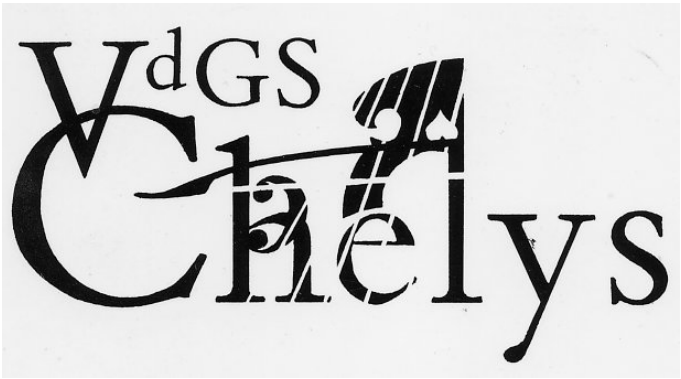

The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

Volume 23 (1994)

JOHN WARD *(c.* 1589-1638): THE CASE FOR ONE COMPOSER OF THE MADRIGALS, SACRED MUSIC AND FIVE- AND SIX-PART CONSORTS

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Until quite recently, it was widely accepted that John Ward's madrigals, consorts and sacred music were the work of one man.[1] Lately, encouraged by the apparently wide stylistic gulf between Ward's five- and six-part consort music and his published madrigals, and drawing on inconclusive archival material, attempts have been made to establish that more than one composer was responsible.[2] No-one, however, seems to have made a detailed comparative study of all of Ward's works,[3] and the time is now ripe for an in-depth analysis of the musical links between them. The purpose of this article is to present some of the musical evidence which, it is hoped, will establish that one man was responsible. Before the music is allowed to speak for itself, however, we must briefly review the roles played by new evidence of Ward's identity, recent research into English chromaticism in the early seventeenth century, and the importance of the composer's handwriting.

John Ward: a Biographical Sketch

First, important new light has been shed on Ward's identity by Dr Roger Bowers.[4] He has shown that the composer's father, John Ward, senior, was born in Yorkshire, early in Elizabeth's reign and came to Canterbury where he married (about 1585) his first wife, Susan Dunkin. This is the man who became the lifelong retainer of Elizabeth Smyth of Ashford and Westhanger. In or about 1594, when Lady Elizabeth married Sir Henry

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[1] See, for example, M.C.T. Strover, 'The Fantasias and In Nomines of John Ward' (B.Litt., Oxford, 1956), 69-75, for discussion of the madrigals and fantasias; Michael Foster, 'The Sacred Music of John Ward' (B.Mus., Durham, 1971), 48-57; M. Foster, 'Ward, John', *The New Grove,* xx (London, 1980), 210-11.

[2] See principally R. Ford, 'John Ward of Canterbury', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America,* xxiii (1986), 51-63; and Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins,* I (Surbiton, 1992), 125, citing his own review of Craig Monson's book (see my footnote 5) who has, however, since reviewed his findings in the light of Dr Bowers's research.

[3] For editions of music used in the text, see page 15. Editions of selected four-part consorts are available, but the question of their authorship is beyond the scope of this article.

[4] Roger Bowers, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Musicians, c. 1070-1642* (forthcoming), Appendix, for full discussion and references. Dr Bowers shows that the received biographies of John Ward, as Robert Ford realized, conflate two different men; however, Dr Bowers has concluded that, far from being father and son, these were unrelated, There is no reason to believe that the older man was a composer at all; to the other, the composer, Dr Bowers is content to attribute the madrigals, sacred music and consorts simply for the lack of compelling reason to do otherwise. Finally, he shows how all the material currently available resolves into four men of this name, from two distinct families. I am grateful to Dr Bowers for placing his unpublished research at my disposal. The following paragraph is based on Dr Bowers's account.

 Ward *pere* went with her and, in the oft-quoted document of 1629 (not 1607 as is usually stated), he was described as her 'ancient servant'. He died later that year, and she in 1631. John Ward, junior (the composer),[5] was born probably in 1589,[6] a chorister of Canterbury Cathedral (1597-1604) and a King's Scholar of the Grammar School there (1604-7). From thence he probably went directly into the Fanshawe household at Ware Park, Hertfordshire, where Sir Henry had a flourishing musical establishment which the composer served between *c.* 1607 and Sir Henry's death in 1616. In 1613 the young composer, then aged about twenty-four, published 'the primitiae of my Muse' — his only printed set of madrigals — which he dutifully dedicated to Sir Henry, his 'very good Maister'.

At his music-loving patron's death in 1616, however, the composer's circumstances changed dramatically. Sir Henry's heir, Sir Thomas, was cast in a Jacobean rather than an Elizabethan mould and had neither the inclination nor the resources for domestic music on the scale his father had encouraged it. The composer's father, well established as Lady Elizabeth's trusted gentleman servant, continued in her service as before, witness her description of him in 1629. But his son, the composer, was somewhat stranded by the retrenchment in Sir Thomas's household and took — probably at this date, certainly by 1621/2 — a modest post as an attorney (i.e. subordinate substitute) for Fanshawe in the latter's capacity as King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer in London, which Ward held until his death in 1638.[7] Thanks to this post, Ward has left us a large quantity of official documents bearing his signature. Some of these prove that he was acquainted with contemporary musicians, such as William Byrd (see Plate 1). It is highly likely that this enforced change in Ward's circumstances in 1616 affected both his musical environment and his musical output. Although he probably continued his association with the Fanshawes, most of his time would have been spent behind a desk at Warwick Lane, a stone's throw from St Paul's Cathedral. It was probably this exposure to musical life in the capital, and to the forward-looking musical circle of Thomas Myriell in particular, that hastened this change from his already highly Italianate madrigalian style to a more up-to-date, adventurous, idiomatic manner of writing for viol consort. All that we know of Myriell's manuscripts, his musical tastes and his contacts (which embraced both Fanshawe and the court) points directly to his position of musical influence in the capital and

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[5] Nothing in Dr Bowers's findings, which repudiate the view that the composer was a son of a minor canon of Canterbury Cathedral (see Andrew Ashbee's review of Monson (footnote 8) in *Music and Letters,* lxiv (1983), 253), excludes the possibility that father (Lady Elizabeth Fanshawe's servant, not the minor canon of Canterbury) and son were both composers: my purpose here is simply to present musical evidence that one man was responsible for the madrigals, the sacred music and the five- and six-part consorts. Dr Ashbee has since reviewed his findings in the light of Dr Bowers's research.

[6] His approximate date of birth can be deduced from the date of his choristership.

[7] The date 1621/2 is that of the earliest of many documents containing Ward signatures so far discovered in the Public Record Office (PRO), London. The latest known date on which Ward was still in post was May 1638 (PRO SP46/79, no. 179) and he was dead by 31 August following, when his will was proved. I am grateful to Dr Bowers for informing me of the date parameters of the PRO documents discovered to date.)

to a close acquaintance with the composer.[8]

[3] **Ward the Madrigalist: Background to the Consort Music**

This scenario of rapid musical development is illuminated by recent research showing that the English madrigalists owed much more to avant-garde Italian chromaticism than has been realized hitherto. Two manuscript collections — of Francis Tregian and Thomas Myriell — played a crucial role in the dissemination of the latest techniques. One of the former (British Library, Egerton MS 3665, compiled between c. 1609 and 1619) includes chromatic works by Monteverdi and Gesualdo; and among the latter, Ward's textless Italian madrigal-cum-fantasia *a*5 entitled `Cor mio' (probably modelled on a madrigal by Monteverdi) is found alongside textless chromatic madrigals by leading Italians. Moreover, the feverish climate of musical change in which Ward was working in the first two decades of the seventeenth century is shown by his contemporary Richard Mico, who paid tribute to Monteverdi by composing a 'parte seconde' to one of his chromatic madrigals. This research also demonstrates that the contents of Ward's *Madrigals* of 1613 are, in fact, much more subtly chromatic than most English sets and feature putative borrowings from Marenzio, Monteverdi and Wert. Its author, Dr Kian-Seng Teo, in re-assessing Ward's musical style, sees no reason to attribute his works to two men:

> Ward's chromatic technique is generally not dissimilar to Wilbye's, with its fair amount of harmonic and melodic inflexions ... and chromatic notes. If there is little to match the audacity of a number of his consort fantasias — which were almost certainly composed later, and generally surpass the madrigals in maturity — there are signs of a more adventurous and dramatic approach [to chromaticism] in these works [i.e. the *Madrigals* of 1613].

He concludes that the madrigals had yet to attain the maturity of the consort fantasias or the sacred anthems upon which Ward's reputation must have largely rested during his lifetime'.[9] Ward emerges from this study as one of a number of London-based composers whose access to the latest chromatic repertories had fired his imagination.

Finally, there remains the question of Ward's handwriting. In a previous article, I stated that several pages of music text in Oxford Christ Church Mus. MSS 61-6 were in a hand that appears to be identical with that of Ward the attorney.[10] This music hand is highly significant, in that it copied

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[8] For an excellent discussion see Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 29-44,59-67 and the references there cited.

[9] Kian-Seng Teo, *Chromaticism in the English Madrigal* (D. Phil., Oxford, 1983; Garland (NY), 1989), 95-7, 105 notes 2 and 3, 124-5, 275 note 1, 276, 288-98, 306, 310-11. (The quotations are at 275-6 and 289, respectively.) The celebrated passage from Weelkes's 'Hence care' *(Madrigals* of 1600) is quoted in Fellowes, *English* Madrigal *Composers,* 200; see also David Brown, *Thomas Weelkes* (London, 1969), 102.

[10] `The Handwriting of John Ward', *Music & Letters,* lxv (1984), 176-88 (Plates III and IV are transposed). The attorney's handwriting (PRO, SP 46/82, f. 26) and two signatures are reproduced as Plate I, and part of the bass parts from 'Mount up' and `No object dearer' as Plates III and IV. Monson's claim *(op. cit.,* 35) that the same man also copied the organ part in his Plate 7(b), though not impossible, is not entirely convincing.

two anonymous pieces: the consort song 'Mount up my soul'; and a six-part Latin motet Nota persolvam'.[11] That this consort song is almost certainly [4] the work of Ward the madrigalist and composer of sacred music has been demonstrated elsewhere;[12] and it is worth pointing out, in passing, that the passage there cited is a no less blatant quotation from Ward's Second Service.[13] But this musical Odyssey, taken a step further, reveals conclusive musical links between 'Mount up' and Ward's elegy on the death of Henry, Prince of Wales (d. 1612), 'No object dearer'.[14] The palaeographic evidence is further strengthened by the fact that the same copyist — surely Ward the composer, with whose holograph endorsement in the Public Record Office this music and text hand of 'Mount up' is almost certainly identical — copied the entire text of 'No object dearer' (albeit in a different 'scribal guise' of italic) and omitted to add the honorific prefix to his signature.[15] Thus, if we accept the premises (i) that the man who composed 'Mount up' was, on the evidence of 'No object dearer', John Ward the established composer, and (ii) that the Exchequer attorney who made the holograph endorsement also (according to the palaeographic evidence) copied this piece and sent the pages to Thomas Myriell, then we must conclude that Ward the composer and Ward the attorney are identical.

Having set out the evidence that the sacred music and madrigals. were composed by the same man, let us now consider their relationship with the consorts. At first sight, the consorts differ considerably in style and technique. But analysis reveals that this gulf is more apparent than real, especially if we regard the six-part consorts as transitional between his earlier works and the five-part consorts. Ward's madrigals, as Dr Teo has shown, are highly chromatic, although much depends on how that term is defined: if only as a kaleidoscopic transition through unrelated keys (as, for example, the opening bars of Weelkes's 'Hence care') then Ward's style did indeed change dramatically; but if we take into account inflexions, the use of relatively uncommon accidentals (such as A♭ and D♯ traditionally

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(Obstacles include the differences in the music hand; and the engrossing secretary script at the head of the page which is quite unlike the hand in which the other 'Ward' folios are copied.)

[11] 'Mount up' is at fol. 62v and `Vota persolvam' *(VP) is* at fol. 69r in Christ Church Mus. MS 61 (See `Abbreviations and Notes on Musical Examples' (page 15) for editions.)

[12] 'The Handwriting of John Ward', 184, Exx. 2(a) and 2(b)

[13] See I. Payne, *SVW,* i, 38, where the Nunc Dimittis has some similarity to the two examples in footnote 10.

[14] An edition of the latter is in *ME* no. 7. It is at fol. 62v of Christ Church Mus, MS 61. For a facsimile of the Bassus part, see 'Handwriting of John Ward', Plate IV. Musical similarities between this piece and the devotional consort songs are discussed further in my forthcoming article, 'Two Newly-Identified Sacred Vocal Works by John Ward'.

[15] Dr Monson was the first to notice that 'Mount up' and 'No object dearer' were copied by the same scribe, although he omitted to attribute the hands to Ward: 'A hand not previously encountered [in Mus. MSS 61-61 ... provides 'Mount up, my soul', `Vota per solvam [sic['', and 'No object dearer', all three of which are on paper that contrasts with the surrounding folios' (op. *cit.,* 30). Even allowing both for the obvious differences between secretary and italic scripts (Monson coins the term 'scribal guise' at p. 62), and for the musical similarities between the two pieces, the music hands are themselves sufficiently similar to place such an identification beyond reasonable doubt.

unconnected with *musica ficta*, for the purposes of colour and text-illustration, then the change is much less remarkable — even predictable, given its contemporary musical context. As we have already seen, the change in the Fanshawe household after 1616 served as a propellant, compelling the composer, then in his late twenties, to take a routine civil service post in London. Viol-players are indebted to Sir Thomas Fanshawe for helping to establish the composer in the capital, where he had ample opportunity and encouragement to develop his musical style along the same lines as many of his contemporaries.

[5] A rough chronology emerges from the discussion so far. Ward's madrigals were published in 1613; his earliest dateable madrigalian piece was composed for the death of Henry, Prince of Wales (1612), his latest for Sir Henry's death (1616). We do not know if he went to London directly, but Ward would have had until 1619 to compose the five-part consorts (Francis Tregian copied a large number of these in Egerton MS 3665, and died in that year). These hypotheses are entirely consistent both with Dr Teo's findings and with Michael Foster's suggested chronology of Ward's works.[16]

The Music

It will be instructive to look now at some musical examples. (See 'Abbreviations and Note on Musical Examples', page 150 The first fact to establish on purely musical grounds is that there is nothing in Ward's six-part consorts which could not have been written by the madrigalist.[17] Indeed, the two magnificent In Nomines, in particular, have numerous points of contact. Compare, for example, the conflict of the major and minor third over a dominant pedal, using the same interlocking melodic fragments (A/B and C in Examples 1 and 2); and in Examples 3-5, the sinuous melodic contour (A) of the opening of the second In Nomine which, both in its use of the affective leap of a minor sixth, and in the melodic and harmonic outline shared by the bass (B), is probably due indirectly to the continued influence of John Wilbye.

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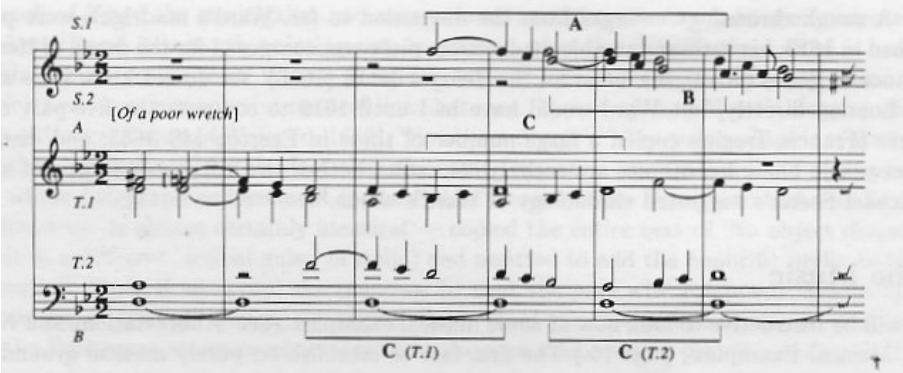
[16] Teo, *op. cit.;* Foster, 'John Ward'. The latter takes an extreme view of chromaticism, when he claims that 'there are surprisingly few instances' of it in Ward's works. True, prior to the five-part consorts there were no extraneous modulations; but the term also embraces inflexions, non-ficta accidentals, temporary leading-notes - anything non-diatonic, in fact, that 'colours' the essentially modal harmony. Only the six two-part ayres for bass viols and some of the sacred music fit Foster's description if Dr Teo's definitions are adopted.

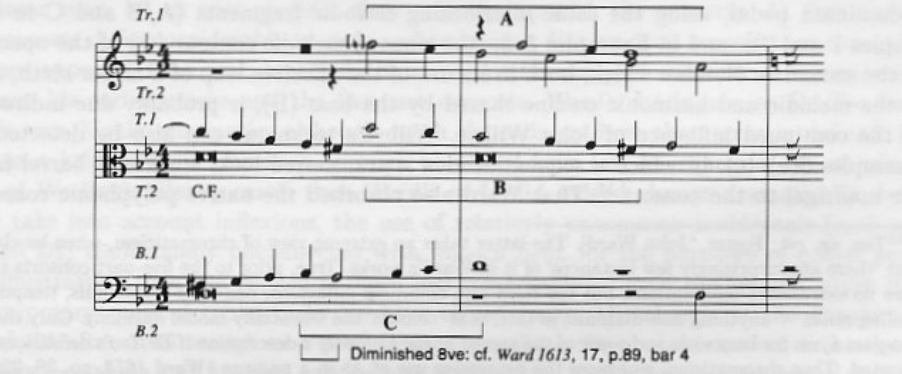
Thus chromaticism embraces the expressive use of A♯) in a passage (*Ward 1613,* no. 28, 225-6) heavily influenced by the celebrated passage in Weelkes's 'O my son, Absalom' (quoted in Brown, *op. cit.,* 149). It may be mentioned in passing that Ward owed a much greater debt to Weelkes than has hitherto been realized: see Ward's anthem, 'Alleluia, I heard a voice' *(SVW,* ii, no. 18, 363-88) which is clearly modelled on Weelkes's famous setting; and Ward *1613,* nos. 7 and 10, which resemble the latter's style rather than Wilbye's. This is important for our purpose in showing that Ward *was* very responsive to a wide range of musical influences.

[17] One exception is the extreme chromaticism in *MB,* no. 19, bars 31-6 (cf. *MB,* no. 1, bar 25). But even here, the sudden chromatic shift to D minor is anticipated in 'No object dearer' *(ME,* no. 7, bars 102-5) where, in one of Ward's most powerful and forward-looking madrigalian sequences, after a number of dominant preparations in C minor he cadences in D minor. An identical passage occurs in *MB,* no. 20, bars 30-2.

Wilbye's technique can also be detected in Examples 6(a)-(c), in which a sequential idea is transferred lock, stock and barrel from the madrigal to the consort.[18] That Ward also absorbed the native polyphonic consort-song tradition, as transmitted by Wilbye, is evident from his exploitation of academically `correct' ornamental resolutions as an integral and elegant decoration of the polyphonic strand: it contrasts with the more dramatic use of disjunct, affective intervals and unorthodox dissonance treatment found elsewhere. Both extremes are present in all branches of his output.[19]



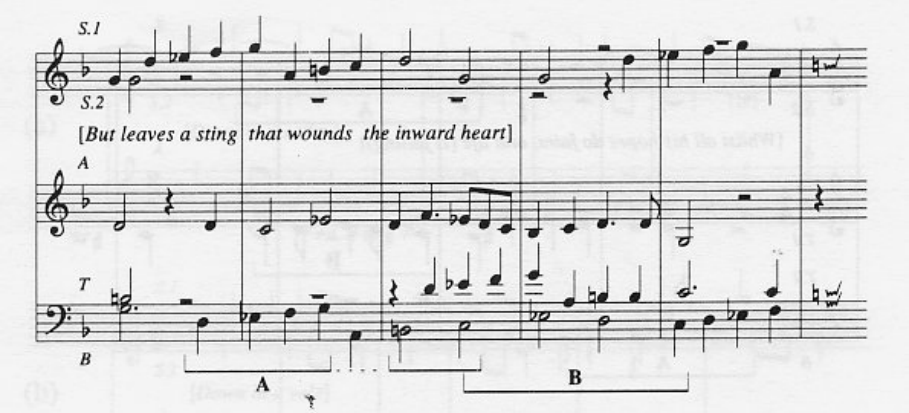
Example 1: *Ward 1613*, 23, pp. 150–1 [cf. *1613*, 9, p. 42: rhythm as Example 2]



Example 2: *Musica Brittanica*, 23, bars 25–26

[18] This descending chromatic idea (*Wilbye 1609,* no. 20, 118-20; *Ward 1613,* no. 20, 123-5) was developed further in the consorts: cf. *MB,* no. 3, bars 47-end, where Ward uses all the semitones within the descending chromatic fourth. Also from Wilbye is a modal sequence, where the bass, either the root or the third of the chord, descends by tone or semitone (cf. *Wilbye 1609,* no. 19, 107-8; *Ward 1613,* no. 24, 173-5; *MB,* no. 8, bars 41-4). Wilbye's radiant major-key closes in his minor-mode pieces (*Wilbye 1609,* nos 18, 22, 24) probably influenced the final sections of Ward's *MB* nos 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, just as those of Wilbye *1609,* no. 20 and *Ward 1613,* no. 20, apparently influenced that of *MB,* no, 3. Certainly, the older composer's mastery in combining major and minor inflexions (*Wilbye 1609,* no. 18, 102-end) is much in evidence in Ward's five-part consorts.

[19] See, for example, *SVW,* i, no. 11, bars 1-5 (Tow long'); Ward *1613,* no. 23, 149, 155, 156; *MB,* no. 2, bars 4-5; no. 15, bars 34-43. Again, Wilbye may have provided the model (*Wilbye 1609,* no. 18, 98-end; no. 23, 144). For disjunct, angular part-writing see Examples 4 and 5; Ward *1613,* no. 22, 137-8 (probably after *Wilbye 1609,* no. 19, 109-11); *MB,* no. 18, bars 40-7; no. 20, bars 57-8 (2nd Tenor).



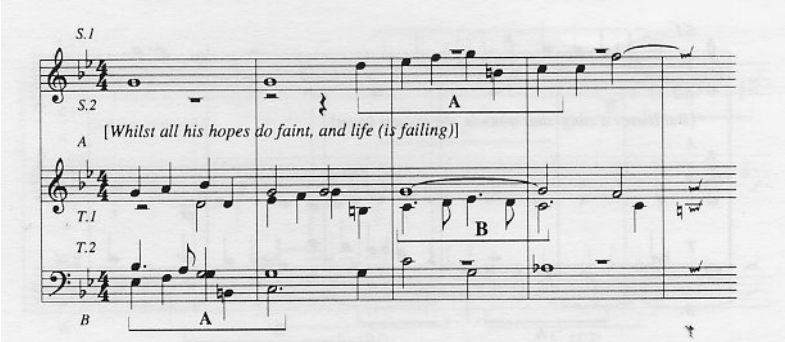
Example 3: *Wilbye 1609*, 21, pp. 109–110

But perhaps the most striking development in Ward's style concerns his treatment of chromaticism and modulation. His madrigals, like those of Weelkes and Tomkins (as Dr Teo points out), feature a very large number of chromatic inflexions. While such excursions [7] are used more for their colour than to create dynamic cadential progressions and distant tonalities, even in his madrigals Ward is a master of the interrupted cadence to effect changes of key, using variously the triad on the submediant (see Example 7(c), bar 2, where this is used to modulate from C minor to E♭) major), the chord of the dominant with a sudden flattened leading-note (see Example 11 and discussion), and the tierce de picardie in first inversion exploited as a temporary dominant, often with an added seventh to exaggerate the voice-leading.[20]

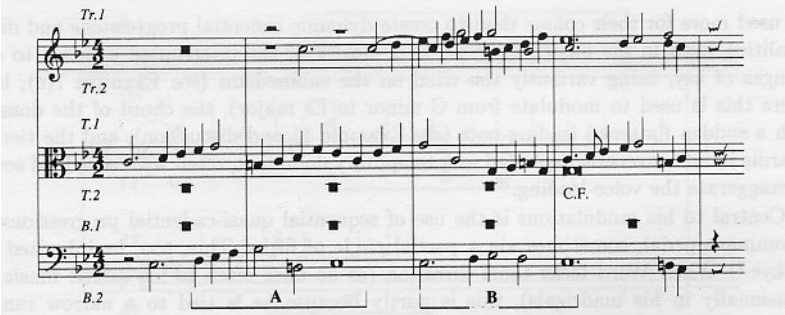
Central to his modulations is the use of sequential quasi-cadential progressions over a dominant pedal, sometimes via a partial circle of fifths. This, too, he inherited from Wilbye.[21] When Ward lacks tonal direction (as he does often in his sacred music, and occasionally in his madrigals), this is partly because he is tied to a narrow range of structurally-important keys - the subdominant, the dominant and the relative major - and partly because he remains too long in one key. Another factor, which is found in all his work but is especially common in his sacred music, is perhaps his weakest cliché: the harmonic progression (with variants) Ib-iib-Va-Ia/ib-iib-V-Ia used often from relative major to tonic minor, with the bass of Ia/ib (for example, root position G minor/first inversion 13b major) acting as a pivot chord. This, together with the use of the triad on the flattened seventh of the minor key as an approach to the perfect cadence, sometimes diffuses a promising build-up

[20] See, for example, *ME,* no, 6, bar 7 (implied dominant seventh chord); no. 7, bars 75, 99; Ward *1613,* no. 28, 219, bar 1. Cf. especially *SVW, ii,* no. 20, bars 37-9 (Praise the Lord') and *MB,* no. 20, bar 5; *Wilbye 1609,* no. 25, 159, bars 7-12 and *MB,* no. 11, bars 47-end; *Wilbye 1609,* no. 24, 153, bar 11 and *MB,* no. 11, bar 46; no, 15, bar 53.

[21] See footnote 18, *Wilbye 1609,* no. 19 and Ward *1613,* no. 19. Both composers also experimented with the partial circle of fifths: cf. *Wilbye 1609,* no. 25, 157-8 (keys A-D-G-C-F); Ward *1613,* no. 24, 164-5 (G C F *BO; MB,* no. 8, bars 34-8 (A D G C F).



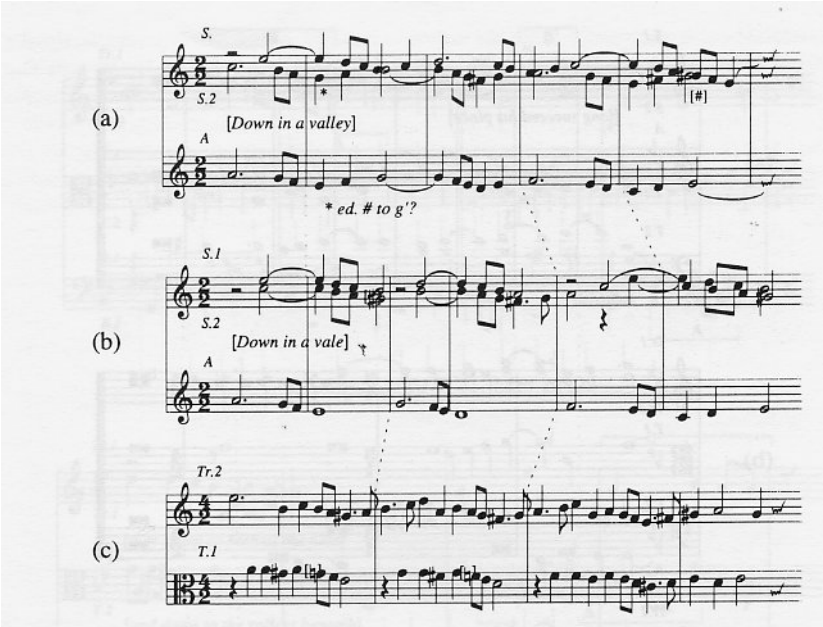
Example 4: *Ward 1613*, 27, p. 215



Example 5: *MB*, 23, bars 1–4

to a cadence.[22] The fact that moments of tonal naivety and [8] progressions of exceptional dynamic force often coexist, however, argues against attributing the authorship to two men. Rather, the case of the frustrated sequence in 'Praise the Lord' strongly suggests that the composer was early developing a feeling for tonal relationships, exploited often in his madrigals and six-part consorts but more frequently [9] and with greater skill in the five-part consorts.

[22] Two original forms of this bass progression are reproduced in Payne, 'The Handwriting of John Ward', 182, Ex. 1. Ward's music abounds in examples of this, and variants; but the sacred *music* is especially rich in it (see *SVW,* i, no. 1, bars 21-3, 50-3, 55-end Nave mercy upon *me');* no. 10 part 2, bars 119-21 (Prayer is an endless chain'); no. 12, bars 40-1, 54-5, 69-71 CI will praise the Lord'); no. 13, bars 15-17 ('Let God arise'). While the original is found in both the madrigals (Ward *1613,* no. 19, 111; no. 25, 188-9) and the consorts *(MB,* no. 17, bars 15-16), Ward often lengthens the bass notes, introduces longer suspensions and increases the tonal 'pull' (Ward *1613,* no. 24, 170; Examples 7(a) -7(c)). The sacred works cited also exploit the triad on the flattened seventh, which undermines the effect of the dominant. The classic example of a sequence ending in bathos comes, ironically, from one of Ward's longest sequences in one of his finest works — 'Praise the Lord, 0 my soul' for six-part voices and viols *(SVW,* ii, no. 20, bars 81-7). Here, Ward builds up tension, using rising paired entries over an ascending bass, with interrupted cadences. Then, in bar 87, just as he is poised on the dominant of the relative major, he quits the chord as though it were VII (descending), with a brief V-I in the relative minor and an anticlimax.



Example 6: (a) *Wilbye 1609*, 21, p. 123 (after Fellowes, but re-barred).
(b) *ME*, 2, bars 1–6. (c) *MB*, 5, bars 1–4

Although Ward made only limited use of modulation in structuring his madrigals, his fondness for static textures created by a bass part which underpins the harmonic structure assisted him in mastering slow-moving suspension-chains. These often exploit pedal-points, and the perorations in Examples 7(a)—(c) show a marked similarity between the six-part consorts, in particular, and the madrigals. Occasionally in the five-part consorts, the cadential structure is expanded to support extraneous modulations, of which the passage in Fantasia no. I a5 (Musica Britannica, no. 1, bar 25) is perhaps the most remarkable: here, after moving from C major to Eb major, Ward uses the circle of fifths to travel through A♭, D♭, G♭/F♯, B, E major, and into A major. These, however, are the inevitable outgrowth of the more dynamic modulating sequences in his madrigals.[23]

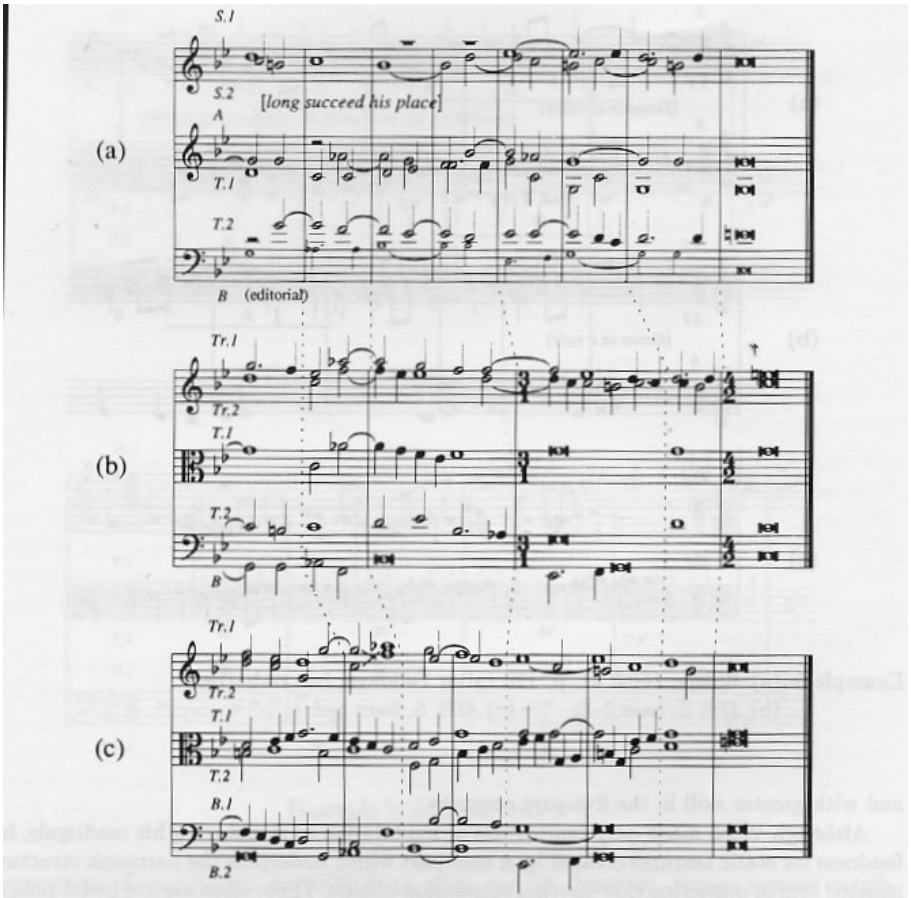
Some of Ward's part-writing has a 'contrapuntal logic' in its combination of strong and individual melodic lines.[24] He is especially fond of the raised sixth and seventh degrees [10] of the minor scale used to descend, with the attendant clash of passing dissonance (Examples 8 and 9). This is yet another technique that he may have borrowed from Wilbye.[25] Examples 8

[23] See the examples cited in footnote 18; also the frequent key-changes in Ward *1613,* nos 17, 24, 27, 28; *ME,* nos. 5 (with its experimental chromatic opening), 6, 7

[24] Foster, 'John Ward', 211

[25] See the parts in thirds in *Wilbye 1609,* no. 31, 201-2 (especially p. 202, bars 4-6 and the clash of e/a); also *ME,* no. 6, bars 75-80; *MB,* no. 2, bars 46-55; no. 17, bars 53-end; no. 20,

and 9 also illustrate the combination of two contrasting ideas (A and B), wide-ranging and in thirds, and characterize his writing for two bass voices or instruments, providing another point of contact between the six-part sacred music and the six-part consorts. The melodic writing in the six-part consorts shows them to be lineal [11] descendants of his six-part madrigals, and of the angular, athletic writing for viols in the consort songs and the sacred music.



Example 7: (a) *ME*, 6, bar 136–end. (b) *MB*, 12, bars 64–end. (c) *MB*, 20, bars 62–end

A final, generic link between Ward's madrigals and his consorts is the extent to which the latter are influenced by madrigalian textures. Indeed, some of the livelier melodic writing, thematic material, textures and cadences in the five-part fantasias would not be out of place in Ward's unpublished madrigals.[26]

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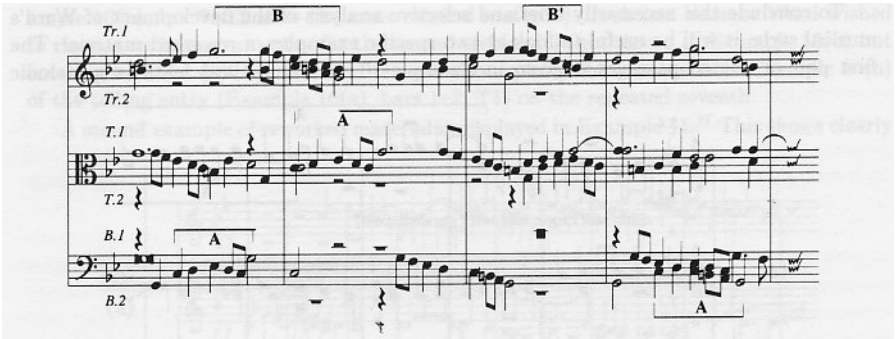
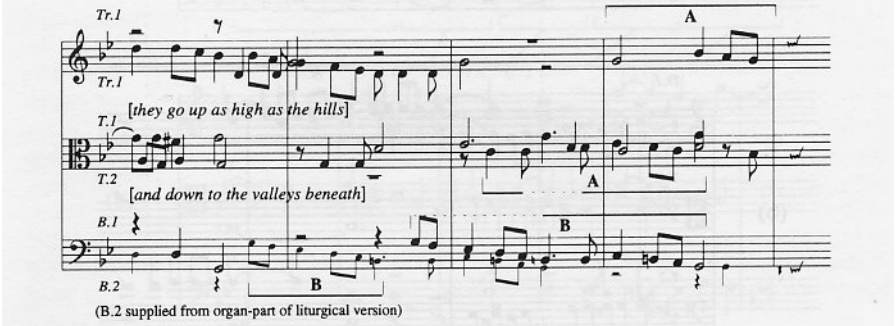
bars 57-8.

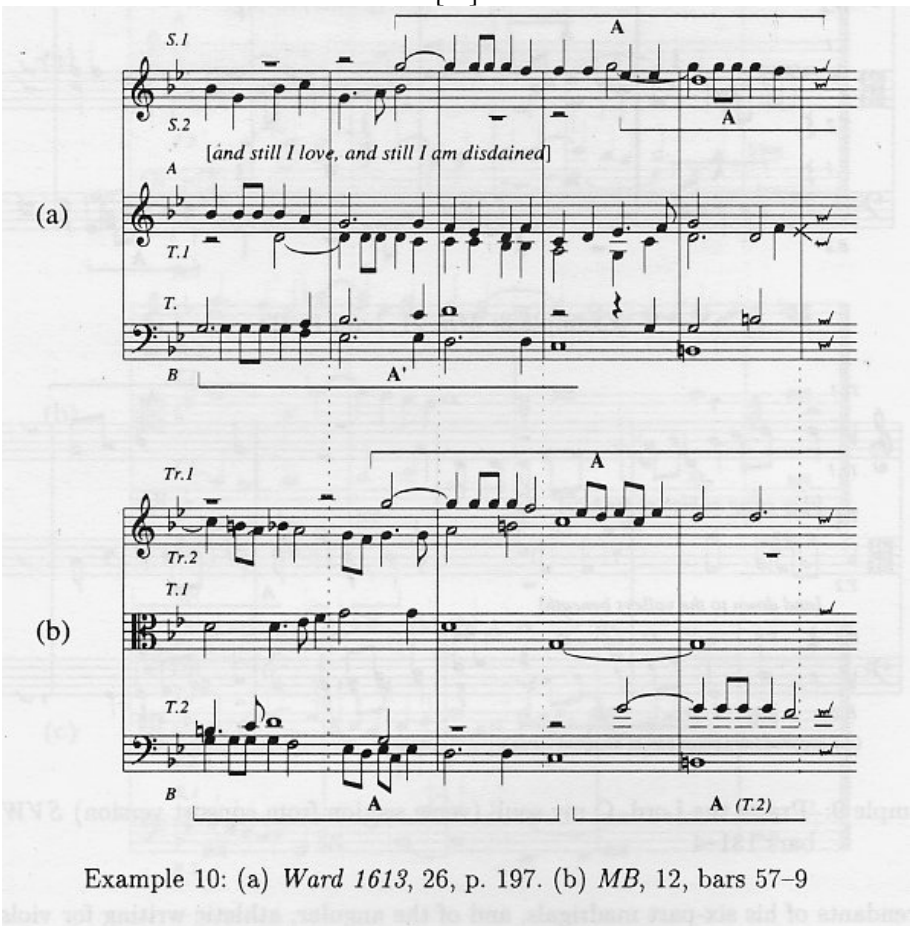
[26] Among the consorts, it is not surprising to find that the textless Italian madrigals *(MB,* nos4,11, 12, 13) owe the greatest debt to that style. This is manifest in the division of the consort into higher and lower choirs, especially the former in three or four parts; expressive use of rhythm, both in homophonic declamatory passages and in the shaping of melodic lines as though they were carrying verbal text (for the latter, cf. Examples 10(a)-(b)); colourful use of chromaticism and madrigalian cadential formulae; and in the often vivid contrasts between sections. Examples of all these features can also be found in Ward's (English) madrigals. The light and varied textures of the canzonet-like *ME,* no. 2, for instance, have much



Example 8: *MB*, 21, bars 19–22



Example 9: 'Praise the Lord, O my soul' (verse section from consort version) *SVW*, ii, 20, bars 131–4

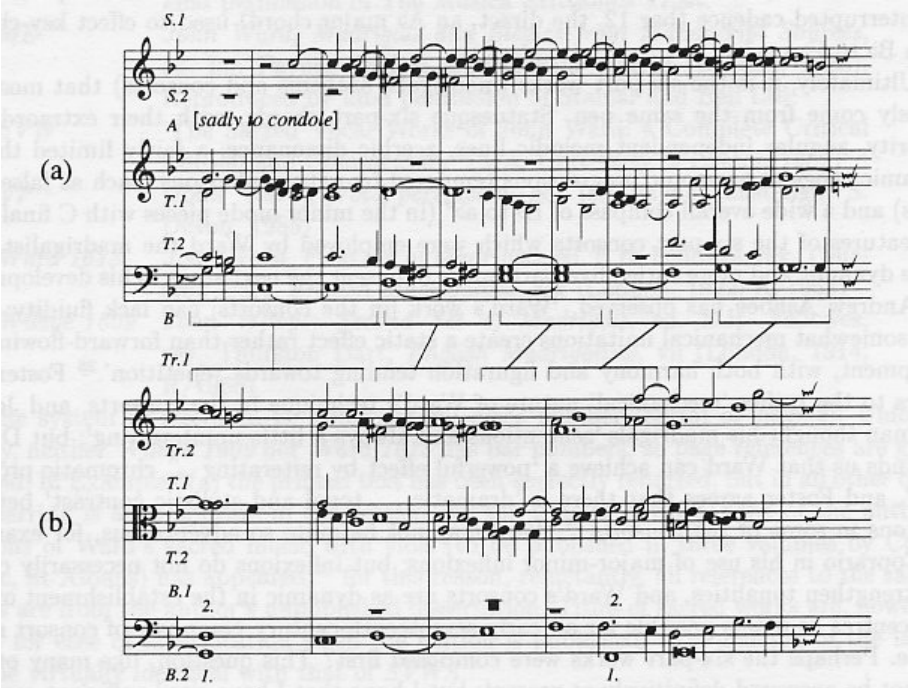


Example 10: (a) *Ward 1613*, 26, p. 197. (b) *MB*, 12, bars 57–9

To conclude this necessarily brief and selective analysis of the development of Ward's musical style, it will be useful to look at two specific examples of reworked material. The first pair of related passages is given in Example 10. Example 10(a) features a melodic point (A), characterized both by syncopation and by repeated notes, over a descending bass (A') supporting 4-3 suspensions on the strong beats. The inner parts fill in the texture for maximum density and sonority. Example 10(a) also features unorthodox dissonance-treatment, such as non-resolving sevenths (bars 1, S2 c" and 2, S2 b♭') and the sounding of a suspension against its resolution (bar 3, Si g" and A f). In Example 10(b) the same melodic idea (A) is retained, idiomatically embroidered for instrumental use, with mid-phrase syncopation and a lower auxiliary note added. The structural harmonic framework is identical, despite insignificant differences in inflexion and an attempt at canon between the outer parts. Octave transposition has been used (Example 10(a), bar 4, S2 and Example [13] 10(b) bar 2, T2 have the same musical material), doubtless because Ward wished to reserve an important entry for the second treble viol (not shown in Example 10(b) but entering over the directs). Reduced texture also explains the absence from Example 10(b) of the telling entry (Example 10(a), bars 1-2, T1) on the repeated seventh.

A second example of reworked material is displayed in Example 11.[27] This shows clearly the exploitation of a shared melodic and contrapuntal technique (namely overlapping, quasi-canonic entries in the two upper parts, at the unison and a tone or semitone apart), as well as similarities in harmonic treatment (that is, chord progressions, schemes of modulation and even a large proportion of voice-leading). (The doubled dominant seventh at some cadences is, incidentally, another hallmark of Ward's technique.) Indeed, the structural harmony is virtually identical in each case, with the exception of a few different inflexions (see below for two examples). For his consort version, Ward has reduced slightly the duration of two approach chords (iv in G minor in bar 3 and IV in Bb major in bar 7), possibly to make his sequences less extended. The madrigal's greater use of passing-notes [14] makes it sound more contrapuntal than the consort version. (See bars 4-5 of the top system where, although the cascading melodic lines sometimes create chords identifiable as triads — for example, ic, V7a, ♯iiib — their overall effect is one of passing, rather than of structural, dissonance.) As we might expect, the consort version is more sophisticated, with a dash of colour provided by the sudden flattening of a leading-note (bar 9, Va of 13) becomes iva (descending) of C minor, and is followed by its new dominant pedal) and an interrupted cadence (bar 12, the direct, an A♭ major chord) used to effect key-change from 13) to E♭ major.

[27] For two minor examples of thematic cross-reference, cf. the openings of *Ward 1613,* no. 26 and *MB,* no. 4; and *Ward 1613,* no. 12 and *MB,* no. 11.



Example 11: (a) *Ward 1613*, 27, pp. 208–9. (b) *MB*, 20, bars 51–6

Ultimately, it is the six-part works (madrigals, anthems and consorts) that most obviously come from the same pen. Statuesque six-part chords, with their extraordinary sonority, angular independent melodic lines, acerbic dissonance, a fairly limited though dynamic range of harmonic progressions tempered by native inflexions (such as false relations) and a wide overall compass of Eb to ab" (in the minor mode pieces with C final), are all features of the six-part consorts which were employed by Ward the madrigalist. The more dynamic and more varied five-part works represent the next stage in his development. As Andrew Ashbee has observed, 'Ward's work [in the consorts] can lack fluidity: rigid and somewhat mechanical imitations create a static effect rather than forward-flowing development, with both harmony and figuration tending towards repetition'.[28] Foster also refers to the rather 'mechanical' nature of Ward's technique in the consorts, and Joseph Kerman thought his madrigals 'sententious and always a little uninteresting'; but Dr Teo reminds us that Ward can achieve a 'powerful effect by reiterating ... chromatic progression', and Foster agrees that there is 'dramatic ... tonal and stylistic contrast' between sections in some of the consorts.[29] Ward may not be quite so adventurous, for example, as Coprario in his use of major-minor inflexions; but inflexions do not necessarily create or strengthen tonalities, and Ward's consorts are as

[28] Ashbee, *Harmonious Musick,* i, 126. A good example of this rigidity is Ward's treatment of homophonic passages: in the madrigals and six-part consorts (*Want 1613,* no. 27, 207; *MB,* no. 18, bars 49-50; no. 19, bars 39-40) the texture is solid and the rhythms lack vitality; in the five-part consorts, however (*ME,* no. 8, bars 41-4; no. 10, bars 23-4), the rhythms are more vital.

[29] Foster, *op. cit.;* Teo, *op. cit.*

dynamic in the establishment of new key-centres as it was possible for an early seventeenth-century composer of consort music to be. Perhaps the six-part works were composed first? This question, like many others, cannot be answered definitively at present; but I hope that I have cited sufficient common ground between the consort music and the other works to show, at the very least, that the burden of proof is on the proponents of the two-composer theory. Part of this burden involves accounting for the similarities, and not simply the obvious differences, which exist between them.

Abbreviations and Note on Musical Examples

In the text, all references to, and quotations from, individual works, are to the following editions:

MB	*John Ward, Consort Music in Five and Six Parts,* ed. Ian Payne, Musica Britannica, lxvii (forthcoming). Reproduced by kind permission of The Musica Brittanica Trust.
ME	*John Ward, Madrigals and Elegies from Manuscript Sources,* ed. Ian Payne, *English Madrigalists,* xxxviii (London, 1988). Reproduced by kind permission of Stainer and Bell Ltd.
SVW	'The Sacred Vocal Works of John Ward: a Complete Critical Edition and Commentary' (MA, University of Exeter, 1982)
VP	[John Ward], *Wota persolvam,* ed. Ian Payne (Lustleigh, S. Devon, 1985)
Ward 1613	*John Ward, First Set of Madrigals,* ed. E.H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart, *English Madrigalists,* xix (London, 1922; R/1968)
Wilbye 1609	*John Wilbye: Second Set of Madrigals,* ed. E.H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart, *English Madrigalists,* vii (London, 1914; R/1966)

The system of reference is: abbreviation; piece number; bar(s) or page(s). Unfortunately, neither *Wilbye 1609* nor *Ward 1613* has bar numbers, so page references are given instead, In Example 6(a) the printed text has been correctly rebarred, but in all other cases the barring is as it appears in the edition. At the time of writing, none of the author's editions of Ward's sacred music with viols (to be published in three volumes by Corda Music, St Albans) has appeared;[30] for this reason, reluctantly, all references to the sacred works are from the author's unpublished dissertation. Titles of sacred works are, however, given for ease of identification when the edition is published. (The barring of the latter will be virtually identical with that of *SVW.)*

[30] Since completing this article, Dr Payne's edition of the five part sacred music for voices and viols has appeared in print: *John Ward: The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts* (St. Albans, Corda Music, 1992) (The editor).

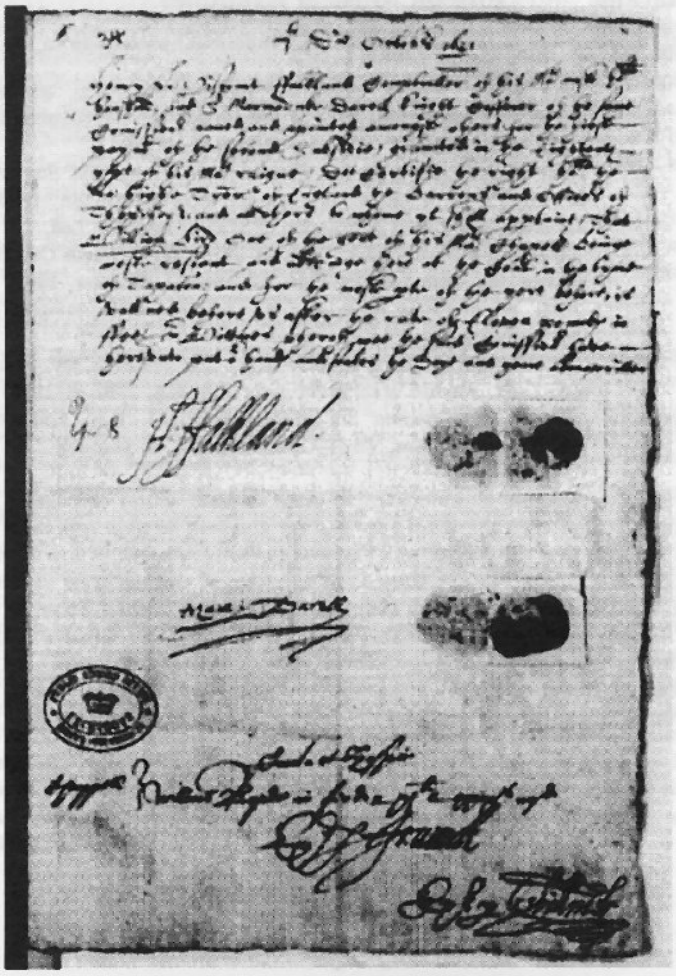


Plate 1: Public Record Office E115/60/34, certificate of residence, dated 4 October 1621, in favour of William Byrd, signed by 'Jo: warde'. Crown copyright, reproduced by permission of the Public Record Office. I am grateful to Dr Roger Bowers for drawing my attention to this document.

ANOTHER FIVE-PART PIECE BY THOMAS LUPO?

DERRY BERTENSHAW

British Library Add. MSS 37402-6, a set of five part-books, have been known to music scholars for many years. A brief description and a list of the set's contents first appeared in the third volume of Augustus Hughes-Hughes's *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London, 1906-9). More detailed descriptions have since been given by Warwick Edwards[1] and, in particular, Craig Monson, who has devoted an entire chapter of his book to this source.[2]

The part-books fall into two distinct main layers (both copied by the same scribe), the second following on from the first.[3] The primary layer *appears* to consist of seventy-five numbered Italian madrigals with their texts removed leaving only brief incipits to serve as titles.[4] The secondary layer

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[1] Warwick Edwards, `The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', 2 Vols (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1974) i, 196-98

[2] Craig Monson, Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650, The Sources and the Music (Ann Arbor, 1982), chap. 6

[3] An inventory of the primary layer is given in Hughes-Hughes, op. *cit., iii,* 222-24. The secondary layer is listed by genre; a more conventional inventory is given in Monson, *ibid.,* 225--26. A third layer can be found in one of the part-books Add. MS 37404 where all the original leaves after fol. 91 are missing and in their place are four leaves from an unrelated part-book containing a section of the Morning and Evening Service by Thomas Morley (fols 92r-95v).

[4] Four unnumbered textless pieces also appear in this layer. At the beginning of Add. MSS 37402 and 37405 on fols lv-2r, the scribe has copied two parts of the four-voiced unpublished motet `Fuerent mihi lacrymae'; Richard Charteris has assigned this motet to Alfonso Ferrabosco I and has included it in his nine-volume edition of the composer's complete works (see *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (15431588): Opera Omnia, vol. 1,* ed. Richard Charteris, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 96 (American Institute of Musicology/Hanssler-Verlag, Neuhausen Stuttgart, 1984); *idem., Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (15431588) A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Calendar* (New York, 1984), 75). In a recent essay Charteris has put forward a strong argument for this attribution ("'Fuerent mihi lacrymae": Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder or the Younger?', *Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento,* ed. Richard Charteris (Sydney, 1990), 113-30). This motet is untexted, unattributed and incomplete in MS 37402 where it follows the opening five-voiced madrigal `Deh poi ch'era' by Luca Marenzio. Madrigals nos 4 and 5, `Dolorosi martir' and `Giunto a la tomba', also by Marenzio, are reversed in this part-book (the Hughes-Hughes catalogue is misleading since these two works do not appear in this order in the other part-books). In MS 37405 `Fuerent mihi lacrymae' is complete, texted, but unattributed and precedes the madrigals. On fols lv-2r of MS 37403, the scribe has copied one part of the six-voiced unpublished madrigal `Cosi m'e 1'aspettar' by Ferrabosco I (Charteris, *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543--1588) A Thematic Catalogue,* 137). It is attributed, but only the first stave is fully texted. The opening sequence of numbered Marenzio madrigals is altered in this part-book, beginning with no. 3, The fa hoggi' (the number is scrubbed out). The sequence is then interrupted by Ferrabosco's `Cosi m'e 1'aspettar' and resumes with nos 4 and 5 `Dolorosi martir' and `O giunta la tomba' [sic.]; nos 1 and 2 `Deh poi ch'era' and `O voi the sospirate' are omitted. The part-books differ again towards the end of this layer: nos 59 and 60 `Non vidi il mondo' and `Tanto mi piacque' by Alfonso Ferrabosco I are reversed in MS 37402 (again Hughes-Hughes is

consists of a haphazard assortment of both full and [18] verse anthems, consort songs, motets, English madrigals and viol consort fantasies. As Craig Monson has shown, the copyist has adapted much of this repertory to suit the combination of voice and viol.[5] Some time appears to have lapsed before the secondary layer was copied. This was compiled more slowly than the first, probably over a number of years.[6] The entire source must have been copied between *1596*[7] and c. *1610*.[8]

Craig Monson has remarked that `things are not what they seem' in the secondary layer.[9] This applies also to the opening seventy-five numbered pieces for, although almost all are identifiable Italian madrigals, the final two works, nos 74 and 75, `Alte parole' and `O che vezzosa',[10] are deceptive. Although both are unattributed in the source, no. 74 is the well-known textless five-part Italianate piece by Thomas Lupo I, the English composer of Jewish-Italian descent; the work is assigned to him in other seventeenth-century viol consort sources.[11] `O che vezzosa' is more problematic since I have not been able to locate it in any other English manuscript. The only Italian madrigal which bears this incipit is the six-voiced `O che vezzosa Aurora' from *Madrigali a sei voci* ... libro primo (Venice, 1583) by Orazio Vecchi. This is not the piece found in Add. MSS 37402-6. No other madrigal with this text incipit can be found either in *Il Nuovo Vogel*[12] or in Emil Vogel's inventories of published anthologies.[13] It is possible that the scribe of Add. MSS 37402-6

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misleading for he has cited the contents of this part-book only). The scribe originally numbered the reversed madrigals 59 and 60 which he altered to 60 and 59 to align them with the other books. As before, the sequence in MS 37403 is disrupted: no. 56 `Occhi cari' is followed by no. 59 `Non vidi il mondo' and no. 60 `Tanto mi piacque'. The sequence then runs 57, 58, 61, 62, etc. An unattributed treble part appears in MS 37402 fols l0v-11r in between nos 14 and 15 and bears the title `Core la' which is crossed out. It is not `Corre la nave mia' from Orazio Vecchi's *Convito Musicale* (Venice, 1597). An unattributed fragment can be found on the upper two staves of MS 37404 fol. 50v and MS 37406 fol. 40v where it is crossed out. The scribe has written beneath it `Monstrous falce' [sic.] in MS 37406 and `falce' [sic.] in MS 37404.

[5] Monson, Voices and Viols, 210-21

[6] Edwards, `The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', i, 197

[7] This is the date of the latest published source for some of the madrigals entered into this layer; see Monson, *op.cit.,* 209 and 316, note 1.

[8] *Ibid.,* 223-24

[9] *Ibid.,* 209

[10] `Alte parole' occurs in Add. MSS 37402 fol. 44r, 37403 fols 43v-44r, 37404 fols 63v-64r, 37405 fols 42v-43r, 37406 fols 44v-45r; `O che vezzosa' in 37402 fol. 44v, 37403 fols 44v-45r, 37404 fols 64v-65r, 37405 fols 43r-43v, 37406 fols 45v- 46r. The titles for both pieces appear in full in all part-books except MS 37403 which carries an abbreviated `Alte paro'.

[11] The exceptions are Oxford Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. C.70 and British Library Egerton MS 2485 where it is unattributed. In Oxford Christ Church Mus. MS 67 the main scribe, Thomas Myriell, has copied on fol. 37v `Tho. Lupo' but crossed out the Christian name and incorrectly added `Joseph' above. For a list of all the manuscript sources, see Gordon Dodd, *The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (London, 1980-92), LUPO-8. An edition of Lupo's five-part music edited by Richard Charteris will be published shortly by Fretwork Editions.

[12] Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, Frangois Lesure and Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia delta Mus" Italiana Vacate Profana pubblicata dal* 1500 *al* 1700, 3 vols (Pomezia, 1977)

[13] `Bibliography of Italian secular vocal music, printed between the years 1500-1700 by Emil Vogel. Revised and enlarged by Alfred Einstein. Printed collections in chronological order', *Notes ii* (1945) 185200, 275-90; iii (1945-- 6) 51-66, 154-69, 256--71, 363-78; iv

may have [19] had access to a different, unpublished Italian madrigal bearing this incipit which is no longer known to us. As we shall see, however, it is far more likely that `O che vezzosa' is a hitherto unidentified five-part piece by Lupo.

As in some other English manuscripts of this period, the numbered madrigals in Add. MSS 37402-6 are unattributed and mostly grouped according to composer. It is reasonable to assume that the scribe copied `Alte parole' and `O che vezzosa' together because he considered they were by the same composer,[14] although the proximity to only one identifiable piece by Lupo in such an ambiguous source as this is, in itself, insufficient reason to assign `O che vezzosa' to him.[15]

Nevertheless, there are a number of close similarities between `O che vezzosa' and Lupo's five-part pieces with Italian incipits which suggest that an attribution is possible. The Italianate works by Lupo appear to have originated as texted madrigals. Although no texted versions are extant, they are within contemporary vocal range and ability, their text incipits, at least, can be underlaid and they are stylistically similar to the canzonetta madrigal.[16] This

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(1946-7) 41-56, 201-16, 301-16; v (1947-8) 65-96, 277-308, 385-96, 537-48. These revisions are bound into the Georg Olms edition of Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek der Gedruckten Weltlichen Vocalmusik Italians aus den Jahren* 1500-1700, 2 vols (Berlin, 1892; repr. Hildesheim, 1972) ii, 601-832.

[14] The scribe has copied, in different ink, the annotations `fa' and `f' above `O che vezzosa' in MS 37402 (`ffirst Treble') and MS 37406 (`Bassus') respectively. It is doubtful these refer to any form of solmization or to the gamut. Although it is possible they may be abbreviations of `fantasia', it is more likely they are shortened forms of `false' since both parts contain serious copying errors (the scribe has also written Talsces' [sic.] above `Natura [non mi fe]' on fol. 39v). The letter `f' also appears at the beginning of no. 73 in MS 37406. Other annotations can be found in this layer of the bassus part-book. At the end of each of nos 3-12 the scribe has written `tru' [sic.] which presumably implies that this part has been checked. These madrigals in the bassus are relatively free of scribal errors, compared with the other parts, which seems to confirm this. The heading `tow trebles' [sic.] appears over nos 9-12 `O come [e gran martire]', `Sovra tenere [herbette]', `La tra'l sangu e' and `O dolce [anima mia]' from *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1592) by Claudio Monteverdi. The same annotation occurs in the secondary layer fol. 56v. On the top left hand corner of no. 28 `Ond'ei [di morte]' fol. 18v another hand has written `strange'; it is most probably a comment on this, the most dissonant and chromatic seconda prattica madrigal parte from Marenzio's *Sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1594), which this person found too esoteric for his own taste.

[15] 'By contrast, the three unattributed five-part pieces in Dublin Marsh Library MSS Z.3.4.7-12, which Richard Charteris has assigned to John Coprario, can be found among a sequence of eighteen identifiable works by him. The unattributed pieces are stylistically very similar to Coprario's early Italianate five-part works found in the secondary layer of Huntington Library, San Marino, California, MSS EL 25 A 46-51, the earliest extant source of his ensemble music (Richard Charteris; John Coprario, A Thematic Catalogue of his Music, with a Biographical Introduction (New York, 1977) 104-5; idem, `Consort music manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', Royal Musical Association *Research Chronicle*, xxii (1976), 27-63; idem, `The Huntington Library Part Books, Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 50 (1987), 59-84).

[16] 'Il vago' VdGS no. 5, `Alte parole' VdGS no. 9, 'Io moriro' VdGS no. 18, `Ardo' VdGS no. 19, `Che fia lasso di me' VdGS no. 29; some of the untitled textless pieces also appear to be madrigals, although this can only be confirmed once their texts have been located and underlaid. An examination of compass, melodic figuration and compositional methods reveals that the five-part works of Coprario and Lupo contain madrigal-inspired fantasies

includes 'Il vago', for although it contains a low E flat in the bass, rarely found in polyphonic vocal music of the time, the bass part is still vocally possible (the [20] E flat occurs on a dotted minim in the opening slow-moving *alla breve* section) and the opening of the piece can be comfortably underlaid with text (see Example 4b). Yet scribes of English manuscripts include these works, not among texted madrigals, but among pieces originally intended, or adapted, for instrumental performance on consorts of viols.[17] `O che vezzosa' also appears to have a vocal origin; it is stylistically similar to the *canzonetta*-madrigal of the late *cinquecento,* it is entirely within contemporary vocal range[18] and, as we shall see, it almost certainly once possessed a text. Yet this piece, too, is included with works adapted for instrumental performance. All the music in the primary layer of Add. MSS 37402-6 was copied to be played (presumably by viols), not sung: on fol. 40r of NIS 37406 the scribe has entered the instruction, arising out of an error in copying, `the last lyne ys to be played next afore this'.[19]

There is a more specific link between `O che vezzosa' and Lupo. Some yearsrago, David Pinto noted that:

> For the now textless madrigals `Alte parole' and `Che fia lasso di me' (five-part fantasies nos 9 and 29), Lupo must have culled his poetry from Orazio Vecchi's Libra Primo a6 (Venice, 1583; reprinted 1588, 1591) where `Alte parole e leggiadrett' accents' functions as a seconda parte to `Occhi soave'.[20]

More recently, in the introduction to his edition of `Ardo', David Pinto noted that Lupo appears to have borrowed both the text and verbal rhythms from Vecchi's publication.[21] it is significant that the only known Italian madrigal to open with `O che vezzosa' occurs in the same publication which served as the source for Lupo's `Alte parole', `Che fia lasso di me' and `Ardo'. Like these Italianate pieces, the unattributed `O che vezzosa' also appears to have originally used a text borrowed from Vecchi's *Libro Primo* a6. Example 1 shows that the opening of this piece can be underlaid with Vecchi's *capoverso.*[22]

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for viols in addition to Italianate madrigals with their texts removed; Coprario's `Deh cara anima mia' VdGS no. 32 survives with underlay intact whereas Lupo's music is entirely textless and contains a higher proportion of instrumental fantasies.

[17] See Dodd, Thematic Index. Although `Che fia lasso di me' appears only in Egerton MS 3665, it is located in the section entitled `Fantasie' (fols 117r-185r) and not among the `Madrigali di diversi autori'. The presence of Lupo's Italianate music in instrumental sources is, in itself, not particularly significant since genuine Italian madrigals can also be found textless in seventeenth-century viol consort manuscripts.

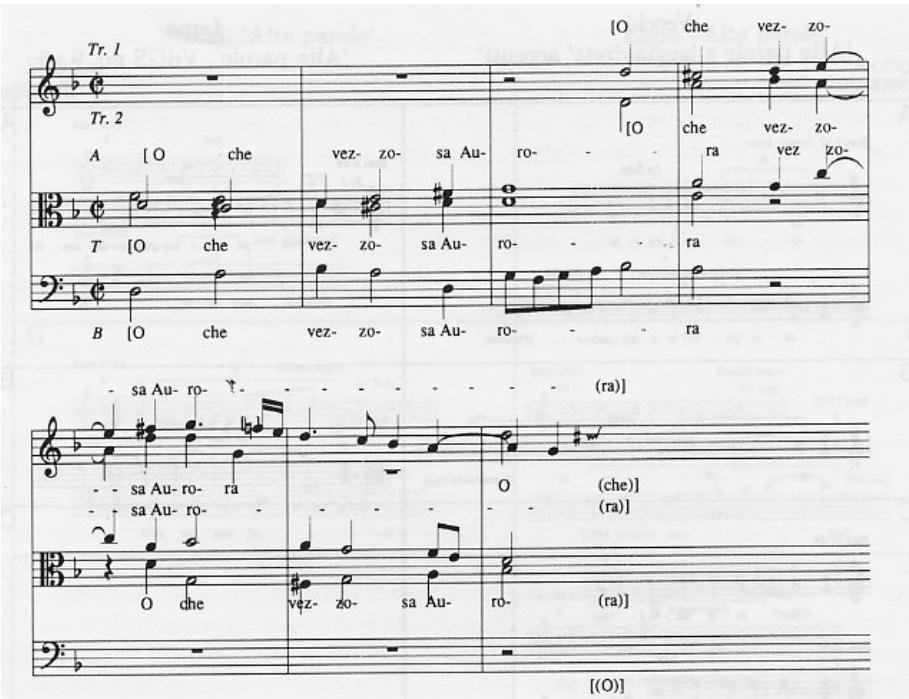
[18] The range ofeach part is c'-a", d'-a",f-d",d-a' and A-d'.

[19] This has been pointed out by Warwick Edwards (`The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', i, 197) and Craig Monson (*Voices and Viols*, 210).

[20] David Pinto, `The Fantasy Manner: the seventeenth-century context', Chelys, 10 (1981) 17-28, at p.24

[21] See footnote 22

[22] The following sources have been used for the music examples and tables: Examples 2a and 5, Tables 1 and 2, the 1591 edition of Orazio Vecchi, *Madrigali a sei voci ... libro prima* (Venice, 1583), courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; Examples 2b and 4b, and Table 1 Egerton MS 3665, courtesy of the British Library; Example 3b Orazio Vecchi, *Madrigali a cinque voci ... libro primo* (Venice 1589), courtesy of the British Library; Example 4a Giovanni de Macque, *Madrigali a quattro a cinque et sei voci* (Venice, 1579), courtesy of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna; Example 3a Jacob Arcadelt *Il primo libro de madrigals a quatro* (Venice, 1539) in vol. 2 of *Jacobi Arcadelt Opera Omnia*, ed. Albertus Seay, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 31 (American Institute of Musicology, 1970), ©American



Example 1: 'O che vezzosa' (opening), Add. MSS 37402-6, no. 75

The similarity does not end here, for Lupo has borrowed not only texts but also music from Vecchi's *Libro Primo* a6. (In addition, `Io moriro' is a reworking of `Io moriro d'amore' from *Il terzo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (Venice, 1585) by Luca Marenzio[23] and `Il vago' a reworking of the six-voiced `Il vago e lieto aspetto' from *Madrigali a quattro a cinque et sei voci* (Venice, 1579) by Giovanni de Macque[24]). Similarly, `O che vezzosa' is a parody of Vecchi's madrigal. Moreover, there is a striking resemblance between the manner in which it has been composed and Lupo's own

[23] Madrigals from this publication appear in two Elizabethan sources: `Englished' versions of 'Io moriro d'amore' and `Parto da voi' are included in Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* of 1588; original Italian versions of other madrigals appear unattributed at the end of the original contents of Yale University Library Filmer MS 1 (fols 138v-142r) copied in the 1590s.

[24] This madrigal and others from the same publication can be found in *Musica Divina* (Antwerp, 1583[15]) which Joseph Kerman has suggested was one of the sources for the contents of *Musica Transalpina (The Elizabethan Madrigal, A Comparative Study* (New York, 1962), 48-51). `Il vago e lieto aspetto' does not appear in *Musica Transalpina.* Lupo may have derived his parody ultimately from Phalese's anthology.

working methods, as a detailed examination of one of his parodies,[25] `Alte parole', will demonstrate (see Table 1).

[22]

[25] For definitions of parody, see John M. Ward, `Parody technique in '16th-century instrumental music', *The Commonwealth of Music,* eds. Gustave Reese and Rose Brendel (New York, 1964) 208--28; Lewis Lockwood, `On `Parody' as term and concept in 16th-century music', *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music,* ed. Jan La Rue (New York, 1966) 560-75; Quentin W Quereau, 'Sixteenth-Century Parody: An Approach to Analysis', *Journal of the American Musicological Society, 31* (1978), 407-41. John Ward defines parody technique as `free (often random) variation of an autonomous thematic complex' *(ibid.,* 208); Lewis Lockwood states more specifically `that a distinctive and essential feature of 16th-century `parody' is that its unit of procedure is the motive, and that the skill and art of `parody' lay in the manifold transformations that composers could wrest from previously formed motivic constructions' *(ibid., 574).* Quentin Quereau defines these motives first as `linear elements that are imitated in successive voice entries . . . 'then, in more detail as `(a) melodic configurations which appear when voices make prominent entries, whether imitated or not; and (b) melodic configurations which are imitated in other voices but which are not associated with voice entries' *(ibid., 408). Lupo's* Italianate pieces under discussion employ extensive transformation of motives (or motifs, as I prefer to call them) taken from pre-existent musical material, and so fulfil the essential definition of parody.

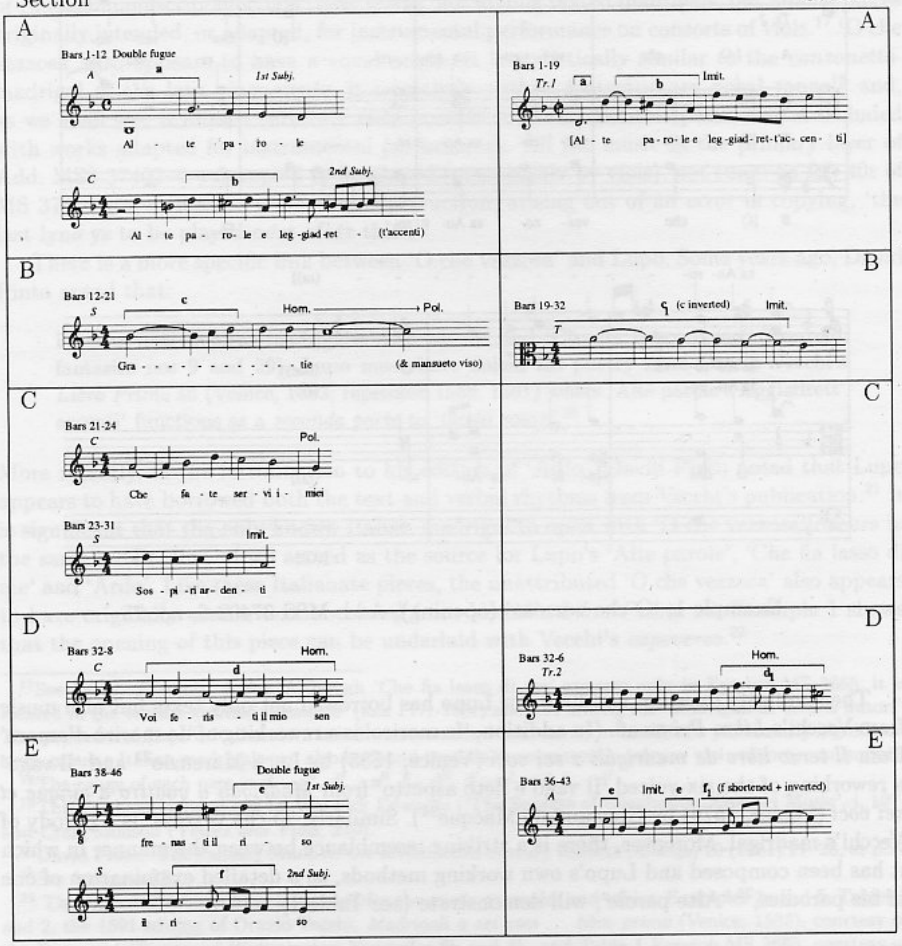


Table 1: Comparison between 'Alte parole' by Orazio Vecchi and Thomas Lupo.

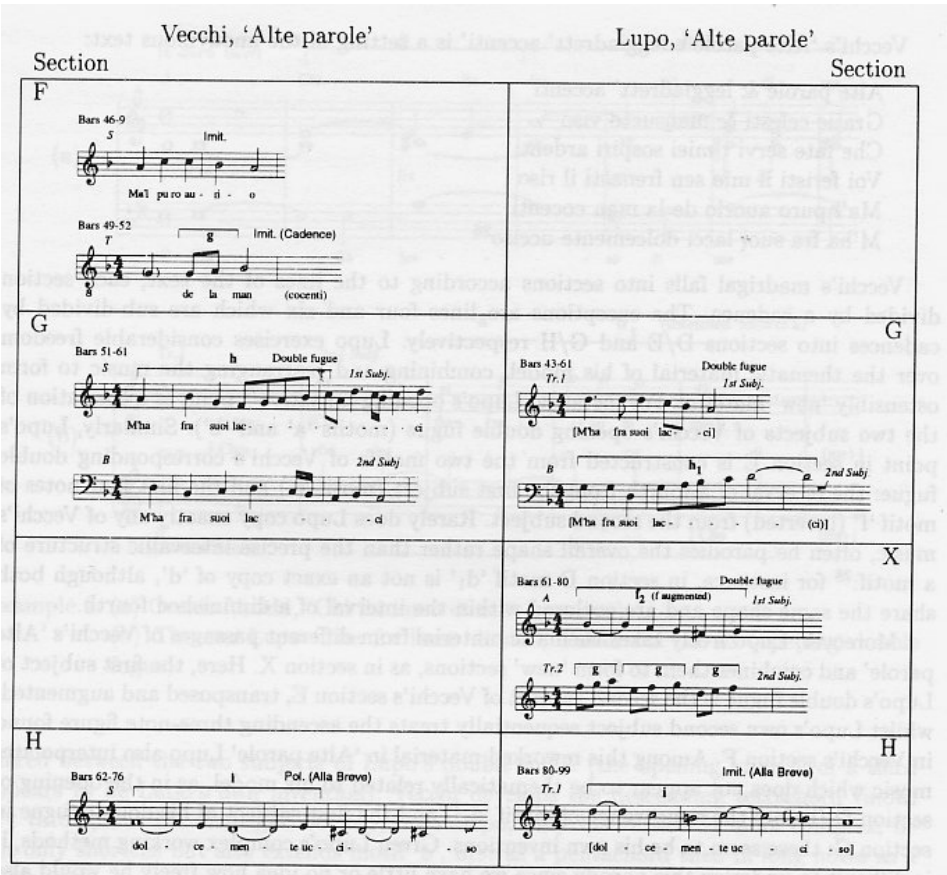


Table 1: (*continued*)

[24] Vecchi's `Alte parole e leggiadrett' accenti' is a setting of the anonymous text:

> Alte parole & leggiadrett' accenti
> Gratie celesti & mansueto viso
> Che fate servi i miei sospiri ardenti
> Voi feristi il mio sen frenasti il riso
> Ma'l puro auorio de la man cocenti
> M'ha fra suoi lacci dolcemente ucciso[26]

Vecchi's madrigal falls into sections according to the lines of the text, each section divided by a cadence. The exceptions are lines four and six which are sub-divided by cadences into sections D/E and G/H respectively. Lupo exercises considerable freedom over the thematic material of his model, combining and rearranging the music to form ostensibly `new' material. For instance, Lupo's opening imitative[27] point is a conflation of the two subjects of Vecchi's opening double fugue (motifs `a' and `b'). Similarly, Lupo's point in section E is constructed from the two motifs of Vecchi's corresponding double fugue: the interval of a fourth from the first subject (motif `e') and the first four notes of motif `f' (inverted) from the second subject. Rarely does Lupo copy exactly any of Vecchi's music, often he parodies the overall

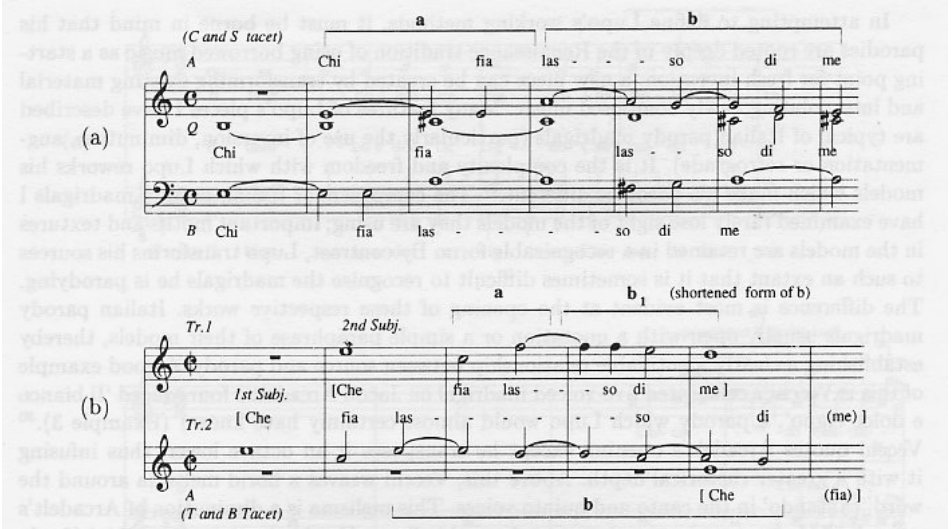
[26] Spelling follows the 1591 edition which contains no punctuation.
[27] The terms imitation and imitative are used here in their contrapuntal sense.

shape rather than the precise intervallic structure of a motif:[28] for instance, in section D motif `$d_1$' is not an exact copy of `d', although both share the same shape and are enclosed within the interval of a diminished fourth.

Moreover, Lupo freely takes thematic material from different passages of Vecchi's `Alte parole' and combines them to form `new' sections, as in section X. Here, the first subject of Lupo's double fugue is the second subject of Vecchi's section E, transposed and augmented, whilst Lupo's own second subject sequentially treats the ascending three-note figure found in Vecchi's section F. Among this reworked material in `Alte parole' Lupo also interpolates music which does not appear to be thematically related to his model, as in the opening of section D (before the appearance of motif `d_1') and the first subject of his double fugue in section G: these seem to be his own inventions. Given Lupo's complex working methods, it is difficult to underlay this parody since we have little or no idea how freely he would also have treated the text (whether he would have altered words, rearranged lines or even set only part of the text). It is. possible only to underlay with certainty some of the sections of `Alte parole'.

This parody is not an isolated example; Lupo exercises the same freedom when parodying other Italian madrigals. Thematic material is again subjected to considerable manipulation. Not only does Lupo rework double fugues in his models as single fugues but, conversely, expands imitative points into double, or even triple, fugues, as in `Che fia lasso di me': in Example 2 Vecchi's ascending fourth followed by a descending tetrachord is [25] shared between the two subjects of Lupo's double fugue (the opening interval of a third appears to be Lupo's own invention). Vecchi develops the descending tetrachord (motif `b') throughout his madrigal. So, too, does Lupo, only his version is more complex; he not only shortens but also extends motif `b', first as a pentachord then in long notes as a hexachord.

[28] Care must be taken when attempting to identify thematic similarities since music at this time was often constructed from stock melodic, harmonic and rhythmic formulae; an incidental similarity between two unrelated works which merely share a common musical vocabulary can be mistaken for a specific relationship. Nevertheless, Lupo's pieces and the Italian madrigals upon which I have proposed they are based share thematic material sufficiently distinctive to suggest they are related.



Example 2: (a) Orazio Vecchi, 'Chi fia lasso di me' (opening).
(b) Thomas Lupo 'Che fia lasso di me', VdGS no. 29 a5 (opening double fugue).

As we have already seen, Lupo presents much of his borrowed thematic material in inversion, augmentation, diminution or retrograde. Lupo also appears to have a predilection for intricate polyphonic textures, a characteristic he shares with other English composers of the period: whenever he parodies an imitative section he invariably makes the texture `thicker' by increasing the number and frequency of fugal entries and sometimes weaving additional thematically unrelated polyphonic lines. As a result, his imitative sections, and consequently his entire parodies, have not only richer textures but are often considerably longer than his models. A clear example of this is 'Io moriro', a parody of Marenzio's 'Io morirò d'amore'. Marenzio's madrigal is comparatively brief, lasting only forty-five semibreve bars. It consists almost entirely of contrasting homophonic episodes with only one passage of imitation (over the words `Prende sollazzo e gioco'). With the exception of two episodes, Lupo reworks polyphonically all of Marenzio's sections, two as extended double fugues, thus making his parody last seventy-seven bars, almost twice the length of Marenzio's madrigal.

[26] In attempting to define Lupo's working methods, it must be borne in mind that his parodies are rooted deeply in the Renaissance tradition of using borrowed music as a starting point for fresh invention; a new piece can be created by transforming existing material and interpolating newly composed music. Many features of Lupo's pieces I have described are typical of Italian parody madrigals (particularly the use of inversion, diminution, augmentation or retrograde). It is the complexity and freedom with which Lupo reworks his models which make his parodies different.[29] The composers of Italian parody madrigals I have examined rarely lose sight of the models they are using; important motifs and textures in the models are retained in a recognisable form. By contrast, Lupo transforms his sources to such an extant that it is sometimes difficult to recognise the madrigals he is parodying. The difference

[29] Some of Coprario's parodies are even more complex.

is most evident at the opening of these respective works. Italian parody madrigals usually open with a quotation or a simple paraphrase of their models, thereby establishing a clearly identifiable relationship between source and parody. A good example of this is Vecchi's celebrated five-voiced madrigal on Jacob Arcadelt's four-voiced 'Il bianco e dolce cigno', a parody which Lupo would almost certainly have known (Example 3).[30] Vecchi quotes Arcadelt's opening except he transposes it an octave lower, thus infusing it with a greater rhetorical depth. Above this, Vecchi weaves a florid melisma around the word `cantando' in the canto and quinto voices. This melisma is a diminution of Arcadelt's ascending phrase over `cantando more'; from this figure Vecchi then gives motif 'a' (freely inverted and diminished) to contrasting pairs of voices. By juxtaposing Arcadelt's original opening and his own transformation, Vecchi shows, in one masterly stroke, how the Italian madrigal had changed from the slow-moving motet-derived form of the early *cinquecento* to a later faster-moving canzonetta-influenced style.[31] Thus, Vecchi comments upon his model (an important function of the Renaissance parody) without losing sight of it.

Even when there is more than one parody on the same madrigal, the relationship between the various madrigals is clearly stated at the opening, as in the well-known settings by Wert, Marenzio, Pallavicino and Monteverdi of `Cruda amarilli' from *Il Pastor Fido* by Guarini.[32] In all but one of the madrigals, the opening words `Cruda amarilli' are set to a descending tetrachord. The exception is Pallavicino who opens instead with an imitative point formed from a decorated suspension; yet the rhythm and word underlay are identical to the other madrigals, so a relationship is clearly identifiable, especially with Marenzio's setting. In the *seconda parte,* Wert, Marenzio and Pallavicino all similarly set the opening [28] words `Ma grideran per me' to repeated notes; Marenzio and Pallavicino even use the same *canzonetta* rhythm (Monteverdi sets only the *prima parte).*[33]

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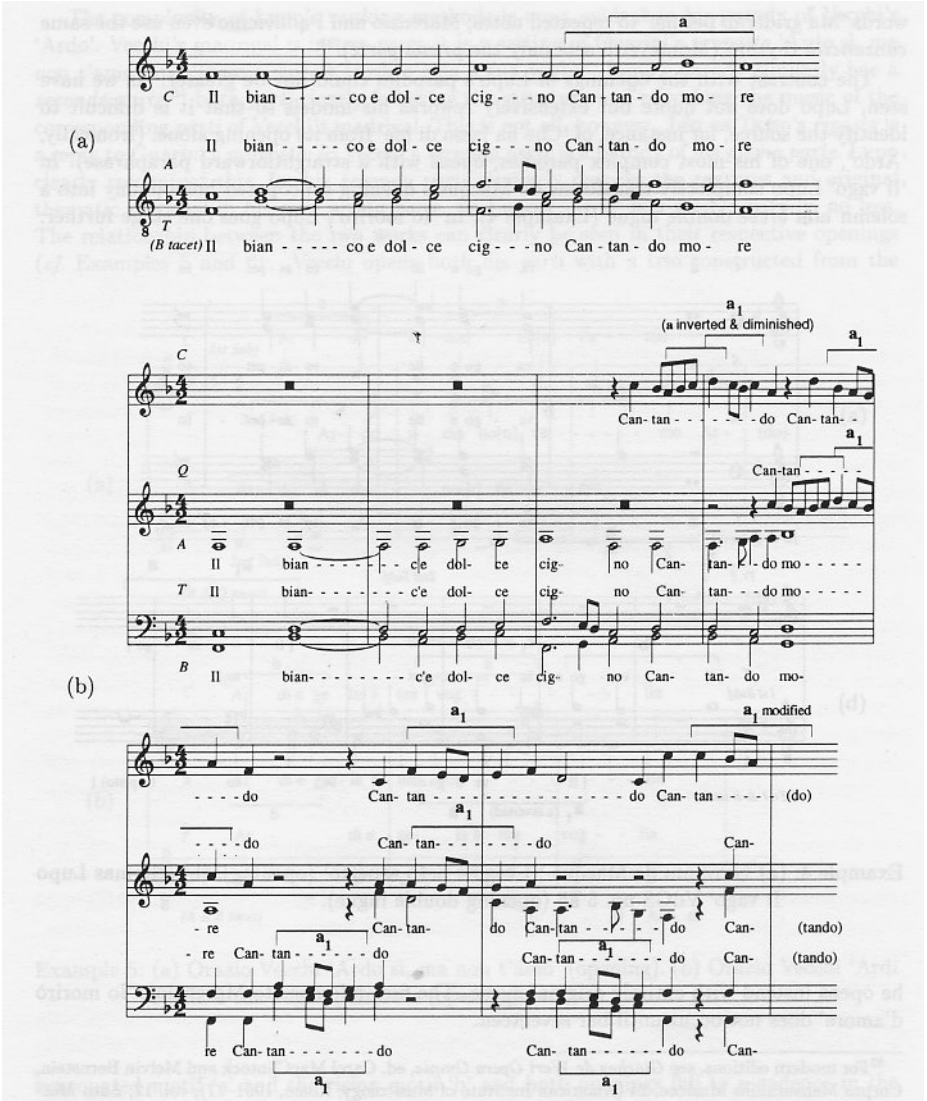
[30] It was sufficiently popular in England for an `Englished' version to be included in Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, *The Second Booke of Madrigalles, to 5. & 6. voices* (London, 1597). The original Italian madrigal occurs in the primary layer of Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51 fol. 2v and Bodleian MSS Tenbury 940-4 no. 97 copied during the late 1590s and early 1600s respectively; Add. MSS 37402-6 contains a textless version (no. 18 fol. 14r).

[31] Not surprisingly, Vecchi presents many of Arcadelt's motifs in diminution.

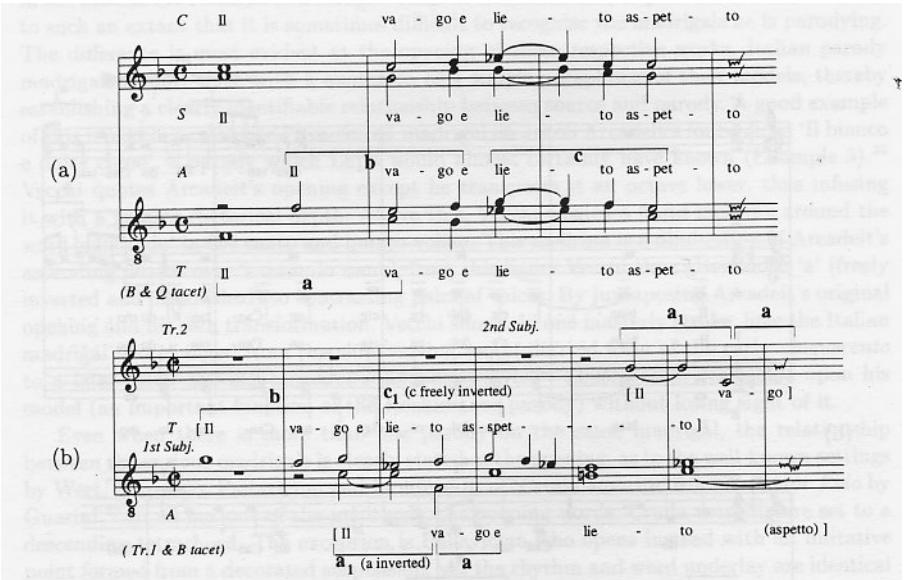
[32] Giaches de Wert, *L'undecimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1595); Luca Marenzio, *Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1595); Benedetto Pallavicino, *Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1600); Claudio Monteverdi, *Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1605). It is possible that Wert was the first composer to set this text (Luca Marenzio *The Secular Works,* vol. 14, ed. Stephen Ledbetter (Broude Bros., New York, 1980), xxv and Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi* and *the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford and Berkeley, 1987), 117).

[33] For modern editions, see *Giaches de Wert Opera Omnia,* ed. Carol MacClintock and Melvin Bernstein, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 24 (American Institute of Musicology, Rome, 1961-77), vol. 12; *Luca Marenzio The Secular Works, vol.* 14; *Claudio Monteverdi Tutte le Opere,* ed. Gian Francesco Malipiero (repr. Universal Edition, Vienna, 1954-68), vol. 5; *Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia, vol.* 3, ed. Peter Flanders, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 89 (American Institute of Musicology /Hanssler-Verlag, Neuhausen Stuttgart, 1983).



Example 3: (a) Jacob Arcadelt 'Il bianco e dolce cigno' (opening). (b) Orazio Vecchi 'Il bianc'e dolce cigno' (opening).

The contrast with the openings of Lupo's parodies could not be greater. As we have seen, Lupo does not quote but extensively reworks his models so that it is difficult to identify the source, for instance, of `Che fia lasso di me' from its opening alone. (Ironically, `Ardo', one of his most complex parodies, opens with a straightforward paraphrase). In `Il vago' Lupo completely transforms de Macque's opening syncopated homophony into a solemn *alla breve* double fugue (Example 4). In 'Io moriro', Lupo goes one stage further:



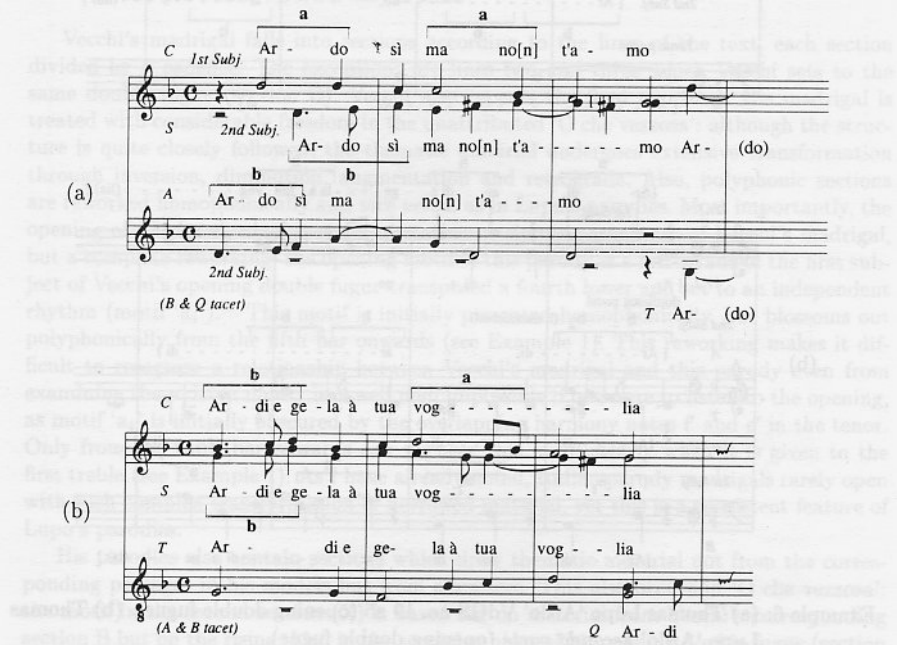
Example 4: (a) Giovanni de Macque 'Il vago e lieto aspetto' (opening). (b) Thomas Lupo 'Il vago' VdGS no. 5 a5 (opening double fugue).

he opens instead with entirely original music. The first reference to Marenzio's 'Io moriro d'amore' does not occur until bar seventeen.

[29] The complexity of Lupo's working methods is most evident in his parody of Vecchi's `Ardo'. Vecchi's madrigal is in two *parti*; it is a setting of Guarini's *proposta* `Ardo si, ma non t'amo' and Tasso's *riposta* `Ardi e gela a tua voglia'. Lupo's parody similarly has a *seconda parte*,[34] both *parti* closely following the structure and reworking the music of the corresponding *parti* of Vecchi's madrigal. This is not all, however. Just as Tasso's *riposta* is a reply to Guarini's *proposta*, so Vecchi's *seconda parte* is a parody of his *prima parte*. Lupo clearly recognised this, for his *seconda parte* similarly reworks the textures and original thematic material in his own *prima parte*. So Lupo's `Ardo' is a double parody, no less. The relationship between the two works can clearly be seen in their respective openings (cf. Examples 5 and 6): Vecchi opens both his *parti* with a trio constructed from the syncopated motif `a' and the rising motif `b' and both openings fall to a cadence in the [30] third bar (Example 5). The difference between the two is that the *prima parte* opens with a double fugue and the *seconda parte* opens homophonically. There is a clear similarity between both of Lupo's openings, too: both are double fugues which rework Vecchi's motifs `a' and `b', except that the tonic pedal in the bass in the *prima parte* is now a dominant pedal in the second treble in the *seconda parte* (Example 6).[35]

[34] It is marked `2ª Pars' in Egerton MS 3665 and variously `sec part', `secon part' and `second part' in Christ Church Mus. MSS 527-30 and 1024 (a complete set of part-books), the only two extant sources to contain `Ardo'.

[35] It is almost certain that Lupo's untitled five-part works also contain vocal, or even instrumental, parodies of Italian madrigals which have yet to be identified.



Example 5: (a) Orazio Vecchi 'Ardo sì, ma non t'amo' (opening). (b) Orazio Vecchi 'Ardi e gela à tua voglia', *Riposta* (opening).

[31] The unattributed `O che vezzosa' in Add. MSS 37402-6 is more likely to be a parody madrigal by Lupo than by an Italian composer, since it reworks Vecchi's `O che vezzosa Aurora' with the same degree of complexity and freedom found in Lupo's own parodies. An examination of Table 2 (pages 32--33) will demonstrate this. Vecchi's `O che vezzosa Aurora' is a setting of the anonymous text:

O che vezzosa Aurora
Che con la vaga luce
Cosi bel sol n'adduce
Titon sia con tua pace
Ch'una piu bella Aurora il cor mi sface[36]

Vecchi's madrigal falls into sections according to the lines of the text, each section divided by a cadence. The exceptions are lines two and three which Vecchi sets to the same double fugue (section B). Vecchi also repeats the final two lines. His madrigal is treated with considerable freedom in the unattributed `O che vezzosa': although the structure is quite closely followed, the thematic material undergoes extensive transformation through inversion, diminution, augmentation and retrograde. Also, polyphonic sections are reworked homophonically and vice versa, as in Lupo's parodies. Most importantly, the opening of `O che vezzosa' is not a quotation or simple paraphrase of Vecchi's madrigal, but a complete reworking: the opening motif of this parody is a retrograde of the first subject of Vecchi's opening double fugue transposed a fourth lower and set to an independent rhythm (motif `a,').[37] This motif is initially presented homophonically, but blossoms out polyphonically from the fifth bar onwards (see Example 1). This

[36] Spelling follows the 1591 edition which contains no punctuation; accents are editorial.

[37] The presence of f♯ in motif `a,' means that it is not an exact intervallic retrograde.

reworking makes it difficult to recognise a relationship between Vecchi's madrigal and this parody even from examining the written music; it is well nigh impossible if one were to listen to the opening, as motif `a_1' is initially obscured by the overlapping harmony notes f and e' in the tenor. Only from the third bar onwards can we hear this motif clearly when it is given to the first treble (see Example 1). As I have already noted, Italian parody madrigals rarely open with such complex transformation of borrowed material, yet this is a consistent feature of Lupo's parodies.

[32]

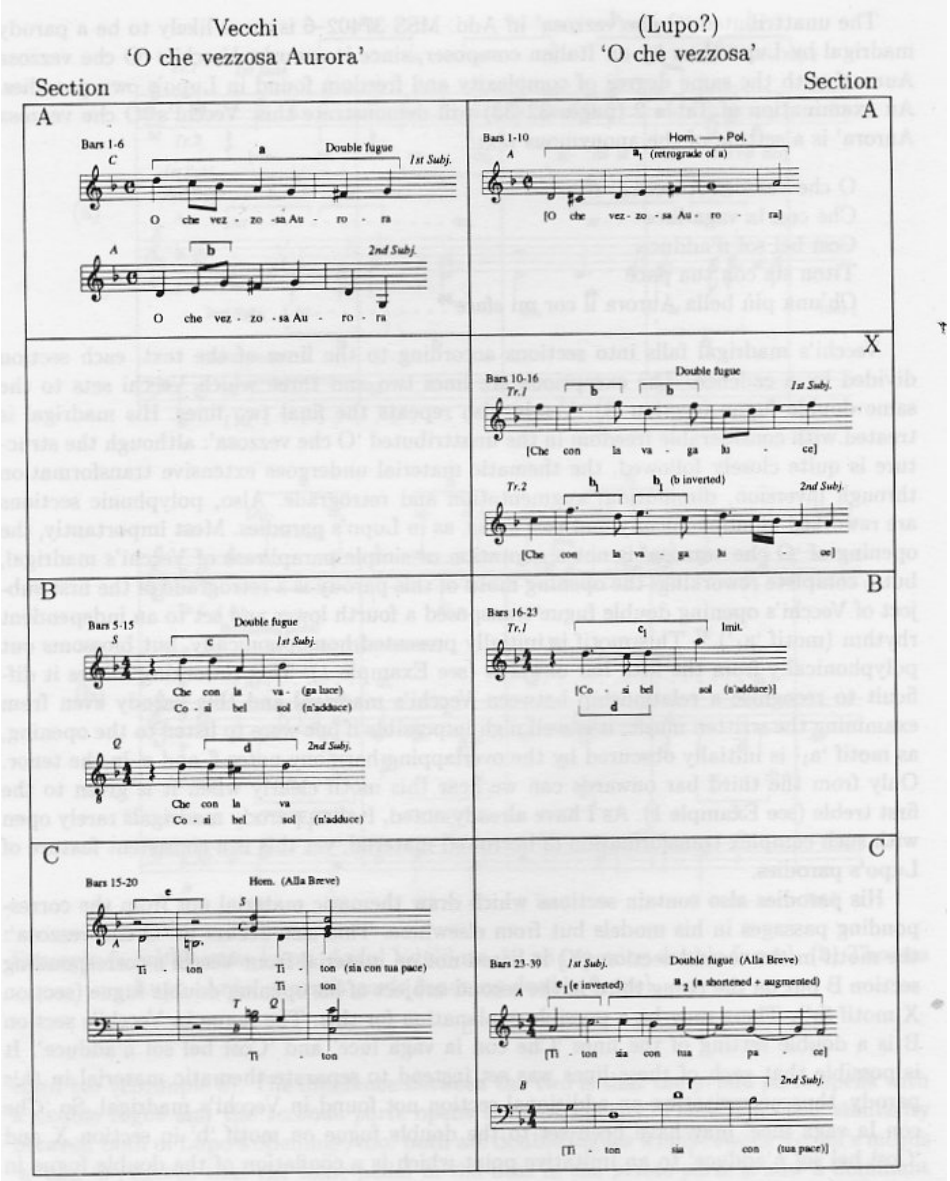


Table 2: Comparison between 'O che vezzosa Aurora' by Orazio Vecchi and 'O che vezzosa' in Add. MSS 37402-6.

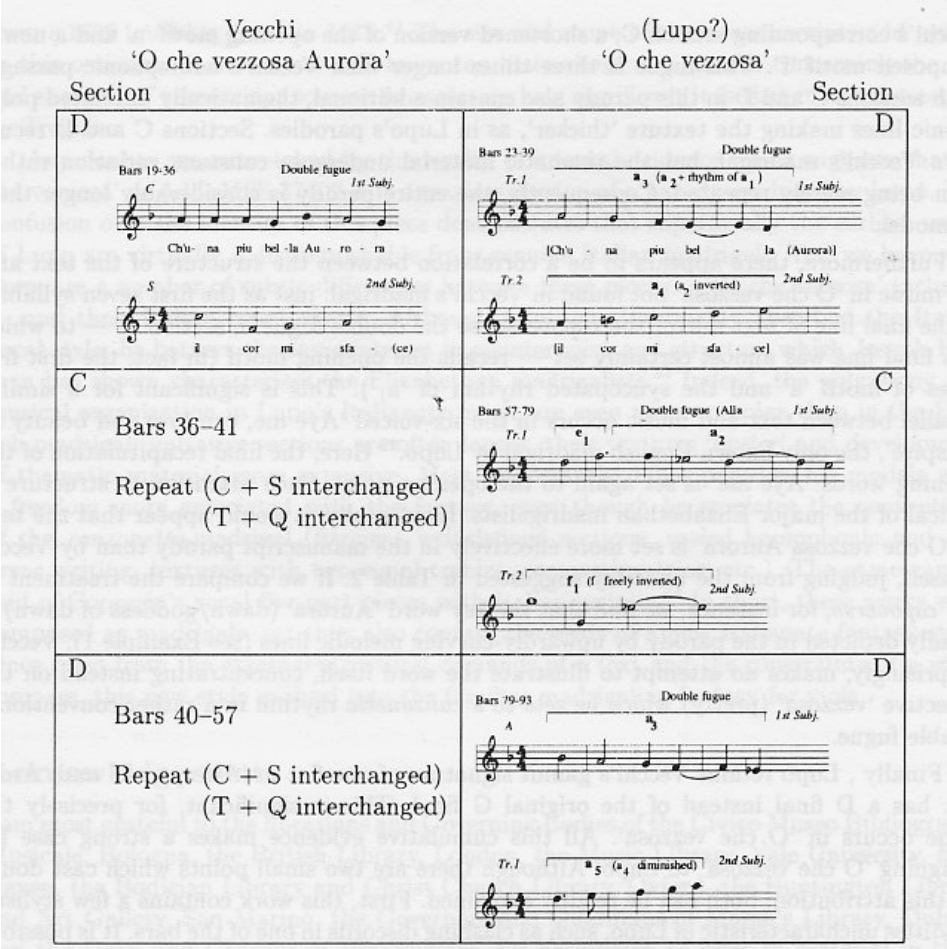


Table 2: (continued)

His parodies also contain sections which draw thematic material not from the corresponding passages in his models but from elsewhere. This also occurs in `O che vezzosa': the motif in the second section (X) is based not on material from Vecchi's corresponding section B but on the rising third in the second subject of his opening double fugue (section X motif `b'). There may be a possible explanation for this. The fugue in Vecchi's section B is a double setting of the lines `Che con la vaga luce' and `Cosi bel sol n'adduce'. It is possible that each of these lines was set instead to separate thematic material in this parody, thus necessitating an additional section not found in Vecchi's madrigal. So `Che con la vaga luce' may have been set to the double fugue on motif `b' in section X and `Cosi bel sol n'adduce' to an imitative point which is a conflation of the double fugue in [33] Vecchi's section B (motifs 'c' and 'd'). Although this is only a hypothesis, as the sole extant version of 'O che vezzosa' is textless, it is nevertheless plausible, especially as the text can be comfortably underlaid here (see Table 2).

As we have already seen, Lupo's predilection for polyphony and motivic variation makes his imitative sections more intricate and extended than those of his models, thus substantially increasing the overall length of his parodies. This also occurs in 'O che vezzosa'. For instance, sections C and D in Vecchi's madrigal consists of a brief homophonic episode and a double fugue

respectively, both of which are strictly repeated.[38] Section C in the parody 'O che vezzosa' is instead a double fugue combining an inversion of motif 'e' from [34] Vecchi's corresponding section C, a shortened version of the opening motif `a' and a newly composed motif `f'. This fugue is three times longer than Vecchi's homophonic passage. Both sections C and D in this parody also contain additional, thematically unrelated polyphonic lines making the texture `thicker', as in Lupo's parodies. Sections C and D recur, as in Vecchi's madrigal, but the thematic material undergoes constant variation rather than being merely repeated. Consequently, the entire parody is considerably longer than its model.

Furthermore, there appears to be a correlation between the structure of the text and the music in `O che vezzosa' not found in Vecchi's madrigal: just as the first seven syllables of the final line of text mirror the *capoverso,* so the double fugue in section D - to which this final line was almost certainly set - recalls the opening motif (in fact, the first five notes of motif `a' and the syncopated rhythm of 'a,'). This is significant for a similar parallel between text and music occurs in the six-voiced `Aye me, can love and beauty so conspire', the only known English madrigal by Lupo.[39] Here, the final recapitulation of the opening words `Aye me' is set again to the opening point. Such attention to structure is typical of the major Elizabethan madrigalists. Incidentally, it would appear that the text of `O che vezzosa Aurora' is set more effectively in the manuscript parody than by Vecchi himself, judging from the underlay suggested in Table 2. If we compare the treatment of the *capoverso,* for instance, we find that the key word `Aurora' (dawn/goddess of dawn) is vividly depicted in the parody by upwardly-curving melodic lines (see Example 1); Vecchi, surprisingly, makes no attempt to illustrate the word itself, concentrating instead on the adjective `vezzosa' (pretty) which he sets to a *canzonetta* rhythm in a rather conventional double fugue.

Finally, Lupo retains Vecchi's gamut signature of one flat in `Alte parole' and `Ardo' but has a D final instead of the original G final. This is significant, for precisely the same occurs in `O che vezzosa'. All this cumulative evidence makes a strong case for assigning `O che vezzosa' to Lupo. Although there are two small points which cast doubt on this attribution, both can be readily explained. First, this work contains a few stylistic crudities uncharacteristic of Lupo, such as clashing discords in one of the bars. It is possible, though, that these may be the fault of the copyist, not the composer.[40] The version in Add. MSS 37402- 6 contains a number of scribal errors; the most serious of these occurs in the first treble (MS 37402) where no less than sixteen minim beats are missing. Secondly, `O che vezzosa' does not appear among the music attributed to Lupo in Egerton MS 3665 (fols 117r-124v and fols 165v-

[38] Vecchi follows the convention of interchanging canto with sesto and tenore with quinto at the repeat.

[39] This madrigal occurs only in Christ Church Mus. MSS 56-60 where it is lacking the bass part; for a modern edition (with editorial bass) see Richard Charteris (ed.), Thomas Lupo: The Complete Vocal Music (Boethius Press, Clarabricken, 1982).

[40] The scribe appears to have copied four quavers and a crotchet one note too low in the alto part; see the source variant to bar 11 of my forthcoming edition of `O che vezzosa', Viola da Gamba Society Supplementary Publication no. 170.

172r), one of three monumental anthologies[41] copied by Francis Tregian the younger while he was incarcerated in the Fleet prison for recusancy [35] from c.1609 until his death in 1619.[42] The size and scope of these manuscripts add weight to this omission. However, we still know too little about the pattern concerning the loss and survival of manuscript sources to ascertain how significant it is that it was not copied by Tregian.

Any doubts are outweighed by the wealth of internal evidence which suggests that 'O che vezzosa' in Add. MSS 37402-6 is a textless version of a parody madrigal by Lupo. The confusion over the identity of this piece demonstrates that superficially the earliest works of Lupo are virtually indistinguishable from genuine Italian madrigals. Yet, we have seen there are a number of subtle differences between these pieces - 'O che vezzosa' included - and their Italian counterparts. Although Lupo has thoroughly absorbed the Italian vocal style, he betrays the same interest in counterpoint and structure which Joseph Kerman has shown characterises the Elizabethan madrigalists.[43] Indeed, the polyphony and musical organisation in Lupo's Italianate music are even more complex than in the English madrigal: imitative sections are often longer, their textures 'busier' and development of thematic material more extensive. Most importantly, Lupo parodies his models with a freedom more associated with the fantasy, even though he emulates the conventions of the canzonetta-madrigal (frequent well-defined sections, varied homophonic and *alla breve* writing, textures with two equal trebles, contrasting trios, etc.). The same can be said of Coprario's vocal five-part pieces with Italian incipits.[44] In short, these works were composed as madrigals, yet they also contain the seeds of a new Italianate fantasy style. Once freed from the external structural demands of a text and the constraints of a vocal compass, this new style evolved into the familiar madrigalian fantasy for viols.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to the librarians and Governing Bodies of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna, the British Library, London, the Music Library, Yale University, New Haven, the Bodleian Library and Christ Church Library, Oxford, the Hunting˙ton Library and Art Gallery, San :Marino, the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library, Dublin, and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, for permission to refer to material in their collections.

[41] The other two manuscripts are New York Public Library Drexel MS 4302 (`ffrancis Sambrooke his Book') and Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MU MS 168 (the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book).

[42] [42]Augustus Jessop (ed.), *The Œconomy of the Fleete* (London, 1879), 140-1; Bertram Schofield and Thurston Dart, '"Tregian's anthology', *Music and Letters,* 32 (1951), 205-16; Elizabeth Cole, 'In search of Francis Tregian', *Music and Letters,* 33 (1952), 28-32. Peter Holman, in his edition of *The Royal Wind Music Volume I* (Nova Music, London (1981)), has noted that Tregian was imprisoned from 1614 to 1619.

[43] Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal,* 98, 130, 254

[44] See, for instance, the now textless 'O misero mio core', VdGS no. 33, which freely reworks the eight-voiced madrigal of the same name from *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1589) by Giulio Eremita.

Notes to Musical Examples and Tables

1. With the exception of Example 3 all the music in the examples and tables is barred after every two minim beats, irrespective of its original mensuration signature, for [36] ease of comparison.
2. Motifs are identified by lower case letters; motifs which are reworked are also assigned a subscript number according to the degree of transformation, e.g. d, d_1, d_2, etc.
3. Italian spelling and punctuation follow the editions cited in footnote 22. Editorial texts have been underlaid whenever possible in the textless music; these are enclosed within square brackets.
4. In Tables 1 and 2 bar numbers refer to the beginning and end of a section, even if this occurs in the middle of a bar. In imitative sections, the initial entries are quoted and in homophonic sections the highest sounding part. For imitative points the unaltered stem only is given.
5. The following abbreviations are used:

Hom.	Homophonic	C --	Canto
Pol.	Polyphonic	A --	Alto
Imit.	Imitative	T --	Tenore
Subj.	Subject	B --	Basso
Tr.	Treble	Q --	Quinto
		S --	Sesto

JOHN COPRARIO'S 'RULES HOW TO COMPOSE' AND HIS FOUR-PART FANTASIAS: THEORY & PRACTICE CONFRONTED

CAROLINE CUNNINGHAM

Although Manfred Bukofzer in his 1952 introduction to the facsimile edition of the composer's treatise, 'Rules how to compose', called John Coprario a 'first-class second-rater',[1] those of us who have played his four-part fantasias for viols would take violent exception to such a categorisation. These are original and altogether satisfying pieces, part of a fascinating transition period in English viol consort music between Byrd and Lawes. Coprario was a complete master of counterpoint but at the same time a daring harmonist and true innovator as a composer. He seems to have been well aware of the significance of moving from the old Medieval emphasis on the tenor line as the most important voice to a harmonically-inspired counterpoint with the bass as the crucial chord-generating line.

Coprario's treatise 'Rules how to compose' explains the elements of music to his pupil John Egerton, who was to become the Earl of Bridgewater, and whose name also appears on the title page of the autograph manuscript (now in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California). What can we learn about Coprario's musical and compositional style from examining first the 'Rules' and then the fantasias? The gap between theory and practice is usually assumed to be enormous, but this does not seem to be true for Coprario. The earliest surviving reference to him is a payment for lessons on the gamba in William Petre's account book of February 1602.[2]

The composer may have been, as Roger North tells us, 'Plain John Cooper' originally,[3] but, as Anthony a Wood claims, 'having spent much of his life in Italy, was there called Coprario, which name he kept when he returned to England'.[4] There is, of course, no concrete documentation for this Italian sojourn, but the existence of twenty-one three-part villanelle with Italian titles (but without Italian texts) has prompted Richard Charteris to say that 'the most probable explanation of their origin would appear to be that Coprario composed these pieces in Italy, perhaps as part of his study with some Italian composer.'[5]

A close examination of these titles and a search for both poetic and musical

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[1] John Coprario, *Rules how to compose,* facsimile edition ed. Manfred Bukofzer (Los Angeles, E. E. Gottlieb, 1952), 3

[2] 'Richard Charteris, 'A Postscript to *John Coprario:* a *Thematic Catalogue', Chelys,* 11 (1982), 13. The author is greatly indebted to Dr Charteris for his helpful suggestions for this paper.

[3] Roger North, *The Musical!* Gramarian *(c.* 1728), ed. H. Andrews (London, 1925), 11

[4] Anthony a Wood, *Biographical Notes on Musicians,* Oxford Bodleian MS Wood D 19/4, fols 36 & 82

[5] Richard Charteris, *John Copfurio: a Thematic Catalogue of his Music* (New York, 1977), 8. Coprario also composed 47 five-part and 8 six-part fantasias with Italian titles.

concordances might cast more light on the whole question of whether or not Coprario was in Italy in his impressionable years. In any case, the facts of Coprario's life, though skimpy, are sufficient to indicate that he was probably born about 1575, and may have journeyed across [38] the Alps some time before 1603. The first officially documented trip we can be sure of is one to the Low Countries in that year, for which 'Coperary' was paid three pounds by Sir Robert Cecil, later Earl of Salisbury. Charteris argues that by 1603 Coprario had already Italianised his name, realising full well that (in view of the current love-affair with Italian culture which existed in England at that time) he (like the Ferraboscos, the Bassanos and the Lupos) might with such a name, win a good position at court. Charteris also feels that Coprario was probably not trained as a church musician or chorister, but was most likely a secular musician involved with composing songs, masque music and purely instrumental pieces. Another possibility (which no one seems to take seriously) is the notion that he really was an Italian by birth; but in the absence of any documentation, that is purely speculative. Very recently, papers found at Chatsworth in Derbyshire reveal that Coprario did visit the 'cittie of Ragusin in Italie' in 1616.[6]

The 'Rules' have been tentatively dated *c.* 1610 by Bukofzer. The treatise opens with basic information for beginners in music theory.[7] Initially, intervals and melodic progressions are discussed as well as cadences 'if Basso means to make a close.' Then follows a long section describing harmonic progressions in both root position and with what we would now call chords of the sixth.

The third part of the treatise is one of the most intriguing. Coprario calls it 'Of Division'(fols llv-18r), which surely presents another strong argument for an actual trip to Italy on his part, for it is probably the first exposition in English of some of the principles of diminution and embellishment so well known in Italy from Ganassi's *Fontegara* (1535) to embellishment treatises by Dalla Casa and Bovicelli at the end of the century. As you can see from Example 1, if a composer or performer is dealing with a rising melodic third — g to b♭ — Coprario states that it may be divided by adding a passing tone; by holding it with a 'pricke' (dot); or by free ornamentation of the line.

The use that might be made of these particular rules of division would seem to apply equally well to viol players in consorts as it does to composers of fantasias. Although Coprario seems to be speaking particularly to the latter, it would have been performers who would have made use of these divisions. Interestingly enough, throughout his treatise, Coprario never specifically mentions any instrument or voice; but it is known that he was a teacher of the viol as well as a performer, and that he led a group known as 'Coperario's Musique' in the household of Charles, Prince of Wales from *c.*

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[6] John Coprario, *The Two-, Three-, and Four-part Consort Music,* ed. Richard Charteris (London, Fretwork edition, 1991) Introduction, p. v

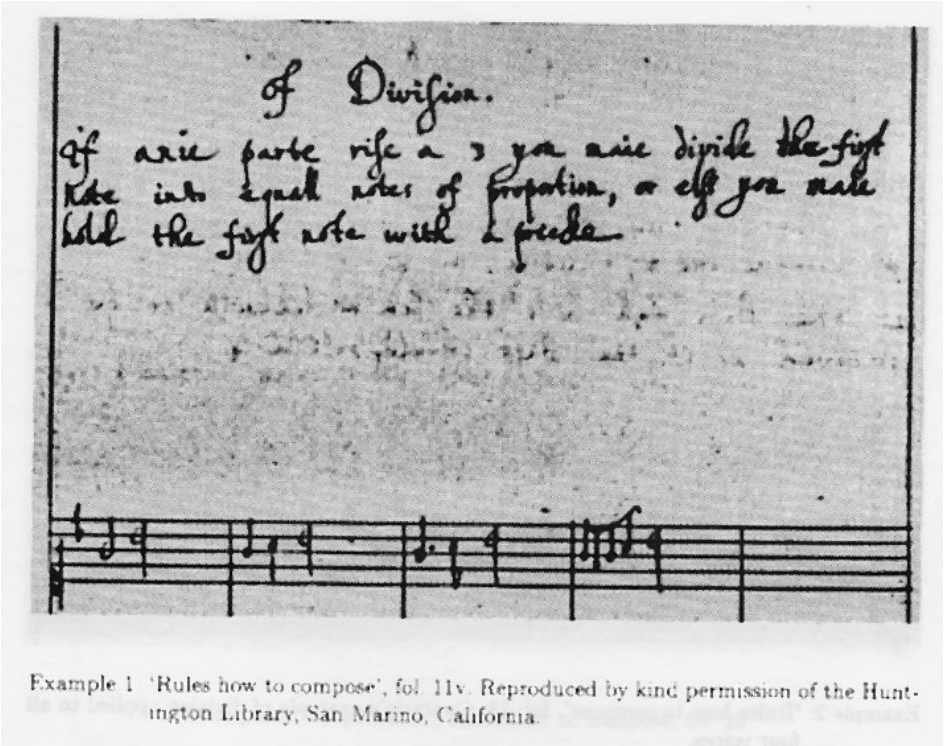
[7] The organization of the treatise is as follows:

1. fols 1-4: Intervals and melodic progressions; cadences
2. fols 4v-11r: chord progressions over specific bass notes
3. fols llv-18r: Divisions
4. fols 18v-36r Suspensions (ligatures')
5. fols 36v--40r: 'How to mayntayne a fuge'
6.

1622. [8]

From ornamenting one voice in a four-part setting, Coprario jumps to applying the principles of division to all four lines at once (see Example 2) in a passage in which the

[39]



Example 1 'Rules how to compose', fol. 11v. Reproduced by kind permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

B bass and soprano lines move in contrary motion; bass and tenor are in imitation of one another; and the alto part opens with a rising scalewise line.

The fourth and longest section of 'Rules' is the one called 'Of ligatures', by which Coprario means suspensions, or the only kind of dissonance permitted in the Renaissance. Here he defines and explains the proper way the three upper voices should move over the bass, indicating which voice is creating the dissonance. His examples are varied and contrapuntal, and always emphasize contrary motion, as in Example 3. All of them are in D minor, but some cadence in G or C major, or on the dominant, A major.

For our purposes the most interesting section of the 'Rules' is the final one: 'How to mayntayne a Fuge.' Here Coprario leads off by saying:

> When you have chosen your fuge, you must examine all your parts and see which of them maie beginn first, for sooner you bring in your parts with the fuge, to more better will it showe. After the leading part your fuges either must be brought in uppon 5, 8, 3 or unison, and then looke on your two leading parts where you maie bring in the 3(rd) part and then you must lett them three goe together, untill the 4(th) part be brought in(;) being brought in you must contrive it so as that you maie convenientlie come to a close and so leave the fuge, and goe to some other ayre, or else some other fuge (fol. 36v).

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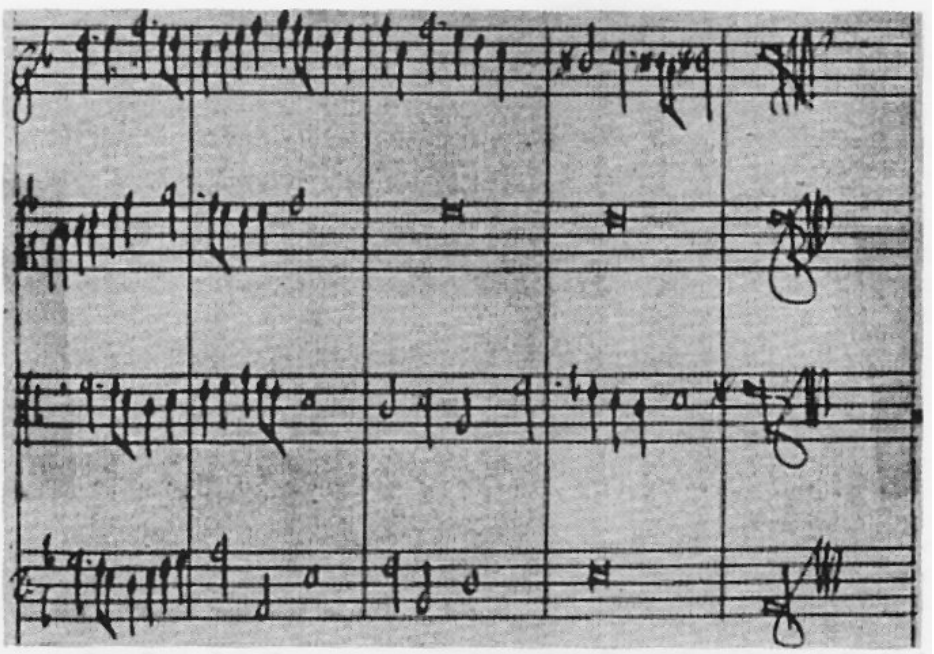
[8] Peter Holman, Four and *Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540- 1690* (Oxford, 1993), chap. 9.

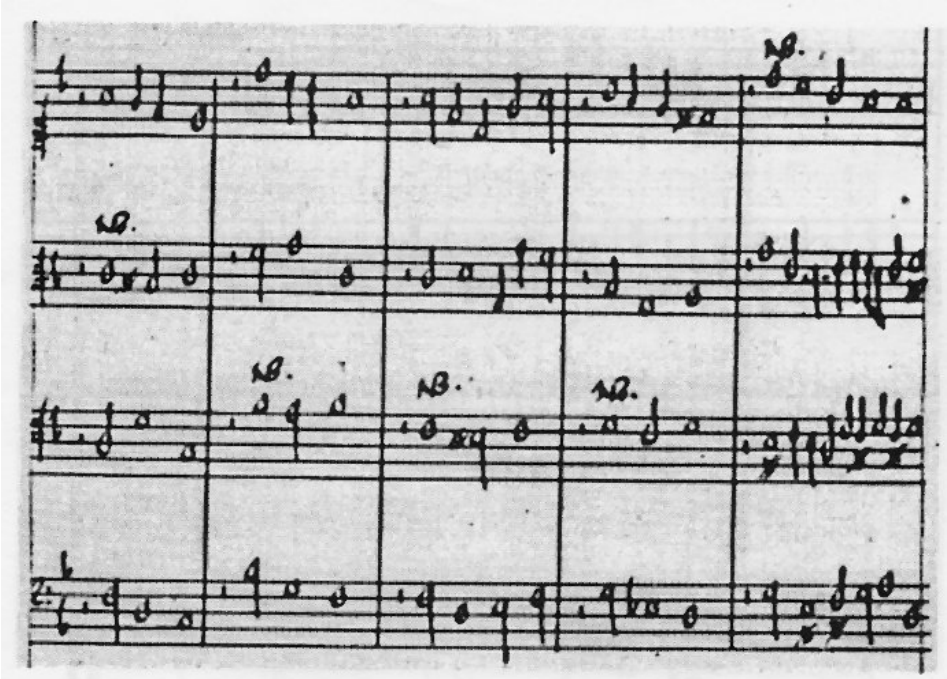


Example 2 'Rules how to compose', fol. 18. Coprario's example of division applied to all four voices

In Example 4, the first 'fuge' from the 'Rules', the canzona-like fugal theme is presented by the soprano and alto one semibreve apart, with tenor and bass entering in exactly the same fashion a bar later. Of his seven four-part fantasias (a word that Coprario never uses in his treatise by the way), nos 1, 3, 4, 6 & 7 do indeed begin with such **a** fugue, making use of paired entrances with soprano and alto leading off answered shortly by tenor and bass. His usual practice is to put together into one fantasia from five to seven 'fuges', only rarely allowing any one of them to come to a full cadence before the entrance of the next `fuge'. The first point of imitation may have two **or** more expositions of its theme, but in later 'fuges', there is usually only one, or even an incomplete exposition, introducing a cumulative excitement or a piling up of the voices.

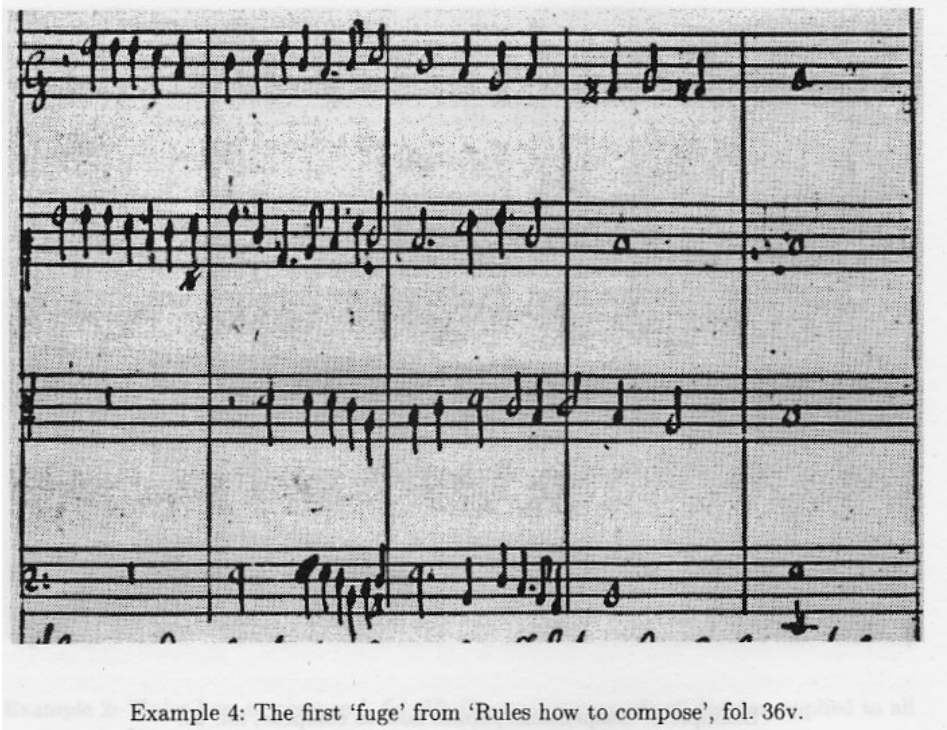
In the course of the first fantasia, for instance (see Example 5), Coprario skilfully dovetails and overlaps seven 'fuges', or points of imitation, in such a way that in only one of the points at bar 40 do all three of the sounding voices cadence together, perhaps to [41] draw attention to the most expressive of the fuges', the fifth one, with its leap of a minor sixth at the beginning. It is striking that Coprario's fantasias are seldom monothematic as are many of Jenkins's four-part pieces; but even so there is a satisfying sense of unity from the beginning to the end of each fantasia.

Two of the composer's other three examples of a `fuge' from the 'Rules' also open with the canzona-like figure he uses in this example. But the fourth `fuge' breaks away from this melodic repetition while still partially using canzona rhythm, again with paired voices: soprano and alto, and then tenor and bass.



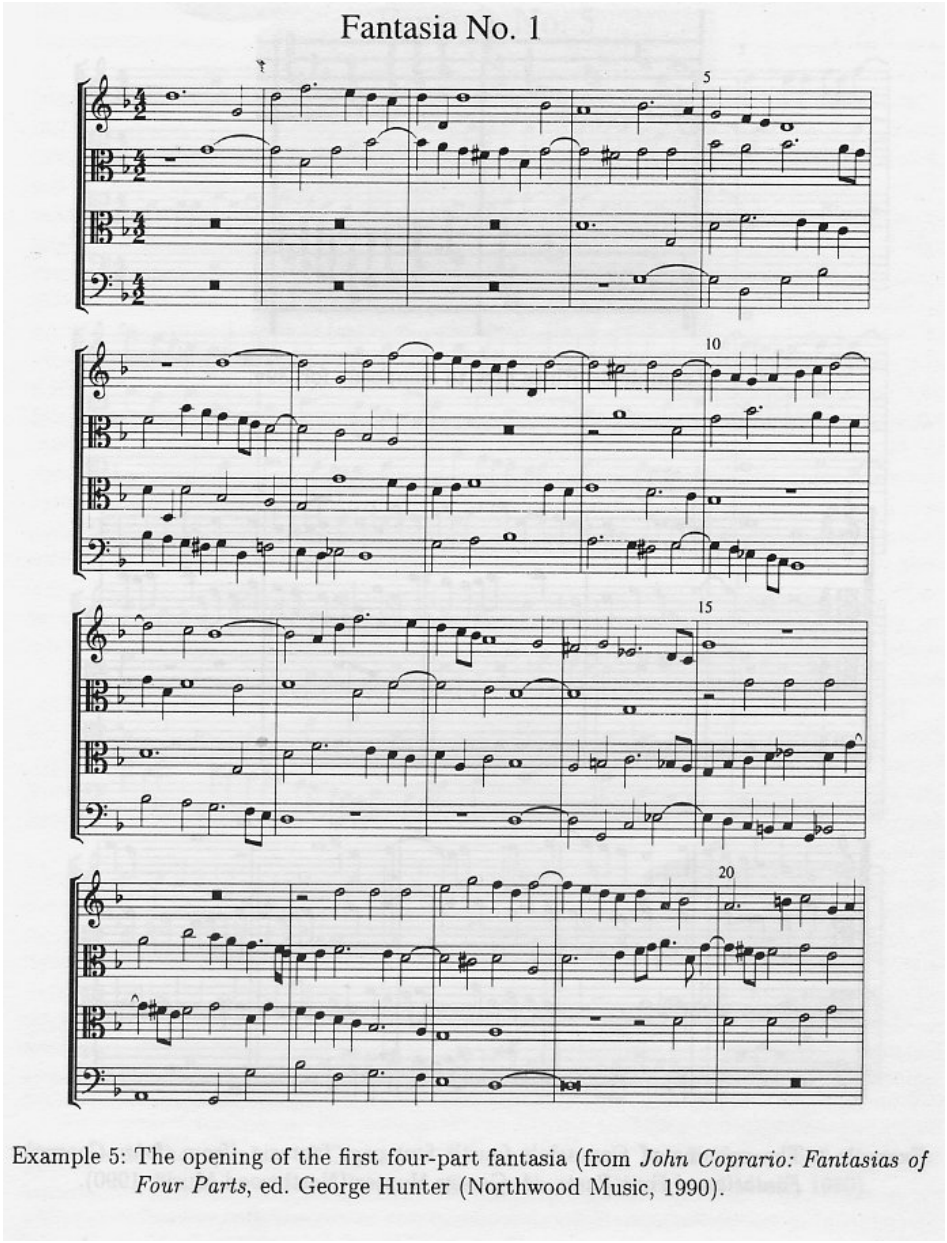
Example 3 'Suspensions', Rules how to compose, fol 29

[42]



Example 4: The first 'fuge' from 'Rules how to compose', fol. 36v.

Most striking among these `fuges' in the 'Rules' is no. 5 (fol. 39v) where Coprario demonstrates 'double fuge', in which, as he says, 'you must make another point' to go with the first one to 'frame the parts in such sorte that soone as be possible to bring in your other two resting parts.' He is, of course, describing double counterpoint (see Example 6).

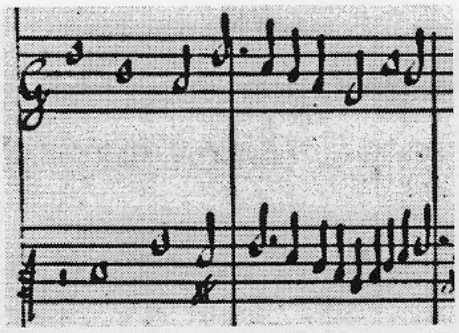


Example 5: The opening of the first four-part fantasia (from *John Coprario: Fantasias of Four Parts*, ed. George Hunter (Northwood Music, 1990).

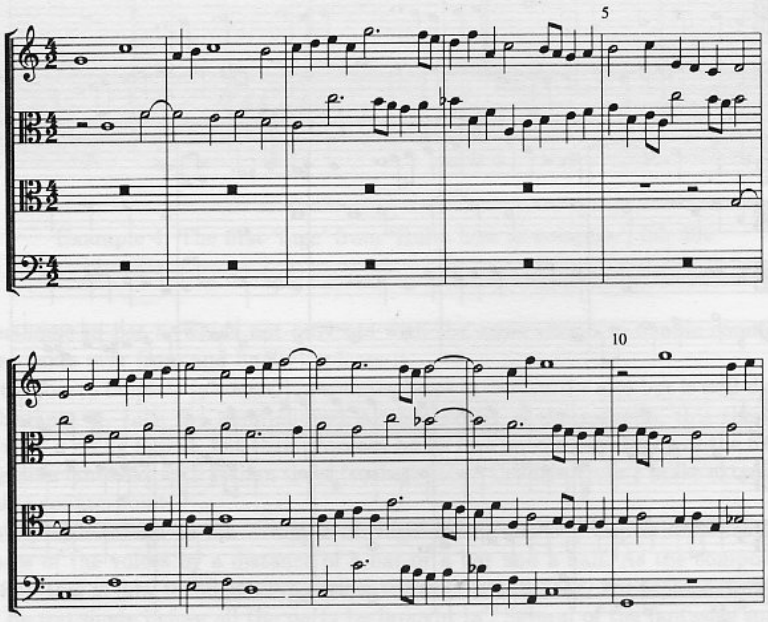
Coprario makes use of 'another point' or a countertheme in both the third and the fourth of the four-part fantasias. At the opening of the third C major fantasia, after presenting four entrances of a slow-moving theme, Coprario introduces a faster-moving [42] countertheme in bar 5, which not only fits with the main theme in double counterpoint but also takes over from and finally replaces it.

In the fourth fantasia (also in C), a countertheme is used in the alto but is well-disguised (see Example 7). Like the main subject already heard in the soprano, this theme, too, opens with a rising fourth, but then proceeds on its own subtle way. Many of the five-part, madrigalian fantasias with Italian titles (such as no. 1, `Crudel perche') make extensive use of double counterpoint.

Going back to the fourth example of `fuge' in the 'Rules', Coprario spaces out the entrances of the voices by a distance of a bar or a bar and a half. As the composer says (fol. 38v) 'this is now to be observed when the fuge is nott long, nor tedious, for other it would be too single before all the parts be



Example 6: 'Rules how to compose'. fol. 39v.



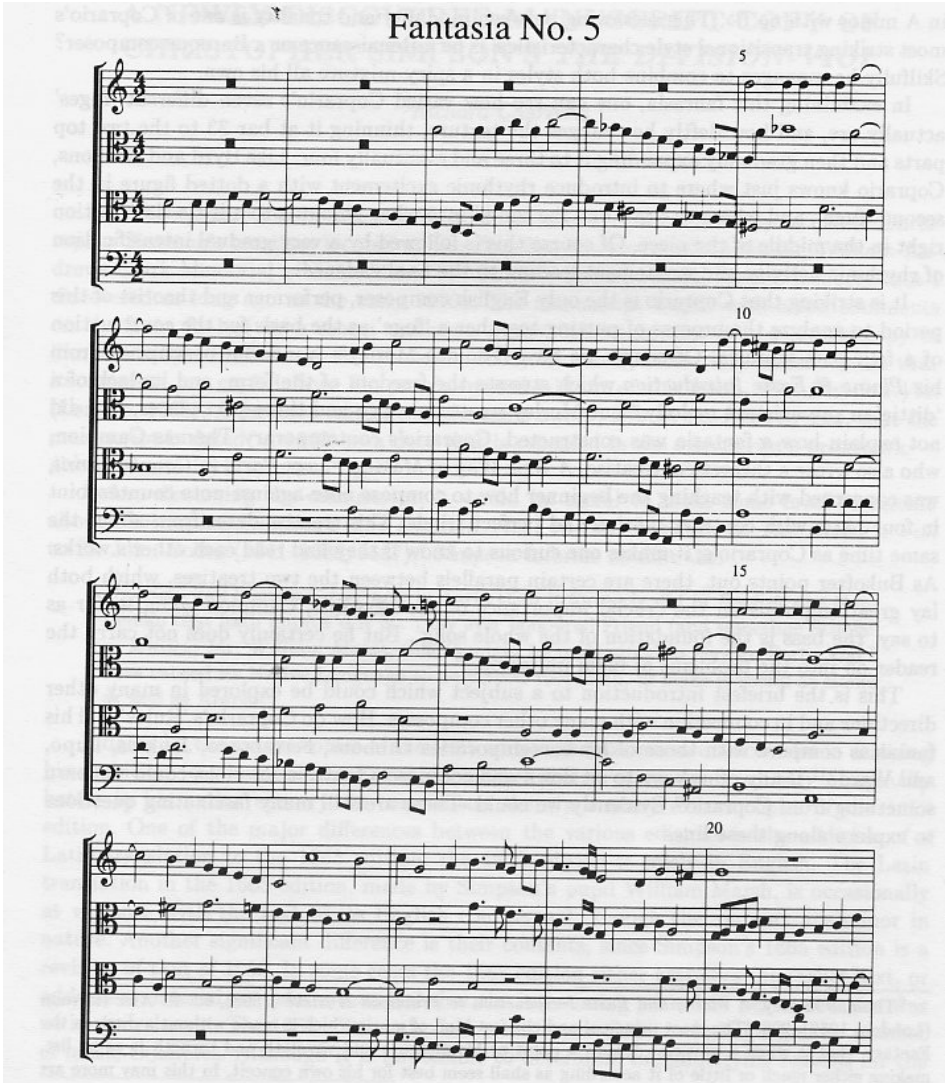
Example 7: The opening of Coprario's fourth four-part fantasia (from *John Coprario: Fantasias of Four Parts*, ed. George Hunter (Northwood Music, 1990).

brought in'. Several of the fantasias space out the fugal entrances more widely, with each part entering at the distance of two or more bars.

Fantasia no. 5 is such a piece (see Example 8), with the canzona-like theme heard first in the tenor in dorian mode, next in the alto with a B♭ which suggests the key of G minor, next in the soprano in dorian mode again and finally, two and a half bars later, in the bass [46] in A minor with no B♭. This seesawing between modality and tonality is one of Coprario's most striking transitional style characteristics: is he a Renaissance or a Baroque composer? Skilfully he manages to combine both styles in a spicy mixture all his own.

In examining this fantasia, one can see how varied Coprario's seven different 'fuges' actually are, and how deftly he changes the texture, thinning it at bar 33 to the two top parts and then gradually expanding it to three and eventually four. Like Byrd and Gibbons, Coprario knows just where to introduce rhythmic excitement with a dotted figure in the second 'fuge', and where to draw out the sound into what amounts to a little slow section right

in the middle of the piece. Of course this is followed by a very gradual intensification of rhythmic activity and excitement leading to the final cadence.



Example 8: The opening of Coprario's four-part fantasia no. 5 (from *John Coprario: Fantasias of Four Parts*, ed. George Hunter (Northwood Music, 1990).

It is striking that Coprario is the only English composer, performer and theorist of this period to analyze the process of putting together a `fuge' as the basis for the construction of a four-part fantasia. Of course we have Thomas Morley's wonderful description from his Plaine & Easie *Introduction* which stresses the freedom of the form, and its lack of a `dittie' or pre-existent melody,[9] but Morley wrote only two-and three-part pieces, and did not explain how a fantasia was constructed. Coprario's contemporary Thomas Campion, who also wrote a theoretical treatise, A *New Way of*

[9] 'Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical! Musicke* (1598), ed. R. Alec Harmon (London, 1952), 296: 'The most principal and chiefest kind of music which is made without a dittie is the Fantasy, that is when a musician taketh a point at his pleasure and wresteth and turneth it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seem best for his own conceit. In this may more art be shown than in any other music.'

Making Fowre Parts in *Counter-point,* was concerned with teaching the beginner how to compose note-against-note counterpoint in four parts with contrary motion and perfect triads. This treatise dates from about the same time as Coprario's; it makes one curious to know if they had read each other's works. As Bukofzer points out, there are certain parallels between the two treatises, which both lay great emphasis on the crucial importance of the bass-line, Campion going so far as to say 'the bass is the foundation of the whole song'. But he certainly does not carry the reader on into the problems of fugal imitation.[10]

This is the briefest introduction to a subject which could be explored in many other directions and in connection with many other composers. How do Coprario's 'Rules' and his fantasias compare with those of his contemporaries Gibbons, Ferrabosco, Jenkins, Lupo, and Ward?[11] If any of us were to sit down and compose a fantasia for viols, could we learn something from Coprario? Evidently we could. There are still many fascinating questions to explore along these lines.

[10] *The Works of Thomas* Campion, ed. Walter R. Davis (Garden City, N.Y., 1967), 195

[11] John Bennett, 'Byrd and Jacobean consort music: a look at Richard Mico' in *Byrd Studies,* eds Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (Cambridge, 1992), 135-36. This essay compares one of Mico's four-part fantasias to an example in Coprario's 'Rules', which happens to use the same theme treated in very close imitation.

A NEWLY-DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT COPY OF CHRISTOPHER SIMPSON'S *THE DIVISION-VIOL*

RICHARD CHARTERIS

Until now, there has been no mention in print of a manuscript copy of one of Christopher Simpson's treatises located at Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Music MS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660] Bound; a source that I discovered as long ago as the early 1970s. The manuscript begins with a few comments on the front fly-leaf by a recent unknown owner indicating that it is a partial copy of Simpson's *The Division Violist* (London, 1659). However, closer inspection reveals that its contents are copied from Simpson's revised edition of this book, *The Division-Viol* (London, 1665). A further comment by the same owner, also on the front fly-leaf, that the manuscript is dated `c. 1660' - a date that is repeated in the manuscript's pressmark - also proves to be inaccurate.

Before discussing the manuscript, it would be useful to make some brief comments about Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Viol.*[1] In the dedication of *The Division-Viol* to Sir John Bolles (1641-1686/1687),[2] Simpson informs us that the:

> Division- Viol Sounds better now in *Latin* than it formerly did in *English;* the Gentleman that hath improv'd it is ... my ever honoured Friend (and sometime Scholar in *Musick)* Mr. *William Marsh,* that it might be understood in Foreign Parts; and I have caused its Native Language to be joyned therewith, to make it useful at Home as well as Abroad.

Judging by the extant copies of the 1665 edition, Simpson was unsuccessful in realising his ambition to penetrate the European market and it seems he fared only marginally better in his native country; in comparison there are many extant copies of the 1659 edition. One of the major differences between the various editions is the addition of a Latin translation to the 1665 edition; the 1659 edition is solely in English. The Latin translation in the 1665 edition, made by Simpson's pupil William '.Marsh, is occasionally at variance with the text of its English counterpart, though the variants are minor in nature. Another significant difference is their contents, since Simpson's 1665 edition is a revision of that of 1659. In some cases the 1665 edition either amplifies the earlier text, or adds

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[1] For a modern facsimile see *The Division-Viol or The Art of Playing ex tempore upon a Ground 6y Christopher Simpson,* a lithographic facsimile of the second edition (London, 1955; with a foreword by Nathalie Dolmetsch). Further comments about Simpson's book appear in Margaret Urquhart, `Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?', *Chelys,* 21 (1992), 3-26, at pp. 15-18.

[2] Details about Simpson's connections with the Bolles family are discussed in Margaret Urquhart, `Sir Robert Bolles Bt. of Scampton', *Chelys,* 16 (1987), 16-29.

new material, or deletes material that the intervening years had persuaded him was no longer relevant. The 1665 edition also has more illustrations, including a greater number of music examples. Although it is impossible to determine the underlying reasons for the [48] decision by the original owner of Music MS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660] Bound to use the 1665 edition, it is possible that the choice may have been prompted by the more interesting and detailed presentation of the later edition.

Music NIS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660] Bound is a small folio manuscript measuring 12 inches by 7 and a half inches. The manuscript includes 129 numbered pages - ones numbered by the source's copyist - interspersed with a handful of unnumbered and unused folios. There is also a single fly-leaf at either end of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the ink has bled through many of the pages, though in such cases the writing and music are, for the most part, still readable. The manuscript is bound in brown calf, and its front cover is detached. Very little is known about the modern provenance of the manuscript, except that it was acquired by the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in 1962 from a San Francisco dealer by the name of David Magee.

Even less is known about the early history of the manuscript, though it must have belonged to the person who copied all of the material on pages 1-129 and inscribed `Finis Ann Owen' at the conclusion of the manuscript (see Plate 4). The identity of Ann Owen is unknown, though it is possible she may have some connection to one or more of the people with the surname Owen (including several with the name Ann) mentioned in the publications of the Catholic Record Society.[3] Ann Owen was most probably a viol player, perhaps a very competent one since a high level of skill is required to play many of the examples she copied. Several reasons suggest themselves for the existence of this manuscript: perhaps Ann Owen was unable to purchase a printed copy of Simpson's book and chose to make a handwritten copy for her own use, or perhaps she needed a manuscript copy for the instruction of her pupils. Whatever the situation, we can be reasonably certain that she was well educated, not least because hers is a professional hand.

Ann Owen follows Simpson's text and illustrations in *The Division-Viol,* beginning with the title on page 1 of the 1665 print, `The Division-Viol, or the Art of Playing / ex tempore to a Ground', and concluding with the music examples in the final section entitled `Divisions for the practice of Learners'. However, Ann Owen's copy is incomplete, since she omits the Latin text, - confining herself to the English text, diagrams and music examples - and omits all the music from the seventh variation on page 63 of the 1665 print until the conclusion of its music examples on page 67. In order to illustrate the fine quality of Ann Owen's calligraphy, and to provide examples of her hand for future comparison in case sources emerge that might allow a precise

[3] I am very grateful to Margaret Urquhart for kindly drawing my attention to the existence of people with the surname 'Owen' in the publications of the Catholic Record Society; regrettably, I have been unable to provide details of these since copies of the relevant publications are unobtainable in Australia. Hopefully, further investigation will reveal the identity of the Ann Owen who copied the Los Angeles manuscript.

identification of this shadowy figure, photographic reproductions from Music MS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660] Bound are included in Plates 1-4.

The final matter requiring discussion concerns the date of Music MS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660] Bound. As indicated above, the date previously assigned to the manuscript, c. 1660, is incorrect, something that can be verified from watermark evidence. In the absence of [49] contemporary dates in the manuscript, and Ann Owen's personal dates, we are obliged to rely on watermark evidence in order to establish the manuscript's chronology. Music MS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660] Bound includes a number of examples of a watermark and a countermark. The watermark consists of the English royal coat-of-arms over a cipher that could be either `CH' or `C&IH', and the countermark consists of a crown with the initials `AR'; it is impossible to be certain exactly which of the two ciphers applies, and the library does not possess the facilities to allow a precise determination by means of beta-radiographs. These marks are similar to Heawood's watermark number 445;[4] there is one major difference, however, Heawood's countermark has the initials `GR', thus assigning it to the reign of one of the eighteenth-century English kings by the name of George. In view of the fact that the countermark in '.Music MS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660] Bound has the initials `AR' (that is `Anna Regina'), the paper can be dated to the reign of Queen Anne between 1702 and 1714. Although more information about the manuscript would be desirable, the available evidence suggests that an early eighteenth-century date for the manuscript would be appropriate.[5]

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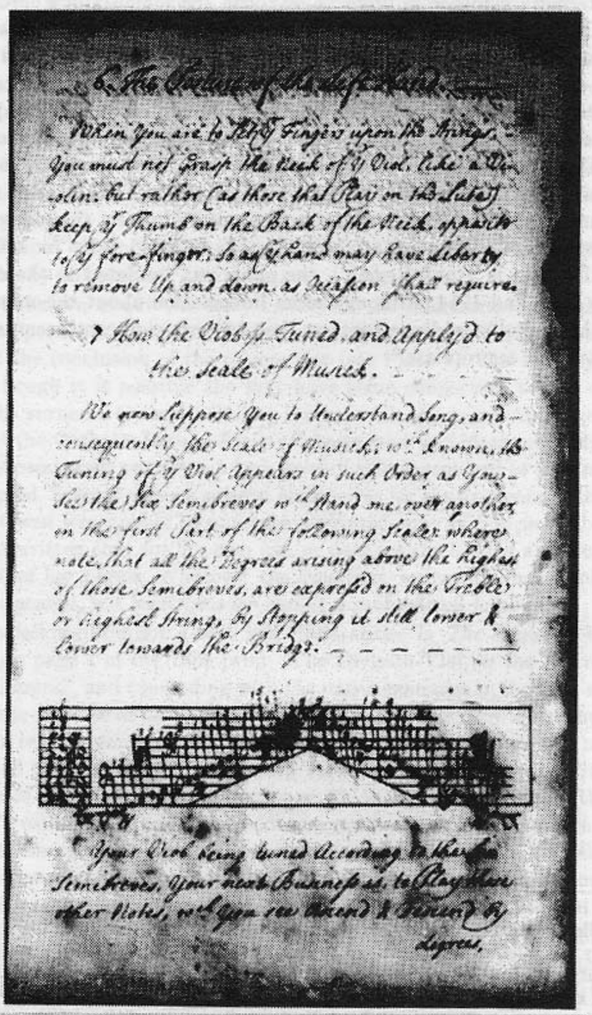
[4] See Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950, reprinted 1957), no. 445. Heawood indicates that this mark appears on endpaper in a book dated 1598; clearly the endpaper is very much later than the book. There should be no doubt that the mark dates from the eighteenth-century since another mark with some similarities to the one in Music MS S613M4 D618 [c. 1660], including in this case a countermark with the initials `AR' dated 1704, appears at no. 247 in W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1935; reprinted 1965).

[5] I should like to thank the staff -- and in particular Dr John Bidwell and Mrs S.M. Tatian -- of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles, for their kind assistance during my visits to their library and for their prompt attention to my requests. I should also like to thank the Australian Research Council for financial assistance.



6. The Posture of the Left Hand.

When you are to set ye Fingers upon the Strings, you must not Grasp the Neck of ye Viol like a Violin: but rather (as those that Play on the Lute) keep ye Thumb on the Back of the Neck, opposite to ye fore-finger: so as ye hand may have Liberty to remove up and down, as occasion shall require.

7 How the Viol is Tuned, and Apply'd to the Scale of Musick.

We now Suppose you to Understand Song, and consequently the Scale of Musick; wch Known, the Tuning of ye Viol Appears in such Order as you see the Six Semibreves wch stand one over another in the first Part of the following Scale: where note, that all the Degrees arising above the Highest of those Semibreves, are expressed on the Treble or highest String, by Stopping it still lower & lower towards the Bridge.

Your Viol being tuned According to these Six Semibreves, your next Business is to Play those other Notes, wch you see Ascend & Descend by Degrees.

Plate 1: Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Music MS S613M4 D618 [*c.* 1660] Bound, p. 5

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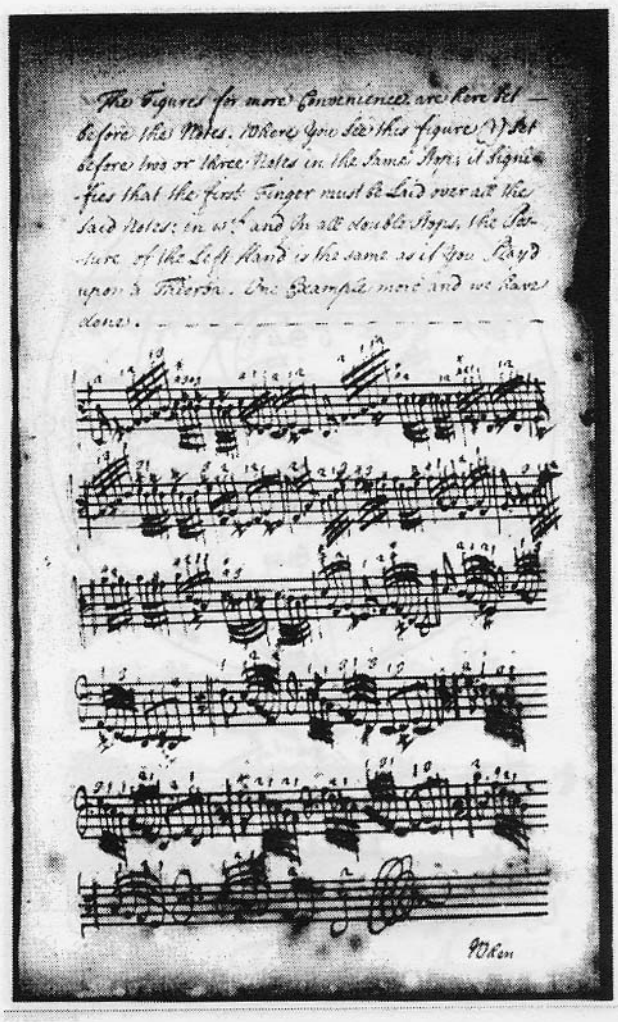

Plate 2: Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Music MS S613M4 D618 [*c.* 1660] Bound, p. 15

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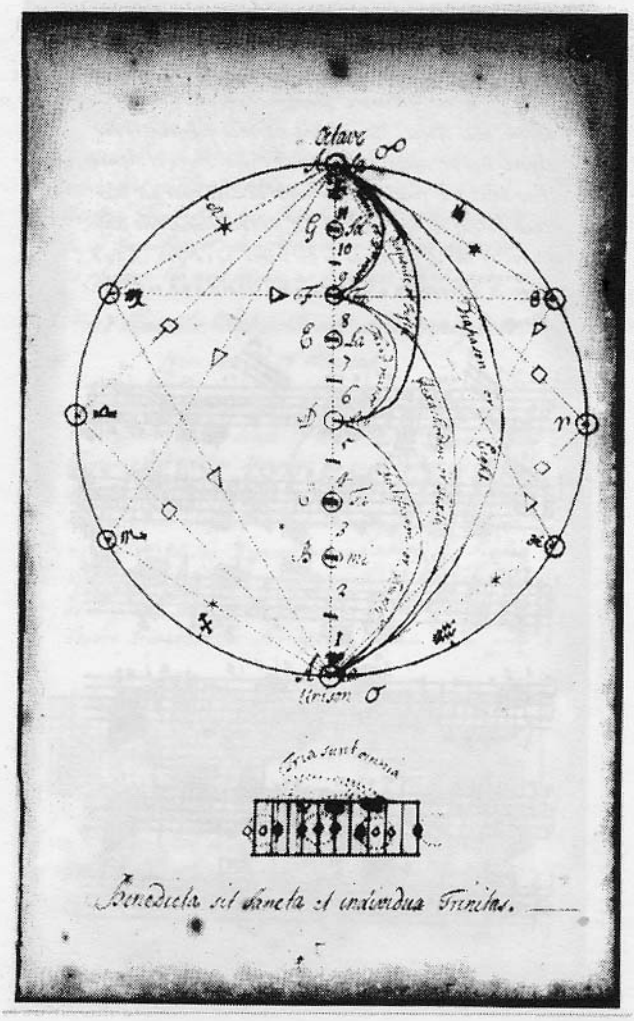

Plate 3: Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Music MS S613M4 D618 [*c.* 1660] Bound, p. 44

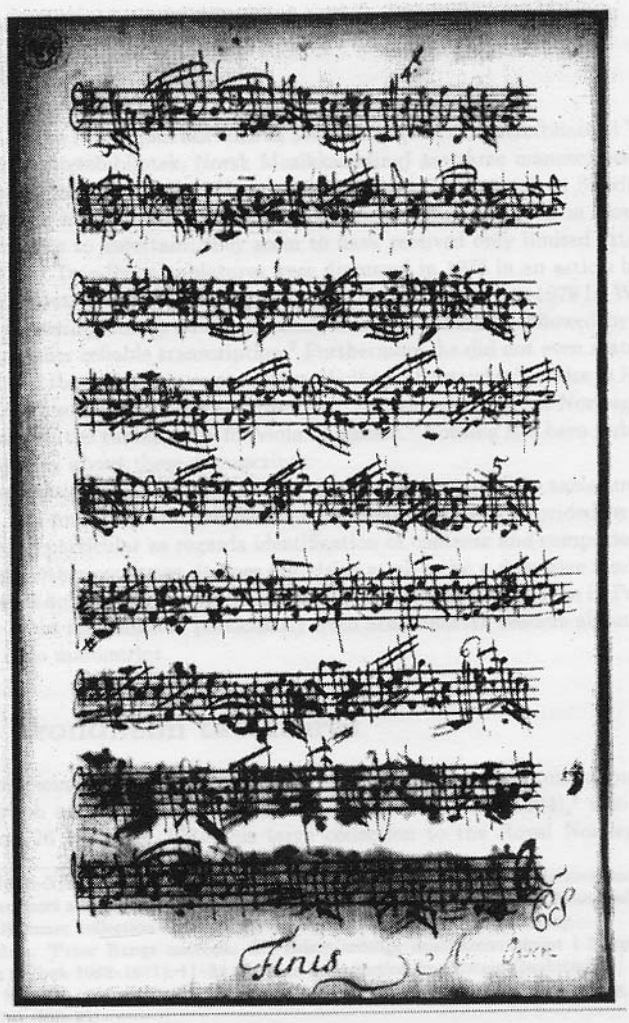

Plate 4: Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Music MS S613M4 D618 [*c.* 1660] Bound, p. 129

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THE NORWEGIAN VIOL TABLATURES

FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY

Deposited in the Norwegian libraries at Trondheim (Universitetsbibliotek i Trondheim) and Oslo (Universitetsbibliotek, Norsk Musikksamling) are three manuscripts containing music for viol in tablature, all of them of local origin. In contrast to Swedish sources, these manuscripts have remained almost unknown southwards. Even in Norway, so far as I have been able to ascertain, they seem to have received only limited attention from scholars. The two Trondheim tablatures were discussed in 1976 in an article by Professor Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm[1] while the Oslo manuscript was described in 1978 by Wim Heukels in an article consisting chiefly of an explanation of the tablature followed by a facsimile and a not altogether reliable transcription.[2] Furthermore, he did not even state clearly for which instrument the manuscript was written. Wolfgang Boetticher's notice in RISM B/VII describes the Oslo source as for a six-course lute,[3] though in later, works Norwegian scholars correctly identified the tablature as for viola da gamba.[4] Nothing has been published more recently in Norway about these manuscripts.

The present article aims to make known the Trondheim and Oslo tablatures to people interested in viol music, and to complement information already provided by the writers named above, in particular as regards identification of contents and comparison with viol tablatures from other countries. It does not claim at all to be a definitive study; I worked from microforms only, and from the sources and literature available to me in Paris. I would welcome any extra information, particularly from Scandinavian readers about the Danish songs in the Oslo manuscript.

1 The Trondheim tablatures

The two Trondheim manuscripts, which are closely related to each other, once belonged to the polygraph and collector Christopher Blix Hammer (1730-1804),[5] who bequeathed by testament. (26 November 1781) his large collection to the Royal Norwegian Society [56] of Sciences (Det Kongelige Norske

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[1] Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm, `Viola gamba-spill i Norge omkring år 1700: to tabulaturmanuskript for viola da gamba i Hammers samling, DKNVS bibliotek, Trondheim', *Tanke og tone til Knut Tedt* (Oslo, 1976), 123-137. The Hammer collection now belongs to the Trondheim University Library.

[2] Wim Heukels, `Peter Bangs notebok: det eldste erdslige musikkmanuskript i Norge', *Norsk musikkgranskning* (Arbok 1962-1971), 11-34 (with an introduction by Øystein Gaukstad)

[3] Wolfgang Boetticher, Lauten- and Gitarrentabulaturen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, RISM B/VII, (München, 1978), 250-251

[4] Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm, Polsdanser og hallinger fra gamle norske noteboker i Sumlen (Stockholm, 1978), 26 (mentioned by Bjørn Aksdal, Med Piber og Basuner, S/Shakekalmeye og Fiol: musikkinstrumenter i Norge ca. 1600-1800 ([Trondheim], 1982), 45)

[5] For Christopher Blix Hammer, see O. Nordgård, `Hammer, Christopher Blix', *Norsk biografisk leksikon,* (Oslo, 1931), V, col. 311-313

Videnskabers Selskab) in Trondheim.[6] They are first mentioned in 1792 in a inventory of the collection as no. 1 of a packet containing music manuscripts, and described as `a large note book for viola da gamba, together with Primo and Secondo by Author Johan Schenck.[7] It is not known how and when they came into Hammer's possession.

1.1 The Schenck part-books

N-Tu XA HA Vlus. 1:2 (formerly XM 90:6) consists of two part-books each of ten unfoliated leaves measuring 20 x 30 cm. The watermark (Amsterdam arms with initials D I S) has been identified as the work of the Dutch paper maker D. I. Shut from the Veluwe. A second paper strengthens the inner covers: its watermark (arms of Norway, i.e. a lion holding the so-called St. Ola's axe, and initials G T) stems from Gerhard Treschow's paper mill at Bentse Brug near Akerselen (Norway), active between 1678 and 1717. The upper cover of both books bears the following title handwritten on a label: `N° 1 // Primo [-Secondo] Autor // Johan Schench, // A° 1716 d[en] 28. Septemb[er]:' - a date which agrees with the watermarks.[8] The scribe did not aim at a fair copy, but his energetic handwriting, possibly that of a professional player, is clearly legible. It shows some characteristic features of Germanic and Scandinavian tablatures from the beginning of the century, including frequent beaming of dotted groups; noteheads, stems and flags traced in three clearly separated penstrokes; large time signatures; and the shape of some of the letters (for instance, the b's). It may be a surprise to see Schenck's name associated with a tablature manuscript as he never used this notation himself.[9] However, the pieces could have been intabulated from a staff notation source: besides characteristic tablature mistakes (for example, forgotten rhythm signs), other errors are found that seem to originate from wrongly or ambiguously placed noteheads.

Both part-books contain twenty-one numbered pieces, twelve of which are taken from *Le Nymphe di Rheno,* op. 8 (c.1694).[10] The contents are roughly arranged by key, but [57] do not follow consistently the usual suite order, some keys being represented by isolated movements only.

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[6] The history of the manuscripts from 1792 on and their physical description are taken over from Huldt-Nystrom, `Viola gamba-spill', 123-29. Watermarks were identified by Haakon M. Fiskaa. Three of them are reproduced in Huldt-Nystrom, *ibid.,* 126-28.

[7] N-Tu fMS HA35b, 85: `En Pakke hor udi findes Folgende
No. 1 En stor Nodebog til Viola da Gamba, samt Primo & Secundo of Author Johan Schench - 1-8'
Numbers in the right column appear to be a valuation in Rigsdaler. Other numbers in the same packet include keyboard and chamber music, figured bass methods, English dances for violin with choreography (dated 1753), and a song for Crown princess Maria Sophia Friderica's solemn entry in Copenhagen (1790).

[8] Huldt-Nystrom, `Viola gamba-spill', 128, notes that Heawood's earliest record of a watermark by Shut is dated 1719, but supposes that the mill already had been active for some years at this time.

[9] However, at least one other intabulation of his works once existed in Sweden: a note on the inner upper cover of S-L MS Wenster G 28 refers to *`Dni Mares* [i.e. Marais] Musicalia / *Dni Schencks in Tabulatur / cum Basso continuo'.*

[10] All already identified by Huldt-Nystrom. VdGS numbering will be used hereafter.

The first series, in G major, is a mixture of unpublished pieces (Allem. no. 1, Courant no. 2, Sarab. no. 4) and excerpts of sonatas op. 8 nos 10 (Sarab. no. 3 = VdGS no. 42; Gavott no. 6 = VdGS no. 44; Gique no. 7 = VdGS no. 43) and 11 (Aria no. 5 = VdGS no. 47). They are followed by two movements from sonata no. 4 in A major (Bourre no. 8 = VdGS no. 13, Menuet no. 9 = VdGS no. 15) and one from sonata 8 in C minor (Gavott no. 10 = VdGS no. 31). The following six movements in C major (Fantasia, Allemande, Courante, Gique, Fantasia, Sarabande, nos. 11-16) are all unica. The manuscript concludes with the four last movements of sonata no. 2 in A minor (Allem., Courant, Sarah., Gigue nos 17-20 = VdGS nos 7-10) and the first from sonata no. 4 in A major, here entitled Chaconne (no. 21 = VdGS no. 12).

It is doubtful that the scribe copied directly from Schenck's published work as his tablature transcription shows many slight variants in rhythm and pitch, and the bowings frequently differ from those in *Le Nymphe di Rheno.* Besides, the abundance of gracing in the tablature contrasts with its scarcity in the print. The scribe reinforces readily open strings, when placed on a strong or accented beat, by a stopped unison, generally graced with a comma,[11] sometimes completed by a mordent-like sign, perhaps indicating a sting; this doubling too is seldom noted in the print.

The nine remaining movements do not belong to any of the surviving prints, and seem to be unica. Huldt-Nystrom suggested the possibility of a copy of two gamba parts from the lost *Giardino harmonico* op. 3, but this is scored for two violins, gamba and continuo, while the nine movements of the Trondheim tablature look complete in themselves.[12] It would seem rather that the anonymous scribe obtained them from a source bearing such a relation with the contents of *Le Nymphe di Rheno* as A-Wn Cod. 16598 does with *L'Echo du Danube.*

In the three movements in G major the second viol has a much simpler part than the first and constantly remains lower, somewhat like a continuo. However, there is a good deal of imitation between both viols. On the contrary, there is frequent movement in parallel thirds with some crossing of the two parts in the mainly homorhythmic Allemande, Courante and Sarabande in C major. The Gigue and above all the two Fantasias in C major are much more contrapuntal. Both fantasias begin with a fugato in duple time, followed by two sections of contrasting time, tempo and character, and structurally recall church sonatas like no. 3 from *Le Nymphe di Rheno,* though on a shorter scale. In the C major pieces only, a lot of the cadential movements at the end of strains or pieces lack the dominant in the bass. This sometimes occurs in *Le Nymphe di Rheno,* where parallel [58] thirds may also be found,

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[11] Though the scribe clearly uses the comma elsewhere with the meaning of the *trermblement*, in this special case it should mean a *port de voix* (*i.e.* lower appoggiatura). This way of gracing unisons frequently occurs in seventeenth-century French lute music. In lute sources, particularly from the second quarter of the century, one finds similar occurrences of the comma with both meanings of *trermblement* and *port de* voix, e.g. in the anthologies published by Pierre Ballard in 1631 and 1638.

[12] Huldt-Nystrom, `Viola gamba-spill', 134. Karl Heinz Pauls, in 'Der kurpfalzische Kammermusikus Johann Schenck' (*Die Musikforschung,* 15 (1962), 165), describes briefly the two sonatas he was able to score from pre-war photographs; the Trondheim movements do not fit this description at all.

particularly in lighter dances such as minuets, though not on such a wide scale as, for example, in the C major Courant, from the Trondheim manuscript (no. 13). A common feature of these unpublished pieces, when compared with examples of the same genres in Schenck's printed works, is their greater compositional simplicity and their lesser technical demand: possibly they were composed as pedagogical material and remained unpublished for that reason. The use of tablature and the abundance of performance marks point to a similar purpose for the manuscripts. In fact, the primo part-book also includes an extra folio of a smaller format and in a different hand, clearly that of a beginner, with one untitled piece in defhf tuning, a crude setting of `Christian Marsch',[13] undoubtedly of local origin.

1.2 The `large notebook for viola de gamba'

The entirely anonymous N-Tu MS XA HA Mus. 1:1 (formerly MS XA HA fol. 74) bears on the cover the title `N° 1, Nodebog til Viola da Gamba' and consists of eight unnumbered leaves in a very large format, 56.5 x 44.5 cm. There are two watermarks, the first with the arms of Strasbourg and the initials of Abraham Janssen and Frangois Jardel, the second with the French fleur-de-lis in a crowned shield and the initials D S.[14] Although the first watermark points to the years 1663-*c.* 1690, the manuscript does not seem to be earlier than the Schenck part-books. The first of the two scribes is indeed the same as in MS XA HA Mus. 1:2, but here he has entered in tablature excerpts of Kühnel's *Sonate ô Partite (1698):* sonatas nos 1 to 3 and the first movement of sonatina no. 5 ([pp. 1-8]; VdGS nos 1-6 and 13), and the five last movements of sonata no. 4, which he has provided with some fingerings ([pp. 15-16]; VdGS nos 8-12*).*[15] Another scribe, with a less distinguished hand (possibly the beginner mentioned above), entered one part of eleven Schenck pieces ([9-14]), all concordant with the part-books, and including the nine unpublished pieces in NIS XA HA Mus. 1:2. The movements follow each other in a much more convincing sonata guise in the `large notebook'. The first `sonata' in G major includes the unpublished Allemand, Corant and Saraband, followed by Aria (VdGS no. 47) and Gavotte (VdGS no. 44, secundo part), respectively nos 1-2 and 4-6 from the Schenck part-books. The second one includes the six pieces in C major: Fantasia, Allemand, Corant, Saraband, Gigue, Fantasia (nos 11-13, 16, 14-15 from the part-books).[16] There are a few minor variant readings, always towards a simplification, and the scribe graces only with the comma, but

[13] *Cf.* N-Ou MS 294a, no. 16

[14] Save for the initials, the first watermark looks similar to that reproduced in Robert Thompson, `The sources of Locke's consort "for seaverall friends" ', Chelys, 19 (1990), 43, Fig. 5 (from GB-Lbl Add. MS 33236). Huldt-Nystrom supposes that the second watermark is connected with Janssen, as W.A. Churchill's Watermarks in Paper (Amsterdam, 1935), no. 412 has the same motive, but with Janssen's initials (`Viola gamba-spill', 125). This motive was taken over from the sixteenth-century Strasbourgian paper maker Wendelin Riehl, the initials of whom are seen under the shield.

[15] Curiously, Huldt-Nystrom only identified sonatas 1 and 3 (`Viola gamba-spill', 135-36).

[16] The Gavotte in G major and the first Fantasia and the Gigue in C major concord with the secundo part-book of NIS 1:2. However, MS 1:1 appears to agree with the print's primo part in the first case, and from the music, the Gigue also appears to be a primo part.

[59] the two manuscripts surely derive from the same source. In some instances, MS XA HA Mus. 1:1 agrees with the printed version of the movements from op. 8, while MS XA HA Mus. 1:2 has a variant, thus hinting at a freer treatment of the music by the more proficient of the two scribes.

As it stands, MS XA HA Mus. 1:1 is clearly an isolated primo part-book from a set of two. Scribe A chose only sonatas for two viols and continuo from Kühnel's print.[17] The Schenck sonatas are also duets, as is evident from MS XA HA Mus. 1:2. The companion part-book must have been lost before Hammer came into possession of the manuscripts: the set was already incomplete in 1792, and it seems unlikely that a single part-book could have belonged to `the best musicalia' Hammer offered some years earlier to his friends.[18]

The explanation in Danish to a tuning diagram in MS XA HA Mus. 1:1, ([2]), the Treschow paper and the Danish march tune in *MS* XA HA Mus. 1:2 do not amount on their own to conclusive evidence for a Norwegian provenance because they do not really belong to the manuscript or could have been added later. The same goes for the tuning chart, attributed to hand A by Huldt-Nystrom, but with features similar to hand B. In fact, text and tablature letters both seem very similar to the handwriting in the Oslo source, Ou MS 294, but such a reduced sample does not offer enough evidence to allow one to connect the tablatures from both libraries.[19] However, as the two Trondheim scribes were evidently close to each other and the books were used by a Dane or Norwegian, it seems likely that they were written out in Scandinavia rather than imported early from Germany.

2 The Oslo manuscript: the so-called `Peter Bang notebook'

Ou MS 294 consists of 108 pages and one unnumbered end-paper, but the contents, watermarks and modern pagination divide the manuscript into two parts of 54 pages each (MS 294a-b), starting from both ends of the book. The front cover bears an owner's name `PETER BANG' and the date `1679'; both have been accepted by Heukels as directly connected with the contents. However, the watermarks already point to a later date: the first part bears the Amsterdam arms with initials H G, found in English archival documents from 1683, and the second has a Gerhard Treschow watermark with the arms of Norway mentioned above.[20]

The book was given in about 1847 to Ivar Moe (b. 1827), a musician of Bergen. According to a note on pages 35-37, written in Chicago, 1st June 1887, Ivar Moe copied out on the subsequent pages (40, 51-53) remarks about some local marches and ballroom [60] dances from the first decades of the nineteenth century, composed for him about 1857 by his own father Ivar Christian (1800-1869), a musician and dancing master. Moe had planned for

[17] Kühnel admitted leaving out the continuo in sonatas nos 1-3; however, tablature copies of excerpts from sonatas nos 4-5 for two gambas alone may be found also in D-KI MS Mus. Anhang 28.

[18] N-Tu fMS HA 35b, note to packet 11: `NB: De bætiste Musicalier er for nogle Aar siden bortforærede til Wenner'.

[19] *Cf.* Ou MS 294a, page 3: `Accord' and ffeff tuning chart.

[20] H. M. Fiskaa, quoted by Ø. Gaukstad, introduction to Heukels, op. cit., 11

some time to give the manuscript to the music publisher and collector Carl Wilhelm Warmuth (1844-1895). Only in 1887 did the book pass into Warmuth's private library, which was later bequeathed to Oslo University Library.

Nothing certain is known about the owner Peter Bang. According to Boetticher, he became a city wait *(`stadsmusikant')* in Bergen in 1685. The monopoly of playing at all Church occasions in the area was conferred upon the Norwegian city waits and their apprentices by the King of Denmark. They had to buy their instruments, and some of the viols kept in Norway today may have belonged to such musicians.[21] But Boetticher's undocumented statement seems very doubtful[22] as the Bergen city waits at this time were Poul Kropelin (established 1669, confirmed 1679) and Rudolph Grip (established Y 685).[23]

MS 294a contains on pages 1-34 twenty-four solo pieces in tablature, arranged according to tunings in three sections separated by unused pages (18-21, 26-31), and followed by the texts already alluded to; pages 38-39, 41 and 54 are blank.

MS 294b, starting from the opposite end of the book, contains in the same hand seventy-six pieces for solo violin (pp. 1-43), followed by some untitled dance tunes also for solo violin in another hand, clearly dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century (pp. 46-52), but unrelated to those described in Moe's `Anmaerkninger'. There are also instructions for the violin (endpaper and p. 45). Pages 44 and 47 are blank, and pages 53-54, which bore music, have been torn out.

The three sections of viol tablature, each introduced by a tuning chart (headed in Danish `forstemning') include sixteen pieces in defhf tuning, numbered 1-17,[24] and four unnumbered pieces each in edfhf and fdefh tunings. The handwriting, like that from the Trondheim tablatures, looks German or Scandinavian, the characteristic features being letter shapes, large time signatures and a double barline at the beginning of each stave. Groups of short note values are beamed more extensively than in the Trondheim tablatures. There are no left-hand fingerings, but the manuscript does contain bowings and an abundance of gracing (mostly falls and backfalls). Graces almost always take the shape of small notes. Uncommon, I think, is a sort of whole-fall on two strings, in fact rather an adaptation of the French harpsichord `could.

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[21] About city waits in Norway, cf. Hernes, op. cit., 208--254, 274-321. About viola da gambas in their possession, *ibid,* 245--247. Aksdal, op. cit., gives a list of fourteen viols (including three by Tielke) built between 1692 and 1750, and one 1714 baryton kept in various museums in Norway.

[22] RISM B/VII, p. 250. Øystein Gaukstad, Introduction to Heukels *op. cit.*, 11, writes `Det har ikke lykkes å finne ut noe om Peter Bang, muligens har ban va?rt stadsmusikant i Bergen' (`it was impossible to find out anything about Peter Bang, *possibly* he was a city wait in Bergen').

[23] Asbjøm Hernes, *Impuls og tradisjon i Norsk musikk* 1500-1800, Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II, 1952, no. 2, 216. Sources: København, Det danske rigsarkiv, Norske registre nr. 11, fol. 916; nr. 13, 303; nr. 15, fol. 46. Bang is not mentioned. Wiesener's article `Om stadsmusikantene i Bergen', Bergens *historiske* forening *skrifter,* 49 (1943), 81-115, was not available to me.

[24] There is no number 5.

The only apparent ascription is to Rabel (the name appears as Ravel in the violin section). Though clearly legible, this name (or word) is puzzling, because there seems to [61] be nothing similar to it in the Danish and Norwegian languages and onomastic. I have not found any record elsewhere of a local musician named Rabel, if indeed this word refers to an individual. There is also the possibility that Rabel may be a corrupt rendering of some foreign word, such as the English noun `revel' or the French name Rebel. In the latter case, either François Rebel (1701-1775) or his father Jean-Ferry (1666-1747) could be the composer, but I have not searched for these pieces among their abundant works. These suggestions are of course nothing more than hypotheses.

MS 294a contains one work each by Simon Ives (p. 9, his widely known Saraband `La Cloche', VdGS no. 31),[25] and by the brothers Jean-Louis and Louis Lully, the little-known sons of Jean-Baptiste (pp. 22-23, a pair of Rigaudons from the Prologue of their opera *Zephire et Flore,* published in Paris in 1688).[26] The anonymous `Thumping Almaine' (p. 2, VdGS Anon. 7001), like Ives's Saraband, dates back to the various issues of Playford's *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, lyra-way*. Both pieces were popular in Germany and Sweden.

Two of the marches (`Marchs de Brandenburg' and `Christian Marchs', pp. 7 and 16) very probably allude to the years 1674-1679, when King Christian V (1670-1699) and his ally Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg defeated the Swedes several times.[27] Three Danish chorale tunes (pp. 4, 6 and 14) likewise testify, even if modestly, to a local compositional activity. The other pieces are short dances, mostly minuets, the tunes of which may be found in eighteenth-century French or Germanic sources and are thus surely of foreign origin.

The settings are simple yet idiomatic and are not amateurish: the compiler, if he had any responsibility for them, must have been a trained musician. The tunes, generously supplied with graces, are frequently harmonised in parallel thirds or by root notes, while chords seldom occur. A few pieces are almost monodic.

Five of the viol pieces (nos 4, 13, 16 and the two unnumbered minuets on pp. 24-25 and 34) are found also in the violin section of the book, and despite the different notation, there is consistency between the two parts of the manuscript through the almost exclusive use of small notes (one quaver or two or three semiquavers) for gracing in the violin music, although in some cases the scribe adds a trill (t). The pieces in MS 294b do not make technical demands on the player; almost all of them can be played entirely in the first

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[25] Though this seems to be the only piece by Ives found in its original form in Denmark and Norway, the celebrated Queen's Masque (VdGS no. 50) is converted to a Danish song beginning `Stå stille stå, min brændende attrå (`Stay still, my burning desire') in the Danish manuscript DK-Kk MS Thott 4° 1529, which dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century (printed in Nils Schiorring, *Det 16. og 17. drhundredes verdslige danske visesang* (København, 2/1950), no. 298).

[26] The second of these Rigaudons was arranged for guitar by Count Losy (CZ-Pu MS II.Kk.77, 109).

[27] Christian Marchs' could hardly be connected with Christian VI (1730-1746), who led no war. A setting of this piece also survives on the leaves added to one of the Trondheim Schenck part-books, dated 1716 (see above).

position (only nos 17 and 62 reach c'", and the Trio of no. 59, d'). Modern usage is followed rather consistently as regards key signatures with flats.[28]
I have been able to make a few ascriptions in MS 294b. Minuet no. 62 could be by Jean-Pierre Guignon (1702-1774). There is one piece by Jean-Baptiste Lully (no. 72), a Danish parody of a well known gavotte from *Roland* (1685), here in a slightly shortened version. The passepied `Europe Galante' (no. 10) stems not, as one would expect, from Campra's opera-ballet of the same name. The song `Chrysillis, du mit verdens guld' (no. 70) originates from Gabriel Voigtlander's German song `Herbey, herbey, du gantze Schar' from *Oden and Lieder* (1642), which gained popularity in Denmark through Thomas Kingo's 1668 parody as a Danish wedding song, and remained a favourite throughout the eighteenth century.[29] Older yet is the 'Engels Dantz' (no. 7), which goes back to an English tune called `The Cobbler' or `Cobbler's jig', already known around 1600.[30]

Although some of the violin pieces are thus earlier than those for the viol, the repertoire in MS 294b on the whole looks stylistically later, more `galant', and consists mostly of minuets and polonaises. In contrast to those in the viol section of the manuscript, several of the minuets for violin include triplets. Some of them are also more idiomatically designed for the instrument than their counterparts for the viol: melodies move in a broader ambitus and include more typical instrumental figuration.

Polonaises in this manuscript are all in 3/4 time.[31] Most of them are called `Sarras', a term also found as 'Serra' in Swedish manuscripts. The `serra' - i.e. `saw' in Latin - comes from west Prussia, where it was an after-dance to the Polish dance before being driven out of fashion by the gavotte and the minuet.[32] However, little distinguishes these dances from the other polonaises in the manuscript: while some of the `serras' are shorter, the same rhythmic patterns occur in both types, and both titles are sometimes recorded for the same piece.[33] Two of them bear Norwegian subtitles: `Vesle jenta' (`The little girl') (no. 27) and `Osandals visa' (no. 23), which could mean `The tune from the Osa valley', referring perhaps to Osdalen, where the northern Osa river

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[28] "According to contemporary usage, f♯ g♯ and e♭ are written at both octaves available in the stave.

[29] Gabriel Voigtländer, *Allerhande Oden and Lieder,* Sorø, 1642, no. 38; Thomas Kingo, *Samlede skrifter* (København 1974-1975), I, 79-94 (text), VII, 56. Nils Schiørring, *Det 16.* og 17. *århundredes verdslige danske visesang* (København, 2/1950),11,130-132, publishes several eighteenth-century versions, including that from the Oslo manuscript, along with Voigtländer's original melody.

[30] Cf. William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London, 1855-1859),1, 277

[31] About the history of the polonaise in Scandinavia, see Otto Mortensen, `The Polish-Dance in Denmark', *The Book of the first International Music* Congress *devoted to the works of Frederick Chopin* (Warszawa, 1960), 572-577; Asbjørn Hernes, op. *cit.,* 183--188; Tobias Norlind, `Studier i svensk folk*lore',Lund universitets årsskrift,* Ny fölijd, Afd. 1, Bd. 7, Nr. 5, (Lund, 1911), 366-382

[32] A. Czerwinski, *Geschichte der Tanzkunst* (Leipzig, 1862), 188, quoted by Norlind, op. *cit.,* 374

[33] Norlind, op. *cit.,* 373, also concludes from the Swedish sources that the `serra' `sometimes is the same as the polonaise, sometimes is a name for the after-dance of the old Polish dance, sometimes appears as part of the Polish dance' (`än sammanfaller med polonäsen, än är en beteckning för den gamla polskans efterdans, än återigen uppträder skild från polskan').

flows. Two more `serras' (nos 28 and 44) have only Norwegian (dialectal?) titles, for which I have been unable to find an explanation in any dictionary.[34] The Italian `Polonese' and the Danish `Pols dans' occur once each in the manuscript.
MS 294b also contains some arias and dances with Danish, German or French titles, [63] and a Halling (no. 49), which along with the ones published by Mattheson in 1740 are probably the earliest known examples of this Norwegian dance.[35] The Murky (no. 36) brings a welcome hint to the date: Marpurg records an anecdote about the origins of the Murky, which he dates about 1720-1721.[36] Besides, this Murky was one of the melodies used by Sperontes in his *Singende Muse an der Pleiße* (1736).

It would seem natural to think that the viol tablature was written first, the eight unnumbered pieces probably being a later layer. The violin music, more abundant in quantity, may represent a later addition to the manuscript. The scribe would have moved from an outmoded instrument and its repertoire to a more modern one.[37] The paper used in the violin section seems to support this theory. However, the handwriting would hint rather at a simultaneous copying as two independent fascicles, which were subsequently bound together. Indeed the handwriting looks very similar in both sections, in so far as the different notational devices allow comparison. I think it is likely that both sections were written, if not exactly at the same time, at least within a short space of each other. This theory is in turn supported by the similar numbering and layout in both fascicles. The difference in repertoire and style may be explained by instrumental peculiarities: many tunes in the violin section would not have been fit for gamba settings such as those in the tablature section, or would not have sounded well on the viol. Possibly, too, the scribe, if he was not responsible for any of the settings, simply wrote out what was available to him.

The date on the binding must of course be discarded as much too early. I think the manuscript, or at least the violin section, was written out about 1740. Even if the tablature section is earlier, the similar handwriting would seem to preclude a great lapse of time between both. Evidence from the surviving instruments mentioned above shows that the gamba was still played in Norway about 1750. Thus the manuscript, instead of being `the earliest worldly music manuscript in Norway' (Heukels), is probably the latest known gamba tablature.[38]

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[34] `Kruren' (no. 42), though looking like a masculine substantive in the definite form, is written in Latin letters, while every other Scandinavian title in the manuscript, including `Haaxxern' - also presumably a masculine substantive in the definite form - is written in gothic letters.

[35] Johann Mattheson, Etwas Neues unter der Sonnen! oder Das unterurdische Klippen-Concert in Norwegen (Hamburg, 1740)

[36] Quoted by Walter H. Rubsamen, `Murky', *MGG*, 9, col. 937-938

[37] C.f Ludvig Holberg, `Epistola 453', *Baron Lud. Holbergs Epistler* (Kiøbenhavn, 1754), 46-47:'[ ...] de forste [i. e. `Rigadon' and `Folie d'Espagne'] ere komne of Brug, og man nu omstunder finder alleene Smag udi Menuetter, Engelske og Polske Dantzer [ ...]' (`[...] the first [i. e. Rigaudon and Folie d'Espagne] have gone out of use, and one nowadays finds only taste for minuets, English and Polish dances'). The contents of both sections of the Oslo manuscript fit this sentence strikingly.

[38] Both Huldt-Nystrøm, *Polsdanser og hallinger,* 26, and Schiørring, *op. cit.,* H, 130-132, date the manuscript c. 1750.

The mysterious Peter Bang certainly had no direct connection with the book, though it seems possible that the scribe and owner was one of his descendants. The contents of the manuscript recall many notebooks compiled around the same time by amateurs for household use, such as those concordances quoted in the following inventory. The owner was therefore not necessarily a professional musician.

The appendices provide a full inventory of Ou MS 294a-b, a list of tablature graces from the three manuscripts, and incipits from the unpublished pieces by Schenck.

Appendix 1

N-Ou Ms. 294: inventory with selected concordances and cognates.

Seq.	Pages	Orig. no., Title, Remarks / Concordances	Key
		MS 294a	
	1	Tilhører Carl Warmuths Privatbibliothek	
1	2	2 Allemande ['The thumping Almaine']	
		VdGS Anon. no. 7001	G
	2	[tuning chart ffeff (tuning not used)]	
	3	forstemning Accord [tuning chart: defhf]	
2	3	1 [Bergamasque?]	G
3	4	3 'Nu vel an vær frisk til mod' [Chorale]	G
4	4–5	4 Menuet	G
		cf. seq. 30	
		[no no. 5]	
5	6	6 'Jeg vil din Priis udsiunge' [Chorale]	G
6	7	7 'Marchs de Brandenburg'	G
		cf. VdGS Anon. no. 7522	
7	8–9	8 Marchs	G
		cf. PL-Wn Rps. Muz. 396, fols 28v–29r (lute)	
8	9	9 'Engels Kloken Spil' [Simon Ives, 'La Cloche']	G
		VdGS Ives no. 31	
9	10	10 Allemand	G
10	10–11	11 Aria	G
11	11	12 Marchs	G
12	12–13	13 Menue	G
		cf. seq. 43	
13	14	14 'Jesu diene dybe vunden' [Chorale]	G
14	14–15	15 Menue Angloise	G
15	16	16 'Christian Marchs'	G
		cf. seq. 27; cf. Tu MS XA HA Mus. 1:2 (leaf added to primo part-book)	
16	17	17 Rabel Giga	G
	18–21	[ruled, unused]	
	22	forstemning [tuning chart edfhf]	
17	22	Menue	g
18	22–23	Rigadon [I–II] [Jean-Louis and Louis Lully]	g
		from the Prologue of *Zéphire et Flore* (Paris, 1688), 44–46	
19	24	Aria	g

(*continued from previous page*)

Seq.	Pages	Orig. no., Title, Remarks / Concordances	Key
20	24–25	Menue	g
		cf. seq. 38	
	26–31	[ruled, unused]	
	32	forstemning [tuning chart fdefh]	
21	32	Saraband / Aria	D
22	32–33	Gavott	D
23	33	Menue	D
24	34	Menue	D
		cf. seq. 79; cf. F-Pn Rés.F.844, p. 68:1 (guitar)	
	35–37	[ruled; text by Ivar Moe, 1887]	
	38–39	[ruled, unused]	
	40	[not ruled; text by Ivar Moe]	
	41	[blank]	
	42–53	[not ruled; texts by Ivar Moe]	
	54	[blank]	
		MS 294b	
	I	[blank]	
	Iv	[fingering chart for violin]	
25	1:1	1 Garsen hauer [Bergamasque]	C
		cf. S-L MS Wenster G 28, fol. 52r:1 (p. 74:1) (scordatura violin)	
26	1:2	2 Menue	C
27	2:1	3 Marsch ['Christian Marsch']	C
		cf. seq. 15	
28	2:2	4 Menue	C
29	3:1	5 Pols Dans	C
		cf. S-K Musikhandskrift 4a, fol. 40v–41r: 'Zerra' (keyboard)[1]	
30	3:2	6 Menue	G
		cf. seq. 4	
31	4:1	7 'Engels Dantz' ['The Cobbler']	G
		cf. GB-Lbl Add. MS 38539, fol. 7v, among others	
32	4:2	8 Sarras	G
33	4–5	9 Menue	G
34	5	10 'Europe Galante' [Passepieds I–II]	G
		not from André Campra, *L'Europe Galante* (1697)[2]	
35	6:1	11 Menue	G

[1] Tune published by Norlind, *op. cit.*, music supplement, no. 46

[2] It seems unlikely on stylistic grounds that this dance could be taken from Carl Heinrich Graun's Italian opera *L'Europa Galante* (1748), but I have been unable to check it.

(*continued from previous page*)

Seq.	Pages	Orig. no., Title, Remarks / Concordances	Key
36	6:2	12 Menue	F
37	7:1	13 Aria	g
38	7:2	14 Menue	g
		cf. seq. 20	
39	8	15 'La ere de Malte' ['L'air de Malte']	D
40	8–9	16 Menue	D
41	9:1	17 Menue	C
42	9:2	18 Menue	G
		cf. S-L MS Wenster G 28, fol. 117r:2 (p. 144:2), in F	
43	10	19 Menue	G
		cf. seq. 12	
44	11:1	20 Menue	a
45	11:2	21 'Caveler Dantz' ['Jeg lader mig skære en sortebrun trøje'][3]	a
46	12:1	22 Menue	a
47	12:2	23 Sarras 'Osandals Visa'	G
48	12–13	24 'Contiliong' ['Cotillon', or 'La Moutarde'][4]	D
		cf. GB-Lbl Add. MS 16889, fol. 97r, among many others; unrelated to seq. 68	
49	13	25 Sarras	D
50	14	26 'Studenter Marchs'	D
		cf. S-SK MS Högre allmäna läroverkets musiksamling Nr 468, p. 36: 'La Marche de Jena' (gamba)	
51	15:1	27 Sarras 'Vessele Genta' ['Vesle jenta'][5]	G
		cf. S-K Musikhandskrift 4a, fol. 42r: Polonesse (keyboard)[6]	
52	15:2	28 Haaxxern [Serra]	d
53	16	29 Menue	D
54	16–17	30 Menue	d
55	17	31 Menue	g
56	18:1	32 Menue	g
57	18:2	33 Menue	g
58	19:1	34 Menue	C
59	19:2	35 Menue	C
		cf. Sperontes, *Singende Muse an der Pleiße* (1736), no. 33	

[3] A Christmas song from Jutland. See a shorter, texted version in Arthur Arnholtz and Nils Schiørring (eds.), *Gamle danske Viser* (København, 3/1943), I, no. 18 ('Kavaler-Dansen').

[4] Earliest source known to me: D-DO Mus. MS 1214[1], fol. 18:1 (lute, *c.* 1640–1645).

[5] A popular song with the same title, but a different melody, was collected in 1848–1849 by Ludvig M. Lindeman, who published a piano arrangement of it in *Ældre og nyere norske Fjeldmelodier* (Oslo, [1853–1855]), I , no. 12. See Øystein Gaukstad, 'Ludvig Mathias Lindeman bibliografi II. Folkemusikk', *Norsk musikkgranskning* (Årbok 1962–1971), 230, no. [2403].

[6] Tune published by Norlind, *op. cit.*, music supplement, no. 48

(*continued from previous page*)

Seq.	Pages	Orig. no., Title, Remarks / Concordances	key
60	20	36 Murkÿ	D
61	20–21	37 Menue	F
62	21	38 Schuster Dantz	d
63	22:1	39 Menue	G
64	22:2	40 Menue	G
65	23:1	41 Menue	G
66	23:2	42 Kruren [Serra]	G
67	24:1	43 'den forliebte Teber'	D
68	24:2	44 'Contiliong Menue' [AB in $\frac{3}{4}$, C in $\frac{2}{2}$] unrelated to seq. 48	d
69	25:1	45 Menue	G
70	25:2	46 Menue	C
71	26:1	47 Menue	g
72	26:2	48 Lavicitte	g
73	26:3	49 Hallingen	D
74	27:1	50 [Minuet]	e
75	27:2	51 Schaluci[7] Dantz	d
76	28	52 Menue	G
77	28–29	53 Anshuc[8]	g
78	29	54 Passpie [Le vieux Passepied, I–II] F-Pn Vm[7] 1477 (in Sébastien de Brossard's hand, *c.* 1695), fol. 24: Passepied (a2) and incipit fol. 19:3, to be inserted in an unidentified stage work. Sometimes called 'Le vieux Passepied' in later sources.	d
79	30:1	55 Menue cf. seq. 24	F
80	30:2	56 sarras	G
81	30:3	57 Menue [with Trio]	B♭
82	31	58 'Ach min Dosse russer bort' [?]	g
83	32	59 Menue Alternativ [with Trio]	D
84	32–33	60 Polonese	D
85	33	61 Menue	c
86	34	62 Menue [?Jean-Pierre Guignon] Mme Boivin (ed.), *Menuets nouveaux ..., 1er recueil* (Paris, s.d.), 7: 'Menuet de M. Guignon 1er Violon du Roy'[9]	g

[7]Perhaps a corrupt rendering of the French 'jalousie'?

[8]Perhaps a corrupt rendering of the German 'Anzug'?

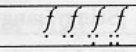
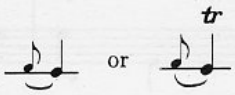
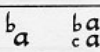
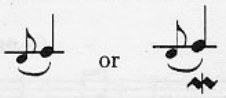
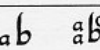
[9]In C minor, with bass, followed by a second minuet. The same 'Menuet de Mr Guignon' was used as timbre in Riccoboni's and Romagnesi's *Castor et Pollux, parodie* (Paris, 1737), (no. 8 of the musical appendix). A version in G minor similar to the Oslo version is called 'Minuetto Bolonese' in Troyes, Archives Départementales de l'Aube, E* 2016(a) (about 1740), fol. [1r:5]. Perhaps Guignon only arranged an Italian tune.

(*continued from previous page*)

Seq.	Pages	Orig. no., Title, Remarks / Concordances	Key
87	34–35	63 Engels Giga ['The Jockey', or 'Four pence half-penny farthing'] cf. *English Dancing Master*, Barlow ed., no. 296	B♭
88	35	64 Menue	B♭
89	36	65 'Hvad Aander [?] maa ieg falde i'	D
90	37	66 Ravel Menue	D
91	38	67 Menue	G
92	38–39	68 Menue	g
93	39	69 Menue	c
94	40	70 Aria 'Chrisillis du mit Verdens Guld' Music after Gabriel Voigtländer, *Oden und Lieder* (Sørø, 1642), no. 38; title from Thomas Kingo (1668)	g
95	40–41	71 Sarras cf. S-L MS Wenster G 28, fol. 23r (p. 27)	G
96	41	72 'Er end Himlen fuld af skÿer' ['C'est l'amour qui nous menace'] Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Roland* (1685), Prologue; LWV 65/13	d
97	42:1	73 Menue	F
98	42:2	74 Menue	A
99	43:1	75 Menue	B♭
100	43:2	76 Menue	B♭
	44	[ruled, unused]	
	45	[tuning charts and arpeggios for violin]	
		[early nineteenth-century entries:]	
101	46:1	[Waltz]	C
102	46:2	N Ballet	C
	47	[ruled, unused]	
103	48–49	N° 1 / 'af Bostad' [?] [Waltz]	C
104	49:1	N° 2 [Ecossaise]	C
105	49:2	N [3] [Waltz]]	C
106	50:1	N [4] [Ecossaise]	C
107	50:2	N [5] [Ecossaise]	C
108	50:3	N° [6] [Waltz]	B♭
109	51	N [7] [Waltz]	B♭
110	52:1	N° [8] [Waltz]	A
111	52:2	N° [9] [Waltz]	E♭
	53–54	[torn out; bore music]	

Appendix 2

Fingerings, bowings and graces[1]

a)	**Left-hand fingerings**		
	[1st to 4th finger]	Tu 1:1 (A)	
b)	**Bowings**		
	[Upstroke]	Ou	
	Støde [Upstroke]	Tu 1:1, 1:2	
	[Slur]	Ou, Tu 1:1, 1:2	
		Tu 1:1 (B)	
	[Tug]	Ou	
		Tu 1:1 (A)	
		Tu 1:1 (B), 1:2	
	[Staccato]	Tu 1:1 (B), 1:2	
c)	**Graces**		
	[Shake]	Tu 1:2, added f	
		Ou	
		Tu	
		Ou	
		Tu[2]	
		Tu 1:1 (A)	
		Ou	
		Tu 1:1 (A)[3]	
		Tu 1:2	

continued on next page ...

[1] Manuscripts are abbreviated as Tu 1:1, Tu 1:2 and Ou. For N-Tu MS XA HA 1:1, hands are designated by letters A and B where necessary.

[2] At least when doubled in unison by an open string.

[3] Only between notes distant of a major or minor third.

continued from previous page

c)	Graces (continued)		
	[Sting/Langueur][4]	Tu	
	[Shake with the bow][5]	Ou	
	[Thump]	Ou	
	[Dynamics]	Tu 1:1 (A), 1:2	pian forte
		Tu 1:1 (B)	Piano
	[Pause]	Tu 1:1 (A)	

I wish to thank Dr Annette Otterstedt for her practical advice about the interpretation of graces.

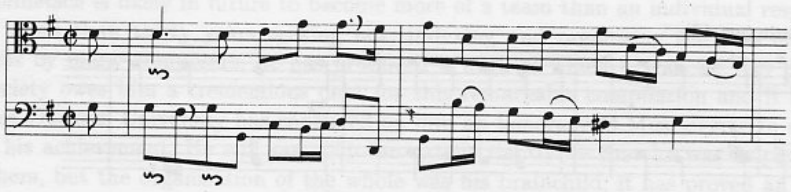
[4]Often combined with a half-fall.

[5]Occurs on values from crotchet to dotted minim, always at the end of a musical phrase or of a strain.

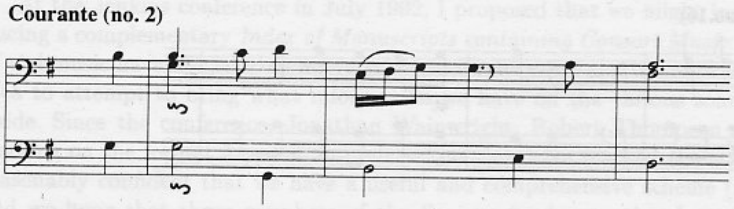
Appendix 3

Incipits of the Schenck unica[1] (Numbering from XA HA Mus 1:2)

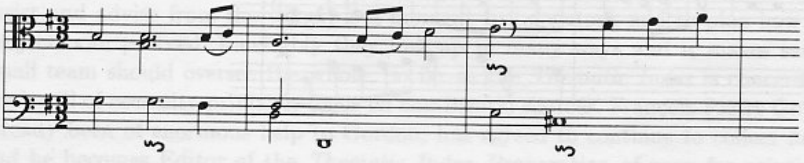
Allemande (no. 1)



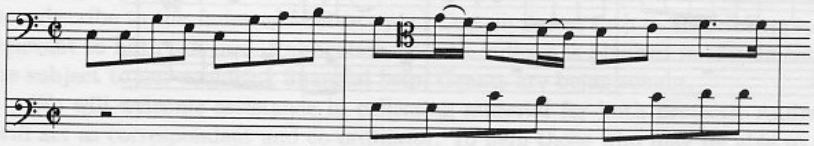
Courante (no. 2)



Sarabande (no. 4)

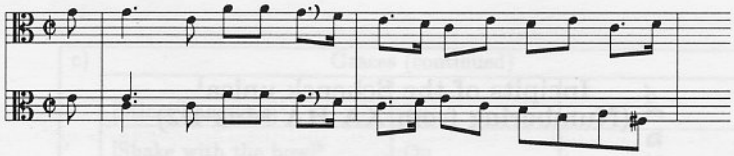


Fantasia (no. 11)

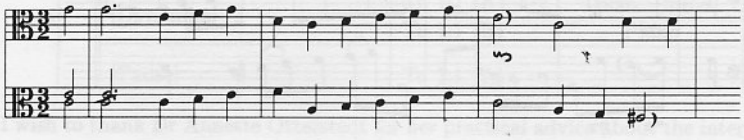


[1] I have translated and edited the nine unpublished movements as Johann Schenck, *Two sonatas for two bass viols* (Albany, 1994).

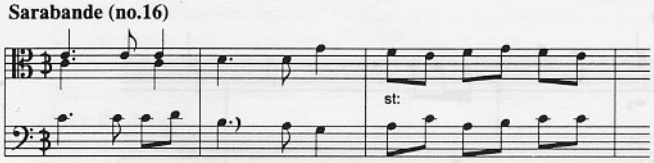
Allemande (no. 12)



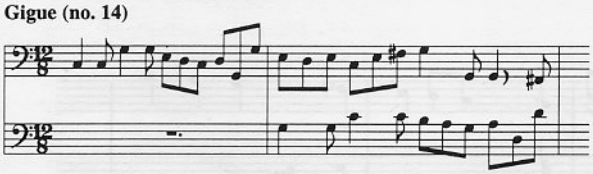
Courante (no. 13)



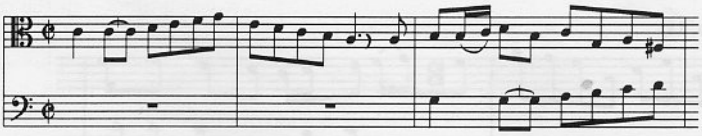
Sarabande (no.16)



Gigue (no. 14)



Fantasia (no. 15)



THE SOCIETY'S INDEXES: A WAY FORWARD

ANDREW ASHBEE

It is a measure of Gordon Dodd's achievement that the *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* which he developed in continuation of the work of Donington, Meyer and Nathalie Dolmetsch is likely in future to become more of a team than an individual responsibility. In more than thirty years seeking out, indexing and organising the lists of music for viols by many composers, he has produced a work of which he can be very proud. The Society owes him a tremendous debt for this remarkable compilation and it is splendid that Durham University has conferred on him an honorary MMus. degree in recognition of his achievement. He will say—to an extent rightly—that he was helped by many others, but the organisation of the whole was his brainchild; it has proved an invaluable tool for so many of us working on the composers and the music.

At the Jenkins conference in July 1992, I proposed that we might look towards introducing a complementary *Index of Manuscripts containing Consort Music:* notes on sources of viol music have appeared in many guises in recent years and it would seem to be a good idea to attempt to bring what information we have on the various sources into a single guide. Since the conference, Jonathan Wainwright, Robert Thompson and I have been working on the format for such an undertaking. We have reached the stage where we are reasonably confident that we have a useful and comprehensive scheme (as shown below) and we hope that those members of the Society (and any others) working on relevant manuscripts will feel willing and able to contribute to what is a mammoth task.

Gordon's 'retirement' from working on the *Thematic Index* (thankfully he continues to assist and advise from the wings) is a moment to take stock and to plan how best both projects can proceed. Inevitably they link up in many ways and it makes sense that a small team should oversee the whole. So far as the *Thematic Index* is concerned, future work will of necessity primarily focus on continental sources. François-Pierre Goy, who has already been of enormous help to Gordon, has agreed to continue to collect information and he becomes Editor of the *Thematic Index*. Preparation of copy for printing will be required for both indexes; it may be sensible and cost-effective to produce all the sheets in a single operation. (It is likely that those whose buy the *Thematic Index* will also wish to subscribe to the *Index of Manuscripts.)* Certain items, such as the bibliography, will be relevant to both schemes. Publication of both indexes is planned in instalments, but will be subject to our acquiring financial help. Grants are being sought.

We will welcome assistance in collecting material for both projects. Andrew Ashbee will act as correspondent and co-ordinator. To help those who may be able to contribute information for the new *Index of Manuscripts,* details of the format are set out below. We are well aware that certain areas may not have been covered by researchers, but will be pleased to have notice of *any* work which will be relevant to the overall scheme. We have already

been able to draw on specialised work on watermarks (Robert Thompson) and on rastra (Catherine Gaherty).

[74]

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING MUSIC FOR VIOLS

(A) Overall structure.

i. Title page; contents; introduction; acknowledgments; key.

ii. Bibliography. The bibliography of the *Thematic Index* will be retained and expanded, probably separating facsimiles and editions from books/articles; a sub-listing of subjects and of authors is also proposed. It will also be necessary to record codes for printed collections of vocal music (as a separate list) where items from these occur alongside viol music in the manuscripts.

iii. Complete list of sources (by library); RISM codes.

iv. The main index of sources (arranged by library); RISM codes. Detailed layout is set out at (B) and (C) below.

v. Surviving records of lost sources.

vi. Index of known copyists (with biographical summary and list of relevant MSS, arranged chronologically as far as is possible).

vii. Index of known owners (with biographical summary and list of relevant MSS).

viii. Section illustrating watermarks (cross-referenced to MSS). This has its own introduction.

ix. Section illustrating hands (cross-references to MSS, copyists and owners as necessary).

Initial work is based on Jonathan Wainwright's studies of manuscripts by John Lilly and Stephen Bing; we expect early instalments to concentrate on manuscripts identified as belonging to a single owner, or which include work by known copyists. Inventories and annotations will refer to whole manuscripts, including sections which do not contain viol music. Our aim is to prepare each entry according to the following plan.

(B) Introductory information.

i. Brief descriptive sentence.

ii. Detailed description using the following formula (The order in which the information is presented is occasionally altered in the interests of clarity):

(a) Approximate date;

(b) Number of leaves: Roman numerals are used to indicate flyleaves (modern flyleaves are indicated by italics); pastedowns are noted only if they have been lifted so as to become, in effect, flyleaves;

(c) Foliation/pagination;

(d) Paper dimensions: given in millimetres, height first and width second (these figures are often approximations, since the size of the leaves usually varies slightly);

(e) Blank pages;

(f) Number of staves per page and rastrum details:

A. number of staves on a page (with a note of the layout, e.g. 'in blocks of threes').

B number of staves in the rastrum.

C the span of the rastrum.

D profile of the rastrum, i.e. the width of the individual staves and the distance between them; measurements are given as from the top stave down and the distances between the staves are given in brackets, e.g. the profile of a four-stave rastrum might be:
11 (15.5) 12 (14.5) 11 (14) 10.5 (The profile could be inverted if the page is bound upside-down after ruling; the measurements given are those of systems which were rastrum ruled from the left to the right of the page.) All measurements are given in millimetres. (Up to a millimetre should be allowed as a 'variation factor' for the individual staves, and perhaps even more than a millimetre for the total span of a rastrum (particularly for multiple rastra); such variations in the measurements could be the result of differing pressure on the rastrum causing varying amounts of 'spreading', fluctuating viscosity of ink or irregular ink supply, and slight expansion as the rastrum ages);

Watermarks: briefly described and any bibliographical references noted; the main marks are reproduced in a separate section;

Collation: given where possible (the tightness of bindings often precludes a detailed examination of the gatherings) using the formula A—Z (no I, U or W) and thereafter Aa—Zz and Aaa—Zzz, with the number of leaves in a gathering indicated by a superscript number. [NB: A singleton is indicated as superscript `1' (thus breaking with the bibliographical convention that 'the superior figure must always be an even number') unless it is obvious which leaf of the bifolio has been removed (e.g. a bifolio with the first leaf removed would be indicated: `A^2(A1 removed)')]. End-papers are not included in the collations; signatures are editorial unless stated;

Script: the division of scribal labour is detailed; facsimiles of the main hands are given in a separate section;

(j) Inscriptions: unless stated (in round brackets at the end of the inscription), the hand is unidentified; line ends are indicated thus: / (Other inscriptions are given at the relevant point in the inventory, see below);

(k) Binding and decorations; (l) Provenance; and (m) Bibliography (cross-reference to main bibliography).

(C) Manuscript inventory

i Composers as given in the source; square brackets are used when the composer is ascribed from another source, and for comments on the ascription.

ii Original numbering systems (where they exist).

iii Title or first line; original capitalisation (or non-capitalisation) and orthography are retained. [In the inventories of manuscript part-books the composer and title are taken from the first book in numerical sequence to contain the piece in question (usually the Cantus book). Additions from other books which clarify names/titles are enclosed within round brackets.]

iv Inscriptions are given in inverted commas; unless stated (in round brackets at the end of the inscription), the hand is that of the main scribe; line ends are indicated thus: / .

v Scoring.

vi Folios/pages; a folio number alone indicates recto. Include the position of *ends* as well as beginnings of pieces.

vii Viola da Gamba Society *Thematic Index* (or other relevant) number.

In some instances such items as key, lyra viol tunings, and references to printed collections will also be listed.

An example of the current state of the introductory information (B) for one group of manuscripts is shown below.

[77]

OXFORD, CHRIST CHURCH MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS 732-5 AND ROYAL MUSIC LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT 24. K. 3

(housed in the British Library, London)

A set of four part-books and a companion organ-book containing John Coprario's Fantasia-Suites for violin, bass viol and organ, and Fantasia-Suites for two violins, bass viol and organ; and Orlando Gibbons's Fantasies for treble viol, bass viol and 'great Dooble Basse', and Fantasies for two treble viols, bass viol and 'great Dooble Bosse'.
Copied in the early to mid 1630s.

Rastra: No. 1: B 5; C 119; D 1Q (15) 12 (14.5) 12 (14) 12 (15) 12
No. 2: B 5; C 117; D 14 (12.5) 13.5 (13) 13 (11) 13 (13) 14
No. 3: B 2; C 38.5; D 12 (15) 11.5
No. 4: B 2 (six-line); C 38.5; D 12.5 (13.5) 12.5

Watermarks: No. 1: pot with letters PO (see Watermark) [=Rastrum 1]
No. 2: pillars (see Watermark) [=Rastrum 2]
No. 3: grapes (see Watermark) [=Rastrum 3]
No. 4: encircled peacock(?) (see Watermark)

Scribes: A: unidentified[1] (see Plate)
B: unidentified (see Plate)
C: Stephen Bing (see Plate)
D: unidentified (see Plate)

MS 732 *Canto* [I]: ff. ii + 34 + ii. Modern pencil foliation: ff. 0-34 (the back cover is foliated). Paper: 295 x 190 mm. Marginal rulings on left and right. Ten rastrum-ruled staves per page: ff. 0-23v, 31-32v ruled with Rostrum No. 1; ff. 25-30v ruled with Rastrum No. 2; and f. 33r-v ruled with Rostrum No. 3. Folio 24 is not ruled; and f. 32 consists of only the top half of a folio (145 x 190 mm). No music entered on ff. 0, (24r-v), 25, 29v-31, 32v-33, (34r-v).
Collation: $A^{2^{\circ}}$ B-C^2 i D° **E^2 F'.**
Watermarks: ff. 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 32(?): No. 1; ff. 26, 27, 30: No. 2; f. 33: No. 3.
Script: ff. 0v-8: A; 8v-23, 25v-29, 31v-32: B; f. 33v: C.
Inscriptions: front cover *recto:* `Coperario his .2. & .3. pts / to the / Organ. / Orlando Gibbons his musique / for the Double / Base.'; front cover *verso:* 'John Wodenton'; f. 15v: `Here begineth the Songes for two viollins'.
Binding: modern vellum but the original paper covers are preserved.

[78]

MS 733 *Canto secundoe:* ff. iii **+ ii** + 14 + ii + ii. Modern pencil foliation: ff. 0-11, followed by two unnumbered folios [12]—[13]. **Paper:** 295 x 195 mm. Marginal rulings on left and right. Ten rastrum-ruled staves per page ruled with Rastrum No. 1. No music entered on ff. 0, 8v-9, 11v—[13]v.

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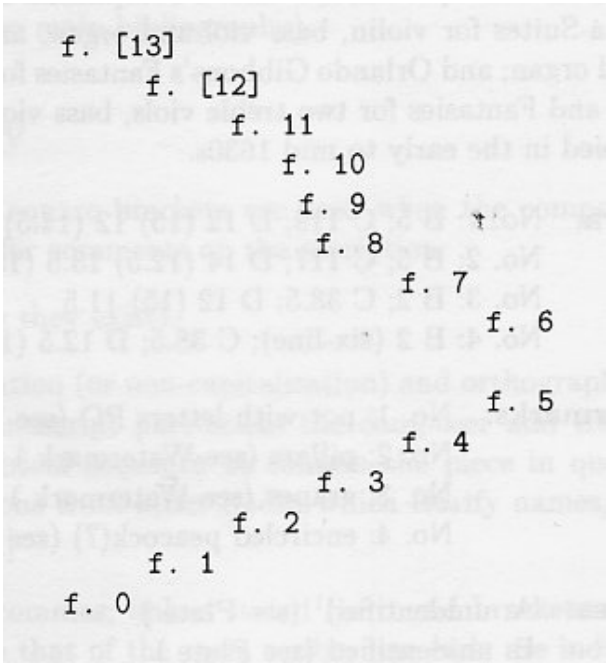
[1] 'Most of the pieces copied by Scribe A are annotated `exd'. The scribe, who appears to have been an associate copyist of John Barnard's, also contributed to the copying of Lcm MSS 1045-51 and Ob Tenbury MS 302; see BARNARD W.

Collation: a single gathering of 12 with a bifolio inserted between ff. 8 and 11 as follows:



Watermark: ff. 0, 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11: No. 1.
Script: ff. 0v-8, 10v-11: B; ff. 9v-10: C.
Inscription on front cover: `Coperario his 2. & 3 pts / to the / Organ. / Orlando Gibbons his musique / for the Double / Base'.
Binding: modern vellum but the original paper covers are preserved.
MS 734 *Basso: ff. iii* + i + 28 + i + iii. Modern pencil foliation: ff. 1-29 (the endpaper is numbered). **Paper:** 295 x 195 mm. Marginal rulings on left and right. Ten rastrum-ruled staves per page ruled with Rastrum No. 1. No music entered on f. 1.
Collation: $A^{2^{o}}$ B^{8}.
Watermark: ff. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 23, 25, 27, 28: No. 1.
Script: ff. lv-9, 16v-28v: A; ff. 9v-15: D; ff. 15v-16: B.
Inscriptions: front cover: `Coperario. his .2. pts & .3. pts. / to the / Organ. / Orlando Gibbons his musique / for the Double / Base.'; back cover: `Woodington' (autograph?); f. 16v: Tor two Treble Violins one Base violl & ye Organ.'
Binding: modern vellum but the original paper covers are preserved.
MS 735 *The great Dooble Basse: ff.* iii + i + 6 + **ii.** Modern pencil foliation: ff. 1-6. Paper: 290 x 190 mm. Marginal rulings on left and right. Ten rastrum-ruled staves per page ruled with Rastrum No. 1. No music entered on ff. 1, 5, 6.
Collation: ff. A—C^{2}.

Watermark: ff. 1, 3, 5: No. 1. **Script: ff.** lv-4v, 5v: B; f. 6v: C.
Inscription on front cover: 'Orlando for the Double Base'.
Binding: modern vellum but the original paper covers are preserved.

R.M. 24.k.3 *Organ: ff.* iii + 96 + iii. Modern pencil foliation: ff. 1-47, followed by 49 unnumbered folios [48]-[96]. **Paper:** 245 x 380 mm. Marginal

rulings on left and right. Eight six-line staves per page ruled with Rastrum No. 4. No music entered on ff. 1, 47v-[96]v (most of the unused pages are barred in two-stave groupings with ten bars per line).
Collation: A-Q^6
Watermark: No. 4.
Script: A.
Inscription on f. 31v: `Heare begingth for 2 treble viollins ye basse violl. & ye Organ.'
Binding: black morocco bearing the arms of Charles I (front and back) and ornate gilt tooling (see Plate),

Provenance [This section to be added].

Bibliography: HATTON W: i, 80-3; BARNARD W.

REVIEWS

Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger, *Four-Part Fantasias for Viols.* Transcribed and edited by Andrew Ashbee and Bruce Bellingham. *Musica Britannica*, lxii (London, Stainer and Bell, 1992). £58.50; set of parts, £17.50.

In a recent issue of *Early Music* (November 1993, p. 642) I happened upon a review of this volume, from which I quote: 'What threatens this fantasia's success (no. 8/E. H. Meyer's much beloved no. 3) and limits its power is the ordinariness of its basic material and Alfonso's failure to control the harmonic pacing ... The affectation perhaps masks an underlying insecurity. Alfonso, one suspects, is compensating for a lack of sufficient ideas to match his innate contrapuntal dexterity and ability to handle prolonged motivic development.' It seems an awful shame that Alfonso won't be able to benefit from this criticism, and I find myself shaken in my professional assurance for holding the works of an evidently amateurish composer in such high esteem. But perhaps there is room for controversial opinions even among musicologists, and what affects one person as insecurity and lack of control may be taken by others as a sign of innovatory boldness, which we have come to take for granted merely because it is so close to our own tonal language. In doing so we tend to forget how much sovereign mastery the composer exhibits of a technique which really did not exist yet in his time.

In view of the frequency of sources of these fantasias — twenty-eight manuscript copies — it seems nothing short of absurd to talk of failure or success. These pieces were household repertoire during the seventeenth century, and the awesome profusion of source material may be partly to blame for the reluctance until most recently of the Committee of *Musica Britannica* to publish an overdue critical edition (two more volumes are in preparation), a long time after Gibbons, Lawes, Jenkins and Locke. It has crossed my mind more than once whether Alfonso may not have acted a little rashly in saying, 'I am not made of much speach', unlike, for example, his colleague Dowland, who never failed to become voluble on the subject of advancement for his music.

I wonder if Andrew Ashbee and Bruce Bellingham will meet with universal acclaim for abandoning the familiar Meyer numbering based on Lilly's manuscript (Oxford, Christ Church Library). Nevertheless I think they have taken the right decision. The set Madrigal Society, London MSS G.37-42 was probably compiled during Alfonso's lifetime and can be traced to court circles. The pieces may not be in chronological order,—contrary to an assumption the editors appear to be offering on p. xxi, or do we have to imagine Alfonso having a G-minor period, like Picasso's blue period?—but it seems unlikely that Alfonso would have objected to this order. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the manuscript was not written down under his personal supervision, because he rather liked his name to be spelled with a double 'r', missing in the source. The grouping is from lower to the higher sets, and from flat keys to sharp within these groups.

This re-arrangement may bewilder some old hands at consort-playing, who were accustomed to speak of `Ferrabosco, Meyer nos 10 & 11'. It is these very two four-part arrangements of the five-part hexachord fantasias which are sadly absent from this volume, to be [82] published side by side together with the five-part compositions in the next volume. I find the omission regrettable, particularly as they have been handed down bound firmly into the context of the other four-part works, and the sources containing both versions are few and far between. The editors have been considerate enough to include these two fantasias in the individual parts (edited by Christopher Field) to be had separately (but this still leaves us without the critical commentary).
The editors have kindly provided me with a list of errata in the string parts, which I enclose here:

Viol I Page 4 Bar 34 Add quaver beam to first two notes
Page 5 Bar 16 Add crotchet rest after minim rest
Viol II Page 11 Bar 22 Last note is minim B♮ (delete C notehead)
Page 13 Bar 9 First note should be B♭ (not G)
Page 13 Bar 27 Add ♭ to first note
Page 13 Bar 44 Add crotchet rest before last note
Page 22 Bar 39 First note is minim E, figure '40' is number of next bar
Viol III Page 6 Bar 37 Add ♯ to second note
Page 15 Bar 19 Add small ♭ to second note (also in score)
Viol IV Page 3 Bar 23 Fourth note should be F (not G)
Page 7 Bar 11 Crotchet D and next two notes should be quavers DE, crotchet F
Page 13 Bar 39 First rest should be semibreve
Page 19 Bar 17 Rest should be semibreve
Page 23 Bar 96 Add cautionary ♮ to high G
Page 23 Bar 101 Add editorial ♮ to sixth note (F)
Page 23 Bar 115 Add cautionary ♮ to last note

Facsimiles have been selected with great care and comprise some of the most prominent sources, among them that celebrated eulogy of Alfonso's fantasias by Tomkins, 'All of them excellent good'. Perhaps it would be a good idea to base our judgements of outstanding works as firmly on contemporary esteem as on the historical retrospective we are wont to rely on.

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT

Richard Dering, *Eight fantasies for 5 viols,* ed. Virginia Brookes. PRB Productions

The latest volume in Peter Ballinger's excellent series of viol consort music contains the eight five-part fantasias by one of England's Roman Catholic composers of the early seventeenth century, Richard Dering (Deering, Deringe, Deeringe or Deereing).

[83] The preface is fairly minimal, commenting mainly on the style of writing which Virginia Brookes points out is similar to the fantasies of John Ward. It would have perhaps been worth mentioning that six other fantasies attributed to Dering in the `Tregian' score (British Library Egerton MS 3665) are now believed to be by John Ward.

Fantasia no. 8 in this edition is only found in one source and differs from the others in that the range of the fourth part is much lower. The editor points out that in the manuscript this part is written in bass clef, and it is quite clear to me that this piece is for two basses (Gordon Dodd suggests that it might even be by another composer who favoured the two bass combination); but this edition confuses the fact by printing the part entirely in alto clef with numerous ledger lines, leading one to regard it as a low tenor part. It would have been far more sensible to print this final piece in bass clef, or at the very least to include a separate sheet with the alternative clef. (Unlike the part, the score is in a mixture of alto and bass clefs, and includes some very strange choices of clef change.)

I have only one other little grumble about the printing, and that is on the subject of rests — with four minims to a bar I would not expect in a modern edition to find semibreve rests used for beats two and three, that is, going across the main pulse of two semibreves; yet this method is used in many places, and in one particular example a minim rest is used to straddle the second half of one minim beat and the first half of the next, instead of using two crotchet rests. It is disconcerting to mix old-style rests in with computer-set barred parts.

Apart from these quibbles the parts are clear and the helpful opening cues are small enough not to be confused with one's own part, but it is a shame that the person starting has no idea where the second player enters — an equally important cue. I find the print size of the score rather too small, but I suppose this must be an economy on the total number of pages. There is one mistake in no. 5 (tenor 2, bar 22) where the rest should be only a minim — also in the score.

Finally, one has to ask if the music is of good enough quality to warrant a complete edition — personally I don't think it comes up to the level of some of the better known composers — Coprario, Ferrabosco and Mico for instance, let alone the heights of Gibbons. More than half of the pieces are available in other editions and for me the biggest attraction is the score. If you haven't already got these, and you want more five-part fantasies, then buy it, but I don't think the lesser known pieces are a great discovery.

ALISON CRUM

John Ward, *Six-Part Consort Music.* Edited by George Hunter. Northwood Music JW-6. Score and parts, $25.00

This is yet another attractively-produced, practical edition by George Hunter. Here, at last, under one plain cover are all seven of Ward's magnificent six-part Fantasias and the two In Nomines. Although the spacing of notes and bars in the computer-generated score is somewhat cramped, the individual parts are enlarged in the part-books for easier reading and there are no awkward page-turns. The score contains a brief introduction and [84] a commentary.

Mr Hunter's introduction, not unreasonably, repeats the widely-accepted dates (1571-1638) for the composer. Recent research by Roger Bowers,[1] however, has shown that these dates (found, for example, in *The New Grove* entry) were based on a conflation of the dates of two men. There is still some speculation as to whether all of the consort music was composed by Ward the madrigalist. Mr Hunter is wisely non-judgemental as to the authorship of the unusual four-part works; but he rightly (in my view) concludes that `there can be no doubt that the six-part [consort] music ... was written by the same John Ward who published, in 1613' the famous set of madrigals. (Readers who wish to pursue this subject may find that my article in the present issue of *Chelys* (pp. 1-15) sheds some fresh light.)

Although these pieces are well edited, with Mr Hunter's characteristic flair and innate musicianship, his use of the sources calls for comment here. Ward's five- and six-part consort music survives in a large number of manuscript sources not all of which should be given equal primacy. From a detailed study of the sources for my forthcoming *Musica Britannica* edition of the five- and six-part consorts two conclusions emerged: first, that only a handful transmitted first-class texts; and secondly, that British Library Add. MSS 39550-54, copied in part by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, not only furnish the best texts, but also derive from (lost) sources associated with the Fanshawe household where Ward lived and worked. It is a pity that these sources were not accorded priority in Mr Hunter's edition. Players may find the omission of contemporary organ-parts (which exist for one of the fantasias and both In Nomines) a problem; and the VdGS numbers are not explicitly stated in the text.

The six-part works present a small number of thorny editorial problems, which stem from Ward's mixture of chromaticism and unorthodox part-writing. A case in point is Fantasia no. 2 (Hunter) [VdGS no. 2 a6], where in bar 26 b♭ in the second tenor part is raised a semitone in order to avoid an augmented interval with the ensuing c♯. In fact, L'Estrange's annotations from sources connected with Fanshawe's circle indicate a flat; and there are powerful precedents for favouring an augmented interval here.[2] Another augmented interval is ironed out in no. 5 [VdGS no. 5 a6], bar 35, second bass, where d♮ is preferred to d♭ on the grounds of canonic imitation between it and the second treble. This brings us back to the question of augmented intervals: the flat was probably intended to avoid a simultaneous false relation with second treble d♭", an augmented fourth with first treble a♭' and a minor second with first tenor e♭— a Schoenberg-like dissonance which is ambitious even by Ward's standards.

In no. 3 [VdGS no. 3 a6], bar 48, Mr Hunter retains a simultaneous false relation between the second treble (f♮") and first tenor (f♯'). Here, again, L'Estrange has the better version: his lost 'Fanshawe' sources for the treble part all indicate a sharp. Later in this bar Mr Hunter ingeniously avoids parallel octaves between the first and second tenors by amending the latter. Ward seems not to have bothered over much with the niceties of [85] academic part-

[1] Roger Bowers, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Musicians, c. 1070-1642* (forthcoming)

[2] See, for example, E.H. Fellowes and Thurston Dart (eds), John Ward, *First Set of Madrigals* (1613), *The English Madrigalists,* xix (London, R/1968), 131-2, 175-6, and footnotes.

writing, but the amended version has much to recommend it. When, as in no. 7 [VdGS no. 7 a6], bars 45-6, a whole passage (see commentary, Ex. A, first tenor and second bass) is in consecutive octaves it is right to suspect corruption in the source(s) and Mr Hunter offers a skilful reworking of these bars in his commentary. Such severe rescoring is, however, hardly necessary: the parallel octaves between the two trebles (Ex. A, bar 45) may just be intentional, repeating a cadential figure heard in both parts in the two preceding bars, and, even if they are not, they may be removed by reading crotchet e♭ and crotchet rest for second treble minim c'; while the much more serious consecutives between first tenor and second bass may easily be rectified by amending crotchet a♭ and crotchet r (in first tenor, which is almost certainly corrupt here) to crotchet c" , quaver b♭' and quaver a♭ without omitting the rest of the phrase. Finally, the octaves between second tenor and second bass in Ex. A, bar 46, are musically unobjectionable, and the whole passage does not, in my opinion, justify the invention of a new melodic point, though the three sets of octaves have rightly been amended.[3]

On balance, this is a welcome addition to the viol-player's library, well edited and clearly printed on strong paper for many years of enjoyable music-making. I could find no misprints in the music text, though the time signatures are often not cancelled, and the commentary entry to no. 6 [VdGS no. 6 a6], bar 43, does not obviously agree with the music in that bar. Despite the fact that it is Northwood Music's most expensive comparable collection to date, it still represents good value.

IAN PAYNE

Melchior Franck, *Tänze/Dances,* ed. Ulrich Schmid Bärenreiter (Kassel, 1992). Score and parts £12.75.

This is an edition of nine pavans and eleven galliards in four parts from Melchior Frank's *Newer Pavanen, Galliarden unnd Intraden* (Coburg, 1603), as well as three corants from his *Recreationes musicae* (Nuremberg, 1614). The editor states in the introduction that the original sources were lost in the Second World War, and that he has therefore based his edition on volume 16 of *Denkmaler Deutscher Tonkunst,* edited by Franz Bolche (1904); he also thanks 'the leading authority on Franck's work, Knut Gramss' for his 'friendly advice'. I am afraid that editor and leading authority have been misinformed: Pavanen, *Ga*lliarden unnd Intraden (wrongly referred to in the edition as Galliarden and Intraden) is not lost, but survives complete at the Biblioteka Jagiellorislca in Cracow. It belongs to the collection of music from the Berlin Staatsbibliothek that found its way to Cracow in mysterious circumstances at the end of the war. The collection has been available to scholars from the West for quite a while; I visited the library a few years ago, and had no trouble in obtaining microfilms of a number of items previously thought lost, including [86] the

[3] The blatant octaves between tenor and bass in Ward's madrigal 'Hope of my heart' *(ibid.,* p. 90, bars 3-4), though unremarked by the editors, probably belong to this second category. In this context the tenor would usually remain on e' (the fifth of the tonic triad); but Ward's 1613 print may have been seen through the press by the composer, and one cannot be certain that the octaves are spurious.

Franck.
To be honest, it is not easy to get excited about these little pieces. Franck is an interesting composer, particularly of sacred music, but these pavans and galliards were published just before William Brade and Thomas Simpson had begun to popularise the more serious and ambitious type of English pavan in Germany; they are simple and unadventurous by comparison. To judge from some spot checks, the text has been transmitted accurately via Bolche, though there are some unlikely editorial accidentals. The parts are designed for recorders rather than viols, with octave-transposing treble clefs used for the inner parts.

PETER HOLMAN

Thomas Tomkins, *Consort Music,* ed. John Irving, *Musica Britannica*, lix (London, 1991). £60.00; consort set 1 (three parts) £15.00; consort set 2 (four, five and six parts) £24.95.

A collected edition of Thomas Tomkins's consort music has long been needed. There are existing modern editions of most of the 35 pieces, but some are no longer available, and most were made before Dr Irving completed his Ph.D. thesis, *The Instrumental Music of Thomas Tomkins* (Sheffield, 1985; pub. New York, 1989), and published a series of articles summarising his most important findings. Tomkins's consort music, like his keyboard music, does not seem to have circulated widely at the time. As Irving has shown, most of the surviving sources come either from the composer's circle at Worcester or from the surrounding area. For instance, two of the earliest sources, British Library Add. MSS 17792-6 and Bodleian Library MSS Mus. Sch. D. 245-7, were copied by John Merro of Gloucester in the 1620s.
This could be an accident of survival, but it may be partly because he did not write in the most popular forms: there are no four- and five-part fantasias, and his only four-part contrapuntal piece, `Ut re mi fa sol la' (no. 18), is an adaptation of a keyboard piece, probably made by another hand. About half of the pieces are three-part fantasias, scored variously for two trebles and bass; treble, tenor and bass; and treble and two basses. The last (nos. 13-15) seem to be the earliest examples of their genre: they are in two of Merro's manuscripts, and the other contenders, the works by Jenkins and Richard Cooke for treble, two basses and organ, are unlikely to be earlier than the 1640s.[4] The others follow Gibbons in their scoring, and there are echoes of Gibbons's influential printed set of three-part fantasias in most of them, particularly in their busy and rather angular contrapuntal idiom, and in the frequent use of sequence.
But Tomkins takes things much further than Gibbons, sometimes developing lengthy sequences, sometimes incorporating running keyboard figuration (does this mean that some are derived from keyboard pieces, or did Tomkins just think instinctively as a keyboard player?), and sometimes incorporating arcane rhythmic and harmonic features, perhaps derived in part from the early-Tudor keyboard pieces he possessed in what is now British [87] Library Add. MS 29996. Tomkins's three-part fantasias lack the grace and charm of Gibbons's, and I suspect they were too old-fashioned in style to have a wide appeal in the

[4] Andrew Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins,* I 'The Fantasias for Viols' (Surbiton, 1992). 293-307

1620s and 1630s, despite their modern scorings. Yet they are full of vigorous, powerful music, and deserve to be better known.

Another large group in the volume consists of five-part pavans (nos 21-29). Most are found only in the incomplete Worcester part-books, Bodleian Library MSS Mus. Sch. E. 415-18, which means they have a part missing. Dr Irving has provided skilful reconstructions, though his task was made easier in nos 23 and 25 by the fact that the missing part is clearly a second treble, which continually echoes the first. I am surprised he emphasises the contrapuntal nature of these pieces in the introduction, contrasting them with Holborne and Brade, since they strike me as no more concerned with counterpoint than most Jacobean pavans. Indeed, the-ones with two trebles are just about the only English five-part examples of the type of pavan developed in Germany by Brade, Thomas Simpson and others, in which formal counterpoint is largely replaced by a looser dialogue idiom.

As Dr Irving suggests, writing of this sort suggests violins, presumably with viols taking the lower parts.[5] It is significant that the fourth part of nos. 23 and 26 descends to A; the inner parts of dance music, in England as on the Continent, virtually never go lower than c, presumably because composers wanted to cater for violas or tenor wind instruments pitched in C as well as viols. However, no. 26, the well-known A minor chromatic pavan found in keyboard as well as in consort versions, is transposed into C minor in E. 415-18, and this may be because Tomkins or someone in his circle wanted to make it playable by a complete consort of violins. It is a pity that Irving did not include this version of the piece, rather than the one with rearranged inner parts in Add. MS 17792-6 (printed as no. 26a), which is less likely to come from the composer. He suggests that the Add. MS 17792-6 version was made to bring the second part within the range of a violin, but the part is still an alto in range and function, and would normally have been played on a viola at the time. Also, Irving's theory does not explain all the changes to the part-writing; another possible explanation is that Merro or someone in his circle extrapolated it from a keyboard reduction.

Mention of the keyboard brings me to an omission in the introduction. There are no surviving keyboard parts for any of Tomkins's consort music, though this does not mean that he would not have played the organ in performances. I pointed out in a talk at the 1992 Jenkins conference that written-out keyboard parts are conspicuous by their absence in the consort music of some other keyboard-playing composers, such as Orlando and Christopher Gibbons, Locke and Purcell, and suggested that this is because they accompanied from score.[6] There are no scores in the surviving material from Tomkins's circle, but an autograph score presumably existed, and he certainly seems to have used Add. MS 29996 as an accompaniment book, copying madrigals, part songs and consort [88] music in a mixture of score and keyboard reduction. He described his score of Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias as 'made only for the Vyolls and

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[5] See also John Irving, 'Consort Playing in Mid-17th-Century Worcester: Tomkins and the Bodleian Partbooks, Mus. Sch. E.415-18', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 337-44

[6] To be published as '"Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music', *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, eds Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

organ', and wrote of some Byrd part songs: 'The Following are all w[i]thin the Compass of the Hand & so mo[st] Fitt to Be played w[i]th ease'. Thus, there is a strong possibility that Tomkins intended his consort music to have organ accompaniment, and this should have been discussed in the edition. Perhaps editors should begin to think of providing keyboard parts for those portions of the repertory that do not have them, for there is a good deal of evidence that the organ was used in most types of consort music from early in the century.

I do not want these minor criticisms to detract from Dr Irving's achievement: this is a well-planned, carefully researched and elegantly-produced edition that should stand us in good stead for many years. I must also applaud the simultaneous appearance of two sets of parts derived from the score, published by Stainer & Bell; the first contains the three-part fantasias, the second the four-, five- and six-part pieces. They deserve a wide sale.

PETER HOLMAN

Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers. The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993). £48.00

This book is about the history of violin playing in England, from the establishment of a six-man violin consort at the Henrician court in May 1540 to William III's retrenchment of the royal household exactly 150 years later, which effectively removed the court from the centre of English musical life. Peter Holman does not merely present his subject matter in chronological order, but he also deals in every chapter with the different spheres in which violin instruments were played (for example, the court, theatre, the opera, chamber music, or the church). Headings are usually taken from period quotations, which form a colourful introduction into the spirit of the individual chapters.

Holman reveals an overwhelming knowledge of sources, permitting glimpses into regions beyond the violinists' hortus conclusus, such as that of the wind instruments of the same period. Much to my gratification I even found a reference to the connection between English musicians and miniaturists, for example, Isaac Oliver, who was married to Elizabeth Harding, daughter of the flautist James Harding (or Harden). This manifoldness distinguishes the book favourably from an otherwise equally meritorious work by David Lasocki about recorder playing, which invariably leaves off where things other than the recorder are concerned.

Although the author expressly states his intention in the introduction of refraining from any observations on the characteristics and the playing techniques of the instruments themselves, it is regrettable that this leads to a whole range of related questions being left out altogether. It might have been a good idea at least to mention some of the problems as open questions, for instance the discussion of the underhand bow grip on violins, of differing tuning pitches for violins and viols, different ranges — Adriano Banchieri gives the lowest string of a bass violin as Bb (not C or BI3b), and a little light on this matter would have been well worth a sentence or two in view of the interdependence of English [89] musicians with the Italians — or what may have triggered the practice, unlike that of other instruments, of having one part played by several violins.

Holman's theory that the English suite, as well as settings with two trebles, are influenced by examples on German soil is a surprise. However, to ascribe all the original rights in this to the court of Bückeburg may be taking the thing a little too far. Confining the explanation of groupings involving TrTrTTB instead of TrTTTB to the haphazard presence of individual musicians strikes me as an unhistorical concept. It is much more likely that the use of two trebles originated from the wind instrument tradition, which was far more wide-spread and advanced in the German states than the bowed instrument tradition. No less extraordinary is Holman's argument that English musicians were dance musicians in order to account for the preference for dance movements over fancies, instead of attributing this to the expectations of German audiences, who regarded fancies with disfavour. There is ample evidence to show that musicians had to fulfill the expectations of their listeners. English musicians abroad by no means entered virgin soil, but a whirlpool of styles, and it is a significant phenomenon, if habitually overlooked by English and German musicologists, that the English influence on Continental bowed string practice was seldom acknowledged even then. All eyes were on Italy (and later France), and references to English musicians in German dictionaries are the exception. From August Kühnel, through Johann Mattheson, to Alfred Einstein, this fact was ignored or dismissed as so much viol lore, and only very recently has it received more attention.

At times I cannot help feeling that Holman gets a bit carried away in his promotion of English violin playing. Formerly, there was a one-sided inclination to class all English consort music as viol music. I suppose everybody now realizes this cannot be true. But, reading this book, I often found myself wondering what, if anything, remains of the famous English viols. It was, after all, the viol consort which left the deepest impressions on the Continent, and which Michael Praetorius described, not the violin consort. Perhaps the development of a series of criteria by which to distinguish the essential characteristics of the two groups of instruments would be of great interest, as I have no doubt there was such a distinction, at least in the early seventeenth century. Is it really just the antithesis of the dance to the fancy?

Solving this problem could constitute one of the next tasks for the Viola da Gamba Society. Holman's book will certainly be an indispensable foundation and source reference from the violin point of view, and I am fervently hoping for as lively a discussion as possible.

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT translated by Hans Reiners

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

NO, NOT *ANYONE'S* VIOLETTA

Santa Caterina de' Vigri *(c.* 1450)[1] and Messrs Clark, Gammon of Guildford (1992)[2] were certainly not concerned with the violetta of J. S. Bach; it seems likely that Telemann, Vivaldi, Richter and other near-contemporaries were. I welcome Hans Reiners's interest in this topic. He does not like my conjecture, but his own counter-conjectures are not well considered.

First, that `violetta' means 'both an instrument and a function or style of playing' that is ambiguous. The (non-specific) function is obvious enough, just playing a tenor part (with one curious exception only that I know). There are four possibilities: `violetta' may be equated with a) the orthodox viola; b) a style of playing (the viola or something else); c) vaguely, some other kind of tenor fiddle already recognised; or d) a tenor fiddle not hitherto recognised and having some characteristic features.

If a), why does Telemann write for violin 1, violin 2 or violetta, viola and BC,[3] and why do so many others specify violetta instead of simply viola? For b), a style would have to be suited to oboe da caccia[4] and violin[5] also. I have in fact turned over hundreds of pages of scores having violetta parts by Schutz, J. S. Bach, Telemann, Tessarini, Leo, Richter, Kohaut, and D'Ordonez; nothing in them suggests to me any particular style in common, certainly nothing resembling a bastarda or lyra style. c) is merely an evasion of the problem. I think d) the most probable of the four possibilities, and I have offered a conjecture, not an assertion.

Secondly (and of secondary importance), that Millicent Hales's viol was altered very skilfully to make it more saleable. No craftsman in his senses, within the last hundred years, would have made such an alteration for that reason. There was and is no market for hypothetical violettas 'unchanged and in original condition'. A rare unmutilated Barak Norman treble viol would always have been much more valuable. Arnold Dolmetsch, who supplied it to Miss Hales about 1950, supposed, reasonably, that it had been converted to a viola long before his own time, and if so it seems most improbable that anyone would have taken much care over such a makeshift job. There are other old treble viols with doubly bent backs. Edgar Hunt once had one by Jaye. The received wisdom, that they are all alterations of the originals, should be re-examined.

There are other points of interest. Besides the Stradivari viole da braccio

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[1] M. Tie11a, 'The Violetta of S. Caterina de' Vigri', Ga1pin *Society* Journal, 28 (1975), 60-70, at p. 60

[2] Auction Sale Catalogue, 15/16 December 1992

[3] 'G. P. Telemann, Concerto in F for violin concertino, violin, violin 2 or violetta, viola, b.c., Barenreiter Telemann Edition, XXXIII (1973), no. 6, p. 90

[4] J. S. Bach, *Cantata 16* (1724)

[5] G. P. Telemann, Quartet *in G for violin concertino, violin or violetta 1, violin or violetta 2, b.c., Barenreiter Telemann Edition,* XXXIII (1973) no. 8, p. 121

with six strings there is a reference in the late seventeenth century Statutes of the Guild of Violin Makers of Markneukirchen to a 'viola da braccio with six strings' as an option for a masterpiece.[6]

[91] E. J. Payne in *Grove I* in 1885 defined violetta simply as viola da braccio, not (be it noted) as viola or tenor. Certainly there were braccio fiddles other than the standard viola and conventional viola d'amore, among them the ill-defined viola d'amore without sympathetic strings and the sultana, just as there were gambas other than orthodox viols. We have all those atypical tenor fiddles to which I am drawing attention, which have no recognised specific musical function; and we have the name violetta in fairly wide use for tenor fiddle parts, without an accepted application to any specific instrument. I submit that my conjecture is worth more careful consideration than the refutation offered by Reiners. It might almost be dignified by the title of working hypothesis as a basis for further study.

I would indeed be happy for some student with more time, energy and expertise than I have to look more carefullyiat this long-standing puzzle. One of his difficulties will be the suppression of first-hand evidence by editors and scholars having preconceived ideas. The monograph on D'Ordonez by Brown refers to his string quartets without a hint that all the tenor parts are labelled violetta.[7] Knape fails to record (what he should have known) that the title-page of a manuscript of Abel's G major quartet, WK 227, reads violetta (the relevant part is labelled viola da gamba).[8] Violetta on a title-page of Tessarini's *Concerti a Cinque* in the British Library has not found its way, as it should surely have done, into the Library's computerised index (are there other such omissions?).[9] Selfridge-Field does not include violetta in her study of unusual instruments specified by Vivaldi.[10] Mendel's edition of Schutz's 'Christmas Story' takes the word to mean treble viol, citing Praetorius.[11] Praetorius refers only to a violetta picciola, stating plainly that the descant violin was sometimes called (among other terms) violetta picciola; yet in his tabulations the term appears not among violins but among viols, with a five-stringed tenor tuning. The parts in the 'Christmas Story' lie in fact much too low to be credibly effective on a treble viol. These obscurations of a problem already quite obscure enough have come to light in my admittedly very limited survey. There are probably many others. I do not believe that all of the evidence has been studied with enough care. All those atypical instruments, and parts labelled violetta, should be studied more closely.

JOHN CATCH

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[6] Karel Jalovec, *German and Austrian Violin Makers*, trans. George Theiner (London, 1967), 7

[7] A. P. Brown, 'The Chamber Music with Strings of Carlos D'Ordonez', *Acta Musicologia*, 46 (1974), 229

[8] W.Knape, *Bibl.-them. Katalog der Kompositionen Karl Friedr. Abels* (Cuxhaven, 1971), 259

[9] C. Tessarini, *Concerti a Cinque con 3 violini, violetta, violoncello e b. c.* (Walsh, London, n.d. ?1727), British Library shelfmark Hirsch III 540

[10] Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Vivaldi's Esoteric Instruments', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 332

[11] Schirmer Edition (New York, 1930)