



The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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[3]
'FRANCIS WITHIE OF OXON'
AND HIS COMMONPLACE BOOK,
CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, MS 337

ROBERT THOMPSON

Three members of the Withey family of Worcester have long been recognised as provincial musicians of some importance.¹ Humphrey Withey, a choirboy at Worcester Cathedral in 1611, remained there as a lay clerk until his death in 1661.² John Withey, identified by Playford as a 'famous master' of the lyra viol, was also the subject of a biographical note by Anthony Wood, who described him as 'a Roman Catholic and sometime a teacher of music in the citie of Worcester - father of Francis Withie of Oxon' and 'excellent for the lyra viol'.³ Francis himself copied a number of manuscripts now in Oxford libraries (see Appendix 1). The commonplace book bound with his copy of Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Music in Five Parts* (London, 1667) in GB-Och MS 337 is an especially interesting volume containing brief extracts from music by a wide variety of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers.⁴ Apparently compiled between c. 1670 and c. 1695, it not only gives an insight into the range of music performed at Oxford during those years but also reflects Francis's awareness of earlier musical styles, no doubt a result of the continuous tradition of musicianship in his family from the early seventeenth century onwards.

The three professional musicians of the Withey family were amongst the descendants of Jasper and Joane Withey of Claines, a village about three miles from Worcester (see Appendix II). The family was principally engaged either in agriculture or the cloth trade, although Richard Withey (1607-c. 1669) was a successful lawyer and attorney to the City Council.⁵ The lay clerk Humphrey was almost certainly the grandson of Jasper and Joane, baptised at

¹ See Norman Joseph, 'Withy, John', *The New Grove*, xx (1980), 404-5; John Irving, 'Oxford, Christ Church MSS 1018-1020; a valuable source of Tomkins's Consort Music', *The Consort*, xl (1984), 1-12; John Irving, 'Consort Playing in mid-17th century Worcester: Thomas Tomkins and the Bodleian part books Mus. Sch. E.415-8', *EM*, xii (1984), 337-44

² Worcester Cathedral Library, Treasurer's Books: A26 (contains accounts for 1611, 1619, 1639, 1642, 1663); A28 (1643); A29 (1661). See also Thomas Cave and Rowland A. Wilspn (eds.), *The Parliamentary Survey of the Lands and Possessions of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester made in or about the year 1649* (Worcester, 1929), 123, 175; Denis Stevens, *Thomas Tomkins* (London, 1957), 42, 49, 51n, 101, 146, 171; I. Atkins, *Early Occupants of the Ofce of Organistof the Cathedral Church ofWorcester* (Worcester, 1918), 61-2

³ Playford describes Withey thus in the preface to *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (London, 1669), which contains nine pieces by him; six of these and three others were in the previous edition of 1661, and three in *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (London, 1652). Wood's comments are in GB-Ob MS Wood D.19 [4], f.136: 'John Withie was excellent for the lyra viol and improved the way of playing thereon much.'

⁴ See G.E.P. Arkwright, *Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*, i (Oxford, 1915), 128

⁵ See Shelagh Bond (ed.), *The Chamber Order Book of Worcester, 1602-1650* (Worcester, 1974), 340 passim

Claines in 1596:⁶ he would therefore have been nearing the end of his time as a choirboy when he was listed as such in the Worcester Cathedral Treasurer's Book for 1611,⁷ and is in fact found amongst the lay clerks in the next surviving Treasurer's Book for 1619,⁸ in which John Withey is entered as a choirboy.⁹

John Withey is likely to have been Humphrey's brother; certainly not his son, as John must have been born before 1611 to be old enough for the choir in 1619. References to the lay clerk's parents, Humphrey and Joyce, cease in the Chines registers after 1599,¹⁰ but further entries concerning the children of Humphrey Withey, including the burial of a son named Francis, are found in the earliest surviving records of the city parish of St Peter's, a disordered set of Bishop's Transcripts beginning in 1612.¹¹ John must therefore have been baptised after his parents moved to Worcester but before these records begin, a suggestion fully consistent with his being a choirboy at the cathedral in 1619.

[4] John and Humphrey seem to have been musically gifted children of a family engaged in all aspects of the wool trade,¹² who were placed in the cathedral choir for the sake of their education and as a means of opening up new economic opportunities for them. In a physically resilient family like the Witheys there were always likely to be younger sons to whom a viable farm or business could not be passed on.¹³

Humphrey the lay clerk's career at Worcester is amply documented; John, in contrast, vanishes after 1619 into almost total obscurity. A number

⁶ Worcestershire parish registers are available on microfilm at Hereford and Worcester County Record Office (H.W.C.R.O.), Worcester Headquarters, County Hall, Spetchley Road, Worcester, filed alphabetically. Humphrey was baptised on 4 September 1596.

⁷ Worcester Cathedral Library, MS A26, 1611 (unfoliated)

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1619, p. 26 *passim*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 34-5

¹⁰ The last entry refers to 'Joane Withye the daughter of Humfrey Withy', buried 23 August 1599; she had been baptised on 19 August.

¹¹ Microfilm at H.W.C.R.O. Worcester Headquarters. 'Jeames the Sonne of Humfrey Withey' was baptised in May 1613 (date illegible); Francis was buried 16 June 1614. Margerie, baptised 24 April 1617, may be the Margerie Withie buried at St Michael's in Bedwardine (the parish church of the cathedral precinct) on 5 August 1643 (see W.R. Buchanan Dunlop, *The Parish Registers of St Michael's in Bedwardine, Worcester, 1546-1812 (Marriages to 1754)* (Worcester, 1954), 115). In his marriage bond the elder Humphrey is in fact described as a clothier of Worcester (see E.A. Fry (ed.), *Calendar of Wills and Administrations in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Worcester 1451-1600* (London, 1904), 368).

¹² An alternative candidate to be the musician John Withey, Jasper's grandson baptised at Martin Hussingtree on 28 October 1608, was left 'the weaning calfe' in his father's will, proved 19 May 1628. He probably remained on the land and may be the John [Withey] who married Elinor Morris at Claines on 20 August 1629. Worcestershire wills are on microfilm at H.W.C.R.O. Worcester Headquarters, filed chronologically.

¹³ The relative fortunes of those of Jasper's sons who left wills provide an illustration. Jasper himself (will proved 23 April 1599) left £74 8s. His son Richard, clothier of Worcester, left £23 5s 6d (inventory taken 15 April 1629); John, the farmer of Martin Hussingtree, £21 18s and Nicholas, another clothier, C9 (inventory taken 3 April 1617). In contrast, the musicians Humphrey and John were each described at different times as 'gent' and Humphrey left £572 9s 11d (inventory taken 29 January 1662).

of lyra-viol pieces, some published by John Playford;¹⁴ a song for Richard Brome's play *The English Moore*;¹⁵ and a set of parts of fantasias and dances composed by himself and others¹⁶ are the main, though not quite the only, evidence of his continued musical activity. The most definite information available concerns his death: on p. [1] of the manuscript section of Och MS 337 Francis wrote 'Jhon Withie my Dear F. died Janu. 3d 85',¹⁷ and it was undoubtedly this John who was buried at St Helen's Worcester on 5 January 1685.¹⁸ 'Dorothy Withy Widdow', buried on 7 March 1693, seems very likely to have been John's wife and Francis's mother,¹⁹ especially as Francis's own daughter (of whom more below) was also christened Dorothy. The Worcester hearth tax collectors' book for 1678-80 shows that 'John Withey Senr.' then occupied a three-hearth house very close to St Helen's, at the cathedral end of the High Street, with one 'John Withey Junior' living next door assessed at two hearths,²⁰ and the less detailed hearth tax returns for 1673 and 1674 similarly show two John, or Jo., Witheys in adjacent properties.²¹ The identity of the younger John Withey may cast some light on the date and place of Francis's birth.

In 1639 a son, baptised John, was born to John and Dorothy Withey in the parish of St Andrew's Holborn.²² It would be natural to assume that the parents were relatives of the herald-painter John Withie of Holborn, and that the similarity of names was mere coincidence; the painter's detailed pedigree, however, shows otherwise,²³ and the parish register entry itself is very strange:

John Withey, son of John Withey gent and of Dorothie his wife borne the 8 Day of July 1639 in Mr Covetts house in Baldwins Garden neere Leather Lane and baptised in the said house as *they said* and recorded the 4th day of August 1639

[my italics]

If this John Withey is in fact the musician, the parish clerk's uncertainty about the baptism lends support to Wood's claim that he was a Roman Catholic, although he appears to have conformed at the end of his life. No alternative Witheys seem to be available, and there are other indications that John Withey of Worcester might have been in London in the late 1630s.

¹⁴ Mainly in GB-MP MS 832 Vu 51 and Cu MS Hen. Dep. 77 (1): see Gordon Dodd, *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (1980-9), J. Withy-3

¹⁵ "Love, where is now thy deity?", in US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 23. I am grateful to Julia Wood for both bringing this song to my attention and identifying the source of its text.

¹⁶ . US-R 'John Withie his Booke'. Other composers are Gibbons, Jenkins, Tomkins and Facy.

¹⁷ Pagination for Och MS 337 refers to a copy in my possession: it begins at the first page of the MS notebook and omits all unwritten pages.

¹⁸ See John Bowstead Wilson, *The Parish Book of .St Helen's Church in Worcester*, ii (London, 1900), 153

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 160

²⁰ PRO E179/260/13. See C.A.F. Meekings, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.), *The Hearth Tax Collectors' Book for Worcester, 1678-80* (Worcester, 1983), 46

²¹ PRO E179/260/12 and 11

²² London Guildhall Library, MS 6667/2

²³ Compiled by himself: GB-Lbl Harl. MS 1080 ff. 353v-54. See F.T. Colby (ed.), *The Visitation of the County of Devon in the Year 1620* (London, 1872), 359-60

Brome's *The English Moore*, for which Withey certainly composed the music of a song, was performed in 1637 or 1638 by Queen Henrietta's Company at the Salisbury Court Theatre,²⁴ and it is possible that Withey's setting dates from the first performance. The song text appears in Brome's autograph, but not in the printed version of the [5] play.²⁵ Other music by John Withey, in particular a two-part movement entitled *A Maske*, may also be related to stage performances.²⁶ A number of plays performed by the Queen's company apart from *The English Moore* make specific and extensive demands for music.²⁷

The John Withey born in 1639 may have been the father of John and William, baptised at St Helen's Worcester in 1661 and 1664 respectively,²⁸ and the second or younger John Withey listed in the hearth tax assessments for 1673/4 and the collectors' book of 1678-80. In view of these two baptisms, it is perhaps more likely that the single 'John Withie' entry in the assessments for poll tax in August 1660 and the hearth tax in 1664 also refers to him rather than his father,²⁹ and that he was the juryman called upon to serve in a number of trials in Worcester from 9 October 1661 onwards.³⁰ The variety of style in compositions ascribed to 'John Withy', in different versions of his name, at least raises the possibility that the younger John was the author of some of them,³¹ especially a number of fragments by 'JW' in Och MS 337 which do not belong to any surviving complete work and appear to be in a post-Restoration style (Mus. ex. 1).

The John Withey born in 1639 and given his father's name is likely to have been his parents' first-born son. Francis's own daughter Dorothy was

²⁴ See G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, iii (Oxford, 1956), 67-9; Sara J. Steen (ed.), *The English Moore, or the mock-marriage by Richard Brome* (Columbia, 1983)

²⁵ The manuscript, a presentation copy probably dating from c. 1640, is Lichfield Cathedral Library MS 68; the song, in Act IV, appears on f.19v. See Steen, *op. cit.*, 93, where the song forms Act IV sc.2 lines 39-55. *The English Moore* was first printed in Richard Brome, *Five New Plays* (London, 1659) though with a separate title page dated 1658.

²⁶ In US-LAuc C6968 M4 p. 12, NH MS Filmer 3, f.16v

²⁷ For example, Thomas Nabbes, *Microcosmus, A Morall Maske, presentedat the private house in Salisbury Court....* (London, 1637). But music was a standard feature of early seventeenth-century play performances (see Edmond Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare ... comprehending a life of the Poet and an Enlarged History of the Stage*, iii (London, 1821), 110-14).

²⁸ J. Bowstead Wilson, *op. cit.*, i., 86, 90

²⁹ PRO E179/270/21 f.58; E179/260/8

³⁰ Worcester City Council, *Liber Recordum*: held at Hereford and Worcester C.R.O., St Helens Branch, Fish Street, Worcester

³¹ Wood specifically associates Francis's father with the *lyra viol*, and it is reasonable to suppose that the elder John composed all the *lyra* music together with music in old-fashioned styles, such as the five-part fantasia and *In Nomine*, or in evidently early sources like GB-Ob Mus. Sch. MSS d.245-7. Wood also states that John Withey wrote some pieces for two violins [and continuo] which could be those ascribed to 'Withie' in Lbl Add. MSS 29283-85. There is no concrete evidence that the younger John was a composer at all, but Francis certainly had musical contacts in Worcester after his father's death. A suite by Daniel Purcell in Ob Mus. Sch. MS c.61, pp. 10-11 (rev) is marked 'Sent this Woe' and 'sent this to Woc', and dates elsewhere in the manuscript suggest that this music was copied c. 1690.

baptised in 1670,³² so Francis himself must have been born between 1640 and c. 1652, in a place as yet unknown: the earliest evidence of his movements is in the printed section of Och MS 337, his copy of Simpson's *Compendium*, which is inscribed 'Francis Withey His Booke Octobre 12 1667' and 'baght at Mr Jons in Worster'. His subsequent life in Oxford is, in contrast, very well documented.

A continuous record of Francis's professional career is provided by the disbursement books of Christ Church, where he was a singing man from June 1670 until December 1727.³³ Up to 1720 he almost always signed in person for his quarterly payment of £2 10s. Thereafter, as for the few earlier exceptions, the commonest signature is that of Charles Adkins 'sen.',³⁴ Dorothy's husband.

From 1680 to 1705, with a brief interruption, and again from 1710 to 1713, Francis paid the poor rate, and was therefore a householder, in St Peter-le-Bailey parish where he served his turn as churchwarden in 1693.³⁵ After Charles and Dorothy married, on 5 November 1693,³⁶ they appear to have lived with Francis and Mary, as Adkins's name replaces Withey's in the poor rate books from February 1697 (when Charles would have reached the age of 21) to 9 March 1702, but 'Mr Withee' is back on 30 March 1702.³⁷ There is some evidence that Charles and Dorothy may have moved to

³² At St Mary Magdalen, Oxford: 'Dorothy the Daughter of Mr Francis Withie and Mary his wife was Baptize the 2d day of April 1670', Oxfordshire C.R.O. MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Mary Magdalen c.2, p. 20. Transcripts of Oxford parish registers are available at the record office and at the Society of Genealogists, London. This entry is in Francis's own hand and appears to be a later addition between the year heading and the first baptism recorded by the parish clerk, on 9 April.

³³ Christ Church Disbursement Books, 1670-1728. Francis's first payment is for the whole of the third quarter of 1670, which ended on 8 September; his own signature last appears for the third quarter of 1720, and his final week, the first of the second quarter of 1728, was in fact in December 1727. (The accounting year at Christ Church from 1717 onwards was reckoned from September.) A choirboy 'Withey' for whom Francis generally signs, was present from 1674 to 1680: he may have been Francis's nephew William, born in 1664, or possibly the Humphrey who matriculated at St Mary Hall in May 1680 aged 16, (see J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses...1500-1714*, iv (Oxford, 1891), 1696). Francis may also have been the 'Mr ...Withey' whom Wood heard play the bass viol on 4 May 1669 (see A. Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ii (Oxford, 1892), 158).

³⁴ Charles, the son of a near neighbour, the ironmonger William Atkins, was baptised at St Peterle-Bailey on 19 July 1676. Several register entries relating to his own children describe him as 'schoolmaster'; for example the entry for the baptism of his daughter Dorithye on 25 January 1702 (Oxfordshire C.R.O. MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter-le-Bailey c. 12 f 19).

³⁵ Accounts of the overseers of the poor: O.C.R.O. MSS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter-le-Bailey b.79 (1673-1697); b.10-11 (1701-1716). Francis's signature appears in the overseer's accounts for 1693, and his hand in the churchwardens' accounts for the same year (St Peter-le-Bailey b. 5 f 56). He paid window tax in St Peter's parish in 1696 (see M.G. Hobson (ed.), *Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701*, (Oxford, 1939), 352) and the 'gatehouse' in which he lived is mentioned in leases of other property dating from 1690, 1699 and 1714 (see H.E. Salter (ed.), *The Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, ii (Oxford, 1929), 33, 87).

³⁶ By licence: O.C.R.O. MS Archd. Papers c. 479 f. 6; MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter-le-Bailey c. 12 f. 34v. Charles was only seventeen, so his father signed the marriage bond for him.

³⁷ O.C.R.O. MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter-le-Bailey b. 10 f. 13v. The overseers' book for 1697-1701 is missing apart from a fragment at MS b. 5 f. 67.

property in St Aldate's parish at this time,³⁸ and Francis may have gone to live with them after Mary's death in late April 1705.³⁹ Charles Adkins collected Francis's payment at Christ Church in the quarter ending in March 1704/5, presumably because Francis was caring for his wife in her last illness or was himself unwell.

Francis's return to St Peter-le-Bailey parish must have been connected with his remarriage on 15 October 1710 to Catherine Shury, widow of the schoolmaster [6] William Shury.⁴⁰ The names adjacent in the rate books for 1705 and 1710 suggest that he returned to the same property, or to one immediately nearby.⁴¹ At about the same time 'Mr Adkins schoolmaster' began to pay the poor rate in St Michael's parish, where he remained a ratepayer until 1724.⁴² Francis again disappears from St Peter-le-Bailey immediately after Catherine's death in March 1713,⁴³ and in the record of his own burial at St Peter-le-Bailey is described as 'of St Mickels'.⁴⁴ Charles and Dorothy both died in St Aldate's parish, where they probably moved after their final rate payment in St Michaels on 5 March 1724, so Francis must have spent his last years in lodgings, although Charles Adkins collected all but four of his Christ Church payments between 1724 and 1727. It is most unlikely that Francis was able to carry out all of his musical duties between 1720 and 1727, or at other times when he did not sign for his money in

³⁸ Mary, daughter of Charles Atkins, was baptised at St Aldate's on 14 January 1703; Dorothy, his second child given that name, on 29 December 1704; William on 25 February 1707 (O.C.R.O. MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Aldate b. 1 ff. 68, 68v, 69). James Atkins was buried there on 23 September 1709 (*ibid.*, f. 60v). He had been baptised at St Michael's, however, on 17 December 1708 (MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Michael b. 2 p. 308). There were also burials of Adkins children, including Mary, at St Peter-le-Bailey during the same period. Charles and his wife Dorothy were both buried at St Aldate's, on 14 March 1733 and 28 October 1739 respectively (MS St Aldate b. 1 ff. 31v, 33v). 'Mr Charles Adkins' buried 1 May 1722 (*ibid.*, f. 26) may have been Francis's grandson baptised at St Peter-le-Bailey on 31 January 1695.

³⁹ 'Marye the wife of Ffrances Wethye museshionor was Buryed the 25 day of Aprill' (O.C.R.O. MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter-le-Bailey c. 12 f. 61v).

⁴⁰ By licence: O.C.R.O. MS Archd. Papers Oxon c. 496 f. 193; MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Cross b. 2. p. 181. William Shury's marriage to Catherine, at St Cross on 22 August 1706, was also by licence (MS Archd. Papers Oxon c. 492 f. 173), where he is described as 'generosum'. The bond for his first marriage to Mary Dully (MS Archd. Papers Oxon c. 470 f. 70) states that he was a schoolmaster; possibly he was a senior colleague of Charles Adkins.

⁴¹ Of the names immediately adjacent to Withey's on 30 January 1710, his first appearance since 1705, six are unchanged and in the same order: Ovens, Hayfield [=Heathfield], Showell, Harris, Edwards and Yeats. Withey follows Heathfield on 30 April 1705, when he made his last payment in that year, in six subsequent lists where no money was due from him, and again when his name reappears in 1710 (O.C.R.O. MSS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter-le-Bailey b. 10 ff. 48v-55 *passim*; b. 11 f. 8).

⁴² O.C.R.O. MSS D.D. Par. Oxford St Michael b. 23-6

⁴³ 'Cathirne ye wife of Ffrances Withye' was buried on 12 March 1713 (O.C.R.O. MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter le Bailey c. 12 f. 54). Francis's last poor rate payment was on 9 March (MS b. 11 f. 57v).

⁴⁴ 'Francis Whitby of St Mickels' was buried on 14 December 1727, at St Peter-le-Bailey (O.C.R.O. MS D.D. Par. Oxford St Peter-le-Bailey c. 12, unfoliated). The affidavit that he was buried in woollen was presented by his grandson Frances Adkins, baptised at St Peter-le-Bailey on 10 November 1700.

person, two of which coincide with the deaths of his first and second wives, and it is pleasant to see that the authorities at Christ Church must have treated him with considerable, if entirely proper, generosity.

Francis Withey's social status appears to have been comparable to that of his craftsman neighbours, and indeed of his grandfather Humphrey. In 1693, for example, his poor rate payment was 1s 4d while William Adkins, Charles's father, paid 1s, and the bond for Dorothy's marriage to Charles describes Francis as 'yeoman'. Unlike a number of Christ Church singing men, however, Francis held no other offices at the college,⁴⁵ and the description of him in the bond for his second marriage, 'in Universitate Oxon musicum' adequately covers the range of activities implied by the Christ Church records and the various manuscripts copied in his hand.

By any standards, Francis's had been an extraordinarily long musical career, and although we may regret the fact that he did not keep a written record of his experiences, the contents and annotations in many of the manuscripts he copied or owned to an extent compensate for this lack. For the years c. 1670-1695 Och MS 337 provides a fascinating insight into the music Francis came across and the aspects of it he considered interesting.

The commonplace book originally belonged to 'Mr John Withey', whose name is written on p. [3]. 'Jo: Withey', in a hand clearly not Francis's, is inscribed on p. [1] as well as Francis's note about his father's death.⁴⁶ The book has been cut to match the dimensions of Simpson's *Compendium*, 153 mm. by 98 mm., and the two are bound together in a leather case stamped 'FW'. No identifiable traces of the watermark can be seen. There are a number of informative written comments, especially on the flyleaves preceding the Simpson and on the final pages of the notebook, but the greater part of the manuscript is taken up by [8] musical examples, mostly in staff notation but some in a kind of tablature consisting of letter names for the bass and figures for upper parts, virtually all unquestionably copied by Francis.

The contents can be divided into three main categories: extracts from and references to theoretical works; examples from music by English composers living between c. 1670 and 1695, with a marked Oxonian bias; and examples from contemporary continental music. Contrasts in both writing style and musical content suggest that many pages were filled up over a relatively long period of time, and the later musical extracts are generally longer and more interesting than the earlier ones, which are often no more than conventional cadence formulae.

Francis evidently knew, or knew of, an impressive range of theoretical material. A few works are identified merely by title, without any proof that Francis had studied or even seen them.⁴⁷ The Simpson, however, he

⁴⁵ When Francis joined the choir in 1670, for example, the singing man Flexney was also 'tonsor', the college barber; Bennett was third 'promus' (cellarer) and Acres first janitor.

⁴⁶ Neither inscription appears to be in the same hand as US-R 'Jo. Wythie his Booke'; perhaps the book belonged to John Withey born in 1639.

⁴⁷ On the flyleaves: 'Traite la Composition by Mr de Nivers 2s 6d'; i.e. G.G. Nivers, *Traite de la composition de musique* (Paris, 1667), ed. A. Cohen, *Music Theorists in Translation*, iii (Brooklyn 1961); E. Loulie, *Elements ou principes de musigue* (Paris, 1696); ed. A. Cohen, *MTT*, vi (Brooklyn 1965). A further comment, 'Se: Tarteene has printed exce: Rules for

acquired shortly after its publication, and the manuscript contains numerous extracts from this and other theoretical works. Passages from Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597) are found on six different pages, often with precise and accurate reference to the original. Francis seems to have regarded Morley's techniques as quite relevant to his own time, and in one instance juxtaposes two examples of 'A Cadence in ye Bass' from Morley with a similar progression by Purcell (Mus. ex.2). The majority of his Morley examples are comments on or examples of harmonic progressions, but he also quotes two examples of canon.⁴⁸ Elway Bevin's *A Brief and Shorte Introduction of the Art of Musick to Teach how to Make Discant* (London, 1631) is cited not only for examples of canon on plainchant but also for the final cadences of several of Bevin's examples in various rhythmic patterns (Mus. ex.3).⁴⁹

[7]

Composing' is interesting as G. Tartini, *Trattato di Musica* did not appear until 1754; the writing is undoubtedly Francis's.

⁴⁸ Och MS 337 p. [109]; Morley pp. 98-9. Other examples are on pp. [5] (Morley p. 127); [6] (resembles Morley 128); [8] (Morley 127) and [15] (Morley 132).

⁴⁹ Examples from Bevin pp. 1, 2, 4-6, 11, 13 and 21-3 are in Och MS 337 pp. [11, 24-5, 39].



Och MS 337, p. [161: five extracts from 'Mr Smith in C fa ut', Och MS 1183 ff. 18-21, no. 1 'A Braule'. The tenor part (Och MS 1183 f. 20) is omitted here.

Francis's respect for such authorities as Morley and Bevin may stem in part from his father's and uncle's training under Thomas Tomkins at Worcester: a similar interest in the music of the past is reflected in his ownership of Ob Mus. Sch. MSS e.415-8, a set of instrumental partbooks from Worcester which came to him through his family,⁵⁰ and Mus. Sch. MSS e.437-442, dating from c. 1600, which he bought for six shillings.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See Irving, 'Consort Playing...'. The annotations 'Made for J. Withy' (iv, 17, 25v) and 'Mr Thos Tomkins Mr Humphrey Withy 1642' (iii, 31v) are in Francis's hand. The information must have been given him by an older relative or friend.

⁵¹ The paper of Ob Mus. Sch. MSS e.437-42 was made by Nicholas le BE of Troyes, and is most unlikely to date from any later than 1602 (see C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Facsimile

More modern theoretical approaches are represented by extracts from Simpson,⁵² frequently transposed or improved upon by Francis and his Oxford colleagues (Mus. ex.4); by several pages devoted to 'Mr John Birchensha's notes';⁵³ and by references to Purcell's contribution to Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 1694). The Birchensha rules for composition are obviously related to the version in Lbl Add. MS 4910,⁵⁴ but are numbered differently and have many more illustrations. Birchensha had devised his rules by 1662,⁵⁵ though their position in the commonplace book makes it unlikely that they were copied there very early. Extracts from Purcell's 1694 publication vary from literal transcription to free paraphrase or working-out of his instructions,⁵⁶ [9] and are supplemented by further comments which seem to have been passed on orally, such as:

Mr H. P. ses two 8ts may be taken in 2 parts one part ascending & ye other descending to make ye Musicke more full and nobles⁵⁷

Advice from the less famous is also included:

Mr Bartho: I[saak] ses in makeing of Catches of 3 voc ye 2d part must be concord to ye first or leading part and the 3d part concord to both. If you set a Catch for 4 voices your 2d and 3d part must be concord to the leading part you are not to use 2ds 4ths or 7ths without binding.⁵⁸

Mr Hall ye Organist ses Mr Banester observes an equal Number of times from one passing close to another.⁵⁹

ed. Allan Stevenson, Amsterdam, 1968) nos. 8077-91 for broadly similar marks). Withey made corrections to music by Ferrabosco (e.g. MS e. 437 ff. 33, 41v, 42) and completed the Ferrabosco hexachord fantasia no. 20.

⁵² The examples on Och MS 337 p. [42] seem to be a working-out of 1667 p. 40. Other extracts are on [55] (1667 pp. 89, 91); [90] (1667 p. 123).

⁵³ Och MS 337 [70-84]

⁵⁴ Add. MS 4910 ff. 39-61 are 'A Collection of Rules in Musicke from the most knowing masters in that Science with Mr Birchensha's 6 Rules of Composition and his Enlargements thereon to the Right Honble William Lord Viscount Brounckner &c ... Collected by mee Silas Domville alias Taylor'. The rules are partly written by Birchensha himself and partly copied from 'my Lord Brounckner's booke'.

⁵⁵ See R.C. Latham and W. Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, iii* (London, 1970), 8-9, 36-7

⁵⁶ Extracts derived from the 1694 *Introduction* are on pp. [34-6, 41, 46 and 65-6] and come from 1694 pp. 87-90. 92-3, 95-7 and 101.

⁵⁷ Och MS 337 p. [41]: example in musical notation on p. [26]


⁵⁸ Och MS 337 p. [110]. Isaak was a clerk of Eton College from 1673 until his death in 1703 (see Bruce Wood, 'Isaak, B.', *The New Grove, ix*, 337). Francis copied part of an anthem by him, "I am the resurrection" in Ob Mus. Sch. MS d.217, p. 6, a transposed extract from which is in Och MS 337, p. [52]. An extract by another musician who spent some time at Eton, Michael Wise, is on p. [94] (see Watkins Shaw, 'Wise, Michael', *The New Grove, xx*, 462).

⁵⁹ Och MS 337 p. [110]. Isaak was a clerk of Eton College from 1673 until his death in 1703 (see Bruce Wood, 'Isaak, B.', *The New Grove, ix*, 337). Francis copied part of an anthem by him, "I am the resurrection" in Ob Mus. Sch. MS d.217, p. 6, a transposed extract from which is in Och MS 337, p. [52]. An extract by another musician who spent some time at Eton, Michael Wise, is on p. [94] (see Watkins Shaw, 'Wise, Michael', *The New Grove, xx*, 462).

A further group of comments refer to performance practice: a close paraphrase of the table of ornaments and expression marks from Nicola Matteis, *Ayrs for the Violin... the Third and Fourth Parts* (London, 1685);⁶⁰ a list of English and French instrumental genres with an explanation of the 'burners' of Italian sonatas;⁶¹ and comments on bowing and figured bass, the first of which shows a clear awareness of French orchestral discipline and the second a working musician's desire for absolute clarity:

Bowing for ye violin. If a N[ote] with a p[oint] hapend to be up with ye Bow yn ye following Note must be up⁶²

In A Continued Base. If A ♭ or # set by any figur as thus #4 #3 ♭3 #6 ♭6 ye Descant is to be sharp or flat: if a ♭ or # is sett under anney figures thus ^{5 5 7 7} ♭ # ♭ # tis to be a ♭ or # third under ye figure. A # or ♭ over aney Note thus



the Descant must be a # or ♭ third to that Note tis over.⁶³

Francis was evidently very interested in figured bass, which he frequently employed as a convenient notational shorthand. He copied five bars of Locke's 'Broken Consort' both in staff notation and in a figured bass transcription,⁶⁴ and the two figured basses from Locke's *Melothesia, or Certain Rules for Playing on a Continued Bass* (London, 1673) one realised by Bartholomew Isaak and the other by Benjamin Rogers.⁶⁵

Other than in theoretical material, English music before Purcell is mainly represented in Och MS 337 by Jenkins and Locke. Although Francis evidently knew many of Jenkins's works in other forms,⁶⁶ almost all the extracts in the commonplace book are from his three-part ayres.⁶⁷ A similar emphasis on music for two trebles and bass is shown throughout the manuscript, apparently influencing Francis's choice of examples from Locke

⁶⁰ Och MS 337 p. [111]. Two extracts from the undated *Ayrs for the Violin ... the first part* are in Och MS 337, p. [103]: pp. 108-9, 'Allemanda facile' bars 1-3 and pp. 2-3, 'Adagio' bars 1-4.

⁶¹ Och MS 337 p. [115]

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Och MS 337 p. [113]

⁶⁴ Och MS 337 p. [18]: 'The Broken Consort' 3a bars 5-9. Identification of movements and barring in Locke's chamber music refers to Michael Tilmouth (ed.), 'Matthew Locke, Chamber Music', *Musica Britannica*, xxxi-xxxii (London, 1971-2).

⁶⁵ Och MS 337 pp. [21, 26]: both basses are from *Melothesia*, p. [11]. Other extracts from *Melothesia* are in Och MS 337, pp. [19-20].

⁶⁶ Apart from the bass-viol music he copied in Ob Mus. Sch. MSS c.59-60 (VDGS nos. 1, 11-21) and US-U 8763 P699c (VDGS nos 24-35), Ob Mus. Sch. MSS e.437-42 contain four three-part fantasias (VDGS 17-20) to which he added a four-part fantasia (VDGS 2) in his own hand.

⁶⁷ Och MS 337 p. [10]; extracts from VDGS nos. 23 and 33; pp. [12-13]: from VDGS 85 and 180-2; p. [481]: from VDGS 41-2; p. [52]: from VDGS 4

and culminating in his detailed [10] study of trio sonatas by Purcell, Corelli and Bassani. One set of Jenkins cadences provides fragments of the treble parts for an ayre hitherto known only by its bass (Mus. ex.5). Several of the Locke extracts have variants which clearly relate them to copies at Christ Church in Francis's hand, the consort 'for seaverall freinds' in Och MSS 409-10 and the score of the 'Second Part of the Broken Consort' in Och MS 8.⁶⁸ Other identified Locke fragments are from the 'Little Consort',⁶⁹ the Act I Curtain Tune of *The Tempest*,⁷⁰ and a movement in US-NYp Drexel 3976, 'The Rare Theatrical and other compositions by Mr Mathew Lock'.⁷¹ Contributions by minor composers include a few bars by 'Mr Farmiloe' (Mus. ex.6),⁷² a page devoted to 'Closes in C' by Robert Smith⁷³ and a simple canon by Tobias Langdon of Exeter, of little significance, but an addition to the few other pieces known by that composer.⁷⁴

To judge from the number and length of extracts quoted, however, it was the most modern music of the late seventeenth century that fired Francis's imagination: trio sonatas from Purcell's 1683 set, Corelli's Op.1 and Bassani's Op.5, with a few others,⁷⁵ are subjected to detailed examination and, it seems, direct comparison, with many extracts of much greater length than those from earlier music. He seems to have discovered the Corelli and the Purcell at about the same time. One passage from Corelli's Op.1/xi is dated 'Sep 18

⁶⁸ Och MS 337 p. [23]: 'seaverall freinds' 1b bars 32-6; lc bars 1-2; Och MSS 409-10 (VDGS no. 56) bars 1-2; p. [571]: lg bars 6-7 (also on p. [51]); 15-16. Most extracts are in variations unique to Christ Church (see R. Thompson, 'The Sources of Locke's Consort "for seaverall freinds"', *Chelys*, xix (1990), 16-43). Och MS 337 p. [17]: 'The Second Part of the Broken Consort' 4c bars 1-2; 9-10; 19-20, parts reversed as in Och MS 8

⁶⁹ Och MS 337 p. [3]: 'Little Consort' lc bars 7-8, 14-15; p. [21]: 1c bars 5-6; ld bars 2-4; p. [221]: la bars 8-10, 18-20, 28-30; lb bars 7-8, 15-16

⁷⁰ Och MS 337 p. [23]: bars 10-11, 18-20, 24-26. Barring from Michael Tilmouth (ed.), 'Matthew Locke, Dramatic Music', *Musica Britannica*, li (1986), 27-9

⁷¹ Och MS 337 p. [3]: Drexel 3976 no. 13 'Brawles' bars 11-12 (original barring). Facsimile with introduction by P. Holman, *The rare theatrical: New York Public Library, Drexel MS 3976* (London, 1989)

⁷² Francis Farmelo, a London musician, A. 1635-1650 (see Andrew Ashbee, 'Farmelo, Francis', *The New Grove*, vi, 400)

⁷³ Och MS 337 p. [16]: the extracts are from 'Mr Smith in C fa ut', Och MS 1183 ff. 18-21, no. 1 'A Braule'. This movement, and much of the rest of Och MS 1183, is in Francis's hand.

⁷⁴ Tobias was a priest vicar choral at Exeter (see Watkins Shaw, 'Langdon, Richard', *The New Grove*, x, 445). Four catches by him, together with a song by Henry Hall, are in Och MS 1219.

⁷⁵ Purcell extracts from Och MS 337 not quoted in my examples or specifically mentioned are: 1683 Sonata II bars 83-9 (Och MS 337 p. [100]), bars 166-9 [56]; Sonata III bars 151-5 [51]; Sonata V bars 9-11, 77-82 [53], bars 50-56 [51], bars 95-100 [33, 49], bars 93-100 [56]; Sonata IX bars 104-6 [53]; Sonata XI bars 18-20, 21, 23-4, 26, 32, 34, 36 [54]. Corelli extracts not quoted: Op. I/iii bars 85-91 [581]; Op. 1/iv 63-5 [103]; Op. 1/v 11-15 [58], 96-9, 107-8, 109-11 [105]; Op. 1/viii 15-16, parts reversed and varied from the print, [37]; Op. 1/ix 10-15, parts reversed [98]; Op. 1/x 1-3, 6-9 [1031]; Op. 3/ii 1-7, with a brief continuation apparently by Francis himself [99]; Op. 3/v 1-6 [86]; Op. 4/i, the first bar of Vln. 1 only, [97]. There are also two extracts in D minor from 'Corelli 4 Sanat' as yet unidentified, p. [105]. Bassani extracts are on pp. [59-62] and [100] and are from Op. 5/ii, iv and vii.

84'⁷⁶ and the first of the Purcell sonatas 'Octob 15 84'. Page [50] of the manuscript is devoted to extracts from this sonata's first fugal movement, and it is clear that Francis's interest lay in the handling of the imitative material (Mus. ex.7). Another feature requiring fairly lengthy quotation was the sequence involving chains of suspensions, illustrated by both simple and complex examples from Corelli (Mus. ex.8). To the last of these Francis added the comment 'A 6th and 5th toget[her] good'. Direct comparison between Purcell and Corelli is made on p. [33], where chromatic passages from Corelli's Op.1/xi (a work by which Francis was apparently obsessed) and Purcell's Sonata IX are placed next to each other; and an even closer parallel to Corelli's descending chromatic theme is provided by Purcell's Sonata VII which in some extracts is transposed into C minor (Mus. ex.9). Bassani's Op.5 was probably known to Francis through the 1691 rather than the 1683 edition,⁷⁷ and it is perhaps significant that his single extract from Purcell's 1697 set is placed quite close to the Bassani passages, one of which it closely resembles (Mus. ex.10). The Purcell passage appears to be a complete movement, shorter than the one eventually published; otherwise, the opening Grave of Bassani's Op.5/ii is the only complete movement Francis included.⁷⁸

Many extracts are ascribed to 'Senior Baptist', of which several are certainly by Jean-Baptiste Lully: a lengthy five-part passage from the overture of *Le triomphe de l'amour*⁷⁹ and a series of four-part examples from *Bellerophon*.⁸⁰ Francis's knowledge of French music and culture is attested by the titles of French theoretical works listed on the flyleaves (see n. 47) and by a comment on the final page of the manuscript: 'Pierre Corneille Tragedies. Opera Isis by Senior Baptist are ye best'. One H. Decry, who consistently signed his name with a [11] circumflex, was a singing-man at Christ Church from 1674 to 1688, and may well have introduced Francis to some of the French music in his commonplace book. Further contact with French musicians is implied by a note in Ob Mus. Sch. MS c.61: 'Mr Shore Monseur la Rich July 22 Anno 1693 was at Mr G. Luellen Cham[bers] at Ch. Ch. Monse Diseb plais on ye Base Violin Ex[cellently]'.

⁷⁶ Bars 45-52, p. [112]. Other extracts from this sonata are bars 19-29, 34-5, 48-50 [114]; 51-2 [32]; 45-7 and 51-2 [33].

⁷⁷ The title is copied thus inside the back cover of Ob Mus. Sch. MS c.61: 'Da Gio. Battista Bassani Opera Quinta in Anversa, Appresso Henrico Aertssens, Stampatore di Musica all' Insegna del Monte Parnasso. 1691.' An example of this edition is in the Christ Church library.

⁷⁸ Och MS 337 p. [61]

⁷⁹ Och MS 337 p. [102]

⁸⁰ Och MS 337 pp. [30-31]. Passages copied: Overture, bars 1-2, 4-5, 9-14, 24, 28-9 and final cadence: 'Trompettes Timbales' (score f. 141v) bars 3-4, 9-10, 17-18, 21-22; 'Menuet pour les bergers' (score f. 17v) bars 1, 4-5, 8-9, 12-13; final three bars; 'March des Amazones' (score f. 36) bars 3-4, 6-8, 12-13, 16, 17, 28-29. References are to the full score published in 1679. Withey's immediate source was evidently a four-part arrangement similar to that published by Etienne Roger, *Ouverture avec tour les airs d jouer de l'Opera de Bellerophon* (Amsterdam, n.d.). Some such arrangements followed closely on the heels of the original performances, for example Heus's *Ouverture avec tons les airs de Violons de l'Opera de Persee* (Amsterdam, 1682), also in four parts. Och MS 337 p. [27] contains eight examples from movement no. 9, 'Rondeaux', in this collection but with no viola part: they are bars 4-5; 9-10; 13-15; 19-20; 24-5; 29-30; 34-5 and 36-40.

From what is known and what can be inferred about Francis Withey it is possible to attempt to relate the commonplace book to the circumstances of his private and professional life. If he was born c. 1650, the Simpson *Compendium* would have been obtained while he was still in his teens, and the first pages of the manuscript book with their emphasis on Morley, Jenkins, Locke and 'JW' might also date from c. 1667. From pages [16] and [17], which contain extracts from Robert Smith and William King⁸¹ as well as a Locke extract related to Francis's score of the 'Second Part of the Broken Consort' in Och MS 8 there are many more passages likely to have been copied at Oxford or, like the examples from *Melothesia* on pages [19-20], certain to have been copied after 1670. Thereafter the commonplace book reflects what must have been the latest developments in instrumental ensemble music: first Lully, then Purcell and Corelli, and finally Bassani, up to the mid-1690s.

Although Francis lived for many more years, the greater part of his copying, like most of the contents of the commonplace book and the evidence of his involvement with the Oxford Music School,⁸² apparently dates from before 1700. It may be that after his daughter Dorothy was safely married to Charles Adkins and her husband established in a profession Francis, by then approaching the age of fifty, began to work less hard and no longer felt the inclination or the necessity to keep up with modern developments in composition or theory. But for the last thirty years of the seventeenth century his manuscripts, and the commonplace book in particular, provide a valuable commentary on Oxford musical life. Above all, the commonplace book provides the earliest unequivocal evidence that Corelli's sonatas were indeed known and studied in England not long after their publication.⁸³

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford, both for access to their collections and for permission to publish material from them, and to the Assistant Librarian, John Wing, for his generous help and advice on many different occasions. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance

⁸¹ See Michael Tilmouth, 'King, William', *The New Grove*, x, 67. King, an Oxford organist and composer, died in 1680.

⁸² Francis's gift to Lowe of Ob Mus. Sch. MS e.430, a finely copied set of parts of Simpson's 'Little Consort' described by Lowe as 'Prickt and given mee by Mr Francis Withey: 11 Jan 1672/3' suggests a more than ordinarily close relationship between the two. Ob Mus. Sch. MS c.44, a collection of miscellaneous material used at the Music School, contains string parts copied or annotated by Francis (see Appendix I) and a further treble part, in a different hand, marked 'Mr Withy'; the implication is that Francis assisted at Music School meetings.

⁸³ Hawkins states 'Unless we suppose [Purcell] had seen them [Corelli's sonatas] in manuscript, it may be questioned whether they ever came into his hands' (*A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii (London, 1875), 754-5), a view which has been generally accepted in spite of the probability that such manuscripts containing Corelli as Lbl Add. MS 32336 and Ob Mus. Sch. MS c.75 date from the 1680s. One of the flyleaf inscriptions in Och MS 337 is a copy of the title page of the 1681 edition of Corelli's Op. 1. At the same time, Francis's 1684 date for the Corelli lends support to the theory that Purcell had not encountered this music before he wrote his own trio sonatas.

given me by the staff at the other libraries and record offices mentioned in this article.

A general acknowledgement is due to a number of reference aids: the *International Genealogical Index* issued by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; the card index and typescript *Revised Descriptions* in [12] the Music Room at the Bodleian Library; and of course the Viola de Gamba Society's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* compiled by Gordon Dodd.

[18]

APPENDIX I

Manuscripts copied, owned or annotated by Francis Withey

OXFORD, CHRIST CHURCH

MS 8

Score containing Christopher Gibbons's Fantasies, Almains and Galliards for one and two trebles, bass and organ and a few other works by him: Locke's 'Second Part of the Broken Consort' and vocal music, mainly from Rovetta op. 3. A further section containing music by Palestrina is not in Withey's hand.

The Commonplace Book

MS 337

Locke: the Consort 'for seaverall freinds'; parts

MSS 409-10

Parts containing instrumental music by Robert Smith, Banister, George and Thomas Tollett and others; not all in Withey's hand

MS 1183

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY

Mus. Sch. MS c. 44, ff. 100-103

Anonymous treble parts

Mus. Sch. MS c. 44, ff. 113-123v

Treble and bass of two suites by Lully annotated by Francis Withey

Mus. Sch. MS c. 44, ff. 136-141

Parts: Locke's 'The Second Part of the Broken Consort' nos 1a-c

Mus. Sch. MS c. 44, ff. 156-7

The treble part of some anonymous four-part airs inscribed 'Mr Withy' though not in his hand

Mus. Sch. MSS c. 59-60

Music for two bass viols by Coprario, Jenkins, John Withey and others

Mus. Sch. MS c. 61

Score: contains music by Henry Purcell, Daniel Purcell, John Withey and others, including works ascribed to Corelli and Colista. Many annotations

Mus. Sch. MS d. 217

A book ruled with six-line staves and acquired by Withey with some music already copied. He appears to have used the manuscript as a larger equivalent of the commonplace book, although it contains a number of complete movements in score and the string bass parts of some anthems; composers represented include Blow, Aldrich, Tallis, Bartholomew Isaak and Sances

Mus. Sch. MS d. 261, ff. 39-76

Titles added to a Jenkins organ part

Mus. Sch. MSS e. 415-8

Worcester instrumental part-books dating from c. 1640: probably the property of Francis's older relatives and later annotated by him

Mus. Sch. MS e. 428

Music for two bass viols by Benjamin Hely and others

Mus. Sch. MS e. 430

Parts of Simpson's 'Little Consort' presented to Edward Lowe in 1673

Mus. Sch. MSS e. 437-42

An early seventeenth-century set of parts bought by Francis for six shillings; corrections and some music added by him

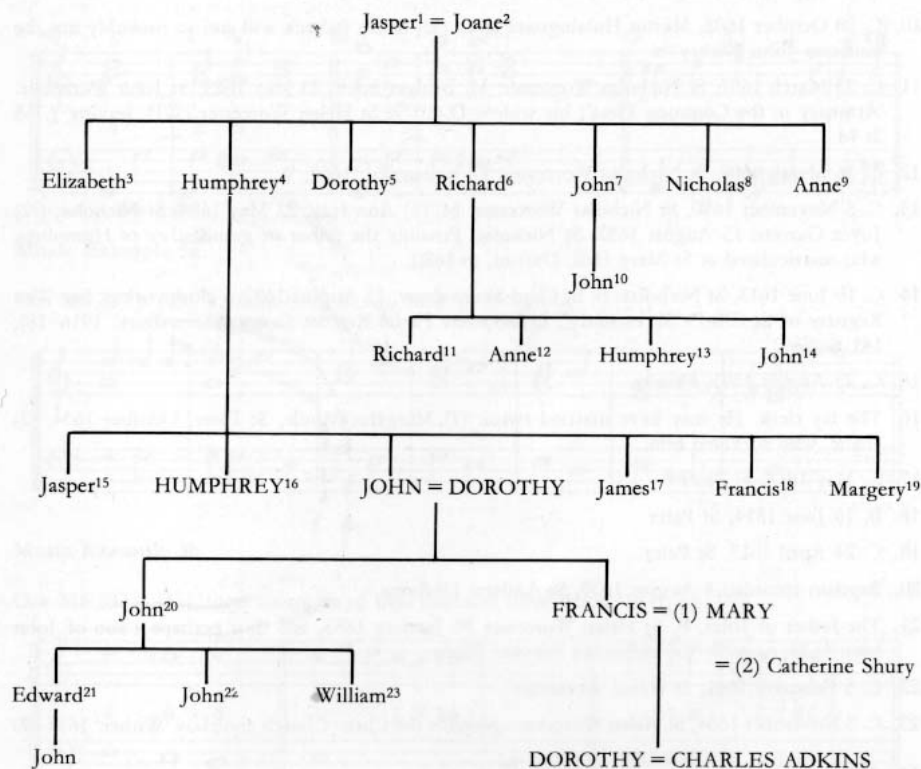
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA

John Playford, *Cantiones Sacrae* (London, 1674): US-U q763 P699c

Manuscript additions to Playford's 1674 publication, on sheets of normal English music paper bound at the back of each volume. Not all the manuscript material is in Francis's hand; his contributions include "Polewheele's Ground" and a series of works for two bass viols by Jenkins

APPENDIX II

The Descent of the Withey Family of Claines, Worcester and Oxford

**Notes to Appendix II**

References already made in the main text are not generally duplicated.

Abbreviations: C = christened; B = buried; M = married; D = died; W = will exists, I = inventory exists, at Hereford and Worcester C.R.O., Worcester Headquarters.

1. B. 18 November 1598, Claines; WI
2. B. 7 November 1603, Claines; WI
3. M. John Nash, 6 May 1588, Claines
4. C. 12 February 1572, Claines; M. Joyce Spillesbury, 27 January 1595, Shelsley Beauchamp
5. C. 19 March 1574, Claines; M. Thomas Toye of Old Swinford, 4 June 1604; Claines
6. C. 15 November 1575, Claines; M. Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Humphrey Brooke of Hagley, 7 February 1601, Claines; 'Elizabeth the wife of Richard Withie' B. St Nicholas Worcester, 7 September 1618; 'Richard Withie the Clarke' B. St Nicholas 15 April 1629; I
7. C. 22 January 1577, Claines; M. Elizabeth Yearnall, 14 June 1604, Claines; D. Martin Hussingtree, 1628; WI

8. C. 28 August 1580, Claines; M. Anne Dearne, 26 May 1605, St Swithin Worcester; D. St Peter Worcester, 1617; WI
9. C. 6 August 1583, Claines; M. John Yearnall, 9 June 1604, Claines
10. C. 28 October 1608, Martin Hussingtree: left a calf in his father's will and so probably not the musician John Withey
11. C. 23 March 1607, St Nicholas Worcester; M. Bridget Stich, 23 May 1623, St John Worcester. 'Attorney in the Common Pleas'; his widow D. 1679, St Helen Worcester (WI), leaving £765 2s 4d
12. C. 26 March 1608, St Nicholas Worcester; D. unmarried, 1668; W
13. C. 5 November 1610, St Nicholas Worcester: M. (1) Ann Hay, 22 May 1638, St Nicholas, (?2) Joyce Garrett, 15 August 1652, St Nicholas. Possibly the father or grandfather of Humphrey who matriculated at St Mary Hall, Oxford, in 1680
14. C. 15 June 1613, St Nicholas: B. St Chad Shrewsbury, 15 August 1692; a clothworker. See 'The Register of St Chad's Shrewsbury', i, *Shropshire Parish Register Society* (Shrewsbury, 1916–18), 141 *passim*
15. C. 23 August 1595, Claines
16. The lay clerk. He may have married twice: (1) Margaret Moule, St Peter, October 1634; (2) Joane, who survived him.
17. C. May 1613, St Peter
18. B. 16 June 1614, St Peter
19. C. 24 April 1617, St Peter
20. Baptism recorded 4 August 1639, St Andrew Holborn
21. The father of John, B. St Helen Worcester 30 January 1685, and thus perhaps a son of John born 1639: possibly the composer Edward Withy
22. C. 5 February 1661, St Helen Worcester
23. C. 3 November 1664, St Helen Worcester: possibly the Christ Church choirboy 'Withee' 1674–80

Music Example 1

Two cadences ascribed to 'J.W.'

- a) Och MS 337 p. [6] b) Och MS 337 p. [7]

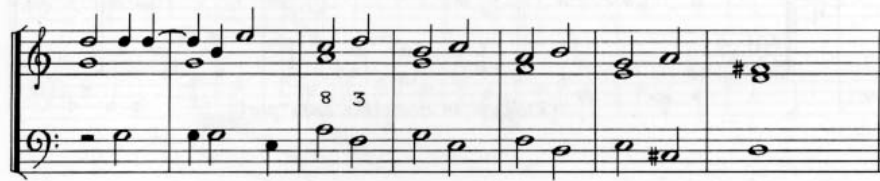


Music Example 2. 'A Cadence in ye Bass'. Och MS 337 p. [9]

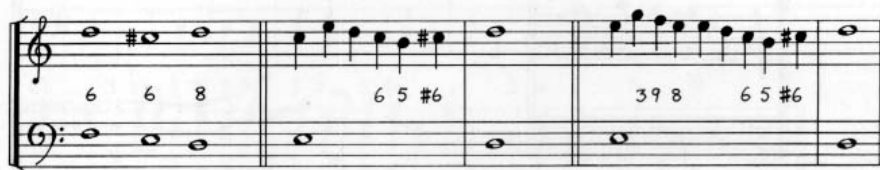
a) and b) from Morley, 1597, p. 128; c) from Purcell, 1683 Sonata I, bars 5–6

**Music Example 3a**

Och MS 337 p. [25]: a canon from Bevin, 1631, p. 23

**Music Example 3b**

Och MS 337 p. [11]: three examples of final cadences from Bevin, 1631, pp. 1–2

**Music Example 4**

Och MS 337 p. [57]: a two-part example from Simpson, 1667, p. 82 with a second treble part added by 'Dr R.', i.e. Rogers. I have adapted the rhythm of Bar 2 of this part to match the figuring.



Music Example 5

Och MS 337 p. [12]: four cadences apparently belonging to the Jenkins air VDGS no. 181. The complete bass part is in US-Cn Case VM I.A. 18 J.52C, no. 13B. I am grateful to Dr Andrew Ashbee for his help in identifying these and other Jenkins fragments.

a) b) c)

6 5
 4 3

3 6 5

5 4 3

♩ ♩ ♩ [Rhythm in complete bass part]

d)

Music Example 6

Och MS 337 p. [6]: 'Clos in A by Mr Farmiloe'

5 6 5 3 8 7 7 5 8

3 4 3 8 6 3 5 3 8

Music Example 7

Och MS 337 p. [50]: Francis Withey's extracts from Purcell, 1683 Sonata I.

a) bars 32–39; b) 43–47; c) bars 51–54; d) bars 58–9

a)

b)

c)

d)

Music Example 8

a) Och MS 337 p. [103]: Corelli Op. I/iv bars 56–9. Copied by Withey on two staves.



b) and c) Och MS 337 p. [104]: Corelli Op. I/v bars 105–8 and 128–33. Withey altered the key-signature from one flat. Example 8c) is copied again on p. [112].



Music Example 9a

Och MS 337 p. [112]: Corelli Op.1/xi bars 45–52, dated 'Sep 18 84'. Variants in bars 4 and 6 may merely be simplifications by Withey of semiquaver figures. Bars 1–3 and 7–8 of this extract are also copied on p. [33] and other passages from the same sonata are on pp. [32] and [114].

a)

The musical score for Music Example 9a consists of two systems, each with three staves (treble, middle, and bass). The first system contains bars 45 through 52, and the second system contains bars 53 through 60. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat, and various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. Bar lines are present at the end of each bar.

Music Example 9b

Och MS 337 p. [33]: Purcell, 1683 Sonata IX bars 126–9

b)

The musical score for Music Example 9b consists of a single system with two staves (treble and bass). The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat, and various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. Bar lines are present at the end of each bar.

Music Examples 9c and d

Och MS 337 p. [49]: Purcell, 1683 Sonata VII bar 67 and bars 57–9 transposed into C minor. Bars 69–71 are in E minor on p. [55] and C minor on p. [56], where there is also a C minor reworking of the bass of bars 62–3. Other passages on p. [55], all in E minor, are bars 57–9, 62–3, 67–8 and 55



Music Example 10a

Och MS 337 p. [64]: Purcell, 1697 Sonata IX, second movement. This version consists of bars 27–42 of the sonata as found in Lbl Add. MS 30930 and the printed edition of 1697 immediately followed by the final cadence; Withey's copy appears to be intended as a complete movement rather than two extracts. In both principal sources the second violin part at bar 16 of the extract has E flat; E natural was evidently preferred in this version to prepare for the following cadence.

Music Example 10b

Och MS 337 (p. [62]: Bassani Op.5/ii, second movement. Withey's example continues for a further fourteen bars

The musical score consists of five measures across three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle staff is in a middle clef (likely alto), and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The notes and fingerings are as follows:

Measure	Top Staff (Treble)	Middle Staff (Alto)	Bottom Staff (Bass)
1	F#4 (3), G#4 (6), A4 (5)	F#4 (5), G#4 (8), A4 (7)	F#4, G#4, A4
2	F#4 (3), G#4 (6), A4 (5)	F#4 (5), G#4 (8), A4 (7)	F#4, G#4, A4
3	F#4 (3), G#4 (5), A4 (8)	F#4, G#4, A4	F#4, G#4, A4
4	F#4 (5), G#4 (7), A4 (5)	F#4, G#4, A4	F#4, G#4, A4
5	F#4 (5), G#4 (7), A4 (5)	F#4, G#4, A4	F#4, G#4, A4

[28]
JOHN BARNARD'S COLLECTIONS OF VIOL
AND VOCAL MUSIC

PAMELA WILLETTS

More than twenty years ago Gordon Dodd drew attention to two sets of part-books containing five-part fantasies mostly by Coperario and Lupo (US-Wc MS M990.C66F4, Vols 1 and 2). These included musical and other variants attributed by Sir Nicholas Le Strange to his source 'Barnard'. Another set of part-books (GB-Lbl Add. MS 30487), written by the same hand, was also found to have a strong correspondence with the readings quoted by Sir Nicholas. The question whether these part-books were the very sources consulted by Sir Nicholas could not then be resolved, nor was any example of the handwriting of John Barnard, minor canon of St Paul's and chief candidate for the identity of 'Barnard', then available for comparison.¹

I can now confirm that these part-books were connected with 'Barnard' and that 'Barnard' can be identified with John Barnard of St Paul's. Several examples of John Barnard's signature are now known (see Plate 2a).² It is unlikely, for several reasons, that the part-books mentioned by Gordon Dodd were written by John Barnard himself, but very probable that they were the work of a copyist closely connected with him. I shall attempt to elucidate the connections of a number of copyists with John Barnard.

The copyists of the Barnard collections

The key manuscript is Tenbury MS 302 (now part of the collections of the Bodleian Library), which was mentioned in passing in Gordon Dodd's article. This is the remains of a collection in score containing mostly three-, four- and five-part fantasies, and now consists of only fifty-four leaves. The paper is used as large oblong sheets (c. 112" x 15") and the watermarks are mostly varieties of a common 'pot' mark; the opening leaves (ff. 1-6) are of different paper, the watermark consisting of a series of letters. The whole was trimmed and bound, or rebound, in the nineteenth century, in half calf with brown cloth; no original flyleaves remain. It is evident from crease marks on all the leaves that they were at some time kept folded and unbound. It seems very likely from an interrupted series of numberings to the items that the collection was once much larger.³

¹ G. Dodd, 'The Coperario-Lupo Five-part Books at Washington', *Cheyls*, i (1969), 36-40

² The signature reproduced is from the 1636 Visitation records at the House of Lords. There are others in the account book of the warden of the College of Minor Canons of St Paul's, Archives of St Paul's (Arch.St P.), Guildhall Library (GL), London, MS 25746. For the latest signature known see note 46 below.

³ The manuscript was lot 99 in a Puttick & Simpson sale of 20 December 1872. It was then said to have come from the collection of Thomas Warren Horne. This suggests a connection with Edmund Thomas Warren-Horne (d. 1794) whose music library was sold after his death by Leigh & Sotheby, job lots in both sales (16 May 1797, lot 137; 8 January 1810, lot 188) included an item briefly described as 'Fancies for instruments, by Marenzio, Copario, Lawes,

Three copyists (here designated A, B, C) transcribed the music. The contents are summarised below to show their respective contributions. The numbering of the items is mainly by two of the copyists, A and B, and the disposition of this numbering in relation to the music copying is significant. Numbers underlined are in hand A; undifferentiated numbers are by B. Some fancies are also annotated with different numbers, whether by the same or other hands I have [29] not yet determined; these annotations are given in brackets after the through numbering. Titles and composers are mostly taken from the manuscript; those missing are supplied from the *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (The Viola da Gamba Society).

Folios	Title	Composer	Copyist	Numbering
1-2	Three fancies a 3	T. Lupo	A	21-23 (no. 23 is annotated 'This fancy is already scor'd in number 10')
2v-5	Five fancies a 3	G. Coperario	A	— (the last numbered '8th fancy' in the margin)
5-6	Two fancies a 3	T. Lupo	A	24, 25
7-12	Eleven fancies a 3	T. Lupo	B	1-11 (nos 1 and 4 also numbered 8th and 7th fancies)
12	Air a 3	W. Lawes	B	—
12v-16	Nine fancies a 3	T. Lupo	B	12-20 (nos 16-19 also numbered 2nd, first, 4th, and 5th fancies)
16v-19	Three fancies a 3	G. Coperario	B	21-23
19v	Fancy a 3	Dr Bull	B	24
20, 20v	Two fancies a 3	W. Cranford	B	25, 26
21, 21v	Air and two other pieces a 3	W. Lawes	B	—
22	"Domine fac meum" a 4	Morley*	B	—
22v	Agnus Dei a 4	Morley*	B	—
23-34	Twelve fancies a 4	T. Lupo	B	69-71, <u>72-80</u> (71 is imperfect)
34v-41v	Seven fancies a 4 ⁴	G. Coperario	B	<u>81-87</u> (the end of no. 82 is annotated 'looke to this fancy in some other coppies'; after no. 87 the note 'the end of Coprarios 7 th fancie')
42-43	Fancy a 4	S. Ive	C	88
43-45v	Four fancies a 4	M. East	C	89-92 (also marked 'first of mr Easts' by C; '2:' '3:' '4:' by a different hand; dated 'mr East: 1630:' by C, f. 45v)
46	"Solo e pensoso" a 5	'L. M.'	B	—
		(L. Marenzio)		
46v	"O voi che sospirate" a 5	'L. M.'	B	—
47v-49	Two In nomines a 5	O. Gibbons	B	— (numbered by B as In nomine 1 and 2; the second marked '2 basses')
50v-51	Fancy a 5	W. Lawes	B	—
52v-53, 54v	In nomine a 5	W. Lawes	B	—

*Identified by David Pinto

Lupo, etc' which could well be the same manuscript. The spelling 'Copario' could derive from one form in Tenbury MS 302.

⁴ At the foot of f. 40 is the incipit of an unidentified four-part fancy.

It can be shown that the three copyists, A, B and C, were connected with each other and with John Barnard.

Copyist A (Plate 1a) is the copyist mentioned in Gordon Dodd's article who wrote the two sets of part-books in Washington and Lbl Add. MS 30487. From the numbering of the items in Tenbury MS 302 it is evident that A was working in some way with copyist B. For instance A continued B's sequence of numbers and numbered B's copies on ff. 25-41v as nos 72-87. Furthermore A noted at the top of his own copy, numbered '23' (f. 2), of a three-part Lupo fancy: 'This fancy is allready scor'd in number 10'. This refers to B's copy of the same fancy, numbered '10', at f. 11. Copyist A also numbered copyist C's transcripts of fancies by Ive and East at ff. 42-45v as nos 88-92. A further possible connection with C is noted below.



Plate 1a. Tenbury MS 302 f. 2. Copyist A. By courtesy of the Bodleian Library.



Plate 1b. Tenbury MS 302 f. 43. Copyist C.

Copyist C (Plate 1 b), as I realised recently, is a known copyist, none other than the compiler of the so-called Batten organ book, Tenbury MS 791. This book contains organ parts for a substantial number of items in John Barnard's two collections of church music, the *First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641) and the manuscript part-books in the Royal College of Music containing materials for a second collection (GB-Lcm MSS 1045-1051). It is generally accepted, [31] although not conclusively proved, that the compiler of this organ book (who also copied part of Lcm MSS 1045-1051) was Adrian Batten, one of the vicars choral of St Paul's from about 1626.⁵ The short section of Tenbury MS 302 copied by C (Batten) contains works by two composers, Simon Ive and Michael East, not otherwise represented in this manuscript, and gives a date

⁵ J. Bunker Clark, 'Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators', *Musica Disciplina*, xxii (1968), 207-229

at the end of the East fancies (f. 45v): 'm' East: 1630:'. The fancies were later published in East's 7th set in 1638.

Copyist A's numbering of C's transcripts has been mentioned above, but there is another possible connection. At the front of the Batten organ book, preceding Batten's index, are indexes headed 'Tenor Decany' and 'Bassus Decany', of full and verse anthems, with references which do not relate to the organ book. The references in the Tenor index coincide with the original foliation of the Tenor Decani part in the Royal College of Music part-books (the Bassus Decani references cannot be checked since the part is missing from this set).⁶ It seems to me that the hand of these two indexes is that of Copyist A. There is the same fluent forward impulse in the writing as in short notes written by A on his transcripts (see Plate 1a) and individual letters agree well.



Plate 1c. Tenbury MS 302 f. 7. Copyist B.

Copyist B (Plate 1c) is the most widely connected of the three. Richard Charteris identified several examples of his work, including an unfinished organ scorebook (Lbl RM 24.k.3) of Coperario's sets of fantasy suites for one violin (or two violins), bass viol and organ, and sections of the related part-books (Och MSS 732-735).⁷ A noticeable feature of this hand is the inconsistent slant of the stems of notes. Within one bar or group of notes the stems may be upright or slant backwards or forwards. Downstems of minims frequently touch or overlap noteheads at a point off centre right giving an oddly lop-sided appearance. These characteristics can be found on many pages of the music copied in the Royal College of Music part-books which belonged to John Barnard (Plate 2b). Several other features in the Royal College of Music part-books can be matched in manuscripts copied by B, for instance an unusual custos (seen in the upper part of Plate 2b) is also found in Tenbury MS 302, and an unusual treble clef⁸ occasionally used in the Royal College of Music part-books is also to be seen in Och MS 732 ff. Ov-8. An ornamental ending, consisting of a series of double [32] bars and other strokes, is found frequently in the Royal College of Music set and in B's transcripts in Tenbury MS 302 and the organ score Lbl RM 24.k.3. In scores written by this hand there is little concern with vertical alignment.

⁶ J. Bunker Clark, *ibid.*, 217

⁷ R. Charteris, 'Autographs of John Coperario', *Me&L*, lvi (January 1975), 43-45

⁸ Mentioned in Dr John Morehen, 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music c. 1617-c. 1644' (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969), 244-304. A reference copy of the section relating to Lcm MSS 1045-51 is available at the Royal College of Music.

To summarise, the three copyists in Tenbury MS 302 are connected with each other and with John Barnard:

Copyist A: refers to a fancy already copied by B; numbers items copied by B and C; is connected to John Barnard by the 'Barnard' readings, as noted by Gordon Dodd; is possibly further connected to C by the indexes, apparently written by A, in the Batten organ book which relate to the Royal College of Music set owned by John Barnard.

Copyist B: connection with A as noted above; shared with C the copying of the major part of the music of the Royal College of Music part-books owned by John Barnard.

Copyist C: connection with A as above; shared with B the copying of the major part of the Royal College of Music part-books owned by John Barnard.

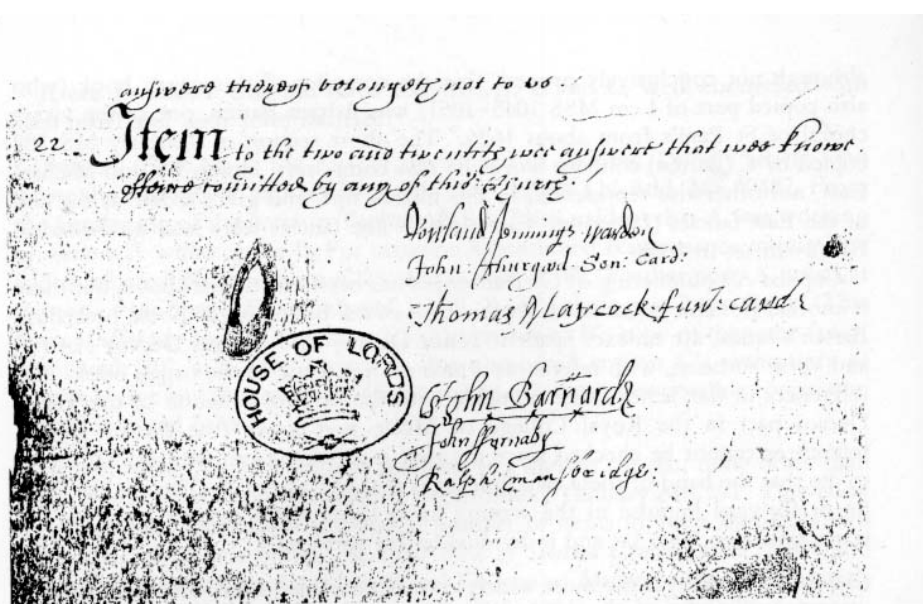


Plate 2a. Visitation records 1636. By courtesy of the Clerk of the Records, House of Lords.

Who were these copyists and could any of them be John Barnard? It does not seem possible that John Barnard was copyist A or copyist C. His signature does not appear to relate to their known text hands; copyist C was probably Adrian Batten, and copyist A (as will be seen) was active after the probable date [33] of John Barnard's death. The case of copyist B is more complicated. Although it is tempting to conclude from the conjunction of an apparent signature of John Barnard with music mostly, if not entirely written by B (see Plate 2b) that B is Barnard himself, there are other factors which make this unlikely. First, I am not sure whether this 'signature' is authentic; there are discrepancies with other signatures (cf. Plate 2a), particularly in the form of the capital B. Secondly, it is difficult to isolate B's text hand in the Royal College of Music set (the text in Plate 2b, for instance, is written in several different hands or styles of hand). However, there are examples of a formal hand written by B in the names of composers and some headings in Tenbury MS 302 and the organ score Lbl RM 24.k.3, and these compare well with most entries in the indexes, some composers' [34] names and other

them all ^{re} fame. *Alto* // but my selfe let
 his *tenore* flourish let it flourish let his *tenore* flourish
 but *my* // O Lord longe let his *tenore* flourish
 Amen Amen Amen Amen
Minister // O Lord open thou our lips And our *mouth* shall *show* forth thy
 prayer O God make speed to save us O Lord make hast to helpe
 us. *Bernard* //

Since there are three copyists in Tenbury MS 302 associated with John Barnard, one of whom was probably a vicar choral at St Paul's, it seems reasonable to look for the other two in the musical establishment of St Paul's. This consisted of twelve minor canons (including John Barnard), who were in orders and had liturgical and administrative duties as well as an obligation to sing in the choir, an almoner and master of the choristers, and six vicars choral (including Adrian Batten). From about 1628 to 1637 the vicars choral, in order of seniority, were William Cranford, John Tomkins, John Woodington, Richard Sandye, Adrian Batten and William Morgan.⁹ Batten died before July 1637¹⁰ and John Tomkins on 27 September 1638.¹¹ The almoner (Martin Peerson) and Richard Sandye can be dismissed from this discussion since their signatures do not appear to relate in any way to the manuscripts under examination. I know nothing of the activities of William Morgan, a newcomer to St Paul's in 1628, and he must be kept in

¹⁰ J.B. Clark and M. Bevan, 'New Biographical Facts about Adrian Batten', *JAMS*, *xxiii* (1970), 331-33; M. Bevan, 'Batten, Adrian', *The New Grove*, *ii* (1980), 291-2. In Dean Wynnyff's register on 13 May 1637 only five vicars choral, excluding Batten, are named. Letters of Administration for Batten's estate were granted on 22 July 1637.

¹¹ Denis Stevens quotes the inscription from the tablet on his grave in old St Paul's (*Thomas Tomkins* (London, 1957), 13). Letters of administration for John Tomkins's estate were granted to his widow on 25 October 1638.

mind as a possibility. Simon Ive is often referred to as a vicar choral of St Paul's at this time although his name does not occur in lists of the vicars choral in the Deans' indenture books. His large hand, as known from several signatures, does not appear in the manuscripts under consideration.

John Woodington, as Richard Charteris has shown, was connected in some way with the Christ Church part-books (Och MSS 732-735) which relate to the unfinished organ score of the Coperario fantasy suites (Lbl RM 24 k.3).¹² Since the organ score and sections of the part-books were written by copyist B John Woodington might be considered the prime candidate for this copyist. However, I cannot reconcile John Woodington's signatures of 1634 (Longleat Papers)¹³ and 1647 (PRO Exchequer Records)¹⁴ with B's text hand. The only occurrences of Woodington's name in the Christ Church part-books are written in other hands, or are casual (although possibly autograph) annotations of the surname, without initial or Christian name, on the outside of the original back cover of one of the parts. Furthermore I find it difficult to relate the payment of £20 to John Woodington in February 1634/5 'for a whole sett of Musicke Bookes by him p'vided & prickt w`h all Coperaries & Orlando Gibbons theire Musique, by his Mat' speciall Comand & Warr' of the 15 `h of Febr. 1634' to the Christ Church part-books and the RM score.¹⁵ The organ score, although finely bound with the royal arms impressed on the covers, is unfinished; the Christ Church part-books are written in four different hands, including copyist B, another main copyist, and a few leaves (as David Pinto has recently pointed out)¹⁶ by a copyist now identified as Stephen Bing, a minor canon of St Paul's who was not appointed until about 1640.¹⁷ The part-books are not laid out in a uniform way, some pages are cramped, and the set as a whole does not seem to me to come up to standard for a royal commission for which handsome payment was authorised (the equivalent of half a year's salary for a royal musician). It would [35] have been extremely unusual for payment to have been made in advance; neither the organ score nor the part-books were complete in 1635. It is, of course, known that Barnard owned a score-book of at least some of the suites. Sir Nicholas Le Strange noted against three of the one violin, bass and organ suites, in his own manuscript 'Exam: by Barnards Score: B:'.¹⁸

Returning to my topic, I cannot identify John Woodington with any of the copyists in Tenbury MS 302. Adrian Batten is probably copyist C. There remain for consideration John Tomkins and William Cranford.

¹² R. Charteris, *ibid.*, 43

¹³ Reproduced by Professor Murray Lefkowitz, 'The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke', *JAMS*, *xviii* (1965), pl. I

¹⁴ PRO E 40780. See A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, *iii* (Snodland, 1988), 124

¹⁵ A. Ashbee, *ibid.*, 81, 150. Peter Holman first drew attention to the warrant. See R. Charteris, 'A Postscript to "John Coperario: A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Introduction"', *Chelys*, *xi* (1982), 14; P. Holman, 'The harp in Stuart England: New light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *Early Music*, *xv* (May 1987), 198-99

¹⁶ D. Pinto, 'The music of the Hattons', *RMA Research Chronicle*, *xxiii* (1990), 94

¹⁷ P.J. Willetts, 'Stephen Bing: a forgotten violinist', *Chels*, *xviii* (1989), 3-17

¹⁸ Lbl Add. MS 23779

The date of John Tomkins's death in September 1638 rules him out as copyist A (who was alive after 1648, see below) but he could have been copyist B, who wrote much of Tenbury MS 302 and shared the bulk of the music copying of the Royal College of Music set with C (Adrian Batten, who died in 1637). John Tomkins was appointed a vicar choral of St Paul's in 1619, and, in 1625, concurrently with his duties at St Paul's, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal.¹⁹ So far I have not found any sample of John Tomkins's hand for comparison with the writing of copyist B. An ambiguously worded comment by his half-brother Thomas Tomkins in a Paris manuscript (F-Pc Res MS 1122) could be interpreted as a description of John Tomkins's handwriting but may refer to a manuscript owned by him: 'I could wish that the great Booke w^h was my Brother Johns Should be Fayre & Carefully prict w^h so judicious a Hand & Eye That the player maye venture upon them w^h comfort: w^h he maye Easily doo: If the notes Be distinctly valued w^h the Semy Brife or minu: & not to closely Huddeld up together ...'.²⁰ This great book, probably a keyboard manuscript, is not extant. Copyist B, when writing in score does not align smaller notes to minims or semibreves but vertical alignment is not clear in many contemporary hands, including that of Thomas Tomkins himself. One further Tomkins reference, contained in the same Paris manuscript as the quotation above, may be of greater relevance. In a list of manuscripts of the Tomkins family, a quarto volume, identified by the letter reference 'C', is described as 'Jo.Tomk. w^h ye K armes 1630'.²¹ This indicates that John Tomkins, like other royal musicians, had access to the royal binder, or to pre-bound manuscript books stamped with the royal arms. Copyist B's organ score of the Coperario suites (Lbl RM 24.k.3) has the royal arms but no date; Tenbury MS 302 includes the date '1630' but no trace of any early binding remains. Both these manuscripts are, however, oblong folio, rather than quarto.

Copyist A remains unidentified but it is worth considering the case for William Cranford. (Cranford is unlikely to be copyist B since there are references in B's hand to 'Mr Will. Cranford'). Here again I have not managed to trace any autograph signatures or other evidence for comparison. It is certain that copyist A was still alive after 1648 for a note in his copies of Jenkins's five-part fancies (Lbl Add. MS 30487 f. 9v) reads: 'this fancy is in S^r: Robt: Bowles his bookes w^h: I prickt for ffist in gamut Key'.²² Sir Robert Bolles, 2nd Bart., succeeded his father, Sir John, in 1648. The date of William Cranford's death is not known. [36] Lord North referred to him in 1658 in terms which suggest that he had died: 'Mr Cranford, whom I knew, a sober, plain-looking Man: his pieces mixed with Majesty, Gravity, Honey-Dew Spirit and Variety'.²³ A reference in July 1645 in a list of payments

¹⁹ Biographical information is summarised in P. Le Huray. 'John Tomkins', *The New Grove*, xix (1980), 46-47

²⁰ Quoted from S.D. Tuttle (ed.), 'Thomas Tomkins Keyboard Music', *Musica Britannica*, v (rev.ed., 1964), 158. See also D. Stevens, *op.cit.*, 132

²¹ S.D. Tuttle, *op.cit.*, 159; D. Stevens, *op.cit.*, 129

²² The spelling 'ffst' for 'first' recalls the spelling 'tabenacle' for 'tabernacle' which is found, in one place, in the Tenor Decani index possibly written by copyist A in Tenbury MS 791.

²³ Quoted in J. Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 4

authorised by Parliament to officers of St Paul's to 'the four vicars choral', giving their names as William Morgan, John Woodington, Richard Sandye and Albertus Bryan, might suggest that William Cranford was already dead.²⁴ However a William Cranford is to be found on a list of delinquents (that is supporters of the royalist forces) in 1643.²⁵ The address is possibly St Paul's Chain, in the immediate vicinity of St Paul's (if we interpret the last preceding address given as applying to subsequent names of which William Cranford is one). No further details are given which would enable this person to be positively identified with the musician. Copyist A had royalist connections for Sir Robert Bolles was fined for his part in the Civil War on the royalist side.²⁶ William Cranford's anthems include strongly royalist texts, for instance 'O Lord, make thy servant Charles'. At present I can take the argument no further.

John Barnard has been left in the background in this discussion. I have not yet determined the extent of his participation in the compiling of the Royal College of Music set.²⁷ It does, however, seem very probable that the correcting hand in the full score of John Ward's first service, preserved at the reverse end of Lcm MS 1049, is that of John Barnard. Among the corrections are a number of curved strokes taking in notes which had been erroneously assigned to the preceding or succeeding bar in the vertical alignment of the score. Similar curved strokes are to be found in Tenbury MS 302, particularly in sections written by B. Other marks, such as large 'X's, can also be found both in Tenbury MS 302 and the Royal College of Music set. It is possible, therefore, that John Barnard's work as corrector and revisor can be seen in Tenbury MS 302, even if this, like the Royal College of Music set, was mainly prepared for him by assistants.

I suggest that we have in Tenbury MS 302 either a fragment of the 'Barnard' score known to Sir Nicholas Le Strange, or drafts for it. Unfortunately the Tenbury score is incomplete and does not include the five and six-part works to which Sir Nicholas's annotations refer.

Outline of John Barnard's life

It is now possible to bring together a little more scattered information about John Barnard to give a framework for his activities as a collector and editor of viol and church music.

Dr John Morehen suggested that a John Barnard who was a lay clerk at Canterbury Cathedral between 1618 and 1622 might be the same man as the later minor canon of St Paul's.²⁸ The dates fit well although I have not traced the date of his ordination.²⁹ The John Barnard admitted as a minor canon on 5 July 1623 is described as a clerk and it was a requirement of the

²⁴ 24. PRO SP28/355

²⁵ PRO SP28/212

²⁶ M. Urquhart, 'Sir Robert Bolles Bt. of Scampton', *Chelys*, xvi (1987), 16-26

²⁷ His ownership of this source is not disputed. The binding bears his initials and a date: 'AUGUST XXII M.DC.XXV.I.B.'.

²⁸ J. Morehen, 'Barnard, John', *The New Grove*, ii (1980), 165-6

²⁹ There are gaps in ordination records. For instance only a small fragment is known of the register of George Montaigne, Bishop of London, 1621-March 1627/8.

statutes of St Paul's that minor canons should be in orders.³⁰ The fact that the Canterbury man received a payment of 20s in 1620 for teaching the viol to the choir boys [37] supports the connection.³¹ But there is a problem. The Canterbury lay clerk was married on 7 October 1619 to Marie Martin; his age was given as about twenty-eight. The baptism of a son, John, is recorded on 18 September 1622.³² The minor canon of St Paul's left a widow called Katherine (who was allowed a payment of £3 in December 1655 by the Trustees for Preaching Ministers).³³

This gave me pause until I came across a reference which may shed light on a tragic story. On 10 October 1625 administration of the goods of a certain John Poulter, late of Westminster, who had died in the plague epidemic of that year, was granted to John Bernard, clerk, one of his creditors.³⁴ The deceased left three children, John, Lydia and Jane, all minors. On 16 February 1625/6 a 'John Poulter from Mr Barnarde's' was buried at St James Clerkenwell. It is possible that this was the son of John Poulter of Westminster. Shortly afterwards on 2 March 1625/6 Mary, wife of Mr Barnard, was also buried at St James Clerkenwell. Later the same year the burial of John, son of John Barnard, is also recorded there on 30 December.³⁵ This evidence must be treated with great caution. Parish records at this date are incomplete, dispersed and partly unpublished. There were many Barnards (or Bernards) in London.³⁶ There were also several clergymen called John Barnard, although the others I have traced seem to have been active outside London.³⁷

Following up this hypothesis I searched for a second marriage and found a record of a marriage by licence at St Martin Ludgate on 1st May 1628 of John Barnard and Katherine Hill, widow.³⁸ She may have been the widow of Edward Hill, musician, who was buried on 22 March 1623/4 at St Martin Ludgate.³⁹ The burial of a stillborn child of 'Mr Bernard' on 13 March 1629/30 is recorded in the register of St Gregory by Paul, which was the

³⁰ PRO E331/London D and C 6

³¹ I am indebted to Dr Andrew Ashbee for this information.

³² Register of Canterbury Cathedral, *Harleian Soc. Registers*, ii (1878), 55, 4

³³ PRO SP28/290 £ 112v. See A.G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948), 11

³⁴ A.M. Burke, *Memorials of .St Margaret's Church Westminster* (1914), 539. The administration grant is recorded in Westminster City Archives, Commissary Court of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Act Book III, f. 95. An account relating to this administration mentioned in *A Calendar of Grants of Probe and Administration ... of the Commissary Court ... of Westminster* (HMSO, 1864), s.v. Poulter, cannot now be traced. It was not transferred to Westminster City Archives from Somerset House.

³⁵ Registers of St James Clerkenwell, *Harl.Soc.Registers*, xvii (1891), 186, 188

³⁶ The spelling 'Bernard' is frequently but not invariably found in references to John Barnard or his widow in the archives of St Paul's. All known signatures have the form 'Barnard'.

³⁷ For instance John Barnard, ordained London 1607, aged 23; Rector of Winterborne Clenton, Dorset, 1618 until his death (before January 1646/7). He left a widow, Joan.

³⁸ Registers of St Martin Ludgate, GL MSS 10212 (paper register), 10213 (parchment register)

³⁹ *Ibid.* A grant of administration in the Archdeaconry Court of London on 29 May 1624 to Katherine Hill relict of Edward Hill, haberdasher, may relate to the same man (*Index Library*, lxxxix (1979), 187; GL MS 9050/5 f. 180v).

church appropriated to the minor canons.⁴⁰ This evidence must also be treated with caution. It seems strange that the deaths of John Barnard's first wife and son were not likewise recorded in the register of St Gregory.

The answer could be that in 1625-26 John Barnard was living within the parish of St James Clerkenwell rather than in the area of the Pettycanons College. It was the practice for the minor canons and other officials of St Paul's to lease out the houses that had been intended in earlier times as the residencies of unmarried clergy. In his Visitation of 1636 Archbishop Laud found that part of all the minor canons' houses was leased out, either to other officials of St Paul's or to outsiders.⁴¹ Some records of these transactions survive in the registers of successive Deans of St Paul's. Dean Wynnyff's register records the renewal of a lease on 12 December 1632 by the Dean and Chapter and John Bernard (thus) of certain rooms belonging to the latter at the west end of the court of Pettycanons to John Smith, citizen and stationer of London.⁴² These must have been part of John Barnard's official house. A much more detailed description of the house is given in the Parliamentary Survey of September 1649, made after confiscation of the properties of St Paul's. It emerges from this that Mrs Katherine Bernard was a widow by August 1649 and tenant of part of the [38] property.⁴³ Barnard's official house was next door but one to that of Stephen Bing,⁴⁴

It is very probable that John Barnard died several years before 1649. In 1645 like the other minor canons who remained in London he received payments from the officials appointed by the sequestrators to administer the revenues of St Paul's. Barnard received payments of £5 on 13 July, £2 10s on 15 August and £3 on 28 November.⁴⁵ He also received a further £5 by order of the Committee for Paul's on 6 November 1645 and his signature is preserved on the receipt.⁴⁶ The wording of this order, which may indicate a breakdown in his health, reads: 'doctor Burges shall pay to Mr Barnard for his pr(e)sent necessity the somme of ffive pounds'. Dr Cornelius Burgess was the recently installed lecturer at St Paul's.

Barnard's health had been strained by the preparation of his *Church Musick* (1641). This can be deduced from his Preface: '... what paines... I have sustain'd in gathering Collationing, Correcting, revising this that is already done with such wearisome trudging up and downe to the Presse so farre from my home, if no man can imagine of himselfe, I am sure mine owne overtoyled body, and wasted spirits feelee'. I cannot elucidate the reference to Barnard's home being far from the press. Edward Griffin junior was the printer of the *Church Musick*; the press was presumably that established by his father in the Old Bailey hard by St. Paul's.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Registers of St Gregory, GL MS 10232 (name of mother not given)

⁴¹ *HMC 4th Report, Appendix* (London, 1874), 156

⁴² Arch. St P., GL MS 25630/8 £ 326v

⁴³ Arch. St P., GL MS 25632, p. 224. Katherine Bernard lived until 1656. Her burial on 26 March 1656 is recorded in the Registers of St Gregory, GL MS 10232.

⁴⁴ P.J. Willetts, 'Stephen Bing', 13-14

⁴⁵ PRO SP28/355

⁴⁶ PRO SP16/539 part 3, p. 105

⁴⁷ See Dr J. Morehen's introduction to the facsimile reprint (Gregg International Publishers Ltd., Farnborough, Hants., 1972) of the *First Book* of *Selected Church Musick*

The evidence of signatures (or absence of signatures) in the account book of the warden of the College of minor canons tends to confirm that Barnard died about this time. Barnard's signatures are found during the Civil War (to the accounts of June 1643 and 1644) but not in June 1645 when he was certainly still alive. His signature is not found again although the accounts continued until the summer of 1649.⁴⁸

There are other clues in the warden's account book. The accounts at June 1646 included a memorandum that the sequestrators had deducted from the income of the minor canons 'Mr Bing's and the two dead places shares'. This should be taken in conjunction with a reference later in the memorandum to 'Nine of us here extant'.⁴⁹ Six signatures are found in June 1646 (Fox, Jennings, Maycock, Mansbridge, Smith, Townsend). Three other minor canons were then living, since their signatures are found in subsequent years (Thurgood, Pownall and Nightingale). This makes up the nine 'here extant' in June 1646. (The deduction of Stephen Bing's share has been discussed previously).⁵⁰ The two 'dead' places must have been those of 'Mr Lowe' (a recent entrant not further identified) and John Barnard.

A final clue is that the gift of a silver spoon, of the value of five shillings or more, to the college of minor canons was required by the statutes, either during the lifetime of the minor canon or from his executors.⁵¹ To judge from the entries in the surviving account book, in the seventeenth century the silver spoons were given after the death or retirement of the minor canon concerned. [39] Several gifts and dates of death can be matched up. It is therefore possibly indicative of the dates of death when we find a silver spoon for Mr Lowe recorded in June 1645 and an entry 'for Mr Barnards silver spoone 0-5.0' in June 1646.⁵² The evidence suggests that John Barnard died between the end of November 1645 and June 1646.

The burials of several of the minor canons are recorded in the registers of St Gregory during the Civil War and Interregnum. For instance, Ralph Mansbridge, minor canon, was buried on 16 August 1646.⁵³ It is strange that there appears to be no record of the burial of John Barnard.

It is perhaps not so strange that no will or administration of John Barnard can be identified with certainty. There are gaps in the testamentary records at this time, including the records administered by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's. The division of work between the various London courts had not always been clearly defined even Before the Civil War. Wills and administrations of persons owning property in more than one diocese, or of persons of substance, had normally come under the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC). There is one reference which is worth a mention. The PCC Probate Act Books for 1647 include an

(1641). See also H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers ... in England ... 1641-1667* (1907), 86-87

⁴⁸ Arch. St P., GL MS 25746

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ P.J. Willetts, 'Stephen Bing', 11-12

⁵¹ W. Sparrow Simpson, 'The Charter and Statutes of the College of the Minor Canons in St. Paul's Cathedral, London', *Archaeologia*, xliii (1871), 189

⁵² Arch. St P., GL MS 25746

⁵³ Registers of St Gregory, GL MS 10232

administration on 17 March 1646/7 for John Barnard (not described as a clerk) said to be 'nuper de civitate Roffen. def.' (that is 'late of the city of Rochester deceased').⁵⁴ Administration was granted to Thomas Rawson, principal creditor, according to the tenor and effect of a will of the deceased (which was not registered and has not survived). This is a very long shot. The reasons for mentioning it are that John Barnard may well have been in financial difficulties after the publication of his *Church Musick* on the eve of the Civil War; there were a number of well connected Rawsons in the City of London, and this name is another form of Royston. Richard Royston, the King's stationer, claimed compensation after the Great Fire for the loss of his stock of books stored in the vaults of St Faith's, under St Paul's.⁵⁵ Finally there is a reference in the dedication to Charles I of the *Church Musick* to 'the good old Bishop Putta of Rochester, being driven from his diocese by the Mercians ...'. Why this reference? Perhaps John Barnard had Rochester connections.

The haphazard survival of evidence has produced this sombre account of John Barnard's life. There were lighter moments if a catch attributed to 'Mr Barnard' is his. The opening words 'Ah woe is me, what shall I do', might suggest gloomy reflection on the tribulations of life, but the continuation is typical seventeenth-century bawdy.⁵⁶ If John Barnard participated in catch meetings he would have found good company close at hand, including Simon Ive and William Cranford, his colleague at St Paul's.

⁵⁴ . J. and G.R. Matthews, *Year Books of Probate 1645-49*, 179 (based on the Probate Act Books; PRO PROB 844). But the evidence is conflicting. *Index Library*, c (based on the Administration Registers, PRO PROB 622) gives the Christian name as William not John.

⁵⁵ For further details on Richard Royston see Sir L. Stephen and Sir S. Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, xvii (1921-22), 376; H. Plomer, *op.cit.*, 158-59

⁵⁶ Published in *Catch that Catch Can* (1663). The words are 'Ah woe is me! What shall I do? I have lost my Cock a loodle loo; If I eat them not my Hens go too'.

THE SPOON TO THE SOUP

An Approach to the Lyra Viol

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT

translated by Hans Reiners

'Instruments are that to music which the spoon is to the soup.' (Instruments seindt dasjenige bey der Music, was der Löffel bey der Suppe ist.)¹ Thus wrote Johann Mattheson in 1721, diplomat and English special envoy in Hamburg, prolific composer, and one of the most eminent writers on music of the eighteenth century. If you have ever tried either slurping soup with no spoon at all, or using various spoons made of silver, pewter, ivory, plastic, or cardboard, you will probably have found that this affects the taste of the soup to no small degree.

I realized this the first time I heard an English viol - a Barak Norman bass viol from the museum of musical instruments in West Berlin, no. 168. At that moment I understood that a viol is not just like any other viol, that there are good and bad instruments; that there are vast differences among good instruments originating from England, France, or Germany; and that the sound of two instruments from the same country, but of different periods, may be quite dissimilar. The taste of our musical soup depends largely on the kind of viol spoon used. What I learned at an early stage like this is the fact that there is no universal viol, which may be used with equal justification to play Ortiz, Simpson, Marais, or Telemann.

Arnold Dolmetsch's maxim of playing early music on the instruments for which it was written has lost none of its importance, particularly in view of the unconcern with which early music continues to be played on modern instruments, or inappropriate old ones. What can you say to an enthusiast of instrumental interpretation such as Arnold Schering² merrily mixing up viols and violas, i.e. tenor violins, confusing the fiddle and the lira, or transplanting kettle drums and sackbuts into the Middle Ages, before they were actually invented, without even the shadow of a notion of their sonority or playing technique - this incidentally from a contemporary of Arnold Dolmetsch. Europeans shovel up the most delicious soup with a plastic spoon; their contempt of musical instruments is a disgrace.

With these thoughts in mind, I began my researches into the lyra viol from the instrument. A lot has been written about its tunings, literature, and the character of its music, which I need not repeat.³ But apparently no one had so far looked into the invention of sympathetic strings, or investigated their influence [44] on musical structures, their peculiarities as regards playing

¹ J. Mattheson, *Das forschende Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1721). Quoted after A. Ehrhard, *Verteidigung der Viola da gamba* (Kassel, 1965), 12, cited without source.

² Arnold Schering, *Aufführungspraxis alter Musik* (Leipzig, 1931), 15, 49-51, 100, 134, 165, etc.

³ Comprehensive information in my book, *Die englische Lyra Viol - Instrument and Technik* (Barenreiter Verlag, Kassel, 1989).

techniques, and problems of construction.⁴ I wanted to have a suitable spoon before eating my soup, and thus I started making plans for the reconstruction of a lyra viol in 1978.

Which is easier said than done. It is, of course, advisable to start building a house from the basement instead of the roof, as anyone knows. However, present-date makers of viols have the misfortune of being compelled to start from somewhere nearer the attic, because so many traditions have been discontinued in making, leaving hardly a trace, that even a thorough knowledge of their craft does not help. Moreover, modern training often breeds a wealth of preconceived ideas. Many have never held an old instrument in their hands, and as they have to eat, they have to sell their products, which subjects them to the wishes and whims of their customers.

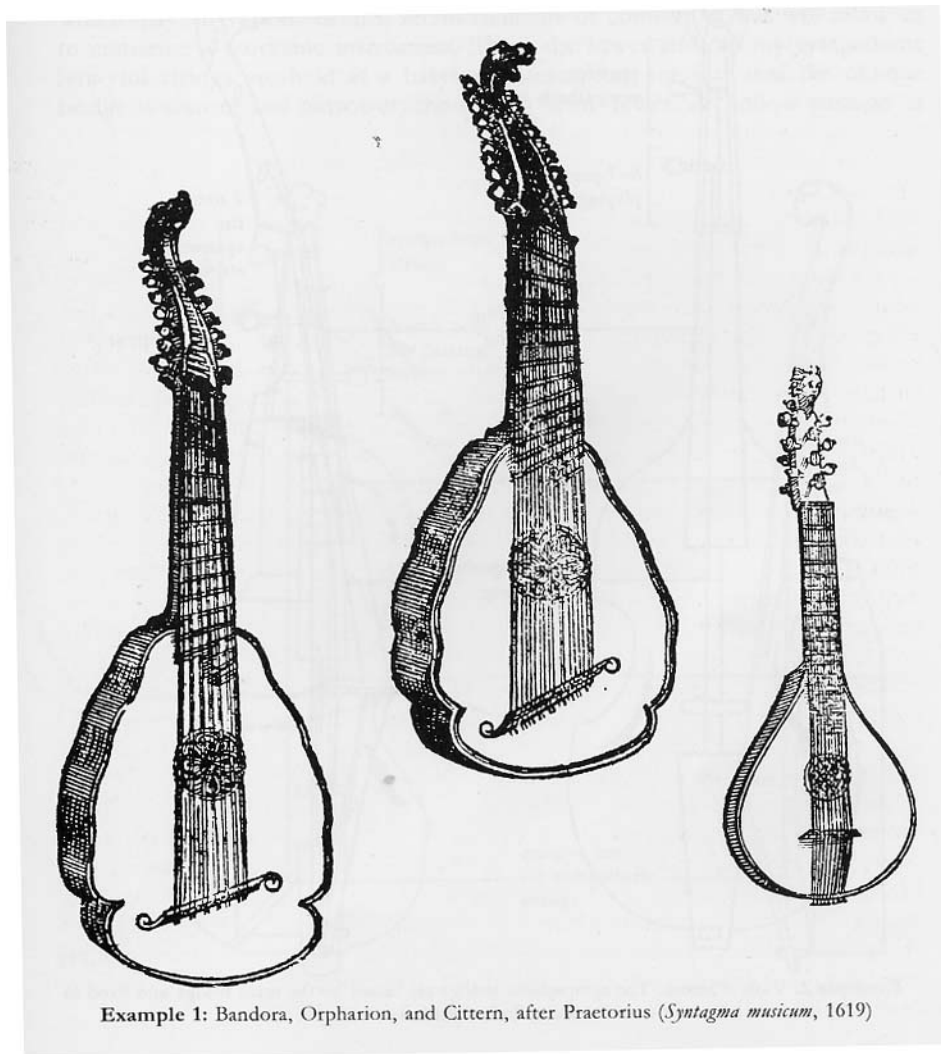
I discussed my reconstruction plans with many viol makers, and invariably ended up with their unwillingness to consider any progress along uncharted paths, instead of trying to put their own ideal of an instrument and its sound into practice. But I still had the sound of the Norman viol in my ear, fully aware that it does not meet modern requirements of manageability and strength of sound, without inroads on its substance, which I ruled out. I was dragged into every conceivable argument about authenticity, historicism, and escapism in search of an instrument I did not know, until I turned away from professional makers to the autodidacts. At the Early Music Centre in London, I met Neil Hansford, a young viol maker who was making lovely instruments. He did not know what he was letting himself in for, the lyra viol being pretty well unknown in England at the time. Neil had neither concept nor superiority of the established luthier, and relied on my assurance that I would pay him even if he met with disaster. We both did our share of the work: I looking for descriptions, taking photographs, and spending days and nights brooding on tuning pitch and stringing; Neil racking his brain, building, and - presumably - cursing my craziness. But after three years of brooding, building, and cursing, the instrument was finished, and it was marvellous.

There are some accounts describing the construction of a lyra viol. The clearest is by John Playford - '... the Wire Strings were conveyed through a hollow passage made in the neck of the Viol, and so brought to the Tail thereof, and raised a little above the Belly of the Viol, by a Bridge of about 1/2 inch: These were so laid that they were Equivalent to those above, and were Tun'd Unisons to those above, so that by striking of those Strings above with the Bow, a Sound was drawn from those of Wire under neath, which made it very Harmonious.'⁵ This description becomes clearer when you look at it from the pegbox: the strings run through the hollow neck to a bridge about 1/2 in. high. 'Equivalent to those above' implies that they were six in number, running parallel to the playing-strings, and tuned to exactly the same pitches. Their lower ends appear to have been fastened like

⁴ Curt Sachs assumed the origin of sympathetic strings to be in Asia. More recent investigations show that neither in India, nor in the Balkans or Scandinavia can they be documented before 1600. Are we to assume that the invention was made in different places simultaneously, or is it originally English?

⁵ John Playford, *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (London, 1661)

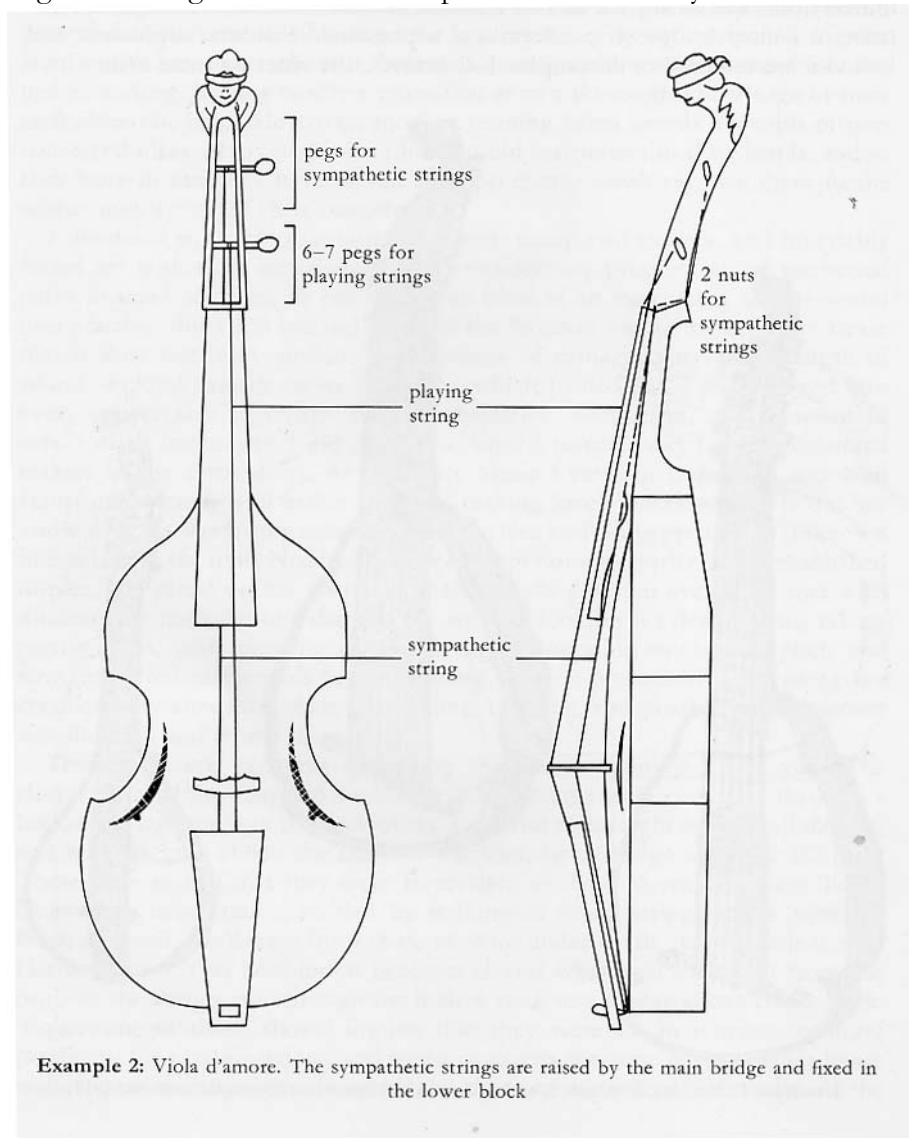
those of a pandora.⁶ Virtually all the [45] illustrations representing that instrument show a bridge aslant on the soundboard, holding the strings by means of hitch pins. (see ex. 1) It would also be a possibility to have the sympathetic strings running over a movable bridge and attached to the bottom block, or tailstock, as on a cittern. It is not only the absence of any reference to the cittern in the descriptions which makes this unlikely, but specifically the lack of tensile tolerance of the wire strings, necessitating a slanted bridge on pandoras and orpharions.⁷ Pandora, orpharion, and lyra viol are required to encompass 1-2 octaves, the cittern a mere fifth.



⁶ Praetorius - '...vff ein Messingen Steige (gleich die vff den Pandorren gebraucht werden)' (... upon a brass bridge (the same as are used on the pandoras).) *Syntagma musicum*, II (1619), 47; Playford - '... an Imitation of the Old English Lute or Pandora' (*Musick's Recreation*, 1661)

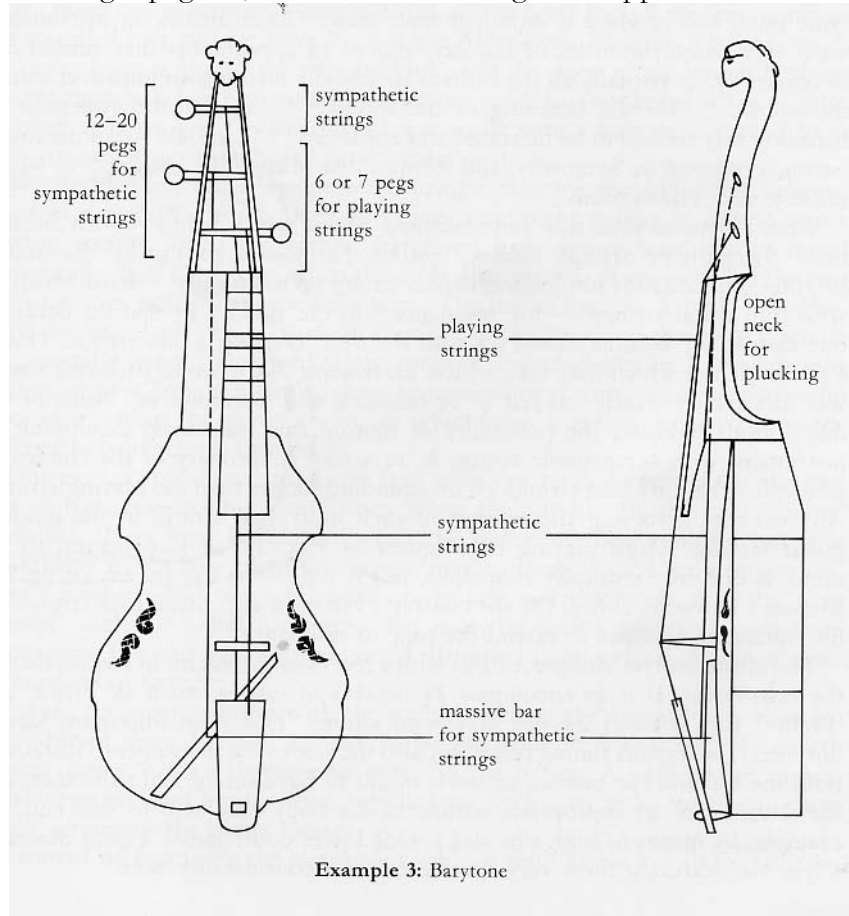
⁷ The 'Rose orpharion' is interesting in this context, having a horizontal bridge. Are the pegs original? Do they show any traces of thin wire strings? Or was the instrument originally gutstrung?

[46] Auxiliary information may be derived from successors of the lyra viol, possibly influenced by the latter: barytone and viola d'amore. (see ex. 2) The sympathetic viola d'amore strings are held either by the tail block, the tailpiece, or a bridge fixed on the soundboard - usually oblique. They are supported by the main bridge, conducted through the neck into an extended pegbox, and wound up [47] from behind. The elevation above the belly by the bridge permits the neck to be slanted back, and a higher bridge with greater string tension and more pressure on the belly ensues.



Barytones have a massive slanted lath on the belly holding the strings. (see ex. 3) Without further support, they run across the belly, through the neck open at the back, and into the pegbox, where conditions are somewhat cramped, so that some barytones are fitted with iron instead of wooden pegs. Using these descriptions and related instruments, a draught can be designed which may, in various details, retain elements of conjecture, but will allow us to construct a workable instrument. Thus, the lower ends of my sympathetic lyra-viol strings are held as a barytone's, excepting the fact that the oblique bridge is shorter and narrower, the strings being fewer. A 'hollow passage' is

[48] left inside the neck, and the upper ends are wound up viola d'amore fashion: a longer pegbox, into which the strings are slipped from behind.



left inside the neck, and the upper ends are wound up viola d'amore fashion: a longer pegbox, into which the strings are slipped from behind.

The principle of sympathetic resonance was discussed all over Europe after 1600. I will quote Michael Praetorius as one instance of what many others said: 'Thus (it can) be evidently and physically established that the harmony of consonances grows entirely out of nature. For, if a string of a viol is sounded in a room, chamber, or otherwise, and there is a lute or a cyther lying on the table, or hanging on the wall, that string of such a lute or cyther will respond and move which is tuned in perfect unison with the string struck with the bow on the viol: This may be observed and experienced even more convincingly and directly by placing a straw on such lute or cyther strings. And such keen harmony is felt more readily and more noticeably by brass and steel strings than by gut strings: in a way that they not only move, but resonate as well at the same time, and produce a sound of their own.'⁸ Experiments on instruments were very much the order of the day, and to all appearances they turned out satisfactorily, as virtually all the sources specifically mention an improvement of the sound: '... for the

⁸ Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, II, 47f.

bettering of the sound';⁹ '... so that/the sweetness of harmony may be said to be increased and enhanced';¹⁰ '... should make the lower (strings) resound by Sympathy, and so make the Musick the better';¹¹ '... which made it very Harmonious'.¹²

What difference does this 'improvement' make, which held so much fascination? Sympathetic strings enhance certain harmonics and make the sound brighter, but certainly not louder. Unless strung up too tightly - hardly feasible with thin metal strings - the resonance will die slowly, so that on occasion one chord may become mixed up with the next, creating a dissonance. This is a phenomenon which may take a little inurement, but it seems probable that it was this exactly which was felt to be beautiful and 'harmonious'. None of the descriptions indicates the possibility of muting this resonance. Equipping an instrument with sympathetic strings is, in a way, a corollary of the chitarrone principle. The long bass strings go on sounding longer than the playing-strings. Any concept involving the muting of each individual string, in the modern guitar fashion, whilst playing bass figures by Piccinini or Kapsberger, to my mind, is not only musically ridiculous, but is not borne out by any of the old sources I know of, either. On the contrary, Piccinini uses metal bass strings for his chitarrone in order to extend the time of resonance.¹³

The music for lyra viol presents us with a few other problems in reconstructing the instrument. It is to encompass 22 'octaves in tunings such as 'Fifths' and 'Eights', n.b. without the use of wound strings. This is an important aspect, not merely as regards tuning pitch, but also the size of the instrument. Moreover, both the top and the bottom registers ought to have sound and substance, and the selection of an appropriate outline of **the** body may help to that end, for example, by means of high ribs and a wide lower bout. James Talbot describes a lyra viol featuring these very specifications, if considerably later.¹⁴

[49] Secondly, the tuning pitch has to be fairly high, not only because this is advocated by the period sources - for example, Peter Leycester¹⁵ - but it also coincides with my own experience trying to perform music for two and three lyra viols by Ferrabosco, Coprario, and Lawes. Modern pitch a'-440 Hz makes it sound like a party of somnolent hippopotami. I do not mind snoring hippopotami, to be sure, but in your music room? After all, a lyra viol is supposed to be a chamber instrument. So the pitch has to be definitely higher than 440.

Tricky fingerings must be playable without risk of straining a muscle or tendon. This is of particular significance in view of the greater strength of

⁹ Warrant issued to Peter Edney and George Gill; cf. J. Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick - Notes on the cittern, gittern, and guitar in 16th & 17th century England', LSJ, xxi (1979-81), 25

¹⁰ Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, II, 47

¹¹ F. Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 280

¹² Playford, *Musick's Recreation*, (1661)

¹³ Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di Liuto, et di Cbitarrone*, Libro primo (Bologna, 1623), chap. 28

¹⁴ GB-Och Mus. MS 1087; modern ed. R. Donington, GSJ, iii (March 1950), 27-45

¹⁵ P. Leycester - '... let it be small stringed, so it will stand higher and goe more sweetely'.

hand required in comparison to a lute, as the almost vertical position of the viol often necessitates a bent left wrist. I was vouchsafed gratuitous and painful proof of this point by developing tendonitis as a result of playing lyra-viol music on an instrument too large, putting me out of action for over a year.

We based our experiment on an old viol, whose body met all my requirements: the so-called lyra viol by John Rose at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 5. Its lower bout is ample, the ribs are high, and the open string length is about 60 centimetres. When Neil made the instrument, we had not heard of the practice of bending tops, and the instrument was made with a two-piece carved front (the original Rose soundboard is no longer with us).

We decided on seven sympathetic strings; this for the following reasons: Praetorius mentions eight, but you cannot tune eight strings in unison to six playing strings. Even the earliest barytones have sympathetic strings tuned diatonically. Not until later, when the viola d'amore was developed, did the two sets of strings ever occur tuned the same. The reason for this, I think, is simple: both the later lyra viol - such as Playford's (1661) - and the viola d'amore are generally tuned in a chord (Harp tunings, French-Sette, etc.). Modulations into other keys are not intended, but the predominant emphasis is on maximum resonance within the given chord, in which case it makes sense to tune the different sets of strings in unison.

However, sympathetic strings on lyra viols can be documented for the first half of the seventeenth century only, when tunings like 'Fifths' and 'Eights' prevailed. 'Lyra way' (fefhf) is in fact the oldest of these tunings, but it is remarkable to see how often this superb major tuning is used for a minor key. Here the tuning does not yet depend on the key, and vice versa, as in the 'harp tunings', and it is useful for notes other than the open strings to benefit from resonances. For this reason, I projected diatonic tuning, which implies a minimum of seven strings.

I went on experimenting with the tuning pitch of the sympathetics through a number of years. Initially we had the lowest string in unison with the fourth playing string, with a detrimental effect on the basses. A harpsichord maker, who draws his own bronze wire, supplied me with a set to be tuned an octave lower, rendering the basses clearer.

I started off by tuning the instrument a minor third above a' - 415 (i.e. a' 496). [50] Meanwhile I have gone on upwards another semitone. The bass strings were catlines to begin with, then I tried tigerlines, and I have now settled for plain gut strings.

Remaining doubts? I am satisfied that the lyra viol as it was played in England in the early seventeenth century was a lovely, and perfectly functional instrument; but, like other lovely and functional instruments - pandora, orpharion, chitarrone, lira da braccio and da gamba, etc., - it was short-lived. In particular, its complicated construction as well as the tuning inconveniences may have made it tiresome for makers and players alike with time. Neil reported of sympathetic strings buzzing against the insides of the neck time and again, as soon as he had strung up the gut strings, and was compelled more than once to take everything to pieces again and widen the hollow. In addition, having to be placed fairly close together inside the neck,

the sympathetic strings sometimes actually touch in vibration. But these effects do not worry me a bit, on the contrary, I am as much delighted with the phenomenon of sympathetic resonance as my colleagues 300 years ago, and the realization of the fact that there is something alive in my instrument which is utterly beyond my control arouses my curiosity rather than my annoyance. It was not in search of an instrument 'optimized' to fulfil modern standards, and to 'draw out as much as possible', that I set out, but of understanding a historic principle. I mistrust the term 'optimized' in any case. Whenever it raised its head - mostly during the nineteenth century, of course - it was synonymous for more noise and easier handling. Wind instruments were fitted with keys and valves, violins with assorted kinds of rests. Old instruments converted (*ravalé*) beyond recognition, or brought to collapse by excessive strain (*ravaged*). Nowadays we are in a position of grieving for the instruments which became victims of this violent strife for greater volume.

In the case of the *lyra viol*, there was no question of loudness or facility of handling; quite the opposite: it became even more complicated. I am quite convinced that makers like Rose or Jaye were absolute masters of their craft, and would have been equally capable of turning out loud and efficient instruments as our contemporaries, if their customers had desired them. In spite of excessive use, the old English viols more than anything have survived into our days in good condition. A great many things may have been conceivable or feasible at the time - such as equal temperament - without being generally accepted.

Rose and Jaye could rely on traditions largely forgotten nowadays, and much effort has to be invested into their reactivation. Fortunately, our research has not stopped there, so that we now know that viol fronts in England - and not only in England - were not carved, but bent in three, five, or seven strips joined together. Neil Hansford has, in the meantime, made *lyra viols* with bent tops, which sound characteristically different from my instrument. But although my inclination is decidedly towards the sound of bent tops, I have made up my [51] mind to leave the instrument the way it is. It is perfect in itself, and I am satisfied.

The *lyra viol*, far from being an exoticism, constitutes an important contribution to our understanding of the realities of sound and music of the seventeenth century. We deprive ourselves of rich rewards of experience by neglecting the instruments of the period. We should not hope to 'improve', but to understand them; for they are, and will be, the spoon to the soup.

A STUDY IN CONSORT INTERPRETATION WILLIAM LAWES - SIX-PART CONSORT SET IN G MINOR

GORDON DODD

The following is a precis of a synthesis and demonstration given at the Society's London meeting on 1 June 1985, and should be read in conjunction with David Pinto's Faber Music Edition of Lawes's six-part consorts.

The Key

The subject of my 1974 demonstration meeting was Lawes's six-part set in C major,¹ giving effect to Morley's formula for 'hardnes, cruelty or other such affects'.² In G minor we find other qualities, like unto Morley's 'passions of grieffe, weeping, sighes, sorrows, sobbes and such like'.³

For centuries, G minor has suggested something between pathos and tears, as in the mildly flavoured "Adieu Sweet Amaryllis" of Wilbye, and something tougher and grimmer as in the coda to the first movement of Mozart's piano quartet K.478. The severity of the key-feeling is increased when the musical language formula 1-3-1 or 1-2-3-2-1 minor is used at the same time, as was so eloquently shown by Deryck Cooke in his analysis of Mozart's G minor Symphony K.550,⁴ and as in the opening subject of Lawes's Fantasy in the set now discussed:



'Suppressed agitation' and 'obsessive agitated anguish' were some of Cooke's descriptive words.

A harmonic feature, apparently more used and more effective in G minor than in other keys, is the confluence of the flat sixth and sharp third, as in 'Millions of tears...' in Wilbye's madrigal "Oft have I vowed":

¹ G. Dodd, 'A study in consort interpretation...', *Cbelys*, v (1973-4), 42-50

² T. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, (London, 1597), 177

³ *ibid.*

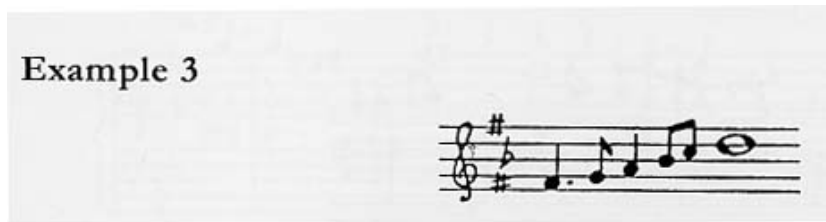
⁴ D. Cooke, *The Language of Music* (London, 1959), 232 ff 5. GB-Lbl Add. MS 31438

Example 2



Some G minor music in a contemporary German manuscript⁵ bears a key-signature of B flat and F sharp (an illustrative and practical arrangement):

Example 3



To add chromatics to all the foregoing raises the expression to the plane of Dido's Lament - and of Lawes's G minor music.

What is suggested here, without contradicting the authorities, is that the composers of the first half of the seventeenth century were apt to put something distinctive into their music in each of the small selection of minor keys which they used - C, D, E, G, A - and that they tended to slip into an inheritance of harmonic practices that derived from the Modes, their musical feelings often being deducible from the words that they set.

Demonstration

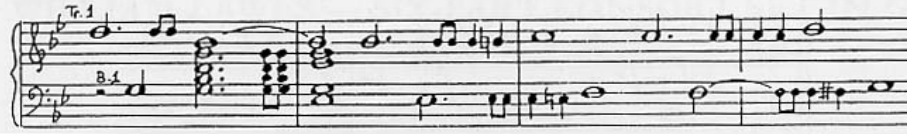
Our demonstration was founded on David Pinto's Faber Music edition, with the editor taking part. His general suggestion was that the texture of the set differed from others in which Lawes used a treble-bass polarisation. It exhibited three independent pairs: trebles, inner parts, and basses, each at its own level. The inner parts are not of equal pitch, the third or altus part apparently requiring an alto or contratenor instrument.

What follows is not a continuous account of the work, but a selection of some of the more significant events in it. The views expressed are entirely personal.

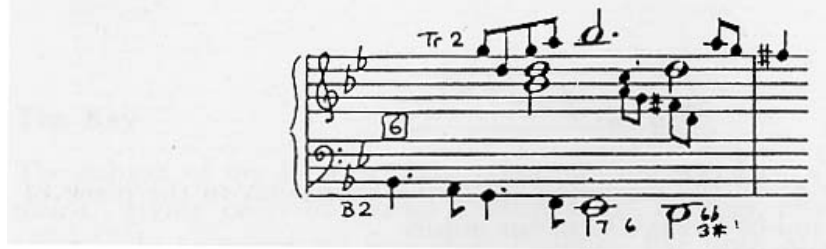
Pavan 84

In the opening, it is useful to know, before starting, who comes in and when. The depressing droop from fifth to minor third, and the chromatic recovery of pitch, suggest a weary state of mind:

⁵ GB-Lbl Add. MS 31438

Example 4

The level of expression is raised in bar 6, with its chain of sixths and Phrygian close on D; over that D, F sharps and a suspended B flat sound together ('Millions of tears...'):

Example 5

At bar 8 the string texture suddenly thins out to treble and bass only; the organ support is indispensable. Pairs of quavers carry slurs; we took the editor's advice to give them reverse inequality (Scotch snap):

Example 6

Those meagre gropings are greeted with enormous derision by the whole consort; then five new notes, much imitated, and partial to the flat sixth/sharp third flavour, close the strain with - in bar 13 - grieving and grinding 7-6 appoggiaturas, and a high pitch of lamentation. I get the impression of someone bursting with strange and urgent ideas, who cannot get them out in any recognisable language:

Example 7

[55] Somehow or other, the trebles have to reach and push on those top b" flats. The second strain begins peacefully in F, in slow motion, but soon degenerates into quaver groups. A most peculiar close ensues at bar 25, wherein, over a continually falling chromatic bass, the inner parts' quavers are accompanied elsewhere by slow, off-beat brush-strokes (scarcely any other way of describing them); characteristic of the violin music, but unfamiliar to the consort of viols. How to play it? Many a happy minute could be spent, working it out:

Example 8



The third strain: back to dominant D. In bars 29 and 30, a grumbling descent, in low thirds, by the basses; above them, malicious leaps by altus. In bar 32, a most unusual melodic progression for Bass 1, and general instability all round:

Example 9



Chromatics are to the fore in the last part of the strain; Bass 1's foundation to the texture falls, mainly chromatically, from a, by an octave and a half, to the low D.

In the last few bars, every conceivable distraction seeks to inhibit a close in G minor. A first attempt is baulked by E flat, then a full-blooded resounding B natural in the bass, with a sixth overhead, leads into C minor. In bar 41, G minor's dominant is represented by a very low F sharp and a very high B flat. Then comes a powerful E natural in the bass, and, at long last, the desired close:

Example 10



[56] Those isolated, sonorous bass notes, each identified in the Example by an asterisk, are vital, and very much part of Lawes's style; how can the consort best respond to them? Three are shown in Example 10, in bars 40, 41 and 42, each being the foundation of an imperfect concord or a discord. Consider the one in bar 41. Treble 1's high b" flat is concordant with Bass

2's low G. But Bass 2, by dropping to a powerful F sharp, converts that b" flat into a discord, which Treble resolves by stepping down to a", his expression assuring Bass 2 that he noticed. Bass 2's attack on the F sharp shows Treble 1 (and everyone else) that he knows what he is up to; thus, communication across the consort, leading to a cooperative and enlightened ensemble.

The composer is asking us not only to play his notes (if we can), but also to feel and react to their effects.

Fantasy 85

...Past thirty years now since I heard it, the resolute theme of the
 six-part G minor Fantazia, drawn from the viols
 Away in the depths of the old Dineley's building
 In Arnold's and Percy's joint Schirmer edition, a
 daunting adventure, Or so it seemed then, as we
 struggled to play it, a merciless grind till We mastered
 the dissonance, plunging through oceans
 Of thought metaphysical, roughage and kernel,...
 G.L. Ring: POEMA, Stanza 10

This fantasy is full of instabilities and disturbances. More is at stake than the lamentations of unrequited love; the 'l-3-1 minor' formula, in the subject, expresses bitterness and frustration, calling to mind the terminal condition of Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet* and Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel*:

Example 11



The editor thought that the low e flat in the subject, like the E flat harmony early in the Pavan, based the subject on an E flat triad round which the players could hunt in pairs at the interval of a third. He also drew attention to the six-part fantasy No. 11 of Jenkins (the opening was played) which had much in common with the fantasy in hand.

In the exposition, no player can doubt the distinctiveness of the subject or the direction from which it is successively heard. But a quick and lively ear is needed to detect all eight entries in the three-bar stretto, later on, from bar 16 to bar 18.

A Phrygian close in bar 11, following a downward scale in thirds by the basses, is echoed at the end of the fantasy:

Example 12



At the end of bar 11 the Faber edition prints a double bar line; our Supplementary Publication No. 97 omits it. David Pinto's editorial note reads as follows:

The six-part fantasies offer some scope for repetition, mainly of the more solemn opening sections, though repetition is nowhere specifically intended, and the loss of dramatic suspense it entails may be felt a disadvantage.

When we played the C-major set, mentioned above, we repeated the first fantasy's opening; doing so displayed a significant and 'Waldstein-like' key-relationship, C major and E major. With the G-minor fantasy we had merely dominant and tonic; which provoked no particular reaction when we repeated it. Consorts may well find it useful to play a repeat on the first reading.

Bars 19-20 are difficult for Tenor and Bass 1, and it is not for the others to insist upon any preconceived tempo or dynamic; if Tenor and Bass 1, each with eyes on the other (or ears for the other), contrive the merest relaxation, it is the consort's business to go along in sympathy. Such accommodation is meat and drink to a pianoforte accompanist, but perhaps a little less familiar fare to a consort of viols. And, quite apart from all that, the five moving parts have to come off together at the end of bar 20; this has to be done in visual contact with Bass 1 as she articulates the ensuing E flat, a great big bass note that portends something out of the ordinary, brushing aside the proffered close in G minor and striking out - as far as the strings are concerned - on its own:

Example 13



At this stage the reader is invited to cover up the organ part and to see what remains. The low, grumbling bass duet in bars 21-25, and those frighteningly exposed duets later on, by each pair in turn, are all that used to be heard in the old days, when the only playing edition was that of Schirmer, before the [58] discovery of the organ part; no wonder that we used to turn sadly to other things. More recently, when attention was drawn by Layton Ring to the autograph score and organ book, the sound achieved

by revealing and introducing the organ part was - praise be - that of a truly full consort. From bar 21 onwards, the organ part is full and principal. All this has been set out, still more recently, by the editor:⁶

Example 14



Nothing, by the way, in the autograph organ book, gives any clue to these events; the composer knew what was coming, but he left no written guidance to his successors.

And what did it all mean? Neither the first cuckoo in spring nor the afternoon of a faun; more like some mysterious struggle for power.

In bars 37-40, the rhetoric is enhanced by the hammer-blows of appoggiaturas widened to the intervals of fifth, sixth and seventh; the consort remembers to have mercy on Bass 1 at bar 39:

Example 15



All must hang together in bars 39-41, otherwise the next miracle will be cancelled.

Another vital solo bass note in bar 42 by Bass 1 (anyone else's domino just here would be unfortunate) is answered by that griping discord noticed by Lefkowitz,⁷ that of the diminished fourth, a' flat over e natural, unprepared. A bar later there comes another one, d" flat over A natural:

[59]

⁶ D. Pinto, 'William Lawes's consort suites for the viols, and the autograph sources', *Chefys, iv* (1972), 11-16; also D. Pinto, 'William Lawes's music for viol consort', *EM*, vi/1 (January 1978), 12-24

⁷ M. Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (London, 1960), 59-60

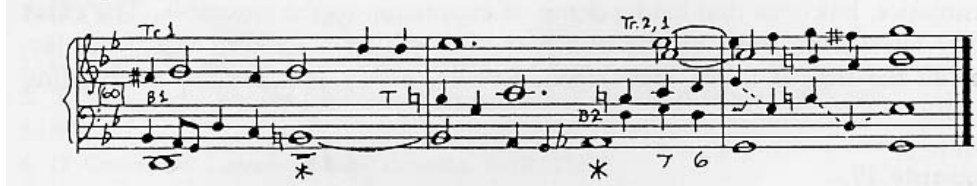
Example 16



Bass 1's sudden drop of a sixth on to that low A in bar 44 gives Treble 1, whose d" flat was concordant, a powerful electric shock as the discord bites; Treble 2, entering with the same note, two minims later, and over the same low A, keeps the pot boiling. If the shock is felt all round the room, we are blessed, not with seven individuals playing simultaneously, but with a consort.

After this weird and mournful wailing, in a language unknown to Morley and the Jacobean consort composers, the contentious phase of the fantasy is ended, and all is over bar the shouting, or rather ringing, as bells sound, in pairs of crotchets, up and down the consort. The bass is let down chromatically (notice what Bass 1 is required to do in bar 55) to a long dominant pedal, culminating in two extremely resonant notes, B natural and A flat, the A flat contriving a final Phrygian close to echo the one at bar 11:

Example 17



We thought it prudent, on a first reading, to keep strict time over the penultimate bar-line, with its minim ties, and to ask the basses to arrive punctually on the tonic G. Tenor's sequence of seven crotchets can be used to control the ending; any *ritardando* would be started in the very last bar.

Air 86

Lawes's five- and six-part airs are of the Alman type, and I have more than once advanced a personal view that they are invariably serious in nature, possibly silvery-sweet as in the Johnson-like F major air a5 (Air 80), or stronger in purpose as in the C minor airs (75, 77, 100), but always serious, calling for a sober rendering.

To illustrate this, I asked the editor to lead off, on the organ, with the second strain of the Allemande from Bach's English Suite in G minor, and the consort to continue straightway with the opening of the Lawes air (with each of Bach's [60] crotchets equalling one of Lawes's minims). To me personally, that experiment settled conclusively the mood, style and tempo of the air:

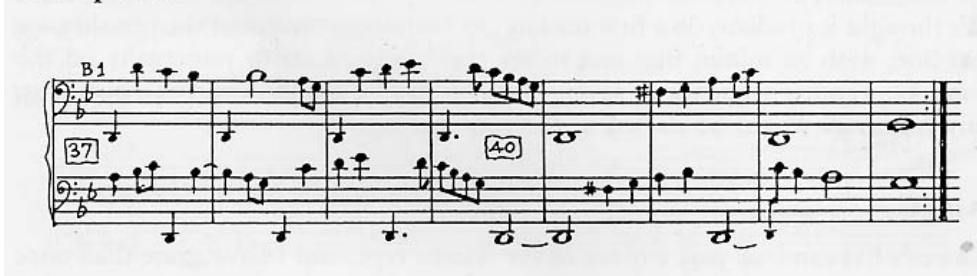
Example 18



Two main points, concerning the Air, can be made. We played bars 1-8 three times, with each pair of instruments in turn, to the organ. The effect was that of an air, seemingly complete in texture, apparently designed for each sub-ensemble, as in the sets for two violins. Thus the whole texture, when reconstituted, promised and proved to be particularly opulent. This was yet another illustration of the editor's concept of the layered organisation of this work.

The other matter occurs in the second strain. The fine dominant pedal near the end of the Fantasy has been noticed; here, at the end of the Air, is an even bigger and better one. But, in an 'upstairs, downstairs' sort of way, the pedal is shared. Beginning at bar 28, each bass viol in turn dips down to the low open D, and, when not in the depths, roams on high in the tenor area, joining in the upstairs music of the smaller viols. There are bass chromatics, not Dido's chromatics, but ones that lend a depth of expression to the ensemble. The effect of the alternating leaps by the two bass viols makes a striking visual display. And all the time is heard 'the Organ, Evenly, Softly and Sweetly According to All':

Example 19



Conclusion

The 'obsessive agitation and anguish' attributed by Cooke to Mozart's G minor music seem characteristic also of this set of Lawes's.

There are dozens of opportunities - I have selected only a few to describe - for communication across the consort, particularly in response to dramatically pitched and placed solo bass notes.

[61] No one can now say that consort organs are redundant; no one who has played this set to the organ is likely to revert to the old strings-only rendering. The organ part to the C minor six-part set is a short score, requiring interpretation, as the editor has pointed out. The organ part to the G minor set looks and feels more like the sort of thing that - I suggest - the composer might have played.

The Society encourages publishers to issue music for viols; when such music appears, the publishers hope that we will buy it. The marvellous music heard at our two Lawes demonstrations (1974 and 1985) is in the

Faber Music edition; to those who do not yet possess that edition, I cordially recommend it.

Acknowledgment

I am most grateful for the co-operation of the consort that picked its way through a complicated demonstration routine, and then performed the whole work:

Caroline Wood	Treble 1	Lucie Skeaping	Tenor
Christopher May	Treble 2	Elizabeth Dodd	Bass 1
Stewart McCoy	Alto	Alan Wood	Bass 2
David Pinto		Organist and editor	

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

One can assume readers of *Chelys* to be astute and well-informed about the viol and its technique, but Jonathan Wainwright's review of *Buxtehude: Alto Cantatas and Sonatas* (McGill Records 750031-2) must have left many of them confused. Surely they wondered, as I did, how the gamba player on the recording ruined the final cadence in Buxtehude's Sonata in F (Op. 2, No. 7). Being the gamba player in question, I confess that it sparked in me more than a casual curiosity. However, I can assure readers of *Chelys* that, in fact, it is Mr Wainwright who has gone wrong, and the 'extraordinary lapse in the penultimate bar' is nowhere to be found either in Buxtehude's music or on the disc. I must assume, therefore, that his erroneous statement is the result of Mr Wainwright himself having lost his way in the score.

Buxtehude's final cadence is actually a glorious example of an Italianate dissonance, the so-called 'Corelli clash'. As one of his favourite cadences, Buxtehude exposes its characteristic parallel seconds often in allegro movements and occasionally even in slow tempos. (Considering its relative infrequency in Corelli's music, perhaps a more apt name for the dissonance would be the 'Buxtehude bump'.)

Or, quite possibly, I have overlooked another explanation. Mr Wainwright may have edited the 14 *Sonatas* of Op. 1 and 2 himself and found a novel way of expunging the offending notes. If so, readers would surely be grateful to know what solution he sanctions - perhaps replacing them with a more 'correct' (though unfortunately dull) cadential progression? Or hiding the exposed parallel seconds with an editorial dynamic mark? Perhaps *timidamente, senza cembalo, e poco a poco morendo* would be enough to conceal Buxtehude's troublesome ingenuity.

MARY CYR

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Dear Editor,

I assure Professor Cyr and readers of *Chelys* that I am aware of the 'Corelli clash' and in no way wish to expurgate this from the final cadence of Buxtehude's Sonata in F (Op. 2, No. 7). Indeed it was my very point that Buxtehude's cadence [63] was not performed correctly: to my ears the penultimate chord lacks the leading note (e) with the result that the 4-3 suspension between the bass and the gamba, and the clashing parallel ninths between the violin and the gamba, are both lost. This listener - at least - was left with the impression that the gamba player had arrived at the end rather earlier than the other players; listeners will be able to tell for themselves. I stand by my comments and particularly those concerning the quality of Buxtehude's music.

JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT
Oxford

Dear Editor,

I was fascinated to read that the whole of the front of the Colichon bass viol is very thin, on average no more than 2.6 mm., in an article in *Cheyls*, -*xix* (1990). I have a drawing of a bass viol by Barak Norman showing the front varying from 3 mm. at the edges to 5 mm. in the middle. Information I have from another source gives a thickness varying from 3 mm. near the edges to 7 mm. in the middle - quite a difference from Colichon's!

I suspect that the contours of the fronts of our viols vary rather more than those of the violin family, i.e. that viol makers are more exploratory, so that in the viol family 'anything goes'.

My experience of 'playing days' is that viols can differ quite a lot in their tone quality, from unresponsive to highly resonant, from dull to the serenely beautiful. While I am aware that beauty of tone involves more than the thickness of the viol front, yet this thickness must surely be one of the most important attributes in the construction of a viol? It would be enlightening if all viols carried a card giving their 'vital statistics'. But they don't. Would any viol maker care to make any enlightening comments?

One difficulty in any discussion about what produces what tone is the need to convert subjective criteria like best and beautiful into objective criteria like characteristic waveforms which can be seen on an oscilloscope and analysed using a waveform analyser. I wonder if any papers have been published on this subject which other members of the society could mention for my benefit?

I have made two viols myself (a tenor and a bass), not enough to provide an answer to these questions, but enough to stimulate my curiosity. Should I ever make a third viol, I would like to be better prepared!

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[64] REVIEWS

John Coprario, *Six Fantasias for Treble and Tenor Viol*. Edited by George Hunter. (Northwood Music JC-2), \$7.00 (invoice in pounds sterling for English customers), available from George Hunter, 1108 W. Stoughton, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

Coprario's career is documented most fully in Richard Charteris, *John Coprario: a Thematic Catalogue of His Music* (Pendragon Press, N.Y., 1977), and George Hunter draws on this for his brief introduction. The phrase 'he [Coprario] was one of the musicians of the Privy Chamber at the court of James I' is slightly off-line, in that Coprario never was part of the main musical establishment at Court until the reign of Charles I. Until then he operated mostly on the fringes and our glimpses of him in court records are fleeting. Nevertheless, my recent delving into Jacobean archives has brought a splatter of new references which add a little to the picture: a reward to him as a 'Setter of Musick' from Queen Anne in 1605/6, a further k50 paid by Prince Charles by Privy Seal dated 10 January 16178 to 'John Coperare gent for his highnes speciall use and service', and, most helpfully, confirmation of his post as a musician to Prince Charles, evidence for which has until now been circumstantial or lost. Coprario served Prince Charles from 25 March 1622 and was appointed by Privy Seal dated 4 April that year at the usual annual fee of £40. In common with many of his fellow musicians from Prince Charles's establishment, his place was transferred to the King's Musick at Charles's accession, although he did not live long to enjoy it.

The present edition is a revision of one first produced by George Hunter in 1982, making use of the benefits of computer technology 'for easier reading'. In this it triumphantly succeeds and the editor has given players a variety of formats to choose from. The score is a 'performance score' - i.e. one requiring no page turns - and is barred every fourth minim. Clefs are standardized as treble (Treble) and C3 (Tenor). Rehearsal letters are included in both score and parts. The latter are un-barred throughout which, as the editor asserts, more readily shows the 'true rhythms of this music'. Another boon for the performer is that 'particular care has been given to the spacing of the notes, so as to provide a graphic representation of relative note durations.' With un-barred music, of course, the modern conventions concerning accidentals do not apply and the editor has used his discretion (to good effect) in supplementing those in the sources 'to clarify doubtful situations'. As a third format the first page of each part-book is devoted to a facsimile of the first fantasia, derived from King's College Cambridge, Rowe Music Library MSS 112-3. This neat, professional, but still un-identified hand, gives an admirably clear text, although with 'a rhythmic error in the seventh line' of the treble part; it is left to performers to seek out exactly where!

As the editor remarks, duos other than for two basses are hard to come by.

[65] Tenor viol players in particular will welcome the opportunity to play these lively and attractive pieces.

ANDREW ASHBEE

John Coprario *The Five-Part Consort Music*. Edited by Richard Charteris. Parts edition, Volumes 1 and 2 (Golden Phoenix, 1989).

His own Musical Compositions,
... are a far nobler Monument
to his Memory
than any other can be rais'd for Him.

So concludes the tablet raised to John Blow in Westminster Abbey. If compositions are memorials of composers, buildings (as with Wren) of architects, then so are manuscript books memorials of copyists. I'm not sure how editors fit into the scheme of things, but I hope that they too have their place. When in that Golden Age, years ago, it seemed as though publishers were queueing up to publish music for viols, even then a very frosty reception greeted suggestions that parts might be issued for some of the more extended runs of standard repertory pieces, and Coprario's excessive zeal in producing fifty-two fantasias was certainly beyond the pale. Scores were and are less of a problem, since they fit neatly into libraries, where parts are meant for music stands, a more temperamental market. Richard Charteris, with customary flair, found a niche for his edition of Coprario's five-part fantasias in score, published as no. 92 in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (American Institute of Musicology and Hanssler Verlag, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1981). And very handsome it is: beautifully printed with generous margins, full textual commentary and brief introductory remarks. (See Clifford Bartlett's review in *Chelys*, xi (1982), 38-9). But those who wished to play the music had a major copying task confronting them, especially since surprisingly few of these attractive places had been published in parts - a mere six fantasias by my reckoning.

All has changed. Promotion of minority interests - of which viol music is one - always depends on enthusiasts. Enthusiasts tend to have faith in their 'product', which the world at large may find less than pragmatic. Nevertheless careful planning may enable them to promote their commodity successfully where a larger enterprise would feel they themselves would be taking too much risk. Individual enterprise is not subject to the prohibitive overheads of larger concerns and the production line can be tailored to suit both one's own outlay and the exigencies of demand. In publishing viol music this Society has led from the front with its splendid and extensive series of Supplementary Publications. Others have followed, realising that beautifully engraved printed parts and the like, desirable though they might be, simply are not viable in some cases, but [64] that modern technology allows them scope for alternative presentation which players find totally acceptable and receive with gratitude.

Such an enthusiast was Joy Dodson. The title page of each of her books records that it is 'a Golden Phoenix publication by Joy Dodson, music calligrapher'. Over the last few years Golden Phoenix has built up an enviable reputation for providing a varied selection of fine music, edited by leading scholars, at a very reasonable price. The added bonus is that each part-book is expertly laid out and beautifully written in Joy's distinctive and bold hand; no player could wish for more. What sadly proved to be her last great enterprise was, her aim to provide parts for all Coprario's five-part

pieces in Richard Charteris's edition, to which she devoted much of her time in the last year or so of active life and of which she was able to complete the two sets reviewed here.

Volume 1 comprises fantasias nos 1-17 and volume 2 has nos 18-35. Richard Charteris supplies a short introduction supplementing his remarks in the earlier score, noting one or two changes to readings which have been made for the new edition; these all concern accidentals. The alternative versions of nos 17 and 18 (given in the score) are not included here. Order of the pieces naturally follows that in Dr Charteris's *Thematic Catalogue* of Coprario's music (Pendragon, New York, 1977), 60-72, and references both to this list and to the *CMM* score are shown in the tables of contents. Fantasia no. 32 is underlined with an Italian text in the score, but this is not reproduced in the parts. All Italian titles are given.

Thanks to Coprario, viol players have fifty-two very attractive, relatively easy five part pieces in madrigalian style and in varied scorings: the part-books are headed (1) Treble Viol 1; (2) Treble Viol 2 & Alto or Tenor Viol; (3) Alto or Tenor Viol 1; (4) Tenor Viol 2 & Bass Viol 1 (the latter in nos 6-8, 10-11); (5) Bass Viol. Generally the music requires two trebles (except nos 13, 26, 27, 33, 35). In such a large selection the overall quality naturally varies, but there are plenty of fine (and famous) pieces like "Chi pue mirarvi".

Thanks to Richard Charteris, viol players have reliable and fully documented texts to use: the number of contemporary sources from which he had to work attests to the popularity of this group of works.

Thanks to Joy Dodson, undaunted by the mammoth task that confronted her and confident that all the music she published deserved revival, viol players at last have the opportunity to explore this repertory with ease. The final volume of the series will be completed by others, but, in spite of the precise skills of the computer and its programmer, we will mourn the loss of Joy's calligraphy. Joy may have chosen the title 'Golden Phoenix' to accord with the rebirth of the consort music she loved so much; happily it serves also to remind us that her memorial will remain in the continuing availability of her work.

ANDREW ASHBEE

[67] William Byrd, *Four Part Consort Music*. Edited by George Hunter. (Northwood Music WB-4), \$10.00.

The virtues of this edition are by now familiar, the earlier instalments devoted respectively to the music in three, five and six parts having already been welcomed in this journal. The music is given in both score and parts and in the original notation, the printing is clear, and the most important variant readings are listed in the commentary. With the present volume the edition appears to be complete except perhaps for the five-part *In nomine*.

It is not, however, intended? as a complete edition. The consort hymns have been omitted, even the beautiful "Christe redemptor" and second four-part "Sermone blando" settings. There would have been room for these at least, since the only other four-part pieces to survive in a complete or reconstructable state are two *In nomine*s and two fantasias. Instead the

editor has preferred to bulk the volume out with three arrangements of his own from keyboard works, and here a note of caution must be sounded.

There is, of course, no harm in arrangements (people enjoy playing symphonies as piano duets) providing that they do not encourage the notion that sixteenth-century music can be performed equally appropriately by any forces that may be to hand. Byrd approached consort and keyboard composition very differently. It is true that he adapted and elaborated consort pavans and galliards for keyboard in a few cases, and quite exceptionally made or authorized an unsatisfactory keyboard arrangement of his great five-part fantasia. But although the *Chelys* reviewer says of the three-part Fantasia No. 4 that 'experts all agree that it started out as a composition for three viols', they are surely mistaken: the work belongs to the tradition of organ pieces 'with a mean'. In the same way the opening of the "Voluntary for my Lady Nevell", arranged by Hunter for four viols, draws on a long-established keyboard idiom. Of the two similarly arranged pavan and galliard pairs it may be doubted whether the A minor was ever a consort work, and although the B flat almost certainly was, it must have been in five rather than four parts. Players may find it useful to bear these points in mind.

OLIVER NEIGHBOUR

Elway Bevin and John Baldwin, *Two Brownings of Three Parts*. Edited by George Hunter (Northwood Music Br-1). \$4.00.

It is good to have these two three-part settings of the "Browning" / "The leaves be green" tune available together in a handy edition with parts. The Bevin is well known from *Musica Britannica vol. ix* and has been recorded several times. The Baldwin is less known, though there is a Zen-On edition for recorders and it was recently included in *Musica Britannica vol. xlv*. "Browning" was a popular subject for consort sets of variations, probably because it is that contrapuntal [68] rarity: a theme that works equally well in the bass as a ground or in the upper parts as a shapely tune. The five-part settings by Stonings, Woodcock and Byrd were almost certainly in existence by the late 1570s, while the Bevin and Baldwin fit naturally into the 1590s; they appear side-by-side in Baldwin's commonplace book, GB-Lbl R.M. 24.d.2, which has dates ranging from 1581 to 1606. The Bevin is the more accomplished of the two, with a nicely controlled sequence of what amounts to modulations, produced by transposing the tune from its initial statements in F to C and later to Bb- a striking anticipation of the standard plan adopted by late Baroque composers. Baldwin seems to have taken Bevin's piece as his starting point, though by attempting more (the tune appears in five keys and is made to start at various times on all three beats of the bar) he achieves less, and there are several awkward moments. Nevertheless, it is an interesting exercise in rhythmic displacement and is fun to play.

George Hunter's edition is nicely produced on good-quality paper using computer setting for the score and parts. It will be particularly welcomed by members of the Society for its use of original note values. Earlier editions halved them; players may not realise that by beaming the resulting patterns of quavers editors introduced an element of rhythmic interpretation that is not

in the original. Unfortunately, like Paul Doe in *Musica Britannica* vol. xlv Hunter inserts the occasional duple-time bar to make each statement of the tune begin on the third beat of the bar (though he does not manage it for the eleventh statement). This makes Baldwin's ingenious rhythmic displacement hard to grasp, and the piece works much better barred throughout in triple time, as the Zen-On edition demonstrates. Nevertheless, this is a useful addition to George Hunter's editions of consort music - an admirable example of 'cottage industry' publishing.

PETER HOLMAN

Pierre van Maldere, VI *Sonatas for Two Violins with a Bass for the Harpsichord*. Musica-Alamire, 1989. \$8.00.

On 24 January 1756 (just three days before Mozart was born) John Walsh advertised the publication of Pierre van Maldere's Trio Sonatas. These sonatas and another set, published in Paris as Opus 1, pre-date the *opéras comiques* and symphonies for which Van Maldere (1729-1768) is principally remembered. The Walsh publication describes him as 'first violin to... Prince Charles of Lorraine' who - as the Hapsburg's Governor in the Netherlands - was based in Brussels.

The sonatas have a predominantly *galant* cast. Van Maldere, though, seems conscious of a distinction in style between a more formal and conservative four-movement sonata and a lighter three-movement variety. The set is framed by sonatas in D major and D minor (not, *pace* RISM, F major) each of which contains a substantial fugue. These two sonatas and the one other four-movement work have quite equal part writing (although there are glimpses of the symphonist [69] in the fast movements, particularly in the unison writing for violins of the first Sonata's finale.) The remaining three-movement sonatas are more obviously pre-classical with their appoggiatura-laden phrases which characteristically break into ingratiating triplets. These three sonatas are first violin dominated (especially the Minuet with a first violin variation which forms the finale to Sonata III).

All are attractive, skilfully-composed works. The violin writing is thoroughly idiomatic and never more than moderately difficult: van Maldere ventures into fourth position once in the El? Sonata and he asks for some quite fast slurred up-bow staccato. The comprehensive bowings in the edition are interesting, especially since Van Maldere's mastery of the bow attracted comment in 1754 when he played in Paris.

This Musica Alamire facsimile - slightly reduced in size but nevertheless beautifully clear - is a welcome addition to available eighteenth-century trio sonatas. It is perhaps a pity that the edition does no more than reproduce the music; since the part books are enclosed in a separately-printed cover, a few notes about Van Maldere and this collection might usefully have been included.

PETER WALLS

Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonatas for Viol and Basso Continuo*, with Introduction by Hazelle Miloradovitch. Musica-Alamire, 1989. \$18.00.

Hazelle Miloradovitch has made an important find in discovering a manuscript copy of Corelli's Opus V violin sonatas transcribed for bass viol (F-Pn MS Vm7 6308). It provides concrete evidence that violin sonatas were transcribed for bass viol and a model of how to accomplish it. Musica-Alamire's sharply-focused facsimile is much to be welcomed.

Transcriptions, particularly of vocal compositions, have provided the viol with an important source of music from its beginnings. Indeed during the time of the viol's vibrant popularity in sixteenth-century Italy, transcriptions constituted the bulk of the viol's repertoire. These early transcriptions were predominantly for viol consort and extant examples of the technique are readily available in libraries.

Few manuscripts survive of transcriptions for solo viol. Nevertheless there are a number of indications that playing music originally composed for different resources remained an accepted practice. The *dessus* flourished in France during the second half of the seventeenth century apparently on a diet of *air sérieux*.¹ Bach's G major gamba sonata is his own transcription of his earlier G major trio sonata for two flutes. His G minor gamba sonata is generally agreed to be an arrangement of a concerto (although the original does not survive) and the demanding *St Matthew Passion* obligato to "Komm, susses Kreuz" was originally written for lute. Tartini arranged one of his violin concertos for gamba. Antoine Forqueray (1672-1745) was unparalleled on the bass viol in his performances [70] of 'sonatas' and there was 'no one in the world who played the [violin] sonatas of M. Michel [Mascitti] with such great taste'. These virtuoso violin sonatas are difficult on the viol. But what could be more natural than to play them if the music was at hand and your technique was as fine as that of Forqueray and his contemporaries.

This transcription of Corelli's opus V for bass viol is our best clue as to how Forqueray or any other eighteenth-century violist might have performed Italian violin sonatas. Musically the most striking alteration is the thickening up of the texture as befits the viol's string lay out and chordal nature. Three of the sonatas (nos. 1, 6 and 11) have been transposed down a tone and a fourth (no. 5) down a fourth. In her introduction Miloradovitch attributes these transpositions to a desire both to lower the tessitura and also to take advantage of more resonant keys. (Interestingly the same transpositions occur in the almost identical transcriptions of sonatas 6 and 11 which were bound into the back of at least one copy of the third edition of Simpson's *Division Viol* (London, 1712)). The third significant difference is the reduction of the number of slurs. This occurs most notably in the Gigas. Miloradovitch suggests that it may be to give more clarity on the lower slower-speaking strings. However as Forqueray almost always slurs quavers in compound metre and likewise Schenck marks slurs liberally in Gigues, I am inclined to believe that perhaps it was understood that Gigas should be slurred and the copyist was saving time.

¹ Robert Green, 'The Treble Viol in 17th-Century France and the Origins of the Pardessus de Virole', JVGSA, xxiii (1986), 64

Miloradovitch provides a useful list of contents which gives alongside the viol headings the titles from the original violin version of 1700 whenever they differ; it also includes omitted dynamic markings and other remarks such as *arpeggio*.

All of this suggests that modern viol players should feel free to transcribe with enthusiasm. Italian violin sonatas are there for the taking if we can get our fingers round them. Many German trio sonatas for two treble instruments sound well on one treble instrument and a gamba playing the second part down an octave. This results in an ensemble which was highly popular with German musicians in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Try, for example, Bach's G major trio sonata BWV 1038 (thought anyway to a reconstruction). Bach's organ trio sonatas also provide possibilities for arrangement for viol and obbligato harpsichord as do the exquisite *recit de tierce en taille* movements of De Grigni's *Livre D'Orgue*. Alors, Allons-y!

LUCY ROBINSON

[71] Antonio & Hernando de Cabe~on, *La Dame la demanda, Gallarda Milanese and Susana un jur*. Edited by William Hunt. (Fretwork Editions FEI). £7.50, score and parts.

These three pieces (2 in four parts and 1 in five parts) are from keyboard works by Antonio and Hernando Cabe~on; all three are sets of variations. Since organ tablature is constructed as a series of parts it is quite practical to extract the lines for an instrumental consort - indeed the title of the original *Obras de Musica para tecla area j vibuela ...* (Madrid, 1578) might be construed to include the viol since that is a possible translation of *vibuela*; the vihuela da mano could hardly be expected to play some of the contrapuntal music in six parts. A lute or vihuela da mano is also suggested by the editor as a continuo instrument - presumably the publisher's computer file of the edition could be used to generate such a part if required. Other parts can be printed to order in any clef or transposition.

Editorial intervention has been on three fronts: to redistribute a few phrases to other parts so that the range of each viol part is not too great, particularly in "La Dame la demanda", the addition of an extra bass division in a final repeated section of the "Gallarda Milanese", and the usual suggestions of editorial accidentals (clearly indicated) where the original seems to need them. All the parts are on separate sheets which makes for a lot of loose paper with blank sides. The printing is clear enough although I don't always like the lay out of notes and organisation of note-stems; some crotchets occupy more space than a semibreve and stem lengths are irregular even in the same bar; the quintuplets in "Susana un jur" would look better with brackets like the triplets have. An edition which mixes four- and five-part pieces can also be awkward for filing systems. Players will certainly have fun handling some nifty divisions to get the pieces up to speed, a challenge which is not always found in some of the more staid Fantasia repertoire.

The Introduction is short on information about the source - there are few details of the works or composers (there are for instance two sets of variations on "Susanna" in the original), nor any explanation of how organ

tablature is written - but it is editorially clear and well packaged to promote Fretwork's recording of the music. You've been to the concert, you've heard the disc, now buy the dots.

IAN GAMMIE

C.F. Abel, "Frena le belle lagrime", aria from the Opera *Sifari*. (Fretwork Editions FE2). £12.00, score and parts.

A new age is dawning in the field of publishing ancient music. Until recently the editor had the choice of producing an edition in facsimile or in modern notation; Fretwork Editions have decided for an innovation: a computer music [72] notation program. The advantages are obvious. Parts can be printed in any clef or transposed into the key favoured by the singer. Fretwork Editions also offer the option 'Hi-Tech rehearsal', which means for example rehearsing any part with automated accompaniment (such as a pipe organ tuned in Valotti temperament). In addition you can order a 'music minus one' cassette.

The main disadvantage of computer notation is the loss of one important link with the time of the composition: the image of the original print or manuscript. The source for this edition is a print from 1767, the year when the opera *Sifari* was staged. This fact begs the question why Fretwork did not decide for a reprint, especially as today's players are used to facsimiles. Nevertheless, from the technical point of view the edition is very good. The editorial notes are satisfactory; paper and quality of print are exemplary.

Abel's music can be described as quite demanding both for the voice and viol; but unlike most arias from the second half of the eighteenth century, the violin parts are very easy. Examples for 'cadenzas' would be very helpful for the gamba player as well as for the singer.

HARTWIG GROTH

Thomas Ford, *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (1607). Solos and Duets for Guitars, Lutes or Viols: 'Booke Two for Basse viols played the Liera way' edited by Carolyn & Gustave Rabson (E and R Music Printers, Ohio). \$40.00, score and two partbooks in tablature.

Although a facsimile edition of Thomas Ford's delightful print has been available for a long time (*English Lute Songs*, No. 21, ed. by David Greer (The Scholar Press Ltd., 1978)), we are now faced with a new edition. The original is not without its problems: tablature and metric signs are often out of line, or the latter missing altogether, so that rhythmic interpretation of the text may present some difficulties. The introduction to the new edition mentions these problems, but unfortunately they are not marked in the music or the tablatures.

In the original, the pieces are arranged in accordance with their natural weight: pavans and galliards at the beginning, the 'toys' toward the end. This reasonable order is discarded in favour of a pell-mell assortment, without explanation, or even mention of the original sequence. Why?

The suggested tuning for the instruments (lyra way = fefhf) is e'bgdGD. The facsimile edition, which the editors list among the works used and cited, shows an old handwritten remark underneath 'Mr. Southcotes Pauen' (after British Library K.9.a.19.) giving d'afcGC. Of course, I am not trying to claim any absolute pitch, but it seems to indicate that seventeenth-century players would evidently have set this tuning from the first string, which is under considerable tension anyway, left where it was, rather than forcing the first and second up a tone, and the third even a minor third.

[73] The score transcription is full of mistakes. Fortunately most of the tablatures are correct. Unclear rhythmic signing has been misinterpreted in places, even where the correct version is obvious from a literal correspondence in the other part. I experienced a good deal of fundamental uneasiness comparing the polyphonic transcriptions, which tend to exclude all but one interpretation. Ford often marked polyphonic structures by means of 'holds', ignored by the transcription in more than one case. On the other hand it does suggest polyphony where it is hard to detect in the original, let alone give the reader an idea of how long the strings will actually sound.

A few remarks concerning printing aspects. The computer employed might do well with a course in consumer psychology. Each note appears to use up the appropriate space of its value, which is quite awkward for the player: on the one hand we are required to take in a volley of swift notes all crammed into very little space, on the other there are the vast deserts of semibreves keeping aloof from all others. Old sources make much more rational and economical use of the paper (a point which bears reconsidering). The spacing of the staves is much too wide to allow for the rhythmic signs to be read at the same time conveniently, whereas the letters of the tablatures - most important of all - are so small and indistinct that close scrutiny is necessary. It is precisely the other way around in the old sources. Why can't someone come forward with a really good computer program for tablatures?

At the end of the day, this is hardly an improvement on the original. Who is to benefit from it? There remains such a profusion of unpublished tablatures which have not received attention. At the risk of being classed as a snob, I will state my belief that players nowadays are neither too dense nor too inexperienced to read a facsimile. My own suggestion to future editors would be to select some unpublished source, and publish a facsimile with an extensive and reliable critical commentary, thus serving beginners and musicologists alike.

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT

Elizabethan Christmas Anthems. Red Byrd and the Rose Consort of Viols. (Amon Ra Records CSAR 46). Available from Alison Crum, discount price of £6 for cassette and £10 for compact disc.

With this recording of Elizabethan (and Jacobean) music for voices and viols, Amon Ra Records have produced something of a rarity - an anthology of English music of the period unified by a Christmas theme - and both the company and the performers are to be congratulated on the result. As the (excellent) accompanying notes point out, the recording sets out to 'recreate the domestic devotional setting for which the music was intended, using the

texts of the songs and anthems to tell the Christmas story', instrumental items being [74] interspersed which either 'reflect their meaning or provide a context for the vocal items'.

Among the most charming (and most seasonal) items are the three consort songs. Two of these need little introduction to viol-players, and have long been available in good modern editions: the anonymous five-part "Sweet was the song the virgin sung" and William Byrd's wonderful "Lullaby" from *Psalmes Sonets and Songs* (London, 1588). Both receive sensitive performances, the anonymous piece is heard with some of the original ornamentation, while the sheer beauty of Byrd's solo voice-part and the accompanying viol-parts comes across really well. Although Byrd underlaid the four accompanying parts with the verbal text, probably to hedge his bets on the commercial front, this is often inferior to his underlaying of the 'first singing part' (the medius, or alto) and the piece sounds better here for being performed as a solo song throughout. (According to the Gramophone Classical Catalogue (December 1990), no other recording of the anonymous piece is currently available.) A third consort song (not so-called in the insert), Martin Peerson's little four-part carol, "Upon my lap my sovereign sits", is not widely known though an over-edited version was published in 1961 in Erik Routley's *University Carol Book* (reprinted London, 1978). One eminent scholar once described Peerson as a 'poor' composer, but this view is certainly not borne out by this carol, which is (for me, at any rate) one of the two 'jewels in the crown' of this recording (the other being a verse anthem by John Amner: see below). It is a simple, strophic setting of a poem which provides for a short concluding chorus for each stanza. The verses are sung by a solo soprano with three viols, and the choral sections enter to very good effect with the words 'Sing lullaby'. Its tender music and text are full to the brim with seasonal flavour.

Only two of the five verse anthems in the programme are really well known, and both are by Orlando Gibbons. "This is the record of John", perhaps the most famous and widely-performed of all pre-Restoration verse anthems, is given a memorable performance. In particular, the verse sections have a marked down-to-earth quality, the tone of the soloist's voice, aided by 'authentic' pronunciation, making a refreshing change from the often rather self-consciously ecclesiastical, precious and pure approach that this work often receives. The other Gibbons offering, "See, see, the word is incarnate", is an even more dramatic work and is through-composed, the choruses featuring fresh music rather than repeating ideas previously heard in the preceding verses. The performances of these works pay great attention to both the dramatic and the fine musical detail of Gibbons's polyphony.

John Bull's anthem, "Almighty God, who by the leading of a star", nicknamed the 'Star' anthem for obvious reasons, may have started out as a Latin motet or even a string fantasia, and the versions for voices and viols were probably made by Bull himself. Despite the popularity which it once enjoyed, however, this is the only sacred vocal work by the composer of which a recording is currently [75] available (December 1990). It is in some ways a curious mixture; the dynamic interplay of short, imitative figures in the verse sections contrasting (in the choruses) with the rather more austere harmony and part-writing that is a feature of his keyboard music. The work

concludes with a sort of choral variant of the hexachord fantasia. "Sing unto~God", by Thomas Tomkins, is similarly declamatory, and the opening verse calls for some wonderfully stentorian low notes of which a Russian bass would be proud.

The last verse anthem in this programme - John Amner's "O ye little flocks" - is a glorious piece from a rather uneven collection, Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* (London, 1615). An extended work ("O ye little flock", the only part mentioned in the accompanying notes, is the first part - no. 19 - of the complete cycle, which also comprises nos 20 and 21 from the collection), it presents a perfect fusion of madrigalian, sacred and consort styles. Amner's madrigalian approach is revealed not only by his title-page, which describes the music as fit 'for Voyces & Vyols', but also by his abundant use of word-painting and the swinging Alleluia sections which conclude nos 20 and 21, while the final cadence of the latter would not be out of place in a liturgical composition, though there is no doubt that this publication was intended for domestic use. The excellence of Amner's writing for viols is best viewed in the context of his working environment at Ely Cathedral, where he was organist (1610-41). The cathedral archives show that the musical establishment had enjoyed a flourishing viol-playing tradition since at least 1604 and, though Amner is never named in connection with the teaching and maintenance of these instruments, he must surely have been very familiar with them. In addition, between Easter 1609 and Midsummer 1610 'Mr Michael E[a]st', certainly the composer who included eight excellent five-part viol fantasias in his *Third Set of Bookes* (London, 1610), served the cathedral as a lay clerk and would have worked closely with Amner. Small wonder, then, that Amner should have persevered in the publication of his own collection. This performance not only has the distinction of providing the only currently available recording of Amner's music, but it is also memorable in its own right. The impressive architecture of the whole cycle is revealed from the first bar to the last, and the performers make the most of Amner's ability to create a powerful climax through the skilful development of his musical material.

Six items of music for viol consort, not all of them obviously related to the festive season, complete the programme. Two of the most seasonal - Anthony Holborne's Pavan "The Cradle" and Galliard "Lullabie" - are among the most attractive pieces from his *Pavans, Galliards, Almains ... in five parts* (London, 1599), and they are not otherwise available on record at the time of writing. Here, the application of ornamentation and the use of divisions in the repeated sections is not perhaps as systematic and consistent as it might have been (see, for example, the rising five-note figure in the repeated first strain of the Pavan melody which surely calls for simple divisions); and the final chord of the [76] Galliard is not perfectly balanced (there is too much fifth and not enough third). Nevertheless, these are beautiful performances in which the music maintains its vitality and never flags. The same vitality is brought to bear on the two fine five-part Byrd pieces - Browning and the Fantasia 2 in 1. The latter is especially well done, the players bringing out the subtle change of character in each section of the work without obscuring the shape of the whole. Byrd's four-part instrumental version of the hymn "Christe qui lux es" owes much to Robert White's settings, and its sombre and restrained tones contrast well with the strongly 'secular',

popular melodic elements that are found in his other two works. Gibbons's *In nomine*, also in five parts though (like "*Christe qui lux es*") somewhat lacking in festive spirit, is given a beautiful and dignified airing.

Taken as a whole, this recording makes a distinguished contribution to the catalogue of available music for voices and viols, especially in the imaginative choice of some works which are either relatively unknown, or which were hitherto unavailable on record, CD or cassette. The whole programme is performed with a degree of vitality that sometimes borders on exuberance. This is due variously to an excellent choice of tempi, none of which is too slow (only in one piece, Byrd's *Browning*, do some of the shorter note-values seem very slightly rushed), a good sense of style, and consummate musicianship. The recording quality is very good, the balance between singers and players sensitive, and the intonation excellent. The former use 'authentic' pronunciation which, though possibly an acquired taste, even to some enthusiasts, greatly adds to the down-to-earth quality and the energy of their performances. I recommend this recording without reservation: it would make a thoughtful and seasonal stockingfiller for viol-players in 1991, if now a little late for Christmas 1990.

IAN PAYNE