

PSALMES, TEARES, AND BROKEN MUSIC

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THE publication in 1959 of Sydney Beck's edition of Thomas Morley's *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (1599 and 1611)¹ and subsequent performances, broadcasts, and recordings of the pieces it contains, have focused public attention on the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century taste for "broken music". The particular fascination of the broken consort derived from its combination of several instruments of different families and types, and the exciting sonorities such combinations could produce. English musicians appear to have been particularly noted for their broken music. Jean-Baptiste Besard in his *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (1603) speaks with admiration of "these English consorts which are indeed very sweet and elegant",² and Praetorius praises them in *Syntagma Musicum*. He describes how plucked, bowed, and blown instruments play together in consort, quietly, gently and charmingly, and harmonize with each other in a graceful symphony.³

Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* has the distinction of being the first publication to state unequivocally on the title-page of each part-book the names of the six instruments to be used in performance of the music, namely, treble lute, pandora, cittern, bass viol, flute, and treble viol. Before this publication, and for fully a century after it, a great deal of music was written for unspecified groups of instruments. Composers or publishers

¹ Published for the New York Public Library by C. F. Peters Corporation, New York. Beck's edition includes the two additional pieces which appeared in Morley's second edition in 1611.

² p. 3, '... illi Anglicani concentus, suavissimi quidem, ac elegantes'.

³ *Syntagma Musicum*, iii (1619), 5: "Die Engelländer nennens gar appositè à consortio ein Consort, Wenn etliche Personen mit allerlen Instrumenten, als Clavicymbel oder Grossspinnnet/gross=Lyra/Doppelharff/Lautten/Theorben/Bandorn/Penorcon/Zittern/Viol de Gamba einer kleinen Discant Geig/einer Querflöit oder Blockflöit/ bissweilen auch einer stillen Posaun oder Racket zusammen in einer Compagny vnnd Gesellschaft gar still/ sanfft vnd lieblich accordiren, vnd inin einer Compagny anmutiger Symphonia mit einander zusammen stimmen."

claimed much of their printed music was suitable for an extraordinarily wide variety of alternative instruments. Even when particular instruments were prescribed there was often the indication that all sorts of instruments might be used if those originally suggested were not available. This tendency was probably prompted, to some degree, by the desire of astute publishers to create as wide a public as possible to whom they might sell their music, though it is clear that this freedom in the choice and combination of instruments in broken consort was generally sanctioned and practised. This was necessarily so from a practical point of view, since many performances of broken music must have been the result of chance gatherings of musicians, each playing the part most suited to his particular instrument and accomplishments. Only at Court or in well-to-do households or establishments of a civic nature where bands of musicians, such as the city or town waits, were employed could the availability of particular players or instruments be depended upon. Amateurs must make do with those instruments their pockets and abilities could support, and we must suppose that these were the buyers publishers had in mind when they claimed their publications were suitable for all kinds of alternative instruments. Thomas Morley, with the expert city waits in mind as ideal performers of his *Consort Lessons*, dedicated this publication "TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, THE LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON, AND TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL ALDERMEN of the same". Even so, he points out in this dedication that: "They be set for diuers Instruments : to the ende that whose skill or liking regardeth not the one, may attempt some other."

These Morley consort pieces, as Thurston Dart has pointed out,¹ were largely theatre music. Dowland's *Lachrimae* collection (1605) and some of Rosseter's *Lessons for Consort* were also at home in the theatre. Captain Tobias Hume's *Poeticall Musicke* (1607) was, on the other hand, chamber music rather than theatre music, and some of the more "curious" Morley and Rosseter pieces come into this category too. There are three other publications which call for broken consorts of instruments

¹ "Morley's *Consort Lessons* of 1599", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, lxxiv (1947-8), 5-7.

and these all consistently employ voices together with the instruments.¹ The contents of all three collections are of a religious nature, and they appeared, one in 1599, the same year as Morley's first publication, the second fifteen years later in 1614, and the third in 1615. It is regretted that space does not here permit a discussion of the last of these publications, Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns. Consisting of Fifti Select Psalms of David*. This work has particular interest, not only in being the last of these publications, but in its accompaniment of the treble voice by four, or on occasion five, viols (one of them tuned and played "lyra way"), together with the lute or orpharion.

These three collections, Tailour's *Sacred Hymns*, along with Richard Allison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter*, and Sir William Leighton's *The Teares and Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule* bear witness to the extremely popular practice of metrical psalm singing, and show that the most famous composers of the day did not disdain the task of embodying these verses in music, despite, in most cases, their very slight literary merit. The custom of singing rhymed metrical versions of the psalter was copied by Protestants all over Europe from the Calvinists in Geneva. In England this type of psalm singing became extremely popular especially after the issue of the Queen's injunctions to the clergy in 1559. One of these injunctions related to music in churches, and sanctioned the use of such psalms and hymns in addition to the normal liturgy.

. . . And that there be a modest and distinct songue, so vsed in all partes of the common prayers in the Church, that the same may be as playnely vnderstanded, as yf it were read without syngyng, and yet neuerthelesse, for the comforyng of suche that delyght in musicke, it may be permitted that in the begynnyng, or in the ende of common prayers, eyther at morning or euenyng, there may be song an Hymne, or such like songue to the prayse of almightie god, in the best sort of melodie and musicke that maye be conueniently deuised, hauing respect that the sentence of the Hymne may be vnderstanded and perceyued.²

¹ The occasional songs accompanied by lute(s) and viol(s) in the printed books by the lutenist composers are not here taken into account, nor are the songs in John Maynard's *The XII Wonders of the World* which require for accompaniment the simple combination of lute and viol.

² *Iniuunctions geuen by the Queenes Maiestie*, 1559, f. C. iv, recto, ed. 1559, 4°, quoted by Robert Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing* (London, 1903), p. 11.

John Day took full advantage of this injunction. Under the privilege which granted him seven years copyright for any original work produced at his expense he printed a rapid succession of new editions of the metrical psalter. No less than four of these editions appeared in three years, one in 1560, two in 1561, and in 1562 the famous Sternhold and Hopkins edition containing all the psalms with sixty-five tunes.¹ Many more metrical psalters were printed in the next forty years, some of them presenting the tunes harmonized in four parts. In 1563 Day published harmonized versions of one hundred and forty-three psalms, in four books, one for each voice. Two books of Damon's four-part settings, one with tunes for the most part in the tenor,² and the other with the tunes in the highest part, appeared in 1591. In 1592 came Thomas Est's *The whole Booke of Psalmes* with four-part settings, some perfectly plain and simple, others a little more florid and elaborate, by ten of the best composers of the day, John Dowland, Giles Farnaby, John Farmer, William Cobbold, Edward Blancks, George Kirbye, Edmund Hooper, Richard Allison, Michael Cavendish, and Edward Johnson.

By the time Allison's publication appeared in 1599, the performance and publication of metrical psalms had become well-established and widespread. His title-page reads :

THE PSALMES OF/Dauid in Meter./The plaine Song beeing the com-/mon tunne to be sung and plaide vpon/the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base/Violl, seuerally or altogether, the sing-/ing part to be either Tenor or Treble/to the Instrument, according to/the nature of the voyce, or/for fowre voyces :/With tenne short Tunnes in the end, to/ which for the most part all the Psalmes/may be vsually sung, for the vse of/such as are of mean skill, and/whose leysure least serueth to practice : /By/Richard Allison Gent. Practitioner in/the Art of Musicke : and are to be solde/at his house in the Dukes place/neere Alde-gate./LONDON/Printed by William Barley, the/Assigne of Thomas Morley./1599./Cum Priuilegio Regiæ/Majestatis.

Two copies exist, one in the British Museum and the other in the National Library of Scotland. The copy in the British Museum has a modern binding and measures $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. There are seventy-four folios, seventy-one of which contain

¹ There are two known copies of this 1562 edition, both imperfect. One is in the British Museum and the other in the John Rylands Library.

² On the title-page it is stated that all the tunes are in the Tenor, but in a few songs the tune is actually in the Cantus, Altus, or Bassus.

music. The sixty-nine pieces each have four vocal, and two instrumental tablature parts, designated "CANTVS, ALTVS, TENOR, BASSVS, CITTERNE" and [LVTE]. The book is dedicated "To the right Honorable and most ver[t]uous Lady, the Lady Anne Countesse of *Warwicke*". Folio 3 is devoted to laudatory verses in commendation of Allison and his work by John Dowland, Batcheler of Musicke, William Leighton Esq.,¹ and John Welton. Folio 3 verso contains "The extract and effect of the Queenes Maiesties Patent to Thomas Morley, *for the Printing of Musicke*", and folio 4 "A Table containing what notes are to be sung to these particular Psalmes following. *The Venite and Benedictus both to one tunne. The 112. and the 127. to the tunne of Our Father which &c. The 125. Psalm to the tunne of the Ten Commandments. All other Psalmes are to bee obserued as they are orderly printed.*" Then come the first lines of the "tenne short Tunnes" mentioned on the title-page. The first nine of these are the same (first line and references) as the nine printed on page 288 of Thomas Est's 1592 *Whole Booke of Psalmes* under the heading "A NOTE OF THOSE TVNES NEVVLY ADDED in this booke".² One of them, Est's *Cheshire* for Psalm 146, does not appear in the body of Allison's book. Its place is taken by the first short tune, *A prayer* for preservation from Turk and Pope alike. Like most of the earlier psalters, Allison's *Psalmes of Dauid* contains metrical settings of spiritual songs as well as the psalms. These include the hymns *Veni Creator* and the *Te Deum*, canticles from the liturgy, the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, *The Creede* and *Da Pacem* also from the liturgy, two versions of *The Lord's Prayer*, a setting of the *X Commandments*, *The song of the three Children* and the Athenasian Creed *Quicumque vult*. Psalm 95 is identified not by number, but by its Latin title *Venite exultemus*.

Most of the pieces fit comfortably into a double page of the volume as it lies open. Only five psalms³ and the first setting of *The Lords prayer* require two double pages each, and the "tenne short Tunnes in the end, to *which for the most part all the Psalmes may be vsually sung*", are slight enough to allow two pieces to be set out on each double page. The individual parts are printed

¹ Author of *The Teares and Lamentacions* mentioned above.

² See p. 416, note 2.

³ Psalms 104, 111, 113, 126, and 136.

facing in different directions so that when the book lay open on a table singers and players could sit around it reading the appropriate parts.

Allison set all sixty-nine pieces in simple, lucid four-part harmony, in which the words may be easily “ vnderstanded and perceyued ” according to the Queen’s command. The tunes are drawn from earlier psalters : according to Frost¹ nine are from the 1556 Anglo-Genevan Psalter, ten from the 1558 Anglo-Genevan, five from the 1560 English Psalter, fifteen from the 1561 English, six from the 1561 Anglo-Genevan, thirteen from the 1562 English, one from the 1564/5 Scottish Psalter, one from the English Psalter of 1570, one from Daman’s 1579 Psalter, and two from his 1591 Psalter, and four² from Est’s Psalter of 1592. There is only one new tune, for Psalm 125.

The tunes are in the Cantus³ and not in the Tenor, as was usual in the earlier psalters. For this reason, and because the tune “ is omitted from the instrumental accompaniment ”, Gustave Reese claims that “ an instrument was clearly meant to accompany only when the melody alone was sung ”.⁴ This seems to be a questionable conclusion, as Allison’s title page shows him to be very accommodating as regards methods of performance, and as prepared as any of his contemporaries to accept a variety of ways, according to the number and type of voices and instruments available. It also seems unlikely that Allison, like Morley, in the *Consort Lessons*, would go to the enormous trouble and expense of arranging and printing so many separate vocal and instrumental parts facing different ways, so they might all be easily performed at the same time, if he did not expect, or at least hope, the psalms would sometimes be performed in this way. There seems little doubt, judging from his title page, and the general layout of the

¹ Maurice Frost, *English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes c. 1543-1677* (O.U.P., 1953), gives a detailed list of sources on pp. 29-30.

² Est claims (p. 228) that he has included nine new tunes in his 1592 psalter. Eight of these are used in Allison’s *Psalmes*. Frost, however, says that only four of Allison’s tunes appear for the first time in Est. It has not yet been possible to verify whether Est or Frost is mistaken on this point.

³ Psalm 46 is an exception, having the tune in the Bassus.

⁴ *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 808. H. E. Wooldridge adopts this attitude also in Grove, 5th edn., vi, 967.

music, that Allison considered the ideal manner of performance to be by both instruments and voices, though other methods were quite acceptable, in accordance with contemporary custom, when such combinations were impracticable. It is true that a lute alone might be used to accompany the Cantus with good effect, but a cittern would certainly require a bass viol as well to furnish an adequate bass line. Besides, it is not quite true to say the tune "is omitted from the instrumental accompaniment", although it certainly does not appear prominently as the highest strand of the lute or cittern part, except in the case of the first few notes which are sometimes identical. Sometimes the sung Altus part is doubled more or less exactly by the top strand of the lute part, but this is by no means generally so. The Cantus is just as often doubled in the tenor or alto strand of the cittern part, or alternates from one to the other, since the instrumental writing vacillates between three- and four-part texture in the usual manner for plucked instruments. In this case, the Cantus is doubled by the cittern part(s) an octave below, if sung by a soprano, or at the same pitch, if sung by a tenor. More often than not, none of the three upper vocal parts is doubled exactly by any one strand of an instrumental part. The instruments provide, rather, a simple chordal accompaniment, with no very distinctive contrapuntal features. The most probable reason for not consistently doubling the voice parts by an instrument, apart from the desire to create some little variety in the texture, was perhaps to assist the clearness of the words. Exact doubling tends to make the voice parts more difficult to hear, and to obscure the words, and Allison may well have had this in mind when he allowed his tunes to soar above the accompanying instruments and voices. Doubling the tune an octave below does not have the same effect as doubling at the unison, and it is worth noting that in all the psalms the range of the instruments is kept quite low, usually at least a third below the tune. The highest frets used are *g* for the cittern and *f* for the lute.

Sydney Beck appears to take quite the opposite view to Reese as regards the use of instruments. In his attempt to prove that Allison was the "Gentle-man" who paid the "coast & charges"¹

¹ Title-page of Morley's *The First Booke of Consort Lessons*.

for printing the Morley *Consort Lessons*, he claims that *The Psalms of David in Meter* require “almost identical instrumental forces” for accompaniment as the *Lessons*.¹ As we have seen from the instruments Allison names, this is not strictly true. Allison mentions only three of the six Morley consort instruments, lute, cittern, and bass viol. He makes no mention of flute or treble viol, though these could certainly have played the Cantus and Altus parts if required, just as the bass viol must have played from the sung Bassus part, since there is no separately written part for it. But what of the bandora, which requires a specially written tablature part? Neither lute nor cittern tablature is any use to the bandora player, whose instrument is differently tuned and so requires its own tablature. Unless the bandora players were very good at improvising their own parts from the single line of the Bassus part, which seems unlikely at this date, it would be nonsense to claim that a bandora was meant to be used, especially as Allison does not mention it. What he does mention is the “Orpharyon”, which may well have been substituted for the lute, as its wire strings were tuned the same way and its tablature was therefore the same as lute tablature.

That Allison did in fact intend all the printed parts to be sung and played together in consort is further endorsed by his own words in dedicating the volume to the Countess of Warwick.²

And that our meditations in the Psalmes may not want their delight, we haue that excellēt gift of God, the Art of Musick to accompany them : that our eyes beholding the words of Dauid, our fingers handling the Instruments of Musicke, our eares delighting in the swetenesse of the melody, and the heart obseruing the harmony of them : all these doe ioyne in an heauenly Consort, and God may bee glorified and our selues refreshed therewith. But I leaue this Argument to Dauid himselfe, who in consideration of the premisses exhorteth vs to make melody with hart and harpe, with trumpet and lowde Cymball ; as if he had said that no way is sufficient to further men on earth in their praising the Lord of Heauen.

“THE/TEARES OR LA-/MENTATIONS OF/a sorrowfull Soule./SET FOORTH BY SIR/ *William Leighton* Knight, one of his Maiesties Honorable Band of/*Pentioners*” appeared in 1613. It is a small book measuring 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches, bound in white vellum with traces of dark blue strings. There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the University Library, Cam-

¹ p. 2 of the *Introduction* in Beck's edition of the *Lessons*, 1959. ² fos. 2-2'.

bridge. The copy in the British Museum has introductory pages containing "A Declaration by the Author to the religious and deuoute", verses in praise of the author by Thomas Burt, "*A Farewell to the world*" by Leighton himself, and a dedication "TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY Prince CHARLES, Sonne to our Soueraine Lord the King". The next page is headed "TO ALL THAT ARE IN A-/ny distresse, Affliction, in Crosses, im-/prisonments, troubles, of minde or/body. Peace, and Saluation, in *Christ Iesus*". This is followed by an address in prose "To the Reader", then verses "*To the true deuoted Reader*" in which Leighton apologizes for the "harshness, and vnpolisht rime" of his verses, and the introductory pages come to an end with verses in praise of Sir William Leighton by Ed. Cooke, Io. Layefilde, Ar. Hopton, Luke Iones, and Iohn Lepton. The main part of the text follows. This consists of one hundred and eighty-nine numbered pages containing ninety-one sets of metrical verses with copious marginal references to the Psalms and other biblical sources. Confessions of sin, prayers of repentance and pleas for forgiveness, prayers in times of affliction and sickness, lamentations in distress, and meditations on death are interspersed with consolations, a thanksgiving, and an exhortation to praise God. There are three unnumbered pages at the end of the book containing "The Table" of verses with references to their page numbers in the book. The copy of this book in the Bodleian Library is the same in all essentials, but some of the introductory pages are lacking, and those there are appear in a different order. The table of verses at the end of the book bears the words "Table, of all the contents of this Booke", instead of simply "The Table", as in the British Museum copy. These differences seem to point to two printings of the book in one year.

The title and the contents clearly indicate Leighton's sufferings and penitence while imprisoned for debt. For consolation he has turned to religious meditation, and avows he has composed these *Teares or Lamentations* so that others similarly afflicted may benefit and be comforted by his philosophical reflections. He says :

I Haue published these Himnes and spirituall Sonnets, not in any vaine affectation or ostentation of my owne skill, which ingeniously I confesse to be but small and

mediocrious: but onely in an vnfeigned affection & earnest desire that the humbled hearts (together with mine) may reape profit and consolation by singing or reading of them. If thou art not skillful in Musicke, then mayest thou read them or sing them in the common and ordinarie tunes beseeming such a subject: But for them who either delight in Melodious Harmonies, or else are themselues skillfull in Pricksong, I intend (God Willing) likewise to divuldge very speedely in print, some sweete Musicall Ayres and Tunable Accents, wherof some of the plainest sort are mine owne Ayres and the rest are done by expert and famous learned men in that science and facultie, as hereafter in the same booke appertayning to this shalbe expressed, to which tunes all or the most part of all these songs, Hymnes or Sonnets are at the pleasure of all those that delight in Musique, to be sung or plaid, as shalbe most pleasing vnto them.¹

This promise of a musical publication was fulfilled the following year (1614) with the appearance of "THE TEARES OR/LAMENTACIONS OF/A SORROWFVLL/SOVLE :/Composed with Musicall Ayres and Songs, both/for Voyces and diuers Instruments./Set foorth by Sir WILLIAM LEIGHTON Knight, one of his/Maiesties Honourable Band of Gentelmen Pensioners."

This was a handsome folio volume measuring 13¼ by 8¾ inches. There are copies in the British Museum, the Library of the Royal College of Music (modern binding), the University Library, Cambridge (imperfect), and the Library of St. Michael's College Tenbury.² There is no copy in the Bodleian Library, although the *British Union Catalogue of Early Music* states that this Library has one. The copy in the British Museum is beautifully bound in white vellum, stamped in gold with the arms of Charles I, to whom it, too, is dedicated as promised in the previous book of verses. There are traces of dark blue strings. Inside, the book is beautifully printed and set out by William Stansby. Beneath the description of the work on the title-page is a five-part wordless round. The Cantus, Altus, Quintus, and Tenor are printed on a circular stave, and the Bassus in the centre. At either end of the Bassus stave is a crown, and above the stave the arms of Prince Charles surmounted by a crown flanked by a Tudor Rose and a Scottish Thistle. Beneath the Bassus part, and still within the circular stave, are the initials "C" and "P" flanking a crown encircling the three feather emblem of the Prince of Wales, with the motto "Ich Dien". Round the outside of the circle are

¹ fo. 1', "A Declaration by the Author to the religious and deuoute".

² According to the *British Union Catalogue of Early Music*.

printed the names of the composers who have contributed settings of Leighton's verses :

D. M.

" *Alfanzo Farabasto: Wil: Byrd: Io: Bull: Io: Milton:*

B. M. B. M.

Io: Dowland: Io: Ward: Io: Coperario: Orlando Gibbins:

B. M. B. M.

Th: Luppō: Rob: Iones: Io: Wilby: Ty: Topal: E. Hooper:

B. M. B. M.

Th: Foorde: Fra: Pilkinton: Rob: Ionson: Nath: Giles:

B. M.

Rob: Kendersly: Mart: Persone:"¹ The same circular device is repeated on the verso of the title page, but this time the name "Th. Weelkes, B.M." is added beneath the circle.

The volume begins with the usual flowery speeches and extravagant eulogies in prose and verse. Some are by Leighton himself, and some in his honour by relatives and admirers, Ed[mund] Cooke, Antonii Dyet, Io[hn] Layfield, Io[hn] Lepton, Ar[thur] Hopton, Lvke Iones, I.D. [?]John Dowland], Thomas Bvrt, Io[hn] Parry *Esquier*, Io[hn] Moray, C[h]ar[les] Best, and Simon Sturteuant. Some of these laudatory verses are the same as in the 1613 book of verses, but many more have been added in this larger and more impressive publication. From them, it becomes clear that the pronunciation of Leighton's name should probably be "Lighton", not "Layton", since many of the verses play on this name. For example :

Names doe the nature of the man declare,
Leighton our Authors name from true light floweth,²
 Say *Well-i am* when griefes *Leight on* my part.³
 Was euer LIGHT-ON Table set before,
 Or oile in lamp powrd in such plēteous store
 To *light our men* with heauenly dulced Layes,
 In English tong, since worthy *CEDMONS daies,
 Whose singing spirit hath *Light-on* this good knight
 To shine to vs that loue to walke in night.⁴

¹ D.M. = Doctor of Music ; B.M. = Bachelor of Music.

² fo. 3', Antonii Dyet. ³ fo. 3', Io[hn] Layfield.

⁴ fo. 4'. *Cedmon diuina gratia specialiter insignis Carmina Religioni & Pietati apta facere solebat. Cætera pete ex Bedæ Historia Anglorum gentis. Lib. 4. Cap. 24.

From the dedication of the songs it appears that Leighton wrote, edited, and published both the verses and their music whilst in prison for debt. His claim that his "hard hearted aduersaries" have had him unjustly imprisoned would appear, perhaps, to be offset by the penitential vein of some of the verses, for example, "I cannot Lord excuse my sinne", "An heart thats broken & contrite", "Alasse that I offended euer", though the fact that so many notable musicians contributed to the collection indicates that he was held in high esteem, even if there were some truth in the accusations resulting in his imprisonment.

Altogether there are fifty-four songs in this volume. Eighteen are consort songs, eight of them by Leighton himself,¹ and one each by John Dowland, John Milton, Robert Johnson, Thomas Ford, Edmund Hooper, Robert Kindersley, Nathaniel Giles, and John Cooper (Coperario), and two by John Bull. The second of these pieces by Bull does not appear with the first seventeen consort songs, but much later in the book, separating the groups of twelve songs for four unaccompanied voices and twenty-four for five unaccompanied voices. None of the four- and five-part unaccompanied songs is by Leighton himself. All are by composers of the highest rank, Byrd, Pilkington, Lupo (who also appears under the pseudonym "Timolphus Thopull"), Robert Jones, Martin Peerson, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Weelkes, John Ward, John Wilbye, Ferrabosco, Bull, John Milton, Edmund Hooper, Coprario, Ford, and Kindersley.

In his dedication to Prince Charles Leighton speaks in rather high-flown language about his work as

a concordance of harmony of various Ayres, some of them by my selfe, the other by famous Artists of that sublime profession, where warbling forth of differences of affections, may seeme Apollos infinite silver tuned strings, with the assent of the Muses, all taking from one Origine, and deuided into such subdeuided changes, in full consent to reuert, where hence it first proceeded, and peaceably to end and agree in one and the same.

He continues, begging the Prince's active support, saying :

In which consort, if it shall please your Grace, . . . to beare though the meanest part, and to inuite all the faithfull of your Fathers most sacred Maiesties subiects, with like harmonious assent of heart . . . not only to honour, laud & praise Almighty God for

¹ The first seven and the ninth are by Leighton. The eighth is by Dowland. The order of 8 and 9 is reversed in the "Table of the Consort Songs", fo. 5.

what benefites and happinesse, all doe and shall receive by the gouvernement of the Annoynted Dauid of our Israel, but also incessantly to begge at the diuine mercy seat, that for his mansuetude, there want not a wise Salomon to succede, raigne and inherite his throne and seate : . . .

The instruments accompanying the four voices in the consort songs are exactly the same as those used for the *Morley Consort Lessons*. Three melody instruments double the voice parts. Their use is precisely indicated on each page: "Cantus with a Treble Violl" "Altus with a Flute", "Bassus with a Base Violl". Only the "Tenor" has no indication of an accompanying melody instrument. The lute, cittern, and bandora tablatures are aligned beneath the Cantus, Altus and Tenor parts respectively. Each is clearly marked at the beginning, "For the Lute", "For the Citterne", and "For the Bandora". As in Allison's *Psalmes* the parts are printed facing in different directions so that singers and players could sit comfortably around a table all reading their parts from a single copy.

The eight pieces by Leighton are, for the most part, very simple note against note settings with only occasional passing notes and suspensions, not unlike the Allison *Psalmes of David in Meter*. Leighton claims nothing more for them. He has already stated in his first book that "some of the plainest sort are mine owne Ayres and the rest are done by expert and famous learned men". Leighton's accompanying tablature parts show little tendency towards independent or more elaborate rhythms than the voice parts, though lute and bandora sometimes have characteristic short broken figures at cadences. Occasionally, too, a particular word or phrase captures Leighton's imagination and he treats it pictorially, or a little more elaborately, for example, in the first consort song the Altus and Tenor parts are treated more imaginatively at the words "hearken what my soule shall say", and in the sixth song the Cantus has an octave leap and a running phrase at the words "Satan vilde". The second song, "Come let vs sing to God with praise", is built upon two phrases in the bass, each two and a half bars in length, and each immediately repeated. The tune in the Cantus does not repeat, as the Bassus tune does, but develops naturally as a four-phrase tune, and in the Altus and Tenor parts each phrase is different, giving slightly varied

harmonies. The instrumental parts are varied only slightly on each repeat in the manner of an extremely simple division. The whole setting is very simple with just a sprinkling of changing notes and passing notes in vocal and instrumental parts. Leighton's fourth song, "In thee O Lord, I put my trust", is perhaps his most adventurous, helped along by some suspensions and livelier rhythmic patterns, but there are still four clearly defined cadences on which all parts pause. Some of the other songs in the book are also very simply set, for example, the eleventh, "Yeeld vnto God the Lord on high", by Robert Johnson. Mostly, however, they have a little more rhythmic and contrapuntal interest than the Leighton pieces, which is only to be expected of such masters as Ford, Dowland, Coperario, and Bull. Dowland's contribution, "An heart thats broken and contrite" is much more flowing than the earlier Leighton pieces and the cadences are not nearly so prominent. Dowland's vocal and instrumental writing is more imaginative and there is much more rhythmic interest in all parts. The cittern part, although far simpler than the lute and bandora parts, is very much more interesting than any of the Leighton cittern parts.

Milton's "Thou God of might hast chastned me" begins fairly simply and chordally, but a series of imitative entries begins at the words "wounded my soule with misery", the parts entering one crotchet apart with a downward leap of a minor third on the word "wounded". The next group of entries begins in bar nine, and uses the same words, but this time the phrase begins with the downward leap of a fourth and rises more slowly by step, as if to emphasize the deepness of the wound.

Thomas Ford's beautiful setting of the words :

Almighty God which hast me brought,
In safety to this present day :
Keep me from sin, in heart and thought,
And teach me what to do and say

needs no introduction, as through its modern publication as a four-part unaccompanied song, it is perhaps the best known of all the consort pieces.¹ It, too, has imitative entries, at the words

¹ Unfortunately both the "York Series" and Novello editions are very inaccurate. The first cadence has been completely altered and spoiled, without any

“ Keep me from sin, in heart and thought ”. The first few notes of each vocal entry are doubled by one or other of the tablature instruments, or sometimes by more than one, though, apart from these few notes, none of the tablature parts follows any particular vocal part very closely.

Bull's “ Attend unto my teares O Lord ” is as contrapuntal from start to finish as any madrigal of the period. The whole piece consists of a series of imitative entries, and some of the parts are rhythmically very complex, especially the Altus, Tenor, and tablature parts in the second and third bars. Bull's other song, “ In the departure of the Lord ”, is rather more simply set. It begins quietly, as befits the words, with all the voice parts rather low, and the lute part above them. The piece continues very simply till the middle, where there are two double imitative entries in thirds. The first, on the phrase “ Which he did shew vs here on earth ” begins with the Tenor and Bassus, followed by Cantus and Altus, each pair of parts entering at the unison and then slipping into thirds. The second, on the phrase “ Who doth prepare to die each hour ”, begins with the Cantus and Altus, followed on the fourth crotchet by Tenor and Bassus, each pair of parts again in thirds. Then, as the piece reaches its climax at the words “ Must follow Christ our Sauour ”, the vocal parts enter imitatively at the distance of only one crotchet, Cantus, Altus, Bassus, Tenor, and to emphasize the point these phrases are repeated four bars later and resolve in the final cadence. The instrumental tablature parts do not share in this imitation, but support the voice parts chordally throughout.

There are instances in various pieces of rather surprising and unexpected sounds caused by clashing passing notes, or delayed resolutions of suspensions so that both suspension and resolution are sounding at once. For example, in song no. 7, bar 3, the suspended *F* in the Altus part resolves to *E* a crotchet sooner than in the instrumental parts. In no. 14, bar 2, the cittern part has no suspension on the third crotchet, but Altus, lute and bandora have. Each vocal or instrumental part, in such instances, is quite logical in itself. It is only the combination of these which yields mention that a single note has been changed, and there are several other regrettable discrepancies.

momentarily surprising effects. This suggests that these clashes are probably not misprints (though there are many of these throughout the book), but intentional spicings of the harmony. The apparent harshness of the clashes is somewhat lessened by the nature of the three plucked accompanying instruments. The comparatively evanescent nature of the sound produced by plucked instruments makes these clashes less acrid and forceful than on instruments or voices with more powerfully sustained tone, and the ear accepts more readily these piquant discords. On paper, it can be seen that suspensions in some of the instrumental tablatures do not resolve in the same strand or voice part, but in some other strand. For example, in no. 16, bar 7, the suspended D in the top strand of the lute part resolves in the tenor strand. The suspension in the bandora part also resolves in a different strand. This is a perfectly normal occurrence in writing for tablature instruments and in no way reduces the effect of the resolutions.

The texts of the *Teares* all come from Leighton's 1613 publication and, since there has only been space in the 1614 *Teares* to print one stanza of the text beneath the musical notes, the two books are complementary and meant to be used together.¹ Sir William says at the beginning of the book :²

Note that this Musicall Booke inserteth onely the first staffe of the Hymne or Psalm : but it is the Authors intention that in the practise of this heauenly harmonious exercise, some one in the company should out of his other Printed booke read the other staues [i.e. stanzas] to them that play and sing.

Reference to this little book shows there are between twenty and thirty four-line stanzas for many of the songs. *The third Lamentation in distresse*, beginning "I cannot Lord excuse my sinne", has no less than thirty-three four-line stanzas, but only the most dogged or devout could possibly have attempted to sing all of these verses.

Leighton has already explained on his title-page : "And all Psalmes that consist of so many feete as the fiftieth Psalm, will goe to the foure partes for Consort." At the end of the book he goes further. Again he relates the volume with musical ayres to the

¹ Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 have two additional stanzas printed at the foot of the page beneath the Bassus or Tenor part. ² fo. 4'.

previous book of verses : “ This Booke hath relation to the former Booke, printed with some small additions by the Author.”¹ Then he continues : “ All the Psalms, consisting of so many feet as the Lj. are to be sung eyther for voyces, consort, or both, as the Lamentations and other like in this Book, and the most of all Psalmes beside, leauing out a Semi-briefe in euery second line.” Here Leighton demonstrates once again, the casual contemporary attitude to adaptations of already existing pieces. He is quite prepared for the music contained in these pages to be adapted to other verses. He is even prepared to adapt it to fit verses with less feet than those already set, by depriving every second line of a semibreve. It is not clear how exactly this could be done without impairing the sense of the music.

Richard Allison’s *Psalmes of Dauid in Meter* and Sir William Leighton’s *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule* fifteen years later, owe their existence to the tremendous popularity of metrical psalm singing. This type of psalm singing appears to have been the only one acceptable to the more extreme reformers. Most of the psalters have on their title-page the exhortation : “ If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be mery let him sing Psalmes ”.² Some also advise : “ Let the worde of God dwell plentuouslye in all wisdome, teaching & exhorting one another in Psalmes, Hymnes & Spirituall songes, & sing vnto the Lord in your herts.”³ Several English psalters proclaim that the psalms they contain are “ Very mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuately for their solace and confort, laiying aparte all vngodly songes & ballades, which tende only to the norishing of vice, and corrupting of youth ”.⁴ Later psalters point out that they contain “ all the tunes of Dauids Psalmes, as they are ordinarily song in the Church ”,⁵ but they also emphasize that they are

¹ fo. 60.

² Anglo-Genevan Psalter, 1558. There are similar quotations in the English Psalter, 1560 ; both Anglo-Genevan, 1561 ; English, 1561 ; English, 1562 ; Scottish, 1594 and 1595.

³ English Psalters 1560, 1561, 1562.

⁴ English Psalter 1560. Similar statements occur also in the English Psalters of 1561 and 1562.

⁵ Daman’s Psalter 1591. Daman’s other Psalter of 1591 also refers to “ the Church tune ”. So do Est’s *Whole Booke of Psalmes* 1592, and the Scottish Psalter of 1595.

published "for the recreation of such as delight in Musicke". The main emphasis seems to be on the fact that these collections are suitable recreational music, and this being so it is natural that there should have been a demand for publications which printed instrumental as well as vocal parts. As early as the English psalter of 1563, which was published in four separate part-books, it is suggested that the psalms "may be song to al Musical instrumentes". Allison's and Leighton's collections therefore catered for the current taste both for settings of metrical verses, and for music for broken consort. Each type of music continued to appear separately during this period, and the metrical psalters continued for many years after, but these two collections, with Tailour's *Sacred Hymns*, were the only ones to combine in a practical manner the taste for both. It may be said, too, that Leighton catered for the contemporary taste for melancholy, though an unalleviated evening with his melancholy verses must have led to a mood of deepest gloom and depression. Only their masterly treatment at the hands of his famous contemporaries could turn these products of his personal tragedy into an evening's "delight in Musicke".