**Music supplement to Lute News 61 (April 2002): Lute Music Associated with Thomas Morley**

This supplement marks the 400th anniversary of the death of Thomas Morley (1557/8-1602)[[1]](#endnote-1) by including all the known solo lute music associated with him, amounting to three pavans and three arrangements of the music from his ballett *Now is the Month of May*[*ing*], although lute versions of another pavan-and-galliard pair are lost. The three lute pavans survive in consort or keyboard arrangements and are unlikely to have been composed for the lute. No. 1 is a pavan ascribed to Morley in Robert Dowland’s *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (London, 1610). It is a lute intabulation of a pavan à 5, although the surviving five part version was arranged by Peter Philips, and Ferdinando Heybourne, alias Richardson, made the keyboard setting (see worklist below). It is not known who made the lute arrangement, but it is possible it was Robert Dowland in whose lute book it was published.

No. 2 is the Sacred End pavan, the title of which is presumed to refer to the point of imitation in the third strain based on *I lift my heart to thee* by Christopher Tye [1505-?1572].[[2]](#endnote-2) None of the seven lute settings, nor the continental arrangement for five instruments, are ascribed to Morley, but the mixed consort version bears his name in Philip Rosseter’s *Lessons for Consort* (London, 1609).[[3]](#endnote-3) The accompanying galliard is ascribed to John Baxter by Rosseter, and may have been arranged by Baxter from Morley’s pavan. Rosseter claims in his 1609 print that the contents of his *Lessons* were ‘by mee Consorted’, that is he arranged existing music for mixed consort, including Morley’s Sacred End pavan. It was not new at the time of Rosseter’s edition as the two lute solos in English sources are dated *c*1595 for Trumbull [no. 2b] and *c*1600 for Dd.9.33 [no. 2a]. These two versions are similar to each other whereas the cognate versions in continental sources represent quite different settings, and so all seven are reproduced here. The version in Eijsertt [no. 2d] is also unusual in that the triple time section is in F major whereas all the other versions remain in a minor key.

No. 3 is a direct transcription for lute, transposed down a tone, of the pavan from a pavan-and-galliard pair ascribed to Thomas Morley in the Fitzwilliam virginal book.[[4]](#endnote-4) The lute solo is titled *A pauan Mr Birde set to lute by fr. Cutting*, and the lute divisions are different to those in the keyboard version and so were presumably composed by Cutting. Nigel North has suggested that the attribution to Morley is probably correct on stylistic grounds as well as the position amongst other pieces by Morley in the keyboard source, and hence the ascription to Byrd is probably an error.[[5]](#endnote-5) The pavan begins with the theme from John Dowland’s Lachrimae pavan, and the second strain is based on the same imitative passage that is found in the second strain of the *Pauana Douulant* in Mylius’s *Thesaurus Gratiarum*.[[6]](#endnote-6) This passage is also similar to the opening of the second and third strains of Morley’s pavan in *Varietie* [no. 1].

Nos. 4 & 5 are a pavan and galliard pair for solo lute that were included in Morley’s *First Book of Ayres* of 1600, but are unfortunately missing from the only extant copy, in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. The pavan and galliard may have been lute versions of one of the keyboard pavan-and-galliard pairs in the Fitzwilliam virginal book, one of which is a version of Southernes pavan and galliard.[[7]](#endnote-7) Their appearance in Morley’s book of lute songs suggest that he may have composed or arranged them for the lute himself.

Apart from the three pavans, this supplement includes three lute solos in continental sources [nos. 6a-c] that are anonymous arrangements of Morley’s ballett *Now is the Month of May* (or *Maying*),[[8]](#endnote-8) also arranged for mixed consort by Rosseter3, and as a lute song in Add.15117 to the words of Campian's *The peacefull westerne winde, ye wintrye stormes hath calmed*.[[9]](#endnote-9) The settings in F and G in the Königsberg manuscript follow the original two strains closely, but the one in Leipzig II.6.15, also in G, transcribed from the German tablature here, is only recognisable from the first strain and then strays from the original quite considerably. Interestingly, version 6b. is related to the lute song setting in 15117, whereas 6c. is closer to the five part ballet version.

Morley published several books of, or about, music,[[10]](#endnote-10) including his *First Booke of Consort Lessons* of 1599 [with a posthumous second edition in 1611[[11]](#endnote-11)], although it is not known whether he made the mixed consort arrangements himself. However, it is assumed that he wrote the lute accompaniments to the songs in his *First Booke of Ayres* of 1600, and he may also have made the lute intabulations of the lower parts of his *Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Five and Sixe Voices* of 1597. He also quoted from contemporary lutenist composers, such as John Dowland, in lute pavan no. 3 as discussed above, and he used the beginning of John Johnson’s pavan in Dd.2.11, f. 44v, *A Pauen/ Jo: Johns*[on] for the words ‘I am the resurrection’ and the harmonies of ‘Man that is born of woman’ in *The Service for the Burial of the Dead*.[[12]](#endnote-12)

**Worklist**[[13]](#endnote-13)

**1.** **Pavan** [3 strains, in G minor, 7th-c in D]

*Pavan. 3 / Composed by the excellent Musition Thomas Morley Batcheler of Musicke, and Organist in the Chappell of the most Sacred Elizabeth, late Queene of England, &c.* Dowland 1610, sig. I2r

cf. Tisdale, ff. 91v-93r *Pavan Mr Morley: sett by Mr Heyborne* [keyboard]; Add.3665, ff. 518v-519r [Pavan] *a Thomas Morley sett by P. Philip*[pi] [instr. ens. à5]

**2. The Sacred End Pavan** [3 strains, 3rd with triple time section]

In F minor:

2a. untitled [6-course] GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 25v-26r

2b. untitled [6-course] GB-Cu Add.8844, ff. 2v-3r

2c. *Pauana Sacradenti* [7th course in F] D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 106-7

2d. *Pauana Englessa* [7th course in F] A-Lla Hs.275, f. 24r

cf. A-Lla 512, ff. 88v-89r *Paduana de Sacradent* - keyboard

In G minor:

2e. *21 / Pauana Sacradent*[[14]](#endnote-14) [9-c lute[[15]](#endnote-15)] D-HRD Fü 9829, ff. 22v-23r

2f. *Pauana Sacradenti / 14* [7th course in F] D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 98-9

2g. *The sacred ende* [consort part] NL-Lu 1666, f. 148r

cf. Rosseter 1609, no. 6 *THe Sacred end Pauin. Thomas Morley* [mixed consort];GB-Lam 600, f. 90r *the sacred ende* [bandora]; Kassel 4o MS mus. 125[1-5], no. 34 untitled, for instr. ens. à5

**3. Pavan**

*A pauan Mr Birde set to lute by fr. Cutting* GB-CuDd.9.33, ff. 11v-12r

[in G minor, 7th course in D]; CuttingB[[16]](#endnote-16) no. 16

cf. FVB, pp. 272-4 *Pavana / Thomas Morley* [keyboard]

**4-5. Pavan and Galliard** [lost]

*xxii* *Pauane* Morley 1600, no. 22

*xxiii* *Galliard* Morley 1600, no. 23

**6. Now is the Month of May[ing]**

In G major:

6a. *Anglicum* [first strain only, 7th course in F] D-LEm II.6.15, p. 494

6b. *Feines Lieb du wirst nachkommen* [7th-c in D] LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX, f. 8r

cf. *The peacefull westerne winde* [lute song] GB-Lbl Add.15117, f. 10r

In F major:

6c. *Allemande à Globe[[17]](#endnote-17)*[7th course in F] LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX, f. 59r

cf.Morley 1595, no. 3 *NOw is the month [moneth] of Maying* [5 voices]

Rosseter 1609, no. 5 *Now is the Moneth of May* [mixed consort]

*John H Robinson, March 2002/revised February 2015*

1. No biographical information is included here but can be found in: Philip Brett, ‘Morley, Thomas’, *New Grove* xii, 579-85; *New Grove II* on-line; Andrew Ashbee, David Lasocki, Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998*), pp. 807-10. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Tye’s ‘I lift my heart to thee’ is in BL Add. MS 29372. The phrase is also used in Weelkes’ ‘Give ear to the Lord’, Morley’s own ‘O Jesu meek’, in all three set to the words ‘Mercy, good Lord, mercy...’ (cf. Ian Harwood, ‘Rosseter’s *Lessons for Consort* of 1609’, LSJ vii (1965), p. 22), and is quoted in bar 6-7 in the third strain of John Dowland’s *Sir Henry Umptons Funerall*, in his *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares* of 1604, for ‘the lute, viols or violins in fiue parts’. Thanks to Stewart McCoy for this, see also Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lacrhymae (1604)*, Cambridge university Press), 1999, p. 66. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. See Warwick Edwards (ed.), ‘Music For Mixed Consort’, *Musica Britannica* xl: no. 30; Ian Harwood, ‘Rosseter’s *Lessons for Mixed Consort* of 1609’, *Lute Society Journal* vii: 15-23 (1965). Unrelated to the five part pavan by Weelkes in Och 423-8, to which a later hand has added ‘Sacred ende’ by ‘Morley’. The music by Thomas Morley that Phillip Rosseter arranged: **no. 5**:*Now is the moneth of May. Thomas Morley* (cf. lute no. 6); **no. 6**: *The sacred end Pauin. Thomas Morley* (lute no. 2); **no. 9**: *Southernes Pauin. Thomas Morley* (cf. footnote 4, item 5). Surviving part books, for flute: New York Public Library, Drexel 5433.5. Cittern: Royal College of Music, MS II.E.43, nos. 1-21 only. Lute: Bodleian Library, Mus. 158.f.1, incomplete parts for nos. 5-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. See no. 3 of the following list of Morley’s keyboard music [including doubtful attributions], cf. Virginia Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c. 1660: Sources and Thematic Index* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)]: **1.** FVB, pp. 227-9, *Fantasia/ Thomas Morley*. **2.** FVB, pp. 271-2, *Alman/ Thomas Morley* = Forster, ff. 57v–59r, *Almayne:*. **3.** FVB, pp. 272-4, *Pavana/ Thomas Morley* (cf. lute no. 3). **4.** FVB, pp. 274-5, *Galiarda/ Thomas Morley*. **5.** FVB, pp. 286-7, *Pavana/ Thomas Morley* = Drexel 5612, pp. 220-2, *A Pavion/ Mr. Bird*; cf. FVB, pp. 398-401, *Pavane/ Giles Farnaby.*; cf. Rosseter, no. 9: *Southernes Pauin. Thomas Morley* [mixed consort]; Kassel 4o MS mus 125(1-5), no. 4 [untitled, for instrumental ensemble a5]; Browne, f. 17r, *Wallisis Pauen* (bandora part). **6.** FVB, pp. 288-9, *Galliarda/ Thomas Morley*. **7.** Tisdale, ff. 91v-93r, *Pavan Mr. Morley: sett by Mr. Heybourne* = 3665, ff. 518v-519r, [Pavan]*a Thomas Morley sett by P*[ietro]*. Philip*[pi] (cf. lute no. 1). **8.** Tisdale, ff. 93r-94r, *The Galliard to the Pavane before: Mr. Morley* = 3665, f. 519v-520r, [Galiard]*a/ Th. Morley.* [set by?] *P*[ietro]*. P*[hilippi]*.* **9.** FVB, pp. 171-3, *Pavana Ph. Tr./ William Byrd.* = Drexel 5612, pp. 216-7, *A Pavion/ Mr. Morlie* = Tisdale, ff. 88v-89r, *Pavane: Mr. Birde*. **10.** Forster, ff. 71r-72v, *A galliard* = FVB, pp. 173-4, *Galiarda/ William Byrd.* = Drexel 5612, pp. 218-9, *The Galliard/ Mr. Morley*. **11.** Tisdale, ff. 90r-90v, *Pasmeasz Pavan Mr. Morley*. **12.** Forster, ff. 50v-57v, *Quadro pavine./ Tho: Morley.* **13.** Forster, ff. 46v-50r, *Galliardo:* *Tho: Morley.* **14.** FVB, pp. 21-3, *Goe from my window/* *Thomas Morley* = FVB, pp. 78-80, *Goe from my window/ Jhon Munday*. **15.** FVB, pp. 28-30, *Nancie:/* *Thomas Morley* (cf. Welde, f. 7r, *Nowells Delighte*; Königsberg, 14v: *Mitt Lust von weniges Tages*; and vocal arrangements in *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt-Boeck*, 1645; Haußmann 1603, no. 74; Pers 1622/1633; Starter 1621, p. 179, *Sir Eduward Nouwel's delight*; Schermar 130, no. 5, *Jäger*; cf. ‘All you that love good fellows’, Simpson, pp. 13-6). **16.** Drexel 5609, p. 116, *April is in my Mistress face* = Paris 1186, f. 29r, *Aprill is in my mistris face.* (cf. madrigal of the same name in Morley’s *Madrigals to Foure Voyces, the First Booke*, 1594, no. 1, and lute song 15117, ff. 9v-10r, *Aprill is in my mistres face*). **17.** Drexel 5609, pp. 116-7, *Since my Tears* = Paris 1186, f. 29v-30v, *Since my teares.* (cf. madrigal of the same name, on Lassus’s *Poi che’l mio largo pianto*, in Morley 1594). **18.** Pelplin MS (PL-PE 304-8), p. 51, *Canzones variu authorum. Thomas Morley à4 JS* (a setting of the madrigal *In dewe of Roses*, Morley 1594). Cf. **19.** FVB, pp. 125-6, *O Mistris myne/ William Byrd*; Morley 1599/1611, no. 19, *O Mistresse mine* [for mixed consort, Thomas Morley?]; Drexel 4257, no. 118, to Rosseter’s words *Long have mine eyes* [continuo song]. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Nigel North, *W. Byrd: Music for the Lute* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), no. 8; Martin Long (ed.), *Francis Cutting: Selected Works*, (Oxford University Press, 1968), no. 13. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Diana Poulton and Basil Lam, *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland* (London: Faber 1974/1978/1981), no. 15; Johann Daniel Mylius, *Thesaurus Gratiarum* (Frankfurt, 1622), pp. 54-6; thanks to Tim Crawford for drawing my attention to this. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. As conjectured by Richard Newton, according to David Greer. There are two pavan-and-galliard pairs in FVB, cf. footnote 4, items 3 & 4 or 5 & 6. Thus the pavan may have been Morley’s own setting of the lute pavan set by Cutting (my no. 3) or lute arrangements of Southernes pavan and galliard! However, there is no reason to disregard the likelyhood that it was a pavan-and-galliard pair for which no versions now survive. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Ballets to Five Voyces* (London: Thomas Este, 1595), no. 3. Modern edition: Philip Ledger (ed.), *The Oxford Book of English Madrigals* (Oxford: OUP, 1978/R1984), pp. 190-91. Thanks to David Greer for a copy of this item. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. See David Greer, ‘The Lute Songs of Thomas Morley’, *LSJ* viii (1966), pp. 25-37, including a facsimile of the two Morley partsongs in 15117, ff. 9v-10r, *Aprill is in my mistres face*, and f. 10r, *The peacefull westerne winde*. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Morley’s publications: *Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces* (1593/ 3/1602); *Madrigals to Foure Voyces, the First Booke* (1594, 2/1600); *The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces* (1595); *The First Booke of Ballets to Five Voyces* (1595, 3/1600) = *Il primo libro delle ballette* (1595); *Canzonets and Little Short Songs to Foure Voyces: Celected out of the Best and Approved Italian Authors* (1597); *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597); *Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Five and Sixe Voices* (1597); *Madrigals to Five Voyces: celected out of the Best and Approved Italian Authors* (1598); *The First Booke of Ayres or Little Short Songs to Sing and Play to the Lute with the Base Viole* (1600); *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (1599/R1611); *Madrigals: The Triumphes of Oriana to 5. and 6. Voices* (1601). [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. See Sydney Beck, ed., *The First Book of Consort Lessons Collected by Thomas Morley 1599 & 1611* (New York: C. F. Peters Corporation, 1959). The contents are: **1.** *The Quadro Pavin* [Richard Allison]. **2*.*** *Galliard to the Quadro Pavin* [Richard Allison]. **3.** *De la Tromba Pavin* [Richard Allison]. **4.** *Captaine Pipers Pavin* [John Dowland?]. **5.** *Galliard to Captaine Pipers Pavin* [John Dowland?]. **6.** *Galliard Can She Excuse* [John Dowland?]. **7.** *Lachrimae Pavin* [John Dowland?]. **8.** *Phillips Pavin* [Peter Phillips]. **9.** *Galliard to Phillips Pavin* [Peter Phillips]. **10.** *The Frog Galliard* [John Dowland/ Thomas Morley?]. **11.** *Allisons Knell* [Richard Allison]. **12.** *Goe from my Window* [Richard Allison]. **13.** *In Nomine Pavin* [Nicolas Strogers?]. **14.** *My Lord of Oxenfords maske* [William Byrd?]. **15.** *Monsieurs Almaine* [William Byrd?]. **16.** *Michills Galliard*. **17.** *Joyne Hands* [Thomas Morley], cf. *See mine own sweet jewel*, Morley’s *Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces*, 1593, no. 1. **18.** *Balowe* [Thomas Morley?]. **19.** *O Mistresse mine* [Thomas Morley?]. **20.** *Sola Soletta* [Thomas Morley?], setting of madrigal *When al alone my bonny love was playing* from Girolamo Conversi (Venice 1572). **21.** *Lavolto* [Thomas Morley?]. **22.** *La Coranto* [Thomas Morley?]. **23.** *The Lord Souches maske* [Thomas Morley?]. **24.** *The Batchelars delight* [Richard Allison]. **25.** *Response Pavin* [Richard Allison?]. Surviving part books for bandora: Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 806 (olim K.4.20) (1599) & Huntington Library, San Marino, California, acc. no. RB 14227 (1611). Cittern: Bodleian Library, Douce MM.410 (1599). Flute: Christ Church, Oxford, Mus 805 (olim K.4.19) (1599) & British Library, K.1.i.7 (1611). Treble viol: Royal College of Music, MS II.E.40 (1611) & New York Public Library, Drexel 5433.1 (1611)]. Bass viol: British Library, K.1.i.21 (1599). The lute part book is lost. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Printed in: William Boyce, ed., *Cathedral Music*. 3 vols (London, 1760-73), vol I: 43 & 47, according to John M. Ward 1992, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), vol. i, pp. 67 & 96 fn 272. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Details of the sources of his music listed in this supplement: **Add.3665**: London, British Library, Egerton MS 3665, instrumental ensemble. **GB-Lbl Add.15117**: London, British Library, Add. MS 15117, lute songs and solos, *c*1616. **GB-Lam 600**: London, Royal Academy of Music, MS 600: Browne (formerly Braye) bandora (*c*1600) and lyra viol (*c*1635-40) book. **GB-Cu Dd.9.33**: Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.9.33, *c*1600. **Drexel 5612**: New York, Public Library at the Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Drexel MS 5612, for keyboard, first half 17th *c*. **Eijsertt**: Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, MS without shelf number: Michael Eijsertt of Nürnberg lute book, *c*1610; **FVB**: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 168 (formerly MS 32.G.29): Fitzwilliam virginal book, *c*1619. **D-HRD Fü 9829**: Herdringen, Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein’sche Bibliothek, Schloss Harburg, Mus. Ms. Fü 9829, c1600-20. **Kassel 125(1-5)**: Kassel, Murhard'sche Landesbibliothek, 4° MS mus. 125, 1–5, for instrumental ensemble a5. **LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX**: Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Ms. 285-MF-LXXIX (formerly Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Königsberg, Msc. A116. fol.): the Königsberg manuscript, *c*1605-25 [facsimile: Columbus, Editions Orphée, 1989]. **D-LEm II.6.15**: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt, Ms. II.6.15, the so-called Dlugoraj lute book, dated 1619 [facsimile: Lübeck, TREE Edition, 2001]. **Dowland 1610**: Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute-lessons* (London, 1610) [facsimiles: London, Schott, 1958/R; Performers' Editions 97159, Printed in USA, 1997]. **Thysius**: Leiden, Rijksuniversiteits-bibliotheek, Bibliotheca Thysiana, MS 1666 (formerly MS 133.1.63): Johan Thysius lute book, *c*1590-1646. **Tisdale**: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mu. Ms. 782 (formerly 52.d.25): John Bull keyboard manuscript, probably copied by William Tisdale, *c*1600. **GB-Cu Add.8844**: Cambridge University Library, Add. 8844 (formerly Berkshire Record Office, Trumbull Additional Manuscript No. 6): William Trumbull lute book, *c*1595 [facsimile: Clarabricken, Boethius Press, 1980]. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. On f. 23v is written *21/ N.B./ Pavana Sacradent. quaerar numero 16. immediate sequenti*, without any music. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Last bar of second strain missing in original and added editorially. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Jan Burgers (ed.) *Francis Cutting: Collected Lute Music* (Lübeck, Tree, 2002). [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. The original lacks rhythm signs, which have been reconstructed from Morley’s ballett with the help of David Greer and Ian Harwood (cf. footnote 8). The title *Allemande à Globe* of one version in Königsberg, also used for an unrelated piece on f. 6r in the same manuscript, suggests the scribe or his sources associated the music with performances at the Globe theatre in London, or performances in the Königsberg region by travelling English theatre companies who also performed at the Globe theatre. The title *Feines Lieb du wirst nachkommen* to the other version of *Now is the Month* is probably an error as it refers to an unrelated setting of this German text by Hassler. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)