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VENETIAN INSTRUMENTALISTS IN ENGLAND:  
A BASSANO CHRONICLE (1536-1660)



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# VENETIAN INSTRUMENTALISTS IN ENGLAND: A BASSANO CHRONICLE (1538-1660) \*

While the Bassano family is known to most students of Elizabethan music, its importance has generally been regarded as slight because of the negligible amount of surviving music by its members. The music is mentioned only peripherally in standard genre studies such as Joseph Kerman's *Elizabethan Madrigal* (New York 1962) and Ernst Meyer's *English Chamber Music* (London 1946). Countless references to individual Bassanos occur in the principal documentary studies of royal musicians in Elizabethan and Jacobean times.<sup>1</sup> The most consistent interest in the family and its musical affairs was demonstrated by the late Thurston Dart, but he complained that « they proliferate[d] like so many bindweeds »<sup>2</sup> and claimed that « they were so numerous and their names [...] entered so carelessly in court records that it is impossible to establish a genealogy for them ».<sup>3</sup> Such difficulties have not seriously impeded discursive studies to which the Bassanos are relevant,<sup>4</sup> but they have inevitably discouraged the creation of a single comprehensive study of the collective family achievement and its impact, which was surely very considerable, on English musical life from 1538 to 1660.

No fewer than twenty members of the Bassano family served the English court as musicians during this span of 122 years. Three generations are represented. Although renewed study has failed to de-

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\* A list of the abbreviations used in the footnotes will be found at the end of this article.

<sup>1</sup> H. C. DE LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460-1700)*, London 1909 (facs. edn., New York 1973); E. STOKES (ed.), *Lists of the King's Musicians, from the Audit Office Declared Accounts*, « Musical Antiquary », I-IV, 1909-1912; W. NAGEL, *Annalen der englischen Hofmusik von der Zeit Heinrichs VIII. bis zum Tode Karls I (1509-1649)*, supplement to « Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte », XXVI, 1894; G. E. P. ARKRIGHT, *Notes on the Parish Registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London*, « Musical Antiquary », I, 1909. Readers of *The King's Musick* may note that the source citations given for the Public Record Office, London (hereafter designated by the initials PRO) are not current.

<sup>2</sup> *The Repertory of the Royal Wind Music*, « Galpin Society Journal », XI, 1958, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn., London 1954, I, p. 482.

<sup>4</sup> W. L. WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles II*, Princeton 1953; J. IZON, *Italian Musicians at the Tudor Court*, « The Musical Quarterly », XLIV, 1958, pp. 329-337; and A. W. BYLER, *Italian Currents in the Popular Music of England in the Sixteenth Century*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago 1952.

termine that the corpus of musical compositions by the Bassanos was in any way extensive, it has underscored the long-known but little-heralded fact that the Bassanos were important instrument makers, not simply for the English court but for the Continent too. Considerable data concerning the Bassanos' non-musical activities have recently come to light. These document their involvement in foreign trade and their ascendancy in the social hierarchy, which brought with it a receding involvement in musical affairs. This process, which occurred slowly, introduces its own new considerations. How did such diverse activities as court performance and mercantile interests fit comfortably into the same lives? What opportunities for patronage did close court contacts and elevated social status bring? And most importantly, is the model of this complex life led by the Bassanos typical of other musicians of the time?

Further attention has been called to the Bassano family in recent years by the claim of the noted historian A. L. Rowse in 1973 that Emilia Bassano, a daughter of one of the court musicians, was the celebrated « Dark Lady » of Shakespeare's sonnets.<sup>5</sup> This claim unleashed a furious debate which cannot be usefully reproduced here except to say that it focused on the sonnets, on certain aspects of Shakespeare's biography, on Rowse's sources, and on the relative merits of earlier « Dark Lady » candidates. Relatively little information on the Bassanos themselves was mentioned.<sup>6</sup>

The polyphonic complexity of the Bassanos' affairs can perhaps be best appreciated by considering separately its four parts: (1) the family origins and genealogy, (2) a chronology of musical activities, (3) a chronology of commercial activities, and (4) an account of patronage possibilities. A thematic index of musical works, with source citations is provided in the Appendix.

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<sup>5</sup> A. L. ROWSE, *Shakespeare the Man*, London 1973, pp. 105-113. The case is reiterated almost verbatim in ROWSE's study of *The Case Books of Simon Forman: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age*, London 1974, pp. 110-115.

<sup>6</sup> A study of Emilia's life and literary work is currently being made by Mr. Roger Prior, Department of English, The Queen's University, Belfast. Mr. Prior and I have shared many findings concerning the Bassanos' affairs outside the fields of music and literature in the sixteenth century, and Mr. Prior deserves the credit for having first discovered that the Bassanos were involved in commerce.

## I. ORIGINS AND GENEALOGY

Court scribes in England consistently described the Bassanos as 'Venetian', but one will<sup>7</sup> establishes that they originated in Bassano del Grappa, a provincial city northeast of Vicenza in the foothills of the Trentine Alps, a region famous for its grape brandy. «Bassano» thus identifies the family's place of origin and is not a true surname. It may have been adopted in Venice, where they were living at the time they were summoned to the English court. Izon established that four of them were in the service of the Doge up to 1539,<sup>8</sup> and this strengthens the likelihood that they were related to the family of instrumentalists active in Venice in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Preeminent among these was Giovanni Bassano,<sup>9</sup> a singer, cornettist, counterpoint teacher, and *maestro de' concerti* (1601-1617) of the largely brass orchestra at St. Mark's Basilica. Giovanni's father, Santo, and his son, Santino, were also known in the Venetian musical community, the former as an instrument maker<sup>10</sup> and the latter as a member of the St. Mark's orchestra.<sup>11</sup>

In the seventeenth century the name «Bassano» was also known in Padua, where a theorbist named Domenico Bassano offered lessons

<sup>7</sup> That of Jasper Bassano, PRO, Prob. 11/59, ff. 156a-b.

<sup>8</sup> IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., p. 332.

<sup>9</sup> Giovanni is the subject of my article *Bassano and the Orchestra of St. Mark's*, «Early Music», IV, 1976, pp. 152-158. I am grateful to Don Gastone Vio for having established that Giovanni was hired at St. Mark's on 17 May 1577 (ASV, Procuratoria de Supra, Basilica di S. Marco, Reg. 17, entry by date).

<sup>10</sup> Santo was almost certainly the inventor of the wind instrument known as the *bassanello*. He was issued a patent for a wind instrument of an unspecified nature on 13 June 1582. The patent (ASV, Senato, Terra, Reg. 54 [1582-1583], f. 31r) reads as follows: «Che per autorità di questo Cons[igli]o sia concesso à Santo Bassan, che per il spatio di anni vinticin[ue] altri, che egli, e chi hauerà causa da lui, non possi far, ne far far, ò altroue fatto vender nello stato nostro la forma d'instrumento di Musica da fiato nouamente ritrouata da lui sotto pena di perder gli instrum[en]ti, quali siano di esso supplicante, et di ducati trecento; un terzo de quali sia dell'accusator; un terzo del Magistrato, che farà l'essecutione; et un terzo della casa nostra dell'Arsenal, si come consigliano li Proveditori nostri di Commun, co'l parer anco di D[omi]no Iseppo Zerlino Maestro di Capella della Chiesa nostra di S. Marco». Praetorius was incorrect in attributing the invention of the instrument to Giovanni, but his illustrations and description of the *bassanello*, are, in the absence of any known specimens of the instrument, of great value. A reed instrument with seven finger holes (the lowest operated by a key), it was available in three sizes, each with a compass of a tenth or eleventh. The *Cant* was said to be «particularly fine to hear on the tenor part in ensembles in which all kinds [...] of instruments are used» (Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, vol. II: *De Organo-graphia*, trans. H. Blumenfeld, New York 1962, pp. 13, 24, 41-42, and Plate XII, Items 1-3).

<sup>11</sup> This author, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, Oxford 1975, p. 299.

on his instrument to the English diarist John Evelyn. This Bassano had a daughter who, according to Evelyn, « played and sung to nine several instruments, with that skill and address as few masters in Italy exceeded her. She likewise composed divers[e] excellent pieces ».<sup>12</sup>

Although they held much in common, there is no direct evidence that the English and Italian branches of the family were related. Very few Venetian parish records from before 1539 survive, and the fact that « Bassano » is not a true surname complicates the matter. Although extant Bassano wills date back to 1313, no familiar given names occur among them and further, since the Bassanos are said to have been poor when they lived in Venice, it is unlikely that any were written in Venice. A family tree drawn up for a Venetian family of Bassanos in about 1700<sup>13</sup> fails to include a single baptismal name that belonged to a musician. The musicians were also not related, so far as is known, to the painters Jacopo, Francesco, and Leandro, whose correct surname was da Ponte. (The cornett player in Paolo Veronese's allegorical painting, « The Wedding Feast at Cana », [1563] is Jacopo Bassano the painter, not one of the musicians).

The possibility of the Bassanos' being of Hebrew origin was raised in the « Dark Lady » debate. There is some question as to whether there is literary evidence to support this view, but it cannot be discussed appropriately here. There is no historical evidence to support it. Several distinguished rabbis with the surname Bassani flourished in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Verona, Padua, and Reggio-Emilia, but they appear to have been no kin to the musicians. The fact that the Bassanos were poor when they lived in Venice argues that they, in common with most musicians who belonged to the social class of *artefici*, followed a common practice of assuming a place (or vocational) name. As for religious practice, the Bassanos were Catholic in Italy and followed the majority in England to Protestantism. Their names appear in the surviving records of many churches. Giovanni's piety and papal allegiance have been shown to have been considerable for the Venetian context.

The first generation of Bassanos to settle in England consisted of five musicians who were definitely brothers. They were Anthony, Aloysius, Jasper, John, and John Baptiste. Two other musicians, Thomas and Anthony Maria, as well as a tradesman, Jacob, also flourished in England

<sup>12</sup> *The Diary of John Evelyn*, rev. edn. by W. Bray, London 1966, vol. I, p. 213.

<sup>13</sup> ASV, Avogaria de Comun, Alberi di Famiglie, Busta 185/2, Fasc. 7, « Bassano ».

in the same years, but their relationships to the rest of the family have not been fully established.

Anthony I (fl. 1531-1574) served as *pater familias* of the English branch of the family and is for musical history the most significant figure in the first generation of Bassanos. A 1571 census recorded that Anthony had been resident in England for 40 years,<sup>14</sup> and this led Izon to suggest that his instrument business was established in 1531.<sup>15</sup> (The year 1531 had brought contact between Venice and London in the person of Mark Raphael, a Venetian lawyer hired by Henry VIII to help the monarch dissolve his marriage to Catherine of Aragon). But if Anthony first came in 1531, it is certain that he returned to Venice. He was married in Venice on 10 August 1536 to Elina (later Helen) Nazzi and a daughter, Angelica, was born in Venice in November of the following year.<sup>16</sup>

Anthony was appointed an instrument maker to Henry VIII in an agreement that took effect on Midsummer's Day 1538.<sup>17</sup> Negotiations for the release of his four brothers from the service of the Doge in Venice began a year later, and although these dealings were technically unsuccessful, the brothers departed anyway in October 1539.

A variety of addresses given for the Bassanos in census and alien reports of the later sixteenth century seems to confine their principal areas of residence to two locations. From 1544 or earlier through 1552 they lived in the vicinity of the Charterhouse. Such designations as « Charterhouse Lane » and « Charterhouse Churchyard » are given in returns of 1549 and 1550,<sup>18</sup> while « St. John St., Osulston », given in 1544, places them in the same neighborhood. Originally a monastery, the Charterhouse was converted to a lay residence during the Reformation. It was common for aliens to seek residence in such places at the time. Sir Edward North acquired it in 1545, but by 1571 it had passed to the Duke of Norfolk. Despite their naturalization on 17 March 1545,<sup>20</sup> the Bassanos continued to be listed as 'aliens' through

<sup>14</sup> R. E. G. and E. F. KIRK (eds.), *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I* (« Publications of the Huguenot Society of London », X), Aberdeen 1900-1908, vol. II, p. 133.

<sup>15</sup> IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., p. 335.

<sup>16</sup> S. GLOVER, *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, Derby 1829-1833, vol. II/1, p. 575.

<sup>17</sup> BL, Ms. Arundel 97, f. 164v.

<sup>18</sup> KIRK, *Return of Aliens* cit., vol. I, pp. 157 (25 April 1549), 191 (1549), and 200 (17 April 1550).

<sup>19</sup> KIRK, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 102.

<sup>20</sup> W. PAGE (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603*, Lymington 1893, p. 16.

1550. The last listing of a Charterhouse address occurred on 23 June 1552.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, no sixteenth-century records for nearby parishes survive.

In a census of 10 January 1564/5 Anthony and the others are found in the parish of All Hallows, Staining<sup>22</sup> (the parish is recorded as All Saints, Barking in 1568 and 1571).<sup>23</sup> When he died in 1574, Anthony was said to be resident in the City of London.<sup>24</sup> All Hallows, Staining and the City address, together with « Hart Street » and « St. Olave's, Hart Street », found in later census reports, could all derive from an apparently ample residence on Mark Lane that belonged to the chief heirs of the second and third generations of the family.

Anthony's continuing ties to Venice and Venetian affairs after settling in England are established by the fact that two of his daughters, Angelica and Isabella, married Venetian residents.<sup>25</sup>

Of Anthony's brothers, *Aloysius* (fl. 1540-52) survived in England for the shortest period. In fact it may have been his death in 1552 that led to the removal of the Bassanos from Charterhouse to the Tower area. Aloysius is recorded under several given names, among them « Alnixio » (probably a misreading of Alvisio, a common Venetian variant of Aloysius), « Alinso », and the anglicized Lewes. Of all the first generation brothers, Aloysius' career is the one that seems most to have concentrated on a single instrument – the lute. In addition to his annual pension of £ 50 he received a *per diem* of 2s. 4d.<sup>26</sup> On his retirement he was succeeded by his son Augustine.<sup>27</sup> Aloysius' sons Julius, Laurence, and Zachary<sup>28</sup> cannot be traced to musical employ. His namesake, Lewis, was a musician.

The life of Anthony's brother *John* (also known as Ivan and Zuane; fl. 1540-1570) was unexceptional. Originally granted £ 42 *per annum* for life in April 1540,<sup>29</sup> John's pension was raised one year later to £ 50 and his *per diem* to 2/4.<sup>30</sup> He appears to have had no heirs. He was succeeded at court by his nephew Arthur.

<sup>21</sup> KIRK, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 325.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 295.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 389-391; vol. II, p. 133; vol. III, p. 386.

<sup>24</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/56, ff. 323a-b.

<sup>25</sup> GLOVER, *History and Gazetteer cit.*, vol. II, p. 575.

<sup>26</sup> IZON, *Italian Musicians cit.*, p. 332; NAGEL, *Annalen cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>27</sup> WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society cit.*, p. 298. But see the subsequent discussion of Augustine.

<sup>28</sup> PAGE, *Letters of Denization cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup> IZON, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

<sup>30</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen cit.*, p. 20.

*John Baptiste* (fl. 1540-1576), listed as a « native of Venice » in his will,<sup>31</sup> entered the royal service in April 1540 with a salary of £ 27/19/2, but like the rest he shortly received a rise to £ 50, with a *per diem* of 20d.<sup>32</sup> He and his common-law wife, Margaret Johnson (d. 1587), had two daughters, Emilia and Angela. At the time of her father's death Angela was newly married to a gentleman named Joseph Holland. Baptiste was buried in the church of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, on 11 April 1576.<sup>33</sup> He left an estate of £ 100. (The identity of another John Baptiste Bassano, buried at St. Olave's, Hart Street, on 4 January 1587/8,<sup>34</sup> cannot be determined).

With the possible exception of Anthony, *Jasper* (Gaspere; fl. 1540-1577) was the most prosperous of the first-generation Bassanos. Identified in his will as « a native in Bassanio under the state of the citie of Venice », <sup>35</sup> Jasper entered the royal musical ranks with the same pay and promotions as Baptiste. His son Paul flourished in 1545 <sup>36</sup> but seems not to have survived his father. Jasper's entire estate was left to his daughter Barbara, who was the wife of a Venetian merchant, Innocent Locatello. « Being very oulde », <sup>37</sup> he died on 6 May 1577 and was buried at St. Olave, Hart Street.

*Anthony Maria* Bassano is one Bassano of the first generation whose lineage cannot be deduced. A sackbut player, he flourished from c. 1538 to 1572. He did not reside with the rest of the Bassanos; in 1568 he was living in the Minorities. Because he is sometimes listed with the alias Cuson, there is room for doubt as to whether he was actually a member of the family. But his association with them was close: in 1546 he and Baptiste travelled to the Continent together.

Anthony's children heavily dominated the second-generation Bassanos active in musical circles. Lodovico and Mark Anthony, both of whom died before 1600, seem to have enjoyed somewhat less influence and prestige than their four longer-lived brothers, Arthur, Edward, Andrew, and Jerome.

*Lodovico* (fl. 1549-1593), although apparently raised by Anthony as one of his « children », is not listed in genealogical charts. He

<sup>31</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/58, f. 153.

<sup>32</sup> IZON, *op. cit.*, p. 332; NAGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Not May, as given in ROWSE, *Shakespeare cit.*, p. 110. The original parish register is in the Guildhall Library, London, Ms. 4515, 1.

<sup>34</sup> HSRS, vol. XLVI, p. 121.

<sup>35</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/59, ff. 156a-b.

<sup>36</sup> PAGE, *Letters of Denization cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> HSRS, vol. XLVI, p. 114.



flourished so much earlier than his « brothers » that he could easily have been a cousin. His name first occurs in the census of 1549, which enters him as an alien resident in Charterhouse Lane.<sup>38</sup> He was old enough in 1558 to have played at the coronation of Elizabeth I. His name appears consistently in lists of royal musicians from Michaelmas 1564 to 1592.<sup>39</sup>

Mark Anthony (1546-c. 1599) was the first-born son of Anthony but was passed over when Anthony named an heir. On 3 August 1565 Mark Anthony succeeded a Nicholas Andrew as « one of the brethren in the Science or Art of Music » with an appointment retrospective to Michaelmas and a stipend of 20*d.* a day.<sup>40</sup> Mark Anthony was living in Tower Ward in 1582,<sup>41</sup> was still listed as an alien in November 1590,<sup>42</sup> continued to serve the court through 1597,<sup>43</sup> and did not leave any known heirs.

Anthony's second son and heir, Arthur (1547-1624), succeeded his uncle John to a life appointment at court on 26 June 1571 (retrospective to Michaelmas). The stipends were the same as for his uncle.<sup>44</sup> Arthur was married on 10 May 1575 to Margaret Lothbury. Although born in England, he was listed as a « stranger » in the census of 1576.<sup>45</sup> On 7 August 1577 Arthur and his brother Andrew were issued passports to go to Venice.<sup>46</sup> While the duration of his trip is not known, the birth of his son Anthony in October 1579 indicates that he cannot have returned later than the end of 1578. However, the first direct evidence of Arthur's return occurs in the census of 1582.<sup>47</sup> His name and the names of all his brothers are found abundantly also in account books of the Queen's Household, especially between 1588 and 1592.<sup>48</sup> Arthur was named on the New Year's Lists of 1597 and 1602.<sup>49</sup> On

<sup>38</sup> KIRK, *Returns of Aliens* cit., vol. I, p. 191.

<sup>39</sup> LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick* cit., p. 12; STOKES, *Lists of the King's Musicians* cit., voll. I and II, *passim*; BL, Harleian Mss. 1641 and 1644, and Add. Ms. 22924, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> PRO, C. 66/1013/n. 1210/m. 15 (see CPR, vol. II, p. 248).

<sup>41</sup> KIRK, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 255.

<sup>42</sup> WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society* cit., p. 300.

<sup>43</sup> LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick* cit., *passim*; BL, Ms. Tiberius B III, f. 259.

<sup>44</sup> PRO, C. 66/1071/n. 1338/m. 12 (see CPR, vol. V, p. 164).

<sup>45</sup> KIRK, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 159.

<sup>46</sup> APC, vol. X, p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> KIRK, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 256.

<sup>48</sup> BL, Add. Ms. 22924, f. 3*v* et *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen* cit., p. 34.

the death of the Queen in 1603 he received an unexplained fee of £ 58/13/4<sup>50</sup> and was still active in 1615.

Six of Arthur's nine children lived to maturity. Three daughters and two of his sons, Paul and Andrew, did not pursue musical careers. But Arthur's first son and heir, Anthony II, was to be a mainstay of the Royal Music in the reign of Charles I. In his will of 1624 Arthur was described as a « gentleman » resident in the parish of All Saints, Barking.<sup>51</sup>

Anthony's third son, *Edward I* (1551-1622), was hired to replace his father in the Queen's consort on 27 April 1576.<sup>52</sup> An undated petition for one year's back wages,<sup>53</sup> written in Italian and signed by « gli fratelli Bassani » (Augustine, Lodovico, Arthur, and Jerome), may date from around the end of 1583. A livery allowance of £ 16/2/6 that was accidentally omitted from the letter patent of Edward's appointment was awarded in January 1584.<sup>54</sup> A subsequent patent issued on 1585/6 awarded him £ 18/2/6 for his livery (« which his father and all other musicians of the consort get »).<sup>55</sup> Although originally resident in Tower Ward, Edward was identified in a census report of 24 September 1600 as « the Queenes man » in Cheswick, Shoreditch.<sup>56</sup> The parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch was a steady address for Edward and Jerome in the first years of the seventeenth century. Edward was named on the New Year's Lists of 1597 and 1602 and was heard, with all his surviving brothers, at the funeral of the Queen in 1603. In his will of 1622 Edward was said to be resident in the parish of St. Leonard, but he left property at Hoxton, Middlesex. He was survived by six children, but none were musicians.<sup>57</sup>

In Anthony's fourth son, *Andrew* (1554-1626), the Bassano family found one of its most versatile members. Andrew was given a royal grant for life « for his service in the science or art of music » on 14 June 1573. This carried the standard stipend of 20*d.* a day with the customary livery allowance of £ 16/2/6.<sup>58</sup> Off to Venice with Arthur

<sup>50</sup> Ms. Tiberius B III, f. 248.

<sup>51</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/144, ff. 70b-72.

<sup>52</sup> PRO, C. 66/1263/m. 24.

<sup>53</sup> BL, Ms. Titus B II, f. 215.

<sup>54</sup> T. DART, *Two New Documents Relating to the Royal Music*, « Music and Letters », XLV, 1964, p. 18.

<sup>55</sup> PRO, C. 66/1263/m. 24. But this amount was *not* customary.

<sup>56</sup> KIRK, *Returns of Aliens* cit., vol. III, p. 83.

<sup>57</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/139, ff. 340b-341.

<sup>58</sup> PRO, C. 66/1098/n. 142/m. 11 (see CPR, vol. VI, p. 50).

in 1577, Andrew was otherwise present in the same places as his brothers, having been resident in Tower Ward in 1576 and 1582 and listed among the musicians of the Household from 1588 until his death. But unlike any of his brothers or other relatives, Andrew served with the British forces in the Netherlands from 1586 to 1588. His name appears on six lists of pay to « principal officers and captains » dating from 11 October 1586 to 24 March 1588/9<sup>59</sup> (there are indications that there was some time lag between the dates at which service was rendered and when it was recorded). He served both at Brill and at Ostend as a water-bailiff. Andrew was the father of five daughters and a son, William, who was not a professional musician. Described in his will as a « gentleman » of Horne, Co. Surrey,<sup>60</sup> Andrew left a modest estate of £ 33.

Anthony's fifth son, *Jerome* (Hieronymo; 1559-1635), was the most prosperous Bassano of his generation, its longest surviving member, and the person survived by the largest number of musical compositions. The earliest reference to Jerome's activities in music dates from 1581.<sup>61</sup> Although the youngest brother, he seems to have found favor at court very readily. In 1584 he made what was undoubtedly an advantageous marriage to Dorothy Simonds of Waltham Abbey.<sup>62</sup> In 1586 he presented the Queen with two drinking glasses as a New Year's gift.<sup>63</sup> Like his brother Edward, Jerome was resident in Shoreditch in 1600. Described in 1630 as « the ancientest musician the King hath », <sup>64</sup> Jerome carried on until 1635,<sup>65</sup> probably spending most of his last years at one of his country estates. His properties in and near Waltham Abbey, perhaps acquired through marriage, were numerous and substantial and became the home of numerous descendants who did not seek musical careers. Jerome's own children included two daughters, Frances and Anne, and four sons. The third son, Nowell, pursued a business career, while the fourth, Henry, was a musician. The first and second sons, Scipio and Edward II, were musicians who may have engaged in trade as well.

<sup>59</sup> CSP, vol. XXI/3, pp. 290, 426; vol. XXI/4, p. 219; vol. XXII, p. 410 f.; vol. XXIII, p. 175.

<sup>60</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/150.

<sup>61</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen* cit., p. 30.

<sup>62</sup> PERCIVAL BOYD, *Marriage Index of England, 1500-1837*, typescript without date or pagination, Society of Genealogists, London, s. I: *All of England and Parishes by County, 1538-1837*, Essex, vol. I.

<sup>63</sup> BL, Add. Ms. 8159.

<sup>64</sup> LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick* cit., p. 72.

<sup>65</sup> Jerome's will is in PRO, Prob. 11/168.

Among the children of Anthony's brothers, *Augustine* (fl. 1545-1604) was the most active in musical affairs. He was the son of Aloysius<sup>66</sup> but is listed in several sources as one of Anthony's children.<sup>67</sup> It is possible that he lived with his uncle after his father's death. Augustine's life grant as a musician to the King, which carried a *per diem* of 2s., was signed at Greenwich on 16 April 1551 but was retroactive from Annunciation 1550,<sup>68</sup> although ostensibly Aloysius was still living on 23 June 1552<sup>69</sup> and one source gives 1554 as the year of his death.<sup>70</sup> By about 1564 Augustine's business dealings involved him in the first of two suits in chancery, and his fortunes in general seem to have been far less consistent than those of the rest of the family. In January 1564/5 the name of Augustine Bassano appeared in the census returns of two parishes, All Hallows, Staining and St. Katheryn's Colmans,<sup>71</sup> each contingent on the parish of St. Olave's. In the 1567 census Augustine was entered as « the quenes ma[jes]ties music[i]an » living in Tower Ward,<sup>72</sup> while three years later he was entered as « Augu-styne, servant to the Basanyes (destitute) », again in Tower Ward.<sup>73</sup> Augustine's children, if any, are not known. He was buried on 24 October 1604 in St. Olave's, « within the chancel dore, close to the Lord's [Lord Sudbury's] pew ».<sup>74</sup>

Augustine's exact position within the family is further complicated by the scant information available on *Lewis II*, also a son of Aloysius (Lewis I) and also identified as his father's successor to a grant for life « for his service in the art of music ». Lewis' appointment was made on 22 July 1569, retrospective to Michaelmas.<sup>75</sup> But Lewis' name appears in no musicians' pay lists. Among musical documents the name Lewis referring to Aloysius is last mentioned in September 1549.<sup>76</sup> It must be said that Lewis II materialized at a time that was convenient to the financial interests of Anthony's brothers, who had continued to accept Aloysius' pension after he died. Their misdeeds were discovered

<sup>66</sup> According to his papers of naturalization as reported in PAGE, *Letters of Denization* cit., p. 16.

<sup>67</sup> For example, in BL, Harleian Ms. 1644 and sources based upon it.

<sup>68</sup> CPR, vol. IV, p. 158.

<sup>69</sup> KIRK, *Returns of Aliens* cit., vol. III, p. 325.

<sup>70</sup> IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., p. 334.

<sup>71</sup> KIRK, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 295 and 300.

<sup>72</sup> KIRK, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 340.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 394.

<sup>74</sup> HSRs, vol. XLVI, p. 137.

<sup>75</sup> PRO, C. 66/1060/n. 2619/m. 24 (see CPR, vol. IV, p. 432).

<sup>76</sup> STOKES, *Lists of the King's Musicians* cit., vol. IV, p. 58.

in September 1568, when they tried to defend their debt of £ 710 by saying that they had never received a pay increase.<sup>77</sup>

The lineage of *Thomas II*, baptized on 7 August 1571 at St. Olave's, Hart Street,<sup>78</sup> is not known. On 29 July 1615, according to the State Papers, he was named to succeed John Phelps,<sup>79</sup> but neither name appears in standard listings of musical staff. Nagel suggests that Thomas shared a position with Nicholas Guy,<sup>80</sup> a wind instrumentalist.

*Emilia*, the daughter of Baptiste, was born out of wedlock in 1569, but she was raised nonetheless in grand style. Brought up with the Countess of Kent,<sup>81</sup> she is said to have been a mistress to the Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, who « maintained [her] in great pomp ».<sup>82</sup> But the liaison was ended by her pregnancy and forced marriage in 1592 to Alfonso Lanier who, like her numerous uncles and cousins, was a court minstrel.<sup>83</sup> At least, he played the recorder at court when his duties as weigher of hay and straw permitted. But Alfonso died in 1613. Emilia's son *Henry* enjoyed a brief stint as flautist from 1629 until his premature death in 1633. Of her daughter Ottilia nothing is known. One volume of religious poetry by Emilia, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) demonstrates her literary skills. Prior's recent research establishes that her interests and pursuits were diverse and indeed her life seems to warrant study on its own merits.

Chief among Anthony's grandchildren were the offspring of Arthur and Jerome, for Andrew's and Edward's children did not include any musicians and Mark Anthony and Lodovico had no known progeny.

Arthur's first son and heir, *Anthony II*, was born on 15 October 1579. Among the Bassano musicians, Anthony II may have penetrated the inner circles of court life most deeply. He became involved with the Royal Music shortly before the death of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and served as organist to James I (1603-1625) and Charles I (1625-1649).<sup>84</sup> Anthony's pedigree and arms (three silkworms and a laurel tree) were recorded in the Visitation of London in 1634.<sup>85</sup> Anthony

<sup>77</sup> Letter of 27 September 1568 quoted in IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., p. 334.

<sup>78</sup> HSRs, vol. XLVI, p. 5.

<sup>79</sup> CSPD, vol. IX, p. 299.

<sup>80</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen* cit., p. 39.

<sup>81</sup> ROWSE, *The Case Book of S. Forman* cit., p. 113.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> This information is found in GLOVER, *History and Gazetteer* cit., vol. II/1, p. 576, but not in musical records.

<sup>85</sup> The genealogy given in the printed source HSVS, vol. XV, p. 54 is quite incomplete.

and his wife, Dorothy Hindle of London, brought fourteen children into the world. Many died in infancy. Anthony's first son, Richard (1605-c. 1666), was his principal heir and was the first of several Bassanos to serve as a herald painter.<sup>86</sup> Although associated with Staples Inn, London, Richard settled in Stone, Co. Stafford, and most Bassanos of eminence after him came from the midland and northern counties of England. Anthony's second son, John (b. 1608), died in 1653. The seventh son, Allen (b. 1619), lived to inherit a measure of his father's estate when Anthony died in 1658,<sup>87</sup> for he was the only surviving son in the south of England.

While none of Anthony's sons pursued musical careers, one can feel confident that music remained a significant pastime for the Bassanos. A composer was to emerge in Richard's grandson *Christopher* (1679/80-1745), who lived in Derby. (Christopher's eldest brother, Francis [1675-1746], was a herald painter in Derbyshire and adjoining counties).

Of Arthur's other children, his fourth son, Andrew II (1589-1658) may have been the most eminent socially; he is not known to have had musical interests. Andrew settled at Totteridge, Hertfordshire. He seems to have been in business with Thomas King, the husband of Jerome's daughter Anne.<sup>88</sup> Andrew was married to Anne, the daughter of Francis Morris of Staples Inn, but he left no direct descendants. His estate, which included £ 1,550 in cash, was dispersed among his wife, nephews, nieces, and partner.<sup>89</sup> His passing was marked by a funeral oration, given by the Totteridge minister William Tutty, that was published in 1659.<sup>90</sup> Such a tribute leaves no room to doubt what religion Andrew practised. Of Arthur's other sons, Joseph died before reaching maturity and Paul II (b. 1588), who was in business, left no heirs. Thus of all Arthur's grandsons, a musical lineage was continued only through Anthony's son Richard.

Jerome's eldest son, *Scipio* (fl. 1604-10) was engaged in music and perhaps also in trade. He played at court in the first decade of the century but seems to have died before his father since, although he is not named in Jerome's will, his children are. The executor for Jerome's substantial estate was his third son, Nowell, who lived at Waltham

<sup>86</sup> A. R. WAGNER, *English Genealogy*, 2nd edn., Oxford 1972, p. 258.

<sup>87</sup> Anthony's will (PRO, Prob. 11/276, ff. 301-302) was probated on 3 May.

<sup>88</sup> BOYD, *op. cit.* in note 62, s. II: *Miscellaneous Marriage Index, 1500-1837*, vol. VIII, unpaginated.

<sup>89</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/282, ff. 105b-107b.

<sup>90</sup> *Canticum Morientis Cygni, or the Last Dying Note of Stephen, the First Gospel Martyr.*

Abbey and died in 1651.<sup>91</sup> Nowell inherited his father's property at St. Leonard's. Charles, christened on 18 January 1587/8 at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, probably died in infancy.<sup>92</sup>

Eleven months later on 28 December 1588, Jerome's son *Edward II* was christened in the same church.<sup>93</sup> Married to Anne Markham in 1614,<sup>94</sup> Edward was hired as a court musician in 1627. But his tenure was relatively brief, for he died on 17 January 1638/9.<sup>95</sup> Almost certainly he had interests outside the field of music. In 1635 he inherited properties from his father in the Upper Downs of Essex. He also received leases for the estates of Woodridden Farm and Pottershill House, near Waltham Abbey. Edward was survived by two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne.

It seems likely that Jerome's fourth son, *Henry*, was the musical protégé of his uncle Andrew. Allusion to a grant to Henry and his father by King James on 10 January 1621/2 occurs in a warrant of 1661,<sup>96</sup> but there is otherwise no evidence that Henry was heard at court during the lifetime of James I. He was officially named to succeed his uncle on 8 August 1626.<sup>97</sup> It is a notable coincidence that Andrew was the original trustee for some Venetian property that Jerome willed to Henry.<sup>98</sup> Henry was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 29 August 1665.<sup>99</sup> His only child, a daughter named Mary, survived him by only three years.<sup>100</sup> Thus, of Jerome's children, the only second-generation male descendants occurred in the lineage of Scipio and Nowell.

## II. MUSICAL AFFAIRS

Henry VIII's patronage of foreign musicians dated from the early years of his reign. At the funeral of Henry VII in 1509 there were

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<sup>91</sup> Nowell's unregistered will is found in PRO, Prob. 8/47. A later Nowell Bassano flourished near the end of the century; see LRSP, vol. II, ref. 43.4. This second Nowell had a son, Nowell, and a daughter, Elizabeth.

<sup>92</sup> HSRS, vol. XXXI, p. 4.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>94</sup> At the Church of the Saviour, Southwark (BOYD, *op. cit.*, s. II, vol. VIII, not paginated).

<sup>95</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen cit.*, p. 42; LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>96</sup> CTB, vol. I, p. 249.

<sup>97</sup> LAFONTAINE, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>98</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/168.

<sup>99</sup> HSRS, vol. LXXXVIII, p. 84.

<sup>100</sup> HSRS, vol. XVI, p. 138.

only five minstrels, twelve musicians to play sackbuts and shawms, and three other instrumentalists. Over course of the reign of the new king there were substantial increases in both the number and variety of instruments played.

The Venetian perspective on music at Henry's court is well documented in the journal (1515-1519) of the Venetian ambassador Sebastian Giustinian. In it we read that the monarch himself in 1515 could play « well » on the lute and harpsichord and could sing « from book at sight ».<sup>101</sup> The King's appetite for pomp may have exceeded even what was customary in Venice, for the ambassador's secretary, Nicolo Sagudino, was most impressed by the first May Day celebration he witnessed at Greenwich.<sup>102</sup> Yet the skill of the musicians in Henry's employ was somewhat less impressive. Despite a modesty of phrase, Sagudino's account of how he himself was persuaded to perform gives some indication of the relative merits of native and Italian instrumentalists:

They asked me to play and [...] I did so for a long while, both on the harpsichords and organs, and really bore myself bravely, and was listened to with great attention. Among the listeners was a Brescian, to whom the King gives 300 ducats annually<sup>103</sup> for playing the lute, and this man took up his instrument and played a few things with me; and afterwards two musicians, who are also in his Majesty's service, played the organ, but very ill forsooth: they kept bad time, and their touch was feeble, neither was their execution good, so that my performance was deemed not much worse than theirs.

The prelates who were present told me that the King would certainly choose to hear me, as his Majesty practises on these instruments day and night, and that he will very much like my playing.<sup>104</sup>

Henry's envy of such skills can be continuously documented. His respect for Venetian skill in keyboard performance is indicated by his hire in 1516 of the St. Mark's organist Dionisio Memo. Memo arrived on 30 September « with a most excellent instrument of his, which he has brought hither with much pains and cost ». On the evening of his arrival « he played [...] to the incredible admiration and pleasure of

<sup>101</sup> Letter of Piero Pasquaglio, dated 30 April 1515, quoted in S. GIUSTINIAN, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII: Despatches... addressed to the Signory of Venice, 1515-1519*, tr. R. Brown, London 1854 (facs. edn., 1970), vol. I, p. 86.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>103</sup> A Venetian organist at a church such as St. Mark's would have been paid about 100 ducats a year at this time.

<sup>104</sup> GIUSTINIAN, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 80-81.



everybody, and especially of his Majesty ».<sup>105</sup> Memo was forthwith hired as « chief of musicians » and initiated a Venetian presence in English musical life that endured for a century-and-a-half.

By 1526 the court included in addition to a Brescian lutenist and a Venetian organist a Venetian trombone player, Mark Anthony Petala. By 1540 there were forty-one instrumentalists at court.<sup>106</sup> This figure included Anthony Bassano and his four brothers, who were identified as « minstrels ». At the time the term was distinctly associated with capability in the repair of instruments.<sup>107</sup> There had been recent significant increases in the ranks of viol and flute players, and a preponderance of the court musicians had skills suited to chamber and dance music.

The range of instruments made by the Bassanos is very well suited to this emphasis, but in its secular connotation it has to have been somewhat in contrast to what the Bassanos had known in Venice. There, as probable members of the Doge's *piffari* (unfortunately the earliest extant records are from 1569), they would have been obliged to play in countless processions and religious services attended by the Doge. At the end of the sixteenth century the Doge's *piffari* received 30 ducats a year.

In correspondence with the English court the agent Harvel wrote from Venice of the four brothers' departure in 1539: « These men are poor. They could not set forwards so costly a journey without help of money, as well for their own costs as for conveyance of their instruments and other necessities ».<sup>108</sup> To assist them in their unsanctioned departure a sum of 160 crowns (£ 40) was made available for their journey.<sup>109</sup> Harvel went on to describe the four brothers as being « all excellent and esteemed above all others in this city in their virtue ». His expectation was that it would be « no small honour to his Majesty to have music comparable as any other prince or perchance better and more variable ».<sup>110</sup>

Pensions for all five brothers were warranted on 14 April 1540.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 296.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 298.

<sup>107</sup> J. STEVENS, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, Lincoln, Neb. 1961, p. 313.

<sup>108</sup> Among the résumés of a letter sent by Harvel to Cromwell on 4 October 1539, the Bassanos are mentioned only in the version given by IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., p. 332. Their patron, Sir Henry Knyvett, is mentioned only in the version given in CLPFD, vol. XIV/2, p. 106.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen* cit., p. 20 and IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., pp. 332-333.

Many inconsistencies will be found among the payment records, but they are of value in indicating the stature of individual members within the family relative to one another and of the profession in Elizabethan society generally. The sums awarded (Izon shows £ 50 each to Anthony and Aloysius, £ 42 to John, and £ 27/19/2 to the other two) were to come not, as was customary, from the Lord Chamberlain's accounts but from the Royal Exchequer,<sup>112</sup> probably as a consequence of their being employed privately in the Presence Chamber. Their association with the Presence Chamber may account for their having been frequently named in New Year's Lists, starting with Anthony's inclusion in 1541. They regaled the Household with all manner of Venetian finery including lute strings, viols, and Murano glass.<sup>113</sup>

The daily wage in 1540 for Anthony I, Jasper, and Baptiste was 20s., or £ 30/8/4 a year; John received 28d. a day, or £ 42/11/8 a year, and Aloysius received £ 50 a year. The sum of these salaries equals the payment of £ 183/16/8, which Household books show to have been paid numerous times to the «straunger musicians» or «brethren venitiens». These rates of pay, together with the livery allowance of £ 16/2/6, remained the norm for all later musicians of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1615, for example, Arthur was paid 28d. a day, with a combined annual sum including livery of £ 58/14/2. Andrew, Jerome and Edward each received 20d. a day, with a total of £ 46/10/10.<sup>114</sup>

These wages can be put in some perspective by comparison with the rate of pay for London laborers, which in 1538, the year of Anthony's hire, was 7d. or 8d. a day (little more than £ 10 a year). Rent was commonly 5s. a quarter, or £ 1 a year.<sup>115</sup>

The King's own taste in instruments may be some guide to the instruments that the Bassanos made during their first years in England. An inventory at the different palaces made immediately after the death

<sup>112</sup> IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., p. 333.

<sup>113</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen* cit., p. 20 and IZON, *Italian Musicians* cit., p. 333.

<sup>114</sup> BL, Add. Ms. 58833 («An abstract of the present state of His Majesty's revenues»), f. 2v («Fees and annuities paid out of His Majesty's Exchequer, 1615: Musicis domini Regis»). Andrew is listed here as Andree. The other salaries listed range from £18/5/- (Richard Thorne) to £70/17/6 (John Phelps). The following British Library Household Books give summary references: Lansdowne Ms. 2 (1547); Stowe Ms. 571 (1552), ff. 27-27v; Add. Ms. 34010 (1552), ff. 27v-28; and Harleian Ms. 240 (c. 1553), ff. 13-13v and 18v. Similar references are also found in Huntington Library (San Marino, California) Ellesmere Mss. 1257 (c. 1580), f. 44 and 1198 (1584-1588), f. 28v. Similar rates of pay to other members of the Household occur in BL, Add. Ms. 34320 (after 1603), ff. 34v, 35, 39, and 41, and in Lansdowne Ms. 171 (c. 1606), ff. 249-249v.

<sup>115</sup> W. G. HOSKINS, *The Age of Plunder: King Henry's England, 1500-1547*, London 1976, pp. 112-114.

of Henry VIII<sup>116</sup> included more than twenty keyboard instruments (eighteen regals, two clavichords, and an unspecified number of virginals), nineteen viols, four gitterns, and an unstated number of lutes, flutes, crumhorns, recorders, shawms, and « a Venice flute » (there is no certainty about what the last might have been).

The Bassanos' musical skills and interests were highly diverse. Insofar as they were performers as well as makers the lute was the preeminent instrument with which the first generation can be associated, but interests in the recorder, the sackbut, and in keyboard instruments are also evident. Jasper and Anthony are less easily associated with one instrument than the others; John's wages suggest that like Aloysius he may have been a lutenist; Baptiste may have played the recorder.<sup>117</sup> Thomas I, whose name rarely appears in lists of court musicians, was payed in 1538, when he was employed as a minstrel, for « several sackbuts ».<sup>118</sup>

Other than Augustine's succession to his father's post in 1550, the Bassano ranks at court remained stable into the 1570's. The passing of Henry VIII seems to have caused no serious disruption in their activities. Mary Tudor, whose liking for Memo's playing dated back to her early childhood,<sup>119</sup> was described in 1557 as being « very proficient [...] on the harpsichord and lute ».<sup>120</sup>

The first two decades of the reign of Elizabeth I undoubtedly found the Bassanos in continued favor, but they were no longer young. In fact there is a striking contrast between the new Queen's youth and the Bassanos' advancing age. « The Queen's daily arrangements are musical performances and other entertainments », wrote the Venetian ambassador Paolo Tiepolo from London on 16 June 1559. « She takes marvellous pleasure in seeing people dance ».<sup>121</sup>

The culminating document for the first-generation makers (it appears that all the brothers were involved to same extent in making instruments) is an inventory of forty-five items of their manufacture owned by Hans Jakob Fugger (1516-1595).<sup>122</sup> Compiled for the owner

<sup>116</sup> BL, Harleian Ms. 1419A, f. 200.

<sup>117</sup> WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society* cit., p. 184.

<sup>118</sup> BL, Ms. Arundel 97, f. 41b.

<sup>119</sup> GIUSTINIAN, *Four Years*, etc. cit., vol. II, p. 161; despatch of 28 February 1518.

<sup>120</sup> Giovanni Michiel quoted in GIUSTINIAN, *Four Years* etc. cit., vol. II, p. 163 f.

<sup>121</sup> SPV, vol. VII, p. 101.

<sup>122</sup> I am grateful to Sibyl Marcuse for helping me trace her reference to these instruments in *A Survey of Musical Instruments* (New York 1975), p. 707, to B. A. WALLNER, *Ein Instrumentverzeichnis aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* in *Festschrift zum 50. Geburtstag Adolf Sandberger*, ed. A. Einstein et al., Munich 1919, pp. 275-286.

in Antwerp in March 1571 because he wished to send the instruments to Bavaria, it lists recorders, cornetts, crumhorns, « flutes », « great pipes », and other wind instruments. Its heading reads: « Catalogue of the instrument chest made by the Bassani brothers with instruments so beautiful and good they are suited for dignitaries and potentates ... ». The contents were as follows:

1. A six-member consort of wind instruments of an unspecified nature. This consort consisted of two great basses each with four keys, two other basses serving as tenors, and two descants.

2. Seven « great pipes » (*Pfeiffen*): a consort of four tenors, two small one-keyed basses, and another bass with two keys.

3. Ten curved cornetts (*kbrummen Zinggen*) and a « flute », all considered as one group. There was a great « resonant » half-bass, two one-keyed basses, and seven cornetts of unspecified range (four with keys, three without) « all of very great resonance ». Together with them was a « German flute » (*teutsche Schwegel*) with gold decorations that was « very beautiful to see ».

4. Twelve crumhorns (*kbrump Hörner*) in five sizes: descant, tenor, bass, contrabass, and half-bass, « all very beautiful ... with keys ».

5. Nine recorders (*Fletten*) with evenly spaced finger holes (*geraden löchern*) except for the bass. These too were « very beautiful and good ».

A concluding remark indicates that all the instruments were tuned to « the mean tone of the organ », enabling all to be played together. That would constitute an orchestra the proportions of which have rarely been contemplated in connection with sixteenth-century consort music, except occasionally by angel musicians in religious paintings. Yet the resources to staff such a group clearly did exist in the larger courts.

A covering letter to the inventory from Wilhelm Olivo in Antwerp, where the Fugger family had significant financial interests, to Johan de Porta in Brussels also refers to a chest of six great *viole da gamba* (*welschen Geigen*; <sup>123</sup> two trebles, three tenors, and a bass) as well as three lutes (« descant, tenor, and bass ») also made by the Bassano brothers in London.

A curious irony of this substantial collection is that when it was moved from Antwerp to Bavaria its instruments could easily have found their way back into Venetian hands, for the Munich *Hofkapelle* under Lassus' direction employed, especially during the 1570's, a number of instrumentalists associated with Venice. Heading the list was Giovanni

<sup>123</sup> Concerning the interpretation of this term see S. MARCUSE, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary*, New York 1964, p. 586.

Gabrieli, but there were also numerous members of the Guami, Laudis, Mosto, and Aldegeri families. Fugger was a close friend of Duke Albert I (1550-1579) and a patron of Lassus, who dedicated a volume of *Madrigals and Motets* (1573) to Hans and Hieronymous Fugger. Lassus could well have come in contact with the Bassanos' instruments during his travels to England and Antwerp in 1554.

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the first generation of Bassanos were connected remotely with the importation of instruments. Jasper's son-in-law, Innocent Locatello, a Venetian importer resident in London, can be vaguely associated with the importation of lutes. He is not known to have been a musician, but there was a family of musicians of the same name active in Venice in the early seventeenth century.<sup>124</sup>

The musical activities of the second generation of Bassanos extend beyond performance and instrument-making to composition. Mark Anthony and Edward I are the only figures of that generation whose activities apparently were limited to performance. Mark Anthony played the sackbut.<sup>125</sup> Edward I, who succeeded to his father's place as an instrumentalist, played the recorder.<sup>126</sup>

Arthur and Andrew may have been more distinguished as makers than as players. Judging from his salary and the fact that he succeeded his uncle John at court, Arthur could have been a lutenist but he clearly had talents in different directions as well. As Anthony's principal heir, Arthur inherited the instrument business upon his father's death in 1574. Some notion of what he inherited is supplied by his own will, written on 14 July 1623. He bequeathed

[...] unto my sonne Anthonie Bassano and to his heirs all my instruments, working tooles, and necessities belonging to the art of making of Instruments which I halve remayning in my Hospitall messuage wherein I now dwell [...] in Marke Lane, in the parishe aforesaid at the time of my decease and also all my flute monie, Jewells, and moveable goods, furniture, or household stuffe whatsoever. [...] <sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> A priest named Gaspare Locatello (Lucadello) was *maestro di canto* at the St. Mark's seminary from 1616 to 1618; a solo motet by him appeared in the anthology *Ghirlanda sacra* (Venice 1625). Giovanni Battista Locatello is remembered for one work in the Phalèse collection *Sacrae Cantiones* (Antwerp 1621) and a lost volume of madrigals listed in the Vincenti catalogue of 1649.

<sup>125</sup> WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society* cit., pp. 184, 300.

<sup>126</sup> WOODFILL, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301 and WALLNER, *Ein Instrumentverzeichnis* cit., p. 281.

<sup>127</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/144, f. 71b.

Arthur's own collection of instruments must have been substantial, because this was the first item in his lengthy will and the most detailed. His « flute monie » gives focus to his instrument-making enterprises, but an exact description of the instruments he made is altogether lacking. The survival rate for wind instruments of the time is extremely low. In 1598 the brothers Arthur, Andrew, and Jerome presented the Queen with an instrument which « had the tone of a flute and recorder ».<sup>128</sup> Another reference to wind instruments of an unusual nature that may pertain to Arthur's activity is found in a letter from Matthew de Queste to Sir William Trumbull, the English agent at Brussels. Written on 29 January 1607/8, it reads:

Mr. Barsano [*sic*], one of his Majesty's musicians, who maketh rare wind instruments, hath some weeks past delivered me a letter of his directed unto Mr. Anthony Chambers, a musician in Brussels [...]. It concerneth some instruments which he would from hence sent him from Mr. Barsano.<sup>129</sup>

Again, surviving specimens cannot be identified. The most conspicuous surviving wind instruments of that period may be the two bass recorders catalogued as Nos. 20(1) and 20(2) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.<sup>130</sup>

As a performer Andrew is most clearly identified with the sackbut (1581) and recorder (1590).<sup>131</sup> His duties as an instrument maker, shared in a charter of 27 June 1603 with Robert Henlake, were focused on keyboard instruments. His patent enabled him to assume the office of « the custody, making, and repairing of instruments called Regalls, Virginalls », plus two other instruments the names of which are illegible.<sup>132</sup> Henlake was succeeded as Andrew's partner in 1611 by Edward Norgate. The State Papers assert that both men occupied the office of « tuner » of His Majesty's virginals, organs, and other instruments,<sup>133</sup> but the same office is again described in the patent roll as

<sup>128</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen*, p. 34.

<sup>129</sup> HMCD, vol. II, p. 463. William Chambers was a Westminster chorister in 1603.

<sup>130</sup> The first instrument is shown in Fig. 115 of A. BAINES, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Musical Instruments*, vol. II: *Non-Keyboard Instruments*, London 1968, p. 83.

<sup>131</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen* cit., p. 30 and WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society* cit., p. 300.

<sup>132</sup> PRO, C. 66/1607, f. 1 (LIS, vol. XCVII, p. 60).

<sup>133</sup> CSPD, vol. IX, p. 93 (25 November 1611).

involving « the custody, making, and repairing of all the musically instruments ».<sup>134</sup> Apparently Norgate was only an apprentice, for his name fails to appear in the Audit Office accounts until after Andrew's death in 1626.<sup>135</sup>

Andrew's skill seems indeed to have been distributed rather even-handedly between virginals and organs. On 4 December 1614 a warrant for him to make two sets of jacks and to provide new stringing for « His Majesty's virginals for the consort » was issued.<sup>136</sup> One-and-a-half years later, on 20 June 1616 he and Norgate were engaged to restore the organ at Greenwich. The instrument was undoubtedly familiar to Andrew; he had helped Arthur and Jerome restore it in 1598. « It appeareth the same to be as much out of order as, without present reparation, it will be utterly spoiled », wrote a scribe. The order committed the sum of £ 50 to the project.<sup>137</sup>

Cited as « an official of the Presence Chamber », <sup>138</sup> Jerome seems to have played the recorder. As a maker, his interests were varied. With his brothers he participated in the presentation of the wind instrument that « had the tone of a flute and recorder » and in the restoration of the large organ at Greenwich. He could well be the « Mr. Jerome » cited in the will of a Langford (Essex) yeoman, Anthony Bret, in 1588 in the following connections:<sup>139</sup>

For taking of[f] the belly of the lute and for gluing her, and for new pins and strings for the said lutes, 4s.

For cotton for to line the said case, 18d.

For two calf skins to cover the case, 3s.

<sup>134</sup> PRO, C. 66/1910 (see LIS, vol. CXXXIII, p. 10).

<sup>135</sup> STOKES, *List of the King's Musicians* cit., vol. III, p. 115. Norgate's name as keeper of the organs continues through 1641. A herald painter of the same name died in 1650. Heraldry was an occupation to which several Bassanos were called as well. Richard and Francis, in the lineage of Anthony II, were prominent. Angela's husband, Joseph Holland, may well be the same as an amateur herald of the late sixteenth century. This would make Angela the mother of Philip Holland, a professional herald of the early seventeenth, and it would explain how Richard and Francis Bassano came to be so engaged.

<sup>136</sup> WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society* cit., p. 187.

<sup>137</sup> F. DEVON (ed.), *Issues of the Exchequer; being Payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue during the Reign of King James I*, London 1836, p. 324.

<sup>138</sup> HMCS, vol. XXII, p. 466.

<sup>139</sup> F. G. EMMISON, *Elizabethan Life ... from Essex Wills and Sessions and Manorial Records*, London 1976, vol. III, p. 23 f.

<sup>140</sup> Work-numbers given in the text refer to the listing in the thematic index at the conclusion of this article.

For workmanship of the case, 2s.

For lace to bind the case about, 2s. 8d.

For a lock for the case, 10d.

For carrying the lute to London and down again, 8d.

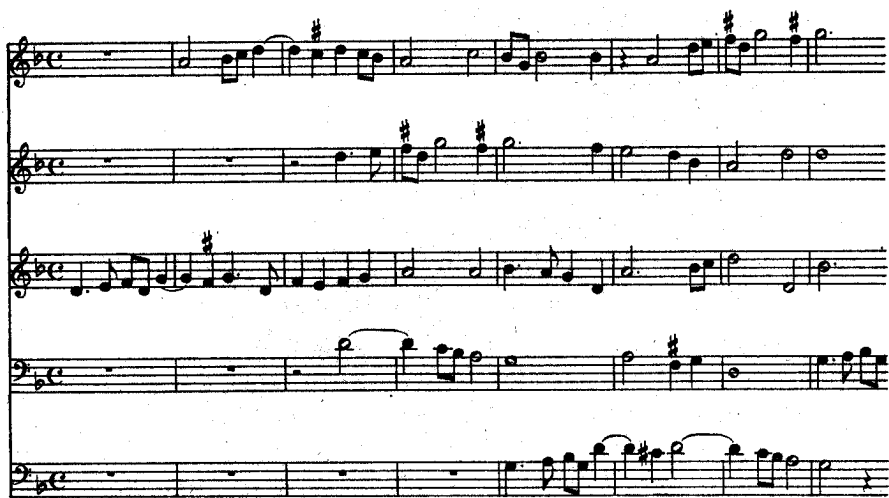
Jerome also composed fantasias, allemandes, and galliards for instrumental consort.<sup>140</sup> Four fantasias for five instruments are preserved in Christ Church MSS. 716-720, Nos. 21-24; three parts from the same works survive in the hand of Nicholas Le Strange (1604-55) in the Royal College of Music MS. 1145.<sup>141</sup> Five part-books for three allemandes and a fantasia intended for six instruments are preserved in Fitzwilliam Mus. MS. 734, a source containing many works by members of the Royal Wind Music of James I.<sup>142</sup> Although the distribution of parts, indicated in the Appendix, varies from work to work, the consort of six woodwinds mentioned in the 1571 inventory could have been appropriate for some of these. No. 19 of the Fitzwilliam source has been credited to Jerome, but it is unsigned. Two madrigal transcriptions (« Note felice » and « Oyme dolente ») complete a list of Jerome's works in MS. 734. In addition there are two galliards for four or more instruments in Yale University's Filmer MS. 2, an early Jacobean source.<sup>143</sup> These are Nos. 7 and 8 of the second set of pieces. Three part-books survive in this source, but the Bassano pieces appear in only two. A treble part and one or two other parts seem to be missing. Jerome's compositions are solid works. His contrapuntal skill is demonstrated even in the short allemandes. The cunning of Giovanni Bassano's *Fantasia* for three parts of 1585 is amply recalled in openings such as that of No. 17:

<sup>141</sup> Ms. 1145 is discussed in J. NOBLE, *Le Répertoire instrumental anglais: 1550-1585* in *La Musique instrumentale de la Renaissance*, Paris 1955, and A. ASHBEE, *A Further Look at Some of the Le Strange Manuscripts*, « Chelys: The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society », V, 1973-1974. I am grateful to Dr. Watkins Shaw of the Royal College of Music for further information on this source. My thanks are due also to Miss Margaret Crum of the Bodleian Library for advice on Christ Church 716-720 and for helping to lay to rest rumors of instrumental music by the English Bassanos in the Bodleian.

<sup>142</sup> For a detailed description of this source see DART, *Repertory* quoted above, note 2. I am grateful to Dr. Trevor Jones for the information that his transcriptions of the source, mentioned in Dart's article, were given to Dart.

<sup>143</sup> R. FORD, *The Filmer Manuscripts: A Handlist*, « Notes », XXXIV, 1978, p. 816. I should like to acknowledge Mr. Ford's kind help in making available his study of this source prior to its publication.





The occasional antiphonal character of the fantasias is comparable with what can be seen in many early Venetian ensemble pieces. A propensity for parts to cross one another is one English trait of the works. Jerome's choice of clefs is not typical of English partbooks for viol music, however, and although the pieces work well enough on viols, the possibility that they were performed on wind instruments should not be dismissed.

Augustine's usual instrument was the lute.<sup>144</sup> He also played the recorder at Queen Elizabeth's funeral in 1603, as indeed did Arthur, Edward, Andrew, and Jerome Bassano, together with Baptiste's son-in-law Alfonso Lanier, and one additional musician, Robert Baker. In 1604, the last year of his life, Augustine is also on record as having played the sackbut.<sup>145</sup>

Augustine is represented by five pieces in the «Tregian» manuscript, Egerton 3665.<sup>146</sup> These are a single galliard transcribed by Peter Philips (c. 1560-c. 1635) and two pavan-galliard pairs. The source was assembled by Francis Tregian the Younger (1574?-1619) mainly from printed sources, although there is no indication that Augustine's works were published. Since Philips spent most of his life on the

<sup>144</sup> WOODFILL, *Musicians in English Society* cit., p. 298. Occasional mention of him as a lutenist can be dated from 1547.

<sup>145</sup> STOKES, *Lists of the King's Musicians* cit., vol. II, p. 177.

<sup>146</sup> Literature on the Tregian Ms. includes B. SCHOFIELD and T. DART, *Tregian's Anthology*, «Music and Letters», XXXII, 1951; and E. COLE's articles *In Search of Francis Tregian*, «Music and Letters», XXXIII, 1952 and *L'Anthologie de madrigaux et de musique instrumentale pour ensemble de Francis Tregian* in *La Musique instrumentale*.

Continent and Tregian did most of his copying in the Fleet prison, the path of Augustine's works to this source would seem to rest on the Bassanos' (especially Andrew's and Arthur's) connections with the Low Countries. An anonymous transcription for lute (4a), perhaps by Augustine himself, of the first paired « Tregian » pavan (4) appears in Trumbull Add. MS. 6, a source owned by the Marquess of Downshire but currently on loan to the Berkshire County Record Office. Augustine's dances are more conventional works than Jerome's in that the use of clefs and distribution of parts (details that could have been modified in transcription) are more in line with other English consort pieces of the time. Augustine also avoids crossing of parts. Divisions of significant difficulty occur in the lute arrangement.<sup>147</sup>

Moving to pieces with incomplete attributions, let us first consider the Fitzwilliam attribution « A. B. » Justification for presuming « B » to stand for « Bassano » occurs through lack of alternative choices if one takes those choices to be limited to members of the King's Music in the reign of James I. But « A » is unlikely to have been Anthony. Anthony I had died in 1574, and Anthony II, born in 1579, is not identified so closely with the Wind Music as was his uncle Arthur, particularly during the first decade of the century, when Dart considers the pieces to have been collected. Augustine died very soon after James' accession to the throne and Andrew's identity was with keyboard instruments. Arthur's capabilities as a maker and player make him altogether the most probable candidate for the authorship of Nos. 11-14. The case is less clear for the « A. B. » whose pavan, No. 3 in this index, appears as No. 4 of the first set in Filmer MS. 2, since this set of works appears to have been for string instruments, perhaps with lute accompaniment. Augustine was the family lutenist, and although he scarcely lived to see the reign of James I, music by him could have survived in parallel with an arrangement of a piece from Dowland's *First Book of Ayres* (1597) that also occurs in this source.

Nos. 1 and 2, the « Bassano » works in the Van Soldt keyboard book of c. 1599, are most likely to be by Andrew. Not only is he the Bassano most closely connected with keyboard instruments but he is also the Bassano most closely associated with the Dutch. He would have been a likely choice to tutor a member of the Dutch expatriot community in London. Susanna Van Soldt, born in London in 1586, was

<sup>147</sup> Dr. Warwick Edwards of Glasgow University has kindly supplied editions of this and the Tregian works as well as relevant extracts from his Ph. D. dissertation, *The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music* (Cambridge University 1974).

the daughter of a wealthy Dutch merchant who fled to England prior to 1577. Most of the works in her book, which is chiefly significant as the only source of « Dutch » keyboard music before Sweelinck, are dances based on tunes current in the Low Countries between 1570 and 1580.

Between Andrew's representation in the Van Soldt Book and Augustine's in the Tregian manuscript lies a curious, if accidental, contradiction, for the compilation of the first owes something to Dutch Protestant dislocations in the years leading up to the Armada, while the second stands out as a musical monument to the exile and imprisonment of native Catholics during the reign of James I.

Anthony II was the chief figure among the third generation of Bassanos. Family pedigrees hold him to have been an organist to James I and Charles I.<sup>148</sup> His services must have been rendered in the Presence Chamber or otherwise on a private basis, for his name is not found to be associated with the organ in any published listings of musical staff. Some indication that organ music was actively encouraged in the Household during the reign particularly of Charles I is given by the numerous warrants to Edward Norgate to build and repair the organs at Whitehall, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond, and St. James.<sup>149</sup>

Court records place Anthony among the players of recorders, flutes, and cornetts from 1603 until 1624. His transfer to the organ may have been signalled by the hire on 30 September 1624 of William Noke to a position which became available « on the surrender of Anthony Bassano ».<sup>150</sup> Nonetheless on 9 July he, Jerome Lanier, and eleven other wind instrumentalists were paid for playing at Canterbury and Dover,<sup>151</sup> and on 22 December of the same year Anthony's name appeared among those of the recorder consort.<sup>152</sup> He is again listed as a recorder player in July 1628,<sup>153</sup> and on 4 January 1630/1 he received a warrant for the payment of £ 9 for three mute cornetts,<sup>154</sup> showing that he could

<sup>148</sup> I am grateful to Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter Principal King of Arms, College of Arms, London, for his kind assistance in verifying certain aspects of the Bassanos' lives from the College's resources, which are normally unavailable to the public. A Bassano pedigree beginning with Anthony II is to be found in Ms. Norfolk 39. The Bassano lineage is carried down to the present day in Ms. Surrey 18.

<sup>149</sup> LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick* cit., pp. 90-103.

<sup>150</sup> CSPD, vol. XI, p. 346.

<sup>151</sup> APC, vol. XI, p. 116.

<sup>152</sup> NAGEL, *Annalen* cit., p. 40.

<sup>153</sup> LAFONTAINE, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>154</sup> LAFONTAINE, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

have continued the instrument-making business. In 1637 Anthony was one of three waits for principal feasts.<sup>155</sup> The tools for use in making instruments that Arthur bequeathed to Anthony are not mentioned in Anthony's will, and it must be that the business was dissolved prior to his passing.

Of Jerome's sons, Henry and Edward II played shawms and sackbuts, while the nature of Scipio's musical talent is unknown. Henry's ascension into court musical circles must have come on his father's coattails, for in January 1622 a warrant to both Jerome and Henry was issued,<sup>156</sup> but Jerome had been at court for forty years or more and his inclusion makes little sense. A 1661 document refers to a letter patent of Henry's hire dated 23 November 1623.<sup>157</sup> However, Henry's official hire occurred on 8 August 1626, when he was appointed to succeed his uncle Andrew. During the 1660's there were constant petitions for his wages, leaving the regularity of his service open to question. From his death in 1665 until 1668 (the year in which his daughter died) Thomas Finall (also known as Thomas Finch, a court violinist from 1666 to 1676) was administrator for Henry's estate<sup>158</sup> and continued to make requests for Henry's back wages.

A recently published list of twenty-three musicians employed in the Royal Household before 18 March 1605/6 lists Arthur, Andrew, Edward (I), Jerome, and Jerome's son Scipio. Arthur's salary was £14/13/6½, while that of each of the other four was £11/12/8½ (John Bull, named in the same list, received £10).<sup>159</sup> Scipio had received a special fee of £46/10/10 in recognition of his « office » upon the death of Elizabeth,<sup>160</sup> but officially it was on 4 January 1610 that he was hired for a lifetime position with rights of survivorship.<sup>161</sup> He received the *pro forma* compensation of 20*d.* a day and £16/2/6 a year for livery.

Edward II served in the King's Music from 1627 until his death in January 1639, but in 1637 he was listed as « not able ».<sup>162</sup>

<sup>155</sup> LAFONTAINE, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>156</sup> CTB, vol. I, p. 249.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> CTB, vol. II, pp. 411, 568, 601.

<sup>159</sup> HMCS, vol. XXIV, p. 65. Philip Holland is named as one of twelve heralds in the same list, p. 66.

<sup>160</sup> Ms. Tiberius B III, f. 248. Jerome's son cannot have been old enough to have been the merchant Scipio Bassano required to pay a subsidy of £50 in c. 1589 (as cited in HSRJ, voll. CIX-CX, p. 149).

<sup>161</sup> PRO, C. 66/1801/m. 17.

<sup>162</sup> LAFONTAINE, *The King's Musick cit.*, p. 97.

There is no evidence that Emilia was a musician, although her opportunities for learning something about music were clearly numerous. However, she does have her own unique distinction in musical history for having joined her family with the Laniers, who progressively replaced the Bassanos in court musical circles. Although Nicholas, the first of seventeen Laniers to serve the throne, was hired in 1561, almost all the rest held tenures in the seventeenth century. The most distinguished was the second Nicholas (1588-1660), who was named Master of the King's Music in 1626.

With the Civil War the phenomenon of foreign instrumentalists in the King's Music came to an end. Of the Bassanos, only Henry lived to see the Restoration. The Laniers, who continued for quite some time, had been on English soil for a century and were hardly any longer foreign. Music must have remained an important pastime in the Bassano family, for *Six Select Anthems* by Christopher, the great-grandson of Anthony II, were published posthumously in the middle of the eighteenth century. Christopher is also represented in two British Library MSS.<sup>163</sup>

### III. ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The Bassanos enjoyed significant success as merchants and they became substantial landholders. There were many dimensions to their activities in the commercial sphere, but initially they were involved in the trade of wine and such other foodstuffs as might befit a royal feast. They cannot have fared so well without the favor of some prominent Elizabethan and Jacobean families, met perhaps in the Presence Chamber where they played. Indeed it is possible that they were enabled in both their musical and their commercial endeavors by the support of a few families.

The Bassanos were involved in trade from the very start of their English residence. Early in 1539, before the arrival of their four brothers, « Jacopo de Basyano of Venice and Antonio [I] his brother » received a license to import 300 tons of Gascon wine.<sup>164</sup> Wine was the

<sup>163</sup> His « Farewell » is No. 86 of Add. Ms. 22099 (compiled c. 1704-1707), and the same work without an attribution is No. 2 of Add. Ms. 31813.

<sup>164</sup> CLPFD, vol. XIV/1, p. 163, entry of 15 February 1539. The only additional reference to Jacopo Bassano could be to a later person, since it occurs in the subsidy roll (with a required fee of £20) cited in note 159. Both Bassanos listed in the subsidy roll were resident in the parish of St. Olave.

leading import in the middle of the sixteenth century, and aliens were responsible for 38 per cent of the value of all imports in 1559-60,<sup>165</sup> so it is unlikely that the Bassanos' involvement in trade was as unusual or unexpected as it may at first appear. Their import licence seems to have been effective for three years, whereupon it was renewed.<sup>166</sup> Anthony I is not linked further with the importation of wine. But Innocent Locatello, the son-in-law to whom Jasper Bassano alludes in his will as a « merchaunt of Venice », imported wine from Italy. On the Venetian *Santa Maria de Gracia* Locatello brought in malmsey, Venetian muscatel, and sweet wine on 22 October 1567, as well as more of the same on 14 November.<sup>167</sup> The same vessel, arriving on 5 November, carried six Venetian lutes whose official importer was William Cooper.<sup>168</sup> In addition the Venetian ship *Ronaldo* had brought in consignments of Locatello wine on 26 August and Cooper currants on 31 August.<sup>169</sup> No Bassanos *per se* are mentioned in the London Port Book of 1567-68, the only one for the sixteenth century that survives complete. Alien trade records were kept separately, but the Bassanos are not named in those few fragments that survive.<sup>170</sup>

Augustine Bassano was as much a separate case among the Bassanos in economic matters as he was in musical matters. He was probably the first in the family to be involved in a chancery suit. Trade agreements were the subject of one surviving suit of c. 1564. As previously noted, he was reported to be destitute in the 1570 alien returns. This could indicate that it was he who bore the brunt of the debt owed to the royal court in 1568 through posthumous collection of his father's pay. In the years 1579 through 1581 Augustine and his wife, Anne Taylor, were defendants in a suit brought by a baker, Thomas Humphrey. It appears that Augustine had taken over a business, which involved such products as « Holland cloth » and raisins, from his father-in-law;<sup>171</sup> he was being pressed to pay debts he had inherited with the business. Currants from the Venetian-held islands of Zante and Cephalonia were

<sup>165</sup> L. STONE, *Elizabethan Overseas Trade*, « Economic History Review », s. II, vol. II, 1949, pp. 36-38.

<sup>166</sup> CLPFD, vol. XVII, p. 61, entry of 15 February 1542.

<sup>167</sup> LRSP, vol. VIII, p. 10.

<sup>168</sup> It is interesting to note that among instruments being imported that year lutes were preëminent. *In toto* there were eight from Cologne, twenty-two from Antwerp, and miscellaneous quantities of lute and harp strings (LRSP, vol. VIII, *passim*).

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>170</sup> PRO, E. 190/5/5.

<sup>171</sup> PRO, Req. 2/222/58, documents dated May 1579, June 1579, and October 1581.

imported to England from 1570 onward.<sup>172</sup> Augustine must have recovered his financial balance, for in c. 1589 he was required to pay a subsidy of £ 20.<sup>173</sup>

The earliest report of Bassano land holdings is a license of 12 April 1570 to Edward Isacke « to alienate a messuage, a garden and a parcel of land (21 feet long by 18 feet wide) in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate, London, now in the tenure of Roger Fitzwilliams » to Baptiste Bassano. The sum of £ 1/6/9 was paid.<sup>174</sup> Innocent Locatello's sons Augustine and Nicholas *et al.* were involved in protracted chancery proceedings<sup>175</sup> over a « messuage » in Mark Lane and land in Erith (near London) that had been passed down from Jasper Bassano.

Jasper's burial at St. Olave's in 1577 gives some indication of the social ascendancy of the Bassanos, for this small parish church just off Mark Lane boasted many eminent and musically active members. Numerous Lord Mayors of London, merchants and traders, and distinguished families (later including the Pepys family) figured among its parishioners. The church acquired an organ in 1552 and it can be assumed that music of a reasonable quality was heard there. Its proximity to the docks made its environs convenient for importers and exporters, and in light of this it is not surprising that the East India Company was situated here.

The economic emergence of the second generation was signalled by the journey of Arthur and Andrew to Venice in 1577. It is quite likely that the trip was occasioned by family interests, since Jasper, who had died three months before their departure, was the last survivor of his generation. The year 1577 was not a pleasant one for foreigners in England; it was to be the last year of any substantial immigration for some time to come. Among an alien population of 6,500 there were said to be only 116 Italians.<sup>176</sup> Considering the temper of the times, Arthur and Andrew were very well treated. The Privy Council issued « a pasporte for Arthure and Andrewe Bassany, brethren, and his man servauntes, to passe with her Highnes' favor to Venice, and thence to returne withe all dilligence, without staie or molestacion to the con-

<sup>172</sup> On trade at that time see R. DAVIS, *England and the Mediterranean in Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in Honour of R. H. Tawney*, ed. F. J. Fisher, Cambridge 1961, p. 136.

<sup>173</sup> HSRS, vol. CIX-CX, p. 149.

<sup>174</sup> PRO, C. 66/1069/1208/m. 16 (see CPR, vol. V, p. 141).

<sup>175</sup> PRO, C. 2, James I, L. 1/61.

<sup>176</sup> PAGE, *Letters of Denization* cit., p. xxxix.

trarye ».<sup>177</sup> It is noteworthy that of all Anthony's children it was two later prominent as instrument-makers who made this trip. The possibilities for what music they might have brought back with them from Venice provide ground for endless speculation.

Inevitably a few members of the Bassano family took their importance too much for granted. It had been bold of the brothers to collect Aloysius' pay after his death and was bold, though more understandable, to petition for the back wages of Edward I in 1583. On 23 September 1584 Arthur and Mark Anthony were cited for misdemeanors committed with other royal musicians « at the muring up of a way and gate » at Aldgate High Street.<sup>178</sup> So well insulated by royal privilege did they feel that they protested to attending officials: « This is the Queen's ground, and we will stand here ». Less than a year later, on 16 August 1585, Mark Anthony was cited for an « affray » and « opprobrious words uttered [...] against the soldiers going to Flanders ».<sup>179</sup> Mark Anthony was mistaken for a Spaniard and threats were made on his life.

By 1600 the Bassanos' most lucrative trade was in the export of calfskins. Butchers and tanners were among the wealthiest men in sixteenth-century England. Leather was in demand for the bellows of both furnaces and organs as well as for clothing and saddles.<sup>180</sup> Export licenses were exclusive, and in Elizabethan times they were frequently granted as favors in kind for services rendered to the Queen.<sup>181</sup> Many of the customs ledgers that could shed light on such activities were discontinued on the accession of James I. The best known patent granted to a musician was that of 1583 to William Byrd, initially shared with Thomas Tallis, to print music. Its commercial value must have been inferior to the Bassanos' patent on the export of leather. The quantities they were entitled to export were very

<sup>177</sup> APC, vol. X, p. 12.

<sup>178</sup> CSPD, vol. II, p. 202 gives one résumé of the event. Mark Neale is mentioned only in Izon's account., p. 333.

<sup>179</sup> CSPD, vol. II, p. 260.

<sup>180</sup> HOSKINS, *The Age of Plunder* quoted above, note 115, pp. 173-177; L. A. CLARKSON, *The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, « Economic History Review », s. II, vol. XIII, 1960, p. 245.

<sup>181</sup> For discussion see W. T. MACCAFFREY, *Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics in Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale*, London 1961, p. 120; G. A. PHILLIPS, *Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I*, « Music and Letters », LVIII, 1977; and F. J. FISHER, *London's Export Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, « Economic History Review », s. II, vol. III, 1950, pp. 151-161.



considerable for the time.<sup>182</sup> Their patent, granted with effect from 27 August 1593 to Arthur, Andrew, and Jerome, permitted them to deputize in their trade affairs,<sup>183</sup> as they almost certainly did from time to time in their musical affairs.

Understandably, native merchants were not enthusiastic about the royal favors granted to the Bassanos. One account of 1594 relates that, « The Queen lately granted licence to her musicians Arthur, Andrew, and Jeronimo Bassano [...] to transport 6,000 dicker of calveskins out of Bristol, but the officers refuse to accept custom on them, under colour of a previous licence to Peter Newhall ».<sup>184</sup> Newhall's license was subsequently determined to be void.<sup>185</sup> The custom fee was set at 5s. a dicker, which would have brought the total to £ 1,500. Through renewals,<sup>186</sup> this patent endured until 1621, although in 1615 the right of successorship was assigned to James Maxwell.

Jerome is likely to have been the chief figure in the leather business, simply because he possessed far more land than his brothers. Land appropriate for grazing should have been plentiful among the « landes, meadows, pastures, orchards, and gardens » that are mentioned repeatedly in his will. He makes specific reference to lands and manors in Waltham Abbey (« Walthamholicrosse »), to property at Hoyden, Culvers Grove, and Starneshope, to a Rowcroft House, to Pottershill House and Woodridden Farm leased from the Earl of Norwich, and to a principal homestead called « Pegrimes » at Southend. These properties were repleat with « barnes, stables, edifices, horses, and swine », not to mention quantities of silver, tapestries, and pictures. The close association of Edward I with the leather trade is suggested by the fact that his daughter Dorcas married a skinner.<sup>187</sup>

The destination of these leather exports is not known. Jerome

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<sup>182</sup> I am especially grateful to Dr. Pauline Croft, Royal Holloway College, University of London, for help in tracing and evaluating the significance of the Bassanos's economic enterprises and to Dr. Richard T. Rapp, State University of New York at Stony Brook, for advice on trade relations between Venice and England.

<sup>183</sup> PRO, C. 66/1488/mm. 22-24 (see also CSPD, vol. V, p. 90).

<sup>184</sup> HMCS, vol. XIII, p. 519.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 520. This was hardly with justice, since the original grant excluded export from Bristol, Chester, and Liverpool for the duration of existing grants.

<sup>186</sup> Renewals were granted with effect from the following dates: 18 September 1600 to Arthur, Andrew, and Jerome; 27 August 1607 to the above plus Edward and Scipio; 20 August 1614 to all of the above plus Anthony (II), Daniel, and William. See CSPD, vol. V, p. 90 and vol. VIII, p. 165; also W. NOTESTEIN, F. H. RELF, and H. SIMPSON (eds.), *Commons Debates 1621*, New Haven 1935, vol. VII, pp. 338-339. Arthur alone was listed as holder of the patent in Robert Cecil's list of 1601 (see W. H. PRICE, *The English Patents of Monopoly*, Cambridge, Mass. 1906, pp. 149-152).

<sup>187</sup> Tony Almye in 1618 (HSRS, vol. XXXI, p. 127).

retained a house in Venice and it could have gone there, for the demand for leather in Italy was high. But most English leather went to France, and it is clear from the Bassanos' earlier activities in the wine trade that they had contacts there.

Andrew had investments in timber, wheat, and malt. On 27 January 1598/9 he leased timber-producing land at Horne Court (Bletchingly, Surrey) from Jesus College, Cambridge, for £6/13/4 *per annum*.<sup>188</sup> Timber had already become a rare commodity in England, so Andrew's wood was almost certainly destined for the domestic market. The wood is most likely to have been oak, and, if so, suitable for harpsichords as well as being useful in making the chests in which wind and string instruments were kept. The Bassanos' potential resources for « growing instruments from seed » is interesting to contemplate.

On 17 April 1604 Andrew similarly took on the lease of the manor and arable land at Horne Court and apparently lived in the manor until his death. He was required to pay some of his rent in kind. The rent for the manor and its unwooded lands came to £6/13/4 plus five quarters five bushels of wheat and five quarters six bushels of malt, in addition to a boar to be supplied to the college at Christmas. As Dart said of his own college, Jesus was exceedingly loyal to the crown at this time and that loyalty suggests that the network of patronage initiated at court served Andrew well in this instance. His lease was renewed in 1610, 1617, and 1624/5. Shortly after his death the lease passed to Ralph Hope, a solicitor, who was later an administrator for Jerome's son Henry.<sup>189</sup> Because Henry succeeded Andrew at court, it would seem that there is some possibility that Hope accepted the lease on behalf of Henry.

Arthur's son Paul was involved in the fish trade. On 27 January 1616 he and John Vaudry were given a 31-year grant to be sole importers of salmon and lobster within a 21-mile radius of London.<sup>190</sup> This arrangement provoked no end of opposition, first in 1618 for « using a patent for a new way of bringing in salmons and lobsters from Ireland » rather than from Holly Island, Norway, following the usual English and Dutch customs.<sup>191</sup> Preferential treatment deriving

<sup>188</sup> Archives of Jesus College, Cambridge. I am much indebted to Mr. F. K. Jones, archivist of the college, for generously assembling all the references to Andrew Bassano.

<sup>189</sup> On 2 November 1631 Henry assigned his liveries of 1632 and 1633 to « Ralph Hope of Lincoln's Inn » (LAFONTAINE, *op. cit.*, p. 79).

<sup>190</sup> *Commons Debates* 1621, vol. VII, p. 386.

<sup>191</sup> APC, vol. XXXVI, p. 195. One week later the patent was upheld by the « generality of the Fishmongers Company » over a petition from individual fishmongers that

from patronage ties is suggested by the fact that both partners were said to have been servants to the «late Lord Chamberlain». <sup>192</sup> In September 1618 Paul Bassano succeeded to «the office of register that Vaudry held before», Vaudry having become registrar of all inn licences. <sup>193</sup> House of Commons debates swirled about the growing dispute between Bassano and his partner versus «the generality of fishmongers», with a final decision in Parliament that «no Englishman shall be impeded in using the same liberty of importation». <sup>194</sup>

Henry Bassano was so irregular in his court service that he must have had interests outside the field of music, but their nature is not known. In addition to the liveries he had assigned to Ralph Hope in 1632 and 1633, he assigned the power of attorney to Richard Clotterbooke in 1634 and 1636. <sup>195</sup> He was also not exempt from petitions for debts. There were petitions for £ 9 in 1627, for £ 16 in 1630, and for £ 3/10/4 in 1638. <sup>196</sup>

Anthony II eventually became a partner in the leather trade. At the time of his passing, his principal bequests were his home, Salisbury Hall, in Waltham Abbey and freehold lands nearby. Among his children his son Henry may be noted for his apparent involvement in the East India Company. A grocer involved especially with currants, Henry was apprenticed on 6 February 1629/30 to Robert Haslam. In 1636/7 he

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its invention was «frivolous and unfounded». It was further established on 26 July that no patent had been violated because the Norwegian trade had not been of seven years' duration. See CSPD, vol. IX, p. 550, entry dated 4 July 1618, and APC, vol. XXXVI, p. 234 f.

<sup>192</sup> CSPD, vol. XII, p. 63.

<sup>193</sup> *Commons Debates* 1621, vol. VII, p. 386.

<sup>194</sup> Initially, in April 1621, the Lord Chancellor was blamed for disobeying the patent to Bassano and Vaudry's successor, Sir John Lawrence (*Commons Debates* 1621, vol. V, p. 75, 18 April 1621). Bassano's patent, which was for nothing more ingenious than the «invention» of a «broad bottomed boate», was further alleged by the plaintiffs to have been «surreptitiouslie obtayned of the Kyng» (*op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 88 ff.; 21 April 1621). He was also accused of having taken fish away from other fishermen by force (actually his patent permitted this), and one Member proposed hanging as an appropriate punishment (*op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 98; 26 April 1621). The debate disclosed that Bassano and Vaudry brought live lobsters from Dutch fishermen for £4/10/- and resold them for £6, paying £10 *per annum* fee for the privilege (*op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 99; 26 April 1621). Bassano presented a printed defense (*op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 404). A further dispute that arose in June 1622 seemed to suggest a rift between Bassano and Lawrence caused by the issue of a patent to Lawrence alone (CSPD, vol. X, p. 415, entry of 29 June 1622 and APC, vol. XXXVIII, p. 267, entry of 28 June 1622). The name John Lawrence also belonged to a musician for the lutes and voices (1626-1635), who was to be succeeded by William Lawes (LAFONTAINE, *op. cit.*, p. 91 *et passim*).

<sup>195</sup> LAFONTAINE, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 90, 92.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 72, 99.

maintained a business in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark.<sup>197</sup> Henry set sail for the Indies in 1 December 1641 and died abroad in 1646.<sup>198</sup>

The progress of the Bassanos' mercantile interests demonstrates their gradual anglicization. They could have known a bit about wine, currants and raisins from their original Italian province, but neither salmon and lobster nor wheat and malt were especially familiar products in the Veneto. The cultivation of timber and the export of leather were interests nurtured by their experiences in England. The poverty that Anthony's brothers left behind in Venice must have been completely forgotten by the seventeenth century.

#### IV. PATRONAGE AND CULTURAL LINKS

From the start of their years in England the Bassanos were supported by a patronage network which is little understood. There may well have been some special understanding about the rewards of serving the monarchy implicit in the arrangement for the passage of the four brothers to England in 1539, if not in the earlier passage of Anthony I.

The earliest English patron of the Bassanos was Sir Henry Knyvett of the Privy Chamber, a Norfolk gentleman who sponsored their journey to England with an advance of £ 40.<sup>199</sup> Izon supposed that the four brothers' recruitment resulted from the King's desire to augment his musical forces for his forthcoming wedding to Anne of Clèves in November 1539, and indeed Sir Henry was one of many involved in receiving the prospective bride.<sup>200</sup> The scope of the Knyvetts' interests accords reasonably well with those of other patrons of the Bassanos. Sir Edmund was a sergeant porter to Henry VIII. The Knyvetts were ardent defenders of Protestantism in the late sixteenth century and equally ardent royalists in the mid-seventeenth. Contact with the Knyvetts was not limited merely to the period of the Bassanos' immigration. Sir Henry supplied passports, horses, and £ 20 in cash on 6 March 1546 so that Baptiste and Anthony Maria could go to the Continent.<sup>201</sup> The last marshall of Andrew Bassano's regiment in the Low Countries was Sir Thomas Knyvett.

<sup>197</sup> Guildhall Library, Register of Grocer Apprentices, vol. I (1626-1666), Ms. 11593/1, f. 11v; PRO, C. 24/612/1, dated 31 January 1636.

<sup>198</sup> PRO, Prob. 11/197, f. 150.

<sup>199</sup> CLPFD, vol. XIV/2, p. 106 (4 October 1539).

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202 (22 November 1539).

<sup>201</sup> CLPFD, vol. XXI/1, p. 323.

Both the Bassanos and the Knyvetts came to marry into the Holland family, another large Norfolk clan. One Mary Knyvett (*d.* 1600) was the wife of Sir Thomas Holland (1578-1626), a Member of Parliament who served as chief steward to the Earl of Arundel.

The Cecils were the most influential family with which the Bassanos appear to have had continued contact. Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612), Lord of Essendon, Viscount Cranborne, and first Earl of Salisbury, was perhaps the most trusted advisor to Elizabeth I in her last year, when he was Lord Chancellor of the Privy Council, and an indispensable political aid to James I in the first years of his reign. These are the years in which the Bassanos' vitality in both trade and musical affairs peaked. Sir Robert's father, Sir William (1520-1598), had served as Elizabeth's treasurer, Lord Burghley. Sir Robert's half-brother, Sir Thomas (1542-1623) had served as Governor of the forces at Brill and in this capacity had been Andrew Bassano's military commander.

In addition to his duties in keeping check on royal monopolies, Sir Robert demonstrated substantial personal interest in Italian architecture<sup>202</sup> and in the affairs of musicians generally. John Dowland sought his assistance in 1595.<sup>203</sup> The Bishop of London wrote to him on 24 August 1604 on behalf of Alfonso Lanier.<sup>204</sup> John Lanier thanked him on 2 July 1605 for having obtained for Nicholas Lanier the successorship to Piero Guy's place as a flutist.<sup>205</sup> Sir Robert and other members of the Privy Council also intervened on behalf of Andrew Bassano in his real estate dealings with Jesus College.<sup>206</sup> Just how far the influence of Sir Robert Cecil went in arranging the affairs of the Bassanos may never be fully known, but the fact that the residence of Anthony II was known as Salisbury Hall seems to pay tribute to the patronage of the Cecil family. An inventory of the Cecil residence, Hatfield House, in 1629 listed a significant number of musical instruments – two organs, one virginal, a large harpsichord with keys of mother-of-pearl, and « a great wind instrument »<sup>207</sup> – which (except for the pearl keys, which were not common in England) could be taken to suggest their reciprocity.

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<sup>202</sup> His taste in architecture was exhibited in the planning of Hatfield House, Hertfordshire (begun in 1595) and Salisbury House, London (begun in 1607).

<sup>203</sup> *HMCS*, vol. V, p. 445. The letter was published in *John Dowland*, « The Musical Times », XXXVII, 1896, pp. 793-794.

<sup>204</sup> *HMCS*, vol. XVI, p. 274.

<sup>205</sup> *HMCS*, vol. XVII, p. 297.

<sup>206</sup> *HMCS*, vol. XVI, p. 57.

<sup>207</sup> *HMCS*, vol. XXII, pp. 251-252.

The Trumbull family is another one with which the Bassanos seem to have had some contact. It is in a Trumbull MS. of c. 1599 that the lute transcription of one of Augustine's pavans is preserved, and there is a reference to Arthur's musical affairs in a letter to Sir William Trumbull (c. 1635) quoted earlier. It is also known that Sir William and his sister Elizabeth took a great interest in the virginals.<sup>208</sup>

Evidences of some association between the Bassanos, particularly Andrew, and Sir Philips Sidney (1554-1586) are numerous albeit circumstantial. We are reminded that at the age of 19, Sidney went off on a tour of the Continent. This included seven months – December 1573 to June 1574 – in Venice and Padua. On 19 December 1573 the young poet wrote to his mentor, Hubert Languet: « I am learning the sphere [astronomy] and a little music ».<sup>209</sup> While this statement is too vague to give any indication of the extent of Sidney's musical learning,<sup>210</sup> it establishes the interesting view that the study of music was a worthwhile use of one's time in Venice.

Sidney certainly knew something about the lute. Besides his lyrics to lute songs and his lyric « The time hath been that a tawdry lace », to be sung to « Greensleaves », whose *passemazzo* bass was so much a part of the lute and keyboard tradition of the sixteenth century, he occasionally used the lute as a poetic metaphor. For example, No. 54 in the *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (published posthumously in 1590) reads:

My Lute within thy selfe thy tunes enclose  
The world doth yield such ill consorted shows:  
Thus in thy selfe, least strings are loudest founde,  
And lowest stops do yield the hyest sounde.

<sup>208</sup> HMCD, vol. II, pp. 171, 183, 198, 220, 491.

<sup>209</sup> S. A. PEARCE (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, London 1845, p. 8. B. PATTISON, *Sir Philip Sidney and Music*, « Music and Letters », XV, 1934, pp. 75-81, maintains that Sidney's early musical education was slight but that the pre-eminence of music in Sidney's cultural milieu demanded that he exhibit some knowledge of it.

<sup>210</sup> Sidney's *Sleepe Babie mine* was to be sung to the tune of *Basciami vita mia*, which had circulated in lute tablatures during the third quarter of the century (an autograph of the poem has recently been found in the Biblioteca Bodmeriana, Switzerland). The work's earliest known instrumental setting was by Domenico Ferrabosco in RISM 1554<sup>28</sup>. The madrigal had been published in the Gardano anthology of 1543. By a curious coincidence, *Basciami vita mia* is the text of one of three madrigals by Giovanni Bassano given in Thomas Morley's *Selected Canzonets* (London 1597). The other foreign tunes to which Sidney set English lyrics cannot be traced to surviving instrumental representations. The Italian tunes were *Non credo già che più infelice amante*, to which Sidney set *Certain Sonnets* (written before 1581) Nos. 3 and 4; a Neapolitan song beginning *No, no, no, no*, to which Sonnet No. 25 was set; and « a Neapolitan villanell », to which Sonnet No. 27 was set. In addition to Italian models, Sidney drew in *Certain Sonnets on Spanish* (No. 7), English (No. 24), and Dutch (No. 23) songs. For a complete edition and further commentary see W. A. RINGLER, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, Oxford 1962.

Similarly, the Sidney family took an interest in the archlute, or so one would gather from the fine specimen exhibited in the portrait of the poet's sister, Lady Mary Wroth (d. 1642), at Penshurst Place.<sup>211</sup> This portrait is now believed to have been painted in c. 1620 by John de Critz. The lyra viol, cittern, and organ are among other instruments mentioned in Sidney's works.

Sidney's opportunities for contact with the musical community were considerable. For some years an active organizer of concerts in Salisbury, he lived in the parish of St. Olave's in the midst of a large number of foreign court musicians including the Lupos, Petalas, and Laniers as well as the Bessanos during what proved to be his last years. Sidney's daughter Elizabeth was baptized in the church on 15 November 1585.<sup>212</sup> The likelihood that Sidney and Andrew Bassano were acquainted cannot be categorically dismissed, since they served in the same regiment towards the end of Sidney's fatal campaign in the Netherlands in 1585.<sup>213</sup> Indeed, the person to whom the poet's legendary dying wish – to pass the cup of water to a more needy comrade – was expressed might easily have been Andrew Bassano, the regiment's water bailiff.

However, Andrew is unlikely to have been the only Bassano acquainted with a member of the Sidney family. The Bassanos were closely associated towards the end of the century with the Whitton family, who were in the service of the Sidneys and could have been a conduit to them. In 1579 Thomas Whitton was the comptroller of the household of the poet's father, Sir Henry (d. 1586). Arthur Bassano's daughters Camilla (b. 1577) and Mary (b. 1600) were both married to men named Henry Whitton. Andrew assumed his timber lease from Edward Whitton. In fact, Andrew's leased property, Horne Court, was not a great distance from Penshurst Place, the Sidney family home. While none of these details inform us of a precise relationship between the Bassanos and the Sidneys, they present a broad scope of possibilities for the poet's interactions with the musical community.

<sup>211</sup> This portrait has been reproduced in many places, most recently in D. MUNROW, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, London 1976, p. 79.

<sup>212</sup> *HSRS*, vol. XLVI, p. 12.

<sup>213</sup> *CSPF*, vol. XXII, p. 410 shows them together, while vol. XXI/3, p. 290 shows them in different places (Sidney's name is absent in the other troop lists that include Andrew Bassano). From Sidney's inclusion we can deduce that the reports were submitted several months after the service was actually rendered. As the stand, they are dated between 11 October 1586 and 11 October 1588. Sidney was named Governor of Flushing on 7 November 1585 (Sir Thomas Cecil was simultaneously named Governor of Brill). Sidney was wounded at Arnheim on 22 September 1586 and died three weeks later. One additional troop report, in which Andrew Bassano and Sir Robert Sidney are named, is in *HMCS*, vol. V, p. 240.

As for Shakespeare, it can easily be imagined that he would have been vaguely aware of the Bassanos as musicians. They all were active in London in roughly the same years, and the multitude of instruments made by the Bassanos would have been nearly adequate to meet all the musical needs of Shakespeare's plays. It is by no means inconceivable that he was aware of their mercantile activities as well. In 1577, when there were only 166 Italians resident in London, the Bassanos have to have constituted a significant subconstituency. Their economic successes were most visible during the two most productive decades of Shakespeare's life, 1590-1610. But whether there is reason to suppose that if he was aware of this he was in any way influenced by it as a dramatist is quite another matter and one that must be resolved by literary scholars. Admittedly the names « Bassanio » and « Antonio », used for the Venetian traders in *The Merchant of Venice* (1595), provide an interesting, if accidental, tribute to the original head of the English lineage. But too little is revealed about the personal affairs of either literary figure to demonstrate a correspondence to any real personalities of the time.

Evidence that Shakespeare had any special degree of acquaintance with Emilia Bassano Lanier is not to be found in any of the material examined in connection with the present study. The « Dark Lady » sonnets, Nos. 127-152 (1592-94), provide only two empirical facts about the dramatist's presumed mistress: (1) she had black hair, black eyes, and dark skin; and (2) she played a keyboard instrument. No description of Emilia's physical appearance or musical skills survives. The fact that her uncle Andrew built keyboard instruments gives her a reasonable chance of having known something about such instruments, but the keys « o'er whom thy fingers walk with gentle gait » (Sonnet No. 128) could have been depressed by a host of Emilia's contemporaries. Indeed the « Dark Lady » sonnets were written at the peak of the harpsichord's popularity.

Any information that might put Shakespeare and Emilia in the same place at the same time falls too late to be material to the sonnets. Shakespeare's brief residence in the parish of St. Helen's, for example, occurred before 1596 but probably after the completion of the sonnets.<sup>214</sup> Emilia's brother-in-law Joseph Holland could have been related to the Welsh poet Robert Holland (d. 1622), who in July 1596, upon the intercession of John Bull, became the lessee of the « College or

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<sup>214</sup> P. GORDON, *The Morley-Shakespeare Myth*, « The Musical Quarterly », XXVIII, 1947, p. 121.



Chantry of Stratford-on-Avon », <sup>215</sup> but Shakespeare was occupied in London. Only through a much later in-law, Bridget (b. 1642), is the Bassano family brought into union with a theatrical personality. A widow of the Waltham branch of the family, Bridget was remarried to Edward Kinnaston, perhaps the noted comic actor (fl. 1659-1699), in 1672.

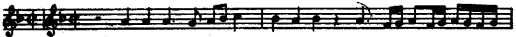
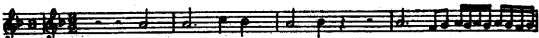
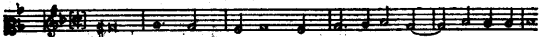

All told, the saga of the Bassanos leaves many important issues unresolved. It is not possible to determine whether their complicated movements contributed to the importation of the Italian madrigal, for example, or to the perambulations of Elizabethan keyboard and consort music between England and the Low Countries. Their possible interactions with poets and the implications of such relationships for the surviving song repertory are speculative. More fundamental matters, such as what the instruments of their creation sounded like, seem doomed to oblivion. But the range of the Bassanos' musical and other activities may provide a map of the kinds of interrelationships which, in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, joined musician to musician as well as musicians to society. It can be confidently assumed that in the sphere of instrumental music they lived at the hub of activity. And although the traditional questions remain open, the Bassanos present many new leads to their possible answers.

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<sup>215</sup> DART, *New Documents* (see above, note 54), p. 20.

# THEMATIC INDEX

The following abbreviations for clefs have been used: A = Alto, B = Bass, M = Mezzo-soprano, S = Soprano, Sb = Sub-bass, T = Tenor, and Tr = Treble. Indications in brackets are speculative. Ellipses indicate missing parts. The rhythmic values are unreduced.

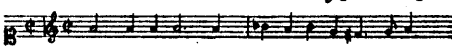

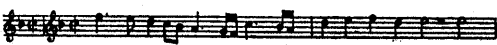
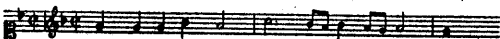
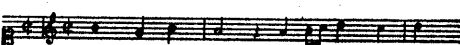
No.	Incipit	Attribution	Clefs	Sources	Modern editions
<b>A. KEYBOARD DANCES</b>					
1	Pavan	[Andrew] Bassano		GB-Lbm, Add. MS. 29485 (The Van Soldt Book, c. 1599), No. 11	<i>Dutch Keyboard Music of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> (« Monumenta Musica Neerlandica », III), ed. Alan Curtis (Amsterdam 1961), pp. 19-20.
					
2	Galliard	[Andrew] Bassani		GB-Lbm, Add. MS. 29485, No. 12	<i>Dutch Keyboard Music</i> , pp. 21-22.
					
<b>B. ENSEMBLE DANCES</b>					
3	Pavan	A[ugustine?] B[assano]	[Tr] M ... B	US-NH, Filmer MS. 2, first set, No. 4, ff. 3'/4'	
					
4	Galliard	geronimie Bassano	[Tr] M ... B	US-NH, Filmer MS. 2, second set, No. 7, ff. 8'/9'	
					

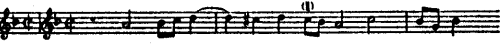
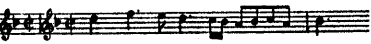



No.	Incipit	Attribution	Clefs	Sources	Modern editions
5	Galliard	giero[nimo] Bassano	[Tr] M ... B	US-NH Filmer, MS. 2, second set, No. 8, ff. 8b/10'	
6	Galliard à 5	Aug[ustine] Bassano set by P.P. [= Peter Philips]	TrMATB	GB-Lbm, Egerton MS. 3665 (The Tregian MS.), ff. 519-520	<i>Jacobean Consort Music</i> (« <i>Musica Britannica</i> », IX), ed. Thurston Dart and William Coates (London 1955), p. 96.
7	Pavan à 5	Augustin[e] Bassano	SAATB	GB-Lbm, Egerton MS. 3665, ff. 520b-521	
7a	Pavan <sup>1</sup>	[Augustine Bassano]	(Lute)	GB-Reading, Berkshire Public Record Office, Trumbull Add. MS. 6 (c. 1595) on loan from the Marquess of Downshire	
8	Galliard à 5	Augustin[e] Bassano	SAATB	GB-Lbm, Egerton MS. 3665, ff. 520b-521	

<sup>1</sup> The original is a whole tone lower.

No.	Incipit	Attribution	Clefs	Sources	Modern editions
9	Pavan à 5	Augustin[e] Bassano	SMTTB SMTTB	GB-Lbm, Egerton MS. 3665, ff. 520b-521	
10	Galliard à 5	Augustin[e] Bassano		GB-Lbm, Egerton MS. 3665, ff. 520b-521	
11	Pavan à 6	A[rthur] B[assano]	SATTB <sup>2</sup>	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734 (formerly MSS. 24.E.13-17), No. 16	« Suite from the Royal Brass Music of King James I », ed. Thurston Dart (London 1959), No. 4, pp. 9-10.
12	Allemande à 6	A[rthur] B[assano]	TrSAASb	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 3	
13	Allemande à 6	A[rthur] B[assano]	TrSAASb	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 4	
14	Allemande à 6	A[rthur] B[assano]	SMTTB	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 13	

<sup>2</sup> One part-book from Mus. Ms. 734 is missing.

No.	Incipit	Attribution	Clefs	Sources	Modern editions
15	Allemande à 6	J[erome] B[assano]	SMTTB	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 15	
					
16	Allemande à 6	J[erome] B[assano]	TrSTTB	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 17	
					
17	Allemande à 6	J[erome] B[assano]	TrTrATB	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 18	
					
C. MADRIGAL TRANSCRIPTIONS					
18	Note felice à 6	Jer[ome] Bassano	SSATB	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 31	
					
19	Oyme, oyme dolente à 6	Jer[ome] Bassano	SATTB	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, no number	
					

No.	Incipit	Attribution	Clefs	Sources	Modern editions
D. FANTASIAS					
20	Fantasia à 5	Hieronimo Bassano Hieron[imo] Bassano	TrTrMTSb TrMT <sup>3</sup>	GB-Och, Mus. 716-720, No. 21 <sup>4</sup> GB-Lcm, MS. 1145, f. 52	
					
21	Fantasia à 5	Hieronimo Bassano Hieron[imo] Bassano	TrTrMTSb TrMT	GB-Och, 716-20, No. 22 GB-Lcm, MS. 1145, f. 52 <sup>v</sup>	
					
22	Fantasia à 5	Hier[onimo] Bassano Hieron[imo] Bassano	TrTrATSb TrMT	GB-Och, 716-20, No. 23 GB-Lcm, MS. 1145, f. 53	
					
23	Fantasia à 5	Hier[onimo] Bassano Hieron[imo] Bassano	TrTrMTSb TrMT	GB-Och, 716-20, No. 24 GB-Lcm, MS. 1145, f. 54	
					
24	Fantasia à 6	Jer[ome] Bassano	SSTTB	GB-Cfm, Mus. MS. 734, No. 32	« Suite from the Royal Brass Music of King James I », No. 3, pp. 5-8.
					

<sup>3</sup> The three interior parts are included in Ms. 1145; the outer parts are missing. The extant partbooks are labelled Cantus, Altus, and Tenor.

<sup>4</sup> In Christ Church 717 the parts for these four fantasias are numbered incorrectly and consequently have been misbound. The second part for No. 21 is labelled No. 24; for No. 22, No. 23; for No. 23, No. 21; and for No. 24, No. 22.

## UNSUPPORTED AND SPURIOUS ATTRIBUTIONS

The six-part allemande that is No. 19 in Mus. MS. 734 is reported by *RISM* as a work of « J. Bassano ». Although it appears on the same folio with Nos. 17 and 18, which are initialled « J. B. », No. 19 is not initialled.

The keyboard piece in GB-Ob, MS. Sch. D. 217, p. 74 must be the basis for reports of music by the Bassanos in the Bodleian Library, but it is by the Italian composer Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1657-1716) and appears with motets by him.

As for modern editions, the inclusion of works from the Venetian Giovanni Bassano's *Fantasie a tre voci* (1585) with pieces by Thomas Lupo and Thomas Morley in « Hortus Musicus », 64 (*Leichte Fantasien für drei Gamben*, ed. Joseph Bacher, Kassel 1950) may confuse the unwary. To compound that confusion Giovanni Bassano's dates are given as 1657-1716, which are those of G. B. Bassani. The Venetian composer died in 1617.

Augustine (d. 1604)  
m. Anne Taylor

Aloysius (d. 1552) — Julius  
— Laurence  
— Zachary  
— Lewis II

Jacob (fl. 1539)

Angelica (b. 1537)  
m. Jasper Slostchan (1554)  
— Margaretta (b. 1541)  
— Isabella (b. 1544)  
m. Jeronimo Fusieco (1560)  
— Mark Anthony (1546-1599)  
— Arthur (1547-1624)  
m. Margaret Lothbury (1575)  
— Nicholas (1550-1564)  
— Edward I (1551-1622)  
— Andrew (1554-1626)  
— Lucretia (b. 1556)  
— Jerome (1559-1635)  
m. Dorothy Simonds (1584)

Anthony I (d. 1574)  
m. Elina Nazzi (1536)

Augustine (b. 1577)  
m. Henry Whitton  
— Anthony II (1579-1658)  
m. Dorothy Hindle  
— Joseph (1581-1596)  
— Paul (b. 1588)  
m. Elizabeth Gossen (1614)  
— Elizabeth (b. 1594)  
— Mary (b. 1600)  
m. Henry Whitton

Richard (1605-c. 1666)  
— John (1608-1653)  
—  
—  
—  
—  
—  
— Arthur (b. 1604)  
—  
— Henry (1615-1646)  
— Allen (b. 1619)  
— Daniel (b. 1633)

Abigail  
— Mary  
— Alice  
— Dorcas  
m. Tony Almye (1618)  
— Edward  
— Daniel

William  
—  
— Dorothy (Barstow)  
— Elizabeth  
— Eleanor  
— Jane

Frances  
— Scipio  
— Anne  
m. Thomas King (1628)  
— Charles (b. 1588)  
— Edward II (1588-1639)  
m. Anne Markham (1614)  
— Nowell (d. 1651)  
— Henry (d. 1665)  
— Mary (d. 1668)

Jasper (d. 1577) — Paul (fl. 1545)  
— Barbara  
m. I. Locatello

Augustine  
— Nicholas

Phillip (Holland)

John Baptiste (d. 1576)  
m. Margaret Johnson

Angela  
m. Joseph Holland (c. 1576)  
— Emilia (1569-1645)  
m. Alfonso Lanier (1592)

Henry (Lanier) (d. 1633)  
— Ottilia

John (d. c. 1570)

\* Names in *italics* are those of musicians. Thomas I and II, Lodovico, and Anthony Maria Bassano cannot be placed in this genealogy on the basis of existing data.

# ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLICATIONS IN SERIES

- APC** *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (London). Vol. X: 1577-1578 (1895); vol. XXXVI: 1618-1619 (1929); vol. XXXVIII: 1621-1623 (1932); vol. XL: 1625-1626 (1934).
- ASV** Archivio di Stato Veneto, Venice.
- BL** British Library (formerly British Museum), London.
- CPR** *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (London). Edward VI, vol. IV: 1550-1553 (1926); Elizabeth I, vol. II: 1563-1566 (1960); vol. IV: 1566-1569 (1964); vol. V: 1569-1572 (1966); vol. VI: 1572-1575 (1968).
- CLPFD** *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic* (London). Henry VIII, vol. XIV/1: Jan.-July, 1539 (1894); vol. XIV/2: Aug.-Dec., 1539 (1896); vol. XVII: 1542 (1900) vol. XXI/1: Jan.-Aug., 1546 (1908).
- CSPD** *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (London). Elizabeth I, vol. II: 1581-1590 (1865); vol. V: 1598-1601 (1869); James I, vol. VIII: 1603-1610 (1857); vol. IX: 1611-1618 (1858); vol. X: 1619-1623 (1858); vol. XI: 1623-1625, with Addenda 1603-1625 (1859); Elizabeth I and James I, vol. XII: Addenda 1580-1625 (1872).
- CSPF** *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign* (London). Elizabeth I, vol. XXI/3: Apr.-Dec., 1587 (1929); vol. XXI/4: Jan.-June, 1588 (1931); vol. XXII: July-Dec., 1588 (1936); vol. XXIII: Jan.-July, 1589 (1950).
- CTB** *Calendar of the Treasury Books* (London). Vol. I: 1660-1667 (1904); vol. II: 1667-1668 (1905).
- HMCD** Historical Manuscripts Commission: *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Downshire* (London). Vol. II: *The Papers of William Trumbull the Elder, 1605-1610* (1936).
- HMCS** Historical Manuscripts Commission: *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House* (London). Vol. V: *Act. 1594-Dec. 1595* (1894); vol. XIII: *Addenda to 1603* (1915); vol. XVI: 1604 (1933); vol. XVII: 1605 (1938); vol. XXII: 1612-1668 (1971); vol. XXIV: *Addenda, 1605-1668* (1976).
- HSRS** Harleian Society, *Register Series* (London). Vol. XVI: *The Parish Register of Kensington, 1539-1675* (1890); vol. XXXI: *Register of the Parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, 1575-1837* (1904); vol. XLVI: *Register of the Parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, 1563-1700* (1916); vol. LXXXVIII: *Register of the Parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster* (1958); vol. CIX-CX: *London Subsidy Roll c. 1589* (1963).

- HSVS Harleian Society, *Visitation Series* (London). Vol. XV: *Visitation of London, 1634* (1880).
- LIS List and Index Society, London. Vol. XCVII: *Chancery Patent Rolls, 1 and 2 James I, Calendar and Index* (1974); vol. CXXXIII: *Chancery Patent Rolls, 9 James I, Calendar* (1977).
- LRSP London Record Society Publications (London). Vol. II: *London Inhabitants Within the Walls, 1695*, intro. by D. V. Glass (1966); vol. VIII: *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London Documents*, ed. B. Dietz (1972).
- PRO Public Record Office, London.
- SPV *State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy* (London). Vol. VII: 1558-1580 (1890).