

The Ups and Downs of Louis Grabu¹

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This article explores the career of Louis Grabu, Master of the Music to Charles II of England and an important but often overlooked and unnecessarily denigrated figure in the history of English music and music-making during the last third of the seventeenth century. While both his origins and his ultimate fate remain obscure, Grabu's activities between 1665 and 1694 are sufficiently documented to enable us not only to trace in considerable detail the periodic fluctuations in his fortunes, but also to establish a paradigm for exploring the lives of the vast number of seventeenth-century court musicians whose personal details must be gleaned from a mix of administrative records, surviving musical compositions and occasional observations recorded in contemporary diaries and correspondence. When these sources are carefully and exhaustively mined, a picture begins to emerge that belies the often glib dismissal of the musician's activities and abilities by contemporaries and modern scholars alike.

Keywords: Louis Grabu; Charles II; *Albion and Albanus*; Nicholas Staggins; Walter Lapp; Eleanor Playford

Poor Louis Grabu! Seldom has a struggling artist fallen so grievously victim to the cruel blows of malignant fortune as did the onetime Master of the Music at the English court of Charles II.

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1 In the preparation of this article, every effort has been made to reexamine and retranscribe the original documents, all of which are cited in the notes. For ease of reference, I have included parenthetical cross-references to the following published calendars, using the indicated sigla:

CTB: William A. Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 8 vols. in 15 (London, 1904–23).

CSPD: Mary Anne Everett Green, F. H. Blackburne Daniell and Francis Bickley, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1660–85, 28 vols. (London, 1860–1939); E. K. Timings, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1685–9, 3 vols. (London, 1960–72); and William John Hardy, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1689–1695, 5 vols. (London, 1895–1906).

Ashbee: Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols. (vols. 1–4: Snodland, Kent, 1986–91; vols. 5–9: Aldershot, 1991–6).

Lafontaine: Henry Cart de Lafontaine, ed., *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460–1700)* (London, 1909) [cited only when a document is not calendared in Ashbee].

Grabu stands before us as the very model of a distressed royal servant, a salutary picture of loyalty unrewarded and labour misapplied. However dazzling his rise to prominence in the mid-1660s may have seemed, his subsequent fall from favour strikes us as having been all the more precipitous, and of considerably more lasting impact – and hence doubly ruinous to his reputation as both a court functionary and a composer. The campaign of disparagement waged by contemporaries, from Pelham Humfrey's stinging charge that 'he understands nothing nor can play on any instrument and so cannot compose',² to John Dryden's discovery 'amongst some *English Musicians*, and their Scholars' of 'a Party, who maliciously endeavour to decry him',³ to the hilarious mockery of his surname in an anonymous satirical poem,⁴ would appear to confirm Grabu's overwhelmingly negative reputation among his peers. Coupled with the undeniable facts of his dismissal from office in 1674, his flight from anti-Popish prejudice in 1679, his subsequent inability to secure a position at the French court and the abrupt deflation of his grand operatic project *Albion and Albanus*, such barbs certainly must have taken their toll on the unfortunate musician's self-esteem.

Sorely buffeted by the social and political perils of the late seventeenth century, the hapless composer has fared little better in our own day. Grabu has been aptly described by Peter Holman as 'perhaps the most derided figure in English musical history',⁵ and a brief survey of commentary since the eighteenth century bears out this characterization. Charles Burney labelled him 'an obscure musician, whose name is not to be found in the French annals of the art', and dismissed Grabu's output as 'not very agreeable [...] to unprejudiced judges of Music'.⁶ E. F. Rimbault dubbed him an 'impudent pretender',⁷ W. J. Lawrence, 'a mediocre French composer',⁸ Robert Etheridge Moore, 'a pallid Frenchman',⁹ and Roy Lamson, Jr., with doubly dubious accuracy, 'a second-rate musician and close friend of Charles II'.¹⁰ Henri Dupré similarly described him as 'an inferior musician [...] who had the merit, in the eyes of Charles II, of being a Frenchman',¹¹ while W. H. Cummings, in the only stand-alone biographical article on Grabu hitherto published, held the musician up as an example of his contention that the Stuart monarch 'almost invariably patronized the evil and neglected the good'.¹² Echoing Lawrence and Dupré (and anticipating Lamson and Moore),

Register: Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, comps. and eds., *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660–1737*, 2 vols. (Carbondale, 1991).

2 Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. (Berkeley, 1970–83; henceforth **Pepys, Diary**), viii, 530.

3 John Dryden, *Albion and Albanus: An Opera. Perform'd at the Queens Theatre, in Dorset Garden* (London, 1685), sig. (b)1^v; see John Dryden (ed. Edward Niles Hooker, H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., Vinton A. Dearing, Earl Miner, George Robert Guffey, William Frost, Alan Roper and Franklin B. Zimmerman), *The Works of John Dryden*, 20 vols. (Berkeley, 1956–2000; henceforth **Dryden, Works**), xv, 8.

4 'The Raree-show, from Father Hopkins', first printed in *Wit and Mirth or, Pills to Purge Melancholy [...] Vol. V* (London, 1714), 111–12; repr. in *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy [...] The Sixth and Last Vol.* (London, 1720), 245–6.

5 Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford, 1993), 296.

6 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music [...] Volume the Fourth* (London, 1789), 189 and 191.

7 Edward F. Rimbault, 'Banister, John', in John Francis Waller et al., eds., *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography: A Series of Original Memoirs of Distinguished Men, of All Ages and All Nations [...] Vol. I* (London, 1857), 371.

8 W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, 2 vols. (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1912–13; repr. New York, 1963), i, 149.

9 Robert Etheridge Moore, *Henry Purcell and the Restoration Theatre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 39.

10 Roy Lamson, Jr., 'Henry Purcell's Dramatic Songs and the English Broadside Ballad', *PMLA*, 53 (1938), 157.

11 Henri Dupré (trans. Catherine Allison Phillips and Agnes Bedford), *Purcell* (New York, 1928), 27.

12 W. H. Cummings, 'Louis Grabu', *Musical Times*, 53 (1912), 228–32.

A. K. Holland asserted that Grabu was ‘a mediocrity whose chief recommendation for Charles was that he was French’,¹³ while in Dennis Arundell’s assessment the musician progressively declines from a ‘refugee second-rater’ and ‘a second-rate alien’ to merely ‘third-rate’.¹⁴ Edward Dent regarded Grabu’s participation in the opera *Albion and Albanus* as the ‘[w]orst misfortune of all’ to have befallen that ill-starred production,¹⁵ and even Franklin Zimmerman, whose comparatively positive appraisal of Grabu’s music for *Albion* in *The Works of John Dryden* offers an unusual respite from this litany of denigration,¹⁶ could not resist concluding that Grabu’s post-1684 ‘contributions to the establishment of French opera in London were worse than negligible’.¹⁷ Even in the more circumspect twenty-first century, new generations of undergraduates continue to be treated to Donald Jay Grout’s dismissal of Grabu as ‘undoubtedly a better courtier than a composer’.¹⁸

Considering such a deplorable catalogue of ineptitude, it is hardly surprising that seventeenth-century administrative documents pertaining to Grabu, many of which are couched in bland or formulaic bureaucratic language, are almost invariably read in a derogatory light. His replacement by Nicholas Staggins as Master of the Music in 1674, the lengthy delays afflicting his receipt of salary payments both before and after this date and later characterizations of him by the Lord Chamberlain as ‘very poore and Miserable’ and by Viscount Preston as ‘a poor servant of his Majestyes’¹⁹ are all seen as crucial underpinnings of a depressing *historia calamitatum* from which the unhappy Grabu emerges as not merely beset by adversity, but somehow deservedly so: an object of pity, perhaps, but more properly of ridicule and contempt. Even a reference as benign as that found in Thomas Shadwell’s comedy *The Humorists* (first performed on 10 December 1670), where Grabu is described in passing by a foppish character as ‘a very pretty hopeful man’²⁰ is almost instinctively construed as belittlement – notwithstanding the fact that the real target of the satire at this moment in the play is the eccentric musician John Birchensha, against whom Grabu is said to pale in comparison, but only in the opinion of a ridiculous coxcomb who is no qualified judge of music. The resulting account of Grabu’s supposedly luckless career certainly promotes the weaving of a compelling narrative,²¹ one rendered especially poignant by the Lord Chamberlain’s oft-quoted ‘poore and Miserable’ comment of 1677 just cited. In the conventional reading of this remark, ‘the wretched Grabu’²² is revealed to us only a few months shy of his ignominious retirement to France, the latest in a string of reversals that would inexorably lead, following further characteristic disappointments, to the abject surrender to fate

13 A. K. Holland, *Henry Purcell: The English Musical Tradition* (Harmondsworth, 1932; repr. 1948), 42.

14 Dennis Arundell, *The Critic at the Opera* (London, 1957; repr. New York, 1980), pp. 132, 142, 140.

15 Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera: A Study of Musical Drama in England During the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1928; repr. New York, 1965), 161. Dent goes on (pp. 165–7) to substantiate his assertion in an attack on *Albion and Albanus* that Curtis Price aptly characterizes as ‘tinged with glee’: see Curtis Alexander Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge, 1984), 267.

16 Dryden, *Works*, xv, 323–81.

17 Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: His Life and Times* (London and New York, 1967), 112; (2nd, revised edn, Philadelphia, 1983), 106. As Curtis Price points out (review in *Music and Letters*, 65 [1984], 357–8, at 358), Zimmerman’s ‘revised edition’ sustains his earlier critique, despite the fact that the Dryden *Works* volume had appeared in the interim (in 1976).

18 Donald Jay Grout and Hermine Weigel Williams, *A Short History of Opera*, 4th edn. (New York, 2003), 149.

19 See nn. 135 and 197.

20 Thomas Shadwell, *The Humorists* (London, 1671), 36 (see also p. 32).

21 See Lafontaine’s biographical note (pp. 454–5), in which he opines that Grabu’s story constitutes ‘one of the saddest histories we have to deal with in these records’.

22 Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell[...] His Life and Times* (1967), 112; (1983), 106.

that drew him back to London in 1683, where he would stake his tattered reputation, with predictably devastating results, on the debacle that was *Albion and Albanus*.

While there can be no disputing that Grabu suffered his share of professional and even personal setbacks, we might not be surprised to learn that the reality is altogether less colourful than what has just been outlined. Although we regrettably lack any visual evidence necessary to substantiate the characterization of him as ‘very pretty’ (or, conversely, ‘pallid’), a sober assessment of the documentary record offers ample justification to describe Grabu’s prospects as, on balance, more ‘hopeful’ than bleak over the 30-year period during which his career is known to us. The fact that Grabu had the undeniable misfortune to hitch his star to a chronically underfunded court beleaguered by a populace inclined to xenophobia should not blind us to his accomplishments, and certainly does not justify any resort to a superficial reading of the quite substantial record of his activities, much of which has hitherto been subject – when it is examined at all – to an overabundance of misinterpretation. As I intend to show in the exploration that follows, notwithstanding the few high-profile barbs from contemporaries and the more leaden disapproval of many modern scholars, a comprehensive survey of Louis Grabu’s life and career reveals him to have been a competent administrator, an orchestral director not without merit and even a composer of some distinction. Moreover, in the face of seemingly endless vicissitudes, he managed to reinvent himself as many as four separate times. Indeed, Grabu might be regarded as exemplifying a pattern of survival in the often unforgiving professional music world of late-seventeenth-century London, a pattern whose features have not been clearly delineated in the majority of biographical studies of English court musicians currently available to us. Thus, the aim of the present article is really twofold: first, to reassess Grabu himself, avoiding the judgments of the past, and, second, to demonstrate what can be achieved, even in the case of a subject whose personal qualities are largely opaque to us, by pursuing an investigation that embraces a wide range of materials and opportunities for analysis. The true details of Grabu’s biography emerge with clarity only when we dig deeply into the records themselves: administrative and financial documents of the royal court; contemporary diaries and correspondence; manuscript and printed musical sources; theatrical and bibliographical information; and even newspaper advertisements. It is also helpful to sketch out details regarding some of the lesser historical figures with whom Grabu is known to have had significant interactions. When all of these elements are considered together, it might then be possible to say that we have attained a better understanding of Louis Grabu, and that we have glimpsed a way forward that may promise to shed further light on the activities of other musicians associated with the Restoration court. It is therefore hoped that this study can serve as a model for future such explorations, even as it seeks to refurbish the reputation of one unjustly maligned individual.

I. Grabu as court musician, 1665–77

Despite Grabu’s frequent appearance in court administrative records and elsewhere throughout the latter part of the seventeenth century, we know precious little about the man himself. As we have already observed, no likenesses of him are known to survive, and there is no evidence of his having left letters or other personal documents of any kind. Even the dates of his birth and death are unknown. Purportedly a native of Catalonia,²³ he is believed to have

23 The record of Grabu’s marriage (see n. 24) describes him as ‘of Shalon [or ‘Shalou’] in Catalunnia’; as Peter Holman (*Fiddlers*, pp. 293–4) has observed, the more likely candidate for the site of Grabu’s nativity is ‘the coastal village of Salou, just south of Tarragona’, rather than ‘San Celoni, north-east of Barcelona’, as had previously been speculated.

studied in Paris, but was certainly in London by 2 April 1665 (the Sunday after Easter), when he married one Catherine de Loes in a Roman Catholic ceremony at the chapel of Queen Catherine of Braganza in St James's Palace.²⁴ This event may have followed shortly on the heels of Grabu's attainment of professional employment: if an entry found in a rough court 'establishment book' of c.1660–70 is to be trusted, he may originally have been brought to England under the aegis of the Duke of Buckingham – possibly at first for use in Buckingham's own modest musical ensemble²⁵ – and then sponsored by the Duke for a position in the royal service commencing on 31 March 1665.²⁶ What this position may have been is not entirely clear: the entry merely describes Grabu as 'Composer', a puzzling designation given that (unlike Nicholas Staggins, his successor as Master of the Music) Grabu was never actually appointed to any formal post at Charles II's court as a composer.²⁷ It is therefore likely that Grabu's 1665 appointment was not in the royal music *per se* (where in fact there is no other sign of him, for example among payment records, at this time), but rather in the satellite French musical establishment, which we know was in existence at least from 1663 to 1668, but about which official documents during that period are almost entirely silent.²⁸ The six-person group, as sworn in 1663, consisted of five singers (a Master and four others) and a harpsichordist, and it stands to reason that there may have been a need for someone to compose for them, an opening that could have been supplied by Grabu as a nominee of the Duke of Buckingham in 1665. It is at almost precisely this time that another document identifies as 'Nostri [i.e. the king's] in arte Musicâ Compositores' the brothers Vincenzo and Bartolomeo Albrici, who were members of Charles II's other foreign musical establishment, the Italians.²⁹

Whatever the nature of his earliest contact with the Restoration court may have been, in 1666 Grabu experienced a rise in his fortunes that was nothing short of meteoric. When

24 James Cyril M. Weale, ed., *Registers of the Catholic Chapels Royal and the Portuguese Embassy Chapel 1662–1829* (London, 1941), i [Marriages], 4. The ceremony, performed by George Touchet, was witnessed by Edward Coupledick and Morgan or Marya Swiney, both of whom seem to have been professional marriage witnesses, rather than personal friends of the bride and groom.

25 Samuel Pepys would later employ this ensemble for a dancing party on Twelfth Night, 1668: 'extraordinary music, two violins and a bass viallin and Theorbo (four hands), the Duke of Buckingham's Musique, the best in Towne, sent me by [Thomas] Greeting' (Pepys, *Diary*, ix, 12–13).

26 LC3/73, p. 98 (Ashbee, i, 221): 'Mons^r: Grabu Composer in his Ma^ties Musique / Duke of Buckingham'. Peter Holman (*Fiddlers*, p. 294) thinks this entry is misdated, but it falls neatly into the (at least partially) chronological sequence of entries written onto this page, where it appears immediately after the listing of the six original French musicians appointed to Charles II's service in 1663 (and is in turn succeeded by a note of Pelham Humfrey's appointment as Lutenist, for which see later in this article). Moreover, it offers the only credible explanation for Grabu's sudden rise to prominence the following year.

27 Staggins and John Blow succeeded jointly to the position of Composer for the Violins in 1682 upon the death of Thomas Purcell, who had been appointed to the post in 1672 alongside Pelham Humfrey (d. 1674), succeeding George Hudson. A second position of Composer for the Violins was held by Matthew Locke, who was succeeded upon his death (1677) by Henry Purcell; see Holman, *Fiddlers*, 440–1. The King's Private Music had its own composer position, which was held in succession from the Restoration by Henry Lawes (d. 1662), Charles Coleman (d. 1664) and Henry Cooke, who seems to have combined it with the position of Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. On Cooke's death (1672), these two positions passed together, first to Humfrey and then to Blow, both of whom ultimately held them in conjunction with the jointly held composing position in the Violins (Humfrey from 1672–4 with Thomas Purcell; Blow after 1682 with Staggins).

28 Andrew R. Walkling, *Masque and Opera in England, 1656–1688* (Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera; Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2017), 214–18.

29 Pass 'to go abroad and return', 25 March 1665: SP29/116/22 (CSPD, 1664–5, 273; Ashbee, viii, 170, misdated and miscited as volume '106'). Samuel Pepys also twice describes Vincenzo Albrici as 'the chief/maister composer' in February 1667 (*Diary*, viii, 56 and 64–5).

Charles II's aged Master of the Music, Nicholas Lanier, died in February 1666, the recently arrived expatriate was quickly elevated to the now-vacant post. Grabu's paid appointment was officially dated from the Feast of the Annunciation, or 'Lady Day' (25 March), the day immediately preceding the commencement of the fiscal quarter ending at the Feast of St John the Baptist (24 June, a.k.a. 'Midsummer'),³⁰ although, in typical Restoration administrative fashion, he was not formally sworn in until the following November,³¹ and only received his patent and grant of £200 annual salary in the spring of 1667.³² We do not know the precise reason for Grabu's rapid promotion, within a year of his appearance in England, from a small satellite ensemble to a central position in the Restoration musical establishment, but it may have been a function of the Restoration court's budding interest in the latest French musical styles. In late 1664 or early 1665, the promising young musician Pelham Humfrey had been sent, at royal expense, on a three-year journey to the Continent, which included time in France ostensibly spent studying composition with Jean-Baptiste Lully;³³ shortly after Grabu's elevation to Nicholas Lanier's former mastership, the younger Humfrey (still in absentia) was appointed to Lanier's position as Lutenist for the Private Music.³⁴ Evidently, the Grabu–Humfrey partnership did not go smoothly: towards the end of 1667, Samuel Pepys recorded Humfrey's now-famous boast

that Grebus the Frenchman [...] understands nothing nor can play on any instrument and so cannot compose, and that he will give him a lift out of his place, and that he and the King are mighty great, and that he hath already spoke to the King of Grebus.³⁵

30 For this date, see Grabu's patent, cited in n. 32. While appointments of royal servants generally took effect on one of the four 'quarter days' (Lady Day, 'Midsummer', Michaelmas, Christmas), in technical terms payment would presumably have begun to accrue on the following day (the 'morrow' of the quarter day) when the next quarter began – this despite the fact that Lady Day itself was regarded as the first day of the year according to the official English calendar in use at this time.

31 Initial warrant to the Lord Chamberlain to swear in Grabu, ? June 1666 (SP29/160/128 [CSPD, 1665–6, 482; Ashbee, viii, 176]); later warrant to the same effect, 12 November 1666 (SP44/23, p. 273 [CSPD, 1666–7, 256; Ashbee, viii, 177]); Lord Chamberlain's order to the Gentleman Usher to effect the swearing-in, 24 November 1666 (LC5/138, p. 367 [Ashbee, i, 74]), this date also given in the Establishment Book of 1666 (LC3/25, p. 51 [Ashbee, i, 225]).

32 Warrant for patent and grant of salary, 27 February 166[7] (LC5/138, p. 277 [Ashbee, i, 75]); signet warrant for grant of salary, March 1667 (SO3/16, p. 84 [Ashbee, v, 55]); patent, granting position and salary 'for life', 17 April 1667 (E403/2463, f. 120^v; C66/3093/13 [Ashbee, v, 55]). The date of the February warrant is also recorded, using 'old-style' format ('Feb:^{ry} 27 1666'), in the undated establishment book LC7/1, reverse, f. 70^v (Ashbee, i, 230; the dos-a-dos of this volume contains a compilation of Lord Chamberlain's theatrical orders: see for example nn. 244 and 245). This, coupled with the fact that his predecessor Nicholas Lanier had been buried on 24 February 1666, has led to some confusion regarding the dates of both Grabu's initial appointment and his replacement by Nicholas Staggins in 1674–5 (see n. 94). The unlikelihood of either of these dates being intended to refer to some event taking place the previous year is confirmed by a third date in the same list that is not subject to the old-style ambiguity: 15 July 1673, the day on which a warrant was issued to prepare a patent appointing Thomas Purcell and Pelham Humfrey to the joint position of Composer for the Violins (see LC5/140, pp. 297 and 298 [Ashbee, i, 128]). Purcell and Humfrey had already been exercising the post's responsibilities without fee since 10 January 1672 (see LC5/14, p. 107 [Ashbee, i, 111]), and began receiving its full benefits after the death of the incumbent, George Hudson, on 10 December 1672 (see LC9/258, f. 29^v [Ashbee, i, 121]). For an overview of the court composer positions, see n. 27.

33 See Peter Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey* (Oxford, 1986), 6, and Edward F. Rimbault, ed., *The Old Cheque-Book, or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal, From 1561 to 1744* (London, 1872), 213.

34 LC5/138, p. 274 (Ashbee, i, 71). Humfrey (who finally returned to England in October 1667) was born in 1647; if we surmise that Grabu was probably at least 20 when he married, he must have been born in or before 1645.

35 Pepys, *Diary*, viii, 530 (15 November).

In assessing this accusation, however, it is worth recalling Pepys's judgment of his interlocutor in this case: 'an absolute Monsieur, as full of form and confidence and vanity, and disparages everything and everybody's skill but his own', whose scornful invective, the diarist drily observed, was enough to 'make a man piss'. At the same time, there is no reason to suppose that Pepys would have been secretly sympathetic to Grabu in this exchange: despite his wide-ranging musical activities, he seems to have had no personal contact with Grabu at all, at least not during the 1660s.³⁶

In any event, Humfrey's bluster appears to have been no match for Grabu's solid administrative credentials: as Peter Holman has shown, the new Master of the Music quickly extended his authority over his new subordinates.³⁷ On 24 December 1666, exactly a month after his formal swearing-in, he secured an order from the Lord Chamberlain requiring all members of the 24 Violins as well as the Private Music to rehearse under his tutelage and to 'obey the directions of Louis Grabu, master of the private musick, both for their time of meeting to practise, and also for the time of playing in consort'.³⁸ This order expressly covered the 'Select Band' of 12 violinists who formed the core of Charles II's increasingly professional musical establishment, and it came at a time when that band's convenor John Banister was already under suspicion of having diverted royal funds allocated to pay its members. Matters progressed further in March 1667, when Grabu was assigned responsibility for distributing the quite substantial arrears to the Select Band, as well as future payments of the annual £600 'augmentation' that had originally been granted to Banister to remunerate the band's members.³⁹ The transfer of oversight probably had the effect of endearing Grabu to the rest of the musicians, although it certainly did not sit well with the disgraced Banister. On 20 February 1667, Pepys had heard of Banister's fury that 'the King hath a Frenchman come to be chief of some part of the King's music',⁴⁰ and on 30 March the pugnacious violinist submitted a petition⁴¹ in response to a remonstrance presented by the members of the Select Band the preceding day.⁴² As a result of this, Grabu's control over the arrears of the augmentation was briefly suspended, but was restored on 4 August,⁴³ though in the meantime Banister had been arrested (25 May) 'for abusing the master of his Majesty's musick and several of his Majesty's musicians'.⁴⁴ Banister's determined resistance notwithstanding, Grabu's consolidation of power continued apace: by April 1668, the Select Band had been abolished altogether, replaced with a monthly shift system whereby all 24 of the king's violins were granted access to the royal Privy Chamber.⁴⁵

36 The article on Grabu in Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale, 1973–93), vi, 291, erroneously reports that it was Grabu, rather than Humfrey, with whom Pepys dined and played chamber music later that afternoon. This is only one of a number of errors in this unattributed article, which offers no references to substantiate any of its claims. For Pepys's later opinion of Grabu, registered on the basis of two public events, see nn. 149 and 150.

37 Holman, *Fiddlers*, 292–8.

38 LC5/138, p. 367 (Ashbee, i, 74).

39 LC5/138, pp. 278–9 (Ashbee, i, 75); SO3/16, p. 84 (Ashbee, v, 55); SP29/225/252 (Ashbee, viii, 179); see also LC5/138, p. 369 (Ashbee, i, 76).

40 *Diary*, viii, 73; Pepys reports that the Duke of York 'made great mirth' at Banister's discomfiture.

41 Lost, but referenced in SP38/18, p. 248 (Ashbee, viii, 181).

42 SP29/195/62 (Ashbee, viii, 180).

43 SP29/212/56 (Ashbee, viii, 181).

44 LC5/186, f. 145^r (Ashbee, i, 78).

45 Order of 29 April 1668: LC3/25, p. 55; LC3/26, p. 81; LC5/12, p. 204; LC5/139, p. 366 (Ashbee, i, 83).

With Grabu firmly established at the helm of Charles II's musical establishment, our picture of him once again clouds over. It is in the nature of seventeenth-century administrative documents that little or no trace is left of the Master of the Music's quotidian activities;⁴⁶ instead, he tends only to emerge when crises arise,⁴⁷ such as that involving the scheme advanced in July 1668 for a retrenchment of royal expenditure, which affected a number of the king's musicians⁴⁸ – among them the erstwhile French ensemble, which appears to have been disbanded at this time. This scheme, which officially went into effect at Michaelmas (29 September, a.k.a. the Feast of St Michael and All Angels, a date associated in medieval and early-modern administrative practice with the transition to a new fiscal year), seems to have specifically targeted those royal servants who received their pay directly out of the Chamber, that is, the funds allocated to the Royal Household.⁴⁹ When the musicians belatedly discovered their plight, sometime around the end of 1668, they petitioned for a reprieve⁵⁰ – which the indulgent king readily granted.⁵¹ Grabu, whose salary was paid through the Exchequer, appears to have been a minor player in these events: he stood only to lose support for the training of two boys, but his name on the petition may have lent gravity to his colleagues' more pressing cause.

The retrenchment crisis of 1668–9 actually masked a more significant issue. As the 1668 proposal methodically stipulated, individual payments to royal servants were to be made only 'after all y^e Ordinary [*sic*] charge [...] with interest & deduccōns' had been satisfied: 'those who haue Pencōns or Sallaries for present service' were given third priority on that list (behind 'those who had a hand in y^e Kings esape [*sic*] from Worcester' and the Coldstream Guards), while retainers who had provided 'Past service' came fifth, following 'those who haue

46 On 7 April 1669 Grabu was given an unknown sum of money to cover unspecified bills, to be paid out of a £5000 fund set aside for such purposes in the hands of the Treasurer of the Chamber (T29/3, p. 72 [CTB, iii, 52; Ashbee, viii, 192]); from 16 May to 14 June 1670, he accompanied Charles II to Dover, where treaty negotiations with Louis XIV were being carried out (see n. 79); and twice in the autumn of 1673, he authorized reimbursement for the purchase of violins by members of the court band (LC5/140, pp. 345 and 369 [Ashbee, i, 130, 131]).

47 In November 1668, for example, Grabu and his colleague the violinist Robert Strong were the subject of a petition by one William Frampton, gent., for an unknown cause (LC5/187, f. 17^v [Ashbee, i, 86]).

48 See British Library, Egerton MS 2543, f. 209^r (CTB, vii, 1651–2) and C. D. Chandaman, *The English Public Revenue, 1660–1688* (Oxford, 1975), 218–19. An earlier retrenchment-related study, possibly from 1667, had recommended that 'The Musique Violins &c w^{ch} now amounts to 2017^h to be reduced as it was in the late Kings time to 1240^h so that there wilbe saved—————777^{li}' (British Library, Egerton MS 2543, ff. 129^r–134^v, at f. 131^v [CTB, vii, 1648]).

49 The king had supposedly exempted them in a list of 16 March 1668 (see associated documents dated 20 May in T29/2, pp. 175–7 [Ashbee, viii, 187]), but the message appears not to have gotten through, since they were subsequently named on a warrant ordering the retrenchment.

50 SP29/237/134 (CSPD, 1667–8, 318; Ashbee, viii, 191–2). The petition is undated, but probably was prepared in late 1668 or early 1669.

51 Order in council to restore the positions, 5 February 1669: SP29/255/87 [CSPD, 1668–9, 183; Ashbee, viii, 191]; confirmation and restatement of the order, 21 February 1669: LC5/12, pp. 229–30 (*cf.* British Library, Egerton MS 2159, ff. 11^r–14^v) [Ashbee, i, 88] and SP44/30, f. 111 [CSPD, 1668–9, 254; Ashbee, viii, 192]. The plan for the retrenchment scheme drawn up in July 1668 had directed 'a new establishment to be made of the expense of the Household in one book' (British Library, Egerton MS 2543, f. 209^r, col. 2 [CTB, vii, 1652]), and the musicians were careful to request that 'yo^r Pet^{rs} may be put in y^e list of y^e Establishment'. In response, the Establishment Book was updated, with reference both to those paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber (LC3/25, p. 57 [Ashbee, i, 226–7]) and to those paid out of the Exchequer (LC3/25, p. 59 [Ashbee, i, 227–8]); Grabu is named in both lists. Lafontaine (p. 209) gives a date for the latter entry of 9 January 1669; this information, which seems not to make sense given that it precedes the order in council, is not provided in Ashbee.

Grants on valuable consideracōn' and immediately preceding 'Grants on meere Grace'.⁵² Thus, as the musicians were quick to point out in their petition, individuals released from royal service not only lost their future livelihood, but were unlikely to collect any back pay that they might still be owed. This was a serious worry, given the perpetual lateness of salary payments throughout Charles II's reign, a state of affairs that sometimes allowed arrears to accumulate for years at a time. Although scholars of the Restoration court constantly cite this phenomenon, much more detailed study is still needed in order to illuminate the nature and specific features of the problem. Even so, an examination of the situation as it relates specifically to Louis Grabu's circumstances can help us to see the issue more clearly. The disjointed nature of Grabu's appointment process, as described earlier, may explain some of the anomalous features of his early finances: his first year's salary (26 March 1666–25 March 1667) remained unpaid for over four and a half years, even as later salary disbursements went forward, and official calculations of his arrears recorded in April 1668 and June 1669 figured only seven quarters' worth of outstanding back pay (i.e., dating only from June 1666, the time of the earliest order for his swearing-in) instead of the expected eight.⁵³ Whatever their source, these discrepancies do seem to have been corrected over time, since Grabu was ultimately paid in full for his first four quarters of service, but only after substantial delays and considerable efforts on his part. He seems to have submitted his first request for arrears in October 1667, which was deferred for consideration, along with several others, until 'a week after Christmas',⁵⁴ and was not actually revisited until the end of January 1668, when the Treasury Commissioners promised to consider it 'when there is money'.⁵⁵ But the royal establishment as a whole was already caught up in a general fiscal squeeze, and the intervening retrenchment scare meant further delays, even for those who, like Grabu, managed to weather it successfully. Having petitioned again for his first year's salary in the autumn of 1669, Grabu received the discouraging news that 'My Lords can pay no arrears',⁵⁶ and was left to initiate a further round of importunities to the Treasury a year later.⁵⁷ Finally, in October 1671, mid-way through his sixth year as Master of the Music, Grabu was belatedly compensated for his first year in the position.⁵⁸

52 British Library, Egerton MS 2543, f. 219^f.

53 See nn. 59 and 64; the unaltered figure of £350 arrears was still being applied in June 1669 when the partial payment ordered more than a year earlier to cover his second year of service was finally authorized.

54 9 and 10 October 1667: T29/1, pp. 185 and 187 (*CTB*, ii, 102, 104; Ashbee, viii, 182).

55 31 January 1668: T29/2, p. 42 (*CTB*, ii, 242; Ashbee, viii, 185).

56 Noted in the Treasury Minute Book, 15 December 1669: T29/3, p. 222 (*CTB*, iii, 173; Ashbee, viii, 198). Grabu's petition must have been from November or earlier, since a query regarding him is entered as a memorandum in the Treasury Secretary Sir George Downing's rough minute book of daily proceedings on 19 November (T29/624, p. 62 [*CTB*, iii, 338; Ashbee, viii, 197 – miscited in both sources as p. 64]). (We might expect to find a similar entry for the 15 December decision in T29/625, p. 75 [*CTB*, iii, 340], though none is in fact there; for a discussion of how Downing's rough minute books function, see *CTB*, iii, 323.) A further series of memoranda from June and July 1670, entered into the same rough minute book by Downing and his clerk Roger Charnock (T29/624, pp. 89, 90, 92 [Downing: 17 and 24 June, 4 July (*CTB*, iii, 455, 462, 471; Ashbee, viii, 201–2)]; T29/624, p. 178 [Charnock: 17 June (*CTB*, iii, 1003; Ashbee, viii, 201)]), none corresponding to any entry in the formal Treasury Minute Book for the same period), may also have to do with Grabu's ongoing quest for this payment, though the entry of 4 July reminding Downing to 'Enter [...] Grabu' may suggest a resolution to the musician's request, which might instead associate these memoranda with the third-year's payment, warranted later that same month, on the 18th (see later in this article).

57 Memoranda by Downing, 9 November 1670 (T29/624, p. 103 [*CTB*, iii, 504; not in Ashbee]) and ?23 December 1670, reading 'Mr. Grabu, to query what done for him' (T29/624, p. 108 [*CTB*, iii, 511; Ashbee, viii, 205]).

58 17 October 1671: E403/1779, p. 49 (Ashbee, v, 192). A money warrant had been issued on 8 July 1671 (T51/27, reverse, p. 81 [*CTB*, iii, 898; Ashbee, viii, 208]), followed by a treasury order possibly

In the meantime, while subsequent disbursements came more quickly, they too required considerable effort to obtain from Charles II's cash-strapped administration. The climb-down in early 1669 on the retrenchment scheme, while it promised to preserve the musicians' places in the royal establishment, offered no guarantee of actual money in recompense for their attendance, and the remuneration for Grabu's second year of service (26 March 1667–25 March 1668) suffered its own set of delays and, one imagines, frustrations. In the latter part of April 1668 the Treasury issued a flurry of warrants for many of the royal servants, listing arrears alongside the annual salaries that had recently come due; this was followed by an order in early July authorizing payment for the newly accrued salaries, though (as we have seen) not the arrears.⁵⁹ The administration's surprisingly rapid movement on this issue seems to have been the result of an earlier promise from the king to alleviate what had developed into a critical situation for many of his servants: in an undated petition, probably from the late winter or early spring of 1667, the king's musicians, 'most [...] being betwixt six and seaven yeares in Arreare of their Sallaries', pleaded with their employer to 'have one yeares Sallary of their Areares forthwith payd them, for and towards the Releife of their pressing necessities'.⁶⁰ The desperation of this request, from a group of needy but loyal retainers who had 'all this Winter given their constant attendance morning and evening on this present Maske',⁶¹ must have moved Charles, who undertook to pay the requested year's worth of salary as promptly as possible.⁶² Grabu, who had yet to complete his first year of service at the time of this group petition, was probably not a party to it, but by mid-1668, with the king's pledged punctuality still not forthcoming, he too would have been in fairly serious financial straits. Thus, the warrant and order of April and July 1668 looked like good news, despite coming more than a year after the other musicians' initial request. But the decision to draw the payment from the receipts of the farm of the Hearth Tax led to further delays, as the planned revenue from this source had signally failed to materialize,⁶³ and individual warrants for actual payment only began to appear the following summer, after another year of waiting. Grabu's warrant, dated 9 June 1669,⁶⁴ was one of the first, but was placed in abeyance in July when it was found to be 'out of course,

from 6 August 1671 (T60/37, p. 208 [CTB, iii, 898; Ashbee, viii, 208]). The court's belated movement on this process may have something to do with the death of the Lord Chamberlain Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester on 5 May 1671 and his replacement by Henry Jermyn, Earl of St Albans.

59 Warrant, 24 April 1668: T51/20, pp. 32 (Grabu, for £200 out of £350 [sic] arrears) *et seq.* (CTB, ii, 554ff.; Ashbee, viii, 186); treasury order, 8 July 1668: T60/36, p. 8 (CTB, ii, 593; Ashbee, viii, 189).

60 SP29/441/32 (CSPD, Addenda, 232; Ashbee, viii, 183, placing it in December 1667, without explanation). This was not the first such petition: see the earlier petition of 7 November 1666 (SP29/177/105 [CSPD, 1666–7, 245; Ashbee, viii, 177]), describing the effects of 'fower yeares and three quarters' arrears, exacerbated by losses suffered in the Great Fire of London, and the king's order of 26 November 'that they be paid in the same proportion as the rest of the King's servants, out of the money now due to the Treasury Chamber' (SP44/18, p. 229 [CSPD, 1666–7, 291; Ashbee, viii, 178]). See also the famous account in Pepys, *Diary*, vii, 414 (19 December 1666) of the musicians being 'ready to starve' and of the pitiful death 'for mere want' of the harpist Lewis Evans.

61 *Ibid.* If the petition is indeed from 1667, 'this present Maske' may be the 'magnificent Ball or Masque' seen by John Evelyn on 18 February 1667 (see E. S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols. [Oxford, 1955], iii [1650–72], 476), discussed in Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 47–9.

62 SP29/441/33 (CSPD, Addenda, 233; Ashbee, viii, 183). This petition may have been the one read by the Treasury Board on 17 December 1667, when it was endorsed 'to be considered when the growing charge is a little over' (T29/1, p. 269 [CTB, ii, 151; Ashbee, viii, 183]).

63 In July 1668 the seven-year contract for the farm was already heading into its second disastrous year, and would collapse in acrimony only eight months later without having yielded anything near its anticipated value; see Chandaman, *English Public Revenue*, 92–5.

64 T51/18, p. 181 (CTB, iii, 229; Ashbee, viii, 195), also mentioning the purported £350 arrears.

for my Lords ought first to have been acquainted with it'.⁶⁵ An inquiry was launched 'as to what secretary passed it', and Grabu had to demonstrate the legitimacy of his claim⁶⁶ before he was finally able to receive the funds, paid out in two instalments on 1 September and 11 October 1669,⁶⁷ by which time over a year and a half had elapsed since the conclusion of his second year in the royal musical establishment, three and a half – with not so much as a penny paid on his salary during that time – since his initial appointment as Master of the Music.⁶⁸

Ensuing salary payments appear to have been less fraught with difficulty, although the characteristic delays continued. That for Grabu's third year (26 March 1668–25 March 1669) was disbursed on 27 July 1670, seemingly without major exertions and a mere 16 months behind schedule,⁶⁹ while the following year's salary (26 March 1669–25 March 1670) was warranted in record time, on 18 July 1670, with the treasury order issued nine days later on the 27th, the same day Grabu collected his previous year's payment.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, this did not mean that the money was actually forthcoming, since the Treasury had recently issued a warrant limiting all outstanding salary payments to a maximum of one year's-worth per person,⁷¹ and Grabu was among a large number of royal servants subjected to what was effectively a forced loan to Charles II's government. The terms of the loan did, however, promise interest payments of six per cent annually,⁷² and Grabu was able to collect £6 on his £200 salary at six-month intervals for nearly a year and a half while he waited for the principal to be 'returned' to him,⁷³ which was finally accomplished in

65 5 July 1669: T29/3, p. 138 (*CTB*, iii, 101; Ashbee, viii, 195).

66 T29/624, p. 53 (*CTB*, iii, 332; Ashbee, viii, 196). Sir Robert Long, Auditor of the Receipt, was also required 'to certify when Mr. Grabu's augmentation began' (T29/3, p. 168 [*CTB*, iii, 128; Ashbee, viii, 196]), a reference to the £600 *per annum* granted to pay the 'Select Band' that had been transferred from Banister to Grabu in March 1667 (see n. 39).

67 First payment: E403/1774, p. 182 (Ashbee, v, 182); second payment: E403/1775, p. 13 (Ashbee, v, 184); an extant entry in one of the surviving Auditors' Debenture Books indicates that Grabu collected the second payment in person: E403/2200, p. 3 (Ashbee, v, 222).

68 The only money Grabu had received before this time was a single payment of £16 2s 6d for his livery for the year 1668. Livery payments were supposed to be issued annually on 30 November (the Feast of St Andrew) from the Great Wardrobe to cover official uniforms. In practice, however, these payments were also frequently delayed. While Grabu's livery for 1668 was paid only three months late, on 1 March 1669 (LC9/197i, f. [14]^v [Ashbee, i, 245, erroneously citing the source as LC9/197ii]; see LC3/38, f. 67 for the date of the payment), his liveries for the two years preceding (originally listed in LC9/196iii, f. 14^v [Ashbee, i, 243] and LC9/196iv, f. 16^f [Ashbee, i, 244, erroneously citing the source as LC9/197i], in response to a warrant of 20 January 1668 for fees and liveries: LC5/139, p. 13 [Ashbee, i, 80]) were left to languish, only being paid out in August 1685, after the accession of James II (see LC9/376iii, tag 159, 'An account of Moneys Received for Debenters', f. [14]^v [Ashbee, i, 295], listing 10s worth of fees paid for receipt of the arrears), this despite the issuance of a set of warrants on 18 January 1669 purportedly covering all three years (LC5/52, p. 279 [Ashbee, i, 87]; SO3/16, p. 219 [Ashbee, v, 57]; SP38/24/4 [*CSPD*, 1668–9, 161; Ashbee, viii, 191]).

69 E403/1776, p. 178 (Ashbee, v, 186); for the entry in the Auditors' Debenture Books recording Grabu's receipt of this payment in person, see E403/2200, p. 120 (Ashbee, v, 223); no warrant or treasury order for this payment appears to survive.

70 Warrant: T51/27, p. 38 (*CTB*, iii, 625; Ashbee, viii, 204); treasury order: T60/37, p. 182 (*CTB*, iii, 637; Ashbee, viii, 204).

71 11 July 1670: T51/18, p. 338 (*CTB*, iii, 620).

72 See the royal order of 30 April 1668: E403/2610, ff. 142^v–143^f (Ashbee, v, 168). Court servants who 'lent' the salary owed them were expressly excluded from an additional 4 per cent incentive announced on 18 July, the very day Grabu's warrant for payment was issued: T51/18, pp. 340–1 (*CTB*, iii, 625–6).

73 £6 each for the periods 27 July 1670–28 January 1671, paid on 17 February 1671 (E403/1777, p. 230 [Ashbee, v, 188]) and 28 January–28 July 1671, paid on 5 August 1671 (E403/1778, p. 187 [Ashbee, v, 190, misdated]); £4 16s 7d for the period 28 July–21 December 1671, paid on 24 January 1672 (E403/1779, p. 256 [Ashbee, v, 193]) – this last, partial interest payment having been curtailed in pursuance of

combination with his last interest instalment on 24 January 1672.⁷⁴ In one respect Grabu was fortunate: according to the original warrant his fourth-year's salary was assigned on the receipts of the Fee Farm Rents (proceeds from the sale of crown lands), which had been exempted from the Stop of the Exchequer, the royal bankruptcy announced at the beginning of January 1672 that was to continue through the end of the year. Given that his 1666–7 salary had at long last been paid just three months earlier, Grabu, having now received all of his arrears up to Lady Day 1670, and with the royal administration only a year and ten months behind on its current debt to him, could finally imagine his personal finances to be established on a solid footing. Indeed, things may have been going relatively smoothly for the Master of the Music, for from January 1672 to September 1673 he drops almost entirely out of sight in the administrative records.

Even so, the accumulation of unpaid arrears must have taken its toll. Having received his annual livery payment of £16 2s 6d for 1668 nearly on time, but with little hope of collecting those for the previous two years⁷⁵ and with his 1669 livery also remaining unpaid, Grabu appears to have joined a group of other musicians in borrowing money from two of their more well-off colleagues, the viol player and 'repairer and tuner of organs' John Hingeston and the violinist Humphrey Madge.⁷⁶ On 10 October 1671, with the 1669 livery allotment now more than a year and ten months overdue, Grabu and several others assigned payment of the money to Madge, which the latter managed to obtain from the Great Wardrobe the following month.⁷⁷ (Curiously, Grabu had already himself collected his 1670 livery payment nine months earlier on 4 February 1671, an astonishingly brief two months after it had come due.⁷⁸) And on 11 March 1672 two incidental reimbursements to Grabu, dating back as far as three years, were finally ordered to be paid: £20 to cover his expenses for riding to Dover with Charles II in May and June 1670,⁷⁹ and £117 4s 6d for costs related to the copying and arrangement of music for the king's ensembles over a period of ten months in 1668 and 1669.⁸⁰ Fourteen and a half months later, however, with these reimbursements still outstanding, Grabu assigned the total sum of £137 4s 6d to the London mercer

an order of 26 September 1671 directing that while proceeds from the Fee Farm Rents 'shall be paid in future first to discharge all orders on such loans, [...] no interest is to be paid upon any orders for fictitious loans that shall grow due after the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle next', i.e. 21 December (T51/27, reverse, pp. 114–16 [CTB, iii, 937]).

74 E403/1779, p. 257 (Ashbee, v, 193).

75 See n. 68.

76 Hingeston (born c.1606), who had served as Master of the Music at the Protectorial court of Oliver Cromwell from 1654 to 1658, seems to have been something of a benefactor to his fellow musicians: according to Samuel Pepys, when the harpist Lewis Evans had died in penury in 1666 'and was fain to be buried at the almes of the parish – and carried to his grave in the dark at night, without one Linke', it was Hingeston who, serendipitously encountering the funeral procession, 'did give 12d to buy two or three links' (*Diary*, vii, 414; see n. 60). In his will (PROB11/375/223), drafted in December 1683, shortly before his death, Hingeston gave liberally to his musician colleagues. For an excellent survey of Hingeston's career, see Lynn Hulse, 'John Hingeston', *Chelys*, 12 (1983), 23–42. No significant research has been carried out on Humphrey Madge, and so it is less clear why he, in particular, would have been a principal in the scheme in which Grabu and the other musicians appear to have participated.

77 Assignment to Madge: LC9/258, f. 32^v (Ashbee, i, 276); payment, signed for by Madge, 11 November 1671: LC9/197ii, f. 14^v (Ashbee, i, 246, erroneously citing the source as LC9/197iii); see LC3/38, f. 67 for the date of the payment.

78 Payment, signed for by Grabu: LC9/197iii, f. 16^r (Ashbee, i, 247, erroneously citing the source as LC9/197iv); see LC3/38, f. 67 for the date of the payment.

79 LC5/140, p. 17 (Ashbee, i, 113).

80 LC5/140, p. 8 (Ashbee, i, 113); for further discussion of this payment, and of an earlier such order for payment encompassing the year and a half to Lady Day 1668 (which was itself only paid in late 1672 or 1673), see n. 151.

Walter Lapp.⁸¹ The nature of the two men's relationship is not entirely clear; Lapp, who is described in one contemporary account as being 'of a tenacious and difficult humour',⁸² was a well established figure in London commercial circles⁸³ and may have lent money as part of his business activities, although no other court servants seem to have borrowed from him. Grabu, however, must have relied fairly heavily on Lapp for funding: a second document, dated 4 April 1674, assigned to Lapp 'all sums due' to Grabu,⁸⁴ which, if the full contingent of arrears remaining unpaid as of that date are taken into account, would have amounted to an impressive £567 17s.⁸⁵ In the event, Lapp seems to have suffered heavy losses on his investment, possibly receiving no more than £32 5s for Grabu's 1671 and 1672 liveries, which appear to have been paid to him together at the end of December 1674.⁸⁶ Indeed, Grabu may have been strategic with the money due to him from the crown: prior to making his blanket assignment to Lapp, he managed to collect nine quarters' worth of arrears over a span of slightly more than three months, the first payment warranted on 26 September 1673,⁸⁷ and a second ordered on 29 December⁸⁸ and received by Grabu later that same week, on 3 January 1674.⁸⁹

81 23 May 1673, witnessed by Gratian Perenant and Gab[riel] Lapp (Walter Lapp's eldest son): LC9/341, p. 28 (Ashbee, i, 125). The sum had still not been paid, to either Grabu or Lapp, by June 1677: see the discussion later in this article.

82 C6/84/72, a deposition in *Tolson v. Lapp* (1680), regarding the executorship of the will of Edward Woodroffe, draughtsman to Sir Christopher Wren.

83 Despite Lapp's apparent prominence, biographical details of him are difficult to come by. He appears to have been married in 1650, and as a young newlywed to have held a position as a Receiver of the Four Months' Assessment of 1651. From the early 1670s he was active as both a merchant and a mid-level civic functionary – evidently not in London *per se*, but primarily with regard to the neighbouring royal city of Westminster: he served as High Constable of the Liberty of St Martin le Grand (an anomalous exclave of Westminster situated in the heart of the City of London), acted, presumably in this same capacity, as a commissioner for the Land Taxes of 1677–9, and in 1678 took recognizance of Papists as a Justice of the Peace for Westminster. In 1681–2 Lapp held the annual post of Surveyor-Accountant of St Paul's School, London, but no further activities are recorded after 1682, and he may have retired to the village of Hayes, Middlesex (west of Ealing), where he wrote his will on 11 February 1688. He died sometime before 21 May 1692, when the will was proved. Besides his protracted dealings with Grabu throughout the 1670s, he had regular interactions with the scientist Robert Hooke, and was executor of Edward Woodroffe's estate (for which see n. 82). A summary of what we know about Lapp, with full citations, is provided in [Appendix 4](#).

84 E406/50 (Ashbee, v, 66), witnessed by Eliz[abeth] and Jean Heveningham.

85 Besides the as-yet-unpaid £137 4s 6d already mentioned, this calculation includes Grabu's liveries for 1666, 1667 and 1671–3 (total: £80 12s 6d) and his salary for seven quarters, from Midsummer 1672 to Lady Day 1674 (£350).

86 LC9/198i, f. 14^v and LC9/198ii, f. 17^v (Ashbee, i, 248 and 249); although Grabu's name is signed in both of these instances, Ashbee suggests that it was actually Lapp who collected the money, perhaps having accompanied the musician to the Exchequer of Receipt (see also n. 127). See also LC9/109, f. 49^r and LC9/110, f. 53^r, as well as LC9/260, ff. 3^v and 9^v (Lafontaine, 248 and 261) and, for the date of the two payments, LC3/40, p. 6. LC9/109 (1671–2) and LC9/110 (1672–3) constitute the earliest of a series of annual wardrobe account books, each ending at Michaelmas and thus incorporating livery payments due on the Feast of St Andrew the preceding year; these, along with LC9/260 (1671–81), an ongoing book of abstracts of the accounts, are calendared in Lafontaine, *passim*, but do not appear in Ashbee.

87 British Library, Additional MS 28076 (properly 'T53/[0]'), p. 88/f. 29^v (CTB, iv, 401; Ashbee, v, 64), paid out in three installments on 30 September (covering two quarters, Lady Day–Michaelmas 1670: E403/1783, p. 2 [Ashbee, v, 196]), 11 November (covering one quarter, Michaelmas–Christmas 1670: E403/1783, p. 102 [Ashbee, v, 197]) and 11 December (covering two quarters, Christmas 1670–Midsummer 1671: E403/1783, p. 154 [Ashbee, v, 197]), momentarily leaving Grabu's salary two years and five and a half months in arrears.

88 British Library, Additional MS 28076 (properly 'T53/[0]'), p. 171/f. 71^r (CTB, iv, 450; Ashbee, v, 65).

89 E403/1783, p. 207 (Ashbee, v, 197). On the other hand, Grabu's newfound prosperity may have been capitalized upon by a certain John Badger (possibly the apothecary, who later quarrelled with

This rush of payment, representing an unusual £450 windfall to the Master of the Music, may indicate more than just aberrant good luck with the normally dispiriting operations of Charles II's inefficient fiscal machinery.⁹⁰ Grabu's circumstances were changing in the autumn of 1673: the stipulations of the Test Act, passed by Parliament the preceding March, had already begun to have an effect at court in November when the Privy Council issued an order banning any 'person who is a Roman Catholicke or reputed to be of y^e Roman Catholique Religion' from 'His Ma^{ties} Royall p^rsence or [...] His Palace or [...] y^e place where his court shalbe.'⁹¹ Several of the less important members of the royal musical establishment appear already to have been dismissed by Midsummer 1673, with the king's trumpeters being particularly hard hit.⁹² But their erstwhile Master must have been deemed more valuable, as he managed to hang on for some months thereafter and was evidently the beneficiary of some kind of special treatment, as the payments of late 1673 and early 1674 suggest.

The process by which Grabu was deprived of his court post is complicated, and has not been sufficiently understood, resulting in confusion about the date of (and, hence, the reason for) his displacement. Grabu had been a relative newcomer to the royal establishment in 1666 when he was elevated to Master of the Music, and the same can be said of his successor Nicholas Staggins in 1674: Staggins had held posts in the wind music and the violin band only since the latter part of 1670 (his father, Isaac, having served in both ensembles since the Restoration), and had just received his patent for the wind position in late 1673.⁹³ Also like Grabu, Staggins amassed the formal accoutrements of the Mastership of the Music piecemeal: the actual date of his patent is unknown, but warrants to swear him as Master and granting him his salary are dated 29 January 1675, with the salary itself backdated to Michaelmas (29 September) 1674.⁹⁴ Yet Staggins's circumstance is different from Grabu's and slightly more

the College of Physicians), who petitioned against him on 17 February 1674 for payment of a £30 bond, to which Grabu was ordered to answer (LC5/190, f. 72^v [Ashbee, i, 133]).

90 See for example the document in LC9/388 (Ashbee, i, 130) summarizing the arrears of payments for wages as of Michaelmas 1673, in which the total owed to the king's musicians, including trumpeters, violins, the Wind Music and the Private Music, amounts to just under £11,593.

91 See copy at LC5/141, p. 25 (Ashbee, i, 131).

92 For the removal of the trumpeters Melque (Melchior) Goldt, Nicholas Caperon and John Jones, see LC5/140, pp. 480 and 495 *bis* (f. 252^r) and LC5/15, p. 10 (Ashbee, i, 137, 138, 139, all recording the swearing in of their successors in May and June 1674). Two of the viol players in the Private Music, Paul Bridges and John Smith, were also dispossessed, Bridges being replaced by John Young (LC5/140, pp. 255 and 490 [Ashbee, i, 125, 138]) and Smith by Francis Cruys (LC5/140, pp. 332 and 338 [Ashbee, i, 129, 130; both cases are briefly discussed in Holman, *Fiddlers*, 299; for more on Bridges, see Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–92', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 570–87, at 581–2]). Both men were ordered to be paid large sums to settle their arrears, Bridges in June 1673 (T51/19, p. 401 [CTB, iv, 172; Ashbee, viii, 213]) and Smith in February 1674 (British Library, Additional MS 28077 [properly 'T29/[4a]'], p. 74/f. 35^r [CTB, iv, 221; Ashbee, viii, 216]: 'M^r Smith's Arrears for 5 years & ½ as Bridges had'), though Smith's, in any case, had still not been paid as of October 1688 (LC9/388 and LC9/259, f. 55^v [Ashbee, i, 290; ii, 20]).

93 29 December 1673 (perhaps not coincidentally the date of Grabu's order for payment cited in n. 88): E403/2464, f. 133^r; C66/3147/9 (Ashbee, v, 65); see also British Library, Additional MS 28075, p. 7/f. 28^r (15 November 1673: CTB, iv, 421; Ashbee, viii, 215).

94 Warrant to swear: LC5/141, p. 120 (Ashbee, i, 147); LC3/24, f. 19; LC3/28, p. 103 (Ashbee, i, 230); warrant for payment: LC5/141, p. 120 (Ashbee, i, 148); see also British Library, Additional MS 28075, p. 151/f. 100^v (Lord Treasurer Danby's subscription of a docquet, 24 February 1675: CTB, iv, 682). Staggins received payment for his first quarter of service (that ending at Christmas 1674) on 9 August 1675: E403/1785, p. 181 (Ashbee, v, 200). The date of the warrant to swear Staggins reappears in LC7/1, reverse, f. 70^v (Ashbee, i, 230); as with the entry for Grabu on this same page, that for Staggins ('Master of the Musick in M^r Grabues place Jan: 29: 1674') uses 'old-style' dating, but is clearly meant to refer to 1675 (see n. 32).

complex, since he was directed to be sworn as ‘master of his Majesty’s violins in ordinary’ on 10 August 1674, more than a month and a half before his salary even began to accumulate.⁹⁵ Whereas Grabu’s appointment to the Mastership had been occasioned by the death of his predecessor, Staggins’s was the result of a politically dictated, and possibly unwelcome, personnel shuffle, with the added complication that Grabu’s patent clearly stipulated a life tenure (though the provisions of the Test Act were designed to circumvent this problem⁹⁶). At some point in the summer of 1674 Grabu must have agreed informally to withdraw his claim to the post, allowing Staggins to be sworn in almost immediately and his official appointment to go forward as of the next quarter⁹⁷ – although (as we shall see) the ex-Master was careful to hold on to the physical patent itself, a decision that would prove beneficial to him in the years to come.

The traditional account of Grabu’s loss of the Mastership of the Music – even when the obvious problem of his Catholicism is acknowledged – has focused on his supposed fall from favour, anecdotally attributed to his notorious incompetence, as testified by contemporary critics from Pelham Humfrey and John Banister in the 1660s to the detractors of *Albion and Albanius* 20 years later. But the documents tell a different story, of a court under pressure doing the best it could to retain Grabu’s services, even as it was forced reluctantly to ease him out of his official post. The order (or, more properly, ‘note’) of 29 December 1673 is telling in this regard: referencing a certificate of the preceding 22 October, it records that Grabu is now owed £500 in salary arrears and ordains one year’s worth (£200) to be paid forthwith ‘by vertue of his Maj^{ty}s let[ter]s Pattents in y^e behalfe’.⁹⁸ The £200 disbursement (released to Grabu, as we have seen, in record time on 3 January 1674) may seem like a small concession, given the £500 actually due at that moment, but, particularly coming on the heels of the additional £250 payment made over the three months preceding, it bespeaks a remarkable effort on the part of Charles II’s administration to move as much of the money owed as possible out of the royal coffers and into Grabu’s pocket while it was still able to do so. The summer of 1674 must have been an exceptionally uncertain time for Grabu, and it may even be that Staggins was beginning to take over some of the responsibilities of the position before he was officially named as Grabu’s replacement. Some measure of the confusion

95 SP44/40, p. 234 (*CSPD*, 1673–5, 330; Ashbee, viii, 217, mistakenly citing p. 232), an entry-book minute of a warrant sent from the Secretaries of State to the Lord Chamberlain; see also the subsequent order from the Lord Chamberlain to the Gentleman Usher, dated 15 August (a Saturday): LC5/140, p. 518 (Ashbee, i, 140). Staggins may actually have been sworn in early the following week.

96 25 Car. II, cap. 2, sec. 3 (see John Raithby, ed., *Statutes of the Realm* [London, 1819], v, 783): ‘all and every [...] person [...] that doe or shall neglect or refuse to take the said Oathes and Sacrament [...] shall be ipso facto adjudged uncapable and disabled in Law [...] to have, occupy or enjoy the said Office or Offices[,] Employment or Employments, [...] and every such Office and Place[,] Employment and Employments shall be void’.

97 It is perhaps noteworthy that many of the subsequent documents referencing Staggins’s position as Master of the Music explicitly insert the phrase ‘in the place of Lewis Grabu’, verbiage that is far less in evidence (with reference to Nicholas Lanier) in documents dating from Grabu’s tenure: see for example LC9/113–20 and cf. LC9/109–11. The discrepancy between Staggins’s swearing-in in August and the granting of his salary as of Michaelmas might have something to do with the transfer of the position of Lord Chamberlain on 11 September from the Earl of St Albans (see n. 58) to Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington.

98 The calculation is problematic: the document mentions two and a half years’ salary ending the previous Michaelmas, but this would carry the account of arrears back to Lady Day 1671, whereas Grabu had already received a warrant covering the period up to Midsummer 1671. (As has already been noted, payment was still pending on the final three quarters’ worth of this amount on 22 October, but by the end of December the account had been cleared.) If the two and a half years are calculated as ending at Christmas 1673, a few days before the document in question was generated, rather than at Michaelmas, the figure comes out correctly.

occasioned by the unorthodox transition from one Master of Music to the other can be seen in the granting of Staggins's livery for the post. Grabu's name still appears in a 1674 document itemizing livery payments due to royal servants,⁹⁹ but neither he nor Staggins is listed in the Wardrobe account of liveries for 1674–5 (which covered the November 1674 annual payment).¹⁰⁰ On 3 November 1675, nearly 15 months after Staggins had first stepped into the position and nine months after his formal swearing-in as Grabu's replacement, the Clerk of the Great Wardrobe was at last ordered

to prepare a bill for the King's signature granting to Nicholas Staggins, admitted as master of his Majesty's musick in the place of Lewis Grabu [...] such liveries as were delivered to the said Lewis Grabu or Nicholas Lanier, or any other of the masters of his Majesty's musick, and at such times as formerly, beginning at 29 September 1674.¹⁰¹

The formal warrant (on parchment) was duly prepared, and was signed by the king on 10 December 1675.¹⁰² But by this time, a month having elapsed since the original order for the document, there seems to have been a question about Staggins's retroactive right to the 1674 livery (which did fall within the period of his salaried employment), now that a second annual payment date of 30 November had passed.¹⁰³ A clarification had to be issued,¹⁰⁴ and, after another eight months, the two livery payments were authorized together, with both entered in the 1675–6 Wardrobe account.¹⁰⁵

All of these legal and administrative machinations would, we might imagine, have been cold comfort to Grabu, who had lost not only his post as Master of the Music, along with the legal protections that his status as a court servant had afforded, but also his right to collect his arrears (which, by Michaelmas 1674, after which Staggins began receiving the salary, had once again risen to £450, covering the two and one-quarter years since Midsummer 1672). Yet the end of Grabu's official appointment in 1674, and the cessation of his income from this source, do not necessarily tell the whole story. As I have shown in detail elsewhere, during the latter months of his tenure as Master of the Music, Grabu appears also to have served as the director of the ephemeral 'Royall Academy of Musick', whose performance of Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert's opera *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus* premiered at the Drury Lane Theatre on 30 March 1674.¹⁰⁶ His name crops up in nearly every document associated with the production, including an order of 27 March to deliver 'unto Mons^r Grabu or to such as he shall appoynt such of the Scenes remaying in the Theatre at Whitehall as shalbe usefull for the french Opera at the Theatre in Bridges street', and another order to return the scenes again at the end of the run on 27

99 LC5/86 (Lafontaine, 282). Grabu's name was subsequently replaced in the document by that of 'Dr. Staggins', which would date the alteration to sometime after 1682, when Staggins received his Mus.D. from Cambridge University.

100 LC9/112 and LC9/260 (Lafontaine, 292–3). The entry for Grabu in the corresponding debenture book is marked 'vacatur / M^r Stagins in his place' (LC9/198iv, f. 15^r [Ashbee, i, 251]).

101 LC5/141, p. 286 (Ashbee, i, 153); a copy of the warrant dormant, made on 10 November, is at LC5/53, f. 66^r (Ashbee, i, 153).

102 SP30/F/71 (CSPD, 1675–6, 472–3; Ashbee, viii, 223).

103 See the note by Richard Coling, tentatively dated December 1675, in SP29/376/133 (CSPD, 1675–6, 473; Ashbee, viii, 223).

104 Memorandum, also tentatively dated December 1675: SP29/376/134 (CSPD, 1675–6, 473; Ashbee, viii, 222, with dates in the document reversed).

105 Signet warrant, August 1676: SO3/17, p. 288 (Ashbee, v, 70); account: LC9/113, ff. 61^v–62^r; LC9/260, f. 29^v; and LC 'Papers, Bundle 18' (Lafontaine, 309–10; original document not located); debenture book: LC9/199i, ff. [18]^v and [19]^r (Ashbee, i, 252). The money was finally collected on 15 December 1677 (see LC3/40, p. 27) by Isaac Staggins, during his son's extended absence abroad.

106 Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 252–3.

April,¹⁰⁷ as well as an entry recording the circumstances of a contract dispute between a group of French dancers and the managers of the King's Company that arose early in May.¹⁰⁸ We cannot know whether the 'Royall Academy of Musick' provided Grabu with an extra infusion of cash, and in any case the ill-fated opera company does not appear to have survived very long after these events. Yet despite the fact that Grabu's activities become much harder to trace at this point, scraps of evidence suggest that he may have maintained some sort of connection with the royal court, and hence that neither his financial condition nor his relationship with Staggins may have been altogether as fraught as the circumstances might at first suggest. Although no records survive of any further grants of income to Grabu, it may be noteworthy that several other French musicians – including the singer Claude des Granges and the wind players Jacques Paisible and François Mariens – received ongoing covert salary payments throughout the remainder of Charles II's reign, in spite of the strictures of the Test Act.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, on 17 January 1677, the Lord Chamberlain ordered 12 of the royal violinists to 'attend to practise Monsr Grabues Musick',¹¹⁰ and it is even possible that Grabu was available to assist unofficially in his former capacity during Staggins's prolonged absence abroad between spring 1676 and June 1678.¹¹¹

These proposals must, of course, remain speculative; apart from the spate of documents surrounding the production of *Ariane* by the Royall Academy (in which Grabu, we should note, seems quite comfortably settled in his altered circumstances), his only appearances in the documentary record during this time concern the ongoing attempts of Walter Lapp to obtain satisfaction for his debt and Grabu's corollary efforts to collect arrears from the crown. As we have seen, Grabu's initial assignment of £137 4s 6d in incidental reimbursements to Lapp in May 1673 was supplemented by the more sweeping grant of 'all sums due' ten and a half months later, on 4 April 1674.¹¹² We have also observed how Grabu seems to have been careful first to solidify his own financial position, by waiting until the previous £450 in arrears, dating back to Lady Day 1670, had been disbursed before allocating the more uncertain subsequent payments to his creditor. It may be significant that Grabu's second and larger assignment to Lapp was made in the middle of the run of *Ariane* at Drury Lane: the successful opening of the opera may have emboldened the former Master of the Music to hope that his still-growing arrears might ultimately be paid out, or at least that royal favour would protect him if they were not.¹¹³ Grabu's large debt to Lapp, or at least the part assigned in 1674, may even have had something to do with the activities of the Royall Academy of Musick itself. Lapp was, after all, a mercer by trade, who at some point in the 12-month period ending at Michaelmas 1674 had supplied the Great Wardrobe with '24 wreathes for the King's musicians in the theatre at Whitehall',¹¹⁴ and the money Grabu owed Lapp was later described as being 'for satisfaction of some goods he had of him',¹¹⁵ rather than for repayment of a loan of cash (which, atypically, Grabu probably did not need at this particular

107 LC5/140, pp. 456 and 471 (Ashbee, i, 135, 137; *Register*, nos. 834 and 838).

108 LC5/140, p. [533] (index page: 'NOPQ') (Ashbee, iii, 253–4; v, 67; *Register*, no. 840), discussed in Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 256–7.

109 See Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 270–81 (including Table 7.1).

110 LC5/141, p. 521 (Ashbee, i, 168).

111 See Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 268–70.

112 See nn. 81 and 84.

113 It may also be worth noting that the date of the assignment to Lapp came close on the heels of Lady Day 1674, the 'quarter day' on which Grabu completed his eighth year of royal service.

114 LC9/111, f. 19^r and LC9/260, f. 35^r (Lafontaine, 275), at a cost of £6. While these headdresses were meant to complement the standard taffeta 'Indian Gowns' worn by the 24 violins in performance beginning in the mid-1660s, the production of *Ariane* seems to have occasioned a renewal of those costumes in early 1674.

115 PRO30/32/34 (properly 'T29/6'), p. 21 (*CTB*, v, 493; Ashbee, viii, 231–2) – see n. 140.

moment in his career). The *Ariane* production, unlike the more forthrightly court-sponsored masque *Calisto* of the following year, has left only minimal traces in official records, and it may have fallen to Grabu, as the supposed director of the new company, to make the necessary arrangements for the show by seeking credit on his own recognizance. Thus, the ‘goods he had of the mercer Lapp – at substantial cost, we should note – might have been for costumes or other necessaries for the opera (in contrast to the more technically sophisticated scenery, which was borrowed directly from Whitehall¹¹⁶). The success of the venture – performances appear to have continued well beyond the two-week period originally anticipated – could then have caused Lapp to seek payment of his bill. We know from the report of the Florentine ambassador Giovanni Salvetti that the Academy’s performances were ultimately curtailed as a result of the ‘tragic accident’ of Wednesday, 22 April 1674 whereby ‘the leader of the French troupe, who had been made prisoner for debt, was forcibly liberated by his fellows from the hands of the justice, two of whose officers were wounded.’¹¹⁷ Could Salvetti’s ‘leader of the French troupe’ (*il maestro di questa Truppa francese*) have been Grabu himself, called to account by Lapp, who had grown tired of waiting for his money?¹¹⁸

Whatever the circumstances, the debt remained for the most part unsatisfied. Lapp may have been able to collect Grabu’s 1671 and 1672 livery payments at the end of 1674, as already noted, but otherwise both men disappear from the records for over a year and a half before the frustrated mercer revived his efforts in early 1676, petitioning the Treasury for payment of the money due him. The petition was read on 18 January, with the Lord Treasurer Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, requesting further details regarding Lapp’s claim,¹¹⁹ and a decision was rendered on 23 March granting Lapp one year’s worth of Grabu’s unpaid salary.¹²⁰ This was technically all that could be offered, given that a new, 15-month retrenchment scheme had been imposed as of the beginning of 1676, which mandated that the Treasury ‘for and during the time of suspension [...] pay no more than [...] one moiety of the fees, salaries and pensions to all or any the persons to whom the same shall grow due by virtue of his Majesty’s several grants thereof.’¹²¹ The terms of the retrenchment did, however, promise that royal servants owed more than a single year’s payment ‘shall have a good right to and may clayme the same as formerly immediately from and after the expiration of this order’,¹²² and thus, in June 1676, two and a half months after the £200 grant to Lapp, Grabu was himself issued a warrant for payment of the remaining five quarters of his arrears, the money to be collected in or after April 1677.¹²³ Lapp responded in September by petitioning to receive this £250 as well (thus claiming more, in fact, than he was owed by the terms of Grabu’s 1674 assignment

116 See LC5/140, pp. 456 and 471 (Ashbee, i, 135, 137).

117 John Orrell, ‘A New Witness of the Restoration Stage, 1670–1680’, *Theatre Research International*, n. s., 2 (1976–7), 86–97, at 91, translating the contemporary transcript of Salvetti’s original letter of 4 May 1674 (New Style) in British Library, Additional MS 27962 V, vol. 1, ff. 245^v–46^r.

118 Orrell’s argument that if Grabu were indeed the individual referred to here, ‘one would have expected to have heard about his disgrace’ (p. 92), is not convincing. In the relatively chaotic world of Restoration London, many such events passed without significant public notice, and the court, as the Royall Academy’s clandestine sponsor, would have been especially anxious to neutralize this particular situation as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. Although Salvetti had been in England since 1657, and thus certainly must have become accustomed to thinking of Grabu as Master of the Music, he could have accepted the latter’s transformation into the director of the ‘French troupe’ (i.e., the Royall Academy) without much difficulty, and in any case would have felt no need to fill his report with unnecessary details that would be of little relevance to his correspondents back in Tuscany.

119 PRO30/32/33 (properly ‘T29/5’), p. 101 (CTB, v, 7; Ashbee, viii, 223).

120 *Ibid.*, p. 137 (CTB, v, 34; Ashbee, viii, 224).

121 PRO30/32/43 (properly ‘T52/5’), p. 45 (CTB, v, 118).

122 *Ibid.*, p. 43 (CTB, v, 117).

123 8 June 1676: PRO30/32/46 (properly ‘T53/[0b]’), p. 368 (CTB, v, 236; Ashbee, viii, 225).

to him), but the Lord Treasurer laconically counselled ‘patience’,¹²⁴ given that Grabu’s warrant was in any case not about to be honoured. In the interim, Grabu appears to have collected his 1673 livery in October,¹²⁵ following an audit of his livery warrant conducted the previous spring by Brook Bridges, Auditor of the Imprest of the Treasury¹²⁶ – this despite the money supposedly being encompassed by his earlier pledge of ‘all sums’ to Lapp.¹²⁷

Whether or to what extent Lapp continued to hound Grabu is not known, but the impasse on payment of his arrears must have finally broken the musician’s resolve. In the spring of 1677, the 15-month retrenchment having recently expired, Grabu appears to have received a verbal promise from the king to address the issue if the musician would submit a full accounting of the money owed him. His subsequent petition, which accompanied the requested tabulation, betrays a sense of desperation. Noting that ‘yo^r pet^r being servant to yo^r Ma^{tie} under the Greate Seale during life hath lately fallen under very greivous misfortune, the greatest of which hath beene yo^r Ma^{ties} willingness to receive another person into his place dureing pleasure’, Grabu humbly requested that Charles, ‘according to y^r Royal compassion to a poore servant, guilty of noe crime but misfortune, [...] give Effectuall order for ye speedy paym^t of y^e said arrears [...] and that all his sallary may run on till the said arrears be paid’.¹²⁸ In return for this consideration, which Grabu described as essential ‘for the keeping him from arrests and y^e providing some subsistence for his distressed family’, and citing similar arrangements made with other dispossessed royal servants, he undertook, ‘though with much greife, [to] retire from being a meniall servant to yo^r Ma^{ty}’, that is, to resign his patent granting life tenure, thereby providing his successor Staggin with clear title to the position. The circumstances surrounding Grabu’s petition deserve some scrutiny: though the continuing demands of Walter Lapp may have been a primary factor, it is noteworthy that Grabu, despite his assertions regarding his ‘very greivous misfortune’ and his need for ‘subsistence for his distressed family’, seems to have been in a position to get the king’s attention, even if only for a few precious moments. Whether or not this encounter is related to the Lord Chamberlain’s order of the previous January (1677) that 12 of the royal violinists ‘attend to practise Mons^r Grabues Musick’,¹²⁹ it is evident that the ex-Master of the Music had some limited access to Charles II, the restraints of the Test Act notwithstanding. Moreover, Grabu’s request ‘that in the meanwhile he may be maintained & supported as others are under all circumstances in the like case wth him’ could be taken to refer to the ongoing special arrangement for certain other Catholic musicians noted earlier.¹³⁰ Also telling is the vigorous administrative process triggered by the king’s promise and Grabu’s petition: though the dubious assurance of ‘the Growing benefit^t’ of the Master’s salary subsequent to Staggin’s acquisition of the post appears to have been ignored,¹³¹ the request for back pay received serious attention. On 5 May Sir Joseph

124 20 September 1676: PRO30/32/33 (properly ‘T29/5’), p. 218 (CTB, v, 76).

125 23 October 1676: LC9/198iii, f. 16^v (Ashbee, i, 250); LC9/111, f. 6^r and LC9/260, f. 15^v (Lafontaine, 275); for the date of the payment, see LC3/40, p. 15.

126 Receipt for livery warrants of Grabu and three other musicians, 20 March 1676: LC ‘Papers, Bundle 18’ (Lafontaine, 301; original document not located).

127 Perhaps, as in December 1674 (see n. 86), Lapp was present when Grabu received the money, and immediately appropriated it to himself.

128 LC5/142, p. 56 (Ashbee, i, 170–1).

129 See n. 110.

130 Just two and a half weeks after Grabu submitted his petition, one of these musicians, Jacques Paisible, began rehearsals for the royal birthday performance of the *comédie-ballet Rare en Tout*: see LC5/142, p. 38 (Ashbee, i, 171–2) and Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 282–3.

131 By the time of Grabu’s petition, Staggin, now two and a half years into his appointment as Master of the Music, had already received payment for a year and a half of that service (E403/1785, p. 181 [Ashbee, v, 200]; E403/1786, p. 184 [Ashbee, v, 201]; E403/1787, p. 168 [Ashbee, v, 202]), and

Williamson, one of the Secretaries of State, referred it on the king's orders to the Lord Chamberlain,¹³² who in turn requested, on the 14th, reports from four fiscal departments: the Treasurer of the Chamber; the Great Wardrobe; the Privy Purse; and the Auditor of the Exchequer.¹³³ Having obtained relevant particulars from three of these departments, the Lord Chamberlain reported back to the king on 5 June, certifying that Grabu was owed a total of £627 9s 6d¹³⁴ and adding that 'I find his Condition to be very poore and Miserable, all which I humbly submitt to Your Majesty's wisdom.'¹³⁵ Two weeks later the king responded, declaring 'his intention [...] that the petitioner be paid his arrears due till his places were otherwise disposed of', and Secretary Williamson forwarded the order to Lord Treasurer Danby for payment.¹³⁶ Thus, despite having agreed to relinquish his patent, the only document that might provide him some hope of legal recourse in the future, Grabu seemed at last to have navigated his way successfully through the slough of Restoration administrative inertia, and financial solvency appeared to be just around the corner.

Unfortunately for Grabu, however, his ever-vigilant creditor had gotten wind of these developments. Two days after the Lord Chamberlain submitted his report to the king, the indefatigable Lapp pounced, petitioning the Lord Treasurer for consideration, whereupon Danby, as yet not in the loop regarding Grabu's request, appears to have consulted privately with Sir George Wakeman, an associate of Secretary of State Williamson.¹³⁷ Lapp's claim was, of course, a legitimate one, and his intervention seems to have stopped the payment process in its tracks. In response, the disappointed musician apparently sought to outmanoeuvre his opponent by entering a caveat revoking the assignment to Lapp of April 1674. This counter-move was only partially effective: with Lapp in possession not only of the original letter of assignment (a legal document, signed by witnesses), but also of the order for payment of £200 of 23 March 1676, Grabu lacked the documentation necessary to collect the money himself, and a legal stalemate ensued. On 14 December 1677 Grabu was summoned to explain his caveat to the Lord Treasurer,¹³⁸ and on the 19th both parties were called in, accompanied by their respective attorneys, to clear up the matter.¹³⁹ In the hearing that ensued, Grabu 'Confest by his Councell that he had made a letter of attorny to M^r Lapp to Receive an order for mony due out of the Excheq^r for satisfaction of some goods he had of him, but that being under some former obligations to trustees at marriage he thought fitt to revoke it, and soe he had.'¹⁴⁰ Lapp, represented by the recently knighted Sir George Jeffreys (future Chief Justice of the King's Bench and Lord Chancellor), sought deferral of the payment 'till they were Agreed', and Danby effectively ratified this request by noting that neither party possessed documentation sufficient to claim the money. With this ambivalent determination, the records regarding the dispute cease, and we have no

would receive another half-year's disbursement on 12 June (E403/1789, p. 74 [Ashbee, v, 203]), even as Grabu's request was circulating amongst the government departments.

132 LC5/142, p. 56 (Ashbee, i, 171) and SP44/46, p. 178 (CSPD, 1677–8, 113; not in Ashbee).

133 LC5/142, p. 34 (Ashbee, i, 171).

134 This included £450 from the Exchequer for his last two and a quarter years of salary (£200 of which had already been promised to Lapp), £32 5s from the Great Wardrobe for the long-overdue 1666 and 1667 liveries and £145 4s 6d from the Treasurer of the Chamber, which included the £137 4s 6d for incidental reimbursements from 1669–70 that had been assigned to Lapp in May 1673 (see n. 81), plus another £8 whose source is not clear.

135 LC5/142, p. 56 (Ashbee, i, 172).

136 Entry book, 18 June 1677: SP44/46, p. 188 (CSPD, 1677–8, 200; not in Ashbee); referenced petition with report, undated: PRO30/32/36, pp. 10–11 (CTB, v, 1346; Ashbee, viii, 338).

137 7 June 1677: PRO30/32/33, p. 293 (CTB, v, 455; not in Ashbee).

138 PRO30/32/7, p. 138 (CTB, v, 488; Ashbee, viii, 231).

139 PRO30/32/7, p. 139 (CTB, v, 492; Ashbee, viii, 231).

140 PRO30/32/34 (properly 'T29/6'), p. 21 (CTB, v, 493; Ashbee, viii, 231–2).

further information about how the issue may have been resolved, although it appears that Lapp never did receive satisfaction, given that both the £450 in salary arrears and the long-overdue 1666 and 1667 livery allowances would ultimately be paid to Grabu following the accession of James II in 1685.

Grabu's disappearance from official records after the end of 1677 has tended to be viewed as the penultimate stage in the musician's long decline, a process that began in early 1674 with his displacement as Master of the Music and that can be glimpsed in Grabu's petition and the Lord Chamberlain's characterization of him as 'very poore and Miserable' some three years later. In this rather sensationalized depiction, the wretched musician, cast off by his royal master, mercilessly pursued by his creditors, and desperately searching for a way to feed his wife and children (the youngest of whom could not have been more than ten years old, and may have been considerably younger), is the epitome of misfortune – meriting sympathy, of course, but also potentially eliciting scorn, given his supposedly well-attested incompetence. The lurid pleasures of the imagination, however, cannot displace the quite different picture offered by a thorough consideration of the factual record, slim though it may be. As we have seen, the events of 1674, to whatever extent they may have forced an unwelcome change of circumstance on both the musician and his employers, by no means constituted a career-ending calamity. Grabu's musical activities during the three and a half years after the closing of *Ariane* remain, for the most part, shrouded in obscurity. But the want of evidence – and particularly of any surviving compositions – may itself serve as an indicator of his continued success as an organizer, fixer, director and copyist, tasks that are no more or less in evidence post-1674 than they are for the eight-and-a-half-year period of his Mastership. Furthermore, as we have observed, the lack of any record of a continuing income for Grabu after Michaelmas 1674 does not automatically imply his utter destitution in the years that followed, despite the absence of any documentation comparable with that available for his French colleagues des Granges, Paisible and Mariens, noted earlier. The only thing we know for certain about Grabu's financial condition in mid-1677 is that a large sum of arrears, dating back as much as five years, had not been paid to him.¹⁴¹ But these funds were in any case encumbered, long since promised to Walter Lapp, and seemingly also to the unnamed trustees of Grabu's 1665 marriage settlement with Catherine de Loes. Thus, at least through the beginning of 1678, there is no reason to imagine anything other than continuity in Grabu's musical activities, whatever the necessarily selective documentary record might seem to imply.

Indeed, if we seek a watershed moment in Grabu's career as a musician, it is almost certainly not 1674–5, when the modifications to his duties, however involuntarily imposed, seem to have been relatively minor, but rather 1677–8. It is at this point, with a rapidly deteriorating political climate and altered priorities at court, that whatever informal connections Grabu had with Charles II's musical establishment finally became untenable. As early as the spring of 1677 he may have begun to see his position eroded by the rise to favour of Jacques Paisible, which could have occasioned the petition for his arrears as Master of the Music already discussed, as well as offering some rationale for the Lord Chamberlain's comments regarding his less-than-ideal financial and personal circumstances. By the beginning of 1678, the three 'salaried' foreigners des Granges, Paisible and Mariens appear to have been joined by two new French musicians, the singers Jacques Arnould and Louis Brunot,¹⁴² and by June of that year at the latest Staggins himself had returned to England and, according to one account,

141 For other examples of unpaid (but not displaced) royal musicians trumpeting their supposed destitution in c.1677–8, see the undated petitions of John Banister (PRO30/32/36, p. 57 [CTB, v, 1382; Ashbee, viii, 340]: 'him and his family who are very poor') and Henry Brockwell (PRO30/32/36, p. 73 [CTB, v, 1395; Ashbee, viii, 340]: 'in a very poore condicōn').

142 See Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 280.

been ‘constituted [...] lord paramount over all the musick’.¹⁴³ Staggins’s ‘great credit’ with the king, who reportedly invested him with ‘absolute power’ to ‘raigne [...] like Great Turke and cutt whose cattis-gutts hee please if the harmony bee not to his liking’¹⁴⁴ must have signalled to his discarded predecessor that it was, after all, time to move on. In light of this, it is surely significant that 1678 is the year in which Grabu suddenly emerges as a professional composer-for-hire, an occupation he would continue to pursue for much of the remainder of his life.

This last development is a significant one: whereas Grabu’s appearances in administrative documents of the period 1665–77 allow us to piece together some picture, however rough, of his multi-phase career as a member of the royal musical establishment, the details of his compositional output during this time are much more uncertain. From the dozen or so years prior to 1678, only a small number of primarily dance tunes are known to survive. Three can be found as keyboard arrangements in a manuscript with Scottish connections dated 1671, although it is not certain precisely when these pieces, labelled ‘Aires by Munseieur [*sic*] Grabue’, were copied into the volume.¹⁴⁵ Another three are more easily datable, as they all came out in print between 1670 and 1672: one is a minuet entitled ‘La Monmouth’, which initially appeared (anonymously) in the inaugural edition of John Playford’s instrumental tune collection *Apollo’s Banquet*.¹⁴⁶ This tune was presumably associated with James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, Charles II’s eldest illegitimate son, who is known to have performed in a number of balls and masques (the earliest of which occurred in 1662 when he was just 13 years old), and was regarded as one of the finest dancers at the Restoration court.¹⁴⁷ ‘La Monmouth’ was also printed, along with a gavotte and a triple-time ayre (all, in this case, attributed to Grabu), in Thomas Greeting’s flageolet tutor *The Pleasant Companion*, first published in 1672.¹⁴⁸ Beyond this, we have only reports, and ambiguous ones at that, of Grabu’s

143 Letter of Henry Savile to John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 25 June 1678: see S. C. Lomas, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath Preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire. Vol. II* (Dublin, 1907), 165 and John Harold Wilson, ed., *The Rochester–Savile Letters, 1671–1680* (Columbus, 1941), 61–2, at 61.

144 *Ibid.* The circumstances and implications of Staggins’s return are discussed in Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 269–70.

145 University of Edinburgh, Centre for Research Collections, Mus. m. 1 (reverse, ff. 39^v–38^v). See the brief discussion in Warwick Edwards, ‘The Musical Sources’, in J. Porter, ed., *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century* (Bern, 2007), 47–71, at 60, and the more thorough treatment in Evelyn Florence Stell, ‘Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1603–1707’, 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1999), i, 71–9 and ii, 391–8. I am very grateful to Andrew Woolley for kindly supplying both the primary and the secondary references and for a very productive exchange about this manuscript.

146 (London, ?1670), sig. G2^v (no. 203); the tune can be found in subsequent surviving editions of this publication printed in 1678 (sig. G3^v; sec. 2, no. 23), 1687 (sig. I4^v; sec. 2, no. 60), 1690 (sig. G4^v; sec. 2, no. 58) and 1693 (sig. E3^r; sec. 2, no. 43).

147 Monmouth is documented as having appeared in court balls on 31 December 1662, 2 February 1665 and 15 November 1666 (see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 33 [Table 1.1]). Grabu’s tune could potentially have been featured on either of the latter two occasions. It is also possible that ‘La Monmouth’ was written for the court performance of John Dryden’s *The Indian Emperour*, presented on 13 January 1668 ‘in the great Hall by some persons of quality’, in which Monmouth acted – and almost certainly danced – one day prior to his departure for a sojourn at the French court (for a discussion of this production, see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 74–8 [including Table 2.1]). It should be noted that the celebrated Duke continued to dance at court after the date of the first publication of ‘La Monmouth’: he certainly appeared in *The Queen’s Masque* in February 1671 and in *Calisto* in February and April 1675.

148 *The Pleasant Companion: Or, New Lessons and Instructions for the Flagelet* (London, 1672), sigs. E1^v–E2^r (nos. 39–41). A second, expanded edition was published in 1673, 1675 and 1676 (always from the same engraved plates, but in each case with the typeset title page and introduction reset). Beginning with the 1678 ‘third’ edition, a fourth tune by Grabu appeared in yet another newly engraved section appended to the earlier versions: see n. 168.

possible compositional activities. On 1 October 1667 Samuel Pepys recorded hearing ‘an English song upon peace [...] with which the King is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus, the master of his music’, and on 15 April the following year the diarist attended a ‘fiddling concert and heard a practice mighty good of *Grebus*’, but in neither case is Pepys’s terminology sufficiently clear to establish whether Grabu was the composer or merely the director of the performance.¹⁴⁹ The phrase ‘a practice mighty good of *Grebus*’ does not necessarily imply that it was Grabu’s own music being presented: at the October event, Pepys had admired the French-trained musician’s improvements to the ensemble’s performing discipline,¹⁵⁰ and thus ‘mighty good’ may refer to the quality of the performance rather than to the excellence of the composition, which may not have been by Grabu at all. Two days after the ‘practice’ of 15 April 1668 Grabu was ordered to be paid £165 9s 6d ‘for fayre writeing seuerall dances, aires and other musick, and for draweing the said musick into seuerall parts’, as well as incidental expenses, covering a period of nearly 17 months from November 1666, the time of his swearing-in as Master of the Music, to Lady Day 1668¹⁵¹ – a similar payment, already mentioned, was ordered in 1672 to cover April (the month of the ‘practice’ heard by Pepys), July, October and December 1668 and February 1669.¹⁵² Again, however, the phrases ‘fayre writeing’ and ‘draweing [...] into seuerall parts’ found in these documents are probably not references to composition, but rather to the creation of manuscript scores and parts for use by the royal musicians, with Grabu hiring and supervising an unspecified number of ‘prickers & writers’ to copy out music composed by others.¹⁵³

149 Pepys, *Diary*, viii, 458 and ix, 163. In the latter instance, Pepys, having gone to Whitehall ‘and there to the Chapel expecting wind music’, had retired to a pub for refreshment and subsequently returned to the ‘fiddling concert’. Pepys’s use of ‘concert’ and ‘practice’ would seem to be at odds (assuming that he is describing a single event rather than two events in succession), although the term ‘concert’ may refer to the act/place/time of the violin band coming together, for a ‘practice’ rather than a public (or semi-public court) performance. The diary clearly indicates that the ‘practice’ took place in the morning, not a usual time for a public event of this type. In any case, Pepys’s experience coincides closely with the transition under Grabu’s aegis from the ‘Select Band’ to the full 24 violins playing in the Privy Chamber in alternating monthly shifts of 12 each, and the ‘practice’ may have been related to that new circumstance.

150 Pepys, *Diary*, viii, 458: ‘the instrumental music he had brought by practice to play very just’.

151 LC5/139, p. 113 (Ashbee, i, 83); Grabu did not actually receive this money until sometime in late 1672 or 1673: see AO1/398/94, f. 17^v (Ashbee, v, 134).

152 LC5/140, p. 8 (Ashbee, i, 113); this was one of the two ‘incidental’ sums assigned to Walter Lapp in May 1673.

153 See the discussion in Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), 67–9. The language of the two Grabu-related documents (which Herissone does not cite) can be compared with similar orders for payment to Nicholas Staggins ‘for writeing & pricking Musick’, one of which even names specific compositions, including ‘severall Aires of Musick for y^e selected Band of Violins at Windsor’ (May 1675), ‘a Chaccon [...] that was played at Scaramoucha’ (July 1675), ‘an Anthem’ (October 1675), ‘Aires composed for y^e Maske’ (November 1675), ‘Aires [...] performed at y^e Kings dinner’ (December 1675) and ‘a song for New yeares day & other Aires performed at y^e same tyme’ (January 1676) (LC5/141, pp. 345–6 [27 January 1676: Ashbee, i, 155–6], paid between Michaelmas 1676 and Michaelmas 1677 [AO1/400/103, (?mis-)dating the warrant to 27 February (Ashbee, v, 147)] – compare LC5/144, p. 118 [27 September 1680: Ashbee, i, 191], paid between Michaelmas 1680 and Michaelmas 1681 [AO1/402/115 (Ashbee, v, 158)], in which no particulars of individual compositions are given). Another order involving Staggins, authorizing payment on 9 November 1686 ‘for faier writeing of a Composition for his Ma^{tes} Coronation day from the original in score the six parts, for drawing y^e said Composition into forty severall parts for Trumpetts Hautboyes Violins Tennors Bases’ (LC5/147, p. 213 [Ashbee, ii, 12], paid between Michaelmas 1686 and Michaelmas 1687 [AO1/405/130 (Ashbee, ii, 138)], based on a (lost?) warrant dated 14 November 1686), is equally unclear: none of the ten anthems performed at James II’s coronation service on 23 April 1685 is by Staggins (see Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation Of [...] James II* [London, 1687]), but Peter Holman has argued that the ‘composition’ in question may have been written for

Given the evidence of ‘La Monmouth’ and the other pieces, just mentioned, we know that Grabu must have been writing music during his time at court; if nothing else, Pelham Humfrey’s disparaging remark in 1667 that Grabu ‘cannot compose’¹⁵⁴ would seem to indicate at least some efforts in that direction. Moreover, we can presume that Grabu already possessed compositional skills when he arrived in England from his first appearance in the records as a ‘Composer in his Ma^{ties} Musique’, possibly for the king’s French musical establishment;¹⁵⁵ this premise is further supported by the fact that in later years he consistently composed in a French style, even when setting English texts.¹⁵⁶ Yet beyond these scant details, and Grabu’s possible contributions to the refashioned French opera *Ariane* in 1674,¹⁵⁷ we have little sense even of what kinds of music he might have been writing, let alone how much or under what circumstances.¹⁵⁸ Peter Holman is likely correct in concluding that Grabu’s responsibilities after March 1666 were primarily as an organizer and director of Charles II’s band of 24 violins (including the ‘Select Band’ prior to April 1668) and the court musical establishment generally. But Grabu’s later history shows that he was more than competent as a composer, and he could have penned a fair amount of music even while carrying out his administrative and ‘clerical’ duties, whether as Master of the Music, or during his brief stint with the ‘Royall Academy of Musick’, or in the uncertain period that followed.¹⁵⁹ There may be any number of reasons why we now have so little music by Grabu from the years before 1678,¹⁶⁰ but in any case there can be no doubt that whatever he may have written during these dozen years, only a tiny remnant appears to have made its way into print and thus become available to a wider public.

performance at the banquet in Westminster Hall following the service (*Fiddlers*, 328–30). Unlike Grabu, Staggin had received an appointment as Composer for the Violins to supplement his other posts, though this only occurred in 1682, after the death of Thomas Purcell (see n. 27).

154 See nn. 2 and 35.

155 See n. 26.

156 It is often stated that Grabu had been a student of Robert Cambert in Paris in the early 1660s, although this appears to have been inferred from the supposed collaboration of the two men in London a decade later, and is not based on any solid evidence. Even less clear is by what means Grabu came to apply to Charles II’s violin band the distinctively Lullian discipline so admired by Pepys. 157 No such contributions survive, and there is considerable uncertainty about whether or not Grabu actually composed any part of *Ariane*, despite his being prominently credited on the title pages of the published programme libretti with having ‘put [the opera] into MUSICK’: see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 253.

158 Pepys’s criticism of the ‘English song upon peace’ may offer a glimpse of Grabu’s early style, if he were indeed the composer: ‘I was never so little pleased with a consort of music in my life – the manner of setting of words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocall music being lost by it’ (*Diary*, viii, 458). Compare Pepys’s similar view of Humfrey’s French-influenced style, recorded exactly a month later, on 1 November: ‘a very good piece of Musique, but still I cannot call the Anthem anything but Instrumentall music with the Voice, for nothing is made of the words at all’ (*ibid.*, 515).

159 See for example the order of 17 January 1677 in which half the violin band was summoned explicitly to ‘attend to practise Monsr Grabues Musick’ (LC5/141, p. 521, cited in nn. 110 and 129).

160 The disappearance of Grabu’s putative court music (and that of many of the official court composers as well, including George Hudson, Thomas Purcell and Nicholas Staggin) has often been attributed to the Whitehall fire of 4 January 1698. It is worth noting, however, that the conflagration may not actually have reached the wing near the entrance to Scotland Yard that is shown to contain ‘The Kings Musick House’ on the Whitehall Palace plan of 1670. There is, we might observe, some confusion about the purpose and use of this space: Simon Thurley (*The Whitehall Palace Plan of 1670* [London, 1998], 43) says that the room was assigned to the children of the Chapel Royal for use as a rehearsal space and schoolroom, noting that the Master of the Children, Henry Cooke, ‘had his own lodging near the Chapel Royal’. However, in November 1675 the Office of Works was ordered to repair the ‘roome belonging to his Ma^{ties} Musicians in ye Greene cloth yard at Whitehall’ and to ‘cause to be erected One roome over it for the use of the Master of his Ma^{ties} Musick’ (LC5/141, p. 286 [Ashbee, i, 153]).

II. Grabu in transition, 1678–83

In conjunction with the shift in Grabu's status during the latter half of 1677, the nature of the surviving evidence also undergoes a substantive change. Whereas the pre-1678 period offers a wealth of administrative documentation but virtually no extant musical output, the remainder of Grabu's career is a near-blank with regard to the musician's financial and supervisory activities, and must instead be traced primarily through his compositional work and the occasional public comment that it engendered. The best indicator of the former Master of the Music's new path is his sudden emergence in early 1678 as a composer for the public theatre. Within a relatively short time, Grabu produced music for a number of plays; of those we can identify, all but one are associated with the Duke of York's Company based at the Dorset Garden Theatre, and it is thus possible that he was retained as a 'house composer' for that company. Grabu's output included vocal music for Thomas Shadwell's Shakespearean adaptation *The History of Timon of Athens* (January 1678)¹⁶¹ and for Thomas D'Urfey's comedy *Squire Oldsapp* (June 1678),¹⁶² and a seven-movement instrumental suite for John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee's *Oedipus* (September 1678);¹⁶³ as many as five other such suites, ranging in length from five to 12 movements, may also have been composed for unknown plays at this time.¹⁶⁴ Some of the *Timon of Athens* music even found its way into

161 See n. 166.

162 Two songs from this play, 'How frail is old age to believe' (from Act 1, scene ii) and 'Close in a hollow silent cave' (from Act 4, scene ii), are attributed to 'Mounsieur Graboe' and 'Mr. Graboe' in Thomas D'Urfey, *A New Collection of Songs and Poems* (London, 1683), 68 and 38–9, and in *A Compleat Collection of Mr. D'Urfey's Songs and Odes* (London, 1687), part 2, 64 and 34–5. These sources print only the words, without the music; in the case of 'Close in a hollow silent cave', the attribution to Grabu is confirmed in the 1681 printed score (see n. 170). The words of the two songs also appear, without any indication of author or composer, in *Wits Cabinet or a Companion for Young Men and Ladies* (London, 1684), 134 and 145–6; *Wit's Cabinet: or, a Companion for Young Men and Ladies* (London, 1685), 134 and 145–6; *Wits Cabinet [...] The Eighth Edition* (London, 1698), 127 and 137–8; *Wits Cabinet [...] The Eleventh Edition* (London, 1703), 122 and 131–2 [but relevant pages missing from the only extant copy]; and *Wits Cabinet [...] The Twelfth Edition* (London, 1705), 122 and 131–2; in this series of sources, the songs are entitled, respectively, 'No Fool like the Old One' (the text of this song is corrupt, lacking the penultimate line of each verse) and 'Squire Old-Sap' (or 'Squire Old Sap'). For the title 'No Fool like the Old One', compare the unidentified play entitled 'Noe foole like y^e old foole', performed by the King's Company at Drury Lane on 13 June 1676, with Charles II in attendance (LC5/142, p. 52 [*Register*, no. 1014]). The text of 'How frail is old age' continues to appear in *Wits Cabinet [...] The Sixteenth Edition* (London, 1737), 129 and *Wits Cabinet [...] The Seventeenth Edition* (London, [c.1745?]), 105; for the music for this song, see n. 170. There is also a copy of the text of 'Close in a hollow silent cave', simply titled 'A song', in National Library of Ireland, MS 2093, p. 132.

163 Leeds Public Library, MS SRQ 784.21 L969, pp. 21–2 (*a4*, with overture in first place). The date of this suite is open to some question: Curtis Price (*Henry Purcell and the London Stage* [see n. 15], 106) believes that the suite's 'style and the music surrounding it in the Leeds manuscript, much of which was composed about 1700, suggest a later date', i.e. after Grabu's return to England in the 1680s. But James Anderson Winn ('*When Beauty Fires the Blood: Love and the Arts in the Age of Dryden* [Ann Arbor, 1992], 250) regards the music presented at the play's 1678 premiere to be 'almost certainly by [...] Grabu', and Bryan Douglas White ('Louis Grabu and his Opera *Albion and Albanus*', 2 vols. [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, Bangor, 1999], i, 19–20 n. 40) argues in favour of a 1678 date, speculating in addition that Grabu may have set the sung incantation scene in Act 3 (one of Dryden's contributions to the play), for which Henry Purcell provided music for a 1690s revival. As regards Grabu's suite itself, Price observes (p. 106) that the music 'is not unworthy, and the *menuet en rondeau* is a wonderfully noble piece', and thus it is possible that it continued in use into the 1690s, alongside Purcell's newly composed music for the Act 3 episode. One movement from this suite appears in British Library, Additional MS 17853 (the 'Blakiston' manuscript: see [Appendix 3](#)).

164 Leeds Public Library, MS SRQ 784.21 L969, pp. 19–20 (*a4*: seven movements, with overture in first place; six of these movements are also in British Library, Additional MS 17853 [the 'Blakiston'

print not long after its appearance on the stage: ‘Hark, how the songsters of the grove’, the opening section of the Act 2 masque – the only sung episode in a play that John Downes described as ‘very well Acted, and the Musick in’t well Perform’d; it wonderfully pleas’d the Court and City’¹⁶⁵ – appeared in simplified form in the second book of John Playford’s *Choice Ayres & Songs*, which was printed sometime in 1679, but had been registered with the Stationers’ Company on 8 April 1678.¹⁶⁶

Besides these compositions, Grabu wrote one song for a play that is associated with the rival King’s Company: ‘One night while all the village slept’, from Act 4 of Nathaniel Lee’s *Mithridates, King of Pontus*, believed to have appeared at the Drury Lane Theatre in February 1678. However, as I have argued elsewhere, it is possible that *Mithridates* was originally written for performance by noble amateurs, and may have been presented at court in late 1677 or very early 1678, during the Christmas or Carnival season, only subsequently being picked up by the King’s Company in an elaborated version revised by the playwright.¹⁶⁷ Assuming this hypothesis to be correct, it is still not entirely certain that Grabu’s song, which is incidental to the play, was a part of the original, simpler court version. If such were the case, however, it might constitute evidence of a final contribution by Grabu of music for the Restoration court – which in turn could explain how one of his songs found its way into a Drury Lane play when the other identifiable theatre music Grabu was writing at this time is all connected with Dorset Garden.

manuscript: see [Appendix 3](#)); National Library of Scotland, MS 5777, ff. 33^v–38^r (treble only: seven movements – including a dance for ‘Marcury’ – with no overture but a ‘prelwdium’ in first place); Cardiff University Library, Special Collections and Archives, MS 442/39a, ff. 1^r–4^r and 4^v–8^v (two suites, treble only: 12 movements, but first two movements missing; 11 movements, with overture in first place; two movements from the first suite have concordances in other Grabu-related sources [see [Appendix 2](#)], while one movement from the second suite is also in British Library, Additional MS 17853 [the ‘Blakiston’ manuscript: see [Appendix 3](#)]); and possibly British Library, Additional MS 31429A–C, ff. 2^v–3^v (*a*3: five movements, with overture in first place; two of these movements are also in British Library, Additional MS 17853 [the ‘Blakiston’ manuscript: see [Appendix 3](#)]). For a discussion of the first of these five suites, see White, ‘Louis Grabu’, i, 20; for the second, see Holman, *Fiddlers*, 364–5. The Cardiff manuscript has not previously been recognized as a significant source of Grabu’s music; the first suite, whose first leaf has been lost, is endorsed ‘M^r Peasable’ in another hand, but this ascription is contradicted by the concordances mentioned earlier; the second suite is labelled ‘M^r Grabue’ at the beginning (although ‘M^r Peacable’ appears again at the end). The last of these five suites – which, if indeed it is a theatre suite, would seem to be missing its First and Second Music – is in an undated set of partbooks once belonging to Thomas Fuller, who also owned a separate set, dated 1682, that contains Grabu’s 1684 suite for *The Disappointment* (British Library, Additional MS 29283–5; see n. 199). Bryan White (‘Louis Grabu’, i, 20) argues for a pre-1679 dating for the Additional MS 31429 suite, and this would seem to be borne out by the publication of the final tune (f. 3^v) in Greeting’s *The Pleasant Companion* beginning in 1678 (see n. 168).

165 John Downes (ed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume), *Roscius Anglicanus, Or an Historical Review of the Stage [...]* (London, 1987), 78. Grabu might also have written some of the instrumental music called for in the script, although the play’s suite proper may have been that composed by Jacques Paisible, found in British Library, Additional MSS 39565/30839/39566–7, ff. 37^v–38^v; British Library, Additional MS 35043, ff. 66^v–67^r and 37^r; Royal College of Music, London, MS 1144i/ii, ff. 54^r–55^r/74^r–75^r; and Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 482, ff. 16^v–17^v (bass part only).

166 John Playford, *Choice Ayres & Songs [...] The Second Book* (London, 1679), 56; see G. E. Briscoe Eyre, Charles Robert Rivington and H. R. Plomer, eds., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: From 1640–1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London, 1913–14; repr. Gloucester, Mass, 1950 and 1967 [henceforth *Stationers’ Register*]), iii, 64. In *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (p. 90), Curtis Price remarks that Grabu’s setting ‘inexplicably changes from triple to duple metre midway through each strain’, but fails to associate this with the shift from solo nymph to chorus in each verse of the (lost) fully scored original, as the playbook makes clear: see Thomas Shadwell, *The History of Timon of Athens, the Man-Hater* (London, 1678), 29–30.

167 Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 120–4.

All of the above-mentioned activity must have been gratifying for the musician, given the pressing need to reinvent himself following the evaporation of his court affiliation. Moreover, the appearance of some of his works in print had the added effect of situating Grabu among the mainstream of London's composers: when his music was published in contemporary vocal and instrumental collections, it kept company with pieces by the likes of Matthew Locke, John Banister, Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, Alphonso Marsh, James Hart, William Turner, Thomas Farmer, Robert King and even the young Henry Purcell – to say nothing of the lesser musical lights also represented in these volumes. Even after leaving England early in 1679 (see later in this article), Grabu would not be forgotten. In 1678, *The Third Edition Enlarged* of Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* had added a fourth instrumental tune by him, this one taken from one of the probable theatre suites just mentioned,¹⁶⁸ and new editions of Greeting's compilation, always including the same four tunes, would continue to appear throughout the ensuing decade (in 1680, 1682, 1683 and, ultimately, 1688). The year 1679 saw the publication of another four of Grabu's tunes in John Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum For the Lovers of Musick, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder*,¹⁶⁹ and in 1681 the third book of *Choice Ayres and Songs* would print two more of Grabu's theatre songs from the 1678 productions: 'Close in a hollow silent cave' from *Squire Oldsapp*¹⁷⁰ and 'One night while all the village slept' from *Mithridates*.¹⁷¹

In particular, *Mithridates*, and with it Grabu's song, enjoyed something of an afterlife. The presumed 1677–8 court production already mentioned is believed to have featured the Duke of York's daughter Princess Anne in the lead male role of Ziphares, and the future Queen of Great Britain subsequently appeared in three performances of the play at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh in November 1681, this time as the heroine Semandra.¹⁷² *Mithridates* seems to

168 'Monsir Grabues Tune called the Roundo', sig. H1^r (no. 60), derived from the five-movement suite in British Library, Additional MS 31429 (see n. 164). It may be notable that this constituted the lead-off tune in the new section added by Greeting at this time. For the other three Grabu tunes, which can also be found in the first edition (1672) and the second edition (1673, reprinted 1675 and 1676), see n. 148. Besides its retention as a matter of course in the engraved *Pleasant Companion*, Grabu's old tune 'La Monmouth' was reprinted (still anonymously) in the newly typeset second edition of *Apollo's Banquet* in 1678: see n. 146.

169 (London, 1679), 6, 8, 11 and 12. The tune on p. 8 is unattributed, but appears in three other Grabu sources: Cardiff University Library, MS 442/39a, f. 1^v (no. 4); *A Collection of Several Simphonies and Aires*, 5 and 24; and Library of Congress, Washington, MS M2.1 .L9 Case, ff. [35]^v–[36]^r (no. 58). See later on for further discussion of the latter two sources; a full concordance is in [Appendix 2](#).

170 John Playford, *Choice Ayres and Songs [...] The Third Book* (London, 1681), 32. The other *Squire Oldsapp* song, 'How frail is old age to believe' does not appear to have seen print, and has been considered lost. However, a setting of the text is in Folger Shakespeare Library, MS W.b.515, pp. 75–6, where it is attributed to 'M^r Smith': this has been presumed to be the court musician Robert Smith, but in fact Smith had died in October or November of 1675, and thus the uniquely preserved tune could actually be the work of Grabu, who is unequivocally identified as the song's composer in D'Urfey's text-only *A New Collection of Songs and Poems* of 1683 (see n. 162). On the other hand, it is always possible that the song may have originated with the lost 1676 play 'Noe foole like y^e old foole' (see n. 162) and that Smith composed it shortly before his death: we might note that in D'Urfey's *The Fool Turn'd Critick*, performed in November 1676, the late Smith is said to be the composer of one of that play's new songs, 'I found my Cælia one night undrest': see Thomas D'Urfey, *The Fool Turn'd Critick* (London, 1678), 34–6. Could there then have been two settings of the song, of which only that by Smith survives? It seems unlikely that Grabu would have reset the text only three years later if a serviceable version of the song by Smith was already in existence. 'How frail' is, moreover, part of a larger mock-incantation scene that also includes a song sung 'to a Godly Tune' by the title character and a fantastic dance performed by the 'masquers' mentioned in the *dramatis personae*: see Thomas D'Urfey, *Squire Oldsapp: Or, the Night-Adventurers* (London, 1679), 10–12.

171 *Ibid.*, 1.

172 See Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 120 and 127–8, and James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford, 2014), 63–9. I am grateful to James Winn for sharing his work with me while it was still in progress.

have been especially favoured by two queens consort, Catherine of Braganza and Mary of Modena, and it was popular with London audiences, being revived numerous times in the public theatres – in October 1681, February 1686, October and December 1704 and frequently thereafter – its final recorded performance occurring in December 1738.¹⁷³ Grabu's strophic song, setting a three-stanza text by the minor court poet Sir Carr Scrope,¹⁷⁴ may not have survived quite as long, particularly given that it is essentially a generic insert, performed in response to the despondent Ziphare's request to his page Ismenes to 'Charm me with some sad Song into a slumber' (p. 55). However, it may be significant that Grabu's setting constitutes the first item in Playford's 1681 *Choice Ayres and Songs*,¹⁷⁵ and also that it appears to have had a brief run as a ballad tune. In the latter context, it was initially associated with an amplified, 12-stanza version of Scrope's poem,¹⁷⁶ and subsequently employed for two other ballads under the title 'Martellus',¹⁷⁷ based on the earlier ballad texts' altered rendering of the pastoral name 'Myrtillo' from the song as originally performed in *Mithridates*. This round-about logic, however, does not definitively prove that Grabu's melody was well known, given that in one broadside the 'Martellus' tune is listed among several options, including the popular 'Hey boys, up go we', and that both of the earlier ballads based on Scrope's text list the tune 'Young Phaon', composed by John Banister in 1677 for Charles Davenant's dramattick opera *Circe*, as an alternative. Indeed, Scrope's text presents a quite conventional example of the 'double ballad-meter stanza' (iambic A₄B₃A₄B₃C₄D₃C₄D₃, a structure also associated with the 'common meter' of psalmody), and could have been sung to any number of tunes once it left the playhouse. Grabu's tune, on the other hand, does not particularly lend itself to ballad singing, although Claude Simpson's characterization of it as 'wretched' and 'scarcely singable' seems unduly harsh.¹⁷⁸ Instead, as Amanda Eubanks Winkler has observed, the 'restless and unpredictable' setting is well suited to the theatrical context in which it appears:

the overall impression conveyed by the music is one of despair and volatility, an impression reinforced by an unstable modality[...], unexpected harmonies [...] and hemiolas[...], which may suggest the irregular pulse of the lovesick swain.¹⁷⁹

For a composer ostensibly schooled in the refined French style and having only recently moved from the realm of court music into that of the theatre, Grabu in fact displays

173 See William Van Lennep, Emmett L. Avery, Arthur H. Scouten *et al.*, eds., *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment Compiled from the Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Period*, 5 parts in 11 vols. (Carbondale, 1960–8), i, 267, 301–2, 346; ii, 77, 81 and *passim*; iii, *passim* and 749.

174 See Nathaniel Lee, *Mithridates King of Pontus* (London, 1678), 56, where the first line is given as 'One night, when all the village slept'. Scrope had also contributed a song, 'As Amoret and Phyllis sat', to Sir George Etherege's *The Man of Mode* in 1676, which was set by Nicholas Staggins.

175 See n. 170. The song also appears in British Library, Additional MS 19759, f. 5^r (with the first line given as 'One Night when all the village sleep').

176 *The Dying Lovers last Farvvel: Or, the Tragical downfal of Martellus and Arminda [...] To an excellent Play-house tune, called, Stone walls cannot a Prison make. Or, Young Pheon/The Dying Lover's last Farewel: Or, The Tragical Downfal of Martellus and Arminda [...] To an excellent Play-house Tuue, call'd, Stone Walls cannot a Prison make: or, Young Pheon*, 2 versions (London, n.d.); *The mournful lovers last farewel. Or, Martellus and Selindra's fates [...] Tune of, One night when all the village slept, or, Youg n [sic] Phaeton* (London, n.d.).

177 *The Unhappy Marriage, Or, A Warning to Covetous Parents [...] To the pleasant New Tune of, Jenny she was a Wanton Lass; or, Martellus* ([London], n.d.); *Advice to Batchelors, Or, The Married Mans Lamentation [...] Tune of, Hey Boys up go we; Busie Fame; Martellus; or, Jenny Gin*, 3 versions (London, n.d.).

178 Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, 1966), 557, 559.

179 Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington, 2006), 136.

considerable sensitivity to the task at hand in this early foray into the new genre, and thus ‘One night while all the village slept’ may have merited the continued attention it received in the years after its composition.

As the end of the 1670s neared, therefore, Grabu’s star seemed to be once again on the rise. Yet his newfound identity as a freelance London composer was to prove short-lived: as England’s political climate became increasingly hostile, particularly following the commencement of the ‘Popish Plot’ uproar in the autumn of 1678, the unfortunate Catholic musician was obliged to discard his prospects. On 31 March 1679, just two days before his 14th wedding anniversary, he obtained a pass to travel to France ‘with his wife and three small children’, and probably left shortly thereafter.¹⁸⁰ It is impossible to determine what kind of feelings Grabu may have harboured at having to abandon the country in which he had lived, married, and pursued his livelihood over such a considerable length of time, or whether the former Master of the Music to Charles II had any intention of one day returning to the English musical scene in some capacity, but he cannot have welcomed the abrupt termination of this new and potentially promising phase of his career, and with it the need, once again, to start over.

Little is known about the time Grabu spent in France following his decampment from England in the spring of 1679. He surely spent at least some of the next four years in Paris, which was the centre of French musical life, but no documentary records of his whereabouts or movements prior to April 1683 have come to light. However, a number of pieces found in contemporary French manuscripts, none of which appear in any of the pre-1679 English sources, seem to indicate that he continued to be active as a composer during this period. The most important source of information from this time is the set of partbooks compiled by the French royal musician Nicolas Dieupart, now Yale University, MS Filmer 33, which has been explored in detail by Robert Ford.¹⁸¹ The titles of several works attributed to Grabu in Dieupart’s manuscript betray signs of a French provenance, including ‘Entrée De Nimphes du S^f Grabü 1681’, ‘Jeunes Cruelles’, ‘Amans’ and ‘Ouverture de M^f Grabü 1681’ (see [Appendix 1](#)).¹⁸² One tune, entitled ‘Simphonie’, would later appear in Grabu’s French *Pastoralle*, published in London in 1684 (see later in this article); as Ford observes, the fact that Dieupart added the further title ‘Vivons’ to his transcription of this short movement suggests that it was already associated with the *Pastoralle* around 1681,¹⁸³ and thus

180 SP44/51, p. 207 (CSPD, 1679–80, 338; Ashbee, viii, 235); note that Grabu is here erroneously identified as ‘a native of France’. Grabu was not the only musician to flee England at around this time on account of religious persecution: see for example the pass issued to Claude des Granges and his household on 15 May 1679 (SP44/51, p. 240 [CSPD, 1679–80, 344; Ashbee, viii, 340]) and the petition of Charles II’s Italian musicians of 18 November 1679 requesting four years of arrears, they ‘being now forced to goe away, being prosecuted as Roman Catholiques’ (SP44/55, pp. 52–3 [CSPD, 1679–80, 284; Ashbee, viii, 237]). It should be noted, however, that unlike Grabu, some of these musicians may actually have stayed behind in England, despite having obtained official permission to leave: see the discussions in Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 203 n. 34, 266 n. 12 and 273 n. 43.

181 Robert Ford, ‘Nicolas Dieupart’s Book of Trios’, *Recherches sur la Musique française classique*, 20 (1981), 45–75, esp. pp. 52–8.

182 Yale University, Music Library, MS Filmer 33, pp. 226–7 and 261; see also the ‘Ritournelle’ on p. 226 and the ‘Chorus Du S^f Grabus’ on p. 100. Curiously, all of these pieces lack a third, bass, part. Ford suggests two other French-titled pieces as possible works by Grabu on the basis of their placement in the manuscript: ‘Je sens bien’ on p. 160 and ‘Courons courons a nos Musettes’ on p. 46. The latter piece (which is texted, and for which a bass part is provided) also appears in *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, MS Vm⁷ 4822, f. 9^v.

183 Ford, ‘Nicolas Dieupart’, 53: ‘The chorus which follows the recitative to which this *ritournelle* is prefixed in the print begins “Vive l’amour”, and this seems to explain Dieupart’s somewhat garbled reference.’ More specifically, the extract (on p. 45 of the manuscript) constitutes the 24-bar *ritournelle* that opens the sung portion of the *Pastoralle* (p. 5 in the 1684 printed score).

could indicate that that entire work may have been composed during Grabu's French sojourn. This possibility would appear to be strengthened by the appearance of two excerpted vocal duets from the *Pastoralle* in another manuscript of apparently French origin.¹⁸⁴

Alongside the identifiably French pieces just noted, Dieupart's partbooks contain another 11 attested works by Grabu, plus as many as six others of less certain attribution. These are mostly generic dances, whose origin is therefore more difficult to pinpoint, but it stands to reason that at least some may also have been composed while Grabu was on the Continent. Not all are explicitly ascribed to him: only one is actually labelled 'M^r Grabu', but another ten would later turn up in what is probably the most important English collection of his music, the 1693 'Loudoun' manuscript in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., which will be discussed at the end of this article.¹⁸⁵ Most of the pieces by Grabu in the Dieupart partbooks appear as single items or scattered groupings of instrumental movements, organized by key, that offer little information regarding the specific projects in which he was engaged.¹⁸⁶ Yet Dieupart's manuscript assembles the largest surviving quantity of Grabu's work up to this point in his career, and offers a view, however obscured, of the musician's connections at the French court and his activities in and around 1681, when, according to Robert Ford, he may have been involved in composing *intermèdes*, possibly for members of the aristocracy. Ford even goes so far as to provide some tantalizing, if highly tentative, speculations regarding Grabu's possible role in a week-long series of entertainments for Louis XIV at St Cloud in April 1681.¹⁸⁷

Whatever Grabu's circumstances after his arrival on the Continent, he would almost certainly have been concerned to seek some sort of appointment that might be commensurate with his former employment in England. To that end, when in the spring of 1683 the French court announced a competition for four *sous-maître* positions in the *Chapelle du Roy*, posts that required directing the ensemble and composing motets on a rotating quarterly basis, Grabu put his name forward. As was reported in the indispensable *Mercure Galant*, each of the 35 contestants in the initial round was obliged to present a motet before the king at Versailles, to be judged 'par la beauté, & par la bonté de leur Musique'.¹⁸⁸ However, when

184 Royal College of Music, London, MS 2054, pp. 6–8, which supplies extraordinarily faithful copies of the refrains 'Aymons berger, aymons, tout aime dans la vie' (*Pastoralle*, 19–21) and 'Aymons berger, aymons, puisque l'Amour l'ordonne' (*Pastoralle*, 30). We might also consider the (somewhat more remote) possibility that this piece was written even before Grabu left England in 1679, in which case it could be associated with the otherwise unidentified performance of 'Mons^r Grabues Musick' given at the English court sometime in late January 1677: see n. 110, and Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 267.

185 Of the ten found in the 'Loudoun' manuscript, four also appeared in Grabu's 1688 publication *A Collection of Several Simphonies and Aires* (discussed later): see Ford, 'Nicolas Dieupart', 55–6 (Table II), which, however, contains several errors (see nn. 318 and 332). Alongside the overtly French works and these other 11 definitive attributions, Ford assigns to Grabu another four pieces with some probability (all of these appear to be unique to the Dieupart partbooks), plus two more only speculatively (an 'Ouverture' [pp. 165–6] and a treble-only 'Rondeau' [p. 219]): see [Appendix 2](#).

186 See Ford, 'Nicolas Dieupart', 67–72.

187 Ford, 'Nicolas Dieupart', Appendix II (pp. 74–5). Franklin Zimmerman's unsubstantiated claim that Grabu was somehow involved in the negotiations, carried out that same month, for a secret financial settlement between Charles II and Louis XIV (*Henry Purcell[...] His Life and Times* [1967], 85 n. 3; [1983], 403 n. 38) is probably based upon a misreading of LC5/140, p. 17 (see n. 79), in which Grabu was reimbursed £20 for attending the English king during the signing of the Secret Treaty of Dover in May and June 1670.

188 Jean Donneau de Visé, *Mercure Galant*, April 1683, 311. For Grabu's name among the contestants, see p. 312.

15 semi-finalists were selected, Grabu was not among them – although the *Mercur*e was quick to assure its readers that '[c]e n'est pas que les autres n'ayent beaucoup de mérite; on ne leur auroit pas permis de faire chanter devant le Roy, si on ne leur en avoit crû'.¹⁸⁹ In such a large field, Grabu's chances of success would not have been especially good, but this disappointment must have convinced him that his prospects in France were not as promising as he had initially hoped. Thus, it is not surprising that Thomas Betterton, encountering Grabu in Paris some four or five months later, found him 'very willing and ready to go ouer' to England in order to try his luck in his old haunts once again.¹⁹⁰

III. Grabu as public musician, 1684–94

The final decade, roughly speaking, of Grabu's career – from his reappearance in London in the autumn of 1683 to his abrupt departure both from England and from the documentary record some 11 years later – presents two important features that have not thus far coincided: on the one hand a trail of archival evidence, however incomplete, substantiating his activities; on the other a surviving body of music, both instrumental and vocal, that is available for discussion and analysis. Most obviously, we are fortunate to have a good deal of information, both historical and textual, about the opera *Albion and Albanus*, which can thus provide an important window into the otherwise somewhat clouded vista of Grabu's accomplishments. Yet while *Albion and Albanus* certainly represents the most prominent component of Grabu's second English residency – and is by far the most extensive and ambitious of all his compositions – there is much else that can be said about his activities during this time. Hence, my aim in the present study is not to undertake a detailed examination of Grabu's and Dryden's monumental work, but rather to fill out the larger picture of Grabu's biography, so as better to elucidate his own particular relationship to the *Albion and Albanus* production, and how it fit into his efforts to revive his status as a leading London musician.

The circumstances under which Grabu returned to England sometime in the autumn of 1683 are uncommonly well documented, and have been frequently discussed. With Charles II having by this time solidified both his political ascendancy and (albeit to a lesser extent) his financial solvency, the revival of operatic projects at court was an obvious next step. Nicholas Staggins and John Blow, having jointly assumed one of the two court posts of Composer for the Violins as of Midsummer 1682,¹⁹¹ submitted their petition proposing the erection of 'an [...] Academy or Opera of Musick' in late March or early April 1683,¹⁹² and Blow's all-sung *Venus and Adonis* may have been performed at court around this time.¹⁹³ But this diminutive 'masque', which in the event seems to have spawned only a single progeny in Nahum Tate and Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, did not offer a blueprint for the revival of large-scale court opera on the model established in the 1670s, first in Paris and subsequently in London – a project in which the now absent Grabu had been a central figure. While there is no doubt that *Venus and Adonis* represented an important generic innovation, in 1683 Charles II appears to have set his sights on grander plans. On 20/30 July Louis XIV's queen, Marie-Thérèse, died, and as the obligatory period of official mourning set in, the

189 *Ibid.*, 314. For a list of the semi-finalists (Grabu's name not included), see p. 316.

190 Lord Preston to the Duke of York, 12/22 September 1683 (n. 197).

191 See LC5/144, p. 233 (Ashbee, i, 201). The pair had already, probably in early 1681, been admitted to the position without pay while their predecessor Thomas Purcell was still alive: see LC5/144, p. 63 (Ashbee, i, 194).

192 For a discussion of this petition and its possible interpretation, see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 130–1.

193 For the most recent argument about the dating of *Venus*, see Bruce Wood, ed., *John Blow: Venus and Adonis*, Purcell Society Edition, Companion Series 2 (London, 2008), pp. xi–xiv.

English court sensed an opportunity.¹⁹⁴ By mid-August it was reported in a contemporary newsletter that ‘The Managers of y^e Kings Theater intend wthin Short time to p[er]forme an Opera in like manner of y^t of ffrance’ and that the United Company’s leading actor and impresario Thomas Betterton ‘wth other Acto^{rs} are gone ov^r to fetch y^t designe’.¹⁹⁵ Within a day of the newsletter’s report, Betterton had met with the English king’s Envoy Extraordinary in Paris, Richard Graham, 1st Viscount Preston, to whom he personally delivered a letter from the Secretary of State, Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland, conveying ‘his Majestyes Comands [...] to assist him in treating with some Persons capable of representing an Opera in England’.¹⁹⁶ The Ambassador’s assistance notwithstanding, Betterton’s efforts seem to have met with little success; it was not until nearly a month later that Viscount Preston again corresponded on the subject. By this time, Preston reported, the original plan had come to be regarded as ‘impracticable’, but a new opportunity had presented itself in the person of Grabu, who must have been seeking greener pastures in the wake of his elimination from the competition for preferment in Louis XIV’s chapel royal. Preston’s letter, which is addressed not to Sunderland but to the Duke of York himself, gives us a sense of the scope of the negotiations with Grabu – the relevant passage merits quoting in full:

I should not haue presumed to giue your Highnesse the trouble of this, if something of Charity had not induced me to it. I do it at y^e instance of a poor servant of his Majestyes who sometimes

194 In the event, the mourning seems to have lasted only about three weeks; see n. 196.

195 Folger Shakespeare Library, MS L.c.1417 (14 August 1683), p. 1 (*Register*, no. 1213).

196 Lord Preston to the Earl of Sunderland, 15/25 August 1683: British Library, Additional MS 63759, f. 24^v, calendared in Alfred J. Horwood, ed., ‘The Manuscripts of Sir Frederick Graham, Bart., at Netherby Hall, co. Cumberland’, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Part I. Report and Appendix* (London, 1879), 261–428 (henceforth **HMC Graham**), at 288 (*Register*, no. 1214). Preston’s letter, which refers Sunderland to ‘a full account [...] of what hath passed’ recorded in a letter from Betterton to Sunderland’s secretary William Bridgeman that is no longer extant, also addresses Charles II’s ongoing efforts to engage the members of the Comédie-Italienne, including their leader Tiberio Fiorelli (a.k.a. Scaramouche), for a return trip to England to offer *commedia dell’arte* performances under royal auspices. The troupe had visited England at least twice in the 1670s, and Preston had been instrumental in negotiations for performances at Windsor in April or May 1683, which may or may not actually have taken place: see letters from Preston to Sunderland, 4/14 April (British Library, Additional MS 63758, f. 44^r [HMC Graham, 285; *Register*, no. 1199]), to the French *secrétaire d’État aux Affaires étrangères* Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy, 6/16 April (British Library, Additional MS 63762, f. 47^r [HMC Graham, 331; *Register*, no. 1200]) and to Sunderland again, 11/21 April (British Library, Additional MS 63758, ff. 53^v–54^r [HMC Graham, 286; *Register*, no. 1204]), all written before Preston’s own visit home in May and June. In August, after his return to Paris, Preston apparently received a letter from Sunderland sent on 9/19 August, reopening the possibility of negotiations with the Italians in the wake of the French queen’s death. However, Preston here reports that ‘The Comedians acted on Sunday last [12/22 August], and the Italian Players on Monday [13/23 August] and to morrow or y^e next day the Opéra will be represented againe [Thursday 16/26 or Friday 17/27 August, referring to Lully’s and Quinault’s *Phaëton*], so that I belieue it will be difficult to persuade those people to leaue this place this Winter’ – though he gamely expresses his willingness ‘at a distance [to] take care to haue them sounded without engaging with them’. It should be noted that Sunderland seems to have had a special role in the English court’s efforts to recruit foreign performers: Preston was formally under the supervision of the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Sir Leoline Jenkins, to whom he sent regular reports during this period (usually twice weekly, on Wednesdays and Saturdays), whereas his correspondence with Sunderland, who was officially responsible for the Protestant states of northern Europe, and not for Catholic countries like France, was considerably more irregular and targeted to specific issues, including the importation of entertainers from abroad. For Sunderland’s close personal relationship with John Dryden, who was selected as librettist for the forthcoming opera, see Edward L. Saslow, ‘Dryden in 1684’, *Modern Philology*, 72 (1974–5), 248–55, at 252.

since was obliged by a mis fortune to leaue England. It is M^r. Grabue, S^r, whom perhaps y^r highnesse [*sic*] may remember.

M^r. Betterton coming hither some Weeks since by his Majestyes command to endeauour to carry over y^e opera, & finding that impracticable, did treat with Mons^r. Grabue to go ouer with him to endeauour to represent something at least like an Opera in England for his Majestyes diuersion. He hath also assured him of a Pension from y^e House, & finds him very willing and ready to go ouer. He only desireth his Majestyes protection when he is there, and what encouragement his Majestye shall be pleased to giue him if he finds y^t he deserues it. I take y^e confidence there fore on his behalfe humbly to beseech y^r. Highnesse to speake a good word for him to y^e King, whose protection he only desireth whilst he is in England, and I doubt not but he will performe something to his Majestyes, & your Highness's satisfaction. I most humbly begge y^r Highness's pardon for this presumption, & take y^e liberty to assure y^r Highnesse, y^t I am with all submission S^r Y^r Highness's Most obedient most faithfull & most humble servant[.]¹⁹⁷

Several important facts emerge from Preston's remarkably detailed account. First, Grabu is here once again presented as an unfortunate. Though perhaps not as 'poore and Miserable' as he had appeared to Lord Chamberlain Arlington back in London in June 1677, this 'poor servant of his Majestyes' is nonetheless worthy of 'Charity' in the eyes of the English Ambassador, particularly given the 'mis fortune' by which he had been 'obliged' to relocate to France some four and a half years previously. Grabu's reported readiness to return to London may have arisen in part from his continuing disappointments in the French musical world, but it must also have been influenced by Betterton's tempting offer of 'a Pension from y^e House', that is, a salaried post as a composer for the United Company, which would potentially be at least as lucrative as the work for the former Duke's Company in which Grabu appears to have been engaged during 1678–9, and which incidentally reveals something of the esteem in which Grabu was still held in England. On the other hand, Grabu appears to have harboured some doubts, including unpleasant memories of the Popish Plot scare and a justifiable scepticism about the dependability of English employers – we should recall that he was still at this time in possession of his formal patent granting life tenure of the long-abandoned Mastership of Charles II's Music, and was still owed nearly £500 in arrears. Thus, it is understandable that he would have sought to hedge his bets, seeking 'his Majestyes protection [...] whilst he is in England', presumably both from religious discrimination and against the importunities of creditors, including his old nemesis Walter Lapp. Yet at the same time Grabu judiciously avoided any overt claim to what was, in point of fact, rightfully his, instead modestly requesting only 'what encouragement his Majestye shall be pleased to giue him if he finds y^t he deserues it'. Betterton's offer of employment, then, was only part of the deal Grabu sought to negotiate, and it seems likely that his request for royal countenance and protection was conveyed personally in conversation with Ambassador Preston, whose ability to write directly to the Duke of York requesting that he 'speake a good word [...] to y^e King' must have been crucial.

Grabu's return to London, although most proximately a consequence of the Restoration court's desire to have 'something at least like an Opera' to mark Charles II's recently attained political ascendancy, was ultimately about more than just the well-known production of *Albion and Albanus*. Betterton seems to have been as good as his word, and during 1684, while *Albion* was still in preparation, Grabu was already turning out music for other stage works. These included the late Earl of Rochester's *Valentinian* (premiered at court on Shrove Monday, 11 February), for which Grabu provided two songs, as well as instrumental music for a pair of dramatically important

197 Lord Preston to James, Duke of York, 12/22 September 1683: British Library, Additional MS 63759, f. 48^r (HMC *Graham*, 290; *Register*, no. 1216).

scenes;¹⁹⁸ and an 11-movement suite for Thomas Southerne's *The Disappointment*, which opened at Drury Lane sometime in April.¹⁹⁹ In addition, two songs employing instrumental tunes by Grabu were published at around this time. One, a minuet by Grabu that appears in a contemporary manuscript²⁰⁰ was adapted into a patriotic drinking song beginning 'All loyal hearts, take off your brimmers', published in Thomas D'Urfey's *Choice New Songs of 1684*.²⁰¹ It is unlikely that Grabu had any involvement in this adaptation, since D'Urfey was a master of the 'mock-song', and explicitly described his creation in this case as being 'Set to an excellent Minuet of Monsieur Grabue's'. The other case is more complicated: the *Valentinian* music printed in Grabu's *Pastoralle* in 1684 (see later in this article) includes a two-part gavotte-like instrumental piece that immediately follows the duet 'Injurious charmer of my vanquished heart'.²⁰² The purpose of this untitled piece is not clear: it could have been used in the same scene as 'Injurious charmer', where some instrumental background music would be appropriate to the on-stage action. Later that same year, however, the tune reappeared in the first book of Henry Playford's *The Theater of Music* as a song with the text 'When Lucinda's blooming beauty / Did the wond'ring town surprise'.²⁰³

198 Grabu's two songs, the duet 'Injurious charmer of my vanquished heart' from Act 4, scene [i], and the gavotte-like strophic solo song 'Kindness hath resistless charms' from Act 5, scene v, are both printed in *Pastoralle* (pp. 41–5; see n. 205), along with the instrumental music used for the dream sequence in Act 3, scene '3' (pp. 46–52) and the rape scene in Act 4, scene [ii] (pp. 37–40) – both of the latter identified by Peter Holman: see n. 208. For the untitled two-part gavotte that appears on p. 45, see n. 202.

A third song in *Valentinian*, the solo 'Where would coy Aminta run', is sung in the 'GROVE and FOREST' in Act 3, scene ii; its text was written by Robert Wolseley, who prepared the play for publication after Rochester's death. This song has occasionally been attributed to Grabu on account of its close association with the Act 3 dream sequence: see for example Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (London, 1974; repr. 1986), 191. It is printed anonymously in John Playford, *Choice Ayres and Songs [...] The Fifth Book* (London, 1684), 47, and in the second and third editions of Thomas D'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy [...] Vol. III* (London, 1707 and 1712), 257–8 and D'Urfey's *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive/Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 6 vols. (London, 1719–20), v, 171–2. However, a contemporary engraved single-sheet print, probably issued in mid-March 1684 ([London], for C[harles] Corbet), unambiguously attributes the song to Robert King: see Ken Robinson, 'A New Text of the First Song in Rochester's *Valentinian*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 75 (1981), 311–12.

199 British Library Additional MS 29283–4, ff. 74^v–77^r and 29285, ff. 70^v–73^r; for an illuminating discussion of these partbooks (which carry the date '1682'), see Robert Perry Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648–1688', 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, King's College, London, 1988), ii, 304–11. Three songs from *The Disappointment*, two by Simon Pack and one by Robert King, all furnished with three-part instrumental ritornelli, are in Henry Playford's *The Theater of Music [...] The First Book* (see n. 203), 1–4. A performance of the play was also given on 27 January 1685, incidentally the last theatrical performance known to have been attended by Charles II, who died ten days later (LC5/147, p. 68 and AO1/405/127; see n. 232).

200 Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 362, ff. 1^v–2^r.

201 Thomas D'Urfey, *Choice New Songs Never before Printed. Set to Several New Tunes by the Best Masters of Music* (London, 1684), 2–3, entitled 'A LEVET to the ARTILLERY: A Song made upon His Royal Highness's leading the Artillery-Company through the City'; for the text only, see also *A Compleat Collection of Mr. D'Urfey's Songs and Odes* (see n. 162), part 2, pp. 86–7. The event in question took place on Thursday, 26 June 1684: see Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857), i, 312, and Folger Shakespeare Library, MS L.c.1554, p. 1.

202 Grabu, *Pastoralle* (see n. 205), 45. Curiously, this piece is entirely overlooked in the entry in John Stevens's music catalogue in Robert Latham, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge, Volume IV: Music Maps and Calligraphy* (London, 1989), 13, and is not discussed by Peter Holman in his article on the *Valentinian* music (see n. 208).

203 Henry Playford, *The Theater of Music [...] The First Book* (London, 1685; reprinted in 1695 as the first part of *The New Treasury of Musick*), 7. Despite the 1685 date, the publication was registered with the Stationers on 18 October 1684 (see *Stationers' Register*, iii, 257) and appears in the *Term Catalogue*

It is not possible to ascertain in which context the tune was first employed, nor indeed whether Grabu himself was responsible for the marriage of words and music in this case: the text consists of a conventional ABAB stanzaic structure in trochaic tetrameter, and thus could have been matched to the tune by the publisher Playford on his own: it may be noteworthy that Playford's rival Charles Corbet had printed the same (anonymous) text with an entirely different tune at about the same time.²⁰⁴ Either way, given Grabu's association with the United Company, we cannot exclude the possibility that 'When Lucinda's blooming beauty', with its somewhat more adorned setting of the simple instrumental tune found among the *Valentinian* music, might have been deployed in this incarnation in some unidentified play.

The most extravagant of Grabu's compositional efforts to appear in 1684 was his *Pastoralle*, a semi-dramatic French pastoral for two solo singers, four-part chorus, five-part strings (including a concertino group who play three-part ritornelli) and continuo, the text of which begins with the quatrain 'Si tu scauois Jeune bergere / combien deux amants sontheureux / quand Ils bailent de mesmes feux / tu ne Serois pas si Seuere'.²⁰⁵ This work appeared in a handsomely engraved folio edition dedicated to Charles II's mistress Louise de K roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, and was offered for sale by several London booksellers, as two advertisements printed in the *London Gazette* in the summer of 1684 attest.²⁰⁶ No printer or publisher is listed on the print itself, but the 28-sheet volume (the music pages are double-sided) might be associated with the work of the London music engraver Thomas Cross, Junior, who would later make a name for himself as a seller of cheaply produced single songsheets.²⁰⁷

Besides the actual pastoral, which incorporates an overture as well as several dance movements clustered together both at the beginning of the work and immediately preceding the final chorus, this high-end publication also includes Grabu's vocal and incidental music for *Valentinian*, as Peter Holman has convincingly demonstrated.²⁰⁸ The volume is a curious

for Michaelmas 1684: see Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London, 1903–6; repr. New York, 1965 [henceforth *Term Catalogues*]), ii, 97–8. Note that a copy of this song, with Grabu's tune, can also be found in British Library, Sloane MS 3752 (entitled 'The songs in The theater of music'), f. 4^r.

204 *A Collection of Twenty Four Songs, Written by several Hands. And set by several Masters of Musick* (London, 1685), sig. [A]4^r: this tune is anonymous, and only the treble line is given.

205 Louis Grabu, *Pastoralle[:] A Pastoral in French beginning with an Overture & some Aires for Violins adorn'd with several Retornels in Three Parts for Violins & several Chorus's for Voices in Four Parts & Five Parts for Violins, besides other Aires & some English Songs: all lately Compos'd by Lewis Grabue Gentleman late Master of his Majesties Musick* ([London], [1684]), 1–36; the quoted passage is on pp. 5–6. I am grateful to Peter Holman for providing me with a copy of the unique print, now held in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge (cat. PL2588); to the members of the Binghamton Baroque Ensemble who joined me in a concert performance of the *Pastoralle* on 17 October 2006; and to Dr Dora Polachek, who kindly prepared an English translation of the libretto for the programme at that performance.

206 *London Gazette*, 1940 (19–23 June 1684) and 1947 (14–17 July 1684), both verso; see the further discussion later in this article.

207 For more on Cross and early engraving styles, see Richard Hardie, "'All Fairly Engraven'?: Pitches in England, 1695 to 1706", *Notes* 61 (2004–5), 617–33, as well as Andrew R. Walking, 'Unique Song-sheet Collection at the Clark Sheds New Light on Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries', *The Center & Clark Newsletter*, 56 (Fall 2012), 8–10 (archived at <http://www.1718.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/newsletter56.pdf>).

208 Peter Holman, "'Valentinian", Rochester and Louis Grabu', in John Caldwell, Edward Olleson and Susan Wollenberg, eds., *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld* (Oxford, 1990), 127–41 (see also n. 198). Holman suggests (pp. 139–41) that the choice not to identify the 'other Aires & some English Songs' mentioned on the *Pastoralle* title page and in the *London Gazette* advertisements as coming from *Valentinian* may have been a consequence of the enmity between Grabu's dedicatee, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and *Valentinian*'s adaptor/author, the (now deceased) Earl of Rochester.

amalgam: the engraved title page (which carries no imprint) is in English, and announces the composer as ‘Lewis Grabue Gentleman, late Master of his MAJESTIES MUSICK’; yet aside from this page and the words of the two songs from *Valentinian*, all other text is in French, including not only the dedication (which infelicitously misspells the Duchess’s style as ‘Porstmouth’) and the pastoral itself, but the titles of *Valentinian*’s instrumental movements as well.²⁰⁹ Throughout the print, even in the English songs, the continuo line is labelled ‘Basse continue’. The engraving is legible and attractive, with few errors, and the volume has the appearance of a presentation piece, offered to potential patrons – including the public at large, but particularly with an eye to a court interested in French operatic-style entertainments – as a formal exercise calculated to demonstrate Grabu’s suitability for new musical-theatrical projects.²¹⁰ As we have already observed, the print’s eponymous pastoral was probably not a new composition in 1684, having most likely originated no later than about 1681.²¹¹ Indeed, its publication in London in the mid-1680s may not have been associated with any actual performance at all: Grabu’s dedication to the Duchess of Portsmouth merely cites his patroness’s ‘estime dont Il Vous a pleu m’honorer’ and the ‘generosite et l’assistance des muses qujme [*sic*] l’ont procure’ and, without mentioning a production of the work – which he surely would have done had one taken place – proceeds to express the hope that ‘dans cette Pastorale que Je prens la liberte de uous offrir, elles (i.e., the Muses) m’ont Inspire quelque chose qui puisse vous plaire’.²¹² Whatever the circumstance, and despite the subsequent disappearance of all but a single copy of the print, the music appears to have garnered at least some attention: alongside the ritournelle copied in Nicolas Dieupart’s partbooks and the two vocal extracts reproduced in another French manuscript (both noted earlier), three dance movements – two from the *Pastoralle* itself and one from *Valentinian* – can be found scattered through a set of manuscript partbooks compiled in London by the French-born musician and copyist Charles Babel in the early eighteenth century.²¹³

It is noteworthy that the engraved – and technically ‘self-published’ – *Pastoralle* print was made available through a curious assortment of London booksellers, as indicated in the two advertisements posted in the *London Gazette* in June and July 1684, which respectively describe the work as ‘Sold by John Hudgbut in St. Pauls Church Yard, John Care [*sic*] near Temple Bar, and Mr. Nott at the King and Queens Arms in the Pall-Mall’ and ‘sold at the Dukes House by Rowling Gilbert’.²¹⁴ John Hudgebut and John Carr were known music publishers: the latter often collaborated with John and Henry Playford, while the former, albeit less prolific, was responsible for the 1679 recorder collection *A Vade*

209 Two of these titles, ‘air pour les haubois’ and ‘air pour les flutes’ (pp. 37 and 39), are manuscript additions to the single surviving copy of the publication; the six movements that make up the third-act dream sequence (pp. 46–52) are all given French titles in the engraving itself: ‘Prelude’, ‘Air Pour Jupiter’, ‘Air Pour les suiuanes de Jupiter’, ‘Air pour les songes affreux’, ‘Air pour les satires’ and ‘Menuet’.

210 Other court-associated composers, it should be noted, were already being preferred for important non-theatrical commissions: for example, the wedding of Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark, celebrated on 28 July 1684 (while Grabu was presumably working on his score for *Albion and Albanus*), featured Henry Purcell’s ode *From hardy climes and dangerous toils of war*.

211 Robert Ford (‘Nicolas Dieupart’, 56–7) sensibly associates it with the French *intermède* tradition; for an alternative, if less likely, possibility, see n. 184.

212 Grabu, *Pastoralle*, sig. [A]2^r. For a simplified English translation of Grabu’s dedication, see Holman, “‘Valentinian’”, 130.

213 Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS F-4-35 (2–5), pp. 43, 75 and 139; see Rebecca Herissone, ‘The Origins and Contents of the Magdalene College Partbooks’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 29 (1996), 47–95, at 64, 70 and 84. Babel is known to have had connections to Charles Dieupart, possibly a relation of Nicolas Dieupart: see Bruce Gustafson, ‘Babel, Charles’, in Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil, i (Kassel, 1999), 1250–1, at 1250.

214 See n. 206.

Mecum, in which four tunes by Grabu had appeared.²¹⁵ The other two publishers named in Grabu's advertisements, however, seem to be more unusual choices. William Nott, whose shop was located in an upscale neighbourhood in Westminster, at the entrance to St James's Square, did not normally deal in musical publications, but appears to have had a special relationship with Grabu: he would subsequently act as the primary promoter and selling agent for the composer's *Albion and Albanus* score in 1687 and his *Collection of Several Simphonies and Airs* in 1688 (both discussed later in this article).²¹⁶ Even more puzzling is the mysterious 'Rowling Gilbert', who seems to have set up shop at the entrance to one or both of the United Company's theatre buildings: the second *Pastoralle* advertisement, which mentions Gilbert exclusively, directs potential customers to Dorset Garden ('the Dukes House'), but he may also have been the unnamed individual who later sold copies of the *Albion and Albanus* score 'at the Door of the Royal Theater' (i.e., Drury Lane), as indicated in the imprint on that publication's 1687 title page.²¹⁷ Together, Hudgebut, Carr, Nott and Gilbert form an unlikely group, but one that was perhaps designed to give Grabu's opus the widest possible circulation.

The publication of *Pastoralle* may not have represented the musician's only effort to promote his compositional talents in 1684: another advertisement, which appeared in the *London Gazette* the following November, announced that:

For the satisfaction of them that are lovers of Musick the Bass and Treble of the Vocal and Instrumental Musick newly performed at the Kings Theatre, are Engraven on Copper Plates, and may be had at Mr William Nott's Bookseller in the Pall-Mall, John Carr at Temple Bar, and John Hedgbus by St. Pauls Church, and by Rowland Gilbert at the Kings Play-House.²¹⁸

This extraordinary notice, which has hitherto received no attention from either musicologists or theatre historians, is striking in several ways. First, it describes what would have been a relatively novel combination of vocal and instrumental theatre music within a single volume, something along the lines of the mix of songs and incidental tunes for *Valentinian* included in *Pastoralle* – a phenomenon previously only seen in Matthew Locke's 1675 *The English Opera*, an (incomplete) amalgam of music from both *Psyche* and *The Tempest* that was, a decade later, still available for purchase at John Carr's shop in Fleet Street.²¹⁹

215 *A Vade Mecum* was printed for Hudgebut by Nathaniel Thompson, who had also printed several works for Carr, including Matthew Locke's *The English Opera* (1675), Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676) and the instrumental partbook collection *Tripla Concordia* (1677).

216 John Carr was also initially associated with Nott in the collection of subscriptions for *Albion and Albanus*, but seems to have dropped out of the process after 1685.

217 I have been unable to find any mention of Gilbert beyond this advertisement and the one from November 1684, discussed later, in which his first name is, probably more accurately, given as 'Rowland'. Since the latter notice places Gilbert's shop 'at the Kings Play-House', analogously with the *Albion* score, it is just possible that the 'Dukes House' indication in the *Pastoralle* advertisement is an error: although the actor and manager Thomas Betterton famously lived in an apartment above the Dorset Garden theatre, Drury Lane appears to have become the main base of day-to-day theatrical operations following the creation of the United Company in late 1682.

218 *London Gazette*, 1684 (3–6 November 1684), verso.

219 Carr was still advertising copies of *The English Opera*, at a cost of 2s, as late as 1692: see his advertisement in *The Banquet of Musick [...] The Sixth and Last Book* (London, 1692), sig. A1^v; three copies of the book made their way into Edward Millington's 1699 auction of paintings, prints and music books: see *A Collection of Curious Paintings [...] Together With a Choice Collection of Musick-Books [...] With Variety of Italian, French, and other Prints* ([London], [1699]), pp. 1 (item 4) and 3 (item 84: two copies). In 1690, Henry Playford had offered to sell off a bulk set of copies from Carr's stock at half price, asking £1 for 20 of them: see *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books, Both Vocal and Instrumental, (and several Rare Copies in Three and Four Parts, Fairly Prick'd) by the Best Masters* ([London], [1690]), sig. [A]4^v.

Second, the print advertised in 1684 appears to be, apart from Grabu's *Pastoralle* and a pair of now-lost song collections associated with two unidentified gentlemen,²²⁰ the only book-length engraved publication featuring vocal music to have been issued in England between Pietro Reggio's self-published *Songs* of 1680 and two 1687 music-seller compilations, John Clark's *Quadratum Musicum* and John Crouch's *A Collection of the Choyest [sic] and Newest Songs*.²²¹ Finally, and most importantly, the advertisement lists the same odd combination of booksellers who were responsible for the sale of *Pastoralle* (including the shadowy Rowling/Rowland Gilbert, now apparently ensconced at Drury Lane). This fact alone seems to point to the possibility that Grabu was behind the creation of this print, no copy of which is known to be extant. Might this lost publication, offering 'lovers of Musick' a simple two-part scoring of recent theatrical songs and incidental pieces, have served as a kind of companion to *Pastoralle*, with its French *intermède* and music from the court-premiered *Valentinian*, this time in a smaller, more affordable format designed explicitly to expand the reach of Grabu's work from a courtly to a 'citizen' audience?²²² What 'newly performed' music would have been available in 1684 is difficult to determine, however, particularly if, as in the case of Grabu's three attributable publications, this one consisted entirely of his own music. Apart from *Valentinian* and the suite for *The Disappointment* found in Thomas Fuller's post-1682 partbooks (Additional MS 29283–5), no other compositions by Grabu are known to have appeared in the theatres in 1684.

While the absence of other attested music from this time is certainly no evidence that none was composed, we must not discount the demands on Grabu's compositional time exerted by *Albion and Albanus*, on which the composer was probably hard at work by the middle of 1684.²²³ Edward Saslow has argued that the opera's librettist John Dryden had most likely com-

220 See *Term Catalogues*, ii, 30 (Trinity 1683): 'A Collection of New Songs, curiously engraven on Copper Plates, set within the Compass of the Flute. Written and composed by C. F., Gent. Printed for J. Crowch at the Three Lutes in *Drury Lane*, and C. Corbet at the *Oxford Arms* in *Warwick Lane*. Price 1s.' and ii, 168 (Easter/Trinity 1686): 'The Fashionable Companion: being a choice collection of the newest Songs, Tunes, and Ayres, that are now in use at Court and publick Theatres; with several new divisions on a Ground. Set all, and Ingraved on their proper Lines, for the Lyra Viol. By T. S., Gent. Printed for John Clarke at the Golden Violin in *S. Paul's Churchyard*.'

221 Several engraved instrumental collections were published during this time, including various volumes of *Ayres for the Violin* by Nicola Matteis (1679, 1685 and 1687), Gerhard Diessener's *Instrumental Ayrs* (1682), Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* (1683), and the 'Second Edition, much enlarged' of *The Division-Violin* (1685). There are also a number of engraved wind-instrument tutors, presented wholly or partly in tablature: John Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion* (1681), Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion* (1683), an early edition of *Youth's Delight on the Flagelet* (?1683) and the second edition of *The Delightful Companion* (1686), as well as reprinted editions of Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* (in 1678 and 1680, and with added material in 1682, 1683 and 1688, as we have already observed). The Oxford composer Henry Bowman had also published his *Songs for i 2 & 3 Voyces* in engraved form in 1677, with reprints issued in 1678, 1679 and possibly 1683. Two technical exceptions to the dearth of engraved vocal music are Charles Corbet's *A Collection of the Newest and Choicest Songs* (1683) and *A Collection Of Twenty Four Songs* (1685; see also n. 204), both of which combine typeset song-texts with (treble-only) engraved tunes – moreover, only some of each volume's songs are printed with these tunes.

222 For some observations regarding the music publisher John Playford's efforts to expand his market to include middle-class customers, see Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63 (2010), 243–89, pp. 249–50.

223 As I will demonstrate elsewhere, Grabu appears to have set the music for a significant portion of what would later become *Albion's* Act 1 even before Dryden had made the choice to expand the work from an allegorical prologue into a full-blown opera.

pleted his text by April of that year,²²⁴ and some sort of dry run of a portion of the piece seems to have been presented to Charles II by the end of May,²²⁵ although we cannot be certain that this performance would have included all (or perhaps any) of the requisite music. In any case, Grabu's progress on the score would undoubtedly have been well advanced by late summer, when Dryden, writing from Northamptonshire, inquired of his publisher Jacob Tonson 'whether the Dukes house are makeing cloaths & putting things in a readiness for the singing opera to be playd immediately after Michaelmasse'.²²⁶ In the event, the answer to Dryden's question seems to have been negative, since no public performance of the opera occurred in the autumn of 1684. However, additional rehearsals of the work were conducted in Charles II's presence,²²⁷ along the lines of those known to have been given for the court masque *Calisto* a decade earlier. Like the presentation the previous May, at least one of these later rehearsals was said to have taken place in the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, further evidence of Grabu's likely connection with that important court figure.²²⁸ The opera was finally almost ready to open at the beginning of January 1685, one correspondent reporting that although the rehearsals at court had engendered a positive response from the king and his circle, the United Company's decision to drastically increase ticket prices in order to recoup their £4000 investment in the production 'will not take soe well'.²²⁹ But before the premiere

224 Saslow, 'Dryden in 1684', 251. April 1684 is when Dryden began work on his translation of Louis Maimbourg's *History of the League*, a project undertaken at the 'expresse command' of Charles II (see *Stationers' Register*, iii, 232).

225 On the 29th (his 54th birthday), the king was 'Entertained with m^r drydens new play the subject of which is the last new Plott' (Folger Shakespeare Library, MS L.c.1542, p. 1); see also Bangor University, (Bangor) Mostyn Manuscripts, MOST/9092: 'At Windsor M^r Dryden rehearsed his new opera at y^e Dutchess of Portsmouths lodgings representing y^e late Conspiracy.' For a discussion of the former notice, see James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven, 1987), 394 and 608 n. 35; for the latter, see Andrew Pinnock, 'Which Genial Day?[:] More on the Court Origin of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, with a Shortlist of Dates for its Possible Performance before King Charles II', *Early Music*, 43 (2015), 199–212, at 206–8 (the document is reproduced as illus. 4 on p. 207). The most logical interpretation of these references would be to the third act of *Albion*, which deals with the failed 'Rye House Plot' to assassinate Charles and his brother in 1683.

226 John Dryden to Jacob Tonson, undated [?August 1684]: British Library, Egerton MS 2869, ff. 1^r, 2^v (*Register*, no. 1233), printed in Charles E. Ward, ed., *The Letters of John Dryden With Letters Addressed to Him* (Durham, N.C., 1942; repr. New York, 1965), 22–4. Ward, however, inserts a comma after the phrase 'for the singing opera', which subtly alters the meaning of 'to be playd immediately after Michaelmasse', allowing it to be read as a future-tense adjectival phrase (with 'for' as a dative), rather than as an implied subjunctive verb (with 'for' as an instrumental).

227 In the 'POSTSCRIPT' to his Preface to the opera's playbook, Dryden remarked that the king 'had been pleas'd twice or thrice to command, that it shou'd be practis'd, before him, especially the first and third Acts of it' (John Dryden, *Albion and Albanus* [see n. 3], sig. (b)2^v [Dryden, *Works*, xv, 12]), a point he reiterated in 1691 in the Dedication of *King Arthur*: 'the Opera of *Albion and Albanus* [...] was often practis'd before Him at *Whitehal*, and encourag'd by His Royal Approbation' (John Dryden, *King Arthur*, sig. A1^r [Dryden, *Works*, xvi, 3]). See also the statement in the dedication to Grabu's published score that 'My late gracious Master was pleas'd to encourage this my humble Undertaking, and did me the Honour to make some Esteem of this my Part in the Performance of it: Having more than once condescended to be present at the Repetition, before it came into the publick View' (Louis Grabu, *Albion and Albanus* [see n. 241], sig. A2^{r-v}; a transcription of Grabu's dedication can be found in Dryden, *Works*, xv, 503–4).

228 See (for May) n. 225, and (for December) n. 229. For a discussion of royal mistresses sponsoring rehearsals, see David Roberts, *The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama, 1660–1700* (Oxford, 1989), 114–15.

229 'Wee are in expectation of an opera composed by Mr. Dryden, and set by Grabuche, and soe well performed at the repetition that has been made before his Majesty at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, pleaseth mightly, but the rates proposed will not take soe well, for they have set the boxes at a guynya a place, and the Pitt at halfe. They advance 4,000 l. on the opera, and therefore must tax high to reimburse themselves' (Edward Bedingfield to Katherine Manners, Countess of Rutland, 1

could take place, Charles II died on 6 February, necessitating both the postponement of all theatrical activity during the period of mourning and a revision of the opera's conclusion so as to take this momentous turn of events into account. Although Dryden shrugged off the added labour as no more than 'the addition of twenty or thirty lines, in the Apotheosis of Albion',²³⁰ Grabu would have had to expend rather more effort, most likely composing from scratch an extended passage consisting of a ritornel, a lengthy recitative for three gods and the imitative solo/chorus 'O Thou! Who mount'st th' Æthereal Throne', little if any of which would have allowed him to recycle any already written tunes (even if we assume that such a thing would have been permitted in the case of this artistically and politically crucial royal opera).

James II was crowned 11 weeks after Charles II's death, on 23 April 1685 (St George's Day, which fell the Thursday after Easter), and the playhouses reopened the following Monday, the 27th.²³¹ *Albion*, however, appears to have been held over for a more politically auspicious moment: the meeting of parliament – for the first time in over four years – which began on 19 May. Two weeks into the parliamentary session, with that body's loyalty to the new king firmly established, the opera finally opened at Dorset Garden on 3 June (the Wednesday before Pentecost). The king and queen and the maids of honour attended the performance, paying a nearly unprecedented £30 for two boxes,²³² and were presumably supplied with copies of Dryden's folio printed libretto, which (also exceptionally) was ready for sale at the premiere.²³³ Performances of the opera seem to have continued into the following week,²³⁴ and, as we shall see, Grabu quickly moved ahead with plans for a lavish printed edition of his score. At the same time, the leading actors of the United Company, who would not have been able to participate in the all-sung *Albion*, appear to have put on alternating or competing performances of an unidentified play at Drury Lane: at one of these performances, on Wednesday, 10 June, a fight broke out over the actress Elizabeth Barry, and one of the combatants was killed.²³⁵ This play may have had a satirical element: a contemporary attack on *Albion and Albanus* refers to the

January [1685]: H. C. Maxwell Lyte, ed., *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K. G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle. Vol. II*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part V [London, 1889], 85 [Register, no. 1250].

230 Dryden, *Albion and Albanus*, sig. (b)2^v (Dryden, *Works*, xv, 12–13).

231 Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, i, 339.

232 LC5/147, p. 68 (Register, no. 1275) and AO1/405/127. Mary II would subsequently pay similar amounts for herself and the Maids of Honour at the premieres of the dramattick operas *The Prophetess/Dioclesian*, *King Arthur* and *The Fairy-Queen* (LC5/151, p. 369 [Register, no. 1475]). On the other hand, Charles II had paid an even more exorbitant £30 for only a single box at the 'first acting' of *Psyche* on 27 February 1675 (LC5/141, p. 216 [Register, no. 923]).

233 Dryden, *Albion and Albanus* (see n. 3); see Dryden, *Works*, xv, 1–55. The folio format for a playbook of this nature was itself fairly unusual, and Hugh Macdonald (*John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana* [Oxford, 1939], 128) even notes the existence of at least one high-end presentation copy on 'large paper' (approximately 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 8"). The libretto was advertised for sale in *The Observer*, iii, no. 46 (8 June 1685), verso, but Narcissus Luttrell had already purchased a copy on opening day, for 1s: see Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ij D848 +685.

234 The spoken prologue and epilogue were printed on a separate sheet, which survives in two states, the latter of which seems to have been inserted into some copies of the libretto: see Macdonald, *John Dryden: A Bibliography*, 128 n. 1 and 145. Luttrell paid a penny for a single-sheet copy on Saturday, 6 June (Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ij D848 +685); Bryan White sensibly assumes that a performance must have taken place on this date: see White, ed., *Louis Grabu: Albion and Albanus*, Purcell Society Edition, Companion Series 1 (London, 2007), p. xiii.

235 Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, i, 346: 'one capt. Goreing was killed at the playhouse by Mr. Deering'. *The London Stage* (i, 337; see n. 173) interprets this as a performance of *Albion and Albanus*, but see R. Jordan, 'Observations on the Backstage Area in the Restoration Theatre', *Theatre Notebook*, 38 (1984), 66–8. The pugnacious Charles Dering, second surviving son of the parliamentarian Sir Edward Dering, 2nd Baronet, had already been 'dangerously hurt' in a fight 'on y^e play hous stage' on 27 April 1682 (see Folger Shakespeare Library, MS L.c.1213, recto, and Jordan, 68 n. 2) and it

actors ‘Smith, Nokes, and Leigh in a Feather with railing’ against the opera’s creative team, suggesting some sort of *ad libitum* performance or a jointly delivered prologue or epilogue that does not survive.²³⁶ The United Company’s non-singing actors were no doubt justified in their concern: the opera represented a massive investment of company resources, and its promoters must have been counting on a substantial run that would enable them to recover their £4000 outlay, an amount that constituted fully half of the company’s annual ‘house charges’ in this period.²³⁷ Unfortunately for *Albion*’s producers, larger political events intervened: according to John Downes’s later account, the opera was performed only six times before news reached London, on Saturday, 13 June, of the Duke of Monmouth’s invasion in the west of England two days earlier, whereupon the production came to a premature end, resulting in a major financial loss for the company as a whole.²³⁸

Downes’s remark about the United Company suffering financially as a consequence of the truncated run of *Albion and Albanus* ‘not Answering half the Charge they were at’ has been substantiated by Judith Milhous, who shows that both the amount of dividends for the company’s shareholders and, more importantly, the frequency of dividend payments, decreased in 1685.²³⁹ Yet the company’s shouldering of this liability is surprising, given the remarkable degree to which the royal court appears to have been involved in the production from the start. Indeed, *Albion* is best considered, like its predecessor *Ariane* (in which Grabu was also a leading figure) as a kind of joint project of the court and the patent company, in which at least some among the latter party only grudgingly participated, perhaps as a consequence of their official status as servants of the crown. Thomas Betterton, the United Company’s manager, clearly played an important role in this seemingly informal

may also have been he who assaulted the Lord Mayor of London at Greenwich in May or June 1686 (see Folger Shakespeare Library, MS L.c.1666, pp. 2–3).

236 ‘*The Raree-show, from Father Hopkins*’ (see n. 4), stanza 2; for a discussion of this poem and its implications for our understanding of *Albion and Albanus*, see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 301–2. Two plays printed in 1685, for which no acting dates are known, might serve as candidates for the unidentified rival production: a revival of the anonymous *Mr. Turbulent: Or, the Melanchollicks* (originally performed by the Duke’s Company around January 1682: see *The London Stage*, i, 304), reprinted as *The Factious Citizen, Or, the Melancholy Visioner. A Comedy* (London, 1685); and an adaptation of Shackerley Marmion’s 1633 play *A Fine Companion*, entitled *The Rampant Alderman, Or News from the Exchange, A Farce* (London, 1685). Neither publication provides a contemporary cast list, and *The Rampant Alderman* includes no prologue or epilogue. The prologue to *The Factious Citizen* incorporates a suggestive reference to playwrights

[...] trying every way to please,
With Songs, with Dances, and with painted Scenes,
With Drums, with Trumpets, and with fine Machines,
They’ve shewn you Angels, Spirits, Devils too,
Hoping to find some way to pleasure you
With something that was very rare or new: (sig. A2^r)

– however, this text also appears in the earlier print of 1682 (sig. A3^r), and thus cannot be taken as an intentional reference to *Albion and Albanus*.

237 See Judith Milhous, ‘United Company Finances, 1682–1692’, *Theatre Research International*, 7 (1981–2), 37–53, at 41.

238 ‘In Anno 1685. The Opera of *Albion and Albanus* was perform’d; wrote by Mr. Dryden, and Compos’d by Monsieur Grabue: This being perform’d on a very Unlucky Day, being the Day the Duke of Monmouth, Landed in the West: The Nation being in a great Consternation, it was perform’d but Six times, which not Answering half the Charge they were at, Involv’d the Company very much in Debt’ (Downes [ed. Milhous and Hume], *Roscius Anglicanus*, 84 and n. 268).

239 Milhous, ‘United Company Finances, 1682–1692’, 39; see also Judith Milhous, ‘Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 567–92, at 568–71.

arrangement, working to secure personnel by committing the company's finances, both to provide Grabu with the promised pension and to bring the expensive opera to fruition. As Dryden made clear in his Preface to the *Albion* libretto, Betterton even occupied a significant place in the creative process itself.²⁴⁰ Yet ultimately it is the court that emerges as the driving force behind the production, with Betterton serving merely as an agent for his royal master and for Secretary of State Sunderland, while ambassadorial- and ministerial-level conversations, reaching all the way up to the Duke of York, passed back and forth over his head. Such elements of the process as the promise of royal protection for Grabu, the employment of the Poet Laureate Dryden to write the libretto, the multiple rehearsals at court and the likely recruitment of singers from the Private Music to supplement those already formally on the United Company's roster all contribute to a picture of close involvement by the court at every stage of the process. Grabu was even able to follow precedents set with the Royall Academy of Musick's publication of the *Ariane* libretti by identifying himself on the title page of his 1687 printed score as 'LEWIS GRABU, Esquire; Master of His late MAJESTY's Musick'²⁴¹ and by dedicating the score to King James II.²⁴²

In considering the level of court involvement in the creation of *Albion and Albanus* in 1685, it is also worth noting the context of the earlier production of *Valentinian*. Although the Earl of Rochester's only serious play was performed (posthumously) by the United Company, John Downes recording that 'The well performance, and the vast Interest the Author made in Town, Crown'd the Play, with great Gain of Reputation; and Profit to the Actors',²⁴³ it was clearly also a court affair. On 6 February 1684 orders were issued to the United Company 'to Act the play called the Tragedy of Valentinian at Court before his Majesty' and to the Office of Works to prepare the Hall Theatre,²⁴⁴ and on 9 February the Lord Steward was instructed to provide food, light and heat for the performers at the time of the show and to 'give order for Coales for ayreing the Play house the day before'.²⁴⁵ The court may also have absorbed other costs for the preparation of the production, since Charles II paid only £10 for the command performance at Whitehall, whereas such appearances usually garnered double that amount.²⁴⁶ The court premiere – an uncommon event at the time – presumably kicked off a run in the public theatre: the 1685 printed playbook refers to the play as being 'Acted at the Theatre-Royal', and includes separate prologues spoken by Sarah Cooke on the first and second days (the former written by Aphra Behn), as well as a 'Prologue intended for

240 Dryden, *Albion and Albanus*, sig. (b)2^r (Dryden, *Works*, xv, 11): 'The descriptions of the Scenes, and other decorations of the Stage, I had from Mr. Betterton, who has spar'd neither for industry, nor cost, to make this Entertainment perfect, nor for Invention of the Ornaments to beautify it.'

241 Louis Grabu, *Albion and Albanus: An Opera. or, Representation in Musick* (London, 1687); cf. the title pages of *Ariadne* ('Monsieur Grabut Master of His Majesties MUSICK') and *Ariane* ('le Sieur Grabut, Maitre de la MUSIQUE DU ROI'). As we have seen, Grabu used similar language on the title page of *Pastoralle* ('Lewis Grabue Gentleman, late Master of his MAJESTIES MUSICK'), a formula repeated in the advertisements for that publication in the *London Gazette* cited in n. 206.

242 Grabu, *Albion and Albanus*, sig. A2^r (Dryden, *Works*, xv, 503); the dedication also expressly acknowledges James II's role as a sponsor of the production: 'I may be justly proud to own, that You gave it the particular Grace of Your Royal Protection' (sig. A2^v). Dryden's 1685 printed libretto, we should note, has no dedication; however, James Winn has argued that the dedication to Grabu's score was ghostwritten by Dryden: see Winn, *John Dryden and His World*, 618 n. 46.

243 Downes (ed. Milhous and Hume), *Roscius Anglicanus*, 84.

244 Both orders in LC5/145, p. 14 and LC7/1, p. 11 (*Register*, no. 1223); the Office of Works subsequently submitted an account for the work done on the theatre, including 'cleaning all the grooves and fitting the sceens there' (WORK5/37, f. 96^r [*Register*, no. 1222]).

245 LC5/145, p. 17; LC7/1, p. 11 (*Register*, no. 1225).

246 LC5/145, p. 120 (*Register*, no. 1251). The reference to the payment for the king 'at Valentinian', dated 11 February, does not mention the performance being at Whitehall, and is not included among the list of other court performances entered at the end of the document.

VALENTINIAN, to be spoken by Mrs. Barrey'.²⁴⁷ *Valentinian* was presented again at Whitehall for James II on 16 May 1687 (the court this time paying the full £20),²⁴⁸ and there is a printed copy of the play that contains two manuscript cast lists that, according to *The London Stage*, indicate possible productions at Drury Lane sometime in 1688–90 and 1691–2.²⁴⁹ Although it is curious that the 1685 playbook makes no mention of the work's court provenance, and that (as we have noted) the play is not named in the *Pastoralle* print, *Valentinian* must nonetheless be regarded as a significant theatrical event, and hence an important means, alongside *Albion and Albanus*, for Grabu to advance his career.²⁵⁰

Valentinian's shelf-life as a theatrical work was, of course, considerably greater than that of *Albion*, whose exceptionally politicized and temporally specific plot made it inappropriate for revival after 1685, and utterly anathema in the wake of the Revolution of 1688–9. Yet Grabu does not seem to have suffered any great loss from the premature closing of the latter production: Roger North's verdict, written some 40 years after the event, that the opera 'proved y^e Ruin of the poor man for the Kings death supplanted al his hopes, & so it dyed'²⁵¹ is probably grounded principally on Grabu's own extravagant remark in his dedication to the printed score about 'the Shipwrack of all my fairest Hopes and Expectations, in the Death of the late King my Master',²⁵² and not to any actual decline in the composer's fortunes. Indeed, with the new regime solidly in place, Grabu found himself in a position to benefit from James II's efforts to clear the books of his predecessor's arrears. As early as August 1685, the former Master of the Music was able to collect his long-neglected livery payments for the years 1666 and 1667, totalling £32 5s (from which two fees of 5s were subtracted),²⁵³

247 John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (ed. Robert Wolseley), *Valentinian: A Tragedy. As 'tis Alter'd by the late Earl of Rochester, And Acted at the Theatre-Royal. Together with a Preface concerning the Author and his Writings* (London, 1685), sig. c2^r–c4^r. At the end of the playbook (sig. M2^r) is an 'Epilogue. Written by a Person of Quality'. The first prologue and the epilogue were also issued as a single-sheet print by Charles 'Tebroc' (i.e. Corbet), who also published the song by Robert King that appeared in the play (see n. 198). In his revision of Gerard Langbaine's *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, Charles Gildon describes *Valentinian* as having been 'Acted at the Theatre Royal with great Applause' (Charles Gildon, *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* [London, (1699)], 60).

248 LC5/147, p. 361 (*Register*, no. 1306).

249 Claremont Colleges (Claremont, CA), Honnold/Mudd Library, Special Collections, PR3421 .F63v: annotated copy of *Valentinian*, sig. c4^v; see *The London Stage*, i, 369, 375–6 and 400.

250 One interesting piece of evidence that deserves further consideration is a series of special court payments made to the actors in 1686 and 1687 'for playes acted before the King and Queenes Maj^{ties}'. These payments, funnelled through Elizabeth Barry as the company's designated recipient of the money, were primarily for performances of plays for which Grabu composed at least some of the music: *Valentinian* and *Mithridates* (£40, paid on 8 May 1686: LC5/147, p. 136 [*Register*, no. 1279] and AO1/405/130, presumably replacing an earlier cancelled payment order of 10 April: LC5/147, p. 112 [*Register*, no. 1278]) and *The Emperor of the Moon* (£20, paid on 20 December 1687: LC5/148, p. 59 [*Register*, no. 1311] and AO1/406/133). There is also a warrant for £35, paid on 21 April 1687 for an unidentified play or plays (LC5/147, p. 321 [*Register*, no. 1301], for which no Audit Office entry survives). In most of these cases, the dates of the performances are unknown, but that of *Mithridates* may have taken place on 4 February 1686: see Peregrine Bertie to the Countess of Rutland, 6 February 1686: 'Thursday was acted *Mithridates* for the Queen' (*The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland [...] Vol. II* [see n. 229], 104).

251 British Library, Additional MS 32533, f. 179^r (written c.1726); the comment about *Albion and Albanus* is added in a marginal note.

252 Grabu, *Albion and Albanus*, sig. A2^r (Dryden, *Works*, xv, 503).

253 For the debenture books, containing Grabu's signature for the two payments, see LC9/196iii, f. 14^v (Ashbee, i, 243) and LC9/196iv, f. 16^r (Ashbee, i, 244, erroneously citing the source as LC9/197i). The date of the payments appears in LC9/376iii, tag 159, 'An accompt of Moneys Received for Debenters', f. [14]^v (Ashbee, i, 295), which also records the 10s in fees. For lists of arrears payments made to active members of the royal musical establishment at this time, see the documents calendared in Ashbee, i, 287–9, as well as Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 297, ff. 55–64 (including the list of 'Musitians' on pp. 9–11 of this document).

and on the 18th of that month he appears to have been issued a 'certificate', no longer extant, promising payment of his outstanding £450 of salary (covering the last nine quarters of his appointment, from Midsummer 1672 to Michaelmas 1674).²⁵⁴ The actual receipt of the funds, however, was still not guaranteed: the court drove a hard bargain, requiring that Grabu formally surrender his 1667 patent stipulating payment 'for life' from the Exchequer and accept in exchange the disbursement of his arrears out of the household funds controlled by the Treasurer of the Chamber.²⁵⁵ On 2 December 1686, more than a year after receiving the 'certificate' and over a dozen years after his displacement in favour of Nicholas Staggins, Grabu submitted the requested resignation, thereby clearing the way for his long overdue remuneration to proceed.²⁵⁶ Within five days the court had issued a blanket warrant for the entire amount²⁵⁷ as well as a separate warrant authorizing an initial payment of £225, technically amounting to four and a half quarters of his annual salary, but really calculated as 50 per cent of the outstanding sum;²⁵⁸ just over a week later, on 15 December, Grabu had this money in his hands.²⁵⁹ Two subsequent payments, each ostensibly for £112 10s, or 25 per cent of the £450 arrears, were made to him in the early months of 1687, on 21 February²⁶⁰ and 5 April,²⁶¹ thus completing Grabu's compensation for his eight and a half years of official service to the crown. It should be noted that the ex-Master of the Music received a degree of special consideration in this process: James II's order in council of 20 October 1685, which set the arrears-payment process in motion, technically applied only to current royal servants, not to those who had already (or long since) left their court posts. But as was observed in the subsequent consideration of a petition from the viol player John Smith, another of Charles II's musicians displaced by the Test Act for his Roman Catholicism, Grabu's case constituted a potential precedent for flexibility in such instances, given that he had 'rec[eive]^d all his arreares as Master of the Musicke to his late Ma^{tie} although not actually in his said Ma^{ts} service at the tyme of his decease, Nicholas Staggins being admitted unto that place many years before.'²⁶²

254 The certificate is mentioned in E403/3085, f. 104^r (see n. 257).

255 This process was imposed on a number of royal servants: see James II's order in council of 20 October 1685 (T27/9, p. 165 [CTB, viii, 378–9, discussed in Ashbee, ii, pp. vii–viii and 199–200]). Grabu was fortunate in avoiding the draconian two-thirds reduction applied to all salary payments from Midsummer 1679 to the end of Charles II's reign (for which, see T54/11, pp. 387–8 [CTB, viii, 1017]).

256 E407/173, 'A booke of Entring Surrenders of Letteres patente granted By the late King Charles the Second' (Ashbee, ii, 201); Grabu's surrender was witnessed by William Lowndes, later Secretary to the Treasury, and John Taylor.

257 7 December 1686: E403/3085, f. 104^r (Ashbee, ii, 203). Most of the arrears warrants for Charles II's musicians had already been issued the previous May; by waiting until early December to surrender his patent, Grabu missed the first round of arrears disbursements (which were supposed to be paid out in four equal installments). The fact that he was allowed to double up on his December payment, and that his warrant was issued a week before most of the warrants for payment no. 2 to his colleagues, may be an indication of some sort of special treatment accorded the former Master of the Music.

258 7 December 1686: E403/3086, f. 18^v (Ashbee, ii, 204).

259 E403/1807, p. 230 (Ashbee, ii, 211).

260 E403/1807, p. 383 (Ashbee, ii, 212), warranted on 14 February (E403/3086, f. 32^r [Ashbee, ii, 204]).

261 E403/1809, p. 12 and E403/2202, p. 9 (Ashbee, ii, 213), warranted on 22 March (E403/3086, f. 44^v [Ashbee, ii, 205]). This second payment, in fact, was reduced to £112, possibly to cover fees (although fees were not normally subtracted before payment was made).

262 8 December 1687: LC9/388 (Ashbee, i, 289–90). Smith appears to have been successful in his request: on 18 October 1688 he assigned 'all money due to himself from the Exchequer and Great Wardrobe' to Thomas Townsend the Younger, Clerk of the Great Wardrobe, presumably to cover past debts (LC9/259, f. 55^v [Ashbee, ii, 20]).

The payment of Grabu's £450 of arrears over a relatively short span of less than four months – a process akin to the similar sequence of payments, constituting an equivalent amount, that had been made in late 1673 and early 1674 – must have been a welcome wind-fall (although even as the government gave, it took away, requiring Grabu to pay £22 2s to cover his outstanding liability for the poll tax of 1667²⁶³). One thing certainly worked in his favour: there is no sign of Walter Lapp coming forward to claim any of the money, much of which, we should recall, was still legally Lapp's due. Moreover, Grabu remained active as a composer for the United Company, writing instrumental music for three plays performed between January 1687 and February 1688: a nine-movement theatre suite for Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*, probably as adapted by Edmund Waller;²⁶⁴ a group of seven airs including an overture and a trumpet tune, most likely composed for Aphra Behn's elaborate machine farce *The Emperor of the Moon*;²⁶⁵ and another nine-movement suite for a revival of Fletcher and Massinger's *The Double Marriage*²⁶⁶ that was performed at court on 6 February 1688 to celebrate the third anniversary of James II's accession.²⁶⁷ Grabu may also have provided other services for James's court: little is known about the circumstances surrounding the performance of Lully and Quinault's early *tragédie en musique*, *Cadmus et Hermione*, by an imported French company at one of the public theatres, most likely Dorset Garden, in February 1686;²⁶⁸ however, it is entirely possible that Grabu may

263 T27/11, p. 62 (CTB, viii, 1277; Ashbee, viii, 268), initially ordering that the money be deducted from the wages of Grabu and several others, but with Grabu's name specifically marked 'paid'. The tax, levied on 18 January 1667, had been promulgated to help fund the Second Dutch War.

264 Royal College of Music, MSS 1144 i, ff. 3^r and 5^r, and 1144 ii, ff. 4^{r-v}. This suite is substantially mischaracterized in Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre, with a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in the Plays 1665–1713* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 199, where the date ('July 1698?') is almost certainly incorrect, one of the movements has not been counted and the continuation of the suite on a later page of the treble partbook is overlooked. The items labelled 'Prelude' and 'Retternella' in the treble partbook (Price's '[4]' and '[5]', but actually the fifth and sixth items on the page) probably together constitute the overture: the 'Retternella' is obviously fugal (the bass enters after five bars of rest; the treble after nine – no inner parts survive), and it is followed by what would likely have been the suite's four act tunes. For a performance of this play on 28 January 1687, see East Sussex Record Office, Ashburnham MS 932 (not seen; quoted in *The London Stage*, i, 355); James II and Mary of Modena, accompanied by the Maids of Honour, attended a subsequent performance on 6 April 1687 (LC5/147, p. 361 [see n. 248]). I hope to address the complex circumstances surrounding *The Maid's Tragedy* in the Restoration in a future study.

265 Yale University, Music Library, MS Filmer 9, pp. 19–20, identified only as 'M^r Grabues tunes'; the penultimate item in this suite was published, without ascription to Grabu, as 'A Dance in the Emperor of the Moon' in *Vinculum Societatis [...] The Second Book* (London, 1688), 27 (no. 11 of the 'small Collection of Flute tunes', advertised on the title page, that make up sig. H [bis]). Behn's play, which the author described in her printed dedication of the playbook (sig. A2^v) as originally 'calculated for His late Majesty of Sacred Memory' (i.e. Charles II), is believed to have premiered at Dorset Garden in March 1687 (see *The London Stage*, i, 356), but there also appears to have been a performance at court sometime later in the year, for which Elizabeth Barry received a special payment on behalf of the company (see n. 250).

266 Yale University, Music Library, MS Filmer 9, pp. 26–8 and Royal College of Music, MSS 1144 i, ff. 38^r–39^r and 1144 ii, ff. 50^{r-v}. The latter source attributes this nine-movement suite to Henry Purcell: see Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London and New York, 1963), 268–9. An edition of the music can thus be found in Alan Gray, ed., *Dramatic Music, Part I*, Purcell Society Edition, 16 (London, 1906), 211–19, but has been eliminated from the revised edition, edited by Margaret Laurie (London, 2007; see p. xxxvi).

267 LC5/148, p. 145 (*Register*, no. 1321) and AO1/406/133; see also Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, i, 431. Orders for supplies for the performers can be found in LS8/24 and LS8/25.

268 See W. J. Lawrence, 'The French Opera in London: A Riddle of 1686', *Times Literary Supplement*, 1782 (28 March 1936), 268, and the brief discussion in Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 303–5.

have been involved in bringing this company to London and helping to get the production set up in the theatre.²⁶⁹ As I have observed elsewhere, *Cadmus* was well suited to a London performance, given that its allegorical prologue was sufficiently vague to enable its application to any particular monarch, James II included.²⁷⁰ On the other hand, we might imagine Grabu being commissioned to prepare a new, more topical prologue extolling the English king, just as he may have done for *Ariane* in 1674. All of this is pure speculation, but Grabu would in any case have been the obvious choice to serve as a liaison between the French performers and both the court and the United Company, or even to act in a more pivotal capacity in this significant (if curiously underreported) venture.²⁷¹

One activity that must have consumed a fair amount of Grabu's time and effort between 1685 and 1687 was the project to publish the music for *Albion and Albanus* in a lavish full score, modelled on the contemporary printed folio editions of Lully's operas produced in Paris by Christophe Ballard beginning in 1679 – editions Grabu would undoubtedly have seen during his stay on the Continent.²⁷² Given the obvious prestige attaching to the operatic publications of Ballard (who held the privilege of 'seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique'), not to mention the exalted stature of the monopolist Lully, it is reasonable to imagine Grabu, having at last created his own grand royal opera, aspiring to establish himself on some sort of comparable footing.²⁷³ The difficulty, of course, was that London was not Paris (nor James II Louis XIV, however much the literary and performative rhetoric of *Albion and Albanus* might seek to suggest otherwise), and Grabu's access to the resources necessary to create and market a Ballard-like publication was considerably more circumscribed than that of his well-connected French counterpart. Standard commercial publication was out of the question: as Rebecca Herissone has shown, London's leading music publisher John Playford, who well understood the business side of his profession, had not published a single-authored volume since 1662, leaving ambitious composers to fend for themselves through self-publication.²⁷⁴ Moreover, all such self-publications created since 1675 (Grabu's own *Pastoralle* and the mysterious 'Vocal and Instrumental Musick newly performed at the Kings Theatre' among them) had been engraved, a format that would have proven prohibitively expensive for a capacious

269 This possibility was first suggested by Dennis Arundell in *The Critic at the Opera* (see n. 14), 146. Grabu, of course, would not have had the opportunity to see *Cadmus* at its Paris premiere in April 1673, although it was potentially available to the then-recently displaced (and probably very bitter) Robert Cambert, who could have supplied his colleague with a detailed account upon arriving in London later that same year. The full opera was not published until 1719, although a collection of its instrumental airs appeared in print in Amsterdam in 1682: see Carl B. Schmidt, 'The Amsterdam Editions of Lully's Music: A Bibliographical Scrutiny with Commentary', in John Hajdu Heyer, ed., *Lully Studies* (Cambridge, 2000), 100–65, at 107–8 and 131.

270 Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 304.

271 I have failed to find any corroborating evidence for Franklin Zimmerman's assertion that '[o]n 3 December [1685] Grabu [...] returned from Paris' (*Henry Purcell[...] His Life and Times* [1967], 134; [1983], 131), a reference that is further garbled in the unreliable article in the *Biographical Dictionary* (vi, 293; see n. 36) which states that Grabu left for Paris on that date.

272 Ballard had also printed incomplete editions of Cambert's *Pomone* (through sig. K) in 1671 and *Les Peines et Les Plaisirs de l'Amour* (through sig. H) in 1672, which Cambert may have shown to Grabu when he arrived in London in 1673. The reason for the abrupt termination of each of these publications – the former ends especially suddenly, in the middle of Beroë's spectacular confrontation with the 'douze follets en fantômes' summoned up by Vertumnus, who has transformed himself into a dragon – is not clear.

273 As Rebecca Herissone has argued, operas printed in extravagant full scores – while of tremendous use to modern scholarship – would have had little practical purpose in seventeenth-century England, and thus must be regarded primarily as prestige objects: see Herissone, 'Playford', esp. 263–77.

274 Herissone, 'Playford', 249–60. In any event, Playford had retired in 1684, leaving his business to his son Henry and to the son of his business partner John Carr, who, as new proprietors, would probably have been even less inclined to take a risk of such magnitude.

opera score like that of *Albion*. The obstacles Grabu faced were thus twofold: first, finding a way to finance the project on his own (perhaps with the hope of a royal subvention or reward somewhere down the line²⁷⁵) and then, once the money was available, engaging a London printer in the mould of Ballard who had both the means and the will to take on the substantial workload that producing an opera in full score entailed.²⁷⁶

The obvious solution to the former problem, particularly for such a high-profile work as *Albion and Albanus*, was to pursue the relatively new method of subscription publication, which had recently been tried in two other instances: Pietro Reggio's *Songs* in 1680 and Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* in 1683.²⁷⁷ Accordingly, in June 1685, even while *Albion* was still in production at Dorset Garden, Grabu took out an advertisement in the *London Gazette* announcing that:

The *Opera* of *Albion* and *Albanus*, containing one hundred and threescore sheets in folio, is to be Printed, therefore the Author by the advice of his Friends doth propose, that whoever will subscribe for one Book or more of the said *Opera* at a Guinea each Book, and pay half or the whole in hand towards the charge, shall have the said Book or Books delivered to them as soon as possible they can be Printed; that whoever doth not subscribe shall not have a Book under the Rate of twenty-five shillings for each Book. The Subscribers may if they please Subscribe and pay their half Guinia or the whole at Mr. Notts Bookseller in the Pall Mall, or Mr. Carr Bookseller by Temple Bar, who will give them a Receipt of what they shall Receive.²⁷⁸

Several items in this announcement are noteworthy. First, Grabu chose to employ both the established music publisher Carr and the more fashionable Westminster bookseller Nott – both of whom had already been associated with the *Pastoralle* and the ephemeral 'Vocal and Instrumental Musick' publication of 1684 – to collect subscription payments on his behalf. Second, the composer clearly wished to distinguish his publication as a luxury item, charging a guinea (a gold coin of fluctuating value, but worth somewhere around 21s 6d in the 1680s) for the subscription, and warning of an even higher price for latecomers; yet at the same time he sought to attract an initial flurry of commitments by offering to collect only half the subscription money up front. In a subsequent advertisement taken out six weeks later, following the premature closing of the Dorset Garden production, Grabu was less sanguine, noting that 'the Charge being great', subscribers would need to produce 'a

275 Note Grabu's effusive statement in the publication's epistle dedicatory (possibly ghostwritten by Dryden, as we have already noted) that, in the wake of Charles II's death, 'the only Consolation I have left, is that the Labour I have bestowed in this Musical Representation, has partly been employ'd in paying my most humble Duty to the Person of Your most Sacred Majesty' (Grabu, *Albion and Albanus*, sig. A2^r [Dryden, *Works*, xv, 503]).

276 The only previous attempt at such a project in England had been the publication of Matthew Locke's music for *Psyche* in 1675 as *The English Opera* (London, printed 'by T. Ratcliff and N. Thompson for the Author' – but, as we have already noted, available for purchase at the shop of John Carr); this, however, was a partially reduced-score edition published in quarto format, which presented only the musical episodes from the part-spoken work and (while including Locke's and Robert Smith's suite for *The Tempest* as an appendix) lacked Giovanni Battista Draghi's act tunes and dances.

277 For references to subscription notices in the *London Gazette* for both of these publications see Herissone, 'Playford', 258; interestingly, both were dedicated, as *Albion and Albanus* would be, to the reigning monarch (Charles II in the case of the Reggio and Purcell publications; James II for Grabu's). As Herissone points out (p. 261 n. 48), the earliest known music-related subscription publication is Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* of 1676 (printed, like Locke's *The English Opera* in 1675, 'by T. Ratcliffe, and N. Thompson, for the Author' – and similarly sold by John Carr). This work, however, is a treatise, rather than a musical score *per se*, and seems to have been heavily subscribed in advance, mostly by individuals associated with Mace's native Cambridge, as the printed subscription list (sig. c1^v–d1^r) attests.

278 *London Gazette*, 2042 (11–15 June 1685), verso.

Guinea in hand' in order to reserve their copies.²⁷⁹ Third, even at the early date of June 1685 Grabu seems to have had a clear sense of what the project would entail: although presumably few, if any, pages had been printed by this time, someone had already carried out the 'casting off' process for the entire volume, resulting in a remarkably accurate calculation of 160 folio sheets for the finished publication.²⁸⁰

We cannot know whether or not Grabu came to regret 'the advice of his Friends' to pursue the subscription route; as he might have learnt from his own experience with Charles II in the 1660s and 1670s, it is one thing to promise recompense for an economic exchange – whether a salary for services rendered or a printed book for money subscribed – but quite another to actually deliver the goods. Progress on the score appears to have been slower than expected: after the initial solicitations of June and July 1685, there were no public announcements about the anticipated publication for more than a year (during which time John Carr seems to have withdrawn from the scheme). It may have been that the ambitious project to bring the opera to press was proving unprofitable and, in the absence of new subscription revenue, Grabu had no means to cover his mounting costs. What most likely got the production process moving again was the welcome influx of cash from the payment of Grabu's arrears, already discussed. Within less than a week of receiving his first disbursement of £225 on 15 December 1686, Grabu was back in the *London Gazette*, announcing that the opera was 'almost Finished, there remaining no more to be Printed but Ten Sheets in Folio', and soliciting additional one-guinea subscriptions.²⁸¹ William Nott was now listed as the sole receiver of subscription payments, and the anticipated price for non-subscribers was revised from 25s to at least 30s. It is not clear whether any additional subscriptions were forthcoming, for from this point there seems to be a correlation between the court's arrears payments to Grabu and progress on the completion of the score. His receipt of £112 10s on 21 February 1687²⁸² was followed in short order by his printer's assertion sometime in late February or early March that the opera was 'almost Finished' (discussed later in this article) and by the licensing of the publication by the surveyor of the press, Sir Roger L'Estrange, on 15 March.²⁸³ Similarly, the final payment to Grabu of £112 on 5 April²⁸⁴ may have spurred the announcement in the *London Gazette* at the beginning of June that the opera was now 'quite finished' and ready for collection, and confirming the post-subscription price of 30s and the availability of copies through

279 *London Gazette*, 2055 (27–30 July 1685), verso.

280 A gathering or signature in folio format, printed with a pair of typeset formes (outer and inner) on either side of the unfolded paper, produces two 'sheets' or leaves when folded for binding. As printed, *Albion and Albanus* contains 81 folio gatherings (signed A² A–Z² Aa–Zz² Aaa–Zzz² Aaaa–Llll²), comprising in total two 'sheets' (four pages) of preliminary material and 160 'sheets' (320 pages) of music. (The standard collational formula uses the Latin alphabet, which consists of 23 letters, lacking 'J', 'U' and 'W'.) The seeming accuracy of the casting-off process for the *Albion* score might be contrasted with that for Purcell's *Dioclesian* in 1691, where the composer encountered a problem with 'the Volume swelling to a Bulk beyond my expectation': see Henry Purcell, *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian* (London, 'for the Author, and are to be Sold by John Carr', 1691), sig. [Yy]2^f. The difference in the two instances may be a function of Purcell's use of the new music typeface recently introduced by his printer John Heptinstall, which is somewhat less compact than the founts employed by Eleanor Playford for Grabu (for which see later); *Dioclesian* was the first Heptinstall production to exceed 20 sheets in length, and its 90 sheets may have been more than Heptinstall's casting-off algorithms could handle.

281 *London Gazette*, 2201 (20–23 December 1686; miscited in Herissone, 'Playford', 259), verso.

282 We might also take into account the opening of *The Maid's Tragedy*, possibly sometime in January, for which Grabu may have received some additional money from the United Company – although such a payment may have been obviated by his 'Pension from [the] House'.

283 Grabu, *Albion and Albanus*, title page (sig. A1^r).

284 Again, we might also note the premiere of *The Emperor of the Moon* sometime in March (see n. 282).

William Nott²⁸⁵ – although, as we have seen, the colophon on the title page of the printed score mentions the sale of the volume both at Nott's shop and 'at the Door of the *Royal Theater*', possibly by the enigmatic Rowland (or Rowling?) Gilbert.

Grabu's second challenge, that is, the engagement of a printer who both could and would actually produce his grand score for him, was no less fraught with pitfalls. Apart from those who serviced the publisher John Playford, few London printers were equipped to create music books of any sophistication, let alone the luxury product Grabu envisaged. Moreover, in April 1685, just as *Albion and Albanus* was undergoing its final preparations for the stage, John Playford's primary music printer, his 30-year-old nephew John Playford, Junior, died, leaving his printing shop in Little-Britain, just outside Aldersgate, to his unmarried sister Eleanor.²⁸⁶ By the terms of the Licensing Act of 1662, only the widows of printers were allowed to assume their late husbands' professions, but with the Act in abeyance since May 1679, when the First Exclusion Parliament had failed to renew the legislation,²⁸⁷ Eleanor Playford must have determined to carry on the family business, and hence agreed to accept Grabu's commission. As events turned out, however, her seeming opportunity proved illusory: the newly enthroned James II had made the revival of the Act a priority, and his new parliament passed it into law effective 24 June 1685,²⁸⁸ leaving the unfortunate legatee in possession of a business that she was not legally authorized to run. Faced with this dilemma, Eleanor seems to have pursued a four-pronged approach. First, she temporized, probably continuing to print music for her uncle John Playford the elder and his son Henry, albeit surreptitiously, without identifying herself on the prints.²⁸⁹ Second, she pressed forward with a trio of court-connected specialist projects that might demonstrate the value of her contribution to the profession while enhancing her chances of special consideration. Having already taken on the task of printing Grabu's opera score, she also became involved in the selling of – and most likely printed – Captain Daniel Newhouse's elaborate mathematical and astronomical treatise *The VWhole Art of Navigation*, which appeared late in 1685 with a special imprimatur/privilege

285 *London Gazette*, 2250 (9–13 June 1687), verso.

286 Playford's will (PROB11/379/562) was signed on 20 April 1685 and proved on the 29th.

287 13/14 Car. II, cap. 33 (1662), successively renewed by 16 Car. II, cap. 8 (1664), 16/17 Car. II, cap. 7 (1664) and 17 Car. II, cap. 4 (1665, extending the law 'untill the end of the First Session of the next Parlyament').

288 1 Jac. II, cap. 17, sec. 15, effective for seven years. The law was renewed in 1692 (4 Guil. et Mar., cap. 24, sec. 15), but was allowed to expire permanently in 1695.

289 Whereas most of the Playfords' previous typeset musical publications had named a printer – normally Thomas Harper (1651–6), William Godbid (1656–79), Anne Godbid (1679–83) and John Playford, Junior (1679–85) – a number of those published between 1685 and 1687 are silent as to the printer's identity. These include *The Theater of Music [...] The Third Book* (1686), *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion [...] The Second Edition* (1686 and 1687) and *A Pastoral Elegy on the Death of Mr. John Playford* [i.e. John Playford, Senior] (1687); the only surviving copy of *Apollo's Banquet [...] The 5th Edition* (1687) is damaged, lacking the full imprint. Two exceptions are *The Theater of Music [...] The Fourth [...] Book* (1687), the first print – and the only known musical one – ascribed to the bookseller Benjamin Motte, and *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick [...] The Eleventh Edition* (1687), which was printed by Charles Peregrine, a former apprentice of Anne Godbid who was transferred to Motte after her death and freed by him in 1686 (see D. F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641–1700* [Oxford, 1974], 64 [no. 1708] and 116 [no. 3135]), and who is not associated with any other publications. *The Dancing-Master [...] The 7th Edition* (1686) is a more perplexing anomaly, being posthumously attributed to John Playford, Junior, without further explanation, but the upheaval in the business may help to explain why small, unattributed supplements to some publications were issued during this period: see *A new Additional Sheet to the Catch-Book* (?1686), *A new Additional Sheet to the Dancing-Master* (?1687), *A new Addition to the Dancing-Master* (?1688) and *The Third Part of Apollo's Banquet* (?1687 or 1688). Only in 1688 do Henry Playford's publications again begin naming a regular printer, Edward Jones (see n. 294).

from, and dedication to, the king.²⁹⁰ In addition, sometime in the summer or early autumn of 1686, with Grabu's project evidently dormant and her music type sitting idle, she appears to have undertaken another private commission, the court violinist Thomas Farmer's 'Consort of Musick in Four Parts', which was advertised for sale in early November.²⁹¹ As a third line of attack, Mistress Playford hedged her bets, taking out an advertisement in the *London Gazette* in May 1686 in which she offered to sell or lease the printing shop along with its entire stock of equipment.²⁹² Such a move would certainly have given Grabu cause for concern, mired as he was at the time in what looks to have been mid-production doldrums. Indeed, it appears that the solicitation was at least partially successful, as Henry Hills, one of the king's official printers would later attest that he had bought up some portion of Playford's specialized apparatus (see later in this article). Fourthly, in February or early March 1687, shortly after the death of her uncle, the elder John Playford, and with both Newhouse's treatise and Farmer's partbooks available for perusal and Grabu's score nearing completion, Eleanor Playford sought to legitimize her intrusion into the profession, submitting a petition to James II requesting a special royal dispensation to continue in business.²⁹³ The petition emphasized both the legacy and the uniqueness within the trade of 'a house that has been a Printing house about Forty years, whose Cheife buisnesses was to Print Musick, the Mathemattics, & Algebray, there being no other that could Print the same, only one man who does some small matters in Musick'. Noting that her brother had 'dyed some time before the late restraint on the Printers' occasioned by the renewal of the Licensing Act, and that he had 'left his Printing house to yo^r Pet^r who did Exercise the said Art before the restraint', Playford strategically affirmed her intention to sell the business 'as soone as Possible', pointing out that she had already 'sold great Part as she would do the rest', while at the same time arguing that

there being no Persons that do that worke, and yo^r Pet^r having nothing else to subsist by she has begun and almost Finished an Opera for Monsier Grabiea, which he must have sent to France to have it Printed had yo^r Pet^r not done it for him, as he will owne.

290 The grandiloquent privilege issued by James II is dated 16 October 1685 (sig. [A]1^v), and the book was advertised in the Term Catalogue for Michaelmas 1685 (see *Term Catalogues*, ii, 146) – although the king's command that 'the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company of Stationers [...] take notice, that the same may be entred in their Register, and due Obedience be yielded thereunto' seems to have been ignored. The publication was issued (with a 1685 date) as 'Printed for the Author', and appeared again (this time dated 1686) with the more embellished imprint 'for *Tho. Passinger* at the *Three Bibles* on *London-Bridge*, and *Tho. Sawbridge* and *E. Playford* in *Little Britain*'. Given that Thomas Sawbridge's shop 'at the Three Golden Fleur de Lucas' was in the same street as the Playford printing-house, Eleanor Playford's status as a seller of the volume was almost certainly a result of her having been the volume's printer, particularly given her assertion regarding the printing of 'the Mathemattics, & Algebray' in her 1687 petition (see later in this article).

291 'A Consort of Musick, in Four Parts; containing Thirty-three lessons, beginning with an overture'; the only surviving copy of this print, now in the British Library, lacks both a title page and the entire viola partbook. For advertisements, see *Term Catalogues*, ii, 178 (Michaelmas 1686) and *London Gazette*, 2187 (1–4 November 1686), verso: the latter describes the set as having been 'Printed for the Author; and are to be Sold by John Playford near the Temple Church; John Carr at the Middle-Temple Gate; and John Crouch at the Three Lutes in Drury lane: Likewise they may be had at the Author's House in Martlet-Court in Bow-street Covent-Garden.' Eleanor Playford's role as the printer can be deduced from the fact that, like *Albion and Albanus*, the Farmer partbooks use the combined Haultin/Morley/Windet type-face (see later in this article). For further discussion of Farmer's publications, see n. 295.

292 *London Gazette*, 2135 (3–6 May 1686), 4.

293 PC1/1/13, transcribed in [Frank Kidson], 'The Petition of Eleanor Playford', *The Library*, 3rd series, 7 (1916), 346–52. Frank Kidson once owned a copy of the *Albion* score, now in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (shelfmark M5088), which contains his penciled annotation 'This was printed by Eleanor Playford sister of John Junior.'

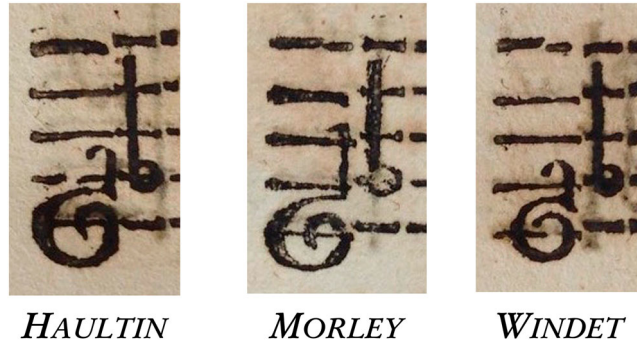


Figure 1. Comparison of G clefs (in G1 position) from the Haultin, Morley and Windet founts, used by Eleanor Playford in the production of the printed score of *Albion and Albanus*.

Reaching for the ultimate prize, Playford therefore requested not only permission to continue as a printer, but ‘that she may have the Hono^r to be yo^r Ma^{ty} Servant for Printing the said Musick, Mathematticks and Algebra, There being no other that can doe the same at p[re]sent’. On 4 March 1687 the petition was considered by the Privy Council, which ordered the king’s official printers, Henry Hills the elder and Thomas Newcomb the younger, to ‘shew Cause, if any they can, why the Pet^r should not be gratified in her Request’. Hills and Newcomb replied on 16 March, rejecting Playford’s claim of special status on several grounds. First, they pointed out, her brother had printed much more than just music and mathematics during his lifetime, ‘that being the least part of the Art or Trade of a Printer, there not being Work enough of that kind to maintain one Master Printer’. Given this, there was no justification for establishing another King’s Printer, a position that carried special exemption from the terms of the Licensing Act. Moreover, they argued, as Hills had already purchased some of the printing materials offered for sale by Eleanor Playford, the royal printers were now ‘ready on all occasions to Serve your Majesty in the Printing of Musick, Mathematicks, and Algebra, as well as the Peticōner, or any other Printer whatsoever, upon the least Signification of your Majesties pleasure therein’.²⁹⁴ Two days later, on the 18th, Hills’s and Newcomb’s response was read by the Privy Council, and Eleanor Playford’s petition was summarily dismissed. Fortunately, she had managed to obtain Sir Roger L’Estrange’s imprimatur for Grabu’s *Albion* score on the 15th, one day before Hills and Newcomb submitted their rejoinder, and the printing of that volume was able to be completed over the ensuing three months. But nothing more is heard of the Playford printing house after this, and self-publishing composers like Grabu and Farmer would henceforth be obliged to turn elsewhere for assistance.²⁹⁵

294 In the event, neither Hills nor Newcomb (nor, for that matter, Hills’s son, Henry Hills the younger) ever printed any music; it is likely that the purchased music fount – probably Playford’s smaller and more desirable Granjon typeface – was handed over first to Benjamin Motte, who used it briefly in 1687 along with his former apprentice Charles Peregrine (see n. 289), and then passed to Newcomb’s former apprentice Edward Jones, who began printing music, for Henry Playford and others, in 1688, and continued doing so until 1697.

295 As D. W. Krummel has observed, *Albion and Albanus* represents the last attested use of the three partbook typefaces (Haultin, Morley and Windet) discussed in the next paragraph: see Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553–1700* (London, 1975), 92. For Grabu’s presumed response in 1688 to the closure of Eleanor Playford’s shop, see later in this article. We can imagine that Thomas Farmer’s now-lost ‘Second Consort of Musick, in Four Parts: containing eleven Lessons beginning with a Ground’, which appears to have been published in 1689, would have been printed with the

The publication of *Albion and Albanus* was certainly a monumental undertaking. At 320 pages it was the longest strictly musical print to have appeared hitherto in England.²⁹⁶ Its grand size was also reflected in its typeface: rather than employ the smaller ‘Granjon’ fount that can be found in many of the shop’s earlier productions, Eleanor Playford utilized an admixture of three larger partbook founts – the so-called Haultin (1570), Morley (1599) and Windet (1604) faces (see [Figure 1](#)) – that had been assembled and passed down by her predecessors over the course of the seventeenth century.²⁹⁷ Despite the somewhat jumbled appearance this generated, the publication overall shows signs of considerable care on the part of its creators: while Bryan White has identified only a single stop-press correction made in the course of the print run, he has demonstrated that a majority of the surviving copies were subjected to a fairly consistent process of hand-correction²⁹⁸ – although other errors seem to have passed unnoticed.²⁹⁹ We cannot be sure whether or not Grabu himself

‘new tied note’ or ‘Heptinstall’ typeface, introduced in 1687 (see Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 129–31); for advertisements mentioning this second volume, see *London Gazette*, 2500 (24–28 October 1689), verso, and *Term Catalogues*, ii, 321 (Trinity 1690). Other London composers, such as Nicola Matteis (*Ayres For the Violin [...] The Third And Fovrth Parts*, 1687 – partially reprinting an edition of 1685), Gottfried Finger (*Sonatae. XII. pro Diversis Instrumentis*, 1688 and *VI Sonatas or Solo’s, Three for a Violin & Three for a Flute*, 1690) and Robert King (*Songs for One Two and Three Voices*, ? 1692) continued to pursue the engraving option; see Herissone, ‘Playford’, 259 and 262. The removal of Eleanor Playford from the field in the spring of 1687 may have occasioned the subsequent petition of the court musician John Abell ‘for letters patent for the sole printing and publishing of vocal and instrumental music books’, which was considered by the Lord Chancellor the following November (SP44/71, p. 393 [reference dated 22 November: CSPD, 1686–7, 106; Ashbee, viii, 274]), but which seems ultimately to have gone nowhere.

296 A technical exception is *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* (London, 1685), a 372-page duodecimo publication (the work of Nathaniel Thompson – see n. 215) that contains only limited amounts of music alongside the printed texts of the songs.

297 The three founts are identified and discussed in Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 84–92. John Playford, Junior, had inherited the mixed fount from his former ‘master’ William Godbid, who had in turn succeeded the printer Thomas Harper in 1656; Playford appears to have begun using the fount himself in 1684, a little more than a year before his death, as it appears in four publications advertised between February 1684 and May 1685, plus a fifth, not advertised but dated 1685: see Thomas D’Urfey, *Several New Songs* (London, 1684; *Term Catalogues*, ii, 61); Nahum Tate, *A Duke and No Duke* (London, 1685; *Term Catalogues*, ii, 98); Thomas D’Urfey, *Choice New Songs* (London, 1684; *Term Catalogues*, ii, 99); Thomas D’Urfey, *A Third Collection of New Songs* (London, 1685; *Term Catalogues*, ii, 125); and *Two New Songs, The Winchester Christening, and The Wish* (London, 1685). See p. 296 of *Albion and Albanus* for an example of G clefs from all three founts appearing together on a single page (1 Haultin; 3 Morleys; 1 Windet). Interestingly, I can find no example in the *Albion and Albanus* score of a Haultin G clef being used in the G2 (as opposed to the ‘French’ G1) position; Windet G clefs can be found in both positions, and are overwhelmingly represented among the instances of G2, although there are a small number of Morley G clefs that also appear in G2 position (and many more in G1 position). It is evident that some of the G-clef pieces of type (including all of the Haultin ones) were modified to accommodate Grabu’s French-derived clef practice with respect to treble instruments, *i.e.* violins and flutes. (By the same token, no Haultin G clefs appear at all in the five publications of 1684–85 or in Farmer’s ‘Consort of Musick in Four Parts’, all of which follow English practice and hence use exclusively G2 clefs.) For an example of Haultin G clefs in their original G2 configuration, see Thomas Morley, *Madrigales[:] The Triumphes of Oriana* (London: Thomas Este, 1601).

298 White, ed., *Louis Grabu: Albion and Albanus*, 245 (‘Table of Hand Corrections’). Of the 17 copies White surveys, 14 incorporate extensive corrections, albeit with some unexplained variability (see n. 299). Five of these copies contain the printing error on K outer forme (p. 40); all five copies were subsequently subjected to hand-correction, although the printing error itself does not seem to have been addressed in this process.

299 White’s ‘Table of Hand Corrections’ includes three individual corrections that were not broadly addressed in the hand-correcting process, appearing in only one, two and five copies respectively; the table also reveals eight instances of minor inconsistencies in the process with regard to specific

oversaw this process and, if so, why he would have considered the careful insertion of the minor corrections identified by White to be so important, given that the score must have been intended more as a collector's item than as a working performance document.³⁰⁰ Perhaps he viewed it not just as a status symbol to be displayed on the shelves of wealthy bibliophiles, but as a record of what, especially before the revolutionary events of 1688–9, must have seemed like an important watershed moment in English opera and court culture more generally.

In either case, Grabu can hardly have expected his publication venture to be an overwhelming commercial success, especially given what the succession of *London Gazette* advertisements for the volume reveals, and Rebecca Herissone is probably right to assert that *Albion* was indeed a poor seller.³⁰¹ Twenty-six copies are known to be extant today,³⁰² and some of these were undoubtedly sold for Grabu's immediate benefit, either through the subscription process or post-publication both by Nott and 'at the Door of the *Royal Theater*'. But a substantial number of copies must have remained in stock even after Grabu left England permanently in late 1694: Henry Playford seems to have possessed one or more copies, which he offered for sale in his *General Catalogue* of 1697,³⁰³ a copy was offered for auction in May 1699 by the auctioneer and bookseller Edward Millington³⁰⁴ and one Jean de Beaulieu, the proprietor of a bookshop at the lower end of St Martin's Lane, near Charing Cross, took out four advertisements in London newspapers in 1697 and 1698, apparently in an effort to unload his remaining stock of the volume.³⁰⁵ Beaulieu was a major London supplier of French, Italian, Spanish and Latin books published abroad,³⁰⁶ and Grabu had probably

individual copies. Numerous errors that were never corrected in any copies of the original print can be found by consulting White's 'Commentary', pp. 238–44. Hand corrections had also been applied to William King's self-published *Poems of Mr. Covvley and Others. Composed into Songs and Ayres* (Oxford, 1668), after 'Some few faults [...] escap'd the Presse by the Authors absence' (sig. [A2]^v); a similar process would be deployed in 1691 in Henry Purcell's self-published *Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess* (see n. 280): see Margaret Laurie, ed., *Dioclesian*, Purcell Society Edition, 9 (London, 1961), xiii.

300 See Herissone, 'Playford', 266–7, for an enlightening discussion of the purpose of such publications in the late seventeenth century. Hand-correction, we should note, was also a feature of Ballard's French scores of Lully's operas.

301 Herissone, 'Playford', 266.

302 See White, ed., *Louis Grabu: Albion and Albanus*, xvi n. 34 for a list of 25 of these; there is also a copy in the Hanson-Dyer Music Collection at the University of Melbourne, Australia (shelfmark LHD 46).

303 *A General Catalogue of all the Choicest Musick-Books in English, Latin, Italian and French, both Vocal and Instrumental* (London, [1697]), col. 1. *Albion* is not mentioned in Playford's 1690 catalogue, *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books* (see n. 219).

304 *A Collection of Curious Paintings [...] Together With a Choice Collection of Musick-Books* (see n. 219), p. 5 (item 178); see also n. 335.

305 Three of these advertisements were in *The Post Man*, 335 (22–24 June 1697), 337 (26–29 June 1697) and 431 (26 February–1 March 1698), all verso. The last of these accurately describes the score as 'containing 80 sheets of large Paper in Folio', i.e. 80 full folio signatures (minus the preliminary material), presumably still in their unfolded state some ten years after having come off the press. Inexplicably, the first two advertisements (*Post Man* 335 and 337) calculate the number of sheets at only 44. In all three of Beaulieu's *Post Man* advertisements, as in his March 1697 catalogue (see n. 306), the title of the play is given as '*Albion and Albanus*' (not '[...] Albanus', as reported in Dryden, *Works*, xv, 343, which also mischaracterizes the notice as advertising a performance rather than copies of the score for sale). For the fourth advertisement by Beaulieu mentioning *Albion*, this one however providing less information, see *The Flying Post: or, The Post-Master*, 565 (22–24 December 1698), verso.

306 See *A Catalogue, of a Curious Collection of Books, As, Gr. Lat. Fr. Ital. and Spanish. [...] Will be Sold be [sic] Retail at J. De Beaulieu Shop, over against Saint Martin's Church, near Charing-Cross, on Thusday [sic] the 23 of March 1697*. This publication mentions '*Albion & Albanus, en Anglois, par Mr Grabu*' (p. 20) at the end of a list of 11 operas by Lully that were also for sale (the 1698 *Post Man* advertisement

selected him to sell the leftover copies of the opera on consignment. *Albion*, of course, was in English, and thus not obviously connected to Beaulieu's main trade in foreign-language publications, but the bookseller ('who buys also and exchanges all sorts of Books', according to two of the advertisements) gamely sought to move the copies by cleverly, if somewhat incongruously, emphasizing the utilitarian nature of the publication, which he described as

sung with 1, 2, 3, 4 voices, and diversified with the finest Airs, of this time, which may be likewise played upon all sorts of Instruments, as Lutes, Violins, Gittars, Theorbo, Virginals, Organs, Trumpets, Flutes, Hautboys, and composed after the manner of the *French* and *Italian Opera's*.[.]³⁰⁷

Beaulieu must have been a motivated seller, since one of the advertisements reveals that copies are available for a mere 8s, a discount of nearly 75 per cent from the original post-subscription price of 30s a decade earlier.³⁰⁸ The necessity of offering price reductions like this seems to have been a common hazard of musical subscription publications, although they were not always so deep: Reggio's *Songs* had been tendered for subscription in 1680 under the terms 'That whosoever shall subscribe and pay Ten shilling, shall have one of the said Books, the Book (being so fair and large) will not be afforded to any but the Subscribers, under Twenty shillings',³⁰⁹ but in 1692, seven years after Reggio's death, the volume was advertised (with dubious accuracy) as 'newly Re-printed, and [...] to be sold

similarly notes that at Beaulieu's shop 'you may have the Operas of *Lully*'). Besides selling books published by others, Beaulieu had had his own imprint in 1684, when he co-published, with the Frankfurt publisher Frederic Arnaud, two treatises by the French religious writer Richard Simon (*Histoire Critique de la Creance & des Coûtumes des Nations du Levant* and *Histoire de l'Origine & du Progrès des Revenus Ecclesiastiques*), and was one of three selling agents for *The Infernal Observator*, Alexander Fraser's translation of the second part of Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's *Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts* (see A. F. Bruce Clark, 'A Dialogue by Boileau', *Modern Language Notes*, 31 [1916], 315–16, and D. M. Lang, 'Fontenelle and the "Infernal Observator"', *Modern Language Review*, 45 [1950], 222–5); in 1685 he also published a single-sheet poetic *Epitaphe de Charles Second Roy de la Grande Bretagne*. Beaulieu may have been in London as early as 1681, when a 'Mr Beaulieu Interloper in New Street' was included on a list of known Papists presented to the Privy Council on 5 October: see Lilian Gibbens, 'Roman Catholic Tradesmen in London, 1681', *Catholic Ancestor*, 8 (2000), 58–62, at 61 (original document not located); by June 1682 he had set up shop 'IN Dukes-Court over-against St. Martins Church, at the Balcony-House', where his stock of 'all sorts of French Books' included 'Opera's' (*London Gazette*, 1729 [12–15 June 1682], verso). He seems to have been dead by the end of the century: see the undated *Catalogue de Livres Latin, François, Italiens, & Espagnols, En toutes sortes de Facultés, Que Defunt Jean de Beaulieu, Marchand Libraire Vis à vis l'Eglise de St. Martin in the Fields, a Ramassé & fait venir des Pais Etrangers, pendant plusieurs Années. Lesquels la Veuve dudit Beaulieu a dessein de Vendre en Détail à un Prix fort Raisonnable* (Londres, 'pour la Veuve de Beaulieu', [?1699]).

307 Transcribed from *The Post Man*, 337.

308 Henry Playford's asking price at the same time was a considerably higher £1, presumably because, as his catalogue notes, he was offering his copy or copies already folded, trimmed and bound; by contrast, Henry Purcell's *Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess* was merely offered 'sticht' (i.e., not trimmed or bound), for 8s. In any event, it seems that Beaulieu was ultimately successful in disposing of his stock of opera scores: the posthumous catalogue issued by his widow (see n. 306) makes no mention of *Albion and Albanius*; moreover, among the nearly 2500 books offered for sale at this time, only two items by Lully are mentioned: a 1687 folio print of the 'Opera d'Achille & Polixene en Musique' (p. 16) and a 1683 quarto edition of 'Phaeton, Bellerophon & autres Operas' (p. 22).

309 *London Gazette*, 1493 (8–11 March 16[80]), verso; the subsequent announcements appeared in the *London Gazette*, 1532 (22–26 July 1680) and 1571 (6–9 December 1680), both verso. Unlike Grabu, Reggio sensibly set a deadline for the receipt of subscriptions (23 April 1680, as announced in *London Gazette*, 1493), presumably so as to gauge interest in the project; John Blow followed a similar procedure in 1699 when he solicited subscriptions for his *Amphion Anglicus* (see the anonymous article 'Dr. John Blow: Bicentenary of his Death', *Musical Times*, 49 [1908], 705).

at 10s per Book, which was subscribed at a Guinea'.³¹⁰ The reprinting of the Reggio volume, of course, was an easy matter, the music having been engraved 'in Copper in an extraordinary manner', as the original advertisement put it; the same was true of Purcell's *Sonnata's* of 1683. *Albion and Albanus*, on the other hand, was typeset, and thus Grabu had to make a once-and-for-all decision about how many copies to produce in 1685, with the understanding that after the sheets had been run off and the type distributed, the score could not be reprinted without starting over entirely from scratch. The publication of the *Albion* score thus represented a substantial risk for the composer and, in the final analysis, it is difficult to know whether or not Grabu would have considered the likely financial loss really worth whatever limited dividends in prestige he may have reaped from his exertions.

Whatever the ultimate outcome may have been with respect to *Albion and Albanus*, it appears that Grabu did not entirely abandon the idea of self-publication as a means of advancing his career. With the massive opera score at last in print, he seems to have turned his attention to the more modest venture of circulating a selection of his instrumental music. The result was *A Collection of Several Symphonies and Airs In Three Parts; Composed for Violins, Flutes and Hoe-boys, Printed for all Lovers of Musick*, which was advertised for sale at the shop of Grabu's now-familiar agent William Nott in April 1688.³¹¹ Grabu's name appears nowhere in the publication, but his authorship is confirmed by an advertisement found in another work issued by the same printer³¹² (it is hard to understand why Grabu would have chosen to maintain anonymity in this case, given all his previous efforts at self-promotion). Nott, as we have observed, was not a publisher of music, and seems to have carried no other musical items in his inventory apart from the works of Grabu (*Pastoralle*, *Albion and Albanus*, *A Collection* and, presumably, the 1684 'Vocal and Instrumental Musick newly performed at the Kings Theatre').³¹³ With the neutralization of Eleanor Playford and the disappearance of her printing stock, therefore, the composer evidently opted to have his actual production work done abroad: the title page of *A Collection* pointedly omits to give London as the place of publication, and the print contains the only English exemplar of the crudely rendered Rosier music typeface, a nested typefont designed in two different sizes that had been developed for the Amsterdam publisher Antoine Pointel for use in his pirated editions of French operas.³¹⁴ It is uncertain why Grabu would have taken such a course: with a total of 72 pages for the three partbooks, *A Collection* is not inordinately longer than the 52-page *Pastoralle*, which had been successfully engraved just four years earlier. Perhaps cost was a factor, and Pointel may have offered to do the job cheaply,

310 *London Gazette*, 2813 (24–27 October 1692), verso. Henry Playford's *General Catalogue* of 1697 offers Reggio's *Songs* 'sticht', for 10s 6d.

311 *London Gazette*, 2336 (5–9 April 1688), p. 4. Nott is also named as the seller on the publication's title page.

312 *Deusiesme Recueil, des Dances et Contre-Dances* (Amsterdam, 1688), p. 72: 'Les Curieux seront auerty qu'il s'imprime des Triots nouveaux, á deux Violons & Basse de Viole, Ou á deux Flutes & Basse Continue. Pour le Concert de la Chambre. Par Monsieur Grabu, Maistre de la Musique du Roy d'Angleterre'. I am very grateful to Andrew Woolley for generously bringing this reference to my attention.

313 He did, however, act as a seller for John Michael Wright's lavishly illustrated *An Account of His Excellence Roger Earl of Castlemaine's Embassy, From His Sacred Majesty James the II^d. [...] To His Holiness Innocent XI* (London, 'for the author, to be sold by Will. Nott, Christoph. Wilkinson, Samuel Smith, and John Smith', 1688; another issue, of which many more copies survive, was simply labelled 'by Tho. Snowden, for the author'). This publication, along with those of Grabu, stands out from Nott's usual stock of sermons and other religious texts.

314 Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 131–4.

especially if he was anxious to try out his untested larger-size fount, which appears on all but six of the print's pages.³¹⁵

The *Collection* itself consists of three upright quarto partbooks, each comprising three gatherings signed A–C, all prefaced by a single title page.³¹⁶ It contains 36 assorted airs and dances in a variety of keys, presented in no discernable order – in fact, there are only 35 items, since one appears twice in the book, under two different rubrics.³¹⁷ The principles governing the set's compilation are not clear: all but nine of the pieces are known from other sources, among them four found in Nicolas Dieupart's partbooks of the early 1680s (Yale MS Filmer 33) and two in the 1679 treble-only publication *A Vade Mecum* (see Appendix 2);³¹⁸ however, it is notable that none of these sources has been exploited with any consistency for the 1688 compilation,³¹⁹ and that 15 of the concordant movements in *A Collection* do not appear in any earlier extant source.³²⁰

The publication of *A Collection of Several Simphonies and Airs* in early April 1688 came only two months after the performance of Grabu's music in *The Double Marriage* at court to mark James II's accession day (6 February). With his compositions now widely disseminated, his arrears paid and his standing with the monarchy seemingly reestablished, Grabu might have felt that real success as a composer of music for England's resurgent absolutist court was finally at hand. But James's political and religious missteps proved too much for his subjects, and the tidal wave of revolution swept away not only the unfortunate king, but Stuart dreams of unchecked monarchical power as well, and with them the long-impeded aspirations of Grabu. We cannot be certain whether he retained his pension from the United Company,³²¹ but in any case no further theatrical compositions were forthcoming after 1688, and by 1690 John Dryden, who five years earlier had commended Grabu's 'extraordinary Tallent [...] above any Man, who shall pretend to be his Rival on our Stage',³²² was now singing the praises of a relative newcomer to the theatrical scene, Henry Purcell, 'in whose Person we have at length found an *English-man*, equal with the best abroad'.³²³ From this point forward, signs of activity from Grabu are meagre indeed.

315 At 13.3 mm, this is one of the largest music typefaces ever used in an English publication, and may have been intended, like the Haultin/Morley/Windet combination of *Albion and Albanus*, to indicate a luxury print. Pointel never deployed it in his pirated opera scores and, according to Krummel (*English Music Printing*, 131), it is not to be found anywhere else besides Grabu's *Collection*. In this work, only the lengthy Chaconne, which appears on pp. 12–13 of each partbook, utilizes the more common smaller fount in order to fit its 233 bars onto a single two-page spread.

316 Curiously, the title page contains an armillary-sphere ornament very similar (though not an exact match) to that found on the title pages of the joint Arnaud/Beaulieu publications of 1684 (see n. 306).

317 The triple-time 'Air' at the top of p. 5 reappears with only minimal changes as the publication's final 'Menuet' on p. 24.

318 See also Ford, 'Nicolas Dieupart', 55–6 (Table II); Ford, however, does not mention the concordance between the 'Simphonie' on p. 17 of *A Collection* and the first of two pieces by Grabu found in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Mus. Sch. C. 44, ff. 160–8 (treble 1–treble 2–bass, in five partsheets; specifically ff. 160^r, 162^r, 164^r, 165^r and 167^r).

319 As Appendix 2 shows, other pieces in MS Filmer 33, *A Vade Mecum*, Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. C. 44 (the second piece on each of the partsheet pages cited in n. 318) and British Library, Add. MS 17853 (the 'Blakiston' manuscript; see n. 334) are unique to these sources.

320 These 15 are found in the 1693 'Loudoun' manuscript (discussed later).

321 A contemporary manuscript satire, believed to have been written in 1687 or early 1688, has the United Company's actors bewail the ill effects of the 'opera's' and 'farces' created by 'our quondam Retainers' – presumably a reference to such productions as *Albion and Albanus* and *The Emperor of the Moon*; see Hugh MacDonald, ed., *A Journal from Parnassus* (London, 1937), 55. The phrase 'quondam Retainers' could be taken to imply that Grabu's contract with the company had recently been terminated.

322 Dryden, *Albion and Albanus*, sig. (b)1^v (Dryden, *Works*, xv, 8).

323 John Dryden, *Amphitryon; or, The Two Socia's* (London, 1690), sig. A3^r (Dryden, *Works*, xv, 225).

Apart from the undated performances of *Valentinian* in 1688–90 and 1691–2,³²⁴ revivals of *The Emperor of the Moon* in November 1691³²⁵ and of *Oedipus* in October 1692,³²⁶ and the (still anonymous) reprinting of the old tune ‘La Monmouth’ in 1690 and 1693,³²⁷ there is little evidence that either he or his music were much in the public eye during the half-dozen years following the 1688–9 Revolution.³²⁸

Grabu’s sudden descent into obscurity after 1688 would seem to represent one more indignity in a life plagued by frequent setbacks: yet even here there is some cause to reassess that purely negative appraisal. The evidence comes in the form of a significant compilation of Grabu’s works – the largest single source, apart from the *Albion and Albanus* score – found in a manuscript now in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The manuscript, catalogued using the library’s own well-known classification system as ‘M2.1 .L9 Case’,³²⁹ is endorsed on the rear endpaper ‘Loudoun’ and ‘Edinburgh, E: Loudoun 22 May 1693’ (accompanied by several elaborate pen-trials of the letter ‘L’). Similar inscriptions, including the same date, appear on the front endpaper, suggesting an association with the Campbell family, who held the Scottish peerage title of Earls of Loudoun. The manuscript is an unfoliated, oblong volume consisting of 96 leaves, plus two endpapers, with a loose smaller bifolium inserted between ff. 95 and 96. It is written in tablebook format, using French terminology (e.g., ‘dessus’) and G1 violin clefs but, as Robert Ford has observed, copied ‘almost certainly by an English or Scottish musician, judging by the spelling of titles’.³³⁰ While the latter portion of the volume includes numerous unascrived tunes, along with a sonata by Gottfried Finger, the first 38 leaves present a consecutively numbered group of 60 three-part airs, headed (on ff. 2^v and 3^r) ‘airs a 3 Parties Pour La flutte Par M^r. Grabu’.³³¹ The Loudoun manuscript represents perhaps the most important compendium of Grabu’s output now available to us. While 25 of the 60 tunes appear to be unique, others can be found in a variety of earlier sources: 24 are in *A Collection of Several Simphonies and Airs*,³³² ten in Nicolas Dieupart’s partbooks (Yale MS Filmer 33), nine in a set of partbooks at Trinity College, Dublin (MS 413),³³³ and several individual items in a

324 See n. 249.

325 A performance on the 24th was attended by the Moroccan ambassador: see Francis Bickley, ed., *Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq. of The Manor House, Ashby-de-la-Zouche. Vol. II*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1930), 332.

326 At a performance on the 13th the actor George Powell was accidentally stabbed with a knife onstage: see Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, ii, 593. This production may have included newly composed music by Henry Purcell for the incantation/necromancy scene in Act 3, including the celebrated ground-bass solo ‘Music for a while’; however, in the absence of a theatre suite by Purcell for the play, it is reasonable to speculate (see n. 163) that Grabu’s incidental music may have continued in use.

327 In the 6th and 7th editions of *Apollo’s Banquet*: see n. 146.

328 The reprinting of Dryden’s *Albion and Albanus* libretto in 1691 almost certainly does not indicate that the opera ‘may have been revived at this time’ as *The London Stage* (i, 386) suggests; rather, it probably constituted part of the ‘collected edition’ issues of Dryden’s plays, which appeared between 1691 and 1695: see Macdonald, *John Dryden: A Bibliography*, 146–8 (nos. 106a–f) and the advertisement in the *London Gazette*, 2763 (2–5 May 1692), verso.

329 The LC class ‘M2.1’ explicitly designates ‘Manuscript sources (Medieval and later manuscripts not assigned to a special class[])’: see Library of Congress Processing Department, Subject Cataloging Division, *Classification: Class M: Music and Books on Music, Second Edition* (Washington, 1917; repr. 1963), 13.

330 Ford, ‘Nicolas Dieupart’, 54.

331 The airs are numbered 1–61, but there is no number 15.

332 Ford, ‘Nicolas Dieupart’, 55–6 (Table II), provides an accounting, but with erroneous concordances listed for the Loudoun manuscript’s numbers 4, 7 and 41, and a missing concordance between number 44 and the ‘Air’ in *A Collection*, 4.

333 This manuscript set is believed to date from the late 1680s. The Grabu pieces appear as a pair of suites: a three-movement suite (p. 1) beginning with a ‘Passacalle’, and a six-movement suite (pp. 38–9)

scattering of other mostly manuscript sources; a full accounting is provided in [Appendix 2](#).³³⁴ The apparent selectivity of the Loudoun and other collections, as well as the lack of readily discernible stemmatic relationships among nearly all of the surviving sources of Grabu's music, suggest that his compositions – which, taken together, represent a fairly extensive corpus – may have received considerably more circulation during his lifetime than scholars have imagined. At least some of them appear to have been in demand over a period of at least a decade and a half, and to have passed readily between England and France, and perhaps back again, and there is even evidence of another manuscript compilation, now lost, in which Grabu's music figured prominently.³³⁵ Although we still have too little information about Grabu's consequential part in the musical world of the 1670s, 1680s and 1690s – and even less about him as an individual – such insights may at least allow us to understand something of his working practice and the scope of his output.

Even as late as 22 May 1693, the unexplained date on the Loudoun manuscript, Grabu's appearances in the public eye were not quite over. On Saturday, 17 November 1694, he briefly resurfaced as the composer of 'A Consort of Musick [...] performed [...] at Mr. Smiths in Charles-street, Covent-Garden, between the hours of Seven and Eight.'³³⁶ But this may have been Grabu's swan song: two and a half weeks later, on 4 December, he received a pass for himself, his wife and two children 'to go to Harwich or Gravesend for Holland or Flanders',³³⁷ and from this date nothing more is known of

beginning with an 'ouerture' (called 'simphonie' in the Loudoun manuscript [no. 54]). With the exception of the two opening movements, the order of the pieces in each of the suites corresponds to the order of those pieces in the Loudoun manuscript (but with some other pieces interpolated in the case of the second suite).

334 British Library, Additional MS 17853, dated 1694 and known as the 'Blakiston' manuscript, contains a number of pieces by Grabu (see [Appendix 3](#)); of these, two appear in the Loudoun manuscript. One is on f. 8^v, numbered 31 and labelled 'Symphone', and closely follows a unique piece on f. 8^r, numbered 26 and labelled 'Prelude M^r. Graben'. While it might be tempting to speculate that some of the other pieces on these pages (e.g. items 27–30) are also by Grabu, none can presently be identified as such, and the scattered nature of the other Grabu pieces found elsewhere in the manuscript casts doubt on any such deduction. The other concordance between the Loudoun and Blakiston manuscripts is a chaconne-like piece constructed on an elaborated bass line taken from Jean-Baptiste Lully's ostinato song 'Scocca pur tutti tuoi strali'. The Blakiston manuscript, it should be noted, is treble-only; Grabu's full bass arrangement for this piece can also be found in Yale University, Music Library, MS Filmer 8 (a lone bass partbook, originally from a set of three books, the others of which are now lost), p. 63, while the original five-bar ground bass motive, devoid of repetitions or upper parts, appears in another bass partbook, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Mus. Sch. E. 446, p. 50, where it is labelled 'M^r Grabus Ground' (there is no mention of this ground in the three associated upper partbooks, MSS Mus. Sch. E. 443–5). Filmer 8 and the Blakiston manuscript are discussed in Robert Shay, 'Bass Parts to an Unknown Purcell Suite at Yale', *Notes*, 57 (2001), 819–33. For more on the various English uses of 'Scocca pur', see Andrew Woolley, 'Purcell and the Reception of Lully's "Scocca pur" (LWV76/3) in England', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 138 (2013), 229–73: this article was written (see e.g. p. 244 and n. 41) before the Grabu ascriptions given here were confirmed through a collaborative effort by Andrew Woolley and myself, and I am most grateful to him for generously sharing with me his findings regarding the Blakiston manuscript.

335 See Edward Millington's *A Collection of Curious Paintings [...] Together With a Choice Collection of Musick-Books* (see n. 219), p. 3 (item 100): 'Inst. Music in 5 parts by *Bapt Lully*, Mr *Grabu*, and others'.

336 *London Gazette*, 3027 (12–15 November 1694), verso. One wonders whether the event was intended as a benefit for Grabu prior to his departure from the country (see later in this article). The venue seems *not* to have been the 'Vendu', Edward Millington's auction house located on the west side of Charles Street at its southern end, adjacent to the stable-yard of Bedford House, where music concerts were generally held on Thursday evenings at eight o'clock.

337 SP44/344, p. 295 (CSPD, 1694–5, 349; not in Ashbee), where Grabu is described as 'a master of music'. Compare the pass issued on 31 March 1679, which mentions three children.

him.³³⁸ After nearly three decades on the English musical scene, during which time he had played a significant role in the advancement of opera and court music – and, perhaps more importantly, had demonstrated a resilience that would be the envy of any musician – the insufficiently lamented Louis Grabu simply faded back into the shadows from which he had first emerged.

Notes on contributor

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Appendix 1. Works by Grabu Associated with Known or Possible French Entertainments, 1679–83

Source	Title/Endorsement/Text	Concordance in <i>Pastoralle</i> (1684)
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 45	Vivons/Simphonye du mesme S ^r	p. 5 ('Ritournelle')
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 46	(?)Courons courons a nos Musettes ^a	
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 100	Chorus Du S ^r Grabus	
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 160	(?)Je sens bien ^b	
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 226	Entrée De Nimphes du S ^r Grabü 1681	
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 226	Ritournelle	
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 227	Jeunes Cruelles Du mesme S ^r	
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 227	Amans	
Yale Univ. Filmer 33, p. 261	Ouverture de M ^r Grabü 1681	
Royal Coll. of Music 2054, pp. 6–7	Aimons Berger aimons tout aime Dans	pp. 19–21
Royal Coll. of Music 2054, pp. 7–8	Aimons Bergers aimons puisque lamour	p. 30
Magdalene Coll. F-4-35 (2–5), p. 43		p. 29 ('menuet')
Magdalene Coll. F-4-35 (2–5), p. 75		p. 28 ('Bouree')
Magdalene Coll. F-4-35 (2–5), p. 139	Slow	pp. 48–9 ('Air Pour les suiuans de Jupiter') ^c

^a Texted; concordance in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Vm⁷ 4822, f. 9^v. Ascription to Grabu uncertain.

^b Ascription to Grabu uncertain.

^c From *Valentinian*.

338 Within six months of Grabu's presumed departure, Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* was revived with new music by Henry Purcell, replacing that composed by Grabu in 1678: see Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 89.

Appendix 2. Concordances of Instrumental Works by Grabu Found in the 'Loudoun' Manuscript and Associated Sources

Library of Congress M2.1 .L9 Case 'Loudoun' ^a	<i>A Collection of Several Symphonies and Aires</i> ^b	Yale University Filmer 33 'Dieupart' ^c	OTHER [titles of movements not given]
1. Ouverture			
2. air			
3. Gauthotte			
4. air			
5. menuet en Rondeau	18. p. 9 Rondeau		
6. air			
7. air	22. p. 11 Symphonie		
8. Fugue	33. p. 21 Fugue		
9. air			
10. air	21. p. 11 Symphonie		
11. Menuet			
12. air	20. p. 10 Symphonie	p. 44 M ^f Grabu	
13. air			
14. [Chaconne-like piece using Lully's 'Scocca pur' bass (see n. 334, above)]			British Library Add. 17853 ^d , f. 24 ^{r-v} (#15); Yale University Filmer 8 ^e , pp. 63–4; Bodleian Mus. Sch. E. 446 ^f , p. 50
16. ^g air			
17. ouwrtour			
18. Ritornalle			
19. Ecsco	25. p. 15 Symphonie. Echo	p. 69 M ^f Grabu p. 60–1 Escots	
20. Prelude			
21. air			
22. allemande	24. p. 14 Allemande		
23. Menuet	27. p. 16 Menuet		
24. Sarabande	26. p. 16 Sarabande		
25. gigue			
26. Ritornall			
27. minuet	17. p. 8 Menuet	p. 220 Ritournelle/Trio Trinity College Dublin 413 ^h , p. 1 p. 220 Menuet Trinity College Dublin 413, p. 1 Trinity College Dublin 413, p. 1	
28. Passacaille			
29. Gauthotte	12. p. 6 Gauthotte	p. 221 Gavotte	
30. Courante		p. 221 —	
31. Saraband		p. 222 Sarabande	
32. Menuet	5. p. 3 Menuet		

33. air
 34. air
 35. air
 36. air
 37. air
 38. Preludue
 39. Ritournalle
 40. air
 41. Returnalle
 42. Preludio
 43. Tombeau
 44. air
 45. air
 46. [Menuet en rondo]
 47. air a l'Imitation de La Trompette
 48. air
 49. air
 50. air
 51. airⁱ
 52. air
 53. air
 54. symphonie
 55. air
 56. air
 57. air
 58. air
 59. ouuer tuer
 60. air
 61. air
- p. 223 —
11. p. 6 Simphonie
- p. 160 —
7. p. 4 Air
1. p. 1 Menuet
10. p. 6 Gauotte
2. p. 1 Gauotte
4. p. 3 Simphonie
15. p. 7 Simphonie
 14. p. 7 Simphonie
 8. p. 5 Air (+36. p. 24 Menuet)
 3. pp. 2–3 Ouverture
 6. p. 4 Simphonie
 9. p. 5 Simphonie
 13. p. 7 Air
 16. p. 8 Gigue
 19. p. 10 Ritournelle
 23. pp. 12–13 Chaconne
 28. p. 17 Simphonie
 29. pp. 18–19 Serenade
 30. p. 19 Galliarde
 31. p. 20 Bourée
 32. p. 20 Sarabande
- Trinity College Dublin 413, p. 38
- Trinity College Dublin 413, pp. 38–9
- Trinity College Dublin 413, p. 39
- Trinity College Dublin 413, p. 39
- Trinity College Dublin 413, p. 38
- British Library Add. 17853, f. 8^v (#31)
- Trinity College Dublin 413, p. 39
- Cardiff University 442/39aⁱ, f. 1^v (#4); A *Vade Mecum*^k, p. 8
- Bodleian Mus. Sch. C. 44, ff. 160–8^l (#1)

(Continued)

Appendix 2. Continued

Library of Congress M2.1 .L9 Case (‘Loudoun’) ^a	<i>A Collection of Several Symphonies and Aires</i> ^b	Yale University Filmer 33 (‘Dieupart’) ^c	OTHER [titles of movements not given]
	34. pp. 22–3 Chaconne		
	35. p. 24 Simphonie		
		p. 159 M ^r Grabu	<i>A Vade Mecum</i> , p. 6
		p. 46 —	
		p. 221 Autre ...	
		p. 224 —	
		p. 225 —	
		(?)p. 165–6	
		Ouverture ^m	
		(?)p. 219 Rondeau ⁿ	
			<i>A Vade Mecum</i> , p. 11 ^o <i>A Vade Mecum</i> , p. 12 ^p ; Cardiff University 442/39a, f. 2 ^r (#6) Bodleian Mus. Sch. C. 44, ff. 160–8 (#2) British Library Add. 17853, f. 8 ^r (#26) ^q

^a Pieces in three parts, in tablebook format; manuscript unfoliated/unpaginated.

^b Three partbooks (printed).

^c Three partbooks.

^d Treble only; the ‘Blakiston’ manuscript (see Appendix 3).

^e Bass partbook only (probably from a set of three partbooks, remainder now lost).

^f Bass partbook, from a set of four partbooks; given as five-bar bass line only, labelled ‘M^r Grabus Ground’.

^g The manuscript has no #15.

^h Three partbooks.

ⁱ Not the same as the piece in British Library Add. 17853, f. 27^r (#37), which has a similar incipit.

^j Treble partbook only; items listed in this table are part of an incomplete theatre suite, all of which is probably by Grabu.

^k Treble partbook only (printed).

^l Three parts in five partsheets.

^m Ascription to Grabu uncertain.

ⁿ Ascription to Grabu uncertain.

^o ‘Mr. Grabu.’

^p ‘Mr. Grabeu.’

^q ‘Prelude M^r. Graben’. For other works by Grabu found in this manuscript, see Appendix 3.

Appendix 3. Items in the 'Blakiston' Manuscript Identifiable as Works of Grabu

British Library Add. 17853 (‘Blakiston’) ^a	Concordant Source(s)	Category
f. 8 ^r 26. Prelude M ^r . Graben	Library of Congress M2.1 .L9 Case, #55	‘air’ in Library of Congress MS
f. 8 ^v 31. Symphony	British Library Add. 31429, f. 3 ^r (#2); Cardiff University 442/39a, f. 20 ^r (#50) ^b	Theatre suite: X (unidentified)
f. 9 ^r 39.	Leeds Public SRQ 784.21 L969, p. 22 (#7)	Theatre suite: <i>Oedipus</i>
f. 9 ^r 40. Minuett	Cardiff University 442/39a, f. 7 ^v (#20)	Theatre suite: Y (unidentified)
f. 9 ^v 41.	British Library Add. 31429, f. 3 ^v (#5); Cardiff University 442/39a, f. 16 ^v (#41) ^c ; <i>The Pleasant</i>	Theatre suite: X (unidentified)
f. 9 ^v 42.	<i>Companion</i> (1678–88), sig. H1 ^r (#60) ^d	Theatre suite: Z (unidentified)
f. 10 ^v 47.	Leeds Public SRQ 784.21 L969, p. 20 (#7)	Theatre suite: Z (unidentified)
f. 10 ^v 48.	Leeds Public SRQ 784.21 L969, p. 19 (#3)	Theatre suite: Z (unidentified)
f. 15 ^v 80.	Leeds Public SRQ 784.21 L969, p. 20 (#5)	Theatre suite: Z (unidentified)
f. 15 ^v 81.	Leeds Public SRQ 784.21 L969, p. 20 (#6)	Theatre suite: Z (unidentified)
f. 16 ^r 84.	Leeds Public SRQ 784.21 L969, p. 19 (#2)	Theatre suite: Z (unidentified)
f. 16 ^r 85.	Leeds Public SRQ 784.21 L969, p. 19 (#1)	Theatre suite: Z (unidentified)
f. 24 ^{r-v} 15.	Library of Congress M2.1 .L9 Case, #14; Yale University Filmer 8 ^c , pp. 63–4; Bodleian Mus. Sch. E. 446 ^f , p. 50	Chaconne-like piece using Lully’s ‘Scocca pur’ bass (see n. 334, above); ‘Trio’ in Yale MS

^a N.B. treble lines only.^b Treble partbook, but bass for this movement provided in tablebook format; movement is anonymous and not associated with a suite.^c Treble partbook; movement is anonymous and not associated with a suite.^d ‘Monsir Grabues Tune called the Roundo’; movement is not associated with a suite.^e Bass partbook only (probably from a set of three partbooks, remainder now lost).^f Bass partbook only, from a set of four partbooks; given as five-bar bass line only, labeled ‘M’ Grabus Ground’.

Appendix 4. Documentary Traces of Walter Lapp

[?1650 January 13]	Married to Elizabeth Fermor, daughter of Alexander Fermor, Esq., of Welches, Sussex ^a
1650 December 25– 1651 April 25	One of four Receivers of the Four Months' Assessment (<i>see note s</i>)
1666 June 22	Alleges marriage of Thomas Bourman, D.D. and Ellinor Lapp of Martin, Wiltshire ^b
1673 May 23	Receives first assignment (£137 4s 6d) from Louis Grabu (witnesses include son Gabriel Lapp) ^c
1673 (Michaelmas)– 1674 (Michaelmas)	Paid for 24 wreaths for the King's musicians in the theatre at Whitehall ^d (<i>N.B.</i> precise date of payment unknown)
1674 April 4	Receives second assignment ('all sums due' = £577 17s) from Grabu ^e
1674 December 29	?Collects two livery payments (£32 5s) from Grabu ^f
1673–8	Interactions with Robert Hooke on the following dates: ^g 1673 March 3; March 24 1675 August 6 1676 January 8; January 14; January 17; May 11; May 13; June 13 1678 June 17
c.1675–80	High Constable of the Liberty of St. Martin le Grand ^h
c.1675–80	Executor of Edward Woodroofe ⁱ (<i>N.B.</i> Woodroofe dies 16 November 1675; will proved 23 December 1675)
1676 January 18– 1677 December 19	Efforts to collect debt from Grabu: 1676 January 18: petition ^j 1676 March 23: assigned one year of Grabu's salary ^k 1676 September 20: petition for £250 ^l 1677 June 7: petition ^m 1677 December 19: hearing before Lord Treasurer Danby regarding claims ⁿ
1677 March 25– 1678 August 25	Commissioner for Land Tax (Act for building 30 ships) ^o
1678 December 31	Takes recognizance of Papists ^p
1679 February 24– August 24	Commissioner for Land Tax (Act for disbanding the forces) ^q
1681–2	Surveyor-Accountant of St. Paul's School, London ^r
1682 July 6	Owes £1291 14s 3d on Four Months' Assessment of 1650–1 ^s
1688 February 11	Makes will as resident of Hayes, Middlesex; will proved 21 May 1692 ^t

^a *The English Baronetage* (London, 1741), iv, 210; see also John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England* (London, 1838), 194*.

^b Joseph Lemuel Chester and Geo[rge] J. Armytage, eds., *Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London, 1543–1869*, Harleian Society, 24 (London, 1886), 93; see also Joseph Foster, ed., *London Marriage Licences, 1521–1869 [...] from Excerpts by the Late Colonel Chester* (London, 1887), col. 160.

^c LC9/341, p. 28 (Ashbee, i, 125).

^d LC9/111, fol. 19^r; LC9/260, fol. 35^r (Lafontaine, 275).

^e E406/50 (Ashbee, v, 66).

^f LC3/40, p. 6; see also LC9/198i, fol. 14^v and LC9/198ii, fol. 17^v (Ashbee, i, 248–9).

^g Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke M.A., M.D., F.R.S. 1672–1680* (London, 1935; repr. London, 1968), 32, 35, 173, 209, 211, 212, 231, 232, 235 and 363.

^h C6/84/72; see also Joseph Lemuel Chester, ed., *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster*, Harleian Society, 10 (London, 1876), 188 n. 1.

ⁱ PROB11/349/215.

^j PRO30/32/33 (properly 'T29/5'), p. 101 (*CTB*, v, 7; Ashbee, viii, 223).

^k PRO30/32/33, p. 137 (*CTB*, v, 34; Ashbee, viii, 224).

^l PRO30/32/33, p. 218 (*CTB*, v, 76).

^m PRO30/32/33, p. 293 (*CTB*, v, 455).

ⁿ PRO30/32/7, p. 139 (*CTB*, v, 492; Ashbee, viii, 231); PRO30/32/34 (properly 'T29/6'), pp. 20–1 (*CTB*, v, 493; Ashbee, viii, 231–2).

^o 29 Car. II, cap. 1: John Raithby, ed., *Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1819), v, 802–36, at 815 (p. 803: 'the City of London with Liberty of Saint Martins Le Grand').

^p Middlesex Sessions Rolls: John Cordy Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records* (London, 1892), iv, 108.

^q 31 Car. II, cap. 1: *Statutes of the Realm*, v, 897–934, at 912 (p. 898: 'the City of London with the Liberty of Saint Martins le Grand').

^r Robert Barlow Gardiner, *The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School, from 1748–1876* (London, 1884), 394.

^s T27/7, pp. 1–6 (*CTB*, vii, 520–8).

^t PROB11/409/441.