

ORLANDO GIBBONS, KEYBOARD MUSIC,  
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BAROQUE:  
NEW CONSIDERATIONS OF A MUSICAL STYLE

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*Abstract — Résumé*

By examining abstract instrumental works, I wish to propose that an essential aspect of the new style known today as "Baroque" is the adoption of a different tonal language that can be found in English music of the early years of the century. This is, in itself, not a new idea, and that there is a move to a two-mode (major/minor) system during the course of the seventeenth century is not an issue of great debate, but how early it begins and the impetus for the change is less sure. Moreover, it is rarely considered as a harbinger of a new style, that of beginning the Baroque. I will demonstrate that Orlando Gibbons's abstract keyboard music resonated with contemporary English musicians, was described by amateurs as well as professionals, and flourished during the tumultuous years of the first half of the century, becoming the dominant musical language of Baroque instrumental music. This is not to say that Gibbons is the only composer who experimented with new ways of organizing music or that England is the only place where such innovation can

be located. The lack of centering the discussion on any place except Italy, however, has misguided our current understanding of the period and has subsequently yielded a view of "Baroque" that does not acknowledge concurrent developments in other places. By disengaging from the text, we are able to comprehend better the methods by which seventeenth-century composers dealt with how to structure a non-texted composition, how to lengthen the work, what aspects to develop, and along what lines. The demands instrumental composition made on an existing musical language fundamentally conceived as a vehicle for text ultimately led to the disintegration of older processes and the crystallization of new ones. The keyboard fantasias of Gibbons serve as a viable test case since they were unquestionably influential, being copied and performed continually from the time they were created to the Restoration.

**Key Words:** Baroque; Orlando Gibbons; Fantasia; Prelude; English; Abstract instrumental music; Campion; Coprario

In 1938, Ernst Hermann Meyer attempted to explain the move towards a new style in instrumental music ca. 1600 as part of a paper on form in seventeenth-

century music presented at a meeting of the Royal Musical Association.<sup>1</sup> The date 1600 is a significant one, for it coincides with the beginning of the period usually taught as »Baroque,« yet Meyer did not use that word in his essay.<sup>2</sup> Avoiding period labels altogether, he proceeded to identify the use of distinct sections, as opposed to overlapping ones, as a signifier of new ideas. In Meyer's words, overlapping sections is the first feature

to disappear when the musical public begins to require entirely new things of the work of art, such as lucidity, a clearly comprehensible structure, recreation, variety, pleasure, and ... a new artificial and transcendental emotional life. Transparent texture and variety were most generally in demand.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, for Meyer, »the seventeenth-century marks the intense struggle to get away from epical evenness in order to establish functional consistency.«<sup>4</sup> He associated the newness in style in the early part of the century with function, form, and organization—and these are the elements that do indeed hold throughout the period called »Baroque.« Yet these are not the ideas put forth as the beginning of the era in most books on Baroque music, which leads us to question why not?

Most texts that deal with Baroque music begin the discussion with Italy, specifically with Italian vocal music, the Florentine Camerata, early opera, monody, etc. Italy—and particularly vocal music—seems to be the perfect older sibling who outshines all the rest, so that the others are forgotten or overlooked. Curtis Price eloquently labels it the »Mesopotamian theory« and notes that

England and Spain, being the most remote and at times cut off from the mainstream ... are perhaps the most susceptible to the 'Mesopotamian' theory, and scholars and critics have therefore tended to attribute innovation and excellence in seventeenth-century English and Spanish music to Italian influence. London, for example, attracted Italian musicians like a magnet after the Restoration of 1660, yet hardly any musicologist has considered the possible influence of English music on the foreigners, so conditioned are we by the traditional model.<sup>5</sup>

But what happens if we, like Meyer, take Italian vocal music out of the picture for a moment? What other signs of stylistic change may be found in other places, particularly instrumental music? By examining abstract instrumental works, I wish to propose that an essential aspect of the new style known today as »Baroque« is the adoption of a different tonal language that can be found in English music of the

<sup>1</sup> Ernst Hermann MEYER, Form in the Instrumental Music of the Seventeenth Century, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 65th session (1938-39): 45-61.

<sup>2</sup> As to the term itself, several modern authors have made astute comments concerning the origins/history/use of the word »Baroque« in music, and I will not recount them here. See, for example, Claude Palisca's entry in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., s.v. »Baroque.«

<sup>3</sup> MEYER, Form in the Instrumental Music, 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-7.

<sup>5</sup> Curtis PRICE, *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s* (London: Macmillan, 1993; and Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), 4.

early years of the century. This is, in itself, not a new idea, and that there is a move to a two-mode (major/minor) system during the course of the seventeenth century is not an issue of great debate, but how early it begins and the impetus for the change is less sure.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, it is rarely considered as a harbinger of a new style, that of beginning the Baroque. I will demonstrate that Orlando Gibbons's abstract keyboard music resonated with contemporary English musicians, was described by amateurs as well as professionals, and flourished during the tumultuous years of the first half of the century, becoming the dominant musical language of Baroque instrumental music. This is not to say that Gibbons is the only composer who experimented with new ways of organizing music or that England is the only place where such innovation can be located. The lack of centering the discussion on any place except Italy, however, has misguided our current understanding of the period and has subsequently yielded a view of »Baroque« that does not acknowledge concurrent developments in other places.

Lorenzo Bianconi's *Music in the Seventeenth Century* undoubtedly drew the scholarly world's attention to issues surrounding early Baroque/seventeenth-century music in ways that had not been seen before, centering most of the discussion on Italian vocal music of various types and noting its influences in other places. Despite saying that seventeenth-century instrumental music is »essentially modest and of minority significance,« Bianconi observes that

It would, indeed, be difficult to overestimate the importance of the first thoroughgoing attempts—part and parcel of the history of seventeenth-century music—to create a musical structure which might be capable of its own separate existence (independently of all questions of text): a musical discourse which alone provides the laws, logic and, indeed, *raison d'être* for its own intrinsic morphology, phrasing and syntax.<sup>7</sup>

He later hits at the heart of the problem for instrumental music, appropriately placed in the section »Problems of seventeenth-century music«: »without text, instrumental music is deprived not only of any pre-existing structural support ... but also of a clearly defined expressive or 'representational' pretext.«<sup>8</sup> Yet the

<sup>6</sup> Many authors have addressed issues surrounding the »new« ideas in English theoretical texts of the seventeenth century. One of the best books on the subject is Rebecca HERISSONE's *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Other relevant studies include Jessie Ann OWENS, Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory, c. 1560-1640, in: *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. by Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1997), 183-246; Candace BAILEY, Concepts of Key in Seventeenth-Century English Keyboard Music, in: *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, 247-274; Barry COOPER, Englische Musiktheorie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in: *Entstehung nationaler Traditionen: Frankreich, England, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 9* (Darmstadt, 1986); Christopher LEWIS, Incipient Tonal Thought in Seventeenth-Century English Theory, *Studies in Music in Western Ontario* 6 (1981): 24-47; and Robert W. WIENPAHL, English Theorists and Evolving Tonality, *Music and Letters* 36 (1955): 377-393.

<sup>7</sup> Lorenzo BIANCONI, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, transl. David Bryant (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), viii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

working out of these issues during the course of the seventeenth century is precisely what provides the continuity needed to understand the period as a whole. By disengaging from the text, we are able to comprehend better the methods by which seventeenth-century composers dealt with how to structure a non-texted composition, how to lengthen the work, what aspects to develop, and along what lines. The demands instrumental composition made on an existing musical language fundamentally conceived as a vehicle for text ultimately led to the disintegration of older processes and the crystallization of new ones. That the seventeenth-century saw this metamorphosis and that England was one of the earliest places where it occurred has often been recognized, yet hardly any general books on Baroque music take these ideas into consideration when discussing the beginning of the period.<sup>9</sup>

Meyer noted that both England and Italy can be credited with the »emancipation of instrumental style,« since composers in both countries worked towards the »dissolution of old sectional form ... The Gabrieli canzonas and sonatas represent the final step away from the principle of medieval evenness toward post-reformation variety. Complete decentralization of form takes the place of the earlier uniformity.« A new impetus arrives from dance music, whereby »the eternal melodies of the sixteenth century are cut into short bits; an exciting, almost nervous atmosphere develops« in which there is no definite order, but rather short bits loosely strung together. »In every country, it is apparent that individual masters attempted to establish a certain pattern of their own, as did Schein in Germany, Rossi and Marini in Italy, and, in a way, also Orlando Gibbons in England. Yet this only added to the general confusion, as no universally accepted schemes were yet possible.« Only one English musician's name—Orlando Gibbons—repeatedly surfaces in discussions of early Baroque style; yet, apart from comments in somewhat specialized volumes, that Gibbons was a path breaker has hardly been discussed in the secondary literature.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, distinct elements of his instrumental style warrant consideration as »Baroque«—although they undoubtedly differ from the usual characteristics associated with Italian vocal music.

<sup>9</sup> In recent years, new texts such as David SCHULENBERG's *Music of the Baroque* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) and John Walter HILL's *Baroque Music* (New York: Norton, 2005) have supplemented the literature on Baroque music, but these still follow the traditional models of beginning the Baroque with Italian vocal music. Tim Carter asks interesting questions concerning the beginning of the Baroque in his essay 'Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque', and notes that »it is probably true that although the Baroque may not have been an exclusively Italian phenomenon, in its early stages it was essentially a Catholic one.« (Tim CARTER, Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque, in: *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Tim Carter and John Butt [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005], 19.) The present essay, however, hopes to establish that other characteristics might broaden that view.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Oliver NEIGHBOUR, Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625): The Consort Music, *Early Music* 11 (1983): 352. As to Gibbons's treatment in more standardized textbooks, John Walter Hill has this to say »Of the three [Byrd, Bull, Gibbons] only Gibbons belongs to the style period under consideration here,« *Baroque Music*, 171.

In *The Early Baroque Era*, Price notes that the conflict between *prima* and *secunda prattica* »was resolved much more amicably and naturally in instrumental music, unencumbered by text« and describes aspects of instrumental music that »became both the grammar and the clichés of the lingua franca.«<sup>11</sup> While acknowledging Italian opera's place in music history for its »cultural and political phenomenon,« Price believes that »the purely musical innovations that sprang from opera were minimal, except perhaps recitative, ... fundamental changes in musical structure happened first in chamber and instrumental works.«<sup>12</sup> I wish to consider Gibbons's music in this light and broaden our views on the beginnings of the Baroque to incorporate more discussion of instrumental music and music from places other than Italy. I do not wish to diminish Italy's place or that of vocal music, but rather to extend our understanding of new ways of thinking around 1600. Specifically, the keyboard fantasias of Gibbons serve as a viable test case since they were unquestionably influential, being copied and performed continually from the time they were created to the Restoration. This is not to say that Gibbons is the only English composer whose works exhibit elements of the new style.<sup>13</sup> John Dowland and William Lawes are the only composers to receive near the amount of notice that Gibbons does, and to date no one has considered the contributions of these three composers together. Certainly others could be added to this list as well, but covering each man's contribution would extend well beyond the limits of a single paper. Therefore, for reasons outlined in the following paragraphs, this discussion will be limited to the works of Gibbons.

There can be no doubt that the legacy of Gibbons's keyboard music continued long after his death in 1625; however, how much of an impact he had has yet to be examined. One of the areas that best demonstrates his impact on future generations is the fantasia, for Gibbons's fantasias were clearly the most popular representations of that genre copied in English keyboard sources after 1620.<sup>14</sup> One might even argue that his abstract works, the fantasias and preludes, offer the best glimpses of Gibbons the composer (notwithstanding his reputation as the finest keyboard player in England, even at a time when both John Bull and Thomas Tomkins were

<sup>11</sup> He continues to describe the »common thread which runs through the astounding variety of seventeenth-century instrumental music ... is counterpoint—fugal procedures rooted firmly in the *ars perfecta* and filtered through the incipient tonal system ... the simple fugues, mechanical and highly engaging passage-work and addictive harmonic sequences of the new instrumental music.« PRICE, *Early Baroque Era*, 13.

<sup>12</sup> PRICE, *Early Baroque Era*, 14.

<sup>13</sup> Nor is it to say that only English composers can be added to the list of early Baroque composers, as new studies of other repertoires come forward. I reiterate that I am seeking merely to expand our interpretation of what constitutes »Baroque« in the early decades of the seventeenth century.

<sup>14</sup> A fact that has yet to be fully considered in the modern literature. Most of Bull's fantasias were copied either before that date or in the *Messaicus* manuscript, *GB-Lbl Add. Ms 23623*, with the exception of the *In nomines*, which enjoyed a separate popularity. Byrd's fantasias were rarely copied after that date.

also active). The popularity of these works and what particular aspects proved influential and consequential have yet to be fully explored.

Gibbons's abstract keyboard works fall under three titles in the primary sources: fantasia (or fancy), voluntary, and prelude. Occasionally, as in the case of VB# 1760, different copyists have given a single work more than one title.<sup>15</sup> In this particular example, Benjamin Cosyn entitled the work »Preludem« (the *Cosyn Virginal Book*, GB-Lbl RM23.1.4, f. 99v), but Edward Lowe and the unidentified copyist of *F-Pc Rés.* Ms 1186bis2 labeled it a fantasia. Modern editions, such as *Musica Britannica XX*, tend to follow Cosyn. Similarly, the famous *Parthenia* prelude #21 is called a fantasia in GB-Lcm Ms 2093 and GB-Lbl Add. Ms 23623 (but only the second time it appears in that volume). In general, the title »voluntary« replaced »fantasia« in about the 1630s, and »prelude« appears less frequently and for shorter works, although very little real distinction separates the copyists' use of »fantasia« and »prelude« in the sources of Gibbons's keyboard music. Copyists such as Edward Bevin and Cosyn used both titles in the same sources. Throughout this paper, I will use both fantasias and preludes to demonstrate the points I wish to make. The results will not be affected by different titles because both types of pieces are abstract. The works falling under »fantasia« by far outnumber those under »prelude.«

Perhaps surprisingly, the transmission of Gibbons's fantasias did not initially lie in the London-Oxford vicinity, but rather some distance removed from it.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, most of Gibbons's music for other mediums seems to have emanated from well documented institutions, so that the fantasias' presence almost exclusively in a different region warrants consideration.<sup>17</sup> In fact, during the 1630s and 40s, the main proponents of the English organ tradition, concurrent with the dissemination of Gibbons's fantasias, continued in the south and west, situated around a group of composers active from Bristol to Exeter to Canterbury (see Table 1 on p. 145).<sup>18</sup> Their music comprises almost the entire attributed repertory for the organ in England during this time. Notably, Matthew Locke was a chorister at Exeter

<sup>15</sup> »VB« is used to designate the numbers assigned by Virginia BROOKES, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660: Sources and Thematic Index* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> Although I will be referring to Gibbons's fantasias as organ works, of course they could have been and were indeed played on different types of keyboard instruments. Gerald Hendrie suggested these were indeed composed for the organ, and that the altered, later version of the Fantasia à 4 in *Parthenia* was the result of making the piece more suitable for virginals. Gerald Hendrie, ed., *Orlando Gibbons: Keyboard Music*, *Musica Britannica* 20 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1962, rev. ed. 1967, reprinted with corrections 1974 and 1990), xv.

<sup>17</sup> The situation differs from that of the consort music, the sources for which tend to be either London or Oxford. See John HARPER, The Distribution of the Consort Music of Orlando Gibbons in Seventeenth Century Sources, *Chelys* 12 (1983): 3-18.

<sup>18</sup> John Luge, organist at Exeter; Elway Bevin, organist at Bristol; his son Edward Bevin, who left Bristol for Canterbury; Thomas Tunstall, organist at Canterbury who presumably came to know this repertory through Bevin; Hugh Facy, secondary (clerk of the second form and sometime organist) at Exeter; Edward Gibbons at Exeter; Robert Creighton, organist at Wells; and Thomas Tomkins, organist at Worcester.

from 1638 until 1641, and Orlando's son Christopher probably lived there while studying with his uncle, Edward, in the early 1630s.<sup>19</sup> Christopher replaced Thomas Holmes as organist at relatively nearby Winchester Cathedral in 1638.

Table 2 (on p. 146) lists the sources of Gibbons's fantasias.<sup>20</sup> Only two existed during Gibbons's lifetime: *Parthenia* and the *Cosyn Virginal Book* (hereafter *Cosyn*).<sup>21</sup> *Cosyn* contains all of the fantasias except two: the first fantasia in *GB-Och* Ms 1142A (VB #1720), and the *Parthenia* work (VB #1718). The former piece exists in Benjamin Cosyn's hand in *F-Pc* Rés. Ms 1185, copied significantly later than *Cosyn* (between 1635 and 1652). Despite the fact that *Cosyn* contains so many of the fantasias at an early date (the manuscript includes the date 1620), the sources copied in the 1630s and 40s do not derive from *Cosyn*, but rather suggest slightly different versions of Orlando's fantasias that circulated to the west and south. In his *Musica Britannica* edition of Gibbons's keyboard music, Gerald Hendrie frequently uses the phrase »all except *Cosyn*« in the critical notes, with the »all« being *Ellis* (*GB-Och* Ms 1113, copied by William Ellis),<sup>22</sup> *Bevin* (*GB-Lbl* Add. Ms 31403, copied by Edward Bevin), *Tunstall* (*GB-Lbl* Add. Ms 36661, copied by Thomas Tunstall), and *GB-Och* Ms 1142A (which includes an autograph of Christopher Gibbons). These circumstances suggest a common exemplar for Orlando's fantasias—one differing from *Cosyn*'s. Furthermore, since *Cosyn*'s manuscript was completed by 1620, the southwest tradition may represent later versions. (I should point out that the differences are not vast, but that there is continuity among the non-*Cosyn* sources is undeniable.)<sup>23</sup>

The sources of Gibbons fantasias that were copied during the 1630s emanate, with one exception, from the south and west: *Bevin* was copied by Edward Bevin of Bristol Cathedral (and later Canterbury), *Tunstall* was copied by Thomas Tunstall of Canterbury Cathedral. (The similarities in texts suggests that Tunstall almost certainly copied from music brought to him by Bevin, hence from the west.)

<sup>19</sup> Murray Lefkowitz stated that Christopher Gibbons »undoubtedly met« Matthew Locke at Exeter, see: Matthew Locke at Exeter, *The Consort* 22 (1965): 5-16. Gibbons left the post at Winchester when he joined the Royal Army. He was listed as the organist there at the Restoration. Edward Gibbons (1568-1650), brother of Orlando, apparently held BMus degrees from both Cambridge and Oxford. He served as a lay-clerk and Master of the Choristers of King's College Chapel (Cambridge) in the 1590s. Edward later continued as Lay-clerk at Exeter Cathedral 1598-9(9). Anthony à Wood places both Edward and his older brother Ellis at Salisbury Cathedral, but this remains unconfirmed. Edward took over the duties of instructing the choristers at Exeter Cathedral in 1608, taking over the duties previously assigned to the organist (John Lugge). He held this position until 1644, although sometimes a deputy took over his duties. Gibbons received further appointments, such as priest-vicar of the cathedral in 1609, »Custos of ye College of Lay-Vicars« in 1611, and Succentor of Exeter Cathedral from 1615. John HARLEY, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 17-24.

<sup>20</sup> The sources of the preludes are listed in the appendix.

<sup>21</sup> I am not considering the consort-related fantasias in this paper. They bring another set of problems to the table that, while supporting the overall tenet of this work, would distract from its purpose.

<sup>22</sup> The provenance of *GB-Och* Ms 1113 remains controversial. See Candace BAILEY, *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), 97-8.

<sup>23</sup> HENDRIE, *Gibbons: Keyboard Music*, 95-97.

*US-NYp* Drexel 5612 was probably copied at Salisbury Cathedral, *F-Pc* Rés. Ms 1186 was copied by Robert Creighton of Wells Cathedral, and *F-Pc* Rés. Ms 1122—the famous late manuscript of Thomas Tomkins—was copied in the Worcester area, long after Tomkins had left his post in London but remained at Worcester Cathedral. The exception to the southwest provenance is *F-Pc* Rés. Ms 1186bis2, and it is listed as an exception only because its provenance has not been identified. (It is entirely reasonable, however, to consider that it, too, may emanate from this region.) Almost all surviving newly-created organ music from this period also derives from this region.<sup>24</sup> The sources' provenance overlaps perfectly with a map of Royalist strongholds during the same time, with a notable distinction: the north does not figure prominently in Gibbons's fantasias. This fact indicates a distinguished tradition in the south and west that connects the style of Gibbons's fantasias ultimately to the published organ works of Matthew Locke in *Melothesia*. Gibbons's fantasias made their way west and south, and the most probable route seems to be via Tomkins, who was junior organist at the Chapel Royal at the same time Gibbons was senior organist, even though Tomkins was the older man.

Following the path of Orlando's fantasias, the later sources of his music, those copied between the cessation of services in the 1640s and the Restoration, may be found predominantly in Oxford (both copied there and remaining there to this day).<sup>25</sup> These include the aforementioned *GB-Och* Ms 1142A and *GB-Och* Ms 1113 (*Ellis*), as well as *GB-Och* Mss 47 and 1176 (both copied by Edward Lowe), *GB-Och* Ms 15 (related to Mss 47 and 1176 but without a direct relationship, probably copied between 1664 and 1682), and *GB-Ob* Mus.Sch. Ms F.575 (1660s).<sup>26</sup> Considering that Christopher Gibbons moved through Oxford during the 1640s, it is perhaps not surprising to find his father's music there. But we have yet to fully recognize the significance of how closely the organ music of the two men—father and son—traveled together.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Other Restoration sources of voluntaries (formerly called fantasias) include Benjamin Rogers in *GB-Lbl* RM21.d.8, f. 65 (autograph dated 1664) and *GB-Lcm* Ms 820, f. 27; and John Hingeston in *GB-Lcm* Ms 2093, f. 27 (inverted, 1670s). The provenance of *F-Pc* Rés. Ms 1186bis2 is uncertain, but it dates from the 1630s (Martha Christine MAAS, *Seventeenth-Century English Keyboard Music: A Study of MSS Rés. Ms 1185, 1186 and 1186bis of the Paris Conservatory Library*, [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1968], 139-41. For more information on the sources in this list, see: C. BAILEY, *British Keyboard Sources*, 58-61, 63-6, 79-80, and 119-21.

<sup>25</sup> The only exceptions are a manuscript copied by Thomas Tomkins and another (later) by Benjamin Cosyn, VB 1718 (*F-Pc* Rés. Ms 1185"). Both of these exceptions may, in fact, not be exceptions. Tomkins completed his manuscript in the early 1650s but was an old man (he was born in 1572) and spent his last years copying older music. Cosyn's manuscript was copied between 1635 and his death in 1652, but the exact date he copied Gibbons is unknown.

<sup>26</sup> On *GB-Och* Ms 15, see: C. BAILEY, *British Keyboard Sources*, 84-5.

<sup>27</sup> This topic was part of an earlier paper I presented ('Reworking the past: Blitheman and Gibbons in Restoration England' at the Eleventh Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester, July 2004), and I can only reiterate here that *GB-Och* Ms 1142A can be viewed as a microcosm of the close proximity of the Gibbons father-son pair, as well as the various uses younger composers made of music by preceding generations.



What is significant about the early transmission routes of Gibbons's fantasias? Why this direction and *not* London/Oxford/Cambridge? I believe that the answer to these questions lies partly in the political situation existing in England, beginning with the Laudian visitations (1634-37) and extending through the Commonwealth. Every place listed in Table 1—the places that maintained the English organ tradition—falls within the areas that remained loyal to the Royalists during the Civil Wars.<sup>28</sup> Strikingly, it is in the same places that Gibbons's fantasias were copied, revealing a strong connection between Gibbons's fantasias and the high church tradition in cathedrals such as Exeter and Worcester. Perhaps significantly, most of the composers listed in Table 1 were at some point suspected of Roman Catholic sympathies, if not out-and-out practicing Catholics. Orlando Gibbons was not Catholic, but that his music survived and flourished in areas of strong Royalist adherence, including the high church style advocated by Archbishop Laud (who lost his head in 1645), is central to understanding its survival during this tumultuous time.<sup>29</sup> Royalists tended to support each other, just as recusant Catholics had earlier in the century. In a similar vein, Christopher Wilson has noted that the composers favored by John Playford in his publications of the 1650s were also monarchists.<sup>30</sup> Finally, we must consider the fact that Locke, too, was Catholic. The tendency for organists in Royalist-controlled areas to perpetuate Gibbons's fantasias—by copying his works and imitating him in their own—cannot have been accidental. There is more here, for Laud is connected with absolutism in the same sense in which we see it more

<sup>28</sup> Of course, Bristol and other important towns near waterways were fought over during the 1640s, but the people in those areas remained Royalists.

<sup>29</sup> William Laud, 1573-1645, archbishop of Canterbury (1633-45) studied at St. John's College, Oxford, and was ordained in 1601. As president of St. John's College in 1611, dean of Gloucester in 1616, and bishop of London in 1628, Laud was known for his hostility to Puritanism. Among the contentious issues surrounding his leadership, Laud considered the English church to be a branch of the universal church, claimed apostolic succession for the bishops, and believed that the Anglican ritual should be strictly followed in all churches. To accomplish these ends, Laud, working closely with Charles I, tried to eliminate Puritans from important positions in the church. As chancellor of Oxford (from 1629) he carried out many reforms, strengthened moral and intellectual discipline, and made Oxford a royalist stronghold by getting rid of Calvinism there. In 1633, Laud became archbishop of Canterbury, and his influence in that office allowed him to continue on a larger scale his efforts to enforce High Church forms of worship. Through the courts of high commission and Star Chamber, his persecution of nonconformists, such as the author of the infamous *Histrionomastix* (1632), William Prynne, led to his eventual downfall. Staunchly loyal to Charles, Laud was impeached by the Long Parliament in 1640. Even though he was found not guilty of treason by the House of Lords in 1644, he was condemned to death by the Commons through a bill of attainder.

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Wilson, ed., *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint by Thomas Campion and Rules how to Compose by Giovanni Coprario*, (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 14. John Playford's support of the Royalists was recently addressed in a paper by Stacey Jocoy HOUCK, 'John Cooke You Be A Knave': Music Publishing as Cultural Politics in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century England, presented at the North American British Music Studies Association Conference, St. Michael's College, Vermont, 5 August 2006.

successfully accomplished in France later in the century, suggesting that the relationship between absolutism and »Baroque« style is something to be further explored in England.<sup>31</sup>

One of the best known of these organists/composers is John Luge, whose compositions include double voluntaries and cantus firmus-based works such as *In nomines*.<sup>32</sup> His music bears the hallmark signs of a more modern approach to composition than earlier pieces using this particular cantus firmus, notably in figuration and harmonic planning. He incorporates a style of writing that is first seen in Gibbons's abstract works, such as the fantasias MB 20: 12 and MB 20: 14, or the prelude in G—the most copied piece of English keyboard music during the seventeenth century.<sup>33</sup> Some characteristics common to both men's music are that they are technically virtuoso works that include such devices as one hand maintaining distinct fugal voices in jaunty rhythms and wide leaps, as well as more formal considerations such as the continual manipulation of themes, and the running together of sections. John Caldwell observes that Luge's double voluntaries bear striking resemblances to that of Gibbons.<sup>34</sup> He further notes that »from [Luge], Locke must first have heard the art of the double voluntary which he himself was later to transform.« This is an interesting statement, for where would Luge have learned »the art of double voluntary«? The only other extant piece of the kind before the Restoration is by Richard Portman, who was a pupil of Gibbons. This work exists in a manuscript copied in Wimborne Minster (Wm P10), on the south coast not far from Winchester, where Christopher became organist in 1638, but notably far from Portman's post at Westminster Abbey (where Portman became organist in 1633). Caldwell further states that »more clearly than the works of Luge, it anticipates the style of the Restoration.«<sup>35</sup> These comments taken together, Caldwell obliquely acknowledges Gibbons's influence on both Luge and Portman, and thereby Locke. Since Portman was his pupil, that is not surprising. But Luge was not—how did Luge come to know Gibbons's music? The musical evidence suggests that it was circulating among this group of organists in the south and west, and the manuscript data, as well as geographic connections, confirm it.

<sup>31</sup> This is a topic for further consideration and will not be developed here.

<sup>32</sup> Luge's works appear in the autograph manuscript, *GB-Och Ms 49*. A complete edition of Luge's works is available: Susi Jeans and John Steele, eds., *John Luge: The Complete Keyboard Works* (London and Sevenoaks: Novello, 1990).

<sup>33</sup> This prelude is found in *Parthenia*; *GB-Lbl Add. Mss 22099, 23623* (twice, both attributed to Bull), and *31403*; *GB-Lcm Ms 2093*; *US-NYp Drexel Ms 5612*; *GB-Och Mss 47 and 89*; *F-Pc Rés. Ms 1186*; *J-Tn Ms N-3 35*; *GB-Cfm Mu. Ms 653*; and *D-Bsb Ms Lynar A2*.

<sup>34</sup> »The right hand is never given a solo, but each piece ends, as did that of Gibbons's double voluntary, with both hands on the great organ.« CALDWELL, *English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; and New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973; reprint, New York: Dover, 1985), 150.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

**Table 1. English composers working in the west and south of London before the Civil War.**

**Bristol** (many records lost in fire of 1831)

Elway Bevin  
Edward Gibbons  
Arthur Phillips (later to Magdalen College, Oxford)

**Canterbury**

Thomas Tunstall  
Edward Bevin (from Bristol)

**Exeter**

John Luge  
Edward Gibbons  
Hugh Facy  
[Matthew Locke, student]  
[?Christopher Gibbons]

**Salisbury**

John Holmes  
Ellis Gibbons  
Edward Tucker  
Giles Tomkins

**Wells**

Robert Creighton

**Winchester**

Thomas Holmes  
Christopher Gibbons

**Worcester**

Thomas Tomkins

**[Ludlow]**

Thomas Heardson

**Table 2. Circulation of Orlando Gibbons's fantasias<sup>36</sup> and preludes**

Blue = areas south and/or west of London/Oxford

Red = Oxford

Green = Cosyn

Violet = ca.1700 or later

Italicized works are those deriving from consort fantasias. Copyists are listed in parentheses.

	(Cosyn)	1630s	Bristol/ Canter- bury (Bevin)	Bristol/ Canter- bury (Tunstall)	Salis- bury (Creigh- ton)	Wells (Creigh- ton)	Worcester (Tomkins)	London (Cosyn)	Oxford (Ellis)	?	Oxford	Oxford (Lowe)
VB#	<i>Pa</i>	<i>CVB</i>	<i>Pc-</i>	<i>Lbl</i>	<i>Lbl</i>	<i>NYp</i>	<i>Pc-</i>	<i>Pc-Rés.</i>	<i>Pc-Rés.</i>	<i>Och</i>	<i>Och</i>	<i>Och</i>
	<i>1612/ 13</i>	<i>bef. 1620</i>	<i>Rés. 1186 bis2 1630s</i>	<i>Add. 31403 1630s</i>	<i>Add. 36661 1630s</i>	<i>Drexel 5612 1630s</i>	<i>Rés. 1186 1630s</i>	<i>1122 1630- 40s</i>	<i>1185 ca.1645</i>	<i>1113 ca. 1650</i>	<i>1142A ca. 1650</i>	<i>1176 ca. 1650</i>
1714		f. 106		f. 10v						p. 149	f. 1v	
1715		f. 104v		f. 11v								f. 8
1716		f. 105v		f. 12v	f. 44v						f. 3	
1717		f. 92v		f. 13v						p. 147		
1718	#17			f. 14v					p. 129	p. 155		
1719							p. 170; p. 200					f. 6v
1720					f. 44						f. 1	
1721		f. 98v										
1722		f. 101										
1723		f. 102v										
1724		f. 103v										
1725							p. 196					
1726							p. 197					
1727							p. 198					
1728							p. 201					
1729							p. 202					
1730							p. 204					
1731							p. 206					
1732										[p. 159]		
1733											f. 2v	
1734		f. 100v	p. 42		f. 45v		f. 87	p. 58		p. 143		
1735										[p. 153]		
[1757]		f. 13										
		[Byrd]					f. 83					
[1758]		f. 13										
		[Byrd]					f. 83					
1758		f. 90		f. 14								

<sup>36</sup> »Fantasias« includes all works labeled fantasia (or one of its derivations) or voluntary in the manuscripts (see BAILEY, *British Keyboard Sources*, 14, on the use of these terms in seventeenth-century English keyboard music). Hendrie (MB 20) and Brookes (*British Keyboard Music*) place various pieces under different titles.

The next significant contributions of abstract keyboard music for this period are in *F-Pc Rés. Ms 1122*, a well-known manuscript in which Tomkins entered pieces between 1646 and 1654.<sup>37</sup> While most writers have associated Tomkins with the virginalists (he was, after all, born in 1572) and label these late works as antiquated leftovers of a previous style, perhaps some of them were not as outdated as we have accepted. Indeed, both Caldwell and John Irving have pointed to Tomkins's »modern« sense of harmonic movement and balance, which I believe deserves further analysis.<sup>38</sup> (For example, his updating of a few *In nomines* by Bull mainly involves harmonic alterations that yield what we would call secondary dominants.) Tomkins must have known Orlando's fantasias, and he brought these pieces west with him when he was in Worcester. Several earlier volumes exist in Tomkins's hand, including the Offertory dated 1637 in *GB-Ob Mus.Sch. Ms C.93* and other works in *GB-Lbl Add. Ms 29996*. Incidentally, that last manuscript contains a piece attributed to Arthur Phillips, who was organist at Bristol Cathedral at the time—a place that falls within the geographic region described here. In Bristol, Bevin also came to know Gibbons's compositions, possibly from Tomkins. Bevin also included pieces by Hugh Facy, secondary and sometime organist at Exeter, in his manuscript, and Facy's significance has only recently been recognized. Of course, Facy has relevance to our story on two fronts: Exeter was also the home of Lugge, whose works have been highlighted above, and Exeter was where Matthew Locke and possibly Christopher Gibbons were students.<sup>39</sup> It was also the home of Edward Gibbons, Orlando's younger brother.

Furthermore, and this brings us around to broader implications, let us reconsider Gibbons in light of this new information. Even though Caldwell comments that due to the Civil War »the voluntaries published in *Melothesia* (1673) ... represent a fresh start rather than the culmination of a continuous process,« he also states that the works of Gibbons's pupils Portman and Lugge anticipate the style of the Restoration.<sup>40</sup> I wish to propose that the Restoration did *not* see a new start but rather a logical continuation of a process kept alive by the transmission of Gibbons's organ music in the south and west by a group of organists with strong

<sup>37</sup> It constitutes by far the largest source of his keyboard music.

<sup>38</sup> As to the large autograph, *F-Pc Rés. Ms 1122*, John Irving has noted that Tomkins had direct access to music by Bull and Byrd when he copied the volume and further comments that correspondent versions of texts exist between *Ellis* (copied by William Ellis in Oxford in the 1650s) and *US-NYp Ms Drexel 5612*—copied earlier by Robert Creighton in Wells. John Irving, *The Instrumental Music of Thomas Tomkins 1572-1656*, 6 and 20. On the copyist of the Drexel manuscript, see: Hilda GERVERS, *A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of English Keyboard Music: The New York Public Library Manuscript Drexel 5612* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974) 30-32. Hendrie states that *US-NYp Ms Drexel 5612* is not a Gibbons holograph (along with *GB-Och Ms 21*) (HENDRIE, *Gibbons: Keyboard Music*, 92).

<sup>39</sup> A more detailed account of Facy and the musical establishment at Exeter is available in Ian Payne, ed., *Hugh Facy: The Complete Keyboard Works*, Boethius Editions 12 (Hereford: Severinus Press, 2004), introduction.

<sup>40</sup> CALDWELL, *English Keyboard Music*, 150-1.

Royalist sympathies, and perhaps Catholic tendencies. Moreover, the organists responsible for maintaining this style incorporated aspects of Gibbons's music in their own compositions.

There are certainly many related aspects to be investigated. For example, Skip Sempé has put forth some interesting ideas concerning the practice of writing keyboard polyphony and what it suggests about composers' thinking, pointing specifically to the English virginalists.<sup>41</sup> He has also made several comments about the place of William Lawes in the context of early modern practice, but this is not the place to explore these ideas.<sup>42</sup> Instead, I will briefly focus on harmony, which I hear as a key factor in the continuation of Gibbons's music.

Caldwell highlights Gibbons's interpretation of the fantasia, saying that

in the hands of Orlando Gibbons the [fantasia] reached the highest peak of its development. Only he seems to have had the strength of purpose to subordinate his technical virtuosity to the demands of a closely-knit structure. ... The lack of thematic unity makes his achievement in imparting a coherent sense of structure to works of considerable length all the more striking.<sup>43</sup>

A significant way in which Gibbons achieves coherence is through his modern sense of harmonic movement. Arnold Whittall addresses the importance of coherence as a means of both holding a piece together and propelling it forward; in describing music composed at the opposite end of the tonal world (chronologically speaking), Whittall writes that

Function in music operates, essentially, through relationship, and tonality functions as a means not of justifying its own existence but of unifying a work, a means of determining coherence.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> To quote Sempé: »Polyphonic harpsichord playing is based on the acoustical sound resulting almost exclusively from touch and timing. Although polyphony is conceived in imitation of voices, the manner of producing the intended effect on musical instruments, such as the harpsichord, is an involved process of acoustic and harmonic over holding and sustaining of sonorities, which, strictly speaking, according to the notation on the page, have already finished sounding. Or, on the contrary, the imitation of strictly notated voices in which actual practice demands that the notes do not or cannot be sustained for their written duration. Instead, they give way to a melodic, rhythmic or harmonic resonance gesture, which is more important to the idea than the notation itself. This technical feat of keyboard 'polyphony' is an interpretative tool that essential to the works of William Byrd.« CD liner notes for the Astree recording: »William Byrd: Virginals and Consorts,« with Skip Sempé and Capriccio Stravagante.

<sup>42</sup> Concert program notes for performances of »My Beloved Spake,« with Capriccio Stravagante and Chanticleer.

<sup>43</sup> CALDWELL, *English Keyboard Music*, 63. He considers the first theme of Gibbons's 'Fancy in Gamut flatt' to having something of the character of a Frescobaldi *ricercare*.« *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>44</sup> Arnold WHITTALL, The Study of Britten: Triadic Harmony and Tonal Structure, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979-80): 39.

Gibbons uses harmonic relationships whose function is to bring coherence to his abstract keyboard works. In the *Parthenia* prelude, he employs the pattern of root movement by fifth—even substituting first-inversion chords for those root position. The movement by fifth is undeniable. Gibbons's complete divorce from the »*cantus firmus* mentality« distinguishes his keyboard works from those of his older contemporaries, such as Bull.<sup>45</sup> In Gibbons's pieces, a keen sense of harmonic structure lies at the heart of extended abstract compositions, and his definite »fondness for the major mode« (to quote Caldwell) further marks him as different from his predecessors.<sup>46</sup> John Harley has noted that in Gibbons's mature fantasias (both keyboard and ensemble), »stability is maintained by a strong underlying tonal structure,« while motivic ideas are frequently treated sequentially.<sup>47</sup> These comments clearly illustrate the newness of Gibbons's style—elements that set him apart from the older virginalists. How to define this fundamental, underlying tonal structure is difficult, but Whittall, even though writing about the music of Benjamin Britten, offers a compelling and useful clarification for our purposes:

the gravitational issues so basic to the concept of a fundamental tonal structure—a concept of closure as the result of goal-directed motion through musical space and time—these means are crucial to the sense of the music.<sup>48</sup>

Direction towards a goal is a major governing factor in Gibbons's abstract keyboard music and is perhaps one of the most significant places where his influence first flourished.

One particularly delineating aspect that seems quite to the point here is this use of the major »mode« by Gibbons. In the keyboard music of Byrd and others, major-mode pieces—a problematic term in and of itself, but in this context signifying only a composition whose keynote (tonic) has a major third above it—frequently, almost expectedly, take a turn to the chord built on the subtonic (♭ VII, F natural in a G piece or B-flat in a C piece). This movement does not happen often in Gibbons's music based on a major mode, unless in a sequence through the circle of fifths or something similar. In this manner, he differs significantly from his predecessors and contemporaries. Yet changes in the tonal landscape were current in England at this time, as Wilson describes new ideas about modern tonal thinking in the theoretical works of Coprario and Campion:

<sup>45</sup> While no extant works based upon a *cantus firmus* by Gibbons survive, it is almost certain that not all sources of his works exist today. But the idea here goes further than suggesting that Gibbons did not write *cantus firmus*-based pieces: his approach to composition clearly shows that in his keyboard works, he was not thinking along the same lines as his companions in *Parthenia* (Byrd and Bull).

<sup>46</sup> Caldwell comments that »unlike Bull [in Gibbons] there is not a trace of the old *cantus firmus* mentality in his artistic make-up. In tonality, too, he is perhaps more modern: there is a definite fondness for the major mode, and his treatment of the minor is usually direct and forceful.« CALDWELL, *English Keyboard Music*, 128-9.

<sup>47</sup> HARLEY, *Orlando Gibbons*, 113 and 116.

<sup>48</sup> WHITTALL, *The Study of Britten*, 36.

A reading of the [*New Way of Making Fowre Parts*] from a retrospective advantage point reveals progressive ideas concerning the latent theory of inversions, the fundamental bass, cadences and tonality, and the major-minor octave scale.<sup>49</sup>

Gibbons's keyboard works reinforce the progressive ideas presented in these two treatises. The abstract music of Gibbons—the fantasias and preludes—were known to Christopher Gibbons and his generation; they were not copied as relics of a past tradition, for that rarely was a reason for creating keyboard manuscripts in the seventeenth century, but as music still in use, at least at the Restoration. Moreover, it was Gibbons—not Byrd or Bull or Tomkins—whose keyboard music continued in practical use.<sup>50</sup>

One reason why Gibbons's music remained in use while that of his contemporaries did not lies in the tonal language of these works, particularly the functional implications of its vocabulary. The *Parthenia* prelude is one of the most familiar pieces both in seventeenth-century sources and on modern recordings. It was the most copied piece in English keyboard sources during the seventeenth century—something about it must speak to later generations. The tonal language is incredibly modern, and Harley describes it as »a strong major key feeling, which belongs to a new age, and is hardly diminished by traces of modal writing.«<sup>51</sup> Moreover, Wilson notes that »Campion's descriptions of the cadences to be taken in relative keys are also radical ... These cadence points were to become the norms for Baroque key progressions, but were not part of Renaissance tonal language.«<sup>52</sup> Campion teaches that cadences in a major-mode composition should be on scale degrees 1, 2, 4, and 5. When reduced to its essential cadence points (G, A, C, and D in a composition on G) the Gibbons prelude supports the proposal that Gibbons followed at least some of the same rules as Campion.<sup>53</sup>

We should not be surprised to see the signs of a new tonal language in instrumental music at this early date—with emerging tendencies towards idiomatic writing, the need for repertory undoubtedly increased composers' attention to abstract music. Furthermore, Wilson notes that examples of cadences in both Campion and Coprario »do not incorporate the usual descending contour at cadences of the vocal line of the song [in their examples], but represent a putative instrumental con-

<sup>49</sup> WILSON, *Campion*, 3.

<sup>50</sup> There is an exception: a prelude by Bull was also commonly used in the later decades, not always in the same form as the earliest sources, but as a basis for writing a new piece. The best examples of this practice with this specific piece is in *GB-Lcm Ms 2093*.

<sup>51</sup> HARLEY, *Orlando Gibbons*, 95.

<sup>52</sup> WILSON, *Campion*, 3 and 24. Here he draws on Janet Pollack's theory that *Parthenia* is in the key of G. (Janet POLLACK, *A Reevaluation of Parthenia and Its Context* [Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2001].) The following example gives further credence to Pollack's proposal.

<sup>53</sup> That the work cadences to notes other than D is not unusual. I am not proposing that Gibbons composes in a harmonic style that is consistent with our modern understanding of functional tonality, rather, his music represents a significant step in that direction.



tribution.« He continues that this is a change from earlier treatises and credits it to the practical application of Coprario’s instrumental background. Abstract instrumental music of considerable length, such as fantasias, demands that something keeps it going—Gibbons’s tonal innovations demonstrate a newfound approach to composition.

Three passages will serve to demonstrate how Gibbons incorporates root movement by the fifth in order to drive the music forward. Examples 1-3, reductions of the prelude, reveal more of the melodic and harmonic bass movement.<sup>54</sup> In mm. 13-18, shown in Example 1, Gibbons incorporates a partial circle of fifths by having the resolution of one movement by fifth become a first-inversion chord whose root is a fifth away from the next. This is a brief example, only going through three cycles while supporting an overall bass line that moves upward by step. (The bassline descends after reaching A.<sup>55</sup>)

**Example 1: Orlando Gibbons, Prelude from *Parthenia* (#21), mm. 13-15**

5 - 6 5 - 6 5 - 6

G6 - C Am6 - D Bm6 - Em

A few measures later, mm. 20-23 (Example 2), Gibbons extends this pattern of employing a 5-6 (a pattern that also is of motivic significance in this prelude), the root of whose second half—the resulting first inversion chord—lies a fifth away from the next bass pitch:

G-C      A-D    B-E      C-F#    D-G      E-A

**Example 2, Gibbons, Prelude from *Parthenia* (#21), mm. 20-23**

5 - 6 5 - 6 5 - 6 5 - 6 5 - 6 5 - 6 #

G6 C a6 d b6 e C6 # D6 G e6 A

<sup>54</sup> In these examples, reduction is based on primary movement of the bassline, with upper voices added when further clarification is needed. While the technique looks Schenkerian, it is not intended to connote the expectations and values implied in Schenkerian reduction.

<sup>55</sup> The linear movement of the bassline may seem to connect Gibbons with an earlier tradition, but the first-inversion chords clearly points to a more modern usage. I explored the use of »first-inversion chords,« in 'Analyzing Early Seventeenth-Century Music,' a paper presented at the MACRO Workshop in Madison, Wisconsin, in 2006. A version of this paper is forthcoming.

Measures 34-37 (Example 3) also depend on movement by fifth, through the first inversion, but in a different pattern than that established in mm. 20-23:

D-G-C C-F F-B B-E E-A A-D D-G

**Example 3, Gibbons, Prelude from *Parthenia* (#21), mm. 34-37**

Example 3 shows the musical notation for measures 34-37 of Gibbons' Prelude from *Parthenia* (#21). The score is presented in two systems, each with a treble and bass clef. The first system (measures 34-35) shows a melodic line in the treble and a bass line in the bass. The second system (measures 36-37) continues the melodic and bass lines. Chord symbols are written below the notes: D6, G, C, C6, F, F6, Bdim, Bdim6, Fm, Fm6, Am, Am6, D, G.

The accompanying melodic line confirms the fifth movement. Much more could be said about this prelude, but for now I have shown that the goal-oriented bass line functions as a vehicle for forward motion. Gibbons is also using the first inversion in place of the root position chord, as Champion directs. Alan Brown succinctly summarizes the aspects of this prelude »that seem ahead of its time ... hints of threepart invertible counterpoint, sequential writing (including 7-6 suspensions), and tonally directed harmony.«<sup>56</sup>

Similar harmonic movement is present in Gibbons's fantasias, and perhaps the best known of these is the Fantasia of Four Parts, also from *Parthenia* (#17, MB 20: 12). Caldwell succinctly demonstrates the composer's skillful weaving of different themes (several of which derive from the initial theme) so »that the effect is of continuous development.«<sup>57</sup> Space does not permit an analysis of the entire fantasia, but the final fifteen measures will reveal how movement through the circle of fifths underpins the entire work. Beginning with an A major chord in m. 65, Gibbons moves his new theme through this chord progression: A-D-G-C-F. Each subsequent statement »loses« a sharp, as it were, until landing on F major in m. 67 (no B $\flat$  occurs). By moving backwards through the circle of fifths, Gibbons eventually brings the fantasia back to A minor, but only after a brief cycle from F to C to G—moving back through the circle. The same basic harmonic progressions round

<sup>56</sup> Alan BROWN in *Keyboard Music before 1700*, ed. by Alexander Silbiger, 2nd ed., Routledge Studies in Musical Genres (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 59.

<sup>57</sup> CALDWELL, *English Keyboard Music*, 63-64. Harley notes the relationship between themes in *Orlando Gibbons*, 101.

out the remainder of the work, although sometimes Gibbons extends the cycle to include both E-major and B  $\flat$ -major chords. Other of his fantasias (particularly MB 20: 13 and 14, both on C) demonstrate the same tendencies.

Both Brown and Caldwell allude to new tonal organization in Gibbons's abstract works. Harley comments that he was a »bold and fertile innovator,« showing »the influence of current musical tastes and styles.« Reminiscent of the English Baroque poet Richard Crashaw's »innermost attunement to the times 'out of joint,'« Harley further comments that »Gibbons's music reflects something of the restlessness of his time« cultivating »forms and means of expression that were new and personal.«<sup>58</sup> He goes on to state that Gibbons's innovations were not taken up by later composers, but perhaps the influence his abstract pieces had on the group of organists I have identified here might justify a re-evaluation of the situation. Furthermore, as Wilson has pointed out with Campion, his »treatise is not a new way of making counterpoint in Renaissance fashion, but more significantly, is a very early modern harmony tutor.«<sup>59</sup> Gibbons is aligned with these forward-looking ideas and exploits them in his abstract keyboard works. The innovations are kept alive by organists in the south and west during the tumultuous years of the Civil War and Commonwealth, to be brought to fruition in the Restoration works of Locke and his contemporaries. As such, England did not enter the Baroque in 1660, but rather demonstrated elements of it much earlier.<sup>60</sup>

Orlando Gibbons's keyboard fantasias circulated in an odd pattern, one clearly tied to Royalists, and they continued to be copied into the Restoration. At that time, many of the leading organists came from the very places where Gibbons's influence was felt, and these men certainly knew his works. It was the music of Gibbons—and not others—because its newness appealed to younger generations: the integration of melodic ideas that may seem numerous but actually are derived from one another and the ability to sustain quasi-sectional (and therefore seamless) pieces through a strong harmonic sense are but two of these elements. Harmonic movement propels Gibbons's abstract music. This repertory reflects ideas seen in contemporary English treatises, especially those with ties to predominantly instrumental composers.

Treatises compiled by amateur musicians, such as those by Campion and Charles Butler (*The Principles of Musick in Singing and Setting*, London, 1636), are understandably less involved with complicated theoretical ideas and concern them-

<sup>58</sup> On Crashaw, Miroslav John HANAK, states that »it is not [Richard] Crashaw's (1613-49) Catholicism, Latinity, sojourn in Spain, or translations of Marino that make him a baroque poet, but rather his innermost attunement to the times 'out of joint,'« in: *The Emergence of Baroque Mentality and Its Cultural Impact on Western Europe after 1550*, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 28 (1970): 315-6. HARLEY, *Orlando Gibbons*, 78.

<sup>59</sup> WILSON, *Campion*, 22.

<sup>60</sup> In his chapter 'Transitions around 1600', David Schulenberg suggests that English music did not see a »revolution« until the 1600s or later. David SCHULENBERG, *Music of the Baroque* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 40.

selves with a practical approach based on their own needs. This aspect of English seventeenth-century music—the simple, tuneful style that abounds in contemporary manuscripts and many of the Playford publications (often described as the »decline« in English music)—is a contributing factor to the metamorphosis that leads to the type of harmonic movement associated with the eighteenth century: a simplified, pared-down language that relies on diatonic harmony, imbued with expected motion. We find similar progressions in Gibbons's music: an approach not intended to display harmonic acrobatics or surprises, but rather on propelling the music forward by establishing expectations as to what should happen next. The connection between amateur and professional musicians, how one defines each, how they were trained, and the interaction between the two are areas in need of further exploration.

The time has indeed come to challenge the accepted characteristics that mark the conception of »Baroque« music as something distinct from that of the Renaissance. In an innovative article entitled 'Music and the Crisis of the Seventeenth-Century,' Alexander Silbiger approaches the difficulty in determining the demarcation point by examining shifting paradigms and crises in science and their application to musical style periods. He notes the instability of the early decades of the century and argues persuasively that it might be more accurate to date the style from ca.1640-50, since this is when new characteristics are established.<sup>61</sup> Both Silbiger and Bianconi propose dating the Baroque ca.1640 based on different criteria—a meaningful issue to consider, to be sure, but I am not seeking to redate the beginning of the period but rather to broaden what we consider constitutes the period.<sup>62</sup>

Tellingly, it is scholars of English music who are confronting some of these ideas, and my contribution is but one avenue by which we may look at music in the first third of the seventeenth century. Currently, most of the criticism directed at traditional characteristics is found in introductory comments to various volumes dealing with seventeenth-century music. Curtis Price, for example, raises some issues early in his *Early Baroque Music*, as seen above. More recently (in his introduction to *From Renaissance to Baroque—Changes in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*), Jonathan Wainwright has proposed a reconsideration of the beginnings of the Baroque by considering the move to mixed instrumental ensembles as a harbinger of new ways of thinking about musical sound and expression, and he contends that »if instrumental music is the focus of

<sup>61</sup> Alexander SILBIGER, Music and the Crisis of the Seventeenth-Century Europe, in: *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*, University of Western Ontario Philosophy Series #51 (Dordrecht, Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), 35-44.

<sup>62</sup> Jonathan WAINWRIGHT also draws attention to the ideas Silbiger and Bianconi propose in his 'Introduction', *From Renaissance to Baroque—Changes in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association Conference, York 1999*, Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman, eds. (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 23.

the historical construction rather than vocal music, then England does not look quite so conservative in outlook.«<sup>63</sup> Like Meyer, Wainwright finds the exploration of a new sound world and the transition from »homogeneous self-contained 'Renaissance' consorts to 'Baroque' mixed ensembles« as a sign of new stylistic requirements for music ca.1600.<sup>64</sup>

Evidence of this consolidation exists in a new compactness, coherence, and greater stress on having a striking opening and well-prepared conclusion. Jonathan Freeman-Attwood posits that while English vocal idioms were heavily influenced by »non-indigenous elements,« instrumental music remained a »quintessentially insular art.« He sums up the situation thus:

Whatever the textbooks may imply, such developments as [a harmonically-conceived foundation for a style] did not occur overnight in the evolution of English instrumental music with the sudden appearance of Purcell and his peers ... many of these [new techniques] evolved through an intuitive, directional feel for instrumentation and musical language. Quite a number of qualities that we term 'Baroque' appeared in English instrumental music earlier than we have hitherto imagined ... Some developments, coinciding with the rise of the violin, can be seen in various repertoires from around 1625 to have paved the way subtly for innovation, providing a strong link rather than an artificial separation between early- and mid-English Baroque music.<sup>65</sup>

Terms such as »confusion,« »instability,« and »crisis« sound ominously close to a term frequently used by scholars of Baroque literature: »the times out of joint.« This surely has to be considered in any look at the style in general. As if foreshadowing both Silbiger and Bianconi's contributions on the emergence of a distinct style ca.1640, Meyer notes that »during the first half of the century, the new form of listening, together with the new function of music, becomes more and more clearly consolidated.«<sup>66</sup>

Despite the fact that no agreed-upon language exists today whereby to examine non-texted music from this period (the problems associated with both »tonal« and »modal« are representative), we truly need to investigate these matters further in order to attain a more complete understanding of the beginnings of the Baroque.<sup>67</sup> As more scholars question what constitutes Baroque style and thereby

<sup>63</sup> WAINWRIGHT, *From Renaissance to Baroque—Changes in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 19-20.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>65</sup> Jonathan FREEMAN-ATTWOOD, Baroque Distractions. Seventeenth-Century English Instrumental Music Is of a Quality We Have Yet to Appreciate, *Musical Times* 133 (1992): 174.

<sup>66</sup> MEYER, Form in the Instrumental Music, 49-50.

<sup>67</sup> Indeed, I am currently developing the ideas presented here through an extensive analysis of Gibbons's fantasias and preludes that combines harmonic reduction and motivic analysis in order to demonstrate further connections with ideas presented in Champion's treatise, such as his use of the »6/3« chord and tonal direction. I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for suggesting lines of inquiry in this regard (personal communication, July 2005).

open the possibility to alternative considerations, such as Wainwright has suggested with his work on ensemble constituents, an undoubtedly clearer and more comprehensive picture will emerge that will in turn enable a truer understanding of the period as a whole, not one limited to a single geographic area and a few genres.

#### Sažetak

#### ORLANDO GIBBONS, GLAZBA ZA INSTRUMENTE S TIPKAMA I POČETCI BAROKA: NOVA RAZMATRANJA O GLAZBENOM STILU

Istražujući apstraktnu instrumentalnu glazbu, želim predložiti da je jedan bitni aspekt novoga stila, danas poznatog kao barok, prihvaćanje različitog tonalitetskog jezika koji se može naći u engleskoj glazbi ranih godina 17. stoljeća. Nije po sebi nova ideja i nije predmet neke velike rasprave to da je tijekom 17. stoljeća postojalo kretanje spram sustava dvaju modusa (dur/mol), no nije sigurno kako je to rano počelo i u čemu je bio impuls za tu promjenu. Štoviše, to se rijetko smatra pretečom novoga stila, odnosno početkom baroka. Pokazat ću da je apstraktna glazba za instrumente s tipkama Orlanda Gibbonsa imala odziva među njemu suvremenim engleskim glazbenicima, da su je opisivali i amateri i profesionalci, te da je cvjetala tijekom burnih godina prve polovice 17. stoljeća, postavši dominantnim glazbenim jezikom barokne instrumentalne glazbe. Time se ne želi reći da je Gibbons bio jedini skladatelj koji je eksperimentirao s novim načinima organiziranja glazbe ili da je Engleska bila jedino mjesto na kojem se može locirati tu inovaciju. Međutim, pomanjkanje usredotočenja rasprave na bilo koju drugu zemlju osim Italije zavelo je naše trenutno razumijevanje toga razdoblja i stoga proizvelo pogled na 'barok' koji ne priznaje istorodne razvitke na drugim mjestima. Oslobođenjem od teksta u stanju smo bolje shvatiti metode kojima su se služili skladatelji 17. stoljeća u strukturiranju skladbe bez teksta, u načinu produljivanja djela, odabira aspekata koje su razvijali i puteva za koje su se odlučili. Zahtjevi koje su instrumentalne skladbe postavile na postojeći glazbeni jezik, koji je u temelju bio shvaćan kao sredstvo teksta, u konačnici su doveli do rastakanja starijih i kristaliziranja novih procesa.

Baština Gibbonsove glazbe za instrumente s tipkama nastavila se još dugo nakon njegove smrti 1625. godine. Međutim, još valja istražiti kakav je utjecaj ta glazba izvršila. Jedno od područja koje najbolje pokazuje njegov utjecaj na buduće generacije je fantazija (*fantasia*), jer su Gibbonsove fantazije bile svakako najpopularniji predstavnici toga žanra, prepisivani u engleskim izvorima glazbe za instrumente s tipkama nakon 1620. Iz toga razloga Gibbonsove fantazije za glazbala s tipkama mogu poslužiti kao vjerodostojni pokusni slučaj, jer su bez sumnje bile utjecajne s obzirom da ih se kontinuirano prepisivalo i izvodilo od vremena u kojem su nastale do Restauracije. Ovi su komadi kolali po čudnome obrascu, jer ih prepisivači vezuju uz rojalističku tradiciju, a Gibbonsov skladateljski stil ih kasnije veže za najvažnije skladatelje Restauracijskog razdoblja. Nadalje, Gibbonsove apstraktne skladbe za instrumente s tipkama pružaju dokaz da je on bio upoznat s nekim inovativnim idejama koje se mogu vidjeti u teorijskim djelima Thomasa Campiona i Johna Coprarija, idejama koje današnji pisci prepoznaju kao početke ranog 'tonalitetskog' mišljenja.