

DR. JOHN BULL

1. Early years to 1597

The date of birth above derives from the Oxford portrait of Bull and is probably more reliable than the one some three years earlier deducible from his marriage licence in 1607. Wood stated that Bull was descended from a Somerset family but provided no evidence. It is more likely that he was born in Radnorshire, where, in and about Harpton (or Herton), several families with the surname Bull resided. This assumption is based on the existence of his petition to the queen in 1589 for a lease in reversion of Radnor Forest (see below) and of a pedigree submitted in the Court of Chancery in which one party claimed to be descended from 'the musician, Dr. John Bull of Old Radnor', which may well refer to him.

Bull entered the choir of Hereford Cathedral in 1573 - the relevant entry in the cathedral records is dated 31 August - and worked there under the cathedral organist, John Hodges. He had probably joined the Children of the Chapel Royal in London by 8 February 1574, the date on which a vacancy in the Hereford choir was filled. His music teacher was John Blitheman (whose epitaph mentioned him), and the Master of the Children was William Hunnis.

One of the patrons of the children was the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Chamberlain, who was an honorary freeman of the Merchant Taylors Company and made Bull his apprentice on 24 January 1578. Sussex's second wife, Frances, was the younger sister of Sir Henry Sidney, the President of the Marches, who recommended Bull for the position of organist at Hereford Cathedral. He was appointed on 24 December 1582, at first jointly with the elderly Hodges. On 21 January 1583 he was also appointed master of the choristers. He was never a vicar-choral, but the new cathedral statutes allowed him to combine the posts of organist and master of the choristers. He now had to divide his time between London and Hereford. The cathedral chapter noted on 1 February 1585 that he had been absent longer than he had been allowed and therefore declared his offices vacant. This declaration was not carried out, but on 5 June 1585 he appeared before the dean and chapter on a complaint by the precentor that in his capacity as organist he was not following instructions and was in contempt of the precentor. He was first suspended from his offices and benefice and then dismissed, but he was allowed to retain his rooms at the college of vicars-choral. In January 1586 he was sworn a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and his fast-growing reputation there probably made the custos of the college of vicars-choral in Hereford grant him improved accommodation on 16 September 1587. On 18 January 1591 he was allotted better rooms still, at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury; it is not known how long he held them.

Little is known about Bull's university career. As a very experienced musician and a member of the Chapel Royal he did not need to matriculate, and the only reference to his connection with a college occurs in a minute of 23 March 1597 in the Common Council Journal Book of the City of London, where he is described as being of King's College, Cambridge. An entry in the Oxford University Register relates to his Oxford DMus of 7 July 1592, and Wood stated that he 'practised [in] the Faculty of Music for 14 years', supplicated for the BMus at Oxford on 8 July 1586 and was admitted to the degree the following day. Wood added that he would have proceeded to the doctorate at Oxford 'had he not met with Clownes & rigid Puritans that could not endure Church music'. He therefore supplicated for the MusD at Cambridge (which enabled him to obtain the Oxford DMus by incorporation in 1592): that he was awarded this degree by 1589 can be assumed from the reference to him as 'doctor' in his certificate of residence in connection with an assessment for the lay subsidy taken in the queen's household in that year. On 4 July 1592 he contributed to the steeple fund of St Mary the Great, Cambridge. Earlier that year he was a victim of highway robbery: an entry in the Old Cheque Book on 29 May 1592 (see Rimbault), relating to the admission of one William Phelps of Tewkesbury as an extraordinary Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, gives as one reason for this 'that he dyd show a most rare kyndness to Mr. Doctor Bull in his great distress, being robbed in these parts'.

That Bull was poor can be gathered from his petitions to Elizabeth I. The free university education allowed to former Children of the Chapel Royal was discontinued in her reign. Moreover, the wages of those serving in the royal household were very rarely increased, but the Tudor monarchs had other ways of making rewards, such as the granting of leases in reversion of crown land. Two petitions by Bull to the queen for such a lease survive at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire (Cecil Papers 165/140, 615, 818). The first, undated but endorsed on 7 February 1589, relates to Radnor Forest; although the queen was sympathetic, it was not granted. She did, however, decide to give him a 'thinge' about the value of £10 or £12 yearly. As the promised reward did not materialize, he had to petition again, this time for a lease in reversion amounting to the value of £30 without fine or an increase of his wages, so that 'his great poverty, which altogether hindereth his studies, shall be relieved'. The petition, endorsed on 20 April 1591, was successful, and Bull was granted 'a lease in Reversion for 21 yeares of Twentie Marks by the yeare ... without fyne'. He did not receive his gift until 12 July 1592, and even then it amounted to barely half the amount he had requested; a number of properties in several counties - all former monastic lands and now crown lands - are mentioned in the letters-patent. On 31 March 1597 a lease in reversion was granted to Robert Holland 'at the humble suite and in consideration of the service of John Bull, Organist of her Majesty's Chappell'; Holland no doubt rewarded Bull suitably.

2. Middle years, 1597-1613

Bull's financial position had now improved, however, for on 6 March 1597 he was elected the first Public Reader in music at Gresham College, London, with an annual salary of £50. The queen had recommended him in a letter to the mayor and aldermen of the city, who administered the bequest of the late Sir Thomas Gresham through a committee jointly with the Mercers Company. The committee appointed seven unmarried learned readers from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in divinity, astronomy, geometry, music, law, medicine and rhetoric respectively. The readers had to obey the committee's ordinances, lodge at Gresham House and give public lectures in Latin and English. Bull received the queen's special permission to give all his lectures in English. On 8 June 1597 the readers were ordered to deliver their inaugural lectures the following week in the presence of the mayor, the aldermen, the Bishop of London and the master and warden of the Mercers Company. Bull, however, had not yet been able to move into his rooms at Gresham House, as they were still occupied by William Reade, Gresham's stepson; fearful of losing his readership through not living there, he engaged a mason and went with friends (including the City Chamberlain) to the part of the house where Reade lived, broke down a wall and forced an entry into his rooms. This led to an action in the Star Chamber, the outcome of which is unknown. In the event Bull did not deliver his lecture until 6 October 1597. It was printed soon afterwards, but the title-page (GB-Lbl Harl.5936) is all that survives; the offset of the first page is visible on the reverse, however, and this has been reconstructed (see King, 270-71).

Bull had further troubles at Gresham College. He was one of the readers who refused to sign the ordinances, and his salary was consequently withheld. He complained to the Privy Council, who in a letter of 4 November 1599 to the mayor and committee ordered it to be paid. In June 1601 he asked for leave of absence, eventually granted on 5 February 1602. According to the relevant minute he was 'visited with sicknes', and Thomas Byrd (son of William) was ordered to replace him during his leave and sickness. Bull's movements during much of his leave are uncertain. No documentary evidence has yet come to light to confirm Wood's reports about travels abroad, including an episode at St Omer, where, when travelling incognito, Bull was allegedly challenged by a musician to add one part to a composition and added 40. He was certainly present at the queen's funeral on 24 March 1603 when, according to the Lord Chamberlain's accounts, his name stood at the head of the list of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. He had served the queen well and had played the organ for festivals and state receptions for royal visitors and foreign envoys. He was not one of the queen's private musicians as has generally been assumed, and there is no record of his being paid for playing

the virginals to her (her virginalist was Walter Earle). On 29 June 1603 he applied for readmission to his readership at Gresham College and was accepted. He also continued in royal service under the new king, James I. On 5 December 1604 the king ordered that the salaries of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal be increased from £30 to £40 annually. In April 1605 the king granted Bull a pension of £40 in consideration of his past and future service; this sum compares unfavourably with those awarded to several other musicians. On 15 December 1606 Bull was admitted into the freedom of the Merchant Taylors Company. On 16 July 1607 the company gave a sumptuous banquet for the king and Prince Henry; Bull played the organ throughout dinner, and Nathaniel Giles and Children of the Chapel sang. The following day both men were accepted into the livery of the company and were excused any payment because they had performed at the banquet without being paid. Under the statutes of Gresham College, Bull had to resign his readership on 20 December 1607, for he had fathered a child with one Elizabeth Walter and had to marry her (his petition for a licence to marry, dated 22 December 1607, survives in the registry of the Bishop of London). He was thus deprived of his most lucrative source of income as well as his quarters there and had to look for other income. He had built instruments for the queen in 1599, and in 1609 he was active as an organ builder. His name appears in the diplomatic correspondence of 1609-10 (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna) between the secretary of the Austrian Archduke Albert, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and his envoy in England. The archduke wanted to buy an organ in England, and his envoy suggested that he approach Bull (who wished to be known as Jean Bouville or Bonville). The organ was to be of the same size and tone as one that the archduke had presented to a convent in Madrid. Bull was to be paid £2000 (or 6000 reales), but before half of this sum was paid to him in advance - so that he could buy the necessary materials, such as English tin - he was asked to find guarantors. He could not do so and at one stage offered to give the archduke one of his organs as a surety, but when the instrument was examined by several musicians, including Byrd, it was pronounced to be not worth the £1000. He then proposed to build the organ using his own resources and went to Madrid, but on his way home he was attacked by pirates, who seized his money. The archduke, who had waited patiently for the organ for a year and a half, had finally to engage another builder. Among the interesting sidelights in the correspondence are comments on Bull's property (including references to a house near Plymouth) and his friendship with Peter Philips.

Bull's occasional absences from England did not interfere with his duties at the Chapel Royal as the king's organist. He had joined the musical establishment of Prince Henry probably by 1610; he is nowhere mentioned as the prince's music master, but he was charged with buying music books for him. After the prince's death on 6 November 1612, he received a pension of £40 a year for two years. Early that year he had been appointed music teacher to the 15-year-old Princess Elizabeth. It was to her and her betrothed, Prince Friedrich, the Elector Palatine, that the first printed volume of virginal music, *Parthenia*, or *The Maydenhead*, was dedicated. Its publication can therefore be dated between 27 December 1612, the date of their engagement, and 14 February 1613, when they were married. The dedication refers to the 'three famous Masters' Byrd, Bull and Orlando Gibbons, who had written the pieces in it, 'whereof one had the honor to be your teacher ... and (had he not had it before) thereby deserved the stile of a Doctor'. Bull composed the anthem *God the father, God the son* (now lost) for the wedding. On 26 April 1613 he addressed a letter to Sir Michael Hicks (Kent County Archives, Maidstone) in which he asked for his letters-patent for £40 a year to be transferred to his child. (He had a daughter, not a son as used to be assumed.)

3. In the southern Netherlands, 1613-28

Bull now became involved in a serious scandal, and articles were laid against him in the Court of High Commission. The substance of the charge, which was of adultery, is described in a letter of December 1613 from George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Sir William Trumbull, the English envoy at Brussels. Bull was charged to come into a church a little before the beginning of the prayer, and there 'as the minister was entering into service, in the

sight of the congregation Bull pulled him violently out of his seat, and despitefully intreated him'. The archbishop concluded: 'The man hath more music than honesty and is as famous for marring of virginity as he is for fingering of organs and virginals'. The outlook for Bull was grim indeed, and in August 1613 he fled the country, never to return. He went to the southern Netherlands, where he had friends, and Archduke Albert employed him at Brussels from Michaelmas (24 September) 1613. Here Bull joined Peter Philips and the other three organists, one of whom was Pieter Cornet. Trumbull and others in the Netherlands knew of his arrival and employment by the archduke but kept silent for at least two months. By that time, however, James I had discovered the flight of his organist on whom he vented his wrath with a severity and hatred that were out of all proportion. Trumbull, now worried about his own position, gave the king many excuses for his long silence: he wrote that Bull had said that he had left England for reasons of religion, that he had at that time not yet made up his mind whether to remain in Brussels or to move on to Paris or Heidelberg and that it was only when he received Archbishop Abbott's letter that he realized the real reasons for his flight. The king insisted that Trumbull ask the archduke for an audience and give him a true report of Bull's behaviour. On 30 May 1614, in a well-known letter, Trumbull wrote

that it was notorious to all the world, the said Bull did not leave your Majesties service for any wrong done unto him, or for matter of religion, under which fained pretext he now sought to wrong the reputation of your Majesties justice, but did in that dishonest matter steal out of England through the guilt of a corrupt conscience, to escape the punishment, which notoriously he had deserved, and was designed to have been inflicted on him by the hand of justice, for his incontinence, fornication, adultery, and other grievous crimes.

The king was still not satisfied and insisted on Bull's dismissal from the archduke's chapel. Trumbull told the king a month later that he had spoken accordingly to the archduke - successfully, since the archduke dismissed Bull for diplomatic reasons at the end of August 1614. Bull, who had been receiving an annual stipend of 750 florins, found that the archduke continued to support him with gratuities from his privy purse until April 1618; the first payment was made on 20 February 1615 and was followed by payments of 250 florins about twice a year.

Bull addressed a letter to the Mayor of Antwerp in which he set out his own case alleging that the real reason why he had been driven into exile was his adherence to the Catholic faith, describing his present great poverty and asking for a post as organist pensioner. From September 1615 he was in fact assistant organist at Antwerp Cathedral, but in 1616 he was still so poor that the city had to support him with alms. On 29 December 1617 he was appointed cathedral organist, with a salary of 80 florins a year plus a special supplement of 20 florins. He was also employed by the guilds and could count on a regular income of 150 florins for playing and tuning. He sometimes acted as organ consultant and examiner and on 9 December 1617 advised the churchwardens of St Janskathedraal, 's-Hertogenbosch, to have, on their new organ, keyboards that included all the semitones and that had 29 white keys and 20 black ones. He also advised them on the length of the resonators of the pedal reeds and wanted the eight bellows to be $7\frac{1}{2}' \times 3\frac{1}{2}'$ and to be arranged in pairs. On 14 October 1624 his salary at the cathedral was increased to 160 florins. In 1626 he drew up a specification for a little one-manual organ for the Guild of the Holy Sacrament. According to a lease dated 15 March 1620 he lived in a house by the south door of the cathedral at a rent of 33 florins a year. On 2 December he sublet half of his house to the verger, and on Christmas Day he moved into rooms in the Papenhof (vicars' close). He stayed there until 25 May 1624, when he was granted new rooms in the Papenhof. In March 1626 a substitute organist was appointed to deputize for him because he was ill; he also had assistance from Guillaume Messaus, of Antwerp, who later copied some of his manuscripts. After his death he was buried, on 15 March 1628, in the South Cemetery, and his will was proved on 26 October. He was succeeded as organist by Hendrik Liberti.

4. Library; portraits.

Some sumptuously bound books which once belonged to Bull have survived. The most interesting is a manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, dating from about 1600. The stamped inscription on the front cover reads: 'JOHN BULL DOCTER OF MUSIQUE ORGANISTE AND GENTLEMAN OF HER MAIESTIES MOSTE HONORABLE CHAPELL'. The volume is not in Bull's hand, and the scribe has not yet been identified. It contains a large number of anonymous five-part pieces in score, without titles and texts, which Edwards has identified as transcriptions of madrigals by Giulio Eremita, Alfonso Ferrabosco (i), Marenzio, Lucrezio Quintiani and Pompilio Venturi. The manuscript also includes music by Diomedes Cato, the bass part of eight songs from Dowland's First Booke of Songs or Ayres (1597) and an interesting collection of virginal pieces by Byrd, Marchant, William Randall (i), William Tisdale and others. Another volume once owned by Bull is in the University Library, Cambridge, and contains Claudius Sebastiani's *Bellum musicale* (1563), Arbeau's *Orchésographie* (1596 edition) and Antony Holborne's *Cittharn Schoole* (1597). A third volume from Bull's library contains Boethius's *De musica* and (incomplete) Guido's *Micrologus* (NZ-Wt).

A fine portrait of Bull (fig.1) hangs in the library of the Faculty of Music at Oxford. It was painted in 1589 and bears the inscription 'anno aetatis suae, 27'. In one corner of the picture are a skull and crossbones and an hourglass. These are not symbols of mortality but the alchemist's symbols of victory of life over death: Bull may have been interested in the hermetic sciences (as were others with whom he came into contact, including Hunnis and the Elector Palatine). The following rhyme is painted round the frame:

*The Bull by force
In field doth Raigne
But Bull by Skill
Good will doth Gayne.*

Infra-red photography has revealed that Bull was not the sitter of a second portrait - the so-called Antwerp portrait - once thought to be of him.

5. Works

It is perhaps not surprising that Bull, having been employed both at Hereford and in the Chapel Royal as an organist, should have written little vocal music. Even so the nine anthems of which there is some record seem a small harvest for three decades. The four for which music survives show that at his best he was able to sustain interest through a lengthy piece, but that sometimes, as in *Deliver me O God*, he could relapse into routine. In the songs for Sir William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soule* (RISM16147) he likewise attempted very little.

The few textless consort pieces appear to be special exercises of one kind or another, the *In Nomine* a production of his apprenticeship, the three-part fantasia an essay in stretto imitation, the four-part fantasia a 'Doric' piece. 'Doric' music was invariably defined as solemn theatre music suitable for great personages; the consort piece, like the Doric keyboard preludes K57 and K58, fits this description, though the other Doric pieces are in a quite different, much less sober style. The chromatic Hexachord Fantasia (K17), which appears to have been composed originally for consort, is manifestly experimental, the only piece of its kind to include all twelve possible transpositions of the hexachord. It is unusual among Bull's compositions in giving scope to the side of his mentality that enjoyed constructing complex canons.

Bull's keyboard music forms by far the most important and extensive part of his output. A comprehensive assessment of it is difficult, however, for although most of the more

substantial pieces from his English years are securely attributed to him, scarcely any of the sources are entirely trustworthy in their ascriptions. Indeed, the most important source of all (F-Pn Rés. 1185, sometimes claimed as autograph), contains no ascriptions except some provided by Benjamin Cosyn, who acquired it and made additions and annotations. The great majority of the pieces can be shown to be by Bull, but a few are by other composers, so that Bull's authorship of those that lack ascribed concordances cannot be assumed. The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (GB-Cfm Mu.Ms 168, strong in early pieces and versions) and Cosyn's own virginal book (GB-Lbl R.M.12.1.4, copied before he came into possession of Rés. 1185) are usually reliable, but such later English manuscripts as GB-Lbl Add.31403 (copied by Edward Bevin) and GB-Och Mus.1113 cannot always be trusted. The difficulties become still more acute for the Antwerp period. The surviving music is confined almost entirely to two manuscripts, one copied in Antwerp possibly by Guillaume Messaus (GB-Lbl Add.23623), the other a German organ tablature now in Vienna (A-Wm 17771). Both ascribe nearly everything to Bull, English or continental, genuine or spurious. Any list of Bull's works must therefore include anonymous pieces almost certainly by him and ascribed ones that may well not be. Uncertainty arises primarily in three categories: early works not yet fully representative of the composer, smaller dances and teaching pieces giving restricted scope for individuality of treatment, and late works adopting continental styles.

It seems that Bull studied with both Blitheman and Byrd. The epitaph of the former, who died in 1591, speaks of Bull as his pupil; at the beginning of his inaugural Gresham oration of 1597 Bull says that his master is still living and implies that he is referring to Byrd. Blitheman was presumably his earlier teacher and certainly the more fundamental influence. He passed on to him his enthusiasm for the English tradition of elaborate figuration in plainsong settings for keyboard, and apparently introduced him as well, if only as an exercise, to the plainer three- and four-part styles of the mid-century. In the latter class the Antwerp manuscript contains a number of hymn verses and alleluias attributed to Bull which pose a peculiarly intractable problem of authenticity. One is known to be by Tallis, but the rest can scarcely be by him: they suggest the work of a somewhat later generation, for instance in their use of rhythmic ostinato, sequence, loosely spaced canonic writing and later styles of figuration. They could be by Blitheman, or by Bull himself, as *Vexilla regis* (K44) appears to be; if some at least were his own early efforts it might explain why he bothered to take arrangements of Sarum melodies abroad with him, where they could serve no practical purpose.

Another piece that at first sight raises doubts is *Fantasia K15*, from a fallible English source, an essay in the old three-part 'mean' style of Blitheman's *Felix namque*, but more consistently imitative. Yet such pieces cannot be dismissed out of hand, for there are well attested early works that stand quite as much apart, for instance the five-part consort *In Nomine* composed in the tradition of Parsons and Byrd, or the Spanish Pavan, based entirely on types of scalar figuration familiar from Byrd's big grounds of the 1570s. At this early date Bull could look a long way back: the beginning of the keyboard *In Nomine K31* would be hard to accept as his were the continuation not such as to remove all doubt.

The relatively simple but already characteristic figuration in this *In Nomine*, and the exceptionally lively extension of a much earlier tradition in his two-part *Fantasias K10* and *K11*, show the direction his music was to take. His rise to fame as a keyboard player brought a need for display pieces. The method he preferred was to develop patterns of figuration against an undecorated cantus firmus, writing *bicinia* with a single very active free part, three-part studies in which the predominant note-value of one free part is likely to be double that of the other, and, more rarely, quasi-imitative four-part textures; *Veni redemptor gentium K43/2*, *Miserere K34* and *Salvator mundi K37/3* are good examples of each. Here the patterns remain constant, but sometimes a series of them may succeed one another, notably in the large group of *In Nomines*. Precedents for all these techniques were to hand in mid-century composers such as Redford and Preston, in the Tallis of the two vast *Felix namque* settings and in

Blitheman. Bull's contribution lay in the variety and profusion of his figurative detail and, where applicable, the motivic cogency with which one pattern led to the next.

In every way the eleven A minor In Nomines (K20-30) represent the furthest development of Bull's work in the genre. Yet they are problematical works. The moments of change between the various stages through which they pass are unsupported by any firm cadence structure or other means of measurement that might impart a real sense of direction to the music. The sources transmit the pieces for the most part in groups of three. Two groups (In Nomines K20-22 and K23-5) appear consistently together, and it is possible that they are intended to make up a group of six. If so they invite a comparison with Blitheman's smaller-scale set of six which they cannot sustain. Blitheman gives each piece its own character. Bull has a wider range of procedures at his disposal, but not wide enough to prevent each piece from sounding like a different but occasionally overlapping selection from the same general pool.

One In Nomine, K28, differs considerably from the rest. Each note of the cantus firmus, which is placed in the bass, is lengthened from the normal breve by three crotchets. The uneven pulse draws attention to the harmonic shifts in the unusually full four-part texture, so that to some extent the music moves as in a secular ground, though without the stability provided by a repeating pattern. Bull only once attempted a large-scale ground, in his *Quadran* settings. Something of their history may be gleaned from their relation to Byrd's similar works, probably composed about 1590. Byrd picked up hints from Bull's first pavan and his galliard, but not from his second pavan, which is therefore likely to have been written a little later as a more elaborate substitute for the first. Certainly in the earlier work Bull's customary figurative exuberance seems cramped, perhaps because it had not yet developed fully, but more probably because the composer was inhibited by the demands of the harmonic scheme.

Among repeating formulae he took most readily to treble ostinatos, such as the hexachord or the four-note pattern of *God save the king*. These gave a little more definition than a chant but left his fingers equally free. In his 30 variations on *Walsingham* he shows the same preference, confining the tune to the treble almost throughout, and thereby inducing a structural monotony for which the extraordinary instrumental brilliance cannot entirely compensate. The definitive *Quadran Pavan* and *Galliard*, the *Hexachord Fantasia* K18 and *Walsingham* are by some way the longest pieces that Bull composed. Together they provide a compendium of his keyboard techniques. Tomkins, comparing *Quadran* settings and hexachord fantasias by Bull and Byrd, characterized Bull's as 'excellent for the hand' and Byrd's respectively as 'excellent for matter' and 'for substance'. That puts it in a nutshell; no doubt he would have drawn the same distinction between their *Walsingham* settings. Yet virtuosity has its place, and Bull's remorseless bravura establishes a special position for these pieces in the music of the time, even if his most imaginative strokes are to be sought elsewhere.

None of Bull's other grounds or variations approaches the scale or importance of the *Quadran* settings and *Walsingham*. Among the grounds *The King's Hunt* is a vigorous and original descriptive piece, but several of them seem to be teaching exercises, in some cases raising doubts about authenticity. A quite different side of his work is represented by *Bonny Peg* of Ramsey and *Why ask you* (K62 and K63). Like them, most of the variation sets draw on well-known tunes, though this does not appear to be true of the accomplished example called Bull's *Goodnight*. This belongs with a handful of attractive pieces claiming to depict the composer's character and moods: *My Self*, *My Grief* and so on. It resembles an alman; the others are in coranto style with varied repeats to each strain, and some have a complete variation of the whole as well. It seems fairly clear that they are original compositions.

The same cannot be said, however, of the numerous smaller dances associated with Bull's name. While many are no doubt his own, for instance the pieces made for the Duke and

Duchess of Brunswick, he may sometimes, like Gibbons, have arranged popular dances or masque tunes, or elaborated a complete composition, such as John Johnson's in Galliard K70, or merely added decorated repeats, as in Coranto K105, where the original is by Edmund Hooper. In some cases the ascriptions may be wrong. The corantos especially need accepting with reserve: most occur only in the Antwerp manuscript, where the occasional English title may guarantee nothing more than provenance. Although the galliards are generally much more ambitious pieces than these, there are exceptions. The scribe of Rés.1185 grouped the light-weight Galliard K92 with four other dances in the same mode, labelling them German, Dutch, Italian, English and French. Similarly he transcribed Galliard in C, K103, as a pendant to the Dallying Alman and added purportedly French and Welsh dances also in C.

Many of the independent galliards, however, bear comparison with those accompanying the more important pavans, for instance the apparently early K72 and K73, the spirited Vaulting Galliard (K90), the two variant versions of the Regina Galliard (K132), and best of all the fine Prince's Galliard (K113). The last was almost certainly composed for Prince Henry not long before Bull left England: Byrd parodied some of its features in his Mary Brownlow Galliard, published in Parthenia. In the preface to this book the hope is expressed that the Bull's royal pupil will play the pieces in it. This may help to explain why his contributions are so disappointing. They are not teaching pieces like some of the preludes and grounds, nor even particularly easy. But they tend to play safe harmonically and preserve rather uniform textures, thereby throwing into relief Bull's weakness as a melodist. Three are slightly revised versions of older pieces that the princess may have known already. To four variations in galliard measure on St. Thomas Wake, very dull by comparison with, for instance, those on Go from my window, he added two equally dull new ones as a companion pavan. Another weak pavan and galliard (K131) waters down some of the best ideas from the far superior Lord Lumley pair (K129), and the inclusion of a galliard (K70) based quite exceptionally on another composer's work, John Johnson's Jewel, suggests that this may have been a favourite of the princess's. Several earlier pavans and galliards in the major G mode tend towards the limited style of the Parthenia pieces and thus may have been intended for pupils. In any case, among them only Lord Lumley's belong with Bull's more important pavans and galliards, the rest of which are all in minor modes: A (K86-8), D (K66-7) and G (Cunningham App.III and K78).

This is a group of works on which he appears to have expended much thought and effort. In the absence of a cantus firmus or a variation pattern his figuration could not proliferate so freely here. He needed to replace that kind of neutral framework with harmonic and cadential schemes strong enough to span the long pavan strains and support a variety of character and texture that he scarcely attempted elsewhere. He was not invariably successful: if the venture drew from him some of his most original ideas it also made demands on a purely technical level that he could not always meet.

Difficulties arose in two quite different ways. Whether he chose to work with strains of 8 or 16 bars or with less regular ones, he seems to have planned them to some extent in the abstract. Where the often rather characterless melodic lines receive insufficient support from the harmony, or where, especially in four-part textures, the harmonic direction itself becomes blurred by a need to maintain constant quaver movement among the parts, the defining cadences fail in their effect; strains I and III of Pavan K66a provide illustrations of such points. Then certain pavans contain strains in styles that endanger the continuity of the whole, for example the close imitations in strain III of the Pavan in G minor (paired with Galliard K78), or the chromatic middle strains of the Melancholy and Chromatic Pavans (K67a and K87a). In the Chromatic Pavan an outbreak of cantus firmus style in strain III compounds the weakness, though in the Melancholy Pavan the independent excellence of the corresponding strain may be felt to save the day. However, the Lord Lumley pair (K129) and the pair K88 each in their own way achieves far greater consistency, and the Fantastic (K86) is altogether outstanding, remarkable for its arresting invention, assured decoration and motivic coherence.

Any moments of harmonic slackness count for little in such a work, which would suffice by itself to give Bull a high place among keyboard composers of the time.

The surviving output of Bull's 14 or so years in Brussels and Antwerp is not large; in several categories it adds only one or two pieces. These are of unequal interest, but all show the impact of continental styles. The rather unadventurous Dutch carol settings make use of standard techniques of keyboard intabulation not much favoured in England, and the variation set on *Revenant* is a sober affair by comparison with its English counterparts. On the other hand the fine *Salve regina* settings for alternatim use profit greatly from an almost total break with Bull's English chant settings and his absorption of local techniques, and, although their antecedents are less easily identified, the *Symphony Pavan* and *Galliard* (K68) and *Pavan* K77 add something distinctive in their quiet way to his already wide-ranging work in the genre.

It is the fantasias, however, that enter the newest territory, if the ascriptions to Bull of no fewer than eleven extremely heterogeneous examples from this period are to be trusted. The only guide here is style, and it proves an inadequate one. Bull's English fantasias give very little help. Apart from the early pieces in three or two parts (K15, K10-11) and the hexachord fantasias, all in their own ways special cases, *Fantasia* K12 is his only essay in the genre. It is a confident loose-limbed piece, not much concerned with imitation after the opening, and dependent on harmony to direct its succession of varying textures. It has little bearing on the later pieces.

Among these, and at the opposite extreme, are three relatively short, close-knit contrapuntal essays built on motifs from a *canzona* by Gioseffo Guami and Palestrina's madrigal *Vestivi i colli*. They belong to an entirely different category from any earlier work of Bull's, yet much of the detail seems acceptable as his. If they are genuine they show that he retained the adaptability observable from the very beginning of his career, and that none of the late fantasias can be rejected merely on the grounds of its wider conception. There is in any case a lack of consistency of thought even in his accredited works that makes his personal traits hard to pin down. These lie primarily in figuration, and in a certain restlessness or even lack of control where no ready-made structural formula is present. When he adopts Sweelinck-like augmentation, diminution or more sustained imitation in *Fantasia* K14, which is related to *God save the king* and the *Hexachord Fantasia* K18, and in the chromatic fantasias K4 and K5, he shows no interest in deploying them in the orderly fashion of Sweelinck and other continental composers. Thus it may be indicative that, among the at first sight more doubtful fantasias, the keyboard textures suggest Bull less in the structurally consistent works, K1 and K13, than in the less well thought through K2 and K6.

Even if all the music attributed to Bull in his years of exile could be proved authentic, it would not add greatly to his achievement. In emulating continental genres he never recaptured the originality of the pavans and galliards, the liveliness of some of the smaller works or the brilliance of the big display pieces composed in England. Nor does whatever influence he may have exerted on continental keyboard styles date primarily from this time. Such influence must in any case be seen as part of a more general picture. It appears to have been largely through Sweelinck that elements of English keyboard writing gained wide currency abroad. The foundations of Sweelinck's style must have been laid well before the turn of the century. Many English musicians visited the Continent at that time and Peter Philips was resident in Antwerp from 1590, so English music could have reached him by various routes. He arranged English pieces, imitated English secular variations, and adopted patterns of figuration used in England since the middle of the century. How far his knowledge of these derived from Bull's music it is hard to say, but at least some passages suggest Bull rather than earlier music, and travellers from England are more likely to have brought the new with them than the old. In later times the sheer difficulty of Bull's music continued to attract the interest of historians (fig.3), but much of it remained unpublished till the appearance of the *Musica Britannica* edition. No comprehensively detailed study was undertaken until that of Cunningham (1984).

WORKS

Editions: John Bull: Keyboard Music I, ed. J. Steele, F. Cameron and T. Dart, MB, xiv (1960, rev. 2/1967) [K] John Bull: Keyboard Music II, ed. T. Dart, MB, xix (1963, rev. 2/1970) [K]

works included in K are identified by edition number, not page number; for a more systematic numeration see Cunningham (1984)

keyboard music

this list includes everything in MB xiv; xix; questions of authenticity are discussed in the commentary to the edition and in Cunningham (1984); no attempt has been made here to distinguish degrees of doubt

Plainsong settings: Aeterne rerum conditor, K47/3-5; Alleluia: per te, K48; Alleluia: post partum, K49; Christe redemptor omnium, K33; 12 In nomine settings, K20-31; Jam lucis orto sidere 1, K45a; Jam lucis orto sidere 2, K45b; 3 Miserere, K34-36 (K36 anon.); 3 Salvator mundi, K37-39; 2 Salve regina, K40-41; Sermone blando (Aurora lucis rutilat), K47/1,6,7; Te lucis ante terminum, K46; Telluris ingens conditor, K47/2; 2 Veni redemptor gentium, K42-43; Vexilla regis prodeunt, K44

Preludes and Doric music: Doric music, 3 pts (? based on piece by Gibbons), K57; Doric music, 4pts, K58; D[oric], K61; Doric music (anon), K59; Dor[ic], K60 13 untitled preludes: K1-2, 16, 30, 43, 82-4, 117-121

Fantasias: On a theme of Sweelinck, K4; Quinti toni, K6; Sexti toni, K13; Octavi toni, sopra sol ut mi fa sol la, K2; Octavi toni, sopra re re sol ut mi fa sol, K14; Duo, K10; Hexachord, K17; Hexachord, K18; God save the king, K32; 'La Guamina' (on a canzona by G. Guami), K3; 'A Leona', K7; 'Vestiva i colli' (i) (on Palestrina's madrigal), K8; 'Vestiva i colli' (ii) (on Palestrina's madrigal), K9; 5 untitled fantasias, K1, 5, 11, 12, 15

Grounds: A Battle and no battle (Phrygian music. The ground for a second player. anon.), K108; Boerendans (Country dance), K111; Bonny Peg of Ramsey, K75; Les Bouffons, K101; Dr. Bull's Ground (i), K102a; Dr. Bull's Ground (ii), K102b; The King's Hunt, K125; Het nieu bergomasco (The new bergomask), K124; 2 Quadran pavans, K127ab-c; Quadran galliard, K127d-f; Spanish pavan, K76; Why ask you (i), K62; Why ask you (ii), K63; Why ask you (iii), K64; Why ask you (anon), ed. in MB, lv (1989), 119

Variations: Bonny sweet Robin, K65 (?later revised by Farnaby); Bull's Goodnight, K143; Go from my window, K123; Revenant, K100; Rosasolis (?revision of a setting by Farnaby), K122; St. Thomas Wake pavan and galliard, K126a-b; St Thomas Wake galliard (anon.), K126c; Walsingham, K85

Pavan and galliard pairs: Fantastic, K86; Chromatic (Queen Elizabeth's), K87; Melancholy, K67; Symphony, K68; Battle (anon.), K109; Trumpet, K128; Lord Lumley's, K129; 5 untitled pairs, K66, 78 (galliard, paired with pavan in Cunningham, App. iii), 88, 130 (anon.), 131

Pavans: 2 untitled, K69 (anon., inc.), K77

Galliards: Vaulting, K90; Italian (anon.), K92; Piper's (2 arrs. from Dowland), K89a-b; 'Air', K91; The Prince's, K113; Lady Lucy's, K72; Lord Hudson's, K133; Regina, K132a; Regina; K132b-c; Galliard (arr. from J. Johnson's 'Jewel'), K70; 3 untitled, K71, 73, 103 (anon.)

Almans: Duke of Brunswick's, K93; German's, K94; French, K95; Dallying (Lydian music), K104; Ionic (Phrygian music), K110; Fantasia (Meridian) (also attrib. Farnaby), K134; 3 untitled, K114, 115 (anon.), 135

Corantos: The Princes (anon.), K98; French (anon., arr. from E. Hooper), K105; Bataille, K106; Brigante, K74; Joyeuse, K136; A round, K137; Alarm, K80; Kingston, K81; 6 untitled, K79 and 5 in GB-Lbl Add.23623 ff.88-92

Other dances: Duchess of Brunswick's Toy (Most sweet and fair), K97; Dutch Dance (anon.), K99; English Toy, 96; Irish Toy (anon.), K112; Welsh Dance, K107; What care you? (anon.), K116

Various short pieces: Canon, 4 in 2, K50; My choice I will not change, K140; My grief, K139 (omitting the variation in GB-Lbl R.M.23.1.4); My Jewel (i), K141; My jewel (ii), K142; My self, K138; Den lustelijken Meij K52; 3 Een kindeken is ons geboren, K53-55; Prelude and Carol: Laet ons met herten reijne, K56

[suggested attributions]

Aurora lucis rutilat, ed. in MB, lxvi (1995), 4

Prelude, ed. J.A. Fuller Maitland and W.B. Squire: The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (London and Leipzig, 1894-9/R, 2/1979-80 by B. Winogron), ii 25

Robin Hood, ed. in MB, v (1955, 2/1964), 139

misattributed works

Canon 2 in 1 with running bass (by Tallis), K51; Coranto (by Gibbons), ed. in MB, xx (1962, 2/1967), 78; Fantasia 'De Chappel' (?by van Kappell); Fantasia Chromatica (by Sweelinck), ed. G. Leonhardt: Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Opera Omnia, i/1 (1968), 1; Galliard to Bull's Fantastic Pavan (by Cosyn), ed. in Memed (1993); Hexachord Fantasia (by Du Caurroy), K19; The King's Hunt (by Cosyn), ed. in Memed (1993); Pavan and Galliard, Sinfonia 'De Chappel' (?by Van Kappell), pavan ed. in H.F Redlich: Harpsichord Pieces from Dr. John Bull's Flemish Tabulatura (Wilhelmshave, 1958) 2; Prelude (i) (by Gibbons), ed. in MB, xx (1962, 2/1967), 1; Prelude (ii) (by Gibbons), ed. in MB, xx (1962, 2/1967), 3; Prelude (by Byrd), ed. in MB, xxvii (1976, 3/2000), 85; Voluntary upon a plainsong (by Gibbons), ed. in MB, xx (1962, 2/1967), 84; Veni redemptor gentium (by Tallis), MB, i (1951, 2/1962), 75; Why ask you? (by Cosyn), ed. in Memed (1993)

anthems

Verse Anthems: Almighty God, which by the leading star [Almight God who didst manifest; Deus omnipotens; O Lord my God] (in musically identical versions for 5vv and 6vv) TCM, xci (1937, 2/1962); Deliver me O God; How joyful and how glad (inc.); In thee O Lord put I my trust [first chorus: I am feeble]

Words only: God the father, God the son; O God best guide; Praise we the Lord our God; Preserve most mighty God; The man that fears the Lord

spritual songs and carol

Attend unto my tears (W. Leighton), 4vv, insts; EECM, xi (1970), 48

Attend unto my tears (W. Leighton), 5vv; EECM, xi (1970), 100

Den lustelijken Meij, 4vv; ed. in Noske (1963)

In the departure of the Lord (W. Leighton), 4vv, insts; EECM, xi (1970), 52

consort music

Fantasia a 3; MB, ix (1955, 2/1962), 7

Fantasia a 4; ed. S. Beck: *Nine Fantasias in Four Parts* (New York, 1947), 2; kbd score, K58a

Fantasia a 5, GB-Lpro SP 46/126, SP 46/162, inc. [possibly a consort song]

Hexachord Fantasia 1; K17 [chromatic; known only in kbd score]

In nomine a 5; MB, ix (1955, 2/1962), 86

Masque music (Bull's authorship perhaps implied by the titles): Bull's Toye [for a masque], ed. A.J. Sabol: *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Hanover, NH, 1978); The Bull Masque, ed. in A.J. Sabol: *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Hanover, NH, 1978)

Canons: Many canons of English provenance on Miserere and puzzle canons are attributed to bull in A-Wn 17771, GB-Llb R,M.24.c.14, R.M.24.f.25; also Sweelinck