] the Sound from one Note to another, in imitation of the Voyce [...] Shaked Graces we call those that are performed by a Shake or Tremble of a Finger.’ (Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 9.)

⁶³⁰ Here, as throughout, the term ‘Note’, capitalised as such, is used in the sense of ‘a note on a beat’ so as to avoid using the word ‘beat’, which, in commentary on seventeenth-century ornamentation would become extremely confusing.

where ‘in 17th-century usage, the distinction between graces and divisions is somewhat blurred.’⁶³¹ What is ornamented, what is left plain, and the shape and placing of each, is a creative matter that, in contrast to the necessarily simplistic nature of the tables, offers up an overwhelming number of variables.

‘Smooth’ graces are characterised as such in Simpson, with the ‘beat’ (more familiarly called the forefall), backfall, double-backfall, elevation, spinger (elsewhere ‘springer’) and cadent, being melodic smoothing devices based on the employment of one, two or even three appoggiaturas, before or on the Note.⁶³² On the other hand, Simpson’s ‘shaked graces’ are energetic and percussive, generally alternating two notes in rapid succession, often joined by a higher or lower note to the start or to the close, to soften and smooth the contour. The addition of initial and/or terminating turns—called ‘relishes’—may start on the ornamented note in question, terminate it, or form a complex *gruppo* both before and after—such as the ‘double relish’.


In sources of music from the English Renaissance, long notes, generally speaking, were decorated promptly from the outset, and decoration continued for the duration of the note. However, this was not always the case in the Restoration, where a distinctive feature is

⁶³¹ Hunter, ‘The Application of (Ornamental) Strokes in English Virginalist Music,’ 79. The author continues: ‘Indeed, within the wider context of European practice, authors of some treatises describe “embellishment patterns without distinguishing between graces and divisions.” Thomas Mace’s reference to the double relish in his list of graces and the inclusion of this form of embellishment in Colman’s table (quoted by Christopher Simpson and John Playford) take us into the realm of divisions, as, indeed, does Roger North’s explanation of the slur. In his description of the slur North admits the possibility of an ascent or descent of a 5th, something akin to a *tirata*. This provides further evidence that the virginalist signs may relate to a wide range of embellishments, from one- and two-note graces to elaborate divisions.’

⁶³² For ‘springer’ see footnote 671.

that some ornaments do not get under way until halfway through.⁶³³ A long note can even be split into four separate notes, with an ornament placed on each component. In this way, it is appreciated how the opening point of Purcell's double-organ voluntary (Z.719) may have come about. Very often a melodic flourish connects one note into another, and an ornamental feature heard at the start of the Note is very often notated as the termination of the previous Note.⁶³⁴ A persistent feature is the transient instability that characterises the start of an ornamented note, which lends this repertory a unique, stylized voice.

A note on the comma ornament

As an example of the complexity and idiosyncrasy of the application of ornaments, the 1670 organbook at Wimborne Minster contains several 'comma ornaments'—otherwise unknown in organ music—placed beside a 'plain shake'.⁶³⁵ Consulting Simpson's table, one might reasonably assume that the comma denotes the falling appoggiatura of a backfall, and, given that this symbol morphs into a variety of three stroke signs, including  denoting the 'backfall & shake', this would appear to confirm that assumption.⁶³⁶ However, consulting bars 26–30 of Portman's double-organ voluntary, a left-hand upward scale is peppered with the

⁶³³ E.g. Blow's Voluntary No. 1 where the minim is divided into two crotchets, the second of which is shaken.

⁶³⁴ See Part One: Ribbon Ornaments.

⁶³⁵ *Wimborne Organ Book* (WB P.10), specifically ff. 3v–5r. For further commentary on the comma ornament see Vallet (above, p. 222).

⁶³⁶ Tabled at Figure 29. For Simpson–Coleman's table see p. 224.

same type of symbol: the use of ‘backfall & shake’ here offers an ineffective solution.⁶³⁷ Practically, it seems more likely that (with reference to this particular piece within this particular manuscript) the symbol-type accounts for the ‘turned shake’, each with principal-note start—which then applies perfectly well throughout. However, in the previous folio (for Christopher Gibbons’ *Verse for a Single Organ*), this does not render a satisfactory solution, harmonically speaking; a simple lower ornament may perhaps be the more obvious, logical solution.

Analytical Method

This study examines the entire corpus of organ music, through comparison within and across sources copied across the date-range. In the majority of cases, the original manuscripts were consulted and transcribed. Important sources, such as Lbl Add. MSS 31403, 31446, 31468 and 34695, J-Tn N3/35, Och Mus. 47 and Och Mus. 1176, the printed book *The Psalms by Dr Blow*, gave many powerful insights.⁶³⁸ Lesser sources of Och Mus. 15 (ff. 44–89), Och Mus. 1142a (ff. 1–20), Och Mus. 1177 and Och Mus. 1179, WB P.10 proved to be equally important. Some very minor sources, (containing short voluntaries/verses, and/or pieces containing very few ornaments), were accessed but not directly consulted, namely Lcm 2093, Cfm 652, Lbl Egerton MS 2959, Lbl RM MS 21.d.8 (ff. 65–6), Ob Mus.Sch.c.93 (ff. 61–6). *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, *Parthenia*, *My Ladye Nevells Booke*, *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the*

⁶³⁷ WB P.10, ff. 3v–4r.

⁶³⁸ John Blow, *The Psalms by Dr. Blow Set full for the Organ or Harpsicord as they are Play'd in Churches or Chapels* (London: Walsh, 1730). This is a later reprint from the original edition 1703, now lost.

Harpsichord or Spinnet and *The Harpsicord Master* have all been carefully examined, both through analysis and performance. Further, a secure practical knowledge of *The Mulliner Book*, Frescobaldi's First and Second Books, Froberger's First and Second Books of Toccatas and of Orlando Gibbons' keyboard *oeuvre* greatly contributed to understanding the contexts of Restoration ornamentation.⁶³⁹ All sources for Christopher Gibbons' organ music were consulted directly from primary source material. Taken together, they represent the extant organ music of English composers Blow, Locke, Purcell, Rogers, Bryne, Hingeston, and the plethora of anonymous pieces, many of which were copied by competent organists Lowe, Purcell, Daniel Henstridge (died 1736), George Holmes and Nicholas Harrison.⁶⁴⁰ A particularly thorough examination was carried out on the extant organ music of Orlando Gibbons, Benjamin Cosyn and Thomas Tomkins.

Further, the context of each and every ornament symbol was analysed across and within sources; all ornaments were practically assessed for hand-positioning and fingering, rhythmic implication and tempo, and for clarity and pacing when placed simultaneously against another ornament; there were considerations for tessitura and key compass and, of course, melodic contour and harmonic function.

⁶³⁹ Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura, Libro 1* (Rome: Nicolò Borbone, 1616). Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il secondo libro di toccate* (Rome: Nicolò Borbone, 1627). Froberger's toccatas are listed according to Adler's 1897–1903 edition. (Johann Jacob Froberger, *Orgel- und Clavierwerke* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1897).)

⁶⁴⁰ Blow's organ works are compiled in Blow, *Complete Organ Music*. This volume represents the single largest extant body of Restoration organ music, although the ascription of a great many pieces is complex and unreliable. See Cooper, 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music.' Anonymous material as detailed in 'Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts' in Herissone, *Musical Creativity*.

It is beyond the scope of the present study to build an appreciation of every ornamental practice in Europe and across different instrumental genres.⁶⁴¹ But, in order to fully appreciate Gibbons' originality, it is important first to put English ornamentation, both of the period and of the time of his upbringing, into context of a shared heritage of Italian, French, as well as of indigenous decorative practice.

⁶⁴¹ See 'ornamentation and diminutions' in 'Sources Database.' *Early Music Sources.com* <www.earlymusicsources.com/Sources-database> (Accessed 17 September 2021). Of Dutch organ ornamentation remarkably little is understood, save that Dutch organ music of the seventeenth century shares its heritage with English virginalists. Bradshaw writes: 'As Curtis has pointed out, ornaments of the English variety, either double or single strokes, occur in many of the Sweelinck MSS and it is likely, perhaps necessary, that such ornaments should be added to all of Sweelinck's compositions. Both signs have different meanings in different contexts, or at least stand for several different ornaments, and could be interpreted freely as mordents or trills (beginning on either the upper note or on the main one—Sweelinck wrote both).' (Murray C. Bradshaw, 'The Toccatas of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck,' *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 25, no. 2 (1975).)

Part One: The Graces

The Smooth Graces

The Forefall ✓

The forefall symbol, signifying a lower-ornament, undoubtedly relates to sixteenth-century Italian vocal practice, namely the *portar la voce* as tabled by Rognoni, involving a gradual rise in pitch over the duration of the note.⁶⁴² Naming it a ‘Plain-beat or Rise’, Simpson in his instruction for viol players speaks of how ‘we seem to draw as it were, the Sound from one *Note* to another, in imitation of the *Voice*.’⁶⁴³ The grace may too be related to the incisive *accentus* as described by Michael Praetorius and Giovanni Battista Bovicelli (c. 1550–c. 1597), being a lower appoggiatura performed on the Note.⁶⁴⁴ The concept was to take root in France as the *port de voix*, although the upward oblique stroke is never used for this.⁶⁴⁵ For keyboard composers such as Nivers, Chambonnières and Louis Couperin (c. 1626–61), the *port de voix* stands for a rapid, rhythmic grace. Chambonnières’ notated explanation is given at Figure 6,

⁶⁴² Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare*, 1. See also Sion M. Honea, ‘Translation of Chrisoph Bernhard’s ‘Cercar della nota Von der Singe-Kunst, oder Maniera’ (c.1650).’ <www.uco.edu/cfad/files/music/bernhard-kompositionslehre.pdf> (Accessed 12 September 2021). For a summary of European Ornamentation Practice in the Seventeenth Century see Pia Praetorius, ‘Graces: Ornamentation Practice in the Seventeenth Century,’ *Workshop on the Diminution Practices of the 16th & 17th Centuries for the Egidier Musikwerkstatt* (2017)

⁶⁴³ Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 9. Italics original.

⁶⁴⁴ See Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 3: 233. (The three volumes are dated 1614–1620). Also G. B. Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1594), 9ff. For a composer as inventive as Frescobaldi it is surprising that he did not make use of this expressive grace. Bach included various appoggiaturas in the *Klavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, which, incidentally, he also called ‘accent.’

⁶⁴⁵ However, see Table 7 (p. 232).

but, that this ornament probably had several related meanings is implied by two further variants. Nivers expresses it more as a phrasing, or as an articulation—a slurred quick scoop just before the Note, either from above or from below, from adjacent notes.⁶⁴⁶ An example of what is meant is given at Figure 7, the g^2 being slurred into the shaken f^2 , likewise the e^2 slurred to the following f^2 ; the slur notion is also explicit in Louis Couperin (Figure 8). For Chambonnières the denoting cross implies that the dissonant element falls on the Note (Figure 9).



Figure 6: The *port de voix* from Chambonnières' 'Marques' (1670).

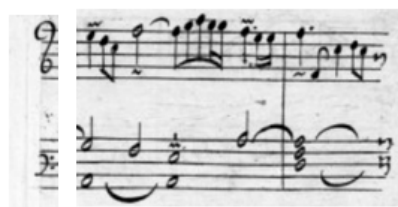


Figure 7: Two *ports de voix*, both upper and lower, in b. 8 of *Recit de Cromhorne* (p. 6) of Nivers' *Livre d'Orgue* (1665).⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁶ See Nivers' 'Demonstration' (1665).

⁶⁴⁷ Nivers, *Premier livre d'orgue*.

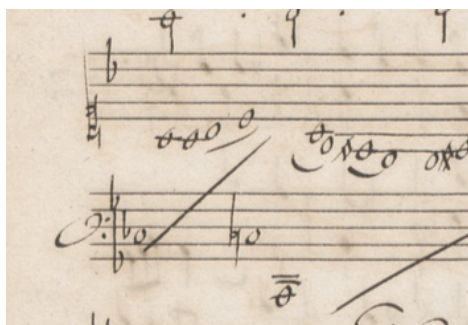


Figure 8: A notated *port de voix* in the Prelude by Louis Couperin (f. 7v of F-Pnm: Rés Vm7, 67⁴–75).

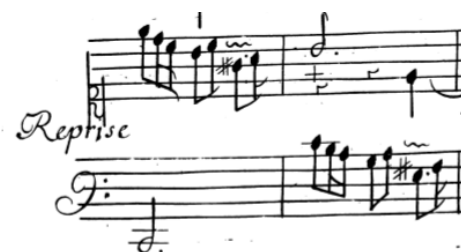


Figure 9: A *port de voix* from b. 13 of *Gaillarde* (p. 16) of Chambonnières' *Livre d'Orgue* (1670).

For Simpson the sign represents the escape note or 'spinger'/'springer'.⁶⁴⁸ The stroke is occasionally associated with the three-note slide or 'slur'.⁶⁴⁹ As an 'under ornament', the forefall may also have an independent connection to the virginalists' single stroke crossing

⁶⁴⁸ Confusingly, the forefall was called 'half-fall' by Mace and appears as a 'beat' in Simpson's ornament table. See Simpson's 'Graces' (1659). Doubly confusing is that Purcell repeatedly used the 'beat' (the lower mordent) where the forefall might otherwise be expected: the forefall to him perhaps being more expressive and melodic, and the beat more percussive. Indeed, there are very many instances across the sources of a mix-and-match nature of forefall or beat, sometimes even a forefall with beat, that is, the forefall symbol placed before the note, with the a beat symbol above. Imitative voluntaries of the period regularly begin with a forefall, only to be substituted in subsequent entries by a beat; or, vice versa, where a beat (or even a shake) simplifies later to a forefall. The interchangeability in execution was commonplace. The executor should however not be concerned with consistency, as the root of this material is in improvisation.

⁶⁴⁹ Discussed further in this section.

through a note's stem.⁶⁵⁰ The least contentious realization is as a lower mordent: this avoids the momentary destabilization of the harmony associated with striking a lower appoggiatura, although it is entirely possible that this may have occasionally been the desired ornamental effect.

The forefall is also found where a two-note slide up to the note is dictated by the melodic context; more concrete evidence for this is seldom observed across a piece or across sources of the same piece. Although Simpson describes the grace as 'now something obsolete', this three-note slide may have been quite common; after all, it represents the 'smoothed' terminus of the 'shake turn'd', and indeed of the elegant turn itself.⁶⁵¹ In England such a gesture is variously called slur, elevation, double-forefall, double roulade or whole-fall. (Mace calls the ordinary forefall a 'half-fall'.)⁶⁵² That throughout the period so many forefall signs are placed on the Note after a shake (or turned shake) implies that the forefall may in such cases be considered a *terminus* rather than an *initus*.⁶⁵³ Such a realization is particularly effective in much of Blow's organ music and, for example, in the *Hundredth Psalm Tune* (Z.721).

Oftentimes, especially in Blow and Christopher Gibbons, a four or five-note slide is actually notated where perhaps the simple forefall sign might otherwise have been expected. Indeed copyists sometimes notate an over-long line, a flourish of the pen which strongly

⁶⁵⁰ Discussed at footnote 628.

⁶⁵¹ Simpson, *Division-Violist*, 9.

⁶⁵² Thomas Mace used a range of idiosyncratic signs to accompany the note symbols of lute tablature: 'The Names, and Marks of the Graces for Lute' (1676: Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 22: 102.) It is noted here that the slur and the slide are one and the same; it is possible that one had a held note, as in the French *coulé*.

⁶⁵³ See also The 'Shake Turn'd', below.

suggests the dramatic, *tirata*-like gesture. Forefalls used over large intervals therefore beg a variety of solutions.⁶⁵⁴

The forefall symbol may have stood for the percussive three-note lower mordent, or a more expressive four-note lower mordent starting on the lower auxiliary, the latter context being akin to Simpson's 'shaked beat'.⁶⁵⁵ Even fastidious Henry Aldrich (1648–1710), copying what is possibly Christopher Gibbons' reworking of his father's three-part string fantasia, interchanges forefalls and backfalls throughout; even the rising oblique double lines of the shake soon interchange for a pair of oblique lines falling.⁶⁵⁶

As for the length of the forefall, tables suggest a quarter:three-quarter ratio, which affords variable speed and intensity—from a semiquaver (when preceding a dotted quaver), to a quaver (relating to a dotted crotchet), all the way to a languorous crotchet (relating to a dotted minim).

The Backfall \

As an upper-auxiliary ornament, the backfall may have derived from the virginalists' single stroke ornament, and may equally have developed quite independently. Perhaps because it throws up a certain roughness of harmonic ambiguity—the frisson of dissonance through the

⁶⁵⁴ See below: Forefalls and Backfalls in practice.

⁶⁵⁵ Actually a 'shaked forefall', since Simpson confusingly calls his forefall a 'beat' (whereas his 'sp(r)inger' is confusingly notated as a 'forefall').

⁶⁵⁶ Och Mus. 15, f. 86. Andrew Woolley has pointed out that random angling of single strokes was common before 1670. (*English Keyboard Music 1650–1695: Perspectives on Purcell*, ed. Andrew Woolley, Purcell Society Companion Series, 6 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2018), xxiv–xxv.)

jerky backward-dotted rhythm—this special feature, typical to English organ music of the period, can be troublesome to apply.

Another characteristic expressive shape associated with Restoration music might well be referred to as the ‘Blow appoggiatura’. Essentially a vocal grace, it represents a lingering of a previous consonant disjunct note, becoming acutely dissonant against new undergoing harmony. It is used to fine expressive effect throughout Blow’s opera *Venus and Adonis*, as illustrated in Figure 10. It is found in the keyboard music of Blow and frequently in Purcell, usually fully written out, such as at Figures 11 and 12. It represents a distinctive solution to bridge an interval of a fourth or more.⁶⁵⁷

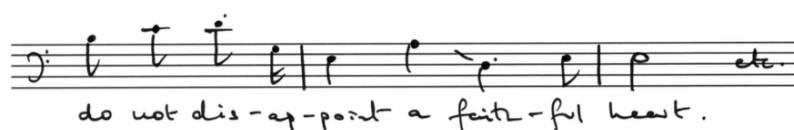


Figure 10: Blow’s *Venus and Adonis*, Act 1: first Duet (‘Slow’)—b. 11, sung by Adonis.

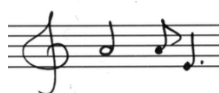


Figure 11: The anonymous Voluntary in A Minor from Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 67r (b. 6). The quaver *a'* clashes deliriously with *g*[#] and *c'* directly underneath it.

⁶⁵⁷ See also the *saltus duriusculus* *a*²–*b*¹ in b. 24 of Blow’s Voluntary No. 2 (Lbl Add. MS 31468 ff. 9v–10r) whose backfall is represented by an overlong oblique line. It seems entirely probable that this is intended at b. 34 of Blow’s Voluntary No. 5b, also indicated by a backfall.

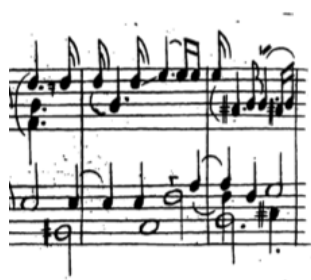


Figure 12: Sequential 'Blow appoggiaturas' in Purcell's *Lesson in G Minor* from *Choice Collection*, p. 8 (bb. 4–6).

Purcell's favoured use of the backfall, as a light note to bridge melodic thirds, is illustrated at Figure 13.⁶⁵⁸ Dotted, Lombardic or anacrusic solutions provide a tariff of choices for the expression of dissonance.⁶⁵⁹



Figure 13: Backfalls in the opening bars of Purcell's *Verse in F* (Z.716).

Forefalls and Backfalls in practice

Many of the above-mentioned formulae did not originally involve a terminating shake, but it was in English organ music where this particular expressive device was to find its home as the 'Fore-fall and Shake' and 'Back-fall and Shake'.

⁶⁵⁸ Seen throughout *The Harpsicord Master* (London: John Walsh, 1697).

⁶⁵⁹ See also Figures 20, 41, 42 and 52.

While upper and lower appoggiaturas found their place in the expressive armoury of the early French composers Louis Couperin and Nivers, for them this seems to have been a percussive accent, rather than a more languorous expressive grace. As a distinctive melodic grace, the plain upper appoggiatura found favour with composers of the high Baroque.⁶⁶⁰

Backfalls, fully-realized with rhythmic solutions, are found in several sources of Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries. Examples given at Figures 14 and 15 show that the effect was sometimes Lombardic, however, in Figures 16 and 17, similar shapes are not, suggesting that they were not always played rigidly in their rhythmic division, but were to be played freely, with grace.

Simpson demonstrates that the shakes and backfalls are most effective for bass melodies. This seems certainly to be the case for Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries wherein left hand solos take on an agile, heroic character, such as in Figure 14.⁶⁶¹ Within much of the keyboard repertory of the period, a certain simplification is found in ornamental detail when melodic ideas transfer to the bass. Whether there is a simplification or a ramping up of decorative order (or indeed if the copyist had been lazy), once again a certain interchangeability in execution is deduced.

⁶⁶⁰ J.S. Bach's *Vater unser im Himmelreich* BWV 682 has forefalls and backfalls embedded (as solid-notes in Lombard rhythm) into the opening melody. For Classical and the Early Romantic composers, the appoggiatura regained its appeal as an expressive device, particularly in the pathetic melodies of Mozart and Chopin.

⁶⁶¹ Cf. footnote 624.

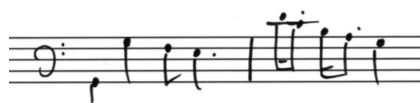


Figure 14: Backfalls notated as accented appoggiaturas in Christopher Gibbons' [Single] Voluntary in C (bb. 29–30).



Figure 15: Ibid. (b. 25).



Figure 16: Ibid. (bb. 33–4).

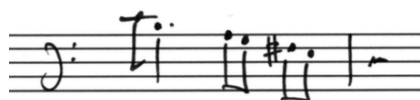


Figure 17: Ibid. (b. 37).

The accented appoggiatura is a suitable solution for the solo bass in bar 40 of the *Hundredth Psalm Tune* (Z.721). As the forefall in its purest form is generally nothing more than a simple rising appoggiatura, or accented/unaccented passing note, this grace can, in Restoration

sources, also be the expressive toolkit's sharpest tool, seemingly reserved for moments of heightened tension and for the brightest highpoints; it very often represents the zenith of a coloratura phrase. Correlating the sources, the forefall could even be used a chromatic ornament of the most poignant order.⁶⁶² Whereas English ornament tables prescribe sole use on the Note, it may also be found in an anacrusic position. In both cases, a rhythmic solution may be suggested, particularly in voluntaries with a prevailing dotted-note character.⁶⁶³

The rough effect of the backfall is coloured further—or perhaps in the sense of being softened—by shaking the note. Copyists routinely interchange backfall for shake, suggesting this was common practice. Backfalls are occasionally found at cadential points, where their syncopated dissonance should be enjoyed to the full.

Sometimes a backfall in one source becomes a five-finger slide (q.v.) in another, either before or on the Note. Occasionally two backfalls are found in quick succession. In this case, and given that there is much exchangeability between backfall and lower mordent, it may be unlikely that both are rendered exactly the same. The backfall is also used to point flattened

⁶⁶² See Basset's instructions for dash and comma symbols in vol. 3, *Livre second des Instrumens*, prop. ix, 79 of Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique*. Commentary at p. 222 and Part Two: The Long Appoggiatura.

⁶⁶³ Examples are suggested in the two anonymous Frescobaldi transcriptions (by Henstridge?) in Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 65r, in the beautiful anonymous voluntary in Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 66v (and J-Tn N-3/35, f. 6v), also in Purcell's Double-Organ Voluntaries (Z.718 & 719, particularly in the latter).

inflections, just as the forefall is employed in the sharpening of a note.⁶⁶⁴ In certain chromatic passages this upper–lower ornamentation gives a kind of pulsating effect.⁶⁶⁵

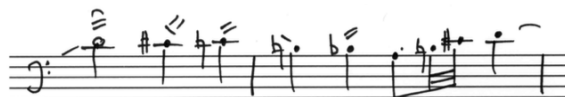


Figure 18: The alternation of upper and lower ornamentation carried in the opening point of Blow's Voluntary No. 8.⁶⁶⁶

Occasionally there is a riotous succession of oblique signs. Figure 19 illustrates Blow's spritely melody (i) begging a variety of realizations: (iii) is perhaps preferable to (ii), although either is possible. The 'Blow appoggiatura' may be an attractive solution here for the interval $a^2-d^{\#2}$.

⁶⁶⁴ Channing insists that 'All sharps are shaken [,] ascending or falling', likewise 'Shake no ascending flats [,] All descending flats to be shaken'. Cf. Chapter Three: Table 12 on p. 242.

⁶⁶⁵ See also the alternating beats and backfalls in Blow's *Cornet Voluntary* in D Minor No. 25 (b. 25).

⁶⁶⁶ As often is the case, the complex ornamental detail simplifies down as it progresses throughout the course of the piece (particularly in the left hand, as has been generally observed in Blow's organ music), e.g. bb. 63–8 from the present example, where only two simple shakes remain on the first and fourth crotchets.



Figure 19: Possible alternative realizations of Blow's Voluntary No. 22 (bb. 11³–14): (stave i) Blow's original; (stave ii) employing appoggiaturas on the Note; (stave iii) employing slides.

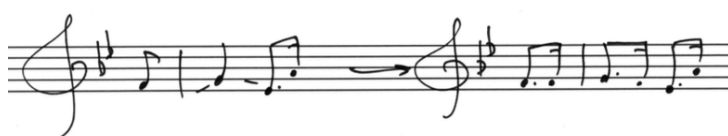



Figure 20: A likely rhythmic realization of forefalls and backfalls in Purcell's *Lesson in G Minor* from *Choice Collection*, p. 9 (bb. 25⁴–6).

In the organbook *Och Mus.* 47 a high degree of flexibility is noted. For example in Christopher Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor on page 26, the appoggiatura (a forefall) is notated as a solid-note crotchet for the first three fugal entries, only to be substituted in the fourth, highest entry by a solid-note semiquaver (which in fact does not fit into the time signature). This further illustrates that, with regard to this repertory, the modern desire for interpretational consistency across gracing is entirely misplaced.

Other melodic graces

The Double Forefall (or Whole-fall or Elevation)

The double forefall is variously known as the ‘slide’ or ‘slur’ (Mace), the ‘whole-fall’ (North; to be played ‘very swift, or the grace is lost’) and the smooth ‘elevation’ (Simpson).⁶⁶⁷ A favourite of Purcell’s, a fine fully-notated example is seen at Figure 32 (page 278).

In Purcell’s table the grace is also called a ‘slur’ (), the only difference being that the bottom note is held (possibly also for Mace); thus it is very closely related to the *coulé* or *coulade* of French tables.⁶⁶⁸ It can be assumed that this three-note grace had already entered the expressive lexicon, at least for English viol and lute players, so there is no reason to doubt that it had been adopted by organists. Since the very beginning of the eighteenth century there has been debate as to whether the English single oblique stroke, either placed above the note or through the stem, sometimes, often, or perhaps always, represented this two-note grace rising to the main note.⁶⁶⁹ A stylish dotted version of the double forefall is brought to brilliant effect in the two anonymous Frescobaldi transcriptions in Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 65r.

⁶⁶⁷ J Wilson, ed. *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959a), 62.

⁶⁶⁸ Further distinction is made in d’Anglebert of the polyphonic version, called ‘Coulé sur une tierce’, and the monophonic ‘Sur 2 notes de Suite’. See D’Anglebert’s ‘Marques’ (1689).

⁶⁶⁹ Discussed above in The Forefall. It was noted through the course of this study, that, in cases where an inserted appoggiatura seemed too clumsy, a slide was substituted with ease.

The three-note double backfall is seen in Simpson's table and also occurs as a *coulé* in d'Anglebert's *Marques*. The descending four and five-note slides seen often in Christopher Gibbons (see Table 16 at p. 295) and in Blow at Figure 21 are variations of the double backfall.⁶⁷⁰



Figure 21: Blow's Voluntary No. 15 (b. 25).

As the ‘spinger’ (elsewhere ‘springer’)—the simple escape note—is one of the many concepts represented by the single oblique upward stroke, it is difficult to know how, when and how often it was employed as a decoration.⁶⁷¹ Figures 22 and 44 (p. 284) give two good examples of a written-out cadential springer; examples exist elsewhere, such as in the anonymous Voluntary in D Minor Lbl Add. MS 31403, f. 68v. In Christopher Gibbons, the springer element becomes a distinctive part of his relish. (See Part Two: The ‘Relished Springer’.)

⁶⁷⁰ See also Figures 23 and 24.

⁶⁷¹ Grove uses ‘springer’, the English/German for ‘jump’ or ‘jumper’, being of some better logic than the Italian *spinger* (‘push’). The word springer is also to be found in Channing’s copy of Simpson–Coleman’s table found in Lbl Add. MS 35043 ff. 124v–125r, whereas Mace (1676) keeps Simpson’s ‘spinger’.



Figure 22: Cadential springer in Purcell's Voluntary in G Major (Z.720) (bb. 58–9).

The Cadent \

Employing a single descending oblique sign, the ‘cadent’ is the cadential anticipatory note. Popular with certain composers and genres—prevalent in the string consort music of John Jenkins (1592–1678), for instance—few examples of this sign at such a cadential position are to be found in organ music of the period. One can assume therefore that it was not important to English organists; their preference is for the shapely terminating turn, rather than the angular and abrupt anticipatory note favoured by the French. The anonymous *Verse in A Minor* from around 1700 has many such examples.⁶⁷² The cadent is, however, familiar in Christopher Gibbons’ mid-career vocal and consort music, where it is used to great effect as an early English example of what would become termed as the ‘Corelli Clash’.⁶⁷³

The Five-Finger Slide

Borrowed from Divisionist practice, this exuberant toccata-like flourish found both ascending and descending is seen throughout virginalist repertory and was confidently adopted by

⁶⁷² See Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England*, 32–3.

⁶⁷³ The earliest dateable example in Christopher Gibbons is in *Cupid and Death* (1653). According to Apel and Binkley the cadence is first found in Stefano Landi’s (1587–1639) religious opera *Il Sant’Alessio* (1631). (Willi Apel, and Thomas Binkley, *Italian Violin Music of the Seventeenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 56.)

Christopher Gibbons.⁶⁷⁴ A multiple backfall, this grace may have been quite common, according to context. See also Figures 21, 23, 24.⁶⁷⁵ There is no shorthand sign for this feature, except perhaps the elongated backfall.



Figure 23: Blow's Voluntary No. 21 (b. 16) showing a turned shake approached by a springer and terminating in the distinctive five-finger flourish.



Figure 24: The four-note 'Triple' backfall in *A Jig Almain* from *Melothesia* (p. 66, b. 2).⁶⁷⁶

Lombardic gracing

The backward dotted or Lombard rhythm is occasionally encountered, always fully notated, for example, at Figure 25. The rough energy of the rhythm is common to Frescobaldi's keyboard music, even more so to Froberger's later organ Toccatas.

⁶⁷⁴ Seen throughout the later sources of the A Minor Double-Organ Voluntary. A very good example of a set of five-finger flourishes is found at the Final (b. 95) of *Pavana*, No. 12 from *Parthenia*. In general terms, the decorative, divisionist language of the English Virginalist school remained strong through the repertoire of the Dutch Golden Age, and thereon into the Northern German Baroque through the didactic influence of Sweelinck. A supreme example of a string of ten five-finger flourishes is found through the final three bars of Sweelinck's *Varieties over 'Mein junges Leben hat ein End'*.

⁶⁷⁵ The use of a tie seems to be as much dependant on whether the hand is needed to be repositioned.

⁶⁷⁶ Locke, *Melothesia*, 66.



Figure 25: Comparing Lombardic gracing in Purcell's Voluntary in G Major (Z.720) (b. 23: upper stave) with Christopher Gibbons' Verse for the Single Organ (b. 18: lower stave).

The Shaked Graces

The Shake

Of all the graces, wrote Mace, 'The 1st, and Chiefest, is the Shake.'⁶⁷⁷ Like Morley before him, Channing noted that 'The Note before a Close is to be shaken.'⁶⁷⁸

For the performer, any study of the repertoire raises the vexed question as to whether Restoration shakes should or should not start from the upper auxiliary. The textbook view is that Restoration music had acquired a French system of gracing, therefore all shakes start from above. But what exactly is the 'rule'?⁶⁷⁹ The Purcell solutions seem nicely convenient; but

⁶⁷⁷ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 102.

⁶⁷⁸ See Table 12 on p. 242.

⁶⁷⁹ The murky history of the preparation of Frances Purcell's table of ornaments is discussed in Maria Boxall, 'The Harpsichord Master of 1697 and its relationship to contemporary instruction & playing,' *The English Harpsichord Magazine* 2, no. 8 (1981). (No printed page numbers.) The fact that it is oversimplistic is because it was destined for a domestic market, but it is also faulty and incomplete. Due to the absence of any other keyboard ornament table from the period, this tertiary relic—associated with the incomparable Henry Purcell, albeit posthumously and at least third-hand—has been elevated to the status of primary artefact. (Reproduced on p. 238.)

a painting-by-numbers approach—particularly when based on a shallow and unreliable source such as this—does not always render an entirely satisfactory solution. Particularly in this repertoire, the application of each decoration must be chosen in accordance to its harmonic, rhythmic, phrasal and melodic context. To answer the question, then, rather than projecting chronologically forwards, it is better first to rewind back to analyse earlier performance practices.

As has been noted, later French tables, from Nivers (1665) onwards, show upper-auxiliary shakes with upper-auxiliary starting notes, as indeed do contemporary English tables.⁶⁸⁰ In fact, Simpson's table (1659) reveals a mixture of upper-auxiliary, lower-auxiliary and *trillo*-type shakes, showing in general a slight preference for the upper-auxiliary shake, as well a lower-auxiliary or a principal-note start. The upper-auxiliary start is seen in Simpson's 'backfall shaken'. A few years previously, in 1636, Mersenne described the *tremblement* as a short alternation starting on the principal note. Rewinding back yet further, the first signs indicating graces are found in lute tablature, namely Kapsperger's *Libro d'Intavolatura di Chitarone* (1604).⁶⁸¹ Here the shake placed on an open string necessarily determines the upper-auxiliary, but there is no indication if the open string was struck first.⁶⁸² Pragmatically, it very likely was. For Giulio Caccini (1551–1618), the long *tremolo* employs the upper auxiliary, but

⁶⁸⁰ Nivers (1665), Chambonnières (1670), Raison (1688) and d'Anglebert (1689); Simpson in 1659, Purcell (1696) and Prendecourt (c. 1700).

⁶⁸¹ Vol. 3, *Livre second des Instrumens*, prop. ix, 79 in Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique*.

⁶⁸² Dodge, 'Ornamentation as Indicated by Signs in Lute Tablature,' 321.

starting on the principal note; likewise for Emilio de' Cavalieri (c. 1550–1602), although, again, there is no indication of which note was struck first.⁶⁸³

Furthermore, the tables unhelpfully make no distinction between the incidental and the cadential.⁶⁸⁴ It is noted that both types are vividly present throughout the music of the virginalists. Here, the incidental shake with its double oblique line is to be found crossing the stems of countless notes, applied to a variety of note-values. It is generally placed mid-phrase, often found in figuration (although can appear at cadences too). This must certainly mean that these signs represented a lower elaborative order compared to the well-decorated, fully-notated cadential shakes. Texts suggest that the double stroke equated to a simpler incisive mordent/lower mordent, whereas the free, multi-sectioned *gruppo*-type ornaments were very often often written out.

Cadences incorporate a germ of dissonance in need of resolution. This gave chance for performers to play with the listener's expectations by alternating the dissonance with its resolution twice over—the so-called *cadenza doppia*. However, the consonant-dissonant segments may be playfully repeated many times further, thus delaying the inevitable. After such an outpouring of rhythmic energy, more often than not they culminate in a melodically satisfying turn. Frescobaldi introduced ever-inventive combinations of commencements and

⁶⁸³ G. Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601). Emilio de Cavalieri, *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* (Rome: Nicolò Mutij, 1600).

⁶⁸⁴ Thomas Robinson writes in 1603: 'Now you shall have a general rule [...] that the longer the time is of a single stroke, that the more need it hath of a relish, for a relish will help both to grace it and also it helps to continue the sound of the note his full time.' (*The School of Musicke* as related in Dodge, 'Ornamentation as Indicated by Signs in Lute Tablature,' 320.) Towards the end of the century, Channing likewise instructs flautists that they should 'Double Relish all Long Shakes'. See Table 12 on p. 242.

terminations to decorate a cadential suspension. This mobile harmonic-rhythmic concept is of course nothing new: it already made an appearance almost a century earlier, for instance in the keyboard music of Hugh Aston (*c.* 1485–1558) (Figure 26).



Figure 26: The final 4 bars of Hugh Aston's *A Hornepype* (*c.* 1520), Lbl RM App. 58.



Figure 27: The final cadence from Munday's Fantasia, No. 3 from the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* showing how a cadential shake toys with the dissonant note *a*.⁶⁸⁵

Figures 26 and 27 show how the syncopated cadence began to be filled with ornamental-melodic decoration and was to become a brilliant dimension to the gracing possibilities of the virtuoso musician. Table 14 shows a wide but by no means comprehensive variety of measured divisions from cadential shake formulae employed in music from the virginalist genre. Such ornaments are always strong and clear, very often played in the highest voice.

⁶⁸⁵ John Alexander Fuller-Maitland and William Barclay Squire, eds. *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1899).

Laid out in this way it is possible to appreciate how melodic segments were added together, with the interpretative freedom to extend and repeat the segments *ad libitum*.



Table 14: Syncopated toying of $f\sharp^1$ and g^1 (where g is the dissonant note) familiar as a cadenza doppia comprising two successive forefalls, the first being ‘accented’, followed by six examples of standard Tudor cadential formulae incorporating two or more forefalls and a terminating turn. The final four examples are all from *Parthenia*, showing ever more elaborate (double) relishes: (a) b. 18 of *Galiardo* by John Bull (No. 13); (b) b. 62 of *Galiardo* by Orlando Gibbons (No. 19; transposed); (c) b. 14 of *Pavana* (No. 12); (d) *Ibid.*, b. 94.

From Aston to Froberger, and the solutions given in Table 14, suggests a fashion for using the upper-auxiliary in cadential shakes. However, although it does indeed sound thus, it is strictly not so: the dissonant note (in this case the principal note g^1 , being the suspended 4th) alternates with the consonant lower auxiliary.⁶⁸⁶ Thus the cadential shake started out not as an upper-note ornament, but categorically a lower-auxiliary decoration starting on the principal note. Conversely, upper-note starts to shakes appear to have become more and more fashionable precisely midway through the seventeenth century—seemingly first in England—until, by the time of Nivers' *Livre d'Orgue* in 1665, it seems to have won over as the more expressive option, both in England as well as across the Channel. Schulenberg's eloquently reports this thus:⁶⁸⁷

Why, in any case, did Italian as well as English composers of the period normally write out the *groppo* while indicating other ornaments either by symbols or not at all? One reason might be that the accented first, upper note of a *groppo* is often a dissonance, especially when it decorates the leading tone in a cadential progression. In later music, this type of dissonance was cultivated routinely as an expressive appoggiatura. But the accented dissonance contradicted the idea, fundamental to Renaissance melody, that accented notes are good notes, that is, consonances. The cadential *groppo* was a departure from this norm, perhaps even an instance of what Monteverdi called the second practice, a free and ostensibly more expressive use of dissonance. As such it might have required more explicit notation in order to confirm the composer's intention. The same is not true for *tremoli*, which begin with either an accented consonance, that is, the main note struck on the beat, or an anticipation of the main note, often dissonant but struck on a weak part of the beat.

⁶⁸⁶ Sometimes a rough, unprepared dissonance is encountered, such as the 7th at b.17³ of Bull's *St Thomas Wake* (No. 11 of *Parthenia*). The dissonant note g can be explained as a harmonic hang-over from the first beat-of-the-bar, splendidly decorated in quaver movement (with some further shaken decoration added) before ending with a solid-note semiquaver turned shake.

⁶⁸⁷ David Schulenberg, 'Ornaments, Fingerings, and Authorship: Persistent Questions About English Keyboard Music circa 1600,' *Early Keyboard Journal* 30 (2013), 38–9.

The ‘Shake Turn’d’

It is observed that all the examples in Table 14 are ‘turned’. Following Italian decorative formula, the rounded terminus is the epitome of graceful, melodic energy. Its elegant three-note resolution at once makes it pre-eminent for cadential decoration and draws an important melodic connection between the ornamented note and its resolution.⁶⁸⁸ The fashion for ‘turning’ plain shakes is shown in Lbl Add. MS 31468, where the copyist later added the turn’s denoting crescent to several two-stroke shakes.⁶⁸⁹

In quick music the turned shake symbol may encompass nothing more than a plain turn, such as is seen through Blow’s coding of Froberger’s ornamental practice.⁶⁹⁰ Whilst in France the ordinary turn is seen as Chambonnières *double cadence*, in England there is no such symbol until Purcell’s ‘Graces’ of 1696 (see p. 238).

⁶⁸⁸ In Nivers’ table this is a *Double cadence*. See Nivers’ ‘Demonstration’ (1665) on p. 231.


⁶⁸⁹ Lbl Add. MS 31468, f. 8v. The copyist is William Davis, working in 1700.

⁶⁹⁰ A survey of Blow’s notation of copied ornaments from thirteen of Froberger’s works (found in Brussels Conservatoire MS 15418) is at Cox, ‘Organ music in Restoration England,’ 273–5. These pages also contain the ornamental detail of Michelangelo Rossi as passed down by English copyists in Lbl Add. MSS 24313 & 31446. Froberger’s extensive use of the turn is observed throughout Froberger’s Toccata XIV. (Adler’s numbering in Froberger, *Orgel- und Clavierwerke*.) Here it is an ornament used in rising passagework (as balanced against the ‘tr’ used for descending passagework). The awkwardness of the fingering, particularly in the right hand, raises a question over their choice. Note that in the following Toccata (XV), turns are generally substituted in similar places for lower mordents. In Froberger’s later toccatas, certain ornamental features stand out as atypical: e.g. in b. 26 of Toccata XIV a ‘relished springer’ is observed—for discussion of the ‘relished springer’ see p. 292—and the curious appearance of numerous English-style forefalls and backfalls, also in Toccatas XIII, XV, XVI* and XIX. The cadence at b. 12 of Toccata XVI seems peculiarly English in character. It is tempting to think that Froberger’s visit to London in 1652 may have been influenced by an encounter with the work of Christopher Gibbons. See also Footnote 728. Also Candace Bailey, ‘Keyboard Music in the Hands of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson I,’ *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 32 (1999). *N.B. Froberger’s Toccata XVI may likely be a transmission via an English hand (Blow’s?) of Froberger’s Toccata XXII which has no English-style additions.

In Restoration organ music the ‘shake turn’d’ is very often followed by a forefall sign applied before the next Note. Depending on the pitch of the note it decorates, this forefall either duplicates the shake’s turned element, leaving no real need to reapply the lower auxiliary, or invites the application of a simple, accented lower-mordent which frequently supplies the most effective, cleanest and harmonically logical solution.

The Backfall Shaked

One of the most distinctive and original concepts of Restoration expression, the backfall & shake—or the ‘Backfall Shaked’, as Simpson has it—is met frequently throughout Restoration organ music, suggesting a certain preference amongst English professional organists for upper-auxiliary decoration.⁶⁹¹ Mace asserted that the backfall ‘would always be performed very strongly, and smartly’, which concurs with Simpson’s notated explanation.⁶⁹² Further, by the time Purcell’s ornament table was published towards the end of the century, the common shake seems always to be an upper-auxiliary alternation: as the shake involved the upper auxiliary, so the beat used the lower.⁶⁹³

The first formal explanation of the symbol  comes not until the end of the century in Purcell’s table where it is described as the ‘plain note & Shake’, and it is clear that some


⁶⁹¹ See Table 4 (p. 225). The neologism ‘backfall & shake’ was coined not until 1975 by Ferguson. (Ferguson, *Keyboard interpretation*, 148–50.) See below, under Gibbons’ Graces, ‘Back-fall and Shake’ (p. 292).

⁶⁹² Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 107.

⁶⁹³ Channing has ‘All shakes are taken from the Note above [...] All beats are taken from the note below’. See Table 12.

seventeenth-century musicians also distinguished the ‘plain note’ from the ‘backfall’, in which case Purcell’s use of ‘plain note and Shake’ may be preferable to Simpson’s term.⁶⁹⁴ In the hands of Christopher Gibbons and his disciples Blow and Purcell, the upper-auxiliary appoggiatura is a vital and distinctive expressive element.⁶⁹⁵

The Beat

As the alternation of two notes, the beat can be a principal-note ornament, percussive and rhythmic, or approached from a lower appoggiatura, as seen from the symbol  (in what is now thought of as a French-styled grace, but which was not always thus).

The beat is mainly used to accent a repeated note or to declaim the start of a phrase. Sometimes a shake is observed in both these positions, yet Channing’s Rules advise that the performer should ‘Never shake first nor last. [...] all Ascending Prick’t notes are Beaten. all Descending are shaken; [...] if you meet with 3 Crotchets Descending [,] Beat ye first [,] shake ye second & play the third plaine.’⁶⁹⁶ The beat is often seen on finals, but seldom, if at all, immediately beforehand. The copyist of the organ pieces in Lbl Add. MS 31403 very often used the forefall sign where perhaps a beat is anticipated, again highlighting the notion

⁶⁹⁴ Purcell’s ‘Graces’ (1696) on p. 238. See H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Ornamentation in the Keyboard Music of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries’, *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden, (Oxford, 1996), 82–104.

⁶⁹⁵ See in particular Part Two: The Long Appoggiatura, Forefall against Backfall, The ‘Fore-fall and Shake’.

⁶⁹⁶ See Table 12.

that the rising oblique symbol simply denotes an under-ornament. The converse also holds true.

Figure 28 is a good example of the interchangeability, perhaps even the unreliability of *sigla*, and it underlines Hunter's wariness for precise and consistent formulae.⁶⁹⁷ Here the nature of the melodic contour means that a beat cannot be a satisfactory option for embellishment, neither as a principal-note nor a lower-note ornament, as both render a stubborn and not too graceful outcome, with too many key repetitions. The use of a shake here makes better sense (either principal or upper), giving in the last quaver a turned shake rising to the *b*¹ of the next Note, the kind of capricious *gropo* favoured by Locke and Christopher Gibbons.



Figure 28: An awkward realization, or copyist's error?:
a quick 'beat' from p. 26 of Locke's *Melothesia*.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ Hunter, 'The Application of (Ornamental) Strokes in English Virginalist Music,' 78.

⁶⁹⁸ Locke, *Melothesia*, 26.

Shakes in Practice

Caldwell writes that the introduction of shorthand signs to denote the presence and character of interpretational ornamentation is ‘surrounded in mystery’.⁶⁹⁹ As far as sources of organ music are concerned, the change happens in the first years of the Restoration: pre-Restoration voluntaries all belong to the virginalist notational tradition of strokes through stems. Och Mus. 47 and the *Wimborne Organbook* represent the first steps in separating the signs from the stems.⁷⁰⁰ The former, with its origins in the mid-1660s, contains only ‘floating’ double strokes—that is, appearing above or below a note, and not attached to the stem—as well as occasional single strokes before the note or between two notes; some voluntaries offer no shorthand signs whatsoever, notably Christopher Gibbons’ Double-Organ Voluntary in A Minor.⁷⁰¹ The latter is dated on its binding to 1670. Two voluntaries, by Richard Portman and Christopher Gibbons, are found at the reverse end.⁷⁰² In addition to the plain double-stroke symbol \approx , they contain a variety of three-stroke signs not yet encountered in English

⁶⁹⁹ Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music Before the Nineteenth Century*, 156.

⁷⁰⁰ Benjamin Rogers’ autograph voluntary entitled *For Mr Dugdale’s Lady. / these* (Lbl RM MS 21.d.8., f. 66v) is the earliest dated MS (1664) to contain what appears to be floating signs, but on closer inspection, these signs are associated with the semibreve (where there is no stem); all other double strokes pass through stems, in typical virginalist style.

⁷⁰¹ Unlike later copies in the hands of Holmes and Harrison for instance, in Lbl Add. MSS 31446 (1698) and 34695 (from the early years of the eighteenth century) respectively. No ornament passes through any stem in either Och Mus. 47 and WB P.10.

⁷⁰² At reverse end, ff. 3v–4r and 4v–5r respectively.

Manuscripts.⁷⁰³ Here double oblique strokes are joined by a comma or a seemingly randomly-placed oblique stroke, as reproduced at Figure 29.⁷⁰⁴



Figure 29: Three-stroke symbols found in ff. 3v–4r in WB P.10.

In Restoration sources the application of the plain shake can, during the course of a piece, be exchanged for a simple backfall. The backfall & shake symbol \swarrow is frequently seen in the moment after an anticipatory note. Copyists often miss the downward oblique backfall and sometimes the sign becomes $\hat{=}$. These aberrations further confirm that the Restoration shake was principally an upper-auxiliary decoration. However the evidence is viewed, the ornament's context—its harmonic status, and perhaps even more importantly, the melodic contour—dictates whether it could or should be a principal or upper-auxiliary start. Yet it cannot be overestimated that the application of decoration within this repertory is far from rigid. For example, there is an occasion where an ornament passes through no fewer than four different guises within its first four fugal entries: $\hat{=}$ to \swarrow , then \swarrow to \sim , presumably all

⁷⁰³ The comma symbol—more of a downward stroke—had been used in Simpson and Mace, and perhaps held a similar function here. See above: A note on the comma ornament.

⁷⁰⁴ It should be noted that this is the copyist's version of Richard Portman's so-called Voluntary, which likely started life as a consort work. The rendering as a double-organ voluntary is therefore anachronistic to the lifetime of Portman, who died in 1655 or 1659, as indeed are its Restoration-style ornaments. See Chapter Two, Part Two: Repertory for the English double-organ.

subtly (if not significantly) different.⁷⁰⁵ Further, in English sources, the symbols for a ‘shake turn’d’ very frequently exchanges for a plain shake. This is true except for cadences, where the ‘turn’d’ version is seen in the majority of cases. On occasions the suggestion of a rhythmic interpretation is hinted at, particularly when the prevailing rhythm is dotted (see Figures 30 and 31 below) or, as in the opening point of Purcell’s double-organ voluntary in D Minor (Z.719, but not in Z.718), where a whole turned shake is expected to fit into a dotted quaver-semiquaver unit.⁷⁰⁶



Figure 30: A rhythmicized realization of a turned shake within a dotted context: Blow’s Voluntary No. 19 (b. 33).



Figure 31: Blow’s Voluntary No. 30 (bb. 46–7) may likewise successfully be realized rhythmically.

In the sources, the alternative to the turned shake is the ‘beat’, which seems like a meagre exchange, espressively speaking. More logically, but extremely infrequently, ≡ is exchanged

⁷⁰⁵ In Blow’s Voluntary No. 27. For further interchangeability see Figure 32.

⁷⁰⁶ Also suggested in the first half of Blow’s Voluntary No. 2, parts of Voluntary No. 7, and the opening of Voluntary No. 30, also later in the piece at bb. 46–7, as at Figure 31; also throughout the anonymous Frescobaldi transcription in Lbl Add. MS 31403, the upper half of f. 65r.

directly for \swarrow . Likewise, a shake can be found where a beat is the logical choice, all of which reinforces the notion, as expounded by Hunter that the double stroke in virginalist times had no specific formula.⁷⁰⁷

Just as Rameau uses a generic cross (+) in his string music, to mark only the location of an ornament, so in English sources of organ music, such as Och Mus. MSS 1176 and 47, the ubiquity of the shorthand double oblique stroke may necessarily represent a variety of ornamental options. The use of a single symbol may again underline *extempore* interchangeability of favourite solutions and combinations. Just as likely is that the professional organist simply knew which ornament would be used where.



Figure 32: The opening three bars of Purcell's Minuet, p. 53 from *A Choice Collection*. Here a plain shake in b. 1 is exchanged for a turned shake in b. 3. Note the slur at this point. Note also the exchange of a plain note in the opening bar for a double forefall in the 3rd.

⁷⁰⁷ Hunter, 'The Application of (Ornamental) Strokes in English Virginalist Music,' 78. Further, consulting Cosyn's copy of Orlando Gibbons' *Fantasia of Four Parts* in *Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book* (Lbl RM MS 23.1.4, f. 105v), b. 16 shows that the usual upper-auxiliary formula of the double shake cannot fit the suggested left-hand fingering; here the implied solution is doubtless a lower-auxiliary ornament—a 'beat', then, starting on the principal note: in other words, the double stroke is interchangeable with a single stroke, at least in this example. From Cosyn's copy of Orlando Gibbons' *Preludem* (Ibid., f. 99v) it is noted that he directly exchanges a beat in b. 1 for a shake in b. 3, for exactly the same melodic context (and fingering), and back again to a beat two bars later. Likewise, in b. 8, the fifth finger is intended for the top note of a scalic figure: again, the solution must necessarily be a beat and not a shake. In the right hand melody at b. 24 a rising beat on the second note a^1 would be expected; again this is confirmed by the fingering used. There is some proof, at least in Cosyn's transmission of these pieces, of the interchangeability of single- and double-stroke signs, which is confirmed by the fingering he suggests.

Restoration composers used turned shakes to increase intensity, for instance in a rising figure such as in Figure 33. Often the uppermost note was a shake, as here, or equally a forefall with or without shake, the ornament reserved for the most poignant, architectural moments. On occasion the shake was apt to take a lower auxiliary note at the start (becoming something like Simpson's (shaked) elevation), perhaps even before the Note, followed by a turned shake running on into the following Note—a fluid kind of 'ribbon ornament' typical of virtuoso performance. Some of these 'relished' shapes, taken from Blow voluntaries, are illustrated at figures 34–36; Figures 35 and 36 (also Figure 39) contain the addition of a higher note to the final relish, which is one of Christopher Gibbons' favourite ornamental devices, referred to below.⁷⁰⁸ Shakes placed on two descending crotchets will likely take an extra lower-auxiliary note in the middle of the ribbon, so that the first ornament spans an interval of a fourth—being the shape of Simpson's 'Double Relish'.⁷⁰⁹



Figure 33: An increase of intensity towards an apex.
Purcell's *New Air* from *Harpsicord Master*, p. 47 (b. 5).⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁸ See Part Two: The 'Relished Springer'.

⁷⁰⁹ See Simpson's 'Graces' (1659) on p. 224.

⁷¹⁰ Page numbers from the facsimile *The Harpsicord Master*. (Folio numbers unavailable.)

Figure 34: Blow's Voluntary No. 12 (bb. 32⁴-6).

Figure 35: Ibid., b. 71.

N.B. The backfall and shake above is exchanged for a turned shake in Lbl 31446, ff. 35-6.



Figure 36: Blow's Voluntary No. 2 (bb. 30).

Figure 37, from Purcell's double-organ voluntary in D Minor (Z.718), presents the same backfall and shake symbol but in three different contexts. It could well be that somewhere down the line a copyist made a mistake, but as it stands, the first of these works only when the dissonant *d* is made into the elongated appoggiatura and when the shake alternates *c*[#] and *d*, ending on the *d*, and not transposed (as it were) a note higher. The alternation of *d* and *e* cannot work in the present context. The solution therefore is counterintuitive, as the more logical realization is as an under-ornament using the keys *d* and *c*[#]. The second of these seems to behave normally, with the appoggiatura as the *A* and the shake across *G* and *A*, ending on

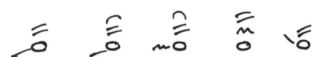
the *G*. On the face of it, the melodic contour of *B^b*, then the *A* appoggiatura, passing through to the *G*, works well enough, but perhaps there may be a preference for the ornamental unit starting and ending on *G*, thus maintaining the muscular melodic pattern and also capitalizing on dissonance. In fact, this very solution seems to be required for the last of the ornaments here, as the ornamental unit starting on the upper note (albeit the dissonant note) disturbs the shape of the bass melodic line. Although this kind of predicament is far from common, it brings into play the notion that the downward stroke of the backfall & shake simply represents an elongation; the note in question may, according to context, be the upper auxiliary, or indeed the principal note.



Figure 37: Shaked backfalls in Purcell's double-organ voluntary in D Minor (Z.718) (bb. 15–16).

Composite Ornaments

Divided Ornaments



Where there are two signs given for a semibreve, sources point to this as being a representation of two separate ornaments. Whilst pieces start with a semibreve accompanied by one of the five signs shown above, later in the text the long note often splits into two halves

(either tied or not), with the first ornament placed against the first minim, and the second with the other.⁷¹¹ Sometimes the second ornament is then missed out, simplified perhaps because this element was thought too tricky or fussy to play in the thicker texture. In practice, it is advisable to render the ornamental group in a rhythmical manner (see below), so as to establish the pulse. The opening chromatic point of Blow's Voluntary No. 8 is particularly effective if each of the shakes is divided so that the descending chromatic line is projected, yet maintains an ornamental character.

Figure 36 shows a minim divided; Figures 38 show that a crotchet can even be split into two.⁷¹² Figure 39 illustrates how both the long note and the subsequent short note can be divided, to thrilling effect.



Figure 38: An example of how a single crotchet can be divided.

At bar 26 of Blow's Voluntary No. 30 the copyist places a beat on the first quaver g^2 and a turned shake on the second, the implication here perhaps is the combination of lower-mordent followed by turn.



Figure 39: The opening point of Blow's Voluntary No. 4.

⁷¹¹ See also the examples from Christopher Gibbons in Table 16 (p. 295).

⁷¹² The turned shake illustrated in Figure 38 may possibly have been rendered as a turn. Another example is at Figure 28. See The 'Shake Turn'd' (above).

Ribbon Ornaments

The expression ‘ribbon ornament’ is used here to describe a feature observed in many voluntaries of the period, such as illustrated in Figures 40–43: melodic phrases where almost every note is ascribed its own ornament.⁷¹³ Given English ornamentation favours stepwise and interlinked movement, this suggests that the ornaments must have joined together into a single extrovert winding, searching ribbon of decoration.

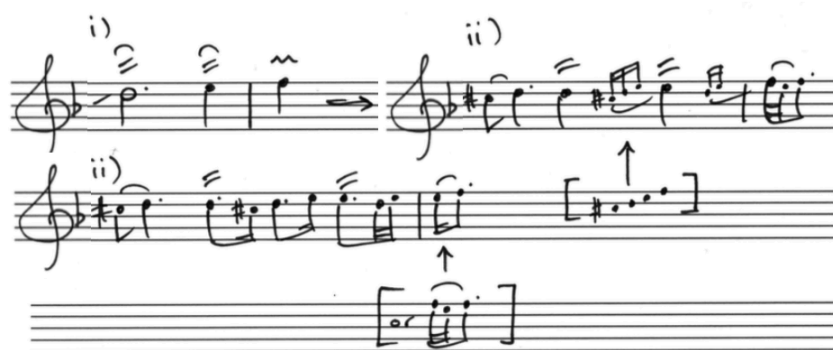


Figure 40: Some possible realizations of the opening bars of Blow's Voluntary No. 25:

(i) is Blow's original; (ii) illustrates a before-the-Note realization of the graces, while (iii) shows a dotted realization.

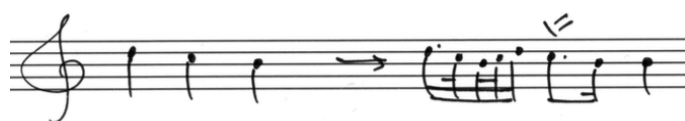


Figure 41: A illustration of how plain notes are transformed into a ‘ribbon’ of ornamental grace: Blow's Voluntary No. 27 (bar 38, taken from the later sources Lbl Add. MS 31446 and 34695).

⁷¹³ Also Figure 23 (p. 264).



Figure 42: Ribbon ornament in Blow's Voluntary No. 25 (bb. 22–4).
The unornamented a^2 is in fact the dissonant long preparation for the ensuing turned shake.

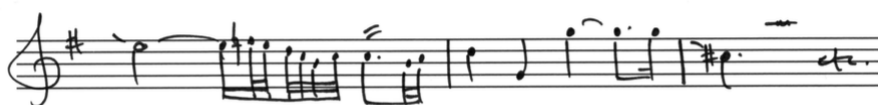


Figure 43: Ribbon ornament in Purcell's *Voluntary in G Major* (Z.720) (bb. 31–33).
Note the probable 'Blow appoggiatura' to the final $c^{\#2}$.

An even quirkier style of notated ribbon ornament is found in Christopher Gibbons (illustrated at Figure 44) and reminiscent of Purcell at Figure 45.



Figure 44: Christopher Gibbons' [Single] Voluntary in C Major (bb. 11–12, from *Och Mus.* 15).
N.B. the first *figura* is likely to have become corrupted and should possibly be rhythmically like the second.



Figure 45: Purcell's *Verse in G Major* (Z.720) (bb. 3–4).

Part Two: Idiomatic Hallmarks of Christopher Gibbons' Ornamental Style

Gibbons' Graces

Given the indiscriminate notation of the double stroke found in the Oxford sources of Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries, these marks afford opportunities for the performer to decorate at will. Such a notion is confirmed in the sources of Holmes and Harrisson where more specific ornamental formulae are illustrated in solid-notation, and through symbols other than the double stroke. Ideogrammatic decoration can often seem grafted onto the music: for Christopher Gibbons, his highly stylized, richly inventive, even innovative ornamentation is an essential quality that he improvised into the texture. Not only does decoration have a bearing on melodic and rhythmic aspects, but the harmony too cannot escape being transformed by it.

The 'Extended Shake Turn'd'

This written-out rhythmicized ornament (Figure 46) is to be found three times in the Double-Organ Voluntary in C Major; appearing in the left hand only, it is the kind of muscular melodic bass favoured by Simpson.⁷¹⁴ This device might well be termed the 'extended shake turn'd', as its four parts divide and decorate a single long semibreve, starting with a plain

⁷¹⁴ See Table 4 on p. 225.

crotchet—being a rhythmic start to a principal long-note shake, rather in the manner of Frescobaldi and Bovicelli—and terminating with a stylized relish incorporating a Lombardic snap. The character of this *gruppo* was passed to Blow, who employed it in his interpretation of Michelangelo Rossi’s Sixth Toccata, thus it can be speculated that Blow may have derived this characteristic approach from Gibbons’ own performance practice.⁷¹⁵ Here he employs the same rhythmic realization (only without the Lombardic element) to replace Rossi’s simple turned shake.⁷¹⁶ The semibreve, divided and ornamented thus, maintains an insistent pulse, reminiscent of Purcell’s double-organ voluntary (Z.719), whose characteristic opening motif develops over four separated crotchets embellished with four separate ornaments, presumably to be played well in time.⁷¹⁷



Figure 46: An ‘extended shake turn’d’ in Christopher Gibbons’ Double-Organ Voluntary in C Major (bb.15–16).

⁷¹⁵ The notion of Blow providing authority on Gibbons’ performance practice is discussed below in the conclusion to this chapter.

⁷¹⁶ See Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England*, 273.

⁷¹⁷ Blakeston’s compliant advice is that ‘you must be sure to play ‘em in time; otherwise you had better play only the plain Notes’ (Lbl Add. MS 17853).

The Long Appoggiatura

A vital component to the ecstatic nature of Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries is the poignancy of the 'long appoggiatura'. Praetorius called such devices 'accents'.⁷¹⁸ Illustrated at Figure 47, it was a prominent feature of *stylo moderno* vocal gracing which Gibbons will doubtless have appreciated through his association both at court and in the theatre.⁷¹⁹



Figure 47: Examples of the rhythmic realizations of Praetorius' 'accents'.

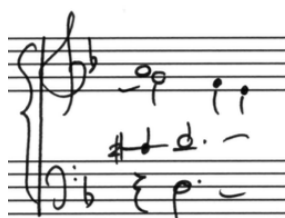


Figure 48: The rhythmically-notated $c^{\#1}$ to d^1 is one of several examples of the 'long appoggiatura' found in Christopher Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor (b. 6). Thus chromatically inflected in the early Oxford sources, this stylistic hallmark appears in Lbl Add. MSS 31446 and 31468 as a simple forefall.

⁷¹⁸ Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 233.

⁷¹⁹ Evelyn described Gibbons' Chapel colleague Henry Cooke as 'esteem'd the best singer after the Italian manner of any in England'. (28 October 1654: Bray, *The Diary of John Evelyn*.) See also Dennison, 'Cooke, Henry.'

Figure 48 above reveals how Gibbons' transcriber recorded the 'long appoggiatura' as an acutely striking device—the $c^{\sharp 1}$ here rising a tritone from the previous g —that is at once harmonically structural, melodic and ornamental. In the present example the chromatic forefall renders a jarring of tonality, sounding a momentary first-inversion dominant-seventh chord with which to propel the 4-3 suspension, a good example of the agility found in Gibbons' music. At other times the appoggiatura twists into a passing augmented chord, as in Figure 49, likewise another Purcellian trait.⁷²⁰

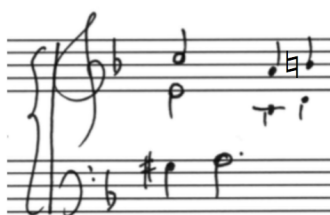


Figure 49: Ibid., b. 14. The chromatic appoggiatura (g^{\sharp}) informs a poignant passing augmented chord.

Forefall against Backfall

Figure 50 may, on the face of it, seem nothing more than an ornamented first-inversion D Minor chord. However, copyists obviously felt the need to write out the double appoggiatura in full, perhaps also to specify the chromatic inflection (as in the previous Figure). Its dramatic impact is extremely powerful. Adopted by Blow, he used the simultaneous forefall and backfall to prime effect in Voluntary No. 30 (bar 7), and in Lbl Add. MS 31446, f. 32v (bar 13). The

⁷²⁰ See also Chapter Four, Part One: The General Character and Technique of Gibbons' Compositional Style.

concept too was favoured by later French composers, particularly Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764).

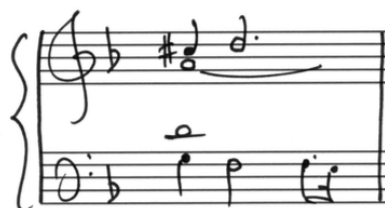


Figure 50: Simultaneous appoggiaturas in Christopher Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor (b. 11).

The Prepared Shake

A frequent observation amongst scholars is that the 'prepared shake' is a French grace. Jean Rousseau (1644–99) first described such an ornament as late as 1687 (presumably codifying existing practice) as 'La Cadence avec appuy'—*appuy* being literally the pressing, or preparation, involving an elongated upper auxiliary at the start.⁷²¹ Regarding a developing preference in England and France for the expressive appoggiatura to precede an upper-auxiliary alternation, it is difficult to be entirely confident that the *parfum* of influence was indeed blowing east-west.

The notion of this particular stylistic influence emerging from London is not as fanciful as might be imagined: Christopher Gibbons' public new position at the powerful Restoration Court, and his music, will almost certainly have impressed passers-by from other

⁷²¹ 'La Cadence avec appuy [...] appuye un peu avant que de tremble, sur la Note qui est immédiatement au dessus de celle qui demande une Cadence.' (Rousseau, *Traité de la viole*, 76.)

countries; the king's intertwinement with the French court will doubtless have encouraged the passage of ideas both forth as well as back. Musicians of many nations may have experimented with this highly expressive device long before its distinctive formula had been codified. But, as far as primary evidence is concerned, Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries predate the first mention of the prepared trill in French treatises (namely Rousseau) by twenty years. In the absence of information to the contrary, the influence of France on England as purely one-way traffic needs to be treated with caution; indeed it may be *au contraire*. Whatever the precise historical roots, it would not be long before the expressive appoggiatura impressed its lasting association on French decorative practice.

The 'Fore-fall and Shake' --

Occurring exclusively in Restoration organ music the 'Fore-fall and Shake' enters the ornament tables in 1673 in *Melothesia*.⁷²² (In spite of the publisher's words 'thus explained', the ornament is merely named. Also unavailable in Frances Purcell's table, there exists, therefore, no definitive contemporary explanation.) As it happens, this most idiosyncratic of English decorations is used only towards the very end of the publication, in the organ voluntaries on pages 76 and 83, pieces which clearly bear the influence of Christopher Gibbons' organ style.

The compound ornament characterises the arresting openings of Gibbons' D Minor [Single] Voluntary, both the Single and Double Voluntaries in C Major, and is used to particularly rich effect throughout the opening section of his Double-Organ Voluntary in D

⁷²² Labelled thus --. See Table 15.

Minor.⁷²³ In each case a long appoggiatura is followed by a shake that starts at some point during the length of the semibreve. As the dating of Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries can be deduced to coincide with the first appearance of the double-organ in England—see Chapter Two, Part Two and elsewhere—it follows that this is the first time such a formula is encountered. Copyists likely viewed such 'structural dissonance' with interest, as something distinctive that was worth recording. The 'Forefall and shake' is perhaps closest to d'Anglebert's *cheute et pincé* defined some years later.⁷²⁴

The Characters for performing the whole, are those generally in use, and for the *Organ* and *Harpsichord*, are thus explained:

/ a Fore-fall.
 \ a Back-fall.
 / a Shake.
 — a Fore-fall and Shake.
 m a Beat.

Table 15: Locke's table of 'Characters' for organ and harpsichord, from *Melothesia* (1673).⁷²⁵
 Note the absence of the 'Back-fall and Shake'.

⁷²³ In the C Major Double-Organ Voluntary the 'forefall & shake' is heard not in the first semibreve, but on the second.

⁷²⁴ See D'Anglebert's 'Marques' (1689) on p. 235.

⁷²⁵ Matthew Locke, *Melothesia: The First Part* (London: J. Carr, 1673); Locke, *Melothesia*.

The ‘Back-fall and Shake’ ♪

Although considered part of Restoration musical vocabulary, the name ‘Back-fall and shake’ was in fact not coined until 1975 by Ferguson, to complement Locke’s ‘Fore-fall and Shake’.⁷²⁶ The backfall and shake is not actually listed in Locke, but is evident from Purcell’s table as a ‘plain note & Shake’.⁷²⁷ Its melodic shape—as a four-note (upper) shake prepared by an upper auxiliary quaver—is recorded in Och Mus. 47 in Christopher Gibbons’ double-organ voluntaries. Here the backfall is a solid-note appoggiatura, with a shake symbol above the long note that follows (likewise for the ‘forefall & shake’), which suggests that Gibbons was developing such powerful expressions many years before they were codified in treatises.

The ‘Relished Springer’

Figure 51 illustrates how the second half of a note can receive ornamental treatment.

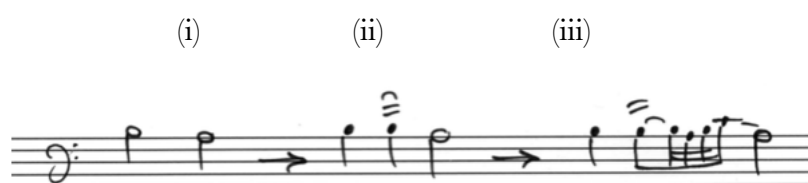


Figure 51: the supposed evolution of the ‘Relished Springer’:

- (i) notional plain notes become (ii) a divided ornament employing a turned shake,
- (iii) to be further ‘relished’, culminating in a springer and backfall.

The character of example (iii) is found three times in Blow’s Voluntary No. 4. See also Figure 39 (p. 282).

⁷²⁶ Ferguson, *Keyboard interpretation*, 148–50. Also Locke, *Melothesia*, 5. Ferguson’s interpretation was addressed by Johnstone. See H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Ornamentation in the Keyboard Music of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries,’ 82–104.

⁷²⁷ In Purcell’s original it is not tied, unlike Ferguson’s reinterpretation/correction. Simpson lists in his table what he calls the ‘Backfall Shaked’, being a shake (evidently evenly and promptly executed) starting with the upper-auxiliary and alternating with the principal note. Note there is no elongated appoggiatura here *per se*. See Simpson’s ‘Graces’ (1659) on p. 224.

(i) notional plain notes; (ii) division and embellishment (bb. 8–9 of Christopher Gibbons' [Single] Voluntary in C Major); (iii) additional colour and energy (bb. 13–14 Christopher Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in C Major).

⁷²⁸ Examples of this distinctive ornament are to be found in Blow's organ music (for example throughout Voluntary No. 4—see Figure 39). As a Child of the Chapel Blow will have been very familiar with Gibbons' distinctive playing style from an early age. This ornament is otherwise not observed in any literature of the period, except for a single example, in Froberger's Toccata XIV (b. 26), written in *c.* 1652, around the time of the composer's encounter with Christopher Gibbons. See Froberger, *Orgel- und Clavierwerke*. Also footnote 690.



Figure 53: Christopher Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in C Major (b. 62³).



Figure 54: A variation of the relish-like *échappée* from Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in C Major (b. 4).

The Decorated Semibreve

Table 16 illustrates the numerous ways that plain semibreves are decorated in the ecstatic sections of Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries.



Table 16: Decorative solutions for a single semibreve, as found in Christopher Gibbons' organ music.

First column, from top to bottom: Double-Organ Voluntary in D Minor (b. 1); Ibid. (b. 2); Ibid. (b. 6);

Ibid. (b. 15); Ibid. (b. 21); Ibid. (b. 23); Ibid. (bb. 8³–9³); Ibid. (b. 13); Ibid. (b. 35).

Second column, from top to bottom: Double-Organ Voluntary in C Major (b. 3); Ibid. (b. 15); Ibid. (b. 41);

Voluntary No. 4 (b. 2); Ibid. (b. 4); Ibid. (b. 14); Ibid. (b. 16); Ibid. (b. 17); Ibid. (b. 33).

Part Three: Some practical lessons

By way of summary, the following pages identify solutions to a practical application of ornamentation in organ music of the period. All examples are drawn from Blow.⁷²⁹ Although Blow's compositional style is more stately and ordered by comparison to Christopher Gibbons, his organ music provides sound context to how Restoration organists understood and applied ornamentation. Particularly relevant to the present discourse is that Blow represents an authoritative voice on the interpretation of the music of Christopher Gibbons, both because of his perceived involvement in the transmission of the double-organ voluntaries, but also on account of his closeness to Gibbons.⁷³⁰ And, counteracting the scarceness of material left to us by the older composer (also that only a single autograph of his organ music exists—his single-organ 'Verse' in F—containing precious little ornamental detail, apart from dotted notes and a single written-out backfall), by examining this repertory we stand to learn much more of the performance practices that will have passed from the master to his pupils.

As has already been noted, readings throw up numerous anomalies to illuminate the principle of capricious interchangeability of gracing, and the very many variants across the sources help illuminate the options available to interpreters. However, passages such as the last 20 or

⁷²⁹ Blow, *Complete Organ Music*.

⁷³⁰ Voluntaries Nos. 7 and 26, also in Nos. 13 and 16 carry particularly strong characteristics of Gibbons' influence.

so bars of Blow's Voluntary No. 2 are so packed full of notational inconsistency that the performer must always approach such matters with caution. Fluidity of approach seems to have been an expectation: the practice was doubtless more richly varied than any table of graces can show. The performer can be confident, however, of some basic matters: that the forefall sign always indicates an 'under ornament', and the backfall gives an 'upper element'; and the beat is always a lower ornament, standing for a three or four-note lower mordent, although a turned shake is often found through rising scales where a beat might otherwise be expected.⁷³¹ Ornaments are used for the purposes of voice-leading, pointing dissonance and intensity, providing accents, pointers and connections, as well as a melodic smoothing between notes. A distinction is also observable between small localized ornamentation denoted by signs, and the written out *passaggi*. Both contribute to a sense of rhapsodic freedom and *extempore*; the performer's skill is key to conveying the appropriate affect, and communicating the theatre of this music. Single-stroke and double-stroke symbols denote a variety of ornamental concepts that help project melodic lines. Their percussive or rhythmic nature too is significant, and the foregoing texture sometimes suggests a particular rhythmic realization.⁷³² By the time of *Melothesia* (1673), the single stroke, and beat symbol too, almost exclusively came to represent the 'under ornament', and the double stroke the 'upper ornament'.

⁷³¹ For example in the opening point of Blow's Voluntary No. 6 and throughout Voluntary No. 9. Also in No. 24, where both turned shakes and beats here sit side-by-side.

⁷³² Such as in the link between the first ornament to the second as well as throughout Blow's Voluntary No. 8, and the potentially dotted realizations in Nos. 13, 16 (especially in bb. 18–19 where the harmonic/rhythmic movement seems to give way for it) and throughout Nos. 22 and 30.

The lower element, whether beat or forefall, seem to represent the strongest and most expressive of the graces, where it is often used as an accent to start a point or to point an entry.⁷³³ Played with the strength of a harmonic appoggiatura it can project the apex of the phrase, yet throughout Blow's organ music a guiding practicality is that a forefall works particularly well as a lower mordent, played promptly like bagpipe doublings, starting on the dissonant lower auxiliary.⁷³⁴ In Blow, a forefall sign and that of a beat are seemingly entirely interchangeable.⁷³⁵ A chromatic inflection is occasionally suggested, or is found substituted later.⁷³⁶ The backfall is almost always an appoggiatura, and is seldom substituted for a shake.⁷³⁷ Sometimes a backfall denotes a passing note, and occasionally begs a rhythmic solution.⁷³⁸ The backfall is frequently used as an accent.

⁷³³ It is particularly effective in pointing a new entry, such as at b. 21 of Blow's Voluntary No. 22 and throughout No. 16.

⁷³⁴ Seen in Simpson's table as his 'Shaked Beat' and in Purcell's as a four-note (plain) 'beat'. Examples in Blow may be seen at bb. 14, 21 and 32 of Voluntary No. 11, b. 19 of Voluntary No. 16 and the opening point of Voluntary No. 29. There is strong evidence to suggest that a forefall was used as shorthand for any lower-auxiliary shake. See for example Voluntary No. 7, whose fifth note starts as a plain forefall only to be substituted by a forefall and beat in the next entry. Likewise in Voluntary No. 11. In Voluntary No. 10 a forefall is replaced with forefall & shake in the opening point and at bars 17 and 20.

⁷³⁵ E.g. in Blow's Voluntary No. 9, where the beat+turned shake turn up in another source (Lbl Add MS 31446) as forefall+turned shake, likewise interchangeable in the opening points of Voluntaries No. 11 and 19. Also observed throughout the second half of Voluntary No. 2.

⁷³⁶ See Voluntaries Nos. 10, 12 (substituted later), 13. In Voluntary No. 24 the forefall at b. 6 carries an accidental too, as do the opening points of Voluntaries No. 7, 10 and 12.

⁷³⁷ Backfalls are seen throughout Blow's Voluntary No. 23. Although it appears to represent an upper shake in b. 84 of Blow's Voluntary No. 2.

⁷³⁸ E.g. at b. 7 of Blow's Voluntary No. 7, at b. 9 of his No. 21, and at bb. 30, 36 and elsewhere of his Voluntary No. 27.

Christopher Gibbons' characteristic peppering of dissonant instability through the use of the expressive 'long appoggiatura' is not much observed in Blow's organ works.⁷³⁹ But several of Blow's voluntaries show that long notes often have more than two elements: an initial ornament (very often a forefall) tied to a shaken second element, which is very often turned at the end.⁷⁴⁰ On paper, the forefall is separated from the shake, but in performance may have been connected. No concrete evidence has come to light for this, except that the joining of components is common, and the matter of a new ornament applied to each successive note seems to be a key decorative feature of this repertory.

The principle of linking two or more decorative elements together results in the ubiquitous trait of a turn rounding off a shake.⁷⁴¹ Shaked notes also very often conclude with a flourish or relish that runs into the next, indeed, many three-note slides are observed as notated terminations.⁷⁴² The principle being sought is of a smooth, melodic transition

⁷³⁹ It appears as a 6-4 5-3 (somewhat different to Gibbons' typical use) in the final cadence of Blow's Voluntary No. 10. The non-harmonic note of a semiquaver or a quaver's length which very often characterises the start of a note with a longer value. The longer the transient, the more instability this inevitably causes. In the hands of Christopher Gibbons the quaver length is very often doubled, and the dissonant effect is further heightened by the placing of a heavy appoggiatura in another part, usually the bass working against the treble. This structural dissonance discomforts the listener's sense of expectation, radically so on the organ, where every note has as much strength as any other. But there is no room for doubt that such application was available in practice as much as in theory. Gibbons does not shy away from momentary harmonic upheaval, and for performers, should be anticipated with pleasure.

⁷⁴⁰ E.g. Voluntaries Nos. 1, 3, 7, 10 and particularly No. 14. This is seldom found at the opening gambit (unusually it is so in Voluntary No. 13) but is revealed by signs at the entries of later parts. Note also the thrillingly forward-looking cadential ornament at the end of the first section of Voluntary No. 12 (b. 33), where the shake is balanced and elongated by turns both at the start and the finish.

⁷⁴¹ A preference for the turned shake had been a feature in English music since at least the early 1500s. See Figure 26 (p.268).

⁷⁴² Such as the alternative reading (from Lbl Add. MS 31468, ff. 38v-40) of the opening bars of Blow's Voluntary No. 1.

between notes.⁷⁴³ Occasionally in Blow a terminating turn becomes Christopher Gibbons' graceful relished springer.⁷⁴⁴ An appoggiatura or a turn preceded by a shake is frequently observed. It is not obvious whether the forefall here is redundant, indicating the 'rise' already notated. Perhaps it is more likely to stand for an expressive appoggiatura, in the manner of the *port de voix*.⁷⁴⁵

Often a shake follows a forefall—the characteristic 'forefall and shake'. One of Christopher Gibbons' several contributions to organ style, this compound ornament characterises so many organ pieces of the period. Gibbons' influence is perhaps at its strongest in Blow's use of the forefall and shake, occurring in the opening bars of 13 of Blow's extant voluntaries.⁷⁴⁶ Study of the entire repertory offers no precise solution as to how musicians actually realized this ornament—indeed there are many different formulae of

⁷⁴³ This was noted by Prendcourt as an English preference for the rising three-note slide, e.g. in Blow's Voluntary No. 2, where the forefall may indicate the terminating three-note turn from bar 2 into bar 3. That said, no substitution has been found in this repertory of a forefall being notated as a three-note slide. Slides are very often fully written out, e.g. Voluntary No. 30. Each time, they suggest a different solution to an ordinary forefall. Blow's Voluntary No. 7 clearly shows the distinction between forefall and (a note later) a notated three-note slide. Yet, four forefalls occur in the first point of Voluntary No. 18, where, in performance, the second of these is perhaps most effective as a three-note slide.

⁷⁴⁴ E.g. in Voluntary No. 4 and in the alternative reading of Voluntary No. 17 in Cfm 652, ff. 22v–23 (dated to not before 1702).

⁷⁴⁵ It is possibly unlikely, however, that it denotes a springer.

⁷⁴⁶ Blow's Voluntaries 7, 8, 9 (in the version in Lbl Add. MS 31446), 10, 13, 14, 16, 21, 23, 25–7, 30. (Also in MB LXIX in 'Misattributed and Unascribed Works': Voluntaries 50 (beat and shake) 51, 52 (beat and shake), 53, 58, 62.) In Voluntaries 13 and 23 the forefall is already separated from the shake at the first bar, and in Voluntary No. 13 the rhythmic placement of the shake is different once it reaches the alto (perhaps to highlight its clarity when being played against another ornament in the left hand). Voluntary No. 48, 'doubtfully attributed' in *Musica Antiqua* of 1812 as 'MS. Lesson [...] Mr. Blow's Hundredth Psalm Tune', starts with a 'backfall and shake' which is at odds with under-ornaments found in the incipits of all other voices. (Stafford Smith, ed. *Musica Antiqua* (London: Thomas Preston, 1812), 10.)

shape and timing—but the strong implication is that the two elements may be played more deliberately in turn, one after the other.

The vexed issue of whether to use an upper or principal-note for shakes is in part clarified by study of the ornament tables throughout the chapter. The upper auxiliary is generally used by the time of the Restoration period, however, the study of context dictates that a principal-note start is melodically desirable on occasion, as well as to point chromatic notes.⁷⁴⁷ Preparing a shake with an appoggiatura gave way to the stylistic popularity of the ‘prepared shake’ in the early years of the Restoration.⁷⁴⁸

The energetic flourish of the five-finger slide appears throughout Blow’s Voluntary No. 5, and (as a four and five-note flourish) in Voluntary No. 6.⁷⁴⁹ The overlong lines of forefalls and backfalls found in some manuscripts suggest (and always work well as) five-finger flourishes; they show interchangeability on occasion with the ‘Blow appoggiatura’.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ See, for example, Blow’s Chromatic Voluntary (No. 8). The pulsating effect of alternating upper-auxiliary and principal-note oscillations has already been noted (p. 259). A principal-note start of the shake is suggested in Blow’s Voluntary No. 20. This also seems logical at b. 9 of Voluntary No. 8.

⁷⁴⁸ Prepared shakes are seen to fine effect in Voluntaries No. 7 and 8, Voluntary No. 29 (notably at b. 31). A notated *appuyer* preparation in Voluntary No. 25 appears as the apex of the phrase, the longest note (a major seventh) of one of the most thrilling of ribbons of ornamentation of the period. See Figure 42 on p. 284.

⁷⁴⁹ A similar realization may be suggested between the third and fourth note of Blow’s Voluntary No. 16.

⁷⁵⁰ Overlong forefalls at b. 24 of Blow’s Voluntary No. 2 (in the Lbl Add. MS 31468 copy) and at b. 8 of Voluntary No. 27. Characteristic examples of the ‘Blow appoggiatura’ are to be found in the first section of Blow’s Voluntary No. 2, i.e. bridging the *duriusculus* intervals at bb. 24, 27 and 39.

There is a tendency in voluntaries of the period to simplify initial decorations when played in the left hand. With Christopher Gibbons this is not so: his usage is reminiscent of Simpson, who insists that the bass is better suited to richer ornamental treatment.⁷⁵¹

A Final Flourish



Figure 55: the final cadence of Blow's Voluntary No. 11.

N.B. The grace finds a particularly effective place (transposed accordingly) on the final of Christopher Gibbons' Double-Organ Voluntary in C Major.

⁷⁵¹ See the text printed below in Table 4.

Chapter Four: Influence and Legacy

Part One: The General Character and Technique of Gibbons' Compositional Style

In order to assess Christopher Gibbons' influence on others, it is necessary first to evaluate the stylistic qualities of his compositional style across genres.

General characteristics

Gibbons' highly distinctive compositional style can best be summed up by the single adjective 'agile'. North's view of Gibbons' consort music as 've[ry] bold, solid, & strong but Desultory & not without a litle of ye Barbaresque' is entirely apposite, and the last two descriptions should not necessarily be viewed as negative.⁷⁵² The word 'desultory' can appropriately apply to certain of his verse anthems, which represent a decidedly weaker offering: solid and staid, certainly lacking the imagination and virtuosity of double-organ voluntaries, they are also very much simpler in concept and shorter in length in comparison to consort works. They likely reflect choral provision in the early years of the Restoration, when church singing was emerging from its nadir: a new music was required, yet continuity was broken, and expertise and confidence were lacking. The textbook definition of 'lacking a formal plan', is apposite too, as harmonies constantly twist and shift, and the texture is restless and unpredictable in nature; phrase lengths are irregularly balanced, and passages can seem long-winded. This

⁷⁵² Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 299.

‘searching out’—harmonically, rhythmically, melodically—is born out of an improvised keyboard tradition, in which he was seemingly the foremost exponent. Gibbons’ music captures great energy and wit: it is full of harsh dissonance and ornamental decoration, bell-like qualities, quixotic scales and *tiratas* of chains of thirds; double dissonances are a common feature. Many qualities stem from madrigal and virginalist traditions, and his music captures the expressive directness of the music of the *seconda pratica*.

Gibbons’ harmonic style is a mosaic of Italian, French and English components. The language is broadly tonal, but one where the heredity of modality still plays a very obvious part—the liberal use of the flattened seventh and the frequent employment of the Phrygian half cadence, for instance. It is a different matter for composers of a generation on, Blow and Purcell, for instance, who developed the confidence to adopt an almost entirely tonal frame. In the case of Purcell, whose use of modality is generally colourful rather than structural, it is reasonable to surmise that his fascination with the harmonic logic of the ‘English Cadence’ came via Christopher Gibbons’ continued enjoyment of such antiquated expressions.⁷⁵³ The distinctive mix of old and new, perhaps above other aspects of his compositional style, attest most to Gibbons’ status as a ‘transitional’ composer.

⁷⁵³ See 'False Relation.' *Early Music Sources.com* <www.earlymusicsources.com/youtube/false-relation> (Accessed 17 September 2021).

Harmonic characteristics

The frequent occurrence of the sharpened sixth serves to propel the harmony forwards in a modern expressive sentiment; likewise, a sharpened bass note can lead to another sharpened bass note, launching the harmony forwards. Quick swerves to the relative major—particularly following a strong cadence—form an uniquely distinctive feature to this composer’s language (see Figure 56), as are sudden harmonic shifts up a semitone, and the sequential rising of three triads each a fourth apart. (See, for example, Figure 93 on p. 377. Such ambitious moves usually soon find their way back to a previously struck chord.) The harshness of the bare major sixth to follow a cadence occurs frequently, a feature used by the madrigalists, and common to Orlando Gibbons. Noteworthy in Christopher Gibbons’ harmonic language is the frequent employment of the seventh chord delaying a resolution proper by passing to another seventh chord (see Figure 57). Often a seventh chord passes to an added-4 chord—and, owing much to the *durezza e ligature* style, there can be chains of such daring dissonance. A peculiarly rich harmonic palette includes the frequent use of chords such as 5-4-2 and 7-5-2, passing and accented dissonance, distant keys accessed by chromatic third-relations. Simple chords in declamatory style often have wide, open voicing.

Passages of repose are often wrought in F Major, and bright passages nearly always feature punctuating E Major chords.⁷⁵⁴ A favoured chord of B^b with a suspended major seventh is frequently observed, often as the initial stage of a Phrygian cadence. This ‘hanging’-type suspension, that produces a frisson of dissonance to a strong beat, is discussed

⁷⁵⁴ Being startlingly bright in meantone temperament.

in Part Three. All of the above harmonic characters have likewise been identified in the harmonic language of Christopher Gibbons' pupils Blow and Purcell too.

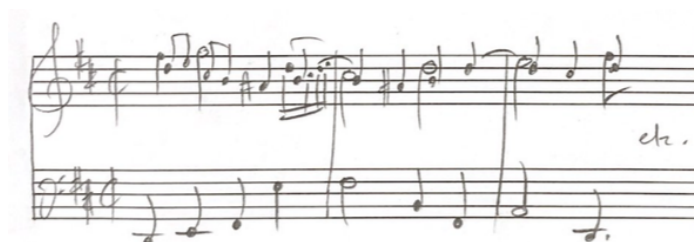


Figure 56: Note the typical, mobile bass-line, 'hanging suspensions', and a third-relation modulation that extends straight back to the tonic. (*Fantasia the sixth a3* (VdGS no. 28), bb. 34–6.)



Figure 57: Delayed resolution, from Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the second a3* (VdGS no. 16) (bb. 40–41).

Cadences

Gibbons peppers his scores with 'English Cadences', although there is only one example in his extant keyboard works.⁷⁵⁵ They frequently incorporate the 'Corelli Clash' as a secondary dissonance.⁷⁵⁶ He uses strong pre-dominants in cadential progressions, where ii^{7b} often precedes a perfect cadence. The common use of the subdominant minor provides a distinctive colour, one which composers of the *seconda pratica* reserved for the most poignant of

⁷⁵⁵ Incorporated into the final cadence of the Double-Organ Voluntary in A Minor.

⁷⁵⁶ See Chapter Three, Part One: The Cadent. See also Figure 59.

expressions. He shades the subdominant minor further by introducing a flattened seventh; thus iv^7 leads to V^7 —Gibbons' classic progression of consecutive seventh chords—and so doing combines both the 'Englishness' of the false-relation cadence with the softness of the subdominant minor. This is perhaps the most distinctive of all of Gibbons' harmonic devices.⁷⁵⁷ (See also Figures 57, 58 and 59.) The general tendency to inflect a minor element in the approach to the dominant—through the minor subdominant, the sub-tonic chord, or the minor dominant—make for ultra-bright resolutions, particularly when combined with high textual elements. The consequence of the ensuing melodic chromaticism is observed at Figure 71 (page 339), for example, the constant twisting between minor and major being here the chief expressive device. High thirds in the treble very often incorporate a penetrating and prominent 7th at the point of the dominant. The effect is often offset in the bass by a mobile dotted crotchet-quaver-minim (the quaver toying with the lower auxiliary), a common cadential motif from the English Renaissance.

Harmonic, melodic and rhythmic elements frequently combine to effect an emphatic bump on the second beat of the bar, and often resulting in a swerve from major to minor, or a shift from consonance to dissonance. The plentiful occurrence of a melodic sharpened sixth followed by a sharpened seventh often results in a series of whole tones, or throws up an harsh

⁷⁵⁷ This very cadential progression is enjoyed to optimal effect in bb. 14³–16¹ of *Hear my prayer, O Lord* Z.15. (The work is discussed at length at pp. 329ff.) It is a curious matter that the progression is found in the first version of the Funeral Sentence *In the midst of life*, briefly at modern b. 18, in *Thou know'st Lord* as the cadence at b. 47, and again to splendid effect in the final cadence at b. 52, yet in the corresponding later versions, they were all rewritten using subtly different approaches—a suggestion that the Funeral Sentences Z.27 (excepting the homophonic *Thou knowest Lord of* 1685) originally started out as the work of another composer. This notion is also explored in Part Three. *Man that is born of a woman* and *Thou know'st Lord* exist from before 1677 in the hands of Richard Goodson Sr (c. 1655–1718) and Henstridge(?) in Och Mus. 22 and Lbl Add. MS 30931 respectively.) See also footnote 796.

augmented chord, particularly on strong beats of the bar, which is another feature typical of Purcell's language (see Figure 59).

The D Minor Double-Organ Voluntary in particular shows signs of the compositional mind of the continuo keyboard player, with soloistic passages accompanied by basic chords in comfortable hand-positions.

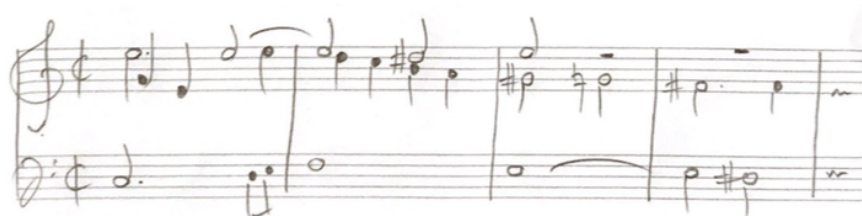


Figure 58: Introducing an 'English Cadence' element into a Phrygian cadential progression, from Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the second a3* (VdGS no. 16) (bb. 47–50).

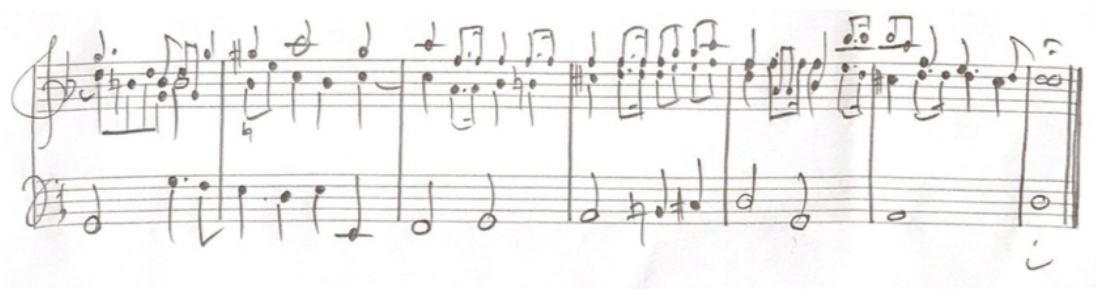


Figure 59: This figure encapsulates a great many features of Gibbons' harmonic and textural style—a mobile, volatile harmonic sense; a bass-line that is full of direction (including #6 followed by #7); hanging suspensions, informing an accented augmented chord and other acute dissonance; dissonance passing to dissonance; a harmonic third-relation; the cadential employment of iv^7 ; bright trebles working in tandem, leading to further acute dissonance (culminating in a 'Corelli Cadence'), all woven into an overall sense of crescendo. (*Fantasia the third a3*, Allman (VdGS no. 20), bb. 14–20).

Textural character

The vast majority of Gibbons' *oeuvre* is polyphonically conceived and characterized by moments of stasis and tranquility. Particularly characterful are echo effects, and the interplay of two treble parts, also passages that have a distinctly ecstatic nature, where a high tessitura combines tied/long chords and suddenly static harmonic rhythm, under which is woven virtuosic, decorated melodic lines and lightning-quick divisions. Sometimes passages have a distinctly minimalist feel. A particularly characterful element is his double level of syncopation, bearing on the minim pulse as well as the crotchet.

Ornamental features

Whilst the organ music is highly ornamental, the vocal music too has freedoms and mobility.⁷⁵⁸ Through all genres, Gibbons makes frequent use of an active, four-semiquaver turned ornament on a weak beat, very often terminated by an appoggiatura, and sometimes emphasised further by being in parallel thirds or sixths in another voice, thereby terminating with a double appoggiatura. (See Figures 60 and 61.) Oftentimes there are two concurrent decorative levels, or where two voices engage in parallel ornamentation. Parallel appoggiaturas are common at cadence points.

⁷⁵⁸ Only two other keyboard pieces have come down to us: short, simple dance movements, almost devoid of applied ornamentation. See Rayner, *Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676), Keyboard Compositions*.



Figure 60: An example of Gibbons' trademark four-semiquaver turned ornament in bright, parallel treble thirds, always placed to pre-empt a strong beat or cadence (*Fantasia the fourth a3*, Allman (VdGS no. 23), Treble I and II, b. 9). See also Fig. 61.



Figure 61: The four-semiquaver turned ornament is frequently heard on the following weak beat, imitated in another part (*Fantasia the fourth a3* (VdGS no. 22), bb. 19–20).

Melodic character

Gibbons' melodies are usually highly mobile and rhythmically sprung: they carry unpredictable shapes unfettered by the rhythmic hierarchy of the bar. They often describe zig-zag contours, often mirrored in another part by a zig-zag in contrary motion. (See Figures 62–64, also Figure 67.) The *échappée* makes its frequent appearance, as does leapfrogging imitation, which can be offset by as little as a single crotchet, immediately displacing natural accents (see Figure 64).⁷⁵⁹ Beats 2 and 4 seem as important to Gibbons as the strong beats; phrasing from weak to strong beats is common, and Gibbons sometimes subtly changes the rhythm so as to deliberately catch a syncopation. Often a melodic downwards jolt is followed

⁷⁵⁹ See also the *échappée* earlier, in Part Two: The 'Relished Springer'.

by an upward jolt, and a jump down followed by a dotted note, as if something had disturbed the music's equilibrium.

Wide, angular intervals (very often diminished), rather than closing up, become amplified by melodic continuance in the same direction. Likewise, imitation is developed by an answering voice extending the widest interval outwards, promoting natural melodic development. What might be jocosely termed the 'Gibbons rocket' is observed several times: a thrilling pattern of sequential thirds, quickly ascending through two octaves or more. (Figure 65.) He also uses this pattern descending, in the more muscular of his bass lines.

Gibbons makes frequent use of extrovert over-large compound intervals, particularly in his string writing, offering a heroic and distinctly operatic quality. Ladders of ascending or descending thirds (but never arpeggios proper) favour the seventh or ninth rather than the octave (see Figure 66). Dissonance is left unprepared, or prepared in another voice; a resolution can be offset by an octave, or even transferred to another voice part. Additions, such as harmonic ninths by suspension, are sometimes left unresolved; occasionally a rest is found where a resolution is expected. Gibbons makes frequent expressive use of the melodic diminished 4th.⁷⁶⁰



Figure 62: Zig-zag contour, from Christopher Gibbons' *Fantazia-Suite the second a2* (VdGS no. 4, Treble, bb. 68–71).

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. Part Three: Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?

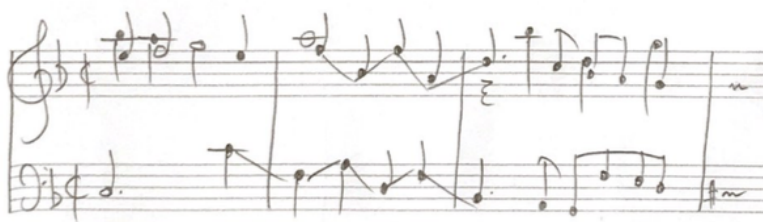


Figure 63: Contrary zig-zag motion in Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the third a3* (VdGS no. 19, bb. 53–5).



Figure 64: Offset imitation in Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the second a3* (VdGS no. 16, bb. 63–7).



Figure 65: An example of the 'Gibbons Rocket' from *Fantazia-Suite the second a2* (VdGS no. 4, Treble, bb. 18–19).



Figure 66: A sequence of incrementally rising thirds, from Christopher Gibbons' *Fantazia-Suite the second a2* (VdGS no. 4, Treble, bb. 88–91).

Bass melodies are loose and exploratory, characterised by lively rhythmic interest (see Figures 67 and 68). They quite often include a dotted auxiliary note bump at cadences, a characteristic trait seemingly inherited from his father; indeed, there are many auxiliary notes that ricochet throughout the texture. Mobile, dotted descending basslines are a particular feature. Bass parts also sometimes drop the octave at cadences, adding to the dramatic busyness that underpins phrase endings—hemiolas, quicker harmonic rhythm and generally increased agility, melodic ambit, dissonance, shorter note values, (paired) ornamentation, and energetic interplay. Throw-away phrase endings are common.



Figure 67: A typically active bass line, from Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the third a3* (VdGS no. 19, Bass, bb. 11–5).



Figure 68: A bass line plummeting nearly two octaves, in Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the third a3* (VdGS no. 19, Bass, bb. 46–50). Cf. the 'solo' line bb. 74–6 in Gibbons' *Double-Voluntary in C Major* which descends more than three octaves, $f\sharp^2$ to C .

Rhythmic character

Gibbons' music is generally defined by its rhythmic agility. Syncopated inner parts are frequently observed. Repeated notes are frequently to be found following a tied or long note, or a rest. He often creates the illusion of melodies and rhythms breaking free. The bass has a freely sprung rhythmic quality, where unpredictable dots and ties displace the natural accents

in the bar, or playfully offset the other instruments. (So much so that it is sometimes difficult to determine quite where the first first beat of the bar falls.) Stately, common-time gravitas effortlessly progresses into *step tripla*, and, not dissimilar to Purcell's music, such passages employ leapfrogging thirds styled in dotted rhythm. Dotted notes sometimes sit alongside backwards-dotted snaps.

‘Ecclesiasticall stile’: Gibbons’ influence on Purcell’s Anthems

Adams’ assessment that ‘there is little evidence [of Gibbons’ influence] on Purcell’s compositional practice’ is blind to the countless parallels of character and technique that are found in both men’s compositional style: indeed, their stylistic commonality provides inescapable evidence.⁷⁶¹ Of all the composers of the early years of the Restoration, none are more closely stylistically aligned than Christopher Gibbons and Purcell. Purcell was raised directly into Chapel and Abbey life, both places where Gibbons held full sway: it is unimaginable that this able, receptive boy would not have been alert to his inventiveness. On a purely biographical level, the influence of the older composer, honoured by North as the ‘great master of the ecclesiasticall style, and also in consort musick’, has hitherto been underplayed.⁷⁶² Yet Holman writes:

It is often said that Purcell was taught by Cooke [...] or by Pelham Humfrey, but in fact two contemporary Oxford writers state that he was a pupil of Christopher Gibbons: according to Anthony a Wood he was ‘bred up under Dr Chr Gibbons I think’, while the Revd Thomas Ford of Christ Church wrote that he was ‘Scholar to Dr Blow & to Dr Xtop[h]er Gibbons’.⁷⁶³

Further, Purcell’s exact contemporary Henry Hall (c. 1656–1707) overtly spelled out that a stylistic baton had passed from Christopher Gibbons to Purcell.⁷⁶⁴ And as Purcell enjoyed free

⁷⁶¹ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 5.

⁷⁶² Watkins Shaw, H., ‘John Blow, Doctor of Music,’ *The Musical Times* 78, no. 1136 (1937). Also Henry Leland Clarke, ‘John Blow: A Tercentenary Survey,’ *The Musical Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1949). The quote is from J Wilson, ed. *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959b), 299.

⁷⁶³ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 5. Thomas Ford (1672 or 1673–1746).

⁷⁶⁴ ‘To the Memory of my Dear Friend Mr. *Henry Purcell*. / *MUSICK*, the chiefest Good the Gods have giv’n, / And what below still antedates our Heav’n, / Just like a Spirit, by a lasting Spell, / Consin’d to *Italy*, did Ages dwell. / Long there remain’d a pleas’d & welcom Guest, / Lov’d best to live where best she was exprest. / By Glory led, at length to *France* she came, / And there immortaliz’d great *Lully*’s Name; / As yet a Stranger to the *British Shore*, / Till *Lock*, and *Blow*, deep learn’d in all her Lore, / And happy artfull *Gibbons*, forc’t her o’re. / Where with young *Humphries* she acquainted grew, / (Our first reforming Music’s *Richelieu*) / Who dying left the Goddess all to You.’ (Henry Purcell, *Orpheus Britannicus*

access to manuscript scores, he took enough interest in Christopher Gibbons' choral, consort and keyboard works to copy them for his own instruction.⁷⁶⁵ Gibbons was therefore undeniably an early primary influence.⁷⁶⁶ It would be naive to suggest that Purcell's inspiration came from only one source, or indeed one institution, but the direction of influence here must necessarily have been one-way, as the older composer died in 1676, well before the younger man reached a level of compositional maturity. This is an important factor to establish before approaching the final section of the present chapter: Gibbons' role, active or passive, in three of the most well-loved Restoration anthems.

It is wise first to set out the elements of stylistic commonality, in order to appreciate a jumble of the *antico* style mixed in with 'new fangl'd ways' that constitutes Purcell's ecclesiastical style.⁷⁶⁷ Chief in the mix is the harmonic expressiveness of sinuous chromaticism, dissonance, common ambiguity between major and minor, and the many inflections and shifts of restless mobility. While these composers stray into modality, their palette is tonal, underpinned by strong cadential activity. Texturally, their music is a mixture of virtuosic monody, tightly-knit polyphony and declamatory eloquence; poignant passages break off into dramatic exuberance and there is always a keenness to employ echo effects,

(London: J. Heptinstall, 1698). Italics original.)

⁷⁶⁵ See Part Two: *Translatio, imitatio e emulatio*.

⁷⁶⁶ As Christopher Gibbons enjoyed a particular professional closeness to Purcell's father, one can only speculate that this influence became accentuated after summer 1664, when Purcell Sr died.

⁷⁶⁷ Quoting from Tudway in Lbl Harl. MS 7338, f. 2v (dated 1715): 'The old Masters of Music viz: Dr Child, Dr Gibbons, Mr Law [Lowe], the Organists to his Majesty, hardly knew how, to comport themselves, wth these new fangl'd ways, but proceeded in their Compositions, according to ye old Style'.

interjections and to pass into *step tripla*. Both composers offer a creative amalgam of a richly harmonic, melody-led and decorative language of the French Baroque, and of the formal and rhetorical ideals promoted by the Italian *seconda pratica*, alongside indigenous virtuosic traditions.

Part Two: *Translatio, imitatio e emulatio*

In *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* Herissone discusses that the creator of the initial concept of a musical work stands only at the start of its life-cycle, and that the performer, arranger, and even the copyist, play essential roles in shaping further, such that they stake their claim and call it their own.⁷⁶⁸ Such a notion is a problem for modern scholarship and an *urtext* mentality. If, for example, a pupil had ‘improved’, transformed or otherwise repurposed a voluntary (the process known in rhetoric as *translatio*), by way of honest commemoration, or even to revise ornamentation to accord with contemporary taste, then ‘ownership’ could legitimately pass across. Copying music from models was a vital part of the learning process. Faithful reproduction, however, was not always an expected outcome. In all the examples studied below, it is noted that the adaptor nearly always leaves a blank attribution.

A tradition of *extensio*

There is now a growing body of evidence, focusing primarily but not exclusively on Purcell, demonstrating that *emulatio* was indeed at the heart of Restoration compositional techniques, and was by no means confined to early or student works.⁷⁶⁹

Notwithstanding Herissone’s qualification, numerous notable examples of what would be judged today as plagiarism originally appeared as homages. This is particularly true of the offerings of young Chapel musicians, who evidently abided by the Wildian sentiment that

⁷⁶⁸ Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013b), 210.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

imitatio could be the sincerest form of flattery. A specific order of *emulatio* was practised, which might best be termed ‘*extensio*’. A particularly fine example has already been encountered, where the imitator (Tomkins?) quotes Orlando Gibbons’ canzona-like *A short Preludiu of 4 parts*, elongating it from ten bars into 30.⁷⁷⁰ It is not possible to ascertain whether the piece was born out of memorization, or whether the first section was set as a pedagogical exercise for elaboration. Either way, the result is a new piece that clearly pays homage to its original, but very successfully takes the material further, both melodically as well as rhythmically.

That notion of homage to the originator holds firm in the Holmes/Harrison copies of Christopher Gibbons’ double-organ voluntaries. It really cannot be said, however, that their extensions started life as a response to pedagogical practice, for the simple reason that they maintain nothing of the prevailing style, save from the occasional re-quote of the foregoing material; these clumsy additions only serve to spoil their models. Rather, such pieces fall into the category of a change in performance circumstance: here, an organist, perhaps unskilled in improvisation, extends the material to cover movement of the clergy, for example.⁷⁷¹

Numerous pieces of the period provide evidence of such ‘recomposition’: the Gloria of the Nunc dimittis of Daniel Purcell’s Evening Canticles in G Minor, for example, was supplied by ‘Mr Rosengrave Junior’.⁷⁷² A rare example of a double extension is found in

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. footnote 519. N.B. This calculation uses a direct equivalent.

⁷⁷¹ The suggestion that these may be the ramblings of a teenaged player has already been made. See pp. 169ff.

⁷⁷² The author of the Gloria is discussed in ‘Daniel Roseingrave’ at Kerry Houston, ‘Dictionary of Irish Biography Online.’ (2012): <www.dib.ie/biography/roseingrave-daniel-a7800> (Accessed 9 December 2021). The work’s general attribution to Purcell is sometimes doubted: Shay and Thompson note that ‘the paucity of early source material is a matter not easily explained’ (Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 229). The paucity of source material in items towards the

Blow's Voluntary No. 2 in C Major.⁷⁷³ The first extension (up until bar 51) is a skilled reworking, whereas the last section (from bar 52 to the end) is a frankly pitiful addendum, spoiling both the original and its extension. At this point in the work, the problem of a degeneration of attribution becomes apparent: the voluntary undoubtedly started life as the published work of Frescobaldi (although his name is nowhere to be seen); the first extension is attributed to Blow (but only in a single manuscript), whereas the second extension (in an unique source) renders the whole voluntary anonymous.⁷⁷⁴ A similar degeneration of attribution is noted in Blow's Voluntaries Nos. 19, 25 and 27, where extensions copied by Holmes and Harrison leave the works without ascription, while Davis' copy (without extension) confidently asserts authorship to Blow.⁷⁷⁵

It is clear to the present author that Voluntary No. 26 in the collection of Blow's *Complete Organ Music* started life as a double-organ voluntary by Christopher Gibbons. The closing section, from bar 28³ (appended by Holmes) is, however, markedly different.⁷⁷⁶ The latter section shares a great many characteristics to the appended closing section of Purcell's *A*

rear of Cfm 88 is discussed below in Part Three: Purcell's Great Scorebook.

⁷⁷³ The originator is Frescobaldi: the first 18 bars of his *Toccata duodecima* from the *First Book*. (Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura, Libro 1*.)

⁷⁷⁴ The source is again Harrison, origin of three poor extensions to Christopher Gibbons' double-organ voluntaries (see pp. 169ff.). The first movement (incorporating the first extension) is copied into Lbl Add. MS 31446, ff. 41–42v, Lbl Add. MS 31468, ff. 9v–10 and Lbl Add. MS 34695, ff. 53v–54, where only the second of these (in Davis' hand) is ascribed to Blow. The second movement/second extension is found, unasccribed, only in the latter source.

⁷⁷⁵ Likewise by Holmes and Harrison. See Blow, *Complete Organ Music*. Also Cooper, 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music.'

⁷⁷⁶ Further extensions emanate from Holmes and Harrison in Blow's Voluntaries No. 5b (a reworked version of the shorter Voluntary 5) and No. 12.

Voluntary for ye Duble Organ (see page 163), yet its extension is not connected to the north-eastern copyists Holmes and Harrison, but rather to the Worcester musician William Davis, suggesting that the aforementioned extensions derive from a common hand.⁷⁷⁷

The tradition of extending choral works is observed in the present study through the examination of Cfm 88. Here, without exception, Purcell initials all of his own compositions (except those he left unfinished) with the calligraphic moniker ‘HP’, while those that are extended carry no such initials. The anonymity of other items in this collection might either indicate that their authorship was unknown to Purcell, or perhaps even that their authorship was obvious.

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. p. 172. The author would appear to be responsible for the entirety of Blow’s Voluntary 28 (copied by Harrison in Lbl Add. MS 34695, ff. 10v–13) and for the extension to No. 30, not emanating from Holmes or Harrison, but from Davis. Homage is paid to Frescobaldi through the middle of this very poor voluntary, with bars 18–24 of his *Toccata ottava* (from the *First Book*) appearing as bb. 45–57. (Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d’intavolatura, Libro 1.*)

Part Three: *Purcell's Great Scorebook*

One of the more unexpected results of having carried out a thorough examination of Christopher Gibbons' compositional style was the emergence of three unasccribed works chosen by Purcell to be included in his *Great Scorebook*, Cfm 88, all three bearing his late master's distinctive voice.

Throughout the period in question, adding the composer's name to a composition is by no means a given. There can be many reasons for this, not simply negligence. But this presents untold difficulties if the manuscript is the single source.

Be they the result of *imitatio*, *translatio*, *emulatio* or *extensio*, ten of the later works in *Purcell's Great Scorebook* are anonymous; seven of them are generally assumed to be by Purcell, and two ascriptions added at a later date are now known to be erroneous.⁷⁷⁸ The penultimate anthem, *O Lord, thou art my God* (Z.41), appears to be extended by Purcell. The final verse à3 ('And it shall be said in that day') is stylistically discernibly different to the first two verses. There is evidence within the structure too, that more than one composer's hand is at work, for the original composer completed the anthem with a recapitulation of the opening text. The style and structure of the extension is typical of Purcell: it is broader in scope, appending text from a later psalm verse, and further elaborating with not one, but two *Hallelujah* choruses. The harmonic palette is more daring and the *tripla* character, with ribbons of dotted notes, is

⁷⁷⁸ Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 43.

the quintessence of Purcell's 'light and airy style'.⁷⁷⁹ (It may be coincidental that the point of extension is signified by four separately drawn, over-long barlines for each of the four voices.)⁷⁸⁰

Purcell's copying of Blow's *Sing unto the Lord* is left unfinished.⁷⁸¹ Because of this it is also unasccribed.⁷⁸² (Likewise for Gibbons' *Almighty and everlasting God* (f. 112r), which breaks off after only nine bars, and where Purcell left a whole folio of rastrated manuscript, remains unattributed on account of its unfinished state.)

In the unasccribed verse anthem *Bow down thine ear* (Z.11), the start of this work seems not to be by Purcell, yet, as it progresses, appears more and more typical of his mature style.⁷⁸³ It is entirely conceivable that the strong chorus 'For thou, Lord, art good and gracious' formed the anthem's original ending, to which Purcell appended the chorus 'Teach me thy way, O Lord' (and likely the short bass verse before it). The short, bright extension 'And I will thank thee, O Lord my God with all my heart', seems without doubt to be the work of Purcell.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁷⁹ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 7.

⁷⁸⁰ Just as it is in the anthems *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* (Z.25; f. 86v) and *Bow down thine ear, O Lord* (Z.11; f. 102r) and at the end of the unfinished *Hear my prayer, O Lord* (Z.15; f. 83r).

⁷⁸¹ ff. 31r–36r.

⁷⁸² Scorebooks traditionally ascribe composers at the end of the work, not at the beginning. A different, later hand added 'Mr Matthew Lock'. (See Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 42–3.) Purcell's copying ends with two bars of an unfinished *alleluia* chorus (seemingly his own) followed by a single barline stroke.

⁷⁸³ ff. 104r–102r.

⁷⁸⁴ The work remains unasccribed in Cfm 117 (f. 187v), as copied directly from Cfm 88.

Remember not, Lord, our offences (Z.50) is likewise unasccribed, both here at folios 99r–98v and in Cfm 117 (f. 124v). The anthem is described in detail below.

Shay and Thompson suggest that Purcell's work on this 'large expensive fair-copy presentation book'—between about 1677 and 1685—was to produce 'clean, well-edited drafts in score of a number of important works by other composers, presumably library copies for the Chapel Royal.'⁷⁸⁵

The status of the final three works in the reverse end of Cfm 88 is particularly curious: with the exception of contemporary copies of *O Lord thou art my God* and *Lord how long wilt thou be angry* in [...] a scorebook in the hand of Purcell's principal assistant [...] there are no seventeenth-century concordances for these works. By means of comparison, for *O God thou art my God* there are at least ten seventeenth-century concordances extant. [...] It would seem thus unreasonable here to suggest that Purcell was copying these particular pieces into Cfm 88 to preserve works that had previously circulated elsewhere.⁷⁸⁶

However, this misses the point that copies of *O Lord, thou art my God* and *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* are not independent sources, but were copied from Cfm 88.⁷⁸⁷ Neither does it mention that for *Hear my prayer, O Lord*—extremely curiously, for so famous a piece—not a single concordance is known. This too is discussed below.

⁷⁸⁵ Shay: 'Purcell as collector of 'ancient' music : Fitzwilliam MS 88' in Curtis Alexander. Price, *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 43. Also Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 44. Herissone describes the volume as a 'transmission copy'. (Rebecca Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls'" and "'Fayre Writeing'": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process,' *The Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 4 (2006), 587.)

⁷⁸⁶ Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 46.

⁷⁸⁷ Information given in RISM, Herissone, 'Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts.' and Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 60. *Bow down thine ear O Lord* has no contemporary concordances apart from copied by Isaack direct from Cfm 88 into Cfm 117, which is unasccribed (see *Ibid.*, 47–64.); *Remember not, Lord, our offences* has none, apart from that in Cfm 117, direct from Cfm 88, which is likewise unasccribed. In US-R M2040/A628/Folio, *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry* (pp. 83–6), is signed 'HP', and *O Lord thou art my God* (pp. 43–50) is ascribed to 'Mr H Pursell'. (See *Ibid.*, 79.)

Into the front section of this volume, Purcell copied from partbooks a repertory from an earlier age; nine of these items he copied from Barnard's *First Book*.⁷⁸⁸ Alongside them he included anthems by composers of Whitehall's Chapel Royal.

The principal document of [Purcell's] work at this period, the great autograph score-book Cfm 88, suggests that his first major responsibility at court was the editing and composition of Anglican sacred music in the distinctly conservative style that provided the mainstay of the Chapel Royal repertory on weekdays and when the king did not attend the Chapel in person.⁷⁸⁹

Purcell corrected their part-writing and underlay.⁷⁹⁰ Shay adds that: 'his corrections of Barnard rarely diverge from the musical text but make it cleaner and more nearly complete' citing the addition and manipulation of accidentals and the way he conforms all voices.⁷⁹¹ Blow's *Sing we merrily* appears to have been completed by Purcell.⁷⁹²

The larger, inverted portion carries some of Purcell's earliest significant ventures into composition. These are the five pieces that he initialled 'HP', namely *Save me O God* (Z.51), *Blessed is he whose unrighteousness* (Z.8), *Hear me O Lord, and that soon* (Z.13), *O God thou has cast us out* (Z.36), and the eight-part full anthem *O Lord, God of Hosts* (Z.37).

Items Purcell left unascribed are of particular interest. These fall into two categories: those completed and those left incomplete. Orlando Gibbons' *Almighty and everlasting God*, Blow's *Sing unto the Lord, O ye Saints*, and Purcell's own *O God, thou art my God* (Z.35) fall into the

⁷⁸⁸ John Barnard, *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London: n.p., 1641). See Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 42–3. Also Price, *Purcell Studies*, 44.

⁷⁸⁹ Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 3.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 42–3.

⁷⁹¹ Price, *Purcell Studies*, 47.

⁷⁹² ff. 14v–20r.

latter category. Because the attributions are always written at the end of a composition, they remain unasccribed. The anonymous *Hear my prayer, O Lord* (Z.15), looks to have been a candidate for extending, so likewise falls into the ‘incomplete’ category.

Of the completed anthems, where concordances are not to be found elsewhere, these items have long been assumed to be the work of Purcell himself. These are *Bow down thine ear, O Lord*, the ‘Funeral Sentences’, *Remember not, Lord, our offences, Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* and *O Lord, thou art my God*. Each appears to have been the object of a process of recomposition on the part of Purcell, adapted or perhaps merely finished by him, but where, taking into account stylistic discrepancy, the original inspiration may possibly have come from elsewhere.

Commentators have remarked on how Purcell revised and refined the Funeral Sentences over three versions. It is perplexing, therefore, that its final version, copied into this volume, is to be found in only one other source—namely that copied directly into Cfm 117.⁷⁹³ Also, it is telling that all of Purcell’s autographs of the three early funeral anthems are unasccribed.⁷⁹⁴ The first and second versions of the three sentences also enjoyed very limited immediate circulation.⁷⁹⁵ In all five sources dating from Purcell’s lifetime—the two autograph

⁷⁹³ Originating in Cfm 88 at ff. 102r–100v this so-called ‘third version’ of *Man that is born of a woman* leads directly to *In the midst of life*, stopping after the reprise of the chorus ‘deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death’.

⁷⁹⁴ Lbl Add. MS 30931, ff. 81v–84v (dated c. 1677) and Cfm 88, ff. 102r–100v (c. 1679–81). *Man that is born of a woman* and the polyphonic *Thou know’st Lord* (Z.58) remain unasccribed in William Isaack’s (1650–1703) Cfm 117 (f. 190r), dated to before 1683, whereas the homophonic full anthem *Thou knowest Lord* (Z.58.C) at f. 192 of the same MS, is indeed ascribed to Purcell and, although there is no autograph, it is undoubtedly Purcell’s work, on account of having been composed for the funeral of Queen Mary, and performed eight months later at Purcell’s own funeral. (Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 269.)

⁷⁹⁵ See footnote 796. See also Hogwood’s editorial notes in Christopher Hogwood, ed. *Funeral Sentences*

originals and three derivative concordances—the Sentences are anonymous. If the pieces contain attributions, Purcell's name was added subsequently, by another hand.⁷⁹⁶

The originator of these anthems is thus brought into question. That this material was corrected and adapted by Purcell seems undisputed—his providing a stronger logic to melodies and the lines of the polyphony, paying more attention to imitative matters, giving improved clarity of uncluttered expression brought about by better text underlay and less syncopation in the middle lines, the better pacing of entries and an improved strength of sequence. It may be accepted that Purcell began writing in an old style, as was often his wont, but the resulting essential musical vocabulary is far removed from the rest of Purcell's known choral output. The use of non-standard, non-1662 BCP texts may also remove their origin to the pre-civil war period.

Whilst a number of key stylistic features of the Funeral Sentences may point to Christopher Gibbons as the original composer, the present author finds it not wholly satisfactory to ascribe their origination to him.⁷⁹⁷ However, three anonymous anthems in the inverted section of this manuscript—*Lord, how long wilt thou be angry* (ff. 87v–86v), *Remember not, Lord, our offences* (99r–98v) and *Hear My Prayer, O Lord* (83v–83r)—share enough of a catalogue

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 32–4.

⁷⁹⁶ See also A tradition of extensio. Contemporary copies are found in US-LAuc Fc6966/M4/A627/1700 in Henstridge's hand; Och Mus. 22 is in the hand of Goodson Sr; Cfm 117 was copied by Isaack, dated 1683 but probably made between c. 1675 and 1709. The two manuscripts in Purcell's hand are Lbl Add. MS 30931 (c. 1677) and Cfm 88 (c. 1677–82).

⁷⁹⁷ Holman speculates that the set may have been written by 1676, for Christopher Gibbons' funeral (Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 109.), in which case Purcell would have just turned 17.

of characteristics with Gibbons, to raise significant questions as to their inspiration, or even to their original authorship.

Purcell's *Hear My Prayer, O Lord*: comparative analysis with Christopher Gibbons' *Not unto us, O Lord*

It is possible that, despite our modern estimation that *Lord how long wilt thou be angry* and *Hear my prayer* should be considered amongst Purcell's finest works for the church, these last pieces in Cfm 88 remained largely unknown in Purcell's lifetime.⁷⁹⁸

A consideration is that the pieces in question were so dearly cherished, reserved for the highest solemnity of royal ceremonial, that permission for use elsewhere was never requested nor granted. Was this repertoire perhaps performed for Charles II's funeral, as some have suggested?⁷⁹⁹ But how could the now celebrated *Hear my prayer, O Lord* have remained undetected, and for so long? Did the anthem's incompleteness mean that contemporary copyists and later scholars simply passed over it?⁸⁰⁰ There are clearly significant issues surrounding the transmission of this beloved choral masterpiece, and the answers are not at all obvious.

In truth, there is but one manuscript of *Hear My Prayer, O Lord* in existence: here, as the final item of the reverse end of *Purcell's Great Scorebook*.⁸⁰¹ As there exist no parts in collegiate and cathedral libraries, it is entirely conceivable that this was the only copy ever made. But it

⁷⁹⁸ Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 46.

⁷⁹⁹ Matthias Range, *British Royal and State Funerals* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 87. Shay and Thompson's estimation of the date of copying as 'c.1685 or later' backs this notion. (Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 44.)

⁸⁰⁰ The anthem did not reach the attention of performers and programmers until the first decades of the twentieth century. After its first significant performance in modern times, as an 'Homage anthem' at the 1937 coronation of George VI, it finally hurtled to worldwide recognition. See Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 267.

⁸⁰¹ Cfm 88, f. 83v–83r.

is genuinely surprising that Tudway was not able to include it in his Chapel Royal retrospective from the Reformation to the Accession of Queen Anne, likewise Boyce in his anthology *Cathedral Music*, neither in any of the many collections of Restoration anthems, such as those held at UCLA and the British Library.⁸⁰² It did not even make it into Isaack's scorebook for the Chapel Royal at Windsor, copied directly from *Purcell's Great Scorebook*.⁸⁰³ Moreover, although the work is in Purcell's hand, it is here unattributed (where all the pieces in this volume that are unequivocally by Purcell are initialled by him). For 150 years this great work was anonymous, until the pencil mark 'H. Purcell' was added at its head, observed now with certainty to be the hand of Vincent Novello, dated around 1830, just prior to the work's first publication.⁸⁰⁴

Like *Hear My Prayer, O Lord* (HMP), *Not Unto Us, O Lord* (NUU) is a single-movement, polyphonic eight-part Full Anthem of the *antico* style much in favour at the Chapel at the start of the Restoration.⁸⁰⁵ Both are settings of verses from penitential psalms from Coverdale's Psalter.⁸⁰⁶ Both are in slow, cut-time, and both display formidable skill on the part of their

⁸⁰² See footnote 550.

⁸⁰³ See Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 47ff.

⁸⁰⁴ Published by Joseph Alfred Novello (1810–96) as number 48 in the series *Purcell's Sacred Music*, which was begun by his father Vincent in December 1828, and completed in October 1832. Other items ascribed by this hand to 'H. Purcell' are at ff. 116r, 111r, 106v, 104r, 102r, 99r, 96r, 92r, 89r, 87v, 86r.

⁸⁰⁵ Hereon abbreviated as NUU and HMP. For ease of comparison, modern barring is used, and references with small numerals indicate the crotchet beat in the bar; except where stated, musical examples from NUU have been transposed down a tone. The score of NUU is reproduced on p. 361.

⁸⁰⁶ Rayner appends NUU with a pair of *Halleluiah* choruses, in three- and eight-voices respectively, that directly follow in the parts. (Rayner, 'A Little-Known Seventeenth-Century Composer', II: 266–9.) Their addition is not warranted, for, in the MS, a decorated final double bar is used. The word '*Halleluiah*' is then deliberately inscribed in all parts as the new title; furthermore, the word 'ffinis' is added in the composer's own hand at the end of the anthem's Soprano I part. In HMP, no such assurance is found that the end has been reached. There is no customary flourish at the double bar. In

composer in manipulating a chorus of eight voices.⁸⁰⁷ Both are set in solemn minor keys, where modality colours the otherwise strong tonal palette, through which is woven an audacious degree of intensely expressive and often decidedly acute dissonance, and where major and minor inflections twist back and forth constantly.⁸⁰⁸ Behind this restless agility there is unmissable harmonic stasis to both.

Standing at more than twice its length, NUU is considerably broader in scope than HMP. The latter is restricted to two short clauses: the antecedent ‘Hear my prayer, O Lord’, counterbalanced by the simple consequent ‘and let my crying come unto thee’, thus defining two clear points of imitation, one static, one active. NUU has three fairly weakly delineated sections that align directly to three verses of psalm text. In both anthems very few cadences succeed in holding up the rolling, confident counterpoint. In each, a series of emotional waves open to a vast, well-calculated apex. Both employ paired entries, yet neither uses SATB choruses antiphonally. In both, all eight voices combine in the final five bars of each anthem.⁸⁰⁹

fact there is no double bar at all: Purcell stops after ‘unto thee’ and signs it off with his usual section-end (a slightly thicker bar line, slightly longer than for the stave, all other barlines being scored from top to bottom of each eight-stave system).

⁸⁰⁷ The spread of voices is comparable in distribution and tessitura. HMP does not include a notated continuo part, whereas NUU includes a part ‘for the base viols’.

⁸⁰⁸ Particularly in the first half of NUU (comparing to HMP as the first part of a multi-sectional work). The simple passing from dominant major to dominant minor between the two sections of Christopher Gibbons’ Single Chant in G Major was an expression that apparently had once moved Sir Edward Bairstow (1874–1946) to tears: ‘the device of a chromatic triad which he was fond of and used several times himself in his compositions.’ (Francis Jackson, ‘A Potent Force. Francis Jackson remembers Edward Bairstow.’ (1974): <www.amphion-recordings.com/bairstow.html> (Accessed 5 December 2021).)

⁸⁰⁹ In NUU the full texture is also heard at five earlier cadential points (bb. 15, 19, 24, 46 and 62).

Whilst it cannot be known when HMP was composed, NUU was completed as ‘Dr Gibbons Act Songe with ye Symphonies’, as the centrepiece to his doctoral submission of July 1663, and as such it represents the first-dated musical ode in history, making this an important work in its own right.⁸¹⁰ Other than the parts prepared for this ceremony, gathered in guardbook in the Bodleian Library, there are no known concordances.⁸¹¹

It is noted that the copyist runs into notational complications in the penultimate bar. Here, although there is ample room to fit the eight crotchets of the Tenor2 part into the pre-planned bar, there is not nearly enough room for the associated accidentals and its repeated text. This results in the final word ‘crying’ being forced onto the next bar, and Purcell’s inserts a long curved line to embrace the discrepancy. This miscalculation strongly suggests that the copyist was working from partbooks, likely reading Tenor2 too late to be able to adjust the spacing of the bar in order to accommodate its difficulties. (It is observed that adjustments of a less radical nature were clearly made at many other points in the pages of this volume.) Were Purcell the anthem’s composer, it could be argued that he would likely be reading from a personal file copy or writing out from memory, not drawing on the Abbey’s partbooks. Whilst it is possible that these corrections may have been made following performance, and perhaps even after the passage of time, the notion should still be entertained that it seems

⁸¹⁰ NUU was the test anthem, whereas other items of instrumental and choral music, perhaps including the two concluding *Halleluiahs*, may have been pre-existing. Shay and Thompson suggest HMP dates from *c.* 1685 or later. (Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 44.) Herissone in ‘Purcell’s revisions of his own works’ adds that the date of copying does not necessarily correspond to the date of composition. (Price, *Purcell Studies*, 51.) Various aspects of style and construction, such as the antiquated modality, the heavy, outmoded vocal counterpoint—being from the old tradition of the polyphonic Full Anthem that had already fallen out of fashion in Whitehall, and at a time when Purcell was seemingly only writing verse anthems—all add weight to Herissone’s caution.

⁸¹¹ Ob Mus.Sch.c.139 ff. 1v–11r.

thoroughly impracticable that the composer would have copied the mistakes only to correct them. The notion is particularly apposite given that we acknowledge that a Restoration musician's faculty for memorization was highly acute.⁸¹² It also seems highly implausible that, after so promising a first verse, Purcell could not at any point find time to document the rest of it, if nothing else but to secure the work's preservation.

The following analysis sets out to compare aspects of structure as well as the complex surface detail of both works, and includes side-by-side comparison of the compositional choices made. The analysis reveals that a substantial proportion of HMP—some seventy percent—shares a direct comparison with the musical DNA of NUU.

Structure: Bass-line construction and cadences

The slow harmonic rhythm of both anthems generates a generally static bass-line. There are numerous passages in each where the bass remains stable for four, six or even eight or more beats.⁸¹³ The characteristic stasis, brought about by the slow harmonic rhythm, is disrupted by a pattern of tonality-defining descending fifths in the bass.⁸¹⁴ At which points, a series of strong chromatic jolts project the harmony forwards.

⁸¹² See chapter “‘His Mind Be Filled with the Material’: Arrangement, Improvisation and the Role of Memory.’ in Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013a), 315–91.

⁸¹³ NUU bb. 15–16, 22–23, 24–26², 42–43, and in the dramatic dominant pedal point that sets up the final cadence at bb. 74–5 and 76–7; and HMP bb. 5–7, 8–9, and in a directly comparable dominant pedal point (bb. 28–30¹ and 32–3), to set up the final cadence.

⁸¹⁴ This activity defines the first cadence of both anthems, occurring coincidentally in the same place, bb. 14–15 in NUU and bb. 15–16 in HMP.

At the end of HMP a dramatic, plummeting bass scale (bars 30–1) adds further tension to an already concentrated dominant pedal point. In NUU such a scale bisects the pedal point at exactly the same place.⁸¹⁵ The harmonies outlined are all but the same in both pieces, touching as they do on the tonic-minor, inflecting to the tonic-major, flirting for the briefest moment with the subdominant, before returning to the tonic via an extended cadence of V^7 to i 6–4 to V^7 then i .

Second inversion chords placed on strong beats occur with notable frequency: there are three fine examples in HMP and six in the longer NUU. HMP bar 32 and NUU bar 78 compare directly to each other, being the same length and used in exactly the same position and context, and where both are cadential 6-4s over a dominant pedal-point.

In HMP, the first modulation away from the tonic is 16 bars in, exactly halfway through. When pointing such important shifts, it is noted that Purcell's preference is to approach the dominant either via its supertonic, or by making use of the simple subdominant. But here, a more audacious iv^{b7} is employed to underpin the chromatic melodic inflections of the word 'cry - - ing'. This more expressive solution is Gibbons' hallmark secondary dominant (see the section on Cadences on page 306), made all the more sensuous by the 'hanging' ninth in Tenor2 pitched against a sinuous chromatic inflection heard in

⁸¹⁵ See also the closing bars (bb. 75–9) of the opening movement of Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the fifth a3*, VdGS no. 25 ($f^\sharp e \underline{d} c^\sharp \underline{B} A \underline{G} F^\sharp \underline{E}$) where the notes here underlined describe a very similar pattern. Likewise, the close of the first movement (bb. 47²–50) in *Fantasia the third a3*, VdGS no. 19 ($\underline{b}^\flat a \underline{g} f \underline{e} d \underline{C} \underline{B} \underline{A} \underline{G} \underline{F} \underline{E} \underline{D}$). The closing bars of HMP contains an awkward descending Tenor2 passage that too outlines a long sequence of descending thirds but in a slightly different way: $\underline{c}^\flat \underline{a}^\flat \underline{g} \underline{f}^\flat \underline{d}^\flat (\underline{b}^\flat$ in the harmony) $\underline{g} \underline{e}^\flat \underline{c}$, reproduced at Figure 77. The practice of outlining thirds is inherent from the very opening phrase:



Soprano1 and crushed against the semitone directly above, sung by Alto1 (see also Figure 73). In NUU, by coincidence, the first shift away from the tonic occurs precisely at the same number of beats in.⁸¹⁶

Both anthems frequently use the ‘Corelli Clash’, whose harsh dissonance of an anticipated tonic note crushes against the rising leading note, thrusting the music into the following bar. Identical examples are found in the final cadences of both anthems.

Each anthem has a well-calculated central moment of respite. At bar 21 in HMP, in a chord of the dominant minor at the thinnest and lowest point, and at bar 46 in NUU as a ‘pause’ on the relative major. These moments are preceded by a sense of searching out, through a noticeable broadening in texture, and followed in both by a sense of restless growth.

Forming the denouement to each work, their final bars seem exceptionally calculated. Anguished harmony strengthens over a dominant pedal, where paired trebles steadily rise above the angular lines within, set off by an almost mantra-like repetition of text (see footnote 818). Figure 69 compares the melodic texture of the final 12 bars of HMP directly with the final 14 bars of NUU, recalling the two independent, interweaving treble lines that are ever-present in Christopher Gibbons’ consort music. Whilst this sinuous nature is by no means exclusive to Gibbons, it is a familiar trait of his ‘barbaresque’, as noted by North.⁸¹⁷ Figure 70 is a skeleton of the very last bars of Gibbons’ NUU side by side against the end of HMP, and

⁸¹⁶ Modern b. 17 (taking into account the written-out *fermata* at b. 15).

⁸¹⁷ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 299.

also compares a passage from Gibbons' *Above the Stars* (also dating from 1664). It reveals a remarkably similar cadential process, one that accompanies a perceived acceleration of repetitious rhythm.⁸¹⁸ The chord choices, melodic contour, phrasing, gentle syncopation (and even the textual sentiment of this passage) share undeniably striking similarities.⁸¹⁹



Figure 69: Direct comparison of the final 12 bars of HMP (upper stave) and NUU (lower stave).

⁸¹⁸ *Above the Stars*: 'come Lord Jesu/come Lord Jesu/come, come away'; NUU: 'whatsoever/whatsoever/whatso-/whatsoever pleaseth him'; and HMP: 'cry-/cry-/crying/crying/come/come/come unto Thee.'

⁸¹⁹ Melodic comparison shown at Figure 71.

Handwritten musical score for three systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clef) and Roman numeral chord analysis below. The systems are labeled "Correll Cadence" in the right margin of each system.

System 1 (HMP): The chord progression is $V^{7/9} - V - i(6) - I - ii\cancel{\emptyset}(\frac{6}{4}) - iv(\frac{6}{4}) - V^{7/9}(\frac{6}{4}) - i(\frac{6}{4}) - IV^{7/9} - V^{4-\frac{7}{9}} - i(\frac{6}{4}) - I$. A handwritten note "over dominant pedal" is written under the bass staff.

System 2 (NUU): The chord progression is $v - V - i - I - iv - ii^{\circ}(\frac{6}{4}) - V^7 - i(\frac{6}{4}) - V^{4-\frac{7}{9}} - I$. A handwritten note "ii 7/9 (6)" is written under the bass staff.

System 3 (v. 3 of Gibbons' Above the Stars): The chord progression is $IV - (-) - I - v - v - ii(\frac{6}{4}) - V^7 - I(\frac{6}{4}) - I(\frac{6}{4}) - V - I$. A handwritten note "(IV 7)" is written under the bass staff.

Figure 70: Comparing the harmonic choices and melodic contours of the final five bars of HMP (printed on the uppermost grand staff) against the final six bars of NUU (middle staff), and the final six bars of v. 3 of Gibbons' *Above the Stars* (lower staff).

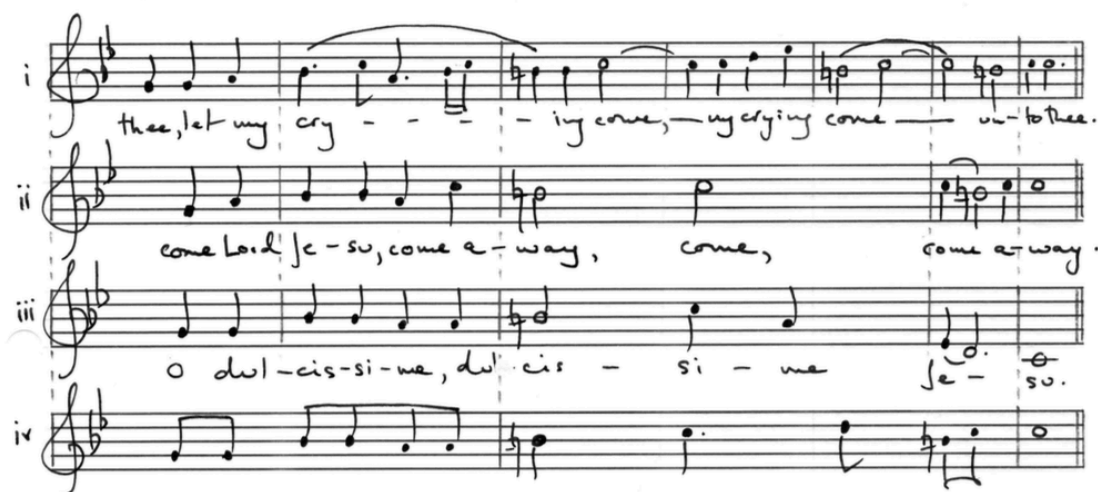


Figure 71: Comparing the shape of the final bars of Soprano2 of HMP (upper staff) against the final bars of the Soprano part of v. 3 of Christopher Gibbons' *Above the Stars* (stave ii, at pitch), the final bars (Soprano) of his motet *O bone Jesu* (stave iii, transposed) and the bb. 21²–3 of the TrebleII part of Christopher Gibbons' *Fantasia the seventh a3* (VdGS no. 35, stave iv, transposed).

Counterpoint

HMP is an example of invertible counterpoint based on two themes, the first a chantlike figure incorporating a rising minor third for the word 'O', the second a sinuous falling melody, with a poignant chromatic shift to paint the word 'crying'. In a fashion resembling something of a double fugue, the entries sound—here *recto*; here *inverso*—as though they are paired tonic-dominant, but they are not: this is an illusion set up at the opening but is not sustained—likely it is just too rigid for a calculated emotional impact—neither is their imitation strict.⁸²⁰ Entries appear in wonderfully haphazard fashion, as individual voices of a

⁸²⁰ There are four minor variants of the first phrase in *recto* and two in *inverso*; with five minor variants of the second phrase in *recto* and seven in *inverso*. Thinking of his canons and grounds, Purcell's acknowledged genius lies in his ability to bring flexibility to rigidity. However, there is nothing at all here that adheres to the textbook stricture found in the *decani* verse 'O go your way into his gates' (a 'Canon 4 parts in 2 *per arsin & thesin*') from Purcell's *Jubilate Deo* in B flat (Z.230/4).

corporate prayer, with the consequent answering its antecedent at intervals of between one and ten beats—and where a *stretto* is occasionally engineered through an early-sounding first phrase that is left unanswered (for instance at the marvellously urgent subdominant entry in Bass2 at bar 8)—all of which scatters the emotive word ‘crying’ into just about every bar. In an emotional *tour de force* of the closing moment of HMP, the entries appear to catch themselves up. The antecedent being no longer stated, the word ‘crying’ is heard stretto-like no fewer than six times (at the half-bar, bars 30, 31 and 32), where, precisely halfway through, five of the eight voices are heard to ‘cry’ simultaneously.⁸²¹

Fugal entries heard at the opening of NUU likewise lend the experience of corporate prayer. The technique used is not entirely dissimilar to that of HMP. Here the opening text ‘Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us’ is set in *ricercare* style. But, whereas the texture of HMP is of two voices paired in question followed (mostly) by answer, here the answer is carried simultaneously against the question, locked together in the manner of a double fugue’s opening exposition, and with entries neatly mapped thus: a pair of basses in bar 1, paired tenors four bars later, altos, then sopranos, after two and five bars respectively. The accompanying material achieves a sustained quality, over which each new paired entry is given space to glow, assisted by distinctive modal dissonance, as each pair of voices enters then separates away from each other. A strong sense of disjunct comes from entries not being

⁸²¹ Examples of invertible counterpoint with imitation in *recto* and *inverso* are not easy to come by in the extant works of Christopher Gibbons. There is a good example, however—similarly not overly strict—in the first movement of his *Fantasia the second a3*, which contains as its fourth section some 12 bars of dynamic interplay, directly comparable to that in HMP (see Figure 72).

centred around the tonic and dominant, but the supertonic and submediant.⁸²² This lends a bewilderingly uncertain sense—particularly well suited to the text—of not belonging to a home-key. After 15 bars, entries find themselves liberated from the shackles of systematic paired entry, and thereon a sense of freedom prevails, typical of much contrapuntal English music of the period.



Figure 72: Gibbons' *Fantasia the second a3* (VdGS no. 16, bb. 75–9): a section of invertible counterpoint with imitation both in *recto* and *inverso*.

⁸²² N.B. b^{\natural} rather than the perhaps expected b^{\flat} ; there is no flat in the key signature.

Tonality: Harmonic structure

Figure 79 gives an instant-by-instant harmonic analysis of HMP. Against it is mapped segments of NUU of between three and six bars in length. Presented as a harmonic reduction, this enables direct comparison of both the harmonic direction and of surface detail. Such a juxtaposition reveals just how similar these two anthems really are. The harmonic ‘crescendo’ in each, for example, both start at their golden sections.⁸²³ Most striking of all are the final five bars of full eight-voice texture, which aligned through transposition are all but identical.

Inflections and ambiguity

The notable feature of both works is the constant inflection from major to minor and vice versa. In HMP there is scarcely a bar that passes without such a switch, and this is almost true of NUU. The texts are of course very different in emotional expression: HMP is one of unsettled anguish, whereas in NUU there is much more a consoling sense of resolution. Expressive darkening within a melodic phrase is seen throughout Gibbons’ consort and vocal music, yet here is an optimistic brightening, particularly at cadence points, where minor harmonies resolve to major, also in the many split-seventh cadences and in the glorious *tierce de Picardie* at the close, a superlative example of the ultra-bright cadences that are a hallmark of Christopher Gibbons’ style.

From the very opening bars of both anthems the listener is presented with a disconcerting sense of tonal ambiguity. In HMP the first three-and-a-half bars open up in

⁸²³ Cf. the climax of *Remember not, Lord* (discussed below), which also happens at its golden section.

distinctly Dorian fashion. The shift from C Minor to G Minor is immediately balanced by the perfect cadence G Major to C Minor. NUU on the other hand unfolds a Phrygian element, where the melody enters on the supertonic—although one cannot yet appreciate the degree of the scale—where the immediate rise of the semitone is disconcerting in the least. Rising two steps higher, it falls back to the mediant, to clash once again with a suspended supertonic. A discomfiting diminished 4th is caused by a collision of a leading-note working against the mediant. The key-chord passes by in bar 2 as a resolution to the suspended supertonic, but it is incomprehensible as such, on account of the lack of logical harmonic reference points. The Tenor1 entry on *b* at the opening of bar 4 is deliciously ambiguous. A perception of the work's true tonality is only hinted at halfway through bar 4, with a strong chord of E Major, as an imperfect cadence into the dominant-minor; even then, the melodic $c^{\flat 1}$ and $d^{\flat 1}$ (of Tenor1) persist in challenging tonal supremacy. And so the modal-tonal ambiguity continues—by way of a Phrygian cadence into E Minor in the subsequent bar, doubtless feeling for a moment like E Minor (bar 6) may have won through as the tonic, even though this bar contains the double false relation f/f^{\sharp} , g/g^{\sharp} . Bars 4–6 represent a veritable feat of tonal uncertainty. Further modal colouration is heard again throughout both anthems, notably in the many minor-to-minor progressions, and in Phrygian cadential elements that pepper the harmonic structure in both.

Idiomatic harmonic hallmarks

Particularly noteworthy to compare are two highly idiomatic harmonic hallmarks, carefully calculated to shine out of the wrestling mobility found in each. The first is illustrated at

Figures 73 and 74, being almost the same distinctively rich chord, where the context is different but whose harmonic function is ultimately the same.⁸²⁴ The untransposed notes below suggest the oft-visited hand-position of the keyboard improviser.



Figure 73: The approach to the dominant at b. 14³ of HMP.
N.B. compare the bracketed material 'A' with 'B' below.



Figure 74: The approach to the dominant at the beginning of b. 21 of NUU (notated at pitch).

Secondly, two brilliantly positioned half-diminished chords succeed in drawing out the expressive potential of the respective texts, appearing as they do at comparable points of

⁸²⁴ In HMP it is the minor subdominant of a simple cadence in G Major, whereas in NUU it represents the flattened supertonic approaching a dominant chord of $\natural E^7$, cadencing at b. 24 in A Major. Here Gibbons' outlandish cadential treatment perhaps shows influence of contemporary Roman harmonic chromatic coloration. An almost identical cadential formula exists in bb. 20–4 of his *Fantasia the fourth a3*.

heightened emotion (Figures 75 and 76).⁸²⁵



Figure 75: The strikingly fragrant half-diminished chord found on the first beat of b. 25 of HMP.

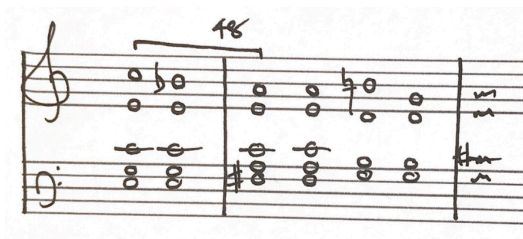


Figure 76: The half-diminished chord found at b. 48 of NUU (notated at pitch).

In HMP, the chord is heard in the approach to the closing grand dominant pedal, precisely at the moment when the composer jettisons the antecedent phrase ‘Hear my prayer, O Lord’; in NUU it appears where the emotional temperature significantly ratchets up, setting up the mantra-like anguish of ‘Wherefore should the heathen say: Where is now thy God?’. Just like the first of the two harmonic hallmarks, the context of each of the chords is different, even though the emotional and harmonic effect is rather similar: in HMP it forms an approach to the minor subdominant, whereas in NUU it is the method of approaching the dominant minor, incorporating a strong chromatic shift to the bass, the resulting f^\sharp thus representing

⁸²⁵ The use of this expressive device is extremely rare for the period. The author has been able to identify only one other example, that in Blow’s G Major Voluntary No. 16 (b. 21³).

the leading note. In both, the middle voices suspend over—the ‘hanging’ suspensions discussed on pages 355ff—lingering through the half-diminished chord sounding on the strongest point in the bar, to resolve straight after. Coincidentally, in each, the melodic element is C–Bb–A.

Motivic and Rhythmic Comparisons

Allusion has already been made to the sinuous contrapuntal lines found within these anthems, as has the mobile, agile and even ‘barbaresque’ nature of Gibbons’ part-writing, with voices leaping from note to note, or rising or falling over a wide interval. Figure 77 shows the final anguished moments of HMP, where back-to-back tritones accompany a declamatory tenor line whose shape outlines melodic thirds as it bumps its way to the ground.⁸²⁶

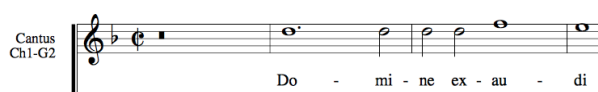


Figure 77: A mesh of angular lines found in bb. 31–2 of HMP.

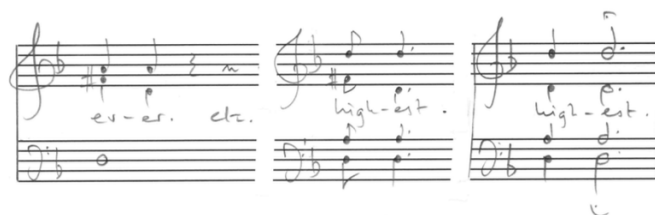
⁸²⁶ See also footnote 815.

An ubiquitous characteristic of Christopher Gibbons is a keenly articulated jolt on the second beat of the bar—one of the many facets that help lend his music its mobile character. HMP is also full of such ideas, for example the leapfrogging syncopation found in Alto2 at bars 27 and 28, the syncopated Alto1 part in bars 7–9, and the two-crotchet bump that marks the end to so many of its second phrases ('un-to thee')—frequently from mediant to tonic.⁸²⁷ It is a feature of much of the free part-writing too, and ultimately provides the character of the very last bar, whereby the texture is pared down to the evocative dead-end bare fifth.⁸²⁸

⁸²⁷ One may criticise here the poor text-setting—a reproval not usually levelled at Purcell—for the text surely demands 'unto Thee' rather than the other way round 'unto Thee'. Further, mindful that in the psalm's Latin text 'Domine exaudi orationem meam', the last word fits the rhythmic spondee rather better, as indeed do the first two words the rhythm of the opening notes, where it could be argued that 'Hear my pray'r O Lord' (with the anapest over the last three syllables rather than over 'pray-er O') would have been a good deal more natural. Although 'et clamor meus ad te veniat' fits the theme's inversion well too, some of the Latin text renders less easily reconcilable underlay elsewhere in the anthem. (It should be noted that the collection Cfm 88 contains no Latin at all; Tallis' *Salvator Mundi* is presented at ff.127v–126v in its familiar *contrafactum* text 'I call and cry'.) Both of Giovanni Gabrieli's (c. 1554–7; d. 1612) two substantial settings of this same text (à8, 1611 and à10, 1598) start with the same rhythm as HMP and likewise are set on a single note, rising at 'ex-au-di' (illustrated below). See also footnote 849f.



⁸²⁸ Although the bare-fifth ending is often associated with Purcell, examples are found a good deal earlier, in Christopher Gibbons. See for instance bb. 8, 11 and 15 of the final chorus of *How long wilt thou forget me?* illustrated below:



Taking a broader view of the pulse across the two minims of a bar (as set up at the opening of HMP), it could be said that the higher note of that opening phrase is also a displaced or syncopated beat. Then here too we should be aware of Gibbons' influence, whose consort music is full of the pull-and-push of syncopation on two different levels—both gentle and sharp: that is, relating to the both the crotchet and the minim.

In Gibbons, the dotted unit ♩. ♪ is often used to provide energy to ordinary crotchet movement, found very often in the middle of a phrase. In HMP it is seen in great effect in the 'consequent' phrase, as the melody rises from minor to major, articulated by an upward auxiliary quaver, alternately inverted, major to minor, articulated by its lower auxiliary. In Gibbons' consort music, the dotted figure frequently steps into the aforementioned accented second beat giving the syncopated internal figure ♩ ♩. ♪ ♩ occurring twice in HMP.⁸²⁹

In both anthems a descending motif of between four and eight notes (sometimes in quavers, sometimes crotchets, and quite often dotted) finds itself woven through the free counterpoint that follows a point. In HMP the motif becomes more and more highlighted as an expressive feature, as at bar 15, the anthem's climax, where it finds prominence in Tenor1, then cascades through Soprano2 and Tenor2, passing down two octaves via Bass2's rich Phrygian descent towards a pedal on the lower dominant.

⁸²⁹ HMP: bb. 14 (Soprano1) and 17 (Tenor2).

Surface Detail

Where the two settings exhibit the greatest kinship is the nature and extent to which they use expressive dissonance to colour, illustrate and underline the sentiment of text. Yet there is nothing quite like the effect elsewhere in Gibbons' extant church music output; also neither in Purcell's. For NUU, the choice of text, together with the rich, slow-moving eight-part polyphonic texture, aptly lends itself to an unprecedented level of surface tension. The preparation and resolution of dissonance—or very often dissonance passing to dissonance, or even a two-fold dissonance of hearing a resolution in one part sounding against a suspension in another—gives a harmonic fluidity that never allows the music to be rigidly crotch-bound.

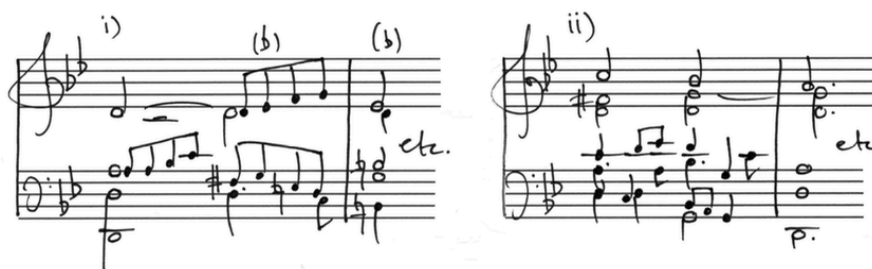


Figure 78: Examples of the complexity of dissonance found in NUU: i) bb. 6–7¹ and ii) bb. 40–1¹.

Audacious levels of dissonance seen in, say, Purcell's string fantazias, are viewed as typically Purcellian.⁸³⁰ Alongside Gibbons, NUU represents a prescient echo of Purcell's mature style, cementing a stylistic link between the two men. The scale of instant-to-instant dissonance, recorded in the following Figure (79), is staggering: both are essays in dissonance.⁸³¹

⁸³⁰ See for example W. Gillies Whittaker, 'Some Observations on Purcell's Harmony,' *The Musical Times* 75, no. 1100 (1934).

⁸³¹ See also Table 17 (p. 360).

Instant-by-instant harmonic comparison of HMP against NUU

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a harmonic comparison of HMP against NUU. The score is written on ten staves, organized into five systems of two staves each. The notation is in treble and bass clefs, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The measures are numbered 1 through 40, with some measures containing additional markings such as 'etc.' and '36 37 38 37'.

The score is divided into five systems, each containing two staves (treble and bass clef). The measures are numbered 1 through 40, with some measures containing additional markings such as 'etc.' and '36 37 38 37'.

System 1 (Measures 1-6): Measures 1-6 show a sequence of chords and melodic lines. Measure 6 ends with a double bar line.

System 2 (Measures 7-12): Measures 7-12 continue the sequence. Measure 12 ends with a double bar line.

System 3 (Measures 13-18): Measures 13-18 continue the sequence. Measure 18 ends with a double bar line.

System 4 (Measures 19-24): Measures 19-24 continue the sequence. Measure 24 ends with a double bar line.

System 5 (Measures 25-30): Measures 25-30 continue the sequence. Measure 30 ends with a double bar line.

System 6 (Measures 31-36): Measures 31-36 continue the sequence. Measure 36 ends with a double bar line.

System 7 (Measures 37-40): Measures 37-40 continue the sequence. Measure 40 ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score for guitar and bass, measures 13-18, 19-24, 25-30, and 31-36. The score is written in treble and bass clefs, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes chords, single notes, and rests. Measure numbers are written above the staff lines. The score is divided into four systems, each with a dashed line indicating a section break. The first system contains measures 13-18. The second system contains measures 19-24. The third system contains measures 25-30. The fourth system contains measures 31-36. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and chord symbols.

Measures 13-18:

Measure 13: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 14: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 15: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 16: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 17: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 18: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measures 19-24:

Measure 19: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 20: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 21: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 22: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 23: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 24: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measures 25-30:

Measure 25: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 26: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 27: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 28: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 29: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 30: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measures 31-36:

Measure 31: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 32: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 33: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 34: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 35: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

Measure 36: Treble clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G. Bass clef, B-flat, D, F, A, C, E, G.

The figure displays a handwritten musical score for a comparison between HMP and NUU. The score is organized into three systems, each consisting of two staves. The first system (measures 25-30) shows HMP on the upper staff and NUU on the lower staff. The second system (measures 75-78) shows HMP on the upper staff and NUU on the lower staff. The third system (measures 31-34) shows HMP on the upper staff and NUU on the lower staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Figure 79: Instant-by-instant comparison of HMP against NUU.
 N.B. HMP always appears on the uppermost grand staff; NUU notated on the lower grand staff(s).

Passing and paired, parallel dissonance; auxiliary dissonance

Reminiscent of the English madrigal style, the smooth counterpoint introduces a profusion of passing dissonance. A notable feature in both works is the inclusion of ribbons of passing notes, often mid-texture, sometimes with another string coursing through another voice, paired a third away (see Figures 80–82). The series of rising passing notes formed in the golden section of HMP (bars 20–4) provides increasing tension towards the first climax of the movement, bars 24–5, when the pattern is then reversed as the music makes its descent towards a dominant pedal. A similar rising pattern, even more twisting and turning than in HMP, is heard within the golden section (bars 46–56) of NUU. Here is a thrilling surge in dramatic power, adding excitement to the text ‘Wherefore shall the heathen say’, preparing the listener for the climactic energy of ‘Where is now their God?’ at the ensuing cadence.

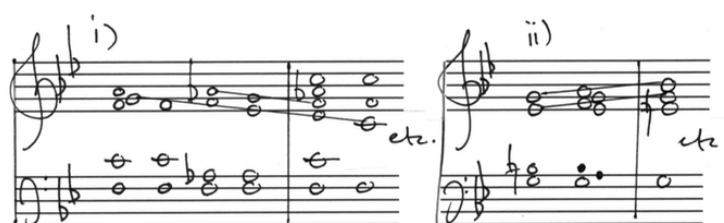


Figure 80: Ribbons of passing dissonance in HMP: i) bb. 8–9²; ii) 28³–9¹. N.B. White-note notation, both here and in the following Figures, is intended to show as clearly as possible the sounding harmonies at any given instant. Black notes denote contrapuntal elements which pass between these beats.



Figure 81: Ribbons of passing dissonance in HMP: bb. 20³–4.

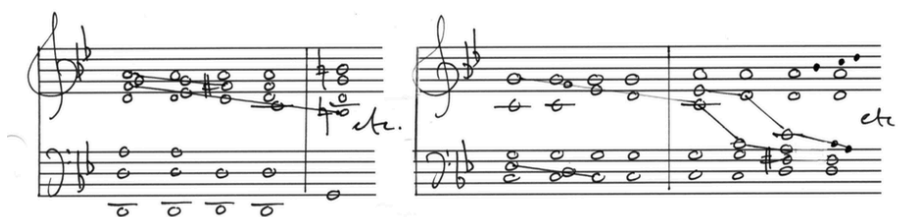


Figure 82: Ribbons of passing dissonance in NUU: bb. 23–4¹ and bb. 9–10.

Anticipatory dissonance, suspensions and ‘hanging dissonance’

Whilst the ‘Corelli Cadence’ gives the most potent example of anticipatory dissonance, Figures 83 and 84 show some of the minor clashes that likewise give a sense of forward thrust.

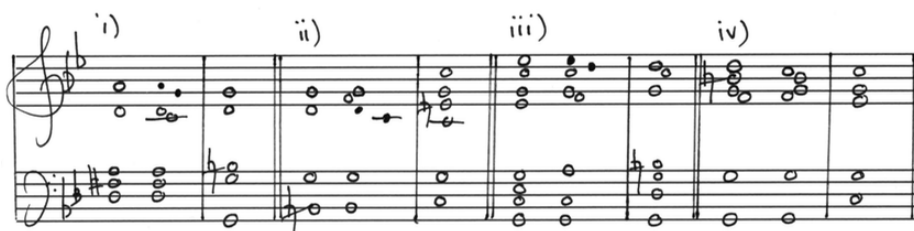


Figure 83: Examples of anticipatory dissonance in HMP: i) bb. 15²–16¹, ii) 22³–3¹, iii) 32³–3¹ and iv) 33³–4¹.

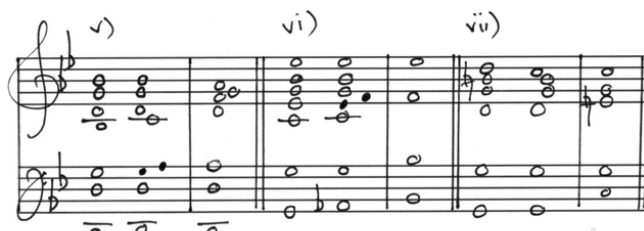


Figure 84: Examples of anticipatory dissonance in NUU: v) bb. 22³–3¹, vi) 71³–2¹ and 79³–80¹.

HMP's consequent phrase itself contains an articulated auxiliary dissonance. Both anthems are in fact littered throughout with the mild noise of auxiliary and anticipatory dissonance. See Figures 85–88 below.



Figure 85: Rich auxiliary dissonance at bb. 17–18 of HMP.

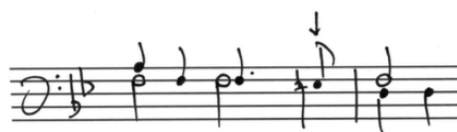


Figure 86: Auxiliary dissonance in b. 56 of NUU.



Figure 87: Auxiliary dissonance at bb. 29–31¹ of NUU.



Figure 88: Auxiliary dissonance at bb. 14 and 33 of NUU.

A hallmark of Purcell's musical vocabulary, encountered very often too in Gibbons, could be appropriately termed a 'hanging' dissonance. This brief suspension—left hanging from the previous chord—gives a frisson of dissonance on a strong beat, often resulting in an added 7th or 9th. Numerous examples are found in both anthems, some of the most vivid of which are illustrated at Figures 89 and 90. Occasionally a dual-layer of hanging dissonance is heard, where one part resolves in the next instant, but where a simultaneous second dissonance has its resolution delayed by a further beat—illustrated, for example, in the third and fourth full bars of Figure 89, as the quick resolution of the *g*¹ in the treble clef against the slow resolution of *g* in the bass clef.



Figure 89: Examples of 'hanging' dissonance found at bb. 11³–17 in HMP.

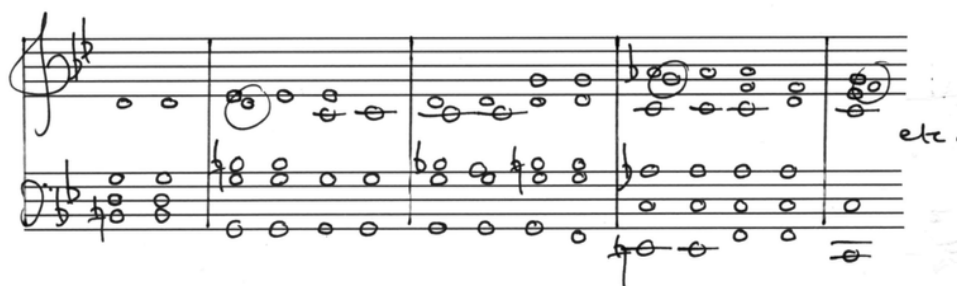


Figure 90: Further examples of 'hanging' dissonance found at bb. 64³–68¹ in NUU.

Occasionally the clamour of a whole range of dissonances is experienced all at once. The Figures in this section typify the gnarled, closely-woven texture associated with Gibbons' string-writing.

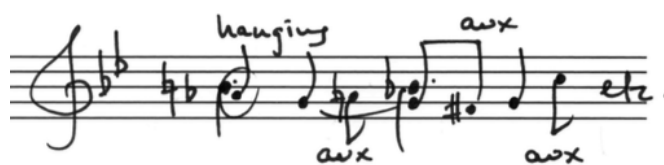


Figure 91: Different dissonance types in close proximity (HMP b. 14).



Figure 92: Different dissonance types in close proximity (HMP b. 17).

Suspended fourths and English Cadences

One of the more acute forms of dissonance occurring in both pieces is the suspended fourth sounding simultaneously against its resolution, a device borrowed from music of the *seconda pratica*.⁸³² Often referred to as a Purcellian characteristic, it appeared in England much earlier in the century and became a key element in Christopher Gibbons' musical language. Gibbons tallies up no fewer than 14 such dissonances in NUU, all appearing on the first beat of the bar, with nine found within the approach to an English Cadence. Some are as a result of 'hanging' dissonance, usually in a minor context, but also when the third is major, where the clash is of a semitone. Most poignantly still is at bar 7¹ where the chord is Vb and the dissonant note is a diminished 4th from the bass.

With that of a harmony student's delight, Gibbons pens a sequence of four English Cadences through bb. 14–23, then again at b. 36, b. 43, and then three more between bb. 66–73. In HMP only the anthem's first cadence at bb. 5–6 is comparable, although, similarly, a particularly beautiful *terce de Picardie*-type cadence is heard at bb. 10–11. Notable is where the composers deliberately avoid the 'split seventh' element typical of the English Cadence proper. Both anthems end identically in this regard: a flattened seventh is perhaps expected to sound (sung by Tenor1), against the suspended fourth above it (sung by Soprano2), but instead the leading note is sounded against its resolution and thus a more acute level dissonance is

⁸³² Ian Payne, 'John Ward (c.1589–1638) The Case for One Composer of the Madrigals, Sacred Music and Five- and Six-Part Consorts,' *Chelys* 23 (1994), 12.

achieved. What might be termed an 'Averted English Cadence' is a poignant and distinctive feature to both anthems.⁸³³

Cluster chords

The two anthems share the Purcellian characteristic of the accented (sometimes passing) augmented chord.⁸³⁴ An ordinary major triad with an added minor sixth, produces an even more vivid type of augmented chord.⁸³⁵ Table 17 illustrates something of the variety of cluster chords and open harmonies available in the two anthems.



Table 17: Cluster chords and open harmonies in HMP and NUU. From HMP: i) b. 14³ ii) b. 15¹ iii) b. 19⁴ iv) b. 22⁴ v) b. 27⁴ vi) b. 28² vii) b. 28⁴ viii) b. 29⁴ ix) b. 30⁴ x) b. 31⁴ xi) b. 32⁴ xii) b. 33⁴; and from NUU: xiii) b. 5⁴ xiv) b. 10² xv) b. 14² xvi) b. 20² xvii) b. 23² xviii) b. 28⁴ xix) b. 31⁴ xx) b. 40² xxi) b. 52¹ xxii) b. 60¹ xxiii) b. 67¹ xxiv) b. 71⁴.

⁸³³ Gibbons explores the Averted English Cadence first at b. 45, just at the halfway point, and again in the following major cadence at bb. 61–2 (likewise in F major).

⁸³⁴ There are eight such accented augmented chords in HMP (bb. 5, 7, 10, 18, 21, 28, 29 and 31) and four in NUU (bb. 7, 65, 67 and 70).

⁸³⁵ Of this type there is but one example in HMP (at b. 31), but five in NUU (bb. 7¹⁻², 10⁴, 52⁴, 65¹ and 70¹).

The score of Christopher Gibbons' *Not unto us, O Lord*

[illegible]

2

Our Father who art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. For the kingdom is thine, the power is thine, and the glory is thine, forever. Amen.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

'shall' in part

[illegible]

59

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

1. Unclear in the part as to whether this note may be an 'a'.

8⁷⁰

As for our God, he is in heaven, He hath done what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

heaven, our God he is in heaven, He hath done what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

is in heaven, our God, he is in heaven, He hath done what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

for our God, he is in heaven, our God he is in heaven, He hath done what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

as for our God, He is in heaven, He hath done what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him, what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

God, he is in heaven, [he is in heaven.] He hath, he hath done, what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

He hath done what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

He hath done what - so - ev - er pleas - eth him.

Transcribed (from Ob MS Mus. Sch. c. 139) and edited by Paul Michael Stubblings © 2022

The study causes the compositional processes of two further anonymous anthems in Cfm 88 to come under scrutiny, for it is seen that Christopher Gibbons' compositional style permeates *Remember not, Lord, our offences* (Z.50) and *Lord, how long will thou be angry?* (Z.25).

Remember not, Lord, our offences

Many variations exist of this familiar scriptural text. However, the text in the form found in this volume seems not to have been used verbatim until Sherlock's *Mercurius Christianus* of 1673.⁸³⁶ The anthem may therefore have been relatively new, or newly adapted, at the time of its copying into Cfm 88.⁸³⁷

The process of committing the litany anthem *Remember not, Lord, our offences* to preservation in Cfm 88 shows the stages of a compositional mind at work. But, quite apart from its technique and style being atypical to other anthems by Purcell (to be examined in the following paragraphs), these revisions may point to a notion that the original composition was not his own. Pertinent also is why Purcell would be copying his own work from library parts, that had presumably already been performed 'uncorrected': he would very likely have heard the changes in his head, or at least to have corrected them via a personal file copy, or direct into this formal copy, rather than committing the parts to the scorebook, only to carry out a series of instant corrections. All this can, of course, be explained by Purcell's reputation as a 'serial recomposer'.⁸³⁸ As was discussed with reference to *Hear my Prayer, O Lord*, it may too be

⁸³⁶ Richard Sherlock, *Mercurius Christianus: The Practical Christian* (United Kingdom: R. Norton, 1673), 151.

⁸³⁷ Dated to c. 1679–81 in Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 44.

⁸³⁸ As discussed in Ford, Robert. 'Purcell as his own editor: The funeral sentences.' *Journal of Musicological Research* 7, no. 1 (1986): 47–67. Also in Herissone, *Musical Creativity*. Also in 'Fowle Originalls' and 'Fayre Writeing': Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process.' *The Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 4

sufficient to argue that the composer was engaged in the process of ‘*emulatio*’—or even, in the present cases, ‘*commemoratio*’, as an homage to his teacher.⁸³⁹ We cannot know, but the inclusion of all three anthems serves to underline, as Adams notes, Purcell’s ‘consistent involvement with the old English polyphonic style’.⁸⁴⁰

Purcell seems to have copied the material from partbooks, whilst setting about making direct improvements to the finished score.⁸⁴¹ Small modifications serve to correct the part-writing in the opening chords. (This also rebalances the voicing of the chord to include a well-grounded low fifth.) Likewise, the addition of a series of doubled low thirds gives gravity and poignancy to the third and fourth repetition of the word ‘remember’. These changes are as subtle as they are sophisticated. Purcell altered a prepared seventh (in the tenor part at the word ‘precious’), again in favour of grounding the bass with the tenor a fifth higher. (This is at odds with his changing a melodic note at bar 10² so as to prepare the ensuing 9th.)⁸⁴² Textural emphasis is enhanced too, firstly in the repositioning of a two-note slur from the first syllable of ‘offences’ to the word ‘our’. At the end of the phrase Purcell spots an improvement to the correct emphasis of ‘forefathers’ for the first sopranos (from ‘forefathers’ to ‘forefathers’). The original two-note slur (for ‘fore’) remains uncorrected, but by the time he copied the second

(2006): 569–619.

⁸³⁹ See, especially, chapter 2 of Rose, Stephen. *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

⁸⁴⁰ Adams, *Henry Purcell*, 25, 26.

⁸⁴¹ Herissone posits a plausible narrative for the alterations being made to this and other works, before handing the scorebook to Isaack for his copying into Cfm 117. (Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 603.)

⁸⁴² Modern bars, based on common time.

soprano part he altered the slur to brace all three notes. That the dot of the original dotted minim is deliberately smudged (that is, corrected) would suggest that these alterations were administered straightaway; by the time he got around to the tenor and bass, he was able to correct the emphasis on the spot, and to conform the rhythm of each to the soprano parts above.

Many stylistic factors, particularly harmonic, textual and rhythmic, owe much to the work of Christopher Gibbons. Typical is an early chromatic third-relation found at the third repetition of 'remember', switching from E Major (buffered by a crotchet's worth of E Minor) to C Major, followed by a swift exploration of related keys: F Major to B^b Major, then another third-relation to D⁷ (first inversion) cadencing into G Major, soon returning E Major via a perfect cadence; also the shifting harmonies D Minor/Major to E Major at bar 17, then B Major to C^{maj7} in the following bar, and A Minor/Major to B Major two bars later; a sudden switch to first inversion at bars 14, then 16, 17, 18 (and elsewhere), Gibbons' favourite chord of B^b with a suspended major 7th at bars 24 and 32, the latter forming a kind of interrupted cadence swiftly settling into the relative major—Gibbons' trademark modulation; likewise, a seventh chord passing to another seventh chord at bars 3, 36 and 40. His trademark incremental shifts are seen in the final 11 bars, where a pair of sequential cadential passages raise the harmonic temperature, first from F Major to G Major, then again from G Major to A Major. Melodically, the composer makes frequent use of leapfrogging trebles in thirds—an ubiquitous feature in Gibbons' consort music and in his verse anthems—plentiful syncopation, and of angular melodic lines, logical only for their harmonic function. A bright English Cadence found at the golden section climax 'spare us good Lord' (bars 27–9), echoed

in the following bars by a more subdued and sensual version. Accented dissonances sit alongside ordinary passing notes, often grouped together into chains of descending parallel consonants, particularly at bars 54³–76, a passage highly reminiscent of the type of surface detail found in the anthem NUU, as too are the ‘Corelli Clashes’ at bars 33, 37 and 41. A harmonic coup is heard in the final moments: two poignant subdominant-minor chords, with their characteristic flattened sevenths, are struck in the middle of bars 36 and 40, to elongate the first syllable of ‘forever’: Gibbons’ favourite pre-dominant colour, as has already been noted.⁸⁴³ The passages also encompass more chromatic third-relations, buffered on both occasions by a passing 6-4-2 (another familiar Christopher Gibbons device), pointing a Phrygian half-cadence designed to hold up the expressive iv chords. Ultimately, this renders an unnatural loss of forward movement, stanching the flow of the words (‘Be not angry with us for-ever’)—which Purcell, a master of text setting, is unlikely to have chosen for a solution. The anthem closes with a wonderfully unprepared 7th—syncopated, as is often the case in Gibbons—at the start of the final clause ‘Spare us, good Lord’, whose resolution is delayed by use of the melodic upper auxiliary accompanied by a cluster chord made up of the tonic A Major with an added flattened 6th. A 4-3 suspension placed on the final is not at all common in either composers’ work—much more typical of Blow and Locke—although this indeed is how Christopher Gibbons’ organ verse *In A* finishes.

⁸⁴³ See Chapter Four, Part One, above: General characteristics.

Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?

According to Shay and Thompson, the copying of the penitential verse anthem *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* dates to around 1684, which would tally with the time of Charles II's funeral.⁸⁴⁴ Being used for so important an occasion might explain why he had not found it necessary to complete the ascription, but does not adequately explain why Purcell did not automatically mark it with his usual 'HP', as was the case with all his other works in this volume.

Aspects of a then outmoded style suggest either a growth out of older material or a conscious homage to the past. Were this for Charles' funeral the final chorus 'So we, that are Thy people' may have been appended for the occasion with a new, bright and optimistic chorus—in Charles' beloved *step tripla*—the style of which sits unstylistically and anachronistically against the initial sections. Comparison with the hallmarks of Gibbons' style—as enumerated in Part One above—shows that the anthem, up until this point, could very plausibly be asserted to be the work of Christopher Gibbons, Charles' first organist; the extension 'So we, that are Thy people' is more typical of the work of his last organist, Henry Purcell.

As for its preparation in Cfm 88, it is impossible to know the extent of any pre-copying alterations made. The anthem, however, is meticulously prepared: unlike *Remember not, Lord, our offences*, there appear to be no mistakes or notational anomalies; it is well laid out too, such that it fits exactly and neatly onto three whole folios.

⁸⁴⁴ February 1685. (Robert Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 44.)

Textually, the main, penitential portion of the text is drawn from three verses of Psalm 79, namely verse 5, then verse 8 followed by verse 9. These verses appear thus set, *en bloc*, in Lancelot Andrewes' *Private Devotions*, concluding the Confession section in his *Daily Prayers* for the Seventh Day.⁸⁴⁵ However, these are appended by a final, celebratory verse: 'So we, that are Thy people, and sheep of Thy pasture, shall give Thee thanks for ever, and will always be shewing forth Thy praise from generation to generation.' Purcell very subtly changes the authorised psalm text, firstly by adding the definite article to 'sheep'.⁸⁴⁶ To note the addition of a single unimportant word may seem trifling, but the ensuing dotted passing note lends both grace and energy, and also favours the *step tripla*. The second change, more pronounced, is from 'generation to generation' to 'from one generation to another'. Whilst this may simply be seen as a more poetic and musically satisfying conclusion, the adaption may have been more calculated, for it will have served to underline the sentiment of the final Proclamation of Charles' funeral rite: 'Let us beseech Almighty God, to bless and preserve with long life [...] God Save King James ye Second.' As this Proclamation was delivered directly before the final anthem was sung, Purcell's beautiful phrase 'from one generation to another', performed unaccompanied at the Great West Door, will have been the very last words heard before the congregation departed. These words also echo the start of the very last sentence of the service of prayers for 'the Restitution of the KING and ROYAL FAMILY'.⁸⁴⁷ It could be

⁸⁴⁵ Edmund Venables, ed. *The Private Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes* (London: Sutterby & Co., 1883), 88.

⁸⁴⁶ In fact, Andrewes later uses the definite article for this precise text (p. 146). (Ibid., 146.)

⁸⁴⁷ Where 'sheep' is again prefaced by its definite article, but the where text ends again with the more familiar 'from generation to generation'. The full title reads: 'A FORM OF PRAYER, WITH THANKSGIVING To Almighty God for having put an end to THE GREAT REBELLION by the Restitution of the KING and ROYAL FAMILY. And the Restauration of the GOVERNMENT after many years Interruption: Which unspeakable Mercies were wonderfully Completed upon the 29th of

interpreted then that the appended chorus carried a solemn and powerful imperative that England should never return to interregnum. Purcell's grand, halting hemiola serves to point the finality of what was arguably the most important sentiment in the minds of those who, through Charles, had striven to restore the monarchy.

Holman comments that Purcell went through an experimental phase around 1680, noting that 'there are some remarkable things in "Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?"', although he does not state exactly what.⁸⁴⁸ Maybe he was referring to the clumsy scansion for 'and that soon', 'and be merciful unto our sins' and 'for thy name's sake', also in the opening first-soprano line 'Lord__ how_ long wilt thou be angry, wilt thou be angry, Lord', and the frequent awkwardness of the word 'jealousy' and 'merciful', aspects which, on account of Purcell's sensitivity to the proper setting of textual rhythm, he might have taken it upon himself to improve.⁸⁴⁹ However, Christopher Gibbons in his vocal music seems not to concern

May, in the year, 1660. And in Memory thereof, that Day in every Year is by Act of Parliament Appointed to be for ever kept Holy / by His Majesties special command.' London: Printed by the assigns of John Bill, deceas'd, and by Henry Hills, and Thomas Newcomb ..., 1685.' (Uppercase emphasis original.) Diarmaid MacCulloch (personal communication, 19 May 2019) writes that the anthem's opening text is 'a clear tribute to Andrewes—given that his memory would still be green, particularly as he had been Dean of the Chapel Royal to Charles II's father.' As for the last section of the anthem, MacCulloch agrees that the two phrases in the State Prayer for the Restoration may well have been the source of alterations to the text, suggesting that the changes will have been a borrowing (unconscious or deliberate) from the Jubilate, that would have been 'much more familiar to everyone from its frequent use in Mattins than Ps. 78, and appropriate for the mood of celebration of the prayer.'

⁸⁴⁸ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 121.

⁸⁴⁹ Purcell seems to have improved matters at the end of the first lines of the first soprano and tenor, and particularly since, in the alto, the initial placement of the text shows the altered rhythm to be an afterthought. Five folios back, in his verse anthem *O Lord God of Hosts*, Purcell treats the trochee 'angry' very sensitively. See also how skilfully Purcell navigates the text 'Be merciful unto me, O God, for man goeth about to devour me: he is daily fighting and troubling me' in his anthem *Be merciful* (Z.4) also of the early 1680s. On Purcell's setting of awkward texts, Tippett writes: 'Only Dowland, in my opinion, rivals Purcell in the setting of English. Both had a fine ear for English poetry. [...] However long [Purcell] may vocalize on the strong vowel of the trochee, he never ends a weak vowel on the strong musical beat, but lets the weak vowel always fall on the other side. What Purcell really does is to

himself with balanced, natural scansion, rather, he revels in syncopating the last syllable of so many of his trochees, exactly as is seen in *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?*⁸⁵⁰ In the last chorus, however, all this changes, and at once all the rhythmic aspects work effectively; the text setting contains none of the rhythmic quirkiness noted above, and polyphonic lines are notably smooth, and eminently singable. Likewise, the nature of the contrapuntal entries in the final polyphonic section ('and will alway be shewing forth thy praise') changes markedly. The entries here are notably playful; each incipited differently using both rising and falling intervals. This approach is reminiscent of Purcell's partwriting in *O Lord, God of Hosts*—the previous complete anthem in the present manuscript—whose 'consummate double counterpoint' is typically sophisticated.⁸⁵¹

Other 'remarkable things' are the double *échappées* of the melodic embellishment on the word 'how' (for example in bars 6 and 8—remarkably similar to the written-out forefalls in Christopher Gibbons' organ music), passing augmented chords, false relations, double and cluster dissonances, a particularly mobile bass line and the perpetually restless shifting harmonies, and a host of other features. All are associated with Gibbons' compositional style. The entire three-part verse 'O remember not' is particularly close in technique to Gibbons' consort music, as feature after feature unfolds his unmistakable voice. (See also Figure 93.)

end the musical phrase, however long always in such a way that the word can be spoken at the very end in this natural rhythm.' Michael Tippett, *Tippett on Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 60–1.

⁸⁵⁰ Words such as 'higher', 'nation', 'increase', 'mercy', 'joyful', 'highest', 'kindness', 'ever', 'morning', 'troubled', 'helper', 'heathen', 'bodies', 'countries', and some longer words and phrases, such as 'enemies', 'make it', 'teach me', 'merciful', 'hallelujah', 'salvation', 'beginning', 'holiness', 'prosperity', 'countenance', 'commandments', 'supplication', 'God shall bless us', 'hide thy face from me'.

⁸⁵¹ Price, *Purcell Studies*, 108–9.

Specifically, there are some very close concordances with Christopher Gibbons' four-part *Fantazia in G Minor* (VdGS no.81). The openings of the two works share obvious harmonic and melodic contours, illustrated at Figure 94 in the angular line of the subject—corresponding to 'Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?'—and its countersubject—'Shall thy jealousy'. The pacing and the dissonance of the chromatic crescendo over bars 11–21 are particularly reminiscent of the end of this work, bars 81–93. (See Figure 95.) Typical of Gibbons is the urgency of rising fourths in sequence, where the upper note is tied over into the next bar (see Figure 96) and the bright 'fanfare' of trebles in thirds (Figure 97). The direct simplicity to the start of the chorus 'Save us, O God' returning to polyphony, is typical of the many declamatory choruses found in Gibbons' choral music.⁸⁵²



Figure 93: Harmonic comparison: bb. 32–8¹ of *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* compared with the penultimate bar of the first chorus of Christopher Gibbons' *God be merciful unto us* (transposed). Note also how the passage marked with a bracket echoes the mobile and rhythmic cadential bassline bb. 42–4 of *Lord, how long wilt Thou be angry?*

⁸⁵² E.g. the first chorus of *Open, blest Elysian grove*, the second and last choruses of *Above the stars*, and in the choruses of verse anthems *How long wilt thou forget me?* (first chorus) and *Teach me, O Lord* (first chorus).

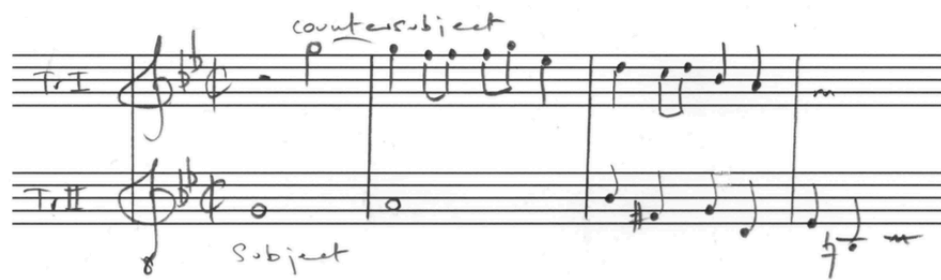


Figure 94: The exposition of the subject and countersubject at the opening of Christopher Gibbons' *Fantazia à 4* in G Minor (VdGS no. 81).

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a four-part setting of the hymn "Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?". The score is organized into two systems. The first system, measures 11-21, features a vocal melody in the upper grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a supporting bass line in the lower grand staff. The second system, measures 81-93, shows more complex polyphonic textures, with the second staff (treble and bass) and the lowest staff (treble and bass) containing dense harmonic and melodic material. The notation is handwritten, including various note values, rests, and accidentals, all in a consistent style.

Figure 95: bb. 11–21 of *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* (upper grand staff on each system) compared with bb. 81–5 (second staff) and bb. 86–93 (the lowest staff) of Christopher Gibbons' four-part *Fantasia a4* in G Minor (VdGS no. 81).



Figure 96: Urgent rising fourths in the first verse of *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* (bb. 33–9, on the upper staff) compared to those at the beginning of the second verse of Christopher Gibbons' *Sing unto the Lord* (lower staff). Cf. similar urgent forths in Alto2 of HMP (bb. 27ff).



Figure 97: Fanfare of bright trebles: bb. 51–4² of *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?* (top three staves) compared with bb. 14–17² (modern bar numbers; transposed here up a semitone) of Christopher Gibbons' anthem *Ah my soul, why so dismayed?* (bottom three staves). Cf. also bb. 12–14 of the *Allman* of his *Fantasia the seventh a3* (VdGS no. 36).

Appendix

New Light on Bernard Smith

According to Burney, Smith had ‘not been many months here’ before Harris arrived from France.⁸⁵³ However, Freeman and Rowntree assert that Smith’s engagement with the organ at the Abbey in 1667 marks the earliest certain appearance in England.⁸⁵⁴ Rowntree does not rule out the possibility of Smith working here from mid-1660 onwards, although how this fits against reports of professional engagements in Hoorn, Edam and Amsterdam between 1660 and 1665 is problematic to reconcile.⁸⁵⁵ (Burney and Hawkins mention that Bernard Smith had an assistant by the same name, which might well account for Smith’s apparent bilocation.)⁸⁵⁶

The notion of two organ builders operating under the same name is worthy of further investigation; it opens up the tantalizing possibility that the two Bernards may have been father and son (‘Father’ thus denoting paternity, not simply seniority); it might also go towards explaining why ‘organs attributed to Father Smith are as common—and as unreliable—as

⁸⁵³ Burney, *A General History of Music*, III: 437. [As Robert Dallam was contracted to build a new organ at Windsor on 22 October 1660, this would fit well against Burney’s account that Smith had arrived several months beforehand.]

⁸⁵⁴ Rowntree, *Father Smith*, 103. The LCA do not make mention of Smith until 1674 (De Lafontaine, *King’s Musick*, 299). ‘Curiously enough’, comments Freeman, ‘though he is spoken of as the King’s Organ Maker as far back as 1671, he was not given that appointment till 30 May 1681, when he succeeded James Farr, whose work he had probably done, or helped to do, for nearly twenty years.’ (Ibid., 3.)

⁸⁵⁵ See below, which offers the possibility that the Edam organ may have been supplied from a London workshop.

⁸⁵⁶ Freeman discusses the veracity of Burney’s and Hawkins’ statement in Ibid., 2.

beds slept in by Queen Elizabeth'.⁸⁵⁷ There is evidence to suggest that Smith did indeed arrive in England in good time to reinstate, repair or otherwise install these organs. Freeman writes that between 1662 and 1683, Father Smith lent an organ for use at the Maundy Thursday celebrations no fewer than thirteen times.⁸⁵⁸ Knight, who scrutinised the Abbey records, states that Dallam was connected with the Abbey until 1665, when the tuning was taken over by Bernard Smith.⁸⁵⁹ Much debate has also been waged over Smith's nationality. That Smith may have been English is argued by Freeman and Rowntree.⁸⁶⁰ Burney seems to have known he was English (or at any rate not German) when he wrote 'old Silbermann was the Father Smith of Germany.'⁸⁶¹ A significant detail not available to earlier biographers is a reference to him at Hoorn, where the English name 'Smith' is used: 'Op 19 September 1657 wordt "tot de tafel des heeren toegelaten [comes to be 'admitted to the table of the Lord'] Barent Smith [...] van Bremen.'" ⁸⁶² A record of a 'Pass for Bernard Smith to Holland 17th July 1655' appears in the 'Warrants of the Protector and Council'.⁸⁶³ This record—scant as it may be—tallies neatly against Clutton and Niland's 'submission' that Smith was 'a son or nephew of

⁸⁵⁷ Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 123.

⁸⁵⁸ Rowntree, *Father Smith*, 38. Unfortunately he does not give his source.

⁸⁵⁹ Knight, 'The Organs of Westminster Abbey and their Music, 1240–1908,' 43. Although he does not reveal his source.

⁸⁶⁰ Rowntree, *Father Smith*, 70, 107.

⁸⁶¹ Rees, Abraham. *The Cyclopædia: Or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, And Literature* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown [etc.], 1819), XXII: col. 0.2.

⁸⁶² Westfries Genootschap, *West-Frieslands Oud en Nieuw: Jaarboek* 21 (1954): 82, <https://archive.org/details/west-frieslands-oud-en-nieuw-21-1954> (Accessed 3 September 2021). (Citing *Arch. N.H. ledematen van 1615–1666*.)

⁸⁶³ 'Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum, 1655,' Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1881).

Christian Smith [...] and that he went abroad during the Commonwealth perforce, for want of employment at home. [...] He would naturally return home as quickly as possible after the restoration of a civilised régime.⁸⁶⁴ It is noted that the established English organ-building clans Dallam and Harris too fled their homeland during these turbulent times, to return with haste following the Restoration. ‘Bremen’ may have been the scribe’s misunderstanding of ‘Brienen’ in North Rhine-Westphalia (which is styled ‘Brynen’ in the Huygens’ correspondence).⁸⁶⁵ A consideration is that Smith spent time in the employ of the Oranje household at Kleve/Cleves on the eastern border of the Republic. Smith’s relationship with Sir Constantijn Huygens is conjectured on pages 151ff and in footnote 412, and it should be remembered that Huygens’ son Lodewijk had been resident in London, sharing Christopher Gibbons’ company in the early 1650s (see page 69). John Locke, who was in Smith’s intellectual circle (see footnote 412) also spent time in Cleves, later, in 1666 and 1685.⁸⁶⁶ It is conceivable that Smith occupied these *émigrée* years as organist and organ-repairer in various parts of the Netherlands, likely also in The Hague, where Huygens lived, attending to the instruments of the royal household. In 1660 Smith had been engaged for eight months restoring the organ at the Oosterkerk in Hoorn.⁸⁶⁷ In 1661 he was invited by the *burgemeesters* of Edam to inspect the town’s organs, and on 22 February 1662 Smith signed a contract for a new double-organ at the Grote Kerk and for the repair and reworking of a small organ at the

⁸⁶⁴ Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 68.

⁸⁶⁵ *Early Modern Letters Online* <<http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>> (Accessed 3 September 2021).

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁷ Vlagsma, ‘Barent Smit, orgelmaker in Hoorn en in Engeland,’ 28.

Kleine Kerk. The meticulous town accounts carry the schedule of works.⁸⁶⁸ It is noted that on-site installation amounted to a period of 21 days in the first half of 1663, followed by a further 14-day period in the summer. Smith built the instrument off-site therefore, and delivered it either from nearby Hoorn, or not inconceivably from London, across 250 miles by sea, direct to the Noord-Holland port. (It is said that ‘shortly after arriving in England, Smith complained that he had too few tools at his disposal. Charles II personally gave Smith permission to import that which was needed’, which implies that, for a time at least, Smith had a foot in both countries.⁸⁶⁹ Unfortunately, no source is given. It is noted from town accounts that some of the work was subcontracted to local tradesmen and artisans.) Smith’s genius is attested by the larger of the Edam instruments, still in its original position and preserved in its original state, now regarded as one of the finest organs in The Netherlands. In any event, it is highly unlikely that any members of the Smith family could have arrived from the Netherlands between the years 1665 and 1667, as England was again at war with the United Provinces. Smith’s important contracts for Crewe in Durham reflect the Bishop’s knowledge of the builder’s exemplary work, and from 1681 as the King’s Organ Maker.⁸⁷⁰ There exists also another connection with Bernard Smith, Durham and the Northeast. Clutton and Niland give compelling reasons to believe that Smith may have been born in the area.⁸⁷¹ *England Births & Baptisms 1538–1975* holds only two records for a ‘Bernard Smith’

⁸⁶⁸ Reproduced Ibid., 29–30.

⁸⁶⁹ Quoted Ibid., 30.

⁸⁷⁰ See Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, I: 195.

⁸⁷¹ Clutton and Niland, *The British Organ*, 70.

born in the first four decades of the seventeenth century.⁸⁷² One is born in 1622 in Houghton Le Spring, some eight miles north of Durham, the other being born in 1632 in Peasemore, Berkshire. However, a ‘Gerard Smith’ was also born in the parish of Houghton Le Spring in 1663, the date of which would be consistent with this man’s activity, usually given as ‘fl. 1689–1729’.⁸⁷³ A great many Smiths are registered in that Parish from the late sixteenth century onwards. Serendipitously, Smith’s second wife’s surname was Houghton, whose connection with the Northeast is highlighted by Smith’s letter following their marriage to the Registrar of the Dean and Chapter of Durham: ‘My and my wife’s hartely love and humble servis to you and yours, from your humble servand to commande, Ber. Smith.’⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷² Results via Family Search, *England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975* <www.familysearch.org> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

⁸⁷³ See NPOR.

⁸⁷⁴ ‘FGE’, ‘A Master Organ-BUILDER. Father Smith,’ 522. See Richard Hird, ‘Durham Cathedral Organs.’ <www.duresme.org.uk/CATH/cathhist.htm> (Accessed 4 September 2021). Also Rowntree, *Father Smith*, 28. Also Durham World Heritage Site, ‘Cathedral Organs.’ <www.durhamworldheritagesite.com/learn/architecture/cathedral/intro/organs> (Accessed 4 September 2021).

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