

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

THE VOCAL MUSIC OF THOMAS MORLEY

A Critical and Stylistic Study

in two volumes

by

MICHAEL WILLIAM FOSTER

VOLUME I

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

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THE VOCAL MUSIC OF THOMAS MORLEY (c.1557--c.1602):

A CRITICAL AND STYLISTIC STUDY

by Michael William Foster

This thesis examines the vocal music of Thomas Morley to define the features of his musical style which distinguish his compositions from those of his more important contemporaries. It is thus primarily concerned with Morley the composer. However, because of the nature of his overall achievement--as singer, organist, publisher, innovator, teacher and scholar--his music must be examined both against its general historical background and, more particularly, in the context of his career, for the diversity of styles in which he composed arose from his various musical activities outlined above. Therefore the first two chapters summarise the historical, literary and biographical factors which influenced his development as a composer.

The remaining chapters study Morley's settings of Latin texts, his madrigalian works, his First Book of Ayres and his Anglican church music, and show that whilst some characteristics of his compositions resulted from his studies of Italian music, others derived from his early training and subsequent work in England.

Morley's instrumental music and his treatise, A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, are beyond the scope of this study. However, the treatise has been referred to when it throws valuable light upon the matters discussed in the thesis.

Most of Morley's vocal music is available in modern editions but some of his compositions for the Anglican Church still survive only in seventeenth-century sources. Transcriptions of six such works are included with the musical examples in Volume II of this thesis.

PREFACE

This study began thirteen years ago with the realisation that alone among the more important composers of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, Thomas Morley lacked a monograph, and it was conceived, initially, to fill this gap. Although Byrd was clearly the greatest composer of that time, Morley was the most influential musician.

Morley's importance has of course long been recognised: it is significant, for instance, that the first four volumes of Edmund Fellowes' monumental achievement--the publication in modern editions of the works of the English school of madrigal composers--were devoted to the works of Morley. The Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music which Morley wrote and published in 1597 was the first really significant treatise on music in English; and it was Fellowes who first produced a reprint of this work in the present century (1937); and it was Fellowes, too, who made some most useful study of Morley's madrigals in his English Madrigal (1921) and English Madrigal Composers (1925). Any study of Morley's works, therefore, must owe an immense debt to Edmund Fellowes. More recently, the superb scholarship of Joseph Kerman in The Elizabethan Madrigal (1962) has given a new dimension to the position of Morley the madrigalist, particularly in relation to the Italian madrigal, which aspect Fellowes had hardly touched upon. To both Fellowes and Kerman, therefore, the author makes acknowledgement with much gratitude for the considerable part which their work necessarily plays in the present study.

Central though it was to the last nine years of Morley's life, the madrigal was by no means the only important aspect of his amazingly active and productive career. The modern edition of his Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music (edited by Alec Harman in

1951), the publication of the Collected Motets of Thomas Morley (edited by H.K.Andrews and Thurston Dart in 1959), modern editions of some of Morley's Anglican church music by Fellowes and other scholars and of Morley's First Book of Consort Lessons (edited by Sydney Beck in 1959), all these in recent years have served to emphasise the wider scope of Morley's remarkable achievement and influence. As they appeared, so, also, from time to time, and in various and isolated places, fine attempts to focus critical attention on these other aspects of Morley's work have come forth from other scholars; but nowhere was this available in one place until 1966 when P.Jenkins co-ordinated much of the existing Morley scholarship in his dissertation The Life and Works of Thomas Morley. Though he did this most effectively, I found we were still faced with an enigma: in the confusion of all his multifarious activities in Elizabethan England we somehow could not see the real Thomas Morley. Shortage of reliable biographical information was, and still is, a difficulty; and the mists of three and a half centuries continue to make Morley an elusive figure. We catch glimpses of him here and there, but never do we see the whole man in full view.

Hopefully, this thesis represents the first stage of a much-needed monograph on Morley. Its aim is to take one aspect of his music and to subject it to very close scrutiny in the hope that by detailed examination may emerge a clearer picture than at present exists of Morley as a composer of vocal music and, thereby, of Morley the musician.

Much of the discussion in the chapters about Morley's madrigals necessarily concerns the texts which he set and these present a problem--particular in his first two publications-- because of the way in which he set them. It is impossible to extract from the part-books anything approaching a definitive version of the text in stanzaic form. Many scholars have attempted this and all acknowledge the difficulty. The reasons for the difficulty are discussed in Chapter IV; but as far as

stanzaic layout is concerned I accept that many solutions are bound to be compromise versions, and for the purposes of this study the texts as versified in English Madrigal Verse (3rd. edition, 1967) have in the main been used as they have seemed to me the most satisfactory.

Some of the terms used in the text need comment. Morley lived at the time when the modes of former years were gradually being replaced by the keys of later times, and it must always be understood that the use of these terms in this study is qualified by the fact that such matters were then very much in a state of flux. In the main I have preferred to talk in terms of key, partly because the general reader is likely to be more familiar therewith, but partly, also, because much of Morley's music appears to have been harmonically conceived. However, though I might refer to a piece as being in G minor and as containing a modulation to the relative major, I am not implying that Morley himself thought in these terms with all the implications of tonal relationships of later generations. Similarly, the same understanding must obtain when I refer to chords by Roman numerals or by figured bass when, clearly, though he was progressive in his harmonic orientation, he did not live to see the advent in England of continuo harmony.

For simplicity's sake I have adopted the following policy regarding the names of voice-parts: whatever the nature of the music being considered and the part-names in the original sources I have referred to soprano, alto, tenor and bass, with subdivisions into first soprano, second soprano etc. It must be clearly understood, therefore, that by soprano no implication of the sex of the singer is intended. It may refer equally well to a lady or to a young boy: in the case of a madrigal the soprano part might have been sung by either; in the case of Anglican church music it would have been sung by a boy. The alto parts present greater problems. Generally, I have adhered to alto, for this part might have been sung

by a lady, or by a boy, or by a man (male alto), in madrigals and part-songs. However, in the case of church music it would almost certainly have been sung by a man, and for this reason I have used alto and counter-tenor without discrimination when speaking of church music. Despite the variety of theories expounded today concerning male alto and countertenor they are but different names for the same adult male's high voice.

Voice-parts are sometimes abbreviated as:


S A T B with subdivisions: S1 S2 A1 A2 T1 T2 B1 B2.

One of the essential characteristics of sixteenth-century polyphony was the technique of imitating entries at the start of each line of text in, say, a movement from a mass or in a motet. It was usual for each voice to enter separately with the imitative point, and for each voice 'already in' to continue with melodically and rhythmically independent material whilst another was making its imitative entry. The opening of Peccantem me quotidie by Byrd, published in his Cantiones Sacrae (1575), illustrates this fundamental technique (Example 1).

Naturally, imitation was an essential part of Morley's technique both in sacred and secular music; but he also employed a technique which was so distinctive a part of his madrigalian style that I have had need to use a special term for its description: 'paired-voice' entries. This is used to describe the simultaneous entry of two voices with an imitative point rather than the traditional single-voice entry. Usually, the two voices enter in parallel thirds or sixths. An instance of such entries may be seen in the course of O no thou dost but flout me from Morley's Madrigals (1594) -- (Example 2). Such a passage is clearly imitative, but the individuality of two of the voice-parts is lost, is sacrificed for the sake of musical effect; and this represents a significant modification of traditional sixteenth-century polyphonic practice. The use of paired-voice entries I have called 'voice-pairing'.

This example also serves to illustrate, briefly,

what I have called antiphonal scoring i.e. when a composer divides his singers or instruments into two sonorities and contrasts one with another.

When a musical phrase starts with a long note and moves into shorter note values, as, for example, in , I refer to this as 'long note growth'. Moreover, I have found it necessary to make distinctions between 'madrigal', the omnibus term for all its various forms, and 'Madrigal', the specific form as opposed to canzonet and ballet etc.; and between 'madrigalian verse' which refers to the texts set by madrigal composers in general and 'madrigal verse' the particular kind of text set by Morley and many of his English colleagues.

I have used the word motet for any composition by Morley with a Latin text for the sake of simplicity and also to comply with the title used by H.K.Andrews and Thurston Dart in their edition of Morley's Collected Motets. Some of these pieces are not motets, strictly speaking, for a motet was a setting of a text from the Proper of the Mass when used liturgically.

Morley spelt 'ballet' as 'ballett' whereas other English composers in the main used the former spelling. Scholars of this century have also preferred the single 't', and I have done likewise in this study, except where I refer to works in Italian when I have used 'balletti'.

Most of the chapter headings and their subdivisions are self-explanatory. However, the reader may appreciate the following comments about the first two chapters:

- I This chapter contains a brief description of the factors which prepared the way for Morley's successful introduction of the English madrigal during the last decade of the sixteenth century. These factors, being so diverse, provide a useful summary of the general historical background against which we must see the life and vocal music of Thomas Morley.
- II This chapter examines all the biographical information which is known to date of a sixteenth-century musician called Thomas Morley. Owing to lack of conclusive evidence I am not prepared to assert that it all relates to one musician by that name, even though it seems likely that it does, as I shall show.

Morley wrote so many madrigals that it was impossible to examine all of them individually in detail in the text. However, to compensate for this, I have included at the end of Chapter IV some brief notes on each of his Madrigals to four voices (1594) as this collection contains such a variety of pieces that it seemed worthwhile to do this, especially as my comments on these shed some light on his other madrigalian works.

The bibliography at the end of this thesis does not claim to be comprehensive. My principle of selection has been to list those works which I have found most relevant and useful for the preparation of this study of Morley's vocal music. Most of this is available in modern editions. However, there is still some which survives in seventeenth-century sources only. I have examined nearly all of this and I include transcriptions of six such items in volume 2 of this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I record my gratitude to the many people who in one way or another have helped in the preparation of this study. Much of it, particularly the first two chapters, relies on the work of scholars who have published their researches, and the sources of my information are recorded in the notes at the end of each chapter. To all such scholars, therefore, I express my gratitude for being able to present a reasonably comprehensive biographical and historical background to my study of Morley's vocal music.

I am grateful, too, to the various publishers who have given me permission to quote from works in their copyright, especially Stainer and Bell Ltd.. For verbal quotations it has not always been possible to specify the source of the copyright permission in each case, so I here record my thanks to J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd. for permission to quote from R.A. Harman's edition of Morley's Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, and to Oxford University Press for permission to quote from J. Kerman's The Elizabethan Madrigal and from English Madrigal Verse (edited by E.H. Fellowes, revised edition by F. Sternfeld and D. Greer).

For the loan of music I am grateful to: David Brown for his reconstruction of Morley's Heu mihi, to Peter Le Huray for his transcriptions of Morley verse anthems, and to David Scott for his thesis on Musica Transalpina.

To Professor David Brown of Southampton University, for his patience, wisdom and painstaking criticism over many years, my debt is immeasurable.

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MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Musical examples from compositions by Morley which survive only in manuscript form have been transcribed from original sources; those which are available in modern printed editions have been checked with original sources, except in the case of items published by Stainer and Bell in the volumes of the English Madrigalists and the English Lute-Songs (revised editions by Thurston Dart and others) whose accuracy is taken on trust. Consultation with the original madrigal publications by Morley in a number of instances has confirmed this accuracy and thoroughly justified such trust. In all examples quoted from compositions by Morley the original pitch and note values have been retained. However, original clefs have been replaced by G and F clefs where these were not used in the sources; and where the original sources lacked bar lines I have imposed a three-or four-beat bar structure as appropriate.

Musical examples from the works of other composers have been copied from the modern published editions cited, with due acknowledgement, keeping the pitch, note values and verbal underlay as they occur in those editions. Where there has been a choice of editions I have used the one which I consider to be the most reliable.

SPELLING AND PUNCTUATION

I have modernised the spelling and punctuation in quotations from documents, books, lyrics etc. dating from Elizabethan and Jacobean times, except in a few instances where there is either no exact modern equivalent or where there is any doubt at all of the original meaning. All quotations from Morley's Introduction are taken from Alec Harman's edition of this work.

ASSESSMENTS OF LENGTH OF PASSAGES OR PIECES OF MUSIC

For statistics which require the length of a passage or complete piece of music to be assessed I have counted in bars as given in the modern editions cited. Any adaptation to make comparisons valid has been clarified in the appropriate place. It is to be understood that such assessments of musical length are necessarily approximate and of value only in so far as they give some indication of relative length when two or more passages are compared.

STATISTICS CONCERNING TEXTS OF MADRIGALS

Statistics which relate to texts of madrigals are based on the versification as given in English Madrigal Verse (revised edition, 1967).

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES TO PASSAGES OF MUSIC

Abbreviated references to passages in modern published editions and in transcriptions are made as follows:

(S1 EM2 p.52 : 3/2 - 10/2)

The sequence of information is:

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|---|
| 1) The voice-part | : | first soprano in this case | | |
| 2) Edition code or description: | | Morley, <u>Madrigals</u> | | |
| | | <u>to Four Voices</u> . | " | " |
| 3) Page number | : | page 52 | " | " |
| 4) Colon | : | means bar | | |
| 5) After colon | : | is the bar number on | | |
| | | that page, the first | | |
| | | complete bar on that | | |
| | | page being no.1 | | |
| | : | bar 3 | " | " |
| 6) Oblique line | : | after / is given the | | |
| | | beat of that bar | | |
| | : | from the second beat | | |
| | | of bar 3 | " | " |
| 7) Hyphen | : | means until | | |

All bars and beats are counted inclusively. If there is no edition code given, the title of the work and its location will be given. Often, of course, it is not necessary to specify as much information as in the specimen example cited above. Rare exceptions to this system of reference occur in Tables or text where it is necessary to consider the length of the whole piece, in which event the bars will be numbered from the start to the end of the piece.

CODE FOR ABBREVIATED MUSICAL REFERENCES

- EM1B : Morley, Canzonets to three voices (1593)
- EM2 : Morley, Madrigals to four voices (1594)
- EM4 : Morley, Ballets to five voices (1595)
- EM1A : Morley, Canzonets to two voices (1595)
- EM3 : Morley, Canzonets to five and six voices (1597)
- ELS16 : Morley, First book of ayres (1600)
- EM32 : Morley, Triumphs of Oriana (1601)
- CM : Morley, Collected motets, edited by
Thurston Dart and H.K.Andrews
- MORL. I : Morley, Nine fantasias for two viols,
edited by E.H.Fellowes: the
two-part instrumental items in
Canzonets to two voices (1595)
- MORL.II : Morley, Short evening Service, edited by
C.F.Simkins
- MORL.III : Morley, Second evening Service, edited by
R.G.Greening and H.K.Andrews
- MORL.IV : Morley, First evening Service, edited by
E.H.Fellowes, revised by P.Le
Huray and D.Willcocks
- MORL.V : Morley, Let my complaint, in Anthems for
men's voices I, edited by P. Le
Huray and others
- BYRD I : Byrd, Short Service, edited by E.H.
Fellowes
- BYRD II : Byrd, Evening Service in five parts,
edited by E.H.Fellowes
- BYRD III : Byrd, Second evening Service, edited by
E.H.Fellowes
- TECM : Various, Treasury of English Church Music 2,
edited by P. Le Huray
- EM9 : Weelkes, Madrigals to three, four, five
and six voices (1597)
- EM6 : Wilbye, Madrigals to three, four, five and
six voices (1598)

The code prefix EM refers to the series published by Stainer

and Bell entitled The English Madrigalists, the revised editions under the main editorship of Thurston Dart of E.H.Fellowes' The English Madrigal School (1913-1923). The number following the prefix is the volume number in that series. Similarly, the code prefix ELS refers to the companion series published by Stainer and Bell with the same editorial background entitled The English Lute-Songs.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

Owing to the number of references to works by Morley made in the text of this thesis the following abbreviations are used where I have thought appropriate:

<u>Canzonets to three voices</u> (1593)	: <u>Canzonets</u> (1593)
<u>Madrigals to four voices</u> (1594)	: <u>Madrigals</u> (1594)
<u>Ballets to five voices</u> (1595)	: <u>Ballets</u> (1595)
<u>Canzonets to two voices</u> (1595)	: <u>Canzonets</u> (1595)
<u>Canzonets to five and six voices</u> (1597)	: <u>Canzonets</u> (1597)
<u>Canzonets to four voices selected out of...Italian authors</u> (1597)	: <u>Canzonets Selected</u> (1597)
<u>A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music</u> (1597)	: <u>Introduction</u>
<u>Madrigals to five voices selected out of... Italian authors</u> (1598)	: <u>Madrigals Selected</u> (1598)
<u>The First Book of Consort Lessons</u> (1599)	: <u>Consort Lessons</u>
<u>The First Book of Ayres</u> (1600)	: <u>Ayres</u>
<u>Madrigals the Triumphs of Oriana to five and six voices</u> (1601)	: <u>Triumphs of Oriana</u>

SYSTEM OF PITCH REFERENCE

Pitch is indicated as follows:

D¹, E¹, F¹, G¹ for the lowest bass range:

A--G for the next octave:

a--g for the next octave:

a¹--g¹ for the soprano range:

I. INTRODUCTION: MORLEY IN CONTEXT

Morley's life spans the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. In his childhood, the English people were gradually adjusting themselves to travel the 'via media' of the Queen's astute religious settlement; his early manhood saw the Queen coming to more positive terms, albeit reluctantly, with the increasing threat to her realm and her rule from Roman Catholic recusants and Jesuit infiltrators on the one hand, and the Puritans, who were growing daily more vociferous, on the other; and the year of Morley's graduation at Oxford was the year of national rejoicing at the defeat of the Armada -- the most tangible proof that the danger from foreign invasion was at last diminishing. After Armada there came comparative security for England, a security which seemed certain to last so long as the Virgin Queen continued to reign. It was these years of security which saw the issue of a long line of publications by Morley, publications which were to influence, and virtually to determine, English secular musical taste for the next decade.

Morley's most substantial achievement was the creation of the 'English school of madrigal composers'. This term, coined by Edmund Fellowes, is used to describe the remarkable number of English composers who wrote and published several hundred works for unaccompanied voices between the years 1593 and, say, 1622. It came, as it were, as a great efflorescence of national creative talent, not unlike the remarkable achievement of the Dutch painters in the seventeenth century. A period of national security was no doubt an important pre-condition in both cases; but that alone will not suffice to explain the remarkable phenomenon of the English madrigal. Economic prosperity and the existence of an affluent, leisured class are equally important factors in generating large-scale artistic endeavour. These certainly obtained in the last decade

of the sixteenth century in England. Historical explanation of this kind is valuable, but only in the most general terms. To recognise the essential identity of the English madrigal it is necessary to probe more deeply into the reasons why, and the manner in which, it emerged, for only by that process can precise identification and understanding be achieved.

The coincident circumstances which led to the appearance of the English madrigal in the last decade of the sixteenth century were many and various, and they inter-acted during the generation which preceded that appearance. They included such diverse things as the existence of a number of proficient and enthusiastic middle class singers on the one hand, and the peculiar nature of a royal patent for music printing, on the other. They included a fast-expanding commercial intercourse between English and foreign ports which facilitated the circulation in England of Italian madrigals, on the one hand; and, on the other, the existence of many Englishmen of Letters who studied Italian poetry, and rather fewer of such men who, having digested it thoroughly, were able to create a corpus of lyric poetry themselves which, though Italianate in derivation, ultimately became very English in character. They included, too, a long tradition of secular song in England and an almost unbroken continuity in the composition of sacred polyphonic music. None of these things alone could produce the English madrigal; indeed, all of them together would probably not have done so, had not Thomas Morley possessed the musical talent, the patient painstaking scholarship, the business acumen and, above all, the courage, to plant the seeds in a soil which these things together had made fertile in the period c.1570-c.1590.

In the Middle Ages, the men who sang in the choral services of English cathedrals were all in Holy Orders, and, although they declined in numbers in the

early years of the sixteenth century, laymen had little opportunity of joining a cathedral choir until after the Break with Rome. In the latter years of Henry VIII's reign, however, began a policy of appointing 'lay clerks' or 'lay vicars', as they were sometimes called, as deputies for the ordained 'vicars choral'. At Salisbury Cathedral, for instance, the first mention by name of a lay vicar in the cathedral records was in 1551, but the wording of the entry suggests that lay vicars were already in existence then.¹ What happened to lay singers during the reign of Mary Tudor is not clear, but certainly Elizabeth's religious settlement led to their appointment in most cathedrals, many collegiate chapels and a few of the greater churches of the land. Despite their humble social origins, lay clerks soon became a small but significant element in England's musical life: the daily exercise of their art led, in many instances, to an expertise and an enthusiasm of considerable historical importance.²

Moreover, their sons frequently became choristers and as such, would not only have received a musical education, but also, within the limits imposed by sixteenth-century curricula, a fairly sound general education, as choristers of the period were urged to attend either the song school attached to their cathedral, or, where no such choir school existed, the local grammar school. The overall effect by the 1580s was thus considerable: there existed by then a number of musically-literate and educated lay singers in the cathedral cities of this country, who, because they were laymen, could be quite uninhibited in their off-duty music-making activities.³

It was not mere coincidence, therefore, that Musica transalpina, a large collection of Italian madrigals with texts translated into English, was published in 1588 by a lay singer from St. Paul's Cathedral--Nicholas Yonge. Moreover, Yonge's prefatory dedication provides considerable insight into his off-duty singing activities. It makes clear that madrigal singing had been a regular

pastime at his home in Cornhill for some time, that among his musical friends were 'Gentlemen and merchants of good account (as well of this realm as of foreign nations)',⁴ and, thirdly, that Yonge was accustomed to being sent books of madrigals from abroad -- 'Books of that kind yearly sent me out of Italy and other places.'⁵ English trade with Europe prospered in Elizabethan times, and, whilst other ports in England suffered fluctuating fortunes, London continued to grow in importance. Merchants from overseas dwelt there, albeit most of them temporarily, in considerable numbers, and it would not have been difficult for them to bring over from Europe manuscripts and printed volumes of music in addition to their main cargo; and those with musical interests were no doubt eager to do so. Moreover, the prefatory dedication of Yonge's publication mentioned above suggests that his anonymous translator had set the English words to the Italian compositions some five years before the publication date. It is probable that seventeen of the fifty-seven items in Musica transalpina were known in England by the translator from collections previously printed in Antwerp.⁶ Perhaps many others had circulated in England in manuscript form. What is evident, therefore, is that Italian madrigals were already sufficiently popular in England before 1588 for Yonge to consider taking the risk in publishing a large collection of them with words in English. Some evidence suggests that Musica transalpina sold well,⁷ and certainly this view is corroborated by the successor from Thomas Watson (Italian madrigals Englished 1590/1).

In 1575 William Byrd (c.1543 - 1623) and Thomas Tallis (c.1505 - 1585) had been granted a royal patent to print music paper and music books. Their licence gave them the protected right to:

Imprint any and so many as they will of set song or songs in parts, either in English,

Latin, French, Italian or other tongues that may serve for music either in Church or chamber, or otherwise to be either played or sung.⁸

In the same year they issued their Cantiones Sacrae, a collection of thirty-four motets, responsaries and hymns. This venture was not financially successful and this fact goes far towards explaining why they did not make use of their licence again for the ensuing thirteen years.⁹ In 1588, however, Byrd, who now held the patent solely, as Tallis had died in 1585, began to publish once again: a number of volumes of his own music and the two collections of Italian madrigals already referred to appeared between 1588 and 1591. Perhaps it was Byrd's friendship with Morley that led him to agree to Morley issuing a volume of his own compositions under the patent held by Byrd in 1593. That volume, Morley's Canzonets or little short songs to three Voices, was the first collection of madrigalian music by an English composer ever to be published. It proved to be the first of many, and, when the royal patent expired in 1596, Morley was most anxious to be its next holder: he secured it in 1598; and so the unique opportunity offered by the monopoly had passed to the very man who, by his publications under Byrd's licence, had already done so much to establish the English madrigal as an art form in its own right.

Morley could not explain the etymology of the word 'madrigal' but he was well aware of its literary background. In his Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music (1597) he describes the madrigal as the 'best kind' of 'light music' and then explains that it 'is a kind of music made upon songs and sonnets such as Petrarch and many poets of our time have excelled in'.¹⁰ This explanation is important: it shows that Morley realised that the madrigal owed its existence to a literary culture. In England, though perhaps not as much as in Italy, it was a poetic tide that brought in the musical genre. The literary Renaissance in

Italy occurred much earlier than in England. There were no English madrigals in the first half of the sixteenth century, as there were Italian, partly because England at that time had little poetry of the Petrarchan kind. However, in the latter years of Henry VIII's reign poetry was revitalised. Before then the English poets had shown interest in Petrarchan poetry,¹¹ but in Henry's reign that interest acquired an extra direction by the imitation of the forms of Italian verse (the sonnet, strambotto and terza rima). Indeed, some of the poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542) are English imitations of Petrarchan sonnets and they set a pattern which was subsequently followed, in some degree or other, by a number of English poets, of whom Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), Edmund Spenser (1552-1599) and William Shakespeare (1564-1616) are the most distinguished. However, the poetic candle lit by Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, (1515-1546) did not burn well for long; had it done so, England might possibly have had the madrigal sooner than in fact it did. The Italian madrigal really began to flourish in the 1530s, and allowing for a time lag of ten or so years, England might possibly have had madrigals in the 1540s or 1550s, if the poetic tradition started by Wyatt and Surrey had ripened then and not declined. Despite a mid-century lull of approximately 20 years, however, there existed a lively poetic culture in England by the 1580s and 1590s which, no matter how Italianate in derivation, was essentially and distinctively English in character. Poems by Wyatt and Surrey had been published in Tottel's Miscellany, Songs and Sonnets, in 1557, by which time both poets were dead. Some ten years later, George Puttenham wrote The Art of English Poesy.¹² His title alone is evidence of a growing national poetic tradition, and in his text, Puttenham lauds the work of Wyatt and Surrey, refers to their Italian studies, and indicates the example they had set to subsequent English

poets. Wyatt and Surrey, he says, were:

the two chief lanterns of light to all others
that have since employed their pens upon English
poesy, their conceits were lofty, their styles
stately, their conveyance cleanly, their metre
sweet and well proportioned, in all imitating
naturally and studiously their master Francis
Petrarch.¹³

I spoke earlier of there being a 'lively poetic culture' in the last two decades of the Tudor century, and it is important to make clear what is meant by this statement. Essentially, it means that many people practised the art of poetry: there were a few luminaries among the 'amateur' poets (like Spenser), and, of course, there was the thriving world of the London theatre, producing such figures as Shakespeare and Ben Jonson (1572-1637); but the ranks of the 'amateur' poets contained many men of lesser stature than Spenser. Poetry was regarded as an important attribute of the Gentleman and thus formed a significant part of his education. It was important in the general development of the intellect, of sensibility, and in the process of character formation. Indeed, a great deal of the poetic achievement of Elizabethan England stemmed from the activities of poets who, by occupation, were military men or administrators of the complex governmental machinery which then existed. Sir Philip Sidney typifies the ideal towards which men from the aristocracy strove: his early death on the battlefield made him a national hero, but even before this he was the embodiment of the ideal courtier, expert as poet, statesman and warrior. Poetry was a means to an end as well as an end in itself in Elizabethan England. 'Poetry in this latter Age'; says Jonson, 'hath prov'd but a mean Mistress, to such as wholly addicted themselves to her'. But those, he adds, 'who have but saluted her on the by' have been 'advanced in the way of their own professions'.¹⁴ The production of poetry was seen as a indication of one's gentlemanliness and intelligence, and such qualities

when noticed could on occasions lead to preferment. It could lead even to patronage from an influential person at Court. There was thus encouragement from many directions to write poetry and this certainly helps to explain why by 1588 when Musica transalpina was published there were so many poets in Elizabethan England.¹⁵

For the aspiring poet there were models in plenty: translations and re-workings of Italian Petrarchan poems made during the preceding generation, and, more recently, the poems of Spenser. In the vexatious problem of the connection between music and poetry, in the relationship between a poetically-alive culture and the appearance of the madrigal, certain points must be made clear. Firstly, I maintain that the successful introduction of the madrigal needed a poetic climate, and that, as I have shown, did certainly exist in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century. Secondly, however, it must be stressed that it was not so much the forms of Petrarchan poetry which mattered -- the sonnet, for instance -- but that certain features of some of the poetry in the Petrarchan tradition made the poetry particularly suitable for musical setting. The most important of these was the aim to express a general emotion rather than to particularise from personal experience: the lover or mistress to whom so many poems are addressed is not a real person but an ideal one who embodies a certain type of stereotyped beauty. However, I stress that the late-Elizabethan taste for stylised, idealised love-verse involved a selection of certain elements from the Petrarchan tradition. It was this generalised tendency which madrigal verse took from the Petrarchan tradition and which made that verse suitable for musical setting. Other features of madrigal verse, the pastoral landscapes and situations and many of the names, came from Classical and Renaissance pastoral verse in which Elizabethan poets also took considerable interest. A more detailed

discussion about the character of English madrigal verse and its relationship to musical setting will follow in Chapter IV. For the moment it suffices to have shown how a poetic culture emerged in later Elizabethan England and to have suggested that this was essential for the madrigal to be effectively introduced in this country; and, further, that certain aspects of the Petrarchan tradition, upon which this culture was based, led to the acceptance of madrigal texts, and suited the composers who set such texts to music.

Important though the poetic climate was for the acceptance of the madrigal in England it, alone, was not sufficient: the musical traditions had also to be favourable, and the following sketch of music in Tudor England attempts to show that they were indeed suitable.

The survival of a few, somewhat isolated, manuscript collections like the Fayrfax Book, The Ritson Manuscript and Henry VIII's Songbook¹⁶ provides clear evidence that there was a tradition of part-singing in England during the later fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries in carols and, more particularly, in secular part-songs. This tradition centred primarily on the early Tudor Court, especially that of Henry VIII. The secular part-songs of William Cornish the younger (d.1523), Robert Fayrfax (1464 - 1521) and Henry VIII himself suggest that the singing of secular songs in parts -- usually three -- was sometimes a highly cultivated and refined pastime during the second and third decades of the Tudor century.

That the tradition of secular part-song continued after Henry VIII's reign is indicated by some of the contents of the Mulliner Book (c.1560).¹⁷ This collection consists of Latin motets, English anthems, dances for domestic keyboard, consort music, secular part-songs and keyboard fantasias, all of which were prepared for use by an organist. The Mulliner Book thus provides a clear insight into the variety and character of music in use during the middle years of the sixteenth century

in England. Of particular interest for the present discussion are the part-songs in the Mulliner Book which appear to stand mid-way between those of Fayrfax and Cornish, on the one hand, and the secular part-songs which Byrd was subsequently to publish in 1589 on the other.¹⁸ In going to my naked bed (no.81 in the Mulliner Book) by Richard Edwards (1524 - 1566) for instance, with its carefully-spaced imitations, its homorhythmic moments, and its phrase structure outlined by well defined cadences shows much more affinity with Morley's madrigal style than do the Songs of three, four and five voices which were published in 1571 by Thomas Whythorne (1528 - 1596).¹⁹

Some of the roots of Morley's compositional styles, then, may be noticed in the secular pieces in the Mulliner Book, but it is vital to stress that the tradition of secular part-song in England is not as significant for its subsequent technical influence on the English madrigal, which was comparatively slight, as for the fact that it existed; and this was important -- without it, Morley's task of launching his madrigals in English waters would have been considerably more difficult. Although madrigal singing in England became an essentially middle class activity, whereas the secular song of Cornish and his contemporaries seems to have been primarily a Court phenomenon, it must be remembered that the royal Court was effectively the largest and finest family unit in Elizabeth's reign and that, as such, it was emulated by many of the larger households in the country. Moreover, as the sixteenth century progressed, there emerged a new, affluent middle class, deriving its wealth from the changes in land ownership after the dissolution of the monasteries and from the expansion in mercantile trade. The standards to which many of this emergent class aspired were those of the aristocracy and thus of the Court. In this way, the Court exerted a wide, if indirect, influence on society

in a variety of ways. For example, some families, like the Kytsons in Suffolk and the Fanshawes in Hertfordshire, so valued domestic music-making that, like the Court, they engaged the service of expert musicians in their household, either in a full-time capacity -- John Wilbye (1574-1638) was thus employed for many years by the Kytson family -- or in a part-time one: the composer John Ward (1571-1638), for instance, held an administrative post in the Exchequer office where his patron, Sir Henry Fanshawe, presided as 'Remembrancer of the Exchequer'.

Of far greater importance than the tradition of the secular part-song, however, was that of sacred polyphonic music written by English composers from the time of John Dunstable (d.1453) to that of Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656).²⁰ Thomas Morley, composer of motets, anthems and Services, occupies a significant position in this tradition. Moreover, his techniques of composition in secular music also derive in no small measure from this heritage. His own testimony records heartfelt acknowledgement to his teacher, Byrd, without doubt the most distinguished composer of Elizabethan and Jacobean times,²¹ and his own compositions bear evidence of his studies with Byrd.

Generalisations about two centuries of stylistic development must necessarily be imprecise and do scant justice to the achievements of the many composers whose works contributed to the organic growth which ultimately may be identified as a national tradition of sacred polyphonic music. The music of composers before John Taverner (c.1490-1545) -- Cornish, Fayrfax and Robert Wylkynson (c.1450-c.1515), for example -- relies a great deal on a Cantus Firmus from Sarum plainchant for its structural organisation, and the parts which provide the counterpoint are characterised by considerable rhythmic complexity and melodic floridity.²² Taverner was quite the most distinguished composer in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the features isolated

above, whilst they do not entirely disappear, are considerably modified in Taverner's music; and, in addition, imitation becomes more important than in the compositions of earlier composers and contributes considerably to the musical structure. His individual vocal parts bear a closer relationship to one another, causing more homogeneous textures, without detracting from the vigour and interest of his counterpoint. Robert Parsons (c.1530 - 1570), Christopher Tye (c.1505 - ? 1572) and, particularly, Thomas Tallis may be cited as some of the composers whose works continue the developments summarily observed in Taverner's compositions and carry the tradition well into Elizabeth's reign (1558 - 1603).

It is with the music of Byrd, however, that this tradition attains its greatest glory. In the north aisle of Lincoln Cathedral is a memorial tablet to him, the inscription of which begins:

To the memory of William Byrd
The most distinguished English
musician of his day.

At times memorial plaques exaggerate when opinion intermingles with fact. In this tribute to Byrd there is no exaggeration. A prolific composer of the highest order, Byrd is at once the culmination of all that had gone before and the portent of things yet to come.

Born, it seems, in 1543, Byrd was the organist of Lincoln Cathedral from 1563 until 1572. In the latter year he was appointed organist of the Chapel Royal, an office which he shared with Tallis; and this appointment necessitated a move to London. A fervent Catholic at heart, Byrd wrote extensively for both the Anglican and Catholic liturgies. Many of his compositions were published in his lifetime; others have been preserved in manuscript collections. In addition to his sacred music, Byrd composed secular part-songs, music for virginals and other keyboard instruments, consort songs and music for instrumental

consort. In all these categories, his contributions were substantial and important. To a considerable extent, however, he remained immune from madrigalian influence from Italy²³ and, as far as is known, he wrote no lute ayres or music for solo lute. Thus as 'the most distinguished musician of his day' and as the teacher of Morley, it is Byrd to whom we will in due course turn in our endeavour to locate those features of Morley's style which were of native origin.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. W.H.Jones, Fasti Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sarisberiensis (Salisbury, 1879), p. 283.
2. The majority of cathedral organists in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were lay clerks first and foremost. Moreover, most Elizabethan and Jacobean composers were lay clerks and organists by occupation.
3. An amusing description of lay singing men in the earlier seventeenth century by Bishop John Earle gives some insight into their character:

The common singing men in cathedral churches are a bad society, and yet a company of good fellows, that roar deep in the choir, deeper in the tavern... their skill in melody makes them the better companions abroad, and their anthems abler to sing catches.
- J.Earle, Microcosmography, or a piece of the world discovered, in essays and characters (Salisbury, 1628).
4. Musica Transalpina, facsimile edition (Gregg International, London, 1972).
5. Musica Transalpina facsimile.
6. D.Scott, 'Musica Transalpina' (unpublished dissertation for M.Mus., University of London, 1968), p.11 : Harmonia Celeste (1583) and Musica Divina (1583) in particular.
7. D.Scott, Musica Transalpina, pp. 253-63.
8. R.Steele, The Earliest English Music Printing (London, 1903), p. 26.
9. J.Kerman, The Elizabethan Madrigal: a Comparative Study (New York and London, 1962), p. 259 ff.gives additional reasons for the thirteen years silence from the press.
10. T.Morley, A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music (Peter Short, London, 1597), edited by R.A.Harman (London, 1952, reprinted London 1966), p.294.
11. Chaucer had included a complete translation of a Petrarch sonnet in Troilus (I 400 ff.).
12. G.Puttenham, The Art of English Poesy was published in 1589 but it had been written some years before that date.
13. Sonnets of the English Renaissance edited by J.Lever (London, 1974), p. 5 : source of quotation.
14. L.Salingar, 'The Social Setting', Pelican Guide to English Literature (London, 1955), vol.2, part 1, p. 42: source of Jonson's remark and the insertions. Jonson was acutely and aggressively aware that although he lived in an 'age of poets' the real poet was, and always must be, a rara avis.
15. Though it seems likely that some manuscripts of chansons and madrigals from abroad were in English hands for a few years before the publication of Musica Transalpina this thesis takes 1588 as the 'key' year for the launching of the madrigal in England.

16. The Fayrfax Book: British Library, Add. MS 5465
The Ritson Manuscript: British Library, Add. MS 5665
King Henry VIII's Songbook: British Library, Add. MS 31922. The contents of these have been transcribed by John Stevens and the majority may be seen in MB vols. 4 and 18.
17. The Mulliner Book, edited by Denis Stevens, vol.1 of MB (London, 1951).
18. W. Byrd, Songs of Sundry Natures (London, 1589).
19. T. Whythorne, Songs of Three, Four and Five Voices (London, 1571).
20. The Civil War and the Interregnum caused a severe curtailment of the tradition of sacred polyphonic music, but Tomkin's fine anthems and Services were written before the outbreak of war in 1649.
21. Morley, Introduction: see the dedication, in particular.
22. The contents of the Eton Choirbook (Eton College, MS 178) give a good insight into English sacred music during the later fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries. They have been transcribed and published as vols. 10-12 of MB.
23. Byrd's two settings of This sweet and merry month of May, published in Thomas Watson's Italian Madrigals Englished (London, 1590-91) show that he was willing to try to write in the Italian vein.

II. ASPECTS OF MORLEY'S BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Morley of Norwich Cathedral

In 1578 Queen Elizabeth made a prolonged progress into Suffolk, Cambridge and Norfolk. When she first entered the gate of the city of Norwich she was acclaimed with a burst of song which was 'marvellously sweet and good'.¹ Among those who greeted the Queen in song might well have been a young man called Thomas Morley.

A note at the conclusion of the second alto part of a motet by Morley, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,² gives the only known clue to Morley's date of birth. It reads: 'Thomas Morley. aetatis suae 19 an^o Domini 1576'. If this statement is accurate, and there is no strong reason to doubt its authenticity, Morley was born in 1557 or 1558.

In 1574 Thomas Morley is first mentioned in connection with the music of Norwich Cathedral. In that year he was granted the reversion of the position of magister et instructor of the choristers of Norwich Cathedral on the death of Edmund Inglott.³ The transcript which records this grant described Thomas Morley as 'Filius Francisc "Morley de Norwic" Berebruer' and is dated 16 September 1574.⁴ The importance of this grant of reversion is considerable: it associates Thomas Morley with the music of Norwich Cathedral and it names his father as Francis.

A young Morley was clearly involved in the affairs of Norwich Cathedral a year or so later when the accounts for 1575/1576 indicate that a special payment was made to d(omi)no Morley, possibly for singing duties, as Dr. Shaw suggests. The next mention of Thomas Morley in the cathedral records comes in 1582/1583 when the Account Rolls indicate that he was paid as Master of the Choristers (Magister puerorum) from the Annunciation (25 March) in 1583. In this office Morley remained until St. John the

Baptist Day (24 June) in 1587.⁵ The reversion had obviously come into effect in 1583.

The Account Roll for 1583/4 shows Morley in receipt of ten shillings from the cathedral in addition to his usual salary. This sum was granted to him as expenses towards the costs he incurred in a dispute with one John Amery. There is no indication of the nature of their disagreement nor is it clear whether it involved legal proceedings, though the use of the word 'litis' in the note in the Account Roll suggests that it did:

Et in regardis Dicti Thome Morley versus
cust' expensis suis pro determinacione
litis et queribus inter eundem Thomam
& quemdam Johannem Amery ex consideracione
dicti Decani et prebendarum prout in Dicta
schedula papiri manifeste patet. xs. ⁶

John Amery was a lay clerk in the cathedral at Norwich.⁷

The latest documentary reference to Thomas Morley at Norwich Cathedral occurs in May 1587. An entry dated the 25th of that month in the Dean and Chapter Minute Book records a 'lease to Thomas Brown, of Brisley, of the house chambers, and dorter within Christ's Church, which house was late in the tenure of Thomas Morley'.⁸ The vacation of his residence thus coincides, within a month or so, with the cessation of Morley's salary as Master of the Choristers.

Equally coincidental is a letter from Edward Paston to the Earl of Rutland, dated 3 August 1587, which recommends 'one that was formerly organist of Norwich' as a suitable virginal teacher for his daughter.⁹ We don't know, however, whether this recommendation was followed up.

In the article by Watkins Shaw already referred to in note 3 the author concludes with the following story in which he says he has put 'fact, inference and conjecture boldly side by side':

Thomas Morley was born in Norwich c.1557...may well have been a chorister in Norwich Cathedral

1565 - 72 and then a pupil of Byrd in London 1572-4. He returned to Norwich in 1574 to sing in the choir, with a promise of the post of master of the choristers on the death of his former teacher, Edmund Inglott;... Morley took up the post in 1583 but left it for some reason unknown in 1587, apparently without another to go to. Shortly afterwards Edmund Paston recommended him to the Earl of Rutland, but the next thing we certainly know of him is that he took his B Mus degree in 1588, by which time he had certainly left Norwich.¹⁰

The details of Morley's possible parentage, omitted from the above passage, will be alluded to subsequently. For the moment only one further conjecture needs to be added to the above. The grant of the reversion of the post of Master of the Choristers in 1574, though by no means the only example of reversionary grants at Norwich at this time, is the basis for the conjecture that Morley had been a chorister in the cathedral. This is quite sound: a promising chorister could be encouraged to utilise his talents for the cathedral in early manhood by such a grant; indeed, it was a way of securing his services for the future. There is, however, another possibility worth considering, though, alas, it lacks any confirmatory evidence: it is possible that Morley was a chorister at Norwich for a very short while -- hence the absence of any record before the reversionary grant -- and was chosen therefrom to be one of the children of the Chapel Royal¹¹ and returned to Norwich only after his voice had changed (by 1575/6) to sing, perhaps, as a young lay clerk and to wait upon the maturity of the reversionary grant. This hypothesis -- and it is no more -- would help to explain three significant problems which beset his biographer:

- (1) It would explain the timing of the reversionary grant, and the grant itself.
- (2) It would explain how and when Byrd and Morley could have met on a teacher/pupil basis.

Byrd had been a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal since 1569 and had moved to London, ^{perhaps in 1572,} to become
 ^

the Organist of the Chapel Royal conjointly with Tallis. This does not conflict with the time schedule of Watkins Shaw's theory that Morley studied with Byrd 1572-4 but it offers an explanation of how teacher and pupil came into contact.

- (3) It would explain Morley's meteoric rise in status when a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.¹²

The only objection to the above conjecture is the absence of any reference to Morley as a former 'child' of the Chapel in the Cheque Book. Lists of appointments therein of 'Gentlemen' usually add 'child there' for former choristers, as, for example, occurs in the case of Bull. However, there is other evidence which suggests that Morley might have been a chorister of the Chapel Royal (see p.36).

Thomas Morley of Norwich: some speculations about his pedigree

In the article referred to, Watkins Shaw recorded his researches into the parish registers of the city of Norwich in the sixteenth century and produced therefrom a speculative pedigree for the Thomas Morley mentioned in the cathedral records just referred to. He also listed all the Morley references in the parish registers which he and his associates traced. The present writer has used these references and has accepted their accuracy without question. Though there is much agreement between Dr. Shaw's tentative conclusions--which may be consulted in the article cited--and those of this study, the argument which follows is essentially my own. However, the debt to Dr. Shaw's researches is considerable and is hereby acknowledged with gratitude.

As has been noted, the reversionary grant of 1574 described Thomas Morley as the son of Francis Morley whose occupation was 'Berebruer' (beer brewer). Two

Francis Morleys feature in sixteenth-century records at Norwich and it is unlikely that they refer to the same person. One was a cathedral verger, the other was described as a 'Gentleman'. On 22 January 1553/4 William Morley of Norwich made his will. He was a 'calender' by profession. The will mentions his wife, Margaret, his eldest son, Francis (to whom he left the tools of his trade) and five other children, William, Thomas, Leonard, George and Joanna. At this point in the present sequence, then, the family pedigree would appear as follows, save that we don't know (a) whether the Francis here is the 'verger' or the 'Gentleman' and (b) which, if either, is the beer brewer.

TABLE 1
The family of William Morley

William Morley (Calender)---					Margaret
(Will dated Jan. 1553/4)					↓
<hr/>					
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Francis(1)	William	Thomas	Leonard	George	Joanna

Was this Francis the father of Thomas the cathedral musician who was named after an uncle ?

The registers of St. Michael's Coslany church in Norwich abound in Morleys, and from these it is possible to extract fairly accurately four family units with still a few Morleys left unplaced.

TABLE 2^a

First Morley family extracted from St.Michael's Coslany registers

Margaret Some-----	Francis Morley-----	Wife (1).?..		
(wed 17 Feb.1562/3)	'	(possibly Audrey)		
(wife 2)	'	(buried by30)		
	'	(Nov. 1562)		

	'	'		
	'	'		
	Anne	William		
	(baptised	(baptised		
	23 July 1560)	4 Jan. 1561/2)		
-----	-----	-----		
'	'	'		
'	'	'		
Christopher	Francis	Henry	Winifred	Matthew
(baptised	(buried	(baptised	(buried	(buried
(24 Dec.	5 March	25 Dec.	14 July	22 Oct.
1563)	1565/6)	1567)	1570)	1572/3)

Chronologically, this family looks feasible, but no child Thomas seems to have been born to either of Francis's wives!

TABLE 3

Second Morley family extracted from St. Michael's Coslany registers

Thomas Morley-----Margaret					
				(buried 31 May	
				1592)	
Francis	Sarah	Abigail	Richard	William	Margaret Anne
(baptised	(baptised	(baptised	(baptised	(baptised	(baptised
13 Sept,	22 Dec.	19 Oct.	13 Sept.	18 Oct.	30 Aug.
1573,	1582)	1578)	1576)	1574)	1577)
buried 23					
Jan.1573/4)					
				(baptised 15	
				Oct. 1575,	
				buried 12	
				Oct. 1579)	

This family looks unsuitable as Francis Morley who died in infancy could not have been the father of Thomas the cathedral musician. However, it is just possible for the

father (Thomas) shown here to have been himself Thomas the musician, if he had married when aged about seventeen--always assuming that the evidence of his birth in 1557 is accurate!

TABLE 4

Third Morley family extracted from St.Michael's Coslany registers

John Morley-----wife..?..		
----- -----		
Mary		Thomas
(buried		(baptised
10 April		16 December
1572)		1585)

This family does not fit: there is no Francis and the Thomas is far too young to have been the cathedral musician.

TABLE 5

Fourth Morley family extracted from St.Michael's Coslany registers

Leonard Morley-----wife..?..		
(buried 23 Sept.		
1579)		
----- -----		
Sarah	Roberta	Priscila
(baptised	(baptised	(baptised
1 Jan. 1572/3)	7 Dec.1573,	21 Aug.
	buried 3	1579)
	Sept. 1579)	

This family is also unsuitable as no mention of Francis or Thomas is made. Those Morleys for whom there is no apparent connection with any of the above families may be listed for future reference:

TABLE 6

Morleys listed in the registers of St. Michael's Coslany who cannot be related by evidence to the family extractions made above

-
- (1) John Morley, baptised 13 March 1558/9
 - (2) John Morley, buried 28 June 1568
 - (3) Thomas Morley (Clerke), buried 7 October 1593
 - (4) Ursula Morley (widow), buried 6 June 1574
 - (5) Ruth Morley, buried 22 September 1579
 - (6) Widow Morley, buried 1 September 1585--(possibly the

widow of
Leonard Morley
in Table 5)
-

From the foregoing Tables it is possible to see a relationship between the family of William Morley in Table 1 (from the Will) and that of Francis Morley (from the registers) in Table 2, but the significant name of Thomas is missing save as brother to Francis. Table 3 will just stand as a plausible speculation in its own right, as already explained, but it doesn't relate to a Francis as the father of a Thomas. The others relate only distantly if at all.

The registers for St. Michael's Coslany start on 11 May 1558, so if Thomas the cathedral musician and the composer of the 'Sadler' motets was born in 1557, his name would in any case be missing from the Coslany registers. Fortunately, however, I have located evidence of another kind which throws considerable light on the inconclusive facts extracted from the Will and the Coslany registers:

the Visitations of Norfolk made in 1563 and 1589 which were collated into one report in 1613.¹³ They offer the following pedigree concerning William Morley of Norwich:

TABLE 7

Pedigree of William Morley from the Visitations of Norfolk

William Morley of Norwich -----					Jone(Joan)d.of Thomas Wilkins, Alderman of Norwich					
Audrey-----					<u>Francis Morley</u> -----					
d.of John Waters					Margaret d.					
(wife 1)					of Xofer					
					(Christopher)					
					Some (Soame)					
					of Norwich					
<hr/>										
1	George	2	<u>Thomas</u>	3	John	4	William	Agnes		
<hr/>										
5	Christopher	6	Francis	7	Henry	8	Matthew	9	Richard	Winifred
										Elizabeth

If the Will (Table 1) and the Visitation pedigree (Table 7) are compared there appears a discrepancy in the name of William Morley's wife; apart from this, there is no reason to suppose that they are not the same family, especially as Francis features as the first-born son of William in both Will and pedigree. However, the name of the wife is a serious discrepancy so the connection between the Will and the pedigree must remain tenuous.

A comparison between the first family isolated from the Coslany registers (Table 2) and the pedigree (Table 7) is, however, illuminating: the names of the two wives of Francis Morley concur, and the majority of the children by the second marriage tally. Moreover, the William, son of the first marriage, appears in both Tables. The fact that the Coslany registers do not begin until May 1558 can

well explain why William (baptised 4 January 1561/2) should be listed in Table 2 whereas his older brothers are not. Moreover, Agnes and Anne are somewhat similar names so too much importance should not, at this stage, be placed on this discrepancy. In any case, here the similarities between the Tables far outweigh the discrepancies, so it is a worthwhile exercise to conflate the two Tables into one. This conflation is shown as Table 8.

TABLE 8

A conflation of the information in Tables 2 and 7:

The family of Francis Morley--a speculation

Audrey Waters (wife 1)---Francis Morley---Margaret Some			(buried 30 Nov. 1562)			(Soame)(wife 2		
						wed 17 Feb.		
						1562/3)		
George THOMAS			John William Agnes Anne					
			(baptised			(baptised		
			4 Jan.			23 July		
			1561/2)			1560)		
Christopher			Francis			Henry		
(baptised			(baptised			(baptised		
24 Dec.			6 Mar.1565/			25 Dec.		
1563)			1566)			1572)		
						Richard		
						Winifred		
						(baptised		
						22 Oct.		
						1570)		
						Elizabeth		

The biggest weakness in the above speculation is the proximity to the death of his first wife of Francis Morley's marriage to his second wife, though such a short space of time is not impossible. This apart, it is quite possible that Thomas Morley was the second son of Francis Morley by his first wife Audrey. Moreover, allowing for a two-year gap between children--a reasonable estimate as the gaps between children's births vary from three years to

eighteen months--then Thomas in the chart would have been born c.1556, thus: George (1552), Agnes (1554), Thomas (1556), John (1558), Anne (1560) and William (1562). Moreover, the gap between Anne and William is about eighteen months. If this were typical of Morleian procreation then the sequence might in reverse order be: William (Jan.1562), Anne (July 1560), John (Jan.1559), Thomas (July 1557) etc.. I stress, however, that some of these dates are very hypothetical.

The above speculation contains a number of ifs and it is founded solely on the known fact that the Thomas Morley involved in the music of Norwich Cathedral was the son of a Francis Morley. No proof has yet been offered that the Francis Morley in the speculative pedigree was the Francis Morley 'beer brewer' of the cathedral record. However, the estimated birth of Thomas Morley as 1556/7 links up reasonably well with the assumption of 1557 based on the Sadler motet. Because of this it is well to summarise the above speculations as a conclusion to this section of the study.

Thomas Morley of Norwich Cathedral, the second son of Francis Morley by his first wife, Audrey (Waters), was born c.1556/7. He had real brothers and sisters George, John, William, Anne and possibly Agnes; and half brothers Christopher, Francis, Henry, Matthew, Richard, Winifred and Elizabeth, as his father had married Margaret Some (Soame) after the death of his mother. There is no evidence to prove this conclusively, neither is there any to confirm that the Thomas Morley investigated above was the same Thomas Morley who composed madrigals, motets and anthems and who wrote the Introduction (1597). However, as will subsequently be seen, there are various other considerations which strongly suggest that he was.

Thomas Morley in London

Graduation at Oxford and residence in London

Quae causa nunc est cur hos sperstites adhuc
viros Birdum, Mundanum, Bullum, Morleum,
Doulandum, Ionsonum, aliosque hodie permultos
instrumentorum peritissimos iustus suis laudibus
non persequamure?

So wrote Dr. John Case in his Apologia Musices, tam vocalis quam instrumentali, et mixtae (1588).¹⁴ This extract is of particular note for it suggests that Morley, along with his compatriot musicians, had achieved some distinction and recognition as an instrumentalist by 1588. All we know of Morley's activities in that year is that he graduated Bachelor of Music in the University of Oxford on 6 July of that year.¹⁵ He was admitted to the degree from Christ Church together with John Dowland (1563-1626). As Diana Poulton has suggested, the taking of a degree might well have meant for Morley (as she suggests for Dowland) more 'as seal and confirmation of status' than as a conclusion to musical education.¹⁶ It is disappointing to learn that no Morley signature has survived from the process of graduation.¹⁷ It seems that degrees in music at Oxford could be attempted at that time without any condition of residence, so the acquisition of his Oxford degree does not indicate Morley's occupation or the location of his home in 1588.

He was certainly living in London in February of the following year for the registers of St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, record the burial of 'Thomas the son of Thomas Morley, Organist' on 14 February, 1589.¹⁸ Much importance attaches to this entry. It makes clear that Morley was married by this date, though it does not name his wife or indicate (by his son's age) how long he had been married.¹⁹ If the son died in infancy then it is possible that Morley's marriage had taken place sometime in the preceding year; but this is sheer speculation. It suggests very strongly that Morley was then living in the Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate; and it specifies his occupation. This is one point which

strengthens the case for the Thomas Morley of Norwich Cathedral being the father of the son buried in St. Giles's Church. It does not mean that ~~that~~ was, necessarily, the organist of St. Giles Cripplegate. Had that been so the entry would probably have said '...the organist of this Church' or suchlike. No, it merely states his profession. The location of St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, is interesting: it was approximately one third of a mile to the north of St. Paul's Cathedral. If Morley was working in some capacity at St. Paul's then, in 1589, he was within easy walking distance of the cathedral.²⁰

There follows a long gap in time before any entries appear in the parish registers of the city of London which could possibly relate to Thomas Morley the musician, though this may well be explained by the disappearance of certain records during the intervening centuries. However, from 1596 onwards, the following entries occur in the registers of St. Helen's, Bishopgate:²¹

- (1) The Baptism of 'Frances daughter of Thomas Morley, Musician' 19 August, 1596. (original spelling 'Frauncys')
- (2) The Burial of 'Frances d. of Thomas Morley, Gent.' 9 February, 1599. (original spelling 'Frauncis')
- (3) The Baptism of 'Christopher, s. of Thomas Morley, gentleman, and Susan his wife, 26 June, 1599. (original spellings: 'Cristopher' and 'Suzan')
- (4) The Baptism of 'Anne, d. of Thomas Morley, gentleman, and Susan his wife', 28 July, 1600.

It is very probable that all these entries refer to the Thomas Morley. Entries (1) and (2) obviously refer to the same Thomas Morley, though for the 'Burial' the description 'musician' is replaced by 'Gent.' which is maintained in entries (3) and (4). The change from 'musician' or 'organist' (St. Giles's, Cripplegate) to 'Gentleman' is interesting, though we should not place too much store by it.²² One wonders, however, whether Morley's acquisition of the printing licence in 1598, or his position at the Chapel Royal, or his renown through publications, or indeed, whether all of these together

might explain the change to the more prestigious nomenclature of 'Gentleman'.²³ However, be that as it may, the most striking thing about these entries is the choice of names for the children: all three coincide with the names of Morley's brothers and sisters speculated in Table 8 on page 25.²⁴ In addition, we may note that in entries (3) and (4) his wife is named as Susan.

Thomas Morley at St.Paul's Cathedral

The standard interpretation of Morley's official career in London is well summarised by David Scott:

In 1586 Thomas Morley, having been a chorister at Norwich Cathedral in the late 1560s and Master of the Choristers there from 1582, left Norwich for St.Paul's. He spent six years at the cathedral before being appointed to the permanent staff of the Chapel Royal on 24 July 1592. He may have continued to play at St.Paul's, but no further record of him is known.²⁵

As we have already observed, there is no positive evidence that Morley was a chorister at Norwich. Moreover the two pieces of evidence which associate Morley with St.Paul's do so only for the year 1591, though, of course, the absence of evidence need not imply that he wasn't involved there for a longer period. Firstly, there is the record of the entertainment provided for Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham House in Hampshire. This began on Monday, September 20, 1591, and on the evening of that day

...after supper was ended, her Majesty graciously admitted into her presence a notable consort of six musicians, which the Earl of Hertford had provided to entertain her Majesty withall, at her will and pleasure, and when it should seem good to her Highness. Their music so highly pleased her, that in grace and favour thereof, she gave a new name unto one of their Pavans, made long since by Master Thomas Morley, then Organist at St.Paul's Church.²⁶

This delightful anecdote quite clearly refers to Morley as 'organist' and it is reasonable to suppose that 'Paul's Church' is the famous cathedral with that dedication.

Secondly, there is the Paget letter, written on October 3, 1591, which will be quoted in full and discussed later (see pp.66-7). This begins as follows: 'There is one Morley that plays on the organ in Paul's that was with me in my house.'²⁷ Again, the reference is to Morley as an organist at St.Paul's. The reply to the letter speaks of him otherwise, however: 'It is true that Morley the singing man employs himself in that kind of service...'²⁸ Here is referred to as a singer. The significance of this changed reference will be discussed shortly. Before this can be done, however, it is necessary to consider what is known of the musical establishment at St.Paul's in the sixteenth century.

Lay gentlemen in the choir at St.Paul's were entitled 'vicars choral' and this name is still used there today.²⁹ The terms 'almoner', 'master of the choristers' and 'organist' for much of the time in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to relate to one person rather than to suggest 'split' functions between two or three persons. In other words, anyone called by any of these names usually performed the duties that we would today expect of an organist and choirmaster. Sometimes, as in Salisbury Cathedral, the organist was ipso facto also a vicar choral (lay vicar at Salisbury) and sometimes a vicar choral was subsequently elevated to the position of organist and choirmaster. This happened to John Redford, the most distinguished musician at St.Paul's in the reign of Henry VIII. He was a vicar choral there who subsequently became organist, almoner and master of the choristers; and Sebastian Westcott fulfilled all these functions between 1551 and 1582.³⁰ However, in Bishop Sandes's Visitation of St. Paul's in 1574 Westcott was not named though the vicars choral were.³¹ In his Will dated 3 April, 1582, Westcott, a known Catholic, left money to each of the ten choristers of St.Paul's; and, in addition, he bequeathed a sum to the four boys 'now remaining in my house' and to 'Peter Philips likewise remaining with me £5 - 13s.-4d.'³² It has

been suggested that Peter Philips (1560/61 - 1628) had formerly been a chorister at St. Paul's and that he continued to live in Westcott's house, perhaps as a pupil or as an assistant.³³

Westcott died in 1582 and his position was taken by Thomas Giles, father of the more celebrated musician Nathaniel Giles. In 1585 Giles was granted permission to impress choristers for St. Paul's.³⁴ It is generally assumed that Giles was replaced by Morley sometime between 1586 and 1590 though there is no evidence to support this. However, the names of the vicars choral were listed in Archbishop Whitgift's Register for 1594:

John Ramsey
John Sharpe
Thomas Harroulde
Thomas Giles
Michael Amner
Nicholas Yonge

and Bishop Bancroft's Visitation of 1598 records the same list.³⁵ It will be noticed that Morley's name is absent on both occasions; that of Thomas Giles, however, is present both times.³⁶ There are three possible explanations for this. Firstly, that Morley had left St. Paul's in 1592 on his appointment to the Chapel Royal; secondly, that his name was deliberately left out for possible association with Roman Catholicism, which seems to have been the reason for the omission of Westcott's name in Bishop Sandes's Visitation list of 1574, though this is unlikely; and, thirdly, that Morley's role at St. Paul's was as organist, Thomas Giles retaining his office as choirmaster during Morley's time there and subsequently. This theory is, in a way, endorsed by the next known appointment to St. Paul's-- that of Edward Pearce who became master of the choristers there in 1600.³⁷ In other words, it is possible that during the last decade or so of the sixteenth century the functions of organist and choirmaster at St. Paul's were separated, as they are today, where earlier they had been performed

by one person, and that the position of organist was not official whereas 'almoner', 'master of the choristers' or 'master of the children' were, being held by a vicar choral. This last hypothesis would explain why Paget's letter described Morley as 'one that plays on the organ...' rather than as organist of St. Paul's.

There is, however, another possible explanation which should be considered, one which embraces the ideas and facts given above and which, in addition, takes into account the wording of the reply to Paget's letter, and allows for Thomas Giles's presence at St. Paul's from 1582 to (at least) 1598 (Bishop Bancroft's Visitation) and probably till 1600--the year of Pearce's appointment there. This theory, the most likely of all, suggests that Morley was appointed as a singer (vicar choral) at St. Paul's, that from his position as a singer his organ-playing talents came to be known and utilised by Giles, and that he had resigned his post of vicar choral before the Archbishop's Visitation of 1594, probably on his appointment to the Chapel Royal in 1592, which again, was a singer's appointment. In other words, Morley's official position at St. Paul's was as a singer and not as an organist or choirmaster, though, because he was an able organist, he came to play the organ in the cathedral quite regularly.³⁸

The Paget letter and the Elvetham entertainment report link Morley directly to St. Paul's; in addition, a number of coincidences appear to endorse that link, and it is useful to list them. Peter Philips, named in Westcott's Will, is included with eleven Italian composers in Morley's anthology, Madrigals to five voices selected out of the best approved Italian authors (1598). Between 1585 and 1590 Philips, an acknowledged Catholic, was musician to Lord Thomas Paget, the father of the Charles Paget who entertained Morley in his house in 1591; and the motet, Gaude Maria Virgo survives in two sources, in one of which Morley appears as its composer and in the other the work is ascribed to Peter Philips. Furthermore, Morley names Redford among his list of 'authors' whose

authorities he either cited or used in his Introduction (1597),³⁹ and Redford was employed at St.Paul's for many years in Henry VIII's reign. The inclusion by John Barnard of Anglican church music by Morley in his First Book of Selected Church Music (1641), the occurrence of the organ part of O Jesu meek, a verse anthem by Morley, in the 'Batten Organ Book', and the listing of its words in James Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems all point strongly to a Morley legacy at St.Paul's: Barnard was a Minor Canon of St.Paul's in the time of Charles I, the 'Batten Organ Book' is generally believed to have been originally in use in the cathedral, and Clifford, a Minor Canon there in the early years of the Restoration, published the words of anthems in use at St.Paul's.

Gentleman of the Chapel Royal

In the Chapel was excellent music; as soon as it and the service were over... the Queen returned...and prepared to go to dinner.

Paul Hentzner, 'Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich', Travels in England (1598)

In the reign of Elizabeth for a musician to become elected a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal was a mark of distinction and an achievement which brought certain practical advantages. Of these we may mention a good stipend, generous vacations and considerable free time.⁴⁰ And, above all, despite the necessity of travelling to the current location of the Queen, it offered an immediate entrée into Court circles. For the ambitious poet or musician, for whom patronage and favours were the gateways to recognition and success, the entourage in constant attendance upon the Queen was a concentration of the wealthiest and most influential people in the realm.⁴¹ Election to the Chapel Royal gave a musician the chance to meet the senior administrators, lawyers, soldiers, diplomats, and their wives, and the many other officials who comprised the Court. The nature of the patronage bestowed upon musicians and poets varied considerably: sometimes it was financial remuneration, sometimes it was musical engagements, and sometimes it was permission to use a famous and well-respected name for the dedication of a forthcoming publication. Later in this chapter the importance of Morley's dedications will be discussed in detail, for they not only shed light on his discernment and his biography but also epitomise the whole system of patronage which so helped the advancement of art and learning in Elizabethan times. For the moment, however, it is sufficient to appreciate why Morley would have sought membership of the Chapel Royal with much resolution in the years before he achieved that distinction.

It is important to realise, too, that the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were elected primarily as

singers. From their number, one or (usually) two men were chosen to be organists -- Tallis and Byrd, for example -- though Morley never became thus elevated. On 24 July, 1592, Thomas Morley was 'sworn in' to the Chapel Royal choir: he replaced Robert Green(e) who had died only ten days previously after serving over twenty years in the choir.⁴² Later the same year, on 18 November, Morley was promoted from his earlier rank of epistoler to that of Gospeller. The Old Cheque Book records the event as follows:

The 18th day of November 1592 was Thomas Goolde sworn Gentleman from the Gospeller's place, and from hence to have the place and wages of a gentleman as other gentlemen of the same society.

The same day also was sworn (and by me the Subdean) Thomas Morley from the Epistoler's place to the Gospeller's place and wages, and both these sworn in the vestry at Hampton Court in the presence of...(10 persons are named)⁴³

Very shortly after Morley's promotion to Gospeller⁴⁴ a meeting of the Gentlemen of Her Majesty's Chapel took place in the vestry at Hampton Court at which they agreed not to canvas (in person or by proxy) the Lord Chamberlain in connection with Chapel Royal appointments; and the implication was that this had been done of late, completely by-passing the Sub-Dean and the Gentlemen by courting the favour of the Lord Chamberlain who ruled Chapel affairs. Any subsequent offenders were to be fined for their misdemeanours.⁴⁵ David Brown has suggested that Morley's rapid promotion from Gentleman in July, to Epistoler soon afterwards (not actually dated in any record) and thence to Gospeller by mid-November might well have been the result of Morley's effective canvassing of the Lord Chamberlain.⁴⁶ The wording of the report of the chapter meeting is such that it could refer to internal promotions but it might also refer to appointments to the Chapel, and one Peter Wright had been appointed Gentleman more recently than Morley -- on 23 November. We may never know whether

or not it was Morley's meteoric promotion that prompted the meeting.

A further point of interest has been raised by David Brown. He demonstrated that the office of epistoler was reserved for former 'children' of the Chapel according to the ordinances of that institution and quotes the authority of Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw.IV:

...epistolers, growing from the children of the chapel by succession of age, and after that their voices change...⁴⁷

This is indeed interesting and certainly lends some support to the suggestion made earlier that Morley may have been a chorister of the Chapel Royal in his childhood. (see p.19). However, it is wise to point out that traditions may have altered between the time of Edward IV and Elizabeth I. Certainly Alan Smith implies that there was nothing exceptional in Morley's appointment as epistoler:

It was a common sequence for a gentleman to begin his Chapel career as an epistoler... and then he would become a gospeller... before being elected a gentleman in ordinary.⁴⁸

Whilst this clearly does not support a firm chorister-epistoler line of succession it does not undermine it; and the possibility that Morley might have been a chorister in the Chapel Royal would help to explain how he was elected a Gentleman in the first place, and the rapidity of his promotion suggests that he had some advantage over his colleagues: it may have been access to the Lord Chamberlain's ear or it could have been the perfectly valid one of having been a Child of the Chapel.

No further mention of Thomas Morley is made in the records of the Chapel Royal until 1602 when he was replaced by George Woodson. This is recorded in the Old Cheque Book as follows:

1602 George Woodson (from Windsor) was sworn
the 7th October in Thos. Morley's room.⁴⁹

It is by means of an earlier record concerning George Woodson that we are able to suggest that Morley sang counter tenor in the Chapel Royal choir.⁵⁰

Publisher and Monopolist

The story of English music printing in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has been told in detail by various scholars.⁵¹ Intricate, and, at times, bewildering though that story is, it is one in which Thomas Morley plays a significant role; and if a truly comprehensive picture of him is to emerge through this present study it is essential that this side of his activities be related here. Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of this study to give a full account of early English music printing, and for this the reader is urged to consult the works cited in footnote No.51. Here it must suffice to summarise the story from these works sufficiently to set Morley into context.

Music printing in England began ~~in earnest~~ under the protection of two printing patents granted by the monarch: one of these has already been mentioned on pp.4-5 and this is the main area of our present concern; the other, a much narrower grant, was restricted to the printing of psalms. This latter monopoly was held initially by William Seres (dated 4 March, 1552/3) and it passed subsequently to John Day in 1559. John Day's patent was renewed on 6 May 1567 and this gave him the exclusive right to 'imprint or cause to be imprinted the Psalms of David in English metre, with notes.'⁵² Day prospered from this monopoly which passed subsequently to his son, Richard.

Apart from psalters, however, all music and music paper was to be printed entirely under the patent granted to Byrd and Tallis in 1575. It is important to realise that this was a grant made to the most

distinguished musicians of the time. They were clearly not printers themselves and probably had little or no expertise in that profession. They are better regarded as publishers with exclusive rights to determine what music should be printed. Whilst it was perhaps intended by the Queen to be a financial reward and recognition for their musical achievements, it was in reality a right to determine musical taste, as Krummel has suggested.⁵³ When they decided some music should be published they engaged a professional printer who was assigned to print for them. For reasons that have been suggested elsewhere (see p.5) Byrd and Tallis made little or no profit from their monopoly, certainly in its earlier years. Posterity must be grateful, however, for it secured the publication of their Cantiones Sacrae (1575). For many years after this, nothing further was printed under this patent until three years after Tallis's death (1585) when Musica transalpina I was issued (1588). Byrd assigned the right to print this work to the London printer Thomas East. It inaugurated a succession of publications, all printed by East, with many of which this study is primarily concerned. The significance of these publications, individually and collectively, is discussed from time to time throughout this thesis. Here it is important to isolate just one particular aspect: the appearance of Morley on the publishing scene. In the publications issued between 1588 and 1591 under the Byrd patent, with printing done by Thomas East, Byrd is the one composer usually represented, sometimes by a single composition, at others by a whole volume exclusively devoted to his music. Morley does not figure at all; yet after the year 1592 in which East's musical press was (presumably) inactive, Morley comes to dominate the scene by issuing (still under the patent and still using East) one or more publications of his

own compositions every year until Byrd's monopoly expired in January 1596. How this came about, and why, we do not know. Perhaps Morley had already been at Byrd's right hand from 1588 onwards, helping him check proofs and generally learning to negotiate music through the press. For this assisting role Morley would have been a suitable choice as a musician who had studied with Byrd. Alternatively, perhaps it is explained by Morley's election to the Chapel Royal in the 'silent year' (1592) which gave Morley the chance to renew a former friendship with Byrd and thus to persuade his former teacher to let him publish his own compositions. Whatever the explanation, it is interesting to note Morley's virtual take-over of music publishing while Byrd still held the patent exclusively himself. (It seems likely, however, that Byrd's Masses were printed in this period).⁵⁴

The expiry of Byrd's patent in January 1596 begins a new chapter in the story of English music printing. With the restriction removed, the printers issued a number of music books of various kinds in 1596 and 1597. Among these we may note in particular:

<u>A new book of tabliture</u> (1596)	}	authorship uncertain
<u>The pathway to music</u> (1596)		but printed by William Barley

George Kirbye : First set of English madrigals to four, five and six voices (1597)

Thomas Weelkes : Madrigals to three, four, five and six voices (1597)

Nicholas Yonge : Musica transalpina II (1597)

(All three printed by Thomas East)

Morley : Canzonets to five and six voices (1597)

Morley : Canzonets or little short songs to four voices selected out of the best and approved Italian authors (1597)

(An anthology of Italian canzonets
(edited by Morley)

Morley : Introduction (1597)

John Dowland: First book of songs or ayres of four parts
(1597)

(All four printed by Peter Short)

These and other works published while there was a free musical press show not only that it was a very productive time for English music printing⁵⁵ but also that the range of material published was much wider than it had been before. One wonders, therefore, whether Byrd's monopoly had been too restrictive previously, since, with its removal, music for lute and theoretical works came out alongside madrigalian volumes, and a substantial list of new names of English composers suddenly emerges.

It is not known whether there was much competition to secure the patent in succession to Byrd. In so far as it was not renewed for a further period for Byrd it is reasonable to assume that he wanted nothing further to do with it. As it transpired, Morley became the next recipient: on 28 September 1598 Morley was authorised as a new holder of the music printing monopoly for a period of twenty-one years.⁵⁶ How he came to receive the patent from Elizabeth is not clear: perhaps Byrd recommended his pupil as his successor; perhaps, as Fellowes suggested,⁵⁷ Morley was assisted in his endeavour to obtain it by Dr. Julius Caesar, the Master of Requests, who acted as the link between the Queen and petitioners who wanted special favours from the Crown; or, again, and most likely, it was through the influence of Sir Robert Cecil to whom Morley dedicated his First book of ballets to Five Voices in October, 1595. We know for certain that Morley corresponded with Cecil on the subject of the patent for one letter from Morley to Sir Robert has been preserved in the Cecil archives. It appears that the Attorney-General had objected to a certain clause in the terms of the patent, which were basically those of the Byrd/Tallis patent, so Morley wrote to Cecil to see whether he could persuade the

Attorney-General to change his mind:

1598, July 23 -- Thomas Morley to Sir Robert Cecil

My humble suit is that you would favour me once again in the allowance of your warrant to Mr. Attorney General for the inserting of the words which he hath taken exceptions at by reason of his mistaking of them, for almost there is words near to the same purpose already which are these, "or any otherwise to be sung or played". Now, may it please your Honour, the words which I humbly desire may be inserted are these: "all, every and any music". But for ruled paper to serve for music, except it may please you to allow the words in your warrant also, it will be little worth, and the rather because there is many devices by hand to prejudice the press, in the printing of ruled paper to serve for music, as for printing of songs upon my credit I can avouch it, for such things as I have had imprinted of mine own works I have had so small benefit of them, that the books which I dedicated to your Honour, the bounteous reward of your Honour to me was more worth to me than any book or books whatsoever, for which and for your good acceptance of them I most humbly thank you, to allow a warrant to Mr. Attorney or Mr. Solicitor, which by my experience I know without them words will be of so small value as nor[not] worth twenty nobles a year. If it please your Honour to favour me in this her Majesty's favourable and gracious grant towards me, your servant, Mr. Heybourne, Mr. Fernando's brother, shall receive the one half of the benefit whatsoever for the term of years granted.⁵⁸

Undated

Endorsed 23 July, 1598

It is reasonable to assume that this letter was written by Morley after he had received a draft of the proposed patent and that he had shrewdly spotted loopholes in it with which he was dissatisfied. His gently persuasive letter to Cecil must have been reasonably successful for when the patent was issued it gave him the sole printing of

...any and as many set song and songs in parts...
in the English, Latin, French and Italian tongues
or languages that may serve for the music either
of Church or chamber or otherwise to be sung

or played...

and also the exclusive rights over the ruling of any paper 'by impression' which served for 'the printing or pricking of any song or songs'.⁵⁹ This patent, it will be noted, was very comprehensive and tight, and once Morley had secured it he set to work as a monopolistic music publisher. He chose to work with William Barley as his printer. This choice presents something of a riddle to the present-day scholar: East and Short had proved themselves to be good craftsmen when publishing Morley's own works earlier, whereas Barley's publications had been heavily criticised by Morley in his Introduction (1597).⁶⁰ Yet it was Barley whom Morley chose as his printer! Moreover, among the works which they issued in the early days of the patent were two psalm-books, one of which, by Richard Alison, had lute accompaniment for the voice.⁶¹ The publishers may well have issued these deliberately in order to challenge the strength of the Morley patent compared with the Seres/Day Psalm patent which was now held by Richard Day. At all events it led to legal conflict, the details of which are largely unknown as indeed are those of its eventual outcome. All that survives to tell us of the controversy is a letter from Bishop Bancroft, (Bishop of London), who it seems had become involved as a mediator, to Robert Cecil dated 18 October, 1599:

According to her Majesty's pleasure, I have dealt with Mr. Morley and Mr. Day concerning the question betwixt them about printing but I can in no wise agree them, both of them standing preemptorily upon the validity of their several letters patents from her Highness, which Mr. Morley saith the common law must decide, and Mr. Day will have the matter determined by the Lords in the Star Chamber.⁶²

Various suggestions have been made to explain why each litigant preferred his respective Court of Law,⁶³ and they need not concern us here, especially as the

detailed outcome of the legal duel is not known. What is important is to attempt to assess why the matter was worth contesting at law at all. Day was obviously concerned to have his patent for printing psalms with music re-inforced because financially he had prospered from it -- the number of psalters printed and reprinted (like that of Sternhold and Hopkins) was considerable and would thus have brought a substantial income to the patentee -- and, possibly, too, he hoped to secure a fine or compensation from Morley for infringing his patent. Morley, on the other hand, must have sought to confirm that his patent included, by its comprehensive coverage that he had secured via Sir Robert Cecil, the right to print psalms with music because this was a lucrative source of income. Moreover, the implication in Morley's letter to Cecil that the publishing of secular vocal music was not profitable might mean, as Krummel has suggested,⁶⁴ that Morley hoped to finance musically-significant publications that were not financial successes, like his own works, by producing works in popular demand like metrical psalters that were profitable for the publisher. If, indeed, this was Morley's aim, then it was a worthy one, though his methods today seem to have been devious even if undeniably skilful.

From what subsequently transpired, Morley seems to have spent much time and energy in legal processes and, in the long run, to have been unsuccessful. In the address 'to the reader' in his First book of ayres or little short songs, to sing and play to the lute, with the bass viol (1600) he declared that 'troubles in the world, by suits in law' had kept him busy. His lack of success in the lawsuit is suggested by the fact that he issued no further psalm books under his patent and because he returned to his former printers East and Short

from 1600 onwards by assignments to them as well as to Barley. One of these led to another legal contest of great complexity which will be considered shortly. The number of new works published under the patent fell year by year between 1600 and 1603, though his ill-health (see p.72) as well as problems to do with the patent might well explain Morley's decline as a publisher.

In 1600 Morley authorised Thomas East to become his assign⁶⁵ and to 'print or cause to be imprinted, and sell to his best advantage any and as many set song as he hath or can procure either to sing or play for and during the term of three whole years'.⁶⁶ One work that East agreed to print under this assignment was John Dowland's Second book of songs or ayres and through a number of unfortunate incidents and disagreements between East and the publisher, George Eastland, a series of lawsuits ensued, the details of which have been most lucidly related by Margaret Dowling.⁶⁷ Her account gives valuable insight into the customs of the printing profession in Elizabethan England. Morley and his associate in the patent, Christopher Heybourne, do not appear to have been actively involved in the dispute; but from it we learn something of the workings of the patent. As the holders of the patent Morley and Heybourne were due to receive the following:

- (1) 40s. before the printing of Dowland's Ayres was begun.
- (2) 6s. for every ream used in printing a thousand copies, which amounted to £7 - 10s.
- (3) Two copies of the book being printed for their personal use. As it transpired, Morley and Heybourne exchanged two of the books given them for two of a different title owned by East.

Item (2) above was central to the lawsuit. East, the printer, was obliged to pay the sum to the patent holders, and he in turn had to obtain it from Eastland the publisher. It was the latter's dilatoriness in paying it that led to one of the lawsuits. As a result of the

suit he did pay and, likewise, then, so did the printer to the patentees. Another lawsuit centred on the apparent mis-appropriation of extra copies by, it seems, the printer's workmen. This need not concern us, however. Relevant to the present study is the fact that Morley and his associate Heybourne received what was then a quite substantial sum as the patent holders when a volume in which they were not otherwise involved came to be published through an assignment of that patent to a printer. Assuming that Morley kept to his promise (see letter on p.41) he and Heybourne would each have received £4 - 15s. Assessment of Elizabethan money values in today's terms is seldom reliable, though some idea of how lucrative was the patent to Morley and Heybourne may be obtained by comparing their income from Dowland's volume with the annual stipend of Thomas Lawes⁶⁸ who became a lay vicar of Salisbury Cathedral in May 1602 for an annual income of £8 - 13 - 4.⁶⁹ A few years later this salary was increased to £12. Thus, even though the number of books issued under Morley's patent declined between 1600 and 1603 the patent was clearly a source of considerable income to its holders.

The whole system of monopolies which operated in Elizabeth's reign was discussed in Parliament in 1600. Afterwards the House of Commons ruled that no further monopoly in music printing should be conferred after the expiration of Morley's patent.⁷⁰ Long before it expired, however, Morley had died.

We have noted on p.39 how a substantial number of musical publications were issued in 1596 and 1597 after Byrd's patent had expired in January 1596. During the eight months or so of 1598 before Morley acquired the patent the following works were published:

John Wilbye: Madrigals to three, four, five and six voices

Thomas Weelkes: Ballets and madrigals to five voices

Giles Farnaby: Canzonets to four voices

Thus, to summarise: during the period of a free musical press (February 1596 - September 1598) madrigalian works by four English composers had been published -- Kirbye, Weelkes (two volumes), Wilbye and Farnaby -- in addition to Morley's own Canzonets (1597). Moreover, three anthologies of Italian madrigals were printed during this time: Yonge's Musica transalpina II (1597) and two editions of Italian madrigalian works edited by Morley himself, Canzonets or little short songs to four voices selected out of the best and approved Italian authors (1597) and Madrigals to five voices selected out of the best approved Italian authors (1598).

Between the time when Morley acquired the patent until 1602 the following works were published under his control:

- John Bennet : Madrigals to four voices (1599)
- Richard Alison : Psalms of David (1599)
- Anthony Holborne: Pavans, galliards, almaines and other short ayres (1599)
- John Farmer : Madrigals to four voices (1599)
- John Dowland : Second book of songs or ayres of two, four and five parts (1600)
- Thomas Weelkes : Madrigals of five and six voices(1600)
- Robert Jones : First book of songs and ayres of four parts (1600)

Richard Carlton: Madrigals to five voices (1601)

Furthermore, these years saw a substantial output from Morley himself. In 1599 he published his First book of consort lessons, made by divers exquisite authors, for six instruments to play together, a collection of pieces by various (un-named) composers for broken consort,⁷¹ which Morley edited and, presumably, arranged. The following year he issued second editions of his Madrigals (1594), and his Ballets (1595)⁷² and the first and only edition of his Ayres (1600). In 1602 he reprinted his Canzonets (1593).⁷³ The year 1601, however, saw what many regard as his crowning achievement, the publication of

Madrigals the Triumphs of Oriana to five and six voices:
composed by divers several authors. This was an anthology of madrigals in honour of Queen Elizabeth I which Morley compiled and edited. It contained twenty-five madrigals by twenty-three English composers, including Morley, himself, who, like Ellis Gibbons, provided two of the pieces, whereas all the other contributors composed one each for the collection.

The dedications in Morley's publications

It is reasonable to assume that an author or composer in Elizabethan England had some personal contact with the person to whom he dedicated a publication, at the least through the likely courtesy of seeking permission to use that person's name in the inscription. The dedications of Morley's volumes thus gives some insight into the people whom Morley considered influential in musical spheres and into those to whom he felt grateful for favours previously bestowed on him. We do not know whether an author or composer received a fee or a publication subsidy from his dedicatee but it is likely that the more illustrious the name used, the greater the selling power of the volume was thought to be. The tone of many of Morley's dedications might strike us as obsequious, but the fawning attitudes which we may detect were commonplace then in public inscriptions, so this aspect may be ignored. The contents of the dedications, however, are often informative.

The Canzonets (1593) were dedicated to the 'most rare and accomplished Lady the Lady Mary Countess of Pembroke.'⁷⁴ The dedication makes curious reading today: Morley's tone is at once humble and proud, direct and devious, and, for some of the time, it is not quite clear what he is saying. His choice of the Countess of Pembroke was probably determined by the esteem in

which she was held in cultural circles. It is tempting to go further than this and to speculate that Morley knew Lady Pembroke well, that he knew her famous brother, Sir Philip Sidney, and perhaps, even, that his Funeral anthems were specially written for Sidney's funeral.⁷⁵ However, no evidence exists to support a direct connection between Morley and the Pembrokes or with Sir Philip Sidney,⁷⁶ but it is certain that Lady Mary was a central figure in England's cultural life in the 1580s, and so her name as a dedicatee would count for a great deal.⁷⁷

The Madrigals to four voices newly published by Thomas Morley (1594) appears to have been published without a dedication. However, in 1962, Thurston Dart discovered that the set of part-books containing these madrigals preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, had once contained a dedication to 'The Right Honorable Sir John Puckering, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England' though its details have not survived. Thurston Dart believed that the Trinity set of part-books formed the presentation copy of the Madrigals (1594) and that Sir John Puckering, the dedicatee, for reasons unknown, refused to accept the dedication and ensured its withdrawal from all the other published volumes.⁷⁸ He suggests that the anonymous poem which does appear in the published Madrigals (1594) was inserted by Morley as a way of 'filling out the second preliminary leaf in the copies placed on public sale.' He surmises, too, that the poem might have been written by Morley himself, and that its recurrent themes of money and praise referred to the financial reward from the dedication which he had lost by its suppression.⁷⁹

The First book of Canzonets to two voices (1595) was dedicated to 'The most Virtuouse and Gentle Lady the Lady Periam.' This is one of the most straightforward and informative of Morley's dedications. It contains the only reference which Morley ever made to

his wife: the Canzonets (1595) were 'destinated', he says,

by my Wife (even before they were born) unto
your Ladyship's service. Not that for any
great good or beauty in them she thought
worthy of you: but that not being able as
heretofore still to serve you; she would
that these therefore with their presence
should make good & supply that her absence.

This makes it clear that Morley's wife had previously worked for Lady Periam and perhaps the simile with which he opens his dedication gives us a clue to the nature of her employment: '... these Canzonets of mine like two waiting maids desiring to attend upon you'. Unfortunately it does not tell us whether Morley's wife was in employment before her marriage or whether she had ceased to work through the necessity of caring for children. At face value it would seem that the choice of the dedicatee in this instance was determined by respect and gratitude to Lady Periam.⁸⁰ However, Morley's motive possibly extended beyond this, for Lady Periam's husband was the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and a person of such eminence could prove to be influential on Morley's behalf in the future.

As the dedicatee for his Ballets (1595) Morley chose Sir Robert Cecil⁸¹--a discerning choice, for he was a Privy Councillor under Elizabeth who wielded great influence at Court and nationally, and who, in due course, under James I, became the most powerful man in the kingdom for a considerable time. The dedication tells us little of significance: it is couched as a humble offering by a musician to an eminent person, whose mind was known to be 'much delighted with...music.' However, this contact with Cecil proved useful for Morley as it was to him that he wrote three years later, as we have seen, for help over the wording of the printing licence--
'My humble suit is that you would favour me once again...'
(see p. 41) -- help which it appears was forthcoming.

The Canzonets (1597) were inscribed to Sir George Carey (1547 - 1603) who was an important courtier in the closing years of the sixteenth century.⁸² This dedication is probably the most interesting of all. Firstly, it is clear that Sir George Carey was himself musical and Morley rather cleverly claimed that he had set the Canzonets (1597) 'Tablature wise to the Lute in the Cantus book for one to sing^{and play} alone when your Lordship would retire yourself and be more private' yet the standard mode of performance is also covered by Morley when he continues by saying that he knows his Lordship is never without 'great choice of good voices, such as are indeed able to grace any mans songs'. Secondly, and for our purpose, the more important aspect of this dedication, is Morley's reference to Sir George Carey's father:

...Of all those sweet and gracious favours
which tied me to that dear Lord your father
of happy and precious memory, I still hold
myself accountable to your Lordship, his
true and absolute successor.

Carey's father, Henry, had died the year before Morley published these Canzonets. A cousin of the Queen, Henry Carey had had a distinguished diplomatic and military career. Moreover, from 1588 until his death in 1596 he was Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's household. His predecessor as Lord Chamberlain had been Lord Howard of Effingham and his successor was his own son George. By judicious choice of dedicatees, therefore, Morley had, as it were, buttonholed two Lord Chamberlains in the 1597 dedication and was later to dedicate the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) to a third, Lord Howard of Effingham.⁸³ What 'gracious favours', we may wonder, had Sir Henry Carey bestowed upon Morley before his death in 1596? We may, not uncharitably, guess that they had much to do with Morley's appointment to the Chapel Royal and to his rapid promotion there, for the Lord

Chamberlain was the ultimate authority over the Chapel Royal. (The Dean and Sub-Dean were answerable to the Lord Chamberlain). Indeed, this acknowledgement of 'favours' received from the Lord Chamberlain may be the vital clue to our identification of Morley as the gentleman who had canvassed the Lord Chamberlain and thus sparked off the meeting in the vestry at Hampton Court described earlier on p.35, either by engineering his rapid promotion to gospeller by such means, or by securing his appointment to the Chapel Royal in the first place. The former seems more likely.

Morley's Canzonets Selected (1597) were dedicated to 'Master Henry Tapsfield, citizen and grocer of the city of London '... for the 'honest recreation' of himself and others. Nothing is known of Henry Tapsfield today but it is clear that Morley wished him to be remembered through the dedication on account of 'divers and many courtesies, from you to myself and my friends often received'. I imagine that Tapsfield was a man of some influence in the city of London. This is borne out by the fact that Morley addresses him in the title as 'The worshipful Master Henry Tapsfield' and, again, in the text of the dedication as 'your worship'. This might mean that Tapsfield was Lord Mayor of London but more likely that he was a civic dignitary-- a sheriff or a magistrate or perhaps the head of one of the city livery companies, for instance -- and it is probable that the courtesies he had bestowed upon Morley and his friends were musical engagements at civic functions. In any event this dedication is an interesting prelude to that of the Consort Lessons (1599).

The Introduction(1597) has the most endearing dedication of all: it is inscribed to the 'Most excellent musician MASTER WILLIAM BYRD, one of the Gentlemen of Her Majesty's Chapel'. In the inscription Morley makes it clear that he has dedicated this treatise to Byrd to make public his immense gratitude to his

former teacher and to let him know the 'entire love and unfeigned affection' which he extends to him. There were other reasons, too. Whilst Morley is prepared to accept criticism from Byrd about the contents of his book, he is not so prepared to admit criticisms from others if just destructive and mocking, for, he says, 'we live in those days where envy reigneth'. He openly acknowledges that he has issued the treatise behind the shield of Byrd as a defence against potential critics....: '... and set your name in the forefront... to abate the fury of many insulting Momists, who think nothing true but what they do themselves'. Despite all this, however, the affection and gratitude to Byrd is genuine. Consider, for instance, the following extract from the second part of the treatise:

...I would counsel you diligently to peruse those ways which my loving master (never without reverence to be named of the musicians) M. Byrd...⁸⁴

Unless it were genuine esteem there would have been no reason whatever to insert the words in parentheses; and how right Morley was to revere Byrd in this way!

Morley's edition of Madrigals selected (1598) was inscribed to Sir Gervase Clifton. He was M.P. for Huntingdon in a number of Parliaments and was made a peer in 1608. He was a keen musician like his wife, Katherine, for whom Dowland wrote four pieces of lute music.⁸⁵ The dedication begins with a saying in common use among musicians and writers of the period: 'Good Sir, I ever held this sentence of the Poet, as a Canon of my Creed; That whom God loveth not, they love not Music.' Morley then continues with a lengthy discussion on the art of music and the love of art. The intricacies of his argument need not concern us here; suffice it to say that he sees musical skills and the love of music as gifts from God. Additionally, the

dedication makes it clear that Morley regarded this edition quite modestly but promises to 'endeavour myself in my more serious successive labours, to merit that sweet favour of yours, which thus I do but preoccupate with these slighter travails.' We do not know for certain what 'serious successive labours' he had in mind, but the Consort Lessons and the Triumphs of Oriana are strong possibilities. Finally, it is interesting to note that the dedication is signed 'Thomas Morlei', though not 'Tomaso Morlei' as in the Italian edition of his Ballets (1595). This would seem to be a printer's error in a deliberate attempt to Italianise his name.

Morley's Consort Lessons (1599) were dedicated to 'The Right Honourable, Sir Stephen Some,⁸⁶ Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London and to the Right Worshipful the Aldermen of the same...'. The inscription which follows makes it clear that the pieces contained in the collection are suitable works for the City Waits, a number of instrumentalists retained by the Lord Mayor to provide musical entertainment at civic functions:

But as the ancient custom is of this most renowned city hath been ever to retain and maintain expert musicians, to adorn your Honour's favours, Feasts and solemn meetings; to those your Lordship's Waits... I recommend the same [works] to your servants careful and skilful handling.

The Consort Lessons (1599) contained a wide variety of pieces -- arrangements of popular melodies, marches, keyboard works, an Italian madrigal and one of Morley's own three-part canzonets.⁸⁷ Some of these could be performed with comparative ease by amateurs whilst others, particularly those which required improvisation, needed the expertise of professionals like the City Waits. The significance of the Consort Lessons and the full implications of the dedication have been thoroughly examined by Sydney Beck;⁸⁸ suffice it to say here that Morley was clearly increasing the scope of his editorial and publishing activities by marketing instrumental music

which would have use in the home, in the theatre⁸⁹ and in the banqueting hall. His alertness to the musical needs of his contemporaries is noteworthy and we may guess that his volume was well received. It was reprinted in 1611, some years after Morley's death; and in 1609 Philip Rosseter felt able to issue another volume of pieces for instrumental consort.⁹⁰ Indeed his inscription To the Reader refers to the success of Morley's Consort Lessons (1599): 'The good success and frank entertainment which the late imprinted set of Consort Books generally received, hath given me encouragement to second them with these my gatherings...'⁹¹

The Ayres (1600) were inscribed to Ralph Bosvile, 'Worthy and Virtuous Lover of Music' about whom nothing is known today. The inscription suggests perhaps that he was either one of Morley's admirers or even a pupil of Morley. It begins: 'Sir, the love which you do bear to my quality, proceedeth (no doubt) of an excellent knowledge you have therein'. This is not conceit on Morley's part for he continues to say that he does not deserve his reverence. However, it seems that Bosvile had helped Morley previously -- 'In recompense therefore of my private favours, I thought it the part of an honest mind, to make some one public testimony and acknowledgement thereof.' Alas, we have no means of knowing the nature of these private favours. Finally, the dedication tells us that Morley 'made' these ayres during his 'vacation time', which probably means the summer of 1600 as the Chapel Royal had a long vacation in the summer months: there were no weekday choral services between the end of June and the end of September.⁹² 'Made', of course, is ambiguous; it could mean composed or, alternatively, it could mean collected together, arranged and put in order.

As noted already, the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) were dedicated to Lord Charles Howard of Effingham (1536 - 1624), the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Household immediately before Henry Carey. At the time of the dedication he was Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland and Wales and a Privy Councillor. One of the Queen's closer advisers, he is most famous for commanding the fleet which triumphed over the Spanish Armada in 1588. The tone of the dedication is curious, a mixture of flattery of the dedicatee, of classical references and of Morley's chip-on-the-shoulder attitude towards his (anticipated) critics. He expects Effingham to pass judgement on the volume but obviously seeks protection of his name against critics:

I have adventured to dedicate these few discordant tunes, to be censured by the ingenious disposition of your Lordship's honourable rare perfection....may not by any means pass, without the malignity of some malicious Momus, whose malice (being as toothsome as the Adder's sting) couched in the progress of a wayfaring man's passage, might make him retire though at his journey's end.

It is tempting to interpret the image of the wayfaring man at 'his journey's end' as an autobiographical comment suggesting that Morley had a premonition of his approaching death.

Some speculations about Morley's acquaintances

As editor of the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) Morley must have made contact with each of his contributors, either by letter or in person. Each one, therefore, may be regarded as an acquaintance. How he came to know them in the first place, and why he chose some of them are mysteries whose solution will probably never be known. In addition to Morley himself there were twenty-two composers who contributed to the collection and, surprisingly, not one was a colleague of Morley at the Chapel Royal. He would have known ten of them through his printing associates, and, of these, eight had published works before 1601, and these had all used

printers that Morley had himself used; and most of these works would presumably have been vetted before publication by Morley as the holder of the printing patent since 1598. Morley used three printers for his publications, Thomas East,⁹³ Peter Short and William Barley.⁹⁴ The eight contributors who had published collections before 1601 are listed below, together with the names of their respective printers, and, as far as it is possible to estimate, their whereabouts in 1600/1601:⁹⁵

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------|
| (1) John Bennet
(?Cheshire) | <u>Madrigals to four voices</u> | 1599 Barley |
| (2) Michael Cavendish
(? Suffolk) | <u>Ayres to the lute</u> | 1598 Short |
| (3) John Farmer
(?Dublin?London) | <u>Madrigals to four voices</u> | 1599 Barley |
| (4) Robert Jones (?) | <u>First book of Ayres</u> | 1600/01 Short |
| (5) George Kirbye
(Bury St. Edmunds) | <u>Madrigals to four, five
and six voices</u> | 1597 East |
| (6) John Mundy
(St. George's
Windsor) | <u>Songs and psalms for
three, four and five voices</u> | 1594 East |
| (7) Thomas Weelkes
(Winchester) | <u>Madrigals to three, four
five and six voices</u> | 1597 East |
| | <u>Ballets and madrigals to
five voices</u> | 1598 East |
| | <u>Madrigals of five and
six parts</u> | 1600 East |
| (8) John Wilbye | <u>Madrigals to three, four
five and six voices</u> | 1598 East |

Of these, the last two call for special mention as they were quite the most distinguished composers of madrigals that England was to produce and, as they were both influenced by Morley -- at least in their earlier works -- they have for us a special significance. Wilbye spent some thirty years of his life in the service of the Kytson family at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk so one

might suppose he led a cloistered life there away from the main scenes of musical activity in London. This was not so. As his biographer has shown, the Kytson family also had a town house in London in Austin Friars and it was from here that he inscribed the dedication of his Madrigals to three, four, five and six voices in 1598.⁹⁶ Morley's residence in St. Helen's was less than a quarter of a mile to the east of Austin Friars so the likelihood of Wilbye knowing Morley personally is greater still. The connection between Weelkes and Morley on the other hand is less easy to trace, for during the years immediately before the appearance of the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) Weelkes was employed as organist of Winchester College. However, he may have used his vacations to attend to the publication of his madrigalian works and would almost certainly have met Morley on these occasions. It was probably from such meetings that a friendship developed between them, a friendship which eventually led Weelkes to write A remembrance of my friend Mr. Thomas Morley which he included in his Ayres or fantastic spirits published in 1608. Though Weelkes did not write the words of this elegy, which begins 'Death hath deprived me of my dearest friend', we have no reason to doubt that the musical setting, singularly beautiful and sad, was made as a heartfelt tribute to a great friend who had died.

In addition, it is generally believed that Michael East the composer was the son of Thomas East the printer and if so Morley would probably have known him personally. Michael East published collections of his own madrigals later (in 1604, 1606 and 1610). The only other contributor he would have known through his printing contacts was Richard Carlton whose Madrigals to Five Voices were published in 1601. Carlton is of interest to the biographer of Morley on two accounts. Firstly, Morley is cited as the printer in Carlton's Madrigals and his address is given as Little St. Helen's

which gives added strength to the view that the parochial registers already mentioned really do refer to Thomas Morley the musician. Secondly, however, the case of Carlton strengthens Morley's link with Norwich. Born c.1558, Carlton became ordained and became a minor canon at Norwich cathedral where he was also master of the choristers.⁹⁷ Carlton was not a distinguished composer so it is reasonable to assume that personal acquaintance rather than outstanding musical merit drew Morley to obtain Carlton as a contributor to the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) and to publish his Madrigals to five voices.

In addition to those named above, only one more contributor was to publish any music in his lifetime -- Thomas Tomkins. Although based in Worcester in the 1590s; Tomkins, it seems, studied with Byrd in London between 1594 and 1596⁹⁸ and during those years he probably established a wide circle of influential friends which, as his biographer states

...began to influence his career at the close of the sixteenth century, and secured for him a place in the illustrious group of composers who contributed madrigals to the Triumphs of Oriana...⁹⁹

Apart from William Cobbold the remaining contributors to the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) are of comparatively little interest for our present purpose, except that they show how far afield Morley's contacts extended. They are listed below with estimates, where possible, of their whereabouts in 1600/01:¹⁰⁰

William Cobbold (Norwich)	John Lisley (?)
Ellis Gibbons (?)	George Marson (Canterbury)
John Hilton (Cambridge)	John Milton (London)
John Holmes (Winchester)	Richard Nicolson (Oxford)
Thomas Hunt (Wells?)	Daniel Norcombe (Windsor or Denmark)
Edward Johnson (?)	

The particular interest of William Cobbold is that his presence in the list of contributors reinforces Morley's Norwich connections. 'He was born in Norwich in 1560 and became organist of Norwich Cathedral in 1599. Nine years later he resigned this office and became a lay clerk, retaining this position until his death in 1639'.¹⁰¹ At the time when Morley was organising the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) Cobbold was the organist of Norwich Cathedral, and Carlton, master of the choristers there. It is not surprising, therefore, that that they should reciprocate by buying 'new singing books, Morley's Service' as the account books for 1599/1600 show.¹⁰² Again, the link between Morley and Norwich Cathedral is strengthened.¹⁰³

There were forty-eight Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal whose years in office coincided in whole or in part with Morley's (1592 - 1602). It is reasonable to suppose that he knew them personally. However, of the forty-eight, only six merit mention here.

Behind almost every aspect of Morley's career and achievement stands the fatherly figure of Byrd who was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal for over fifty years (1570 - 1623); and because of the attention he necessarily receives elsewhere in this thesis it suffices to note just one point about him here which has been overlooked by other students of Morley. Over a hundred years ago Dr. Rimbault noted that

At one period Byrd was an inhabitant of the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopgate, and resided opposite to Crosby Hall, and adjoining the garden of Sir Thomas Gresham...¹⁰⁴

Subsequently he quotes the following extracts from the register of the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopgate, which, he says, possibly relate to Byrd's family:

The burial of 'Walter Byrd, the son of William Byrd, the 15th day of May, A.D. 1587'

The burial of 'Alice Byrd, the daughter
of William Byrd, the 15th day
July, A.D. 1587'

If, in fact, these entries do relate to Byrd the composer then it means, for a time, anyway, Byrd was resident in the very parish where Morley was to live. It means, too, that Byrd was living there at the time that Morley left Norwich. Is it not possible, therefore, that Morley came to London to commence, or resume, studies with Byrd in preparation for his B.Mus. which, as we already noted, he obtained in the following year (1588)?

Nathaniel Giles and John Bull were, after Byrd, Morley's most distinguished musical colleagues at the Chapel Royal. Both were fine organists and composers, and Bull, I suspect, was probably as much a rival as a colleague to Morley, particularly when the appointment to the first Gresham professorship was in the offing.¹⁰⁵ Morley would have been a most suitable choice for the position; so, too, was Bull, especially with his double doctorate and his renown as a keyboard player; and Bull was appointed!¹⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that Sir Thomas Gresham lived in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopgate, too: and on his death he bequeathed his house to the City of London to be used as a college with seven resident professors, one of whom was to be a musician.

The other three colleagues who should be mentioned in any study of Morley are John Amery, John Baldwin and George Waterhouse. All of them were no doubt competent musicians in their own time, though none is remembered for this today. John Amery's appointment to the Chapel Royal in December 1595 would have brought Morley into contact once again with a former colleague from Norwich with whom he had once been in dispute (see p.17) though perhaps old differences between them had been forgotten in the intervening years.¹⁰⁷

John Baldwin is remembered primarily by a music book he compiled by hand and which is preserved today

in the British Library as 'Baldwin's Manuscript'. It consists of sacred and secular works by both English and continental composers of his time, as well as pieces which he wrote himself. He compiled it over a considerable number of years. It contains a motet, Gaude, Maria virgo, which he attributed to Morley. In 1594 Baldwin joined the choir of the Chapel Royal where, we can assume, he would have made Morley's acquaintance.

George Waterhouse was Morley's friend as well as a colleague, and according to Anthony Wood he had spent several years in the Chapel Royal 'in the practical and theoretical part of music (and had) supplicated for the degree of bachelor, but was not, as I can find, admitted'.¹⁰⁸ The implication that the Queen's Chapel was a place where one studied is interesting, and whether or not he graduated he was certainly skilled at counterpoint, particularly at writing canons; Morley extols him thus:

...my friend and fellow, Mr. George Waterhouse, upon the same plainsong of 'Miserere' for variety surpassed all who ever laboured in that kind of study, for he hath already made a thousand ways (yea and though I should talk of half as many more I should not be far wide of the truth) every one different and several from another; but because I do hope very shortly that the same shall be published for the benefit of the world and his own perpetual glory I will cease to speak more of them...¹⁰⁹

and

...I so shortly look for the publication in print of those never enough praised travails of Mr. Waterhouse, whose flowing and most sweet springs in that kind may be sufficient to quench the thirst of the most insatiate scholar whatsoever.¹¹⁰

Morley evidently liked and admired Waterhouse much and one wonders why the canons were never published. Morley held the printing patent and obviously intended to publish them for him.¹¹¹ Waterhouse died in 1602 so perhaps it was Morley's preoccupation with his Consort Lessons (1599), Ayres (1600) and, finally, the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) which prevented his doing so.

Anthony Holborne was 'Gentleman Usher' to the Queen¹¹² and a composer. No doubt Morley would have dealt with him in the course of publishing his Pavans, galliards, almaines and other short ayres (1599) and their acquaintance is confirmed by the fact that Holborne wrote a verse 'in commendation of the author' which was printed in the Introduction (1597). Of the three commendatory poems which precede Morley's address to his readers only Holborne's has the poet's full name; the other two have but the initials of the poets.¹¹³ It is probable that Morley and Holborne became acquainted through the Chapel Royal.

The question of whether Morley knew Shakespeare and whether they collaborated, and, if so, to what extent, has been debated at length over the last fifty years or so. Until such time as new evidence comes to light the question will remain unanswered but will certainly survive as a matter for interesting debate. There is no call for the present writer to add to the speculation but it will be useful to set down the few facts of the case and to summarise the more convincing theories that to date have been advanced.

As already noted, there were a number of references to Thomas Morley in the registers of St. Helen's Bishopgate, London, and it is reasonable to assume that these refer to the composer. Shakespeare, too, lived for a time in the parish of St. Helen's Bishopgate. That both he and Morley lived in this parish at some time is substantiated by the occurrence of their names in the Assessment Rolls for 1598.¹¹⁴ Among the parishioners whose possessions qualified them for tax there were three whose wealth was such that they were assessed at £30.00, five at £20.00 and seventeen at £3.00 as well as others at, for example, £10.00. There were only three in the class where possessions were assessed at £5.00, which at the prevailing rate of 2/8d. in £1.00 meant a liability to pay 13/4d tax: Walter Briggen, William Shakespeare and [continued overleaf]

Thomas Morley. The final fact in this matter is the one that has caused the greatest speculation and controversy, namely, that against twenty names in the list was placed the prefix 'affid' including that of Morley and Shakespeare.¹¹⁵ No-one knows for certain the exact significance of the prefix, even though it was probably an abbreviation of 'affidavit'. Some scholars, like Elton¹¹⁶ and Arkwright¹¹⁷ interpreted the prefix to mean that such parishioners marked with 'affid' appealed against assessment. Others, like M.S. Guiseppi,¹¹⁸ maintain that it meant that such persons were noted as not having paid the tax due; and, in the case of Shakespeare, this was probably because he had moved away from the parish. Philip Gordon quotes an authority, Dr. Adams, who maintains that 'before 1596 Shakespeare lived in St. Helen's, Bishopgate, that by 1596-7 he had ceased to do so, and that before October 1599 he was living on the Bankside in the liberty of the Clink'.¹¹⁹ The chances are that both Morley and Shakespeare eventually paid their taxes, and, for our present purpose, the sole significance of the Assessment matter is that Morley and Shakespeare may have been acquainted through their sometime residence in the same parish and that their standard of living at the time was comparable. The Assessment question does not place them any more closely together than this.

The names of musician and dramatist are further linked by two songs in Shakespeare's plays which have led some to suppose that they collaborated. The song 'O mistress mine' (Twelfth Night, Act 2, scene 3) features as an instrumental piece in Morley's Consort Lessons (1599) but with only the three title words cited and with no composer named.¹²⁰ The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book contains a set of keyboard variations by Byrd on 'O mistress mine'.¹²¹ However, the fact that the variations are by Byrd is no guarantee that he wrote the theme--indeed, such variations were almost invariably based on popular

tunes--no more than its presence in his Consort Lessons (1599) means that Morley wrote it either. The two versions of the theme -- Byrd's and Morley's -- have so much in common that there is no doubt that they both are treating the same tune. However, beyond the first three words there is no further direct connection with the words the clown sings in Twelfth Night. Philip Gordon has convincingly shown that the tune used by both Byrd and Morley is 'structurally incompatible' with Shakespeare's words. However, he concludes that if 'as has been suspected, there was an earlier form of the song, this tune could conceivably be related to it. But that would still be remote from connecting Morley rather than Byrd or anyone else with the composition of it.'¹²²

Secondly, and in most respects more straightforward, is the case of 'It was a lover and his lass' which the pages sing in As you like it (Act 5, scene 3), and which features as the sixth song in Morley's Ayres (1600) (see p.242) However, there are still some questions which remain unanswered: did Shakespeare write the lyric for the play or did he use one already in existence by himself or by another author? Was Morley's music used in the first performance of the play? (As you like it was 'probably acted at the Globe in the autumn of 1599',¹²³ We gather from the dedication of Morley's Ayres (1600) that they were composed in his 'Vacation time' 1600. There is thus a problem, unless Morley in fact wrote this one song earlier, which is not impossible. Alternatively, Morley might have attended a performance of As you like it, admired the lyric, and subsequently set it to music. Or, of course, musician and poet might in fact have known each other and It was a lover and his lass have been the result of collaboration.

Our knowledge about Morley and Shakespeare, then, amounts to two facts: firstly that both, for some time, lived in the same parish and secondly, that Morley set a lyric, which Shakespeare used in one of his plays,

as an Ayre 'to sing and play to the lute, with the bass viol'.

Thomas Morley and Roman Catholicism :a note

Was Thomas Morley a Roman Catholic for some or all of his life? This question has been considered so thoroughly in two articles by David Brown¹²⁴ and Thurston Dart¹²⁵ respectively that it will be of little benefit to re-state their careful explorations here in detail, especially as I have been unable to trace any additional documentary evidence to confirm or refute their views.¹²⁶ However, for the sake of giving as complete a picture of Morley's biography as I can, it will be useful to summarise these articles and to add one or two observations of my own.

David Brown and Thurston Dart felt that it was quite likely that Morley was at heart a Roman Catholic but that his concern for personal advancement over-rode, even if it did not totally destroy, his adherence to the Faith. In the final analysis, therefore, one can only speculate that he may have been a Roman Catholic, at the least in the earlier part of his career -- to, say, 1590 -- and that subsequently it is really impossible to tell.

David Brown's exploration follows two main leads: the relatively high proportion of Morley's compositions with Latin texts (and their generally meritorious quality) compared with his music for the Anglican rite and with the relatively few Latin works that the other English madrigalists composed; and the meaning of the word 'reconciled' in the Paget letter as 're-converted', which he was the first to suggest. Thurston Dart showed that the nature of the Latin texts which Morley set confirmed that his '... religious beliefs were fundamentally those of the older Church...' since two texts were 'out-and-out Marian' and the remainder were:

...almost without exception deeply penitential--the anguished prayers of a sinner, weighed down by his guilt, yet still daring to trust in God's infinite mercy.¹²⁷

Morley's quest for self-advancement and the sometimes dubious methods he used in the process caused a sense of remorse which is illustrated by the Latin texts he set.

I accept without further examination the evidence provided by the Latin motets of the strong possibility that Morley was a Roman Catholic. The Paget letter, however, merits full quotation because it is one of the very few pieces of documentary evidence which relate directly to Morley's biography :

Extract from the letter written in the Low Countries by Charles Paget to 'Mons. Giles Martin; Frenchman, London'. October 3 1591 ¹²⁸

There is one Morley that plays on the organ(s) in paul's that was with me in my house. He seemed here to be a good Catholic and was reconciled, but notwithstanding suspecting his behaviour I intercepted letters that Mr. Nowell wrote to him whereby I discovered enough to have hanged him. Nevertheless he showing with tears great repentance, and asking on his knees forgiveness, I was content to let him go. I hear since his coming thither he has played the promoter and apprehends Catholics.

The suggestion for a reply to the above letter by Thomas Phellippes, secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham:¹²⁸

It is true that Morley the singing man employs himself in that kind of service... and has brought diverse [several/many] into danger.

David Brown's interpretation of the above extracts, put very briefly, is that Morley had been a lapsed Catholic and, known as such by Paget, would have been a good choice as a government agent to infiltrate Catholic centres on the Continent; he would be accepted there as genuine if he could claim to have been reconverted (reconciled) to the Faith. This would be much more

convincing than someone who merely claimed to be a Catholic. It appears that Morley sought out the names of Catholics in England and on his return reported them to the government. This makes very good sense, especially the implication by the word 'reconciled' that Morley had once been a Catholic. Whether he had been born so is questionable, but even if not, his time as a pupil of Byrd, an acknowledged Catholic, might have made him one in his childhood or youth.

Above and beyond all this, however, some mystery surrounds the Paget incident. Charles Paget was himself a Catholic, but he must have been himself a double-agent, for we find him corresponding with the English government. Sir Francis Walsingham was the key figure in the Queen's notorious spy network. It is hard for us today in a tolerant society to appreciate the situation in Elizabethan England. Basically there seem to have been two levels of Roman Catholicism from the government's viewpoint. On the one hand were what we might call straightforward, sincere adherents to the Old Faith who, after all, were only to be expected; at this level moderate checks could be made to contain them by recusancy laws and fines. In this category can we see Tallis and Byrd, known Catholics, who were tolerated and even promoted to the highest musical positions in the royal musical establishment and who were granted a printing patent. On the other hand, there was a level of Catholicism which could not be tolerated at all, that with strong political overtones, associated with intrigue and plot to overthrow the monarchy and see it replaced by Spanish rule as well as the authority of the Pope. The great difficulty for the historian, and even more so for the government of the time, was where was the

line drawn between these two levels? Moreover, and this is even more relevant for our present purpose, we have to imagine the dilemma in which sincere Catholics were placed at this time and the compromise solution which so many in England must have adopted between loyalty to one's country and loyalty to one's Church. Thousands there must have been who chose outward conformity to the Establishment and inner allegiance to the Old Faith. They would have satisfied their consciences, at least up to a point, by saying to themselves either that it was the same God that an Anglican and Roman Catholic worshipped, or that the forms of worship mattered less than what was in their hearts. These considerations we must remember before we condemn Morley's activities in 1591, especially as we know so little of the circumstances which led to him to be in Paget's house. However, it is certainly tempting to connect his espionage role in 1591 with his election to the Chapel Royal a year later. Was it reward for services rendered or was it an appreciation of his musical talents -- or indeed both -- which opened the door of the Chapel Royal for him?

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned the letter that Philip Brett discovered from Edward Paston who lived at Thorpe-by-Norwich to the Earl of Rutland dated 3 August 1587 in which he recommended as a suitable virginal teacher for his daughters one 'who was placed at Norwich Organist. And by my persuasion, he hath left his room to come to your L.'¹²⁹ The proximity of this date to that detailed earlier when Morley received his last payment at Norwich and vacated his accommodation there is remarkable, and, for our present purpose, it is interesting that the Paston family not only possessed a substantial collection of music books, including Italian madrigals, but was also known to be Roman Catholic.

Edward Doughtie has traced a further connection between Morley and Catholicism in the Ayres (1600) where Morley set a poem by Robert Southwell -- a Jesuit martyr who was executed in 1595.¹³⁰ With my love my life was nestled (No.4) was taken from Mary Magdalen's complaint at Christ's death which was printed in Saint Peter's complaint, with other poems (1595) by Robert Southwell. Doughtie sees the fact that Morley set this poem soon after Southwell's death as relevant to the composer's feelings about Catholicism. Moreover, though he admits that all Morley may have intended to write was a love-song, which is what it ostensibly is, the selection of Southwell's stanzas and the order in which Morley places them does enable the song to be interpreted as 'Morley's address to the Catholic Church'.¹³¹ However, the musical tone of the piece makes this doubtful.

In the foregoing pages I have summarised all the known information and views which relate to the possibility of Morley having been a Roman Catholic, and of the various arguments offered I find the use of 'reconciled' (i.e. re-converted to the Faith) quite the most convincing indication that Morley had in youth and early manhood adhered to the older Faith. However, whatever the truth of this matter may have been, the really important issue is his undoubted Christianity and his genuine conviction that church music -- whether to a Latin or an English text -- should aim to

...draw the auditor (and especially the skilful auditor) into a devout and reverent kind of consideration of Him for whose praise it was made.¹³²

The Death of Morley

The date of Morley's death has long been a matter of conjecture and will probably always remain so, unless some new and absolutely conclusive evidence comes to light. It will be useful, nevertheless, to state briefly the material which relates to the various conjectures that have been made.

Morley had certainly died by 1608, for in that year Weelkes published his Remembrance of my friend Mr. Thomas Morley referred to earlier. However, there is nothing to tell us when Weelkes composed this six-part elegy, and, indeed, David Brown is of the opinion that this and the two preceding pieces in the Ayres or fantastic spirits were added after the general scheme of the volume had been completed.¹³³ If the elegy had been the only addition then this would have suggested that it was a very recent composition; as, however, it was not, the chances are that Weelkes used the Ayres of 1608 as an opportunity for publishing three pieces which had been written earlier. His most recent publication before this was in 1600 -- Madrigals of five and six parts -- so from this point of view the elegy might have been composed anytime between 1600 and 1608. However, the text of Death hath deprived me of my dearest friend helps narrow this time-scale a little. It was written by John Davies of Hereford as a 'Dump upon the death of the most noble Henry, late Earl of Pembroke' who died in 1601. The words were printed in his Wits Pilgrimage (?1605).¹³⁴ Thus, even if Weelkes came across the text before it appeared in print, he could scarcely have known it before 1601 at the very earliest.

We know for certain, too, that Morley was replaced as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal by George Woodson who was sworn into 'Thos. Morley's room' on 7 October 1602.¹³⁵ The suggestion has been made that Morley resigned his place in the Chapel Royal yet there is no evidence to support this view, and very few precedents of a Gentleman resigning from his office. Appointments were held for life and it was usual for Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal to die in office. It is likely, therefore, that Morley died sometime shortly before 7 October 1602.

The evidence provided by publications made

under Morley's printing patent is less reliable. In 1606 Morley's Canzonets (1593) were 'newly imprinted with some songs added by the author'.¹³⁶ Some scholars have assumed from the additions that Morley must have been alive in 1606 to add these to the original volume. However, Philip Brett has shown that the 1606 edition merely copied the title-page of the 1602 edition of the Canzonets (1593),¹³⁷ so the argument for a post-1606 date of death is thus invalid as the additions had been declared by 1602. Secondly, Dowland's Third book of songs (1603) was the last book to be published 'by the assignment of a patent granted to T. Morley'.¹³⁸ This, again, is not conclusive evidence of Morley's involvement in the publication of Dowland's book in 1603 because on 29 May 1600 Morley had assigned rights under his patent to Thomas East for three years, and, in the same year, Peter Short (who printed the Dowland volume) was given permission to print some music 'by the assent of ' Morley.¹³⁹

That Morley was alive in 1601 is indisputable, for in that year it was stated on the title-page that Carlton's Madrigals to five voices (1601) were 'printed by Thomas Mörley dwelling in Little St. Helen's.' It is curious that Morley's name is given as the printer but more important for our present purpose that he is said to be 'dwelling' in Little St. Helen's, because this implies that he was alive then.

For many years it was believed that an entry in the archives of the Prerogative Court granting a 'Commission to administer the goods etc. of Thomas Morley, late parishioner of St. Botolph's, near Billingsgate,' to his widow, 'Margaret Morley' dated 25 October 1603 probably referred to Thomas Morley the musician.¹⁴⁰ Such a belief, however, had a weakness -- the name of the widow, Margaret, did not accord with the name of his wife in the baptism and burial entries in St.

Helen's Bishopgate referred to earlier. This entry, to be acceptable, necessitated the guess that Morley had married twice. Whilst not impossible, it was dubious, especially as the parish was also different.

Much more recently Philip Brett has located other evidence which, though still by no means conclusive, is more convincing than the above. He has discovered letters of administration in the Act Book of the London Archdeaconry Court dated 11 October 1602 to 'Susan Morley' of the parish of St. Andrew's Holborn.¹⁴¹ Though the parish does not seem right, the name of the widow fits, and it is possible that Morley -- or just his widow -- moved away from their earlier dwelling in St. Helen's Bishopgate. The date of the letters of administration, too, coincides well with the date of Morley's replacement in the Chapel Royal. If, therefore, the Brett discovery does relate to the widow of Thomas Morley the composer then he died in the early autumn of 1602. However, as I stressed earlier, there are many Morleys in the surviving parish registers of the City of London of this time and Susan's late husband is not named here so we cannot be certain that these letters of administration relate to Thomas Morley the composer.

The case for 1602 being the year of Morley's death is strengthened, however, by references to his ill-health in various passages which he wrote during the five or so years preceding this date. In the Introduction (1597), which we may with some justification interpret as autobiographical, he referred to the condition of his health. Philomathes, the pupil, has arrived at the home of the Master (Morley) requesting tuition, and his opening greeting -- ' But how have you done since I saw you?' -- receives this reply:

Master My health since you saw me hath been so bad, as if it had been the pleasure of Him who may[?]all things to have taken me out of the world I should have been very well contented, and have wished it more than once. 142

This moving passage suggests real suffering. Again, at the end of the third part of the Introduction (1597) we may notice the benediction which Polymathes gives to the Master:

Polymathes The same Lord preserve and direct you in all your actions and keep perfect your health, which I fear is already declining. 143

I can see no reason for Morley writing the last six words here unless he felt they were true.

In the address 'to the courteous reader' which precedes the first part of the Introduction (1597) Morley lists the reasons why he began to write the book. His final reason is relevant to our present purpose:

Lastly, the solitary life which I lead (being compelled to keep at home) caused me to [be]glad to find anything wherein to keep myself exercised for the benefit of my country. 144

Again this suggests that Morley was suffering from some physical disability or just poor health which kept him at home. The use of the word 'solitary' is interesting. Of course, it might just mean that he was cut off from the fellowship which he would derive from his work as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; on the other hand, it might be taken more literally to mean that he lived at home alone, in which case, where were his wife and children? Despite the immense erudition of the Introduction (1597), Morley the man frequently comes to the fore, whether it be as a person with a deep religious conviction, as one with a sharp tongue, as one with a warm friendliness and an engaging sense of

humour or as one with an obsession about rivals and critics; and, indeed, he is clearly all of these. Yet, and this has always struck me as curious, there is not one reference in the whole volume to his wife or family. Indeed, the sole reference to his wife by the composer that we have encountered was that contained in the dedication to the Canzonets (1595).

Three years after the Introduction (1597) was published Morley again refers to ill-health in the address 'to the reader' in his Ayres when he cites 'God's visitation in sickness' as one of the reasons why he had recently been kept busy.

The references to poor health mentioned above and the strong possibility that he died in 1602 underline even more his remarkable achievement as the editor of the Triumphs of Oriana (1601); indeed, when we review the achievement of his sunset years -- these plus the Consort Lessons (1599) and the Ayres (1600) -- then we might well interpret the 1601 volume as Morley's ultimate personal triumph.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. J.Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, second edition (London, 1823), vol.2, p. 199.
2. Morley, Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS MUS. e, 1-5, the 'Sadler' manuscript written in 1585.
3. The facts concerning the Thomas Morley of Norwich are taken largely from the thorough and scholarly article by H.Watkins Shaw, 'Thomas Morley of Norwich', Musical Times (September 1966), pp. 669-72, with due acknowledgement. The primary sources cited in this part of the thesis were either personally examined by Dr.Shaw or by his associates. He is most cautious about identifying the Morley in his article with the famous composer of that name though he makes some valuable speculations.
4. Shaw, op.cit. p.670 gives a transcript of the relevant part of Norwich Cathedral Ledger Book 3, 5.82.
5. F.Ll.Harrison, letter to Music and Letters, vol.42(1961), pp. 97-8, provides these dates which he recorded himself from the cathedral archives. Watkins Shaw, op.cit., confirms them by year. Paul Rutledge kindly verified them for me: he is an archivist in the Norfolk Record Office. At my request he sought a Morley signature but in vain. However, he did confirm that Thomas Morley received his salary as Master of the Choristers between 1582 and 1583 and between 1586 and 1587. Unfortunately members of cathedral staff were not required to sign on receipt of an appointment or salary.
6. Harrison, op.cit.p.98: Account Rolls for 1583-84.
7. Harrison, op.cit. p. 98 specifies that John Amery was a lay clerk at Norwich Cathedral as follows:
 - (a) 1575-1597/8
 - (b) For one quarter in 1600/01
 - (c) For three and a half quarters in 1601/2
8. Harrison, op.cit.p.98, who quotes from Extracts from the two earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, edited by J.F.Williams and B.Cozens-Hardy (Norfolk Record Society, vol. 24, 1953). Shaw, op.cit.p. 670, refers to the same document: Chapter Book 1 f. 87.
9. Quoted from Shaw op.cit.p. 672. The letter from Paston is HMC 24 Rutland letters vol. 1, p.223. Dr.Philip Brett drew Dr.Shaw's attention to this letter. The letter is also referred to in W. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth I to Charles I (Princeton, 1953), p. 269.
10. Shaw, op.cit. p. 672.
11. (a) A.Smith, 'The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: an Annotated Register', Research Chronicle of the Royal Musical Association, No.5 (1965), p. 15: the names of only two Children of the Chapel Royal in Elizabeth's reign are known. However, there is considerable evidence to show that able choristers from provincial cathedrals were recruited as Children of the Chapel Royal.

- (b) J. West, Cathedral Organists Past and Present (Revised edition, London, 1921) p.70, states that Morley was a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral.
- (c) W. Gratton Flood, 'New Light on Late Tudor Composers', Musical Times (March 1927) p.228 states that Morley was a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral under Sebastian Westcott.
- Unfortunately neither West nor Flood cited any evidence for Morley being a chorister at St. Paul's.
12. D. Brown, 'The Styles and Chronology of Thomas Morley's Motets', Music and Letters, vol. 41 (1960), p. 217 n.4 comments on Morley's rapid promotion as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.
 13. Visitations of Norfolk 1563, 1589, 1613, Harleian Society Publications, vol. 32 (1891).
 14. J. Case, Apologia Musica (1588), p. 44. Quotation taken from D. Poulton, John Dowland (London 1972) p.395. Dr. Case was an Oxford scholar who subsequently turned to a medical career.
 14. Some confusion exists over the precise date of their graduation. Some authorities, including D. Poulton, specify 8 July. This almost certainly derives from A. Wood, Fasti Oxoniensis (1691). Others state that it was 6 July, which date has been preferred in this thesis as it is confirmed as such in the Congregation Register in the Oxford University archives. Information kindly supplied to me by the Archive staff.
 16. Poulton, Dowland, p. 28.
 17. Ruth Vyx of the University Archives, Oxford, kindly verified that no signature by Morley exists in the Subscription Register of the university. Records of 'freshmen' acknowledging Royal Supremacy and assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles survive; but the requirements for a degree in music varied considerably during the latter part of the sixteenth century, the constant one being that candidates had to have spent some years in the study of music, but these probably did not have to be spent in Oxford, and so we would not expect Morley to sign as a 'freshman'. However, it is likely that candidates for a degree in music, like all other graduands, would have to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles and Act of Supremacy before being admitted to their degree. Weelkes, for instance, who graduated B.Mus. in 1602 from Oxford, signed his assent to the Act of Supremacy (see D. Brown, Weelkes, p.25, n.2) but no record of Morley having done so in 1588 survives.
 18. I have not verified this entry: it is cited in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1907) vol.3, p. 264, and in subsequent editions of this work.
 19. Morley, Canzonets to two voices (1595): the dedication makes it clear that Morley was married by 17 November 1595.
 20. Nicholas Yonge, editor of Musica transalpina, was a vicar choral of St. Paul's for many years in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and he lived in the Parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill. This was slightly further away (to the East) of St. Paul's than the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

21. The Registers of St. Helen's, Bishopgate, Harleian Society Publications (London, 1904): item(1)-p.7; (2)-p.262; (3)-p.8; (4)-p.9.
22. J. Dover Wilson, editor, Life in Shakespeare's England (Cambridge, 1920) p.5 quotes Sir Thomas Smith's De Republica Anglorum (1583): '...as for gentlemen, they be made good cheap in England. For whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, who studieth in the universities, who professeth liberal sciences, and to be short, who can live idly and without manual labour, and will bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman, he shall be called master, for that is a title which men give to esquires and other gentlemen, and shall be taken for a gentleman'...
24. Nevertheless, we should constantly remember that 'Thomas Morley' was quite a common name, then, as now. For example, the Registers of St. Vedast, Foster Lane-- also near St. Paul's--include the following entries which are unlikely to refer to the musician but nevertheless might do so:
 - 1 March 1600: Baptism of Elizabeth Morley, daughter of Thomas Morley
 - 31 October 1602: Baptism of Ellen Morley, daughter of Thomas Morley
 - 16 September 1604: Baptism of Mary Morley, daughter of Thomas Morley
23. It is interesting to note that Thomas Weelkes finally described himself as a gentleman in his Will: D. Brown, Weelkes, p.44.
25. D. Scott, The Music of St. Paul's Cathedral (London, 1972), p.13.
26. J. Nichols, Progresses, vol.3, p.119. Nichols reprinted this description of the Elvetham entertainment made by John Wolfe in 1591.
27. State Papers, Dom. Elizabeth, vol.240, No.19.
28. *ibid.* No.53.
29. This is probably a reduction from 'lay vicars choral'.
30. West, Cathedral Organists, p.69
31. Scott, Music of St. Paul's, p.13.
32. A. Petti, 'Peter Philips, Composer and Organist 1561-1628' Recusant History, vol.4, No.2, p.48. * (1957-58).
33. Petti, 'Peter Philips' p.48: the Will is transcribed in vol.4 of Musical Antiquary and here the suggestion is made.
34. Scott, Music of St. Paul's p.13: the date of the commission to impress choristers was 26 April 1585.
35. *ibid.* p.14.
36. West, Cathedral Organists, p.69, implies that Giles's appointment ended in 1590 and that he was replaced by Morley. This cannot have been the case unless Giles changed to being just a singer when Morley came on the scene, which is unlikely.
37. Smith, 'Annotated Register', p.35: Pearce had been a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1589 and made the unusual move of leaving the Chapel Royal to assume the St. Paul's position.

38. Morley, Introduction, p.259: his reference to St.Paul's is interesting. When criticising the English cadence he says '...if you will but walk to St.Paul's Church you shall hear it three or four times in one service if not in one verse.' This shows Morley's acquaintance with the music at St.Paul's, and if his role there had been as singer or organist (or both) he would have had no authority over the choice of music performed, so we need not see this reference as self-criticism.
 39. Morley, Introduction, p.322.
 40. Smith, 'Annotated Register' p.14 gives a good summary of the staffing and holidays of the Chapel Royal choir.
 41. A.Rowse, The Elizabethan Renaissance: the Life of the Society (London, 1971): chapter 2 gives an excellent account of all that characterised Elizabeth's Court.
 42. E.Rimbault, The Old Cheque-Book or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal, Camden Society III (London, 1872), reprinted by Da Capo Press (New York, 1966), p.5. The information re. Robert Green(e) is from Smith, 'Annotated Register' p.26.
 43. Rimbault, Cheque-Book, p.34.
 44. Epistoler was the person who intoned the Epistle, the Gospeller, the Gospel, at the service of Holy Communion.
 45. Rimbault, Cheque-Book, p.64, quotes the transcript of the meeting.
 46. Brown, 'Styles and Chronology', p.217, n.4.
 47. *ibid.* Dr. Brown's quotation from the Liber Niger Domus Edw.IV was quoted in Ordinances of the Royal Household, Edward III to William and Mary, Society of Antiquaries (London, 1787), p.50.
 48. Smith, 'Annotated Register', p.13
 49. Rimbault, Cheque-Book, p.6.
 50. *ibid.* p.26, transcribes the entry dated 19 February 1594/5 which makes it clear that Woodson was a counter tenor.
 51. (a) R.Steele, The Earliest English Music Printing (London, 1903).
 - (b) E.Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, 1554-1640 (London and Birmingham, 1915 and 1923).
 - (c) J.Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, Appendix.
 - (d) D.Krummel, English Music Printing 1553-1700 (London, 1975).
- Much of the information in this section is taken from (d) above with due acknowledgement.
52. Steele, p.22.
 53. Krummel, p.16 et passim.
 54. P.Clulow, 'Publication dates for Byrd's Latin Masses', Music and Letters, 47 (1966) p.1 ff.
 55. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal p.261 maintains that 1597 saw more new musical publications than any year before Playford's time. Krummel, while supporting the view that 1597 was a very productive year has shown that 1609 actually surpassed it in the number of musical publications.

56. Krummel, p.22, and Steele, p.27: Rot.Pat.40 Eliz., p.10, m.18.
57. E.Fellowes, The English Madrigal Composers (London, 1921), p.177.
58. Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield House', HMC Cecil (London,1899) 8, p.273.
59. Steele, pp.27-28: the patent is transcribed in full (Rot.Pat. 40 Eliz.). The patent was listed in the Decrees and Ordinances of the Company of Stationers on 6 October 1598.
60. Morley, Introduction, pp.130-31.
61. William Barley, The Whole Book of Psalms (London,1599). Richard Alison, The Psalms of David in Metre (London, 1599).
62. Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Calendar of the MSS...of the Marquess of Salisbury', HMC Cecil (London, 1902) p, p.373.
63. Krummel, pp.24-25, for details.
64. *ibid.*, p.24.
65. Indenture dated 29 May 1600.
66. M.Dowling, 'The Printing of John Dowland's Second Book of Songs or Ayres', The Library, 4th.series, vol.12, No.4 (March 1932), p.366.
67. Dowling: the details which follow are taken from this work with due acknowledgement.
68. Father of the famous brothers, Henry and William Lawes.
69. D.Robertson, Sarum Close (London, 1938, reprinted Bath, 1969).
70. R.Thurston Dart, 'Foreward' to A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music by Thomas Morley, edited by R.A.Harman,(London,1952,1963,1966), p.xvi,n.1.
71. A broken consort implied a group of instruments not of the same family. The Consort Lessons (1599) were scored for treble lute, pandora, cittern, bass viol, flute and treble viol.
72. Morley's Ballets (1595) were also published in a German edition in 1609 at Nuremberg by Valentin Haussmann.
73. Morley's Canzonets (1593) were reprinted on two further occasions, 1608 and 1631.
74. Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke (1561-1621) spent most of her childhood at Ludlow Castle. In 1577 she married Henry Herbert, Second Earl of Pembroke, and moved to Wilton House, near Salisbury.
75. Sidney died on 17 October 1586 and was buried in St.Paul's Cathedral in February 1587. As noted earlier, Morley's stipend as Master of the Choristers at Norwich ceased on Midsummer day, 1587; in May of that year his house in Norwich Close had been leased to one Thomas Browne at which time it was described as 'late in the tenure of Thomas Morley',so it is conceivable that Morley had already started work at St.Paul's as early as, say, New Year's day, 1587, in which case he might well have been present at Sidney's funeral.
76. Enquiries at Wilton House, the ancestral home of the Pembroke family, have led to nothing as no papers survive earlier than the seventeenth century.

77. T.Lever, The Herberts of Wilton (London, 1967) and The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney edited by W.Ringler (London, 1962) both give considerable support to this view. Morley set one Sidney poem in his Ayres (1600).
78. Sir John Puckering (1544-1596) was strongly anti-Catholic. Perhaps Morley's connection with Catholicism was the cause of the suppressed dedication.
L.Ruff and D.Wilson, 'The Madrigal, the Lute Song, and Elizabethan Politics', Past and Present, vol.44 (1969), pp.15-16, have suggested that Puckering was closely involved in press censorship (illicit printing and disguised political allusion) and for this reason could not risk being the dedicatee of Madrigals (1594).
79. R.Thurston Dart, 'A Suppressed Dedication for Morley's four-part Madrigals of 1594', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, vol.4 (1963) pp.401-405, from which this summary has been made with due acknowledgement, gives a detailed account of the suppressed dedication.
80. Lady Periam was almost certainly Lady Elizabeth Periam, sister of Lord Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and third wife of Sir William Periam who was Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer under Queen Elizabeth. She seems to have been a generous patron of learning. She endowed a fellowship and two scholarships at Balliol College, Oxford. (Information kindly supplied by P.W.Ellis, Exeter Area Librarian).
81. Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612), son of Elizabeth's great Secretary of State, William Cecil (Lord Burghley) served the Queen from 1591 and, in 1596, was himself appointed Secretary of State.
82. Sir George Carey, second son of Lord Hunsdon, was, amongst other titles, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, and a Privy Counsellor. Of particular interest was his role of patron of the Company of Actors, known as the Lord Chamberlain's Men, of which Shakespeare was a member.
83. The Carey family were quite popular as dedicatees: in addition to the Morley volume, Byrd's Songs of Sundry Natures were dedicated to Henry Carey in 1589, and Dowland inscribed his First Book of Songs or Ayres to Sir George Carey in 1597. Woodfill, Musicians, p.69, has suggested that if the Careys did not keep a professional musician in residence, the teaching of young Johnson (who was indentured to them as a servant boy to be taught music) may have been entrusted to one or more of the musicians at Court--Morley or Byrd, perhaps.
84. Morley, Introduction, p.202.
85. Poulton, Dowland, p.400.
86. That the Lord Mayor's surname is identical with that of Morley's presumed stepmother is probably of no more significance than a remarkable coincidence.

87. See, see mine own sweet jewel (Canzonets 1593 No.1) appears as Join Hands in Morley's Consort Lessons (1599).
88. The First Book of Consort Lessons by Thomas Morley reconstructed and edited by S. Beck (New York, 1959). See Beck's Introduction, especially.
89. R.Thurston Dart, 'Morley's Consort Lessons of 1599', Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 74 (1947), pp.1-9; and n.88 above.
90. Lessons for Consort, edited by Philip Rosseter (London, 1609).
91. Beck, Introduction, p.4: source of quotation.
92. Smith, 'Annotated Register', p.14.
93. Throughout this thesis the spelling 'East' is used in preference to 'Este' which was used originally in Morley's publications.
94. Morley used the three printers as follows:

<u>Canzonets</u> (1593)	:	Thomas East
<u>Madrigals</u> (1594)	:	" "
<u>Ballets</u> (1595)	:	" "
<u>Canzonets</u> (1595)	:	" "
<u>Canzonets</u> (1597)	:	" "
<u>Canzonets Selected</u> (1597)	:	Peter Short
<u>Introduction</u> (1597)	:	" "
<u>Madrigals Selected</u> (1598)	:	Thomas East
<u>Consort Lessons</u> (1599)	:	William Barley
<u>Ayres</u> (1600)	:	" "
<u>Triumphs of Oriana</u> (1601)	:	Thomas East
95. The estimates of the composers' whereabouts are taken from:

Fellowes:	<u>English Madrigal</u>
Fellowes:	<u>English Madrigal Composers</u>
Brown :	<u>Weelkes</u>
Brown :	<u>Wilbye</u>
	<u>Grove's Dictionary and New Grove</u>
96. D.Brown, Wilbye (London, 1974), p.9.
97. Fellowes, English Madrigal, p.87
98. D. Stevens, Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656 (London, 1957, reprinted New York, 1967), p.29.
99. Stevens, Tomkins, p.29: Tomkins owned a copy of Morley's Introduction which, with his annotations, is preserved in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford.
100. Estimates of 'whereabouts' from same sources as in n.95.
101. E.Fellowes, The English Madrigal (London, 1925 and 1935), p.88.
102. Woodfill, p.143 n.

103. The link between Morley and Norwich Cathedral is further strengthened by a reference to Osbert Parsley (1511-1585): Morley gives as an example 'the plainsong of the hymn "Salvator mundi" broken in divisions, and brought in a canon three parts in one by Osbert Parsley'. (Introduction, p.178). It is curious that Morley selected an example by Parsley who was, it seems, a prolific but minor composer. However, Parsley was a Norwich man and a lay clerk in the cathedral there for fifty years. It is tempting, therefore, to wonder whether Parsley taught Morley in Norwich.
104. Rimbault, pp.190-91.
105. Sir Thomas Gresham (c.1519-1579) is also famous as the founder of the Royal Exchange. Bull held the first professorship in music between 1596 and 1607.
106. West, p.53: Bull obtained a doctorate in music from Cambridge (c.1591) and Oxford (1592).
107. Smith, Annotated Register pp.40-41 provides much information about Amery. He became a bass lay clerk at Norwich in 1576 and was appointed Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on 4 December 1595, in which position he remained until his death in 1623.
108. A.à Wood, Fasti Oxoniensis (1691)p.257. It is clear from Rimbault, p.195, that Waterhouse was among those present at the Vestry Meeting in 1592 at Hampton Court.
109. Morley, Introduction, p.202.
110. *ibid.*, p.308.
111. Harman, Morley, Introduction, p.308, n.1, states that there are two manuscript copies of the canons, in the University Library, Cambridge, and in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, respectively, both bequeathed by Waterhouse.
112. He was described as 'Gentleman Usher' to the Queen in his Variety of Lute-Lessons (1602).
113. These are 'A.B.' and 'I.W.'.
114. C.Elton, William Shakespeare and his Family and Friends (London,1904) p.218 ff. from which the facts rather than the author's interpretation thereof have been taken. I accept these as facts as E.Fellowes publicly declared that he examined the original rolls: Musical Times, February,1938, p.138.
115. Fellowes, Musical Times, p.138.
116. Elton, William Shakespeare, p.218 ff.
117. G. Arkwright, Grove's Dictionary, (London,1907), vol.3, p.265. It is worth noting that Arkwright cites a second Assessment Roll, dated 1600, for the same parish, in which Shakespeare is not listed but Morley is; and, again, his goods were valued at £5.00 with an assessment of 13/4d.
118. E.Brennecke Jnr. in a letter to Musical Times, February 1938, p.138, cites an article (which I have not read) by M.S.Guiseppi in Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, vol.5 (1929).
119. P. Gordon, 'The Morley-Shakespeare Myth', Music and Letters, vol.28, p.121, quotes Dr.Adam's findings.
120. Beck, pp.148-49.
121. The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, edited by J.Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire (London,1899,republished by Dover Publications (New York,1963), vol.1,pp.258-62.

122. Gordon, p.124.*
123. J.Quincy Adams, Life of William Shakespeare (Boston, 1925), p.290.
124. D.Brown, 'Thomas Morley and the Catholics: some speculations', Monthly Musical Record (March/April 1959), pp.53-61.
125. R.Thurston Dart, 'Morley and the Catholics: some further speculations', Monthly Musical Record (May/June 1959), pp.89-92.
126. In 1976 I surveyed all the relevant volumes of the Catholic Record Society for mention of Morley as a listed recusant and found none. In particular I investigated the First and Second Diaries of the English College Douay, edited by the Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, with an historical introduction by Thomas Francis Knox (London, 1878). Again I found no mention of Thomas Morley, though I did locate a reference to Charles Paget in a document covering the year 1594.
127. Dart, 'Morley and the Catholics', p.92.
128. Both letters are quoted from Brown, 'Morley and the Catholics' pp.55-56 though I have rendered the extracts into modern English. The references of the documents are:
 Paget letter: State Papers, Dom.Eliz., vol.240, No.19
 Reply : State Papers, Dom.Eliz., vol.240, No.53
129. P.Brett, 'Morley, Thomas' in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, edited by S.Sadie (London, 1980), vol.12, p.579.
130. E.Doughtie, 'Robert Southwell and Morley's First Book of Ayres', Lute Society Journal, vol.4 (1962), pp.28-30.
131. Doughtie, p.29. Morley set stanzas 5, 4 and 3 of Southwell's poem in that order. The Southwell poem had seven stanzas in all (p.28).
132. Morley, Introduction, pp.292-93.
133. Brown, Weelkes, p.121.
134. EMV p.270.
135. Rimbault, p.6.
136. Morley, Canzonets (1593), title page of 1606 reprint.
137. Brett, New Grove, p.580
138. Poulton, p.273.
139. Krummel, p.25.
140. Arkwright, Grove's, p.365.
141. Brett, New Grove, p.580. He gives the reference for the letters of administration: GB-Lgc 9050/3, f.165r.
142. Morley, Introduction, p.10.
143. *ibid.*, p.299.
144. *ibid.*, p.5.

* See also:

S. Beck, 'The Case of "O Mistress mine" ', Renaissance News, VI (1953), pp. 19-23. 'Discussion' by John H. Long in VII (1954), pp.15-16.

V. Duckles, 'New light on "O Mistress mine" ', Renaissance News VII (1954), pp.98-100.

Thomas Tomkins Keyboard Music edited by S.D.Tuttle, Musica Britannica V (1973), p.158 where Tomkins's list of keyboard music in his possession is transcribed. The list included 'Mr Birches O Mistress myne I must'.

III. WORKS WITH LATIN TEXTS: 1

There are twelve extant motets by Thomas Morley and all but two have survived complete. Four were published as illustrations in Morley's Introduction (1597) and the remainder survive in manuscript sources only.¹ Two of the manuscript motets can be dated with some reliability; for the others, the sources offer little guidance in this matter, and so any attempt to date them must be based on evidence of style.

Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum and Domine, Dominus noster survive in manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.² Both are ascribed to Thomas Morley and dated 1576, and, as we have seen, a note on the second alto part of Domine, non est exaltatum states that it was composed by Morley when aged nineteen. These ascriptions and dates are of great importance: they not only give the sole evidence of Morley's year of birth, but are also the only instance in the whole range of Morley's compositions of a specific year of composition. (All other works can only be said to have been written by a particular date of publication). Moreover, the two motets in question offer stylistic evidence that they were written by a student composer. They thus represent two examples of Morley's work long before any madrigalian influence from Italy was likely to have affected his style. On the other hand, they contain evidence that Morley had studied the Cantiones Sacrae published by Byrd and Tallis in 1575.

These early motets employ psalm texts: Domine, Dominus noster (Ps.8 in the Book of Common Prayer) and Domine, non est exaltatum (Op. cit. Ps.131). The latter sets the complete psalm, whereas the former uses just

part of the first verse. In the Roman liturgy Domine, Dominus noster is the Communio (the antiphon sung just before the Communion) for the Monday in the second week of Lent. Both motets are written in the Dorian mode (transposed) and are scored for five voices, S A1 A2 T B. The two texts are very different in character though the music does not reflect this difference.

Domine, Dominus noster is composed in the continuously imitative texture of the continental motet;³ and it is in the imitative procedures that the young Morley's lack of expertise is first evident. Throughout there is a lack of ^{the} symmetry in the placing of entries and consistency in shape of point in the imitations that are to be found, for example, in many Tallis motets in Cantiones Sacrae (1575). In the initial exposition, for instance, Morley attempts something of this but falls hopelessly short in his endeavour. Tenor and soprano manage a passable imitation at the octave -- albeit quite widely-spaced in time -- but the first alto's entry is lengthened and the two sections of the point are here separated by a minim rest. When, at last, the fourth voice (bass) enters, the melodic contour of the point entirely disappears and becomes a downward leap of a fifth, presumably to effect the V - I harmonic progression at this moment. When the fifth voice (second alto) enters for the first time it is with the newly-shaped point initiated just previously by the bass. There soon follows a counter-exposition, still setting just the first three words, and in this the first word is set to no more than a repeated note. The second part of the phrase continues as before, but, in fact, only three voices announce the newly-shaped point; when the bass enters with significant material for but the second time to date (CM p.24: 17/3) it is with its original leap of a fifth, pointing another full close.

In the remainder of the motet, three more main areas of imitations occur (on 'quam admirabilis', 'est nomen tuum' and 'in universa terra') and, to a large extent, similarly inexpert handling is characteristic. At one point, Morley introduces a pair of entries in strict canon (S and A1 CM p.25: 7 - p.26: 2/2) but the effect of this procedure is totally lost when he deploys the same canon again a few bars later, between the second alto and soprano, because the soprano merely repeats the same phrase, at the same pitch, sung only a few bars earlier in the first canon.

When not engaged in points of imitation, the five voice-parts indulge in tedious free movement which tends to keep the music flowing, but with little sense of direction; that is, until the final bars of the motet are reached when a magnificent climax is achieved. It so happens, however, that the last five bars of this motet are identical with the end of Byrd's motet Libera me Domine et pone me (Cantiones Sacrae 1575) apart from minute adjustments to suit the underlay of the different text (Examples 3 and 4).⁴ It is significant that this borrowing has passed unnoticed for so long; this is clearly because Morley's motet, though technically inferior, is so similar to Byrd's stylistically that the listener is unaware of having moved from one work to another.

In addition to inexpert imitations and the rambling, diffuse nature of the free parts, other factors indicate that Domine, Dominus noster is the work of a student composer. The range of some of the individual voice-parts, especially that of the second alto, far exceeds the expected vocal compass of Morley's time (an octave plus an additional third at one end). His soprano part ranges from b to f' and the second alto from c to b in the original pitch. Such excessive range suggests a student composer because it is impractical.

Admittedly Morley had learned by 1576 to achieve

variety in a five-part texture by reducing his counterpoint to four and even three strands from time to time, keeping the full, five-part texture for selected moments. However, despite this, his bass leaves a great deal to be desired: it is silent for a third of the motet, and elsewhere it does little more than provide a harmonic prop for the whole. Indeed, it is the sudden liberation of the bass at the conclusion of the motet which suggests that this passage is probably from another work. Whilst Morley certainly tried to integrate his bass into the polyphonic texture by involving it in some imitations, he failed to write an interesting line for it, and it is here that we may notice a substantial difference from Byrd who wrote exciting bass lines in his motets in Cantiones Sacrae, without any detriment to the harmonic clarity of the whole.

A further aspect which distinguishes Byrd's virile counterpoint from Morley's immature writing is the rhythm of the individual voice-parts. Morley's vocal lines, for the most part, plod away aimlessly in minims and semibreves with only an occasional crotchet figure to enliven the movement; but Byrd's lines in Libera me, for example, seem self-propelled in their organic growth into faster crotchet and quaver movement.⁵ Compare, for instance, the opening phrase in the soprano part in Morley's Domine, Dominus noster with that in Byrd's Libera me (Examples 5 and 6). On the other hand, in Morley's voice-parts, there is the occasional hint that he is seeking to write lines which grow organically. For example, there are a number of instances where faster movement momentarily develops out of a dotted note, as in Byrd's energetic lines; the difference is that Morley's so often peter out once the faster movement has begun, whereas Byrd's move forward inexorably.

It is worth observing here that there are two

small points of technique that Morley uses in Domine, Dominus noster which, to a large extent, are absent in his mature madrigalian compositions: the 'nota cambiata' figure and the anticipation of the note of resolution during a suspension formula -- hence-forward referred to as an anticipation. There is, of course, nothing special in their occurrence in sacred music of this period: they are to be found in both English and European music. However, not only does Morley dispense with both devices in his madrigalian works, but in Domine, Dominus noster they occur with some frequency, particularly the anticipation. This motet, though long for its text, is not a long piece of music, yet in its fifty-seven bars there are six instances of the cambiata figure and no less than sixteen anticipations. This suggests a young composer finding his way in a style whose most distinctive feature is its fluidity and to this end such devices contribute, in addition to their endowing individual voice-parts with some character.

In an attempt to achieve constancy of flow and consistency of style in this motet Morley is largely successful. Although his imitations are too loose to integrate the texture satisfactorily, as noted earlier, he succeeds in overlapping his phrases well even if, at times, this is achieved by isolating a word or syllable from its context to provide 'covering material'. It will be noticed, for example, that the second entry of the tenor (CM p.23:2/3 - 5) is segmented into three; whereas this idea was originally conceived as one phrase (see initial entries of tenor and soprano CM p.22). The third segment setting 'noster' satisfactorily covers the fourth pulse beat of the bar which otherwise would have been completely static. (CM p.23:5/4)

It is by very frequent use of suspensions that Morley achieves much of the flow in this motet; indeed, were it not for a preponderance of V - I

progressions in this piece it would flow very well indeed as a result of the abundance of suspensions. Most of the time these are handled well. Occasionally, however, they involve technical weaknesses which strongly suggest an inexperienced composer, as, for example, where the soprano and first alto move in parallel fourths (CM p.26: 7/4 - 8/1), an ungainly effect which is exacerbated by the fact that the third of the harmony is lacking at the moment of dissonance (CM p.26 8/1).

There seems to be no question that Domine, non est exaltatum was written by the same composer as Domine, Dominus noster: ubiquitous V - I progressions, suspensions and anticipations; a dull, restricted bass part; two wide-ranged alto parts; and a general impression of diffuseness and excessive length are the obvious characteristics of both motets. Furthermore, close scrutiny reveals that the opening expositions of both pieces are organised in the same way and use almost identical material: Example 5 may be compared with Example 7. The similarity of material and procedure is immediately apparent. Why the openings of these two motets should have been so similar is not known. Perhaps Morley set himself the task of re-working the same opening material to gain experience; or perhaps his teacher recommended it as useful practice. The similarity is so striking that mere coincidence may not be accepted as the explanation. However, though it is not without technical weaknesses, Domine, non est exaltatum is the more successful composition and was probably composed after Domine, Dominus noster.

Though both motets may aptly be described as examples of continuously-imitative polyphony, both are based on a harmonic substructure. This, of course, is equally true of the motets by Byrd in Cantiones Sacrae (1575), but it is more apparent in the two Morley motets because the voice which at any given moment supplies

the bass of the texture is so evidently fulfilling a harmonic function. Morley's inability to disguise this in these two youthful motets results in the uninteresting character of the bass part, with its restricted range most of the time, and its predilection for leaps of perfect fourths and fifths. Morley's madrigal language was essentially harmonic, and it is interesting to observe that early evidence of a fundamentally harmonic approach is available in these two early motets. Another composer, Robert White (d.1574), also set Domine, non est exaltatum, and in fact this motet immediately precedes Morley's in the 'Sadler' manuscripts. Morley's version resembles White's in one tiny melodic aspect; otherwise they are quite different. A comparison between their opening expositions illustrates how much more harmonically-orientated Morley's is than White's which seems to have been more intervallically than harmonically conceived (Examples 7 and 8).

Though Morley's early motets lack the technical assurance and quality of idea and invention of Byrd's items in Cantiones Sacrae (1575) they nevertheless show an affinity with Byrd's motets in their harmonic rhythm. It would be tempting for the musical historian to state summarily that the characteristics and function of harmonic rhythm in the English madrigal were absorbed from the Italian madrigal. However, this would be quite misleading as far as Morley is concerned, because, as these motets show, he, like Byrd in the Cantiones Sacrae (1575), was already employing patterns of harmonic rhythm in the 1570s which were to underly the majority of Morley's madrigalian compositions some twenty years later. Harmonic rhythm is the term used to describe the rhythmic effect of the frequency with which harmonies change. The rate of chord change bears considerable relationship to the speed at which a piece of music moves; and, in general, the slower the rate of chord

change the more flexible can the melodic lines become. Moreover, subtle variations within a prevailing pattern of chord changes sometimes account for much of the emotional impact of a particular work. An analysis of the harmonic rhythm of Byrd's Libera me from the Cantiones Sacrae (1575) and of Morley's Domine, non est exaltatum reveals that in both motets a semibreve rate of harmonic change predominates, interspersed with occasional changes into faster and slower rates (original note values). It also shows that both composers shift into a dotted semibreve rate which gives an additional subtlety to the harmonic rhythm.

The detailed criticisms made of the Domine, Dominus noster also apply to Domine, non est exaltatum, with one important exception. Though much longer, the latter motet has much more innate sense of direction and greater coherence than the former. Two factors help explain this. Apart from the rather loose opening, the imitations in Domine, non est exaltatum are more tightly controlled than in the shorter motet; such control is further enhanced by Morley taking a word from the middle or end of a textual line and using its rhythm as a subsidiary imitative motive within the broad area of music devoted to that line of text. This is very effectively done with 'oculi mei' which occurs, initially, in an unobtrusive way at the end of the phrase setting 'neque elati sunt oculi mei' (CM p.31:3). Subsequently, the dotted figure setting 'oculi mei' becomes a motive in its own right and helps to unify the texture (CM p.32:7 - p.33:5). In Domine, Dominus noster, however, the composer seemed content to let the head of a phrase suffice for the whole of an imitative section, with the result that the continuations after the imitations sometimes become rambling and diffuse.

It would appear, too, that Morley took account of tonal considerations in the structure of Domine, non est

exaltatum; at the very least he seems to have planned a substantial central portion away from tonic tonality as the following Table makes clear:

TABLE 9
The tonal organisation of Domine, non est exaltatum

Bars	Main tonal zone	Line of text predominantly associated with tonal zone
1 - 21	I (min.)	Domine, non est...
22 - 50	fl.VII (maj.)	Neque elati sunt...
51 - 64	I (min.)	Neque in mirabilis...
65 - 79	III (maj.)	Si non humiliter...
80 - 122	fl.VII (maj.)	Sed exaltavi...
124- 144	(varies: III/fl.VII)	Sperat Israel...
145 - 156	IV (min.)	Ex hoc nunc et...
157 - 161	I (min.)	In saeculum.

Reference: CM pp.29 - 48

The two early motets seem very much to have been written by the same composer, as noted earlier; but, we must ask, do they offer any tangible signs of having been written by Morley the eventual madrigalist? Quite clearly they are far removed from the madrigal in spirit and manner; but in a few points of detail it is possible to find in Domine, non est exaltatum some hints of the later Morley. Consider, for example, the quite remarkable moment when all voices come to a halt, and then, after a momentary silence, declaim in block chords 'sicut ablacti sunt' (CM p.41:6). A sudden change from imitative textures to homorhythmic declamation is almost a commonplace in Morley's madrigals;

it is a predominant facet of his musical sensibility. Yet here is an example of a similar sensibility at work in a piece written in the composer's youth. Moreover, the three bars which follow 'sicut ablacti sunt' and which effect the return to a contrapuntal texture are quite madrigalian in character, particularly where the two upper voices fall in parallel thirds against the rising crotchets in the bass (Example 9). This may be compared with an excerpt from Hark, jolly shepherds (No.17 in Madrigals 1594) to appreciate how madrigalian this passage seems (Example 10). Such similarity is important: firstly because it suggests that some features of madrigal style existed in Morley's music long before the madrigal became established in England; and, secondly, because it helps to prove that Morley, the madrigal composer of the 1590s, was also the composer of the early motets. Thomas Morley was not an uncommon name in the sixteenth century as we have seen, and the only evidence to link the composer of the manuscript motets with the composer of madrigals is that of style.

There is one harmonic progression which occurs quite frequently in Morley's works and which is distinctive enough to be regarded as a hallmark of his style. It occurs in Domine, non est exaltatum (Example 11). This may be compared with an excerpt from The fields abroad (Madrigals 1594 No.10) where the same procedure is used (Example 12). On the other hand, however, there are in these two motets a number of harmonic incidents which set them apart from the main corpus of Morley's compositions both sacred and secular, particularly the latter. They serve, above all, to place these motets firmly in the English polyphonic tradition which culminates in the Latin works of Byrd and, indeed, well illustrate the influence which the latter composer had on the young Morley. They are significant, too, as details of

technique which the mature Morley came largely to reject. The evidence for this is primarily the absence of such incidents in his later music and, also, in some cases, his attitudes expressed in the Introduction (1597).

All the incidents selected for discussion have two things in common: firstly, they are moments of harsh dissonance, and, secondly, they are all explicable in so far as they result from the logical movement of individual voice-parts; or, to put it another way, they arise from a preoccupation with the linear aspect of the music on these occasions. Moreover, the majority of these incidents occur comparatively frequently in the works of Byrd.

'False relations' have a long history and are inextricably bound up with the traditions of 'Musica Ficta'. For the present purpose, two kinds of false relation will be distinguished: 'successive' and 'simultaneous'. An example of the former may be noted at the conclusion of Domine, non est exaltatum (CM p.48:7), where the successive false relation between soprano and first alto results in a cadential formula which is so prevalent in English church music of the Elizabethan period that it has been called the 'English cadence', though earlier instances are to be found in mid-century latin motets by Tallis, for example.⁶ Byrd's music contains a large number of English cadences⁷ and if he read Morley's Introduction, which is very likely in view of its dedication and the author's request for Byrd to exercise his 'deep skill in censuring of what shall be amiss',⁸ he would no doubt have smiled at Morley's attitude to the English cadence formula expressed there:

...nowadays it is grown in such common use as divers will make no scruple to use it in few parts whereas it might well enough be left out,⁹ though it be very usual with our organists.

He refers to the matter again when his pupil Philomathes has presented an exercise containing an English cadence:

...and your last two bars you have robbed out of the capcase of some old organist; but that close, though it fit the fingers as that the deformity whereof may be hidden by flourish, yet is it not sufferable in compositions for voices, seeing there be such harsh discords taken as are flat against the rules of music.¹⁰

Commentators on Morley's attitude to the English cadence have shown that there is some inconsistency between his views as a theorist and teacher (as expressed in the Introduction) and his practice as a composer. Alec Harman, for instance, states:

It is surprising that Morley should criticize this particular form of cadence so vigorously, as it is so characteristic of the English school, and in fact he uses it himself several times.¹¹

H.K. Andrews, also, remarks:

Morley, despite his uncompromising attitude, allows the formula to appear on some occasions in his own work. Seven instances have been noted in the madrigalian pieces, and a moderate number may be found in the Latin motets and English service settings, even in four-part writing.¹²

Whilst there is no denying the inconsistency, it is perhaps significant that the majority of the instances in the motets occur in those which the present writer considers to be early works. The madrigalian instances occur in the Madrigals (1594). Two occur in No.13, though one is merely a duplication of the other in a repeated section; and five are to be found in Nos.21 and 22, the pieces that were added in the 1600 edition of Madrigals (1594). It is certain that No.13 was composed by 1594, and, the others, stylistically, are very different from the contents of the 1594 publication. In fact one scholar has suggested that they are early works, dating possibly from before 1590.¹³ Morley's attitude in 1597 thus might well have been perfectly genuine: in his earlier compositions he followed

the fashion by using the English cadence himself, but as his style crystalised in his maturity he came to reject the formula as an unnecessary mannerism.

Other successive false relations occur in the two 1576 motets though not in cadential situations. Simultaneous false relations which are absent in most of Morley's published works, may be noted in Domine, Dominus noster (CM p.27:1/2 between A2 and T for instance). Andrews cites examples from Taverner, Tallis, Tye and White and suggests that Palestrina and the Franco-Netherland composers in Italy in the earlier sixteenth century seem to have avoided the idiom. Byrd, however, used it, often to a very beautiful effect as in the 'miserere mei' section of the motet Ave Verum Corpus.

Domine, Dominus noster also provides an instance of Morley momentarily creating an augmented fifth harmony although, as stressed earlier, an incident such as this arises from the movement of the individual voice parts (CM p.24:4/3-4). The c in the second alto which causes the effect is probably better interpreted as an unprepared suspension rather than an upper auxiliary; had it been the latter it would probably have been a shorter note. The incidence of this chord in Elizabethan and Jacobean music is not uncommon, but this is the sole instance I have discovered in the works of Morley. The best known occurrence of the chord is in Gibbon's The silver swan at the word 'against', where its expressive effect is considerable.

Less effective moments of dissonance than those cited above are to be found in the two 1576 motets and, in so far as such moments are not to be located in Morley's subsequent compositions, they may be regarded as signs of his inexperience in 1576. Invariably such moments arise through suspensions. For instance CM p.23:7/1 shows a cluster of three adjacent notes sounding in the two alto and tenor parts at the moment

of dissonance in a suspension formula. The effect of the suspension is consequently much reduced.

Three of Morley's motets survive in manuscript in the collection Tristitiae Remedium which was compiled in 1616 by Thomas Myriell. Neither the date of compilation nor the wide range and large number of its contents provides any clue to the date of composition of the Morley items contained in it. Of these, De profundis clamavi and Laboravi in gemitu meo are clearly the works of an accomplished composer and will therefore be discussed in Chapter 9. The third item in Tristitiae Remedium, Nolo mortem peccatoris, is less substantial a work and is more fittingly discussed here.¹⁴ Its most striking features are its macaronic text, its simplicity and its rather curious mixture of chordal and imitative writing. Texts consisting of alternate verses in Latin and English were set in pre-Reformation times¹⁵ but later examples are rare: Weelkes's Gloria in excelsis Deo, though lacking the verse/refrain character of Nolo mortem peccatoris, shows that a mixed Latin/English text was occasionally used in post-Reformation times. Morley's text is a short piece of religious verse of unknown authorship which underlines the Christian message of salvation through the death of Jesus on the Cross. Christ in his agony pleads to God the Father:

Nolo mortem peccatoris:

Haec sunt verba Salvatoris. (I am unwilling for the
death of a sinner:/
these are the words of
the Saviour.)

Father, I am Thy only Son,
Sent down from Heaven Mankind to save;
Father, all things fulfilled and done
According to Thy will I have;
Father, my will now all is this:
Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Father, behold my painful smart,
 Taken for Man on every side:
 Even from my birth to death most tart
 No kind of pain I have denied,
 But suffered all, and all for this:
 Nolo mortem peccatoris.

I have never been completely convinced that Morley composed this setting. Stylistically it has no exact parallel in Morley's whole output, and in many respects suggests an earlier composer, of, say, the generation of Tallis. On the other hand, the details which point to an earlier composer are to be found in other compositions by Morley. It may be, therefore, that Morley did compose Nolo mortem peccatoris but, for some reason, chose a rather archaic style for its setting. Until the time that fresh evidence appears to confirm or refute Myriell's ascription of the piece we will assume that it was the work of Morley.¹⁶

Certainly the composer has responded to the poem with a sensitivity that is largely lacking in the two 1576 motets. Indeed, one is tempted to say with the sensitivity of a madrigalist except that the warmth that is to be found even in Morley's most serious madrigals is completely absent here; instead, the effect is austere and the atmosphere dry. Both the chordal and the imitative sections are presented in a manner of refined simplicity. The imitations, which at first appear rather pedestrian, are in fact very carefully wrought, and range considerably in presentation from a single-voice lead followed by a three-part response in which ^{the} bass imitates the leader's point (CM.p.18:7/4) to a pattern of paired-voice entries, superbly handled, in the final statement of the refrain (CM p.20:9 - p.21:5). The precision with which Morley effects these imitative sections, and the economy of the material he uses overall, give the impression of a more mature composer than do the two 1576 motets.

On the other hand, however, the shape of three of

the imitative points, outlining a seventh, suggests the melodic figures employed from time to time by mid-century composers in England. Example 13 shows the opening of Tallis' When shall my sorrowful sighing¹⁷ and Example 14 quotes an extract from Tye's Acts of the Apostles;¹⁸ their affinity with passages in Nolo mortem peccatoris is immediately apparent (see CM p.19:3-5, for instance). At the same time, such melodic shapes also link Nolo mortem peccatoris with Domine, non est exaltatum (CM p.35:2/1 A1 and p.44:3/2 A1), and even with a much later work, She straight her light green silken coats, the first two bars of which are identical with the reference in Nolo mortem peccatoris given above (ELS 16 p.7:1-5).

The simultaneous false relations in Nolo mortem peccatoris suggest that it is a comparatively early work though they are clearly used here for deliberate expressive effect, particularly the second instance (CM p.19:5/2), so little weight should be given to these in any attempt to date this piece.

Nolo mortem peccatoris is designed in a rondo-like structure, though it is not just the recurrence of the Latin refrain which effects this; it is also achieved by a small but important musical element. The 'Nolo mortem peccatoris' refrain is set to different music each time it occurs; but on each occasion the top-voice part concludes with the same four notes (e d csh. d in CM) and to Morley's credit, these four notes are harmonised slightly differently each time.

In modern editions Nolo mortem peccatoris is scored either S A T B or A T T B. Of these, the latter is the more suitable combination as the rather dark sonority achieved by performance with men's voices suits the serious, sombre piece. Nothing is known about the circumstances of its composition. It suggests either a work written for a specific occasion --

perhaps as an introit for a special service in church or for very personal circumstances like a funeral -- or, and more likely, for private devotional use with a special group of singers in mind. To hazard a date for its composition is difficult; but if Morley did write it, it was probably after the 'Sadler' motets on account of the level of technical competence shown in the work, but before Morley became acquainted with Italian madrigals; 1586/7 perhaps?

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. For this study, Morley's works with Latin texts are referred to in Thomas Morley: Collected Motets edited by H.K.Andrews and R.Thurston Dart (London, 1959), henceforth abbreviated as CM.
2. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS MUS. e, 1-5 (The 'Sadler' MS).
3. 'Continuously imitative texture' is used in this thesis to indicate the absence of a Cantus Firmus in addition to its more obvious meaning.
4. I discovered this in 1972. Brett also points it out in 'Morley': New Grove, vol.12, p.580.
5. TCM, vol.9, p.64.
6. See, for instance, the penultimate bar of Tallis, O nata lux, Cantiones Sacrae (1575) which was probably composed sometime before that date: P.Doe, Tallis (London, 1968), p.36.
7. H.Andrews, The Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony (London, 1966), p.106, has noted over two hundred instances in Byrd's polyphonic music.
8. Morley, Introduction, p.3.
9. *ibid.*, p.259.
10. *ibid.*, p.272.
11. A.Harman, Morley, Introduction, p.259n. by permission of J.Dent & sons.
12. Andrews, p.105 by permission of Oxford University Press.
13. R.Thurston Dart, 'Reviser's Note' in Morley's Madrigals (1594) EM2, p.x.
14. Nolo Mortem peccatoris : British Library, Add.MSS 29372-29375 (Myriell's Tristitiae Remedium, 1616).
15. P.Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660 (London, 1967), p.248.
16. My reservations about the authorship of this work date from the early 1970s. It is interesting to note that P.Brett, 'Morley', New Grove, has reservations, too.
17. The Mulliner Book : British Library Add.MS 30513 (c. 1560), No.85.
18. C.Tye, The Acts of the Apostles, translated into English metre (London, 1553), British Library, K4a 4. Tye's Acts... are reprinted in a modern edition, edited by M.Frost in English and Scottish Psalm and Hymn Tunes c.1543-1677 (London, 1953).

IV. MADRIGALIAN WORKS: 1 (1593--4)

Canzonets to three voices

The Canzonets to three voices (1593) were Morley's first publication. Their historical importance as a publication cannot be over-emphasised: they were the first English publication of madrigalian music by an English composer and they also indicate the status which Morley had achieved by this date. As publications in England the Canzonets (1593) have a few precedents; the type of music they contain has none. Byrd's printing patent had initiated the volumes of vocal music listed in the following Table:

TABLE 10

Volumes of vocal music issued under Byrd's patent
between 1575 and 1592

Title	Date	Composer(s)
<u>Cantiones sacrae</u>	1575	Byrd and Tallis (joint patent holders)
<u>Musica transalpina</u>	1588	Italian composers and Byrd, who, since the death of Tallis in 1585, was the sole patent holder
<u>Psalms, sonnets and songs</u>	1588	Byrd
<u>Songs of sundry natures</u>	1589	Byrd
<u>Cantiones sacrae II</u>	1589	Byrd
<u>Italian madrigals Englished</u>	1590	Italian composers and Byrd
<u>Duos, or songs for two voices</u>	1590	Thomas Whythorne
<u>Cantiones Sacrae III</u>	1591	Byrd

Some suggestions about how Morley came to be the next composer on this list have already been made. There is the further possibility that Byrd invited Morley to publish because he felt that the market was ripe for madrigalian works--works which Byrd realised that Morley rather than he could provide. This, of course, is mere speculation. However, Byrd's Preface to the courteous reader in his Songs of sundry natures (1589) gives some insight into the market for vocal music at this time:

Finding that my last impression of music (most gentle reader) through thy courtesy and favour, hath had good passage and utterance; and that since the publishing thereof, the exercise and love of that art to have exceedingly increased, I have been encouraged thereby, to take further pains therein, and to make thee partaker thereof, because I would shew myself grateful to thee for thy love, and desirous to delight thee with variety, whereof (in my opinion) no science is more plentifully adorned than music. For which purpose I do now publish for thee, songs of three, four, five and six parts, to serve for all companies and voices: whereof some are easy and plain to sing, others more hard and difficult, but all, such as any young practitioner in singing, with a little foresight, may easily perform.

Four points arise from this which have bearing upon the subsequent publications by Morley. Firstly, it is clear that Byrd's Psalms, sonnets and songs (1588) had been well received.¹ Secondly, Byrd maintains that love for music and proficiency in it within society are on the increase. Thirdly, his concern for variety and his reference to 'any young practitioner' suggest that he is providing for a market which is essentially amateur and possibly educational. Fourthly, he makes a special point of his desire to provide music suitable for 'all companies and voices'. Even if one makes some allowance for sales-talk exaggeration in the above, it is still quite clear that this publication was designed to meet a practical need: the provision of music to be sung for enjoyment in a social, not a professional, situation. No literary considerations emerge at all (as they had done in Italy

where the madrigal was partly, and primarily, a literary phenomenon); the volume was published to provide music for people in company of three or more to sing for pleasure. This is the background against which the madrigalian publications of Morley must constantly be seen; and this, more than anything else, explains why Morley showed a predilection for 'light' music rather than for the serious madrigal that the Italians had held in such high regard. It was not that Morley could not write serious music, or that he wasn't interested in it (his motets and the Introduction confirm the contrary), but rather that in providing music for enjoyment he knew what would be well suited for domestic and social music-making--music which had attractive, if not profound, texts; music which was clearly defined in phrases, regularly punctuated with cadences and memorable melodically; and, above all, music which moved quickly for at least some, if not all, of its duration. Now Byrd, for all his undeniable genius, could not, or would not, provide this kind of music. Possibly he was too old to change his ways when the market became ripe for such commercial music, but, more probably, his great personal and musical integrity kept him from changing his well-set habits when a younger man like Morley was readily available to provide the market with the sort of music in popular demand. Byrd's reputation had long been established and his genius respected; Morley was still to make his mark, and his respect for his teacher makes one suspect that Byrd encouraged him in his publishing ventures. Was it just coincidence that Morley began to publish only when he had become a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in company with Byrd, or, as suggested earlier, did this appointment provide the opportunity for reunion between teacher and pupil?

In the absence of evidence showing contemporary reaction to Byrd's Songs of sundry natures (1589) posterity can only guess at the extent to which this volume fulfilled the need which the author's preface

implied. Briefly, we can conjecture that it succeeded in all that it set out to do but that its success was probably tempered by the fact that its contents were predominantly serious and consistently learned in style. Morley's publications, on the other hand, beginning with the Canzonets (1593) offered all that Byrd's had done without the above limitations. Morley was able to do this because the technique he had acquired from Byrd had been fertilised by his study of Italian music, particularly of that contained in Musica transalpina (1588) and Thomas Watson's Italian madrigals Englished (1590). Byrd knew Italian music and was capable of imitating it, but its influence made little impression on his style. Morley, however, absorbed it thoroughly and, in course of time, composed in a manner which was a subtle blend of native tradition and Italian influence and thereby developed a compositional style which was distinctively his own.

Why Morley's first publication should have consisted of music for three voices is not clear. There was little Italian precedent for this,² and it may well be that there was a shortage of music which could be performed by as few as three people. Musica transalpina (1588) contained pieces for four, five and six voices; Italian madrigals Englished (1590) likewise; Byrd's Psalms, sonnets and songs (1588) were for five voices; and his Songs of sundry natures (1589) were for three, four, five and six voices. In other words, the fourteen items for three voices in Songs of sundry natures were the only works for three voices available in print in England before Morley's Canzonets (1593) appeared, and perhaps Morley selected three-part music to fulfill a market need. Moreover, of Byrd's fourteen three-part works, seven were sacred pieces (the penitential psalms) which left only seven secular pieces available for non-religious music-making in three parts. All fourteen provided for one soprano to sing, and the majority were envisaged for soprano, alto and tenor performance. Many of the penitential psalms, however, have such low soprano parts

that performance by three male singers is possible. Morley's Canzonets (1593), however, contained a number of pieces employing two sopranos. This might well have given Morley's publication a wider market than Byrd's three-part works.

The texts of the twenty Canzonets (1593) are of unknown authorship. Sixteen (nos. 1-5, 9-19) are concerned with love, and most of these with unrequited or false love, though as poems, only nine are serious in mood. The remaining four are best described as follows: nos. 6-8 are semi-narrative poems and no.20 is a fully narrative one. Kerman maintains that '... the poetry of the set is very Italianate, not only in its Petrarchan and pastoral sentiment, but in form too: "madrigal verse" dominates the collection'. This view is acceptable, but the evidence of precise Italian derivation to date is very slight as the following Table shows:

TABLE 11
Identified Italian sources for texts of Canzonets (1593)

Canzonet	Italian source
11 <u>O fly not</u>	Sonnet by Benedetto Varchi: <u>Filli, deh non fuggir! Filli,</u> <u>aspetta!</u> Morley has merely used the subject of the Italian poem.
16 <u>Do you not know?</u>	Similar to a <u>sestina</u> by Valerio Marcellini that was often set to music e.g. by Marenzio in 1584. However, both Morley's and Marenzio's may go back to an earlier source, independently, so there was not necessarily any immediate connection.

Just over half of the items in the 1593 collection have their texts organised in rhyming couplets. The remainder depart from this pattern in varying degrees (see Table 12). Of special note are no.7 which abandons concern for rhyme in six of its lines, and no.17 which repeats the first two lines at the conclusion of the poem.

TABLE 12

Rhyme schemes and syllabification patterns in Canzonets (1593)

Canzonet	No. of lines	Rhyme scheme	Syllabification
1 See, see mine own	4	a a b b	14 9 9 9
2 Joy doth so arise	5	a b b c c	11 11 11 12 11
3 Cruel, you pull	8	a a b b c c d d	15 12 6 6 7 11 11 12
4 Lady, those eyes	6	a a b c b c	12 13 8 7 8 13
5 Hold out, my	12	a b b a c c d d e e f f	10 7 7 10 6 6 6 5 7 11 14 11
6 Good morrow, fair	10	a b b c d b d d c c	9 9 7 3 8 8 7 7 6 6
7 Whither away so	16	a b c b? d d e e f f g - - - - g	6 6? 6 9 4 6 7 8 11 7 10 9 8 7 8 8
8 Blow, shepherds	6	a a b b c c	13 15 7 7 13 13
9 Deep lamenting	12	a a b b c c d d e e f f	8 8 9 9 8 9 11 11 11 11 6 6
10 Farewell,	10	a b a b c c? d d e e	12 7 7 11 6 12 7 11 5 11
11 O fly not	6	a a b c c b	13 11 11 11 11 11
12 Thyrsis, let pity	10	a a b b c c d d e e	9 12 7 9 12 14 11 11 11 7
13 Now must I die	8	a a b b c c d d	14 13 7 9 7 8 11 11

14 Lady, if I	8	a a b b	11 13 13 11
		c c d d	16 9 13 9
15 Cease, mine eyes	8	a a b b	8 11 5 9
		c c d d	12 7 6 10
16 Do you not know	6	a b a b	11 7 11 7
		c c	6 10
17 Where art thou,	8	a a b c?	12 12 7 5
		c?b d d	5 10 12 11
18 What ails my	6	a a?b b	14 9 7 9
		c c	11 7
19 Say, dear, will	6	a a b b	7 7 10 11
		c c	12?11?
20 Arise, get up, my	20	a a b b	11 11 8 10
		c c d d	5 5 14?10
		e e f f	7 11 10 7
		g g h h	4 3 3 3
		i i j j	5 5 7 8

The Canzonets (1593) are characterised by the variety that Byrd had insisted upon in his preface. He referred primarily to the provision of music to suit various numbers of voices and various grades of difficulty. Morley's Canzonets (1593) provide pieces of varying difficulty, and, within his chosen limit of three voices, there is a wide range of vocal scoring. In the following Table the most suitable disposition for performance is shown, together with a possible alternative for the lowest voice, shown in brackets, where this is feasible:

TABLE 13
Scoring of Canzonets (1593)

Canzonet	Most suitable scoring
1 See, see mine own	S S A (T)
2 Joy doth so arise	S S T (A)
3 Cruel, you pull	S S A (T)
4 Lady, those eyes	S S A (T)
5 Hold out, my heart	S S T (A)
6 Good morrow, fair ladies	S A A (T)

7 Whither away so fast?	S A A (T)
8 Blow, shepherds, blow	S A T
9 Deep lamenting	S A B
10 Farewell, disdainful	S A T
11 O fly not	S S T
12 Thyrsis, let pity move	S A T (A)
13 Now must I dies recureless	S S T
14 Lady, if I through grief	S A B
15 Cease, mine eyes	S A T
16 Do you not know	S A T
17 Where art thou, wanton ?	S S T
18 What ails my darling?	S S A
19 Say, dear, will you not	S A T (A)
20 Arise, get up, my dear	S A T (A)

However, variety within the Canzonets (1593) extends further. The individual pieces are arranged in groups according to key: the first nine are in a major key, the next seven in a minor and the final four in a new major key. Moreover, Morley did not concentrate his serious pieces in the minor block in the middle; rather he followed the serious items in a minor key (nos. 10, 13 and 15) by less serious pieces in a minor key, and placed the one serious piece in a major key (no.9) as the conclusion of the first big group of major key items. At a time when it was usual to cast serious and sad compositions in a minor key, Morley's setting of Deep lamenting (no.9) in G major was a masterstroke: it is the more poignant because it is in a major key. A similar moment of such vision occurs in the Canzonets (1597) when he set O grief, ev'n on the bud (no.7) in F major.

Morley's 1593 publication contained the first use of the word 'canzonet' on an English title page. Because historians of a later age have been able to study the full development of the madrigal, canzonet and allied

forms, in both Italy and England, and because Morley four years later defined these terms in his Introduction, it has become usual to preface any study of the Canzonets (1593) by stating that they are not all canzonets as some are in fact Madrigals. Whilst this view is certainly valid from the historian's position, as will be seen subsequently, it obscures the essential issue which is the attitude of the composer in 1593 about to launch his first publication. Morley probably chose the word 'Canzonets' as a succinct title; but because it was a comparatively new word he apparently thought it desirable to qualify it by stating on the title page 'or little short songs to three voices'.⁴ Perhaps all he meant by 'canzonets' in 1593 was small-scale secular pieces for singing in three parts. However, Morley was to be consistent: his definition of canzonet in the Introduction starts with precisely the same expression 'little short songs':

The second degree of gravity in this light music is given to Canzonets, that is little short songs (wherein little art can be showed, being made in strains, the beginning of which is some point lightly touched and every strain repeated except the middle) which is, in composition of the music, a counterfeit of the Madrigal.⁵

In this definition Morley fastens on the brevity, the sectional structure, the imitative opening, and the madrigalesque character of the canzonet. (By 'light music' Morley means secular music, by 'strains' he means sections, and by 'counterfeit' he means imitation or even pale imitation.) The literary aspect of Morley's interpretation of the Madrigal has been referred to earlier; it is appropriate now to consider what he said about its musical aspects:

As for the music it is, next unto the Motet, the most artificial, and to men of understanding, most delightful. If therefore you will compose in this kind you must possess yourself with an amorous humour (for in no composition shall you prove admirable except you put on and possess yourself wholly with that vein wherein you compose), so that you must in your music be wavering like the wind, sometimes wanton, sometimes drooping, sometimes grave and staid, otherwhile effeminate;

you may maintain points and revert them,
use Triplas, and show the very uttermost of
your variety, and the more variety you show
the better shall you please.⁶

Morley considers that the Madrigal is second only to the motet in the amount of technical skill that it requires of a composer but also makes it clear that the music of a Madrigal has above all to be expressive, has to be able to suggest every nuance of the text in musical sound. In his definitions of canzonet and Madrigal quoted above Morley is primarily considering Italian music--in both cases he concludes his paragraphs by referring his reader to Italian composers by name as noteworthy examples of men who have excelled in the particular genre.⁷ We must ask how his canzonets and Madrigals measure up to the criteria which he in the Introduction and other scholars, subsequently, established about the differences between the two classifications. The historian differentiates between Madrigal and Canzonet on five fundamental, inter-related issues which may be summarised as follows:

(1) The length and character of the text

In general, the canzonet text is short and light-hearted in character. It often makes its epigrammatic point in a punch-line at the end of the poem. The Madrigal text is serious in character and tends to be of greater length. There is, however, little difference in content.

(2) The structure of the music

The Madrigal is essentially 'durchcomponiert' ('through-composed'). The canzonet is built on a more instrumental design involving repeats of the first and last musical sections. The structural difference between canzonet and Madrigal begins to get confused, however, as the latter came quite frequently to repeat its final section during the second part of the sixteenth century.

(3) The overall lightness or seriousness of the musical effect

The Madrigal is essentially serious in manner, the canzonet essentially light. In consequence, the canzonet is generally faster in movement than the Madrigal.



- (4) The extent to which the music reflects, portrays and enhances the meaning of the text

The Madrigal sets out to express the meaning of the text as conscientiously as possible. The canzonet has much less responsibility in this matter, though word-painting is usually encountered in the canzonet as well, but this tends to be for the more obvious physical references in the text like ascent and descent.

- (5) The length of the musical setting

A consequence of (1)--(4) above is that the Madrigal is usually longer than the canzonet.

Morley's Canzonets (1593) seem to cut right across the above categories to such an extent that it is sometimes impossible to specify in which classification a particular piece belongs. This can be shown by an attempt to place each of the three-part works according to the five categories just specified--see Table 14.

TABLE 14
Classification of Canzonets (1593) according to the preceding categories

Category no.:	(1) Poem	(2) Structure	(3) Lightness or seriousness of musical effect	(4) Text portrayal: Madrigal has high level of responsibility to text	(5) Musical length
Canzonet No.	Length Character				
1	C	M & FSR	C	C	C
2	C	C	C	C or M	C
3	M	C	C	C	C
4	C	M & FSR	C	C	C or M
5	M	M & FSR	C	C	M
6	M	C	C	C	M
7	C	C?	C	C	M
8	?	M & FSR	C	C	M
9	M	M	M	M	M
10	M	M & FSR	C	M	M
11	M?	M	C	M or C	M or C
12	M	M	C or M	C or M	M or C
13	M	M & FSR	M	M	M
14	M	M & FSR	C	M or C	M
15	M	M & FSR	C or M	M	M
16	M?	M & FSR	C	M	M or C
17	M?	C?	C	M or C	M
18	M	M	C	C	M or C
19	C?	M & FSR	C	C	M or C
20	M	M & FSR	C	C	M

Key: M = Madrigal; C = Canzonet; FSR = has its final section repeated; ? = May be interpreted either way
C? = Some doubt but predominantly canzonet; M? = Some doubt but predominantly Madrigal

An assessment procedure like that of Table 14 is obviously unreliable as so much depends on subjective impression, and it makes no allowance for any one category being more important than another. Nevertheless, it does throw into relief three important conclusions: firstly that See, mine own sweet jewel (no.1), Joy doth so arise (no.2) and Cruel, you pull away too soon (no.3) are to all intents and purposes canzonets; secondly that Deep lamenting (no.9), Farewell disdainful (no.10), Thyrsis, let pity move thee (no.13) and Cease, mine eyes (no.15) are predominantly madrigalian in character; and, thirdly, and most important, the Table demonstrates very clearly how the remainder, the majority, of the pieces in this volume show a mixture of both Madrigal and canzonet, with perhaps a slight bias in favour of canzonet quality.⁸ And, as Kerman so accurately observed, it was this synthesised aspect of Morley's music which more than anything else determined the direction which the English madrigal school was eventually to take.⁹ Hold out my heart (no.5) may be regarded as the prototype of Morley's synthesis of Madrigal and canzonet. Its light-hearted character is that of a canzonet but it unfolds in the manner of a Madrigal and thus receives quite an extended musical treatment. Each line of text is set to a distinctive contrapuntal idea which is shared with reasonable equality by each of the three voices. Deep lamenting (no.9), on the other hand, is a Madrigal in every respect: a serious poem, treated seriously, is set to through-composed music in which each line of text receives a new musical idea, although a number of these are thematically related. Within the limits imposed by a three-part texture Morley uses most of the techniques of the Italian madrigalist to convey the emotional overtones of the poem in the music. Many of these, of course, occur throughout the 1593 volume, but harmonic colouration Morley reserves for a few serious texts. In harmonic experiment he is a reluctant adventurer; nevertheless, there are three moments in this work when adjacent false

relations are most appropriately used to paint the anguish of the text. One of these involves an awkward melodic interval for the soprano (EM1B p.48: 8); another involves a G major harmony being followed by a chord of E major (EM1B p.46: 17--p.47: 1). Changes of texture also play a significant role: for example, the music setting 'killed with disdain and pity crying' concludes with poignant suspensions in three-part harmony; this is followed, in contrast, by 'Now may'st thou laugh full merrily' which is set as a near-canonic duet in faster note values between two voices with the entries only a crotchet apart (EM1B p.46: 1--12).

The structure of the individual items in Morley's Canzonets (1593) may be examined in two respects: firstly, the use of repeated sections and, secondly, the sporadic attempts at thematic concentration within a single piece. The question of repeated sections in Morley's vocal music will be considered at some length later in this chapter when his Madrigals (1594) are examined. For the moment, therefore, it will suffice to summarise the essential aspects of the matter. The typical Italian structure of a canzonet involved a repeat of the first and last musical sections (AA CC), and, if there were a middle section, this would proceed without a repeat (AA B CC). The canzonet's superficial concern to mirror the meaning of its text necessitated such designs which relied more consciously on musical means to sustain its structure than the Madrigal whose greater responsibility towards the text demanded a through-composed treatment. However, in sixteenth-century Italy, as mentioned earlier, the two forms came gradually to overlap, with the result that the Madrigal, although still essentially through-composed, came also to have its final section repeated. Morley's Canzonets (1593) illustrate the full range of structures used in the last decade of the sixteenth century. On the one hand are nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, and 11 which repeat both the first and the final section, even though in most of these instances the repeat of the first section is much more

subtle and modified than the literal repeats to be found in most Italian canzonets. On the other hand, nos. 9, 12, and 18 are completely through-composed. In addition, no. 17 concludes with a recapitulation of the opening section, giving, in effect, a ternary structure similar to that which Morley was later to use in Miraculous love's wounding (Canzonets 1595 no. 7). The majority, however, unfold with the text like a Madrigal and then conclude with a repeated final section. In many of these Morley follows the Italian practice of exchanging the position of the two upper voices for the repeat of the final section (nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 11 and 13) and rounding the pieces off with a codetta.

Three of Morley's Canzonets (1593) may be selected for close study regarding repeated sections because they demonstrate how the composer's inventive powers transform what would have been mere repetition, as in an Italian work, into sections of renewed musical vitality. Such enterprise usually occurs in repeated opening sections; Morley seems reluctant to do more than switch voices around for his repeated final sections like the Italians. For the sake of clarity the terminology of fugue of a later age has been used in the following demonstrations which show how Morley modifies his initial expositions when the first section is repeated:

Good morrow fair ladies of the May (no. 6)

First section = bars 1--8; repeated with new extension 8--19

Exposition	Repeat of exposition
S1 Subject.....Subject (first note... modified)
S2 Answer.....	Answer (slightly modified)..
A Subject...	...Subject.....

Here there is a complete interchange in the order of entry of all three voices.

Whither away so fast? (no.7)

First section=bars 1--14; repeated and telescoped 14--19

Exposition (first set of	Repeat of exposition to new
entries only	words (first set of entries
bars 1--4)	only, bars 13--16)

Morley's attempts to tighten the structure of individual canzonets by thematic concentration may be seen in nos.2,5,7,9 and 12. The remainder show no concern for such possibilities at all. Hold out my heart (no.5) illustrates Morley's use of a simple scalar figure in differing rhythms for three different lines of text (Example 15). Whither away so fast(no.7) has a repeat of the final section which contains one moment of modification and expansion that was absent in the first statement of the concluding material. This moment is in fact an allusion--albeit in diminution--to material heard just before the start of the final section. It would seem that Morley has interposed this reference either to secure greater unity in the composition or, at the least, to relieve the potential monotony of an otherwise literal repeat (Example 16). Nos. 9 and 12, which are both through-composed, significantly show the most positive attempts at thematic concentration, though, even in these cases, their extent and quality do not reach the level of thematic development of later ages. Much of the thematic material of Deep lamenting (no.9) relates to the opening of the piece which consists of a broken triad and an upward leap of a fourth. The latter stays constant but the former is soon filled in to form a descending scalar figure of five notes which is then re-stated from time to time to different words in slightly varying rhythms (Example 17). Thyrsis let pity move thee (no.12) uses a descending scalar figure of four notes for its fundamental thematic motive. Example 18 shows this cell at two pitches, and then demonstrates how the material of the piece derives from it.

Occasionally it is possible to trace thematic connections between different compositions by Morley. Similarly, one can sometimes find such connections between his works and those of other composers. Though both sorts of connection may arise through the use of popular figures which were known to work well in particular situations they deserve mention: firstly because they add, albeit

slightly, to the general picture of late sixteenth-century music and, secondly, because occasionally they shed light upon areas of some significance. In the Canzonets (1593) both kinds of thematic cross-reference may be found. Cruel you pull away too soon (no.3), for instance, contains examples of both sorts. The stretto entries for 'Now or ere I taste them' (EM1B p.11: 9--11) have a strong resemblance to Morley's setting of 'O death unkind and cruel' in Die now my heart (Madrigals 1594 no.19, EM2 p.94:1--3). The concluding section of this canzonet--'the more to fire them'-- is based upon one of Morley's favourite figures, used in stretto, and also contains a momentary reference to the 'Who calls?' figure in Ho who comes here (Madrigals 1594 no.18, EM2 p.89:11). The initial idea of this canzonet might well have been the inspiration for Rosseter's song When Laura smiles, and though the reverse situation is possible it is unlikely as Morley's work was published eight years before Rosseter's (Example19).¹⁰

The initial phrase of Lady those eyes(no.4) might have inspired Morley's Leave now mine eyes lamenting (Canzonets 1595 no.10) which starts with the minor version of the same melody. For this two-part work no Italian model has yet been identified, so it is possible that Morley turned back to his own three-part piece for his initial idea. Curiously, too, the famous scalic 'hey ding a ding a ding' sequential figure in It was a lover and his lass (Ayres no.6) is also anticipated in Lady, those eyes (EM1B p.19: 1--6). However, quite the most unusual feature of Lady, those eyes is the lovely idea which starts its final section in a few bars of harmonic declamation (EM1B p.18: 10--p.19: 1/1) which anticipates Morley's ballet style of 1595. This kind of declamation in the course of a canzonet or madrigal is unusual: it lasts but four bars and then merges into a much more typical imitative section for 'but O in me'. It is probably no more than coincidence that these four bars show more rhythmic, and to a lesser extent, melodic

affinity with the opening of My bonny lass she smileth (Ballets 1595 no.7) than does Gastoldi's ballet Questa dolce sirena upon which Morley is said to have based his ballet. It is possible, however, that Morley liked the little phrase in Lady, those eyes and recalled it when composing the later work. Its occurrence in the canzonet may be traced back to a figure he had used some nine bars earlier (EM1B p.17: 13/4--p.18: 2/2 S1).

Dowland's famous 'Lachrymae' melody first appeared in print in William Barley's A new book of tabliture (1596) and it was certainly known to Morley. However, that Morley introduced the melody as early as 1593 in Deep lamenting (no.9) has passed unnoticed. This is unlikely to have been mere coincidence as he used it for the text 'weep not alas' (EM1B p.49: 4--8). It is possible that Dowland and Morley knew one another and that Morley's acquaintance with the melody was first hand. If this were so, Morley's quotation suggests that Dowland had composed 'Lachrymae' by 1593, unless, of course, Morley's phrase inspired Dowland's immortal opening. A full account of the history of the 'Lachrymae' melody and of Morley's connection with it is given on p.256.

One aspect of Morley's madrigal style is already firmly established in the Canzonets (1593), an aspect for which I must invent a term: his technique of 'collection'. Put simply, this consists of a drawing together of all voices into a well-defined cadence when a particular imitative figure has been exhausted before starting out on the next one. Morley does this at the conclusion of his treatment of a line or a pair of lines of text. This is one respect in which Morley made the English madrigal quite distinct from its Italian senior colleague: the Italian madrigalist, like Marenzio, even where he didn't try to conceal his seams, always moved directly on to the next musical idea when the previous one had finished, without the moment of collection that Morley periodically allows for. This is deliberate on Morley's part: his

motets show how expertly he could dovetail material when he wished to. It is therefore important to analyse why Morley used this procedure. Three explanations are possible. Firstly, in so far as they are more homophonic than the imitative textures which precede them, a few bars of collection give more emphasis to the text being set at that point and make it more intelligible. Secondly, because they bring the next series of imitations into sharper relief. This latter is particularly important when the ensuing text is either dialogue or concerned with activity. Finally, they operate as an effective brake on the momentum of a piece if the following section is to be in longer note values than the preceding one.

Hold out, my heart (no.5), for instance, has seven moments of collection:

Hold out, my heart, with joy's delight accloyed,
Hold out, my heart, and show it, (1)
 That all the world may know it, (2)
 What sweet content thou lately hast enjoyed. (3)
 She that 'Come, dear' would say
 Then laugh and run away,
And if I stayed her, cry: (4)
 Nay, fie, for shame, fie!
My true love not regarding, (5)
 Hath given my love at length his full rewarding (6)
 So that, unless I may tell the joys that overfill me,
My joys kept in I know in time will kill me.* (7)

The words underlined are used for the moments of collection. The last musical section of the piece, which sets the penultimate line of text, is repeated. The final collection sets the last line and acts as a codetta to the whole piece. The collections are protracted cadences, and they relate to the tonal control of the piece. Table 15 which follows shows the nature of the cadence at each collection and its key:

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TABLE 15

Collections in Hold out, my heart (no.5) and their relation to its tonal organisation

Collection number	Cadence	In	Key
(1)	V - I	Tonic	C maj.
(2)	VIIB- I	Dominant	G maj.
(3)	V - I	Dominant	G maj.
(4)	VIIB- I	Dominant	G maj.
(5)	VIIB- I	Dominant	G maj.
(6)	VIIB- I	Dominant	G maj.
(7)	V- I	Tonic	C maj.

Reference: EM1B pp.21--26

It is important to stress that the bars which separate these collections are not necessarily in the key indicated by the cadence, as frequently Morley deals with his essential imitative material in the tonic and then shifts the tonality momentarily for the bars of collection. Nevertheless, the key of the cadence is important for it shows that Morley is acutely aware of the 'forward thrust' power of a cadence in the dominant. If complete organisation of structure by tonality is still a thing of the future in 1593, control of momentum through harmonic power is very much an accepted and effective procedure within Morley's compositional technique by that date.

Whatever Morley's motive for using the technique of collection in his Canzonets (1593) the effect of this policy was to create pieces which fall into clearly-defined sections. This was very apparent in the canzonet just examined, but it may be noticed in the other pieces in the volume.

The musical language of the three-part canzonets is essentially harmonic and is based upon a succession of 5/3 and 6/3 chords. Even the most contrapuntal textures have such a succession as the fundamental procedure of composition. Passages of virile counterpoint are achieved by combining a slow rate of chord change with runs achieved through unaccented passing notes and auxiliaries. Cadences invariably employ suspensions. This is not to say, however, that Morley's language is fully tonal in the way that music written in the eighteenth century is, but it is certainly harmonic rather than intervallic in conception. Moments of harmonic adventure are rare, and such isolated instances as there are will be considered later when Morley's methods of text expression are examined. At present it is sufficient to draw attention to two aspects of Morley's technique in the Canzonets (1593) which may be regarded as forward-looking for the year 1593: his use of pedal points and sequences. In the final section of See, see mine own sweet jewel (no.1) Morley introduces an area of flat VII tonality over a pedal point in the lowest part (EM1B p.2: 11--13 and the repeat EM1B p.3: 8--10) and this is one of the earliest instances of such a device in the history of English music. A shorter and less remarkable instance of a pedal point may be seen in Joy doth so arise (no.2, EM1B p.5: 9--10); and the longest example is to be found in Do you not know? (no.16, EM1B p.86: 10--16), where the lowest voice-part maintains a dominant pedal over which the upper two parts chase each other in canon at the octave.

Morley's engaging facility of being able to repeat figures rapidly throughout the three voice-parts, often with stretto-type overlaps, is sometimes explicable in terms of sequence. Morley was not progressive in his use of sequence for purposes of modulation and structure, but his use of it for dramatic and expressive reasons was certainly unusual in England in 1593. Two instances may

be cited in the Canzonets (1593): in no.5 (EM1B p.23:16-p.24: 1-5) and in no.13 (EM1B p.70: 9--11).

The Canzonets (1593) abound in imitative textures which create excitement through rhythmic counterpoint. This was the real secret of sixteenth-century polyphonic technique: it is at the heart of the great compositions of Palestrina and Byrd. Morley has succeeded in transmuting this technique into the light and seemingly inconsequential music of the canzonet, and it is this which makes the canzonets not only attractive but also historically important. He has taken the language of the mass and motet into music for entertainment without in any way debasing it and without making it seem pedantic in its new context. Certainly this was earlier achieved by composers like Palestrina and Lassus in their secular compositions; but Morley was the first English composer to match and sometimes surpass their achievement. This transmutation is in evidence on nearly every page of the three-part canzonets but it is worth citing a particular instance. Tristis est anima, one of Lassus' finest motets, has a sublime moment in the pasage setting 'Vos fugam capiens'. This is an imitative texture with entries in stretto using a simple point based on a downward five-note scale. In Hold out, my heart (no.5) Morley uses the identical point in a rather similar texture but at a much faster pace setting 'She that would come dear would say' (EM1B p.23: 16/3-- p.24 :5). What is important here is that Morley, an English composer, has successfully used what was once the language of the motet in a joyful, secular piece like Hold out, my heart.

Morley's rhythmic ingenuity is quite the most remarkable aspect of the Canzonets (1593). His inventive gifts in this respect are evident in a number of ways, all of which combine to make these pieces attractive to performer and listener alike. Consider the nature of his contrapuntal points. From the viewpoint of melodic shape these are undistinguished and are usually scalic or triadic in design. Rhythmically, however, they are for

the most part full of vitality. As much of this vitality stems from Morley's treatment of the text being set, this aspect will be considered in detail subsequently. For the moment, therefore, it will suffice to illustrate such vitality. The top voice-part of the opening of Where art thou, wanton? (no.17) provides a fine instance (EM1B p.87: 1--13). Except that it is more angular in shape than most of Morley's initial points it is typical of them in its energy and its rhythmic complexity. These qualities stem mainly from the subtle mixture of two and three pulse rhythms within the single melodic line. Put such a line into a three-voice imitative texture and we have a contrapuntal passage of the most animated and attractive kind. The composer's skill in these opening bars becomes the more evident when they are contrasted with an opening section which lacks these qualities like that of Blow, shepherds, blow your pipes (no.8, EM1B pp.39--40). Accomplished though this last excerpt is, it is rhythmically straightforward compared with many other passages in the canzonets where the push-and-pull of cross-rhythms is very complex. One such passage may be seen in Thyrsis, let pity move thee (no.12, EM1B p.63: 13--p.64: 1).

Words and music: Morley's treatment of madrigal texts

The relationship between words and music in Elizabethan vocal music has been touched upon briefly and inconclusively by many scholars, but it received its first comprehensive and perceptive study only in 1971.¹¹ This is not altogether surprising because most people have approached the subject with a basic premise: that in any musical setting of words, the words must be more important than the music since words communicate in much more tangible terms than musical sounds. Indeed, some would argue that one of the great qualities of music is that it is less circumscribed by the terms of reality than are the other arts. As for language, though the emotional response to a text may vary from one recipient to another, the intellectual content of a statement like 'the cat sat on the mat' is understandable in similar terms by all who hear it, provided only that they have previously encountered the act of sitting, a cat, and a mat. If, therefore, 'the cat sat on the mat' is set to music, though the music may foster greater audibility and convey emotional overtones, it can never match the importance of the verbal message, and if it becomes a barrier to verbal communication, it is open to severe criticism.

This view has centuries of precedents to support it. To this premise, however, we must add another when we focus particularly upon Elizabethan and early Jacobean music. We are so accustomed to revere the age of Shakespeare as the Golden Age of English poetry that we tend to accept the words of secular vocal music of that period as being poetic; we assume that a poem existed before a musician set it to music. The standard interpretation of the words/music relationship in Elizabethan times, then, may be summarised as follows: that a composer like Morley selected a pre-existent poem and proceeded to set it to music, and in doing so he assumed a responsibility to present the poem in a way that

would enhance the impact of the poem; that if in any way he obscured its meaning, altered it, or failed to capture its intended emotional overtones, his setting was unsatisfactory. Our critical procedures take the above premises for granted. This is understandable, and it is reinforced on occasions when we have historical evidence to show that a text existed as poetry before a composer set it to music. We can justifiably criticise John Ward, for instance, for his occasional cavalier attitude to his texts because we know that he took poems by Sidney, Drayton and others and set them to music and sometimes mutilated them in the process. Moreover, because we have known this in some cases like Ward's we have tended to take a similar position regarding texts of unknown authorship.

When Fellowes tried to re-create the poems from madrigalian part-books he sometimes encountered difficulty and admitted it. His difficulty arose, particularly in Morley's case, because each voice-part did not always contain the same words as the others. This problem could be illustrated by reference to many of the Canzonets (1593), but What ails my darling? (no.18) is one with particular difficulties and has been cited as such by Fellowes.¹² An examination of this canzonet will show that there are considerable discrepancies between the texts of each voice-part. However, Dr.Smith's thesis, referred to earlier, cleared much of the undergrowth in the words/music relationship in madrigalian music. For the present purpose we need but to summarise two of his findings:

(1) In the sixteenth century there were two basic and conflicting attitudes towards the words/music relationship:

- (a) This view claimed that clarity of enunciation and detail were the all-important attributes of good musical settings of words. This is the traditional attitude outlined earlier.
- (b) Another view took little account of these but regarded the general impact of words and music as the prime consideration.

In (a) intelligibility was what mattered; in (b) an overall impact was the important issue.

(2) Madrigalian verse did not aspire, or even pretend, to be poetry of the kind that serious poets wrote. It was something artificial, something loaded with conventions of one kind or another; something where syntax and meaningful content mattered rather little; but something which, when set as canzonet or Madrigal, suited the musical purpose ideally.

In the light of these two findings Dr. Smith argues overwhelmingly for saying that madrigalian verse was accepted for what it was in Elizabethan times by those who adopted the second position in (1) above. The specially-contrived texts described in (2) will henceforth be called madrigalian verse in this thesis.

When we examine the words of the Canzonets (1593) Dr. Smith's findings have ample supportive evidence. The first canzonet, for example, as versified in English Madrigal Verse reads:

See, see, mine own sweet jewel, what I have for
my darling,/
A robin redbreast and a starling;
These I give, both, in hope to move thee,
And yet thou say'st I do not love thee.*

Here the lover is saying to the beloved 'Look what I've got for you, dear, a robin and a starling. I'm giving you these presents to convince you of my love and yet you still say I don't love you.' Now provided this simple and time-honoured situation is made clear in a musical setting, the poetic quality of the verse is irrelevant; indeed, the fewer poetic virtues it has the more suitable it is for musical setting. Consequently the composer has a comparatively free rein: the robin may be referred to as a 'robin redbreast' or merely as a 'robin' without in any way altering the meaning; likewise, in the third line, 'both' and 'in hope' may be omitted or included at will. Equally, words can be added without damaging the message. For example, in the first line one could add 'here' after 'I have'; such amplification makes no real difference to the meaning. All these alterations are possible because of the nature of the verse. Generally speaking, the poorer the literary quality of the

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verse the greater is the freedom with which the composer can adapt it to his purpose. Now quite the most noticeable thing about Morley's three-part canzonets and his Madrigals (1594) is his very free approach to the text: he adds and subtracts words as it suits him but without obscuring the simple message of the text. In the first canzonet under present review there is considerable discrepancy between the texts of the three voice-parts. This may be illustrated by comparing the version that the editors of English Madrigal Verse rightly regard as the norm with the versions that are sung by selected voice-parts. Omissions from the EMV norm are shown by brackets in the EMV version; additions to the norm are shown by underlines in the voice-part:

- (1) EMV : See, see, mine own sweet jewel, what I have
for my darling./
- S 2 : See, see, mine own sweet jewel, what I have,
see what I have (here) for my pretty fine
sweet darling.
- (2) EMV : A robin (redbreast) and a starling;
- S 2 : A robin, robin, robin, little young robin and
a starling;
- (3) EMV : These I give, both, in hope to move thee,
- S 2 : These I give, both, in hope, in hope,
at length to move thee;
- (4) EMV : (And) yet thou say'st I do not love thee.
- S 1 : Yet thou sayest I love not, no I love not thee,
thou say'st I do not, I do not love thee.*

The above sample shows how Morley could modify his text without affecting its basic general meaning and shows how it is sometimes hard to re-create a stanza from the part-books. Two important questions must now be asked: why did Morley make alterations to his text and was any part of it kept consistently free from alteration?

On the first matter, it is evident that Morley altered his text to suit his musical purpose. This may be analysed into three aspects, all of which are linked by his desire to maintain syllabic declamation. Firstly,

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in imitative textures one voice necessarily exhausts its text before another so it is necessary either to extend certain syllables over a number of notes or to repeat part of the text already sung. It is the latter course that Morley usually adopts in his madrigals, and in this process it is often necessary to modify the text by additions and subtractions so that a given part may have the number of syllables to sing that the music requires--see, for instance, Morley's insertion of 'at length' in S2 (EM1B p.2: 12--13). He could easily have avoided this by use of melismas but chose not to as the clarity of the most active voice-part would have been reduced. Secondly, Morley achieves greater contrapuntal energy, more powerful cross-rhythms, by this means. Consider, for instance, the rhythmic complexity of the passage where he inserts 'I love not no I love not thee' in S1 (EM1B p.3: 12--13). Here partial text repetition and melismas would not have achieved such vitality. Thirdly, even in more straightforward, chordal passages, text modification enables Morley to write an active inner part and still allow all voices to sing the same word at the moment of cadence: (EM1B p.2: 1--3 where S2 gains 'pretty fine sweet').

These three aspects stress that musical rather than textual considerations were uppermost in Morley's priorities, and that in his preference for syllabic to melismatic declamation his concern is for clarity of note enunciation in faster moving parts, not just the notes. The 'chatter' which results from this accounts for much of the liveliness and thus the appeal of Morley's madrigals. In a sense this is an instrumental approach, or rather an attempt to give voices the clarity and flexibility that instruments can achieve. It is significant that in Morley's arrangement of See, see mine own sweet jewel for broken consort ('Join hands' in Consort Lessons, no.17) the vocal parts, played by treble viol, flute and bass viol, are presented with virtually no alteration from their original form.

The second matter is less complex. Generally speaking, Morley avoids tampering with the starts of textual lines, though there are exceptions to this; but he always regards the end of the line as sacrosanct, and if there is a long line, the end of the first verbal phrase within it is inviolable. In the canzonet just considered, for instance, the untouched words are:

- (1) [long] : sweet jewel; my darling
- (2) : a starling
- (3) : to move thee
- (4) : not love thee

Apart from these, variants are liable to occur once a line is under way, as it were. Most madrigalian verse was designed in rhyming couplets, and it was evidently important for a composer to underline the rhyme. Morley's technique of collection already referred to does this most effectively. It is significant, however, that certain kinds of words are habitually used at the ends of lines. These have in common the strong-weak rhythm of the feminine ending, hence: 'darling', 'starling', 'anguish', verb-pronouns like 'love me' or 'meet her', and the ubiquitous present participle like 'dying' -- to name but a few.

Morley's compositional approach in the Canzonets (1593) may now be probed more deeply. Despite the differences between one canzonet and another which make each a unique composition, it is possible to make some generalisations about the set as a whole. Above all, it is clear that the line of text was the basic unit in which the composer worked, a line being determined by the rhyme word at its end. We can determine this musically by the appearance of new melodic material and often a different texture appearing when a fresh line is set to music. It is confirmed, too, by the fact that the end of the line is treated cadentially. Only rarely does Morley make any attempt to dovetail one line into the next, yet Cruel, you pull away too soon (no.3) shows how effectively he can do this when he wishes (EM1B p.13: 3--4). In the

main, however, he evidently wanted his canzonets to be punctuated with obvious cadences at the ends of lines of text to emphasise the rhyming couplet and thus the sections of his composition. In writing a piece in sections the composer is faced with the problem of reconciling what is gained by sectionalisation with what might be lost in continuity, ~~and any music, of any period,~~ needs some continuity to make it convincing as a work of art, even on a small scale. A canzonet will not make artistic sense if it appears to be a series of starts and finishes. In the first place, of course, the fact that the text is incomplete will provide some continuity, but this alone is not sufficient; something musical is required as well. If we can analyse how Morley achieves his musical continuity in a sectionalised piece like a canzonet we are well on the way towards isolating a distinctive feature of his style in the earliest of his published compositions.

Obvious solutions to the problem are the use of inverted cadences, imperfect cadences, and perfect cadences on degrees of the scale other than the tonic; and, indeed, Morley uses all these means in his later publications to some extent or other. But in the Canzonets (1593) the vast majority of the closes at the ends of lines are perfect cadences in the tonic; yet some continuity is still achieved. An examination of the last two syllables of each line of text in the Canzonets (1593) reveals that over ninety per cent are feminine endings. Such endings are characteristic of the Italian language, whereas English is characterised by weak to strong endings. The widespread occurrence of feminine endings in English madrigalian verse is usually interpreted as evidence that it is translated or adapted from , or at the least a tribute to, Italian models. In all his madrigalian works, but especially in the three-part canzonets, it is the feminine ending that Morley turns to musical advantage. In the V--I cadence there is an inherent weak-strong pull; so the setting of a feminine ending is itself problematic. Morley's solution is to lengthen the time

spent on the penultimate syllable (V harmonically) so that it is at least equal to, and often longer than, the final syllable (I harmonically). In this way he sets a feminine ending satisfactorily without any rhythmic hiccups; and, at the same time, solves the continuity problem by finishing on the weak syllable, which, being inconclusive, acts as a springboard into the next line of text and the next musical section. Morley often re-inforces the bounce into the next section by giving one voice a shorter note in the I harmony and making that voice spring into the next line while the other two voices are still on the final syllable of the preceding one--(EMlB p.56: 6 S2), for instance. Even without this re-inforcement there is usually sufficient thrust in his setting of the feminine ending to achieve continuity into the next musical section. Cease mine eyes (no.15) shows how this can be achieved in just two parts (EMlB p.79: 4--5).

The foregoing observations point to the important conclusion that in his composition of the Canzonets (1593) and of the Madrigals (1594) to which they equally apply Morley's prime consideration was to produce a certain type of music rather than to set words to music. To comprehend the distinction here is crucial in our understanding of Morley's achievement. Instead of taking a poem of some quality and setting it to music for the greater benefit of the poem (which might have been his approach) his aim was to utilise some lines of madrigalian verse for his main artistic purpose which was to produce a piece of music of a distinctive and attractive character. Such music needed words because it was intended for singing; but in his aesthetic the words were the servant of the music, and so it simply did not matter (in certain respects at least) how he treated the words. All that was necessary was a text where the general meaning was clear, where the line was the main syntactical unit, and where there were a sufficient number of amorous and pastoral references to relate it to the tradition of Italian madrigal writing. In

this way were many English madrigalian texts specially contrived. Indeed, it would not be surprising if evidence should appear to prove that Morley wrote much of his madrigalian verse himself. Indeed, one is tempted to go further and question whether the music might have been written first and a text found for it afterwards. Consider, for example, What ails my darling? (no.13). Certainly there is nothing in its first section to suggest otherwise. Indeed, it is clear that nothing would be lost if the opening line of some of the other canzonets were performed in place of 'What ails my darling' etc.. 'Lady, if I through grief and your disdain-ing', 'Do you not know how love first lost his seeing' both fit quite adequately, to mention just two out of a number of possibilities. However, an examination of the rest of the canzonet shows this not to have been the case. The text set certainly belongs to the music because subsequent changes of texture and shapes of melodic points were clearly selected to mirror the meaning of the text: the slower rate of movement for 'my love lie sleeping', the rising angular point for 'up now arise' and the vigorous movement of 'and see yon lusty leaping' were obviously deliberate choices by the composer to suit the text at these places.

Morley's attitude in setting secular texts in both the Canzonets (1593) and in the Madrigals (1594) may therefore be summarised as follows: his prime concern was to write the kind of music he wanted; he would alter the inconsequential parts of his text by addition and subtraction, and he would repeat words and phrases to suit his musical purpose--all without destroying the basic meaning of his text--and where there were opportunities for word-painting he usually took them. However, his pre-occupation with music rather than text expression could sometimes lead to a paradox. In What ails my darling? for example, the lover can ask what is wrong with his beloved quite cheerfully in lively imitative counterpoint which in no way reflects the meaning of the text, yet, in

the same piece, her 'sleeping' and other details are most aptly mirrored in the music. But then, the canzonet was, after all, but a 'counterfeit of the Madrigal' !

Madrigals to four voices (1594)

Morley's Madrigals to four voices were published in 1594 and were printed by Thomas East. They were described as 'the first book' which perhaps suggested that Morley intended to publish a further collection of madrigals in four parts, though, subsequently, it became a convention to entitle an issue of madrigalian pieces in this manner. They were not Morley's first publication, and his Canzonets (1593) were not described as 'the first book'. Thus his four-part collection initiated this description in England. More significant, however, is the fact that this set was the first publication of works by an English composer to use the title 'Madrigals'. In selecting this Morley may have taken note of Musica transalpina (1588) whose contents were described as 'Madrigals'.

As has been explained earlier, no dedication for the Madrigals (1594) survives. However, it does contain an anonymous poem in praise of the composer's ability:

MORLEY! would any try whither MORE LYeth
In our ENGLISH, to merit
Or in th'ITALIAN spirit
Who in regard of his each wit defieth?
Lo the clear proof then if a man would make it
(O would some one but try it)
To choose his Song, and Gold enough lay by it,
And say to thee; here, better this and take it.
I know (how ere thou lik'st them) thou could'st do it
Wert thou but so put to it.
For if thou sing'st thus when nought doth incite thee
Aware when PRAISE and GOLD did both invite thee.

Incerto

The pun on the composer's name probably appealed to Elizabethan wit, for similar puns were made in the commendatory poems included in the Introduction (1597).¹³ It is interesting, also, that the juxtaposition and capitalisation of 'English' and 'Italian' occur in the above poem: they summarise not only the contents of this volume but also the duality of style which pervades all Morley's

madrigalian publications. Morley's greatest achievement was the creation of the English madrigal and he did this by grafting Italian shoots on to English rootstock. Each of his madrigalian publications represents a stage in the development of the madrigal in England which, in the end, became a distinctively English hybrid. To assess Morley's achievement in this way is not to say that this was his deliberate intention, for his motive was probably the quest for public recognition and financial gain-- for 'praise and gold'.

In issuing his madrigalian compositions according to a specific number of voice-parts Morley was following an Italian rather than an English practice.¹⁴ England followed a different procedure in the publication of secular vocal music. Whythorne's Songs (1571), Musica transalpina (1588), Byrd's Songs of sundry natures (1589) and Watson's Italian madrigals Englished (1590) all contained pieces for differing numbers of voices. Byrd's Psalms, sonnets and songs of sadness and piety, made into music of five parts (1588) was the exception, probably because its contents were primarily conceived as solo songs with four-part instrumental accompaniment.

Morley arranged the order of his four-part madrigals on a different pattern from that which he had used in his Canzonets (1593). Of the twenty madrigals, the first ten are written in minor keys and the second ten in major keys. The first six are in G minor, nos. 7, 9 and 10 in D minor, and no.8 in G minor. The remaining ten are systematically arranged by key, with nos.11--16 in C major and nos.17--20 in G major. The overall sequence, then, is almost perfect in its systematic arrangement: the one that breaks the pattern is In every place (no.8) which, for other reasons as well, may be regarded as distinctive; indeed, it is possible that it was not composed for this collection but for an earlier purpose and that Morley included it to complete the set of twenty.

Morley's aim in the 1594 publication was evidently to provide as varied a collection of pieces as possible

within the limits imposed by four-part writing--hence the variety of scoring and of vocal parts employed in the volume. He probably sought also to demonstrate his versatility as a composer and, as part of his endeavour to captivate the English market with works by an English composer, to illustrate the wide variety of pieces which could be written under a madrigalian umbrella. After all, the Italian works published with English words in Musica transalpina (1588) and Italian madrigals Englished (1590) included an immense range of styles and, to become popular, English collections would have needed to contain comparable variety.

Madrigals (1594) was issued in four part-books--cantus, altus, tenor and bassus. Table 16 shows their most suitable scoring for performance:

TABLE 16

Scoring of Madrigals (1594)

Madrigal	Most suitable scoring
1 April is in my mistress' face	S A T B
2 Clorinda false	S A T B
3 Why sit I here complaining?	S S A T
4 Since my tears and lamenting	S A T B
5 Help, I fall	S A T B
6 Lady, why grieve you still me?	S S A T
7 In dew of roses	S S A T
8 In every place	S A T B
9 Now is the gentle season (first part)	S A T B
10 The fields abroad (second part)	S A T B
11 Come, lovers, follow me	S S A T
12 O no, thou dost but flout me	S S A T
13 I will no more come to thee	S S A T
14 Besides a fountain	S S A T

15 Sport we my lovely treasure (first part)	S S A T
16 O sweet, alas, what say you (second part)	S S A T
17 Hark, jolly shepherds	S S A T
18 Ho who comes here?	S S A T
19 Die now my heart	S A T B
20 Say, gentle nymphs	S A T B

If this disposition of voices is related to the keys of the madrigals it emerges that those pieces set in G minor (nos.1--6 and 8) show a preference for S A T B scoring but do contain two items with S S A T range; the group of madrigals in C major, however, are all suitable for S S A T . This is not explicable by pitch considerations, for in every instance within this group the next most suitable scoring involves substitution of the tenor by a bass for the bassus part. What it does mean, however, is that Morley saw this C major group as an entity which needed two high soprano parts to match the brightness of the key. Indeed, considerations of sonority and tessitura are frequently useful in estimating the derivation of the madrigal style employed. Now is the gentle season (no.9) and its second part The fields abroad (no.10), for example, are characterised by low tessituras in all the voice-parts. This and the mechanical manner in which the text is set suggest that here Morley was offering a less Italianate piece to his purchasers. Indeed, some of its features suggest that it was composed earlier in his career, though this is unlikely because the poem from which its text is derived was published only one year before the madrigal volume.¹⁵ A more detailed examination of this piece follows at the end of this chapter; for the moment it is sufficient to contrast its rich, low-lying, rather sombre sonority with the bright, widely-spaced texture of, say, Besides a fountain (no.14) which is typical of many lighter-vein Italian pieces, particularly with its two high soprano

parts which often vie with each other in closely-spaced imitations.

The verses set by Morley in 1594 also demonstrate how he was concerned to provide variety in this publication. To a large extent they are madrigalian verse as described earlier, and Morley's treatment of them is similar to that he adopted in the Canzonets (1593); and, once again, their author is unknown. In many instances the poems are clearly translations or adaptations of Italian verse, and it is interesting to note that more Italian sources have been identified for these texts than for those of the Canzonets (1593). Those that have been identified are shown in the following Table:

TABLE 17

Identified Italian sources for texts of Madrigals (1594)

Madrigal	Incipit of Italian source	Italian source
1 April is in	Nel vis'ha un vago Aprile	Vecchi
4 Since my tears	Poi ch'il mio largo pianto	Lassus (1583)
8 In every place	Ogni luogo (N.B. in <u>Musica</u> <u>transalpina</u> (1588) as 'In every place')	Palestrina (1559)
9 Now is the gentle	Ecco Maggio	Strossi (?1593)
14 Besides a fountain	In un boschetto (N.B. in <u>Musica</u> <u>transalpina</u> (1588) as 'Within a greenwood') Einstein says = a free variant of Guarini's 'Tirsi morir volea'	Ferretti (1585)
18 Ho who comes here	?	Saccetti (?)
Reference: a conflation of Obertello-- <u>Madrigali italiani</u> , Einstein-- <u>Elizabethan madrigal</u> and M.t. and Kerman-- <u>Elizabethan madrigal</u>		

The poems do not follow any logical emotional or narrative sequence and this suggests that the collection was organised by musical considerations and by concern for variety. In mood the poems vary considerably: eleven are serious (nos.1--8, 12, 13 and 19) and the other nine are not. They vary in length from four to ten lines (see Table 18). Two poems follow the Italian practice of being separated into two parts for musical setting (nos.9 and 10, and 15 and 16). The majority of lines have either seven or eleven syllables which suggests either Italian derivation of the poems or deliberate Italianism; and most lines conclude with feminine endings.

Fourteen poems are organised in rhyming couplets as Table 18 shows. It is noteworthy, however, that those which are not structured in straight rhyming couplets are In every place (no.8), already noted as the odd one out, Say gentle nymphs (no.20), where the music is a mixture of styles, and the two madrigals which are divided into two parts.

Italian madrigal conventions abound in these texts; the serious ones are concerned with the pangs and torments of unrequited love; and the non-serious ones with idealised pastoral life, youthful sports and the countryside in springtime. The most distinctive, because the least common, are the two narrative poems (nos.17 and 18) which have great vitality emanating from their arresting exclamations and rhetorical questions. Whatever their geographical origin, these two poems portray country life in Elizabethan England most vividly.

Classification of English madrigal texts is made difficult when they are adaptations of Italian poems as, frequently, they are adapted very freely. Within the Madrigals (1594), however, two poems stand out as typical canzonet texts (nos.1 and 5). These are identifiable by their epigrammatic character-- short, concise verses which conclude with sting-in-the-tail punch lines. These two have much in common with the majority of the texts which Morley was to set in his Canzonets (1595).

TABLE 18

Rhyme schemes and syllabification patterns in Madrigals
(1594)

Madrigal	No. of lines	Rhyme scheme	syllabification
1 April is in	4	a a b b	8 8 9 9
2 Clorinda false	10	a a b b c c d d e e	11 11 7 7 7 14 12 7 11 7
3 Why sit I here	10	a a b b c c d d e e	9 11 6 7 13 11 12 11 11 12
4 Since my tears	6	a a b b c c	7 7 7 7 7 7
5 Help, I fall	4	a a b b	12 13 8 7
6 Lady, why grieve	6	a a b b c c	7 12 5 9 7 7
7 In dew of roses	10	a a b b c c d d e e	7 11 11 7 13 9 7 7 7 7
8 In every place	6	a b b a c c	11 7 7 11 11 11
9 Now is the gentle)	3	a b b) 11 11 11
10 The fields abroad }	6	a b b a c c) 11 8 11 11 11 12
11 Come, lovers follow	10	a a b b c c d d e e	11 11 7 7 7 7 7 11 11 12
12 O no, thou dost but	8	a a b b c c d d	7 7 7 8 7 6 9 8
13 I will no more come	8	a a b b c c d d	7 7 7 11 7 7 7 11
14 Besides a fountain	10	(a a b b c c d d e e	11 13 13 14 6 8 13 11 15 11
15 Sport we my lovely)	6	a b b a c c) 7 7 7 7 14 7
16 O sweet, alas, what }	8	a a b c c b d d) 14 11 7 7 7 7 7 11
17 Hark, jolly shepherds	8	a a b b c c d d	14 14 9 11 7 7 11 7
18 Ho who comes here	10	a a b b c c d d e e	14 11 7 11 10 9 11 15 11 11
19 Die now my heart	10	a a b b c c d d e e	11 11 7 12 7 5 11 11 9 8
20 Say, gentle nymphs	8	a b b a c c d d	9 7 7 7 7 7 7 11

Reference: EMV except for no.12 (EM2)

A great deal of sixteenth-century vocal music relied on its text to determine and sustain its musical structure. Nevertheless, as we have already noticed, it is possible to detect a growing tendency towards the end of the century for vocal music to achieve its structure by musical means. Some of the ways in which this was done have been considered already in connection with the Canzonets (1593) -- repeats of sections and thematic concentration and cross-reference-- and to these may be added tonal organisation, albeit at a rudimentary level, and organised changes of musical texture. Morley's Madrigals (1594) also provide illustrations of this tendency, though, in many cases, it would be misleading to isolate these from textual considerations.

Of the twenty madrigals in the 1594 collection, six have no repeated sections (nos.3,8,9,11,15 and 19) and these may therefore be described as through-composed. The remainder contain a repeat of either the first or last musical sections, or in four cases, both. These are listed in the following Table:

TABLE 19
Repeated musical sections in Madrigals (1594)

Madrigals which repeat their first section	Madrigals which repeat their last section	Madrigals which repeat first and last section
In dew of (no.7)	Since my (no.4)	April is (no.1)
Besides a (no.14)	Lady why (no.6)	Clorinda (no.2)
Ho who comes (no.18)	The fields (no.10)	Help, I (no.5)
	O no, thou (no.12)	I will no(no.13)
	O sweet, (no.16)	
	Hark, jolly(no.17)	
	Say, gentle(no.20)	

Of the madrigals with repeated first and last sections, April is in my mistress' face (no.1) and Help, I fall (no.5)

are quite clearly canzonets in text, as already noted, and also in structure. In this last respect they represent two main types of canzonet design: the first is built AA B CC--the structure that Morley himself describes in the Introduction¹⁶-- and the second shows that same form where the middle section has been dispensed with, namely, AA CC. The other two, Clorinda false (no.2) and I will no more come to thee (no.13) are also designed AA B CC.

The policy of repeating sections of vocal music in the sixteenth century was largely confined to secular music. By the time Morley was publishing secular vocal music it had become a convention to have repeated sections in balletti and canzonette, probably because their texts were originally strophic, and, in the case of balletti, their use as dances re-inforced the need for repetition. In England, the strophic character of the canzonet was not adopted, but the convention of repeats was, presumably out of deference to the Italian pieces, by Ferretti and Anerio in particular, which Morley used as his models. However, as explained earlier, the use of repeated sections had also spilled over into the madrigal, especially at its conclusion. This makes it harder to categorise Morley's secular vocal compositions.

Anerio's first book of Canzonette a quattro voci (1586) Morley knew well: he was to re-work a number of its contents for his own Canzonets (1595) and to reprint six of them in his Canzonets Selected (1597). The majority of Anerio's Canzonets contain literal repeats of the first and last sections. Aesthetically, the justification for such a process must be the fulfillment of the rival claims of unity and diversity in an artistic form, for, effectively, the canzonet was approaching the level of a self-sufficient musical structure. Anerio was not necessarily motivated by aesthetic considerations, but he would have been aware of the part played by repetition in musical structure.¹⁷ So, too, was Morley. He found repetitions of sections in his models as a pre-existing

convention, and in some of his canzonets he merely followed the convention. At times, however, he brought his penetrating judgement and musicianship to bear on this issue in a number of ways. Table 20 shows the amount of attention that each section of the madrigals which repeat both first and last sections receives:

TABLE 20

The number of bars occupied by the three sections of those Madrigals (1594) which have repeats in their first and last sections

Madrigal	Number of bars in first sectn. (inclg.repeat)	Number of bars in middle sectn.	Number of bars in last sectn.(inclg. repeat)
April is in (1)	9	13	16
Clorinda false (2)	24	37	26
Help, I fall (5)	26	--	35
I will no more (13)	17	33	32

In April is in my mistress' face (no.1) the last section receives the most attention which suits its canzonet text. If the repeats were removed, the greatest weight would be placed on the middle section which, poetically, is less important than the last. A similar change of emphasis to the middle section would occur if the repeats were withdrawn from Clorinda false (no.2) and from I will no more come to thee (no.18).

In those madrigals where only the first section is repeated it will be noticed that even with the repeat, the remainder of the piece always occupies at least two-thirds of the music. But in those where only the last section is repeated the proportions are different. Here there is

an average of 47% of the whole piece devoted to the final section (average for the seven pieces). In Morley's estimation therefore the repeated final section seems to have a significance which exceeds mere convention.

Of the repeated sections shown in Table 19 only five are note-for-note restatements. The remainder bear testimony to Morley's subtlety in making his repeats just slightly different from the original statements, and thus to his modification of Italian practice. Such modification is evidence of his skill as a composer. The following are particularly noteworthy:

April is in my mistress' face (no.1): first section
bars 1--5 repeated 6--8

Here the repeat is effectively abbreviated, and in it S and A follow instead of lead with the motive.

Clorinda false (no.2): last section
bars 62--72 repeated 72--end

The repeat is very slightly but most effectively altered by S entering a tone higher in its first entry than in the original statement.

Help, I fall (no.5): last section
bars 26--43 repeated 43--end

The final cadence uses a suspension which was not used at the conclusion of the original statement.

Lady, why grieve you still me? (no.6): last section
bars 39--57 repeated 57--end

The upper two voices are interchanged and the final cadence is extended in the repeat.

In dew of roses (no.7): first section
bars 1--10 repeated 10--19

The repeat involves a subtle change of texture which makes it far more than a restatement: the two lower voices join in with the near-canonic imitations of the upper parts much earlier than in the original opening. The first nineteen bars of this piece are a masterpiece of delicate scoring for voices.

I will no more come to thee (no.13): first section
bars 1--9 repeated 9--17

Morley expands considerably the Italian convention of exchanging parts for the repeat here: firstly by changing the order of entry of the upper three voices and secondly by bringing them in more closely, thereby making the stretto much tighter.

I will no more come to thee (continued): last section

bars 51--66 repeated 66--end

The two upper voices are interchanged and the final cadence is extended and embellished in the repeat. Morley's occasional scant concern for the meaning of his text is evident in this piece by his setting of 'and all my rings and pins and gloves deniest' (line 4) to precisely the same music for 'Ah, leave alas tormenting' (line 7). Musically, of course, this economy of material makes for a more integrated composition.

Hark, jolly shepherds (no.17): last section

bars 46--55 repeated 55--end

Here there is no interchange of parts on the repeat; but the way in which Morley converts a forward-moving cadential procedure in the statement (EM2 p.83: 1--3) into a 'braking' device in the repeat (EM2 p.83: 10--14) is noteworthy. He does this by removing the florid resolution in the suspension and by augmentation.

Ho who comes here? (no.18): first section

bars 1--12 repeated 12--24

The addition of four new notes in A on the repeat is a masterstroke which makes the start of the repeat more emphatic than before (EM2 p.85: 6--7). There is some interchange between S1 and S2 but it is not maintained throughout the passage.

Clorinda false (no.2) suggests that Morley repeated his final section to restore the tonal balance of his composition:

First section (bars 1--13, repeated 13--25)	: tonic tonality
Middle section	: related tonalities, particularly III fl and IV
Last section (bars 62--72, repeated 72--end)	: tonic tonality

Without the repeated final section, tonic tonality would not have been restored sufficiently to provide a satisfactory balance with the excursions to related tonalities in the middle section. However, the other madrigals with repeated final sections do not offer support to this interpretation. Moreover, some of the through-composed madrigals, especially Why sit I here complaining? (no.3) have controlled tonal plans and yet do not receive a repeat of the final section. A tonal explanation of the repeated final sections is not

therefore satisfactory.

Repeated final sections are to be found in some of Morley's compositions for two reasons. Firstly, because he was following a convention which was firmly established in Italian canzonette and balletti and which had found its way into the madrigal. Secondly, because he showed little concern to make a clear-cut distinction in his own compositions between canzonet and Madrigal; and this being so, he chose to repeat sections, sometimes, for purely musical reasons of length and balance and also, no doubt, simply to make an attractive piece last longer.

Morley's Introduction makes it clear that he understood the distinctions between the various genres of vocal music of his century. In practice, he broadened the scope of the Madrigal and the canzonet and used features of both to write the kind of music that would appeal. This accounts for the wide variety of pieces that he included in his own music under the titles of canzonets and Madrigals. In effect, he wrote part-songs which were hybrids of the two genres. Even to use the term 'light madrigals' can be misleading unless it is clear that a Morleyian hybrid is signified by the term. In Italy the Madrigal was for the connoisseur whereas the canzonet had a more general appeal. This is why the Madrigal consisted of continuously unfolding polyphony, with a new point for each line of text-- at least this was its character up to c.1580--and was concerned primarily with expressing the emotional content of a serious text. The canzonet, however, in Morley's words, was a 'counterfeit' of the Madrigal¹⁸ and consisted of points 'lightly touched', of lively, easily-graspable phrases, with repeated sections which added to their intelligibility to the less-informed middle-class amateur who was more interested in singing this lighter kind of music for pleasure than in savouring the emotional content of poetry in song. Morley's hybrids mix the qualities of Madrigal and canzonet, mix passages of unfolding polyphony in alla breve with more homophonic sections in crotchet and quaver movement, and, where he

thinks appropriate, have sections repeated to good effect. This can be done alike with serious texts as with non-serious ones provided they are not taken too seriously. This approach explains why Morley needed the specially-contrived madrigalian verse discussed earlier where there was no obligation to do justice to the poet. Thus could music be composed that would appeal to a wide range of people who sang together for enjoyment. Morley was not a hack, commercial composer, however; he had served his apprenticeship with Byrd, had graduated from Oxford, and had become a composer of considerable talent and consummate craftsmanship. This is why, despite the variety of pieces and the occasional hint of plagiarism, there is rarely a poor composition; and even if on occasions there are dull passages, these are more than offset by his lively ones.

The Canzonets (1593) and the Madrigals (1594) have much in common, even to the extent of having parallel pieces: Arise, get up, my dear (Canzonets 1593 no.20) is well matched by Ho who comes here? (Madrigals 1594 no.18) with the verbal and musical picture of Elizabethan country life that both pieces paint, the first depicting a rustic wedding, the second, a morris dance. The two collections have much in common stylistically as well: both are clearly the work of the same composer, even to the extent of there appearing to be instances of thematic connection between them as already noted. There are also differences, however, in both texts and music. The various poems are similar in length, as determined by the number of lines of verse,¹⁴ but in the number of syllables per line of text there is a conspicuous difference. In the three-part works there is not only a greater range within the set as a whole (from three to fourteen) but there is also a much wider range within each poem. On average, the lines of text are considerably longer in the Canzonets (1593) than in the Madrigals (1594).²⁰ One possible explanation for this is that the texts of the Canzonets pay less tribute to Italian models than do those of the Madrigals.

There are musical differences, too. The Canzonets (1593) owe a smaller debt to Italian models than the Madrigals (1594).²¹ Additionally, the Madrigals (1594) show rather more the composer's concern to conceal the joins between the setting of one textual line and the next. On the other hand, the Canzonets (1593) contain fewer passages of alla breve movement than the Madrigals (1594). Furthermore, the four-part works contain more moments of detailed word-painting than those in three parts. Above all, however, the Canzonets (1593) show greater uniformity of style within their set-- for instance, the Canzonets (1593) lack the consort song manner that twice obtrudes into the Madrigals (1594).²² Because of the wide variety of pieces within the set it will be useful to conclude this chapter with some notes on each of the Madrigals (1594) to illustrate this variety and to exemplify and expand upon some of the matters discussed in the foregoing pages.

Madrigals (1594): Some notes on the individual items

1) April is in my mistress' face

This is a canzonet written on a clearly defined harmonic scheme. It features Italianate paired-voice entries and passages of short, closely-spaced imitative entries. The start of the final section is sequential. Except for no.9 (the first part of no.10) it is the shortest piece in the collection. Crotchet and quaver movement abound in this piece which is deservedly popular with madrigal singers.

2) Clorinda false

Clorinda false is a hybrid containing features of both canzonet and Madrigal. The text is madrigalian, the structure that of a canzonet, and the musical treatment a mixture of both: the voice-pairing, the rather flippant treatment of 'Adieu' and the very close imitations in the final section are in the canzonet tradition; the shift to minim movement, the more polyphonic treatment of 'O grief and bitter... languish' and the final cadence, however, show a genuinely madrigalian response to parts of the text.

3) Why sit I here complaining?

This is a hybrid, not unlike no.2, but is through-composed and differently scored. It contains paired-voice entries and tightly-packed imitations, and moves largely in crotchets and quavers, with some change of movement and texture again illustrating 'grief'. Some passages are most effectively scored by reduction to three parts, particularly at the opening and near the end.

4) Since my tears and lamenting

This is the first piece in the collection with a homophonic opening in which the melody reigns supreme: the underneath voices have no rhythmic independence and merely give harmonic support to the tune in the soprano. The most striking aspect of the first eight bars is the rhythmic plasticity of the melody which, in modern terms, is a mixture of 2/2, 3/2 and 6/4 time. The remainder of the work consists of a tune supported by imitative entries at first in canzonet style and, towards the end, when minim movement replaces earlier crotchet movement, the character of a consort song is suggested, though, of course, its very affective manner is alien to the consort song. This piece is an amalgam of various styles of secular vocal writing. It contains no paired-voice entries and is perhaps an early work.²³ At one point there is a hint of a parallel with Dolorosi martir by Filippo de Monte (Example 20).

5) Help, I fall

Help, I fall is a canzonet in structure, text and character. Intuition suggests that the poem and the musical opening are of Italian derivation though there is no evidence to support this. The declamation in block chords is effective in emphasising the final line.

6) Lady, why grieve you still me?

Here is a serious text taken quite seriously by Morley: it is much more madrigalian than any so far in the collection. The opening recalls that of his motet Eheu sustulerunt. Morley uses material in this madrigal that he had used before: compare (EM2 p.24: 7--10) with (EM2 p.10: 8-- p.11: 3) in madrigal no.3. The expressive use of rests and the segmented texture in (EM2 p.25: 15-- p.26: 6) are noteworthy.

7) In dew of roses

This is presented much in the manner of an Italian canzonet but with fuller treatment overall. It contains some effective voice-pairing; and the block-chordal declamation of 'kill me and vaunt thee' is dramatic. Morley's entries in stretto at the end of the piece use a point that he had earlier used in the same work in longer note values for 'pity then, pity me'.

8) In every place

Stylistically this is the most unified item in the volume, and quite the most English. There is no other piece in the collection which resembles its staid, carefully-measured counterpoint, though individual passages in no.4 (EM2 p.19: 4--19) and no.19 (EM2 p.92: 1--p.93: 14) are stylistically similar. The latter passage, in fact, uses the same thematic material and its inversion. No.8, as Kerman has pointed out, is really a consort song in the tradition of Byrd's Psalms, sonnets and songs (1588) though with one fewer voice-part.²⁴

9) Now is the gentle season and (10) The fields abroad

These are the most peculiar items in the collection. There seems to be no justification, poetically or musically, for the madrigal to be divided into two parts. Einstein suggests that the text is derived from Ecco Maggio by Strossi which was published in 1593-- the year before Morley's collection appeared.²⁵ If this is so, then it would appear that Morley composed the madrigal pair in 1593/4. However, the music suggests otherwise: stylistically it is a patchwork comprising some features which are clearly the work of Morley in the 1590s and others which are archaic. Moreover, the rigid adherence to the Dorian mode is curious, old-fashioned and quite unsuited to the text; and throughout both pieces there is no text illustration, either in detailed word-painting

or in overall effect. In these respects the pair is unique in Morley's madrigal output. If the text was not derived from Ecco, Maggio then it would be reasonable to assess the pair as early works. If, on the other hand, the text is derived from Strossi, then we might suppose that Morley took extracts from works that he had composed earlier and made them fit the newly-available text by Strossi in translation. Indeed, it would not be impossible for Morley to have taken extracts from a number of pre-existing works and hastily joined them together to set the new poem. Of the two possible explanations for the pair's patchwork of styles the latter seems the more likely, particularly when the individual features of style are examined.

The brief homophonic opening of no.9 accords with Italian tradition, though the twist to the dominant at its conclusion is Morley's own touch. The section of imitative counterpoint which follows (EM2 p.38:7-- p.39:4) sounds archaic and pedestrian in its unrelieved crotchet movement, yet its phrase structure and interplay between musical and syllabic accent are typical of Morley. To illustrate these points a sample (EM2 p.38:1--p.39:4) may be compared with an extract from a much earlier work by Domenico Maria Ferrabosco (1513--1574), Io mi son giovinetta e volentieri, especially as the texts of both are concerned with youthful sports in early Spring (Example 21). There is some similarity in the shape of imitative point used by both composers. Ferrabosco's madrigal first appeared in 1542,²⁶ but it was published in many collections subsequently and it is possible that Morley knew the work through its inclusion in Musica Divina. However, this is not to suggest that Morley used it for a model for his madrigal pair, for in other respects they are very different.

The last section of Now is the gentle season consists of a succession of short imitations setting 'and woo and wed too' which eventually collect for the delivery of the final line of the first part. Such passages of short imitations Morley normally handles with great mastery but in this instance the effect is tedious.

The second part (no.10) opens with a carefully-wrought fugal exposition in the manner of a motet. This is quite alien to madrigalian style of the 1580s and 1590s, though a few similar passages may be noticed in other works by Morley.²⁷ Certainly it is hard to believe that this music was expressly written for this text, and the musical strength of the first note is quite inappropriate for the weak stress which the English tongue is accustomed to give to the definite article. Had this music been originally intended for this text Morley would have given 'the' a short note, probably a crotchet, to provide a simple anacrusis at the start of this phrase as, indeed, he does at the start of the second entry by S at the end of the ninth bar. In the repeat of this section --a sort of counter-exposition--all parts except for S still sing a minim for the definite article which starts the phrase.

After this, the music gradually becomes more like

Morley's accustomed madrigal style and, in fact, contains some of the features which we may regard as hallmarks of his style. The piece ends with a delightful surprise--a most unusual and beautiful passage of harmonic declamation which Kerman has suggested may be a quotation from a popular song of the time (EM2 p.44:4--10). However, charming though this final section is, the setting of the word 'hark' on both occasions is quite inappropriate and supports the theory that Morley set the music to the words and not vice versa. Indeed, the whole paired-madrigal is an enigma. The overall impression is of various portions of music, written at various times, hastily pieced together and then fitted to a translated or adapted Italianate text. Finally, it is noteworthy that both items in this madrigal pair are distinguished by the narrow ranges of the voice-parts and, more especially, by the sombre sonority that results from their low tessituras. Perhaps performance by A A T B was intended for these pieces: it would certainly be possible.

11) Come lovers follow me

Come lovers follow me is a narrative madrigal of the kind in which Morley excels: its text is in effect the spoken word, a mixture of question and exhortation. To such a text Morley responds superbly: it is not serious and it is full of implied movement, and Morley is at his best when depicting movement. Emotional pangs stir him less than activity. In this piece Morley uses every device known to the Madrigalist to mirror and enhance the meaning of the text--thoughtful, delicate scoring, subtle changes between fast quaver movement and slow minim movement, passages of short-figure imitations, entries in stretto, inversion, augmentation, concerto-like interplay between the two high soprano parts, antiphonal pairing of voices, rhythmic ingenuity (mixtures of three and four pulse measures), sequential treatment, judiciously chosen moments of chordal declamation in a predominantly imitative texture and so on; everything, in fact, except harmonic experimentation and chromaticism which would be quite inappropriate for this text. The opening (and the delayed bass entry) links it with no.3 and no.17, and its general character has parallels with Ho who comes here? (no.18) and with Whither away so fast (Canzonets 1593, no.17). Come lovers follow me gives the impression of being an original work by Morley composed specifically for the 1594 publication rather than of being a re-working or parody of an existing piece.

12) O no thou dost but flout me

This is a fine example of a fully-fledged hybrid work which shows how thoroughly Morley had absorbed Italian canzonet technique and achieved a manner and style in madrigal composition distinctively his own by 1594.

The scoring for four high voices (S S A T), the homophonic opening, the paired-voice imitative entries, the liveliness of movement most of the time-- these Morley derived from Italian composers like Anerio and Ferretti. The sudden change of mood and movement for '...care not, spite me and spare not', the complete silence after those words, and the long paragraph of alla breve imitations and suspensions which then ensues for 'O heavy parting, turn O turn and cure this smarting'-- these Morley has learned from the serious madrigals of other Italians, of Marenzio and Ferrabosco especially. Yet all these things have been fertilised by Morley's own personality and superb craftsmanship with the result that the end product is thoroughly Morley. In this instance, as in so many others, the essential contribution of Morley is his ability to instil rhythmic complexity into fast-moving textures, an ability which, if not a gift of nature, must have developed from his studies with Byrd, the only other composer in 1594 capable of doing this.

13) I will no more come to thee

I will no more come to thee is another hybrid work and is similar in manner to no.12. However, it lacks the rhythmic ingenuity which characterised the latter. Though designed on a typical canzonet structure (AA B C C), its middle section has the length and variety of a madrigal. Its generally light-hearted character is enhanced by the lively quaver chatter with which Morley sets 'Still hy hy hy hy thou criest'.

14) Besides a fountain

Besides a fountain, one of Morley's liveliest pieces, combines a semi-narrative text with a delightful touch of satire. As noted earlier, it shows some affinity with the text of no.33 in Musica transalpina, Within a greenwood, set to music by Ferretti. It is not clear, however, whether Morley's poem was adapted from the original Italian Ferretti text--In un boschetto--or whether Morley recast the Musica transalpina translation. Nevertheless, it is worth noting here that Morley's poem places the shepherd as the initiator of the dialogue whereas in the Ferretti translated text the roles of shepherd and maiden are reversed. Altogether, Morley's text is livelier and more realistic than Ferretti's, and proceeds in a decidedly 'tongue in the cheek' manner.

Morley's music is fast in movement and light-hearted in character; for most of the time there is an abundance of quaver movement, and, in the closing section which starts with 'fie away cried the nymph', Morley wrote one of his most vigorous passages in which cross-rhythms, pulling in all directions, are held together by a simple but effective harmonic sequence. So much momentum is created in this that Morley's favourite brake is applied for the final line of text--a long dominant pedal in the lowest voice-- to bring the music to an appropriate halt.

Besides a fountain, like In every place (no.8), is just classifiable as a parody work. Morley's opening is virtually identical with Ferretti's, but whereas Ferretti forsakes his initial idea in his fourth bar, Morley extends his into a complete paragraph of twelve bars, which he then repeats with the two upper voices interchanged. There is no further connection between Morley's and Ferretti's music.

15) Sport we my lovely treasure and(16)O sweet alas

This is the other paired work in the 1594 set and, unlike nos.9 and 10, the division of the poem into two is justified, and the music was obviously written for this text. Moreover, Morley's treatment of the division is well managed tonally: Part 1 closes in the dominant (G major) and Part 2 not only starts in that key but stays therein for some time and does not return to the tonic until the seventeenth bar.

The techniques employed in this pair are those used in the other S S A T pieces recently discussed, with one or two additions. The opening of no.15 is unusual in that the four voices begin with a few antiphonal cuckoo calls on 'Sport we' before taking up their respective imitative entries on the first full line 'Sport we my lovely treasure'. The head of this imitative point is the previous cuckoo call in diminution. Secondly, in no.16, there is a rare example of Morley using harmonic colour as a means of word painting (EM2 p.76: 2--3).

The text of these madrigals is a poetic monologue which in a disguised way narrates a courtship story. In part 1 the poet exhorts his lover to fulfill their relationship by kissing etc and concludes with an expression of the ecstasy thus achieved--'Joy more than can be spoken'. Part 2 tells of an aftermath reaction on the part of the beloved: she blushes, and the lover is perplexed to know whether her reaction is one of love or disdain. Morley has not taken this too seriously but, nevertheless, has set it in true madrigalian manner: his music reflects the progress of the story conscientiously. Particularly effective is the contrast he achieves between the final section of part 1, with its full scoring, its lively mood and paired-voice imitations, and the beautiful, restrained and more lightly-scored opening of part 2 when the lover's attitude becomes one of tenderness: 'O sweet alas what say you?'. Morley set these words with one of his favourite melodic fragments and its inversion (EM2 p.73: 1--p.74: 9). This musical idea is the more effective because it is so commonplace and because it is here used in its major form.

17) Hark, jolly shepherds

Hark, jolly shepherds is another S S A T light madrigal which abounds in lively quaver movement. The texture is predominantly imitative and all four voices have a high tessitura. Its most distinguishing feature is the tenor part which, though providing the essential bass for much of the time, has nevertheless a greater share of the imitative material than in many other items in this group. The opening of Hark, jolly shepherds has much in common with that of Why sit I here complaining? (no. 3) and Come lovers follow me (no.4).

The text is pastoral and is probably of Italian derivation but the music is distinctively Morley's. This piece, with its cheerfulness and its suggestion of the Morris dance, is well placed in this collection before Ho who comes here?, Morley's masterpiece of rustic activity, to which it provides an effective prelude.

18) Ho who comes here?

This is the last and quite the finest of the S S A T madrigals in the 1594 collection. It is the culmination and synthesis of all Morley's previous essays in setting texts of rustic activity. Its techniques are faultless, and its vivid portrayal of a scene of Morris dancing with all its attendant bustle and excitement is masterly. Some of the features which contribute to the success of this piece are:

- a) The subtle changes on the repeat of the first section (already discussed)
- b) The constant alternation between F sharp (used harmonically) and F natural (used melodically)
- c) The high tessitura of all voice parts and the relentless chase between the two high soprano parts
- d) The numerous passages of imitation in very tight stretto
- e) The shouted dialogue between the piper and his critics
- f) The remarkable interplay of rhythms which pervades the madrigal. One of the finest passages in this respect is quoted with its rhythmic complexity analysed as Example 22

19) Die now my heart

The last two items in the 1594 publication are serious madrigals and both return to the more sombre scoring which characterise the other S A T B works in the collection. Die now my heart contains a mixture of three quite distinct styles which blend because the lively canzonet feature of fast quaver movement setting 'Now shoot at me and spare not' is handled with considerable restraint. The three styles

may be summarised as follows:

- a) Bars 1--24 (EM2 p.92: 1--p.93: 14): a polyphonic section in alla breve movement much in the measured manner of a consort song. Morley again uses a favourite melodic formula and its inversion already noted in nos. 8 and 16
- b) Bars 25--79 (EM2 p.93: 15--p.97: 15): a section which employs the techniques of canzonet and madrigal--passages in fast quaver movement, entries in stretto, a sudden switch to harmonic declamation for 'kill me I care not' and a return to alla breve movement for 'O hear a doleful wretches crying' in which a beautiful, plaintive effect is achieved by a short canon between soprano, bass and tenor (EM2 p.97:4--10)
- c) Bars 79--end (EM2 p.97:15/3--p.98:17): a section based on one tiny fragment used as an imitative point setting 'or I die' which is sung fifteen times within these bars. Many of these have a strong modal connotation, involving as they do, F natural rather than F sharp which occurs harmonically. In bar 91 (EM2 p.98: 11) a successive false relation results which is singularly poignant. This fragment, coupled with the double suspensions in the earlier part of this section, gives the whole a character normally associated with music for the church in this period. Indeed, the whole passage is reminiscent of, though not derivative from, Byrd's setting of 'and a law of the God of Jacob' in his anthem Sing joyfully unto God.

This is a serious poem which Morley has treated seriously. His music does much to enhance the text, not by illustrative detail but by the overall effect he achieves through the continual exercise of restraint.

20) Say, gentle nymphs

Say, gentle nymphs is one of the least successful items in the collection, and it may have been written considerably before 1594. It certainly lacks the maturity of rhythmic ingenuity and control observed in the S S A T group, and it gives the overall impression of being non-committal. Moreover, as Kerman has suggested, a lighter treatment might well have suited this text better than the pseudo-serious one it receives.²⁸ It is perhaps significant that this is the only piece in the whole set where Morley employs the cambiata figure at cadences which abounds in the 'Sadler' motets (EM2 p.102: 2--3 and p.103: 10--12). This supports the view that Say, gentle nymphs was an early essay in madrigal composition.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Three editions of Byrd's Psalms, Sonnets and Songs appear to have been issued in one year.
2. Marenzio's three part Villanelle, vol.1 (1584), vol.2 (1585), vol.3 (1585), vols.4 and 5 (1587), were the main Italian precedents.
3. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.180.
4. It may well be that Morley introduced the English word 'canzonet'. He was certainly the first English musician to use the term, though it may have been coined earlier in a literary context. The implication of the Italian word 'canzon' and 'canzonette' is one of song, the latter being a shorter song than the former.
5. Morley, Introduction, p.295.
6. ibid., p.294.
7. Morley, Introduction, pp.294-95: Morley cites Ferrabosco, Vecchi, Venturi, Giovanelli and Croce as composers of Madrigals, and Marenzio and Ferretti as models to study for the composition of canzonets.
8. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, arrived at a similar conclusion by different means, pp.180-84.
9. ibid., pp.191-92.
10. Philip Rosseter, A Book of Ayres set forth to be sung to the Lute (London, 1601).
11. M.Smith, 'Word Setting in the English Madrigal and Consort Song of the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1975).
12. Fellowes, Preface to first edition of EMV (1920), p.xxiii in third edition (1967).
13. Three poems in commendation of Morley were included in his Introduction. The final line of the second poem reads:

More good for music elsewhere doth not lie,
 and the tenth line of the third poem reads:
 To find a part where more lay undiscovered,
 The words making a pun on the composer's name are here underlined.
14. Anerio, Croce, Ferrabosco, Gabrieli, Gastoldi and Marenzio, for instance, issued their works according to the number of voice-parts.
15. A. Einstein, 'The Elizabethan Madrigal and "Musica Transalpina"', Music and Letters, vol.25 (1944), pp.69-70, suggests that Morley's text might derive from poems by Giovan Strossi, published in 1593.
16. Morley, Introduction, p.295.
17. Anerio's motet, Alleluia Christus surrexit, is built on a rondo design: the musical material to which 'Alleluia' is set occurs three times, once at the start, once en route, and once at the conclusion of the piece. For an Eastertide motet the recurrence of the 'Alleluia' refrain is most appropriate.
18. Morley, Introduction, p.295.

19. If the unusually long Arise, get up, my dear is discounted then the average number of lines per poem in Canzonets (1593) is 8.15; the average with Arise, get up, my dear counted is 8.75 lines per poem. The average for Madrigals (1594) is 7.45.
20. There are 1,303 syllables in the twenty original items in Madrigals (1594); in Canzonets (1593) there are 1,582 syllables. (Source: EMV) The difference of 279 syllables shows how much longer the lines in general are in Canzonets (1593).
21. Madrigals (1594): Nos. 4, 8, and 14 rely, at least in part, upon Italian/Flemish models.
22. Madrigals (1594): In every place (No.8), as Kerman has pointed out, is to all intents and purposes a consort song; and the first twenty bars of Die now my heart proceed much in the manner of a consort song.
23. Since my tears and lamenting (Madrigals, 1594, No.4): J.Uhler, 'Thomas Morley's Madrigals for Four Voices', Music and Letters, vol.26, p.325: 'According to Einstein the words are anonymous, but the music is by Vincenzo Galilei...':
 Poi che'l mio largo pianto
 Amor ti piace tanto (etc.)
 'Thomas Oliphant...ascribes the original to Orlando Lassus, from Musica Divina, Antwerp, 1588, although Fellowes notes that the author was Giulia Eremita.'
 R.Thurston Dart, Reviser's Note, says 'Morley seems to have taken di Lasso's setting as his model.'
24. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.186.
25. See note 15.
26. R.A.Harman, editor, Popular Italian Madrigals of the Sixteenth Century (London, 1976) p.x notes that thirteen arrangements were made of this work between 1563 and 1596. It was included in Musica Divina (1583).
27. Blow, Shepherds, blow (Canzonets 1593 No.8) for example.
28. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.187.

V. MADRIGALIAN WORKS (2) : 1595

Ballets to five voices

In 1595 Morley published his First book of ballets to five voices. It appeared simultaneously in two versions, one in English, and the other in Italian, probably intended for circulation abroad. The latter, designated as the work of 'Tomaso Morlei', contained the same dedication to Sir Robert Cecil as the English version. The dedications were dated October 12, 1595. A commendatory verse to the 'Author' by 'Mr. M.D.' in the English version has been attributed to Master Michael Drayton the poet, and it has been suggested that Drayton prepared the texts of the English Ballets for Morley.

There is a strong connection between Morley's Ballets (1595) and a collection published by the Italian composer Giovanni Gastoldi (c.1550 - 1622). This has long been recognised. The curious thing is that Morley did not acknowledge his reliance upon Gastoldi somewhere in the publication itself, for once Gastoldi's works have been sung, their connection with Morley's Ballets (1595) is clear enough. If Gastoldi's Balletti had been exceedingly rare Morley's reticence could have been understood; but they were not rare: 'for sheer popularity', wrote Denis Arnold; 'the book had no equal in the history of the madrigalian forms.'¹ Gastoldi's Balletti a cinque voci were published in 1591 and were reprinted ten times during the next twenty years. In addition, continental versions were issued from printing presses in Antwerp, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Paris and Nuremburg.² It is unlikely, therefore, that Morley was the only Englishman who knew them in 1595. Nevertheless, despite their connection with Gastoldi's famous volume, Morley's Ballets (1595) were quite clearly the first English rivals in the field: Morley, as ever, was prompt in his provision of English compositions in a popular Italian form. In his publication of an Italian

version of his Ballets Morley was probably not aiming for their circulation in Italy, the source of his inspiration where his debt to Gastoldi would have been obvious, but rather for sales on the Continent where Italian music was in considerable demand. As Kerman has shown, Valentin Haussman, a German editor, wrote of Morley in 1609 as though he were an Italian:

...And then since the Ballets of Thomas Morleus (which otherwise went abroad in the Italian language, but were not much seen in Germany) are a fine pleasing sort and not unserviceable to jollity, I have not desired to neglect to commit them to print in the same manner, with the adaptation of secular German texts, for the better use of those who are not skilled in the Italian language.³

Haussman, it should be noted, made no reference to Morley's English Ballets at all.

Morley's Ballets were evidently well received in England, for a second edition was issued in 1600. This was a straight reprint of the 1595 volume. Indeed, it is his Ballets which have endeared Morley to English Singers more than any other of his publications. The qualities which have caused this will emerge in the course of this chapter, but as many of them are to be located in Gastoldi's Balletti it is appropriate to begin our examination of Morley's Ballets in the context of Gastoldi's publication. This context is important, not only for revealing Morley's debt to the Italian composer but, more significantly, for showing how Morley superimposed his own personality and compositional skill on his models and thereby produced works which frequently far surpass their musical standards.

In the Third Part of his Introduction Morley categorises the main forms of music of his day. He displays a penetrating insight into their characteristics and grades the genres in degrees of sobriety and lightness.

The ballet is classed among the lightest of the light music. The author writes:

There be also another kind of Balletts commonly called 'Fa las.' The first set of that kind which I have seen was made by Gastoldi; if others have laboured in the same field I know not, but a slight kind of music it is and, as I take it, devised to be danced to voices.⁴

This short paragraph is illuminating: it proves that Morley knew the Gastoldi Balletti, it pin-points 'fa las', the ballet is evidently not profound music, and most significantly of all, it has strong associations with dancing. It suggests that Gastoldi's Balletti were connected with dancing, which does not necessarily imply that Morley's own Ballets, of which he makes no mention, had anything to do with dancing. In the article already referred to, Denis Arnold argues convincingly that Gastoldi did not actually invent the ballet but rather gave tangible expression in print to a long tradition of ballet-type music in Italy.⁵ Briefly, this may be seen as music for entertainment at weddings, carnivals etc. in which people mimed and danced to sung and played dance music. In this light, Gastoldi's volume becomes meaningful: the title page declares that it is music to be sung and danced to, and each ballet 'has not only the title taken from its opening words, but also the name of a character who presumably is represented in both mime and dance.'⁶ Thus, for example, Gastoldi's fourth ballet starts with the words 'Vezzasette Ninfe e belle' and is entitled Spemed'Amorosa (Amorous Hope). In general, the special titles represent either a type of lover or a state of mind. The organisation of the collection as a whole shows the extent to which the Balletti themselves were but a part of a larger conception of sophisticated entertainment: an introductory piece invites the company to join the dance: then follow the fifteen Balletti; then a large mascherata is performed by singers dressed as warriors; then follows a canzonetta; and the enter-

-tainment finishes with a concerto di pastori, a dialogue for eight-part chorus.⁷ We cannot, therefore, interpret Gastoldi's Balletti solely as art-music for the delight of the performers which has been the essential characteristic of all the secular vocal music considered so far in this study. Morley's Ballets (1595) thus stand apart from Gastoldi's volume, in the first instance, because they are purely and simply music for the delectation of the performers--just as his earlier publications had been. Yet he certainly ~~e~~xttracted many features of Gastoldi's volume, not only by utilising texts, musical ideas, formal structures and general characteristics from Gastoldi's Balletti, but also by including the same number of ballets (fifteen) that Gastoldi had published within Morley's total collection of twenty-one pieces, as Kerman has shown.⁸ Although he dispenses with the Introduttione a i Balletti, the Mascherata and the emotive titles, he nevertheless concludes his volume with a 'Dialogue to seven voices' (Phyllis I fain would die now) which is possibly a parallel to Gastoldi's final concerto di pastori.

The present discussion must then concentrate upon those pieces in Morley's Ballets which relate directly to Gastoldi's publication of 1591. Obertello showed that several of the texts set by Morley in his Italian edition came from Balletti by Gastoldi; and other scholars, particularly Kerman and Zimmerman,⁹ have supplemented Obertello's work and between them have located the probable sources of most of Morley's texts. Table 21, formed from a collation of the researches of the aforementioned scholars, shows these sources. The texts of Morley's English edition of his Ballets, however, are in some cases problematic, for they are not always translations of the Italian versions by any means. In certain instances the English Ballets have contrived or adapted Italianate texts, and, moreover, despite general Italianate characteristics, thoroughly English points of detail have been brought in. For example, dancing round the Maypole is a peculiarly English activity

and yet traditional Italian madrigalian characters (Thyrsis and Cloris) are placed in this very English context in About the Maypole new (No.11). Kerman examined the question whether it was possible to determine which texts--Italian or English--Morley set first. His conclusion is significant:

Morley's pieces, then, are strictly speaking English Ballets, not Italian ballets with English words adapted. First he translated poems from Italian balletti and canzonette; then he set the translations to music--keeping an eye on the Italian compositions, however; then he adapted the Italian poems back for his Italian editions.¹⁰

If this was the manner in which Morley worked with his Ballets it demonstrates how he was concerned to produce an essentially English creation rather than an Anglicised Italian one--a tendency which is already clear in his publications before 1595.

TABLE 2.1

The most likely sources of the texts of Morley's Ballets (1595), Italian edition

Morley's Ballet	Text set by Italian composer	First known edition
1 Dainty fine sweet nymph (Vezzasette Ninfe e belle)	Gastoldi a 5 No.5 (Speme d'Amorosa)	1591
2 Shoot false love (Viver lieto cordoglio)	Gastoldi a 5 No.3 (Il bell 'Humore)	1591
3 Now is the month (Se ben mi c'ha bon tempo)	Vecchi <u>Selva</u>	1590
4 Sing we and chant it (A lieta vita)	Gastoldi a 5 No.12 (L'Innamorata)	1591
5 Singing alone (Amore l'altro giorno)	Ferretti III a 5 (first stanza only)	1570
6 No no Nigella (Possa morir chi t'ama)	Gastoldi a 5 No.13 (Il Martellato)	1591
7 My bonny lass she smileth (Questa dolce sirena)	Gastoldi a 5 No.6 (La Sirena)	1591
8 I saw my lovely Phillis (Madonna mia gentile)	Orologio I a 3(Kerman) (first stanza only)	1590
9 What saith my dainty (Piacer gioia e diletto)	Gastoldi a 5 No.9 (Il contento)	1591

10	Thus saith my Galatea (Al piacer a la gioia)	Gastoldi a 5 No.7 (Il Piacere)	1591
11	About the Maypole (Al suon d'una Sampon'e)	Trofeo I a 6	1589
12	My lovely wanton jewel (La vella Ninfa mia)		
13	You that wont to my pipes (Ninfe bell'e voi Pastor)	Gastoldi a 5 No.5 (Gloria d'Amore)	1591
14	Fire Fire (A la strada) di dio	Marenzio II a 3	1585
15	Those dainty daffadillies (Le rose frond'e fiori)	Marenzio I a 3	1584
16	Lady those cherries plenty (Al primo vostro aguardo)	Marenzio I a 3	1584
17	I love alas I love thee (Inamorato sono, o vita mia)	Marenzio I a 3	1584
18	Lo she flies (Fugiro tant' Amore)	Marenzio I a 3	1584
19	Leave alas this tormenting ¹¹ (Non mi date tormento)	Ferretti II a 5	1569
20	Why weeps alas (Non dubitar ch'io t'abandoni mai)	Ferretti II a 5	1569
21	Phyllis I fain would die (Filli morir vorei)	Croce II a 5	1592

Source: Table compiled from Kerman, J. Elizabethan Madrigal,
Obertello, A. Madrigali italiani in Inghilterra and
Zimmerman, F.B. Italian style in Elizabethan part-
songs and madrigals

Gastoldi's Balletti are characterised by their simple structure, five-voice scoring (S S A T B), homophonic texture, tunefulness, regularity of phrase length, 'fa la' refrains, and by the metrical features of their texts. These characteristics are certainly mirrored in Morley's Ballets. However, such generalisations leave undetected many points of divergence as well as of similarity between Morley's Ballets and those of Gastoldi, and these can be illuminated only by detailed analysis of individual pieces. Selected examples will be examined for this purpose.

Dainty fine sweet nymph (No.1) clearly relates to Gastoldi's fourth ballet, Speme d'Amorosa (which begins 'Vezzasette Ninfe e belle') because Morley's Italian version of this ballet used Gastoldi's text. The English version shows parallels, too. Dainty fine

sweet nymph contains two stanzas, like 'Vezzasette Ninfe e Belle', and the syllabification of both poems is identical, namely, 8,8,8,5,5. However, in content only the first line shows any real similarity:

Gastoldi: Speme d'Amorosa

Darling and lovely Nymphs
Who surpass in beauty
All the prettiest shepherdesses, Fa la la
Here's to you whom we love, Fa la la.
We ask mercy. Fa la la.

She promised us love
When for his gilded darts
Our heart played target, Fa la la
Now after all
Have pity on us, Fa la la.¹²

Morley: Dainty fine sweet nymph

Dainty fine sweet nymph delightful,
While the sun aloft is mounting,
Sit we here our loves recounting, fa, la,
With sugared gloses
Among those roses. Fa la.

Why, alas, are you so spiteful,
Dainty nymph, but O too cruel?
Wilt thou kill thy dearest jewel? Fa la.
Kill then, and bliss me,
But first come, kiss me. Fa la.¹³

After the parallel of the first line, Morley's text departs from translation -- or even adaptation -- of the Italian poem to become a canzonet-type text full of madrigalian clichés.¹⁴

However, the basic structure of the two ballets is identical. The eight-line stanza is divided into two portions thus: lines 1 - 3 and lines 4 and 5. The piece is then constructed as follows: the first three lines are set and followed by a 'fa la' refrain which closes in the tonic key (section 1). A similar procedure is

adopted for lines 4 and 5 (section 2). Each section is repeated immediately it has been sung; and, finally, the whole piece is sung again, with repeats, to the words of the second stanza. This bipartite structure and the convention of repeats are common to all the Morley Balletts which have their origin in Balletti by Gastoldi. As the syllabification of both Morley's English poem and Gastoldi's text is identical it is illuminating to assess the amount of time the composers devote respectively to the poetic lines and the 'fa la' refrains (see Tables 22 and 23 below).

TABLE 22

Comparison of length of sections and of apportionment of text and 'fa la's in Morley: Dainty fine sweet nymph and Gastoldi: Speme d'Amorosa (*including musical repetitions*)

Section 1		Section 2		Total length
Lines 1 - 3	'fa la's	Lines 4 - 5	'fa la's	
Gastoldi: 13 bars	4 bars	8 bars	14 bars	39 bars
Morley : 14 "	9 "	8 "	22 "	53 "

TABLE 23

Comparison of overall apportionment of text and 'fa la's in Morley: Dainty fine sweet nymph and Gastoldi: Speme d'Amorosa (*including musical repetitions*)

Total bars setting text	Total bars setting 'fa la's
Gastoldi : 21 bars	18 bars
Morley : 22 "	31 "

Comments: To enable comparison to be made in the Tables above, the Peters edition of Gastoldi Speme d'Amorosa has been imagined with doubled note values and bars of four crotchets each.

However, this still does not give an entirely reliable picture as Morley (EM4 ppl-3) enters into a passage in triple time with doubled note values; these have been halved for the present purpose.

It is immediately clear that Morley's ballet is a larger work than Gastoldi's as a result of his more expansive working of the 'fa la' refrains; and this kind of proportion is evident in all Morley's Ballets(1595) which relate to Gastoldi's. The treatment of the text by Morley and Gastoldi is, however, very similar, not only in the amount of space devoted to it but also in the manner in which the text is set. Both composers approach the setting of the text on the principle of one syllable per note in these and their other related ballets. Gastoldi allows himself one moment of melismatic setting during lines 4 and 5; Morley's only concession in this respect is a paired-quaver treatment of the first syllable of 'delightful',¹⁵ and of 'aloft' in lines 1 and 2.¹⁵ There is no melodic connection between the two ballets but strong rhythmic parallels exist in the setting of the first three lines of text. Lines 4 and 5 and the 'Fa la' refrains, however, receive very different treatment from the two composers. It is thus tempting to speculate that Morley merely took Gastoldi's text and set it in the general manner of a Gastoldian ballet and achieved, by coincidence, a similar rhythmic treatment of the first three lines owing to the natural rhythm of the text. Other factors, however, suggest that Morley had Gastoldi's ballet in front of him when he started to compose his own. Of these we may note, particularly, the initial anacrusis: Gastoldi is meticulous in writing his first bar in full, preceding the first vocal entry by the appropriate rests. He

thus leaves no doubt that the accentuation of the first line is as follows: 'Vezzosette Ninfe e belle'. The strongest accent is achieved on the penultimate syllable of the line by the following means: it has the longest note value in the line and its importance is enforced harmonically by a V - I progression (Example 23). Now Morley matches this by starting on an anacrusis and by placing his longest note in a similar position to Gastoldi's (EM4 p.1:1-3). Moreover, there is not one instance in Morley's secular vocal music published before 1595 -- the year of the Ballets -- of a piece starting on an anacrusis, yet here, in Dainty fine sweet nymph, Morley not only starts on an up-beat but, like Gastoldi, is careful to ensure this by preceding the first vocal entry by the requisite rests. It may well be that Gastoldi's anacrusis was determined by the connection of his ballet with dancing; but, in any case, it seems clear that Morley obtained his up-beat opening from the Gastoldi model. Furthermore, although Morley's attitude to word-setting is sometimes care-free in madrigals and canzonets, it is never so bizarre as in this particular instance where the 'Dain' of 'Dainty' cries out for some accentuation and yet receives none. 'Vezzosette', on the other hand, fits well the opening three notes. This, plus the extraordinary jumble of adjectives in 'Dainty fine sweet nymph delightful', suggests that Morley composed this ballet initially to the Italian text and that afterwards he, or a collaborator, tried, somewhat in vain, to capture the opening line in translation.

The second point which suggests that Morley modelled his opening on Gastoldi's is the harmonic rhythm of the opening bars. It is rare for Morley to change his harmony on a note-value as short as a quaver, yet here he does this precisely in the same nanner as Gastoldi: both composers harmonise the first three

notes by I - II - I. One suspects that Morley copied this from Gastoldi who, in his turn, had done it in order to re-inforce the anacrusis, this being desirable, as already suggested, if his music was to be danced to.

The affinity between Gastoldi's Speme d'Amorosa and Morley's Dainty fine sweet nymph, though clear enough by general overall impression, is only evident in detail in the earlier textual section. Morley's switch to triple time for the second section has no parallel in the Gastoldi piece; and the 'fa la' refrains are totally different in style save for the interplay between two soprano parts. Although Gastoldi's inner parts become more active in the 'fa la' passages, his manner is much the same as in his sections of verbal text. Morley's, however, changes markedly for his 'fa la' refrains: he leaves behind him the simplicity of approach which characterises his setting of the ballet's words and replaces it by an expansive and contrapuntally ingenious manner. Stylistically, these 'fa la' passages are clearly the work of Morley the composer of canzonets and madrigals. Indeed, if we were to replace the nonsense syllables by madrigalian words we would feel to be singing a five-part canzonet. This difference between Gastoldi's and Morley's approach in the refrains is well illustrated by their respective treatment of the final cadence of the ballet: Gastoldi maintains the rhythmic momentum of the previous bars almost to the very end and increases the rate of chord change for his approach to the full close. This has the result of effecting the close almost nonchalantly. Morley, on the other hand, does the opposite. His final bars reduce in rhythmic impetus, achieved by a subtle interplay between duple and triple time, and by what is in effect a change of tactus from that of a dotted minim (EM 4 p.3:7) to a minim (EM4 p.3:8-10), matched by a parallel reduction in harmonic rhythm. This all amounts to a

protracted cadence formula of the kind that abounds in Morley's madrigalian works. The above differences may be observed by comparing the closing bars of the two ballets (Example 24 and EM4 p.3:6-10).

Morley's Shoot false love I care not (No.2) shows a similar degree of affinity with Gastoldi's Il Bell' Humore as there was in the last two pieces. Morley's English text is a free adaptation of Gastoldi's, more obvious in the first stanza than in the second. Moreover, the position of the 'nonsense' refrains is identical in both ballets. Again, too, the earlier lines of the poem have been set by Morley rhythmically in a manner very close to Gastoldi's, though he departs from the Italian patterns for lines 6 - 8. However, the only melodic connection between the two pieces, and it is slight, exists in the final cadence. Once again, Morley's 'fa la' refrains are considerably more complicated and ingenious than Gastoldi's (EM4 p.7:5-8 and Example 25). The passages of verbal text are presented by both composers homorhythmically, though Gastoldi's moments of reduced scoring in the second part of Il Bell' Humore are not copied by Morley literally, though the latter's reduction to a four-part texture for 'All naked I unarm me, if thou canst now shoot and harm me' might be regarded as an indication that Morley had Gastoldi's ballet in front of him when composing Shoot false love I care not. The present writer does not subscribe to this view as the ways in which the textures are reduced are so different. It is perhaps more likely that Morley dispensed with his bass in order to convey some suggestion of 'naked'ness. Much more significant, however, are the differences and similarities in the harmonic approach of the two composers. Gastoldi's ballet makes considerable use of the relationship between subdominant and tonic harmony. So, too, does Morley; but the way in which the two composers

utilise the relationship is essentially different. The Italian composer uses subdominant harmony to give a certain 'colour' or 'characteristic' to his piece; Morley, however, employs it for purely musical means whereby the driving force of dominant harmony (in which he is really interested) is given added strength by subdominant preparation. This is clearly visible in the openings of the two ballets (EM4 p.4:1-5/1 and Example 26). Morley's subdominant opening merely reinforces the energy of the great dive to the tonic for the first 'fa la' refrain: he gives us, in effect, a large-scale IV - V-I cadence formula, and the I occurs at the moment the refrain starts. Gastoldi, on the other hand, starts in the tonic and soon moves into the subdominant and just slips back to the tonic at the close of the 'fa la' refrain, giving us a rather static I - IV - I formula. This difference, exemplified here, between the two composers' approach to harmonic function is discernible in all the Morley ballets which show affinities with Gastoldi's Balletti: with Morley, harmonic relationships are musical considerations to give a piece direction, a sense of moving forward to an ultimate goal at the end - the tonic; with Gastoldi they are used without such considerations and are employed to give distinctive colour to a particular passage or piece. In this respect, as in the ingenuity of 'fa la' refrains, Morley imprints his own musical personality on his Ballets and shows himself to be the more progressive of the two composers. So, despite the obvious connection between the two ballets, Morley stamps his work with an identity which is quite distinct from that of the Italian composer. The inspiration may have been Italian, but the artistic creation is Morley's.

Similar degrees of similarity and difference between Morley and Gastoldi may be noted in Morley's What saith my dainty darling(No.9) and Thus saith

my Galatea (No.10) and their Gastoldian sources Il Contento and Il piacere. Their respective texts have little in common in content, save in the most general terms, yet structurally and rhythmically there are clear parallels. Morley's more progressive approach to harmonic function and his expansive treatment of the refrains are again obvious. What is perhaps most significant in What saith my dainty darling and Thus saith my Galatea is Morley's occasional move to the technique of canzonet and madrigal in the midst of a ballet, a technique which has no origin in Gastoldi's works whatsoever. It seems as though Morley is in the process of creating a hybrid form out of the Gastoldian ballet. Two places provide good examples of this, and they are worth noting because this tendency is developed considerably further in other pieces in the 1595 collection which have no connection with particular Gastoldian models. The start of the second section of What saith my dainty darling shows Morley suddenly leaving the homophonic declamation of the ballet and replacing it by the lightweight imitative texture of the canzonet (EM4 p.33:4 - p.34:2). It is particularly interesting because its appearance can have nothing to do with the text being sung at the time -- as it might have done in a fully-fledged canzonet -- and because it soon reverts to the manner of text presentation customary in the ballet. The concluding bars of Thus saith my Galatea which follow a lively 'fa la' passage in triple time may be seen as a thoroughly madrigalian excerpt in alla breve which is the more poignant because it is set to 'nonsense' syllables (EM4 p.38:6 - 11). Perhaps this passage was the inspiration for Weelkes's ultimate moment of pathos -- the 'fa la's in O care / Hence care.

The four Morley ballets discussed so far show a clear yet moderate relationship to Gastoldian models -- moderate because they differ from the Italian pieces

as well as having obvious connections with them. However, it would appear that Morley composed them first to the Gastoldi text and then either he or a colleague provided an English text to fit the music he had composed. This view, different from the Kerman speculation described earlier, is founded upon the ease with which the Italian text fits Morley's music and on the looseness of connection between the Italian poems and the English texts in content. In the case of My bonny lass she smileth(No.7), however, the Kerman speculation is the more likely i.e. that Morley wrote first to the English text and then fitted the Italian text to the resultant composition.¹⁶ Both the Gastoldi model -- La Sirena -- and the English poem consist of two stanzas of four lines, but the English text is clearly not a translation or adaptation of the Italian: at the most, we can say it may have been inspired by the Gastoldi text.

Gastoldi: La Sirena

Questa dolce Sirena
Col canto acqueta il mar, Fa la la.
Un suo leggiadro riso
Puo l'aria serena, Fa la la.

Chi mira il suo bel viso
Resta prigion d'Amor, Fa la la.
Chi i suoi bei lumi vede,
Sente legarsi il cor, Fa la la.

Translation of Gastoldi's text

This sweet siren
With song calms the sea. Fa la la.
A slight smile of hers
Can calm the air, Fa la la.

Whoever sees her lovely face
Remains prisoner of love, Fa la la.
Whoever sees her lovely eyes
Feels his heart caught, Fa la la.

Morley's English text

My bonny lass she smileth
 When she my heart beguileth. Fa la
 Smile less, dear love, therefore,
 And you shall love me more. Fa la.

When she her sweet eye turneth,
 O how my heart it burneth! Fa la.
 Dear love, call in their light,
 O[r] else you burn me quite! Fa la.¹⁷

Morley makes no attempt to retain the anacrusis with which Gastoldi's La Sirena begins and, indeed, throughout, though there is some connection between the rhythmic patterns of the Gastoldi and the Morley ballet it is nothing like so pronounced as in the first four comparisons discussed. Further, the Gastoldi text set by Morley in his first Italian version does not fit Morley's music as happily as his English poem: this is the reverse situation to that of Morley's first ballet. Further, although structurally La Sirena and My bonny lass she smileth are similar, the 'fa la' refrains in the Morley work, with their rhythmic ingenuity, show a totally different approach to these sections from Gastoldi's which merely maintains the block chordal style that both composers use when setting the verbal text. The opening bars of both 'fa la' refrains in the Morley ballet (EM4 p.23:5-6 and p.25:1-5) may be compared with the opening of Gastoldi's final 'fa la' refrain (Example 27).

On the evidence of the relationship between Morley's and Gastoldi's ballets discussed up to now no charges of musical plagiarism could justifiably be brought. However, with No, No Nigella (No.6), Sing we and chant it (no.4) and You that wont to my pipes sound (No.13) the situation is different, for these show strong connections with their respective Gastoldian counterparts, to the extent of using very similar musical material at times.

Moreover, there is some melodic connection between the openings of the two ballets; and, for once, the two composers devote approximately the same amount of space to the 'lirum lirum' refrains. However, despite these various similarities between Morley's piece and Gastoldi's Gloria d'Amore, it is the differences between them which are the more significant.

In the first place, Morley reveals his stronger sense of harmonic direction, noticed earlier, by his use of dominant harmony which, in Gloria d'Amore, Gastoldi avoids altogether. Though Gastoldi's ballet and You that wont to my pipe's sound are both set in a minor key and both composers use III (the relative major) Morley's is still the stronger in harmonic direction owing to his use of dominant harmony. This may be shown in tabular form by noting where the cadences at the ends of lines of text are placed:

TABLE 24

The placing of cadences at the ends of lines of text in Morley's You that wont to my pipe's sound and Gastoldi's Gloria d'Amore

Gastoldi			Morley		
Line :	1	: in/on fl.VII	Line 1:	in III	
	2	: in/on III	2:	on V sh.	
	3	: in I sh.	3:	in III	
'lirum' ends	in	I sh.	'lirum' ends	in	I sh.
	4	: in III	4:	in III	
	5	: in III	5:	in fl.VII	
	6	: in fl.VII	6:	in I sh.	
	7	: in III	7:	on V sh.	
'lirum' ends	in	I sh.	'lirum' ends	in	I sh.

Secondly, two small features of Morley's ballet which do not occur in Gastoldi's are significant as hints of the direction in which Morley is moving with the ballet form. The present writer suspects that Morley used Gastoldi's ballets for study purposes and when he had mastered their essentials he used them as stepping-stones towards the formation of his own distinctive genre. If this were in fact the case, it would explain why some of his ballets are very derivative from Gastoldi whilst others show only the slightest of parallels even when setting the same text in his Italian versions. The genre towards which Morley was progressing was a hybrid form -- a light-hearted piece of vocal music which combined features of the Italian forms he had studied to date, namely, madrigals and canzonets (by various composers) whose essentials he had absorbed by 1595, and, now, finally, the ballet. The two small features of You that wont to my pipe's sound that suggest Morley's blending of canzonet and ballet are the opening of the piece and the subtle change in his repeats of the first and second sections. Gastoldi's Gloria d'Amore begins with rests and an anacrusis; Morley's first soprano begins in a similar way. However, instead of following Gastoldi by having all parts enter on the up-beat, Morley starts his lower voices during the rests, with the result that his opening is a 'point lightly touched' in the imitative manner of the canzonet (EM4 p.50:1). Gastoldi's repeated sections are note-for-note recapitulations of the original statements with identical scoring; Morley, however, uses the canzonet technique of changing round the two soprano parts for the repeats.

Morley's debt to Gastoldi was considerable: from the Italian composer he acquired the structure and character of the ballet, and, on occasions, even borrowed musical material as well as texts from him. Nevertheless, he always gave his own inventive powers

free rein in the 'fa la' refrains, and these may be seen as the product of his English training as a contrapuntist and his experience as a composer of madrigals and canzonets. Moreover, his strong harmonic sense helped make his ballets self-sufficient musical entities, works that would stand well without any verbal text. This is not to say, however, that they are instrumental compositions, for they are well suited to vocal performance; but their character is derived from the music itself and not from any text that is being sung. To this extent, therefore, they represent a significant stage in Morley's development as a composer, for all his previously published works rely more strongly on the text being presented. In the Ballets (1595), after all, there is little concern evident to portray in musical terms the meaning of the text: they therefore represent a complete negation of the madrigal aesthetic with which Morley had been involved, albeit not too seriously, up till 1595.

Two other works in Morley's Ballets (1595) are written in a style very similar to that of the pieces already discussed, even though they do not derive from particular Gastoldian models: Now is the month of Maying (No.3), possibly Morley's most popular composition, and About the Maypole (No.11). These are constructed in the Gastoldian manner, present their text in simple chordal declamation and have ingenious and expansive 'fa la' refrains.

All the pieces examined in this chapter so far may be described as ballets. However, like Morley's earlier publications, the Ballets (1595) contain some items whose character is not accurately conveyed by the title. Nos. 5,8,12,14, and 15 are hybrids which have no real Italian counterparts²¹ and which may be regarded as examples of a form seemingly invented by Morley. Kerman described these pieces as 'ballets in canzonet style'²²

and this well summarises their character. For the purpose of this study, this title will be abbreviated to 'ballet/canzonet'. We have already noted how Morley hinted at a hybrid variety of ballet by introducing canzonet features into the context of the ballet and this tendency may be noticed even more clearly in Those dainty daffadillies (No.15). The first section of this resembles closely the Morley ballets of the Gastoldi type, with verbal text declaimed homorhythmically and 'fa la' refrain set in virile counterpoint. The opening of the second section, however, is quite different. Here the verbal text is set in the manner of a canzonet, with each of the two lines having its own distinctive imitative point 'lightly touched' (EM4 p.61:5 - p.62:3). The refrain which follows this short madrigalesque passage is less intricate than usual and approximates to the simpler type of refrain that Gastoldi usually employed.

Singing alone (No.5) may be regarded as the standard type of Morley's ballet/canzonet genre. All the verbal text is presented in the manner of a canzonet, with as many repetitions of the text as are necessary for all voices to participate in the imitations, with occasional touches of word-painting (like the small melismas in quavers suggesting the activity in 'the satyrs danced') and with paired-voice imitative entries on 'was never yet' in which faster quaver movement grows out of an initial long note. The 'fa la' refrains are written in Morley's customary energetic counterpoint.

My lovely wanton jewel (No.12) is a much more substantial work than either no.5 or no.15: the textures are richer and the imitations more concentrated. Although the 'fa la' refrains and the repetition of the same music for a second stanza of verse justify it being called a ballet/canzonet, the overall character of the piece, including the refrains, suggests the stylistic no-man's-land in which canzonet and madrigal

converge. In fact, it is best regarded as a composite of ballet, canzonet and madrigal. Its brief chordal opening, with its fluid mixture of duple and triple time, is unique in this 1595 collection. It anticipates a type of opening which Morley was to exploit more thoroughly in his Canzonets (1597) in which a brief chordal opening soon breaks into an imitative texture; indeed, its opening paragraph shows some general affinity with False Love did me inveigle, (Canzonets 1597 No.2: compare EM4 p.45 with EM3 p.5). In the second section of My lovely wanton jewel (no.12) occurs a climactic moment which may well have inspired subsequent English madrigalists to emulate Morley's dramatic skill: a series of imitative entries setting 'my hopeless words' reach their apex when the soprano, the last voice to enter, soars to a high note (g') supported in rich harmony by the lower four voices.²³ This is the language of the Madrigal rather than the canzonet and certainly not of the ballet (EM4 p.46: 5 - p.47:3). Again, the second 'fa la' refrain is thoroughly madrigalian in style: an expansive and expressive final paragraph is built from one melodic point (EM4 p.48:2 - p.49) which Morley had used previously in Sport we my lovely treasure (Madrigals (1594) No.15, EM2 p.72:4 - 17). In fact the text of this madrigal and that of My lovely wanton jewel have much in common in their subject matter. Finally there is evident in this piece some concern for thematic unity of the kind noted earlier in some of Morley's Canzonets (1593). All the contrapuntal points setting verbal text begin with an upward move, and these are shown (Example 29). My lovely wanton jewel is far removed from the style of the simple Gastoldian type of ballet and is undoubtedly one of the finest compositions in the 1595 collection.

I saw my lovely Phillis (No.8) is a less serious

piece and represents the synthesis of ballet and canzonet styles. In the sections with verbal texts it looks back to Morley's canzonet style of 1593 and 1594; in the 'fa la' refrains it is typical of the 1595 achievements. The piece begins with a brief imitative duet between the two upper voices based on Morley's favourite melodic fragment and its inversion, a procedure that he had earlier used to great effect in O Sweet alas what say you (Madrigals 1594 No.16: EM4 p.26:1 - 5 and EM2 p.73:1 - 5). However, once under way, his treatment differs from that in the earlier work by introducing an additional imitative point -- a descending scalar figure -- setting the same words ('I saw my lovely Phyllis'). This was probably necessitated by the five-part texture. The opening of the second section shows some thematic affinity with the initial idea (EM4 p.28:5 - 6) and the last line of the text is set in a flurry of activity of the kind which characterised so many of his Canzonets (1593). However, whilst this passage well suits 'And home away she flieth' in the first stanza, it can scarcely be as appropriate for the last line of the second stanza -- 'where Love herself reposes'! However, it is the 'fa la' refrains which really distinguish this piece. In contrast to the duple rhythms of the passages with verbal text, the refrains are set in triple time and these display Morley's rhythmic ingenuity at its best.

Fire Fire (No.14) is unique. Structurally it resembles the other ballet/canzonets in the collection:

Section 1 : Verbal text treated in canzonet manner
 : 'fa la' refrain
 : Section 1 repeated

Section 2 : Text treated in canzonet/Madrigal manner
 : 'fa la' refrain
 : Section 2 repeated

and the whole is repeated in the same manner for the second stanza of the text. Its uniqueness derives from the excitement Morley engenders by the numerous repetitions of verbal snippets like 'Fire' and 'My heart', the great energy of the imitative 'fa la' refrains, and the truly remarkable switch to the most overt expressive technique of the madrigalist for the sighs ('Ay me') in the second section, an interpolation which somehow manages not to destroy the momentum of this, Morley's most dynamic composition of the set.

Kerman noted the connection between Morley's Fire and Marenzio's A la Strada.²⁴ The text for Morley's Italian edition of this ballet is taken from Marenzio's piece and some of his musical ideas derive from the same source. However, far more remarkable is the difference between Morley's piece and Marenzio's: the former is elaborate, sophisticated, expansive and complicated; the latter, a villanella, is simplicity itself, and, for the singer, uninteresting compared with Morley's piece.²⁵

The remaining items in the Ballets (1595) show no affinity whatsoever to the ballet. Lady those cherries plenty (No.16), I love alas I love thee (No.17), Lo she flies (No.18) and Why weeps alas? (No.20) are five-part canzonets; Leave alas this tormenting (No.19) is a through-composed madrigal for five voices; and Phyllis, I fain would die now (No.21) is a 'dialogue to seven voices'. The canzonets, stylistically, belong to the tradition of those for fewer voices in Morley's publications of 1593 and 1594, alike in structure, in their repetitions of sections to the same text, in the intricacy of the part-writing, in their general light-hearted manner and even, at times, in the musical

material used, rather than anticipate the Canzonets (1597). Those critics who maintain that Morley is at his happiest when writing for three or four voices probably base their judgements on the 1597 collection: the canzonets and the madrigal in the Ballets (1595) reveal that Morley is as competent in handling five parts as he is when writing for a smaller number.

Phyllis I fain would die now (No.21) may have been inspired by the Concerti di pastori, a dialogue for eight-part chorus, with which Gastoldi concluded his volume; but it has a close relationship with Giovanni Croce's Filli morir vorei published in 1592. This is also a dialogue in seven parts. Morley's Italian edition of his Ballets (1595) uses Croce's text; and the English version is a translation of the Italian poem. Moreover, as Denis Arnold has observed, Morley's 'technique and melodic material is obviously borrowed from the Italian.'²⁶ Morley's work is a through-composed madrigal in which the conversation between Phyllis and Amyntas is set antiphonally between a three-part choir (S S A) singing Phyllis's lines, and a four-part group (A T T B) presenting those of Amyntas. The work ends with all seven parts collecting together to sing the final lines of the text. In the main this is a disappointing work: it lacks tonal variety through closing too often in the tonic, and many of its musical ideas are such that the Dialogue sounds much like a succession of madrigalian clichés. Many of the ideas occur in earlier compositions of Morley's own, in which pieces they are generally more satisfactorily worked out and more effectively used. Samples of these are listed below:

Reference in <u>Dialogue</u>	Reference in earlier works
EM4 p.85 : 6/4 - p.86:7	EM1B p.51 : 9/3 - p.52:4
EM4 p.87 : 5/4 - 7/2	EM2 p.42 ;11/4 - 14
EM4 p.88 : 6 - 8	EM1B p.105: 2 - 5
EM4 p.90 : 9 1 12	EM1B p.36 :14/4 - 16

... ..

Canzonets to two voices (1595)

The Autumn of 1595 saw the publication of two volumes by Morley: the Ballets appeared in October of that year and in the following month were published his Canzonets to two voices. These volumes represent a definite landmark in Morley's career, in so far as they suggest a pronounced move towards Italy. This is visible in two aspects. Firstly, just as the Ballets (1595) were published simultaneously in English and Italian editions, so too, it appears, were the Canzonets (1595), though, sadly, there is no extant volume of the Italian version of the two-part works. Pattison, who first argued the case for a missing Italian edition of the Canzonets (1595), based his view on the word order of the title page and supported it with evidence from the Stationers' Register.²⁷ In this, Thomas East, Morley's printer, made an entry on December 6, 1596 which stated:

Of THOMAS MORLEY, The first book of Canzonets
to 2 voices with the same set also in Italian.

Pattison's case is sound and we must regret that the Italian version is lost.²⁸ Secondly, just as a number of the Ballets (1595) owe something to Gastoldi, as we have seen, so the Canzonets (1595) show a connection with another Italian composer -- Anerio.

When Morley's madrigalian publications are surveyed as a whole it is apparent that he issued them systematically. The volumes of 1593 and 1594 provided

singing material in three and four parts; the publications of 1595 extend this range to provide songs in five parts (the Ballets) and in two parts; and his Canzonets (1597) include four pieces for six voices. Of course, Morley may well have worked out this order in advance; on the other hand, it is quite possible that each volume, after the first, represented his response to popular demand, particularly in the case of the two-part Canzonets, which had no precedent in madrigalian publications in Italy and, in England, only one precursor—Whythorne's Duos (1590). It is not clear whether Morley's publications had any didactic purpose, whereas Whythorne's Duos certainly had.²⁹ It is most likely that Morley issued music for people to sing for pleasure rather than to increase their expertise. Nevertheless, Morley's Canzonets (1595) are splendid models for any aspiring composer, especially as the volume contains fine examples of two-part instrumental as well as vocal composition.

The Canzonets (1595) contain twenty-one pieces, and this numbering is used in the following text:

- (1) Go ye my canzonets
- (2) When lo by break of morning
- (3) Il doloroso (The sorrowful one)³⁰
- (4) Sweet nymph, come to thy lover
- (5) I go before, my darling
- (6) La girandola (The Catherine wheel)
- (7) Miraculous Love's wounding
- (8) Lo, here another love
- (9) La rondinella (The swallow)
- (10) Leave now mine eyes lamenting
- (11) Fire and lightning
- (12) Il grillo (The grasshopper)
- (13) Flora wilt thou torment me
- (14) Il lamento (The lament)
- (15) In nets of golden wires

- (16) La caccia (The hunt)
- (17) O thou that art so cruel
- (18) La sampogna (The Shepherd's pipe)
- (19) I should for grief and anguish
- (20) La sirena (The Siren)
- (21) La torello (The young bull)

The instrumental pieces are those with Italian titles; indeed the use of Italian titles here confirms Morley's inclination towards Italy and may also be regarded as evidence of there having been an Italian edition of the Canzonets (1595). The inclusion of instrumental pieces is interesting. Whythorne's Duos were intended to be played or sung, but all madrigalian publications in England between 1588 and 1595 gave no indication in their title pages or prefaces of possible performance by instruments: the days of 'apt for the viols and voices' were still in the future.³¹ Morley is therefore again first in the field when he issued instrumental pieces in a madrigalian collection of vocal music. Indeed, unlike the composers who subsequently claimed their madrigal publications to be suitable for viols or voices yet wrote music which was essentially vocal in character, Morley's nine two-part instrumental pieces of 1595 are written in a distinctively instrumental idiom in contrast to his canzonets which are clearly vocal in conception.³²

Hitherto we have observed that Morley paid comparatively little attention to accuracy of terminology, in that the Canzonets (1593) in fact contained some Madrigals, that the Madrigals (1594) included some canzonets, and that both collections contained examples of Morley's own brand of hybrids. However, the Canzonets (1595) adhere much more closely to their title: the vocal pieces are canzonets from all points of view -- text, length, structure and manner.

Uhler has suggested that the texts form a narrative

sequence and certainly it is possible to detect an emotional pattern in the poems.³³ Nos. 1 - 6 are characterised by joy and hope and the remaining six by sadness and despair. The majority of the latter contain references to or suggestions of death. The content of the poems (the pastoral scenes in which Flora and her lover dally and the basic theme of unrequited love) is typical of Italian madrigalian verse; likewise their rhyme-schemes, syllabification and their brevity. As will be shown shortly, the Italian sources of most of the texts are known, and the fact that Morley selected his texts and placed them in his own order adds support to the view that the emotional sequence of the poems, if not a fully narrative one, was deliberate. On the other hand, the character and positioning of the instrumental pieces seems to nullify this interpretation of the publication as a whole.

Earlier in this thesis the structural organisation of the music of canzonets was shown to take two common forms: (1) AA B CC and (2) AA CC. The Canzonets (1595) are built on these designs as follows:

(1) AA B CC

Canzonets nos. 1, 2, 5, 13, 15, 17

(2) AA CC

Canzonets nos. 4, 8, 10, 11, 19

(Miraculous love's wounding (no.7) is exceptional because it recapitulates the opening section (words and music) giving a ternary design of AA BB AA)

Thus, every canzonet repeats the words of the first section to the same music, though in four out of the twelve cases, the music of the repeat is not a literal

repeat but is modified in some way or other, above and beyond the interchange of follower and leader. Every canzonet thus also has a musical repeat at its conclusion. Except for no.7 (already specified) and Lo, here another love (no.8), the words of the final section are used for the repeat. Structurally, then, the Canzonets (1595) are true canzonets.

Obertello has shown that the texts of Morley's Canzonets (1595) may be traced to Italian sources and these are listed in the following Table:

TABLE 25

Obertello's ascription to Italian sources of the texts of Morley's Canzonets (1595)

Canzonet	Opening of Italian source	Italian source and date of first publication
1 Go ye, my canzonets	Gitene canzonette	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.1
2 When, lo, by break	Quando la vaga Flori	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.20
4 Sweet nymph, come to	Su questi fior t'aspetto	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.2
5 I go before, my darling	Not found	Not found
7 Miraculous love's	Miracolo d'Amore	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.13
8 Lo, here another love	Ecco novello Amor	Vecchi III a 4 (1585) No.21
10 Leave now, mine eyes	Deh lascia Filli ³⁴	Vecchi a 6 ()
11 Fire and Lightning	Caggio fuoco dal cielo	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.10
13 Flora, wilt thou	Flori morir debb'io	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.3
15 In nets of golden	Di vaghe fila d'oro	Felis IV a 5 (1585) No.1
17 O thou that art	O tu che mi dai pene	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.7
19 I should for grief	Io morirei d'affano	Anerio I a 4 (1586) No.5

Reference: Obertello, Alfredo, Madrigali Italiani in Inghilterra, especially pp.373-379.
N.B. The instrumental pieces are omitted from this list.

The relationship between Morley's texts and the Italian originals provides a clear insight into the approaches which Morley adopted when he utilised Italian poems. Sometimes he used a translation; at other times he chose a re-working of the Italian text rather than a translation. One example of each will suffice to demonstrate the distinction between translation and re-working:

Translation

Anerio: Miracolo d'Amore³⁵

Miracolo d'Amore
Gl'acutissimi strali
Che mi ferir soavemen'il core
Son diventati rosee gigl'e fiori
Grato spirant'odori
Miracolo d'Amore.

Morley: Miraculous love's wounding³⁶

Miraculous love's wounding!
E'en those darts my sweet Phyllis
So fiercely shot against my heart rebounding,
Are turned to roses, violets and lilies,
With odour sweet abounding.
Miraculous love's wounding!

If we bear in mind that any verse translation must needs bring some modification then it is clear that the above may be classed as a translation of Anerio's text. The only obvious addition by Morley is the mention of Phyllis.

Re-working

Anerio: Flori, morir debb'io³⁷
 Flori, morir debb'io
 Flori dolce ben mio
 Ne mi darai aita
 Con tua belta infinita
 Morro ma m'udirai morendo dire
 Flori bellae gentil mi fa morire

Morley: Flora, wilt thou torment me?³⁸
 Flora, wilt thou torment me
 And yet must I content me?
 And shall I have no pleasure
 of that thy beauty's treasure?
 Lo, then I die, and dying thus complain me:
 Flora gentle and fair, alas, hath slain me.

This seems to be one stage further away from the Anerio text than the previous example. The last two lines I class as translations; the rest is just that much more loosely connected to the Italian text to be classed as a re-working of the basic theme rather than a direct translation. In 1597 Morley published his Canzonets Selected, No. 7 in that volume is Anerio's canzonet Flori, morir debb'io with an English text as follows:

Flora, fair love, I languish
 For love, Flora, for anguish.
 And thou dost not thy duty
 To be so nice for beauty
 I die, yet dying thus, will I complain me.³⁹
 Flora gentle and fair, oh she hath slain me.

It is interesting to note that Morley here used a different re-working of the Anerio text. It is no more a direct translation than the earlier one. Two explanations for this are possible. Firstly, it may be that different persons produced the two English texts; secondly that Morley deliberately offered a new English text for the Anerio in 1597 to help disguise the fact that he had set the text himself in 1595. Both English texts fit the Anerio equally well so the second explanation seems to be more likely.⁴⁰ One notices that the two English

texts agree most of all in the last two lines. As singers tend to identify vocal pieces by the first line of the text it is possible that Morley made a point of making the English texts appear to differ earlier in the poem and that he felt he could safely retain the essentials of the last two lines without risk of discovery. Whatever the real explanation for this curiosity we can learn much from Morley's re-worked Anerio text. Above all we can see in both re-workings the way in which madrigalian verse was contrived; and this will provide a useful supplement to the discussion in Chapter IV. We may note that the syllabification of the Italian poem is precisely kept in both re-workings (7 7 7 7 11 11) and that the number of lines of text (six) and the rhyming couplets are maintained (aa bb cc). Most important of all, however, is that the last two syllables of each line have words with strong -- weak accents to match the Italian inflexions at the ends of the lines, thus: 'languish' and 'anguish', 'torment me' and 'content me' etc. which, presumably, were the nearest Morley could get to the Italian meaning of the opening couplet without losing either the rhyme or the feminine ending. In other words, we may speculate that Morley's approach when preparing to set a text of Italian derivation was to contrive his verse as follows:

- (1) Digest the general theme/emotion of the Italian original and in the English poem make evident the content of the Italian as accurately as possible, but, if necessary, modify it so that:
 - (a) Rhyming words conclude the end of lines
 - (b) The accentuation of the last two syllables of each line work is strong--weak to match the rhythm of the Italian line endings.

- (2) Maintain the same number of lines of text as the Italian poem.
- (3) Retain the same pattern of syllabification as the Italian poem.
- (4) Follow the Italian rhyme scheme as closely as possible.

Obertello cites Anerio's Su questi fior t'aspetto as the source for the text used by Morley in Sweet Nymph come to thy lover(No.4). This provides an extreme example of the modification mentioned above, as there is no direct relationship of content discernible between the two poems:

Anerio: Su questi fior t'aspetto

Su questi fior t'aspetto
Ninfa gentil per discoprirti il petto
Alla dolc'ombra grata e amorosa
D'una vermiglia rosa.

Morley: Sweet nymph, come to thy lover

Sweet nymph, come to thy lover,
Lo here, alone, our loves we may discover,
Where the sweet nightingale with wanton
gloses,
Hark! her love too discloses.

However, despite this, there is considerable technical affinity between the two poems: they both have four lines, the rhyme schemes are identical (aa bb), and the syllabification is exactly the same in both (7 11 11 7). It is conceivable, therefore, that on occasions, Morley took an Italian text, virtually ignored its content, and then wrote another utilising the technical features of the model.⁴¹ If this were so it would certainly explain why in many of the Canzonets (1595) and Madrigals (1594) the texts feel very Italian-ate yet scholars have been unable to locate precisely the Italian sources for them.

In the majority of the Canzonets (1595) the texts show sufficient relationship in content to Italian poems to justify Obertello's ascription of their sources. An examination of their technical

features confirms them quite remarkably. Tables 26 and 27 show how lines of verse, syllabification patterns and rhyme schemes in Morley's texts closely relate to those of his quarries:

TABLE 26
Technical affinities between Morley's texts in Canzonets (1595) and his Italian sources: lines in text and syllabification patterns

Item no. in C. (1595)	No. of lines in text	In Morley	In Italian Source	In Morley	In Italian Source
1 Go ye	5	5	5	11 11 11 11 11	11 11 11 11 11
2 When, lo	6	6	6	7 7 7 11 11 7	7 7 7 11 11 7
4 Sweet nymph	4	4	4	7 11 11 7	7 11 11 7
5 I go before,	5	Not known	Not known	7 11 6 6 7	Not known
7 Miraculous	6*	6	6	7 7 11 11 7 7	7 7 11 11 7 7
8 Lo, here	3	3	3	11 11 11	11 11 11
10 Leave now	6	6	6	7 11 7 11 7 11	8 13 8 12 7 11
11 Fire	4	3	3	7 11 7 7	7 11 7
13 Flora wilt	6	6	6	7 7 7 7 11 11	7 7 7 7 11 11
15 In nets	6**	6	6	7 7 11 7 7 11	7 7 11 7 7 11
17 O thou	6	6	6	7 7 7 7 7 11	7 7 7 7 7 11
19 I should	3	3	3	11 11 11	11 11 11
Reference: Morley <u>Canzonets</u> (1595) : EMV					
Italian sources			: Obertello Madrigali Italiani in Inghilterra		
* Includes recapitulation of the opening line					
**Lines 3 and 4 in EMV interpreted as one line					

TABLE 27

Technical affinities between Morley's texts in Canzonets (1595) and his Italian sources: rhyme schemes

Item no. in <u>C.</u> (1595)	Rhyme scheme in Morley	Rhyme scheme in Italian source
1 Go ye,	a b b c c	a b b c c
2 When, lo	a a b b c c	a a b b c c
4 Sweet nymph	a a b b	a a b b
5 I go before	a b c c b	Not known
7 Miraculous love's	a b a b a a	a b a a? a a
8 Lo, here	a b b	a b b
10 Leave now	a a b b c c	a b b a c c
11 Fire	a b b b	a b b
13 Flora, wilt	a a b b c c	a a b b c c
15 In nets	a b a a c c	a b a b c c
17 O thou	a a b b c c	a a b b c c
19 I should	a b b	a b b
Reference: Morley <u>Canzonets</u> (1595) Italian sources		: EMV : Obertello <u>Madrigali Italiani</u> in <u>Inghilterra</u>

Oliphant first pointed out the connection between Morley's texts in the Canzonets (1595) and those of Anerio; in fact, all Morley's texts which relate to those set by Anerio have considerable parallels with the Italian composer's, whether in technical features or content or, as sometimes, both. Oliphant also discovered, with some consternation, that Morley had borrowed some of Anerio's music.⁴² Indeed, the realisation that Morley had relied upon Anerio for music as well as texts has called forth a wide range of summary judgements, from the charge 'impudent plagiarism' of Oliphant to the more recent interpretation of Thurston Dart who called Morley's canzonets 'simplified editions of admired works'.⁴³ Kerman probed deeply to discover what precisely Morley took from Anerio's music in two instances;⁴⁴ and close scrutiny of this kind is valuable. We have just observed that there is considerable affinity between the texts of the two sets; and it is important to stress again that the extent of this affinity varies from virtually literal translation to rather remote re-working in which technical features outlined earlier alone are preserved. Musically, the situation is similar. The two pairs which Kerman analysed were those which reveal the closest musical affinity; and he was right to point out that even these are not equally matched in their derivation one from the other. Analysis of the others shows that what Morley took from Anerio were primarily aspects of structural organisation and short rhythmic patterns.

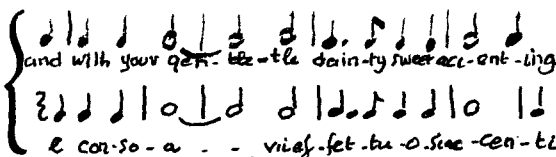
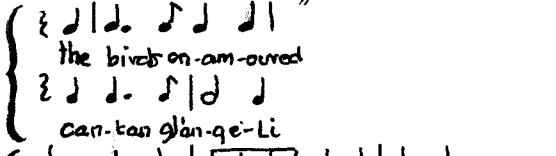
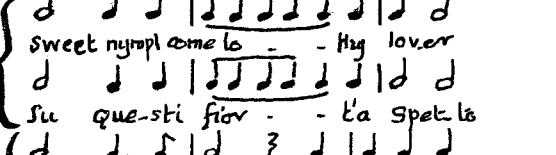
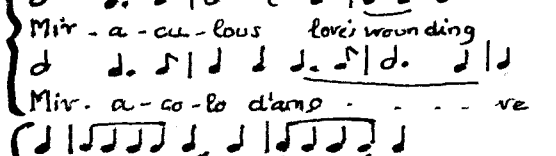
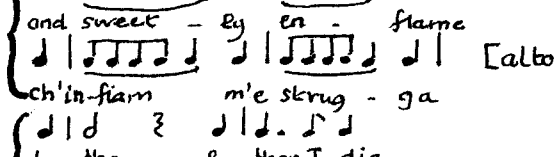
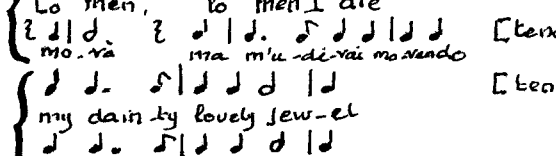
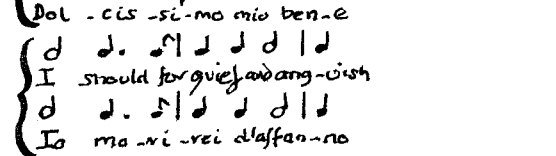
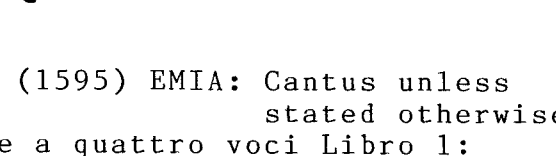
It is quite clear, in every instance, that Morley used the same structural plan (whether AA B CC or AA CC) that Anerio had employed in the model; and in Miraculous Love's wounding(no.7) he even kept the ternary design that Anerio had used for his Miracolo d'amore. However, given the fact that there was

textual affinity between Morley's pieces and their models, albeit in some cases only technical affinity, there is nothing startling in the structural parallels as the longer texts called for the larger design (AA B CC) and the shorter texts the smaller design (AA CC); and the 'miraculous' pair had the recapitulation built into the text.

The short rhythmic patterns which Morley borrowed from Anerio again derive from the textual affinities. Though the extent to which he used Anerio's rhythmic patterns varies, there is some connection in every pair: see Table 28 overleaf.

TABLE 28

An estimate of the amount of rhythmic parallels between Morley's Canzonets (1595) and their Anerio counterparts, together with one example of rhythmic connection from each pair

Item No. and composer	Estimate of amount of rhythmic parallel	Example of parallel	Example of music init- ially setting line No.
Morley :No.1 Anerio :No.1	Considerable		2 2
Morley :No.2 Anerio :No.20	Some		5 5
Morley :No.4 Anerio :No.2	Some		1 1
Morley :No.7 Anerio :No.13	Some		1 1
Morley :No.11 Anerio :No.10	Some		2 [alto] 2
Morley :No.13 Anerio :No.3	Considerable		5 [tenore] 5
Morley :No.17 Anerio :No.7	Considerable		[tenor] 2 2
Morley :No.19 Anerio :No.5	Considerable		1 1

Reference: Morley Canzonets (1595) EMIA: Cantus unless stated otherwise

Anerio Canzonette a quattro voci Libro 1:
Canto I unless stated otherwise

It is in our investigation of this aspect that we most miss the Italian version of Morley's canzonets, so any conclusions we may reach must necessarily be conjectural. However, it is clear that Morley did not set the Italian words of Anerio's canzonets to the music of the English two-part pieces as it stands. All attempts to set the Italian texts to the English music have failed: there are too many anomalies for this to have been the case, despite the strong rhythmic parallels in many instances. Consequently we are obliged to accept one of the following possibilities concerning the composition of Morley's Canzonets(1595):

- (1) Morley (or someone else) produced some English texts, based to some degree or other on Anerio's Italian texts, which Morley then set to music. As he did so he turned to Anerio's music for creative stimulus, using it as a source for rhythmic ideas as well as structural designs.
- (2) Morley (or someone else) produced some Italian texts similar to, but not the same as, Anerio's, which Morley then set to music for his Italian version. He then contrived some English texts to match these as closely as possible and thus produced the two-part pieces as we know them.

Either of the above speculations would explain the structural and rhythmic affinities and the varying extent of the latter parallels; but, though it makes no explanation for the missing Italian version of Morley's Canzonets (1595), only the first possibility can explain the sporadic melodic parallels (Example 30) and the other features which, on occasions, link Morley's music unquestionably to Anerio's. Of these we may note, for instance, how both composers move to a few bars of triple time to set 'Flora gentle and fair' (EMIA p.21: 9-11) and 'Flori bellae gentil' (Example 31) in Morley's Flora, wilt thou torment me (No.13) and Anerio's Florir,morir debb'io.

Above all, however, we have to remember that Anerio's Canzonette were written for four voices and Morley's Canzonets(1595) for two voices; and it is best to see Anerio's works as the stimulus for Morley's inventive skill. Morley's composition of two-part pieces for instrumental and vocal performance was an astonishing achievement, and any charge of plagiarism misses the point entirely. His Canzonets(1595) are contrapuntal masterpieces in miniature which, despite Italianate features absorbed from Anerio, are thoroughly English, are thoroughly Morley.

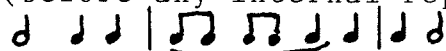
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. D. Arnold, 'Gastoldi and the English Ballett', Monthly Musical Record, vol.86 (1956), pp.44-52.
2. *ibid.*, p.44.
3. From the dedicatory letter of Haussman's publication, quoted in Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, pp.137-38 and p.138 n.1. By permission of Oxford University Press.
4. Morley, Introduction, p.295.
5. Arnold, 'Gastoldi', p.45.
6. *Op. cit.*, p.45.
7. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.138.
8. *ibid.*, p.138.
9. F. Zimmerman, 'Features of Italian Style in Elizabethan part-songs and madrigals' (unpublished dissertation, University of Oxford, 1955), p.146.
10. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.147. By permission of O.U.P.
11. Jenkins, p.42: No.19 is the first stanza of a four-stanza poem 'Non mi date tormento' set by Ferretti in his Book 3, No.6.
12. The translations of Gastoldi's text used in this and in subsequent examples are by Gail Meadows, from the Peters Edition of Gastoldi's Balletti with due acknowledgement and by kind permission of Peters Edition Ltd.
13. EMV p.147. By permission of Oxford University Press.
14. Stanza 2, lines 4 and 5, 'bliss me' and 'kiss me': the identical rhyme pair occurs in Canzonets (1593) No.3, lines 1 and 2.
Stanza 2, lines 2 and 3, 'cruel' and 'jewel': these are among the most popular rhyme pairs in madrigalian verse. See, for example, Canzonets (1593) No.6 and Canzonets (1597) No.17.
Stanza 1, lines 4 and 5, 'roses' and 'gloses': the identical rhyme occurs in Madrigals (1594) No.14.
15. It is interesting to speculate that Morley introduced these tiny melismas for purely musical reasons-- to achieve a smoother and more shapely melodic line. Without them, both the Italian and English text can be set as efficiently, though, musically, the effect is less satisfactory.
16. But see also my observation on p.119-20.
17. EMV p.149, but stanza 2, line 4, gives 'O else you...'. This has been altered to 'Or else you' in accordance with the text in EM4.
18. Morley's note values have been halved to facilitate comparison.
19. The versification of Morley's text is taken from EM4 where seven-line stanzas are given. (EMV elides lines 6 and 7 to make a six-line stanza.)
20. The note values of Gastoldi's ballet have been doubled and additional bar lines inserted to facilitate comparison.
21. The sources of the texts of these pieces in Morley's Italian edition are shown in Table 21.

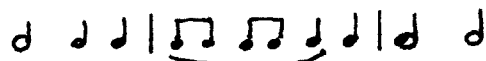
22. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.144 et passim.
23. See Ward, Come sable night, bars 53-54, 'the sun hath set his golden eye', for example.
24. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.143.
25. *ibid.*, p.281, quotes Marenzio's Villanella as example A.
26. D.Arnold, 'Croce and the English Madrigal', Music and Letters, vol.35 (October, 1954), p.315.
27. B.Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance (London, 1948, 2nd. edition, 1970), p.98.
28. In an advertisement dating from c.1653 Playford listed publications of English Music between 1571 and 1638, and amongst Morley's works he specified his '2 parts English' and his '2 parts Italian'. See L.Corale, 'A John Playford Advertisement' in RMA Research Chronicle No.5 (1965).
29. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.159 n.
30. The translations of the Italian titles are taken from E.Fellowes, Nine Fantasias for two viols by Thomas Morley arranged for two violins, published by Stainer and Bell Ltd. (London, 1928).
31. The term was first used by Weelkes in his Madrigals for five and six voices (1600); thereafter it appeared on the title page of nearly all English madrigal publications, though, sometimes, its wording varied slightly. Robert Jones, for example, used 'for viols and voices, or for voices alone, or as you please', Madrigals (1607).
32. Morley did not specify the instruments for which he intended these pieces, though performance by viols is an obvious choice.
33. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.160 n.2.
34. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.161 says that the Morley poem bears little relationship to Vecchi's text. This is so: not only is there no relationship in textual content but also the syllabification and rhyme schemes differ.
35. The Anerio text is taken from Canzonette a quattro voci-libro 1 by Felice Anerio edited by Camillo Moser, G.Zanibon, (Padua, 1968) with due acknowledgement.
36. The Morley text is from EMV except that I have thought fit to include the final line (as in EM1B) where EMV omits it. By permission of Oxford University Press.
37. As for Note 35.
38. EMV. By permission of Oxford University Press.
39. A. Obertello, Madrigali italiani in Inghilterra (Milan, 1949), p.338.
40. Though more likely, it is nonetheless not very convincing as Miracolo d'Amore also appeared in Canzonets Selected (1597) with precisely the same English text to Anerio's music as he had used for his own Miraculous love's wounding in Canzonets (1595).

41. Obertello is justified in ascribing Sweet nymph, come to thy lover to the Anerio source as there is strong rhythmic affinity between the musical settings of the first two lines of text:

Line 1 (before any internal repetitions) Morley:



Anerio:



Line 2 (before any internal repetitions) Morley:



Anerio:



However, the most significant musical parallel between this Anerio canzonet and a Morley piece occurs in the latter's Cruel, you pull away too soon (Canzonets 1593, No.3) where Anerio's opening figure is used by Morley to an English text which does not suit the music at all (EM1A, p.9: 1-3 and Example 30)!

42. T.Oliphant, La Musa Madrigalesca, or a collection of madrigals, ballets, roundelays etc. chiefly of the Elizabethan age, with remarks and annotations (London, 1837), p.93.
43. Thurston Dart, 'Morley's Consort Lessons' p.2.
44. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.162, analyses Flora wilt thou torment me (No.13) and Go ye my canzonets (No.1).

Canzonets to five and six voices

Three works by Morley were published in 1597: his Introduction, Canzonets Selected and the Canzonets to five and six voices. Thus three aspects of his personality and talents were made manifest in one year: Morley the scholar and teacher, Morley the editor and Morley the composer, and, for him, that year must have been the culmination of many years of previous toil. The dedication of the Canzonets (1597) suggests that they were published in the spring of 1597:

Having therefore composed these few airs I
thought (it) good to let them walk abroad
this Spring time to take the air.¹

Morley's deliberate pun on 'air' is noteworthy as is his use of the word in the sense of song. This is Morley's first use of the word air in print: previously he had preferred song. This is the more significant because he also set the Canzonets(1597) 'tablature - wise to the lute in the cantus book for one to sing and play alone...'. In fact, as we shall later see, he set only some of the pieces in this manner. Moreover, the dedication contains the following unusual sentence:

... And if for their protection they may
only wear the badge of your noble family,
then shall they be right swans songs indeed
and never need to fear either Arne or Po.

Two significant points emerge from this. It would seem that Morley regarded his Canzonets (1597) as his last creative offering ('swans songs').² This might be sales talk, though, if we are to believe the references to his ill-health in the Introduction (see pp.72-3) then perhaps Morley genuinely felt that he would be unable to compose again owing to failing health. Further, his reference to 'Arne' and 'Po' is curious. His choice of rivers to symbolise Italian music was probably to maintain the swan image, though why he should choose those two particular rivers, other than for their fame, is inexplicable.³ But why refer to Italy at all? Two inter-connected answers to this are possible. On the one hand, he may have been saying that his compositions were as good as any written by Italian composers. If

this was his intention then the inference is that he had by then achieved a style of secular vocal composition distinctively his own and thoroughly English in character which was as accomplished as that of important Italian composers like Marenzio. On the other hand -- and this is less probable -- he may have been countering his critics in advance by saying that these compositions were not reworked versions of Italian composers' ideas this time, but were his first and last own 'songs' like those of the dying swan. Morley's preoccupation with his critics, particularly evident in the address to the Courteous Reader in his Introduction,⁴ is fascinating, and it may be that they had previously attacked Morley for plagiarism -- the Canzonets (1595) and the Ballets (1595), which are the most obviously Italianate in derivation of his publications, had appeared two years earlier, and some of the pieces in his 1593 and 1594 volumes owed something to Italian composers, as we have seen. Perhaps, then, his Canzonets (1597) were entirely of his own creation and that this was what he meant by their having no need to 'fear either Arne or Po.'

It is interesting, too, that Morley should have issued his Canzonets (1597) with a lute part, because in the same year appeared John Dowland's First book of songs or ayres of four parts with tablature for the lute, the first major publication in England of solo songs with lute accompaniment.⁵ That Morley provided a lute part for his Canzonets (1597) shows how alert he was to changes in public musical taste. Morley's alternative mode of performance for his Canzonets, of course, does not detract from the significance of Dowland's 1597 publication, as Dowland's work represents an entirely new departure in the realm of published music as the ayre with lute accompaniment is a quite different genre from the Madrigal and canzonet. It was not until 1600 that Morley issued a volume of his own lute songs. Morley's

statement that he also set his Canzonets 'tablature-wise to the lute' was in fact an exaggeration: there were twenty-one pieces in the collection but only the first sixteen items were provided with lute tablature. Moreover, it is clear that Morley's tablature was not particularly idiomatic for the instrument: Thurston Dart described Morley's transcription of the accompaniment in the main as '... literal, and not at all lutenistic...'.⁶ Indeed, it is not always evident that the cantus part really works as a single melodic line. Nevertheless, Morley's pioneering spirit in providing the alternative mode of performance must be acknowledged.

The Canzonets (1597) contain seventeen works for five voices and four for six voices. The last of the six-part pieces, Hark! Alleluia, is described as 'a reverend memorial of that honourable true gentleman Henry Noel Esquire'.⁷ This is the only work in the collection which can be dated with any certainty as Henry Noel died c.1596/7. In the article in which Thurston Dart described the lute part he remarked that the Canzonets (1597) themselves 'tend to be stodgy' and suggested that Morley's creative powers were already in decline by the late 1590s partly, at least, because of his time-consuming activities as editor, arranger and publisher at that time.⁸ Though 'stodgy' is perhaps an unfair description of the Canzonets (1597), they are different from his earlier works in some respects and this is important.

The Canzonets (1593) and the Madrigals (1594) were organised in their respective volumes on a discernible pattern of key. The Canzonets (1597) show less systematic organisation from this point of view (see Table 29) though there is a tendency for pieces in similar keys to be grouped together: nos. 3-9 are set in major keys, and nos. 10-15 in minor keys. Of the complete set, twelve are in minor and nine in major keys. The collection shows a variety in scoring. Of the five-part items, only five utilise two sopranos, which is rather surprising in the

light of the Italian predilection for two high voices in a vocal texture and of Morley's success in writing for two sopranos in his earlier publications. (On the other hand, his claim that the cantus part may be sung alone with lute accompaniment is diluted by those pieces with two soprano parts. Indeed, in only a few instances may the cantus part be said to be truly melodic, for even in pieces with only one soprano part the alto sometimes rises higher than the soprano.) Two of the five-part pieces have divisi altos and the remaining ten have two tenor parts. Of the six-part pieces, nos. 18-20 are scored S S A T T B and no. 21, the Elegy, is scored S A A T T B . The most appropriate scoring for the 1597 volume is given in Table 29.

The texts of the Canzonets (1597) are predominantly Italianate in character, though no precise source for any of the poems has yet been identified. The Italianate features may be defined as the preponderance of lines with seven or eleven syllables (with feminine endings in abundance) and content which is largely concerned with the vicissitudes of youthful love and which involves traditional characters like the ubiquitous Phyllis, Flora and Amaryllis. Despite this, however, the poems contain a number of references to English pastimes like 'barley-break'⁹ and, by means of nicknames, to popular English figures of the time like 'Bonny-boots'.¹⁰

It was noted earlier that it is impossible to produce from the part-books anything approaching a definitive text for many of the Canzonets (1593) and the Madrigals (1594). However, it is comparatively easy to establish one for most of the Canzonets (1597), and this difference between the earlier and later publications is significant. It is evident, too, that the 1597 texts themselves are more uniform with one another -- compare, for example, Tables 12 and 18 with Table 30. Further, Morley's treatment of the words in the 1597 collection is much less flexible than in his

TABLE 29

Keys and scoring of Canzonets (1597)

Canzonet	Key	Scoring
1 Fly Love, that art so	A min.	S S A T B
2 False love did me inveigle	G min.	S A T T B
3 Adieu, you kind and cruel	G maj.	S A T T B
4 Love's folk in green	C maj.	S S A T B
5 Love took his bow	F maj.	S A T T B
6 Lo, where with flowery	F maj.	S A A T B
7 O grief, ev'n on the bud	F maj.	S A T T B
8 Sovereign of my delight	C maj.	S S A T B
9 Our Bonny-boots could toot	F maj.	S A T T B
10 Ay me! the fatal arrow	G min.	S A A T B
11 My nymph the deer	G min.	S A T T B
12 Cruel, wilt thou persevere?	G min.	S A T T B
13 Said I that Amaryllis?	G min.	S A T T B
14 Damon and Phyllis squared	G min.	S A T T B
15 Lady, you think you spite	G min.	S S A T B
16 You black bright stars	G maj.	S A T T B
17 I follow, lo, the footing	*C maj.	S S A T B
18 Stay heart, run not so fast	A min.	S S A T T B
19 Good Love, then fly thou	G min.	S S A T T B
20 Ladies, you see time flieth	G min.	S S A T T B
21 Hark! Alleluia	*A min.	S A A T T B

These appear to be the effective tonal centres, though the final cadences are on G (No. 17) and E (No. 21).

Rhyme schemes and syllabification patterns of
Canzonets (1597)

Canzonet	No. of lines	Rhyme scheme	Syllabification
1 Fly love	6	a a b b c c	7 7 7 7 7 11
2 False love	8	a a b b c c d d	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 11
3 Adieu, you	6	a a b b c c	7 7 12 7 7 7
4 Love's folk	6	a a b b c c	7 7 7 7 7 7 7
5 Love took	8	a a b b c c d d	7 7 7 7 6? 6? 6 10?
6 Lo, where	7	a a b b a c c	11 11 7 7 11 7 7
7 O grief	6	a a b b c c	11 5 11 5 11 5
8 Sovereign of	5	a a b b a	11 11 9 7 7
9 Our Bonny-boots	4	a a b b	11 11 11 11
10 Ay me!	6	a a b b c c	7 7 7 7 11 11
11 My nymph	6	a a b b c c	11 11 11 7 7 11
12 Cruel, wilt	6	a a b b c c	7 5 7 5 7 5
13 Said I	6	a a b b c c	7 7 7 7 12? 11
14 Damon and	6	a a b b c c	7 11 7 11 11 11
15 Lady, you	7	a a b b c c a	7 7 7 7 7 7 7
16 You black	6	a a b b c c	11 11 11 11 11 11
17 I follow	9	(a b b c d d (e f g g	7 7 11 7 7 11 7 7 11
18 Stay heart	14	(a b a b c c d d (e e f f g g	11 7 7 7 7 11 11 11 11 11 7 11 7 11
19 Good Love	8	a a b b c c d d	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7
20 Ladies, you	6	a a b b c c	7 7 5 5 5 7
21 Hark! Alleluia	6	a b a b c c	7 7 7 7 7 7

Source: EMV

earlier publications. In the earlier works Morley used the texts, as a master uses a servant, to do almost anything which aided his artistic purpose, sometimes omitting words and sometimes adding to them, seemingly as he required. Though not entirely absent in the 1597 publication, this attitude to the text is much less in evidence. It is possible, of course, that this modification of attitude may have been caused by Morley's concern to provide an alternative means of performance by soloist with lute accompaniment. In addition, it is arguable that the greater number of voice-parts in the 1597 publication made it less necessary for Morley to juggle with words from his text so adroitly. Again, it could mean that in 1597 Morley was moving towards a more responsible attitude to his text; namely, that he was by then more concerned than earlier to present his text in a more easily intelligible way. This more responsible attitude reaches its full maturity in Morley's Ayres (1600) when, through the very nature of the lute song, his declamation of a poetic text is clearer than ever before. Whatever the explanation may be, however, his change of approach to his texts in 1597 from that adopted in 1593 and 1594 is related to the lack of musical sparkle and vitality in the Canzonets (1597) which had so distinguished his three- and four-part publications.

With the exception of nos. 17, 18, 19 and 21, the 1597 pieces are constructed on canzonet lines. Nos. 1, 4, 12, 15 and 20 are designed AA CC and nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 16 are AA B CC structures. The exceptions listed above are through-composed in the manner of a Madrigal.

Many of Morley's earlier compositions had utilised the foregoing canzonet designs, but in these he had departed from Italian practice by repeating the music and words of ~~both~~ sections, as, indeed, he does in nos. 3 and 20 of the 1597 publication. (In Italy the canzonet

had nearly always been strophic in character.) However, in twelve pieces in this set (nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15 and 16) Morley makes a significant innovation by repeating the first musical section of the canzonet to new words. In this respect he has become more Italianate than previously. This new departure puts the relationship between words and music in the canzonet into a different light: if the same music can be used for different words then there must either be significantly less concern on Morley's part for the meaning and emotional overtones of the text or greater metrical and emotional symmetry in the poems set in 1597 than those in his earlier canzonets. Whilst there is certainly less word-painting in the twelve pieces in question than in Morley's earlier canzonets, it is the latter alternative that is the real consequence of his new policy. Examination of the twelve poems that he sets in the new way reveals that in every instance the unit of verse set to the repeated music -- whether it be one or two lines long ^{II} -- is metrically identical with the first unit. Moreover, emotionally the two units match also, which enables any word-painting that occurs in the first section to be equally valid in the repeat. For example, to draw attention to the word 'black' in You black bright stars (no.16), Morley shifts from white to black notation in triple time and returns to white notation in common time on the word 'shine'. When the music is repeated, the notational changes are equally valid: 'black' is well matched in the poem by 'darker', ^{and 'shine' by 'stars'} in the repeat so the word-painting in both cases is pertinent.

A further difference between Morley's 1593 and 1594 publications and the Canzonets (1597) is the greater proportion of homophonic to imitative textures in the 1597 volume. For instance, of the first sixteen items in the Canzonets (1593) only three start with a passage of homophonic writing (nos. 1, 10 and 12) whereas eleven of the first sixteen of the Canzonets (1597) begin in such a manner. Such statistics are

not entirely reliable, however, as, to some extent at least, Morley seems to have selected his type of opening according to the text being set. Where, for instance, a poem commences with a proper name, a chordal opening is chosen. In Thirsis, let pity move thee (Canzonets 1593 no.12) 'Thirsis' is set by block chords (I s -- V s) and the remainder of the line is treated homophonically; and in Damon and Phyllis squared (Canzonets 1597 no. 14) 'Damon' is set in precisely the same way. However, despite Morley's consistent policy with proper names, it is valid to interpret the type of opening of a work as an indication of the composer's current preference regarding textures. Two canzonets from each of the publications just mentioned start with the 'Lady' or 'Ladies' (Canzonets 1593 no.4 and 14; Canzonets 1597 nos. 15 and 20). The earlier canzonets with this initial word open contrapuntally; in the later canzonets both set 'Lady' or 'Ladies' to two chords. Those pieces which start with the word 'Cruel', and there is one in each collection, demonstrate the same change of attitude towards a significant initial word of the text.

In his Elizabethan Madrigal Kerman stresses that Morley's Canzonets (1597) may be distinguished from their Italian counterparts by their 'elaboration'. He writes:

Morley can stand with the best Italian composers of canzonets, and again and again shows an inclination to burst out of the form with a kind of elaboration that the Italians would consider just a little pedantic and in opposition to the fundamental aesthetic of the canzonet. In contradistinction to the madrigal, the Italians expected an essentially concise, self-contained composition; Morley, writing a piece with only one stanza, naturally felt the need for extension and followed purely musical principles at many points...¹²

In comparison with Italian canzonets, this is certainly an accurate appraisal. However, it makes no attempt to compare Morley's 1597 volume with his earlier canzonets.

Jenkins described the 1597 works as 'more elaborate and "madrigalesque" than his earlier ventures in this field.'¹³ I do not agree with this interpretation. Compared with Morley's earlier canzonets, the majority of the 1597 set show considerably less elaboration and fewer madrigalesque characteristics, as the move towards more homophonic textures at the openings of the Canzonets(1597) to some extent indicates. This move may well indicate a trend towards greater intelligibility, towards clearer text delivery, but not towards greater musical elaboration. This last is certainly what one might expect to find in view of the number of voice-parts involved, but it is not borne out by an examination of the score. Moreover, the fact that Morley so often changes the words for the repeat of the first musical section is an indication of greater simplification. Jenkins's argument implies the opposite. He suggests that the greater length of the first section in many of the Canzonets (1597) than in his earlier canzonets is an indication of their greater elaboration and makes them more madrigalesque; he suggests, too, that Morley changes the words for the repeat of the first section in order to avoid being monotonous.¹⁴ By changing the words for the repeat Morley certainly averts monotony, but it is because the treatment is basically simple, compared with Morley's earlier canzonets, that the composer runs the risk of monotony and avoids it by repeating the music with different words. Moreover, to repeat music to different words is contrary to the fundamental aesthetic of the Madrigal rather than more madrigalesque.

The present writer contends, then, that the Canzonets (1597) are simpler and less madrigalesque than Morley's earlier works and, further, that this is evidence of a gradual change of style on Morley's part between 1593 and 1597. This change can be exemplified by comparing Cruel, you pull away too soon (Canzonets 1593 no.3)

and Love took his bow and arrow (Canzonets 1597 no. 5) since in other respects they have features in common. Both have eight-line texts which are long by Italian canzonet standards; they have identical rhyme schemes (aa bb cc dd) and neither is very serious in content nor in any other way prompts a full madrigalian setting. The lines are longer in the earlier text, containing seventy-seven syllables, than in the later one which has fifty-six; but this apart, the texts are reasonably comparable. Both compositions are set in a major key and both are constructed on the AA B CC canzonet design. Their structural proportions are shown in the following Table:

TABLE 31

The structural proportions of Cruel, you pull away too soon and Love took his bow and arrow

Length of opening section in bars including repeat	Length of middle section in bars	Length of final section in bars inclg. repeat	Total length in bars
Cruel, you pull : 21	22	46	89
Love took his : 18	9	31	58

Source: EM1B pp. 9 -- 15; EM3 pp. 24 -- 28

The statistics above highlight three significant facts: firstly, that the three-part work is longer than the five-part, though to some extent this is explicable by the great number of syllables in its text; secondly, that both works devote the greatest amount of attention to the final section, even though in the five-part piece the first section is repeated with different words; and, finally, that in Love took his bow and arrow Morley gives significantly least attention to his middle section

whereas in the earlier work, the first two sections are of comparable length. These three observations in themselves suggest a simpler and more concise approach on Morley's part to the composition of the later piece. This suggestion is confirmed when the musical content of both works is examined. There are no homophonic passages in the three-part canzonet apart from the moments of collection at the main cadences, whereas there are three homophonic areas in Love took his bow and arrow. These latter display no striking originality or real invention; indeed, they represent the most primitive and undemanding brand of musical conception. Above and beyond these, only three distinctive musical ideas can be identified in the five-part work: the rather pedestrian imitations on 'and slew his', the more lively imitative setting of 'away the wag him hied', and the conventional, slower-moving imitative entries setting 'my bird is dead'. In none of these does Morley display any significant originality in the ideas themselves nor any real ingenuity in his treatment of them. In fact the five-part canzonet is characterised by a paucity of ideas which are treated in a manner which is competent but undistinguished -- simple and straightforward rather than 'elaborate'.

In Cruel, you pull away too soon, on the other hand, there are seven musical ideas: each line of text, except for the fourth, is set to a new idea, and each is worked out in a texture of its own. The imitations are carefully contrived and create an atmosphere of excitement: those entries in stretto produce cross-rhythms such as distinguish many of the canzonets in three parts and which are rarely to be found in the 1597 five-part pieces. Every possibility of rhythmic and melodic counterpoint seems to have been explored in Cruel, you pull away too soon with the result that in performance no-one can predict quite what will happen next. In contrast, Love took his bow and arrow is comparatively predictable at almost every turn.

The differences between the two canzonets examined above epitomise the differences between the majority of the pieces in the two sets to which they belong. These differences are not attributable to the fact that the earlier set used only three voices whereas the latter was scored for five and six voices. O amica mea, a motet by Morley included in his Introduction of 1597, shows that Morley was capable of great achievement in handling five voice-parts with no lack of invention or skill in intricate counterpoint, and even if he didn't compose this motet in 1597 he must surely have revised or approved it for publication at that time. Another argument to explain his apparent simplification of style in the Canzonets (1597) is that his concern to provide an alternative means of performance by solo voice with lute accompaniment led to his simpler approach, at least in the first sixteen items in the volume. However, if this were so, the Canzonets (1597) would show more evidence of being solo songs in conception; in other words, the cantus part would show more qualities of a single melodic line, as, for instance, it does in O grief ev'n on the bud (no.7) and, to a lesser extent, in Ay me! the fatal arrow and Cruel, wilt thou persevere (nos.10&12.) . These, however, are the exceptions: the majority of the first sixteen items are unsuitable as solo songs as there are too many and too long rests in the cantus part, and the accompanying parts are vocal in conception rather than instrumental, often requiring sustained sounds which the lute is incapable of providing.

It was noted earlier that the Canzonets (1597) lack much of the sparkle which characterised Morley's earlier publications. Although this is a valid comment for the set as a whole, there are a few pieces which recall the Morley of Ho who comes here (1594 no.18) and Arise, get up, my dear (1593 no.20) : Our Bonny-boots could toot it (1597 no. 9) and, especially, I follow, lo, the footing (1597 no.17), for example;

Morley is still at his best when setting poems of activity rather than of sentiment. I follow, lo, the footing (no. 17) is not built on a canzonet design but is through-composed, and is best described as a light Madrigal. So, too, is Stay heart, run not so fast (no. 18) with which it has much in common. Yet the next six-part piece, Good Love, then fly thou to her (no. 19) is altogether different. It is predominantly serious in tone and would, technically, be classed as a Madrigal but it is a far cry from Deep lamenting (Canzonets 1593 no.9) which has so many contrasted ideas and moods which follow every emotional detail of the text. Good Love, then fly thou to her (no. 19) most of the time proceeds in the manner of a motet: each line of text is set to a new imitative idea, usually quite long, with each section dovetailing with the next in motet style. Indeed, the only hint of a madrigalian change of mood occurs on 'and turn about her' and 'sweet Love, this favour do me', though even these moments scarcely disturb the even flow of the whole piece. It appears, in fact, that Morley had abandoned the spirit of the serious Madrigal by 1597: if, as in Good Love, then fly thou to her (no. 19), he sets a text in a serious tone then he reverts to an altogether more austere style which, as Kerman says, is reminiscent of Ferrabosco.¹⁵ The piece to which it is most akin stylistically is Hark! Alleluia (no.21) though in this the quasi-motet manner is far more appropriate. Hark! Alleluia is quite the most striking example of Morley's interest in thematic unity encountered so far in this study -- to all intents and purposes he has built a complete piece out of one main musical idea.

Supplementary madrigalian works

In addition to the madrigalian works by Morley already discussed in this thesis are other secular pieces by him which are more appropriately considered separately. The Canzonets (1593) were reprinted in a second edition in 1602, and to the original contents were added four more three-part compositions -- 'with some Songs added by the Author'. All four pieces conclude with 'fa la' refrains which suggests that they were composed during or after 1595 when he first published his Ballets; and stylistically three of them are much more akin to the Ballets rather than to the Canzonets (1593). This love is but a wanton fit, Though Philomela lost her love and Springtime mantleth every bough are in fact simple ballets in three parts cast in the Gastoldian form. Their texts are set homophonically with no internal repetitions of words, and the 'fa la' refrains become more energetic if not fully contrapuntal. They are charming pieces and are deservedly popular with madrigal singers. Love learns by laughing is more involved though no less delightful. This is a ballet/canzone of the kind described in Chapter V : the text is set imitatively in the manner of a canzone, with internal repetitions of words, and the refrains flow logically out of the verbal text. Especially in the passages setting words, this piece recalls the virile counterpoint and lively cross rhythms of the Canzonets (1593).

Morley's Madrigals (1594) were issued in a second edition in 1600. The order of the contents was revised, the title page modified, and two four-part pieces were added to the collection -- Round around about a wood and On a fair morning -- as numbers twenty-one and twenty-two. Thurston Dart wrote of these additions:

These must have been composed at least as early as 1590, and probably earlier than that. To judge from their archaic style and faulty musical grammar, they may well date from Morley's years at Norwich.¹⁶

They are certainly most unusual and bear very little resemblance to any other of Morley's madrigalian compositions; indeed, they are part-songs written, one suspects, before Morley had absorbed much influence from Italian music. Their texts are unusual, too, in that almost all the lines conclude with masculine endings and, especially in On a fair morning (no.22), the poet was evidently preoccupied with alliteration. Much of Morley's setting of this latter text is homophonic, with a little imitation worked in here and there. It seems very English and not unlike folksong, particularly through its modal flavour and its jerky, rustic rhythms. Indeed, the repetitions of 'Sing care away' and 'Hey lustily' (EM2 p.113) are reminiscent of Whythorne.¹⁷ Round around about a wood (no.21) starts with an imitative texture which, at first sight, seems more in keeping with the rest of the Madrigals (1594) ; closer examination, however, shows that it differs considerably from his other imitative openings. The order of entries is unusual (the parts enter systematically from the lowest to the highest voice), each entry is either at the octave or the unison, and each is precisely the same distance from the other. The opening of Besides a fountain (no.14) is similar in some respects, but there the entries are in stretto which makes it much more effective. Other features we may note as unusual in these two 1600 additions are false relations (EM2 p.105 : 3/3&4 ; p.106 : 4/3&4; p.112 : 2/1&2 and 4/3&4), cambiatas (S EM2 p.108 : 10; S EM2 p.109 : 4) and a rare harmonic progression (EM2 p.107 : 8 -9). Distinctively different from Morley's other works though these two pieces are, they are attractive and well worthy of performance.

Morley the editor : anthologies of
Italian music; the Triumphs of Oriana

With the exception of his Ayres (1600) Morley's last publications concerned him more as editor than as composer: 1597 saw him issue one anthology of Italian music; 1598 saw another; 1599 found him editing music for instruments (Consort Lessons) ; and in 1601 he edited an anthology of madrigals by English composers (Triumphs of Oriana). If he had done nothing else in his life, the achievement summarised here would have earned him an important place in English musical history.

Why he should have turned so strongly towards editorial work is a matter for speculation. Perhaps his creative muse began to fail him during the closing years of the century; alternatively, and more probably, perhaps his acute business sense led him to provide works for which there was a ready market. In any case, it is likely that the two anthologies of Italian music, Canzonets Selected (1597) and Madrigals Selected (1598) were compiled largely from Italian music that he had referred to when preparing his Introduction.

Canzonets Selected (1597) is predominantly a collection of 'light' music for four voices by Anerio (6 items), Bassano (3 items), Croce (5 items), Vecchi (3 items), and Viadana (1 item), all of which had been published previously in Italy between 1584 and 1590. Morley's anthology made this music available in England with English words; so it was clearly intended for a singing public. Issued in four part-books, Canzonets Selected (1597) was printed for Morley by Peter Short. Morley included two of his own pieces in this anthology -- My heart, why hast thou taken and Still it fryeth, both of which were included as examples in his Introduction with Italian words (Perche tormi il cor mio and Ard'ogn'hora il cor respectively).

Canzonets Selected (1597) is particularly remarkable because it contained pieces by some of the very composers whose texts Morley had utilised for his earlier compositions, and even included some of the original versions of pieces that he had re-worked and

published without any acknowledgement -- Anerio's Miracolo d'amore, for instance, which he had transformed into a two-part canzonet and published as his own work two years previously.

Madrigals Selected (1598), an anthology of five-part canzonets and Madrigals by Italian composers, was also printed for Morley by Peter Short. It, too, was issued in part-books and, like the earlier anthology, consisted of pieces of a predominantly light kind published previously with Italian words between 1582 and 1593. In 1598, under Morley's editorial eye, they were made available for English singers by being issued with English words. The composers represented were an anonymous Italian, Belli (1 item), Ferrabosco (5 items), Ferretti (3 items), Giovanelli (4 items), De Macque (1 item), Marenzio (1 item), Mosto (1 item), Orologio (1 item), Peter Philips (1 item), Sabino (1 item), Vecchi (2 items) and Venturi (1 item). With the exception of Belli, Mosto, Orologio and Sabino, Morley mentioned these composers in his Introduction.

When Morley began publishing his own madrigals from 1593 onwards, the only Italian music with English words that was available for English singing enthusiasts was contained in Musica transalpina (1588) and Watson's Italian madrigals Englished (1590/1). The vast amount of Morley's works were light-hearted whereas the Italian music in the collections named above was, by comparison, serious. It would seem, therefore, that by 1597/8 Morley felt that he had so changed the musical climate in England by his own publications that it was appropriate to issue in anthologies Italian music of the lighter kind that had been his own inspiration. Another indication that Italian music had altered during the 1590s is provided by Nicholas Yonge's Musica transalpina II which came out in 1597. As Kerman has pointed out:

The change in taste over a ten-year period is most striking within the work of a single anthologist, Nicholas Yonge; one would not recognise the second Musica Transalpina (1597) as the choice of the same editor who prepared the monumental first volume of 1588. Except for nine by Ferrabosco and Marenzio, practically all the

compositions are madrigals of the lightest sort, thoroughly infected by the style and spirit of the canzonet;...¹⁸

Morley's anthologies were issued with English words only. However, the Italian texts of the original publications have been identified by various scholars¹⁹ and, in consequence, we gain an insight into Morley's methods of preparing English from Italian texts which confirms the suggestions made in Chapter V. Catherine Murphy has also shown that Morley's adaptation techniques ranged from literal translation as in Fine dainty girl delightsome by Bassano (Canzonets Selected no.5) to free translation as in Fast by a brook I laid me by Vecchi (Canzonets Selected no.15) to very loose paraphrase as in Cease, shepherds, cease by Anerio (Canzonets Selected no.19).²⁰ The texts of Madrigals Selected (1598) show a similarly wide range of adaptation techniques and even includes one instance, in Sudden passions with strange and rare tormenting by Orologio, where Morley's text, in Einstein's words, '... not only has nothing to do with the original; it even flagrantly contradicts it.'²¹

The Triumphs of Oriana

It has been suggested that Morley began work on the Triumphs of Oriana (1601) in 1597.²² The most widely-held view of this anthology is that it was intended by Morley and his musical associates as a tribute to Queen Elizabeth, although there is no mention of her in the dedication or elsewhere in the publication.²³ The accustomed view is based on the fact that each of the twenty-five madrigals ends with virtually the same two lines of text:

Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana:
Long live fair Oriana.

'Oriana' was one of a number of names used for the Queen in Elizabethan England.²⁴ Whether Morley had an ulterior motive in publishing this tribute to the monarch we may

never know; but, in any case, it was a most commendable undertaking at which Morley must have toiled unsparingly. It was printed in 1601 but evidently was not available for general circulation until 1603 by which time the Queen was dead. Much mystery surrounds its delayed appearance which may have been partly due to political reasons.²⁵ At all events, Morley would have seen the finished publication before his death as there is evidence of a single set being purchased in 1601 by Sir William Cavendish of Hardwick Hall.²⁶

It has long been realised that the Triumphs of Oriana was inspired by Il Trionfo di Dori, an Italian anthology of madrigals which first appeared in print in 1592 and which ran into a number of subsequent editions. Twenty-nine Italian composers and poets were invited by a Venetian nobleman to greet his bride in musical praise. (The bride's mythological name was Doris.) Each of the submitted items contained 'Viva la belle Dori' within its final section. One particular madrigal from Il Trionfo di Dori seems to have been Morley's main model for his symposium for the Queen: Ore tra l'herbe e i fiori by Croce. This was reprinted in Musica transalpina II (1597) and translated into English as Hard by a crystal fountain. This translated version concluded with ' Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana, long live fair Oriana.' Morley re-set the same translated text as his six-part madrigal for the Triumphs of Oriana (1601). However, there had been earlier hints of madrigals for the Queen. Morley used the word 'Oriana' in Fly Love, that art so sprightly (Canzonets 1597 no. 1), and four years before this had set a text in Canzonets (1593 no.8) which had royal overtones:

Blow, shepherds, blow, your pipes with: gladsome glee resounding.
See where the fair Eliza comes with love and grace abounding.

Run nymphs, apace, go meet her

With flowers and garlands greet her.

All hail Eliza fair, the country's pride and goddess!

Long may'st thou live, the shepherds' Queen and lovely mistress. *

* By permission of Oxford University Press

So much has been written of the Triumphs of Oriana, of its popularity with madrigal singers over the years and of the curious mixture of fine and not-so-fine pieces it contains, that it will serve little purpose to repeat here what is already widely acknowledged and known. Of Morley's two contributions to the anthology, Arise, awake, awake for five voices and Hard by a crystal fountain for six, the former is an adaptation to new words of Adieu, you kind and cruel (Canzonets 1597 no.3) and the latter is a re-working of Croce's Ore tra l'herbe e i fiori in such a way that it is quite as much Morley's composition as Croce's. For a masterful analysis of the relationship between these last two pieces, and indeed, for a most lucid and thorough account of the Triumphs of Oriana, the reader is referred to Kerman's The Elizabethan Madrigal.²⁷

Techniques of text expression in Morley's madrigals

In their concern to reflect in sound every nuance of the text they were setting, Italian madrigalists developed certain musical techniques which in the end became unmistakable mannerisms. Indeed, we most notice Morley's absorption of Italian practice into his own madrigal style in his techniques of text expression.

Zarlino (1517-1590), the great Italian theorist, set down precepts which confirmed the attitudes to word-setting already in existence among Italian madrigalists:

... cheerful harmonies and swift rhythms must be used for cheerful matters, and for sad matters, sad harmonies and slow rhythms, so that all may be done fittingly. The musician, therefore, should be warned to accompany, so far as he can, every word in such a manner that when it denotes severity, harshness, cruelty, bitterness and other such things, the harmony should be like this also-- that is, to some extent harsh and hard, yet not so greatly as to offend. Similarly, when any word expresses complaint, grief, affliction, sighs, tears and so on, let the harmony be full of sadness.... 28

Morley, in his turn, re-iterated similar guidance in his 'rules to be observed in dittyng':

... it followeth to show you how to dispose your music according to the nature of the words which you are therein to express, as whatsoever matter it be which you have in hand such a kind of music must you frame to it. You must therefore, if you have a grave matter, apply a grave kind of music to it; if a merry subject you must make your music ^{also} merry, for it will be a great absurdity to use a sad harmony to a merry matter or a merry harmony to a sad, lamentable, or tragical ditty.

You must then when you would express any word signifying hardness, cruelty, bitterness, and other such like make the harmony like unto it,, that is somewhat harsh and hard, but yet so that it offend not. Likewise when any of your words shall express complaint, dōlour, repentance, sighs, tears, and such like let your harmony be sad and doleful.... 29

Subsequently he continued:

Also if the subject be light you must cause your music go in motions which carry with them a celerity or quickness of time, as minims, crotchets, and quavers; if it be lamentable the notes must go in slow and heavy motions as semibreves, breves, and such like...

Moreover, you must have a care that when your matter signifieth 'ascending,' 'high,' 'heaven,' and such like you make your music ascend; and by the contrary where your ditty speaketh of 'descending,' 'lowness,' 'depth,' 'hell,' and others such you must make your music descend... 30

These extracts not only demonstrate how the teaching of Zarlino influenced Morley, thus giving another example of Morley's debt to Italy, but also gives a useful background against which to view Morley's techniques of text expression. In the summary which follows, his techniques have been categorised though, in practice, the categories overlapped considerably and frequently Morley used more than one at the same time. Moreover, there are some which he did not employ as wholeheartedly as the Italians; and he evidently preferred some to others. In his discriminating use of expressive techniques, therefore, an important aspect of Morley's style emerges.

An examination of Morley's madrigals reveals surprisingly little evidence of his shaping his melodies according to the textual idea being set, although isolated examples are to be found. We may note, for instance, the ascending shape of his phrase setting the first line of Arise, get up, my dear (Canzonets 1593 no.20 -- EM1B p.101) which was obviously intentional. However, such deliberate shaping of musical ideas for textual reasons is rare in Morley: generally, musical rather than textual considerations determined his melodic shapes. Moreover, he did not adopt the kind of chromatic line that some northern Italian composers used for expressive purposes (see Luzzasco Luzzaschi's Quivi sospiri, for instance).³¹ The initial chromatic phrase of Construe my meaning by Giles Farnaby (c.1560-c.1620), published in 1598, owes nothing to Morley whose sole use of such semitone movement occurs in Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts.

Of rhythmic figures suggesting images from the text there are more examples in Morley's music and these obviously derive from the madrigal tradition -- the quaver

flourishes in About the maypole (Ballets 1595 no.11, S A EM4 p.39: 4) to depict 'merriment' are deliberately pictorial, as are the cross-rhythms setting 'but you should hold them still' in Cruel, you pull away too soon (Canzonets 1593 no.3, EM1B p.11: 1-5). Akin to simple rhythmic figures such as these, though much more telling in their effect, are the alterations which Morley makes in the rate of movement in his vocal lines. Such changes are of Italian derivation, and they are usually associated with changes of texture which we shall consider shortly. However, it will be well to offer an example of this aspect first. Love took his bow and arrow (Canzonets 1597 no.5) declaims its text on the principle of one syllable per note, and during the first section the predominant note values are minims and crotchets. During the second section the syllabic declamation continues but the music moves to predominantly quaver movement to portray 'away the wag him hied' (EM3 pp.24-26).

An important part of the madrigalist's technique of expressing changes of mood in their texts was to alter the type of musical texture in the course of a setting. In Lady, if I through grief (Canzonets 1593 no.14) Morley changes his texture for each line of the text and for the moment of anguish he moves to an imitative texture in alla breve which, in its context, is ideally suited to suggest the overtones of wailing (EM1B p.74 : 5 - p.75 : 3/1). In Come, lovers, follow me (Madrigals 1594 no.11) there is a different kind of textural change: the first two lines of text are set in lively imitations, but to depict 'softly' in the third line Morley changes to two block chords which vividly portray the word, especially as it is sung by all four voices, the lowest having been silent previously (EM2 p.46: 9-10).

Changes of texture are closely allied to the use of harmony for expressive purposes. For instance, the typically-Italian use of a suspension to suggest a sigh

in Fire fire (Ballets 1595 no.14 EM4 p. 57: 4-7) is effective because the texture changes suddenly at this moment. Apart from the more obvious techniques like this, and there are many in his madrigalian works, Morley did not generally place much store by harmonic expression, and certainly may not be regarded as a composer who used harmonic experiment to portray the more emotive or picturesque parts of his text as, for example, Marenzio did in some of his later madrigals.³² The few instances of harmonic pungency for expressive purpose to be found in Morley's works are always isolated moments which are the more effective because they are so brief. Such moments arise from the unusual juxtaposition of chords rather than from dissonant harmonies, and they are sometimes very successful, as when Morley paints the 'crimson staining' by a swift modulation from C major to A major and then moves back to G major in O sweet, alas what say you? (Madrigals 1594 no.16 EM2 p. 76: 2-3).

It became a convention with Italian composers to change from duple to triple time when their texts suggested dancing or pleasure. Morley followed this convention in his madrigal writing. Instances are to be found in his Canzonets (1597) : in Sovereign of my delight (no.8) he moves to a few bars of triple time to set 'Beauty by pleasure only crowned' (EM3 p.39: 1-3), in Ladies, you see time flieth (no. 20) he does likewise, again to suggest 'pleasure' (EM3 p. 110 : 5-11) and in Lady, you think you spite me (no.15) his change of time is a deliberate pun on the text 'Ay triple, but you bliss me' (EM3 p. 70 : 5 - p.71: 2).

Antiphonal scoring for voices was a particularly useful technique for the madrigalist although it would be misleading to associate it solely with Italian madrigal composers. In Morley's Phyllis I fain would die now (Ballets 1595 no. 21) we find the most concentrated use of antiphonal scoring, but his vocal music of all kinds contains many passages employing this technique,

most of which repeat the text of the first scoring in the second arrangement of the voices. In Leave alas this tormenting (Ballets 1595) no. 19) the text 'or kill my heart oppressed', announced initially by S2 A T B, is repeated by S1 S2 A T and the contrast between the two sonorities helps to emphasise this particular line of text (EM4 p. 78: 1-6/1).

Imitative procedures were used by Morley as a means of expressing the meaning and emotional overtones of his text. This facet of his style came more from his musical upbringing than from his study of Italian madrigals. However, madrigalian verse gave him greater scope to develop this aspect of his expressive technique than he might otherwise have had. Morley's madrigalian works abound with examples of imitation used expressively but it will be sufficient now to draw attention to just two. The opening of I follow, lo, the footing (Canzonets 1597 no. 17) is a masterpiece: the series of staggered entries, together with antiphonal scoring, immediately suggest the action of 'following' (EM3 p. 78). The final section of Whither away so fast? (Canzonets 1593 no. 7) sees Morley using imitation in a more tightly-knit texture in which the voices follow each other in a three-part canon for a few bars (EM1B p. 36: 14 - p.37: 1) which most vividly depicts the chasing implied by the text; indeed, we should also note how Morley most cleverly maintains the out-of-breath racing of the two lovers in the three bars which follow this last example. He changes to a two-part canon between the first soprano and alto, spaced but one crotchet away from each other, while the middle part, the second soprano, doubles the alto a third higher (EM1B p. 37 : 3-7).

Imitation is only one aspect of polyphony, albeit an important one. Equally important, however, is the art of combining vocal lines in textures where each line has a rhythmic life of its own and yet where the resultant overall effect makes musical sense. Expertise in this art is to be found in works of great composers of all ages; and in the later sixteenth century it is one aspect which distinguishes Palestrina, Lassus and

Byrd from the host of composers of smaller stature. It was such a skill that Morley most significantly brought to the madrigal. Morley preferred the lighter kinds of madrigal and it is primarily the vivacity of his rhythmic counterpoint in these that so appeals to performer and listener alike. The finest moments occur when he depicts an activity like running or brings to life a scene of morris-dancing as in Ho who comes here ? (Madrigals 1594 no. 18); but chosen to illustrate Morley's remarkable skill in this respect is a passage from the closing section of O no, thou dost but flout me (Madrigals 1594 no. 12 EM2 p. 55: 1-10). The rhythmic complexity of these bars is impossible to define precisely in words. We can say that within the individual vocal lines is a rhythmic plasticity which, when the four voices are combined, produce an amazing energy in the music, a complicated series of stresses and pulls, derived both from musical and syllabic accent; but to appreciate fully Morley's flair only performance is adequate. However, in its necessary absence here, musical quotation and analysis must suffice as demonstration (Example 32).

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Morley, Canzonets (1597), dedication.
2. The belief that the swan sang only once, just before death, presumably existed in Morley's time: the text of Gibbons's The silver swan bears testimony to this. See also: Dowland, Third and last book of songs (1603), No.5, lines 9 and 10 (EMV p.481); and Arcadelt, Il bianco e dolce cigno which may be seen in A.Harman, editor, Popular Italian Madrigals, p.7.
3. 'Arne' and 'Po' have been examined as possible puns and anagrams, but without success.
4. Morley, Introduction, particularly p.7.
5. Tessier's Premier livre de chansons et airs de Cour was also published in 1597.
6. Dart, 'Morley's Consort Lessons', p.2.
7. Henry Noel, one of Elizabeth's favourite courtiers, was evidently popular with musicians. Dowland wrote some hymns for his funeral in 1597 and Weelkes also composed an elegy in remembrance of him, published in his Madrigals of five and six parts (1600).
8. Dart, 'Morley's Consort Lessons', p.1.
9. 'Barley-break' which is mentioned in Love's folk in green arraying (Canzonets 1597, No.4) was an old English country game.
10. 'Bonny-boots' was the nickname of one of Elizabeth's courtiers, possibly Henry Noel (see note 7 above). There are two references to him in Canzonets (1597): Fly, love, that art so sprightly (No.1) and Our Bonny-boots could toot it (No.9).
11. Nos. 1,2,4,5,7,10,14,15,16, have two lines of text as a unit; Nos. 6,9 and 11 have one.
12. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.169. By permission of O.U.P.
13. Jenkins, p.52.
14. *ibid.*, p.52.
15. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.190.
16. Dart, Reviser's note, EM2 p.x.
17. See, for instance, Whythorne's I have ere this time heard many one say which may be seen in Invitation to Madrigals vol.2, pp.14-15.
18. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, p.61. By permission of O.U.P.
19. Einstein and Obertello, particularly.
20. C.Murphy, Thomas Morley Editions of Italian Canzonets and Madrigals 1597-1598, Florida State University Studies No.42 (Tallahassee, 1964).
21. Einstein, 'Elizabethan Madrigal and...' p.75.
22. Ruff and Wilson, 'The Madrigal, the Lute Song...' p.21.
23. It seems that the aim was to honour the Virgin Queen with twenty-six madrigals. It has been suggested that this number was chosen as there were twenty-six stars in the Virgo constellation, but one madrigal arrived too late to be included in the collection. Another interpretation is that Morley intended to have twenty-nine madrigals to match the contents of Il trionfo di Dori but failed to achieve that number. It has also been suggested that the Triumphs of Oriana were in honour of Anne of Denmark and not Elizabeth I.

24. Rowse, Elizabethan Renaissance, p.34, cites other names for Elizabeth including Cynthia, Pandora, Gloriana, Astraea and Eliza.
25. For a fascinating interpretation of the delayed appearance of the Triumphs of Oriana see Ruff and Wilson, pp.3-24. Additionally, we may surmise that the investigation of monopolies by Parliament in 1600 had some bearing on the delay. Lord Howard of Effingham, to whom the Triumphs of Oriana were dedicated, was a member of the Privy Council which investigated problems caused by specific patents; and in so far as Morley's printing patent was not cancelled we may safely assume it decided in Morley's favour.
26. Ruff and Wilson, p.22.
27. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, especially pp.193-209.
28. Gioseffe Zarlino (1517-1590), Le institutioni harmoniche (Venice, 1558), The quotation is taken with due acknowledgement from D.Arnold, Marenzio (London, 1965 and 1974), p.4 who footnotes his reference as Zarlino, Tutte le opere (Venice, 1589).*
29. Morley, Introduction, p.290.
30. *ibid.* p.290.
31. Luzzaschi's Quivi sospiri may be seen in A.Einstein, The Golden Age of the Madrigal (New York, 1942) No.7, pp.53-58.
32. See, for example, Marenzio's Se quel dolor (Book 6, 1595). A few bars of particularly astringent harmony are quoted in Arnold, Marenzio, p.34.

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VII. THE FIRST BOOK OF AYRES: 1600

The First book of ayres was Morley's last publication apart from the Triumphs of Oriana of which he was the editor. Morley described the contents on the title page as 'the first book of ayres or little short songs, to sing and play to the lute, with the bass viol'. It is interesting to note that he retained the title 'little short songs' that he had first used with his Canzonets (1593). Unfortunately, only one copy of the Ayres is known to have survived and this is incomplete.¹ The Table of Contents in the surviving copy shows that there were twenty-three items in the original publication including two pieces for lute--a 'pavane' and a 'galliard' (nos.22 and 23 respectively). The extant copy lacks items 14-23. Two pieces with the same titles as the missing songs (nos.17 and 18) have been located in a manuscript source though they are not there ascribed to Morley.² In the manuscript, the melodies, their basses, and the words are given, but no lute tablature is provided. The ascription of these songs to Morley is based on the coincidence of their texts with the verbal incipits given in his Table of Contents. However, Thurston Dart was sufficiently convinced of their authenticity to include them in his revised edition of Fellowes' English Lute-Songs (vol.16). Since that publication another missing song has come to light (no.15), the discovery of Cedric Thorpe Davie, and this will be discussed subsequently.

The Ayres contained an address to 'the Reader' which makes fascinating reading and is worth quoting in full:

Let it not seem strange (courteous reader) that 238
 I thus far presume to take upon me, in publishing
 this volume of Lute Ayres, being no professor
 thereof, but like a blind man groping for my way,
 have at length happened upon a method: which
 when I found, my heart burning love to my friends
 would not consent I might conceal. Two causes
 moved me hereunto, the first to satisfy the world
 of my no idle hours (though God's visitation in
 sickness, and troubles in the world, by suits in
 law have kept me busied). The other cause was to
 make trial of my first fruits, which being
 effected, I will commend to indifferent and no
 partial judges. If Momus do ever carp, let him
 do it with judgement lest my book in silence flout
 his little judgement. If he would fain scoff, yet
 feareth to do it through his wit's defect, let him
 show judgement in his tongue's restraint, in the
 allowance of that which I doubt not, but more
 judicial ears shall applaud. Too many there are,
 who are sillily endued with an humour of reprehens-
 ion, and those are they that ever want true knowledge
 of apprehension. I know that Scientia non habet
inimicum praeter ignorantem: but I shall not fear
 their barking quests. This book expects the
 favourable censure of the exquisite judicial ears,
 scorning the welcome of any Mydas, if therefore the
 more worthy receive it into their favour, it is as
 much as ever I wished, or can expect. In lieu
 whereof, I shall by this encouragement promise and
 produce sundry fruits of this kind, which very
 shortly I will commend unto you. In the meantime
 I commend and commit both this and myself, to your
 ever good opinion. And salute you with a hearty,
Adieu.

Yours in all love
Tho. Morley

The greater part of this confirms Morley's extraordinary
 preoccupation with critics noted earlier. The 'suits in
 law' presumably refer to the troubles over his printing
 patent (see p. 44) and 'God's visitation in sickness'
 suggests that the ill health to which Morley referred in
 1597 in the Introduction still restricted him in 1600.
 Nevertheless, he was still able to promise further
 compositions in this genre--'sundry fruits of this kind,
 which very shortly I will commend unto you'-- if the
 present Ayres were well received by the public. Most
 significant of all, however, is Morley's acknowledgement
 that he was not a master of the lute ayre but that 'like
 a blind man groping for my way, have at length happened
 upon a method'. This statement may be false modesty on
 Morley's part; on the other hand, it may be genuine
 humility borne of his own acute awareness that he lacked
 the talent, indeed the genius, of Dowland whose First

book of songs had appeared in 1597, a publication which must have gained immediate popularity to judge by the five editions into which it ran between its initial appearance and 1613 (the year of the fifth edition).³ Clearly Morley's Canzonets (1597), with its alternative mode of performance in the first sixteen pieces for solo voice and lute accompaniment, was not as successful as Dowland's First book of songs, as Morley's volume was never issued in a second edition. Perhaps Morley's appraisal of this situation led him to explore more thoroughly the whole concept of the lute ayre, an exploration which led to the publication of his ayres in 1600 in the endeavour, as he says, to 'make trial' of his 'first fruits'. It is important therefore to investigate the method that Morley had chanced to find.

The Ayres themselves, rather than revealing Morley's method, in fact show him searching for a method, though this is not quite that of a 'blind man groping' for his way. Like Morley's earlier publications, the Ayres are distinguished by their variety: they cover a wide range of song styles and an equally wide emotional range. Stylistically, they may be grouped into three categories, the first of which consists of songs which bear a strong resemblance to the consort song, alike in the voice-part and in the instrumental accompaniment. Such songs are distinguished by segmented vocal lines which present one line of text at a time (and, occasionally, part of a textual line) and by the occurrence between each of the melodic segments of an instrumental interlude based on the melodic point that the singer is shortly to sing. Moreover, the accompaniment often continues to make use of such a point when the singer is presenting the continuation of the figure. Pieces in this category have rather slow-moving and rhythmically unadventurous vocal lines whose rather staid character is sometimes relieved by an occasional shift into triple metre, and their accompaniments give the impression of having been conceived as a contrapuntal texture, even though a strict number of parts is not maintained. A painted tale (no.1),

I saw my lady weeping (no.5), Who is it that this dark night (no.7) and Come, sorrow, come (no.12) in varying degrees belong in this category, and Sleep, slumb'ring eyes (no.18) whose lute accompaniment is lacking, may well do also. It is quite possible that Morley re-worked some consort songs that he had written earlier for some of these pieces, modifying the viol parts to suit performance on the lute: this would explain the nature of the melodic lines and the contrapuntal feel of the accompaniment. The last section of A painted tale (no. 1) well illustrates the foregoing points (ELS 16 p.3: 9-end).

The second category of songs is quite different: it comprises With my love my life was nestled (no.4), Mistress mine well may you fare (no.8) and Fair in a morn (no.13). These are distinguished by their simplicity and directness of appeal: they have an artless quality reminiscent of folk song, and may well relate in style to popular ballads of Morley's time. In melodic construction they are straightforward and their accompaniments are purely supportive, though Fair in a morn contains two brief instrumental interludes which anticipate the succeeding vocal entries. With my love my life was nestled (no.4) which in most respects is typical of this group of songs is built as shown in Table 32 :

TABLE 32

The structure of With my love my life was nestled

Line of text	Musical idea	Cadence in
1	a	I
2	b	V
3	a	I
4	b	V
5	c	on V
6	d	I
(5 and 6 repeated)		
Reference: ELS 16		

Despite this simplicity in its melodic construction, a simplicity matched in its melodic rhythm and in its chordal accompaniment, this song is one of the most beautiful in the whole set. Finally, the survival of an ornamented version of the tune⁴ suggests that the simple, ballad-type songs in this group might have received considerable ornamentation in performance in the earlier years of the seventeenth century.

The third category of songs consists of Thyrsis and Milla (no.2), She straight her light green silken coats (no.3), It was a lover and his lass (no.6), Can I forget what reason's force (no.9), Love wing'd my hopes (no.10), Absence, hear thou my protestation (no.14) and Will you buy a fine dog (no.17). These have no common bond; rather they represent elaborations of either the first or second categories described above, and, moreover, the majority are best described as hybrids of both categories. However, Morley's most famous song, It was a lover and his lass (no.6), owes nothing to the consort song tradition. It is an elaboration of the ballad-type described in the second category, and the nature of the elaboration clearly derives from Morley's experience as a composer of madrigals. It has the tunefulness and directness of the ballad-type plus the interpolated nonsense passages of the ballet-- fa la or lirim lirim has here become 'hey ding a ding a ding' or 'with a hey, with a ho, and a hey nonino '. Furthermore, examination of the lute and bass viol parts in these passages shows that the whole texture of melodic line and accompaniment is an instance of Morley's transference of the vocal idiom of the light madrigal-cum-canzonet to that of the lute song (EM1 p.19 : 2-5 may be compared with ELS 16 p.16 : 4-7 in illustration of this point). Elsewhere in this song the instrumental accompaniment is not unlike the lower voice-parts in the homophonic passages in many of Morley's Ballets (1595). It was a lover and his lass has achieved considerable acclaim owing to the appearance of its words in Shakespeare's As you like it, though this is by no means the sole cause of its popularity: it is well-loved for its intrinsic liveliness and gaiety and for its melody.

It is appropriate, therefore, to examine in more detail the ways in which Morley elaborated the simple ballad style and thereby created a quite sophisticated art-song, which, despite the sophistication, retains the directness of appeal associated with the popular ballad. As Touchstone comments after the pages have sung It was a lover and his lass in As you like it there is ...'no great matter in the ditty...'.⁵ Indeed, the textual content is typically madrigalian though the verse-style (particularly the syllabification pattern) is not; and the structure of the verse owes something to the ballet in the use of 'nonsense' refrains. The pattern of all four stanzas is epitomised in the first:

- (1) It was a lover and his lass,
- (2) With a hey, with a ho, and a hey nonino,
- (3) That o'er the green cornfields did pass
- (4) In spring time, the only pretty ring time,
- (5) When birds do sing, hey ding a ding a ding;
- (6) Sweet lovers love the spring.*

The narrative--such as it is-- is related in lines (1) and (3) which are the only lines to change from one stanza to the next; nearly everything else is atmosphere-creating nonsense. The first point to notice is the way in which Morley sets verbal text, on the one hand, and nonsense text, on the other, for herein is one aspect of this song's sophistication. Verbal text is set in the manner of a ballad with one syllable-per-crotchet as the predominant technique, as in With my love my life was nestled (no.4). The main exceptions to the crotchet-per-syllable setting occur on 'spring time' and 'ring time' where the longer note values for 'spring' and 'ring' serve to point the internal rhymes of the fourth line. Nonsense text, however, consistently receives faster treatment by predominantly quaver movement, though still one syllable-per-note ('with a hey' etc and 'hey ding a ding etc). The alternation of the rate of movement in text delivery which pervades this song is an elaborative technique which Morley probably acquired from his experience in writing ballets wherein such alternation abounds. However, Morley's subtlety extends further. As already noted, the

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style of accompaniment alternates as well: the verbal text passages have a simple harmonic accompaniment whose role is essentially supportive, whereas that to the nonsense lines creates with the voice-part a lively, imitative texture which closely resembles the more animated sections of Morley's canzonets and light madrigals. The relationship between voice and lute (with bass viol) thus varies as the song proceeds: in the verbal text passages the vocal line is master, the instrumental parts, servant; in the nonsense refrains voice and instruments are of equal importance.

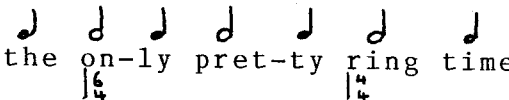
With such alternations of style, movement and texture, there is necessarily a risk of fragmentation replacing unity in a song. This Morley overcomes in a most skilful way by utilising two figures as a means of integrating the composition into a coherent whole. The first is rhythmic and melodic in character; the second is rhythmic, melodic and harmonic (Example 33). Example 34 shows the incidence of these two devices in the song. The first appears initially in the accompaniment and is then shared between voice and accompaniment, whereas the second (essentially a cadence) is, naturally, used in the accompaniment. This second figure is used in both the ballad (verbal text) and in the canzonet phrases (nonsense text) and also in the two tiny instrumental interludes. Its use in certain places recalls the pseudo-antiphony of madrigalian technique (ELS 16 p.16: 8-11).

It will be clear from Example 34 that Morley builds his first nonsense text phrase (bars 3⁴ - 8) entirely by repetition and extension of the first figure. By this means the opening paragraph of the song acquires coherence and a well-curved melodic shape. The repetitions of 'in spring time' are well-handled, too. The first statement of these words clearly belongs in the musical phrase which precedes it, thus matching the enjambment in the poem. The first repetition, though really standing on its own, flows logically from the statement, in view of the melodic and harmonic sequence employed. The second repetition also flows logically for harmonic reasons, but this one seems to belong to the succeeding phrase.

Morley thus achieves melodic logic and continuity with musical phrases that are interestingly varied in length. Example 34 also demonstrates the variety of phrase lengths in this song.

Morley repeats the musical section which sets the last three lines of the poem, and in this we may notice two further aspects of his skill, of the subtlety of Morley's sophistication of a basically simple style. Firstly we note the way in which he starts the repeat so that in performance we are not aware that a repeat is commencing: he takes the 'in spring time' figure and tacks it on to the final phrase of the piece so that we hear quite logically... 'sweet lovers love the spring, in spring time'... . This join is further strengthened by the accompaniment's repetitions of the second integrating figure. This is heard firstly as a final cadence; then it is inverted as a harmonisation of the singer's join ('in spring time'); and, finally, it is heard as a brief instrumental solo before the voice continues with another 'in spring time' a fourth higher. This seam between the end of the song and the commencement of the repeated final section is scarcely audible or visible on paper. Secondly, we may note how Morley has not only left out one of the 'in spring time' repetitions but also that he has changed the rhythm of the rhyming fragment 'the only pretty ring time'. Originally it was set


 the on-ly pret-ty ring time
 but in the repeat it is expanded into


 the on-ly pret-ty ring time

In the present endeavour to isolate those features of this song which amount to sophistication through Morley's compositional skill mention must finally be made of the attractiveness of its modality: a mild conflict emerges between the mixolydian mode of the vocal melody and the predominant G major of the accompaniment. The song will sound quite well with all 'F's in the melody sharpened; but if this is done much

of the attractive character of the song is immediately lost.

We cannot be sure that Morley wrote Will ye buy a fine dog (no.17). It seems to owe nothing to the madrigal tradition and is best seen as a cross between the popular ballad and the consort song. A pedlar's song, it possibly once existed as a consort song based on 'Street Cries' such as Weelkes, Gibbons and Dering composed, as the long rests which interrupt the vocal line from time to time suggest. This is endorsed by the many repeated notes in the melody, for static lines in one part enable more interweaving of other parts in counterpoint as well as recalling the advertisements of the pedlar. However, this is mere speculation which is all that can be offered until additional sources come to light.

The remaining songs in this group are all hybrids, progeny of both the popular ballad and the consort song, with some characteristics also derived from Morley's experience as a composer of madrigals and of verse anthems. Typical of this group is Thyrsis and Milla (no.2) and its second part She straight her light green silken coats (no.3). Some of the lute interludes in these two songs recall the instrumental texture of the consort song because of the carefully-worked imitations-- (ELS 16 p.6: 7-8) for instance--whilst certain sections of the vocal lines, like the opening of Thyrsis and Milla, have the simplicity of phrase structure which we associate with the popular ballad of the time. In the same song, however, little madrigal touches are evident, like the repetition of the word 'merry' in the second line of the poem-- 'In merry May to the green garden walked'-- and, more especially, the repetitions of 'wanton' in the third line-- 'Where all the way they wanton riddles talked'-- in which the idea of wantonness is further depicted by the change to triple time at this juncture of the song. Again, Morley's setting of 'and he ran after' at the close of She straight her light green silken coats (no.3) is clearly the work of a madrigalist: not only does he set the line with a number of repetitions but he

also makes special use of the lute's facilities to suggest the action of running. This passage is a rare instance in the Ayres of Morley using the accompaniment for an illustrative purpose, and also of his writing music for the lute which is really idiomatic for the instrument (ELS 16 p.9: 4-9).

Some of the most expressive moments in Morley's writing for the solo voice in verse anthems are achieved by the use of word repetition which in no way distorts the presentation of the text. The same technique may be noted in some of the Ayres. It may be illustrated by the second section of Love winged my hopes (no.10)(ELS 16 p.24: 15-p.25: 1-2). Here the sequential repetition of 'for true pleasure' considerably heightens the emotional intensity of the passage without disturbing the clarity of text presentation.

From the evidence of the types of songs within the Ayres it is clear that Morley's 'method' amounted to an adaptation of existing song-styles-- consort song and popular ballad, in particular-- sometimes with a degree of elaboration derived from his experience as a composer of madrigals and anthems. On occasions, this 'method' resulted in songs of considerable distinction, whether it be for poignant expression by employing the consort song style as in Come, sorrow, come (no.12) or for the beauty of sheer simplicity achieved through the ballad style in With my love my life was nestled (no 4) or for the obvious, overall attractiveness of It was a lover and his lass (no.6), the most Morleian of all the songs in the set.

Structurally, the Ayres fall into two groups: nine repeat the last section (nos. 2,4,5,6,7,8,10,12,14) and the remainder are through-composed. The tonality of the Ayres is equally shared between major and minor keys, and the mood of the texts is also fairly equally divided between serious and light-hearted.

In contrast to the Canzonets (1597) and their claimed adaptability as solo songs, the Ayres were not offered with the alternative possibility of singing in parts. They were expressly for one person to sing

with lute and bass viol accompaniment. It is useful, therefore, to observe the extent to which the melodic lines of the earlier set differ from those in the later publication, and though such a method has obvious limitations, it is more revealing to study one particular song from each set than to make generalisations about the collections in their entirety. The cantus part of Lo, wherewith flowery head (Canzonets 1597 no.6) may be compared with the vocal line of Fair in a morn (Ayres no.13)-- (S EM3 pp.29-32 and ELS 16 pp.31-32). The former has been selected as one of the more obviously suitable canzonets for solo performance, and the latter because it is in the same key as the former (which facilitates comparison) and because the first verse of the ayre has almost the same number of syllables as the canzonet text (discounting sectional repeats). The canzonet has sixty-two syllables and the ayre has sixty (allowing two each for 'fair' and 'air' as they are treated in the song). The vocal ranges are virtually identical (one is an octave and the other a ninth) and the declamation in both is similar-- one syllable per note-- though there is one melisma in the canzonet on the second syllable of 'delightsome'. The singer is silent for approximately the same total length of time in both pieces. However, despite the foregoing similarities, the canzonet is substantially longer than the ayre-- the former is thirty-three bars of 4/4 long (without the repeat of the final section, forty-four with the repeat) whereas the ayre is but twenty-four bars of 4/4 in length. The canzonet melody is admittedly conditioned in some passages by its function as part of a contrapuntal texture; nevertheless, the disparity in length highlights one of the two fundamental differences between the two melodic lines: whilst that of the ayre moves predominantly in crotchets with just an occasional quaver or minim note-length, that of the canzonet fluctuates within all values between quavers and semibreves. This produces much more flexible and rhythmically interesting vocal lines in the canzonet than those in the ayre. The second fundamental difference

follows on from the first: in the canzonet there is a much greater variety of phrase length than in the ayre, the phrases of which are of regular length and carefully balanced. The ultimate consequence of these differences is that the ayre has a much more memorable melody than the canzonet; and this exemplifies the real difference between Morley's Ayres and anything that he had previously published, with the sole exception of O grief, ev'n on the bud (Canzonets 1597 no.7). Perhaps, then, Morley's 'method' made him modify his life-long involvement with counterpoint in order to write attractive melodies; for, if nothing else is outstanding in the Ayres the melodies of many of the songs most certainly are.

In his edition of the Ayres Fellowes noted that 'Morley, who seems to have cared little for fine verse in his choice of words for his madrigals and ballets, selected beautiful poetry for his Song-Book.'⁶ In this observation Fellowes drew attention to a fundamental difference between Morley's Ayres and all his other secular vocal works, though, it seems, he was unaware of the fullest implications of this difference. Fellowes's standpoint was one of poetic quality and, although this has some validity, it clouds the most important point which is that the texts of the Ayres, to a large extent, are different from those of his madrigalian compositions. To summarise this difference as that between good and not-so-good poetry will not suffice; such judgements are necessarily subjective and therefore of limited value. However, certain details of the poems which Morley set as ayres may be compared with similar aspects in his madrigalian texts with illuminating results:

- (1) The authors of Morley's madrigalian texts have not been identified whereas some of the poems set in the Ayres are known to have been written by Elizabethan poets of some standing.⁷
- (2) A number of the Ayres are strophic settings but of all Morley's madrigalian compositions only the Ballets contain more than one verse of text.⁸
- (3) In the madrigalian texts there are few enjambments; the Ayres contain significantly more.

TABLE 33

Versification, rhyme schemes and
syllabification patterns in Morley's Ayres

Ayre	No.of stanzas	No.of lines in stanza	Syllabification	Rhyme scheme
1 A painted tale	1	6	10 10 10 10 10 10	a b a b c c
2 Thyrsis and Milla	1	5	11 11 11 11 11	a b b c c
3 She straight her light	1	6	11 11 11 11 11 11	a a b b c c
4 With my love my life	3	6	8 7 8 7 7 7	a b a b c c
5 I saw my lady weeping	1	6	v.3: 8 8 7 10 10 6 11 10	a b c b d d
6 It was a lover and his	6	6	8 12 8 10 10 6	a b a c d d
7 Who is it that this	9	5	7 7 7 8 7 (not constant)	a b a b a
8 Mistress mine well	4	6	7 8 7 7 8 10	a a b b c c
9 Can I forget what reason's	4	4	14 14 14 14	a a b b
10 Love winged my hopes	3	6	10 10 4 4 5 14	a a b b c c
11 What if my mistress now	7	3	12 12 12	a a a
12 Come, sorrow, come	3	6	10 10 10 10 10 10	a b a b c c
13 Fair in a morn	4	4	14 14 15 15	a a b b
14 Absence hear thou my	4	6	vv.2,3,4," "14 14 9 4 4 9 7 9 (not constant;but other stanzas more even)	a b b a c c
17 Will ye buy a fine dog	1	12	12 8 10 8 12 11 8 6 10 8 7 10	a b a b c c d d e f f e
18 Sleep, slum'ring eyes	3	6	10 10 10 10 10 10	a b a b c c

Reference: EMV

The points enumerated above, individually, do not amount to much, but collectively they suggest that madrigalian verse was something rather different from Elizabethan lyric poetry as represented in the Ayres on poems by Sidney, Breton, Southwell and Hoskyns. A fourth point, however, as well as substantiating this view, penetrates to the very essence of that difference.

In Elizabethan and early Jacobean verse the most favoured metre was decasyllabic, and the tenth syllable of each line was usually stressed.⁹ Moreover, it is likely that this preference had its origin in the natural inflexions of the English tongue as well as in the literary climate of the time. Even when, on occasions, Elizabethan poets used different metres, an even number of syllables per line was still preferred and the stress on the final syllable was usually maintained. Of course, variety could be obtained by the occasional use of a feminine or weak ending, and examples of variety thus achieved may certainly be found. Nevertheless these are the exceptions rather than the rule. An examination of Tables 12, 18, 30 and 33 reveals that whilst there is little significant difference in either the rhyme schemes or verse lengths between the texts of the Ayres and those of Morley's madrigalian compositions, there is a contrast between these in patterns of syllabification: in the madrigalian pieces an uneven number of syllables per line predominates, whereas in the Ayres, as in the poetry of the age, the majority of lines contains an even number of syllables.

This is the most obvious and yet quite the most important technical difference between the verse-styles of the texts of the madrigalian compositions and those of the Ayres, between the specially-created text-style of the madrigal and that of Elizabethan poetry in general, of which the texts of many of the Ayres are representative examples, and to which category madrigalian verse just does not belong. Why then, we may ask, did Morley turn to real poetry for most of his Ayres and forsake, to a large extent, the artificial type of text which hitherto he had set? Primarily because the relationship between music and text was necessarily very different in the

ayre for solo voice from that in madrigalian works for two or more voices. In the former, greater attention is automatically focussed on the text because one voice alone presents it: the text must therefore, first and foremost, make sense to the listener and, indeed, to the singer. In the madrigal, on the other hand, the text has a different role, perhaps even a subordinate one, in the relationship between words and music. Intelligibility of the text must be seen there in a different perspective. At the extreme, one might say that the full content of the text must proceed logically and intelligibly in the ayre, but in the madrigal it could not hope to owing to the musical conditions of the form like contrapuntal writing, repeated figures and repeated sections; and so madrigalian texts did not impose this demand. Madrigal texts were therefore specially contrived to have no complex arguments, so subtleties of syntax etc. as these would be totally lost in musical performance. Instead, they were made to contain one or two easily recognisable moods (sadness or joy, for instance) or atmospheres (outdoors in Springtime, for example) or activities (like running or dancing), broad concepts which could give some unity to the text as a whole for the often inadequate or completely non-existent argument. The really important unit in madrigal verse was usually the line; this was the syntactical unit and the thought therein usually halted at the end of the line. The vast majority of lines in madrigal verse were 'end-stopped' for this reason: composers took the line as their natural musical unit and punctuated its setting by an emphatic and often protracted cadential procedure. This way, details in a textual line could be illustrated musically and contrasted with details in the following line by changes of texture etc.. Madrigal verse was written to suit a particular form of musical setting: the musical requirements, if not the music itself, existed before the text was prepared. In true poetry, however, the line did not necessarily have to be complete in itself: it was an integral part of the whole poem, an indispensable part which carried the argument from its predecessor to its successor. (The

difference regarding line-ends in madrigal verse and ayre texts is confirmed by Morley's works-- see Table 34.) If poetry of this kind were set to music, a requirement of paramount importance was maximum clarity of text presentation, a clarity quite unattainable in the madrigal and allied forms but quite possible in the ayre. Conversely, a composer intending to compose some lute songs must select his texts with care for these as well as his music will come under close scrutiny in a way that a madrigal text never would. Thus Morley's selection of 'beautiful' poetry for his lute ayres was no accident but deliberate policy, as deliberate as his choice of verse of a different kind for his madrigalian compositions.

TABLE 34

The number of enjambments in Morley's secular vocal works

Work and no. of items therein		No. of enjambments
<hr/>		
<u>Canzonets</u> (1593)	20	2
Additions	4	2
<u>Madrigals</u> (1594)	20	11
Additions	2	0
<u>Canzonets</u> (1595)	12	10
<u>Ballets</u> (1595)	20	9
Dialogue		3
<u>Canzonets</u> (1597)	20	13
Elegy		2
<u>Ayres</u> (1600)	16	36

Reference: EMV

Of the poems set by Morley in his Ayres only four show any affinity with his earlier madrigalian texts, and

in most respects the affinity is slight. Thyrsis and Milla (no.2) and its second part She straight her light green coats (no.3) are the closest to madrigalian verse. They are written consistently in lines of eleven syllables which conclude with feminine endings; Thyrsis appears from time to time in canzonets and madrigals; and the subject matter of the poems -- the flirtations of two young lovers in Springtime -- is madrigalian. However, the narrative is somehow tighter, more logical, than, say, in Besides a fountain (Madrigals 1594 no.14) with which they may be compared. In addition, the alliterative touches in the ayre texts are technical refinements which add to the overall effectiveness of the poems and stand them apart from the usual run of madrigalian verse:

Ayre 2 line 2 : In merry May to the green garden
walked

Ayre 3 line 2 : And may for Mill and thyme for
Thyrsis plucked

It was a lover and his lass (no.6) and Mistress mine (no.8) are madrigalian in spirit and subject matter only.

In July 1588, Thomas Morley and John Dowland were admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Music of the University of Oxford, and both candidates were presented from Christ Church. Their graduation is the first of a number of links between the two composers, amongst which we may note:

- (1) Morley's keyboard settings of Dowland's Lachrymae, a Pavana and Galiarda, preserved in the Fitzwilliam virginal book.¹⁰
- (2) Convergence in their choice of dedicatees: for example, Morley's Canzonets (1597) were dedicated to George Carey; so, too, was Dowland's First book of songs of the same year.
- (3) The legal problems which arose over the printing of Dowland's Second book of songs in 1600.
- (4) Morley's arrangement of compositions by Dowland for his Consort lessons of 1599.

Of course, as evidence of a significant connection between the two composers these are slender; and perhaps it was just coincidence that the year of publication of Dowland's First book of songs saw Morley's essay in

presenting five-part canzonets with an alternative mode of performance for soloist with lute accompaniment, and, again, that Dowland's Second book of songs appeared in the same year as Morley's Ayres -- 1600. Pioneers of the lute-accompanied song, however, they both most certainly were, and the contents of Morley's Ayres add two more coincidences to the list.

Dowland's Second book of songs (1600) includes a song setting the poem White as lilies was her face (no.15) and Morley's Table of Contents in his Ayres gives no.15 White as lilies as its title. This is one of the songs missing from the Folger copy of the Ayres. In 1981 Cedric Thorpe Davie discovered White as lilies was her face in a manuscript which belongs to the Countess of Sutherland. The manuscript consists of songs by Campion and Morley (vocal lines and basses only), lute music and keyboard music copied out by hand by Margaret Wemyss, sister of a former Countess of Sutherland, and dated 1643. Three of the songs are ascribed to Morley: She straight her light green silken coats and With my love my life was nestled, both of which are accurate copies of the songs as we know them, and White as lilies was her face. The standard of accuracy of Margaret Wemyss's transcription is generally high, and Cedric Thorpe Davie concludes: 'the evidence is thus virtually conclusive that the remaining song, "White as lilies", really is no.15 from Morley's book.'¹¹ Moreover, he has found that almost half of the melody notes of the Morley song coincide with those of Dowland's White as lilies was her face, but considers that Morley's version ' can scarcely be said to be one of Morley's best works'. 'It's vocal line is undistinguished...and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the blatant and untypical pair of 5ths between melody and bass'...¹² Though less remarkable in its melodic shape, White as lilies was her face seems to me to be similar in style to With my love my life was nestled (no.4) and some connection with Dowland's setting is certainly apparent. The Wemyss manuscript gives five verses for Morley's song and these are verses 1,8,2,3,4 of Dowland's text.

The second coincidence is even more illuminating. Morley's I saw my lady weeping (Ayres no.5) sets a poem which in all but the smallest details is the same as the opening stanza of Dowland's I saw my lady weep (Second book of songs no.1) which contains three stanzas altogether. The discrepancies in the stanza set by both composers are slight. The quotation which follows gives Morley's text and the Dowland variants are shown in brackets:

I saw my lady weeping (weep)
 And Sorrow proud to be advanced so
 In those fair eyes, where all perfections kept. (keep)
 Her face was full of woe,
 But such a woe, believe me, as wins mens hearts (more)
 Than mirth can do with her enticing parts. *

It is likely that the third discrepancy is a misprint in the Morley publication;¹³ the other two, questions of tense and rhyme, matter but little and possibly arose through the process of translation.¹⁴ What is important, however, is that the two texts are sufficiently similar to make a comparison of Morley's setting with Dowland's a valid exercise.

In his study of English song in the seventeenth century, Ian Spink dwells at some length on the similarity between Dowland's and Morley's settings of I saw my lady weep(ing). Writing of the connection between the two songs he concludes:

Whether this may be taken as indicating the influence of one composer on the other (and, if so, which on which) is doubtful, but it certainly underlines the similarity of their idiom, and shows that Morley was a match for Dowland on his home ground.¹⁵

Both songs were published in 1600, and they do indeed show that 'Morley was a match for Dowland on his home ground.'

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The most significant point of contact between the two settings is their mutual use of the melodic outline of the 'Lachrymae' motive: this is unlikely to have been coincidence. Dowland wrote three versions of his famous melody, and his biographer, Diana Poulton, is of the opinion that the version for solo lute was the original one, which, she suspects, was already in existence by 1595.¹⁶ It was certainly in existence by the following year because Barley included it in his New book of tabliture (1596). Three years after this Morley provided an arrangement of it in his Consort lessons, and Anthony Holborne utilised the distinctive opening motive in his 'Pauana Plorauit' which was printed in 1599.¹⁷ Dowland's song version of Lachrymae was probably specially prepared by him for his Second book of songs (1600).¹⁸ Elsewhere Dowland sometimes discreetly makes reference to the four-note motive when setting a text concerning 'tears' or 'weeping',¹⁹ and it seems that the motive is deliberately used by Dowland in I saw my lady weep, most particularly at the opening and at the conclusion of the song (Example 35). References such as these may have either been made as conscious quotation of the famous phrase or as a suitable means of evoking the appropriate doleful atmosphere; or, indeed, both. That they are there, however, is indisputable. Examination of Morley's I saw my lady weeping (Example 36) shows that Morley is very consciously basing much of his song on the same four-note motive, but, unlike Dowland's working, Morley sets the figure into considerable prominence because it is treated imitatively, especially in the opening section. As Dowland is unquestionably acknowledged as the composer of the original Lachrymae it would seem likely that Morley wrote I saw my lady weeping after he had come across Dowland's I saw my lady weep. (A case for Morley having written his song based on the lute solo version of Lachrymae is ruled out by the similarity of the texts; and

it is too much to suggest that Dowland based his song on Morley's which in turn would have been founded on the lute solo, especially as Morley used just one stanza of the poem, whereas Dowland used three.) All this, then, suggests that the sequence of events was as follows:

- (1) Dowland wrote the lute solo *Lachrymae*
- (2) Dowland wrote I saw my lady weep and therein made use of the four-note motive²⁰
- (3) Dowland wrote Flow my tears, the song version of *Lachrymae*
- (4) Morley wrote I saw my lady weeping consciously using the four-note motive from Dowland's I saw my lady weep and using the first stanza of Dowland's text.

N.B. (2) and (3) are reversible without making any real difference to the present argument

This sequence would explain the parallels between the two songs which are shown in Examples 35 and 36, and which I interpret as Morley quoting from Dowland; and although they fully justify Spink's remark about underlining the 'similarity of their idiom', they do this only in point of detail. In fact, stylistically, the two songs are very different, and they illustrate, on the one hand, that Dowland's approach to the lute song was if not revolutionary certainly innovatory, and, on the other, that Morley's approach in this song was essentially conservative and firmly rooted in the traditions of his earlier compositions.

In Dowland's song there are no repeated sections; Morley repeats his last musical section. Even if this repeat is discounted, Morley's song is substantially longer than Dowland's whose setting is terse and, consequently, much more intense than Morley's, even though the number of notes actually presenting the text in both cases is comparable. The difference in length results from the stylistic difference between the two songs. Dowland's is essentially harmonically conceived whereas Morley's, despite its clearly-defined harmonic background, is much more contrapuntal in style. Consequently,

Morley's instrumental prelude and interludes are much longer than Dowland's: for his counterpoint to breathe, as it were, Morley must have space. This is well illustrated by bars 8-10 in Example 36 where the point setting 'and sorrow proud' is not only anticipated in the instrumental interlude but also imitated in bar 10 by the bass viol. Dowland has an opening instrumental prelude and only two brief interludes: from bar 9 onwards he proceeds in an almost unbroken vocal line which adapts itself to every nuance of the text, rhythmically and emotionally. Here there is no distortion of the text through musical setting but only increased eloquence. Morley's setting is expressive, too, but in a totally different way. Dowland's vocal line is expressive of the text in the tiniest detail of verbal inflexion and is almost, one feels, musically uninhibited. Morley's is not expressive in detail but in its overall shape and, ironically, in the restrained manner in which it proceeds.

However, it is their composers' use of harmony as a means of expression that most distinguishes these two songs. Morley prefers the short term pang of the suspension, which, of course, can be expanded into a more protracted experience by a swift succession of suspensions as in the opening instrumental prelude of I saw my lady weeping. Though he, too, uses suspensions, Dowland prefers the longer-term exploitation of quasi-tonal contrasts: he builds a firm tonal area and then suddenly subverts it, as, for example, in his portrayal of 'woe' by a sudden wrench from a D harmony to a B major chord (Example 35 bar 13). Startling harmonic relationships like this scarcely ever enter Morley's vocabulary or, we may presume, appealed to his sensibility.

One aspect of technique which pervades Morley's vocal music is his periodic punctuation of his compositions with full closes which he normally places at the ends of textual lines. I saw my lady weeping is no exception to this; full closes occur as follows:

I saw my lady <u>weeping</u>	V - I in I
And sorrow proud to be advanced <u>so</u>	V - I in V
In those fair eyes where all perfection kept.	
Her face was <u>full of woe</u> ,	V - I in III
But such a woe, believe me, as wins more hearts	
Than mirth can do with her enticing <u>parts</u> , *	V - I in I

Frequent use of full closes in this manner is almost certainly a legacy from his madrigalian experience. In contrast to this policy is Dowland's skilful avoidance of a full close at the end of his verbal lines, with the exception of the second line where a perfect cadence in III coincides with 'advanced so'. Otherwise he achieves a more fluid texture than Morley by using inverted cadences and suspensions at the conclusions of lines so that the accompaniment is still moving forward harmonically. See, for instance, the onward thrust achieved at the very end of the first line of text by a 7-6 suspension (Example 35 bars 4-5). It is interesting to note, too, that he concludes the whole song with an open end, a Phrygian cadence, whereas Morley ends his song with a full close in the tonic.

Stylistically, then, the essential difference between the two songs is that Dowland's represents an innovation in word-setting, one in which the rhythms and emotional content of the text are expressed primarily in harmonic terms, whereas Morley's represents a more traditional, contrapuntal approach, derived largely from the consort song. It is worth noting, however, that although the tradition of the consort song is much in evidence in the way in which Morley presents his text in the singer's part, and in the instrumental prelude and interludes wherein he anticipates the thematic material of the vocal lines, there is still something about Morley's instrumental accompaniment which is different from the true consort song style as represented by Byrd. This difference is basically a matter of contrapuntal procedure in the instrumental parts, above and beyond the question of the maintenance of a strict number of

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parts. This may be illustrated by comparing the opening bars of I saw my lady weeping with those of Byrd's consort song Where the blind and wanton boy (Examples 36 and 37). Byrd's opening is characterised by economy of material, by a concentration of musical thought. The vocal line is distinguished from the other parts only by being sung rather than played; it is an integral part of the whole contrapuntal texture. Morley's opening bars, however, are different: they contain one main musical idea (marked in brackets in the example) but, for most of the time, the parts not presenting this idea are involved in providing a setting for it, a setting which amounts to two protracted cadential formulae. The first (bars 1-2) draws out a V-I close, the second a I-V cadence. The protraction is achieved by multifarious suspensions over a very slow-moving bass which, with rock-like strength, supports the series of dissonances in the upper parts. This is a far cry from the tight, thoroughly imitative texture of the Byrd example. This difference between the approaches of the two composers may be explained by Morley's madrigalian experience-- the protracted cadential formulae are an essential part of his madrigalian technique (see, for instance, the closing bars of Stay heart, run not so fast, Canzonets (1597) EM3 p.97: 5-end)--and by Byrd's adherence to his native style.

To summarise, then, we can say that Morley's I saw my lady weeping is a child of mixed parentage-- the consort song and the madrigal. The characteristics of the former may be seen in the way in which the text is presented and in the technique of anticipating subsequent vocal material in the instrumental prelude and interludes; those of the latter are discernible in the setting in which the functional material is placed.

These characteristics and the connection with Dowland's I saw my lady weep suggest that Morley's I saw my lady weeping was written in the closing years of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the preceding discussion of this song helps us to place another of Morley's songs into its stylistic context, Who is it that this dark night

(no.7), for this is obviously much more in the consort song tradition and may well have been originally composed as such by Morley who perhaps later adapted it for performance as a lute song. The manner of text presentation is again characteristic of the consort song, but the influence of the madrigal is little in evidence here and the protracted cadence formula nowhere apparent. On the contrary, the accompaniment shows something of the economy of material noted in Byrd's Where the blind and wanton boy, particularly in the opening prelude which has the concentration of musical thought of a carefully-wrought fugal exposition, even to the extent of placing the subject and answer entries with systematic precision (ELS 16 p.18: 1-6). Comparison of this with Examples 36 and 37 will show it to have a greater stylistic affinity with the Byrd opening than with Morley's own I saw my lady weeping.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. The surviving copy is in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C...
2. Christ Church Library, Oxford: MUS. MS 439, pp.80-81 and pp.1-2.
3. Dowland's First Book of Songs was issued in 1597, 1600, 1603, 1606 and 1613.
4. Christ Church Library, Oxford: MUS. MS 439 (c.1620), p.37.
5. Shakespeare, As you like it, Act V, Sc.3.
6. E.Fellowes, editor, The First Book of Ayres by Thomas Morley (London, 1932), 'Notes on the lyrics'.
7. Robert Southwell (Ayre No.4); Sir Philip Sidney (Ayre No.7); Nicholas Breton (Ayre No.13); Ayre No.14 is generally attributed to Sir John Hoskyns. (From EMV p.754.)
8. The texts of Ayres Nos. 4,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13 and 14 contain more than one stanza.
9. A random 'spot-check' on an anthology of Elizabethan poetry will substantiate this. The present writer performed such a check with the Penguin Book of Elizabethan Verse, edited by E.Lucie-Smith (London, 1965).
10. Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire Fitzwilliam Virginal Book : Morley's Pavana and Galiarda are in vol.2, pp.173-179.
11. C.Thorpe Davie, 'A lost Morley Song rediscovered', Early Music (July,1981), pp.338-39, from which all the information about White as lilies has been taken with due acknowledgement.
12. *ibid.*, p.338.
13. See Poulton, p.253; EMV p.754; ELS 16 p.14.
14. Obertello, pp.440-441 suggests that the poem may be based on Vidi pianger Madonne, a sonnet by Alessandro Lionhardi, Secondo Libro de la rime (1550). 'I saw my lady weeping' set by Ferrabosco in Musica transalpina (1588), No.23, seems to relate to Morley's and Dowland's texts in the opening words only.
15. I. Spink, English Song from Dowland to Purcell (London, 1974) p.31.
16. Poulton, p.125; but see this thesis also p.120.
17. Poulton, p.124.
18. *ibid.*, p.124, where a convincing case is made in support of this view.
19. See, for instance, Burst forth my tears (bar 3), First Book; If floods of tears (bars 1-2), Second Book; Go, crystal tears (bars 3-4) First Book. Each of these contains a reference in the lowest sounding part to the four-note motive.
20. Poulton, p.253, however, has some reservations about the date of composition of this song.

VIII. ANGLICAN CHURCH MUSIC

Services (1): The Short and the Second Services

Morley, like Byrd, wrote music with Latin texts and music for the Anglican Church, though judging by their compositions which have survived, Byrd's output in both far exceeded Morley's. Byrd's Anglican church music may have been composed either for his choir at Lincoln or for the Chapel Royal choir with which he had such a long connection. Morley's, on the other hand, might well have been written for any of three choirs: Norwich Cathedral, St. Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal. In Byrd's case, however, the manuscript sources suggest that only a few of his anthems were composed for liturgical use, the remainder being intended for domestic devotional use,¹ whereas the sources for Morley's Services and anthems suggest more strongly that his were written for use in church. They suggest this because manuscripts of his works survive mainly in sources which were cathedral choir part-books and organ books. Unfortunately there is only one instance where the sources suggest for which choir a particular work was intended: O Jesu meek.

Morley's church music with English words that has survived may be summarised: a set of Preces and Responses, some Festal psalms and hymns (which are not discussed in this thesis); Service settings; anthems; and a setting of the Sentences from the Funeral Service.

Three Services by Morley have survived and these will be referred to by their traditional titles: Morley's First Service, Second Service and Short Service. Of these, the First Service includes settings of Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Kyrie and Creed in addition to the evening canticles, whereas the Second and the Short set only the evening canticles.

The Short Service belongs in the tradition of brief, full,² unaccompanied settings of the canticles which, in the period under review, extends from Tallis's Service

in the Dorian mode to Gibbons's Short Service. The origin of this tradition lies in the mid-sixteenth century preference for 'every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly', ³ which was a reaction against the melismatic word-setting of pre-Reformation chant and polyphony. Morley's Short Service is cast in the traditional mould: he allows himself just two moments of comparative musical extravagance when melismatic treatment is no threat to audibility of words i.e. when he sets 'Amen' at the conclusion of each canticle. The text of both Magnificat and Nunc dimittis is set in clearly-defined phrases which facilitates audibility and intelligibility and also antiphonal performance. Stylistically, the Short Service seems to be an early work -- it has a strong modal flavour, the range of the individual voice-parts is narrow and rarely exceeds an octave, and, as Dr. Le Huray has pointed out, the melodic lines show affinities with those of the festal chant⁴-- yet certain features suggest that it is not a youthful work. Of these we may cite, particularly, the sense of harmonic direction which pervades both canticles,⁵ achieved primarily by concluding a number of half-verse units in or on the dominant, and a certain expressive quality which distinguishes Morley's treatment of Magnificat and Nunc dimittis from the more abstract settings in Short Services by, for example, Richard Farrant, Thomas Causton and, even, Byrd, though, admittedly, these were probably composed well before Morley's Service. This is not only evident in the composer's selection of a particular melodic shape to set an emotive phrase -- a descending figure for 'He hath put down', for example-- but also in the more subtle way of varying the movement of the music rhythmically to illustrate the text. This point is well demonstrated by a comparison between Short Service settings of 'He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts' by Morley and Byrd

(MORL.II p.3: 6 and BYRD I p.6: 3).

Although Byrd's Short Service shows as much harmonic control as Morley's, it is less responsive to detail in the text. Moreover, there are many more brief imitative textures in Morley's Short than in Byrd's. Morley's usual procedure is to announce the first half verse of the text in block chords and to reply to it with an answering phrase which starts imitatively (MORL.II p.1:6--9), whereas Byrd follows one chordal statement by another. From time to time, both Byrd and Morley use the formula of 'one voice leading and the others following en bloc', perhaps first used by Tallis and certainly maintained in a host of subsequent Service settings and anthems (Example 38a).

Peter Le Huray draws attention to the 'parallels between the five-part Evening Service (called Mr. Morley's "Three Minnoms" in many sources) and Byrd's five-part Evening Service (also called "Three Minnoms")' which, he says, are 'too numerous to be coincidental.' He comments that 'perhaps Morley wrote his Service as a tribute to his master, or even while studying with him.' ⁶ However, there are also parallels between their two Short Services. Admittedly, Byrd's is scored for a mixture of four and five voices whereas Morley's is set for four voices throughout, but a connection between the two Services is still evident in two places where the harmonic and melodic similarity is quite striking (Examples 38 and 39). However, as these are the only parallels in their Short Services it is possible that Morley was merely unconsciously quoting his teacher's work. The finest moment in Morley's setting, the Amen of the Nunc Dimittis, is noteworthy on two accounts: firstly because it shows some thematic affinity with the Amen at the close of the Magnificat and, secondly, because of the tiny but nevertheless effective canon between the soprano and tenor at its conclusion.

Mention has already been made of the parallels

between Morley's five-part Second Service and Byrd's Third Evening Service in five parts. This is most noticeable in the opening of the two Magnificats (Example 40 and 41). However, this apart, the two Services are dissimilar in precisely the same ways as the two Short Services. Where Byrd's remains predominantly chordal in its declamation, Morley's alternates chordal passages with imitative sections, usually in half-verse units. However, in these imitative sections, Morley spreads himself far more extensively and adventurously than in his Short Service. Indeed, the Second Service has some features of the 'Great Service' though not, of course, its size.⁷ There are, for instance, many text repetitions in the Second Service whereas there was one only in the Short Service ('And to his seed for ever'). It is through text repetition that Morley is able to achieve some effective imitative sections and the varieties of texture which are so characteristic of the 'Great Service'. Though not designated 'verse' in the sources, some of these sections, where there is a marked change of texture, might well be performed by a group of soloists. 'And to his seed for ever' at the close of the Magnificat is such a passage.

The sense of forward movement achieved by careful placing of important cadences, already noticed in his Short Service, is even more apparent in Morley's Second. Especially noticeable is his use of a cadence in or on the dominant as a means of introducing a more elaborate section without halting the flow of the music. In the Magnificat Gloria, for instance, 'and is now' concludes on the dominant chord of the dominant key and thus prepares for the vigorous counterpoint which follows, setting, most appropriately, 'and ever shall be, world without end'. The Gloria to the Nunc dimittis shows some thematic affinity with the Magnificat Gloria, and it demonstrates Morley's great command of imitative

entries in stretto with strong cross-rhythms resulting. It concludes with a magnificent Amen, which, like the Amen that ends his Short Service Nunc dimittis, contains two voices in canon. This canon, however, which is between soprano and bass, occurs at only one beat's distance. (MORL.III p.20:3 -5).

Morley's Second Service is probably a later work than the Short Service. This view is based upon the rhythmic ingenuity which the composer frequently displays in the Second Service, the skill which he handles imitation, and the clearly-defined harmonic basis on which it is founded; and all these make stronger suggestions of Morley the madrigalist than the Short Service with its curious blend of mid-century traditions and more modern features.

Background to the verse Service and verse anthem

The verse anthem and the verse Service are peculiarly English phenomena. They reached their finest expression in the works of ^{Beelker,} Gibbons and Tomkins in the earlier part of the seventeenth century and in those of Blow and Purcell in the last two decades of that century. A full history of their emergence in the sixteenth century has yet to be published and the various threads of relevant evidence are hard to unravel.⁸ It must suffice here to indicate just a few of these threads in order to place Morley's output in these genres in perspective.

The verse Service and the verse anthem have as their prime characteristic the alternation of a soloist (or few solo voices) singing a verse with the full choir singing a chorus. Some Festal psalm settings have survived from post-Reformation England which employ the principle of verse/full contrast.⁹ Indeed, Byrd's Teach me O Lord,¹⁰ one of these Psalmi Festivales,¹¹ may be regarded as a verse anthem of a simple kind. This

work sets Ps.119 vv. 33 - 38. The choruses and solos are straightforward, though not without beauty, and there is a four-squareness, a predictable element of regularity about the whole work. Moreover, there is little difference in character between any of the solo sections or between any of the full passages. These latter suggest an origin in chant harmonisation and close scrutiny of the uppermost voice-part in the choruses shows it to be based on the chant Tonus Peregrinus. The instrumental accompaniment is straightforward though, at times, the tiny organ introductions anticipate the material which the soloist is about to sing. The fact that alternate verses of the psalm are given respectively to soloist and chorus suggests that the term 'verse' as used in verse anthem and verse Service owes its origin to Psalmi Festivales in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign.

The next stage in the development of the verse anthem may be observed in Byrd's O Lord rebuke me not in thine indignation (ps.6 vv.1 - 4) which is set for soprano solo and S A A T B chorus. In this work the full sections are less chordal than in Teach me O Lord, and the soprano part of the choruses is not derived from plainchant; rather, for much of the time, it repeats the melodies and the words that the soloist has most recently sung. The most noticeable difference from Teach me O Lord, however, is in the keyboard part of the verse sections. This has become emancipated from its previous role of mere accompanimental support to the soloist and is now an independent participant in an interplay between voice and instrument, an interplay which provides a substantial part of the character of the mature verse anthem of the seventeenth century.

The aspect of interplay between voice(s) and instrument(s) probably came to the verse anthem and verse Service from the consort song - a work for a consort of viols and solo voice (usually a boy's) in which voice

and instruments participate on equal terms. Byrd was the composer of consort songs 'par excellence', and it is to him again that we must turn to notice this particular influence on the verse anthem. The use of a chorus at the end of the consort song gradually became quite usual and this may be seen in Byrd's From Virgin's womb, a 'Carol for Christmas Day', which he included in his Songs of Sundry Natures (1589).¹² Of course, the structural principle of this consort song differs from that of the verse anthem: in the former, the chorus appears only at the end of the solo section, and the text setting is strophic.¹³ However, it is a fine example of the kind of relationship between soloist and accompaniment that appears in the mature verse anthem, one in which rival claims of simple, clear text declamation on the one hand, and musical invention and resourcefulness on the other, reach their most satisfactory compromise. There is vital polyphony with no distortion of the text. Indeed, as Philip Brett wrote, the consort song with chorus becomes the 'secular counterpart of the verse anthem.'¹⁴

Byrd himself composed verse Services and a number of verse anthems of which Behold, O God (scored for two alto soloists and five-part choir) may be taken as a representative example. Teach me O Lord, O Lord rebuke me not, Behold, O God and his verse Services together provide a useful background against which to consider Morley's verse compositions.

Services (2): The First Service

The title 'First Service' probably originated with Barnard who included all its movements in his First book

of selected church music (1641). He described it in some places as 'Mr. Tho. Morley his first Service of 4 and 5 parts to the organs' (bassus cantoris part-book, for instance) and in others as ' Mr. Thomas Morley his first Service of 1,2,3,4 and 5 parts to the organs' (medius decani part-book, for example). The manuscript sources at Christ Church, Oxford, and at the Royal College of Music refer to it simply as 'Mr. Morley for verses'.

The wide range of Service styles which its various movements incorporate is quite striking. For most of its duration the Venite (Thesis vol.2 pp.71-101) is an accompanied full setting for five-part choir (S A A T B) with antiphonal divisions providing relief from the full choral sound. However, it does contain one verse section for S S A A setting 'The sea is his and he made it; and his hands prepared the dry land' (Thesis vol.II pp.81-83). Though it has some slight general affinity with Byrd's Venite from his Short Service, Morley's Venite is more elaborate. Where Byrd's setting is entirely chordal, Morley again adopts the procedure of treating the first half-verse chordally and the second half-verse in a more expansive, imitative manner. There is no musical repetition. Byrd, on the other hand, treats the whole verse as a unit and follows one verse by an antiphonal adaptation of the same music for the following verse.

Morley sets the Te Deum (Thesis vol.2 pp.102-146) in a similar way to his Venite. The predominant manner is that of an accompanied full Service, with moments of more ambitious imitative writing occasionally introduced. However, Te Deum is a long canticle and Morley achieves considerable variety of effect by imaginative use of his vocal resources (see Table 35). His five-part choir (S A A T B) is divisible into two equal five-part units (decani and cantoris) and this provides some reduction in the full sound as well as antiphonal effects.

Further respite from the full sonority is obtained by having verse sections within the half-choir units (marked 'verse dec.' and 'verse can.' in the Table) so that specified single voices from either side of the choir sing verses. Finally, there are some verse sections which cut across the half-choir divisions like v.16 where Morley employs one soprano and one alto from decani and a similar pair from cantoris. Added to these permutations is the use of a single soloist: the opening intonation is allotted to a solo alto, and the second half of the canticle begins with a short soprano solo ('Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father') which grows into a substantial verse section for S S A A. Morley clearly had a preference for this verse scoring: he uses it again in the Te Deum for 'O Lord have mercy upon us', and the verse section in the Venite already referred is for the same group of voices.

TABLE 35

The allocation of verse and full sections in the Te Deum of Morley's First Service

Verse of text	Scoring
1 (a) We praise thee (b) We acknowledge	Verse (A) Verse (S S A)
2 (a) All the earth (b) The Father	Full (S A A T B) "
3 (a) To thee all angels (b) The heavens and all	Dec. "
4 (a) To thee Cherubin (b) Continually do cry	Can. "

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 5 | (a) Holy, Holy, Holy | Dec. |
| | (b) Lord God of Sabaoth | " (repeated Full) |
| 6 | (a) Heaven and earth | Dec.Verse (S A T B) |
| | (b) Of thy glory | " " " |
| 7 | (a) The glorious company | Can.Verse (S A T B) |
| | (b) Praise thee | " " " |
| 8 | (a) The goodly fellowship | Dec.Verse (S A T B) |
| | (b) Praise thee | " " " |
| 9 | (a) The noble army | Can. Verse (S A T B) |
| | (b) Praise thee | " " " |
| 10 | (a) The holy Church | Full |
| | (b) Doth acknowledge thee | " |
| 11 | (a) The Father | " |
| | (b) Of an infinite | " |
| 12 | (a) Thine honourable | " |
| | (b) And only Son | " |
| 13 | (a) Also the Holy | " |
| | (b) The Comforter | " |
| 14 | (a) Thou art the King | " |
| | (b) O Christ | " |

Organ interlude

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|----|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 15 | (a) Thou art the everlasting | Verse (S) |
| | (b) Of the Father | " " |
| 16 | (a) When thou tookest | Verse (S S A A) |
| | (b) Thou didst not | " " " |
| 17 | (a) When thou hast overcome | Full |
| | (b) Thou didst open | " |
| 18 | (a) Thou sittest | Dec. |
| | (b) In the glory | " |
| 19 | (a) We believe that | Full |
| | (b) To be our judge | " |
| 20 | (a) We therefore pray | Can. (S A T B) |
| | (b) Whom thou hast | Dec. (") |
| 21 | (a) Make them to be | Full |
| | (b) In glory | " |
| 22 | (a) O Lord save | Can. (S A T B) |
| | (b) And bless thine | Dec. " |
| 23 | (a) Govern them | Can. " |
| | (b) And lift them | " " |

24 (a) Day by Day	Dec (S A T B)
(b) We magnify thee	" "
25 (a) And we worship	" "
(b) Ever world	" "
26 (a) Vouchsafe O Lord	Full
(b) To keep us	"
27 (a) O Lord have mercy	Verse (S S A A)
(b) Have mercy	" "
28 (a) O Lord let	Can.
(b) As our trust	"
29 (a) O Lord in thee	Full
(b) Let me never be	"

One aspect of Morley's Te Deum is mysterious. The two organ scores and most of the vocal parts consulted omit the verses 'The goodly fellowship of the prophets praise thee;, The noble army of martyrs praise thee:' and continue without interruption from bar 36³ to bar 42⁴ in the transcription. Barnard is the only source to provide music for these verses, and even his tenor cantoris makes no allowance for them. The transcription for these bars is thus made from the Barnard parts that do contain music for these verses and the organ part supplied is made from the vocal parts. It is evident, too, that there is a part missing for 'the noble army of martyrs praise thee' -- a tenor or second alto in all probability. The jump from bar 36 to 42 works well enough musically. However, the implications arising from the missing verses are important. Perhaps they were omitted in the early seventeenth century for religious reasons -- for possible associations with Roman Catholicism-- though this is unlikely as they occur in both the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books. If they were not left out for religious reasons, however, then it means, firstly, that Barnard had access to manuscripts in addition to those preserved in the Royal College of Music library (Mss 1046 - 1052) and, secondly, that the Christ Church manuscripts

(Mus.Mss 1220 - 1224 and 1001) were not copies of Barnard's published parts. The considerable differences in underlay of the text strengthen these implications.

The Benedictus (Thesis vol.2 pp.147-178) is the finest of Morley's morning and Communion movements and was clearly conceived as a verse setting. Nearly half of it is scored for verse performance and, again, he shows a liking for S S A A scoring in verse sections:

TABLE 36

The allocation of verse and full sections in the Benedictus of Morley's First Service

Verse of text	Scoring
1 (a) Blessed be (b) For he hath visited	Verse (A) " (S S A)
2 (a) And hath raised (b) In the house	Full (S S A T E) " "
3 (a) As he spake (b) which hath been	Can. "
4 (a) That we should be saved (b) And from the hands	Verse (S S A A) " "
5 (a) To perform the mercy (b) And to remember	Full "
6 (a) To perform the oath (b) That he would give	Verse (A) " "
7 (a) That we being delivered (b) Might serve him	Full "
8 (a) In holiness and righteousness (b) All the days	" "
9 (a) And, thou, child (b) For thou shalt go	" "
10 (a) To give knowledge (b) For the remission	Verse (S) "

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 11 (a) Through the tender mercy | Verse (S S A A) |
| (b) Whereby the day-spring | " " |
| 12 (a) To give light | Dec. |
| (b) And to guide our feet | Dec.then Full |
| Gloria | |
| 13 (a) Glory be to the Father | Verse (S) then Full |
| (b) And to the Holy Ghost | Full |
| 14 (a) As it was | " |
| (b) World without end. Amen | " |

The opening organ prelude resembles that of the Te Deum sufficiently to link these movements as a pair. Additionally, both Te Deum and Benedictus begin with an alto solo which merges into an S S A verse. Two subsequent solos in the Benedictus are related to the initial solo by the rising five-note scale with which each commences (Thesis vol.2 pp.157 and 167). However, the most distinctive aspect of this movement is its tonal structure. A large portion, vv 3 - 9, is set in the bright sound of the subdominant, with touches of flat seventh tonality to give occasional relief, and this is sandwiched by opening and closing sections of predominantly tonic tonality. An effective ternary tonal structure is thus achieved.

Morley's settings for the Communion Service, a Kyrie and Creed, are musically less elaborate than those for Matins or Evensong. The Kyrie is a setting of the responses to the Commandments with which, after the opening Sentence, the 1552 Communion Service begins. Again scored S A A T B, Morley's setting has much in common with Byrd's five-part version of the same text. Both composers wrote interesting inner parts despite the concise, straightforward style of text presentation required for choral responses, and both settings

conclude with the same codetta for a repeat of 'We beseech thee' in the final response (Thesis Vol.II p.180 and Example 42). Byrd's shifts to the relative major, though transient, have no parallel in Morley's Kyrie where any moves away from the tonic are confined to the dominant. No organ part for Morley's Kyrie has survived; it may well have been sung unaccompanied.

The Creed of the First Service is full throughout but makes consistent use of decani and cantoris alternation, particularly effective at moments of swift change like 'God of God' (Dec.) 'Light of light' (Can.) or 'is worshipped' (Can.) 'and glorified' (Dec.). Additional relief from the full S A A T B sound is achieved for a substantial section when Morley reduces to an S A T B texture for 'who for us men... and was made man'. Comparison with Byrd's two settings of the Creed shows Morley's to be considerably more elaborate than Byrd's short Service Creed by having as many passages in imitative counterpoint as Byrd employs in the Creed from his Great Service. What distinguishes the latter from Morley's setting is Byrd's greater subtlety in varying his choral sonorities, and his altogether less solemn interpretation achieved by setting this text in a predominantly major tonality in contrast to Morley's Dorian mode. However, Morley's Creed is not without merit and the energetic counterpoint setting 'and the life of the world to come' is especially fine (Example 43).

The evening canticles of the First Service stand with Hooper's Evening Service for verses as the earliest examples of the fully-fledged accompanied verse settings of late Elizabethan times. Indeed, Morley's and Hooper's evening canticles in verse style may well have been the prototypes for the subsequent masterworks of this genre--Weelkes's Evening Service for trebles, Ward's First

Service, and Gibbon's Second Service.

To examine Morley's First Evening Service alongside Byrd's Second Evening Service is illuminating. Morley's setting is altogether bigger than Byrd's, and Byrd's Service gives the impression of being an accompanied full setting with an occasional verse section briefly slotted into it, whereas Morley's, like Hooper's, seems to have been conceived as a verse Service, a type of setting which derives its character from the alternation of verse and full sections as a structural and expressive technique. Byrd's Second Service was therefore not named in the previous paragraph; yet that must nevertheless be regarded as the most significant precursor of the verse Service, in the same way that some of his simple psalm settings, like Teach me O Lord, herald the verse anthem proper. The following Table shows how verse sections are more prominent in Morley's Magnificat, for example, than in Byrd's:

TABLE 37

The allocation of verse and full sections in the Magnificat of Morley's First Service and Byrd's Second Service

Verse of text	Byrd	Morley
1 (a) My soul (b) And my	Verse (A) Full	Verse (S) Verse (S A A T)
2 (a) For he (b) The lowliness	" "	Full "
3 (a) For behold (b) All generations	" "	" "
4 (a) For he (b) And Holy	" "	Verse (S S A T) and Full Full
5 (a) And his (b) Throughout	" "	" "

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| 6 | (a) He hath | Full | Verse (S A B) |
| | (b) He hath | " | Verse (S A B) |
| 7 | (a) He hath put | Verse (T) | Full |
| | (b) And hath | Verse (T) | " |
| 8 | (a) He hath | Full | Verse (S S A) |
| | (b) And the | " | Verse (S S A) |
| 9 | (a) He remembering | " | Full Can. |
| | (b) As he | Verse (S) | Full Dec.(A A T B) |

Gloria

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|------|--------------------|
| 10 | (a) Glory be | Full | Verse (S) and Full |
| | (b) And to the | " | Full |
| 11 | (a) As it was | " | " |
| | (b) World without | " | " |

Sources: Byrd Second Service: O.U.P. edition
 Morley First Service: O.U.P. revised edition
 and MSS

Comment: Byrd devotes 4 half-verse units to verse
 performance
 Morley devotes 9 half-verse units to verse
 performance

Less obvious but equally significant are the differences in the range of manner used in presenting the canticle text at any given moment. Byrd presents his text in the following ways:

- (1) By using a solo melodic line with independent organ accompaniment (vvs. 1, 7 and 7b in Magnificat and 1 in Nunc dimittis, for instance).
- (2) By making a change in textural sonority, namely, a shift from the sonority of the full choir to a different sonority achieved by a group of soloists (v. 4 and 4a in Nunc dimittis for instance).
- (3) By using full choir (S A A T B) in all non-verse and non-solo sections.

In (3) above there is little stylistic variety. Though accompanied, these full sections are very much akin to

his treatment of the text in his Short Service and in his Evening Service in five parts. What little variety exists is brought about by occasional quaver movement within the inner parts at the ends of sections, (Magnificat: Gloria 10b and the concluding Amen, for instance) and by the 'one voice leading, the remainder following' technique which he uses to good effect (in Magnificat 6 and 6b, for example) and which both he and Morley used in their Short Services. Apart from these, the declamation in the full sections of Byrd's Second Service is essentially homophonic and predominantly homorhythmic.

Morley's ways of presenting the canticle text are essentially the same as Byrd's, but he achieves a far greater variety of manner within them. It is in (2) and (3) above that Morley most noticeably goes further than Byrd. He not only writes more verse sections but achieves a wider variety of sonorities and textures within them. Consider, for example, how totally different an effect is achieved in Morley's verse setting of 'He hath shewed strength with his arm... in the imagination of their hearts' in the Magnificat with his presentation of 'For mine eyes have seen thy salvation' in the Nunc dimittis. The latter is homophonic in style like Byrd's verse in his Nunc dimittis which sets 'To be a light to lighten the Gentiles'. The former is essentially contrapuntal in style. Moreover, it illustrates Morley's expressive use of imitative techniques as well as his skill as a contrapuntist. He uses three voices (S A B) for this section (vv. 6a and 6b), but only in the latter part of this text does he use the voices as a trio: previously we hear a bass solo, a soprano and alto duet, and a bass and alto duet. In these duet passages the imitations are widely spaced, but in the trio which sets 'in the imagination of their hearts' not only is the idea used more energetic than the earlier material but the imitative entries are placed much more closely together (MORL.IV p.8-p.10:2).

Morley achieves a number of textural contrasts in his full sections. Where Byrd's full passages are essentially similar to one another, Morley's show a quite wide stylistic range. Often he employs the technique we have already noticed of treating a first half-verse homophonically and the second contrapuntally. 'For behold from henceforth' is set harmonically whereas 'all generations shall call me blessed' receives a long expansive treatment in imitative counterpoint (MORL.IV p.2:3/4-p.4:6). As noted earlier, Byrd treats his canticle text usually as whole-verse units, making little or no distinction between the first and second half of the verses. Morley, on the other hand, follows the Prayer Book division of the verse into two halves. His change of treatment from homophonic in one half to contrapuntal in the other thus makes some sense, provided, of course, that the second half appears to be generated from the first, which usually it does. He achieves this by making one or more voices continue without break into the second half of the verse and leaves the other voices to take up a figure as an imitative point from the voice(s) which proceed(s) without interruption. In 'For he hath regarded...handmaiden' in Magnificat, for instance, the first alto and tenor have an unbroken line for this verse. Their upward leaps for 'the lowliness' are then followed imitatively by the remaining voices (MORL.IV p.2:3/4-8).

Sometimes, however, Morley's full passages are set in imitative counterpoint throughout, a texture which is absent in the full sections of Byrd's Second Service, and which may be noted in Morley's setting of 'He hath put down ...meek' in which the subjugation of the mighty and the exaltation of the meek are set to falling and rising figures respectively (MORL.IV p.10:1/4-p.11:7).

A good example of Morley's feeling for variety in vocal sonorities is his setting of the conclusion of the

Magnificat in his First Service. For 'As he promised... seed for ever' the soprano is silent and a rich, rather dark sonority results. This is made more effective when the Magnificat Gloria starts in the part which was silent during the preceding passage.

The aim of the foregoing discussions was to demonstrate the extent to which Morley's First Service represents a different conception of the verse Service from that of his teacher's Second Service. Nevertheless, both works show how their respective composers were aware of the value of tonal considerations in sustaining a comparatively large musical structure. Both composers were conscious of the desirability of placing cadential landmarks on degrees other than the tonic if such a comparatively long movement were to be structurally well braced. Moreover, on occasions, there are passages in the Services of both composers where there is a definite shift of tonality for a whole section. In such passages it would be reasonable to suspect that the shift of tonality was an expressive device in addition to its structural function. These considerations may be noticed particularly in the Magnificat and are best shown in tabular form:

TABLE 38

The tonal organisation of Magnificat of Morley's First Service

Verse of text	Main tonal zone of whole verse	Cadence on/in
1 (a) My soul	I	V
(b) And my		I
2 (a) For he	I	I
(b) The lowliness		V
3 (a) For behold	IV	IV
(b) All generations		IV

4	(a) For he that	IV	I
	(b) And Holy is		fl.VII
5	(a) And his mercy	IV	I
	(b) Throughout all		I
6	(a) He hath shewed	IV	IV
	(b) He hath scattered		I
7	(a) He hath put down	IV	I
	(b) And hath exalted		IV
8	(a) He hath filled	IV/I	IV
	(b) And the rich		IV
9	(a) He remembering	IV/I	I
	(b) As he promised		I

Gloria

10	(a) Glory be to	I	V
	(b) And to the holy		V
11	(a) As it was	I)
	(b) World without) ^I

Source: O.U.P. revised edition and MSS

Comment: Sometimes the tonality of a section seems to vacillate between two centres in which case this is shown by a split zone, thus IV/I.

TABLE 39

The tonal organisation of Magnificat of Byrd's Second Service

Verse of text	Main tonal zone of whole verse	Cadence on/in
1 (a) My soul doth (b) And my	I	V I
2 (a) For he (b) The lowliness	I/V	V
3 (a) For behold (b) All generations	f1.VII	I
4 (a) For he that (b) And Holy is	f1.VII	f1.VII
5 (a) And his mercy (b) Throughout all	III/f1.VII	V
6 (a) He hath shewed (b) He hath scattered	V/I	I
7 (a) He hath put down (b) And hath exalted	I/V	V
8 (a) He hath filled (b) And the rich	f1.VII/V	
9 (a) He remembering (b) As he promised	V/f1.VII	II IV
Gloria		
10 (a) Glory be to (b) And to the Holy	V	V V
11 (a) As it was (b) World without	V/I	I I

Source: O.U.P.

Comment: In most instances the first half of the verse is inseparable from the second.

Tables 38 and 39 are useful for two reasons. Firstly they show how Morley and Byrd frequently place their main cadences on degrees of the scale other than the tonic, even though the music which precedes them may be of tonic tonality. There is nothing exceptional in this: it is to be found in most musical structures of the sixteenth century. However, it is nevertheless one of the reasons why a work so regularly punctuated by cadences maintains its momentum. Secondly, and more important, they show how both composers thought it desirable to shift to a related tonality for portions of a movement. This is most noticeable in their Magnificats, where Morley shifts to sub-dominant tonality and Byrd to flat seventh tonality for a substantial portion in the middle of these movements.

It is questionable, however, whether such shifts were made for expressive purposes as well as structural. How far, in fact, is it valid to see changes of mood in the Virgin Mary's canticle of praise? To a very large extent any answer to this question must be subjective -- at least it would seem so when one considers the remarkable variety of musical responses that have been made to this text by composers over the centuries. However, there is but one natural division in the text: vv.1 - 4 are the Virgin Mary's personal reaction to the Angel's salutation; vv. 6 - 9 are Mary's account of the Almighty's achievement and have therefore universal application. The link between part one, the personal, and part two, the universal, is effected by v.5: 'And His mercy is on them that fear Him; throughout all generations.' Few composers seem to have taken any account of the Magnificat's structure from this point of view; instead they have preferred to concentrate on the pictorial overtones of individual verses, to some degree or other. Yet Morley's First Service does seem to acknowledge

the Magnificat's basic two-part structure, though not by means of its tonal design: it moves away from the tonic too soon for us to assume that the big sub-dominant section was an attempt to express the change in his text. So, too, does Byrd's. No, Morley's awareness of the Magnificat structure is illustrated by his use of the organ. It had become a convention by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to precede solos and verses with short instrumental preludes which treated briefly in advance the musical material of the start of the solo or verse passage. Such preludes can be seen at the start of both the Magnificats under examination and immediately before 'He hath put down...' in Byrd's Magnificat. Morley has only one instrumental prelude in the course of his Magnificat, despite the number of verse sections, and this occurs at the natural division in the text at the start of v.6. Of course, his overall treatment of Magnificat is sectional; but the largest break is created by this organ interlude.

The main role of the organ in both Byrd's and Morley's Service is to provide support for the voices -- for most of the time, the organ merely doubles the voice-parts. The exceptions to this are in the vocal solos where a considerable independence is achieved in the organ part.¹⁵ In their openings to Magnificat both Byrd and Morley create a fine instrumental texture into which the solo voice-part weaves most effectively (BYRD III p.2:3-4 and MORL.IV p.1:4-7/1). Both composers set the opening verse in predominantly triple time, though, of the two, Byrd's solo is the more interesting and varied rhythmically. Again, of the organ introductions, Byrd's is the more delicate and the more thematically concentrated. Both composers use stock sixteenth-century material for their opening bars, but where Morley's sounds like a succession of harmonic

clichés (particularly the pattern of suspensions) Byrd's sounds spontaneous.

Elizabethan and Jacobean composers varied in the extent to which they sought to integrate the various movements of their Service music by thematic cross-reference. The most usual method of doing this was by means of head-and tail motifs -- short musical figures which could be presented in different guises in different movements of the Service at points where they would be most noticeable, namely, at the beginning or end of a movement. Weelkes, for example, made considerable use of such devices.¹⁶ The use of a headmotif may be observed in both Byrd's Second Service and Morley's First, as, in both cases, their settings of Nunc dimittis open with material strongly related to the openings of their Magnificats (BYRD III p.2 and p.11; MORL.IV p.1 and p.20). Byrd's, though fine, is the more obvious of the two relationships. He recasts his vocal line superbly to accommodate the different text, but the instrumental prelude is virtually a literal repeat of that to his Magnificat. Morley makes no attempt to relate his vocal lines but his instrumental prelude is a much more discreet and subtle variation of his Magnificat introduction.

Apart from these headmotifs there is no discernible attempt at thematic cross-reference in the two Services under discussion. However, it is appropriate here to observe an additional detail in Byrd's Nunc dimittis. It was noted earlier that there is some affinity between the Short Services of Byrd and Morley and a quotation from the Nunc dimittis was given as an illustration of that connection. Curiously enough, Byrd set this same text--'For mine eyes have seen thy salvation'-- in a very similar way in his Second Service (Example 44). This is unlikely to have been coincidence.

As with the two Short Services, Morley's First Evening Service is more responsive to detail in the

text than Byrd's Second Service. For example, Byrd gently paints the suppression of the 'Mighty' and the elevation of the 'humble and meek' by a falling and rising figure respectively within the narrow confines of a beautifully-shaped and concise tenor solo (BYRD III p.7:3-9) whereas Morley depicts the same image by similarly-designed figures in an expansive and repetitive paragraph of considerable activity during which the full, five-part choir participates in the vigorous imitations (MORL.IV p.10-p.11).

The substantial length of Morley's First Evening Service arises from his use of text repetitions (like 'He hath put down') in contrapuntal textures, but the declamation is syllabic as in his Short Service, and as in that Service, the only melismatic treatment occurs in his setting of Amen at the conclusion of each canticle.

It was suggested earlier that Morley's First Evening Service might be regarded as the prototype for other verse Services which were written probably in the earlier years of the seventeenth century. Certainly the evidence of Ward's First Evening Service lends some support for this view. The organ introductions of Ward's Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (Example 45a and 45b) may be compared with the opening of Morley's Magnificat (MORL.IV p.1:1-2). In addition, Ward's setting of 'He hath put down' in the Magnificat has much in common with Morley's setting of that verse (Example 45c and MORL.IV p.10).

Verse anthems

Let my complaint

Four verse anthems by Morley survive complete, two of which are available in modern editions;¹⁷ the others remain in manuscript sources. Of the four, the most conservative is Let my complaint which is a setting in

simple verse style of Ps.119,vv.169-176. Scored for alto solo and S A T B chorus, it belongs in the tradition of Psalmi Festivales and may be regarded as Morley's equivalent to Byrd's Teach me, O Lord. Alternate verses of the psalm are shared between soloist and chorus. Moreover, Morley is again meticulous in his respect for half-verse divisions: in both solo and full sections the two halves of each verse of the psalm are separated by rests in the vocal parts. Indeed, in the solo sections, the rests in the voice-part are filled by short organ interludes which anticipate the opening of the next vocal melody. The regularity previously noted in Byrd's Teach me O Lord is present also in this Morley work, arising from the strict alternatim principle upon which it is built and from the careful observance of half-verse divisions of the text. Unlike the Byrd piece, it has no obvious derivation from plainchant and the full sections display a variety not noticeable in Byrd's choruses. Morley's solo writing in this piece is characteristic: his vocal lines gently undulate and settle with poise at the main cadences. What distinguishes his solo writing here from that, say, in his most celebrated verse anthem Out of the deep is the lack of text repetition, which makes Let my complaint less rhetorical and less subjective than Morley's other verse anthems.

How long wilt thou forget me

The number of sources for How long wilt thou forget me suggests that it was quite widely known in cathedral and collegiate chapel choirs in the seventeenth century: it is listed in Clifford's The Divine Services and anthems,¹⁸ and manuscripts of the work are to be found in libraries in London, York, Durham, Oxford and Cambridge, and the majority of these came originally from the cities where the libraries are located.¹⁹

The anthem's text is Ps.13; it is set for a full choir (S A A T B) with verses for S S A A T in the following arrangement:

Verse section (1): Solo A

Verse section (2): Solo S

" " (3): S S A A and S A T

" " (4): S A T

" " (5): S S A T

This variety within the verse sections represents an immediate contrast with all the Byrd anthems mentioned above and Morley's Let my complaint. In Behold, O God Byrd's verses are for two altos who sometimes sing singly, sometimes in duet. His other two verse anthems discussed had verses for soprano solo only. In fact, none of Byrd's extant verse anthems provide verse sections for more than two voices at a time,²⁰ so Morley's verse scoring in How long wilt thou forget me represents a signal departure from his teacher's policy in this respect. Moreover, it differs considerably in structure from any of the Byrd anthems recently named. Teach me O Lord and O Lord rebuke me not were built on the principle of regular alternation between verse and full sections, but the latter work, as noted, had full sections which were choral harmonisations of the preceding verse. Byrd's Behold, O God has independent full sections but these are small and undistinguished in relation to the verse sections which dominate the work. Moreover, as the text setting is strophic the same chorus is performed four times altogether as shown in the following Table:

TABLE 40

The organisation and allocation of verses in Byrd's
Behold, O God

Verse of Text	Verse/ Full No.	Scoring	Length in bars
1	Verse (1)	Solo A then A A duet	31
"	Full (1)	S A A T B	10
"	Verse(2)	A A duet	30
"	Full (2)	S A A T B (same text and music as Full (1))	10
2	Exactly as for the first verse of the text but with different words and a concluding Amen.		

Morley's How long wilt thou forget me has a different organisation within the basic principle of chorus and verse alternation. The anthem consists of five units, each of which comprises a verse followed by a chorus. The first and last units are considerably larger than the intervening ones; and this, plus the tonal organisation of the work, gives the whole anthem a *well-framed* structure which is strong and capable of containing the varieties of scoring and texture which characterise the anthem in both its verse and full sections. This is shown in the following Table:

TABLE 41

The structural organisation of Morley's How long wilt thou forget me

Unit No.	Length of verse in bars	Length of full in bars	Total length of unit in bars	Cadence at end of unit in/on
1	15	13	28	I
2	11	2	13	f1.VII
3	7	2	9	I
4	4	5	9	IV
5	9	12	21	I

There is no attempt to link the units thematically though the second and third choruses repeat the text but not the music of the last part of the preceding verse; and the fourth chorus utilises the thematic material of the verse before, though this is not a mere repeat but a further working out of a contrapuntal idea.

The organ parts of Byrd's Behold O God and Morley's How long wilt thou forget me are independent in the respective verse sections and both double the voices in the choruses. However, Byrd and Morley most resemble each other in their writing for solo voice and this, perhaps more than anything else, demonstrates the stylistic affinity between them. Byrd's solo lines possess a greater rhythmic flexibility than his pupil's-- witness the subtlety with which he mixes two - and three-pulse figures -- but both composers had an innate sense of the type of melodic line that is singable and expressive. The solos of both are characterised by a graceful poise and a gentle eloquence though, of the two, Morley's are the more dramatic, the more overtly expressive. This arises from the way in which he repeats a significant fragment of text which heightens its emotional intensity without upsetting the sense and syntax of the text. To illustrate these various

aspects of Byrd's and Morley's solo writing, two examples are given (Examples 46 and 47). The first shows six bars of the initial solo in Byrd's Behold O God and demonstrates the ease with which two - and three - pulse figures are intermixed within a single line of text; the second shows Morley's second verse section from How long wilt thou forget me in which shapeliness of contour and dramatic internal repeats of 'O Lord' may be observed.

O Jesu meek

O Jesu meek (Thesis vol.2pp.181-205) has survived in comparatively few sources and these all have strong associations with Norwich Cathedral and St. Paul's Cathedral.²¹ A complete set of the voice-parts is preserved in the Rowe Library at King's College, Cambridge, in a set of choir books which probably belonged to Norwich Cathedral in the seventeenth century. The organ part survives in the 'Batten organ book', one isolated bass part is preserved in the Royal College of Music Library in a collection of manuscripts that it is believed John Barnard consulted with a view to possible inclusion in his Selected Church Music (1641), and the words of O Jesu meek were listed in Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems (1663). The sources of this anthem thus suggest that it was either composed by Morley when in Norwich and brought thence by him to St. Paul's or, alternatively but less likely, composed by Morley when in London and introduced by contacts to Norwich Cathedral repertoire.²²

Unlike the texts of Morley's other verse anthems the words of O Jesu meek are not from the psalms but from one of the collections of religious verse written by William Hunnis.²³ Subjective and penitential in character, they offer little opportunity for conventional word-painting by means of obvious symbolism,

owing to a lack of emotive words which suggest treatment of this kind. 'To suffer pain or ease' is really the only phrase which might have engendered a moment of melodic or harmonic piquancy though, in fact, Morley did not respond to this phrase in any exceptional way. Written in iambic heptameters, Hunnis's poem was set as a verse anthem by Morley with the bulk of it being ascribed to verse performance. In the scoring of the verse sections O Jesu meek stands midway between Morley's more traditional, Byrd-like approach as seen in Let my complaint and Out of the deep and his more progressive manner, as shown in How long wilt thou forget me, which foreshadows the approach of Gibbons and Tomkins. This matter centres upon the variety of voices used in verse sections and the way in which they are used. Byrd tends to use a single voice or a pair of voices for all his verse sections whereas Gibbons, for instance, varies his soloist(s), often from verse to verse. See, see, the word is incarnate by Gibbons, for example, has the following disposition of voices in the verse sections:²⁴

Verse	:A
Chorus	:S S A A T B
Verse	:S A
Chorus	:S A A T B
Verse	:A T B
Chorus	:S A A T B
Verse	:A A T B
Chorus	:S A A T B
Verse	:A
Chorus	:S S A A T B

O Jesu meek has a less varied scheme:

Verse	:A A
Chorus	:S A T T B
Verse	:S
Chorus	:S A T T B
Verse	: A then S S
Chorus	:S A T T B

Nevertheless, it shows a distinctive change from the one solo voice in Out of the deep and Let my complaint. Morley's chorus is constantly S A T T B whereas Gibbon's varies between a five-and six-part choir.

More important, however, is the relationship between verse and chorus. Let my complaint is divisible into clearly defined sections with all chorus entries preceded by a rest. The Gibbons example, like, How long wilt thou forget me, is conceived on a different structural principle altogether -- Verse Chorus/Verse Chorus etc rather than the Verse/Chorus/Verse/Chorus design of Let my complaint. Again, O Jesu meek comes mid-way between these two. Despite the fact that the choruses in O Jesu meek commence with a rest, it is still clear that in this work Morley treats verse followed by chorus as the essential unit: the big breaks in the flow of the music come at the conclusions of the choruses. This is made the more evident by the fact that the chorus, on each of its four appearances, sings the last part only of the text most recently sung by the soloist(s). 'Have mercy on me' occurs three times in the text and Morley sets two of the three appearances to the same music (the first and last choruses are identical) though he avoids the creation of a musical refrain by setting the middle appearance to different music. The Table which follows indicates the portions of the poem allotted to verse and full treatment:

TABLE 42

The allocation of verse and full sections in Morley's
O Jesu meek

Verse section no.& soloists	Text	Full section no.
Verse 1 A A	(O Jesu meek,O Jesu sweet,O Jesu (Saviour mine, (Most gracious Jesu,to my call (thy gracious ears incline ((O Jesu dear,whose precious blood (was shed on cross of tree, (Sweet Jesu,for thy passion's sake, (<u>have mercy now on me.</u>	Full 1
Verse 2 S	(O Jesu,what is good for me is aye (but known to thee, (Therefore,according to thy will, (<u>have mercy now on me.</u>	Full 2
Verse 3 A S S	(O Jesu dear,do thou with me, (e'en as thy will shall please, (Sweet Jesu,put me where thou wilt (to suffer pain or ease. ((Jesu behold I am best thine (where I be good or ill, (Yet by thy grace I ready am (<u>thy pleasure to fulfill.</u>	Full 3
Verse 4 A	(Jesu I am thy workmanship, (most blessed may'st thou be, (<u>Sweet Jesu,for thy mercy sake,</u> (<u>have mercy now on me.</u>	Full 4
	repeats music-----' of Full 1	

N.B. (i) Words underlined are sung by the
full choir.

(ii)The versification, capitalisation
and punctuation are mine.

Alike in size and textures, Morley's full sections here display greater variety and flexibility than those in Let my complaint. Table 43 shows the proportions of full and verse sections and indicates the predominant texture of each full passage:

TABLE 43

Proportion of verse and full sections and predominant texture of full sections in O Jesu meek

Unit	: 1	: 2	: 3	: 4
Verse in bars:	24	10	32	20
Full in bars :	14	18	3	14
Texture of full sections	:Imitative	Imitative	Chordal	Imitative

The writing for the solo voices displays similar qualities to that in Morley's other verse anthems already discussed, save that in O Jesu meek effective internal repeats -- as occur in How long wilt thou forget me and in Out of the deep -- are lacking. Effective duet writing is present, however, and in this respect, Morley shows an awareness of the expressive powers of two voices of similar timbre and range, particularly in the alternatim performance of short fragments and in closely-spaced imitations. They are particularly interesting because they foreshadow the same techniques which Weelkes, a master of duet composition, was later to employ so effectively.²⁵ Indeed, it is illuminating to compare O Jesu sweet with Give ear O Lord by Weelkes:²⁶ such comparison indicates, on the one hand, the affinity between the two composers in solo and duet writing and, on the other, the greater control of the overall structure of a verse anthem by the

younger composer.

Give ear O Lord also uses a poem by Hunnis for its text, like O Jesu meek, it contains a recurrent prayer for mercy.²⁷ This Weelkes uses as the textual substance of all his choruses and he does use it as a musical refrain at the close of each verse section. However, each chorus statement of 'Mercy good Lord', although it uses the same thematic material, never presents it in quite the same way; rather each statement of 'Mercy good Lord' appears as a re-working of the basic idea. Here, then, is a significant departure from the procedure of Morley who, as noted already, repeats the first chorus exactly as his last chorus but in the intervening full sections makes no musical reference to the material of the first chorus. Secondly, Weelkes follows the end of his verse sections immediately by a chorus with no break at all: within the verse-chorus unit, therefore, there is a continuous musical flow, whereas Morley, although moving in this direction, still retains the convention of a rest before the chorus entry. Weelkes's anthem is thus altogether a much tighter, more carefully organised musical structure than Morley's.

David Brown makes the point that Weelkes, although progressive in structural matters in his verse anthems, is fundamentally conservative in his writing for solo voice; he uses the rather slow, measured delivery which characterises the solo writing of Byrd.²⁸ The affinity between Morley's and Weelkes's solo-writing should therefore be seen as an affinity on the part of both composers with the solo style of Byrd. Certainly this obtains in the case of O Jesu meek. It is possible to demonstrate this affinity between Byrd, Morley and Weelkes by comparing three short passages from their respective settings for alto solo of Hunnis's verse (Example 48 and Thesis vol.2 p.194).²⁹

These show how similar are their composers' approaches. All three solos move predominantly in semibreves and minims, the vocal ranges used are very similar, none utilises a textual repeat or sequential treatment and all three lines have a mixture of duple and triple pulse. Byrd's is distinctive by virtue of the small melisma on 'That's' which, although giving musical interest, adds nothing to the expression of the text; and Weelkes's is distinguished by the fact that two of his phrases conclude at the upper end of the scale, whereas Byrd's and Morley's phrases all conclude at the lower end. The high conclusions of Weelkes's lines may be explained by word-painting to depict 'ascend' and 'starry sky'.

Morley's approach to duet writing may be studied in two places in O Jesu meek (Thesis vol.2p.195bars 80-85 and p.183 bars 16+). The first shows him passing a verbal fragment from one soloist to the other; the second illustrates the two voices in closely-spaced imitations. If this second reference is compared with the duets in Weelkes's Give ear O Lord the affinity of approach between Morley and Weelkes is immediately apparent.

Out of the deep

Out of the deep is Morley's finest verse anthem. The large number of extant manuscript sources indicate its popularity in the seventeenth century: it survives in choir and organ books which were used at that time in choral establishments in Cambridge, Oxford, Durham, York, London and Wimborne.³⁰ Moreover, its inclusion in the Chapel Royal Word Book suggests its use in the Royal Chapel in the earlier seventeenth century.³¹ The survival of a copy of the Service List of Durham Cathedral for June 1680 reveals that Out of the deep was sung there at that time.³² In the present

century it features regularly in the repertoires of cathedrals and collegiate chapels.

Why is this anthem so well-loved? The answer is that Out of the deep is as near a perfect union between words and music as it is possible for a composer to achieve. The Psalmist's supplication in Ps.130 is at once individual and universal -- it is as relevant today as when originally written. Morley's setting of it adds another dimension to the power of the prayer or, to put it another way, substantially adds to its rhetoric. In any endeavour to explain how it does this there must always remain some unspecifiable quality in the setting which defies precise description, but, despite this, there are certain features of Out of the deep which help explain its success.

The scoring is not exceptional as in How long wilt thou forget me as it belongs in the older tradition, established by Byrd, of a verse anthem for solo voice (alto) and chorus (S A A T B). Yet in the relationship between verse and chorus sections it is remarkable, particularly in the amount of music allotted by Morley to each. In their verse anthems (not Psalmi Festivales) both Byrd and Morley gave more space to the verse sections than to choruses. In O Jesu meek and How long wilt thou forget me, for example, Morley apportioned more music to the verse sections but in Out of the deep they received an equal share. This may be shown approximately in the following Table:

TABLE 44

Proportions of Morley verse anthems allotted to verse and full sections

Anthem	Percentage of total bars allotted to verse	Percentage of total bars allotted to chorus
<u>How long wilt thou:</u>	58	42
<u>O Jesu meek</u> :	62	38
<u>Out of the deep</u> :	50	50

N.B. The percentages are based on the number of bars. The evidence must be approximate because it makes no allowance for bars in triple time, of which there are many in O Jesu meek.

The chorus in Out of the deep plays a significant role: it is the voice of Mankind in prayer; the soloist is that of the individual. In this way the duality of the psalm is expressed, and the equal proportions of verse and chorus in Morley's setting are justified. This is particularly evident when the chorus takes up and develops both the text and the music from the soloist at the beginning of the second full section with the words 'O Lord who may abide it?'

More noteworthy still is the writing for solo voice in Out of the deep. The expressive power of its near-perfect marriage of words and music, which surpasses that of any other solo Morley wrote for the Anglican liturgy, derives from three inter-related qualities. First there is the variety and sheer strength of the melodic lines. This latter trait is exemplified in the mighty arch of the first phrase with its octave-and-a-fourth range, quite remarkable in solo writing in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. Equally powerful, yet totally different, is the setting of 'I look for the Lord', where a single

repeated note aptly recaptures the emotional overtones of 'waiting' and 'looking'. In complete contrast is the fourth solo section where an angular phrase ('O Israel, trust in the Lord') is answered by an equally jagged phrase before subsiding into a smooth descent ('for the Lord'). Moreover, the subtle recollection of the initial 'Out of the deep' motif during this fourth verse is surely a deliberate thematic cross-reference -- a small but effective device for fostering the work's thematic integration (TECM P.118: 4 - 5 and 8 - 9).

The second quality concerns the organ accompaniment. In this anthem Morley achieves a more integrated texture of voice and organ than in his other verse anthems and his main method of achieving this is by mixing both pre-and post-references to the thematic material of the vocal solos in the organ part. The final verse section, 'O Israel trust in the Lord' etc. is a good example of the tightly-controlled texture that is to be found in Out of the deep (TECM p.118:1-10).

However, it is the third quality, internal word repetition, which is the prime factor in effecting the remarkable union of words and music in this anthem. It has already been noted in How long wilt thou forget me, but in Out of the deep it is used with great economy, considerable subtlety and yet to superb effect. It may well represent Morley's finest achievement in the setting of religious texts for use in the Anglican liturgy. Texts for the Anglican rite in the reign of Elizabeth were set very largely 'for every syllable a note': this can be interpreted only as a method of achieving maximum clarity of text presentation. Yet it is necessarily very restrictive on the composer for it rules out any possibility of florid, fast-moving passages such as are to be found in secular music of the period. It is this which most contributes to the restrained manner of text

presentation in verse anthems. However, in How long wilt thou forget me and more so in Out of the deep Morley has maintained this manner and yet has been able to enhance his rhetorical powers by the use of internal text repetitions which do not distort the text. The second verse section and the succeeding chorus in Out of the deep illustrate this (TECM pp.115-116). If one imagines 'If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss' without the repeat of 'to mark' a rather flat text delivery results. But with the repeat in, the passage regains its expressive power. Similarly, the sequential repeats of 'O Lord' which follow in the organ part, the solo part, and most especially, in the chorus which ensues, make the plea so much more earnest than it would have been with just one single statement as in the psalm.

Finally we have noted how some of Morley's compositions suggest that he was aware of the value of tonality as a means of organising a musical structure, and Out of the deep offers further evidence of this. Each of the verse sections is in a different tonal area until the last when the tonic is resumed. The tonal organisation of the anthem is shown in the following Table:

TABLE 45

The tonal organisation of Out of the Deep

Psalm verse No.	Verse/ Full	Tonality	Cadence at the end of section in/on
1 Out of the deep	verse	I	I
2 O let thine ears	full	I/III	I
3 If thou, Lord	verse	IV/III	III
4 For there is mercy	full	III/fl.VII	fl.VII
5 I look for the Lord	verse	fl.VII/IV	IV
6 My soul fleeth	full	IV/I	IV
7 O Israel	verse	IV/I	I
8 And he shall	full	IV/I	I
Amen	full	IV/I	I

Split numbers indicate that the tonality fluctuates between the two centres specified.

The Funeral anthems

It is surprising that so few composers have set the Sentences from the Service for the Burial of the Dead to music for liturgical use. Croft, Morley and Purcell are the only English composers of note who are known to have done so. Their settings have been sung at Funeral Services in London cathedrals especially, at various times in the past: Morley's for instance, were performed in Westminster Abbey in 1760 for the funeral of King George II.³³ However, Morley's setting gradually fell into disuse in the nineteenth century -- a far cry from Boyce's claim that they were 'usually performed at Westminster Abbey at the Funerals of Nobility'³⁴ and the last

major occasion at which any of Morley's Funeral anthems was performed seems to have been in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1852 at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington.³⁵

The sources of Morley's Funeral anthems are few and all date from post-Restoration times. The anthems were printed by Boyce in his Cathedral Music (1760) and it is from this edition that musical examples are taken. A problem remains, however, which no-one to date seems to have noticed, and to which there can be no definitive solution unless earlier source material eventually comes to light. It concerns the text which Morley used in his original setting of the Sentences. The text that Boyce gives is clearly taken from the 1662 Prayer Book and this is not a direct reprint of the 1552 Prayer Book whose use Elizabeth I authorised in the early years of her reign. Apart from changes in the form of the Service, the 1662 Prayer Book used differing versions of the Sentences from those given in the 1552 Prayer Book. In all but two, the differences are slight and may here be ignored; but in the second and third Sentences the discrepancies are considerable, and would certainly have affected musical setting. In other words, it is clear that Morley cannot possibly have set these two anthems in the way that they have come down to us in Boyce's edition because presumably he must have set them to the 1552 Prayer Book text. So that the differences may be observed, the texts of the second and third Sentences are shown below in their 1552 and 1662 versions.

1552: I know that my redeemer liveth, and that
I shall rise out of the earth in the
last day, and shall be covered again
with my skin, and shall see God in
my flesh; yea, and I my self shall

behold him, not with other but with
these same eyes.

We brought nothing into this world,
neither may we carry anything out of this
world. The Lord giveth and the Lord
taketh away. Even as it hath pleased the
Lord, so cometh things to pass: blessed
be the name of the Lord.³⁶

1662 (used by Boyce):

I know that my redeemer liveth, and that
he shall stand at the latter day upon the
earth. ~~And though~~ after my skin worms destroy
this body, yet in my flesh shall I see
God: whom I shall see for myself, and
mine eyes shall behold, and not another.

We brought nothing into this world, and
it is certain we can carry nothing out.
The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken
away; blessed be the name of the Lord.³⁷

In the other Sentences, the differences between 1552
and 1662 readings are slight and would not result in
any significant differences if set to music.

If Morley had set the ~~texts which were~~ ^{is appear in 1662} in fact, and
obviously did not locate them in the Prayer Book of
his day, one wonders where else he might have found
them. Investigation into this proved fascinating
though inconclusive. The Authorised Version of the
Bible anticipates the 1662 texts, but Morley was
certainly dead by the date of its issue (1611) and
probably had died before the Hampton Court Conference
(1604) whose deliberations led to the Authorised
Version. Three sixteenth-century Bibles have been
consulted,³⁸ each of which contained a different
version and none of which came close to the Authorised
Version and thus the 1662 Prayer Book. Possible
explanations of this riddle may be listed:

- (1) That Morley actually set the texts from the 1552 Bible and Tudway or Boyce (or even both) understandably adjusted them to accord with the 1662 Prayer Book. This seems the most likely.
- (2) Morley took his texts from another Bible which I have yet to locate.

Morley set three opening Sentences, three 'pre-Committal' Sentences and the one 'post-Committal' Sentence:

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------|
| (1) I am the resurrection |) | |
| (2) I know that my redeemer liveth |) | Opening Sentences |
| (3) We brought nothing into this world) | | |
| (4) Man that is born of a woman |) | |
| (5) In the midst of life |) | Pre-Committal Sentences |
| (6) Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets |) | |
| (7) I heard a voice from heaven | | Post-Committal Sentence |

Each Sentence is set as a short, self-contained anthem in four parts. In the absence of pre-Restoration sources it is difficult to pronounce on the question of Morley's intended scoring: S A T B is probably the most likely, but performance by men's voices (A A T B or even A T T B or A T B B) is not inconceivable, as the soprano part generally lies low though there is one high E flat in no.2. On the other hand, Morley may have kept his soprano part deliberately low in order to achieve a sombre sonority to suit the occasion for which the anthems were written. Certainly, the low tessitura of all voice-parts and the mode in which the pieces are composed -- Aeolian transposed -- make them unrelievably sombre. Again, the use of organ accompaniment in the performance of these anthems is questionable. The survival of an organ score dated c.1660 does not necessarily indicate that the Sentences were originally

sung with accompaniment. They stand well enough as unaccompanied pieces, and the fact that the last Sentence is delivered immediately after the Committal suggests unaccompanied performance in the open air.³⁹

To attempt to date the composition of the Funeral anthems on stylistic grounds alone is difficult, for it is clear that Morley was adept enough as a composer to write in a deliberately archaic style if the need arose; and music for as serious an occasion as a funeral would certainly justify some time-travelling. This should be borne in mind in the following account of their characteristics.

Stylistically the Funeral anthems look back to the mid-sixteenth century, to the music of Tye, Tallis and Causton. In the main, the Sentences are presented in simple homophony with just sufficient interest in the inner parts and occasional imitative entries to give each anthem an individual identity. The melodic lines of the soprano part move in gentle curves which descend into predictable cadences at the end of each phrase of text. The sectional nature of their setting displays a close affinity with the 'tunes associated with versions of the psalms' in Tye's Acts of the Apostles (1553)⁴⁰ and the canticle settings of, say, Tallis and Causton. This affinity is made more evident by the character of the imitative entries which, from time to time, give relief to the predominantly chordal setting. Examples 49a, b, and c exemplify this affinity in excerpts from Morley's We brought nothing into this world, Tye's A certain man who was named Ananias and Thomas Causton's Nunc dimittis. The examples quoted all contain points which outline a seventh. A degree of similarity in the placing of cadences at the ends of textual lines or phrases between Morley's I know that my redeemer liveth and Causton's Magnificat is evident

also: cadences not in the tonic are never far away from it so that the music can be eased back to the tonic at a moment's notice. This may be seen in the following Tables, in the second of which only part of Magnificat is listed:

TABLE 46

Main cadences in Morley's I know that my redeemer liveth

Text	Cadence	in/on
I know ... liveth	VIIB - I	fl.VII (inverted)
and that ... stand	I - Vsh	V sh
at the ... upon earth	V - I	I
and though ... this body	V - I	III
yet in my ... see God	I - Vsh	I
when I ... myself	V - I	III
and not another	V - I	I

TABLE 47

Main cadences in Causton's Magnificat

Text	Cadence	in/on
My soul ... the Lord	I - V	I
and my ... Saviour	VIIB - I	fl.VII(inverted)
For he hath ... maiden	V - lsh	I
For behold ... blessed	V - I	I
For he ... magnified me	V - I	III
And his mercy ... fear him	V - lsh	V
Throughout ... generations	V - I	I
etc. etc.		

The text is presented syllabically in the Funeral anthems and there are only occasional instances of text repetition. The anthems contain a large number of V - I progressions and this links them with the Sadler motets which abound in them. Similarly, Morley's near-obsession with the cambiata figure and with anticipations of the note resolution in the early motets is equally in evidence in the Funeral anthems. The concluding bars of the last Sentence, I heard a voice from Heaven illustrates these latter features, though they are typical of many passages in the whole set (Example 50).

The type of imitative point and the way in which the imitative entries break out after a passage of chordal writing mentioned earlier link the Funeral anthems with Morley's Anglican Church music and with Nolo mortem peccatoris (compare, for instance, Example 49a from We brought nothing into this world with CM pp.16-21). Throughout the Funeral anthems Morley achieves a sombre yet serene atmosphere which well suits the occasion for which they were intended. His restrained manner nevertheless permits one or two delicate touches of musical imagery, like the shape of the phrase setting 'He cometh up and is cut down like a flower' (Example 51) and the chromatic step made to underline 'last' in 'Suffer us not at our last hour' in the sixth anthem (Example 52). This is a masterly touch and the more interesting because it is the sole instance of a melodic chromatic inflexion for pictorial purposes in the whole of Morley's vocal music.

Teach me thy way, O Lord

Apart from the Funeral anthems only one full anthem by Morley has survived in manuscript sources and, sadly, these are incomplete: at the least one alto part is missing. However, so that Teach me thy way, O Lord

may be viewed the extant sources have been transcribed and a conjectural alto part supplied by the present writer (Thesis Vol.II pp.206-12). Its text is Ps.86 vv. 11-12, and the scoring was probably S A A T B. The mixture of chordal and imitative writing which characterises Teach me thy way, O Lord is similar to Morley's manner in his Short Service and the Creed from the First Service but it is not an impressive work.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Le Huray, p.238.
2. Generally speaking, 'full' means that no solo voices are used as they are in a 'verse' anthem or Service. In other words, the full choir sings throughout.
3. Cranmer's famous letter to the King, quoted here from Le Huray, p.7. He quotes it from F.E. Brightman, The English Rite, I-II(London, 1915).
4. Le Huray, p.248.
5. *ibid.*, p.249, where there is a Table of the tonal scheme of the Magnificat of the Short Service.
6. *ibid.*, p.249.
7. The 'Great Service' is distinguished by its size and the elaborate treatment of the text. Though usually sung unaccompanied, it is also distinguished by the occurrence of verse sections for soloists within a predominantly full setting. Elaborate counterpoint, text repetition and frequent melismas are also to be found in Tudor Great Services. These were established in the middle of the sixteenth century by Shepherd, Parsons and William Mundy. Weelkes's Eighth Service is a full Service though verses for four voices are marked in the organ score. The most famous Great Service is Byrd's.
8. However, see P.James, 'A study of the verse anthem from Byrd to Tomkins' (unpublished dissertation for Ph.D., University of Wales (Cardiff), 1968).
9. Le Huray p.163 gives an account of these Festal Psalm settings in the reign of Elizabeth.
10. Byrd, Teach me O Lord, edited by E.Fellowes, C.M.S. reprints No.33, and TECM II p.60 edited by P.Le Huray.
11. E.Fellowes, English Cathedral Music from Edward VI to Edward VII (3rd. edition, London, 1946), p.18, suggests that the term Psalmi Festivales was used in Elizabethan times.
12. Byrd, Songs of Sundry Natures (1589); Byrd separated the verses from the chorus. The verse is No.24 and the chorus No.14. The text, by Francis Kindlemarsh, was printed in The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576).
13. Kerman, Elizabethan Madrigal, Chapter 4, especially pp.102-117, gives a perceptive analysis of the wide range of Byrd's consort songs.
14. P.Brett, 'The English Consort Song 1570-1625', PRMA, vol.88 (1961-62), p.73.
15. In fact there is a brief passage where Morley writes an independent organ part for a verse section in Magnificat. The organ provides an additional strand in the contrapuntal texture which is very effective (MORL.IV pp.8-9).
16. For a full discussion of the use of thematic integration in Service music of this period see Brown, Weelkes, pp.183-199.

17. Anthems for Men's Voices, vol.1, edited by P.Le Huray, D. Willcocks and others (London, 1965) has Let my complaint, as No.15
Out of the deep is referred to in this thesis as published in TECM vol.2, (London, 1965), pp.114-119, transcribed and edited by P.Le Huray.
18. J. Clifford, The Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs of the Church of England, 2nd. edition (1663).
19. How long wilt thou forget me:
 - (i) King's College Library, Cambridge: MSS 10-17
 - (ii) Peterhouse Library, Cambridge, (new enumeration): MSS 475-81, 490 and 491
 - (iii) Durham Cathedral Library: MSS A2 and A5
MSS C1, C4-11, C16 and 491
 - (iv) British Library: Add. MSS 30478 and 30479
 - (v) Lambeth Palace Library: MS 764
 - (vi) Royal College of Music Library: MS 1051
 - (vii) New York Public Library: Drexel MS 5469
 - (viii) St.John's College, Library, Oxford: MS 181
 - (ix) St.Michael's College Library, Tenbury: MS 1382
 - (x) York Minster Library: MSS M 1/2(S), 1/5S, 1/6S, 1/7S, 29S

N.B. I acknowledge with gratitude the use of the following in the above list for references of MSS that I have been unable to consult personally:
R.T.Daniel and P.Le Huray: The Sources of English Church Music 1549-1660 (London, 1972).

20. Le Huray, Music and the Reformation, Table 23, pp.240-241.
21. O Jesu meek:
 - (i) King's College Library, Cambridge: MSS 10-17
 - (ii) Royal College of Music Library: MS 1051
 - (iii) St.Michael's College Library, Tenbury: MS 791 (The Batten Organ Book)
22. This way round should not be discounted in view of the inclusion of items in the Triumphs of Oriana by Norwich musicians.
23. William Hunnis was both poet and musician. He was a Gentleman and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1566-1597. Among his publications of verse were Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul (1583) and A Handfull of Honeysuckles (1589).
24. See, see the word is incarnate, edited by J.Morehen. TECM, vol.2, (London, 1965), pp.198-217.
25. Brown, Weelkes, pp.164-65 suggests that all Weelkes's verse anthems were composed in the early seventeenth century.

26. Give ear, O Lord, TECM, vol.2, pp.166-174.
27. W.Hunnis, 'Give ear, O Lord' from An Humble Suit of a Repentant Sinner for Mercy (1583).
28. Brown, Weelkes, p.165.
29. Byrd, Alack when I look back, text by W. Hunnis.
30. Out of the deep:
 - (i) Barnard, J.: First Book of Selected Church Music (1641)
 - (ii) King's College Library, Cambridge: MS 9
 - (iii) Peterhouse Library, Cambridge (new enumeration): MSS 485-91
 - (iv) Durham Cathedral Library: MSS A5, C1, C4, C5, C6, C7, C9, C10, C16, C19
 - (v) Gloucester Cathedral Library: unnumbered: T (Dec.), T (Can.), org.
 - (vi) British Library: Add.MSS 30478, 30479, 17784
 - (vii) Lambeth Palace Library, London: MS 764
 - (viii) Royal College of Music Library: MSS 1046, 1048, 1050
 - (ix) New York Public Library: Drexel MS 5469
 - (x) Christ Church Library, Oxford: MSS 47, 88, 1220-1224
 - (xi) St.John's College Library, Oxford: MS 181
 - (xii) St.Michael's College Library, Tenbury, MSS 791, 1382, 1442
 - (xiii) Wimborne Minster Library: MSS P14 and P15
 - (xiv) York Minster Library: MSS M 1/2(S), 1/5(S), 1/6 (S), 1/7(S), 1/8(S), M29(S)

N.B. I acknowledge with gratitude the use of the following in the above list for references of MSS that I have been unable to consult personally:
 R.T.Daniel and P.Le Huray: The Sources of English Church Music 1549-1660 (London, 1972).

31. The Chapel Royal Word Book which was compiled by 1635 is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Rawl-poet 23.
32. The Durham Cathedral music scheme for June 1680 is transcribed in C.Dearnley, English Church Music 1650-1750 (London, 1970), pp.282-84. Out of the Deep was sung on Friday, 4 June 1680.
33. Scott, Music of St.Paul's, musical inset: his edition of Morley's second Sentence, I know that my Redeemer liveth, editorial note, p.4.
34. W.Boyce, Cathedral Music (London, 1760), subheading to the Funeral Anthems.
35. Scott, Music of St.Paul's (as above, note 33).

36. The First and Second Prayer Books of Kind Edward VI, edited by E.Ratcliff (London,1949, reprinted 1964), p.424.
To be absolutely sure of this I checked the passages against:
- (i) A sixteenth-century edition of the 1552 Prayer Book in Salisbury Cathedral Library, and the transcript given is accurate.
 - (ii) A 1632 Prayer Book and a 1634 Prayer Book in the same library. Again the text is identical save for the italicised words which by this date had been altered back to pleaseth. ('pleaseth' [1549] became 'hath pleased' by 1552; otherwise the 1549 is repeated verbatim in 1552)
37. The Book of Common Prayer, 1662.
38. Matthew's Bible, 1551; Bible (probably of Genevan origin) 1598; Taverner's Bible,1539.
I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance given to me in these textual enquiries by Miss S.Eward of the Bibliographical Society.
39. The 1552 Order for the Burial of the Dead in fact does not necessitate a Service (or part of a Service) in the church. The opening rubric specifies '... or else the Priest and clerks shall sing, and go either unto the Church or towards the grave'.
40. M.Frost, English and Scottish...tunes, pp.342-43.

IX. WORKS WITH LATIN TEXTS (2)

Perhaps the greatest problem for the student of Morley is that of reconciling his flair as a composer of madrigals, and his interest in them as an editor, with Morley the composer of motets. Domine, non est exaltatum and Domine, Dominus noster can be explained as student exercises: these are the kind of pieces in the English polyphonic tradition that we would expect a young pupil of Byrd to write. But, it seems, once he had encountered the madrigal he 'performed a stylistic volte face, capitulated completely to the new Italian idiom, and became its foremost exponent in England'.¹ How then could the man who published five volumes of madrigals in four years be also the composer of De profundis clamavi and Laboravi in gemitu meo unless they, too, were written well before Morley was captivated by the madrigal? The answer is provided by Morley's Introduction in two ways. Firstly, because he included four motets as musical examples in the Introduction, and secondly by the following passage which provides much help in solving the Morley enigma:

This music [motets] ...being the chieftest both for art and utility is, notwithstanding, little esteemed and in small request with the greatest number of those who most highly seem to favour art, which is the cause that the composers of music, who otherwise would follow the depth of their skill in this kind, are compelled for lack of Maecenates to put on another humour and follow that kind whereunto they have neither been brought up nor yet (except so much as they can learn by seeing other men's works in an unknown tongue) do perfectly understand the nature of it; such will be the new-fangled opinions of our countrymen who will highly esteem whatsoever cometh from beyond the seas (and specially from Italy) be it never so simple, condemning that which is done at home though it never be so excellent.²

This passage tells us that the real Morley is he of the motets. The whole treatise leans heavily towards the traditional training in counterpoint which, when the necessary technique had been acquired by the pupil, would enable him to write motets competently. It is in many ways a conservative textbook and in the dedication Morley implies that this was how he had been taught-- he asks Byrd to 'defend what is in it truly spoken, as that which sometime proceeded from yourself'.³ The writing of motets, by which he understood all 'grave and sober music',⁴ should be the real business of a composer. Sadly, however, he lived in a world which gave little place to such music and even less financial reward. There were no patrons ('Maecenates') for writers of motets. In demand was light music, particularly Italian light music, especially in England. Morley was an opportunist who had to compromise his art, up to a point, by writing and publishing madrigals etc. to meet popular demand and to get patronage and income thereby. But his real love was serious music -- motets in particular -- and, as Harman has pointed out, Morley's definition of motet by implication included the anthem.⁵ Such music he composed for the sake of his art because he believed in the value of sacred music which in both composition and performance had a responsibility to 'draw the hearer, as it were, in chains of gold by the ears to the consideration of holy things'.⁶ In his motets and anthems therefore should be the best of Morley; and, indeed, there is.

Three latin works were examined in detail in Chapter III. In addition to these, four others were included in his Introduction, and five more have survived only in manuscript sources, though of the latter, two are incomplete. Those which Morley included in his Introduction(1597) will be considered first, for even if he didn't write them specifically for inclusion in the

treatise he would obviously have checked their suitability as examples before publication. To this extent we can date them as 1596/7. As a set they show a technical maturity which was absent in the two youthful motets discussed in Chapter III. This is evident in their conciseness, the economy of material used and the consequent reduction in the amount of 'fill-up' employed, and in the composer's harmonic control of each motet.

O amica mea is the longest. Divided into two sections, it sets parts of two verses from the Song of Solomon (S. of S. 4:1-2):

- (1) O amica mea, sunt capilli tui, sicut greges caprarum, quae ascenderunt de monte Galaad.
- (2) Dentes tui sicut greges tonsarum, quae ascenderunt de lavacro.

Shown here in italics and in translation, Morley's text is a contraction of the Biblical extract:

- (1) Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast dove's eyes within thy locks; thy hair is as a flock of goats, that appear from mount Gilead.
- (2) Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn, which came up from the washing; whereof every one bears twins and none is barren among them.

Thurston Dart noted that 'to any Catholic musician of Morley's time, the exquisite poems of the Song of Solomon were, in effect, addressed to Mary, Queen of Heaven.'⁸

O amica mea comes nearest to being the model for Morley's teaching of the traditional style of motet composition. In so far as it is in five parts and is written in imitative counterpoint throughout, it is the nearest in style to the two 'Sadler' motets; yet compared with these it shows how Morley's technique had changed in the space of about twenty years, even when writing in traditional manner. Some hint of that change is given by the scoring for S S A T B as opposed to the S A A T B of the earlier works, which may be attributed

to his madrigalian experience in the intervening years. Of the five-part motets by Byrd in Cantiones Sacrae (1575) four pieces divide the inner voices (Emendemus and Peccantem me quotidie double the tenors, Libera me, Domine (1) and (2) double the altos) though the 'hymn' Siderum rector divides the sopranos. However, even though there is from this one source a precedent by Byrd with a divided top part, a change of emphasis is discernible. The change suggests a preference for a brighter sonority in comparison with the more sombre one which divided inner parts produce.

Compared with the other motets in the Introduction, however, O amica mea appears, like the early motets, to have an abstract character which looks back to an earlier tradition of polyphonic sacred music, a tradition in which some of Byrd's motets in Cantiones Sacrae (1575) by comparison appear 'avant-garde' -- Emendemus in melius, for example. This general impression of O amica mea is substantiated by its final cadence. In Chapter III we noted how the last five bars of Byrd's Libera me (1) were used by Morley as the conclusion of his Domine, Dominus noster. Precisely the same final cadence occurs at the conclusion of O amica mea (see examples 3, 4 and 53). The significance of this is not so much the borrowing as the ease with which the same cadence can be used in a piece which was possibly composed, and almost certainly checked, some twenty years later.

The general impression, the cadence, and the continuously imitative texture apart, however, O amica mea stands far away from the youthful motets, particularly in its technical assurance. We may observe, firstly, how the five voices participate equally in the contrapuntal argument which they do not do in the early motets where the bass, particularly, is so often merely a harmonic prop in the texture rather than a participant in the argument. In O amica mea the bass is fully emancipated. Secondly, in this piece Morley makes a telling use of rests, thus setting into appropriate relief the following entry in a part which has temporarily been

silent. Though he does this also in the early works he does so with far less control. Thirdly, in O amica mea it is clear that the technique of imitation has not only been fully mastered by the composer but also that it has become a vital aspect of his expressive technique. In the youthful motets we feel that imitation was employed because it was obligatory and that patterns of entries and shapes of points appear to have been determined by what would fit and when, rather than by asking what sort of spacing of entries and what kind of point were required for a particular line of text, which Morley has seemingly done in the later motet. Fourthly, we noted in Chapter III how the range of some voice parts was excessively wide in the early motets, with the result that some passages would be very difficult to sing. This is not the case with O amica mea. Indeed, it is clear that Morley as a singer had become well aware of the need to write parts suitable for the voices for which they were written. In the Introduction, for instance, he was critical of his pupil's recent exercise and when asked what was wrong with it, he replied, 'the compass; for as it standeth you shall hardly find five ordinary voices to sing it; and is it not a shame for you, being told of that fault so many times before to fall into it now again?'⁹ Finally, although O amica mea is quite long (105 bars in CM), it is nevertheless concise in expression. The two early motets, on the other hand, give an impression of diffuseness.

O amica mea merits close examination, however, quite apart from its value in comparison with the early motets. The opening (CM p.66:1-p.67:7/3) is a model of text expression through polyphony. The yearning implicit in 'O amica mea' is conveyed by the following means: firstly, by setting 'O' to a long note out of which the rest of the phrase, 'amica mea' naturally grows; secondly, because the movement within the phrase is predominantly step-wise (one has only to imagine the same text set to an angular point to

appreciate the value of the conjunct movement); and thirdly, by the judicious way in which he uses two points to set the phrase, the second of which is an inversion of the first. This last is a good example of Morley's advice in the Introduction:

if you would compose well the best patterns for that effect are the works of excellent men, wherein you may perceive how points are brought in, the best way of which is when either the song beginneth two several points in two several parts at once, or one point foreright and reverted¹⁰

By 'reverted' Morley means turned round i.e. inverted.

Subsequent imitations in O amica mea are equally noteworthy. 'Sicut greges caprarum' is at first set with two points (CM p.69:2-3); S1 and S2 share the first, and whilst they are doing so, T and B share another; but just as sheep in flocks move at first slowly, jostling each other, and then, following a leader, suddenly move in a rush, so Morley's imitative procedure changes and suggests such an image by a very close stretto on a new point for 'sicut greges' which creates a sense of activity before coming to a half close on the dominant to introduce the final portion of the text of part 1, 'quae ascenderunt', which is presented it seems with almost as great an urgency. For the remainder of the first part Morley appears to expand at some length alternately on 'quae ascenderunt' and 'de monte Galaad'. What in fact occurs, however, is a carefully concealed repeat which gives the effect of an expansive paragraph. (CM p.69:10/2-p.70:8/1 is repeated p.70:8/2-p.71:6/1 with complete interchange of soprano parts and some interchange between tenor and bass.) For the final cadence of the first part Morley modifies the third note of the 'de monte' point presumably to allow for the imitations which follow through the cadence itself in all voices except for the alto.

The second part opens with an exposition on a double subject of the kind that Morley advocated in the Introduction, especially effective here because the countersubject ('sicut greges') follows naturally on from both subjects (CM pp.72-73). The words 'quae ascenderunt' occur in both verses of the text and Morley is careful to set them to a similar though not an identical point. The close stretto which we observed in part 1 is matched by another setting the same words in part 2 (CM p.74:6 onwards). Again, for this stretto he adopts a new melodic point for the words at this moment as he did in part 1. And, finally, we should note how towards the end of the whole motet Morley reduces from five to four voices (CM p.75:4-7) and then to three (CM p.75:8-p.76:3) before building up to a full five-part texture for his final climax.

The descriptions above have demonstrated how Morley expressed his text by means of varying his imitative procedures. Though he undoubtedly used this method of text expression in his madrigals, it is clear that he could have learned the technique from his English musical upbringing, particularly from Byrd who showed an immense range of text expression through imitative procedures as early as 1575 in the Cantiones Sacrae.

Four aspects of Agnus Dei are particularly striking. Set for four voices in the transposed Dorian mode, Agnus Dei, firstly, may be regarded as 'a study in the use of the sixth scale-degree, both lowered and unlowered'.¹¹ Secondly, and more important than this, however, is the composer's harmonic control of the motet. The opening, in imitative counterpoint, is judiciously poised, with three bars of tonic harmony (in effect) for the first three entries (T A B) followed by one bar of dominant harmony -- kept alive

by a 4/3 suspension with ornamental resolution in the alto -- over which the fourth voice (S) enters. Bars 4 - 5 form a V-I cadence in the tonic. The tonality having been thus clearly established in the first five bars, the remainder unfolds with clear harmonic logic. The most important cadences serve to pinpoint the harmonic substructure as follows:

TABLE 48
Main cadences in Agnus Dei

Bar(s)	Cadence	in/on
4-5	V - I	I
9	V - I	V (minor)
12 - 13	V - I	III (major)
17	IVB - V	(I)
25 - 26	V - I	V (minor)
29 - 30	V - I	III (major)
32/3 - 35(ped.pt)	V - I	I

It is not so much the scheme itself that matters as the fact that there was obviously a deliberate control of the tonality by Morley. However, his moves to III are carefully placed and the establishment of the tonic at the opening is balanced by the final close with its dominant pedal giving considerable weight to the last V - I cadence. Though we may analyse Agnus Dei in this way to advantage it is by no means sectional: over most of the cadence points listed the counterpoint is carefully handled to maintain fluency.

The third point of interest in this piece is its

design. Morley shares his time more or less equally between the two lines of text:

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
Miserere nostri¹²

He moves to the second line of text after the IVB-V cadence (CM p.21:9/4). Nearly all the imitative points in the first half rise and reach a melodic climax with the soprano's final entry on 'peccata' (CM p.2:7); those in the second half, setting 'miserere', all fall by step so that the composer's harmonic scheme seems to be balanced melodically by an outward journey upwards in the first half and a homeward journey downwards in the second. All this is achieved with great poise; all is gradual, nothing sudden.

Finally, his techniques of imitation are of interest. In the first half Morley closes the gap between his imitations for the last repetition of 'peccata' (CM p.2:5-6) and in this way imitation is used dramatically to focus greater attention on the climatic moment (CM p.2:7/1). In the second half he employs the technique of paired-voice entries that occurs so often in his madrigals and which is not to be found in the 'Sadler' motets (CM p.4:4/3 T and B paired and p.4:6/4 S and A paired). Indeed, this technique is so prevalent in three of the four motets in the Introduction -- O amica mea is the exception -- that we may cite it as a feature of Morley's style which he developed from his experience as a composer of madrigals.

The text of Domine fac mecum is the Offertory sentence at Mass on the fourth Wednesday in Lent and it is used by Morley exactly as it occurs in the Roman Missal:

Domine, fac mecum misericordiam tuam propter
nomen tuum: quia suavis est misericordia tua.

The Roman Missal gives its origin as Ps.108 v.21 and

provides the following translation:

O Lord, be merciful to me for thy name's sake,
because thy mercy is sweet.

In the Anglican Psalter it is Ps.109 v.20

But deal thou with me, O Lord God. according unto
thy Name: for sweet is thy mercy.

Domine fac mecum, for four voices (S A T B), is quite different from the motets in the Introduction just examined. It is the only printed motet by Morley set in a major mode; and if O amica mea is the most traditional in style of the printed motets then Domine fac mecum is the most modern, though no less fine a composition. The differences between these two motets illustrate Morley's remarkable versatility as a composer within a single genre. To define at least some of these differences is therefore vital.

In Domine fac mecum the imitative points are shorter, less organic and less rhythmically interesting than those in O amica mea. This may be illustrated by comparing the opening phrase of the cantus part from both motets (S1 from O amica mea and S from Domine fac mecum). The differences between them are immediately apparent yet both lines set the same number of syllables (CM p.5:1-5 and CM p.66:1-4).

Domine fac mecum has a far less strict approach to imitation than O amica mea and, in the main, imitation plays a smaller part in Morley's technique of expression in the former. Again the opening bars of these pieces may be profitably compared. Nevertheless, the imitations are carefully controlled in Domine fac mecum: we may notice, for example, how all voices shorten the initial note of 'Domine' when the first line is repeated (CM p.5:5 and 6). The point is altered, too. Instead of outlining the triad as at first, on the repeat only the drop of a third is retained, and the entries of successive voices are closer together than at the opening of the motet.

Both motets extend individual parts by melismatic treatment of penultimate syllables of textual lines in the customary way. However, in Domine fac mecum Morley seems to deploy his melismas in a more arbitrary way than in O amica mea, though this is a symptom of a much more fundamental and important difference between the two pieces.

We have often noted in this thesis how Morley's approach to composition was essentially harmonic, though the extent of his harmonic control and of his contrapuntal ingenuity within the harmonic structure varies from piece to piece. Domine fac mecum is the most obviously harmonically-orientated among the printed motets. For the initial statements of 'Domine fac mecum' the harmony moves from the tonic to the dominant; for its re-statement it moves back from the dominant to the tonic. The same tonal pattern is used for the next section ('misericordiam tuam'). 'Propter nomen tuam' is set as a sequence (pattern and one repetition) and moves from the tonic and back in its course. Then follows a brief homorhythmic passage, moving from tonic to subdominant and back, which declaims 'quia suavis est' twice with antiphonal scoring¹³-- first time A T B, second time S A T. The motet finishes with a more extended setting of the final textual line, 'misericordia tua' containing paired-voice entries between S and T (CM p.10:1 and 3), and subdominant and flat seventh harmonies (CM p.10:1 and 2 respectively) which act as a most effective brake on the harmonic movement of the piece and thus prepares for the final cadence in the tonic.

This brief harmonic analysis of Domine fac mecum shows how Morley evidently planned the structure of this motet primarily by harmonic considerations. But when we put together the salient features of this piece which we have so far distinguished -- melodic lines of

limited rhythmic character, a flexible approach to imitation using only short points, some sections with clearly defined repeats, a definite change of texture with antiphonal scoring, and a clear harmonic structure -- we realise that this motet comes near to having all the musical qualities that we expect to find in a canzonet by Morley. The gap between what Monteverdi was to call prima and secunda prattica was clearly narrowing, although it had not closed, by the time that Morley composed Domine fac mecum.

It was noted earlier that the use of melismas in this motet appears to be more arbitrary than in O amica mea. Melismas were used in polyphonic music on penultimate syllables to keep a given part moving; they thus enabled a composer to dovetail his joins between one imitative texture and another. (They also formed part of a composer's expressive technique as will be seen when we examine Laboravi in gemitu meo.) In secular works Morley generally preferred to repeat oddments from his text or even to add to it where in motets he would use melismatic extension. Because Domine fac mecum is less contrapuntal and more harmonically-orientated than O amica mea the melismas on penultimate syllables have a somewhat different function: rather than dovetail the joins, they simply maintain activity in the passages which immediately precede a cadence and stop for the final moment of cadence. This is symptomatic of Morley's more pronounced harmonic approach in this motet in which little attempt is made to conceal the full closes.

Eheu sustulerunt Dominum is quite the finest of the motets in the Introduction: indeed, it is among the very few works by Morley, sacred and secular, which raise his stature as a composer almost to the level of Byrd. Partly because of the text, but partly also because of the way in which it is set, Eheu sustulerunt

Dominum is a very subjective motet, quite the opposite in manner of the abstract polyphony of the early 'Sadler' motets. The text is from John 20:2, in which Mary Magdalene discovers that the body of Jesus is no longer in the sepulchre. Weeping, she says: 'Alas they have carried away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him.'¹⁴ Mary Magdalene's desolation at the empty tomb is felt in every note of Morley's setting. He used nearly every facet of his technique to help express this deeply-moving text, none of which in itself is remarkable, but which, together, make it one of his most poignant pieces of vocal music.

The opening is superbly effective, achieved by confining the first note to a single voice-part and by answering that by block chords, leaving imitative entries to follow thereafter. Treating 'Eheu' in this way, as a solo line in the soprano with accompaniment below, evokes immediately the desolation of the solitary Mary Magdalene. The slow rate of chord change (essentially to and fro slowly between tonic and dominant harmonies) also contributes to the effectiveness of this opening passage (CM p.11:1-7/3). Morley used the technique of a single-voice start with chordal reply in two of his madrigalian pieces but nowhere so appropriately as here (Madrigals (1594) No.6 and Ballets (1595) No.21).

Where Morley requires absolute continuity in his counterpoint the joins between sections are well covered, occasionally by melismas on penultimate syllables, but more usually by thematic material: see, for example, (CM p.12:7). On the other hand, he makes good use of a clean break (see, for example, CM p.15:2 and 4) where too much flow might diminish the dramatic impact of a passage. Indeed, his treatment of 'nescio ubi' is altogether very skilful. When 'nescio ubi' is first declaimed Morley uses a paired-voice entry (A and B) and

the other two parts follow at different moments in imitation; then three voices repeat the phrase (S T B) and one voice (A) follows in imitation. This latter procedure is then repeated but with a different permutation of three voices and one (S) following; and finally the motet ends with successive imitative entries by single parts right up to the very last moment when the tenors take the point through to the final cadence, so that even with a full four-voice texture the single voice of Mary Magdalene is still heard. The section described above may be seen in (CM p.14:6/4 - p.15:8).

The feature of Morley's technique which contributes most to the effectiveness of Eheu sustulerunt Dominum is the contrast between the major and minor third of a harmony used successively. On three occasions its use is classifiable as a 'successive' false relations: (CM p.13:5;p.14:8;p.15:6). The other instances involve the chromatic alteration of a note within the same voice-part: (CM p.14:6;p.15:4;p.15:5). Finally, there is a false relation between the quaver passing note (c¹) in the soprano and the major third in the alto (c sh.) just before the end of the piece. Though quite commonplace in the sixteenth century, this simple device is the greatest single contributor to the mood of this motet and it is much to Morley's credit that he used it so effectively here.

The motets by Morley which remain to be considered survive only in manuscript form.¹⁵ Of In manus tuas only one part is extant and this is insufficient for any useful comment or deductions to be made. Thurston Dart has clarified that it was a five-voice composition and that its text was the 'last Seven Words from the Cross (St. Luke, ch.23, v.46)'.¹⁶ Heu mihi, Domine, another five-part motet, is also incomplete, but of this only one part is missing and the surviving parts enable a satisfactory reconstruction of the complete motet to be made.¹⁷ The manuscripts of three other motets have

survived complete: Gaude, Maria virgo for five voices, and De profundis clamavi and Laboravi in gemitu meo, both scored for six voices. The dates of the manuscripts provide but little help in dating the motets as they are all later copies of earlier manuscripts which are no longer extant. David Brown investigated the motets and made careful conjectures of their dates of composition, mainly on stylistic grounds; and he concluded that the manuscript motets had all been composed by c.1590.¹⁸

The most remarkable feature of the manuscript motets as a group is the quite astonishing difference between each one in style and manner. Gaude, Maria virgo is the most problematical: firstly because its text is uncertain and secondly because its authorship is questionable. The sole manuscript in which it survives has no verbal underlay, just 'Gaude, Maria virgo' at the start of the motet and 'Virgo prudentissima' at the beginning of its second part. Thurston Dart supplied texts from the Sarum Respond for the Purification and Antiphon for the Octave of the Assumption (CM p.49); David Brown has suggested that the text for Part 1 is more likely to have been the Advent antiphon 'Gaude, Maria virgo, cunctas hereses sola interemisti in universo mundo', followed by an 'Alleluia' and that Part 2 also concluded with an 'Alleluia'.¹⁹ Dr. Brown's suggestion is more convincing, and Thurston Dart subsequently agreed with it; nevertheless for the sake of convenience, references in this study will be to the printed edition (CM p.49-65) and therefore to the text given there. In its manuscript source, Gaude, Maria virgo is clearly ascribed to Morley and, as we have seen, Morley would have known John Baldwin, the scribe and first owner of the book. However, in 1969, Lionel Pike pointed out that the same motet was published as No.34 in Cantiones Sacrae... Quinis Vocibus by Peter Philips (Antwerp, 1612) and that it seems more likely

that Philips originally composed the motet, probably in the 1580s. He makes it clear that there are differences in detail between the Morley/Baldwin and the Philips/Cantiones versions, and, largely because of Morley's renown for re-writing other composer's music, feels that it is probable that what Baldwin copied was Morley's version of Philips' original composition and that it was the latter which was printed by Phalese in Antwerp in 1612. Lionel Pike considers it unlikely that Baldwin made a false ascription, but likely that Morley had had opportunities to encounter the Philips motet, perhaps in London before August 1582 or subsequently in the Netherlands where both Philips and Morley had connections with the Paget family. One thing is clear, however -- the piece was certainly composed by 1590/91 by which time Baldwin had completed the section of his manuscript in which Gaude, Maria virgo occurs.²⁰

There is also the evidence of the music to consider. For instance, its opening is quite unlike any other vocal music that Morley wrote. The five voices (S S A T B) make a bold, assertive start in imitative counterpoint singing 'Gaude'. This is set to what appears to be a double subject but which is really a short motif and the same motif in augmentation. Morley used the same idea in a similar way in the first of the instrumental pieces (Il doloroso) in the Canzonets (1595) though this is possibly just coincidence. What is more important however, is that the motif itself is very probably derived from a plainchant melody associated either specifically with the text 'Gaude, Maria virgo' or with the Virgin Mary in a general way. Though I have been unable to trace the original plainsong melody my suspicion regarding the source of the motif is supported by two earlier English occurrences: the opening of Parsons' Ave Maria is clearly based on it, and so also is Robert Johnson's setting of the Advent antiphon

'Gaude, Maria virgo cunctas hereses sola'.²¹ This seems to be the only instance of evident derivation from plainsong in the whole of Morley's surviving sacred music which is surprising when we recall the amount of instruction in the Introduction about forming imitative points from chants.

Gaude, Maria virgo is composed in imitative counterpoint. This is closer in style to the counterpoint of Domine, fac mecum than to that of the 'Sadler' motets or O amica mea, partly because the harmonic background against which it is set is so evident, but also because the imitative points tend, in the main, to be rather short. On the other hand, most of the melodic lines in Gaude, Maria virgo have no parallel in the other motets at all because they lack any real organic growth and, for much of the work, set the text syllabically. Consider, for instance, the setting of 'que dictis credidisti' and 'dum virgo deum hominemque genuisti' (CM pp.52-3). Admittedly the text has been underlayed editorially, but whatever the text there would be little option but to set most of it syllabically, in view of the long successions of notes of even value that abound in this motet.

There is thus something enigmatic about Gaude, Maria virgo: its opening, its counterpoint and its melodic lines do not place it either with the early 'Sadler' motets, or with those in the Introduction: and, additionally, it lacks the conciseness and polish which characterise the latter. Even if one were unaware of the Philips version, the music of Gaude, Maria virgo would suggest either a faulty ascription to Morley or a period of composition in his career between the 'Sadler' motets and those in the Introduction. As long as twenty years could separate these; but it is so isolated stylistically within Morley's corpus of Latin works that even this seems unlikely. It has a ring of middle-period Byrd (Cantiones Sacrae of 1589 and 1591)

recalling the quasi-Italianate vigour and harmonic clarity of Laetentur coeli (1589), Haec Dies (1591) and Laudibus in Sanctis (1591), for example, yet, clearly, it is not by Byrd, particularly because it lacks the rhythmic ingenuity which we associate with both his melodic lines and his counterpoint. Gaude, Maria virgo, I am sure, was not an original composition by Byrd or Morley, and in the light of Lionel Pike's discoveries it is best, therefore, to ascribe it to Peter Philips -- at least until further evidence comes to light.

In Roman Use, 'Heu mihi, Domine' is part of a respond at Matins for the Departed:

Hei mihi! Domine, quia peccavi nimis in vita mea:
 Quid faciam miser?
 Ubi fugiam, nisi ad te Deus meus?
 Miserere mei, dum veneris in novissimo die.

Morley's text differs from the above in detail only: 'Hei' is replaced by the alternative form 'Heu', and 'miser' at the end of the second line (above) is omitted. His musical setting, stylistically, stands midway between the 'Sadler' motets and those in the Introduction. Though cast in imitative counterpoint in the main, it contains moments of musical repetition of a kind not to be found in the early motets at all and in the Introduction motets but little. These moments amount to cadential figures being repeated in different vocal sonorities for expressive effect. We may note two instances. The first is virtually a literal repeat at a different octave of a three-part texture which in turn leads into a short imitative passage sung by all five voices (Example 54). This is a good example of the composer employing 'low-tension' material antiphonally, as it were, in preparation for a moment of climax, here achieved by the full five-part texture. The second instance is similar, but more interesting because of the invertible counterpoint in which it is written (Example 55).

Sequential repetition as a means of building towards a climax is also to be found in Heu mihi, Domine. Morley seems to employ this technique to reinforce a text of questioning or supplication for mercy or pity. In this respect, Heu mihi, Domine has considerable affinity with Domine, fac meum: we may compare Morley's setting of 'nisi ad te Deus meus' in the former (Example 56) with his rather more expansive treatment of 'misericordiam tuam' in the latter (CM p.6-7, especially p.6:6-p7:5). The same sequential technique is used in both instances: within an imitative texture, the top part is repeated a second higher whilst the lowest is repeated at the same pitch. Indeed, the tendency to focus the main interest in the highest voice which characterises Domine, fac mecum is also discernible in Heu mihi, Domine though to a lesser extent.

The way in which Morley closes one musical sentence with a major triad and starts the next with the same harmony but with a flattened third in Heu mihi, Domine (Example 54 for instance) links this motet with Eheu sustulerunt Dominum. In the latter, this technique, although a fairly stock procedure, is used in a most expressive way; in the former it seems to be just a convenient way of continuing the music in the absence of any dovetailing contrapuntal lines. Nevertheless, this technical affinity between the two motets strengthens the manuscript ascription of Heu mihi, Domine to Morley.

The harmonic orientation of this motet likewise links it with Morley's other Latin works. Its weakness lies in its almost unrelieved tonic tonality. This may have been deliberate on Morley's part in view of the solemnity of the text. However, most of his other motets have serious penitential texts and yet, as we have seen, have tonal plans which give some (and, sometimes, extended) relief from tonic tonality.

De profundis clamavi and Laboravi in gemitu meo,

the two motets by Morley for six voices, are his finest works, and no amount of explanatory comment can do justice to their excellence. They need to be sung or listened to -- their quality is then self-evident. It will suffice, here, to draw attention to but a few features of each to complete the picture of Morley the composer of serious music that this review of his other motets has given.

The text of De profundis is a curious mixture of psalm extracts and penitential prayer for which no liturgical source has been found. Indeed, it is possible that Morley prepared the text himself. For convenience of reference the lines of his text in the following transcript are numbered:

- (1) De profundis clamavi ad te Domine:
Domine exaudi vocem meam.
- (2) Oculos meos ad te levavi,
unde veniet auxilium mihi.
- (3) Si iniquitates observaveris Domine (a)
Sustinere Domine quis potest? (b)
- (4) Jesu miserere mei,
Quia peccavi tibi.

Sources: (The numbering of psalms is in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer)

(1):Ps. 130:1

(2):a compound of Ps.123:1 and Ps.121:1 (The Ps.123 extract had a changed word order from the Roman Psalter (Liber Usualis) which reads 'Ad te levavi oculos'. The Ps.121 extract uses the second half of the verse only. The complete verse in the Roman Psalter reads 'Levavi oculos meos in montes, unde veniet auxilium mihi'.)

(3):(a) Ps.130:3(first half)

(b) Ps.130:3 (second half,modified) The Roman form reads: 'Domine, quis sustinebit?'

(4):a prayer from an unidentified source, though obvious enough in its meaning.

Laboravi in gemitu meo, by comparison, has a straightforward text: Ps.6 v.6.

De profundis lies firmly in the tradition of continuously imitative polyphony, with well-covered seams, and with all six voices (S S A A T B) participating on equal terms in the argument. It is clearly akin to the 'Sadler' motets but is technically much more assured than these; it is also related to O amica mea but is not so obviously polished or refined as this; but it is powerful and accomplished music, music which unfolds expansively with a logic of its own. De profundis might have been Morley's B. Mus. 'exercise' though there is no evidence to prove this. (Candidates for B.Mus. at Oxford at this time were required to compose a choral hymn of six parts.) If it was, then it is not surprising that he was successful in his candidature for the degree. Three aspects of this motet are noteworthy: the strength of the opening idea, the move away from tonic tonality in the middle of the work and the long preparation on the dominant before the final cadence.

Morley set the first verse of Ps.130 twice; here in the motet and in his finest verse anthem Out of the deep. In the latter his opening phrase is shaped to evoke the emergence from 'the deep', whereas the motet's opening idea emphasises the 'depth' aspect of the text in four of the parts and the emergence aspect in the other two voices (T and S2). Indeed, the opening tenor lead is one of the most distinctive vocal lines in the music of this time, comparable with the opening tenor part of Kirbye's Vox in Rama.

Morley's harmonic control of his compositions has often been noted in this thesis. Nowhere is this more evident than in De profundis where there is a pronounced move away from tonic to flat seventh tonality for a substantial passage and then a distinct move back to the tonic for the conclusion of the motet. The modulation process begins when Morley sets 'unde veniet auxilium' and by (CM p.81:3/3) he is firmly in the new tonal zone

where he stays until (CM p.84:6). It was probably this lengthy excursion away from the tonic that led Morley to maintain a dominant pedal point from (CM p.85:6) until (CM p.86:7) which serves superbly to re-establish the tonic key for the final cadence. Whatever his motive, however, the long dominant pedal enabled him to write a veritable cascade of imitative entries in stretto for his final line of text, 'quia peccavi tibi' to emphasise the heartfelt confession of the suppliant.

In Laboravi in gemitu meo Morley sets his text in a distinctive way: he divides his text into segments and, for a great deal of the time, uses two segments simultaneously. The traditional method of polyphonic composition was to take a line of text, set it to one or more imitative expositions based on the point chosen for that line, and then to select another point for the next line and treat that similarly, taking care to overlap the joins with leads from either the previous or the new point. This was basically Morley's approach in the 'Sadler' motets, O amica mea and De profundis; and we have noted similar, though rather more sectional, treatment in Heu mihi, Domine and Domine fac mecum. Laboravi, however, has a short text yet its setting is substantial (90 bars in length in CM). Morley achieves this by using each segment of the text to its fullest advantage. The opening, 'Laboravi in gemitu meo' is broken into two units: 'Laboravi' and 'in gemitu meo'. During the section which sets these words Morley employs a distinctive theme for each unit; and, for most of the time, the two themes are developed in constantly changing combinations and ever-changing textures. The same policy of subdivision of text into two units, each with its own melodic characteristic, is pursued to the very end of the motet. The resultant effect is one of economy rather than diffuseness, of variety rather than monotony, achieved by expert manipulation of the various

musical ideas.

However, it is not only the handling of themes that is accomplished; the musical ideas themselves are remarkable. Consider, for instance, the shape and character of the opening phrase setting 'Laboravi' which in itself suggests weariness. Predominantly stepwise in movement, this rises a third initially and then falls down the scale and eventually drops, exhausted, as it were, to the keynote. How many composers of Morley's generation conceived an opening contrapuntal idea which spanned a tenth, one wonders? The suggestion of weariness is enhanced by the melismatic treatment of the 'ah' vowel in its downward movement and by the canonic interplay of the two voices (S1 and S2) which announce it (CM p.87). It is further enhanced by the contrast between the melismatic declamation of 'Laboravi' and the syllabic setting of the continuation of the phrase 'in gemitu meo' in other voices. Indeed, a great deal of the expressive effect of this motet may be attributed to Morley's melismatic treatment of the 'ah' sound, not only in the opening word, but also in 'lavabo' and 'rigabo'. Indeed it permeates the whole motet, but invariably with syllabic declamation somewhere in contrast to it.

His works with Latin texts show the real Thomas Morley in clearer detail than any other of his compositions. They show him uncluttered from the need to seem Italianate, and unfettered from the desire to produce music which would sell, and unrestricted from the criticisms of his rivals. The two scholars who considered the possibility of Morley's Catholicism on the evidence of his motets were right to do so. Whilst it is possible that he wrote the manuscript motets for liturgical performance, either in an Anglican service or in a secret or foreign Catholic one, it seems more likely that he wrote them for himself. Most of Morley's Latin texts are subjective and penitential in character as Thurston Dart emphasised.

If they reveal the real man, sad and remorseful, then their setting reveals the real composer; and, as shown particularly by De profundis and Laboravi, this was a composer of considerable stature.

Appendix to Chapter IX

Since writing the foregoing study, there has appeared evidence which challenges Morley's claim to authorship of Laboravi in gemitu meo.²² It has emerged that essentially the same piece was included in Phillippe Rogier's Sacrarum modulationum liber primus, published in Naples in 1595, and Peter Philips, who made the discovery, has argued a strong, if inconclusive case that Rogier is the true composer of this splendid motet. Though this new information must obviously, at the very least, set a large question mark over my own discussion of the piece, I have decided to let my already completed text stand for the present purpose, while acknowledging that what I had already written will require at the very least heavy revision before being presented to a wider readership. I will, however, advance one further possible explanation of this conflict of attribution. As David Brown observed with respect to the anthem Deliver us, O Lord when discussing the uncertainty of its authorship²³ (Weelkes or William Cox) it is possible that Morley at some stage was required to make a copy of Rogier's motet and at its conclusion signed his name as a record of work done. Myriell (or an earlier transcriber) in making his copy thus took Morley's signature, mistakenly, as that of the composer rather than its copyist: and Hamond, perhaps relying on Myriell's manuscript, perpetuated the error.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Brown, Weelkes, p.48.
2. Morley, Introduction, p.293.
3. *ibid.*, p.3.
4. *ibid.*, p.294.
5. *ibid.*, p.294, n.1.
6. *ibid.*, p.293.
7. Authorised Version.
8. Dart, 'Morley and the Catholics', p.91.
9. Morley, Introduction, p.272.
10. *ibid.*, p.276.
11. G.Reese, Music in the Renaissance (London, 1954, revised edition, 1959), p.793.
12. The text is curious: we can surmise that Morley either selected his text from the Mass to suit a brief illustration for his textbook and thus omitted the final line ('dona nobis pacem') or from the Litany. Neither explains his use of 'nostri' in place of 'nobis' however. I have checked with the original publication and this certainly has 'nostri'.
13. A passage reminiscent of Madrigals (1594, No.10)--EM2 p.43: 20/3--p.44: 1-4.
14. My translation of Morley's text. Dart, 'Morley and the Catholics' p.90 suggests that this text might have had political and personal overtones for Morley if he were a Catholic in Elizabethan England.
15. In manus tuas: St.Michael's College, Tenbury: MS 389*
Heu mihi, Domine: British Library: Add. MSS 18936-9.
Gaude, Maria Virgo: British Library: RM. 24. d2.
De profundis clamavi: British Library: Add.MSS 29372-7.
Laboravi in gemitu meo: British Library: Mus.f.1-6 (Hamond MS)
: Add.MSS 29372-7.
(Myriel)
16. Dart, 'Morley and the Catholics' p.92.
17. I am grateful to Dr. David Brown for permission to use his reconstruction of Heu mihi for the purpose of this study.
18. Brown, 'Styles and Chronology' p.220.
19. *ibid.*, pp.221-222.
20. L.Pike, 'Gaude, Maria Virgo: Morley or Philips', Music and Letters (1969), pp.127-135. The summary given is taken from this article with due acknowledgement. This is very thorough, well-documented scholarship and there is little value in re-iterating its careful detail in the present study.
21. This is given as Example 124 in F.Ll. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain (London, 1958), pp.342-3.
22. P.Phillips, 'Laboravi in gemitu meo: Morley or Rogier?', Music and Letters, vol.63 (1982), pp.85-90.
23. Brown, Weelkes, pp.152 ff.

* The top voice of In manus tuas is on pp.170-71 of the companion part-book to Tenbury MS 389 in the possession of Mrs David McElhie of Wimborne (the so-called 'James MS').

X. CONCLUSION: THE SUN IN THE FIRMAMENT OF OUR ART

Morley and Italian music: changes in his style

The English have been an importing nation in more than one sense; where they have excelled has been in the rehandling of imports.

A.Lytton Sells (1955)¹

Much of this thesis has been concerned with Morley's connection with Italian musical culture, and it is important now to summarise what he actually absorbed from Italy. Clearly he adopted the most fundamental aspect of Italian secular music -- the madrigal -- and in doing so he acquired the Italian composer's freedom to set a particular kind of text as he chose, without the requirement to make his words audible and his music sound appropriately restrained as when setting religious texts. The musical resources of the composer were fundamentally the same when composing either sacred or secular vocal music, but, when setting the latter, the Italian composer had greater creative freedom in his use of them. European composers in the sixteenth century shared a common musical language which had its roots in Flemish polyphony of earlier generations. It is therefore not surprising to find the same technical traits in a madrigal by one composer and a motet by another. In order to isolate the details that Morley assimilated from Italy and to particularise the creative freedom referred to above, it has been necessary to compare his music with Italian models; and additional insight has been gained by other comparisons which throw these details into sharper relief. However, it has not been possible to include many of these comparisons in the present study.

In adopting the Italian madrigal, then, Morley acquired this fundamental approach of Italian composers towards secular texts, and he was the first English composer to apply it with any degree of commitment. Not surprisingly, as we have seen, many of Morley's texts owed a debt to Italian sources; but with this acquisition he created an English madrigal verse which

was ideally suited to the kind of music he wished to write. In his creation of madrigalian verse he took much from Italy but also added much that was English. So, too, with the various forms of the Italian madrigal: Morley assimilated the characteristics and structures of the Italian madrigal and composed works which featured them; but they were works that were the product of his own sensibility fertilising them, with the result that he created distinctively English genres. He never fully embraced the fundamental aesthetic of the later Italian madrigalist who regarded music as the servant of poetry and whose prime concern was that the music should above all enhance the poetry he set. Morley sought to provide enjoyable music for singers to perform--*gebrauchsmusik* of the best kind. This explains the variety of his publications and the wide variety of works within them. It was this aim, coupled with his shrewd business sense, that lay behind Morley's launching of the English madrigal. However, things Italian were very popular in England in the 1590s, so whatever he sought to market there usually needed to have an Italian element in it somewhere.

Morley's musical adaptability and his interests in the commercial world as a publisher brought changes in his own music. As English taste became more inclined towards Italy during the last decade of the sixteenth century so Morley's involvement with Italian music gradually increased. The three chapters in this thesis devoted to his madrigalian works were divided to map the progress of his orientation towards Italy. His first two publications contained his most original madrigalian works: they show him endeavouring to be Italianate, show him using Italian forms and technical features, but find him writing canzonets, Madrigals and hybrids which were very much his own creations, works in which his own musicianship reigned supreme. The year 1595 saw Morley become much more evidently Italianate by basing his music very obviously on that of Italian composers -- particularly Gastoldi and Anerio -- and by publishing

his Ballets and Canzonets (1595) in Italian as well as English editions. In 1597 he capitulated even more to Italian conventions in his five-and six-part Canzonets and issued an anthology of Italian music. This was followed by another anthology in 1598. The whole move towards Italy closed with his plan for the Triumphs of Oriana, probably conceived initially in 1597-8. However, for reasons that are not clear, he then abandoned Italianism and turned to more English genres -- editing and arranging instrumental music and publishing lute songs.

Why, we may wonder, did he not publish other volumes of his own madrigals, other than reprints, in the closing years of the century? One answer has suggested that it would have been politically unwise for him to do so, as further madrigalian publications might have linked him to the dying cause of the Earl of Essex whereas that of Cecil was a wiser one to support at that time.² (There must surely be more reference in his madrigal texts to Court life and Elizabethan politics than we are able to detect; indeed some may have been allegorical). Another possibility is that ill-health and disillusionment led to a decline in his creative talent. This view, however, does not take into account the high quality of the best of his Ayres (1600). Alternatively, it may be that he saw others like Weelkes and Wilbye surpassing him in the composition of madrigals, and, rather than be superceded, he chose to diversify. However, as the great opportunist of his age, he may simply have realised that he had exhausted the demand for Italianate music by 1598 and that his future lay in other, more English, directions.

Whatever the explanation, he undoubtedly changed course in 1598, and this is confirmed by stylistic changes in his vocal music, the most noticeable of which forms the main conclusion of this thesis: as the years passed Morley became increasingly concerned with melody, with the power and importance of the uppermost line of sound in a given musical texture to which the ear naturally fastens its attention. A vital corollary of melodic

importance is of course harmonic power which gives support to, and focusses greater attention on, the main tune. We have seen how Morley had an unusually perceptive awareness of tonal control in his music from an early age. His experience of Italian music strengthened this awareness, and the real turning point probably came in 1595 when he worked with the Gastoldian ballet: this more than anything else focussed his attention on the top line of a musical texture. After 1595 we find his Canzonets (1597) capable of being performed as songs, we notice the motets in the Introduction more melodically and harmonically conceived than his other motets, and we see him editing and arranging music for the Consort Lessons (1599) which have a pronounced interest in the uppermost instrumental line. The trend is finally confirmed in 1600 by his publication of the Ayres, which, by the very nature of solo song, have their main interest in a single melodic line. The tendency towards melody had always existed in his musical personality but it developed considerably after his experience with ballets in 1595.

Consequent upon Morley's tendency to concentrate more upon melody came a decline in his concern for contrapuntal complexity. A comparison between the Canzonets (1593) and those of 1597 makes this abundantly clear; and this is one reason why he found it far less necessary to manipulate his texts by addition and subtraction of words in the later collection. It is significant, too, that the four three-part works which he added to the Canzonets (1593) for the second edition have little in common with the pieces in the first edition. These are evidence enough of the profound impact that the style of the ballet had made on Morley. His greatest skill, his contrapuntal ingenuity, never left him, of course, but he modified his concern for contrapuntal textures to comply with the needs of an increasingly important melodic line.

The influence of Morley the madrigalist:
Weelkes and Wilbye

... who did shine as the Sun in the firmament
of our art, and did first give light to our
understanding with his precepts.

Thomas Ravenscroft on Morley
A brief discourse (1614)

It is difficult to quantify the influence of an artist on his own and subsequent generations, for any artistic achievement is necessarily the product of many contributory factors. In so far as Morley created the English madrigal his influence extended to every composer who published madrigals in the late sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries. However, it is obvious that the madrigals of Thomas Tomkins and Walter Porter, among the last to be composed, drew inspiration from the works of many composers who succeeded Morley, for each of the greater ones, certainly, added something new to the madrigal experience. Because of this difficulty and because of the potential size of the task of tracing Morley's madrigalian influence, the following summary of that influence will be limited to the first publications of Weelkes and Wilbye, the two composers of his own time who, subsequently, reached considerably greater heights in madrigal composition than Morley himself.

Weelkes published his Madrigals to three, four, five and six voices in 1597 when he was probably about twenty, and it is interesting that he did not follow Morley's precedent of issuing a volume for one set number of voices. Nearly all are short works and, presumably, they were his first essays in madrigalian style; yet within them are not only strong hints of great promise for the future but also some remarkable achievements. Morley's influence is there but it is inextricably mixed with Weelkes' individuality:

only rarely does a passage or a detail protrude as positive evidence of that influence.

Weelkes's biographer, David Brown, has pointed out the parallels (and the differences) between the two composers' setting of the following:³

(1) Weelkes: 'I wish to live and yet I die'
in Ay me, my wonted joys

(EM9 p.49 : 4-10)

Morley : 'when grief of mind tormenteth'
in Why sit I here complaining

(EM2 p.11 : 11-18)

(2) Weelkes: 'like a thousand vanquished men'
in In black I mourn

(EM9 p.16 : 15- p.17 : 4)

Morley : 'hence away...or I catch'
in Whither away so fast

(EM1B p.34: 11- p.35 : 4)

In such passages Weelkes's music is clearly based on the Morley extracts rather than plagiarism of them -- Weelkes elaborates the material more, with greater rhythmic ingenuity, but with less harmonic clarity and assurance.

Points of detail are also to be found in Weelkes's volume which derive from his acquaintance with Morley's earlier publications. Two examples may be noted. Morley occasionally employed a tiny figure (Example 57) in dialogue exchanges, particularly in Ho who comes here? (Madrigals 1594 no. 16 EM2 p.89: 9-12) yet he did not exploit such a figure to its fullest potential as Weelkes was to do. Because it is short and invertible, a figure like this can be passed from voice to voice and thus create a lively texture with the minimum of means. Two such instances may be seen in the following:

(1) Sit down and sing setting 'where winter's cold'

(EM9 p.3: 1-3) and 'and Flora's name'

(EM9 p.4: 7-11)

(2) Three virgin nymphs setting 'Silvanus calls'

(EM9 p.53: 2-3)

Secondly, it is possible that Weelkes absorbed from Morley

how best to deal with a cadence at the end of a final section which is to be repeated. The first time it occurs the music has to continue; on its repeat it has to conclude. Morley demonstrated a satisfactory solution to this problem in Hark, jolly shepherds (Madrigals 1594 no. 17) where the same cadence is used the second time in augmentation. Weelkes used a similar procedure in Lo country sports (no.12) : (EM9 p.60: 12 - p.61: 11 - end).

Morley's influence may be noticed on a general level, too. It is clear, for instance, that Morley's English rusticity in Arise, get up, my dear (Canzonets 1593 no.20) and Ho who comes here? (Madrigals 1594 no.18) is recalled in Lo country sports (no.12) and Our country swains (no.11). It is equally apparent, however, that in Weelkes's first publication are elements not to be found in Morley's works, especially his experiments in structural organisation. Moreover, in Cease sorrows now (no.6), particularly, there is evident a more studiously expressive imagination than Morley's, as well as the promise in structural matters and technique which will enable that imagination to reach a full maturity in works like the madrigal pair O care / Hence care within three years.

John Wilbye's musical sensibility was quite different from Weelkes's though equally outstanding. His first publication came a year later than Weelkes's madrigals and, like these, his Madrigals to three, four, five and six voices (1598) pay a quiet tribute to Morley and, at the same time, reveal a distinct musical personality. Wilbye's three-part pieces show the strongest reflection of Morley's work though not so much thematically as in general manner. Indeed, they seem to have been modelled on Morley's Canzonets (1593). The opening of Away, thou shalt not love me is pure Morley, for example. It may be fruitfully compared with the opening of Morley's Lady, those eyes (Canzonets 1593 no.4). Similarities are immediately apparent. Morley,

however, builds a larger paragraph out of the initial point, uses paired-voice entries, and achieves an even closer stretto than Wilbye. The remainder of Away, thou shalt not love me proceeds in Morleian style, though it lacks the energetic complex contrapuntal textures that characterise the best of Morley's Canzonets (1593).

In this thesis we have often noted strong hints that Morley used modulation to related keys for structural purposes. In Wilbye's madrigals of 1598 it is clear that he is following Morley's example in this respect and, moreover, that he is handling the process cleanly and positively. Adieu, sweet Amaryllis, Wilbye's most popular four-part madrigal from this set, is a good example; indeed, it is altogether a fine instance of Wilbye's fusion of Morley's manner with his own distinctive approach. The result was a masterpiece of concise expression. Wilbye planned his tonal scheme carefully:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | Adieu, sweet Amaryllis | : I closing on V for |
| | (1) repeated | : I moving to III |
| (2) | For since to part your | |
| | will is | : III moving back on
on to V |
| (3) | O heavy tiding | : I |
| (4) | Here is for me no bidding | : I moving to III |
| (5) | Yet once again, ere that | |
| | I part with you, | : III moving back to I |
| | (5) repeated | : I |

Comparison between this scheme and that of Morley's April is in my mistress' face (Madrigals 1594 no.1) reveals how considerably Wilbye followed Morley's lead in this matter. However in his final line, 'Amaryllis, sweet adieu', Wilbye's sensibility came to the fore when he set it in the tonic major -- a masterstroke which was the more poignant because 'adieu' in this line consciously recalls and contrasts most effectively with his setting of 'adieu' in the opening section (EM 6 p.50: 7- end).

Adieu, you kind and cruel (Canzonets 1597 no. 3) shows how Morley's attitude to madrigalian texts was essentially less serious than the younger composer's. Wilbye's setting of the opening word 'adieu' is sensitive; Morley's setting of the same initial word in this canzonet is almost flippant. This is the more apparent when Morley sets 'and you' in the next line to the same figure and with similar swift repetitions to point the internal rhyme (EM3 pp. 12-13). Both pieces are equally well composed, but Morley's approach was light-hearted whereas Wilbye's was serious.

The above summary of Morley's influence on other madrigal composers has been necessarily brief and limited in scope. However, it has served to show in a few details the specific impact that Morley made on the next generation in madrigal composition alone. If we add to this his Ayres, the Consort Lessons, his pioneer achievements in Anglican verse Services and verse anthems, his finest compositions with Latin texts, in the light of what we with the benefit of hindsight know came from English composers subsequently, the truly remarkable extent of Morley's achievement and influence becomes fully apparent. Add to this the undeniable long-term value of his Introduction, and we may, while regretting that he died when only in his mid-forties, still marvel at his achievement.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1. A.Lytton Sells, The Italian influence in English poetry (London, 1955).
2. Ruff and Wilson, pp.4-5.
3. Brown, Weelkes, pp.53 ff.

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