The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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Contents of Volume Twenty-five (1996/7)

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PAINTINGS OF VIOLS IN ENGLAND c1580-1660

Michael Fleming

This paper investigates the information that can be gained about viols from an examination of English 'easel' paintings from late Tudor times until the Restoration. Other media including prints, textiles and wall paintings will be analysed and evaluated elsewhere.[1] *It is remarkable that only a handful of English paintings from this period show viols, considering the extent and importance of the music for which they were made. Possible reasons for this in relation to the nature and function of paintings are discussed below together with a detailed consideration of the viols that are depicted.*

When we consider an English image of an instrument, meaning one that was created in England, we are not necessarily looking at a representation of a type of instrument that was typical of, native to, or even known in England at the time. The many reasons for this include: the nationality of the artist; the use of a symbolic rather than a representational style; artists' limited knowledge of instruments; the instruments in use may have been imported; the quality of depiction may be poor; the programme for the painting may have been determined by the patron, and so on. In order to understand the nature of the instruments that are appropriate for playing viol music it is, nevertheless, essential to examine the viols that are found in paintings, albeit while sustaining such caveats.

The earliest image, which is the portrait of Sir Thomas More with his family and descendants, may be subject to several of the limitations mentioned above and is consequently complicated both in the form it takes and in the information it carries. There are three versions of this painting by Rowland Lockey (*c*1565-1616) who was a pupil of Nicholas Hilliard (1546/7-1618). They are all based on an original painting by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8-1543). Holbein painted in tempera[2] at Sir Thomas More's Chelsea house where he lodged in c1527. Although the original painting has been destroyed, Holbein's sketch for it still survives in Basle (Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel inv. no. 1662.31). The instrument in this sketch, which is shown hanging on the wall above and behind the sitters, is different from that in the later paintings. It has a spiky, festooned shape and is approximately the size of a viola. Holbein's holograph inscription on the sketch says the instrument should be moved to a shelf, presumably for compositional reasons.[3] This was probably done in Holbein's

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1 M. Fleming, 'The Design of English Viols *c*1580-1660' (Ph.D., Open University, in progress).

2 A. Lewi writes that Holbein s original painting was 'one of three large-scale tempera pictures by Holbein that belonged to Andreas de Loo in the late 16th century' (*The Thomas More Family Group* (1974), 5). It was destroyed in a fire at the Bishop of Olmütz's Summer Palace in 1752.

3 'Klaficordi and ander Sithespill of dem bank'. The fact that this refers to instruments other than those shown by Lockey would support the idea that the viol and lute were

painting, but we cannot be certain of the form of the instrument in that work. One version of Lockey's copy is now in Yorkshire at Nostell Priory and is dated 1592; another (Plate 1), inscribed 1593, is in London in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 2765). These are both approximately ten feet wide and eight feet high, which we may presume was the size of Holbein's original. The third version is a miniature painted on vellum mounted on card (Victoria & Albert Museum (V & A) no. p.15-1973) and has been dated c1594.[4] The picture was conceived by Holbein as 'a genealogical family tree brought to life'.[5] Lockey continued Holbein's original genealogical purpose by adding later descendants of the family to the composition. John More III, for instance, was born in 1577, long after both Sir Thomas More and Holbein had died.

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Plate 1. Rowland Lockey *after* Hans Holbein, *Sir Thomas More and his family* (detail), 1593. Reproduced with the permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The three versions differ from each other in the background and the arrangement of personnel. An examination of the viols shows quite a few differences of detail, but they have in common that critically important parts-the pegbox and the whole of the middle section of the instrument-are obscured by other items in the painting. The viol might have corners in the middle or be of a continuous-curved 'figure-of-eight' shape-either would be consistent with that part of the outline that is shown, as would some more unusual and less predictable shapes. The size of the instrument, judged by comparison with the people in the picture, is that of a tenor viol with a string length of something in the order of two feet, which is the size recommended

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Lockey's own interpolations, and are therefore more representative of late sixteenth-century ideas than pre-Reformation.

[4] R. Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court—The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered,* catalogue of an exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum (1983), 160.

[5] *Ibid.*

by such writers as Mace.[6] The wood of the neck, fingerboard and ribs is a light orange-brown, with some indication of figure in the ribs, shown most prominently in the V & A miniature. There is no indication that the ribs curve into the neck root. The ribs are shallow and there is no sign of a backfold. The belly, which bears C-shaped soundholes in the upper bout, is a paler colour than the rest of the instrument. This could be interpreted in various ways: the wood of the belly might be a lighter colour than that of the ribs; the wood of the belly might be unvarnished, as in lutes; or it may just be a consequence of the lighting arrangement the artist has used.

The differences between the instruments in the three paintings may be [5] summarised as follows. In the Nostell Priory version, the viol has a flat belly. Six strings are shown clearly at the tailpiece although there are only five over the fingerboard. This is the only version where the bottom end of the instrument is visible, but there is no clear indication of how the tailpiece is mounted. There is a bow with interesting frog details. The bridge does not have cut-out feet. The lute has six courses of which only the top is single. In the National Portrait Gallery version the viol has five strings and possibly a flat belly. There is a cut-out arch between the bridge feet. No bow is shown. The lute has six double courses. In the miniature, the viol resembles those in the larger Lockey paintings, but all details are much less clearly depicted due to the scale of the image (nine and 5/8 inches by eleven and 5 / 8 inches). Five strings are shown but, for Lockey, the number of strings does not seem to have been a critical feature.

We may strongly suspect that the form of the viols in the Lockey paintings was changed by Lockey from Holbein's original. If this is the case, their value as a source of information about viols in England is increased because Lockey was an Englishman who lived and was trained in late sixteenth-century England by another Englishman, whereas Holbein was a foreigner who had only a brief sojourn in this country and may have brought ideas for decorative props with him rather than rely on local practices, which would in any case have been early sixteenth century.[7] The variations between the three versions, and the posthumous additions to Holbein's design, demonstrate that even paintings which emanate from an artist as gifted in verisimilitude as Holbein must be treated with extreme caution when deriving information from the instruments shown in them.

From the same decade as the Lockey paintings comes one of the most famous and important Elizabethan images-the painting which shows scenes from the life of Sir Henry Unton.[8] The identity of the artist is not known. It is generally accepted that his widow Dorothy had the piece painted shortly after Sir Henry's death in 1596, or possibly in the following year. From a musical instrument point of view, the most important passages of the painting are the

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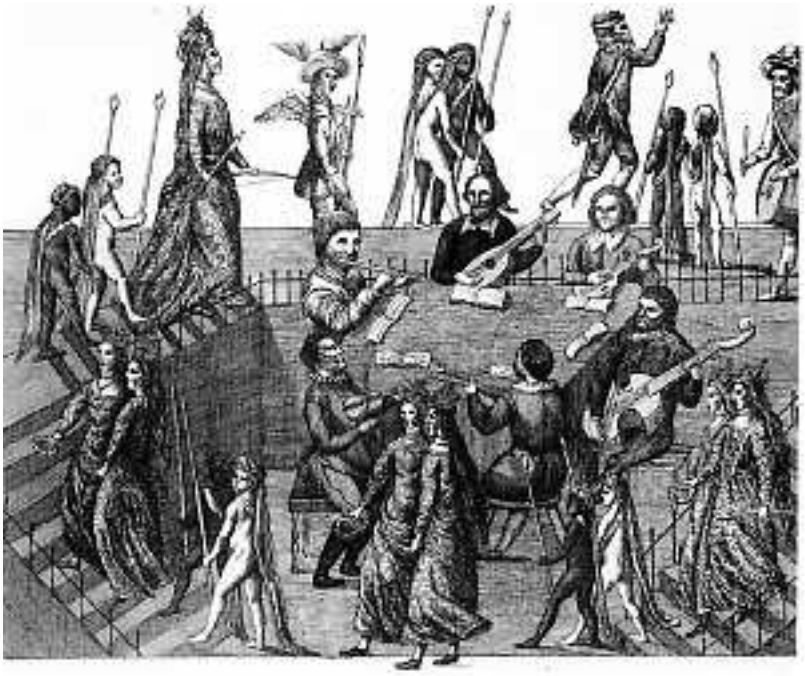
[6] T. Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676).

[7] However, the trustworthiness of Lockey as a reporter of English practices is undermined by his use of foreign prints as design sources. In his will of 1616 he left his collection of Italian prints to his artist brother, Nicholas (letter from E. Auerbach, *Burlington Magazine,* 99 (1957), 60).

[8] This painting, which is in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 710), is discussed by Roy Strong in Sir Henry Unton and his Portrait: An Elizabethan Memorial Picture and its History, *Archaeologia,* 99 (1965), 53-76.

two groups of musicians. The first group is a broken consort apparently accompanying some masque dancers (Plate 2). The front cover of this journal shows an engraved print based on this image which has been suggested to date from c1580,[9] the year in which Sir Henry married Lady Dorothy Wroughton. The engraving[10] makes a passable job of interpreting (for the medium of print) and conveying the information in the painting although some details of organological interest, such as the depth of the viol's ribs and shape of the soundholes, are not copied accurately from the painting.



[Cover engraving from *Chelys* 25]

The other group of musicians comprises viol players (Plate 3), one of whom is Sir Henry, seated around a table, apparently in the intimate privacy of a small room. The hats worn by Sir Henry and the other two adults indicate their status as gentlemen, unlike all the bare-headed musicians of the broken consort who would have been professional musicians, possibly hired for the masque.[11] This distinction is consistent with the ideas in Baldessar Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano,* which was a popular and influential book in England at this time.[12]

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[9] P. A. Scholes (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Music* (9th edn, Oxford, 1955, repr. 1965), plate 104.1. Strong points out that 'no Elizabethan bride would wear black on her wedding day' and that this masque is therefore not part of a wedding, but is representative of other aspects of life in the Unton household ('Sir Henry Unton', 70). The costumes have been compared by Strong to Inigo Jones's designs for Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness (The King's Arcadia* (1973), 19). The picture is added below

[10] J. Strutt, *Honda Angel-cynnan or A Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c. of the Inhabitants* of *England, iii* (1776), plate XI, quoted in J. G. Nichols, *The Unton Inventories, relating to Wadley and Faringdon, Co. Berks., in the years 1596 and 1620* (Berkshire Ashmolean Society, 1841), lxiv.

[11] Although some viewers find Sir Henry among them.

[12] B. Castiglione, Il *libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1528). The first English edition was a translation by Sir Thomas Hoby published as *The Book of the Courtyer* (1561). Castiglione

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Plate 2. Artist unknown, *The life of Sir Henry Unton* (detail, actual size), *c*1596. Reproduced with the permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

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Plate 3. Artist unknown, *The* life *of Sir Henry Unton* (detail, actual size), c1596. Reproduced with the permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

It is astonishing, considering the importance of the repertoire and the prominence of musical activities in noble households, to find that this is the only English painting of a group of viol players. The Unton picture is also the

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exhorts the courtier to exercise restraint when demonstrating musical prowess in public in order to avoid appearing to be a Professional.

only English painting of a broken consort in action. Its rather naive style suggests the artist had a relatively parochial experience of painting and never studied abroad, but he may have made use of imported contemporary prints.[13] Although it is impossible to be certain that this artist would have been familiar with the precise varieties of instruments that are shown in the painting, there were many links between the families of professional musicians and artists in Elizabethan and Jacobean England,[14] and there would have been no lack of models from which to work if these particular types of instrument were not familiar to the artist through his own use. Unfortunately all the musical instruments shown in use in the Unton painting are too small and too crudely painted to provide much detailed or reliable information. The dimensions of the viols in the painting, measured as accurately as is practical and meaningful, are given in the table below.

Dimensions of the viols in the painting *The life of Sir Henry Unton*

	Total	*Belly*		*Width of bouts*	
Instrument	*length in*	*length in*		*in mm*	
	mm	*mm*	*upper*	*middle*	*lower*
Broken consort viol	57	24	13	5	15
Viol consort bass	49	20	10	6	11
Viol consort tenor or treble	45	17	8	6	9

[8] Roy Strong pointed to the appearance of table linen in both the painting and the inventory,[15] implying that the painting might show some of the objects of the household, but the question of whether the instruments depicted may be identified with any in Sir Henry's possession, or whether they are merely symbolic of his interests, remains unresolved. In the thoroughly comprehensive inventory of Sir Henry's household which was taken after his death (and therefore approximately in the year that the picture was painted), the only musical instruments noted are 'ij paire of olde virginalls' in the Unton residence at Wadley. In his residence at Faringdon there was a third pair of virginals but no mention is made of any other instruments. The inventory is signed by Will'mus Woodhalle, who remarks that there are 'certeyne ... other goodes ... in the hands of Ladie Unton..., wch as yet the Administrators cannot put in the Inventorie, for that they have no certeyne knowledge of the particulars or values thereof'.[16] This suggests the possibility that Lady Dorothy retained as personal possessions any viols or other instruments that Sir Henry may have owned. However, no musical

[13] *A. Cox, Sir Henry Unton—Elizabethan Gentleman* (Cambridge, 1982), 32. The practice of using imported prints in England had been well established since the beginning of the century, e.g. J. S. Purvis, 'The Use of Continental Woodcuts and Prints by the "Ripon School" of Woodcarvers in the early sixteenth century', *Archaeologia,* 85 (1936), 107-28. For a detailed study of the ubiquitous influence of continental prints see A. Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven & London, 1997), and M. Fleming, 'The Design of English Viols'.

[14] M. Edmond, *Hilliard and Oliver* (1983); M. Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier, Master of the King's Musick* (Aldershot, 1994), *passim.*

[15] Strong, 'Sir Henry Unton', 67, Nichols, *Unton Inventories,* 9.

[16] Nichols, *ibid.,* 14.

instruments other than virginals appear in the inventory of her own goods made in 1620.[17]

It is necessary to use additional sources of information about broken consort instrumentation in order to identify some of the instruments portrayed in that group: violin, flute, lute, cittern, bandora and bass viol. Although a comparison of the size of the viol with that of its player would suggest that it is a small bass or possibly a large tenor, scale is treated very flexibly throughout the whole picture. Even within discrete passages there are such dear inconsistencies of scale that no conclusions regarding the relative sizes of components of the composition may be drawn with confidence. Many details are omitted or represented only cursorily. For instance, no frets are shown on the lute or the viol, although they are indicated on the cittern. The numbers of pegs and strings are unclear on all the instruments. The viol of the broken consort has a familiar three-bouted shape with four plain corners and an animal head finial. It is unclear whether the upper bouts curve continuously into the neck root or whether they meet the neck at right angles. With its short upper bout and narrow middle bout, the proportions do not closely resemble any extant English instruments. Furthermore, the ribs seem surprisingly deep and the neck seems somewhat long in proportion to the body length. A fingerboard is shown which extends over some of the belly as would be expected, and the soundholes in the middle bouts seem to be just C-shaped. The artist's treatment of the belly suggests that it is convex and not flat. Unfortunately, because of the unpolished quality of the painting and the inconsistent scaling mentioned above, none of these features may be considered as accurate or reliable evidence regarding the nature of viols considered appropriate for this use, with the possible exception of gross features: the three-bouted shape and centrally placed soundholes.

The Unton viol consort is presented at a slightly smaller scale than the broken consort and the instruments are depicted with a similar lack of clarity. The players, like those of the broken consort, are seated around a table on which their music books lie. The group has been described as consisting of four viol players and a boy singer,[18] which would be appropriate forces for a fashionable [9] consort song. However, close examination supports the interpretation that the boy facing away from the viewer is also playing on a viol, which completes a conventional five-part group of viols. Only two instruments facing the viewer are wholly visible. One is a bass and the other is a smaller instrument which is apparently played by a minor and could be either a treble or a tenor. The bodies of the other instruments are obscured. The proportions are again not wholly convincing, with the necks in particular seeming to be excessively long compared with the bodies. On the bass, the upper bouts seem to curve continuously into the neck root but this is less clear on the smaller instrument. Some pegs are shown, and frets are indicated on two of the viols, but no details such as bridges, number or mounting method of strings, shape (or even presence) of soundholes, or any aspect of the fingerboards may be read with confidence. As pictorial evidence about viols and viol playing, the Unton painting is as frustrating as it is unusual.

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[17] Nichols, *ibid.,* 15 ff.

[18] Strong, 'Sir Henry Unton', 69; Cox, *Sir Henry Unton,* 17.

There are several paintings where the precise identity of a bowed bass instrument is unclear. Such basses can often be interpreted as either viols or violins as they show a selection of the features normally associated with either one type or the other. Typically, these instruments are shown with a violin-like shape and four strings, but bowed underhand. Apart from various artistic sources of error such as naivete, incompetence, compromise for the sake of design, or the instrument being marginal and not being considered worthy of focused attention within the context of the design, this may reflect an absence of pedantry at the time regarding definitions of instruments, or a certain tolerance or even indifference as to which of them were used for some purposes, particularly the accompaniment of dancing. It would also support a claim that the normal bowhold for all string basses was underhand.[19]

Composers who were active during the reign of James I include William Byrd, John Coprario, John Dowland, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Orlando Gibbons, John Jenkins, William Lawes, Thomas Lupo, Richard Mico, Thomas Tomkins and John Ward. This list includes the majority of the greatest English composers for the viol. It is therefore a cause of very great regret that no English painting of a viol which dates from the reign of James I is known to exist.

The next painting that definitely shows a viol (Plate 4) is attributed to the 'workshop of Anthony van Dyck' and would have been executed during van Dyck's second stay in England (from 1632 until his death in 1641). The *Gambenspielerin* (Lady viola da gamba player) is now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (inv. no. 1308). This painting indicates regrettably few details of the instrument as it shows only the upper part, seen from the rear, with the rest of the instrument being obscured by the lady who is holding it. The viol is medium brown coloured with no figure indicated in the wood. It has frets, flush ribs (i.e. the front and back plates do not overhang the ribs as they do on instruments of the violin family), a backfold, plain corners where the centre bout meets the upper bouts, and upper bouts that curve smoothly into the root of the neck. The neck appears to extend into the belly of the instrument which suggests that it may be integral with the top block (although it could be fitted with a mortice and tenon joint). This method of neck attachment is known in instruments of several countries including England, France and Germany.[20] The neck is the same colour [10] from root to finial, slightly darker than the ribs and back which meet it, and ,would therefore be either completely varnished or completely unvarnished.[21] There is an excellent depiction of the viol's pierced scroll and of a fixed-frog bow with black hair.

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[19] See M. Smith, 'The cello bow held the viol-way'; once common, but now almost forgotten', *Chelys,* 24 (1995), 47-61.

[20] W. L. Monical (ed.), *Shapes of the Baroque, The Historical Development of Bowed String Instruments,* exhibition catalogue (New York, 1989); D. Kessler, 'A Seven String Bass Viol by Michel Colichon, *Chelys,* 19 (1990), 55-62.

[21] Modern practice with violins and most viols is to varnish the pegbox and finial in the same way as the body of the instrument, but to treat the neck differently, such as with stain and oil.

Plate 4. Workshop of Anthony van Dyck *Lady viola da gamba player*. Reproduced with the permission of the Bayerischen Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich.

The identity of the lady violist is unknown but it is probable that she belonged to the Caroline court circle which patronised van Dyck rather than [11] being a 'model'. Her viol is likely to have been a personal possession rather than a studio prop but there is insufficient information to judge whether it is of English manufacture or imported. According to a book published in Amsterdam in 1844,[22] a woman playing on a viola da gamba symbolises harmony. The bass viol as a symbol of harmony is often found in seventeenth-century Dutch portraits and genre paintings but viols can also stand as a symbol of vanitas, as can any musical instrument or many other things.[23] This sort of synthesis of allegory and portrait is often found in van Dyck, but in general, the iconography of van Dyck's English work was based

[22] D. Pers, *Iconologia of uytbeeldingen des verstands* (Amsterdam, 1644), quoted in the Alte Pinakothek catalogue (Munich, 1986), 196. Pers's book is a translation of Caesar Ripa's *Iconologia* (Venice, 1593). There is an English manuscript translation of Ripa's book dating from *c*1630 but no published version before the Restoration. P. M. Daley and M. V. Silcox, *The English Emblem* (London *et. al.,* 1990), 96.

[23] Including bubbles and flowers. P. Fischer, *Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the* 16th *and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1975), 49 and *passim.*

on traditional Tudor themes and was often similar to that of contemporary court painters such as Daniel Mytens and Cornelius Johnson, and their predecessors. A few of van Dyck's portraits place the subjects in allegorical settings—for example, Sir Kenelm Digby had his wife portrayed as *Prudence* in *c*1633, and Lady Mary Villiers was shown as Venus but not in situations which require the sitters to appear with viols.

Painting in sixteenth-century England was largely 'made to serve a political and propagandist purpose'[24] and this tradition changed only gradually in the seventeenth century during the period before the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Consequently, the majority of paintings were a rather straightforward type of portraiture, in distinct contrast to continental styles. The traditional Tudor and early Stuart iconography of portrait paintings was very much concentrated on displays of station, wealth and power, with allegory and what would now be called 'psychological insight' playing relatively minor roles. Status was principally indicated by richness of apparel and explicit symbolic, heraldic or honorific devices, and much less often by meaningful possessions other than items like jewellery and badges of office, although some jewellery and a few other items such as particular plants had recognised symbolic significance.

The lack of emphasis on intellectually demanding allegory in late sixteenth-century English portraiture is quite surprising in view of the Elizabethan fondness for 'devices'.[25] Allegory and classical references were certainly present in the English visual world but within portrait painting they were usually restricted to a relatively narrow range of conventional symbols. This range was particularly muted, relative to continental custom, in the use of attributes such as musical instruments to identify or make statements about the subject. One possible reason for the customary neglect of this kind of attribute may be that as a result of the Reformation, late sixteenth-century England lacked the countless pictures that were common in Catholic countries, which show saints identified by their attributes.[26] These formal symbolic attributes, typically, are extremely clear visual symbols such as St Catherine's wheel or a musical instrument for St Cecilia. As a consequence, the use of such symbols may have carried unacceptably Catholic connotations. After the Reformation, English Catholics may have felt more comfortable supporting music than the visual arts because of music's less visible and more ephemeral (and hence deniable) nature. Pictures containing

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[24] J. Sunderland, *Painting in Britain 1525-1975* (Oxford, 1976), 11.

[25] The emblem books by Henry Peacham (*Minerva Britanna,* 1612) and Geffrey Whitney *(A Choice of Emblemes,* Leyden, 1586) contain *nothing but* devices. These take the form of symbolic pictures, accompanied by explanatory verses. That the text is prime is indicated by the many English and foreign emblem books which have more sections in words than are accompanied by pictures or are even entirely text, but the reverse is relatively rare. The significance of emblem books will be discussed further in Fleming, 'The Design of Viols'.

[26] Where religious paintings are noted in household inventories, subjects are generally from the Old Testament but influential foreign fashions for images such as Susannah (with emphasis given to the erotic connotations) were also represented in collections of paintings.

obvious Catholic references could be provocative and dangerous, and even portraiture could be seen to 'hold spiritual dangers'.[27]

Symbolic attributes were commonly used in series of images such as the five senses, the nine muses or the four seasons. Other images would have been familiar [12] from the stories of the Bible and Classical mythology, for example Neptune's trident and Apollo's 'Lyre'. Such images were frequently to be found in other iconic situations such as wall hangings[28] and other tapestries and textiles but rarely found a place in English paintings, especially portraiture, before the middle of the seventeenth century.

Although the concept of art connoisseur was not firmly established in Tudor times, patrons routinely required works of the highest quality and sought out renowned practitioners. The greatest example of this in sixteenth-century England was Henry VIII who recruited from all over Europe. However, it was rare to possess any paintings whose function was principally to be admired for their aesthetic value rather than to make some statement about the prestige and status of the owner.[29] It was not until the early seventeenth century that a tradition of collecting and appreciating art[30] for its own sake really began to develop in England. The Elizabethan style of painting continued to predominate at the Court of James I but a number of progressive paintings were obtained by Ann of Denmark and Henry Prince of Wales, both of whose collections passed to Charles I. The other leading connoisseurs and collectors were Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel and Inigo Jones. George Villiers, later the Duke of Buckingham, also assembled a large selection of top quality paintings in a very short space of time, but arguably the collection which was most important in terms of both its influence on taste and the education of artists was Charles's own collection. These few people virtually created the culture of connoisseurship in England, and were immensely influential, partly through their acquisition of existing works which could be admired, studied and emulated, and partly through their commissions of new work.

The overwhelming majority of distinguished painters who worked in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England either came from abroad (principally the Low Countries), or were trained or at least heavily influenced

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[27] M. Aston 'Gods, Saints and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England' in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain* 1550-1660, ed. L. Gent (New Haven and London, 1995), 186.

[28] For example, wall hangings noted in an inventory of 1575 include 'xij peces of the storye of Tobyas' (W. A. Sandys, 'Inventory of Archbishop Parker', *Archaelogia,* 30 (1844)). The inventory (1588) of Kenilworth after the death of Robert Dudley includes hundreds of hangings whose subjects include 'the storie of Alexander the Great' and 'the historie of Hercules' as well as biblical themes, 'peeces of (flowers and beasts pillard' and other types. Several of the tapestries now in the V & A include lutes and other instruments in their designs, but only one includes a viol (*Garden Scene,* French or English, no. T.136-1991). There are further examples of viols in other English tapestry work of the period.

[29] While the pictures of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester were principally selected in order to emphasis the nobility of his genealogy, there were many items of high artistic quality, and the range was wide, including paintings on religious themes, maps etc. J. E. L. Clark, 'The Buildings and Art Collections of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester' (M. A. Report, Courtauld Institute, London, 1981).

[30] Medals, gems, antiquities, scientific instruments and other items were also collected.

by foreign masters. This is not to say there were no distinguished native English artists,[31] but it was foreigners who, at least with the benefit of hindsight, can be seen as most influential in determining the style, and thereby at least potentially influencing the content, of paintings. Yet whatever ideas for pictures the artists may have had, they had to paint to the programmes their patrons specified. Although this could be a complex allegory, it would more usually be a conservative portrait. There was some stimulus to change with the arrival of works by Rubens and van Dyck but it is important to note the difference in the nature of the pictures that were commissioned in England compared with the work that the same artists did abroad.

When Rubens was painting his great series of canvases in 1622-5 (slow in the Louvre) on the life of Marie de Medici, the pictures were abundantly endowed with allegory and classical references. There is a detailed depiction of a bass viol, among other instruments, in one of them.[32] However, when he portrayed that great English connoisseur and patron, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel,[33] the result is a powerful image, but a very straightforward one which is innocent of arcane references. In a van Dyck drawing of Arundel, who was of central importance to his employment in England, the subject is seated simply, if [13] imposingly, and holding a piece of paper. There is no reference here to his activities in the world of collecting or connoisseurship. In a portrait painting of Arundel, van Dyck again shows him seated, holding the order of the garter, and a piece of paper.[34] It might be expected that many pictures of Arundel would demonstrate and promote his collecting interests but there is only one, by Daniel Mytens (c1618), which shows him pointing to his ancient marble statues.[35] Similarly, the majority of portraits of another great connoisseur, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, concentrate on his military and honorific status, although one anonymous late sixteenth-century painting of him shows a sculptural relief on the pediment of a column, which could just possibly be a reference to his interest in collecting.[36] Thus, even with portraits of the principal patrons of art and artists, the earlier English conventions predominate. These conventions were supported by the widely-held view of patrons and connoisseurs that the most significant artistic developments were taking place abroad, in places such as Fontainebleau, Italy and the Low Countries. The 'grass is greener' cult was as vigorous in art as it was in music. Consequently artists from these places, many of whom were

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[31] Nicholas Hilliard and William Dobson spring to mind as examples of native English talent.

[32] *The Education of Marie de Medici* (Louvre INVA771). Apollo and Mercury lead Marie in music and eloquence while Minerva teaches her to read and the Three Graces offer beauty.

[33] Drawing in Williamstown, U. S. A.; paintings in the National Portrait Gallery (c1629), Boston, U.S.A. (c1629) and the National Gallery (c1630).

[34] A piece of paper (often a letter) is one of the few really common symbolic objects in Tudor and Stuart iconography. It is probably usually intended to represent the holder as a person of importance. I am grateful to Rosemary Kelly for drawing this to my attention.

[35] Property of the National Portrait Gallery but kept at Arundel Castle.

[36] *The Earl of Leicester as Leader of the English Campaign in the Netherlands,* at Parham Park (illustrated in Clark, 'The Buildings', plate xxviii). Against this interpretation is the fact that the use of sculptural reliefs as decorative devices was widespread.

readily available due to economic, political and religious events in their own lands,[37] were favoured at the expense of developing native talent.

However, the fact that so many artists were foreign cannot by itself explain the paucity of musical instruments in English paintings. Continental paintings, whether they are portraits, religious works or, most of all, seventeenth-century genre paintings, abound with all sorts of musical instruments. Collections of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings from Italy and the Low Countries contain numerous examples where instruments are prominent, and in which they are often shown with *trompe 1'oeil* accuracy. Why do they not appear in English paintings? The explanation must be sought in the demands of those who commissioned the works. Considering what we know of their lives, their patronage of musicians, and their collections of music and instruments, the hypothesis that patrons of painters had little interest in music is simply not sustainable. With their different tastes and different requirements[38] from art the English did not follow the Dutch in collecting genre paintings. According to John Evelyn, 'in Holland people put their wealth into pictures, whilst Englishmen put their money in land'.[39] But, more significantly than this, the English gentry had a reputation for ignorance and indifference to painting. Even as late as 1685, after the culture of collecting and appreciating paintings had been developing in England for a century, William Aglionby could write 'but our Nobility and Gentry ...are generally speaking, no Judges, and therefore can be no promoters of an Art that lies all in nice Observations.'[40] It is true that this was a comment by an author who was promoting his own book on understanding painting, but similar comments condemning the artistic education and sensibilities of the English are common throughout the seventeenth century and continue in the eighteenth century.

Despite all their patronage and personal musical activities, there are only two paintings from the period under examination which show members of the royal family playing musical instruments. These are Nicholas Hilliard's miniature of Elizabeth I playing on a lute (c1580), and a painting by Cornelius Johnson [14] of Henrietta Maria with a cittern.[41] Paintings featuring string instruments of any sort are rare outside the royal court. There are two

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[37] C. Brown, 'British Painting and the Low Countries 1530-1630' in K. Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties, Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England* 1530-1630, exhibition catalogue (1995), 27-31.

[38] For one distinct view of paintings' function see W. Sanderson, *GRAPHICE or The Use of the Pen and Pensil, in Designing, Drawing, and Painting* (1658), 26 where he specifies certain subjects as suitable for different parts of a house. Sanderson also recommends pictures of the King and Queen in the 'Dyning-Roome with no other pictures, being, themselves, Ornament sufficient, for any Room: unless (as some will have it) at the nether end, two or three of their own bloud'. This is an example of the principal traditional Tudor usage of paintings still being promoted in the second half of the seventeenth century.

[39] Quoted in Sunderland, *Painting in Britain,* 20.

[40] 'To remedy this therefore, I have undertaken this Work', W. Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated* (1685).

[41] The painting by Johnson is illustrated in J. Ward, 'Sprightly Cheerful Musick- notes on the cittem, gittem and guitar in 16th and 17th century England', *Lute Society journal ,* 21, (1979-81), plate 1. There is also an anonymous painting known as *Death and the Maiden* c1570, the female lutenist in which has been suggested to be Queen Elizabeth I (P. Forrester, 'An Elizabethan Allegory and some Hypotheses, *The Lute,* 34 (1994), 11-14.

very fine portraits in which the subjects seem proud of their lutes. Mary Wroth (in the anonymous *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth with her theorbo, c*1620) is certainly showing off her up-to-dateness as this type of extended neck lute had only just appeared in England following its recent invention in Italy. It is particularly unfortunate that, as far as we know, there was never a painting of Sir Thomas Chaloner showing off one of his viols which included 'another... of the finest sort' that he ordered from John Rose the elder in 1552.[42] However, according to George Vertue, Jeronimo Bassano *II (1559-1635)* commissioned a portrait of himself with a 'basson [sic] or bass viol'. The location of this even more crucial painting, if it still exists, is unknown to me.[43] Lutes, violins and some other instruments, appear in a few other English paintings.[44]

The only other English painting from within the period under examination where a viol may be found in a position of central importance is the self-portrait (late 1640s) of Peter Lely and his family, now in the Courtauld Institute (Plate 5). Lely shows himself playing on an extremely impressive large bowed instrument, although whether this should be called a viol may be debated. No frets are shown, but frets are by their nature an impermanent fitting, and might have been dispensed with by the player's choice. Frets are shown ambiguously, if at all, in the majority of the paintings discussed above. They are also a detail of a scale which is generally treated rather sketchily in this painting[45] and could simply have been omitted for painterly reasons. The instrument has five strings and, although that part of the painting is not helpfully distinct, five pegs. The cellolike body is an unappealingly murky brown, marginally paler than van Dyck's painting in Munich, discussed above. The substantial fingerboard is black and so is the wood of the massive bow which is held with an underhand grip as would be expected for a viol.[46] The soundholes are f-shaped and bear some resemblance to those of the five string bass violin in a painting by Pieter Claesz[47] and to instruments in other paintings from the Low Countries, but this may well be more of a reflection of Lely's origins and training than a reference to a specific instrument in his possession. In general, the shape of the instrument is treated too freely to justify any attempt to identify its maker or even nationality of origin. The upper bouts meet the neck perpendicularly as is normal for instruments of the violin family[48] but the scale of this instrument, particularly with its long neck, means that, unless all the humans in the picture are extraordinarily small, it is much too big to be a bass violin. If the instrument was a member of the violin family it would have to be a double bass, which would be surprising to find in England at this date.

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42 GB-Lbl Landsdowne MS 824 f. 33.

43 'The Note Books of George Vertue Relating to Artists and Collections in England', V, *Walpole Society,* 26 (1937/8), 18.

44 These include the *Allegorical Scene* by Isaac Oliver (c1590-5) and the *Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford* by Jan van Belcamp (1646).

45 The purfling of the belly is represented only cursorily, and only on one small sector of the belly.

46 Some modern double-bassists use an underhand grip. See also Smith, 'The cello bow held the violway'.

47 A still life in the Louvre. Claesz worked in Haarlem 1617-60.

48 Some surviving viols and many pictures. of viols also show this feature.

Plate 5. Peter Lely, *The concert* (portrait of the artist and his family).
Reproduced with the permission of the Courtauld Institute, London.

There are several compositions by Orlando Gibbons which specify a 'great Dooble Basse'[49] and these may be played perfectly well on a viol with the bottom string tuned to A, a fourth lower than usual.[50] Other things being equal, the string length of a viol tuned a fourth down needs to be proportionally longer to give similar performance, and this implies the use of a larger instrument.[51] In the four decades before Lely's painting there were several court purchases of large viols. For example,'To Voyalls, twoe greate ons, £40' (1610-12); 'greate base Vyall [15] £20' (1624/5).[52] Just two years later, the warrant to Alfonso Ferrabosco II for a 'greate Base Vyall, and greate Lyra' was also for £20.[53] Comparing the price with the previous two references suggests that this warrant to the prominent composer and player of lyra viol music may simply have indicated a single viol of a large size, to be used for lyra music. This would undermine any claim that the previously mentioned instruments were for other than a large size of bass viol. However, the value of £15 ascribed to the 'greate Base Violl' in the 1638 inventory at Ingatestone Hall would be rather high for an ordinary consort instrument when compared with the usual price of around £10 paid to court musicians throughout the seventeenth century.[54] The balance of evidence attests to the existence of large viols which cost more than ordinary ones. The most likely justification for expensive large instruments is a requirement for them to be capable of playing at a significantly lower pitch (fourth or

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[49] There are also compositions by John Coprario and George Jeffreys (P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford,1993), 216-7).

[50] The term 'Double Base' used by John Blow for the instrumentation of his Restoration anthem 'Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle' may indicate the use of such an instrument (Holman, *ibid.,* 410).

[51] For larger instruments the increase in string length does not need to be as much as the exact ratio of the pitches would suggest.

[52] Privy Purse accounts of Sir David Murray (A. Ashbee (ed.), *Records of English Court Music* (RECM), *iv* (Snodland, 1991), 215); warrant to Jerome Lanier, 24th January (RECM*, iii* (Snodland, 1988), 134).

[53] RECM, *iii,* 138.

[54] RECM, passim.

fifth) than the usual. Both Simpson and Mace acknowledge a range of sizes for bass viols. According to Simpson, a division viol ordinarily has a string length of 30 inches, and a consort bass is larger.[55] Mace writes '...take This *Certain Rule, viz.* Let your *Bass* be *Large',*[56] and *'First,* make *Choice of a Viol fit for your Hand;* yet rather of a *Scize something too Big,* than (at all) *too little'*.[57] At the end of the seventeenth century, the manuscript of James Talbot confirms the string length of a bass viol (as distinct from the smaller division viol) as 32 inches.[58] Talbot's double bass viol has a belly nearly four feet long (to be compared with the two and a half feet of his bass viols), and five instead of the usual seven frets. It also has 'Generally 5 strings sometimes 6 after the discretion of the artist'. All of this implies that viols which are now widely considered to be inconveniently large for normal use were well known or even commonplace in the seventeenth century, and that Lely's instrument would easily fit within the established range of viol sizes. Given the musical context in which it is placed (it provides the bass for a singer and a flautist), and its size, the only niggling objection to calling Lely's instrument a viol is the absence of frets.

Although it seems that English painters were generally reluctant to show their subjects playing music, or even in the presence of musical instruments, there are occasional examples of works from around this period where artists portray themselves together with appropriate attributes to indicate the nature of their own work. One example was painted by George Gower (d. 1596) in 1579. On this self-portrait Gower writes of his gentlemanly status but notes that he places greater value on his status as an artist.[59] Of particular interest is the self-portrait by Nicholas Lanier c1644, who indicates both his musical and artistic activities by showing a leaf of music on the table and holding an artist's palette.[60] English examples are, however, relatively rare compared with continental work where artists very frequently show themselves at work, often in their studios. The importance of this is the indication that, unlike for the delineation and support of social standing, artists in England were not generally accustomed to using physical attributes to convey details of their sitters' cultural station.[61] This was principally due to the lack of such a tradition in England: It was also partly because of the generally low status of artists and musicians at a time when the majority of subjects of English paintings were patrons of varying degrees of [17] nobility and wealth.

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[55] C. Simpson, *The Division-Violist* (1659), 1.

[56] Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 246.

[57] *Ibid.,* 247.

[58] GB-Och MS 1187.

[59] Hearn, *Dynasties,* 107.

[60] Illustrated in Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier,* plate 29.

[61] However, see above and note 38. Foreign artists often kept a stock of studio props, some of which are identifiable in several paintings, for example in the works of Evaristo Baschenis (Bergamo, 161777) and his followers. See also W. Martin, 'The Life of a Dutch artist in the 17th century: III The Painter's Studio', *Burlington Magazine,* 8 (1905), 13-24. That these props often included musical instruments is also demonstrated clearly in many paintings of artists in their studios. A good example of this is Hendrick Pot, *The Painter in his Studio* (Bredius Museum, The Hague, inv. no. 191-1946) c1650. Van Dyck was a foreign artist who worked in England and kept in his studio 'some fairly grand accessories' (Millar, *Van Dyck in England,* 30). See the Appendix to this paper for an interesting example of a viol in an artist's studio.

In sum, very few viols appear in English paintings *c*1580-1660 compared what might be predicted on the basis of their significance in English society the frequency of their appearance in continental paintings. This must be attributed, at least in part, to English attitudes at a time during which English saw paintings as performing a function of which the display of activities such as music-making did not form a part. The nature of the handful of paintings that exist means that the information they bear about viols is very limited in both its extent and reliability. The viols in the Unton, van Dyck and Lely paintings bring no surprises and bear resemblances in some of their details to surviving instruments and pictures in other media. They confirm at least that surviving viols are not wayward and that among the standard range of forms were three bouted shapes, as would be predicted from the shapes of related instruments and from foreign pictures. There is some consistency in suggestions of necks being longer in proportion to the body than would be considered normal today, but which recalls the proportion of some very early Spanish viols.[62] These longer necks would bring viol string lengths more into line with those of lutes and have significant implications for stringing. Although this handful of English paintings do not, in themselves, carry a large quantity of information about viols, there is still hope that their value will be substantially enhanced in the future by considering them together with other iconographical sources and other types of information.

APPENDIX

A particularly interesting example of a viol in a painting from the Low Countries is illustrated in the catalogue of *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music and Painting in the Golden Age* (The Hague, 1994). The painting *Young Draughtsman in a Painter's Studio, c*1630, is attributed to D. Witting, about whom virtually nothing is known. The present location of this painting is unknown. Several of the studio props, including an extended-neck lute and a bass viol, appear in another painting by Witting—*Still Life with a Theorbo, a Viola da Gamba and a Model of the Head of Christ* (private collection). The festooned shape of the viol and its flame-shaped soundholes closely resemble those of an elaborately decorated instrument attributed to John Rose the Younger, c1600 and now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Hill Collection no. 4). Where the Witting viol has a scroll, the Ashmolean viol has a carved head but this is not original to the instrument and there is no information regarding its original finial. The elaborate decorations of the Ashmolean viol include a painted coat of arms and a profusion of complex inlaid purfling knots. It is made of exotically figured wood, here identified as probably burr elm or possibly burr walnut, not rosewood as suggested in D. Boyden, *Catalogue of the Hill Collection of Musical Instruments* (Oxford, 1979), 9. A very similar bass viol, also attributed to John Rose, was sold by W. E. Hill and Sons to a client in the U. S. A. (illustrated in H. Danks, 'The Family of Viols' in *Violins and Violinists,* 19/2 (Chicago, March-April 1958). The Danks instrument is made of strongly figured maple/sycamore and is extensively decorated with [18] purfling knots. The applied ornamentation of the Witting viol comprises only double purfling on the belly (typical on English instruments but also common in the Low

[62] I. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 69.

Countries) but the back is made of stripes of alternating light and dark wood. This striped construction is known on extant English viols and may be thought of as an alternative to highly figured wood or applied decoration. English depictions of striped-back viols exist on the Heaven room ceiling in Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire, painted by an unknown artist c1620, and in an anonymous engraving *The Papists Powder Treason,* 1606-13.

The shapes of the three viols differ in the treatment of the middle of the bottom bout. Whereas the Ashmolean and Danks viols both have an indented central section on the bottom bout (which on the Ashmolean viol is curved, on the Danks, straight), the Witting viol has a single continuous curve which makes that part of the viol resemble instruments from early seventeenth-century Nuremberg such as are illustrated in K. Martius and K. Schulze, 'Ernst Busch and Paul Hiltz, Zwei Nürnberger Lauten- and Violenmacher der Barockzeit' in *Sonderdruch aus Anzeiger des Germanischen National Museum,* Germanisehes National Museum (Nuremberg, 1991), plates 18 and 24. A treble viol of a broadly similar shape in the Metropolitan Museum, New York is attributed to an English maker called Strong. There are sufficient English illustrations of lobed or festooned instruments for this to be considered as an unexceptional type of form, perhaps even as common as the plain, four-cornered shape that is presently considered to be standard. If Witting's viol is of English origin, possibly even by John Rose, then finding it abroad would be consistent with the claim in the Bridewell Court Books, 8 August 1561 that John Rose 'hathe a most notable gift given of God in the making of instruments even soche a gift as his fame is sped through a great part of Christendom and his name as moche and now both for virtue and conning commended in Italy than in this his natural contery.' It would also stand as pictorial confirmation of documentary evidence (such as Constantin Huygens's correspondence regarding his purchase of a chest of six viols in 1638) that English instruments were exported.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to the Music & Letters Trust for their financial assistance in the publication of illustrations to this article.

THE SOUND OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH CHAMBER ORGAN

Dominic Gwynn

The sound made by wooden pipes is the chief contribution of English organ builders to organ culture. Wooden pipes were an early invention, and might have been quite highly developed by the Reformation, though stopped pipes of-any sort would have been a recent innovation, perhaps no older than around 1500.

Wooden pipes are mentioned in the front of the organs at Wingfield, Suffolk (a screen organ with wooden pipes in both fronts, c1530), and at Holy Trinity, Coventry (basses in the side towers?, 1526). Of the three quire organs at Durham Cathedral before the Reformation, the exquisite organ 'only opened and played upppn at principal feasts' had 'the pipes ... all made of most fine wood'. At Christ's College, Cambridge in 1509 there was 'a payre of organs the pypis of Wainscott' and 'a lesser paire the pipes of tynn .

The survival of so many small organs from the seventeenth century and the unique form of the wooden pipes in English organs suggest a vigorous tradition, and one with indigenous roots. In English wooden pipes the block projects above the cap, and the edge is bevelled, so that they resemble metal pipes; in other countries the top of the cap and the block are flush. The front pipes of the organ at Canons Ashby, for example, have a rounded front and turned and tapered feet intended to imitate metal pipes.

Small organs with wooden pipes survive from the first half of the seventeenth century. The chest organ at Knole is exceptional because the pipes are made of oak; all the other surviving examples have pine pipes. The Knole organ may therefore represent an older, or perhaps hybrid tradition. The chamber organ at St Luke's near Smithfield in Virginia is one of the most intriguing because the instrument came originally from Hunstanton Hall in Norfolk, where John Jenkins was for a time resident musician (Figure 1). The instrument made for Isaac Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, perhaps dating from 1629, and the chamber organ at Lichfield must have had wooden pipes; the chest and case of both survive. The organ at Staunton Harold, furnished with a dummy case when it was moved to the church in 1686 and provided with a crummy new mechanism in about 1820, may date from the 1630s; the stops project from the side of the case in the same way as the Bargrave and Lichfield organs. The 1643 Christian Smith organ now in pieces at Manders bears a close resemblance to the Smithfield organ.

After the Restoration organs in this style are more likely to have some metal pipes. Post-1660 organs started to acquire mixtures, usually divided and breaking back at c1 / c# 1, though the instrument at Canons Ashby has a mixture breaking back a fifth every octave, made of wooden pipes. Pipes of high pitch are difficult to make, and fiendish to voice and to tune. It is surprising they have survived in any organ; the beguiling addition to the chorus is the maker's reward.

The sound of the wooden pipes in these organs is soft, without any very noticeable speech, and with a rich, stringy tone. In voicing, these

characteristics go together. To achieve a stringy tone, that is, one where the lower harmonics are

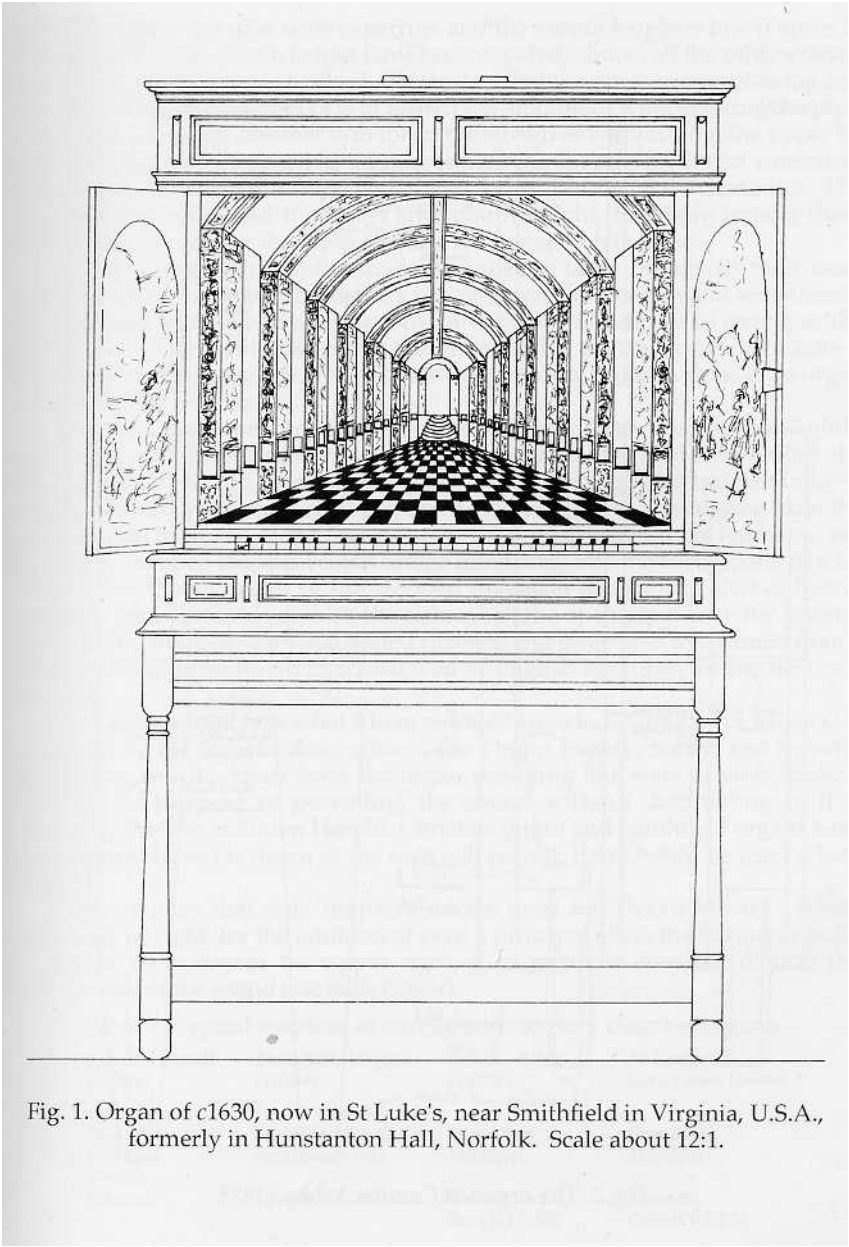

Fig. 1. Organ of *c*1630, now in St Luke's, near Smithfield in Virginia, U.S.A., formerly in Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk. Scale about 12:1.

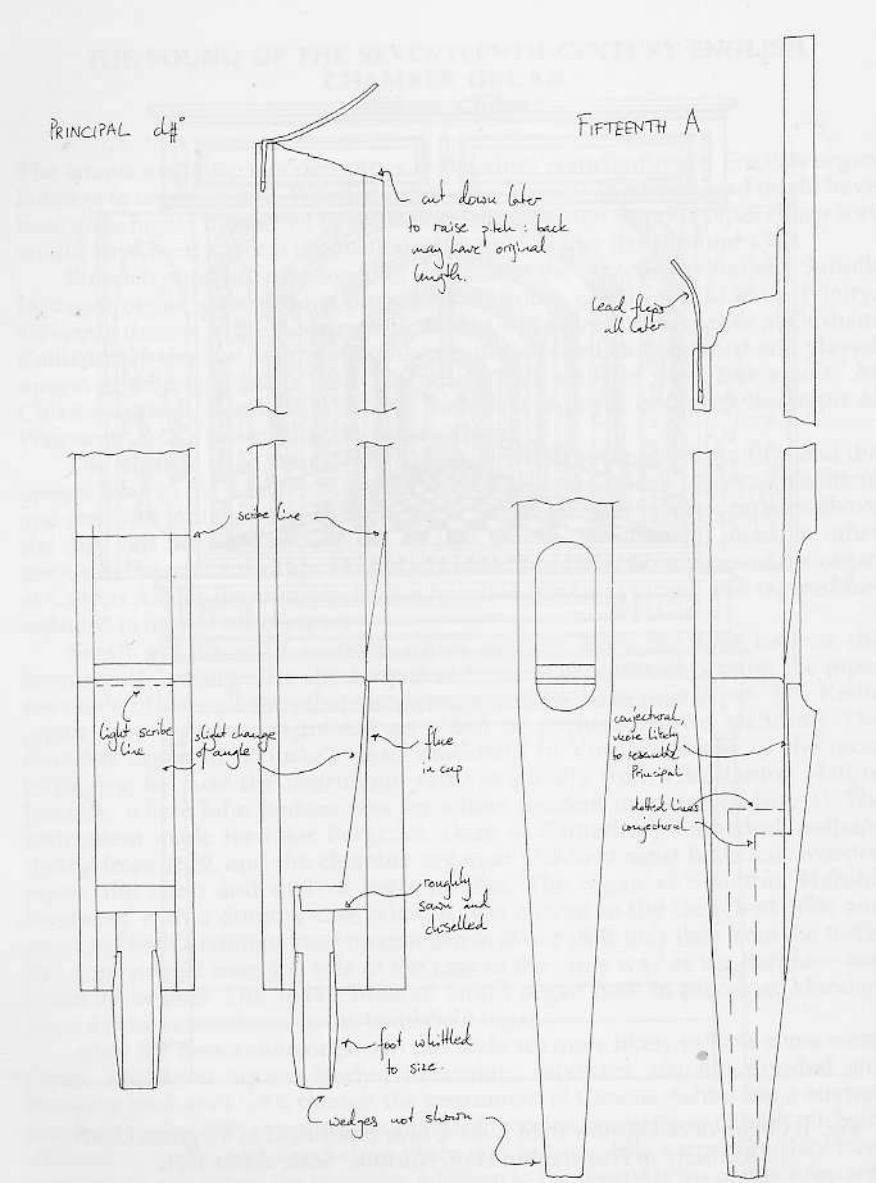

Fig. 2. The organ at Canons Ashby *c*1675.

[25] fully developed, the pipe scale is narrow and the mouth height is low (Figure 2). Once the scale and mouth height have been decided, almost all the other voicing characteristics are needed to check the tendency of the pipes to overblowing and instability. One of these checks is to restrict the amount of wind entering the pipe, which makes it quiet. Another is to direct the stream of wind cutting the upper lip as far into the pipe as possible, which reduces the speech (the initial consonant sound) and controls the edge tones and other out-of-tune harmonics. The narrower the scale, and the lower the mouth height, the more critical these controls are, the quieter the pipes are, and the less speech there is.

The spectrographic profile made by pipes in these organs, at their most extreme, shows the lowest harmonics (octave, twelfth, fifteenth and

seventeenth for open, and twelfth and seventeenth for the stopped) almost as strong as the fundamental. The profile also shows that the sound at the beginning of the note is no different from that made by the steady tone. This is about as dose as an organ can get to an harmonium.

The stop diapasons behave slightly differently. They tend to be slightly larger scale, and there is more margin for the voicer, so they tend to be louder; the sound is less thick and stringy, more open and lively, and also quicker onto its speech. The fundamental is stronger, and since the octaves are missing from the harmonic spectrum, the sound is more open; the twelfth is the strong harmonic, not the octave. An open diapason could merge completely into the background in a set of viols, but the character of the stopped diapason means it is always heard. Together, the effect is to combine the richness of the open pipes with the prompt speech of the stopped, with that added richness and sweetness that results from a combination of unisons, an effect beloved of English organists for the next two centuries.

That such a tone was what Thomas Mace expected with 'Grave Musick' is suggested by the famous description: 'The Organ Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All'. Apart from the organ sounding like a set of viols itself, it achieves the purpose of pervading the sound without dominating it. It is interesting that the Staunton Harold, Christian Smith and Smithfield organs have open diapasons, as far down as the case will permit; they should be used where available.

This assumes that only diapasons were used for 'Grave Musick', which might well be right, for the addition of even a principal alters the harmonic build up, but in these organs the upper work is so gentle it does not disturb the homogeneity of the sound (see table below).

Table 1. Typical stop lists of seventeenth-century chamber organs.

Staunton Harold	*Smithfield, Virginia*	*Canons Ashby*	*St George's,*
(1630s)	(1630s)	(1670s)	*Nottingham (1690s)*
Open Diap (c)	Open Diap (c)		
Stop Diap	Stop Diap *(b/cl)*	Stop Diap	Stop Diap
Principal	Principal *(b/cl)*	Principal	Principal
Twelfth			
Fifteenth	Fifteenth *(b/cl)*	Xvth(cl/c#1)	Fifteenth
		Sesq(cl/c#1)	Cornet 11 (c#l)

[26] The other stops in seventeenth-century organs, and there are never fewer than four in those surviving, might have served to make the organ 'sprightfully lusty and strong' like 'a little church organ' for vocal music, to quote Thomas Mace.

The compass of most of these organs was C AA D-c3 (49 notes), not just those made before the Civil Wars, but up to the end of the century. The low A suggests the importance of rich harmonies in the bass. Charles Butler in *The Principles of Musick* (1636) gives C AA D-c3 for virginals and C-d3 for organs. The evidence from these organs suggests that the 49-note compass was used in a domestic context, and the 51-note compass was used in church. The 1606(?) organ at Knole had 45 notes, and the 1629 organ for Dean

Bargrave had 46 notes (probably C-a2). These suggest an early, shorter compass.

The pitch has been altered in all of these organs by moving the keys or the pipes, and cutting the pipes down. Reversing these alterations produces the pitches in the following table. They are given in relation to A440 Hz.

Organ	*Date*	*Pitch*
Knole	1606(?)	Quarter of a semitone sharp
Smithfield, Virginia	*c*1630	Half a semitone flat
Canons Ashby	*c*1675	Half a semitone sharp
Canterbury Cathedral (Galpin organ)	*c*1675	Half a semitone sharp
Staunton Harold	*c*1630	One semitone sharp
Compton Wynyates	*c*1675	One and a half semitones sharp
St George's, Nottingham	*c*1690	Two semitones sharp
Royal College of Music	1702(?)	Two semitones sharp
Russell Collection	*c*1700	Half a semitone flat

The dates in this sample are a guideline only; the dateable elements in a vernacular tradition are few and the lines of development unclear. This sample does suggest a wide range of pitches. Presumably a buyer would be less interested in the standard pitch of a maker, than that all his instruments could be played together.

The organ was an essential part of the English viol consort. The peculiar qualities of the seventeenth-century English chamber organ makes a contribution which no other type of organ sound is capable of making.

APPENDIX An anatomy of the voicing system (Figure 3)

The scale is the cross sectional area of the pipe in relation to its length, so we talk of a narrow or a wide pipe. A narrow pipe is stringy in tone, a wide pipe is fluty. The pipes of a seventeenth-century chamber organ are as narrow as one finds in any organ. Their width is so close to that of riMmal pipes an octave higher in pitch, that they can overblow to the second harmonic, which is the octave for open pipes, and the twelfth for stopped pipes. The result is that the fundamental is relatively weak, and the lower harmonics are relatively strong, as in a viol.

[27] The scale also refers to the progression of the pipe widths from bass to treble. Pipes of all sorts will be relatively narrower in the bass, and wider in the treble. In these organs they are very narrow in the bass, but not abnormally narrow in the treble.

The mouth height (also known as the cut up) is the distance from the lower (the cap in a wooden pipe) to the upper lip. A low cut up will reinforce the lower harmonics. Usually it is more difficult to control the initial speech of a pipe with a low cut up, but in these pipes the speech is effectively controlled by other methods. In these organs the mouths are cut up as low as they can be for pipes of this scale.

The most noticeable method of speech control is to restrict the flow of wind to the pipes, by using a low wind pressure and limiting the amount of wind by plugging the toe holes with wedges. The flues are wide in relation to the toe-hole area after plugging. This also increases the influence of the lower harmonics.

The direction of the air stream is crucial, especially in a pipe which tends to instability. The flue is in the cap, but bends the wind stream into the pipe, and the top of the block is bevelled. The wind stream hits the inside of the upper lip first (and is then dragged backwards and forwards across the upper lip, {o produce an effect akin to a vibrating reed), which helps to control the regularity of the sound and reduce the speech characteristics. It is important that the flue is not too wide, or the wind will try to move outside when the pipe is first played, which bends to make the tone unstable.

The energy of the wind stream is low, and the upper lip is thin as a result. If it is too thick the pipe will be too quiet. A thin lip also encourages harmonics; if it is loo thin, the tone too will become thin and reedy. The thinness of the upper lip also encourages the wind to make its first movement outside the pipe; the width of "flue is related to the thickness of the upper lip.

Most of the source material in this article was collected by Martin Goetze and Dominic Gwynn. The author is also indebted to the research of James Collier, Barbara Owen and Martin Renshaw.

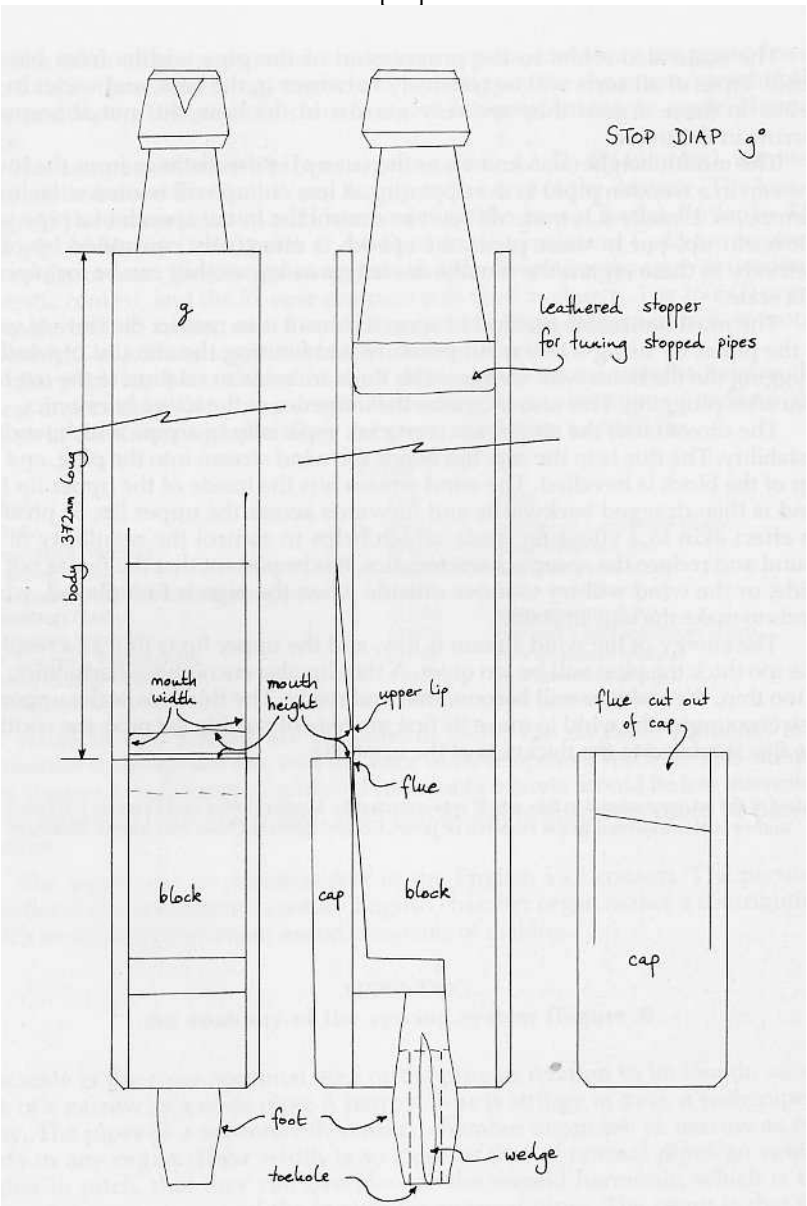

Fig. 3. Voicing system of the organ at Canons Ashby *c*1675.

Plate 1. Late seventeenth-century chamber organ at St George in the Meadows, Nottingham.

Plate 2. Late seventeenth-century chamber organ at Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire.

Plate 3. Late seventeenth-century chamber organ at Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire.

THE COMPATIBILITY OF THE VIOL CONSORT WITH THE ORGAN IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY[1]

Annette Otterstedt

Historic Situation

It is common knowledge that an organ belonged to the seventeenth-century English viol consort. The pertinent quotations from Thomas Mace and Roger North need not be repeated here as they have been given wide coverage in a recent article on the problems of organs and the viol consort.[2] But I would like to point out another of Mace's remarks which is most interesting:

> This Device of a Table Organ, sends forth Its Notes so Equally alike, that All, both Performers, and Auditors, receive their just, and due Satisfaction, without the least Impediment; the Organ in This Service not being Eminently to be Heard, but only Equal with the other Musick.[3]

This makes it clear that the organ was not meant to be a mere background noise, with no other purpose than to serve as an aid for dilettante players, but carried its own significance as a sound to be heard by the listeners. An observation made by Otto Kinkeldey in 1910 throws an interesting side-light on this matter:

> They [i.e. chamber organs] had several stops and need not by any means have been weak instruments, in spite of their small, manageable size. We can picture this well by considering that the barrel organ, so much used and despised nowadays, is mostly nothing else but such an organetto or positive organ with a mechanical action. The various sound effects which can be produced on such an instrument can be sufficiently studied in today's barrel organ music.[4]

It remains surprising how often earlier authors hit the mark, although they cannot have heard this music in its original form. Even today, barrel organs are

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[1] This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the symposium 'Stimmungen im 17. and 18. Jahrhundert-Vielfalt oder Konfusion?' in the Institut für Aufführungspraxis Michaelstein at Blankenburg, Germany, November 1994. English translation by Hans Reiners.

[2] P. Holman, "'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music' in *John Jenkins and his Time,* eds A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 353-82.

[3] T. Mace, *Musicks Monument* (1676), 242.

[4] O. Kinkeldey, *Orgel and Klavier in der Musik des* 16. *Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1910), Kap. 6 'Klavier and Orgel in der Haus- and Theatermusik', 147: 'Sie (die Kammerorgeln) hatten mehrere Registerzüge and brauchten trotz ihrer kleinen bequem handlichen Form durchaus nicht schwache Instrumente zu sein. Wir können uns ein gutes Bild davon machen, wenn wir bedenken, daß der heute so viel verwendete and verschmähte Leierkasten meistenteils nichts anderes ist, als ein solches Organetto oder Positiv mit mechanischem Spielapparat Die verschiedenen Klangwirkungen, die auf einem solchen Instrument hervorzubringen sind, konnen wir zur Genüge in der heutigen Leierkastenmusik beobachten.'

mechanically driven pipe organs, as opposed to all those 'Baroque organs' currently built with electric blowers.

There is disagreement, however, about where and when this combination was introduced. Holman's assumption[5] that this was simply in continuance of sixteenth-century traditions is, I think, questionable.[6] There is no positive evidence—taking presumptive traditions for granted is insufficient—and existing clues are not only few and far between,[7] but less than conclusive, and require more interpretation than can be healthy for a doubtful fact. What can be stated positively is merely that the repertoires of viols and organ are interchangeable to a degree—not surprisingly, as lots of polyphonic music was arranged for keyboard instruments, notably the organ, anywhere in Europe. It should also be borne in mind that Mace began his list of eminent composers for the consort which, in his view, had an organ accompaniment as a matter of course, with the generation of Ferrabosco, Ward, Lupo, and others, i. e. the very same musicians about whom we have the earliest relevant documents.[8]

To begin with, an ensemble playing to the organ has to be distinguished from a keyboard instrument playing a composition in several parts accompanied in diminutions by a soloistic instrument. The first grouping, an ensemble consisting of several parts supported, or one might say 'accompanied', by a keyboard instrument, is the subject of this article.

Two conditions are requisite for such a combination:

a) a tuning pitch compatible with the ensemble—if by transposition. English [33] consort viols are invariably described as large instruments,[9] so that the organ may have had to transpose. In this case, its compass would have to be extended downwards to enable it to play bass lines exceeding its normal range. Or would it be conceivable, for the sake of speculation, that a period of bass dominance—leading up to the basso continuo era—dispensed with these notes?

b) compatible temperaments for the organ and viol consort. Today's assumption is that some kind of meantone temperament was customary for keyboard instruments—probably with some justification—the one splitting the syntonic comma in four parts being the likely favourite, because it is easy to tune and rendered particularly pleasing to the ear by its pure major thirds. It has rather United. aptitude for transposition, as all types of meantone systems have a wolf fifth, whose constituent tones in turn condemn all major thirds to wolfishness. This results in a serious restriction of modulatory possibilities.

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[5] Holman, *ibid.*

[6] D. Kamper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien* (Köln/Wien, 1970), 88ff, 93ff, mentions numerous sixteenth-century Italian sources requiring either duos of viol and keyboard or an ensemble composed of different types of instruments. There is no mention throughout the book of a homogeneous ensemble accompanied by a keyboard instrument. It is worth noting that Kamper, who is evidently unfamiliar with English practice, does not even consider it as a possibility.

[7] Holman, "'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All"', 360.

[8] Mace, *Musicks Monument,* 234.

[9] M. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636), Livre Quatriesme des Instrumens, 192. R. Donington, 'James Talbot's Manuscript, II. Bowed Strings, GSJ, 3 (March 1950), 27-45, at pp 31ff.

Fretted instruments, however, have their own system. In no case can a meantone temperament be proven beyond doubt,[10] and even should it have existed in a few cases, the profusion of tuning instructions directing something else

altogether declare it the exception rather than the rule. We even have the complaints made in clear terms by Italian theoreticians (e. g. Ercole Bottrigari, Giovanni de' Bardi, Vincenzo Galilei, Giovanni Battista Doni)[11] about the impossibility of finding a common denominator for fretted instruments and keyboards as well as harps. And above all, the extant literature bears witness to the fact that fretted instruments were gleefully exploring the remotest areas of modulation when, in the sphere of keyboards, this was sinful thinking on the part of theoreticians at most.

Furthermore it looks like an astonishing coincidence that the first reliable data in England about pairing viol consorts with the organ coincide with those of modulatory experiments on the viol. The idea of such a conjunction alone would be unthinkable unless the organ were at all capable of accompanying compositions of this kind without becoming inextricably entangled in the desolate meantone wolf-pen.

There are three possible ways of reconciling these different systems, and there is musical evidence for each of them:

a) The melody instruments adapt themselves to the keyboard (e. g. in the recommendations by Diego Ortiz, Ercole Bottrigari and Marin Marais the tuning of the viols should conform to the harpsichord).

b) Keyboard instruments tune to suit the melody instruments (by the introduction of equal temperament for keyboard instruments in favour of orchestral practice, which players of earlier ages had stubbornly resisted).

c) All play in their customary systems (the situation of the modern symphony orchestra: pianos in equal temperament coexist with Pythagorean strings and woodwinds as well as the natural harmonics of the brass).

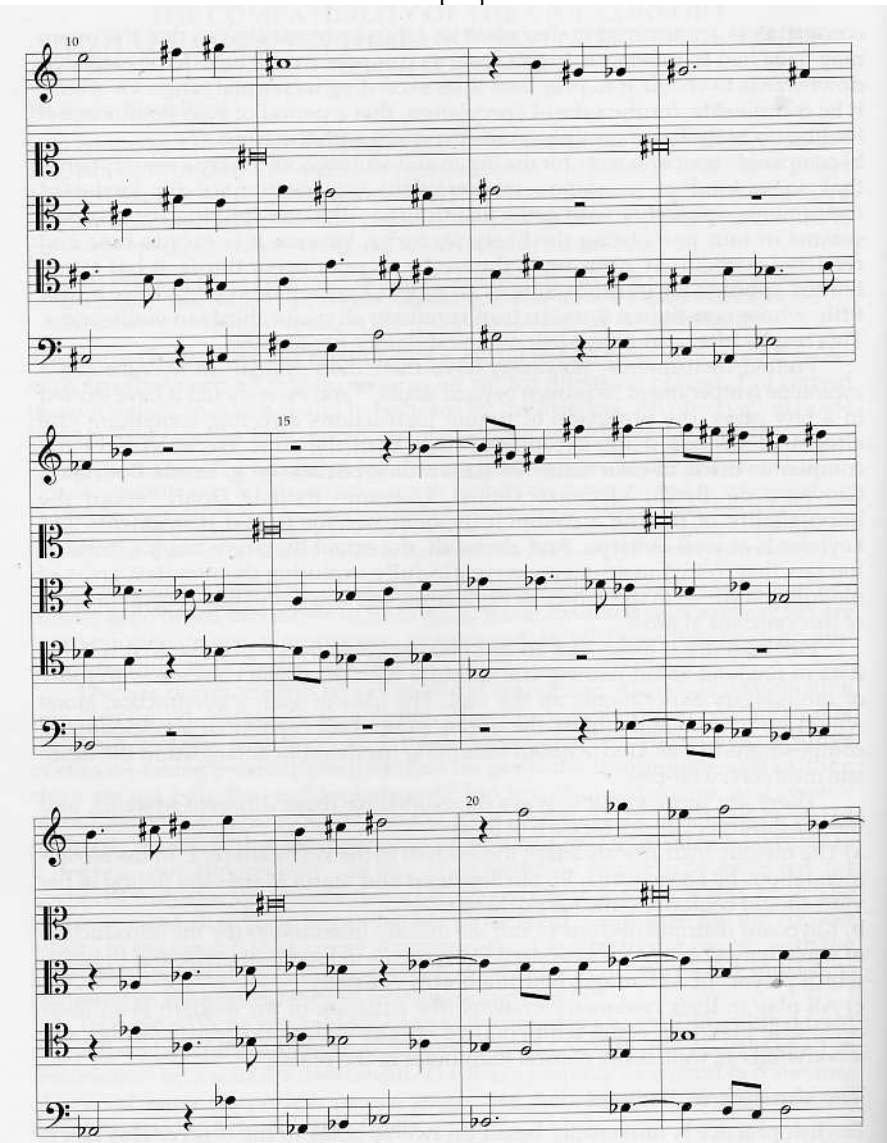
The situation in England

English practice is universally based on twelve notes to the octave. This fact is revealed in many compositions by a musical orthography using accidentals for chromata quite indiscriminately, so that every note is interchangeable with its

[10] M. Lindley, *Lutes, Viols, and Temperaments* (Cambridge, 1984). Lindley's book contains some sagacious thoughts, to which I shall return.

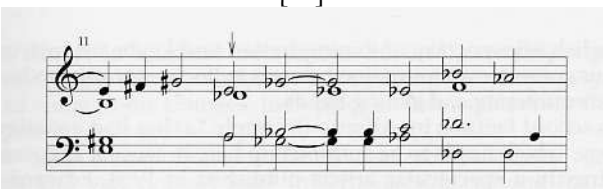
[11] Lindley, *ibid.,* 44ff.

[34]



Ex. 1a. Hexachord fantasia by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, bars 10–21, GB-Lbl MS Egerton 3665 f. 505.

[35]



Ex. 1b. Hexachord fantasia by John Bull ('Ut re mi fa sol la'), bar 11, GB-Cfm Mus. MS 168 p.92, Fitzwilliam virginal book.[12]

[12] Attempts are frequently made to rescue Bull's hexachord fantasia for an archicembalo or a pure-thirds temperament After due consideration I do not think this can be right. The chord at issue in Bull's hexachord fantasia, the way it is written, will under no circumstances make sense as a sounding chord. It can only be explained by accepting the musical orthography (with *d*b) as meant, as well as assuming a sounding puzzle. This falls to the ground as soon as the actual difference between *c*# and d is taken into consideration - depending on the

enharmonic equivalent. That is to say any note marked with an accidental can be expressed in two ways (Example 1).[13] The inference is that the English followed the example of chromatic experiments in Italian madrigals. g. Luca Marenzio's 'O voi che sospirate', handed down in English manuscript sources[14]—rather than microtonal experiments based on Nicola Vicentino's 'cembalo universale',[15] even if there is the one-off clue that at least one English violist took an interest in microtones:

> Mr John Coprario, a rare composer of Musick, ... told me [Richard Ligon] once, that he was studying a curiosity in musick, that no man had ever attempted to do; and that was, of quarter notes; but he not being able to go through with it, gave it over.[16]

Unfortunately this remark does not disclose whether he was thinking of the ancient tonal genera, or those enharmonic substitutions which the English actually put into practice. Coprario's own attempts at chromaticisms[17] seem a little uninspired compared with the mastery of Ferrabosco or Ward.

When we set out to investigate English works, we must distinguish between two separate systems probably originating from the same considerations (i. e. the revival of the music of the ancients in the preceding Italian theory of music), but from different technical conditions: fretted instrument experiments, which reach enharmonic changes through the 'freedom' of their equal spacing of the frets, and quite dissimilar keyboard experiments, which break free of the limitations of their meantone-ness: the former an aurally dissatisfying theorem redeemed by the adjusting flexibility of the fingers, the latter a rigid system, mostly of great sounding beauty, but with certain pitfalls.

The only one to advocate equal temperament for keyboards, thus provoking the determined opposition of players, is not an Italian but a Frenchman, whose far-flung correspondence nevertheless kept him in touch with the whole of Europe: Marin Mersenne.[18] No mention of such a discrepancy is ever made in

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temperament not less than a syntonic comma. Bull's manner of notation makes it plain that the distinction between the two chromata was all the same to him, nor was it to be disguised by special fingering tricks (e. g. a two-manual harpsichord with different temperaments on each manual, etc.).

[13] Numerous further examples are to be found in the works of John Jenkins, as well as one fantasia by Thomas Tomkins (GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D. 245-7). Lamentably misleading in this respect is the invariable practice in modern editions to re-define the original nomenclature in the modern sense, such as can be seen in the new edition of the Tomkins fantasia *(Musica Britannica,* 59, ed. J. Irving (1991), no. 12).

[14] GB-Lbl MS R.M.24. d.2 (the Baldwin manuscript), f. 20v and MS Egerton 3665 (the Tregian manuscript), p. 562 (f. 286).

[15] N. Vicentino, *L'Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna Prattica* (Rome, 1555, facs. edn E. Lowinsky, Kassel, 1959), 99ff, 'Quinto Libro... sopra la Prattica des stromento, da lui detto Archicembalo'.

[16] C. D. S. Field, 'Musical Observations from Barbados, 1647-50', *MT,* 115 (July 1974), 565-7, ar p. 566.

[17] E. g. 'Illicita coca' a5 or 'Udite lagrimosi spirti', a6.

[18] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle,* 'Nouvelles Observations Physiques & Mathematiques, VII. Observation, 20: 'Or il est certain que 1'Orgue & 1'Epinette estans temperées selon le manche des Luths & des Violes, les concerts qui en reüssiront, paroistront plus iustes, à raison de la conuenuance de leurs accords. Mais nos Praticiens ne sont pas d'avis de changer 1'accord de l'Epinette, pour la contraindre à l'accord du Luth, de peur de quitter la perfection de leurs Tierces, & de leurs demitons, qui font 1'vne des plus grand beautez, & varietiez de la Musique'.

England. Instead, the English had a predilection for a technique of modulation most notable in the viol fantasias of Alfonso Ferrabosco II and his mental heir, John Jenkins. Ferrabosco, Jenkins and others evidently relied on a tonal system without a 'wolf'. This is not surprising as both were viol players, and we have North's testimony that his teacher Jenkins conceived his ideas through the viol.[19] More likely than not they employed a system described by Vincenzo Galilei[20] and Marin Mersenne,[21] with a distributive ratio of semitone frets of 18:17. At 99 cents, this is almost the same as an equal semitone (100 cents), particularly considering that the gradual increase in string height towards the bridge tends to make up for the growing 'fault'.

[36] The English idiosyncrasy of joining fretted and keyboard instruments in a homogeneous consort—with sustained chords to boot—signifies no less than two arch-rivals encountering and joining hands.

The hexachord fantasia by Alfonso (Example 1a) has had a motley coverage in musicology, which needs to be summed up here because it triggered all other hypothesizing. In a spectacular article published in 1968, Edward Lowinsky ascribed it to the Italian violist Alfonso della Viola (d. 1571),[22] but more recently English scholars have contradicted this thesis with a good deal of wit and astuteness and reclaimed the work for Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger.[23] His other works reveal his interest in modulating techniques, among them a fantasia which leaves the key in the dark until the final chord (Meyer Index no. 19, more recently numbered 18 in *Musica Britannica,* 62 (1992), eds A. Ashbee and B. Bellingham). In any event, the four-part version is definitely by Ferrabosco, and Lowinsky's assessment of it, in obvious ignorance of the merits of English viol music, is somewhat supercilious. I take issue with him in this, but notwithstanding my personal predilections the matter is open to a good deal of clarifying argument.

Assuming Lowinsky's theory to be correct, the historic pattern would be flawless: a chromatic fantasia escapes Italy unnoticed—the Ferrara court in this case, where such experiments were being conducted in complete secrecy, as Lowinsky mentioned[24]—and is perhaps carried into England in the 'briefcase'[25]

(It is certain that the organ & spinet tempered in accordance with the fingerboard of the lutes and will result in 'concerts' <concords> which seem more accurate, because of the 'conuenuance' <convergence> of their tunings. But our practitioners have no mind to change the tuning of the spinet in order to force it into the tuning of the lute, for fear of losing their perfect thirds and semitones, which are among the greatest beauties & varieties of music'.)

[19] 19. *Roger North on Music,* ed. J. Wilson (1959), 245: '...being an accomplisht master of the violl, all his movements lay fair for the hand ... His vein was less happy in the vocal part, for ... he retained his instrumentall style so much, that few of them were greatly approved'.

[20] V.Galilei, *Dialogo* (Venice, 1581), 49.

[21] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle,* 'Livre Second des Instrumens, 48.

[22] Lowinsky, 'Echoes of Adrian Willaert's Chromatic "Duo" in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Compositions' in *Studies in Music History—Essays for Oliver Strunk,* ed. H. Powers (Princeton,), 199-228.

[23] D. Pinto, *Alfonso Ferrabosco II. The Hexachord Fantasies in 5 & 4 parts,* 1992 (unpublished). I am grateful to David Pinto for kindly sending me this article. C. D. S. Field, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony' in *John Jenkins and his Time,* 1-74, and 'The composers workshop: revisions in the consort music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, *Chelys,* 26 (1998).

[24] Lowinsky, *op. cit.,* 207.

of Alfonso Ferrabosco I, where his son discovers it and makes extensive use of it for his studies. Thence the four-part arrangement as a reduction. Reducing is easier than extending. Bear in mind, too, that Alfonso II did not compose 'on spec'. His main works are those four-part fantasias for which he appears to have had precisely the right players, and in which he indulges his modulating fancies quite extravagantly. There is relatively little five-part instrumental music by his hand, the majority being dance movements. The Italian fantasia might also have formed the basic stimulus for the hexachord fantasia by John Bull (Example 1b), who was both a colleague of Alfonso and a good mathematician, and as such presumably more than superficially interested in the problem. The same goes for Thomas Tomkins and John Jenkins a generation later. With Lowinsky's theory, the world might be said to be in order.

The alternative position is more fascinating, because it incorporates historic incongruencies, whilst having all English sources on its side, which attribute the work unanimously to Ferrabosco. But whereas the appropriation of Italian compositions by scores of English musicians is well-documented, we know of not a single instance of a work going the opposite way, even less in a genre which had gone out of fashion long ago in Italy.[26] The question remains: how could a section of this fantasia be quoted in a late seventeenth-century Italian source?[27] The theory also leaves unexplained how Ferrabosco conceived the idea, unless his ties to Italy were very much closer than can currently be documented.[28] Nor does this approach elucidate the sudden interest of English violists in such extreme modulations, especially to the organ. But we must live with incongruencies in reality and our inability to understand things other than bit by bit. So we are faced with the puzzling problem of something that began in Italy [37] reaching a climax in England for reasons beyond our comprehension. The absurdity of it is that this revolutionary act, squaring the complete circle of fifths by means of enharmonic changes, took place so inconspicuously that it eluded Lowinsky and his colleagues.

Before 1600 it can be established that compositions for keyboard instruments and viol consort were interchangeable, among them works by William Byrd, Robert Parsons and Thomas Tomkins.[29] In addition to pieces surviving in two versions—as keyboard and consort pieces—this interchangeability is borne out by numerous short scores, including Alfonso

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[25] G. Dodd, *Thematic Index of Music for Viols,* First Instalment (1980) 'Alfonso Ferrabosco II'.

[26] Field is a little vague in supposing that English travellers in Italy might have brought it home ('Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony'). Of English and English-styled visitors leaving their mark in Italy as violists we know a few: Nicholas Lanier, André Maugars (who heard Ferrabosco), Christopher Simpson and John Bolles. They all made an impression as improvising solo violists. There is no mention of ensemble music in this context. I wonder if Jesuit sources convey another picture?

[27] Berardi, *Arcani Musicali svelati dalla vera Amicitia Ne' quali appariscono diversi studij artificiosi … Regale concernenti alta tessituro de Componimenti Armonici* (Bologna, 1690), cf. Lowinsky, *op. cit.,* 198ff.

[28] Including similar contemporary lutenists' experiments.

[29] E. g. the Parsons In Nomine in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, or a fantasy for viols by Tomkins *Musica Britannica,* 5, ed. S. D. Tuttle (2nd edn, 1964), no. 33).

Ferrabosco's four-part hexachord fantasia.[30] This way of writing may not be compelling evidence of keyboard performance, but could just as well represent an abridged score, which still leaves us with the question of its intended purpose, and above all why anyone would have wanted to score a piece in the manner customary for keyboards. Organs with split upper keys for the distinction between chromatic notes were unknown.

Faced with Ferrabosco's fantasia no. 2 in G minor,[31] Thomas Tomkins jotted down the following sentence at the top of the page:

> Alfonso 4 parts Fancyes to the vyolls: All of them excellent good. But made only for the vyolls and organ, which is the Reason that he Takes such liberty of Compass, which he would have Restraynd: If it had Bin made for voyces only.[32]

On closer inspection, this comment contains a puzzle, because the compass of Alfonso's consorts is by no means other than that of his motets. As a matter of fact, it is richer modulations that constitute the difference in his instrumental music. We can at least gather from this sentence that Tomkins was counting on the organ accompaniment. We do not know if Alfonso did, but from organ versions of his richly modulated works presumably made during his lifetime we may safely deduce that this was regarded as a possibility, if not a matter of course. Tomkins must have known Alfonso; the former was definitely considered as a successor to one of Ferrabosco's posts in the King's Musick after Alfonso's death in 1628.[33] Unless we imagine the English of the time as crassly indifferent to purity of intonation, meantone temperaments can be ruled out for most of these compositions.

The period from about 1600 to 1640 (until the Civil War) is generally regarded as a continuation of the Elizabethan Golden Age, but in my view there has so far been an almost universal lack of enquiry into the fact that this was a period of rapid change and of musical progressiveness, indulging in innumerable formal and harmonic experiments. The following years of civil war caused a break insofar as there is less modulation in subsequent viol music. We will see that virtually all the musicians in question were attached to royal households, and that their successors were at least inspired by this circle. It is astonishing that hardly any notice has been taken of this fully fledged modulating technique, whereas the chromaticisms of the Italian madrigalists enjoy widespread literary coverage.

[38] Table 1. List of composers of works to the organ.[34]

Names marked * have court connections.

Abbreviations: Tr: Treble, T: Tenor, B: Bass. Names after the manuscripts refer to scribes.

To the organ

*?.Richard Deering *organist*

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[30] Add. MS 29996 f. 189v.

[31] *Musica Britannica,* 62, 6ff.

[32] Add. MS 29996 ff 72v-73.

[33] A. Ashbee (ed.), *Records of English Court Music*, III (Snodland, 1988), 29.

[34] Lists published partly in my book *Die Gambe: Kulturgeschichte and praktischer Ratgeber* (Kassel,), 115ff.

*Alfonso Ferrabosco II a4 (manuscripts Lillie, Tomkins, Myriell), a5 (several), a6 (several)
*Orlando Gibbons (several) *organist*
*John Hingeston (several 'to the organ) *organist*
(*)John Jenkins a4, a5, a6, TrBB, on the other hand: b. c.! (BB)
*William Lawes a5, a6, two division viols
Richard Mico TrBB to the organ (manuscripts Lillie)
*John Ward a5, the six fantasias a4, BB to the organ
Christopher Simpson *The Division Viol*
*John Coprario a5 (manuscripts Lillie), BB, fantasia suites
*Christopher Gibbons TrB to the organ, TrTrB to the organ, *organist*
*?William White

Without organ
The Baldwin manuscript (GB-Lbl R.M. MS d.2.) (various composers before 1600)
William Cranford *Alfonso Ferrabosco I
Anthony Holborne
*Simon Ives
(*)John Jenkins a3 (organ part lost?)
*William Lawes *Royal Consort*
*Thomas Lupo (very little with organ)
Martin Peerson
Christopher Simpson (b. c.)
*Thomas Tomkins (some pieces in keyboard versions)
*William Byrd, some pieces in keyboard versions, *organist*
*Charles Coleman (occasionally b. c.)
*John Coprario a2, a3, a4, a5?
*John Dowland
Michael East
*Thomas Ford
*Matthew Locke (theorboes), *organist*
John & William Mundy
Osbert Parsley
Robert Parsons

[39] Organ accompaniment to the viol consort is obligatory for the generation after Tomkins and Ferrabosco, the very generation to whom Roger North primarily refers (Table 1). The range of basic keys is fairly restricted, in spite of an obvious love of modulation. For example, the preference for C major in the works of two eminent composers of this generation, John Jenkins and William (Table 2), is quite remarkable.

Table 2. Fantasias by John Jenkins and William Lawes.

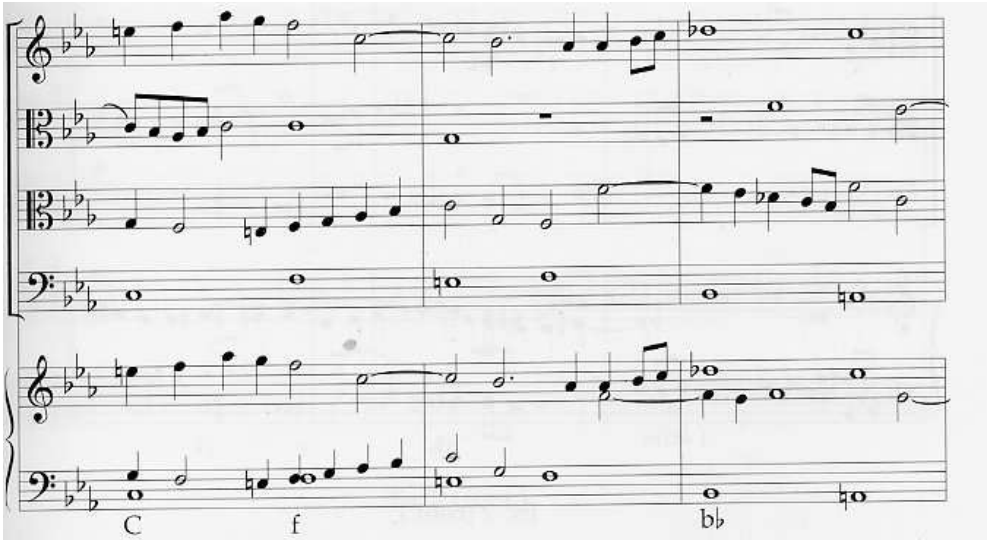
John Jenkins, tonalities of his fantasias

a4	*a5*	*a6*	*Total*
C: 7	G: 7	D: 5	C: 16
D: 6	C: 6	C: 3	D: 16
F: 3	D: 5	A: 3	G: 9
A: 2	F: 1	E: 2	A: 5
E: 1		G: 2	F: 5
B♭: 1		F: 1	E: 3
			B♭: 1

William Lawes, tonalities of his fantasias

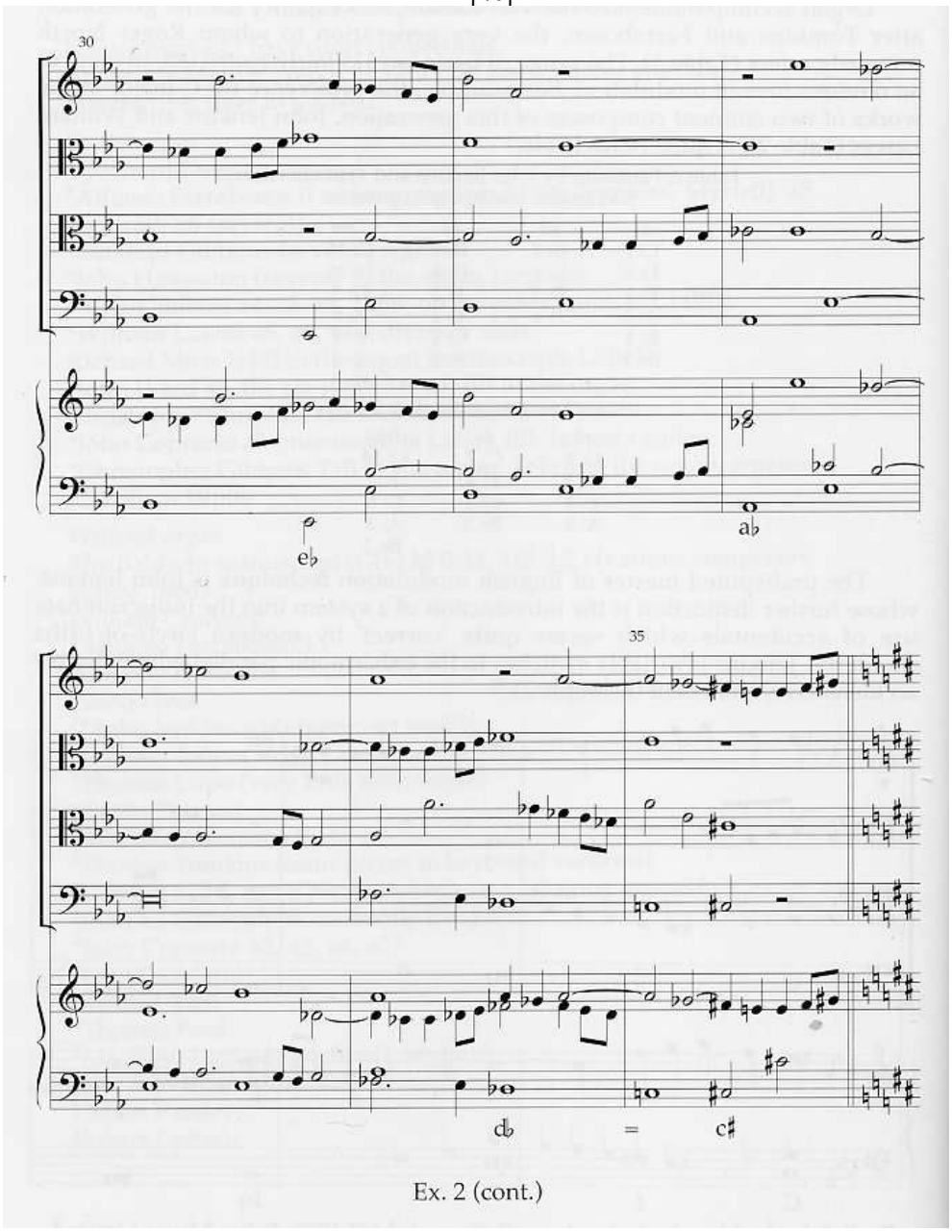
a5	*a6*	*Total*
C: 7	C: 7	C: 14
G: 3	F: 4	F: 7
F: 3	G: 3	G: 6
A: 3	B♭: 3	A: 3
		B♭: 3

The undisputed master of English modulation technique is John Jenkins, hose further distinction is the introduction of a system into the indiscriminate use of accidentals which seems quite 'correct' by modern circle-of-fifths standards. Jenkins invariably switches to the enharmonic parallel where double accidentals are imminent (Example 2).[35]



Ex. 2. John Jenkins, fantasia a4, no. 7. Copyright © 1978, Faber Music Limited, London. Reproduced by kind permission of the Publishers.

[35] *John Jenkins, Consort Music for Viols in Four Parts,* ed. A. Ashbee (Faber Music, London, 1978).



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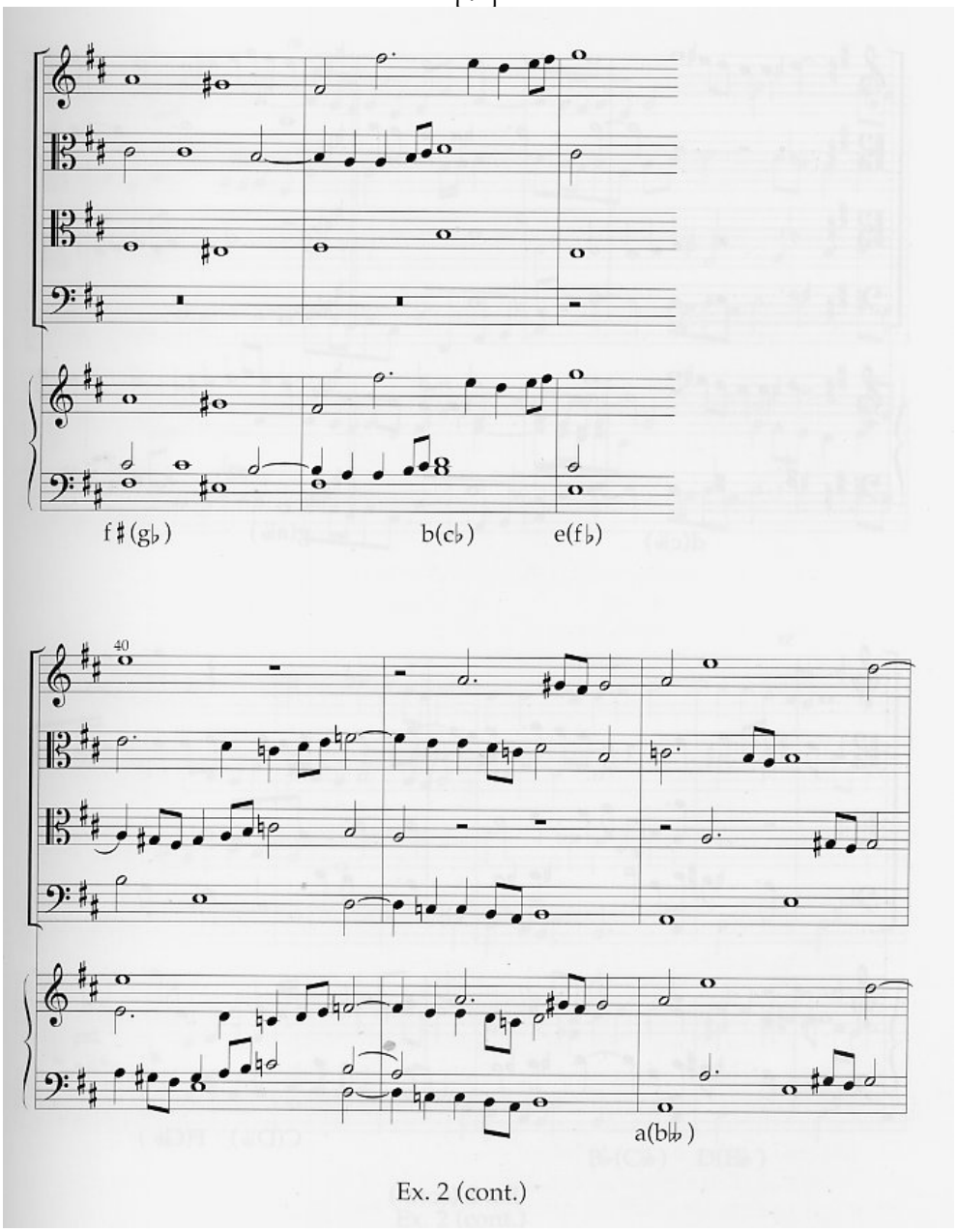

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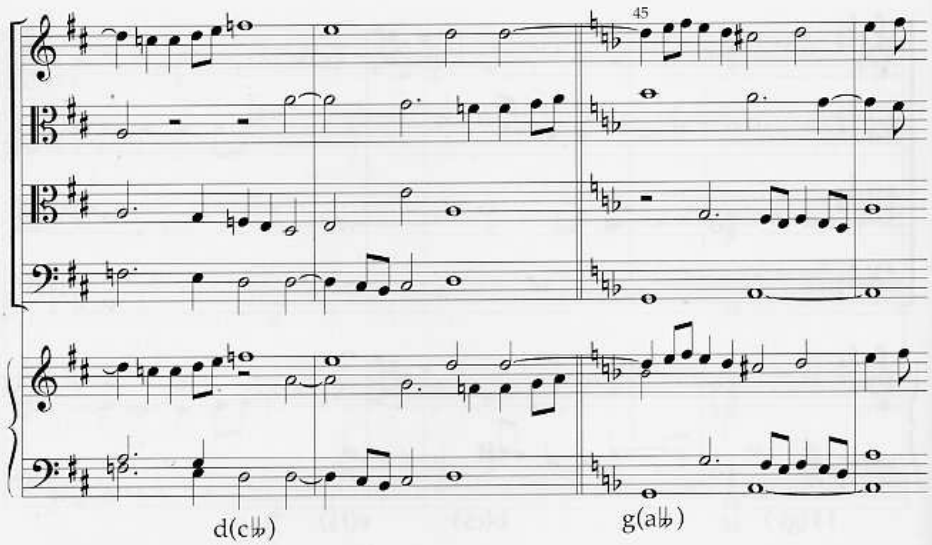
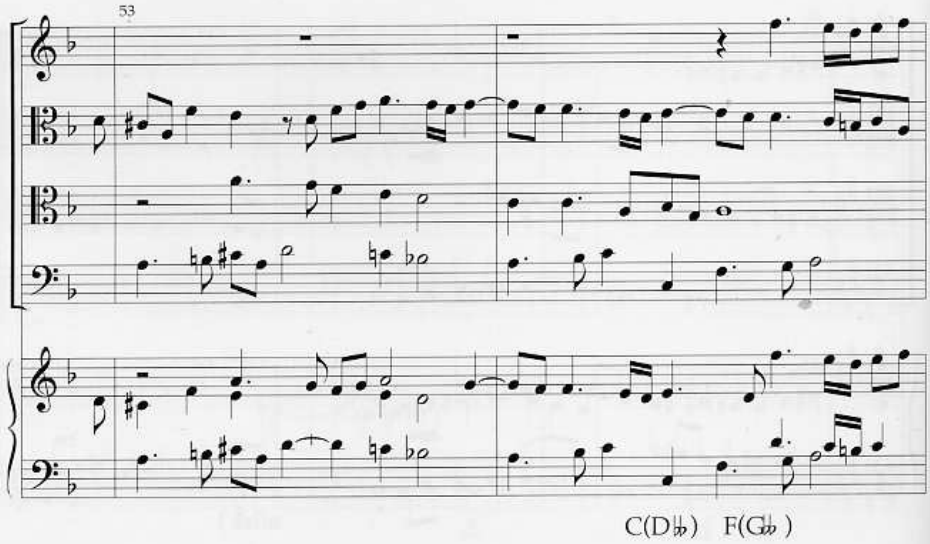
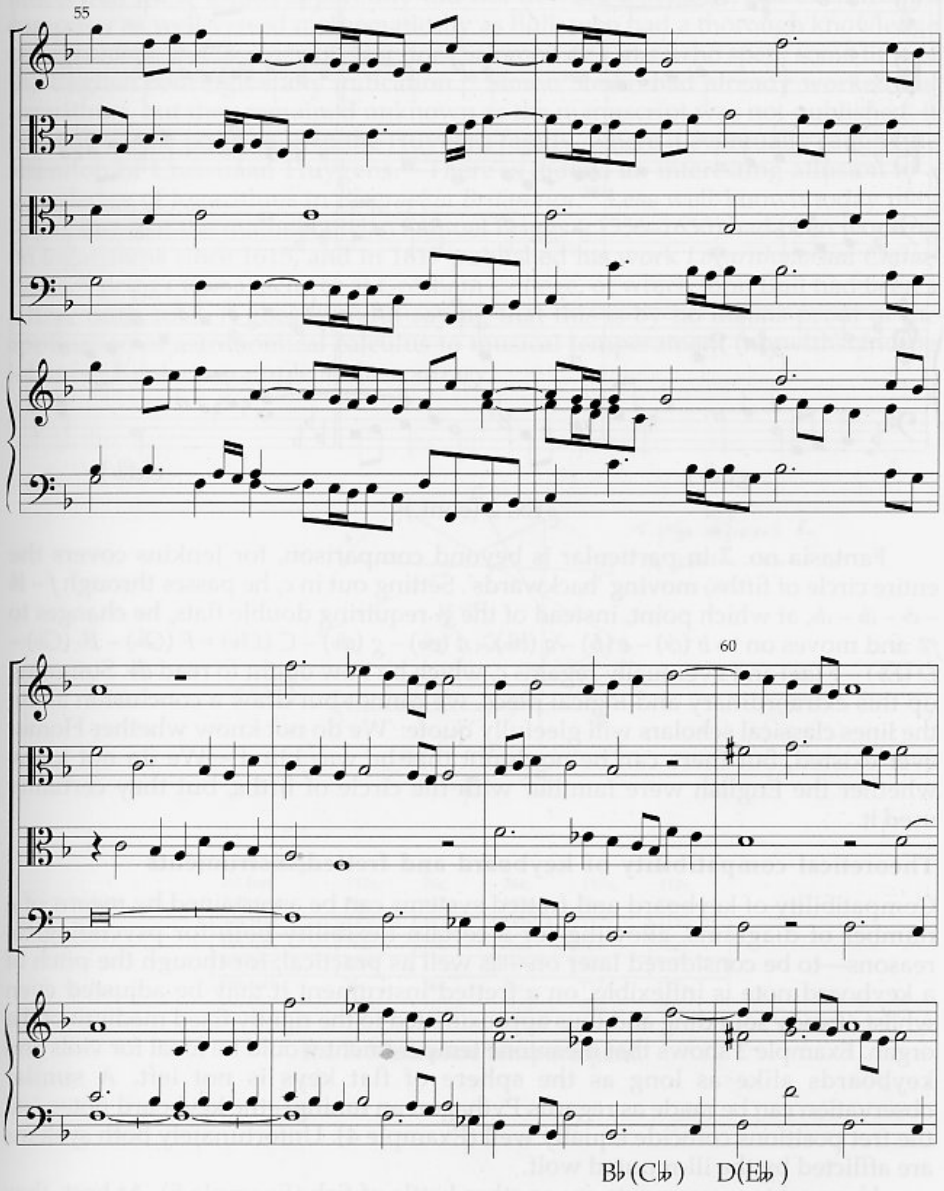
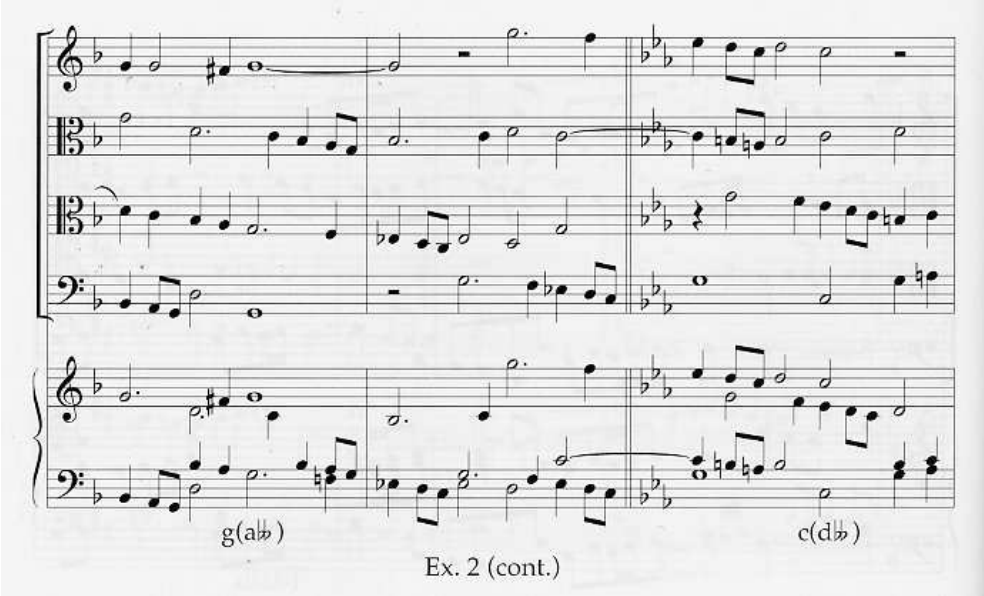




Ex. 2 (cont.)



Ex. 2 (cont.)



Ex. 2 (cont.)

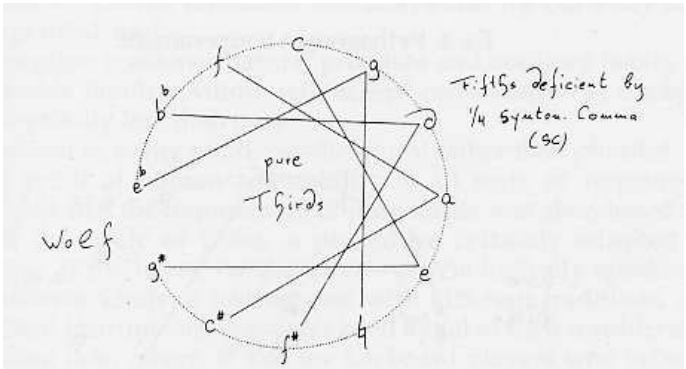
Fantasia no. 7 in particular is beyond comparison, for Jenkins covers the entire circle of fifths, moving 'backwards'. Setting out in c, he passes through *f* - *b♭* - *e♭* - *a♭* - *d♭*, at which point, instead of the *g♭* requiring double flats, he changes to *f♯* and moves on to *b* (c♭) - *e* (f♭) - a (b♭♭) - *d* (e♭♭) - g (a♭♭) - *C* (D♭♭) - *F* (G♭♭) - *B♭* (C♭♭) - *D* (E♭♭) - *g* (a♭♭) and eventually regains *c*, which by now ought to read *d♭♭*. Summing up this extraordinary and logical piece, we cannot but draw a conclusion along the lines classical scholars will gleefully quote: 'We do not know whether Homer ever existed, but there can be no doubt that he was blind'—We do not know whether the English were familiar with the circle of fifths, but they certainly used it.

Theoretical compatibility of keyboard and fretted instruments

Compatibility of keyboard and fretted systems can be ascertained by means of a number of diagrams, allowing for a certain flexibility both for psychological reasons-to be considered later on-as well as practical; for though the pitch of a keyboard note is inflexible, on a fretted instrument it may be adjusted even whilst already sounding and thus approximated to the rigidly fixed medium of the organ. Example 3 shows that meantone temperament would be ideal for viols and keyboards alike as long as the sphere of flat keys is not left. A similar observation can be made as regards Pythagorean tuning-the keyboard notes and the fret positions coincide equally well (Example 4). Unfortunately both systems are afflicted by the ill-reputed wolf.

Unequal temperaments are another kettle of fish (Example 5). At best, they permit variable degrees of approximation, and in the case of the English compositions under scrutiny they in no way answer the problems arising. These discrepancies leave us with only two courses open. Either we acknowledge that [45] the English used equal temperament for their organs, or we find a versatile temperament with no wolf. The first assumption immediately raises the question how the Britons technically managed this rather complicated system. It should be that these topics apparently did not

deserve a syllable, not even from a composer as well-versed mathematically as Bull, who had a thorough knowledge of instrument-making to boot. Nor does Salomon de Caus, who spent some time at the English court, give any indication.[36] Simon Stevin had already worked out logarithms, but they remained unknown as the manuscript was not published. It passed into the possession of the Huygens family, where it eventually caught the attention of Christiaan Huygens.[37] There is indeed an interesting allusion to a knowledge of logarithms in *Biographia Britannica*.[38] Less well-known today may be the fact that the mathematician Samuel Briggs (c1556-1630) had been working on logarithms since 1615, and in 1617 published his work *Logarithmorum Chilias*.[39] Briggs was a lecturer at Gresham College, of which John Bull had been a fellow until 1613. It goes without saying that this is by no means proof of the application of astronomical calculus to musical temperament (notwithstanding Johannes Kepler's example to the contrary).



open string	d	g	c	e	a
1st fret	117c.	76c.	76c.	117c.	117c.
2nd fret	76c.	117c.	117c.	76c.	76c.
3rd fret	117c.	117c.	117c.	117c.	117c.
4th fret	76c.	76c.	76c.	76c.	76c.
5th fret	117c.	117c.	117c.	117c.	117c.
6th fret	76c.	76c.	76c.	117c.	117c.
7th fret	117c.	117c.	117c.	76c.	76c.

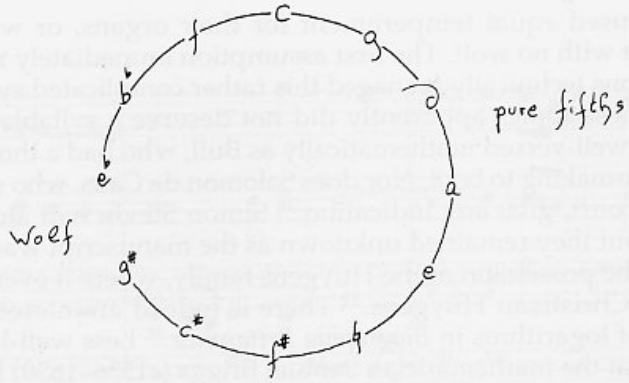
Ex. 3. Meantone temperament.

[36] S. de Caus, *Institution harmonique* (Frankfurt, 1615), Chap. 24.

[37] Further details in C. Huygens, *Le Cycle Harmonique* (Rotterdam, 1691) and *Novus Cyclus Harmonicus* (Leiden, 1724), ed. R. Rasch in *Tuning and Temperament Library,* 6 (Utrecht, 1986), 69. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Huygens by no means employed logarithms to demonstrate the superiority of equal temperament, but continued to advocate meantone tuning for the rest of his life. As a child he had been taught to play on the viol and theorbo, but gave them up for the harpsichord, which remained his preferred instrument. This is another instance of the traditional antagonism between keyboard and fretted instruments still shining through.

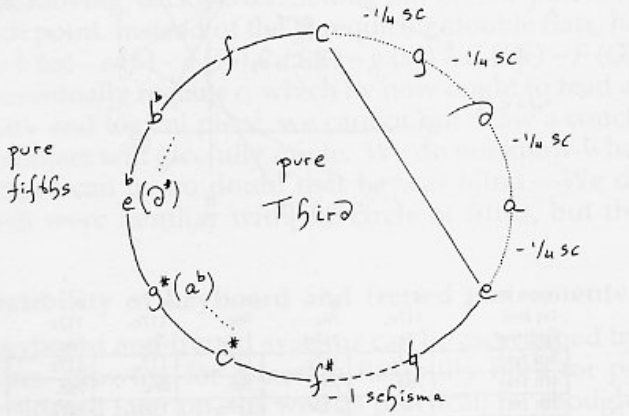
[38] *Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the Most eminent Persons Who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland* (1747-1766, facs. edn, Hildesheim, 1969), 7 vols.

[39] *Biographia Britannica, 1,* 979-82. Briggs became acquainted with the problem through John Neper, Baron of Marcheston, who published his *Canon mirabilis Logarithmorum* in 1614. According to *Biographia Britannica,* Neper had learned from a Dr Craig that the Dane Longomontanus asserted the possibility 'to save the tedious multiplication and division in astronomical calculations' *(ibid.,* 979, note B).



open string	d	g	c	e	a
1st fret	90c.	114c.	114c.	90c.	90c.
2nd fret	114c.	90c.	90c.	114c.	114c.
3rd fret	90c.	90c.	90c.	90c.	90c.
4th fret	114c.	114c.	114c.	114c.	114c.
5th fret	90c.	90c.	90c.	90c.	90c.
6th fret	114c.	114c.	114c.	90c.	90c.
7th fret	90c.	90c.	90c.	114c.	114c.

Ex. 4. Pythagorean temperament.



open string	d	g	c	e	a
1st fret	101c.	96c.	90c.	112c.	106c.
2nd fret	92c.	98c.	103c.	90c.	106c.
3rd fret	112c.	106c.	101c.	108c.	112c.
4th fret	90c.	92c.	92c.	96c.	90c.
5th fret	108c.	112c.	112c.	98c.	90c.
6th fret	96c.	90c.	90c.	106c.	101c.
7th fret	98c.	103c.	108c.	92c.	92c.

Ex. 5. An unequal temperament (Kirnberger III).

Psychological aspects and practicability

The systems about 1600 were evidently far from established, but meantone temperament with 1/4 or 1/6 syntonic comma may be assumed as likely for keyboard instruments.

Mark Lindley has pleaded the case of meantone fretting at least for individual instances as a lute temperament.[40] I am afraid he does not quite carry his point. Apart from Lindley's ingenious findings particularly in Luis Milan's lute music, where he demonstrates the avoidance of excessively dissonant consonances on certain frets in favour of the same note on another fret, there is no theoretical source recommending meantone temperament for fretted instruments. The opinion sometimes heard among our contemporary practitioners that 'what is meant really is, of course, meantone temperament, as the pure third must have been a desideratum for reasons of sonority' presupposes that which is contentious. Who is to say that always and everywhere really pure thirds were aim? Take a present-day example to illustrate this: Which member of, for example, the Vienna or Berlin Philharmonic has ever been known to worry about musical temperament? Do not musicians nowadays take the currently accepted temperament for granted, too?

Musical perception combines natural premises and auditory habits, so that the ear, with suitable familiarisation, will accept consonances as unobjectionable which are physically less than pure.

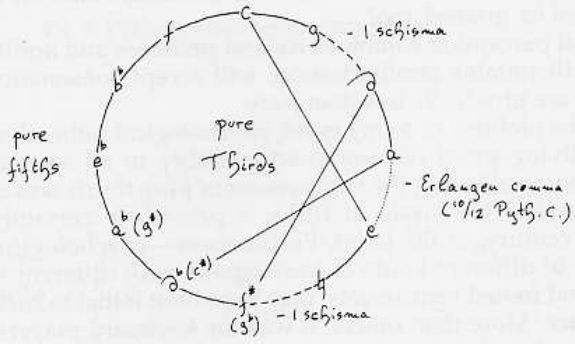
Thus the problem is, to my mind, psychological rather than physical. We are ourselves living proof of human adaptability to all sorts of 'impurity'. It is perfectly conceivable that the requirement of pure thirds was abandoned to pave the way around the circle of fifths, a procedure certainly adopted in the eighteenth century, at the latest. Furthermore—psychologically speaking—the encounters of different kinds of instruments with different traditions, such as keyboard and fretted instruments, may have been initial to such considerations in the first place. More than others, it was the keyboard players who vehemently opposed equal temperament, and for good reason. A string or pipe, once tuned, and activated by means of a key, retains its pitch rigorously (except on the vichord), unlike the same note on a fretted instrument, where it has some degree of flexibility.

A disregard for the ear is the condition of any discretionary institution of a tonal system. An untutored ear will naturally incline to pure intervals until influenced by acculturation. It follows that the establishment of a new system must be preceded by a mental, even a 'philological' act. This philological act did fact take place. It is to be found in the efforts of sixteenth-century Italian humanists to resurrect the ancient genera. This attempt led to a species of brain-washing in some learned musicians, who tried to subject their acquired skills to the new ideal. New life was to be brought to the 'chromatic' and 'enharmonic' era without any tangible idea whatsoever of their sonority, especially precarious as these genera were to be integrated into the prevailing polyphony. In addition, the tradition of notation was that of polyphony, which was to be discarded forthwith for the benefit of easily accessible monody. This had [48] sophisticated witticisms in its wake which were confined to fretted

[40] Lindley, *Lutes, Viols, and Temperaments,* 51ff.

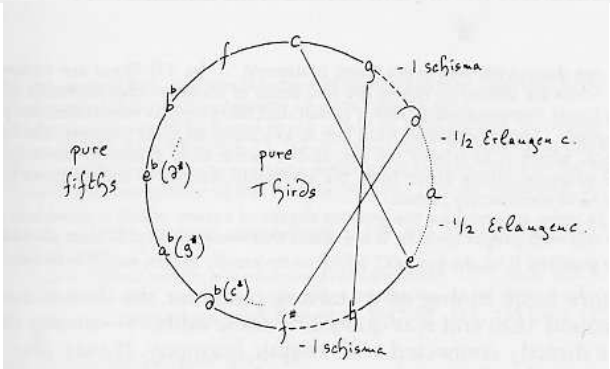
instruments, unless they were merely exercises on paper. Compositions such as the aforementioned fantasia by Alfonso emanated from this spirit. They would have been impossible without a synthesis of inherited polyphony and the novel interest in tonality, resulting in an equal closed system with—within bounds—flexible intonation.

Whilst on a fretted instrument an approximately equidistant temperament presents no technical problem, this task becomes almost insuperable on a keyboard instrument at a time without universal knowledge of logarithms. Therefore, what is called for is a temperament not only lacking the wolf and convenient to the viols, but also unproblematic to tune. It should not be overlooked that the only descriptions of the English consort we know—Mace and North—do not relate to courtly practice, which may have been elaborate, but to the Universities and the gentry. To say the least, the likelihood of an organist employed by a country gentleman remote from the metropolis tuning his organ in equal temperament may be classed as dubious.



open string	d	g	c	e	a
1st fret	88c.	86c.	90c.	112c.	92c.
2nd fret	92c.	116c.	116c.	94c.	92c.
3rd fret	112c.	88c.	88c.	114c.	112c.
4th fret	94c.	92c.	92c.	86c.	90c.
5th fret	114c.	112c.	112c.	116c.	116c.
6th fret	86c.	90c.	94c	88c.	88c.
7th fret	116c.	116c.	86c.	92c.	92c.

Ex. 6. Erlangen temperament.



open string	d	g	c	e	a
1st fret	91c.	90c.	90c.	111c.	101c.
2nd fret	93c.	106c.	113c.	92c.	93c.
3rd fret	111c.	101c.	91c.	112c.	111c.
4th fret	92c.	93c.	93c.	90c.	90c.
5th fret	112c.	111c.	111c.	103c.	113c.
6th fret	90c.	90c.	92c.	101c.	91c.
7th fret	103c.	113c.	112c.	93c.	93c.

Ex. 7. Erlangen 1/2 comma temperament.

A suggestion

English tuning procedures may have concentrated on temperaments not unlike the 'Erlangen' temperament with a fundamentally Pythagorean structure, but deviating in strategic places in order to close the circle (Example 6). This 'Erlangen' temperament is of a venerable age. It is described in the manuscript 'Pro clavichordiis faciendis'.[41]

Its foundation is the Pythagorean scale mitigated by three pure thirds,[42] resulting in pure C and D major chords as well as a fairly grim fifth between *a* and *e*. This temperament is easy to tune, the gradation of purity of its keys accommodates the preferences of Jenkins and Lawes quite admirably, and is also usable throughout the circle of fifths. It is principally more appropriate to the flat of the circle, favoured by Ferrabosco and Jenkins, and is rarely found in a European context.[43] If you dislike the bad fifth, you can always opt for a derivative of this temperament, which splits the 'Erlangen' comma evenly

[41] Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, MS 554 ff 202v-203.

[42] In discussion with Continental colleagues, this adherence to the Pythagorean scale was attributed largely to British conservatism. From my own knowledge of English music around 1600 I cannot share this view. In his *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), Thomas Morley mentioned the difference between sharp and flat chromata on keyboard instruments, indicating some kind of meantone system (p. 103)-in this, then, the English were not at all conservative but followed current fashions introduced by Italian players. But he also described an English practice which may seem hair-raising to temperament-conscious modern musicologists, involving a transposing practice for the convenience of singers that placed the organist not infrequently into the awkward position of applying a faulty solmization *(ibid.,* 156), so that the organ's system was at variance with that of the singers. The example of counterpoint disapproved by Morley is on p. 155 in Doric notation based on c, but is transformed into purest C minor by a regular accidental *d*b*,* the very key favoured so conspicuously by Jenkins and Lawes. The use of Pythagoreanism in the period after Morley is something new, however, leading to a progressive way in combining keyboard and fretted instruments which was neither understood on the Continent nor noticeably appreciated in England during the following years. Keyboard - specifically the organ - and fretted instruments in conjunction continued to be used until the end of the seventeenth century, albeit deprived of unrestrained modulation and enharmonic changes. Music by Matthew Locke, Charles Coleman and Christopher Gibbons, though daring melodically as well as harmonically, does not exceed the bounds of meantone territory. Of course, I am aware that the image of English music as being conservative is not confined to the Continent, but is much propagated in England without contradiction. But in view of the state of social developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in many ways far advanced compared to the Continent, sometimes skipping parts of Continental development altogether, I find this notion astonishing. It would seem more appropriate to me to refer to the English way - including the musical - as a special or separate one. Polyphony and an emancipated instrumental music at a time which saw the primacy of the Word elsewhere (a fact well-known to the English) strike me rather as indications of what Johann Mattheson had already diagnosed as the English 'capriciousness' *(Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), § 110, p. 228). The intellectual value of their music was as evident to them as their musical avantgarde role in the European context (cf. C. Simpson, *The Division Viol* (1665), 66).

[43] Concerning the scarcity of progressing in fifths towards the flat keys see also R Rasch, *Friedrich Suppig: Labyrinthus Musicus & Calculus Musicus* (facs. of F-Pc MSS Rès. F.211-12, dated Dresden, 24 June 1722, Utrecht, 1990), 21: 'The opening section is in C major. The order of tonalities is flatwise through the circle of fifths, with each major key immediately followed by its minor key, and 22: 'Suppig's flat-wise arrangement of keys in the circle of fifths is exceptional'.

among two or three fifths, at the expense of the pure D major chord (Example 7).

These temperaments are put forth by Diderot,[44] the Earl of Stanhope, who dedicated a treatise to them in 1806 introducing a few compromises,[45] and others. In his treatise Stanhope mentions some interesting psychological details, and one wonders if such questions may not have engaged musicians around 1600 in the way:

> And in those instruments where chords are made to sound for a considerable time, such for instance in organs, the imperfection of THE EQUAL TEMPERAMENT is most striking. Perfect chords are pleasing to the ear, they strike to the heart, and they are founded in the very nature of musical sounds. But, by that mode of tuning which is called THE EQUAL TEMPERAMENT, all those regular coincidences of those duly proportioned vibrations which produce true [50] concords are destroyed, and every thing is discord. ... [p. 11] There are various classes of discords. Some are offensive; others are not. Some of them are characteristic; others are not so. ... [In Equal Temperament] Thus it is that dull monotony is substituted for pleasing and orderly variety. And modulation from key to key loses, in great measure, the very object of modulation, which is to relieve the ear, and to cause us to return to the original with an increased pleasure, which arises from the systematic variety of the different keys through which we have successively passed.
>
> ... [p.121 In order to introduce the greatest degree of variety which is consistent with proper harmony and with proper melody, it is evident that some one key, at least, should be made as perfect as possible. If so, the key of C, which so frequently recurs, ought to be that key.[46]

The pure basic tuning as a starting point for the diatonic scale was not unusual around 1620 and was quoted by some authors-among them Johannes Kepler-as directly connected with cosmic harmony. It may also be helpful to know that two other theoreticians contemplating this temperament at the time at least as a cogitative model were affiliated to English practice, viz. Salomon de Caus and Marin Mersenne. Perhaps Mersenne's proposition of accommodating the keyboards to the fretted instruments may even have originated from the English sphere of influence.

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[44] D. Diderot, *Encyclopédie: Instrumens de Musique et Lutherie* (Paris, 1751-72), 15 ('Methode pour accorder le Clavecin'). As his authority, Diderot quotes J. G. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Berlin, 1771), 74, and describes this temperament as ideal for ensemble music.

[45] Charles Earl of Stanhope, *Principles of The Science of Tuning - Instruments with Fixed Tones* (1806).

[46] Stanhope, *ibid.,* 10-12.

THE LATE FANTASIAS OF JOHN JENKINS

Andrew Ashbee

It seems to me that composition of the single fantasia—not intended as part of a suite or set of movements—ceased in England around the middle of the seventeenth century. That makes Purcell's contributions all the more exceptional. Peter Holman argues that Purcell's fantasias were conceived as much as compositional exercises as pieces for performance[1]—which is not to belittle their stature as music. Indeed one could argue that through much of its history the fantasia for viols included just such an element: the composer exercising his mind manipulating form and contrapuntal technique, without the influence of a text, to create a work satisfying the intellect as well as the emotions. Presumably this is one reason why it appealed to certain social groups and was retained by them many years after composition. One of the fascinating facts to emerge from Robert Thompson's invaluable investigations of music manuscripts is confirmation that pre-Commonwealth consort music continued to be copied (and presumably played) at least until the end of the seventeenth century, perhaps as much as 75 years after its composition.

Jenkins's patron, old Dudley North, was one of several—Christopher Simpson was another—who railed against a surfeit of light airs in the post-Restoration years:

> The constant use of them is fit for common Consorts of pleasure, to tickle the ear, eat, drink, dance, or discourse, whilest they fill the Room and Ear, not the Soul, which is more apt to be wrought upon by Musical streins, than by what should rather be, from the Pulpit. ... Let not then the deepest in Art and Science, submit themselves to comply rather with the lighter than more solid humoured spirits.[2]

But North goes onto admit 'Variety is the praise and perfection of Musick; and invention therein is infinite.' A heightening of variety—texture, colour and key was developed by composers in the Caroline years.

Composers of Jenkins's generation could draw upon the experience and work of eminent predecessors, but if the fantasia was not to die, they had to graft new ideas on to the old. At the same time, they had to take account of numerous social and cultural developments, not only affecting them personally, but also in the wider world. We must constantly remind ourselves that circumstances of personnel, their tastes and performing ability, and the availability of instruments to some extent dictated what composers produced for their patrons. It is true, of course, that certain basic combinations were always likely to find a ready market, but the style and technical demands of the music may sometimes reflect more than just the composer's ideas.

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[1] P. Holman, 'Consort Music' in *The Purcell Companion,* ed. M. Burden (1995), 268-78.

[2] From *A Forest Promiscuous of Several Seasons Varieties* (1662), quoted in *Roger North on Music,* ed. J. Wilson (1959), 4.

Given that so little of Jenkins's music can be dated with any certainty, it is somewhat rash of me to include the word 'late' in my title. In fact 'late', so far as single viol fantasias of Jenkins are concerned, probably means the 1640s (and haps early 1650s). The two sets of three-part fantasias largely fall into this -gory, but we could probably add the 'Series II' pieces in six parts (fantasias l 10-11, the two pavans and two In Nomines), the four-part fantasias nos 15and the two from the '32 Ayres'.[3]

[54] To judge by surviving manuscripts, the North family at Kirtling could boast a fine collection of music by Jenkins, including all these pieces. Indeed we would have lost a substantial part of the composer's best music had the collection perished. How much of it has actually disappeared we can only guess-there is no North set of parts for Jenkins's five-part fantasias, for instance, which must surely have been present at one time.[4] The North copyists seem to have attempted to make a comprehensive collected edition of the composer's major pieces: fantasias, fantasia-suites and lyra viol consorts, but in view of old Dudley's stated preferences it is perhaps significant that there is no representation of the two-, three- and four-part airs. One other important omission is the virtuoso bass viol music. Quite a lot of this collection is likely to have been compiled from copies supplied by Jenkins himself of compositions written only a few years before when he was patronised by the Derham and Le Strange families. I believe (as I have stated elsewhere), that the tidy arrangement both of the three-part TrTrB fantasias (7 x 3) and of the '32 Ayres' (8 x 4) were probably requested by Sir Nicholas Le Strange: we know from his annotations in the Newberry partbooks that he asked for new pieces both to complete or make suites based on earlier pieces, and to provide a balanced representation of music in each key. The grouping of pieces in both series allows their performance as sets, but whether or not the arrangement was merely for convenience is open to question. Certainly the variety in the order of the TrTrB fantasias in the five complete copies indicates that no one sequence was sacrosanct.

We will first examine no. 26 of the '32 Ayres', one of the two fantasias in the group. At the conference (where no organ was available) the notes of the single brief organ interlude were inserted into the string parts to cover the gap. What is lost by performing the piece in this way? Certainly nothing so far as the actual notes are concerned: as usual in Jenkins's music, the two-strand organ part doubles the strings with just two or three extra filler notes in the whole piece; the organ interlude alone has a three-voice texture. But colour—the bloom of organ and strings combined, and the frequent use of octave transposition in the organ part to heighten particular lines—is a particular loss. Many of these '32 Ayres' seem to me to be works in a

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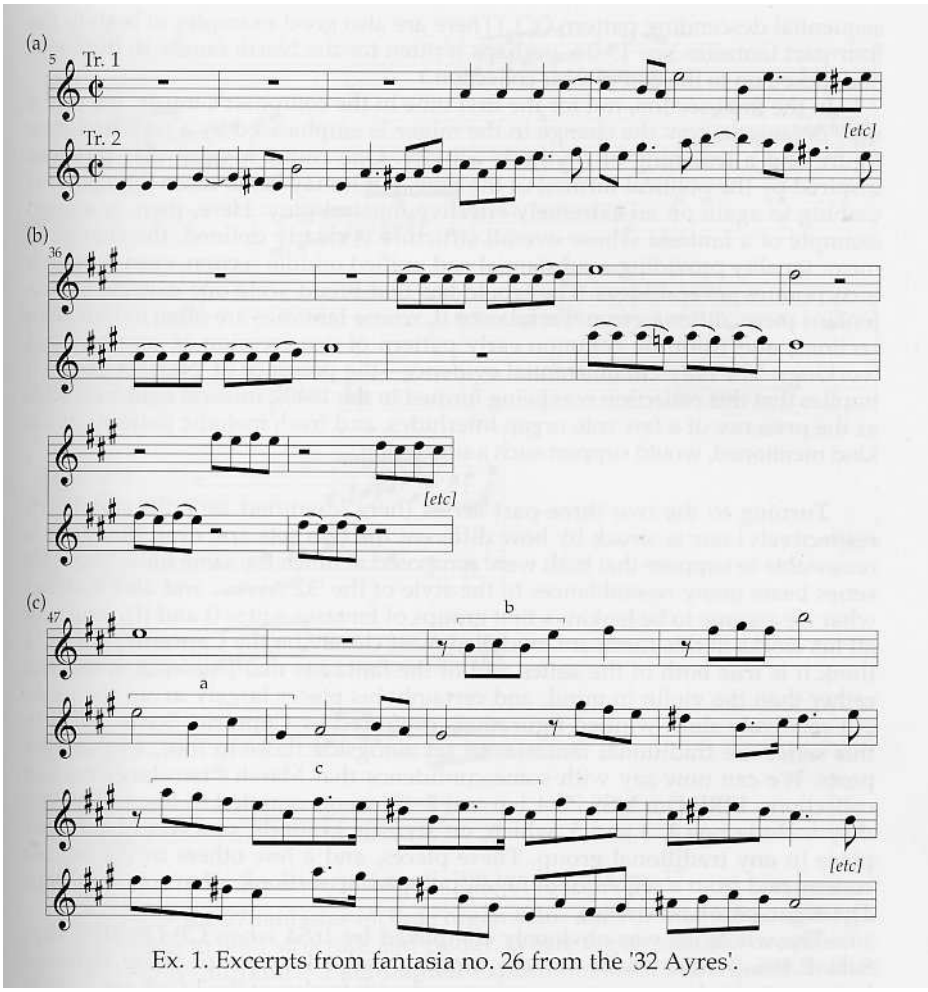
[3] See A. Ashbee, 'John Jenkins: Consort Music for Viols in Three Parts', *Musica Britannica,* 70 (1997). For the six-part pieces see *Musica Britannica,* 39, nos 11-16, ed. D. Peart (1977), or *John Jenkins: Consort Music for Viols in Six Parts,* eds A. Ashbee and R. Nicholson (Faber Music, London, 1976), score, 71-115. For the four-part fantasias nos 15-17 see *John Jenkins: Consort Music for Viols in Four Parts,* ed. A. Ashbee (Faber Music, London, 1978), and for the '32 Ayres' see *Musica Britannica,* 26, ed. A. Ashbee (1969), nos 1-32.

[4] GB-Lb1 Add. MS 29290 may have belonged to the North family and contains an organ part for the five-part fantasias.

transitional style, keeping something of the traditional fantasia, but from time to time also adding new elements, especially from the fantasia-suite. Indeed a leitmotif in this paper is that the fantasia and the fantasia-suite existed and developed side by side for some thirty years and that each contributed something to the other. There is nothing in the opening section of no. 26 which sets it apart from Jenkins's classic viol fantasias. The theme is one of many by him (21 actually—a fifth of the total) opening with three or more repeated notes (Example 1a); all the entries here are on tonic or dominant, keeping the key firmly at home; the texture is as intricate as one would expect; the absence of a tenor instrument is covered by the expanded tessitura of the bass; a little sequential episode for three voices provides variety.

The change, when it comes, is marked. I'm sure it would not be difficult to find early examples of fantasias where the central section, as here, is set in the tonic major, contrasting with the outer ones in the minor, but Jenkins sets a lead in this, as in other ventures. What is new and striking is the fragmentation of the [55]



Ex. 1. Excerpts from fantasia no. 26 from the '32 Ayres'.

string parts at the start of this section (Example 1b): the traditional interweaving of expansive melodies here gives way to new patterns—the dialogue between the two trebles is set over a mostly slow-moving accompaniment provided by organ/basses. One can point to two similar

passages in Jenkins's six-part music: the pavan in F (bars 22-4) and fantasia no. 10 (bars 29-34)—both from 'Series ,which may be of similar date. Succeeding patterns in this part of the work, although occasionally present in Jenkins's traditional consorts, again come more to the fore in works of his middle and later years (Example lc): the figure based on the interval of a fourth ('a'), the three-note anacrusis pattern ('b'), and the [56] sequential descending pattern ('c'). (There are also good examples of both in the four-part fantasias nos 15-16, perhaps written for the North family in the 1650s and tacked on to the end of their collection.)

In the final section, not for the first time in the composer's music, we find a note of lamentation: the change to the minor is emphasised by a repeated-note figure and a lessening of rhythmic activity. One could suggest that this was inspired by the political turmoil of the time, but it may be no more than Jenkins cashing in again on an extremely effective musical ploy. Here, then, is a good example of a fantasia whose overall structure is clearly defined, the change to major tonality providing a substantial and unified middle section, even though it incorporates several ideas. The whole has that broad scale one expects from a Jenkins piece, differing from Ferrabosco II, whose fantasias are often in two main sections, and from the common early pattern of a succession of smaller fugal workings. The only circumstantial evidence—the presence of 'Newark Siege'—implies that this collection was being formed in the 1640s; musical evidence, such as the presence of a few solo organ interludes, and fresh melodic patterns of the kind mentioned, would support such a suggestion.

Turning to the two three-part series (here identified as TrBB and TrTrB respectively) one is struck by how different the two sets are, even though it is reasonable to suppose that both were composed at much the same time. The TrBB series bears many resemblances to the style of the '32 Ayres', and also matches what we assume to be Jenkins's first groups of fantasia-suites (I and II), which, of all his works in this form, are modelled most closely on the Coprario pattern.[5] I think it is true both of the suites and of the fantasias that Jenkins had the viol rather than the violin in mind, and certainly his pieces largely avoid the lively but relatively short-winded figurations preferred by Coprario. Some pieces in this series are traditional fantasias to set alongside those in four, five and six parts. We can now say with some confidence that Marsh's two large consort collections, EIRE-Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6 and 7-12, were compiled in the mid-1630s;[6] they include nos 2, 3 and 5, which, on stylistic grounds, one would certainly place in any traditional group. These pieces, and a few others in the set, are constructed from a sequence of fugal /polyphonic sections, all in common-time. The organ part has no solos.

The whole set was obviously completed by 1654 when GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.406-9 were made for the North family. Just six of these fantasias incorporate triple-time passages, compared with twelve of the TrTrB series.

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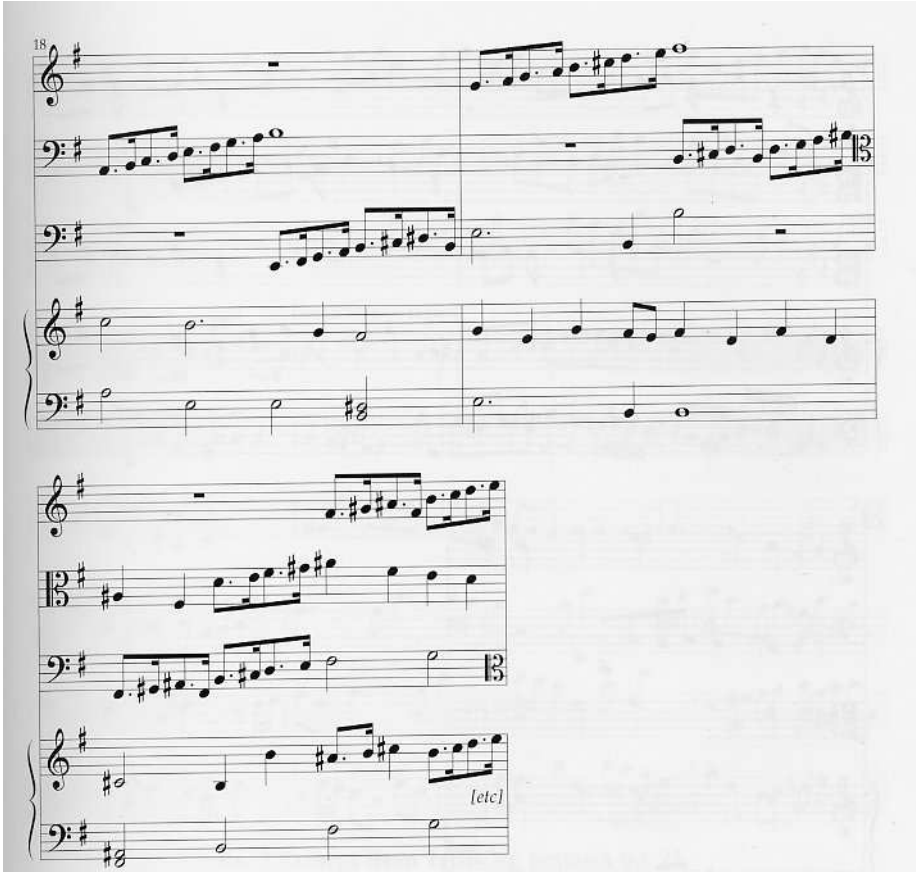
[5] See A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, i, The Fantasias for Viols* (Surbiton, 1992), ex. 143 (p. 302) which compares the openings of TrBB no. 8/fantasia-suite II, no. 6; TrBB no. 19/fantasia suite II, no. 9; TrBB no. 27/fantasia-suite 11, no. 1.

[6] See R. Thompson, 'A further look at the consort music manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, *Chelys,* 24 (1995), 3-18.

Here Jenkins certainly favours the 'more solid humoured spirits', advocated by Dudley North, than the lighter ones—perhaps inevitably when using two basses—although the scoring is remarkably 'translucent. Incidentally, in preparing the new edition, the realisation that Marsh's manuscripts now pre-date the North collection by nearly twenty years caused me to look at their texts with new insight. In particular the Marsh text of no. 2 (with a one-flat signature) often gives a much brighter reading than the two-flat one of the North manuscript and I have adopted it in several places.



Ex. 2a. Excerpt from TrBBOrg fantasia no. 17.

Twenty of the 27 fantasias include organ solos and/or interludes, adding a new dimension to both structure and colour. Where organ preludes are present, they invariably introduce a substantial exposition, with subsequent entries taken up in the string parts. All the while the string ensemble remains incomplete compensation is provided by independent melodic lines on the organ. The same procedure may be adopted in the interludes, where solos and dialogues of the string section are set in a bed of organ tone. Up to four solo passages for organ may occur in any one fantasia; these usually separate the principal sections and help define the structure of the work. Many organ interludes serve to introduce the next figure to be developed, but some present material completely unrelated to adjacent sections, or perhaps move through a succession of ideas, only the last of which is taken up by the strings. In the

liveliest passages one usually finds the organ treated as a continuo instrument, spelling out the progressions in simplified

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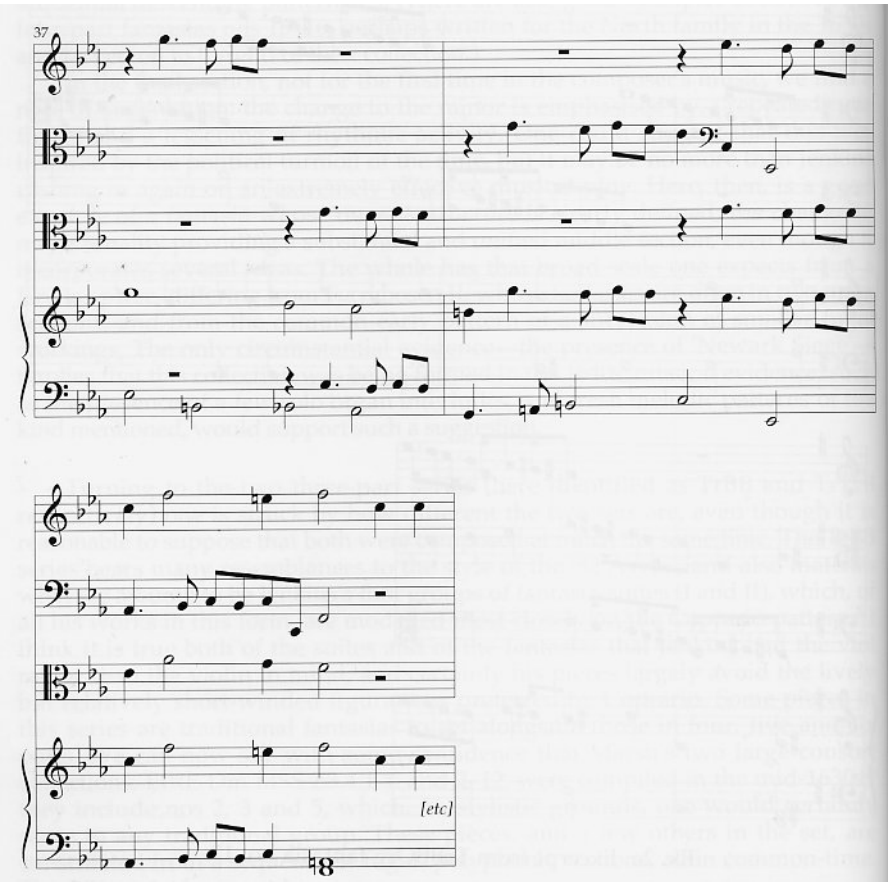

Ex. 2b. Excerpt from TrBBOrg fantasia no. 13.

patterns. As Cecily Arnold and Marshall Johnson pointed out many years ago,[7] it is both sad and curious that obbligato organ parts like these were abandoned after the Restoration.

In spite of the overall polyphonic nature of this series—indeed homophony is very rarely employed—there are plenty of examples of new figures to provide variety. Here are one or two. Example 2a shows a string dialogue set over a slow-moving organ continuo-like part; an organ interlude then separates this from a triple-time section. Example 2b again shows fragmented instrumental figures, the second of two similar passages alternating with a legato organ interlude. Close imitation is always one of Jenkins's favourite ploys and in TrB fantasia no. 24 it is put to novel use (Example 3).

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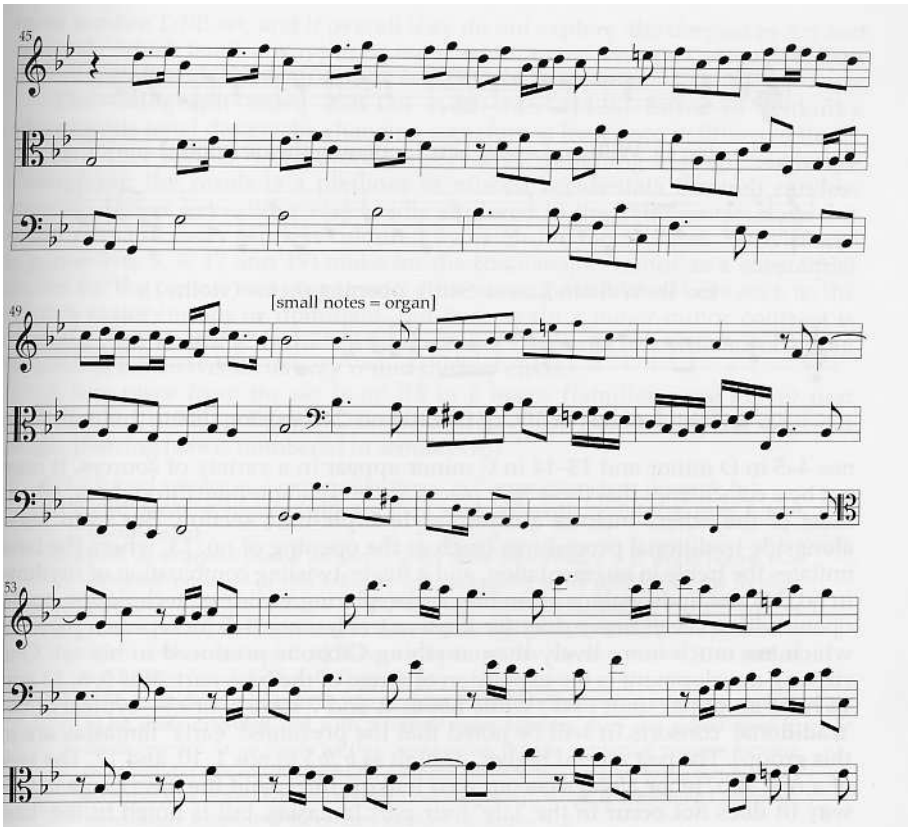
[7] C. Arnold and M. Johnson, 'The English Fantasy Suite', *PRMA,* 82 (1955/6), 1-14.

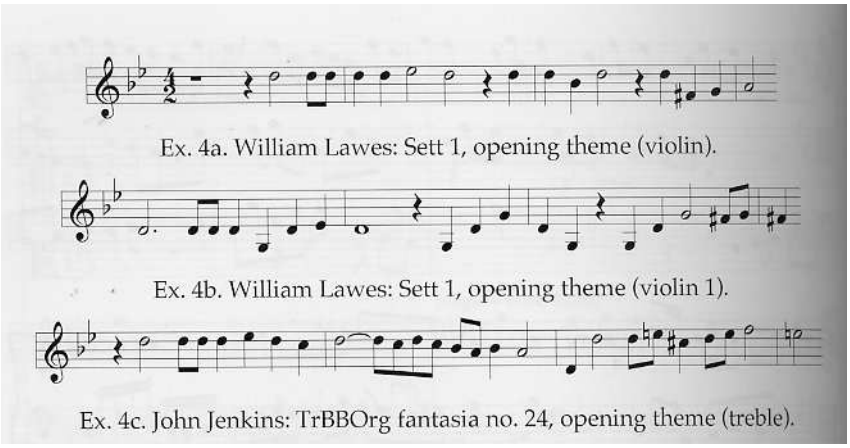


Ex. 3 Excerpt from TrBBOrg fantasia no. 24.

This work sits a little apart from most of the others. Lawes's violin sets comes to mind at the opening, with a theme reminiscent of both the G minor fantasias (Example 4), followed by parts chasing each other in tight imitations. A two-bar solo for bass viol and organ is a rare Jenkins ploy at this time (Example 3), where the organ strands are independent. Then follows lively imitative writing with a strong rhythmic drive: again comparisons can be made with four-part fantasias nos 15 and 16 where these patterns also occur. We seem to be moving into the realms of the fantasia-suite when this lively writing leads in turn to a triple-time section and eventually to 'grave and harmonious musick'. The triplas are in corant rather than saraband style, but remain polyphonic. This is a superb set overall and deserves to take its place alongside the better-known fantasias in five and six parts.

A good selection of the 21 TrTrB fantasias has been available for years.[8] Again we can deduce that at least four of the pieces were in circulation early on:

[8] H. Sleeper (ed.), *John Jenkins: Fancies and Ayres,* Wellesley Edition no. 1 (Wellesley, MA, 1950) has VdGS nos 3, 4, 9, 10, 20; E. H. Meyer (ed.), *Englische Fantasien aus dem 17. Jahrhundert,* Hortus Musicus no.14 (Barenreiter, Kassel, 1957) has no. 18; N. Dolmetsch (ed.), *John Jenkins: Seven Fancies in Three Parts,* Hortus Musicus no. 149 (Barenreiter, Kassel, 1957) has nos 3, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19.



Ex. 4a. William Lawes: Sett 1, opening theme (violin).

Ex. 4b. William Lawes: Sett 1, opening theme (violin 1).

Ex. 4c. John Jenkins: TrBBOrg fantasia no. 24, opening theme (treble).

nos 4-5 in D minor and 13-14 in C minor appear in a variety of sources. It may not be a coincidence that these four pieces are in common-time throughout, where most of the others include a corant-style triple-time section. But even here, alongside traditional procedures (such as the opening of no. 13, where the bass imitates the treble in augmentation, and a finger-twisting combination of rhythms in no. 14) one finds Jenkins extending and exploring well-tried techniques: no. 14 opens with a seven-breve duet for the two trebles; nos 4-5 incorporate patterns which are much more lively than anything Gibbons produced in his set. One striking development is the expansion of range of the bass part. Nos 5, 6, 13 and 14 have an upper limit of *d'*, while nos 2, 4, and 7 have *e'* or *e'*♭ typical of the 'traditional' consorts (it will be noted that the presumed 'early' fantasias are in this group). The rest ascend higher, as high as *b'*/*b'*♭ in nos 1, 10, and 12. The lack of a real alto/tenor always encouraged Jenkins to expand the bass range in this way (it does not occur in the 'late' four-part fantasias, but is noted in the 'late' six-part pieces).

There is no doubt that it was the popularity of Gibbons's published set of three-part fantasias which created a vogue for this combination. The particular circumstances of its creation—as a wedding gift for a member of the Court[9]—may have restricted circulation for a while, but the final reprint/issue, which Peter Holman suggests may have been after the composer's death,[10] seems to have been for public consumption. Certainly the pieces were well established by 1630 or so. In one other respect Jenkins follows Gibbons—by not providing an obbligato organ part. I agree with Peter that we should not deduce from this that the organ was banned from performances of these pieces, merely that the part could be played extempore from a score:[11] Jenkins's own preference for such a part seems to have been just treble and bass lines shadowing the string parts.

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[9] See D. Pinto, 'Gibbons in the Bedchamber' in *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music,* eds A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 89-109.

[10] See P. Holman, *Four, and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court* 1540-1690 (Oxford, 1993), 218-20.

[11] See P. Holman, "'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music' in *John Jenkins and His Time,* 353-82.

In spite of their light-weight texture and character, Dudley North would have no complaints that these were mere 'common Consorts of pleasure, to tickle the ear'. (Indeed he, or his son, owned them and they form part of the North collection now in the Bodleian Library.) Their ingredients mirror those of the [61] more sombre TrBB set, and if overall they do not explore 'the deepest in Art and science'—which tends always to be reserved for more sonorous ensembles than this—the craft of skilful composition is everywhere apparent.

The holograph score (GB-Lbl Add. MS 31428) bows to Jenkins's adventurous tonal designs by changing signature at least once in fifteen of the 21 pieces. Other scribes were more conservative, retaining a single signature throughout; the result is a plethora of missed accidentals through careless copying. Where key-colour was hardly explored in the TrBB fantasias, in this series virtually every work is coloured by extensive modulation. Many pieces (e.g. nos 4-6, 8, 9, 12 and 19) make for the tonic major/minor as a substantial anchor for the central and later music; others may go to related keys such as the relative major/minor or dominant, but here again a major-minor contrast is common. Nos 16 and 17 include a marked shift flatwards before the concluding bars, while no. 10 wends its way round the key-circle.

A fine piece from the set is no. 18 in F major (familiar since Meyer first published it in 1946 in *English Chamber Music*), which shows a typical clear-cut design. (Barring here is numbered in semibreves).

(i) 1-22: fugal opening on a canzona-like theme, in F major throughout (Example 5a);

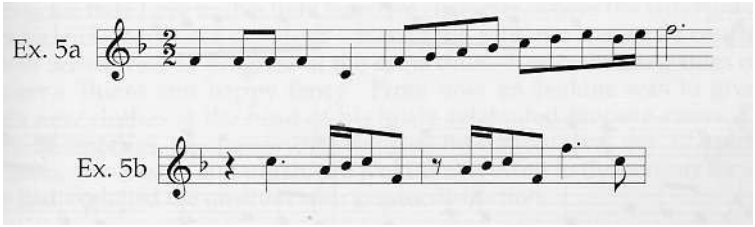
(ii) 22-34: imitative episode (with the third entry delayed), modulating from F to d (Example 5b);

(iii) 34-59: an extended central section in lively style. Incidentally, it is worth noting that 'division passages of this kind are not necessarily more active than the liveliest passages in earlier fantasias by Ferrabosco II and others, merely that the type of pattern has changed, resulting in more regular and predictable rhythmic patterns. It opens with an extended eight-bar canonic duet for the two trebles. This section modulates: d-a-d-F-B♭-g-F (Example 5c);

(iv) 60-72: triple-time section in B♭ (the opening F chord being treated as the dominant), again quite extended and with a texture more complex than one would meet in contemporary dance music for this combination. But the sequential passage forming the middle of this episode provides a simple and effective contrast to the complexities on either side. Again note the regularity of the pattern, which is something composers increasingly adopted as the century evolved (Example 5d);

(v) 73-89: imitations on a repeated-note figure, retaining keys on the flat side: B♭-c-B♭ before preparing for

(vi) 89-94: coda in F.



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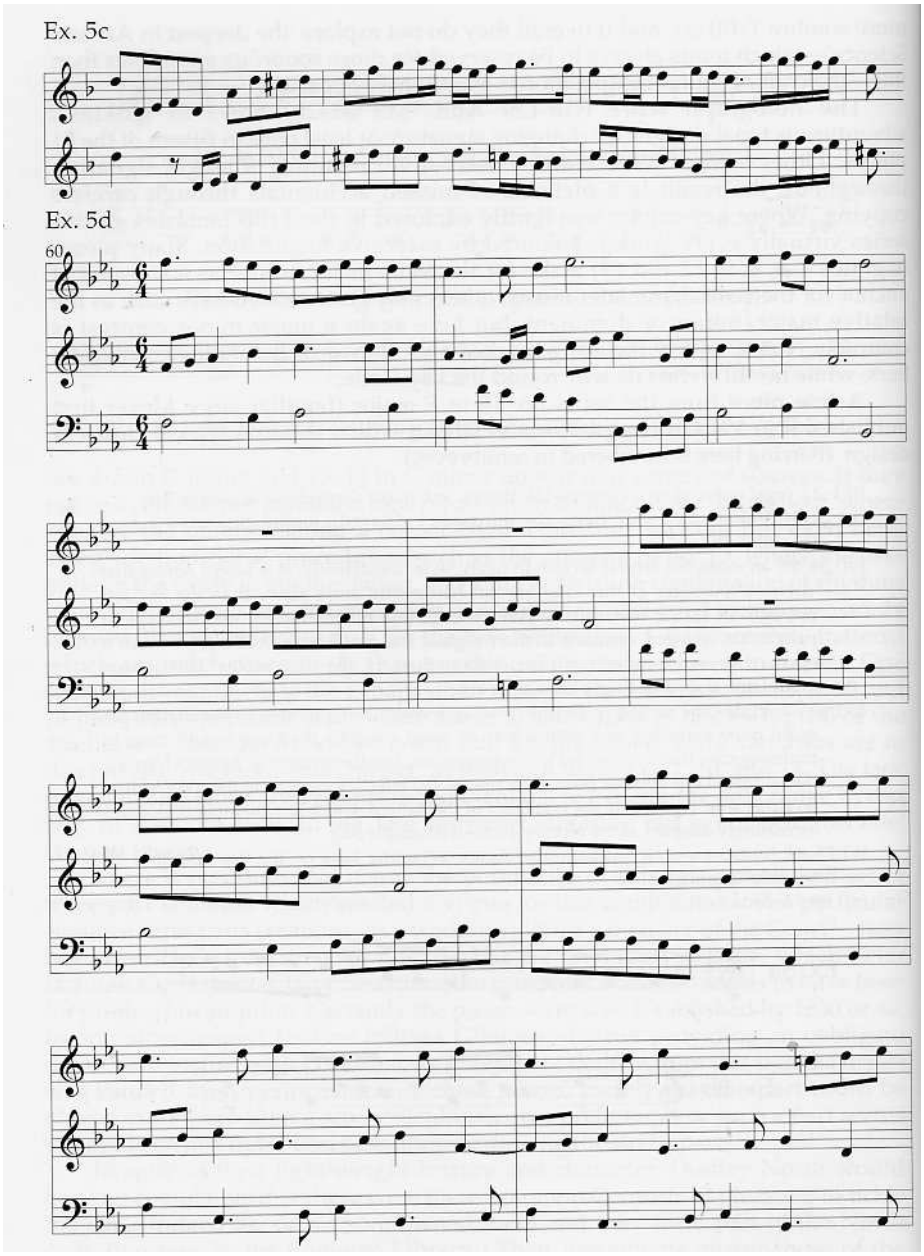

In this piece we are not far from the moment when composers decided to the structure into separate movements, and turn the fantasia into the sonata. A figure such as that which here binds the long central section (iii) then becomes both a head-motif for a medley of imitative patterns and a unifying feature for the whole movement and the triple-time music is given independence.

One historical thought in conclusion. I have made the point before that Jenkins seems to have taken up employment with Sir Nicholas Le Strange at the time when the Civil War was at its height. Because of their strong Royalist sympathies the Le Stranges were closely watched and, as far as possible, were 'confined to barracks' by the Parliamentarians. Indeed, in a letter of 1653 Sir Nicholas speaks of being 'cloistered' at home for many years.[12] Jenkins seems to have been the last copyist of the surviving Le Strange manuscripts, and the latest of these contain only his own music. It certainly seems likely that Sir Nicholas ordered or commissioned Jenkins to provide balanced selections of pieces in all the common keys for at least some of his collections. But one could also consider things from the composer's point of view. Although I am sure he was not himself under house-arrest, that time spent with a patron as knowledgeable and keen on music as Sir Nicholas undoubtedly was, allowed him equal opportunity to take stock of his own output and to 'complete' and enlarge some major series of compositions. Although there is no actual evidence in the form of surviving manuscripts to prove that Jenkins wrote, say, the '32 Ayres' or the sets of fantasia-suites [I, II, III, VI], at Hunstanton, the fact that they appear complete ordered among the North family manuscripts a decade or so later is highly suggestive that this was the case. Researches by Lynn Hulse, Jonathan Wainwright and others, increasingly show that music collections formed by Newcastle, Hatton *et al* were considerably larger than we had appreciated; in comparison the surviving Le Strange and North manuscripts are quite small; much is likely to have been lost from both collections. In the meantime we can rejoice in and enjoy these two sets of three-part fantasias, contrasted sides of the composer's 'fluent and happy fancy'.

I will end by paraphrasing a paragraph from *Harmonious Musick:* Were it not known that the fantasias for two trebles and a bass were completed by the end of the 1640s, scholars would surely have placed them well after those for TrBBOrg, for they have such a light, carefree character, where the latter are more expansive, rich, sober and dignified, yet from the evidence it must be concluded both series were in progress at the same time—two contrasted sides of the composer's 'fluent and happy fancy'. From now on Jenkins was to give the fantasia new clothes at the head of his justly celebrated fantasia-suites. These sets of fantasias, together with their splendid companions, the '32 Ayres' for two trebles, two basses and organ, are Jenkins's farewell to the consort for viols; no one had exploited the medium with greater distinction.

[12] See Ashbee, *Harmonious Musick,* 62.

THE ENGLISH LUTE 'FANTASIA-STYLE' AND THE MUSIC OF CUTHBERT HELY

Matthew Spring

Taking the entire corpus of English lute music collectively it is clear that the fantasia does not feature prominently. Few native English composers produced more than two or three that survive, and many important lutenists, like Cutting, Pilkington and Allison, have none at all. Dowland, Holborne and the little known Cuthbert Hely are among the few that produced three or more. This contrasts with the early giants of continental Renaissance lute music like Francesco, Bakfark and de Rippe who produced fantasias in great number. The later printed anthologies of the period 1584-1625 by Adriaenssen, Denss, Reymann, Rude, Van den Hove, Besard, Fuhrmann, Mertel and Mylius give pride of place to the form.[1] Mertel's great anthology of 1615 contains no less than 120 fantasias.[2] Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610) is modelled on the continental anthologies, and contains a representative group of seven each of the seven most popular forms of the time. It is indicative that of the fantasias, six are foreign, while only two of the pavins and none of the galliards or almaines are.

The lute fantasia would appear to have been more popular in England in the period before the 1590s than in the twenty years that followed. Dowland and Holborne apart, English composers in the period 1590-1610 produced few that survive, and those that circulated in manuscripts during this period are usually of foreign origin. It seems that the late Elizabethan dance forms were the overwhelming preoccupation of English lutenists in the 1590s, the decade in which by far the most English lute music was produced, and in which the mixed consort (for which the lute was central) was flourishing. Yet there is some evidence of a revival of interest in the 'fantasia-style' among English composers during the period 1610-1650. These compositions are not all fantasias, but are marked out by their seriousness, use of remote keys, thematic treatment of material and in requiring a lute in Renaissance tuning.

The presence of Alfonso Ferrabosco I in England after 1562 may have done much to promote the form here at a time when the lute fantasias of Francesco da Milano were already being circulated. Ferrabosco spent two periods in England, 1562-1578 and after 1582, and produced at least five fantasias that survive as lute pieces, plus an 'ut, re, mi, fa, so, la' fantasia for three viols that is also known in a version for solo lute.[3] Nigel North in his introduction to the OUP edition states his view that Ferrabosco was not a

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[1] For a discussion of these published sources see M. Spring, 'The Lute in England and Scotland after the Golden Age 1620-1750' (D. Phil., Oxford, 1987), 15-25.

[2] E. Mertel, *Hortus musicalis novus* (Strasbourg, 1615).

[3] R. Charteris, 'New Information about the Life of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588)' *RMARC,* 17 (1981), 97-114; *idem, Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Calendar* (New York, 1984); R. Charteris (ed.), *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588) Opera Omnia, ix:* 'Instrumental Music' (Hanssler-Verlag, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1988).

lutenist. He goes on to say, 'although the music falls on the instrument reasonably well one could not describe it as idiomatic lute writing ...'the majority of the music does not, however, give the impression of having been written for other media and then transferred for the lute.'[4] Surely either one accepts that Ferrabosco was a lute player and that the fantasias were originally conceived for the lute, or he was not and they were transferred from other media? On examining the fantasias I would tend to the latter view. We know this was the case with the 'ut re mi' piece, and several of Ferrabosco's other lute fantasias would transfer well to viols.

The Hirsch lute book (GB-Lbl MS Hirsch M1353) contains several [66] fantasias which can be described as 'tablature short score' pieces, two of which have been published as fantasias for three-part viols.[5] More evidence for the practice of intabulating consort pieces for the lute can be found in the large number of polyphonic pieces (fantasias, In nomines, hymn settings, madrigals, motets, consort songs and extracts of masses) in the Paston part-books.[6] Stewart McCoy has pointed out that in the five books of intabulations, the cantus is omitted from all pieces.[7] GB-Lbl Add. MS 29246 also has about 40 pieces (out of *c*250) which have 'cantus contamination'. Here the part that would be uppermost at any one time in a full score is not present in the lute intabulation. Of these there are fantasias a3 by Byrd, and a4 by Robert White. Where cantus contamination has occurred the pieces were produced from a lute book of intabulated music with all the parts present. Clearly the composition of fantasias and the intabulation of fantasias from other media did take place in England, but not to the extent that they did elsewhere in Europe.

Many of the earlier Golden Age manuscripts, in particular the Hirsch (which uncharacteristically for an English source has 26 fantasias out of 56 pieces), the Marsh and Willoughby lute books (EIRE-Dm MS Z3.2.13 and GB-No MS. Mi LM 16) and GB-Cu MS Dd.2.11 contain Milano's or Ferrabosco's fantasias. These may be the foundation from which the English lute fantasia developed. It is interesting that Ferrabosco's more serious pieces show a preference for flat minor keys and long angular themes, as for example in the fantasia published by Robert Dowland in *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*. Several of his fantasias also have a sectional structure typical of Dowland's fantasias in which florid virtuosic sections follow a more imitative and polyphonic opening.

Anthony Holborne's three surviving fantasias show the influence of Francesco da Milano, particularly in their smooth polyphony, thin texture and

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[4] N. North (ed.), *Music for the Lute. Alfonso Ferrabosco of Bologna: Collected Works for Lute and Bandora,* part 1-lute (Oxford, 1974), viii.

[5] P. Trent (ed.), *Anonymous Fantasias a3,* VdGS Anon. nos 903, 904. Sup. pub. 146. These pieces are nos 36 and 37 in R. Spencer (ed.), *The Hirsch Lute Book* (Boethius Press facs. edn, Clarabricken, 1982).

[6] GB-Lbl Add. MSS 29246, 29247 and 31992; GB-Lcm MS 2089; GB-T MS 340.

[7] S. McCoy, 'Lost lute solos revealed in a Paston Manuscript', *LSJ,* 26 (1986), 21-39, at p. 25; *idem,* 'Edward Paston and the textless lute-song, *EM,* 15/2 (1987), 221-7.

many points of imitation.[8] Among Golden Age English composers only Dowland significantly contributed to the form, writing at least seven but possibly more, as four further pieces entitled 'fancy' or 'fantasia', which are of uncertain ascription, may be by Dowland.[9] The great variety of texture and the multi-sectional nature of most of Dowland's fantasias place them favourably alongside the keyboard fantasias of Byrd. The exuberance and virtuosic display Dowland infused into these pieces sets them apart from the rest of the lute fantasia tradition in England, which favoured a more unified, sober composition. His chromatic fantasias are more in keeping with this tradition, being generally monothematic and doleful in the extreme. Dowland's music has a cosmopolitan dimension lacking in most English lutenist composers, and his interest in lute fantasias must surely connect with his continental travels and work in Denmark.

The English lute 'fantasia style'

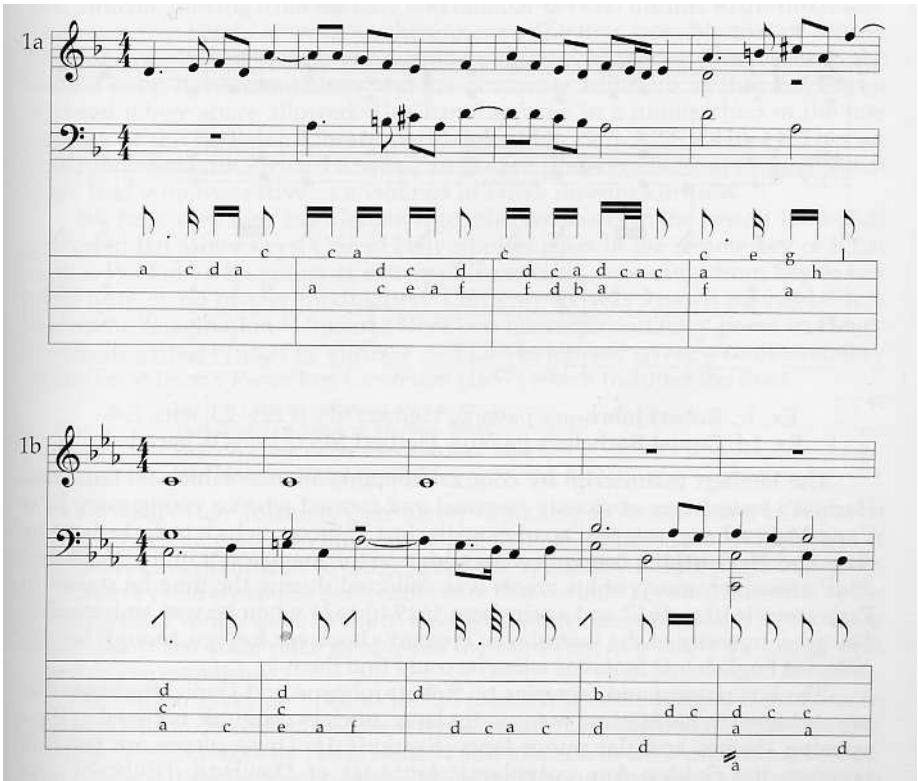
The term 'fantasia style' is used here to refer to the serious, predominantly polyphonic style of late Renaissance lute composition epitomised by the chromatic fantasias of John Dowland. This very cerebral style was developed in the fantasias of Golden Age lute composers and applies in the discussion below to the fantasias, pavans and preludes by Robert Johnson, Daniel Bacheler, Cuthbert Hely and John Wilson. There is some evidence that this style, which [67] was confined to Renaissance tuning only, continued to develop up to the mid-century, despite the popularity of the French *brisé* style and the new transitional tunings, but very much as a minority interest, outside the main-stream of English lute music.

This evidence relies on two sources only, the Herbert manuscript (GB-Cfm MS Mus. 689) and the Wilson autograph book in the Bodleian Library (Mus. Sch. MS b.1). The Herbert is the only source for the single surviving fantasias by Johnson and Bacheler, and the eight pieces by Cuthbert Hely. It is interesting that among the late Golden Age lute sources only the Herbert manuscript includes a significant number of fantasias. In sources like the Board,[10] Cu MS Nn.6.36, the Pickering (Lbl MS Egerton 2046), Lbl Add. MS 38539 and PL-Kj Berlin Mus. MS 40641 there is evidence of a lighter style of lute music in England in the years 1610-1620, influenced by the French music of Robert Ballard and Nicolas Vallet, and by masquing music, typified in the works of John Sturt. Serious fantasias hardly feature.

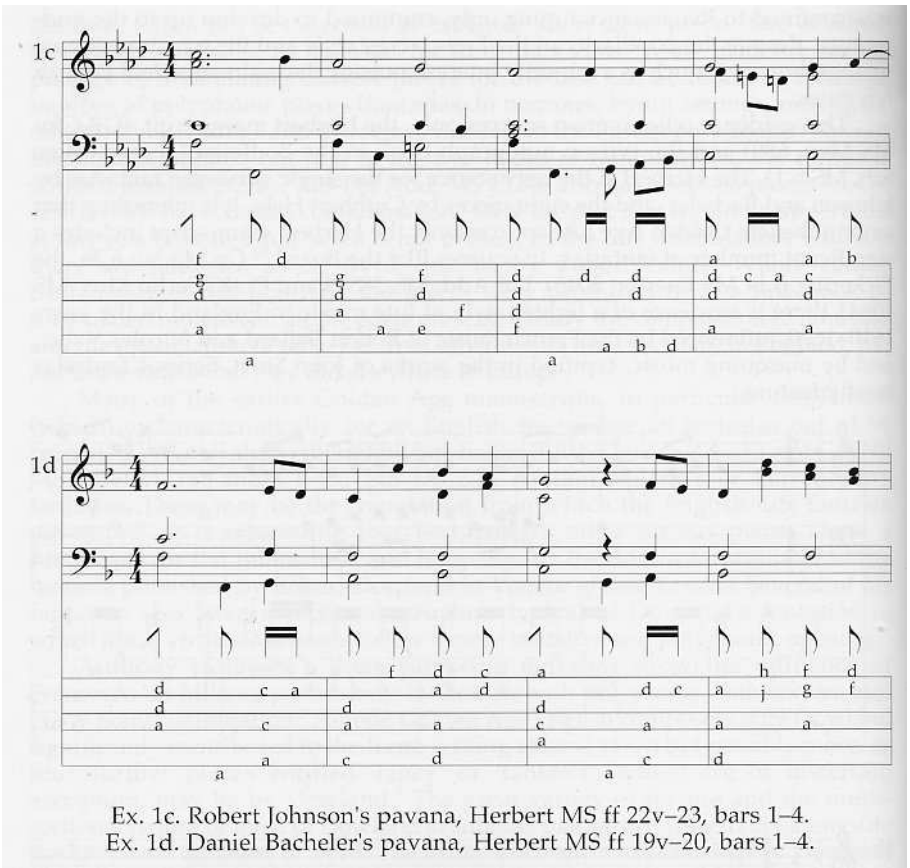
[8] M. Kanazana (ed.), *The Complete Works of Anthony Holborne, vol. 1:* Music for Lute and Bandora (Harvard, 1980).

[9] D. Poulton, *John Dowland* (1972, rev. edn 1982); D. Poulton and B. Lamb (eds), *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland* (1974).

[10] Woodford Green (Essex, UK) the private collection of the late Robert Spencer.



Ex. 1a. Robert Johnson's fantasia, Herbert MS f. 16, bars 1–4.
Ex. 1b. Daniel Bacheler's fantasia, Herbert MS ff 56v–57, bars 1–5.



Ex. 1c. Robert Johnson's pavana, Herbert MS ff 22v–23, bars 1–4.
Ex. 1d. Daniel Bacheler's pavana, Herbert MS ff 19v–20, bars 1–4.

[68] The Herbert manuscript by contrast contains an astonishing 50 fantasias. Herbert's tastes were obviously personal and formed when a young man. Julia Craig-McFeely suggests that apart from the last 15 pieces (which include those by Hely and Herbert) the contents were added to the manuscript in the 1620s and 30s.[11] However, much of his music was collected during the time he stayed in Paris from 1610 to 1617 and again from 1619 to 1624 when he was ambassador. The great majority of the fantasias in Herbert's book are foreign, though he also collected English lute fantasias when he could find them.

The late pavans and fantasias by Robert Johnson and Daniel Bacheler that are contained in the Herbert manuscript have much in common, not least in their opening themes and flat minor keys (Example 1). These pieces are the link between the Golden Age polyphonic fantasias of Dowland, Holborne and Ferrabosco and the remarkable fantasias and preludes by Cuthbert Hely and John Wilson that probably date from the 1630s and 40s. Both Johnson and [69] Bacheler have a single surviving fantasia in which the theme is thoroughly explored in various keys and positions before the texture thins out into a running, florid semiquaver passage, which finally broadens into a more homophonic close.[12] This type of fantasia has many parallels with those of Caroline keyboard and viol composers, and, it seems, was being written for the lute after 1625.

John Wilson's set of 30 preludes in Mus. Sch. MS b.1 for an instrument with twelve courses in Renaissance tuning were probably composed during the 1640s or possibly the early 1650s.[13] They constitute a set covering all the major and minor keys. Some keys in Wilson's cycle have more than one piece (A minor has three, C minor has two and B♭, E and D majors each have two). The order seems somewhat random; however, the pieces get progressively more complex, chromatic and difficult, moving from the easy and familiar keys on the lute to the unknown. There are two hands at work on these pieces. The first, possibly that of Wilson himself, contributed twenty consecutively numbered pieces. The pieces in the second hand have no numbers and are obviously additions as they have been inserted where space allowed. This hand appears in a tuning chart in the lute volume of the Bodleian Library part-books Mus. Sch. MSS e.410-14. This set was connected with Richard Rhodes, an Oxford undergraduate at Christ Church until 1662 who was active as a violinist in Ellis's meetings in 1658.[14]

We have seen how late Golden Age lute composers in the period 1600-1625 preferred flat minor keys. One of Hely's pieces is set in the remote key

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[11] J. Craig-McFeely, 'A Can of Worms: Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute Book', *The Lute,* 31 (1991), 20-48.

[12] For a full transcription of these pieces see M. Long (ed.), *Music for the Lute:* Book 5, *Daniel Bacheler Selected Works* (Oxford, 1970) no. 14, pp 4111, and A. Sundermann (ed.), *Music for the Lute:* Book 4, *Robert Johnson, Complete Works for Solo Lute* (Oxford, n.d.), no. 1, pp 2-3.

[13] M. Spring (ed.), *Thirty Preludes in all (24) Keys for Lute by John Wilson* (Diapason Press, Houton, 1996).

[14] T. Crawford, 'An Unusual Consort Revealed in an Oxford Manusript', *Chelys,* 6 (19750, 61-8, at p. 68.

of E flat minor. Wilson, in his songs, is extremely free in his movement from key to key with little or no proper modulation. Certainly he was known for his bizarre harmonic imagination.[15] Robert Herrick in his commendatory poem to Henry Lawes describes Wilson as 'curious' and Lawes himself wrote a commendatory poem for Wilson's Psalterium Carolinum (1657) which includes the lines:

> For this I know, and must say't to thy praise,
> That thou hast gone, in Musick, unknown ways,
> Hast cut a path where there was none before,
> Like Magellan traced an unknown shore. (sig. alv)

To what extent lutenists were aware of writing in remote keys, as opposed to simply basing pieces on unusual stopped chord positions on the fretboard of the lute is always difficult to judge given the variability of lute pitch. However, in Wilson's cycle we can be reasonably sure that definite keys are intended as the pieces preface songs, some of which have a tablature accompaniment for the same instrument. The vocal pitch establishes the top string as g', thus the key of each piece can be established.

As Wilson gives no titles to the 30 pieces it is something of a problem to categorise them. In content and form there exists little comparable lute music save the late English pieces by Hely, Herbert and Johnson in the Herbert manuscript.

The pieces fall somewhere between the early Baroque free prelude and the late English fantasia tradition. Some have a clear motivic development and can be quite easily compared with the fantasias by Hely. Others of the very chromatic [70] type, and some of the very simple homophonic type, do not fit this classification at all well. Given this amount of variation it is best to stick to the more general title prelude despite the fact that some pieces have a structure that is very taut, and assembled in the manner of a fantasia. These pieces are the last significant solo lute compositions in Renaissance tuning by an English composer and are the end of the line for the English lute fantasia style.

Cuthbert Hely

The eight pieces by Cuthbert Hely in the Herbert manuscript are of the highest quality, yet nothing is known of Hely's life.[16] He may possibly have been related to the seventeenth-century musicians Benjamin Hely (fl.1680-1690) and Henry He(a)le. His only other known piece, a four-part ayre in Lbl Add. MS 18940 f. 4v, gives no clues to Hely's activities. It is possible that he was in Herbert's service, or that Herbert just took occasional lessons in lute playing or composition from Hely, either while he was in residence at Montgomery Castle or, more likely, after 1632 when he was living in Richmond near London.

The pieces appear in the manuscript in the following order:

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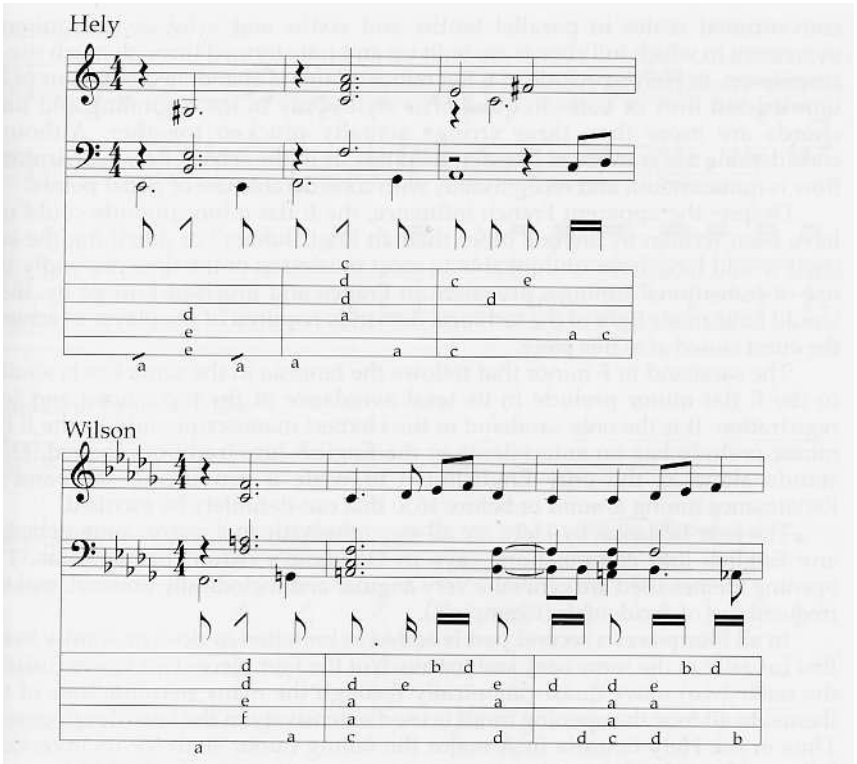
[15] V. Duckles, 'The curious Art of John Wilson (1595-1674), An Introduction to his Songs and Lute Music', *JAMS,* 7/2 (1954), 93-112, at pp 93-4.

[16] M. Spring (ed.), *Eight Pieces by Cuthbert Hely for Ten-Course Lute* (Lute Society Publications, 1994). For a longer discussion of these pieces see Spring, 'The Lute in England', 195-207.

Piece	*Folio no./nos*	*Title*	*Key*
1	81v	Hely [untitled fantasia]	A major
2	82	Prelude. Hely:	A minor
3	82v	Fantasia Hely:	A minor
4	87v–88	Fantasia: Cuth: Hely	F minor
5	88	Sarebrand Cut: Hely:	F minor
6	88v	Prelude. Hely.	D minor
7	88v–89	Fantasia: Hely:	D minor
8	89v	Prelude. p[er] Hely:	E♭ minor

These pieces by Hely along with the late pavans by Herbert himself were added to the manuscript some time after the main bulk of the music in the collection, possibly as late as 1640. The four fantasias are much shorter in length than the preludes and saraband, and have links with them. The preludes in A minor and D minor (nos 2 and 6) precede the fantasias in those keys. I would suggest that Herbert used the E flat minor prelude (no. 8) to preface his own pavan in that key and the F minor saraband similarly to follow the fantasia by Hely in that key (nos 4-5).



Ex. 2. Comparison of bars 5–7 of Hely's A minor prelude (Herbert MS f. 82) & bars 19–21 of Wilson's prelude in B flat minor (Mus. Sch. MS b.1 f. 8, no. 20).

Hely's preludes in A and D minor are fully barred and have much in common with Wilson's style, especially in the almost continuous stepwise movement of the bass and the harmonic freedom above. The prelude in A minor, which arrives at a full chord of F major in only six bars by passing through chords of A minor and E major, has a parallel in Wilson's piece in D minor which progresses through chords of D minor, A major, and then E major via F major in the first five bars. The formula for emphasising a chord, of always playing the bass on the first beat and the rest of the chord on the

second, which is used in this Hely prelude in bars 5, 6 and 16, is found throughout Wilson's 30 pieces. Compare bars 19-21 of Wilson's piece in B flat minor and bars 5-7 of Hely's A minor prelude (Example 2).

[71] The Hely prelude in D minor is rather less harmonically adventurous than most of Wilson's pieces but it contains a motif (*D-D-C♯*) that recurs in a Wilsonian way in different registers and keys. The cadence at bar 6 is important as the tonic is doubled on the top course in a 4-3 cadence but is left in the air at the resolution. This *cliché* accounts for no less than eleven of the 27 times that Wilson uses the top course in his 30 pieces. Hely's use of it suggests that it may have been a device commonly used by English lutenists composing in Renaissance tuning after 1630.

The Hely prelude in E flat minor is remarkable in several ways. First, the top course is not used at all. Secondly, the flowing manner in which chord shapes form and dissolve with easy access to unessential notes has no precedent in the English lute tradition and comes from the new French style c1630. The only pieces remotely similar in the English tradition are the five preludes by Bacheler that appear in the Herbert manuscript. Although Bacheler's preludes demonstrate an advanced thinking at the time of their composition, they still feature many [72] conventional scales in parallel tenths and sixths and a lot of homophonic movement in which full chords are built up and transformed through much use of suspension. In Hely's prelude in E flat minor all this is abandoned in favour of an unrestricted flow of notes in quasi-*brisé* style. Only in the beginning and final chords are more than three strings actually plucked together. Although considerable use is made of unessential notes, as in the second bar, the harmonic flow is quite smooth and recognisable, with considerable use of pedal points.

Despite the apparent French influence, the E flat minor prelude could not have been written by anyone other than an Englishman. For one thing the key itself would have been unthinkable to most musicians of the time. Secondly the use of transitional tunings, prevalent in France and much of Europe by 1630, would have made light of the technical demands required of the player to achieve the effect aimed at in this piece.

The saraband in F minor that follows the fantasia in the same key is similar to the E flat minor prelude in its total avoidance of the top course and low registration. It is the only saraband in the Herbert manuscript and like the E flat minor prelude has no antecedents in the English lute tradition. Indeed, Hely stands alone as the only Englishman to write a convincing saraband in Renaissance tuning around or before 1630 that can definitely be ascribed.

The four fantasias by Hely are all monothematic to a degree unmatched in any English lute compositions save in Dowland's chromatic fantasias. The opening themes used are generally very angular and melodically unusual, making frequent use of accidentals (Example 3).

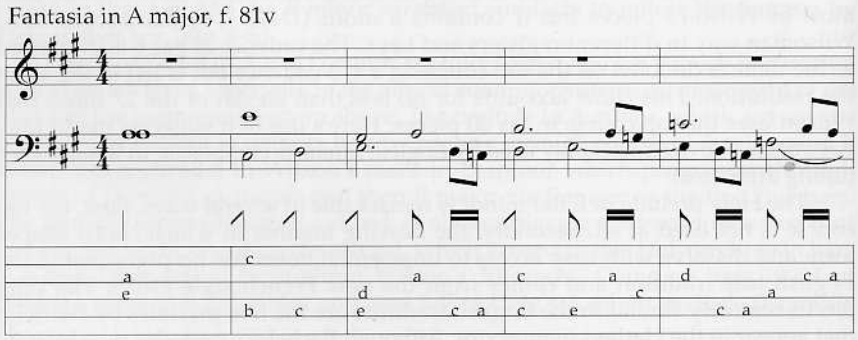
In all four pieces a second part is added in imitation in close proximity to the first (usually in the same bar), and for much of the four pieces two voices (usually the outer two) move quasi-canonically through the many

permutations of the theme. In all four the opening motif is used extensively in the later development. Thus in the Hely fantasia in A major the falling minor sixth (or its inversion) followed by a third rising by step, appears seven times in the first 22 bars and appears or is implied in many more places later in the pieces.[17] The harmony,

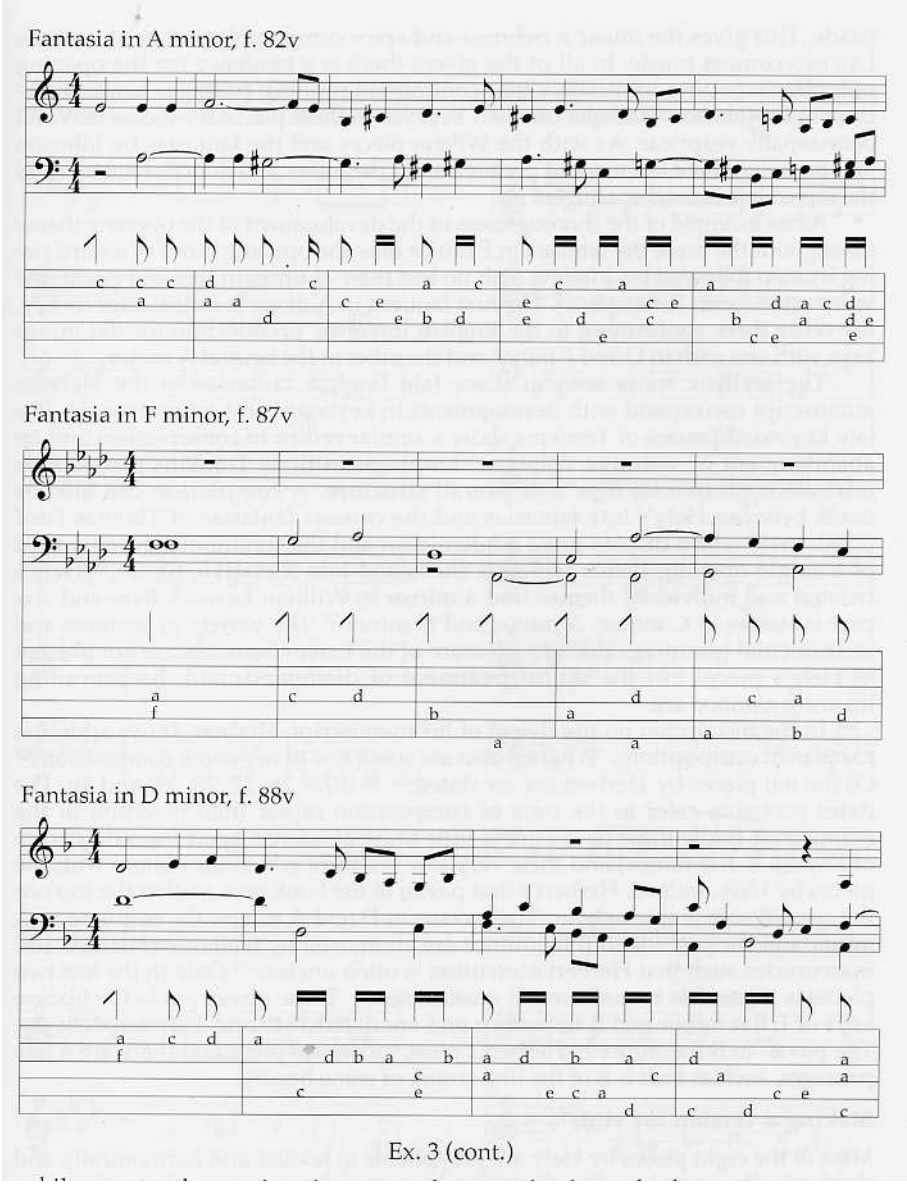
[73]

Ex. 3. Opening bars of Hely's fantasias in the Herbert manuscript.

Fantasia in A major, f. 81v



[17] The motif appears in bars 1-2, 2-3, 8-9, 12-13, 15-16, 21-22 and also in bars 33-34, 35-36, 40-41 and 44 although there are other places where the motif is implied.



Ex. 3 (cont.)

while constantly moving, is never taken too far from the home key. Instead intensity and colour are heightened in the music by the frequent use of unexpected accidentals which produce much false relation and occasionally augmented [74] triads. This gives the music a richness and spice comparable to that of William Lawes's consort music. In all of the pieces there is a tendency for the opening polyphonic texture to dissolve into continuous running passages towards the close in the Johnson/Bacheler manner. Yet even in these places the theme may still occasionally reappear. As with the Wilson pieces and the fantasias by Johnson and Bacheler, there is a marked preference for the lower and middle registers and the top course is used sparingly.

As an example of the thoroughness of the development of the opening theme throughout the piece the fantasia in F minor uses the opening motif of a third rising by step followed by a falling fifth no less than 24 times in this and decorated or inverted forms (Example 4). The first fantasia in A major is unusual for its key, the other three conforming to the English lutenists'

predilection for flat minor keys with one each in D and F minor and the other in the neutral A minor.

The stylistic traits seen in these late English fantasias in the Herbert manuscript correspond with developments in keyboard and consort music. The late keyboard fancies of Tomkins show a similar return to conservatism and an abandonment of virtuosic display.[18] Emphasis in these Tomkins pieces is on intricate contrapuntal flow and overall structure. A comparison can also be made between Hely's lute fantasias and the consort fantasias of Thomas Ford (1580-1648) which display great academicism and the continuous development of a single opening theme which is shortened into a motivic figure.[19] Hely's twisted and individual themes find a mirror in William Lawes's five- and sixpart fantasias in C minor, A minor and G minor.[20] The variety of sections and instrumental groupings that are a feature of the Lawes fantasias are not present in Hely's pieces but the skilful treatment of dissonance and the prevailing intensity of mood are.

In the inscription on the flyleaf of his manuscript, Herbert draws attention to his own compositions: 'Wherein also are some few of my owne composition.[21] Of the ten pieces by Herbert six are dated:[22] 1619?,[23] 26, 27, 28, 39, and 40. The dates probably refer to the time of composition rather than insertion in the manuscript. Sadly these pieces are of little musical interest apart from the choice of keys (i. e. flat minor) and their very low tessitura which they share with the pieces by Hely. Indeed, Herbert's first pavan in the book uses neither the top nor the second course throughout. The pavans in D and A minor, the courante in A minor and the prelude in B flat minor are all marred by tablature mistakes and inaccuracies such that Herbert's intention is often unclear.[24] Only in the last two pieces is it possible to make much musical sense. These pieces are in the bizarre keys of E flat minor and B flat minor and are dated 1640 and 1639 respectively. The pavan in B flat minor is Herbert's most successful piece and there ore a few passages, such as bars 6-8 of the first strain, of some beauty.

Making a version for viols

Most of the eight pieces by Hely are polyphonic in texture and harmonically and rhythmically complex. The fantasias in particular are monothematic to an extraordinary degree and have unusual angular themes. The polyphonic

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[18] S. Tuttle (ed.), 'Thomas Tomkins, Keyboard Music', *Musica Britannica,* 5 (2nd edn, 1964). See fancies nos 22, 23, 25 and 29 in particular.

[19] E. H. Meyer, *Early English Chamber Music,* new edition, edited by the author and D. Poulton (1982), 193-6.

[20] M. Lefkowitz (ed.), 'William Lawes Selected Consort Music', *Musica Britannica,* 21 (1963). See fantasias on pp 1-4, 12-16, 17-21, 22-6 and 27-34.

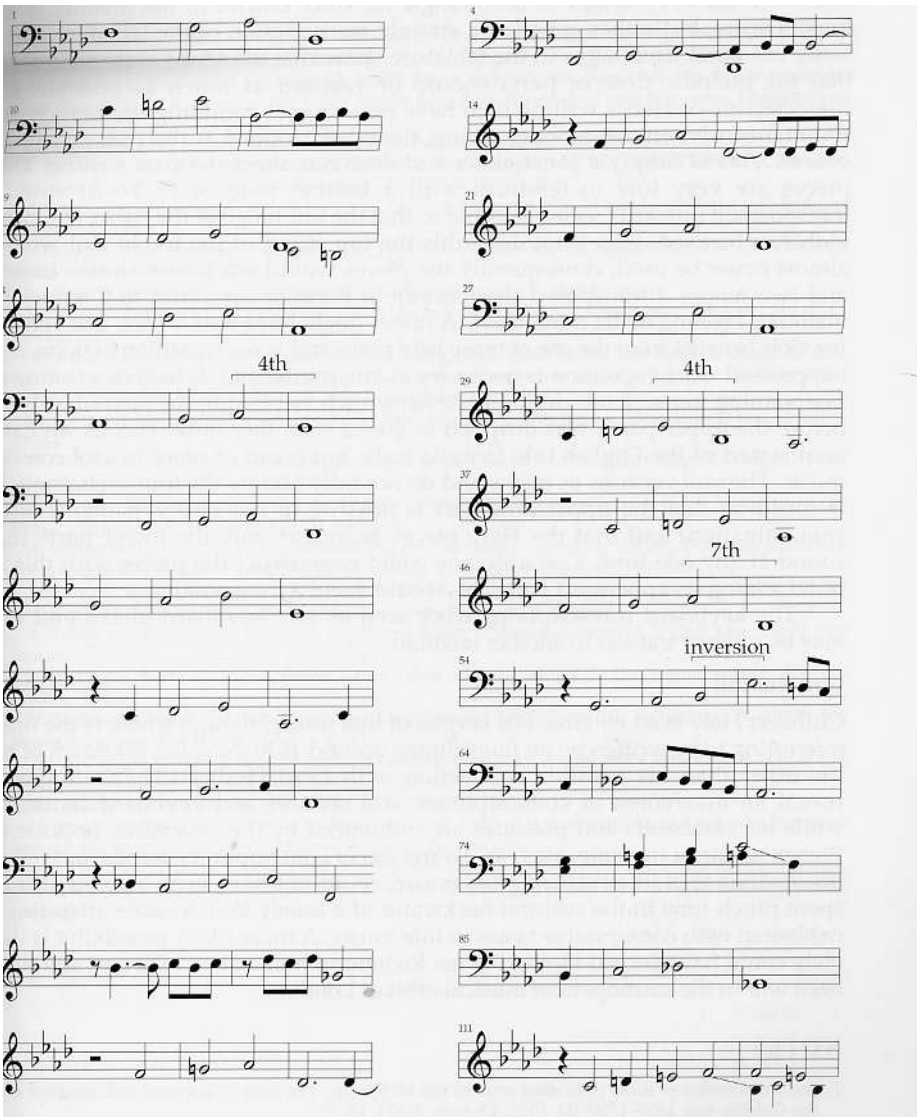
[21] The title begins 'The Lutebook of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island, containing divers selected Lessons of excellent Authors in several Cuntreys'.

[22] The pieces are nos 28, 33, 132-3, 183, 214, 216, 225, 241-2.

[23] The pavan ascribed to 1619 may in fact date from 1627 as it is essentially the same as the piece bearing the latter date. Craig-McFeely, 'A Can of Worms', 30.

[24] See ff 13v, 78, 79/82 (two copies) and 50v/51 (two copies) respectively. The courante, for instance, contains many half-erased tablature letters. All the Herbert pieces require editing before they can be played.

nature of these fantasias suggests that they might have existed as consort pieces. I



Ex. 4. Use of the opening motif in Hely's fantasia in F minor, Herbert manuscript ff 87v–88.

transcribed them into a keyboard score to make their contrapuntal implications explicit. I did not attempt to disentangle all voice entries in the manner of a consort score, but rather aimed at a straight transcription of the tablature. The many left-hand *tenue* signs in the tablature show that the scribe was concerned that the melodic flow of parts should be realised as much as possible. A characteristic of Hely's writing is to have two courses sounding the same note simultaneously, one on an open string, the other stopped at the fifth or fourth course. This is simply a tonal effect and does not affect the part writing. The pieces are very low in tessitura with a bottom note of C. To fit viols a transposition upwards seems sensible so that the full range of the treble and bass viols can be used. Had I not done this the top string of the treble viol would almost never be used; consequently the pieces would work

best on two basses and two tenors. I transposed the fantasia in F minor up a fifth to C minor to maintain a feeling of flat minor keys. A minor might have been better. The version for viols benefits from the use of more held notes and some repetition of notes was suppressed. Such repetition is necessary in lute transcriptions to give a feeling of maintaining parts. Some rhythmic devices, such as playing the bass of a chord before the upper parts, was dropped to give a smoother flow. This as we have seen is part of the English lute fantasia style, but is out of place in viol consort music. The viol versions as they stand do not fully occupy the four viols enough. It could be that the uppermost part is missing in the lute versions (cantus contamination) and that the Hely pieces represent only the lower parts that sound at any one time. Certainly one could reconstruct the pieces with this in mind adding an uppermost part. This would avoid a transposition.

The keyboard transcriptions work well as solo keyboard pieces and this may be a happy transfer to another medium.

Conclusion

Cuthbert Hely is an enigma. His corpus of lute music, though small, is the most interesting to be written by an Englishman around 1630. Nothing is known of his life other than his possible connection with Lord Herbert. Hely's fantasias reveal an awareness of contemporary viol consort and keyboard fantasias, while his sarabands and preludes are influenced by the new ideas popular in French music of the time. Such an awareness of contemporary trends, as well as his obvious skill in structuring his music, could not have been arrived at if he spent much time in the cultural backwater of a lonely Welsh castle attending a nobleman with conservative tastes in lute music. A more likely possibility is that Hely could have served Herbert at his Richmond home after 1632 and still have been within the cosmopolitan musical orbit of London.

THE CODICOLOGY AND RASTROLOGY OF GB-Ob Mus.Sch. MSS c.64-9: MANUSCRIPTS IN SUPPORT OF TRANSMISSION THEORY

Cathie Miserandino-Gaherty

The transmission theory of my title refers to the production and dissemination of manuscripts for public or private use. Defined by Harold Love in his thought-provoking book *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), texts for transmission included verse miscellanies, political documents and music. These items were part of the phenomenon of 'the publication of texts in handwritten copies within a culture which had developed sophisticated means of generating and transmitting such copies'.[1] Love proposed three main modes of scribal publication: author or holograph publications, entrepreneurial publications and user publications.[2] Music examples of each of these modes of scribal publication include *My Ladye Nevells Booke,* the Paston manuscripts and various sets of choirbooks such as those used in Durham, York and Peterhouse, Cambridge.

GB-Ob Mus. Sch. MSS c.64-9 are a set of consort part-books. Previously, scholars have compared the contents and hands of this manuscript set with sets in the Archbishop Marsh Library (EIRE-Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6 and Z3.4.7-12) for purposes of dating the contents, identifying the scribes and giving a picture of contemporary repertoire. My particular concerns of codicology, that is, how the books were put together, and rastrology or how the lines for music were made, both enhance and call into question some traditional ways of looking at music manuscripts, and, in the case of MSS c.64-9, strengthen our understanding and appreciation of scribal transmission of music manuscripts. These comparative studies of codicology and rastrology may even aid in the process of identifying stemma or sets of manuscripts connected by having been copied from the same example.

This study is still work in progress and so a full report of the codicological and rastrological connections of MSS c.64-9 with other sets of manuscripts is not yet possible. Further, in-depth comparisons of music, hands and watermarks would broaden the scope of my project to unmanageable proportions and I must rely on the work of other scholars in these respects. It is not my intention to offer solutions as to which version of a particular composition is the most accurate or definitive or which set of part-books came first. Moreover, I will probably leave the reader with more questions than answers, and perhaps, a greater admiration of the lot of the music copyist/ entrepreneur.

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[1] H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), 32. 2. Love, *ibid.,* 47.

[2] Love, *ibid.,* 47.

MSS c.64-9 form a set of six part-books, Cantus, Altus, Contratenor, Bassus Primus and Bassus Secundus, containing instrumental music, mainly fontasias and In nomines for consorts of three, four, five and six players. This set includes music that reflects the interests of the Jacobean court; nearly all the composers represented were flourishing in and around London during the reign of James 1. Complete details of the 155 pieces may be found in the Viola da Gamba Society's *Thematic Index*.

The three-part section contains, successively, five fantasias by Jenkins; four anonymous fantasias, originally ascribed to 'Mr Lugg', but later erased; seven [79] fantasias by Mico, eight each by Coprario and Lupo, and nine by Orlando Gibbons. Two fantasias of R. Gibbons begin the four-part section, followed by the *Ut re mi* fantasia and a pavan and alman by Thomas Tomkins, eleven fantasias by Ferrabosco the younger, one anonymous piece, four fantasias by Ives, another by Ferrabosco the younger, another anonymous work and nine fantasias by Jenkins. The five-part works open with three In nomines by Ferrabosco the younger, one anonymous In nomine, one In nomine each by Gibbons, Ward, Cranford, and Ives, two more anonymous In nomines and two by Weelkes. These are followed by three anonymous five-part fantasias, eleven five-part fantasias by Ward and twenty-two more anonymous fantasias. The six-part music includes a pavan and galliard by Tomkins, and a pavan and galliard by Byrd, followed by four fantasias by Tomkins, six by White, seven anonymous fantasias and one anonymous In nomine, three fantasias by Ward, one by Coprario followed by three more of Ward, two In nomines by Ward, two fantasias by Coleman, and one each by Ives and Lupo.

Such a variety of music in one volume can cater for virtually any combination of three to six instruments. Yet, what initially sounds like a gold mine, could prove to be too unwieldy for practical use. On the face of it, there are some problems. Those volumes which contain the three-part music are so large and heavy, that they stay open only with the aid of the Bodleian Library's drapery weights. Additionally, modern transcribers have found too many uncorrected errors among the pieces for us to believe that the set was used with any regularity, although there are corrections and signs of use in some sections. I hope to offer some explanations for these and other puzzles concerning MSS c.64-9 that may be applied to other manuscripts of this period later in this paper.

The six volumes are all upright folios, that is, the sheets of paper which are used have been folded only once. Each book is covered with parchment, and titled Cantus, Altus, Contratenor and so forth, and each has been inscribed with the name 'George Stratford' and the date '1641'. Andrew Ashbee has proposed that this Stratford,may be the son of George Stratford of Thornton, Gloucester, who matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford on 28 January 1624/5, aged fourteen, and proceeded to a Bachelor of Divinity degree on 2 July 1639. There is a George Stratford listed among 'The names of such Persons as have not submitted to the Authoritie of Parliament in the Visitation, and are expelled the University by the Committee of Lords and Commons for regulating the University of Oxford', dated 15 May 1648.[3]

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[3] A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, i* (Surbiton, 1992), 143-4.

The dimensions of each volume, and the number and size of the leaves are set out in Table 1.

Table 1. Basic codicology of GB-Ob Mus. Sch. MSS c.64-9.

Book	*Dimensions in mm*	*Leaves*[4]	*Size of leaves in mm*
	(H x W)		*(H x W)*
c.64 (Cantus)	305 x 211	ii + 276 + iii	297 x ~194
c.65 (Altus)	303 x 198	ii + 276 + iii	296 x 195
c.66 (Contratenor)	305 x 200	i + 128 + ii	298.5 x ~195
c.67 (Tenor)	303 x 202	ii + 196 + ii	296 x 193
c.68 (Bassus I)	302 x 200	i + 296 + i	296 x 196
c.69 (Bassus II)	304 x 203	ii + 56 + i	300 x 192

[80] This basic information highlights the uniformity among the part-books. The most striking feature of this set, which cannot be gathered from the table, is that the leaves in each volume have been carefully pasted together in pairs—certainly not a traditional method of collation or gathering sheets of paper together into book or booklet format. This is consistent throughout the whole set; no music is entered on both sides of a leaf. Further, no music is 'hidden' by the pasting together of leaves. The only exception is one gathering in the Bassus Primus book which contains five sheets, three pasted together and two pasted together so that 'the final number of leaves in this gathering, four, is equal to the gatherings on each side of it. The most obvious rationale for this is that the paper is somewhat thin to be- effectively used for entering music—bleed-through would be almost immediate. Yet, where sheets have separated over time, there is no appreciable bleed-through and it seems that the paper should have been satisfactory for entering music in the ordinary way. Indeed, there is an example of this paper type, unpasted, with a similar rastrum ruling and music entered on both sides, in the Peterhouse Caroline manuscripts, a set of much-used choral music.

So why paste leaves together with the immediate result of halving the available stock? Bleed-through may not really have been the reason. One possibility is that each leaf, doubled, is then stronger and would last through much use and abuse. Would such leaves then be weightier and so stay on a music stand better? Was this set intended for some sort of 'professional' use: for musicians to play from or as an examplar from which to produce further copies? Were the manuscripts intended as a 'presentation' set? Further, it seems likely that the leaves were pasted together before the music was entered, for there are no errors of entering music on the wrong page and several pages have headings, but no music entered. In addition, the entries are not smudged, which would be expected if the leaves were pasted together after the music was entered.

There is another codicological aspect which is also puzzling. Each gathering has at least two sets of stab marks along the centre line. Stab marks are placed along the centre fold of a sheet, so that two or more sheets may be sewn

[4] The numbers in Roman numerals indicate flyleaves. Pastedowns are counted as flyleaves here because in most cases they have come away completely from the binding. All are blank. Arabic numerals refer to the leaves which have been rastrum ruled. In all cases these sheets have been counted even if the glue is still intact.

together into one gathering. Several gatherings may then be sewn together along their folded edges to create a book or booklet.

This aspect poses three main questions. First, who made the stab marks, second, why and third, when? The easy answer is that the binder is the who; why is because he was making a book; when was during the process, of course. Well, that would be logical if there were one set of stab marks in each gathering, but how do we account for two or more?

The answer is likely to be found in the production of music paper. Thomas Morley observed in 1598, when seeking the privileges for producing music books and paper for the pricking of music, that 'for ruled paper to serve for music ... it will be little worth ... because there is many devices by hand to prejudice the press, in the printing of ruled paper to serve for music.[5] Later, in 1653, John Playford was advertising 'All sorts of Musicall Books ... and All sorts of rul'd Paper for Musick, and Rul'd Books ready bound up' *(Select Musicall Ayres).* Somewhere in between Morley and Playford, I believe the production of books and paper for music became standardised and productive. Further, I hypothesise [81] that it was not the scribes that did the ruling, but the bookseller or binder working with the scribe to produce a custom-made article.

[5] Quoted in, among others, I. Fenlon and J. Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted,' *JAMS,* 37 (1984), 14769, at p. 141.

[82] The method of production proposed here could have involved one person performing all tasks in rotation, or several people sharing the tasks outlined in Table 2. Example 1 represents a typical page of paper ruled for music. Table 2 explains aspects of ruling in reference to Example 1.

Table 2. Proposed methods of music paper production.

Minimum number of individuals	*Job description*
2	Fold and prick paper, minimum of four sheets at a time up to a quire, or 25 sheets (evidence exists for more sheets being done at one time). There is consistency of prickmarks between several gatherings. Each stack of folded paper would be pricked in six places: four for margins (* on above diagram) and two for staves (•), probably with one tool, like an awl.
1	Rule margins, four per side for a total of eight per sheet, with straight-edge and pen. Pass the sheet to the 'rastrator.'
2	Staves ruled, with rastrum and perhaps a straight-edge for guidance, four times per side in the case of a compound rastrum ruling five staves at one time for a total of ten staves per page. Paper 'stacked' to be sorted into gatherings.
2	Take two or four sheets, refold into gatherings of four or eight leaves.
1 or 2	Sew gatherings together along mid-line. Easy enough to prick two holes for sewing when pricking those for the margins and staves.
1	Sew two or more gatherings together into a 'booklet' of any size required, become standardised by usage or even custom-ordered by a scribe. Furthermore, evidence of holes along the centre of gatherings in MSS c.64–9 match in groups of gatherings. One advantage of this system allows the best alignment of staves between gatherings for ease of reading. Probably sold as 'booklets', with no covers, or a plain paper cover made from a lesser quality of paper.

What evidence, if any, in MSS c.64-9 supports such a detailed hypothesis? First, there are the multiple sets of stab marks indicating that each volume was bound more than once. Secondly, each volume of the set contains clearly defined sections, which have apparently been rubbed, either by sitting on a shelf or by use, on the outer sheets. No other reason can account for such grubby sheets within the books, except that each volume originally existed as four individual booklets, containing instrumental music in three, four, five and six parts. Additional gatherings of blank-staved sheets were incorporated to allow for the copying of more music.

Andrew Ashbee has shown that MSS c.64-9 and the Marsh sets, MSS Z3.4.1-6 and 7-12, were probably copied from either a common source or closely related 'lost' sources, not each other.[6] Again, the idea comes to mind that the

Bodleian Library part-books were put together to be used as a source book'. Yet, the date in the volumes, 1641, could also be a clue to the set's purpose. Were parts put together out of remaining stock from a stationer/ supplier in the face of the political unrest of the times? Or simply, did George Stratford order music from a stationer's readily available stock, suitable for a group of players of a variety of numbers, abilities and instruments, containing works popular in fashionable circles?

[83] All this may seem to be more in the realm of imagination and fiction. But, if the set were put together as I propose, then there should be correspondences of paper types, rastrum-rulings and hands within the separate

[6] Ashbee, *Harmonious Musick,* 275ff.

parts. However, if the volumes were supplied already bound up, like others sets of the period, ready for music to be entered, then rulings and paper should be standardised throughout the books. Table 3, a comparison of contents, watermark types and rastrum rulings, subdivided by sets of parts, shows that such correspondences do exist. Further, these links are throughout the set, although the table contains details only of the three books which contain all the music of three, four, five and six parts.

The third column, gatherings, are those allocated for each section, normally by the part name in the heading of each page and a3, a4, a5 or a6 in the left hand margin. This indication is on many, but not all blank staved sheets, showing that one scribe, at least, was planning the further use of blank leaves. The number 2 with a superscript '°' is the conventional abbreviation for folio paper, that is a sheet of paper folded once, in half. 'In 4', means that two sheets have been folded together to give four leaves or pages; 'in 8' results from folding four sheets in half.

Table 3. Comparison of contents, watermark types and rastrum rulings.

Book	*No. of parts*	*Gatherings*		*Watermarks*	*Rastrum*
c.64	a3	A–H:	2° in 8	1	I
		K–L:	2° in 4	2	II
		M:	2° in 8	2	II
c.65	a3	A–H:	2° in 8	1	I
		K–L:	2° in 4	2	II
		M:	2° in 8	2	II
c.68	a3	A–H:	2° in 8	1	I
		K–L:	2° in 4	2	II
		M:	2° in 8	2	II
c.64	a4	N–R:	2° in 4	3	III
		S:	2° in 4	4	IV
		T–W:	2° in 4	3	III
		X–Y:	2° in 4	4	IV
		Z:	2° in 4	3	III
		AA–CC:	2° in 4	3	V
		DD:	2° in 4	2	II
		EE:	2° in 8	2	II
c.65	a4	N–X:	2° in 4	3	III
		W:	2° in 4	3	V
		X:	2° in 4	3	III
		Y:	2° in 4	4	IV
		Z–BB:	2° in 4	3	III
		CC:	2° in 4	3	V
		DD:	2° in 4	2	II
		EE:	2° in 8	2	II
c.68	a4	N–S:	2° in 4	3	III
		T:	2° in 4	3	V
		W–Y:	2° in 4	3	III
		Z:	2° in 4	3	IV
		AA–CC:	2° in 4	3	III
		DD:	2° in 4	2	II
		EE:	2° in 8	2	II

c.64	a5	FF–GG:	2° in 4	4	IV
		HH:	2° in 4	3	V
		KK–OO:	2° in 8	1	I
		PP–QQ:	2° in 8	2	II
c.65	a5	FF–GG:	2° in 4	4	IV
		HH:	2° in 4	3	V
		KK–OO:	2° in 8	1	I
		PP–RR:	2° in 4	2	II
c.68	a5	FF:	2° in 4	4	IV
		GG–HH:	2° in 4	3	V
		KK–OO:	2° in 8	1	I
		PP:	2° in 8	2	II
		QQ:	2° in 10	2	II
		RR:	2° in 4	2	II
c.64	a6	SS–ZZ:	2° in 4	3	VI
		AAA–BBB:	2° in 4	3	V
		CCC–EEE:	2° in 8	1	I
c.65	a6	SS–ZZ:	2° in 4	3	VI
		AAA:	2° in 4	4	IV
		BBB:	2° in 4	3	V
		CCC–EEE:	2° in 8	1	I
c.68	a6	SS–ZZ:	2° in 4	3	VI
		AAA–BBB:	2° in 4	4	IV
		CCC–EEE:	2° in 8	1	I

The watermarks listed in Table 3 are briefly described in Table 4. Note that like gatherings from volume to volume have the same watermarks, and the same number of sheets per gathering. Correspondences, however, are further emphasized by the rastrum rulings used.

Table 4. Watermark types

Watermark type	*Basic description*	*Size in mm*	*Comments*[7]
1	Large grapes with stem; what appear to be leaves either side of the stem and initial 'CR' on the 'twin'	67 x 32	Fat stem, those stems with initials are shaped slightly differently
2	Small grapes with initials: CHILD or INFI or IPIH within a lozenge shape[8]	35 x 42	Initials may be CHILD as suggested by Irving, or INFI, IPIH or OOHD within a lozenge shape, showing much disintegration
3	Pillars with grapes; possible initials: ia	77 x 37	Greater detail not possible, these sheets are stiff, glued better than others
4	Shield with crown, fleur-de-lys or quartered; initials at bottom NT or NEP	95 x 45	Unreadable, possibly countermark
5	Shield quartered; griffin; flower; six-petalled daisy; lion; bull; tower in space below quarters; upside down tulip		On flysheet

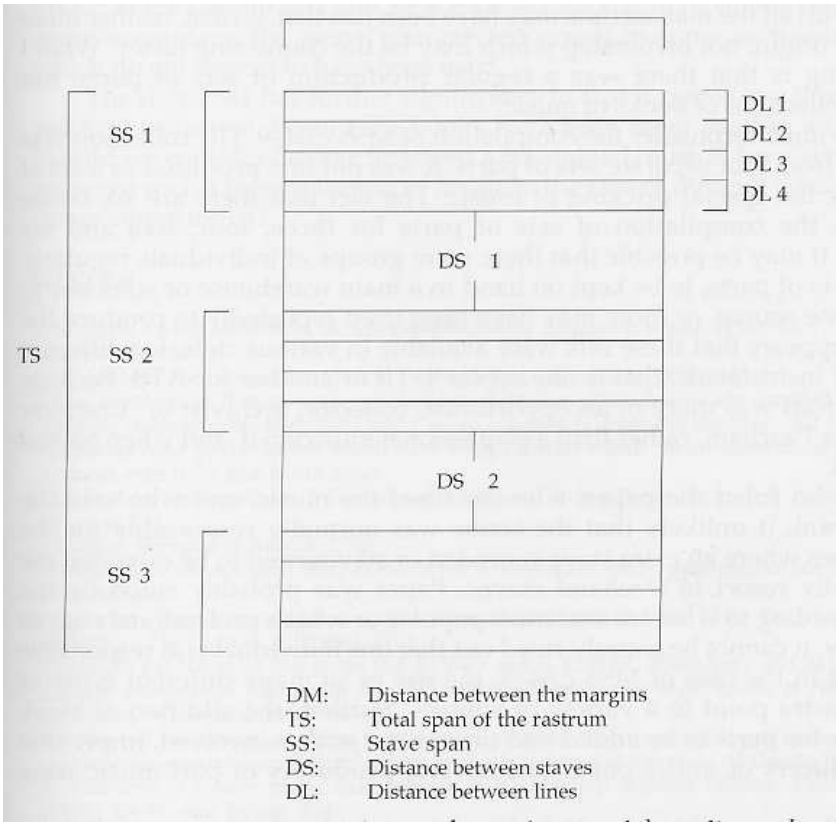
[7] It should be remembered that, as this is not a watermark study, watermarks are divided according to basic types.

[8] J. Irving, 'Two Consort Manuscripts from Oxford and Dublin: Their Copying and a Possible Redating', *The Consort,* 42 (1986), 41-9.

	design at base point		
6	Small grapes	36 x 18	

[85] Six different sets of rastra have been used to rule the paper in MSS c.64-9. As you can see, there are certain pairs of paper types and rulings that go together. Rastrum set I was used on all paper with watermark 1; set II with watermark 2; sets III, V and VI with watermark 3; and set IV on paper with watermark 4. Of course, as with any good theory, exceptions may be found to prove the rule (MS c.68, gathering Z, set IV with watermark 4.) Not many, though, considering that the entire set of manuscripts contains more than 1200 pages, or 614 sheets of paper. Several measurements are made of each Rastrum ruling:[9]

Ex. 2. Measurements



All measurements are taken at the midpoint of the rulings, that is from mid-point to mid-point for the margins, and, at the same time, the mid-point of the line itself. I also take note of the character of the lines, such as thick or thin. I do not, of course, measure the precise distance between each line of an individual stave. Rather, I make a template of the ruling and use this to measure the remaining sheets in a volume.

To summarise, the transmission theory of manuscript dissemination involving authorial, professional or personal production of manuscripts can be [86] applied to MSS c.64-9. The use of pasted leaves, the correspondences of paper types, watermarks and rastra within sets of

[9] Example 2 is based on that given in J. K. Wolf and E. K. Wolf, 'Rastrology and its use in eighteenthcentury manuscript studies' in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan Le Rue* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1990) 237-91.

parts indicate a professional product supplied to the copyists. These, in turn, support the evidence of hands, based on other scholars' work. The results of all these studies show several things.

First, we must reconsider the ownership of manuscripts. MSS c.64-9, the two Dublin sets (MSS Z3.4.1-6 and Z3.4.7-12), and Ob Mus. Sch. MSS e.437-42 are all said to have once been in the possession of Archbishop Marsh. While not detailing scribal links, this is based on the presence of Marsh's hand in the two Dublin sets and MSS e.437-42 and the presence, in these, and in MSS c.64-9 of the scribe whom ,Ashbee, Charteris and Irving have called 'J'.[10] As a scribe, J's connection with all the manuscripts may have been just that, scribal, neither more nor less. It is origin, not ownership which may be the connecting factor. What I am suggesting is that there was a regular production of sets of parts, not necessarily collections of books of music.

Next we must reconsider the compilation of MSS c.64-9. The collection was put together from four separate sets of parts. It was not first produced as a set of six books for the special pricking of music. The fact that there are six books

results from the compilation of sets of parts for three, four, five and six instruments. It may be possible that there were groups of individuals regularly producing sets of parts, to be kept on hand in a main warehouse or stationer to fill orders. One source, or more may have been used repeatedly to produce the sets. It also appears that these sets were available in various clefs, for different groupings of instruments, that is one set for TrTB or another for ATB. Perhaps George Stratford was more of an opportunist, collector, archivist or *Compleat Gentleman* à la Peacham, rather than a professional musician if, and when he had the set bound.

As for who ruled the paper, who inscribed the music, and who sold the product, I think it unlikely that the scribe was normally responsible for the ruling. In cases where an extra stave is needed or staves need to be extended the scribes usually resort to freehand staves. Paper was probably ruled by the stationer according to what seemed most popular or what a professional copyist wanted. Now, it cannot be entirely ruled out that one individual was responsible for it all, but in the case of MSS c.64-9, the use of so many different types of paper and rastra point to a variety of sources. Further, the addition of blank staved paper for parts to be added and the several scribes involved, imply that several producers of music paper and several producers of part-music were involved.

Yet another aspect of transmission must be considered. Was music popular and thus transmitted because it was indeed much appreciated, or was it simply available because it fitted the criteria of numbers of parts and instrumentation? Were certain pairs of musicians such as Coprario and Mico available in sets because the clefs, instruments required and number of parts made a neat package? How does this aspect affect our notion of what was popular then? What records do we really have of performance of a particular type or piece of music?

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[10] For a full discussion of scribal hands see A. Ashbee, 'The transmission of consort music in some seventeenth-century manuscripts, paper read at a meeting of the Viola da Gamba Society, June 1994; R. Charteris, 'Consort music manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin,' *RMARC,* 13 (1976), 27-57; and Irving, *ibid.*

Chronology must also be reconsidered. Based on the above comparison of [87] paper, watermarks and rastrum rulings, the date 1641 on the cover is most likely to indicate the year the sets of parts were bound together, rather than commemorating the start of a great set. This supports the idea that sets of parts were available to order and actually may have been produced and held as stock. Also, these booklets or gatherings of music could have circulated and been used for some time before being collated with other sets of parts into one large set of books, MSS c.64-9.

This theory takes into account the presence of several scribes overlapping one another in these part-books and the scribal concordances with the two Dublin sets and MSS e.437-42. Such a theory is further supported by the fact that some, not all, sections of the Bodleian part-books which contain the same music as the Dublin sets and MSS e.437-42 appear to have been copied from the same exemplars; the many uncorrected errors in some sections; and sections which do not appear to have been used.

The date 1641 has further significance in that it points to a time of imminent political upheaval. Would the books have been more used in a time of peace? Should we consider George Stratford a far-sighted musical hero, who managed to preserve such a large selection of music in the face of difficult circumstances, or a clever opportunist?

THE SOURCES OF PURCELL'S FANTASIAS

Robert Thompson

Purcell's fantasias represent a late and final flowering of the English consort tradition, a flowering so late that it is not easy to understand why he composed these works at all and so final that they remained a well-kept secret even from such knowledgeable amateurs as Roger North, who described the four-part fantasias of Locke as 'the last of the kind that hath bin made'.[1] Yet Purcell's consort music is quite well represented in seventeenth-century manuscript scores. As well as the autograph GB-Lbl Add. MS 30930 there are secondary copies of most of the consort works in US-NYp Drexel MS 5061, of the three-part fantasias in Lbl Add. MS 33236 and of the five-part fantasia on one note in GB-Och MS Mus. 620. One three-part fantasia also appears in a set of playing parts, Lbl Add. MS 31435. Although Purcell's consort music was apparently known only to a small circle of professional musicians, its contemporary sources are numerous and varied enough to make it worth enquiring whether their history casts any light on the music they contain.

The primary source of Purcell's fantasias is of course Add. MS 30930, his own autograph score. Instrumental music, principally fantasias and sonatas, is copied from one end of the manuscript and sacred part-songs from the other: the flyleaf at the vocal music end, f. 2, bears the inscription 'The Work's of Hen; Purcell. Anno Dom. 1680', and each of the complete four-part fantasias has an individual date in the same year. In its late nineteenth-century British Museum binding Add. MS 30930 looks as if it has always been a single large manuscript book, perhaps a companion to Lbl RM MS 20.h.8 which is made of the same type of paper. But a reconstruction of the volume's original collation, lost in the last century through careless rebinding and necessary conservation work, suggests a much more complex early history.[2]

In contrast to the other great autograph scores RM MS 20.h.8 and GB-Cfm MU MS 88, the folios surviving in what is now Add. MS 30930 appear to have been kept for some time as a collection of loose sheets and unbound gatherings. If so, the order of the works in the manuscript is not a reliable indicator of their date, because Purcell could easily have put the music he copied first somewhere in the middle of the book when it was bound: the first folio of the gathering containing sonatas 1-Ill, for example (f. 43v INV), is discoloured as if for some time it was an outer page, and these three sonatas, rather than the stylistically archaic fantasias, may represent the earliest material in the volume. Purcell's bold and assertive flyleaf inscription refers to 'The Work's' and so probably identifies a substantial retrospective collection, meaning that by 1680 a significant proportion of the contents of Add. MS 30930 had already been composed, if not actually copied on the pages that now

[1] J. Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (1959), 349.

[2] For a detailed analysis of the manuscript's structure see R. P. Thompson, 'Purcell's Great Autographs' in *Purcell Studies,* ed. C. Price (Cambridge, 1995), 6-34, esp. pp. 24-9.

make up the manuscript. The flyleaf date '1680' must in fact represent no more than an intermediate stage in the present score's evolution, perhaps the point at which Purcell decided on an order for his collection of loose gatherings but not necessarily the date of binding into the present complete single volume, for which the earliest definite evidence is the late eighteenth-century index on f. 72. Statements about Purcell's [89] compositional style, handwriting or professional career before and after 1680, if based solely on the evidence of Add. MS 30930, must therefore be made with extreme caution. It is also possible that the extant manuscript represents the remains of a rather larger collection: the removal of certain pages has left evidence in the form of contemporary stubs, missing conjunct folios, and correction slips made of the main paper type, but entire gatherings could have been removed without leaving any trace. Joseph Warren, who owned the manuscript in the nineteenth century, wrote on f. 37v, '10 leaves have been abstracted here, including the whole of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th Sonatas. The above is [the 9th]'. His subsequently deleted mistake about sonatas VII and VIII, which follow IX, shows that he made this note on his initial inspection of the manuscript and his confidence about the number of folios removed suggests that he could see the stubs of an entire excised gathering, themselves taken out when the volume was re-bound.

Like sonatas I-III, some of Purcell's archaising consort music may well have been copied on loose sheets or separate gatherings before he formed a definite plan for the binding of the volume. The five-part fantasia, which occupies the central opening of a gathering, could have been copied some time before other sheets, including one with the heading 'Here begineth ye 5 part: Fantazies', were arranged around it, and the first and third three-part works, which face each other on conjunct folios, similarly occupy one side of a single sheet although in this case the last seven bars of the third fantasia are copied over the page. The second fantasia occupies one side of a half-sheet now bound inside the bifolium containing fantasias 1 and 3. In contrast, the third four-part fantasia (VdGS 6) and the seven-part In Nomine extend from one gathering to another and cannot have been copied before the collation of the relevant sections of the volume had been decided. An early copy of the sacred part-songs made by John Walter, GB-Ob MS Mus. c.28 ff 100-123, shows that the vocal repertory of Add. MS 30930 took shape in a broadly similar way: in the Bodleian source the part-song sequence begins with seven works contained within separate gatherings of the autograph and continues with three that cross a division between gatherings and were presumably composed and copied last, after Purcell's binding plan had been finalised.

A gathering of four folios containing the pavan and the chacony, both in G minor though completely unrelated works, could lie at the heart of the history of Purcell's consort music. The pavan is copied on the first verso of the gathering (in the modern foliation f. 57 INV). Then, after three blank pages, follows the chacony, which ends within the same gathering. Neither work belongs to a principal repertory of the manuscript, and both, as they are contained within a single gathering, could have been copied before the overall plan of the volume had been worked out. The pavan, though in a form related to the fantasias, is set apart from them by its scoring for three trebles and bass,

and the empty pages following imply that it was intended as the first movement of a suite. The evidence of the three-part pavans in Add. MS 33236 and the bass parts in US-NH Osborne MS 515 is that Purcell's interest in the pavan preceded his involvement with the fantasia and it seems reasonable to suggest that the unique and [90] relatively complex pavan for three trebles in Add. MS 30930 was composed as a tribute to John Jenkins after his death in late 1678.[3] Jenkins had himself composed distinguished suites for the same scoring, which flourished briefly at the English court while Thomas Baltzar was a member of the Private Music in the early 1660s,[4] and the use of the pavan as a contrapuntally complex opening movement in a suite was characteristic of a generation older than Purcell's. Thus the contents and internal codicology of Add. MS 30930 give reason to suspect that some folios might have been copied before 1680, though binding was probably carried out in that year. This argument can be developed by examining other sources made of ,the same kind of paper, one of them an important concordance of Purcell's vocal music copied by John Blow.

The paper type of Add. MS 30930, marked with an Angoumois fleur-de-lys and countermarked with the emblem 'IHS' above the initials of the papermaker Etienne Touzeau, is found in a number of manuscripts dating from around 1680. Some of this paper was used in bound manuscript books, including RM MS 20.h.8 and John Walter's score-book at Chichester, West Sussex CRO MS Cap.Vl/1/1: Walter wrote the date '1680' on a label pasted to the cover of his score-book, so the Touzeau paper was probably available in loose sheets some time in the late 1670s. More paper from the same stock appears in Och MS Mus. 628, a splendid calligraphic score in which, amongst other music, John Blow transcribed most of Purcell's sacred part-songs in readings apparently earlier than those of the surviving autograph. Blow's manuscript probably dates from the late 1670s because it contains the anthems 'When the Lord turned again and 'The Lord is my shepherd', which must have been written before he received a Lambeth doctorate in December 1677.[5] Further evidence for a date in the 1670s is given by the absence from the Touzeau watermark of the initials of the paper factor Abraham Janssen, for whom Etienne Touzeau worked in the early 1680s.

Could Purcell's sacred part-songs have been composed in 1678 or 1679, rather than 1680? Most of their texts come from the psalm adaptations of John Patrick, which were published as A *Century of Select Psalms* in 1679 and appear in the Stationers' Company *Term Catalogue* for November of that year. The book's *imprimatur,* however, is dated 21 November 1678, only a few weeks after Jenkins's death on 27 October, and Blow's copies in MS Mus. 628 suggest that the vocal repertory of Add. MS 30930 was composed around that time, perhaps using pre-publication prints or a final manuscript text of Patrick's words. The autographs of the sacred part-songs in Add. MS 30930 are

[3] Influenced by the relative untidiness of their copying, I previously suggested ('Purcell's Great Autographs', 11n) that the pavan, chacony and fantasia *3* were later additions to Add. MS 30930. In fact some of Purcell's early copying, for example in Och MS Mus. 554, is at least as untidy and the position of the pavan and chacony within a distinct gathering would, if the manuscript had already been bound, be something of a coincidence.

[4] P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 1993), 276-81.

[5] In Lbl Add. MS 50860 they are attributed to 'Mr Jo: Blow'.

evidently revisions of lost original scores from which all the seventeenth-century secondary sources except MS Mus.c.28 are descended. The strong possibility that the earliest sections of Add. MS 30930 date from 1678 or 1679 rather than 1680 has a bearing on the chronology of many of Purcell's earlier manuscripts: the key characteristics of Purcell's early handwriting, a reversed bass clef and a secretary-hand form of the letter 'e', are completely absent from Add. MS 30930, and it is likely that his adoption of the italic 'e', for which Add. MS 30930 offers the earliest dated evidence, had in fact taken place a year or so before 1680, a suggestion consistent with the likely period of Purcell's first stage of work in Cfm MS 88.[6]

[91] Much the most important secondary source of Purcell's fantasias is Drexel MS 5061 (see Appendix).[7] Like the autograph score this manuscript seems to have had a complex history: there are two distinct types of ruling, one with the staves ruled in discrete blocks of three, the other in blocks of four; and duplicate paginations suggest that at least some sections once existed independently. Pages 1-39 have an original ink numbering continued in pencil to the end of the instrumental music at p. 98, between pp 81 and 93 superseding an ink pagination applied to Locke's *Little Consort* and the following Purcell fantasia. Bartholomew lsaack's 'Ground' begins at pencil p. 97 on a page also numbered '1' in ink. The vocal music is separated from the instrumental by an unruled sheet; the first page of Isaack's 'Once more the mouth of heav'n' is again numbered '1' in ink but a new pencil pagination from that point begins at 23, clear evidence that at one time this final section of the manuscript was part of a different book.

Watermarks in the part of the volume containing Purcell's fantasias suggest that copying of the original contents started in the 1670s, though variations in the handwriting throughout the manuscript may mean that additions were made over a period of some years. The paper is marked with a fleur-de-lys and countermarked with the initials 'AI', probably identifying Abraham Janssen, beneath the Jesuit emblem 'IHS'. Janssen's initials are familiar after 1679 as a factor's mark representing the merchant who exported the paper, but here they appear in the position where the papermaker's initials were required by French law, so this paper probably belongs to a slightly earlier stage in Janssen's career when he was still running his own mill.[8]

The contents of Drexel MS 5061 offer a number of clues as to the identity of the copyist, who was also responsible for US-NYp Drexel MS 3976, 'The

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[6] Thompson, 'Purcell's Great Autographs', 16. The copyist of Cfm MS 117, a source related to Cfm MS 88 and probably started in 1678 or 1679, had access to the first sixteen of Purcell's Cfm MS 88 copies almost at the beginning of his work (*ibid.,* 18, 31-4).

[7] I have seen only a microfilm of this manuscript. 1 am extremely grateful to John Shepard, Head of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the New York Public Library, for providing a tracing of the watermarks of the section of Drexel MS 5061 containing Purcell's four-part fantasias and for other detailed information.

[8] Early eighteenth-century occurrences of the 'AI' countermark may mean that the recession in the Angoumois paper industry caused by the Nine Years' War (1688-1697) obliged Janssen to return to the trade of papermaking.

Rare Theatrical, & other Compositions by Mr Mathew Lock'.[9] The close relationship with Purcell reflected by the copyist's fantasia transcriptions indicate that he belonged to the same social and musical circles as the composer, an impression reinforced by his knowledge of music by the obscure Bartholomew Isaack a Chapel Royal chorister until 1676 who probably continued his training under John Blow.[10] The entire vocal section of Drexel MS 5061 could be covered by the ascription at the head of its first page, making this manuscript much the most extensive source of Isaack's music; his instrumental work is a canonic three-treble composition apparently related to Purcell's own 'Three Parts on a Ground'. Two formal ascriptions to 'Mr Bartholmew Isaack' do not necessarily rule him out as the Drexel copyist: in the Christ Church, Oxford, cathedral partbooks MSS Mus. 1220-4 a near-contemporary composer, William Husbands, makes a similar self-attribution in his anthem 'Come Holy Ghost', and a variety of motives extending from vanity to professional self-effacement might have led a young musician to identify his own work in the same style as everyone else's. Bartholomew Isaack's ground reflects a serious interest in counterpoint that would certainly have provided a motive for copying Purcell's fantasias. His brother Peter Isaack has been put forward as another possible copyist,[11] though Peter's employment as a Vicar Choral at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from 1673 to 1687 makes it unlikely that in 1680 he was as close to Purcell as the Drexel scribe appears to have been.

[92] In general the textual relationship between Add. MS 30930 and Drexel MS 5061 is very close. The Drexel copyist's headings, such as 'Fantasia 5 Parts upon one Note' are clearly influenced by Purcell's spelling and phraseology; apart from the reversal of fantasias 9 and 10 the order of the four-part works, including the pavan, is the same; and the few tempo directions in Drexel MS 5061 are often positioned exactly as they are in the autograph. With the exception of fantasias 6 and 12, notated by Purcell in 4/4 rather than 4/2 time, the Drexel scribe follows the Add. MS 30930 barring pattern, for example reproducing the autograph's halving of bar lengths in the active final section of fantasia 4, and a clef change in the first bass near the end of the seven-part In Nomine is the same in both manuscripts. Drexel MS 5061 incorporates almost all of Purcell's revisions, clearly and unambiguously written even where the autograph itself is confused, though one variant which cannot be explained as a casual error seems to represent a plausible alternative reading. In bar 6 of fantasia 5 a variant bass part destroys a strict octave canon with the treble of the previous bar but results in a much less astringent harmony on the fourth beat (see music example); the change requires the positive addition of a flat sign not in the autograph, is not attributable to any ambiguity in Add. MS 30930, and may reflect an experiment carried out when the music was played through.

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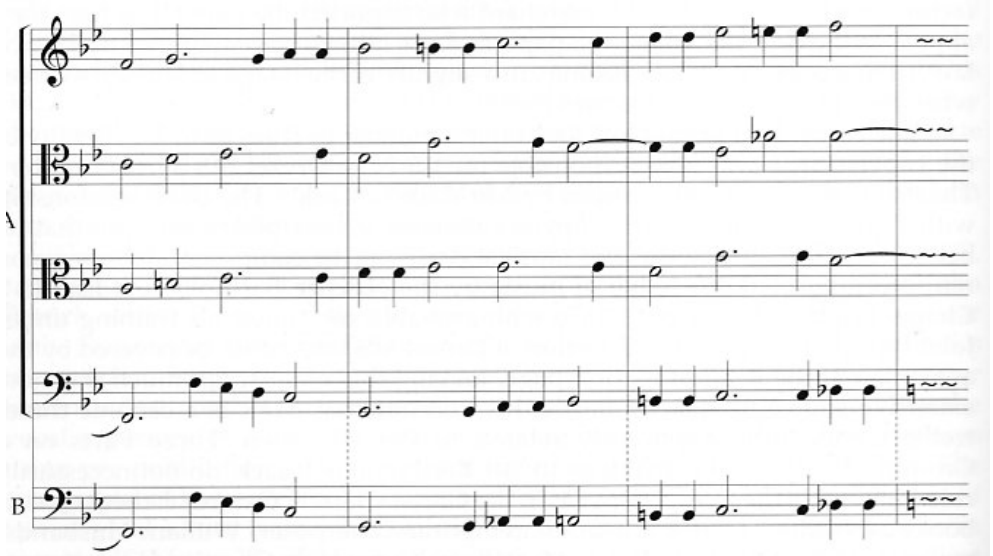
[9] See P. Holman, 'Bartholomew Isaack and "Mr Isaack" of Eton: a confusing tale of Restoration Musicians', *MT, 128 (1987), 381-5;* Matthew Locke, *The Rare Theatrical,* New York Public Library, Drexel MS 3976, ed. P. Holman (facsimile, *Music in London Entertainment* A-4, 1989), esp. pp xi-xii.

[10] A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music,* i (Snodland, 1986), 166.

[11] Holman, 'Bartholomew Isaack'.



Purcell, fantasia 5, bars 5–7.
A. Autograph text (GB-Lbl Add. MS 30930).
B. Variant bass line from US-NYp Drexel MS 5061.

A further sign that the series of fantasias in Drexel MS 5061 grew up alongside the autograph is an extra terminal flourish after fantasia 10, in Add. MS 30930 dated 30 June, indicating that the copyist regarded it as the last of a series of compositions and therefore that he had finished this stage of his work before Purcell began the two fantasias bearing dates in August. The close [93] similarity between the Add. MS 30930 and Drexel texts of the fantasias, with Purcell's often substantial modifications incorporated in the latter manuscript, rules out any possibility that the Drexel scores were copied from an earlier autograph which, to judge by the part-song sources, might be expected to differ significantly from the one that survives.

Och MS Mus. 620 contains on pp 129-31 a score of the five-part fantasia in the hand of the elder Richard Goodson, Professor of Music at Oxford from 1682 to 1718, on Etienne Touzeau paper not quite the same as that of Add. MS 30930 but still lacking the Janssen factor's mark. This source is important because of its probable connection with the Oxford Music School and the consequent implication that some of Purcell's chamber music might have been played and discussed in that somewhat unusual setting. In 1680 Oxford would have been the English city most likely to give Purcell's fantasias a home: the elderly but vigorous Lowe was still in charge at the Music School; consort music had until recently been practised at Narcissus Marsh's lodgings; and a fantasia by the New College organist William King (d. 1680) in EIRE-Dm MS Z.2.1.13 suggests that the idea of composing in the older style had not been completely abandoned. It is perhaps a little surprising that only one Purcell fantasia, the work in five parts, exists in an authenticated Oxford source.

Four pavans and the three three-part fantasias are to be found in Add. MS 33236, a manuscript whose bibliographical simplicity contrasts with the evidently complex history of the repertory it contains. Yet again the paper was made by Etienne Touzeau, who seems to have been a favourite of specialist stationers around 1680, but this time has the 'AJ' factor's initials of

Abraham Janssen. The appearance of this mark, reflecting an expansion of Janssen's business as he became one of the major exporters of paper from the Angoumois, coincides with the end of the Franco-Dutch war of 1672-78 and perhaps reflects his response to the more favourable trading conditions which subsequently arose. The three fantasias come at the end of a sequence of works including a symphony, misattributed to Blow, from Purcell's 'How pleasant is this flow'ry plain' which was copied into RM MS 20.h.8 some time after 21 October 1682. Add. MS 33236, then, is a relatively late source of the fantasias although, as Thurston Dart argued many years ago,[12] it may well contain repertory derived from earlier manuscripts used by Purcell.

Most of fantasia 1 has been torn out, but what remains of its text, like that of fantasia 3, is identical with the autograph, from which these two works were evidently copied. The Add. MS 33236 version of fantasia 2, however, is different from the one now in Add. MS 30930, which occupies a half-sheet inside the bifolium containing fantasias 1 and 3. It is possible that Purcell carried out his final revision of fantasia 2 around 24 February 1683, when he dated an incomplete four-part composition in Add. MS 30930, and that the three-part fantasia texts in Add. MS 33236 reflect the state of the autograph shortly before that time, the surviving autograph of fantasia 2 being a replacement of an original torn out by the composer.

Fantasia 2 also appears in Add. MS 31435, on the final verso of each of four part-books (three strings and basso continuo) after Locke's *Broken Consort* and [94] some similar suites by Christopher Gibbons. This manuscript, the only source of any Purcell fantasia in playing parts, contains what is probably the earliest version of fantasia 2 as it lacks the concluding slow section found in other sources. The owner or annotator of the manuscript, who was not the copyist, evidently knew Purcell as he recorded his checking of some music in inscriptions such as 'All the Fanta: in this book of Mr Locks I Exad by Mr Purcells Score Book', an apparent reference to the Locke autograph Lbl Add. MS 17801. The modern guard-book also contains the fantasias from Locke's four-part consort, copied in the same hand though in an originally separate set of parts, and again annotated 'Examined by Mr Purcells Score Book'.

Despite their older principal repertory, and their inclusion of a distinctive version of Purcells fantasia 2, the Add. MS 31435 part-books cannot be significantly earlier than other sources of Purcells consort music. The countermark throughout the string parts of the first set identifies the paper as the work of Jean Monediere, which first appears in the mid-1670s, but in the continuo book an 'AJ' factor's mark is visible, so this part at least probably dates from 1679 or later. All four parts of the Purcell fantasia seem to have been copied at the same time, so the conjectural date of c1675 traditionally ascribed to this work is too early, at least on the evidence of the extant sources. It cannot be assumed that the three-part fantasias are any earlier than Purcell's other consort music; the Drexel manuscript contains only the first, followed by unused pages, and the other two might in fact have been the last of Purcells fantasias to be composed. The second set of parts in Add.

[12] T. Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', *PRMA,* 85 (1958-9), 81-93. 13. T. Dart, 'Purcell and Bull', *MT,* 104 (1963), 30-1.

MS 31435, containing the fantasias only from Locke's four-part consort, foreshadows Purcells own practice of treating fantasias as independent rather than introductory movements. The watermark found throughout this section, a fleur-de-lys with the factor's mark 'HC', would allow a possible date a few years either side of 1680 and the separation of Locke's fantasias from their associated dance movements, together with the annotator's reference to 'Mr Purcells Score Book', suggests that the partbooks were in some way connected with Purcell's study of contrapuntal consort music.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from a survey of Purcells fantasia sources. Our knowledge of Purcells habits of development and revision of his music means that there is little chance that the Drexel score represents an earlier version of the fantasias it contains. There is in fact no evidence of any version of the four-part fantasias, or of the other consort works apart from fantasia 2, earlier than the one in the autograph. Some of the music in Add. MS 30930 could, however, have been composed and copied before 1680, and if the three-treble pavan really is the first of Purcells archaising works it is possible that his entire involvement with consort music stemmed from an inquiry into Jenkins and other older composers, perhaps initiated by the death of Locke or Jenkins or by a curiosity to find out what old instrumental music was like after working editorially on an earlier vocal repertory, as he had in Cfm MS 88. Taking all available forms of evidence into account, it is probable that none of the material in Add. MS 30930 was copied before 1678 but that much of the manuscript's content reflects a period of intense activity between 1678 and 1680, in which [95] year Purcell felt able to assemble 'The Work's'. Though the sonatas and partsongs are contrapuntally elaborate, there is no evidence that he applied himself to the composition of fantasias before 1679 or 1680, when he might have played through the fantasias in Add. MS 31435 with some of his colleagues.

Purcell and his friends undoubtedly had professional tasks to carry out and limited time to hunt through libraries for sources of the older music. It would naturally occur to them to look to Locke for examples of four-part fantasias; the first section of Add. MS 31435 may point towards Christopher Gibbons as an important model for Purcell's three-part fantasias, though Orlando's printed set must still have been in circulation. A currently unavailable manuscript containing a ten-part canon on a plainchant by John Bull[13] was copied by Purcell at about the same time as the fantasias in Add. MS 30930 and a search for similar music possibly led him to the In Nomine, though he seems inadvertently to have landed on very early specimens.

Whatever the inspiration, at about the age of 20 or 21 Purcell immersed himself in all kinds of counterpoint, some of relatively modern kinds, much archaic. The temptation to ascribe to Purcell a comprehensive knowledge of earlier music is nevertheless to be resisted; what is conspicuous, though hardly surprising, in the evidence of manuscripts associated with him and his own autographs is not how much but how little of the huge existing repertory he definitely knew. Yet considering the substantial achievements already behind him in 1679 or 1680, by which time he had composed 'My beloved spake' and

[13] T. Dart, 'Purcell and Bull', *MT* 104 (1963), 30-1.

'Behold now praise the Lord', his recognition that there was much to learn from a genre offering no chance of immediate profit or fame sets him apart from the majority of his contemporaries and reveals the qualities that make him a great composer rather than merely an interesting one.

APPENDIX
US-NYp Drexel MS 5061

Pagination		*Staves in*	*Heading and contents*
Ink	*Pencil*	*block*	
1-13		4	'Gamut. Mr Mat: Lock' [fifteen four-part movements in G minor]*
14-39		4	'4 prt Fantazia. Mr Purcell.' [p. 14: subsequent works headed 'Fantazia' without ascription]
	40-41	4	Pavan [Purcell]
	[42-43 unused]		
	44-49	4	'Gamut. Mr Rob Smith.' [seven four-part movements in G minor]
	[50-54 unused]		
	55-56	3	'Fantazia 5 Parts upon one Note. Mr Purcell.'
	57-58	3	'6 Parts. In Nomine Mr Purcell'
	59-61	3	'7 Parts In Nomine' [Purcell]
	62	3	[correction to In Nomine a7]
	[63-69 unused]		
	70-79	4	'Ground B mi Mr Francis Forcer.'
	[80 unused]		
1-11	81-91	3	'Mr Locks Little Consort of 3 Parts' [movements 1-17]
14-15	92-93	3	'Mr Purcell. Fantazia 3 parts'
	[94-96 unused]		
1	97-98	3	'Ground: Mr Bartholmew Isaack.'
[unruled folio]			
1	23-24	4	'Mr Bartholmew Isaack' [incipit 'Once more the mouth of heav'n']
	24-27	4	'Song 3 voc' [incipit 'Lament, lament, look, look what thou hast done']†
	28-31	4	'Vers Anthem: Compos'd 1677' [incipit 'Lord thou art become gracious']†
	32-35	4	'Vers Anthem' [incipit 'Turn thou us, good Lord']†
	36-39	4	'Psalme 51st' [verses 1-6. Incipit 'Gratiam fac mihi'; S,S,B, 2vn, bc]†

* See R. E. M. Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke* (Oxford, 1971), 117-8.
† Possibly by Bartholomew Isaack.

HENRY PURCELL AND JOSEPH GIBBS: A NEW SOURCE OF THE THREE-PART FANTASIAS Z732 AND Z734

Peter Holman

Purcell's fantasias do not seem to have circulated much in his lifetime. Roger North, who knew Purcell and played with him on more than one occasion, does not mention them in his accounts of the English consort repertory. He evidently thought that Matthew Locke's *Consort of Four Parts* was the last viol consort music: 'after Mr Jenkens I know but one poderose consort of that kind composed, which was M'' M. Lock's 4 arts, worthy to bring up the 'rere, after which wee are to expect no more of that style'.[1] Indeed, the surviving manuscripts suggest that knowledge of Purcell's fantasias was confined to the composer's inner circle. The autograph score, GB-Lbl Add. MS 30930, is the only seventeenth-century manuscript to contain them all, and most of the other sources seem to have been copied directly from it.[2]

Purcell's fantasias do not seem to have been of much interest to eighteenth-century musicians. They are not mentioned by Burney or Hawkins, or any other contemporary writer, to my knowledge. Until now the only known eighteenth century source of the fantasias has been a score in the library of Tatton Park near Knutsford in Cheshire, shelfmark MR 2-5. According to a note in the manuscript, the fantasias were 'faithfully copied from Henry Purcell's original manuscript by Mr Thos Barrow Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapels Royal'; Barrow died in 1789.[3] That situation has now been altered by the discovery of two of the three-part fantasias in an early eighteenth-century keyboard manuscript apparently copied by the Colchester composer Joseph Gibbs.

Joseph Gibbs was born in Colchester on 12 December 1698 (not in Dedham in 1699 as is usually said in reference books), the son of John Gibbs, a Colchester wait; he was baptised at St Botolph's Church in the town on 21 December.[4] He seems to have lived in Colchester until he became organist of Dedham in about 1744. He was appointed organist of St Mary le Tower in Ipswich in 1748, and moved to Ipswich the next year. He played a prominent role in the musical life of north-east Essex and west Suffolk throughout his long life, and died in Ipswich on 12 December 1788. He is best known as a composer for his fine set of *Eight Solos for a Violin with a*

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[1] J. Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (1959), 301.

[2] See *Fantazias and Miscellaneous Instrumental Music,* ed. T. Dart, rev. M. Tilmouth, A. Browning & P. Holman, *The Works of Henry Purcell*, 31 (1959; rev. edn, 1990), xi, xiv; R. Thompson, 'Purcell's Great Autographs', in *Purcell Studies,* ed. C. Price (Cambridge, 1995), 6-34; idem, 'The Sources of Purcell's Fantasias, see pp. 88-96 of this volume.

[3] For the Tatton manuscripts, see N. Fortune, 'A New Purcell Source', *MR*, 25 (1964), 109-13; A. Browning, ' Purcell's Stairre Case Overture', *MT*, 121 (1980), 768-9.

[4] J. Bensusan-Butt, *Thomas Gainsborough in his Twenties: A Memorandum based on Contemporary Sources* (Colchester, 1993), 21-2.

Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin op. 1 (1746; repr. 1995), though he also published a set of Six *Quartettos for Two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello or Harpsichord op.* 2 (1777). A set of five organ voluntaries came to light in 1985, when the British Library acquired the manuscript now known as Add. MS 63797.[5]

Virtually nothing is known about Joseph Gibbs's education and early career. However, the Rowe Music Library at King's College, Cambridge contains an oblong folio music book, MS 121, that seems to be in his hand. It has the inscription 'Roseingrave' on the original front cover, and 'This Book written by Joseph Gibbs, Ipswich' in a nineteenth-century hand on the inside. It is not possible to verify this statement, since we do not seem to have any other specimens of Gibbs's hand.[6] However, the style of the handwriting is consistent with someone born around 1700, and most of the music is the sort of thing that a [98] violinist, keyboard player and composer of his generation might have collected as a young man.

Whoever he was, the copyist used the front of the book to enter a complete copy of Thomas Roseingrave's *Eight Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1728)-hence 'Roseingrave' on the front cover. The text of the copy is virtually identical to Walsh's engraved edition, and was probably copied directly from it. He used the other end of the book to copy a miscellaneous sequence of harpsichord music, keyboard reductions of ensemble music, and, at the end, three sonatas for violin and continuo. It begins with an arrangement (f. 1-1v) of the overture to Pepusch's entertainment *The Union of the Three Sister Arts,* first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 22 November 1723 and published in score by Walsh the next month.[7] Next comes a version (ff 2-3) of Handel's 'Harmonious Blacksmith' variations from the E major suite, no. 5 of his *Suites de pieces pour le clavecin* (1720), transposed into G major, presumably to make it easier to play. Items later in the sequence include arrangements of portions of Corelli's trio sonatas op. 1/2 (f. 20v), 1/5 (f. 21), and 1/8 (f. 9), and a number of pieces from Handel's operas, including the overtures to *Ottone,* 1723 (ff 17v-18) and *Rodelinda,* 1725 (f. 23v), arias from *Guilio Cesare,* 1724 (ff 5v-6, 7v-8), and the fantastically florid version of 'Vo' far guerra' (ff 9v-16) from *Rinaldo,* 1711, published in *Suits of the Most Celebrated Lessons Collected and Fitted to the Harpsicord or Spinnet by Mr:*

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[5] I am grateful to Richard Platt for providing me with a copy of his unpublished edition of the voluntaries.

[6] The organ voluntaries in Add. MS 63797 are in a different, later hand.

[7] D. F. Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752), with Special Reference to his Dramatic Works and Cantatas' (Ph. D., London, 1982), ii, 142-5; W. C. Smith and C. Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721-1766* (1968), 263-4.

Wm: Babell (1717).[8] The arrangements of the Handel overtures are not those first published by Walsh in 1726.[9]

I have been unable to identify the first violin sonata, in A major (ff 24-6), but the second, in E major (ff 26v-8), is by Pepusch, and was published in London around 1720 as *A Favorite Solo for the Violin Composed by Dr Pepuch.*[10] The third, in C minor (ff 28v-30), is by Francesco Geminiani, and was published by Sir John Hawkins in his *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776).[11] Hawkins implied that the sonata was an early work, for he drew attention to the similarity between its first movement and the second of Geminiani's concerto op. 2/1, first published in 1732, and implied that the former was the model for the latter: 'the first idea of the Concerto was the following Solo, which the author had composed many years before, and has never yet appeared in print.' The text of the sonata in the Rowe manuscript differs in many respects from that printed by Hawkins, and is clearly independent of it. To judge from the repertory and the consistent style of the handwriting, the whole manuscript was copied over a fairly short period around 1730. Indeed, the latest dateable items are the Roseingrave suites, published in 1728.

The two Purcell fantasias, the first and third of the three-part works Z732 and Z734, occur in keyboard score in the middle of the miscellaneous sequVce, on ff 18v-20. There is no sign that the copyist knew what they were. They are not attributed to Purcell and Z734 is headed 'Fugue' rather than fantasia; Z732 is untitled. In general, the texts of the two fantasias are close to those of the autograph, Add. MS 30930, though accidentals have been modernised (natural signs are used) and there are enough small variants to suggest that the texts were transmitted to MS 121 through at least one intermediate manuscript. In particular, Z734 has a C time signature in MS 121 while the autograph has no [99] time signature, and there are several places (bars 20-1, 60) where pairs of quavers are dotted in the autograph and even in MS 121. The main differences in the MS 121 text of Z732 are the use of a one-flat key signature (the autograph has no key signature) and the omission of the rubric 'Drag' at bar 53.

Of course, the most important difference between the texts in the autograph and MS 121 is that the former is in open score while the latter is in two-stave keyboard score. It is not entirely clear why this is so. There is no sign that the pieces were adapted to fit under the fingers-there are a number of places where there are two simultaneous stretches of a tenth or more-though the copyist started to copy out Z734 at the top of f. 18v with the middle part placed up an octave, perhaps in a vain attempt to make it easier

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[8] Edited in G. F. Handel's Werke: Ausgabe der Deutschen Handel's Werke: Ausgabe der Deutschen Handelgesellschaft, 48, ed. F. Chrysander (Bergedorf bei Hamburg, 1894), 230-43; W. C. Smith, A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695-1720 (1968), 146-7.

[9] W. C. Smith, *Handel: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions* (1960), 280-7; see *Handel's Sixty Overtures from all his Operas and Oratorios Set for the Harpsicord or Organ* (c1755; repr. 1993), 35-7, 82-5.

[10] Cook, 'Johann Christoph Pepusch', ii, 83-4.

[11] J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776; 2/1853, repr. 1963), ii, 848-9. MS 121 is not listed in the catalogue of Geminiani's works in E. Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762)* (Oxford, 1993), 268.

to play. He evidently realised that such a procedure was unsatisfactory—it would have distorted Purcell's carefully calculated textures and would have produced some uncomfortable inversions-and he abandoned it after sixteen bars, scoring through what he had done and starting again on the next pair of staves.

It is conceivable that the copyist of MS 121 was working from another source of the fantasias in keyboard score, but I think it unlikely, for two reasons. First, there are several places where he got himself into a tangle with up-stems and down-stems, presumably because he was transcribing from a three-stave score into a two-stave format where two parts often share a single stave. Secondly, in bar 46 of Z732 he mistakenly wrote the c♯'crotchet on the third beat of the middle part as a b♯' in the treble clef, apparently forgetting for a moment that he was transcribing from the alto clef; he realised his mistake, smudged the wet ink, and inserted the correct reading. All in all, it looks as if the copyist transcribed the two fantasias from a lost score that was itself copied directly from the autograph, or was close to it in the line of transmission.

An obvious possibility, assuming that the copyist of MS 121 really was Joseph Gibbs, is that he produced it during a period spent around 1730 studying composition in London. If so, I wonder whether his teacher might have been Thomas Roseingrave, the author of the suites at the front of the manuscript. Roseingrave had an outstanding reputation as a teacher. Among his pupils were John Christopher Smith, Henry Carey and John Worgan, and Burney, reminiscing about his youth in London in the 1740s, wrote that 'his sweetness of temper and willingness to instruct young persons, who were eager in the pursuit of knowledge, tempted us frequently to visit him at Mrs. Bray's, Hampstead, where he resided'.[12] Furthermore, Roseingrave had a connection with Henry Purcell: his father Daniel was apparently a Chapel Royal choirboy with Purcell, and seems to have maintained the connection in later life. That is certainly suggested by the manuscript of an anthem by Daniel Roseingrave recently discovered at Christ Church, Oxford, in which Purcell copied the music and the composer added the text and headings.[13]

Thomas Roseingrave preserved elements of the Purcell style in his own music. Burney thought that the harmony of his voluntaries was 'rendered intolerably harsh and ungrateful by a licentious and extravagant modulation, and singled out his use of the 'sharp third and flat sixth', an affective chord much used by Blow and Purcell.[14] Roseingrave was also much more interested in [100] counterpoint than most of his contemporaries. Most of his voluntaries are fugal, and he published a set of six densely contrapuntal double fugues in 1750; Burney, predictably, objected to their 'too close sucession of unmarked subjects'.[15] According to Hawkins, Roseingrave was 'an enthusiastic admirer of Palestrina, and the furniture of his bed-chamber was scraps of paper, containing select passages from the works of that

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[12] P. Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney* (1948; repr. 1971), i, 31.

[13] P. Holman, 'Purcell and Roseingrave: A New Autograph' in *Purcell Studies*, 94-105.

[14] C. Burney, *A General History of Music,* ed. F. Mercer (1935; repr. 1957), ii, 706.

[15] Three of them are edited in Thomas Roseingrave, *Ten Organ Pieces,* ed. P. Williams (1961).

author'.[16] He could easily have inherited a manuscript of Purcell's fantasias from his father, and he was perhaps the only English composer of his time who might still have thought them worth recommending to a composition student.

[16] Hawkins, *A General History,* ii, 825.

PURCELL'S IN NOMINES: A TALE OF TWO MANUSCRIPTS (PERHAPS THREE)

David Pinto

The enigma of Purcell's fantasias lies hardly more in what they are, than in that they are (as Wittgenstein would doubtless have remarked, if he had thought it over). There are no obvious reasons for Purcell to have excogitated them, over half a generation too late for conceivable practical use. As Thurston Dart in his perceptive study of Purcell's chamber music pointed out, there are no signs that the pieces in four to eight parts were played in the composer's day. Though the three three-part fantasias do survive in playing parts, the only sign of use of the remainder is in study-score form.

There are further reasons to put the music in a special category. There is no evidence that Purcell studied with Matthew Locke, whose four-part fantasias have some close stylistic and formal resemblance to Purcell's, even though Locke was a family friend in Purcell's father's age-group. An absence of laying-on of hands is significant, given that none of Purcell's contemporaries took any note of his fantasias. Anthony Wood's manuscript *Lives of English Composers is* an example where one might expect notice; another is the acute (and far more knowledgeable) Roger North, who was personally acquainted with Purcell and his *Sonnata's*. North even nominated Locke the last of the heroes, *ultimus heroum,* for his four-part fantasy sets, which confirms that Purcell's examples had no circulation worth speaking of.

Probably significant too is that North expressly designated Jenkins as the last writer of In Nomines, his two in six parts dating from c1640. Purcell's two In Nomines in six and seven parts, written approximately four decades later, therefore seem also to have been unknown to the *cognoscenti.*

None of Purcell's three-or four-part fantasias was attached to a dance-sequence, after the manner of Locke. This is not necessarily a major point, since one does find isolated post-Caroline works by men like Christopher Gibbons and William King that are similarly unattached. But even so, it is another drop in the pool to sap one's confidence that a wide-spread performing function had been envisaged for the music, however much that conclusion seems incompatible with its pulsing energy and overabundant vitality. It is only fair to point out as Robert Thompson has done, that failing the remarks made by North, we would have been inclined to view Locke's four-part sets in the same light. The only extant playing parts of these sets exclude the dance movements. Even so, Locke's large corpus of suites implicating fantasy or pavan movements in the dance-sequence would suggest that for his four-part works, unlike Purcell's, an active chamber role following on from sets by Lawes and Hingeston, to name no others, had been intended.

Of course, one cannot ignore the exceptional texture of Purcell's pieces, if only for the plethora of the learned devices of counterpoint that they contain, worked out with astounding dexterity. The twelve four-part pieces in particular are as noteworthy for their degree of contrapuntal density as for the tonal plan that takes them through a key system without retracing a step. In an harmonic

[102] language of a sophistication that could have struck fresh 140 years after their composition, they sum up the development of the ricercar as it had evolved over the same span preceding. Yet two aspects must have seemed out of place by 1680. Meandering tonal schemes and expressive dissonance had begun to sound gothic and anachronistic, if there is any guide in Roger North's response to the fantasias of Jenkins (coupled with his reaction to the ingrained English dissonance technique of Purcell's *Sonnata's).* Secondly, in the preceding English development of the ricercar (domiciled as fantasy), pure counterpoint for its own sake had been, perhaps surprisingly, little in evidence. One can polarise the repertoire into two manners: the primary one, that of the founding father of the Jacobean fantasy, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, as brought to fruition by his successor John Jenkins. (Both composers employed contrapuntal device as a means of articulating polyphonic textures for formal and textural purposes, and enjoyed the challenge of exploring extended key change.) The other, texturally more variegated, laid hold on the affective dissonance that the mannerist Italian madrigal had brought to its lateRenaissance acme. This, in the hands of Coprario and his followers, put correspondingly less stress on contrapuntal ingenuity. The particular flair of Purcell lay in his ability to synthesise these two schools, unmatched by any other writer (though Locke had been some way in this direction beforehand). Purcell's counterpoint is unrivalled. The Ferrabosco school tended to restrict its role to easily audible functions, mainly augmentation of principal themes (especially at cadence points). Purcell's fondness for combining augmentation and diminution is atypical, as is his love of inversion: this last less a consciously, and more a subliminally perceptible device. Possibly only Ferrabosco himself approached Purcell's finesse at stretto in four-part writing. Of course Purcell possessed outstanding compositional ability; but the question remains, what moved him to hone it on fantasy?

In searching for the right questions to ask of the evidence, it is as well to bear in mind the changing status of composers' own score material, simultaneous with the changing social standing of composers. The move to retaining holograph scores was under way from early in the seventeenth century, either as *aides memoires* or as a way of defining a considered opus: one thinks of Angelo Notari as a forerunner, though even earlier it is claimed that William Byrd attempted to publish in manuscript form his keyboard music. Composers who came to the fore during the 1630s, such as the Lawes brothers and John Wilson, prized their scores; in fact fantasy music laid up in holograph score form does not seem to survive from before William Lawes. Soon after his death composers began to see the value of a secure repository for their works, if only to perpetuate a memory that change was all too liable to deface. Just as composers began to donate their likenesses to the Oxford Music School's 'gallery', John Hingeston (Purcell's godfather) also attempted to secure immortality for his instrumental music in like way. Not far behind this desire to preserve their works sub *specie aeternitatis* came a new readiness to lay up a permanent repertoire of the music of the past. Antiquarianism as a scholarly pursuit was well established in the Elizabethan era. Cotton and Camden were masters of archival research long before the Society of Antiquaries was founded, and in this context it is worth remembering [103] Sir Christopher Hatton III, who bridged the gap between musical activities

and this type of attitude to the bygone. With Hatton, as with the Elizabethan generation, the motive must have been mainly an apprehension (which one finds voiced strongly in the jottings of John Aubrey) that comfortable traditions of the recent past were close to the point of obliteration: the specific watersheds being the social upheavals caused by the English Reformation, in the years up to 1540 or so, and the civil wars 1642-1649 (which were also perceived as a confrontation over religion). It is easy for us to neglect consideration of the care which must have gone into the preservation of the pre-Stuart manuscripts that have survived to the present: someone (somewhere) must have been prizing and hoarding them during those dark days when manuscripts were dismembered and used for domestic purposes like singeing pullets-as North and Aubrey record. Preserving the past, and prudently conserving the present, explain something of the strange history of the In Nomine form, which must have involved considerable reverence to tradition; not only amongst composers, but their patrons too, considering the episodic way in which it was revived so long after the liturgical content had any meaning. The partial revival that came about with Ferrabosco II and his followers may, for example, be separate from that by Lawes and Jenkins, 30 years or so later. Does Purcell's interest in the form constitute in itself a similar episode of this reverential impulse?

One unnoticed connection does exist between Purcell and the earlier tradition. In setting out his autograph score, GB-Lbl Add. MS 30930, he laid out and labelled blank areas for completion. The five-part 'Fantazia upon One Note' is preceded by the rubrics 'Here Begineth ye 5 part: Fantazies', and 'Fantazias of 5 Parts' (note the plurals). At the head of the six-part In Nomine we find 'Here Begineth ye 6, 7, & 8 part Fantazia's'. Why this heading, unless Purcell had intended to include at least one eight-part example? What model furthermore can he have had in mind? The Elizabethan repertory of seven-part instrumental compositions as known to us is composed purely of In Nomines, but no eight-part purely instrumental works survive today. The Viola da Gamba Society's *Index* recognises one free fantasy in seven parts; but this is an unascribed, untitled work, extant in a single part-book (GB-T MS 389: see *Index,* Anon. no. 3031, = Edwards 93). Most probably vocal in origin, it does not pull enough weight to buck the trend for purely instrumental music that is detected here.

As mentioned, the latest six-part In Nomines seem to be those by Jenkins (and Lawes) perhaps c1640; there are few examples that must fall into the period intervening between then and Gibbons's death in 1625. Almost a century

separates Purcell's birth from the composition of seven-part examples: the In Nomines by [Philip?] Alco&, Robert Parsons (d.1570) and Robert White (d.1574). Our access to those by Alcock and White is inadequate, provided by only a single Cantus part-book, now Lbl Add. MS 32377 (c1575). Those by Parsons may have circulated better, since they occur complete in Add. MS 31390 as well as in Add. MS 32377. Could Purcell have had no more or no less access to these pieces than we now have?

In fact the unremarked link to Purcell's plan lies in the title-page to Add. MS 31390: a famous collection that has been the focus of much attention in recent [104] years. As frontispiece and endpiece alike it bears hand-written

blackletter titles, well-nigh identical: 'A booke of In Nomines & other solfainge Songes of :v:vi:vij:& viij:te parts for voyces or Instrumentes' (f.129). In table-book *(en regard)* layout, rather as the later song-book publications for voice, lute and bass viol, it marshals all the parts to face outwards around a single opening. Without this source, our knowledge of the Elizabethan repertoire c1575 would be far more circumscribed even than it is; one wonders in passing how exceptional the source may have been in its own times and *(a fortiori),* by a century after its compilation. As seen by Warwick Edwards, the copying was instigated from what we would take to be the end of the book; hence the initialling TW and date 1578 found by the Cantus part op f. 3 offer clues to the date of completion, and perhaps the identity of the copyist (though a belief that the minor composer Clement Woodcock was responsible has been refuted by Robert Ford). Another claim that has resulted from examination of the collection is that the title justifies performance as wordless vocal exercises, on a par with instrumental realisation. Is this collection, or some similar one, the authentic pattern for archaising exercises by Purcell?

There are some indications of the time of compilation, and of continued use of the manuscript, that have hitherto eluded the eye. The main copying, apparently conducted over a fairly unified time in the 1570s, sets out a collection designed

principally for five untexted lines. Some works in six to eight parts were indeed inserted, as well as one twelve-voiced motet. Also one four-part piece was included-disregarded by the copyist of the title-page, one must remark, but indicated as such *ad* loci: Brewster's In Nomine of 'iiii partes' (Edwards 219). It is possible here that the compiler intended to copy a fifth part to the piece, amplifying it like others such as a fine four-part In Nomine by Tallis that he reworked. It should also be noted that the works included for more than seven parts were definitely of vocal origin: the only eight-voiced piece copied was Byrd's motet in two *partes:* 'Ad Dominum cum tribularer / Heu mini' (ff 125v-7).

However, the copyist of this sole eight-part piece was responsible only for later additions to the volume, ff 124-7. They number three: the motet referred to above, Byrd's Browning a5, and Giovanni Croce's five-part 'Meli Bavari',

published first in his *Mascarate Piacevoli* (Venezia, 1590). From that flow several conclusions. First, the title-page was not added until after the copying of these additional works; it post-dates 1590 by an unquantifiable gap. Secondly, it cannot be held to offer authentic advice about performance practice, after an interval of above twelve years. The hand responsible for the title had after all not perceived that the contents included a four-part work, let alone twelve-part. In sum, even if the wording of this title were authoritative, it is fatally ambiguous. 'Songes...for voyces or Instrumentes' cannot be taken as a prescription for performance practice since it was more probably intended to be merely prescriptive-of the different functional origin, that is, of the pieces copied. A major plank of the evidence sometimes touted for vocalic realisation of this repertoire is, regrettably or not, less solid than generally thought.

There is reason then to suppose that Purcell and his colleagues were half a step ahead of modern musicologists. It seems that Purcell had intended to write an [105] eight-voiced piece (whether In Nomine or not cannot be told), but then stopped short. An initial glance at the manuscript was succeeded by a realisation that no precedent was offered for genuine instrumental eight-part works. All very well; but is there palpable proof that Purcell did know this table-book?

Evidence is admittedly indirect. Add. MS 31390 carries a later addition of owner's name: 'B[ernard] Gates 13th [January?] 1727/8'. Gates (b. c1685; see *Grove6)* was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1708, and Master of the Children there by 1732, though he may have succeeded Croft five years earlier (the date in fact of his acquisition of Add. MS 31390). It may or may not be relevant that Henry Purcell's grandson was a child of the Chapel under Gates in 1737; but whether or not that has bearing on Gates's collecting activity, he certainly had an eye for Purcell's manuscripts. The FitzWilliam Museum holds an early score-book by Purcell. GB-Cfm MU MS 88 is a witness to his adolescent interest in archaic church music—mainly derived, it must be admitted, from Barnard's *Cathedral Music* (1641), by Byrd, Tallis, Gibbons and others as well as the more up-to-date Locke, Humfrey and Blow. (The whole is concordant with Cfm MU MS 117, apart from a fragmentary opening to 'Almighty and everlasting God' by Gibbons). The period of compilation may have extended from before 1677 until about 1682. This important source for our understanding of Purcell's development was acquired by Gates, possibly at the same time as Add. MS 31390: it bears his name and the date '13th Jan 1727/8' on f. iii. (The FitzWilliam also houses a copy of Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* that Gates inscribed 'Jan 13 1730/1'; the title-page is missing, but it is thought to be the impression of 1608).

A conclusion is inescapable that Chapel Royal musicians preserved well into the eighteenth century an interest, how informed it would be rash to assess, in archaic music. The anniversary acquisitions of music that Gates appears to have made could well have been connected with regular social contacts through Chapel Royal circles. It is also indisputable that one or more amongst Gates's sources had been previously in the hands of Henry Purcell. It appears then that some part of the composer's personal library was dispersed in the lifetime of his immediate male heirs; the nuncupative will of his relict Frances Purcell (7 February 1706) had bequeathed 'all the Bookes of musick in General' to the surviving son, Edward Purcell (September 1689-July 1740).

Correspondences between the Purcell autograph and Add. MS 31390 go only part of the way to revealing the antiquarian bent to Purcell's earlier training. It is not any the clearer who inculcated this interest, though Locke is an unlikely candidate since he never showed a similar attachment to the In Nomine in his own chamber works. Perhaps (as I have suggested elsewhere) one would be better advised to ask if the veteran copyist and performer John Lillie provided the initiation; an old friend of Jenkins and undoubtedly deeply familiar with the old repertoire, he acted as Pelham Humfrey's deputy in teaching Chapel Royal children viol and theorbo in 1673. Even had Purcell not been one of the privileged four boys (it was the end of his time as a

child), the likelihood of acquaintance can hardly be denied-and whatever the scope of Purcell's education, it is indisputable that it was prolonged until after 1680, when he was [106] still on the strength at Westminster school as a 'Bishop's Boy', possibly repairing the patches in his schooling. Whether or not those studies had relevance to the four-part fantasias remains to be seen.

One is naturally only scratching the surface of Purcell's attraction to the old-style music. His In Nomines have otherwise no obvious points of resemblance to the Elizabethan repertoire; his cantus firmus treatment in the six-part In Nomine is highly unusual, not only for its tenor positioning but mainly for the non-isometric treatment, and omission of fifteen notes, in the plainsong. This treatment is distinct from the rhythmic subdivision (or breaking) of the normative breves, found from very early in the In Nomine's history; in that respect the sevenpart piece :is decidedly more regular and typical of sixteenth-century practice. (Cantus firmus notes nos 38-9 were subdivided rhythmically as an afterthought in the original, to imitate the prevalent point. That also reflects sixteenth-century practice} One is no nearer to finding a close model for that strange piece, the Tantazia upon one Note', unless comparing the single-note cantus firmus in a piece attributed to Josquin (memory of which was certainly alive in the midseventeenth century, since Mersenne mentioned it in 1636). Nor is the mystery of the four-part fantasias seemingly much closer to resolution than before; but perhaps that problem can be held over for another day.

NOTES

At the time of writing, when the attention brought to bear in Purcell's tercentenary year could yet have. shed new light, it seemed unrewarding to attempt an exhaustive bibliography for the specific area of his fantasias. T. Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music, *PRMA,* 85 (1958-9), 81-4, is still the widest look at the relevant sources, as prepared for publication by the Purcell Society. Additional material is of course listed in Grove6. Even now there are no recommendable studies linking Purcell to the preceding fantasy tradition, since the very shape of that tradition awaits consensual definition. Anthony Wood's *Lives* of English Composers is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as MS Wood D.19.(4.); *Roger North* on *Music,* ed. J. Wilson (1959) chronicles North's acquaintance with Purcell. A case for dating In Nomines by Jenkins, perhaps Lawes also, fairly late in the 1630s is discussed by Andrew Ashbee in *The* Harmonious *Musick* of John Jenkins, I (Surbiton, 1992). The chief study of Lbl Add. MS 31390 is still J. Noble, 'Le repertoire instrumental anglais: 1550-1585' in La *musique* instrumentale de la renaissance, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, 1954), 91-114; it contains a listing of source contents. Its place in music of the time has been studied further by Warwick Edwards not only in his doctoral thesis (Cambridge, 1974) but in the more available article, 'The performance of ensemble music in Elizabethan England', *PRMA,* 97 (1970-1), 113-23; see also R. Ford, 'Clement Woodcock's Appointment at Canterbury Cathedral', *Chelys,* 16 (1987), 36-43. Scores of the pieces discussed from Add. MS 31390 are printed in 'Elizabethan Consort Music: I', ed. P. Doe, Musica Britannica, 44 (1979). Cfm MU MS 88 is discussed by Peter Dennison in 'The Stylistic Origins of the Early Church Music, part i of 'Two Studies of Purcell's Sacred Music' in *Essays on Opera and English Music,* ed. F.W. Sternfeld, N. Fortune, E. Olleson (Oxford, 1975). For John Lillie, see most recently P. Willetts, 'John Lilly: a redating, *Chelys,* 21 (1992), 27-38. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636, facs. edn intro. F. Lesure; Paris, 1963) 11, 'Trjjtez de la voix, 44-5 prints the four-part composition, allegedly devised for Louis XII by Josquin to give the king a single note as tenor cantus firmus for rendition in his 'voix discordante, & tres-mauvaise, at written pitch d'. Regrettably,

modern scholarship seems inclined to dismiss as spurious this tale (and composition): see *Grove6* under 'Josquin . Changing attitudes to the repertoire of the past in the later seventeenth century is still an underexplored topic; very stimulating accounts of some collections are found in Robert Thompson's doctoral thesis, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648-1688' (London, 1988), and his subsequent published papers. I am indebted to Dr Thompson for comments on my own suggestions made above, both for their detail and their restraint. The germ of the essay lies in hints dropped by Francis Baines and Layton Ring in discussions over a long period; if it has any value, it derives from a curiosity stimulated by them.

A CASE FOR THE EARLY PROVENANCE OF THE CARTWRIGHT LYRA-VIOL MANUSCRIPT

Graham Nelson

One of the most significant lyra-viol sources to reappear in the last twenty years is the Cartwright manuscript (GB-Lbl Add. MS 59869). Assembled at the back of a copy of the 1659 edition of Christopher Simpson's *The Division Viol,* the manuscript embraces 68 leaves, nine of which are unused. Almost all of the pieces are presented from the reverse end with the modern foliation indicated in that direction. Also, there are three flyleaves at the start. The whole package, upright in format, is bound in brown calf, measuring 30.8 centimetres by 20 centimetres.[1]

In total there are 145 items, all but four of which are in French tablature. The opening pair of works, consisting of a bass part possibly to a coranto followed by a ground (?) in D, and the closing pair of works, consisting of two sets of divisions, are written in staff notation. These division sets stand as the most substantial in the collection. The material in tablature involves settings of dance tunes (some bearing descriptive titles), popular ballads, song themes, ayres and preludes. Many of the pieces are familiar through concordant sources, notably Playford's five publications of lyra-viol music, which is testimony to the popularity of the material.[2] The works employ seven variant tunings, the most popular being *Harp Sharp, Flat Harp* and *Plain Way*. Many of the composers represented are familiar names, including William Lawes, Frederick Steffkins, Ives and Jenkins. Two figures, however, are found only in this source, namely Edward Golding and Robert Waddam (Wadham).

Hardly anything is known about the manuscript's recent provenance until its re-emergence in 1977 when it was put up for sale by a private collector at Sotheby's and acquired by the British Library.[3] Even less is known about the early history of the Cartwright's ownership, but the manuscript does offer some evidence in this regard.

The main clues to its early ownership are found on the first flyleaf: in the top right-hand corner are located the autograph signatures of J. E. Cartwright and Wm. Cartwright, the latter (in black ink) being placed directly underneath the former name (in brown ink). Given that they share the same surname, it

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[1] The binding of published and manuscript material in this way was quite a regular practice at this time. For example, pieces in manuscript for one or more viols are located at the end of a copy of John Playford's *Cantiones Sacrae* (1674) held by the University of Illinois at Urbana (US-Uq *763P6899c).* See R. Thompson, '"Francis Withie of Oxon" and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337, *Chelys,* 20 (1991), 3-27, at p. 18.

[2] Altogether there are 26 items in Cartwright that appear in one or more of the five Playford sources published between 1651-82.

[3] It appeared as lot 227 in Sotheby's sale catalogue, 11/12 May 1977 and realised the sum of £6,600.

is logical to conclude that both Cartwrights probably belonged to the same family.

Where then was this family based? A study of information connected with several pieces in the collection reveals two figures who had strong links with Nottinghamshire: Sir Edward Golding and Terwet Gibson. Golding is represented by three items, one of which is dedicated to Gibson's wife (Appendix 1). Born in 1642, he was the only son and heir of Sir Charles Golding (*c*1624-61) of Colston Bassett, Nottinghamshire. Edward succeeded to the baronetcy in 1667 and was married to Winifred, daughter of John Wyldman of Leicestershire. After his death in 1715, the baronetcy became extinct.[4] Unfortunately no will or inventory could be found for him.

Golding, it appears, was known to Terwet (Tewhitt, Terewhit) Gibson who was a prominent gentleman in Nottinghamshire in the middle years of the seventeenth century. According to census records, he certified the visitations to the [108] Chatworth family between 1662-4.[5] He was a resident in the village of Ansley, a fact confirmed during the same visitation where he is listed as one of a number of people who took upon himself the Bearing of Arms.[6] The association, therefore, of Golding and Gibson with Nottinghamshire leads one to the conclusion that the Cartwright family was also resident in that county.[7]

During the seventeenth century, Cartwright was a popular Nottinghamshire surname, notably at the lower end of the social scale. An investigation of seventeenth-century archival records for the county reveals the name was shared by farmers, weavers, labourers, boatmen and park-keepers, to name but a few occupations. However, the most distinctive Nottinghamshire family bearing the Cartwright name, to whom the two signatories may belong was resident in the village of Ossington which is situated some eight miles north-west of the market town of Newark-upon-Trent. The family income would have been sufficient to allow some formal education and to engage in leisure activities such as the performance of art music.

Ossington was, at the start, owned by the Knights Hospitallers. Then following the Dissolution, it was placed in the hands of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who then sold it to Richard Andrews in 1542-3. His daughter married Edmund Cartwright whose descendants inherited the estate and remained there until 1768.[8] By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ossington Cartwrights had become a well-established family household. Indeed, their proliferation, with several generations sharing the same

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[4] For further information on his family background see G. E. Cockayne (ed.), *Complete Baronetage*, ii (Exeter, 1903), 20.

[5] See G. D. Squibb (ed.), *Dugdale's Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Visitation Papers,* The Harleian Society, n.s. 6 (1987), 103.

[6] See G. D. Squibb (ed.), *The Visitation of Nottinghamshire beginning in 1662 and finished in 1664 by William Dugdale*, The Harleian Society, n.s. 5 (1986), 1.

[7] In his early research on the source, Gordon Dodd speculated that William Cartwright might have been the London-based actor and bookseller who bequeathed his books, pictures and furniture to Dulwich College in his will, dated 1686. This possible link was not pursued once the Nottinghamshire connection began to emerge.

[8] For more detailed information on the Cartwrights of Ossington, see K. S. S. Train, *Twenty Nottinghamshire Families* (Nottinghamshire, 1969), 8-9.

forenames, makes it very difficult to distinguish one from another. Such is the case with J. E. Cartwright, the first owner, and William Cartwright, the second owner (Appendix 2). It is interesting to note that when the manuscript passed between them, the second Cartwright was probably responsible for crossing out his relative's name in black ink on the flyleaf.

A look at the family tree which was drawn up after the visitation of 1662 suggests that the manuscript, if in the possession of this family circle, may have changed hands within or between two or three different generations carrying these initials or first names. The task of identification is made more difficult by the apparent lack of surviving family records and personal papers which could have shed important light on the Cartwrights' interest or involvement in cultural activities.

A significant piece of information that may cement the Ossington Cartwrights with the manuscript appears in an important musical publication of the period. In the preface to his treatise, *Musicks's Monument* of 1676, Thomas Mace makes reference to a 'Will Cartwright ... Gent' among a list of Nottinghamshire subscribers.[9] It may be assumed that only a person who belonged to the gentry would be likely to subscribe to this publication. Will Cartwright may belong to the Ossington family, but according to the family tree compiled twelve years before Mace's treatise, he could be one of four different generations with this forename, three of their ages being 65, 54 and 23 (Appendix 2). It is conceivable that the gentleman referred to by Mace was the only one to survive at the time of the publication, but I have been unsuccessful in discovering death dates due to the lack of available records.

[109] Analysis of the handwriting styles and colour of ink used on the flyleaf suggests that J. E. Cartwright was responsible for appending the title 'Bookse of Songs' at the top of the page. That both the title and this signature have been crossed out gives rise to the strong possibility that in its early stages the manuscript stood apart from Simpson's manual. Then, it would seem, at some point during the closing years of the century (or early years of the next), it left the ownership of the Cartwrights and was acquired by its probable third owner, Jo[hn] Wray, who appears to have lived in the neighbouring county of Lincolnshire. Details of Wray are not provided on the flyleaf but on a loose slip of paper which was originally placed between two leaves of the manuscript. This offers the following information: 'Mr Jo[hn] Wray of Brant Broughton, Violist'.[10]

While the Cartwrights' musical abilities and interests are unknown, it is clear that Wray was a player of the viol, perhaps of a competent standard as a high level of proficiency is needed to execute the more demanding items in the manuscript, notably the two closing sets of divisions. It is also possible that he was responsible for having it bound with Simpson's book in its brown leather cover and for crossing out the title of the manuscript.

A will and inventory for John Wray establishes that he was a resident of Brant Broughton until his death on 9 December 1711. The will, completed in

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[9] See T. Mace, *Musick's Monument (1676),* sig. [clv].

[10] The piece of paper was found lying loose between ff 18 and 19 when the manuscript was in the hands of Sotheby's. Since it was acquired by the British Library, this paper slip has been pasted on to the second flyleaf.

1705,[11] tells us that he was a 'mercer and student of Phisick' and that he had a family of three daughters—Elinor, Anne and Elizabeth—by his wife, Anne. The first two children were married at the time of the will's completion: Elinor to Edward Bridgoon and Anne to Thomas Ballard. The inventory for Wray, completed the day after his death, itemises all his goods and assets by praisors Thomas Ives and John Booth. Like his will, however, there is no reference to instruments or music owned by him.[12]

Why is this so? There is evidence in the will to suggest that Wray was in poor health during his final years. Consequently one could speculate that he made a decision to surrender his viol and the manuscript to persons unknown rather than bequeath them to the family.

An examination of the manuscript shows that three professional hands were responsible for copying down its musical contents. Copyist A, using a light brown ink, is responsible for items 1-53 and 57-119, that is to say about two thirds of the collection. Of these, it is interesting to note that items located on ff 17-23 enjoy their own numbering scheme, from 1-30. Such an arrangement suggests they were copied as a complete sequence over a short period of time. Copyist B makes the smallest contribution: items 54-6 interrupt the large body of material provided by copyis*A. Once again, brown ink has been used. Copyist C, however, employs a quill dipped in black ink and is responsible for the completion of the volume in adding items 120-45.

Who where these copyists? It is tempting to put forward the notion that the two Cartwrights and Wray were both owners and scribes. But these connections would prove difficult, if not impossible, to prove on the basis of a comparison between the text hands and the autograph signatures. Furthermore, it is worth bearing in mind that the handwriting style of an autograph signature and [110] secretary script do not necessarily relate to one another. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the copyists were professional scribes, possibly with a local Nottinghamshire connection, who perhaps belonged to the owners' circle of musical friends.

[11] Lincoln Diocesan Record Office (LDRO), LCC WILL 1711/ii/155: will dated 25 August 1705. The date of Wray's death has been appended in Latin to the bottom of the final page.

[12] LDRO, INV 203/104.

APPENDIX 1
Inventory of Cartwright Works

No	*Folio*	*Title*
1	1	[A coranto bass part] : Jo[hn] Banister
2	1	[?Ground in D] [tuning chart *fdefh* (*High Harp-Way Sharp*)]
3	1v	A Prelude
4	1v	Mr. Jenkins Almain
5	2	A division to the precedent Almain [*ffhfh* tuning used but without chart]
6	2	[A Prelude : John Young]
7	2v	Alamine
8	3	Almane : [?Sylvanus Stirrop]
9	3	Another Almane
10	3v	An Almane
11	3v	Coranto
12	4	Coranto
13	4	Coranto [tuning chart *deflf* (*Harp Sharp*)]
14	4v	(A Prelude : Simon Ives)
15	5	A Mock Eccho : [? Ives]
16	5v	An Almaine : (Ives)
17	6	Ayre : [? Ives]
18	6	(Saraband : Ives)
19	6	(Saraband : Ives)
20	6v	[Almaine]
21	6v	Corant
22	6v	Saraband
23	7	An Aire
24	7	A Corant : [? George Hudson]
25	7	A Saraband
26	7v	Almaine
27	7v	Saraband
28	7v	Saraband
29	8	An Aire. Mr. Lawes[1]
30	8	Corant Mr. Lawes
31	8v	Almaine Mr. Lawes
32	9	Corant Mr. Lawes
33	9v	[Saraband : ? Lawes]
34	9v	Saraband : Mr. Lawes
35	10	Almain Jo:[hn] Lilly
36	10	Corant J : Lillie
37	10v	Saraband J : Lillie
38	10v	A Jigge
39	11	Prelude [tuning chart *deflf* re-appears]
40	11	Prelude J : [ohn] Grome
41	11v	[Prelude]
42	11v	[Almaine] : Mr. Mace
43	12	[?An Ayre : Mace]
44	12v	[Coranto] Mr. Mace
45	12v	[Almaine]
46	13	[Coranto]
47	13	(La Cloche : Ives)
48	13v	[? Ayre]
49	13v	The Duke of Loraines March
50	13v	The Apes Dance at the 2d Opera

No	*Folio*	*Title*
51	14	Bone Jure : Sir Ed. [ward] Golding [set] by R[obert] W[adham]
52	14	The Glory of the Vale. Sir Edw. Golding. Set by Mr Waddam
53	14v	(Toll, toll gentle bell)
54	14v	Jigg
55	14v	Jigg
56	15	Scotch Tune
57	15	O the bonny Christ Church Bells
58	15v	The Canaries
59	16	Sawny was tall
60	16	A Scottish Tune[2]
61	16	[Coranto]
62	16v	The Ground to Sweet Jane
63	16v	Sweet Jane
		[*edflnf* tuning : no chart given]
64	17	A Prelude to J:[ohn] G:[rome]
65	17	An Almane : Young
66	17v	(Almaine and division : John Esto)
67	17v	[Saraband : Esto]
68	18	An almane : Mr. John Esto
69	18	Corant
70	18	Saraband. Mr. J : Easto
		[tuning chart *edflnf* (*Flat Harp*)]
71	18	[Almaine]
72	18	Saraband : (Young)
73	19	[Almaine]
74	19v	[Almaine] : Mr. W. Lawes
75	19v	Almaine
76	20	(Almaine : Esto)
77	20	[? Ayre]
78	20v	[? Almaine]
79	20v	[Coranto]
80	20v	[Coranto]
81	21	(Almaine : Coleman)
82	21	(Saraband : Coleman)
83	21v	Coranto : Coleman
84	21v	Almain
85	22	Saraband
86	22	The Queenes Saraband
87	22	(Saraband : Lilly)
88	22v	The Eccho by Mr. John Jenkins
89	23	[Almaine]
90	23	Sir Edw. Golding, Terwet Gibson's Wife
91	23	Stantons Jig
92	23v	[Almaine] : Mr. Wm. Lawes
93	23v	Almane Mr. Rob Wadham
94	24	(The Clean Contrary Way)
95	24	A Health to Bety
		[tuning chart *fedflh* (*High Harp-Way Flat*)]
96	24v	Almain : [Steffkins, Frederick]
97	24v	Corant : [? Steffkins]
98	25	Saraband : (Steffkins, [?Dietrich])
		[tuning chart *fdeflt*]
99	25	[Almaine] : Mr. Steofkins
100	25	(Sarabande) : Mr Steofkins
		[*fedflh* tuning : no chart given]
101	25v	Almain Mr. Steoffkins
102	25v	Almain [? Steffkins]

No	*Folio*	*Title*
103	25v	Corant Mr. Steoffkins
104	26	Almain Mr. Steofkins
105	26v	Saraband (Steffkens) [tuning chart *fedef*]
106	26	Praeludium : (Jenkins)
107	26v	Almain : (Steffkens)
108	27	Courant : (Steffkens)
109	27	Saraband [tuning chart *fdefh*]
110	27	Prelude Mr. W : Young
111	27v	Almain Mr. W. Young
112	27v	Coranto Mr. Drue
113	28	Coranto J : Lilly [same tuning chart re-appears]
114	28	[?Ayre : ?J. Lilly]
115	29v	[Coranto : J. Lilly]
116	29v	[Coranto : ?J. Lilly]
117	30	[Coranto : ?J. Lilly]
118	30v	Almaine Jo. Lilly
119	31	Saraband Jo : Lilly [tuning chart *ffeff* (*Plain Way*)]
120	31v	Hunsdon House
121	31v	Oxford[3]
122	31v	New Mutarre
123	32	[The] Queen's Country Dance
124	32	Bellony
125	32	Petite Boree
126	32	Grand Boree
127	32v	Galliard Artois
128	32v	Sir Rich [ard] Houghtons Rant
129	32v	The Sword dance
130	32v	Little boy go with me
131	33	Bonjure by Sir. Ed. Golding[4]
132	33	The Saraband to my Lady Williams her bonejure: [Golding]
133	33	A Jig by Sr. Edw. Golding
134	33	Lanes Country Dance
135	33v	The New Vagary
136	33v	[Coranto]
137	33v	The Cricket
138	34	Mr. Byron's Hornpipe
139	34	Duke of Monmouth's Jig
140	34v	Hum Drum
141	34v	Mackbeth
142	34v	Hearts ease
143	34v	Mardike
	34–37	[ruled, unused]
144	38 inv.	[Divisions on Polewheele's Ground : Anthony Poole]
145	37 inv.	[Divisions in D: Henry Butler][5]

Notes to Appendix 1

1. This item has been ascribed to the wrong composer. Two of the Playford concordant sources confirm its correct identity to be 'A Masque' (or 'The Queen's Mask') by Simon Ives.
2. Not the same material as no. 56.

3. Not the same material as 'Oxford Tune' located in Playford's *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way* (1682).

[114]

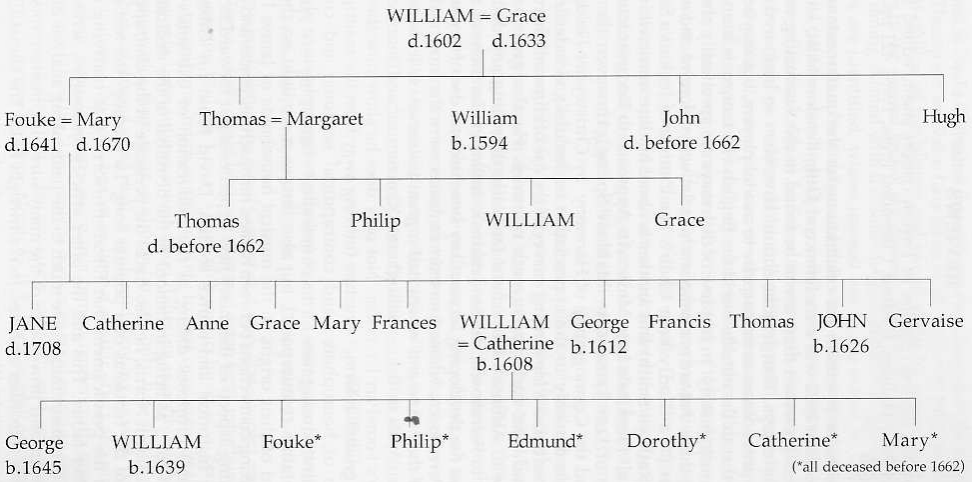
4. Another setting of the tune found in no, 51.

5. It is interesting to note that the ground is borrowed by Butler from the sixth of Simpson's eight sets of 'Divisions for the Practice of Learners' located at the end of *The Division Viol*.

[115]

APPENDIX 2

The descent of the Cartwright Family of Ossington, Nottinghamshire as it stood after the visitation on 26 August, 1662.[1]



1. This is a modified version of the Cartwright family tree that appears in G. D. Squibb (ed.), *The Visitation of Nottinghamshire beginning in 1662 and finished in 1664 by William Dugdale, The Harleian Society*, n.s. 5 (1986), 44.

REVIEWS

John Jenkins and his time: Studies in English consort music, edited by Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996), 421 pp. ISBN 0-19816461-0. £50.

One of the major events in the celebrations for the quatercentenary of John Jenkins's birth in 1992 was a conference at Little Benslow Hills, Hitchin. Most of the papers presented there are to be found in this fascinating and valuable collection of essays. That Jenkins should have been so honoured by a major University press comes as no surprise to us viol players, but maybe we should remember that to the outside world the English viol fantasy is from an obscure corner of music history! In fact few of the essays are specifically about Jenkins, and among those that are one concerns his relatively unknown and unpublished vocal music ('"To Glorify Your Choir": The Context of Jenkins's Sacred Vocal Music' by Kathryn Smith) and another is about his lute music which does not survive at all ('Jenkins's Lute Music: An Approach to Reconstructing the Lost Multitudes of Lute Lessons' by Matthew Spring). However, the first essay, 'Jenkins and the Cosmography of Harmony' by Christopher Field, is a major contribution not only to the appreciation of Jenkins's wonderful harmonic language, but also a wide-ranging survey of the use of chromatic harmony in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He also gives an historical perspective to Alfonso's Hexachord fantasias, dispelling any doubt on their attribution to Ferrabosco, studies Jenkins's similar explorations of modulation and outlines the developing sense of key structure and use of key signatures in England. Ferrabosco, whose four-part fantasias were the most widely known consorts of their time and which had a great influence on Jenkins, is given a thorough analysis in Bruce Bellingham's 'Convention and Transformation in Ferrabosco's Four-Part Fantasias'. Not only does he show how these fantasias broke new ground in formal structure (moving away from the 'madrigal-fantasia' alternation of homophonic and contrapuntal sections) and contrapuntal technique (introducing new forms of melodic metamorphosis in place of more simple imitative counterpoint), but also throws more light on the historical background of their origin, in the musical households of James I's children. Indeed, making connections between names, manuscripts, places and dates is one of the exciting aspects of the many new hypotheses put forward in the several articles on historical and source studies. David Pinto (in 'Gibbons in the Bedchamber') proposes dating of the publication of Gibbons's three-part fantasias to 1621, as being in honour of the betrothal of the dedicatee Edward Wray to Elizabeth Norris; he also traces the presence in the contrapuntal points of several of the fantasias of a popular song 'La monica', the text of which is relevant to the predicament that Elizabeth Norris was marrying against the wishes of her father. This and the other articles on sources, scribes, and the circulation of consort music owe much to the painstaking analysis of the hands, paper, contents and provenance of the many surviving manuscripts, as well of much delving into other archives. Jo Wainwright links 'The Christ Church Viol Consort Manuscripts' (the outsize score and related part-books) to the court [117] musicians and St Paul's

Cathedral through Stephen Bing and Christopher Hatton III. Robert Thompson in 'Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins' gives a very helpful outline of the history and use of different paper used in consort manuscripts in the second half of the century, identifying characteristics which can help in dating. Armed with this knowledge a substantial group of post-1670 manuscripts are identified, whose interest lies in the extent to which Jenkins continued to compose in his old age, and that some of his earliest and most lively compositions (in his most 'high flying vein) were still in circulation. In 'The Transmission of Consort Music in Some Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts' Andrew Ashbee outlines how viol music spread around the country through the copying of music, and surveys the provenance of the main collections of surviving manuscripts and how they relate to each other. This is in a sense an introduction to the newly projected VdGS's *Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music;* it shows how much has already been achieved, and suggests how many more interesting connections will be made. To the uninitiated the multiplicity of manuscript numbers, names and scribes identified only by letters may seem confusing, but the fitting together of the enormous jigsaw puzzle that is taking place is very exciting, and will lead to a more complete picture of Jenkins and his time.

The revival of English consort music most obviously dates back to Arnold Dolmetsch, and through E. H. Meyer's researches in the 1930s to the foundation of the Viola da Gamba Society. However it was the appointment of Gordon Dodd as editor of the Supplementary Publications back in the 1960s that was a key moment in the gradual expansion of wider interest. His work on the *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* enabled and encouraged the editing of much newly discovered music. For the increased number of publications prepared by him, Derek Davidson, Bill Davies and many others we all owe a tremendous debt of gratitude. It is most touching and appropriate that it is to him that this wonderful book is dedicated.

RICHARD ANDREWES

David Pinto, *For the Viols. The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes.* (Richmond, Fretwork Editions, 1995), 194 pp. ISBN 1-898131-04-X. £11.95.

David Pinto's book about the *Royal Consort* and five- and six-part consort music is a slim volume, which might lead one to expect some light, entertaining reading matter concerning William Lawes's ensemble music, but it is so complex that I kept asking myself how much of this is likely to pass over many readers' heads. Unlike some scholarly authors intent upon flaunting everything they know in each of their works, here is an author who not only has all the facts at his fingertips, but has done a good deal of profound thinking as well. As a result of this thoughtfulness, the book begins to have a similar effect as a consort fancy itself after some time, 'all parts joyne in a comon tendency to provoke in the hearers a series of thinking'.[1] For me, the book was good exercise: every now and again I had to leap to my feet, pace my study excitedly and gesticulate, or look something up. Volumes by Mace, North, C. P. E. Bach, as well as Horace and Ben Jonson were

[1] *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (1959), 117.

spread out around me, so that a clandestine observer might have mistaken me for a philosopher of German idealism.

The 'Prelude' is the initial small stroke of genius. From journalism, we have become accustomed to a story being got off the ground with an anecdote, but Pinto does better than that by conjuring up a music meeting around 1640 in which the reader is made the centre of consciousness, addressed directly, and introduced as an active person into the course of events: 'Your letters give access to a long, dark-panelled corridor' (p. 1). Thus the reader slips into an historic personage, viz. John Browne, parliamentary secretary and admirer of William Lawes, in whose hand there are several interesting manuscripts. I presume it must be in the nature of the thing that the reader addressed is male. Female readers, who might be inclined to identify with Browne's wife, Elizabeth, immediately find themselves in an archetypal situation: '... nothing about his roving eye damps your apprehension as he sizes up your young wife Elizabeth.' (p. 2) (I have often asked myself whether it is due to the intellectual mimicry required of women where the seventeenth century, and the viol consort in particular, are concerned that so few of our female scholars are dedicated to this field.) Apart from this, however, Pinto's witty idea achieves several ends. The diverting opening serves as a *captatio benevolentix,* if an introduction to the period, and to establish in an elegant manner the venerable method of dialogue, which is no longer conducted merely among Philomathes, Polymathes, and the teacher, but between writer and reader. Implicitly, this dialogue is maintained throughout the book. It never degenerates to the self-absorption of learned soliloquy-hence the atmosphere stimulating to discussion; the pile of books around me, and the gesticulation.

In this mental whirlpool, Pinto succeeds remarkably well in retaining the necessary scientific detachment and sobriety towards his idol—and English readers, at least, must have been aware for decades that he worships William Lawes, and we are dealing not with an anæmic theorist, but an emotional musician—so that he thankfully does not fall into the trap of Dr Froggart's hero worship, whom he quotes tongue-in-cheek: 'These works of Lawes are among the early flowers of modern instrumental music; but the last five quartets of Beethoven come from another world' (p. 179). There is certainly a sheen of this 'other world' in Lawes's music, which stirs up the emotions to the utmost, and I regret to say that I have not had the privilege yet of listening to any recorded consort music by Lawes distinguished by a degree of interpretational solicitude such as might be devoted to the late Beethoven string quartets. But the author is, of course, in no way to be blamed for this, and it remains to be hoped that his book will prove a leg-up for musicians.

The quest is for the impossible task of describing music. In German musicology this is generally attempted by resorting to a language which—taking its cues from the idol of all analysts, Beethoven—has to be called nothing less than 'titanic'. On the whole, Pinto avoids these pitfalls—I will mention just one exception: 'His method was usually of hacking out the dead wood, and seldom of being compelled to bolster thin material' (p.132). The imagery could be felt to be somewhat titanic, reminiscent of Heracles in the Augean stables. Is composing such a physical exertion? Characteristically, Pinto's is a code of tangible images, [119] expressed in illustrative language

with a certain amount of sporting spirit, e. g. 'free-range basses that hop around lyra-fashion' (p. 103), 'where tenors roll quavers between them' (*ibid.*), stretching it over his usual Procrustean frame' (p. 107). The means is simple and was successfully employed as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century by Glarean. First and foremost, music does not have to signify, but to represent something. All remarks from Glarean and Burmeister to Mattheson are descriptive in this sense. Pinto understands this. The 'meaning' of a work is another question, and everybody dealing with the consort fancy is appropriately up against it there. Wherever possible, Pinto refers to vocal examples, which are few and far between, as in the case of 'I am weary of my groaning' for the fantasia no. 1 in Consort Sett X in C minor (p. 133ff). A dark humour seems to be the reasonable assumption, leaving open to discussion whether this extreme mood should really be kept up throughout the fantasia or, this being a paraphrase, should transcend it. It is not by chance that the viol consort-not only in England to be sure-was often used to express serious affections without invariably implying the depth of despair. This is a discussion hardly begun, let alone brought to any conclusions.

Pinto's analytical approach pursues yet another strategy which is not mere description. In Lawes's case there is the added advantage of surviving autographs. These enable Pinto to retrace the process of creation to a certain degree.

Thus it is revealed—for the first time as far as the consort fancy goes—that even this great dramatist of the viol consort was by no means absorbed in creating 'absolute music' (a mid nineteenth-century term), blessed with the state of youthful perfection, or heavens-conquering spirituality (substitute any of those horrid epithets of a megalomaniac cult of genius), but that making fancies consisted in producing a patchwork, to be reworked more than once and refined, following hints by patrons or even colleagues, as Pinto suggests. The process, considered in conjunction with a relatively slender output of five- and six-part consort pieces, bears out that composing was in fact a strenuous and time-consuming pursuit not to be taken lightly. It also bears out that Lawes was full master of what he was trying to do. Pinto offers a plausible explanation for alterations in many cases, mostly emanating from a contrapuntal, or craftsman's view. But this is—still—where our wisdom ends. We still have no idea why this music was written and heard the way it was. Pinto depicts a concert scenario. It is indeed hardly conceivable that this music (including the *Royal Consort*) was intended to accompany the dance, or banqueting, not only in view of its difficult structure, but also the use of viols. This is music for listening, and it might well serve as a feather in the caps of Caroline coxcombs that they appreciated such heavy sustenance.

The third approach—through musical æsthetics—is as convincing as the textual description and comparison of sources. Pinto reads. He reads not only what others write about William Lawes, but also what Virginia Woolf has to say about Emily Bronte. Incidentally, he appears to have no qualms about using the word 'withering' to describe a piece by Lawes (p. 102). I revere this specifically English way of handling history, which intermingles epochs without decomposing it into porridge. If the semiotic distinctions are observed, this way of mixing epochs can produce surprising insights (A

wonderful instance of this are Graham Oakley's delightfully plausible drawings, e. g. of a Roman general with sunglasses, or a black queen wearing the hennin in her European court). Thomas Mace talks about the musical dialogue of the parts, and it seems to me that, based on his literary experience, Pinto is on exactly the right track to show how listeners at the early seventeenth-century English court must have experienced textless polyphonic music, viz. with strong literary connotations. Whilst in Italy it was less the word than the image that took centre-stage-the textually determined tone painting of madrigals draws on the image rather than the words, hence the term-the English stuck to the non-visual. They laughed at Inigo Jones's ingeniqus stage machines and had to be trained laboriously to accept the visual. Instead, they encouraged musicians and literateurs to cooperate intensively, considerably longer, and to the exclusion of other things, than the Italians, as is cheerfully exemplified much later by the collaboration of Gilbert & Sullivan. The shared abstract interests of musicians and literateurs are unhampered by images and may have been instrumental in establishing a form of musical drama totally dissociated from the text in England, not to be found elsewhere until well into the nineteenth century. Today we wonder at the origins of the concert as a theatre with nothing to see. We know that the English preceded the Continent in this, and we have been suspecting for some time that this manner of listening to music was not a new idea of Thomas Britton s generation, but is to be found earlier in the century. The concert situation devised by Pinto at the beginning of his book has a convincing ring. Theatre without images, drama without words can only come into existence where the image does not count for much.

Pinto's book is an important milestone on the way to a better understanding of the fancy, a book we have been awaiting for a long time. Is it meant to be a tribute to the old English lack of interest in visual phenomena, then, that this instructive work is presented so shabbily clad? Not only could it have been a lot more expansive—we 'are no longer put off by the sad aspects of paperback editions—but there is an over-abundance of misprints and sloppiness both in the text and the music examples. Is this really asking too much? As a good many of these mistakes affect the intelligibility, let me end with a list of the most serious ones:

page	*line*	*remark*
4	18	ack = *l*ack
36	fn. 7	The published ed*n*
47	ex. 10a	bar 3, tenor; delete 1st crotchet *e*
48	ex. 10a	bar 22, 2nd treble; crotchet d^2-e^2 (instead of e^2—$f\#^2$)
58	26	insert in space: *Orlando Gibbons*
77	ex. 15b	bar 11, left hand; 6th note *F* (instead of *G*)
78	ex. 17	bar 1; 2nd note should be realigned against bass
86	ex. 20	bar 3; 3rd crotchet stems for bass and theorbo lines need direction interchanging
100	15	*g* instead of *G*
128	ex. 38	bar 34; treble; $e\natural^2$ instead of eb^2
130	28	mastea = mast*h*ead

page	*line*	*remark*
160	2nd paragraph	One in particular... corrupted perhaps as a result of swapping paragraphs. This is not about William Lawes, but about John Browne.
168	ex. 47	bar 24; treble 1; crotchet a^1 instead of $b\flat^1$
174	penult	men = *man*
190	Gibbons, Orlando	add page number 58
193	manuscripts	include: GB–Och MSS 353–6 p. 50

ANNETTE OTTERSTEDT translated by Hans Reiners

Henry Purcell, *Fantazias and In Nomines,* edited by George Hunter (Northwood Music HP-1, HP-2 and HP-3, Urbana, Illinois, 1995). Scores and parts. HP-1 $8; HP-2 $24 HP-3 $10.

There is much to commend in this workmanlike three-volume edition of Purcell's fantasias and In Nomines. The music is clearly printed on good-quality paper, and the individual parts, slightly enlarged from the full-size score, are admirably laid out to avoid page turns. Where appropriate, a duplicate alto part is provided in the treble clef to facilitate performance, with a few discreet alterations, on a treble viol or second violin. A fairly close inspection revealed no textual errors apart from one already carefully corrected at the end of the sixth four-part fantasia.

Certain details of presentation are nevertheless bound to be matters of personal preference. Some players will undoubtedly appreciate the provision of cues to indicate the rhythm of parts other than their own and arrows to identify the part that leads off each new section, but others might feel that these aids to performance, together with rather prominent tempo directions, make the parts appear somewhat cluttered. The scores, printed slightly smaller and with fewer editorial additions, are excellent: anyone wishing to play an organ part from open score, as may well have been the practice in the late seventeenth century, has been given as much help as editor and publisher could provide.

A more fundamental area of possible disagreement concerns barring. All works in this edition apart from the In Nomines are presented in bars two minims long, and thus generally have twice as many barlines and bars as either the autograph score or the Purcell Society edition; Purcell himself used two-minim bars in the three-part fantasias, for the whole of the four-part fantasias nos 3 and 9, and for the concluding sections of the four-part fantasia no. 1 and the fantasia 'upon one note'. The variety of rhythm within most of the fantasias means that Purcell's four-minim bars pose an unenviable editorial dilemma: in places the doubling of the number of barlines is extremely helpful but in others its effect is less beneficial, making the music appear rhythmically busier than it really ought to be.

Many copyists of Purcell's era regarded bar lines merely as visual alignment marks. Much of the great vocal score-book GB-Cfm MS 117, for example, is [122] divided into metrically meaningless 'bars' three breves long, as though deliberately to prevent the barline from acquiring any undue musical significance. Purcell's transcriptions of early anthems in Cfm MS 88, in contrast, use regular barlines to highlight patterns of dissonance and resolution, and there seems no reason t6 suppose that the barring structure in the fantasia manuscript GB-Lbl Add. MS 30930, a rather later source, was not planned with equal care, even if Purcell's purpose is no longer immediately obvious to us. Changes to Purcell's barring seem even less justified when they might imply metrical patterns not intended by the composer: the three-part fantasias nos 1 and 3, and the seven-part In Nomine, have been given bars of 3/2 or 6/2 at certain cadences, places where cross-rhythms are important but no more clearly expressed in this way

than by Purcell's original notation. Purcell's choice of 𝐜 or ¢ time signatures, here standardized to ¢ may also have been made with more purpose than is now apparent. In his contributions to the 1694 edition of John Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Music* Purcell clearly thought that the two signatures indicated different speeds, and their standardization in modern editions removes a potential performance direction. Nevertheless, these and other editorial changes do not affect the fundamental text and apart from some barring adjustments are all identified in the commentary. Only a few call for any further comment (the four-part fantasias in this edition are numbered 1-9 in a separate series rather than 4-12 as they appear in the Purcell Society (PS) edition):

Key: 37 IV 5 = bar 37, fourth part down, fifth note; sq = semiquaver; q = quaver

Four-part fantasias
no. 1 (PS no. 4)
37 IV 5 (PS 19 IV 5): no tie in Lbl Add. MS 30930. The repeated G is probably not a mistake, but deliberate free imitation of the figure beginning in II a crotchet earlier.
39 111 6 (PS 20 III 6):.the # supplied editorially in both editions is given in USNYp Drexel MS 5061 (see below).

no. 5 (PS no. 8)
24 11 (PS 12 13): no tie to the following bar in Lbl Add. MS 30930. Again, the repetition is probably deliberate to emphasise free imitation of the point beginning in III three minims earlier.

no. 6 (PS no. 9)
75 11 1-3 (PS 38111-3) the rhythm *sqsqq* in Lbl Add. MS 30930 and the PS edition is altered here to *qsqsq:* there seems no reason to change from the autograph reading in the interests of standardization with rhythmic patterns elsewhere in the work.

no. 8 (PS no. 11)
60 14 (PS 30 16): the tie said to be missing from Lbl Add. MS 30930 is in fact present as a dot over the barline. An adjacent flat combines with the dot to look like a repeated note: the correct reading is confirmed by NYp Drexel MS 5061.

no. 9 (PS no. 12)
96 II 1: both the Drexel manuscript and a later copy by Thomas Tatton Park, Cheshire) interpret Purcell's confused autograph at this crotchet d, crotchet C. There would be some point in preserving the movement, though the second note should almost certainly be C#.

Fantasia a5 'upon one note'
19 V 1 (PS 10 V 1): the tie from the previous bar is omitted in Lbl Add. MS 30930 to correspond with an imitative point.

In Nomine of six parts

13 1113-4: in Lbl Add. MS 30930 the accidental ♯ clearly applies to the first of these notes, f, but is to be understood as affecting the following e♭ as well.

The last four-part fantasia in particular illustrates that the score Lbl Add. MS 30930 represents 'work in progress', and the copy in NYp Drexel MS 5061, though closely derived from the autograph, occasionally offers confirmation of some difficult passages. It is likely that the Drexel copyist worked closely with Purcell, completing the first seven four-part fantasias before the two bearing dates in August were composed, and that he was a member of the court musical circle like Purcell himself and John Walter, who transcribed an open-score organ part of the sacred vocal music from Lbl Add. MS 30930 now bound in GB-Ob MS Mus.c.28. His opinion about difficult readings in Lbl Add. MS 30930 is therefore to be respected, and the comment in the introduction shared by all three volumes of this edition that Drexel 'offers no variants that cannot be attributed to scribal error or misguided attempts at improvement' is a little too sweeping. Similarly, while it is true that Lbl Add. MS 30930 is far and away the most important source of this music, other manuscripts are not quite as insignificant as the introduction suggests: the part-books in Lbl Add. MS 31435 contain a shorter version of the three-part fantasia no. 2 and variants in this work also occur in Lbl Add. MS 33236. But the introduction to a practical edition is not necessarily the place for a detailed discussion of mainly irrelevant sources and the new Northwood Music publication will be a great help to performers of this music.

ROBERT THOMPSON

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

As one who is sceptical about the likelihood of Gibbons's madrigals originating in some cases as consort songs, I read the article by David McGuinness in *Chelys* vol. 24 with interest. No performance that I have ever heard of any of his madrigals arranged as a consort song has sounded the least bit convincing, but I was impressed by the author's methodology. It would definitely be interesting to hear such a piece reconstructed according to Dr McGuinness's suggestions. Meanwhile may I make two important biographical corrections. The Christopher Hatton to whom Gibbons dedicated his 1612 collection was the nephew of the dedicatee of Byrd's *Psalmes* of 1588; and there is no evidence that Gibbons was ever a pupil of Byrd. Certainly he learnt from Byrd: Peter James has shown that the structure of 'Hosanna to the son of David' is based on that of Byrd's 'Exalt thyself O Lord', and Paul Vining has drawn attention to the similarities between Gibbons's 'Thou God of wisdom' and Byrd's 'Thou God that guid'st'; likewise Oliver Neighbour has noted the influence of Byrd on Gibbons's consort music. But documentary evidence, *pace* Brett *et al,* there is so far alas none.

RICHARD TURBET