



The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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EDITORIAL

The contents of the present issue of *Chelys* serve as a reminder, if any were needed, that we see the music of the past through a glass, darkly. The first article describes the long-standing mystery of the In Nomine, now happily solved, but the other three all deal with topics which still involve a degree of uncertainty: we are never going to be completely sure what was in a missing part, or why a fragment of lyra tablature turned up in a Leicestershire farmhouse, and we may never discover absolute confirmation of what German musicians meant by a 'handt Gamba'. The task of musicology, however, is not to pursue an elusive and unattainable finality but to set out such facts as there are as completely and clearly as possible and to put forward well-founded arguments based on those facts. Every author's conclusions represent an invitation to readers to join an ongoing discussion rather than the last word to be said on a subject!

ROBERT THOMPSON

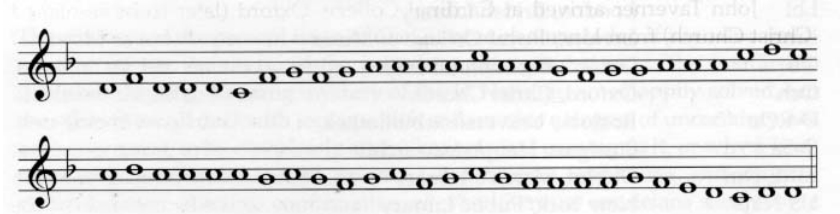
ABBREVIATIONS

Dodd, <i>Index</i>	Gordon Dodd (compiler), <i>Thematic Index of Music for Viols</i> (Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1980-92)
EM	<i>Early Music</i>
Grove (1980)	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. S. Sadie, 1980
Grove	<i>The New Grove</i> (2nd edn ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2001)
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
JVdGSA	<i>Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America</i>
MB	<i>Musica Britannica</i>
M&L	<i>Music and Letters</i>
MT	<i>The Musical Times</i>

Works cited throughout the journal were published in London unless otherwise stated

[4]
IN NOMINE: AN OBSCURE DESIGNATION

Virginia Brookes



Example 1. Plainchant 'Gloria tibi Trinitas'.

It might come as a surprise to some of us, familiar as we are with the early music repertoire, to realise that the origin of the In Nomine was totally obscure and the subject of much speculation until 1949, when Robert Donington and Thurston Dart simultaneously and conclusively, yet independently, traced it back to a section of the Benedictus of John Taverner's mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas*.¹ By definition, of course, an In Nomine is an instrumental composition based on the *cantus firmus* 'Gloria tibi Trinitas'.

The extant repertoire consists of 204 compositions, 42 specifically for keyboard and the rest, with one or two exceptions, for consort, some also surviving in keyboard transcriptions. The early consort In Nomine may have been to the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century student what fugue was to become in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the medium through which an aspiring young composer was able to demonstrate his paces. That the In Nomine might have had some pedagogical significance is suggested by the existence of one or two examples as the sole surviving output of composers who would otherwise be quite unknown today.

The In Nomine occupies an unique position in the repertoire of both consort and keyboard music of the Tudor and Jacobean periods, for not only is it a genre exclusive to English composers, but also its life cycle may be plotted quite precisely between Taverner and Purcell, a span of about 150 years during which time both consort and keyboard music in England expanded and developed in quite a remarkable way. (There are some twentieth-century In Nomines, but that is another story.)

The plainchant is that of the antiphon for first vespers of Trinity Sunday, in the Sarum Rite (second vespers in the Roman), and it is the Sarum form on which the In Nomine is based. This 54-note plainsong spans an octave and a note in a series of arched phrases which reach their highest point about half way through. It is an elegant little melody with a readily identifiable opening and not too [5] many repeated notes, and apart from its regular liturgical use, it also forms the basis for Taverner's mass.

John Taverner arrived at Cardinal College, Oxford (later to be re-named Christ Church) from Lincolnshire in 1526 to take up his new duties as Master of the Choir. It is likely that he brought with him his collection of festal masses, mainly by composers connected with Lincolnshire, such as Fairfax, Ashwell and Aston. These 18 masses were probably bound together into

¹ R. Donington and T. Dart, 'The Origin of the In Nomine', *MeL* 30 (1949), 101-6.

part-books, now known as the 'Forrest-Heyther Books',² during the four years Taverner was at Cardinal College. His *Gloria tibi Trinitas* is the first mass in the book and the only one with decorated initial letters, decorated ascription, and also a portrait of the composer.³ This pride of place is consistent with Taverner's position at the College. Yet 250 years later Charles Burney observed that

With respect to invention, air and accent, the first two [masses, by Taverner and Fairfax] are totally deficient.⁴

The last mass in the books is Richard Allwood's *Praise Him praiseworthy* which is of special significance in the story of the In Nomine.

The earliest extant source of In Nomines as independent instrumental compositions is Thomas Mulliner's Organ Book, Lbl Add. 30513, which may well have been started as early as the mid-1540s, possibly only fifteen or so years after Taverner left Oxford in 1530. It is a large collection of pieces, some of which are organ transcriptions of vocal music. One is an extract from the Benedictus of Taverner's mass transcribed almost literally for organ, the title 'In Nomine' being of course the beginning of that part of the text at which the extract starts. This, then, is the apparent prototype. Of course there may have been other, earlier, sources as we know that many manuscripts were destroyed, particularly at the Reformation. Although apparently no lover of old music, Roger North, writing c1728 laments:

This so general abrenonciation of all elder, tho[ugh] lately bygone musick, is the cause that almost all the ancient copys, tho[ugh] very finely wrote, are lost and gone, and that little w[hi]ch is left by pastry and waste paper uses is wearing out, & in a short time none at all will be left.⁵

In the Mulliner Book a distinction is made between the titles 'In Nomine' and 'Gloria tibi Trinitas', works specifically for keyboard being given the plainsong title, whilst arrangements of consort or vocal pieces are In Nomines. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, in the large-scale keyboard compositions of Bull and Tomkins and others, the titles become synonymous, though the consort compositions are always In Nomines.

Another early source is Och 371, a diminutive keyboard book which dates from c1560 and contains, amongst other things, several In Nomines including Taverner's, complete with keyboard ornaments. Robert Johnson, who was dead [6] by 1560, left an In Nomine and before Tye retired from music in 1561 he had composed a set of over twenty. Another early composer, William Whitbrook, was a colleague of Taverner's at Cardinal College, and after its suppression in 1530 went on to St. Paul's, London. It is possible that Thomas Mulliner was also at St Paul's before being appointed 'modulator organum' at Corpus Christi, Oxford in 1563, and it is tempting to imagine that Whitbrook might have been the link between Taverner's mass and Mulliner's organ book.

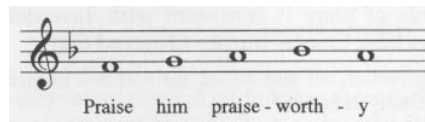
² Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E.376-81. See J. Bergsagel, 'The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses', *M&L* 44 (1963), 240-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁴ C. Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. F. Mercer (1935), I, 786

⁵ H. Andrews, ed., *The Musically Grammarian by Roger North* (London and Oxford, 1926), 4.

The Mulliner Book contains a curiosity, a work by Richard Allwood entitled 'In Nomine' which is not based on the plainsong 'Gloria tibi Trinitas' but on a five-note rising figure used as an ostinato:



Example 2. *Cantus firmus* 'Praise Him praiseworthy'.

As already mentioned, Allwood's *Praise Him praiseworthy* is the last mass in the Forrest-Heyther collection, in which Taverner's is the first. His *In Nomine* is unique in being based on a *cantus firmus* other than 'Gloria tibi Trinitas', one apparently of his own devising which he also uses in *Praise Him praiseworthy*. I believe his keyboard work to be an *In Nomine* by intention if not by definition, and include it in the repertoire in the belief that it has some historical value and may throw some light on the date of birth of the *In Nomine*.

Biographical details of Allwood are scant, but a tentative reconstruction of part of his life might run something like this: 'Richard Allwood, priest,⁶ born c1505: at Cardinal College, Oxford until c1530, and Fellow of Winchester College 1532-3'. A Fellow was normally between the ages of 25 and 30 and his duties would have been to assist at the daily chapel services. This scant information suggests that he might have been a slightly younger colleague of Taverner's at Cardinal College, and may have gone to Winchester after the suppression of Cardinal College as Winchester had strong Catholic leanings and provided shelter for certain recusant priests. The inclusion of his mass in the Forrest-Heyther collection lends weight to the theory that the two men were somehow connected, possibly at Oxford, though Allwood must have been quite a young man at the time.

Allwood must have been aware of the extract from Taverner's mass as a separate instrumental piece in order to have composed his own work, and it is unlikely that it would have received its title from anyone but its composer as there was no reason for anyone else to connect it with the *In Nomine*. Professor Apel writes 'The *In Nomine* by Allwood has no apparent connexion with the species,⁷ and neither has it at first glance, though further investigation reveals the *cantus firmus* shared with Allwood's own mass and some suggestions of common [7] contrapuntal material particularly in the Benedictus. That Allwood knew the established *In Nomine* plainsong is evident from his other two *In Nomines*, and it would seem that he was aware of the prototype. As Stevens says, he

may have sought to re-arrange in similar manner the corresponding part of the Benedictus [of his own work], but something seems to have deterred him.⁸

⁶ The only biographical information we have on Allwood is from the scribe John Baldwin who copied the last pages of Mus. Sch. E.381 and described him as 'Mr Alwood Priest'. It is not certain that the Richard Allwood at Winchester College was the same man.

⁷ W. Apel, 'Solo Instrumental Music', *The New Oxford History of Music*, IV, ed. G. Abraham (1968), 602-708, at p. 622, n. 3.

⁸ D. Stevens, *The Mulliner Book: A Commentary* (1952), 29.

Probably what deterred him was the complex, rhythmically-active six-part texture of his Benedictus, so unlike the smooth four-part texture of Taverner's. It seems clear, however, that at some stage an *In Nomine* to Allwood was a *cantus firmus* instrumental work derived in some way from a sacred original. The origin of the genre seems also to have been remembered by other Tudor composers as both Robert Johnson⁹ and Clement Woodcock¹⁰ used the title *In Nomine Domini*, and John Sadder heads his composition *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domine Amen*.¹¹ This, the only untexted composition in the manuscript, could well be a straightforward transcription of a vocal original.

By the 1570s the *In Nomine* was sufficiently well established for some of them apparently to need updating, and in Lbl Add. 31390, a huge table-book which describes itself as 'A book of In Nomines and other solfainge Songs of: v: vi: vij: & viij:te parts for voyces or Instrumentes' the compiler set about doing this by adding a fifth voice to the four-part pieces, including an elaborate extra bass part to Taverner's *In Nomine*. The 42 *In Nomines* in this book include most of Tye's large output. Add. 31390 contains a mixture of music, but another source, Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-6, was originally devoted solely to the *In Nomine*. This set of five folio part-books bound in vellum with green strings contains 24 fourpart and 40 five-part *In Nomines* with 20 anthems, significantly with viol parts, as an appendix to the *In Nomines*. The collection was compiled c1634, possibly by Richard Nicholson, organist of Magdalen College, Oxford and first Heather Professor of Music. The *In Nomines* are mainly by an earlier generation of composers including the most celebrated (Byrd, Gibbons and Ferraboscus I and II) as well as the most obscure (Mudd, Cocke and Hake). The latter group of composers may hardly be remembered today, but they were highly enough esteemed in their own time to be included amongst the great masters.¹²

By the last quarter of the sixteenth century the genre had become the medium for experiment and technical display and the only remaining connection with the prototype was the *cantus firmus*. Until the middle of the seventeenth century sets of *In Nomines* were being composed demonstrating every available technique, culminating in those of Lawes and Jenkins. By this time there was a gradual shift from viols to violins so Purcell's *In Nomines*, composed after a hiatus in the genre of perhaps 30 odd years, might appear an anachronism at a time when one wonders if a viol consort could even be got together to perform them. David Pinto suggests that Chapel Royal musicians preserved an interest in archaic music and that Purcell was acquainted with Add. 31390,¹³ which brings [8] the history of the *In Nomine* full circle, yet in spite of the genre's popularity with composers, the origin of its name had obviously been forgotten by some by the early seventeenth century. Benjamin Cosyn, composer, arch-arranger and prolific scribe, used the title '*In Nomine*' as a generic term for a plainsong composition he was unable to identify when he

⁹ Lbl Harleian MS 7578, fol. 115.

¹⁰ Lbl Add. 31390, fol. 100.

¹¹ Ob MSS Mus.e.1-5, fol. 8. 12.

¹² . The more obscure *In Nomines* cited in this paper have been published in V Brookes, ed., *Three In Nomines a4* and *Four In Nomines a5*, VdGS Music Editions 182 and 183.

¹³ See D. Pinto, 'Purcell's *In Nomines*: a tale of two manuscripts (perhaps three)', *Chelms* 25 (1996-7), 101-6, at p. 105.

was compiling the table of contents of Lbl R.M. 23.1.4,¹⁴ one of his great volumes of keyboard music, and if Cosyn in 1620 was unaware of the definition of the In Nomine, Meyer can hardly be criticised for writing in 1946 'The origin of the species is totally obscure'.¹⁵ Hawkins sums up the confusion nicely:

The term In nomine is a very obscure designation of a musical composition, for it may signify a fugue in which the principal and the reply differ in order of solmisation; such a fugue being called by musicians a Fugue In Nomine, as not being a fugue in strictness. Again it may seem to mean some office in divine service, for in the Gradual of the Romish church the Introitus, In festo sanctissimi nomini Jesu, has this beginning, 'In nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur:' and this latter circumstance seems to be the decisive of the question. But upon looking into an old In Nomine of Master Taverner in that venerable old book entitled 'Morning and Evening Praier and Communion set forth in fower parts to be song in churches, printed by John Day in 1565, it clearly appears that the term refers to the nineteenth Psalm as it stands in the Vulgate ... and that by reason of the following verse in it 'Lxtabimur in salutari tuo; et in nomine Dei nostri magnificabimur.'¹⁶

Hawkins has offered us not one, but three possible explanations, and though wide of the mark, he at least connected the In Nomine with Taverner.

Roger North, also puzzled, writes:

The plain song was an order of plaine notes ... very often the gamut notes ascending or descending which were sung to the syllables of In Nomine Domini.¹⁷

He complains that

There is no scheme or design in it [In Nomine]; for beginning, middle and ending are all alike, and it is rather a murmur of accords, than music; there wants the proper change of keys, without which consort is lame ... But in the In Nomine I never could see a cadence compleat but proffers dr Baulks Innumerable.¹⁸

Still in a critical mood, he writes that it is the church which has imposed plain-song on composers and

that which is styled In Nomine was remarkable, for it was only descanting upon the eight notes with which the syllables 'In Nomini Domine' agreed. And of this kind I have seen whole volumes of many parts.

He goes on to praise their ingenuity, then adds [9]

I would not have it thought that I was recommending this kind of music; and in a time when people lived in tranquility and ease, it was agreeable and not unlike the confused singing of birds in a grove, but in our days, nothing can be more monstrous and insupportable than such a consort would be.

Meyer must have the last word on this subject which has been the cause of so much speculation:

¹⁴ Gibbons, *Plainsong Voluntary*, fol. 100v, and Bull, *Veni Redemptor*, fol. 109v

¹⁵ E. Meyer, *English Chamber Music* (1946), 103.

¹⁶ J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1853 edn, repr. 1963), I, 465n

¹⁷ J. Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music*, (1959), 286.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

The In Nomine is a cantus firmus motet written for instruments. The cantus firmus of all In Nomines is identical. This cantus firmus is not only common to all In Nomines; it is peculiar to them for it occurs in no other vocal scores. In Nomines are thus original compositions for instruments ... The origin of the species is totally obscure. True, the melody of the In Nomine itself was part of the service and can be traced as such. The melody belongs to the festival of the Holy Trinity yet we are neither able to state why the words 'In nomine'...were put to this melody, which originally had quite a different text in the Gregorian chant, nor do we know the text beyond the three words In Nomine Domini. And worst of all, we do not know why the melody, before all others, has made history as the thematic material of the first form of real chamber music.¹⁹

Of course, Meyer was wrong when he stated that the *cantus firmus* of the In Nomine occurred in no vocal score, for Hawkins, almost two hundred years previously, had already found it in Day's *Morning and Evening Prayer*, and the prototype, of course, was vocal. It was only three or four years after Meyer wrote those words that Dart and Donington produced the solution to the four hundred year old puzzle. One wonders why it took so long.

¹⁹ Meyer, *English Chamber Music*, 83.

[11]
NEW LIGHT ON 'NEW FASHIONS' BY
WILLIAM COBBOLD (1560-1639)
OF NORWICH

Ian Payne

In the field of the English consort song with viols, if not in that of Elizabethan and Jacobean music generally, there can be no more tantalising conundrum than 'New Fashions' by William Cobbold, an organist of Norwich Cathedral between 1592 and 1622, whose association with the musical establishment there extends from 1581/2 to 1639.¹ 'New Fashions', a lengthy and ambitious 'quodlibet of popular ballad tunes superimposed upon a set of variations on the "Browning" theme' so popular among Tudor musicians, is made so enigmatic by the fact that it has come down to us in a seriously fragmentary state.² Rather like the various sets of 'cries',³ in which snatches of lively popular material continuously unfold over a fantasia-like web of imitative polyphony, 'New Fashions' is scored for five voices and viols, each voice emerging in turn, and sometimes in combination with one or more of its peers, from a continuously dense polyphonic background.⁴ But unlike any of the 'cries',⁵ though in common with all of Cobbold's extant consort songs,⁶ it lacks the

¹ Cobbold is first mentioned in Norwich, Norfolk Record Office [NNRO], Dean and Chapter deposit [DCN], 10/1/32, under 'Expense necessarie', for 1581/2, when he, Thomas Wilkinson and two other outsiders (*duobus aliis extraneis*) were paid 6s. Sd. each for singing in the choir (*plrol cantac[iol fact(a)]*). This may suggest that, although Cobbold had been born in Norwich in 1560, he either had not served as a chorister or had left the cathedral after his choristership had expired. For his subsequent career see H. Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), 200-1; and I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646: A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (New York, 1993), 261. According to the latter, Cobbold was a lay clerk 1609x12-1639, organist 1592x97-1608x13, and joint organist (with William Inglott) 1616x20-1622. (There are discrepancies between some dates in these two published biographical accounts, owing to gaps in the archives and differences in interpretation of details which are often vague.)

² Printed in *Consort Songs*, ed. P. Brett, MB 22 (2nd edn, 1974), 189 (Textual Commentary). The musical text (no. 71, at pp. 158-71) is that to which reference will be made here, though a new edition is shortly to be published by the present writer incorporating the findings discussed below. References to the individual parts to this work use the original Latin tags (see Examples 4 and 5) in descending order, thus: cantus, [editorial quintus], altus, tenor, bassus. Bar-numbers agree with the MB edition, for the convenience of readers.

³ See MB 22, nos. 66-70.

⁴ For a list of the identifiable ballad tunes used by Cobbold, see J. M. Ward, 'Apropos *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*', *JAMS* 20 (1967), 28-86, at 68-9, n. 14; and MB 22, 189.

⁵ Of the 'cries' printed in MB 22 only Weelkes's setting (no. 66) is fragmentary, lacking portions of the tenor part.

⁶ All lack their quintus parts (which were in the same partbook as the quintus to 'New Fashions'). See Appendix for a complete list.

whole of its quintus part, thereby posing a formidable obstacle to anyone wishing to perform it with the original ballad material restored.

The *Musica Britannica* edition, first published in 1967, supplied the three missing entries of the 'Browning' theme but left the remaining quintus stave blank, and only two attempts at completing this part have to the best of my knowledge been made since the 1960s. Both date from 1992. One reconstruction, by John Beckett, was recorded in that year;⁷ but its quintus features free writing between the 'Browning' themes and restores none of the ballad material which Brett rightly thought was missing. The other, by Joel Kramme, was performed at a major VdGS conference at Hitchin in the same year. Although no score of this version was published, excerpts were used to illustrate his article on the reconstruction of 'New Fashions' which appeared four years later.⁸ This version broke new ground in that it attempted to restore two pieces of missing ballad or preexisting material: one of these was discovered independently (and interpreted somewhat differently) by the present writer; but the other, as will be seen below, has some harmonic and rhythmic features which seriously call into question its credentials as the missing ballad-tune. The main purpose of this article, accompanying the first published performing edition of the work, is to pick up the challenge of reconstruction where Philip Brett left it and to suggest identifications of two crucial missing portions of pre-existing material. The complexity of this process naturally invites a brief consideration of the philosophical implications in completing so problematic a fragment, especially the fine line to be drawn between 'reconstruction' and 'recomposition', and the character of the [12] added part, as previously defined in the scholarly literature on musical reconstruction. Finally, it has also encouraged a reassessment of possible performance venues, based partly on archival material.

'New Fashions' is by far the longest and most complex of Cobbold's extant polyphonic compositions, his five-part instrumental 'Anome' being the only other piece to approach it in scale and fluency.⁹ In planning 'New Fashions' he appears to have followed the flexible fantasia-like approach used by composers of the 'cries' (some of which exist alongside it in both of its sources; see below), rather than the much less sophisticated 'Browning' variations of Woodcock and Stonings, for example, and he rejected the strict

⁷ By Circa 1500, on the eponymous CD *'New Fashions': Cries & Ballads of London*, CRD3487 (CRD Records, 1992). (The notes mistakenly refer to the missing part as 'altus'.)

⁸ J. Kramme, 'William Cobbold's "New Fashions": Some Notes Concerning the Reconstruction of the Missing Alto Part', in *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 137-59. (I discovered this work only after this paper was completed, and have on the whole reached very different conclusions.)

⁹ Contrary to received wisdom, reflected in the list of works printed in N. Josephs, 'Cobbold, William', *Grove* (1980), IV, 507-8, this work is in fact not an *In Nomine* but a fully-fledged bipartite essay in structural imitation without *cantus firmus*, with some repetition of material, in the early-Elizabethan tradition. (The meaning of the title remains unclear, but there is a convincing explanation in *Elizabethan Consort Music: II*, ed. P. Doe, MB 45 (1988), 146, which cannot at present be bettered.)

'rotation of the cantus firmus through all the parts in a fixed order.'¹⁰ But Cobbold does resort to In Nomine style accompanying figures as a welcome break from thematic imitation;¹¹ and he shares with Byrd's virtuoso setting (and with the keyboard setting by his Norwich Cathedral colleague William Inglott, entitled 'The leaves bee greene', which looks as if it may be based on a consort original) a three-part opening statement with the tune in the lowest-sounding part.¹²

One final point by way of introduction: if the 'cries' are, in effect, viol-fantasias with vocal additions, 'New Fashions' is in fact even more fantasia-like,¹³ because its shapely popular tunes are a much more potent source of longer thematic, imitative 'points' in the accompanying viol parts for the section in which the vocal melodies are being presented.¹⁴ A not dissimilar technique can be found as early as Christopher Tye's *Westron Wynde* Mass, composed probably in the 1550s, and one of the three earliest English works in which a secular melody is subjected to extensive polyphonic variation treatment.¹⁵ When Cobbold combines the omnipresent 'Browning' theme (and the rising-fourth motif derived from it) in counterpoint with popular thematic material from some of the contrasting sections, the result is a continuous polyphonic tapestry woven with great richness and complexity, and encourages a further conclusion: here is a piece which works perfectly well as a viol consort and is as 'apt for viols and voices' as anything found in the printed madrigal sets bearing that epithet.¹⁶

¹⁰ On this technique see O. Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (1978), 65-6. (Both Stonings and Woodcock, for example, present the cantus firmus in the part-order IV V III I II in their five-part settings: see *Elizabethan Consort Music: I*, ed. P. Doe, MB 44 (1979), nos 40 and 41, respectively.)

¹¹ As defined by Neighbour, *Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, 71: see bars 195-8 and 167-72 of 'New Fashions', where thematic imitation gives way to 'figural' treatment. Stonings and Woodcock also lapse into figural treatment near the end of their own settings (see above, n. 10).

¹² Byrd's setting is in *The Collected Works of William Byrd: Volume 17: Consort Music* [hereafter BE17], ed. K. Elliott (1970), no. 10; Inglott's is in *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay-Squire (Leipzig, 1894/99; repr. New York, 1963), II, no. 251. A proven consort origin for the latter would provide valuable evidence for consortplaying activity among Norwich musicians before 1583, when Inglott probably died (see Shaw, *Succession of Organists*, 197-8): this seems likely from the texture of the keyboard score, but is incapable of proof.

¹³ Kramme ('New Fashions', 142) states that 'it is likely Cobbold's music was texted throughout', a conclusion which seems to fly in the face of the source evidence.

¹⁴ A good example of this procedure occurs at bars 214-23, where a complete 'exposition is based on a point consisting of the first six notes of the so-called 'Venetian Galliard', worked around a complete statement of 'Browning'.

¹⁵ Christopher Tye, *The Western Wind Mass*, ed. N. Davison (1970). Although Tye confines the cantus firmus to the alto throughout, he constantly varies the point on which his accompanying three-part imitative textures are based. Sometimes (for example, in *Agnus Dei* III, 'Dona nobis pacem') Tye uses a point that is clearly based in the cantus firmus; but often (for example, at the beginning of *Credo* and *Sanctus*, and at 'Pleni sunt caeli in the latter) he employs a more contrastive idea apparently unrelated to the opening of the popular melody.

¹⁶ See E. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1948), 77-8, for a brief discussion of the epithet; and Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 285-6, drawing on a previous discussion by Warwick Edwards.

The sources of 'New Fashions' and the compass of the added part

'New Fashions' is transmitted, minus the quintus part, in two early-seventeenth-century manuscript sources: Lbl Add. MSS 18936-39 probably originated in the household of Edward Paston, and is the most important source of Cobbold's music;¹⁷ Lcm MS 684 was copied by Thomas Hamond, lord of the manor of Cressners, near Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, before November 1621, when he made a bequest of the manuscript in his will drawn up in that month.¹⁸ A firm date for neither is available at present, but Add. 18936-39 was probably completed by c1620.¹⁹ Both sources contain errors and important variant readings and (as the selection in the *Musica Britannica* 22 commentary shows) neither provides an obvious primary source and a conflation is justified in establishing a text.

[13] The first crucial editorial problem to be solved, before any material can safely be reconstructed, is the overall compass of the added part. The original clefs (C1, C3, C4 and F4) and the ranges of the extant parts could imply either an alto, or (as in some of Cobbold's consort songs) a G2-cleffed treble going up to *f*'',²⁰ but surviving material certainly requires a mixture of the two. The three editorial 'Browning' statements, as Philip Brett correctly deduced in his *Musica Britannica* edition, belong to the top register of the alto voice and simply will not work if placed an octave lower; but much of the rest of the added part, as dictated by the surviving texture, must occupy the lower register of the treble viol and rules out the quintus as the highest part overall. In fact, the evidence of a few key features proves beyond doubt that the editorial quintus must descend to *f*.²¹ The *f-d* " compass is not in itself unreasonable, but it is considerably wider than the missing quintus parts implied in any of Cobbold's other consort songs or, perhaps more to the point, in most of the original quintus parts to the songs by other composers printed in *MB* 22.

One obvious technique for trying to decide on tessitura, after scoring up the fragment, is to scan it for (i) missing cadential suspensions, so useful for gauging original pitch; (ii) obvious points of imitation; and (iii) obvious gaps in the texture. Often (i) and (iii) will coincide—as for example in bar 100, where *c'* rather than *c''* is implied by the low tenor *f-e-d-c* (these four notes an octave higher would have completely transformed the chord-spacing). A higher

¹⁷ See *MB* 22, 174; also P Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964), 51-69, at p. 60 and n. 2; C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1982), 125.

¹⁸ See Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 79.

¹⁹ I am grateful to Professor Brett for confirming this approximate date (private communication); Dr Warwick Edwards, also in a private communication, confirmed that he too was unable to arrive at a precise dating.

²⁰ For example, *MB* 22 nos 13 and 28. High quintus pitch in the latter is confirmed by the recent discovery of portions of the missing part: see I. Payne, 'In Betlehem town: recomposition and rearrangement in William Cobbold's Christmas anthem' (forthcoming in *MT*). Philip Brett's quintus in *MB* 22 no. 14 (*g-c''*) comes closest to the requirements of 'New Fashions'.

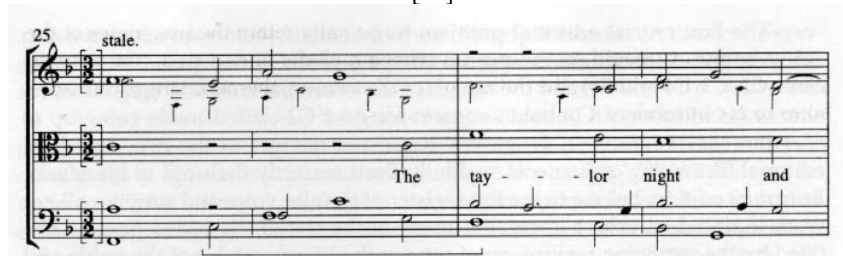
²¹ The best example is in bar 214, where the altus must surely begin with a point rising from *f-c'*. (If it begins an octave higher—on *f*, rather than *f*—an unprepared fourth is produced with the following answer, beginning on *c'*, on the second beat of the bar.)

option, on the other hand, is clearly required for the suspension in the ballett-style cadential scoring of ii7b in 133 (fifth beat); but the octave pitch of the quintus in 135-6 is less easily decided, and so is that in 210-13, though a lower pitch for the whole passage is suggested by the need (in 210) for a low suspension (c', not c''). These, however, are the 'easy' decisions; much of the material elsewhere does not present such obvious musical choices, and although some of the tessitura is firmly settled by context, there remain numerous places where the choice of octave is less clear. Such places, as we shall see, provide one of the piece's most intractable editorial problems.

The function, reconstruction, and texting of the 'Browning' theme

We turn now to the problems of reconstructing the musical material itself, and begin with a consideration of the 'Browning' theme, which is structurally so important.²² Philip Brett solved part of the missing-quintus puzzle when he determined that the original must have contained three repetitions of this theme, and supplied them in his edition. Three techniques are discernible in Cobbold's skilful and varied treatment of the tune in the surviving material. First, the frequent use of redundant entries of this theme, usually the first four notes beginning with the characteristic rising fourth (Example 1a).²³

[14]



Example 1a. William Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the first parte], after Lcm 684, bars 25-8.

Secondly, the use of a part in thirds with the tune is strongly suggested by the way the accompanying parts 'shadow' each other, often leaping in intervals of a third, and narrowly avoiding sets of parallel fifths and octaves (Example 1b).²⁴

²² Kramme ('New Fashions', 139-40) observes that Cobbold's treatment has similarities with those of William Inghot and Elway Bevan. Notwithstanding a marked similarity to that of Bevan (compare *ibid.*, 141 Exx. 5.1a and b), the assumption (*ibid.*, 140) that the 'first presentation' (bars 1-9) is two-part, 'accompanied *only* by the treble [my emphasis]', is open to question, though it is not impossible.

²³ For example, bars 25-7 (bassus); 52-4 (tenor); 83-5, 92-4 (tenor, acts as the bass to 'Lusty Gallant' and 'Little Peg of Ramsey'); 148-50 (bassus).

²⁴ Other examples include bars 118 (implied in missing quintus); 189-90 (cantus and bassus); 279-80 (all parts).

Example 1b. Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the third parte], after Lcm 684, bars 149-52. Verbal text omitted.

This is a very common device among English composers of the period²⁵ and a key feature of Cobbold's technique in his consort songs, as Example 1c shows, from 'I plunged am poore wreath in woe':

Example 1c. Cobbold, consort song 'I plunged am poore wreache in woe' (Lbl Add. 18936-9, no. 51), bars 7-10. Verbal text omitted.

[15] Thirdly, while the previous two techniques normally retain the long notes of the cantus firmus, Cobbold sometimes presents a melodic line in an accompanying part which, while sharing the outline of the 'Browning' theme, changes the detail so as to accommodate it to the other parts (Example 1d).²⁶

²⁵ An example familiar to many readers occurs in the second half of Thomas Weelkes's 'Hark all ye lovely saints above', where at the words 'Then cease, fair ladies' cantus, quintus and tenor alternately avoid consecutive fifths and octaves.

²⁶ The example quoted shows the division of the melody into two halves (bars 92-4, 97-101, tenor) with two bars' imitation of 'Little Pegg of Ramsey' interspersed at 95-6). Other examples include 148-157 (bassus); 173-83 (tenor); 186-94 (bassus); 217-25 (tenor); 233-40, 240-9 (tenor, two statements the second of which is disrupted by modulation); 251-7. Finally 282-end (tenor, three continuous repetitions).

Example 1d. Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the second parte], after Lcm 684, bars 92-101. Unaltered sections of the Browning theme are bracketed, notes from the theme retained in Cobbold's florid portions marked *. (Verbal text and other three parts not shown.)

Together, these additional techniques—the first two of which have a direct bearing on the editorial techniques applied to reconstructing the missing part—make John Ward's statement of over thirty years ago now seem even more prophetic: 'Should the missing quintus voice [ever] be found', he wrote, 'we should probably discover that the tune is never absent from the music'.²⁷ Not only does the ubiquitous 'Browning' melody dominate the entire piece as stated, but these three techniques relating to its presentation can, and indeed should, inform any attempt to reconstruct the missing quintus part, though it is the two lowest parts which are most saturated with 'Browning' material. Indeed, the emphasis on the tenor as carrier of the cantus firmus, seen at its most obvious in the final section (bars 282-end), is one of the work's most conservative features.

Having agreed with the placing of the three editorial statements of 'Browning' in *MB* 22, the next editorial problem is whether or not to add verbal text to them. All were left untexted by Philip Brett—partly, no doubt, because no [16] longer version of the 'Browning' text than Cobbold's was (or is) known to exist. But all except one²⁸ of the complete statements of the theme in 'New Fashions' are indeed texted, so it is probable (though not certain) that the three editorial ones should be texted also. Here, again, an editorial compromise must suffice. Fortunately, it is possible to assemble three further couplets of probable antiquity for this purpose,²⁹ and all three editorial 'Browning' statements can be texted convincingly, if not definitively.³⁰ For the

²⁷ 'Apropos *The British Broadside Ballad*', 69, n. 14.

²⁸ Bars 117-25; text omitted probably because of the close imitation between texted altus and bassus in 118-21. (But a cynic could argue, with some justification, that Cobbold may simply not have had enough 'Browning' text.)

²⁹ One further couplet, which would pin down the work to an Elizabethan rather than a Jacobean date, is: 'The rose is red the leaves are grene/God save Elizabeth ovr Qveene', printed in the commentary to BE17, 155.

³⁰ Kramme ('New Fashions', 158, paragraph 1, lines 2-3 and 6 down) invents his own words for the first and second of these complete 'Browning' statements only; the third and last are left untexted.

first (bars 9-17) the traditional words which accompany Byrd's consort variations in one manuscript might perhaps be used: 'The leaues be greene the nuts be browne/they hang soe high thay will not come downe'.³¹ The second and third statements (bars 42-50, 109-17) are more problematic, but the two couplets used in an early-seventeenth-century three-part canon entitled 'Browning Madame' are probably ancient enough to be meaningfully counterpointed against Cobbold's ballad tunes: 'Browning Madame, browning Madame, so merrily wee sing browning Madame'; and 'The fayrest flower in garden greene, is in my loue's breast full comely seene', respectively.³² (The third and final couplet in Ravenscroft, 'And with all others compare she can, therefore now let vs sing Browning Madame', is probably redundant as far as 'New Fashions' is concerned, unless this version of the text is used in its entirety for all three editorial appearances of the tune. But the probable antiquity of 'The leaues be greene' and its use as a work-title by Inglott, another Norwich composer (see above), together with the fact that the first two of Ravenscroft's couplets make better sense than the third when each is sung in isolation from the others, supports the selection of material advocated above.)

The problem of missing 'ballad' material

What made reconstruction well nigh impossible prior to the independent researches of Joel Kramme and myself was the near certainty, as Philip Brett pointed out, that 'the missing quintus part probably contains at least two more ballad tunes'³³ and that it cannot therefore be convincingly reconstructed by freely composed editorial material throughout: it was presumably this, coupled with the great length of the piece, that led him to include in his edition a blank stave to accommodate the eventual recovery of the missing part, or for the convenience of those wishing to try their hand at composing one of their own.

I venture to suggest that this 'missing' material may now be restored with a high degree of probability though, as might be expected, neither the process nor the result is entirely certain or problem-free. A search for the right triple-time melody to complete bars 84-92,³⁴ full of Cobbold's rich and sometimes unorthodox accompanying polyphony, identified the missing ballad as 'Lusty Gallant', of which several printed transcriptions are found among the scholarly literature. Although the duple-time version transmitted by the Ballet Lutebook and printed by Claude Simpson (see Example 2) does not seem to be the version the composer had in mind,³⁵ the setting preserved in the Marsh

³¹ See BE17, loc. cit., and *Grove* (1980) 111, 348 s.v. 'Browning', unattributed article.

³² T. Ravenscroft, *Deuteromelia: or the Second Part of Musicks Melodie, or Melodius [sic] Musicke* (1609), no. 9.

³³ MB 22, 189. Kramme ('New Fashions', 149, 154 Ex. 5A.5, bars 126-7) has detected and restored a possible third portion of original material.

³⁴ Kramme ('New Fashions', 147, 149 Ex. 5.3f) attempts to fit the ballad 'Pepper is black' into these bars. This is not impossible, but the blatant consecutive fifths between f# and d' (in bar 85 of Ex. 5.3) must argue very strongly against the identification, though bars 89-90 are more convincing. 'Lusty Gallant', on the other hand, has the advantage of a better fit with Cobbold's rather eccentrically rhythmic and fragmented accompanying parts at this point.

³⁵ C. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966), 476-8. J. M. Ward, 'Music for a Handefull of pleasant delites', *JAMS* 10 (1957), 151-80, at 169-70, Ex. 10.

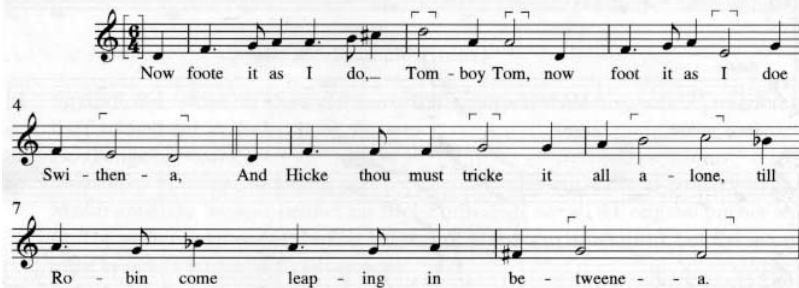
Lutebook and printed [17] by John Ward (Example 3) is found to fit Cobbold's metre and the surviving viol parts well enough to place its identification with the missing ballad beyond reasonable doubt,³⁶ but only after it has been considerably amended to fit the Norwich organist's lively galliard cross-rhythms and distorted modal cadences (see table below). Another version of the tune which can be made to 'fit' is that used by Thomas Ravenscroft in 'A Round of Three Country Dances in One',³⁷ where it sets a text beginning 'Now foote it as I do, Tomboy, Tom' (Example 4).³⁸ Although the Marsh version



Example 2. 'Lusty Gallant', after Simpson, p. 477. (Transposed for ease of comparison: original a tone lower.)



Example 3. Untitled version of 'Lusty Gallant', after Ward, 1957, pp. 169-70. (Transposed for ease of comparison: original a tone lower.)



Example 4. 'Lusty Gallant', from Thomas Ravenscroft, 'A Round of Three Country Dances in One'. (Transposed for ease of comparison: original a tone higher.)

perhaps comes closest to the missing one, none of these three versions of the tune fits Cobbold's viol parts without amendment, and a suitable amalgam must be 'new-fashioned'-a play on words that any Elizabethan composer would probably have appreciated in the circumstances-[18] to reconstruct the passage in question (Example 5). Set out beneath, in tabular form, are the main considerations which shaped the editorial version of the original melody (bar number followed by comment).

³⁶ J. M. Ward, 'Music for a *Handefull of pleasant delites*', *JAMS* 10 (1957), 151-80, at 169-70, Ex. 10.

³⁷ T. Ravenscroft, *Pammelia. Musicks Miscellanies or, Mixed Variety of Pleasant Roundelayses, and Delightfull Catches, of 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10 Parts in One* (1609), no. 74. This round is recorded on 'New Fashions' (above, n. 7).

³⁸ Ravenscroft's round also employs the same 'Robin Hood' melody as that which ends Cobbold's work, but this is considerably adapted by Ravenscroft 'to the harmonic requirements of a round'. (Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad*, 139; see also 608-11.) For the same reason, Ravenscroft's version of 'Lusty Gallant' (Example 4) is not perhaps the most authentic extant presentation of the tune.

82 Cantus

[Quintus: editorial]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

(may seeme gaye.)

86

give un- to my La - - - die: I name no thing, nor I

Example 5. Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the second parte], after Lcm 684, bars 82-92.
Word-setting by the author.

[19]

89

meane nothing, But as pre-tie a thing as may bee.]

Example 5 (cont.)

- 84 Rhythm and pitches fit exactly; Ravenscroft's sharpened leading-note is preferred to the flattened one in the lutebook versions.
- 85 No change necessary.

- 86 Movement of lowest-sounding part (in minims) rules out a literal transcription of Marsh's melody, because neither the triplet inflexions nor all the original pitches will fit. The melodic contour of the first half-bar of Marsh can be retained, but the second must be amended for harmonic reasons.
- 87 Extreme syncopation in the two accompanying parts distorts the regular galliard hemiolas (3/2 *versus* 6/4), and two triplet inflexions (marked in the Example) across bars 86-7 permeate the whole texture. Also, Marsh's melodic leading-note, being supplied by Cobbold's altus, must be removed from the melody: the most natural solution is to write the added part in thirds with this.
- 88 Marsh's clumsy rhythm is inferior to Ravenscroft's triplet, which is preferred in the editorial part and extended to the second half of the bar.
- 89 Only very minor change of rhythm necessary.
- 90 Marsh's version, with *echappees*, patently will not work here, and the purer version of this measure supplied by Ballet and Ravenscroft accords better with the triplet rhythms of the opening measure. Accompanying parts (especially the altus) help dictate how the editorial part should move.
- 91 A distorted cadence, preferring viib-i to V-i, with sharpened leading-note pointedly avoided in the cantus part. A short final d' must follow from the rapid rate of chord change on each crotchet.

[20] The selection of a suitable verbal text for the new-fashioned 'Lusty Gallant' is no less problematic than the choice of tune itself, since that chosen by John Ward to overlay his transcription does not fit the tune particularly well, and Cobbold's rhythmic contortions in bars 86-7, where a sudden hemiola is followed by the displacement of the cadential triplet, have inevitable consequences for both the rhythm of the tune and the word-setting. With these two conditions in mind, though, if we turn to the ballad printed as no. 25 in *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (1584) a much more promising candidate emerges: the refrain only of 'A proper Song, Intituled: Fain wold I haue a pretie thing to give vnto my Ladie' which, it is claimed, 'was very likely [also] included in the lost 1566 edition of the *Handefull*³⁹ (This refrain begins the song, which is instructed to be sung to the tune of 'Lusty Gallant', and is then repeated after each of the nine verses.) It is this stanza which is adapted to the requirements of the music in Example 5, above. There may well be other versions of the melody, and other ballad texts, any one of which Cobbold could have set; but it is entirely possible that he would have had access to the *Handefull*, one of several very popular Elizabethan verse anthologies, or perhaps even to part of its contents circulated in manuscript.

Any search for material to fill the second *lacuna* (bars 255-65) is bound to run into difficulties straight away, because the angularity of Cobbold's accompaniment and the lack of a similarly clear and periodic cadence-structure make both the position and the length of such a melody hard to determine. But thanks to a number of clues furnished by part-movement and bass progression,⁴⁰ it is clear that, far from a new melody, what is implied here is in fact a prompt repetition of the ballad, 'Alas, poor silly man', first sung by the

³⁹ Text and quotation from Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad*, 477. See also Ward, 'Music for *A Handefull of pleasant delites*', 169-70.

⁴⁰ In particular, the conjunct rising bass (bar 255) matches the modal cadential movement, withoutfall, of the ballad melody (250); and the fact that the movement of the inner parts and the bass (257) requires the missing part to supply a- and e' (the thirds of their respective triads) on the third and fifth half-note beats of 257. But there are other, equally suggestive, features too.

cantus in bars 250-4. Provided that the opening phrase is slightly lengthened in the middle, to bridge bars 255-6,⁴¹ a repetition of this ballad fits perfectly. Unfortunately, the ballad is still unidentified and unknown in any other source at the time of writing,⁴² so any subsequent text which may once have existed remains lost, with the missing quintus. It is not Cobbold's practice in this work to have successive voices repeat the same stanza of text; but unless or until further text for this ballad comes to light, this may be performers' main option (Example 6).⁴³

⁴¹ Kramme ('New Fashions', 147, 148, Ex. 5.3e) deserves equal credit for this discovery, which was made independently of the present writer. He, however, chooses to repeat the rhythm of the cantus exactly, leading in bar 255 to the enforced alteration of the original c" f' (bars 250-1 of the cantus), to c"-g'; the solution suggested here, by lengthening the first *g*, preserves the original contours precisely and guarantees melodic continuity unbroken by a rest in bar 256.

⁴² Kramme ('New Fashions', 148, Ex. 5.3e) composes his own highly effective verbal text for the repetition.

⁴³ For the more adventurous, though without a shred of textual authority to support it, some such text as 'Well fare the Nightingale' (in Thomas Ravenscroft, *Pammelia*, 1609, no. 8; see n. 37 above), with its shared hint of cuckoldry, fits well enough metrically, with a little easy adjustment: 'Well fare the Nightingale, faire fall the Thrush cocke too, but foule faire the filthie bird that singeth "Cuckow"'. This piece is recorded on '*New Fashions*' (above, n. 7).

250 Cantus
A - las thou sil - ly man that e - ver thou wert borne, thy wyfe shal

[Quintus: editorial]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

253
be thy mas - ter, & thou shalt were the horne.
[Well fare the Nigh - tin - gale,

256
— faire fall the thrush -cock too, but foule — faire the fil - thie bird that

Example 6. Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the fourth parte], after Lcm 684, bars 250-67.
Verbal text from Ravenscroft, *Pammelia*, no. 8.

259

sing - eth Cuc -kow,] [but foule faire the fil - thie

262

bird that sing - eth Cuc -kow,]

265

(& sith you have)

Example 6 (cont.)

A further problem arises from this. A single repetition of the 'Alas, poor silly man' melody fails to fill the complete section (bars 255-65) and prompts the question: what did Cobbold's missing part do in bars 260-5, once the ballad-tune had run its course? One might be tempted to search for yet another ballad tune, did not the figure c''-b6'-a'g'-f-e', treated in stretto, so completely dominate the three upper parts in bar 263. This strongly implies that, rather than accompany a new, periodic melody, the texture here is concerned with the coda-like development of a stock-in-trade of the Tudor polyphonist.⁴⁴ As it happens, the editorial insertion of this figure (beginning at bar 263, last beat) is

⁴⁴ The most extreme application in the literature must surely be in Thomas Weelkes's deeply-felt elegy on the death of Thomas Morley, 'Death hath deprived me of my dearest friend' (*Ayres or Phantastique Spirites for three voices*, 1608, no. 26): at the words 'until the world shall end' all six parts, beginning with the bass, sing this figure in interlocking close stretto, the topmost voice ending alone. Weelkes adapted this mannerist treatment from a common contrapuntal device, often used over a dominant pedal.

essential to complete the texture, and what is more, a partial repetition of the ballad-tune is obviously [23] required in bar 262, where the extant parts clearly move to accommodate it, beginning in bar 260. There can be no reasonable doubt that the composer intended these thematic fragments to enrich the texture after the second statement of the ballad tune has ended; but whether they were texted or not is an open question.

'New Fashions' and the philosophy of reconstruction

As stated above, the reconstruction of this lengthy work is a very complex business. Although the individual *minutiae* of reconstruction are often dictated by technical and grammatical considerations, many more details will be naturally much more subjective and open to interpretation: after all, as an Old English poet wrote in a phrase which might be the motto of all editors, 'there are as many different views as there are people on earth/everyone has a mind of his own'.⁴⁵ But a minimum requirement can be laid down with some certainty, all elements of which have been supplied in the foregoing discussion: the missing part, were it to materialize (or should one pick up Philip Brett's gauntlet and be bold enough to reconstruct it), would consist of at least three elements: 'free' writing for the most part; three (probably texted) repetitions of the 'Browning' theme; and, finally, some pre-existing material to fill the *lacunae* at bars 84-92 and 255-65 of the *Musica Britannica* edition. Given both the exceptional thematic complexity of the work, and the unique circumstance that portions of the missing part may be restored from pre-existing material, brief mention must be made at this point of the main philosophical issues connected with the process. This will help balance the attention given to purely musical detail above, and at the same time provide a context for reconstruction.

The first issue to consider is whether any distinction can be made here between reconstruction and recomposition. In a seminal and much-needed paper on the reconstruction of early English music, Judith Blezzard concluded that, whilst it may sometimes be possible to identify clear cases of pure recomposition or pure reconstruction, 'in practice, it is almost impossible to separate reconstruction from recomposition'.⁴⁶ The examples cited by Dr Blezzard to illustrate each of these concepts seem to favour respectively the editorial composition of wholly missing material (E. H. Fellowes's addition of a second treble part to a six-part motet by George Kirbye) on the one hand, and, on the other, the use of pre-existing material (the same editor's reconstruction of missing vocal parts in a fragmentary service-setting by Thomas Weelkes preserved only in an organ-score). The crucial distinction suggested by this model is that while pure *reconstruction* seems to require some pre-existing material, *composition* normally results whenever fresh material is created by the editor. According to these lights 'New Fashions' will provide abundant opportunities for both editorial activities, reconstruction being achieved by the addition of five portions of pre-existing material (the three statements of

⁴⁵ 'Swa monige beoþ men ofer eorþan swa beoþ modgeþoncas/ælc him hafað sundorsefan': (The Exeter Book, Gnostic Verses C, lines 167-8, My free translation. See *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: an Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*, ed. B. Muir (Exeter, 1994).

⁴⁶ J. Blezzard, 'Reconstructing Early English Vocal Music: History, Principle and Practice', *The Music Review*, 45/2 (May 1984), 85-95, at pp. 85-6.

'Browning' and two newly-discovered pieces of [24] melodic material), and recomposition everywhere else. Both here and in Dr Blezzard's examples, however, the distinction is seldom clear cut-as she freely admits-since some measure of recomposition will almost inevitably be required during the reconstruction process: for example, verse-anthem organparts (such as those contained in Ob MS Tenbury 791 and US-NYp Drexel 5469) sometimes show portions of five-part choral writing which, while complete in that all the notes are present, because the individual part-movement is not shown must still be resolved into five strands by the editor; this involves subjective judgement, and in the case of 'New Fashions', as we have seen, the adjustment of the two portions of pre-existing themes, and therefore an element of recomposition, is essential.

The second, and inevitably more subjective, issue concerns the character of the reconstructed part itself. One aspect of this, referring back to the compass of the added part, is the degree to which an added part should either follow the leads provided by the original, or strive to be 'unobtrusive' (to borrow Dr Blezzard's term).⁴⁷ There is a hidden danger here for the editor who is tempted to become too florid. A very distinguished scholar of early English music once made the following remark to me while discussing the challenge presented by completing Orlando Gibbons's skeletal hymn tunes for SATB, in which editorial alto and tenor parts are needed to fill out the composer's original treble and bass: 'one is tempted to be imaginative in adding the new parts', he said, 'but, if you're not careful, you end up with the early-seventeenth-century English equivalent of a Bach chorale!'⁴⁸ Clearly, musical judgement is a key ingredient, and there are no easy answers. But it is equally clear that editors must understand the minutiae of the style in which they are working; and they must be prepared to commit 'solecisms' (such as 'shadowing' in narrowly-avoided parallel fifths or octaves, or perhaps irregular suspension treatment or doubling) if implied by the model. I made this point in 1982,⁴⁹ simply because many attempts at reconstruction still seemed bound up with anachronistic classroom 'text-book' teaching; and, while it is fair to say that the methodology described therein 'is really no different from the procedure adopted by anyone else attempting reconstruction of early English church music',⁵⁰ this remains true in principle but sadly not always in practice (as Dr Blezzard concedes in her article),⁵¹ so this apology is therefore well worth repeating in the present context. In completing 'New Fashions', then, we should perhaps follow Dr Blezzard's admirable summary of my 1982 apology, and her report of Philip Brett's exhortation to editors to focus less on 'research

⁴⁷ Ibid., 86

⁴⁸ Ironically, a similar observation has recently been made by Judith Blezzard, and her co-author F. Palmer, in reviewing Victorian 'editions' of some early Tudor music: 'King Henry VIII: Performer, Connoisseur and Composer of Music', *The Antiquaries Journal* 80 (2000), 249-72, at p. 267. The main difference here is that the Victorians set out to correct and improve the original, producing (in the authors' quoted example) a solid metricalpsalm-like texture.

⁴⁹ I. Payne, 'The Sacred Music of Thomas Ravenscroft', *EM* 10 (1982), 309-15.

⁵⁰ Blezzard, 'Reconstructing Early English Vocal Music', 95.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 94: 'Do editors invariably pick the safest options in reconstruction? Could this be a mark of academic training, less pervasive than in nineteenth-century reconstructions but nevertheless still present?'

matters from outside the music they are dealing with' and pay more attention to 'the value of aspects of the music itself, such as line and shape'.⁵² In this matter, too, editors are sometimes slow or reluctant to respond to indicators offered by the original fragments—for example, as regards unusual spacings or the pitch of a reconstructed part—so a repetition of my apologia here is even more [25] topical. 'There is a sense in which Philip Brett and Ian Payne are fighting the same battle [concludes Judith Blezzard]—that of assigning to musical content a greater scholarly significance, which in turn argues for a more positive attitude to musical reconstruction.'⁵³

When reconstructing 'New Fashions', then, with its florid instrumental polyphony and frequently quick harmonic rhythms, there is a balance to be struck concerning the function of the added part. Should it be the simplest part possible, merely filling in the gaps and completing harmony and texture? Or should it unashamedly follow the lead of the extant parts and participate fully with them? (Cobbold's original part would surely have done the latter.) And when should the added part go below the extant material, and when above? (This relates to the question of compass, discussed above, to which there is often no definitive answer.).

An analogy will help point up this distinction between creativity versus functionality in musical reconstruction. In a recent article in this journal, reviewing the guidelines for deciding whether particular keyboard dances by William Byrd might have been based on polyphonic originals, I stressed that, in keyboard reductions of such originals, the layers of polyphony (often four outer parts of a five-part texture with the middle strand suppressed for ease of performance on the keyboard) could be compared to post-holes in archaeology which, being hard to destroy, enable outlines to be seen even though the original superstructure has vanished.⁵⁴ An archaeological analogy is equally relevant to the restoration process in 'New Fashions' in that five portions⁵⁵ of the added part may be 'unearthed' (i.e., recovered for the purposes of reconstruction) rather than newly invented and superimposed on a fragmentary outline (i.e., recomposed). But there is a further analogy to be applied in deciding between a barely functional and more elaborate, creative and 'quasi-composed' added part. Historians of the Indo-European languages, by working backwards, are able to reconstruct some words from the single early ancestor of all such languages. This they call ProtoIndo-European, and its reconstructed words are usually asterisked to show that such elements are hypothetical and not attested in any written form. These reconstructions are seen by some scholars, naturally enough, 'as merely convenient formulas that express the linguistic histories of the various languages in the briefest possible manner'. Other (less cautious) scholars, however, have in the past expressed such confidence in the reconstructed language as to claim that, if projected back into the past, it could be used to make the modern exponent understood among the

⁵² *Ibid.* ('Harmonic implications' might be added to line and shape here.)

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵⁴ I. Payne, "'The First That Ever He Made": Byrd's First Pavan and Galliard, and Techniques of Transcription and Reconstruction in the 'Lost' Consort Dances', *Chelys* 28 (2000), 27-57, at pp. 38-9.

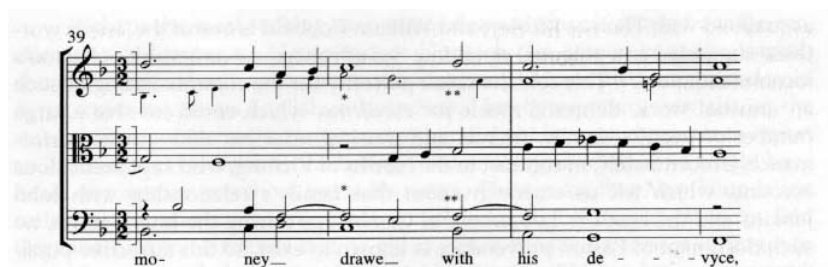
⁵⁵ Le., the three editorial 'Browning' statements and two passages based on ballad material.

earliest speakers. One nineteenth-century enthusiast even went so far as to use the reconstructed language as a vehicle for the creative writing of an imitation folk-tale; so theoretical was the reconstruction, however, that subsequent scholars have felt the need to revise the original tale.⁵⁶ The relevance of this analogy to the present enquiry is striking: does the musical editor, [26] like the mainstream historical linguist, regard the musical reconstruction process as essentially theoretical, adding the minimum amount of material necessary to complete the work and make it performable; or does he or she express such confidence in the added part as to accord the added part equal importance, giving free rein to musical imagination? Like most of the other questions posed in this article, this one has no definitive answer.

Let us now see how these considerations impact on 'New Fashions' itself. Although it does not explicitly require extreme 'solecisms' regarding consecutives,⁵⁷ suspension treatment or doubling, its rapidly-shifting harmonies and 'busy' polyphony often call for an equally active added part; and occasional, strongly-implied imitative figures might lead to a charge of 'over-fussiness', even though they seem to accord with both the letter and spirit of the original (Examples 7-9):

⁵⁶ See J. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (1991), 14, 16-17.

⁵⁷ The type of 'shadowing' illustrated in Example 1 is a standard feature of Renaissance technique and is extreme only in the context of the older harmony text-books.



Example 7. Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the first parte], after Lcm 684: bars 39-42, showing unorthodox spacing (*) and suspension sounded against its resolution (**).



Example 8. Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the first parte], after Lcm 684, bars 31-34. Quintus by the author, showing editorial anticipation of imitative figure.



Example 9. Cobbold, 'Newe Fashions' [the third parte], after Lcm 684, bars 169-173. Quintus by the author, showing editorial anticipation of imitative cadential figure.

Perhaps no other element has as much potential for overshadowing the existing parts as choice of compass. For this reason, where there is a choice, one might argue that editorial quintus should generally be added at the lower octave, in accordance with Philip Brett's sensitive caveat, which is: given that we cannot restore a composer's missing part, an editorial part is essentially a device to enable the work to be heard, more like a retouched old master than a restored lost original; it should keep a low profile and not aim to 'take the limelight' or do what the composer did.⁵⁸ Editorial humility, strongly implied in this view, may be an important factor in deciding between a high and prominent editorial part and a lower inconspicuous one, in those cases where either tessitura would work; but musical effectiveness (inevitably a subjective issue) must ultimately have the casting vote.

Possible venues for performance: two new hypotheses

⁵⁸ Private communication.

The circumstances surrounding the composition and performance of this work are as mysterious today as they were in the mid-1960s, when *Musica Britannica* 22 appeared, with the suggestion that 'New Fashions' 'was probably linked with a civic pageant or dramatic entertainment of some kind'.⁵⁹ This hypothesis may or may not be true, for there is no way of testing it against external evidence. But there are two equally plausible, if more mundane, alternatives. The background to the first of these was sketched by Philip Brett in an important paper relating to the extraordinary musical collections of one of the most famous and most musical country gentry families, the Norfolk Pastons. Under the personal supervision of Edward Paston (1550-1630), the family's residence at Thorpe-by-Norwich was not only the repository for a huge quantity of musical manuscripts but also 'the scene of frequent musical gatherings, and the resort of the professional musicians and composers engaged in the comparatively rich musical life of nearby Norwich'. Furthermore, it seems virtually certain, from a letter from Edward Paston to the Earl of Rutland dated 1587, that its writer was well [28] acquainted with Thomas Morley; and William Cobbold is one of the 'lesser worthies' suggested as a potential candidate 'for advancement as a result of Paston's recommendation'.⁶⁰ This sets the scene perfectly for the commissioning of such an unusual work, domestic music *par excellence*, which could involve a large number of people-family, friends and musical retainers alike in its performance. Unfortunately, in contrast to the Norths of Kirtling, who kept meticulous accounts which tell us so much about that family's relationship with John Jenkins and the brothers Loosemore of Cambridge during the Interregnum, no such document of Paston provenance is known to exist, so this attractive possibility must remain entirely speculative. The likely Paston provenance of one of the two sources for the work (see above) may nevertheless support such a connection.

The other possible vehicle for the performance of such a work as 'New Fashions' might have been private music-meetings of viol-playing cathedral musicians which, though we have no hard evidence in respect of Norwich, must surely have taken place there. In the first place, there is firm evidence of flourishing viol-playing activity at many cathedrals elsewhere,⁶¹ sometimes even (though rarely) as early as the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, and the following brief selection demonstrates how widespread such meetings must have been. References are most plentiful from the early seventeenth century, the best example coming perhaps from Wells Cathedral, whose vicars choral built up a domestic music collection including consort music and Italian madrigals: consort playing would certainly have been in full swing by 1623, when a wealthy benefactor gave them a chest of five viols, 'to the chieftest use and behoofe of those who cann play thereon, to bee used att such their Civil Convocations and meetings'.⁶²

⁵⁹ *MB* 22, 189, citing as evidence the couplet of text at bars 273ff ('Now when devices are gone round, they come again to their first ground'). Clearly Cobbold had a vehicle for his consort songs with viols as early as 1588, when he composed an elegy (see Appendix), if not earlier.

⁶⁰ Brett, 'Edward Paston', 55.

⁶¹ A general discussion is in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 142-5.

⁶² Reported in J. Bennett, 'John Oker/Okeover', *Chelys* 16 (1987), 3-11, at p. 8.

But there is good Edwardian and Elizabethan evidence, too. At Exeter Cathedral, viols were first acquired in May 1550, hot on the heels of the Edwardian Reformation,⁶³ and purchases of viol strings were made in 1551/2.⁶⁴ Although there is no further reference to the consort until 1637,⁶⁵ there is no reason to believe that the tradition died: one scholar has plausibly suggested that the late-Elizabethan vicars choral performed the instrumental music in Lbl Add. MS 32377,⁶⁶ with its pen trials '1584', '1585', and the name 'Hugh Geare',⁶⁷ both on instruments and as 'solfaing' songs. Canterbury Cathedral (where Clement Woodcock was a lay clerk between 1565 and 1570) was certainly equipped for consort-playing early in Elizabeth's reign. Writing of the chapter's first purchase (in 1574) of a 'set' of viols 'for the better exercise of the Maister and of the queresters', Roger Bowers detects in this development a 'recognition of a growth in the practice of domestic consort music in the Precincts' there.⁶⁸ Later, in 1615, a second consort was acquired, probably for the recreation of adult singers and the entertainment of guests.⁶⁹

[29] Perhaps the most striking example of domestic music comes from the recollections of Lieutenant Hammond of Norwich. An aficionado of the English choral service and self-appointed music critic, in 1634 and 1635 Hammond paid flying visits to various English cathedrals and briefly reported, *inter alia*, on the state of their music. Sadly, Hammond either did not hear, or chose not to report on, the music at Norwich Cathedral, so we do not know whether he would have heard any instruments there; but at his visit to Chester, another New Foundation cathedral, he was so taken with his reception in the market-place by 'Mr. Organist' and some friends that he either never attended a service or forgot to report it, so overwhelming was his hosts' hospitality. 'This generous Company', praised Hammond, 'were so well pleas'd with us ... and we with them, and their courteous entertainment ...[that] ... we all marcht to Mr. Organist's Pallace, and their [sic] heard his domesticke Orgims, [and] Vyalls, with the voyces of this civil merry Company sweetly consorted'.⁷⁰ Whether this merry band of singers included professional lay clerks, or only the organist's friends from the marketplace, is unclear; but it is worthy of note that it is the 'domesticke' organ, not the cathedral instrument, that is referred to here, and that there is no doubt at all that this was a secular music-meeting.

All cathedrals then, Old and New Foundation alike, had access to trained singers: many maintained a consort of viols, and most would have had the req-

⁶³ . Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 20-1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 142-3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁶⁶ . J. Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in *English Choral Practice 1400-1650*, ed. J. Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), 161-79 (at pp. 171-2).

⁶⁷ According to Geare's own deposition, in the Process of Suit of Robert Withers (Exeter, Devon Record Office, Exeter Cathedral Archives, D&C 7155/1, fol. 77v), he was aged 55 in 1607, was born in Holbrooke, Devon, and had been a vicar choral for 35 years.

⁶⁸ See R. Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c.1075-1642', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson *et al.* (Oxford, 1995), 408-50, at p. 438.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 442.

⁷⁰ *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties Observed in seven weeks Journey begun on August 11, 1634, By a Captain, a Lieutenant and an Ancient, All three of the Military Company of Norwich*, ed. L. Wickham Legg (1904), 46-7.

uisite esprit de corps (and ample opportunity) to hold meetings of this sort.⁷¹ Norwich is unlikely to have been an exception; but the only reference to a cathedral viol consort occurs in the financial year ended at Michaelmas 1625-by which time 'New Fashions' was at least five years old-when the chapter paid 2s. for repairing (pro emendacione) 'le Voyalls'.⁷²

Although there are no earlier archival entries relating to their maintenance (there are many gaps in the annual accounts), these instruments had probably been in use since 1620, and quite possibly since the turn of the century, a period marked by an upsurge in viol-provision and teaching in so many English cathedrals.⁷³ In September 1620 the new statutes of James I, the first since those of Elizabeth in 1570, were promulgated. Chapter 15 expressly requires the choristers to be taught by a man skilled in singing and in playing musical instruments (cantandi et musica instrumenta pulsandi peritus), who is to teach them, inter alia, to play various types of musical instruments (varia instrumentorum musicorum genera pulsare) in an artistic fashion (instrumenta musica artificiose pulsandi) if these instruments were supplied at the expense of the Church.⁷⁴ (In the Statutes of Henry VIII, on the other hand, only the organ was specified, and the master of the choristers was expected to teach the boys to play the organ in his own time: pueris docendis organis pulsandis suo tempore.)⁷⁵ The Jacobean statute may reflect existing practice, and does not prove that choristers were not taught to play instruments prior to this date. Despite the important reservation that the Latin [30] verb 'pulsare' tends to be associated with keyboard instruments, and that the 'various instruments' referred to in the statute could amount to nothing more than virginals and organ, the fact that the Dean and Chapter subsequently owned a consort of viols lends strong support to the thesis that viols were envisaged as a teaching resource, at Norwich as elsewhere.

Of equal interest as circumstantial evidence is the fact that no fewer than eight of the Norwich waits also served the cathedral choir as singingmen in the period c1558-1649.⁷⁶ It was this civic band of professional musicians who in 1600 met the Shakespearian actor, Will Kemp, in Norwich market-place, after

⁷¹ As with so many other issues connected with cathedral music, true archival clarity only really occurs after the Restoration. Thus, at Lincoln (which had made much use of viols since the 1590s), in April 1690 the Precentor moved 'that the teaching [of] instrumental music be made a distinct office', the officer to receive the annual allowance for viol strings (*pro chordis violarum*); and, further, 'that for the encouragement of Instrumental Music two public consorts' be performed, the sum of 40s. per consort 'to be divided among such as perform their parts therein'. (See I. Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at some English Cathedral Churches, c. 1594-c. 1645: Archival Evidence', *Chelms 19* (1990), 3-15, at pp. 4-6, 15 n. 55.) Whether this represented a new practice, or merely the strengthening of an old tradition, it is impossible to say with certainty; but the weight of evidence favours the latter thesis.

⁷² NNRO, DCN 10/ 1 / 61 (quoted in Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 144). Cobbold, as organist, would not have been responsible for the choristers' instrumental training; the recipient of this money was George Sanders, master of the choristers, 1621-9.

⁷³ See especially Payne, 'Provision of Teaching on Viols', *passim*.

⁷⁴ *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Norwich*, n.p., n.d., shelfmark NNRO, DCN 28/1, 13.

⁷⁵ NNRO, DCN 29/2, Liber Misc. II, Ch. 25, 'De Choristis & ipsorum magistro', p. 42.

⁷⁶ See A. Comall, 'The Practice of Music at Norwich Cathedral, c.1558-1649' (M.Mus., University of East Anglia (Norwich), 1976), 83-4, and Register of Musicians at 107ff.

a dance from London to Norwich so topical and newsworthy that Thomas Weelkes composed a madrigal about it:⁷⁷ these men, it was claimed at that time, were musicians of 'rare cunning on the Vyoll and Violin [and] theyr voices be admirable, everie one of the[m] able to serve in any Cathedrall Church...for Quiristers [i.e. adult, not boy, singers]'.⁷⁸ As early as 1570s, under Edmund Inglott's mastership of the choristers, the Norwich waits were paid for playing in the cathedral, as the account for 1578-9 shows, though sadly their instruments are not named:

Given to William Brewster, Peter Sprat, Robert Thacker and their other comrades (*ab his sociis*), called the waytes of the Citie of Norwiche'...for playing (*pro ... ludendol*) in the presence of the dean and other prebendaries, 11s. 8d.⁷⁹

Both Brewster and Sprat were also singingmen at this date.⁸⁰ It is possible that Brewster is the consort music composer of that name,⁸¹ and quite likely that in the early 1580s Cobbold joined an established viol-playing circle at Norwich using private instruments. We might speculate further that Cobbold's five-part consorts—which are distinctly conservative and mid-Elizabethan in style—were composed for the same circle, as were his consort songs (at least one of which was written in the late 1580s), and perhaps (later still) 'New Fashions'. There is no known archival evidence to link Cobbold himself with a Norwich Cathedral consort, if it existed;⁸² but he could have been a participant in such a gathering, possibly seated at the organ. In any case, if firm answers to these questions of context and original performance continue to elude us, at least the restoration of missing material brings this fascinating work very much closer to its original state.

[37] APPENDIX

Cobbold's consort songs: a reappraisal

These appear, mostly *en bloc*, in Lbl Add. MSS 18936-39, prefaced (at fol. 58r of MS 18936) by 'New Fashions'. All lack the quintus part. The following have a texted cantus part, so may be restored with some confidence (all folio references are taken from MS 18936): 'For death of her' ('Upon ye Death of Mrs Mary Gascoygne, Dying in travell of child, an Epitaph. 19: Julye: 1588'), fol. 61r; 'Ye mortall wights', fol. 61v; 'I plunged am poore wretch in woe', fol. 62v; 'Amids my bale', fol. 63r; 'The haughtye harts', fol. 63v; 'The rare affects',

⁷⁷ 'Since Robin Hood' (*Ayeres*, 1608, no. 20.) Briefly discussed in M. Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism* (2nd edn, Philadelphia, 1962), 191-2, n. 7.

⁷⁸ [Will Kemp,] *Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder: Performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich* (1600); ed. A. Dyce (1840), 17. (Cobbold's 'Browning' text, at bars 139-47, apparently makes an oblique reference to Kemp's nine-day adventure.)

⁷⁹ NNRO, DCN 10/ 1/30, 'Expense necessarie'. (My translation from the Latin.)

⁸⁰ Brewster was a singingman 1574-80; Sprat was a singingman 1573-98 and 1604-09, serving as epistoler 1598-1604. (Cornall, 'Practice of Music', 111 and 128, respectively).

⁸¹ The composer Brewster is known to musicology only by his surname: see Dodd, *Index*, Brewer-2, and the "Innomine iiij part[e]s q[uo]d brewster" printed in *MB* 45, 132.

⁸² His will (NNRO, DCN, D&C Peculiar Wills, 11, fols 426v-429r, proved 27 November 1639) makes no mention of musical instruments: this indicates only that he did not possess (or bequeath after death) his own instruments, not that he did not, or could not, play or that he never participated in music meetings.

fol. 64r. In the remaining ones, the missing quintus was also the texted part, making reconstruction more problematic: 'Sighes doe your parte', fol. 62r; 'Jamyas arrant', fol. 63r; 'O froward fate', fol. 63v. Of the missing verbal texts, only what may be the second and third stanzas of the latter are known (copied at the foot of MS 18938, fol. 42r). A further piece-'As phisicks skill', fol. 64v-unattributed in the source but following 'The rare affects', may probably be ascribed to Cobbold on grounds of style; and Philip Brett, in his edition *The Collected Works of William Byrd: Volume 15: Consort Songs* (London, 1970), 178-9, has plausibly suggested that 'By force I live', attributed to Byrd in one partbook, is more probably Cobbold's work. (A further consort song, 'From a starre', appears at fol. 46v of this source. This is technically the weakest of Cobbold's consort songs: it is through-composed, rather than in the usual ABB form, and may represent an earlier attempt at composition.)

Although it is not impossible that Cobbold composed the anonymous 'Crye of London sandwiched between Weelkes's setting and 'Newe Fashions' in Add. 18936-39 (at fol. 56v of 18936), I believe that this is unlikely: the technique is markedly inferior to Cobbold's known extended works (such as 'New Fashions') and is quite unlike it in style. In fact, its composer seems to have built his setting on fragments of cries culled from Weelkes's version, and presented in a similar order; but the opening exposition is crude, the fragments ineptly harmonised and the whole enterprise lacks tonal coherence and any sense of planning. It is hard to believe that the composer of 'New Fashions' could have written such a work. Perhaps the compiler of the part-books was responsible, inspired to try his hand after having encountered (and copied) Weelkes's setting.

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC MANUSCRIPT FROM RATBY, LEICESTERSHIRE

Anne Graf and David A. Ramsey¹

A fragment of music manuscript containing two short pieces of hitherto-unknown seventeenth-century dance music for the *lyra viol* was donated in 1989 to Leicestershire Museums, Arts and Records Service. It was found in Ratby, Leicestershire, and brought to one of the present authors (AG), then a member of the Archaeology Section at the Jewry Wall Museum, by the co-author (DR), who had received it from a fellow member of the Museums' Archaeological Fieldwork Group. It seems to be the first discovery of its type in the county.

The manuscript was found by a builder in the former main dwelling house, now demolished, of what by the last century had become known as Church Farm,² in Church Lane, Ratby, across the road south-east of Ratby church. A ball of paper was found lodged between the house wall and the eaves, close to a chimney. When opened, there were two papers, the outer an obligation dated July 1700 still in private ownership. Inside was the present fragment of music. It is a single piece of paper, without watermarks, faded and stained, of maximum surviving dimensions 145 mm by 98 mm. The outer edge (the right in Plate 1 and the left in Plate 2) definitely, and the upper and lower edges probably, include relatively undamaged portions; the inner edge, however, is a diagonal tear which may have resulted from pulling the sheet out of a bound book. Conjectural restorations of missing portions of music (by AG), suggested in Examples 1 and 2, indicate that perhaps 25 mm of stave as well as the margin are missing from the inner edge at the sheet's widest point. The four six-line staves were evidently ruled with a *rastrum*: the lines of the top stave in Plate 1 neatly slope together towards the right-hand margin, and a corresponding slant in the stave below may mean that a two-stave *rastrum* was employed. Traces of a marginal ruling can be seen on the less damaged side, and there is no doubt that the fragment came from a sheet of commercially produced manuscript paper.³

The apparently undamaged portions of edge seem to have had their *deckels* trimmed, which is confirmation that the page came out of a bound volume: 'loose' manuscript paper was supplied with *deckel* edges which often remained even after copied pages were stitched together. The original page width of the fragment was probably about 185 mm, which suggests that it represents a complete leaf of a volume in an oblong format, probably *sexto*

¹ This is a substantially revised version of an article first published in *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* 64 (1990), 26-30, printed here with that society's permission.

² Record Office for Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland (hereafter ROLLR), FNS 144 Ratby, 1967-8; Women's Institute Field Names Survey, plot 235; National Grid reference SK5134 0589.

³ See R. Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *EM* 23 (1995), 605-18, for a discussion of the trade in music paper.

rather than quarto so that each sheet of paper measuring around 325 by 425 mm was cut or folded laterally into three bifolia (c108 mm x 425 mm) and stitched down the centre to make six folios (c108 mm by 212 mm). Allowing for the normal trimming of bound volumes, this is reasonably close to the conjectural measurements of the Ratby book of c100 mm by 185 mm. Though smaller, the volume might have [39] resembled Narcissus Marsh's lyra viol book, EIRE-Dm Z3.5.13.⁴

The fragment contains sections of two short works in tablature, both in the same key and both in triple time. Twenty bars of one piece survive, including a repeated section (Example 2): this movement has an initial time signature, midpoint cadence and final double bar and is substantially complete. Twelve visible bars of a saraband (Example 1) may belong to the second strain of the movement as no intermediate double bar can be seen: if the fragment is more or less a whole page of the original volume this conclusion of the saraband must have been on a recto, completing a movement which began on the previous verso. Both pieces seem to be simple, straightforward dance tunes intended without doubt for the viol played lyra-way, that is, with the melody filled out here and there with chords of two and three notes. All the chords in these pieces have notes only on adjacent strings, unlikely unless they were to be played with a bow, quill or plectrum rather than plucked with the fingers. This factor, together with other aspects of style such as the final unison and octave chord of the saraband and the harp-way sharp tuning uniquely used for the lyra viol confirm that the two Ratby pieces were intended for this instrument: they appear to be additions to its already substantial known repertory of similar works and are now entered in the Viola da Gamba Society's Index as Anon. 7560 and 7561.

In the late 1980s research in the John Rylands Library of Manchester University (by DR) drew his attention afresh to the Ratby manuscript, which had actually been found some ten years previously when Church Farm was being demolished. This research produced tantalising additional musical information, although many questions still remain unanswered. An account book of the Earl of Stamford for his residence at Bradgate House in Bradgate Park, Leicestershire, passed to the John Rylands Library with the papers from the Earl's descendants' estates at Dunham Massey in Cheshire, now owned by the National Trust. The collection of ledgers and papers from these Grey family muniments mainly comprises documents concerning Stamford lands formerly held in the Stalybridge and Ashton-under-Lyne areas (now part of Tameside Metropolitan Borough, Manchester). One small volume, however, proved to be the Pantry and Wine Cellarer's Account Book for Bradgate House, Leicestershire, covering the years 1678 to 1682.⁵ The single volume bore no external markings to this effect but inside the village names of Newtown, Grooby (sic) and Ratby were written on its first page, followed by the names of men required to complete four days' boon work between 1679 and 1682. A lengthy list of small payments for services followed the boons.

Amongst this list appears an entry for 12 January 1679: 'Abraham Bunney for playing on twelfe day 5s 0d'. No other payments for players are listed. An Abraham Bunney (1640-1704) is known to have been from the Ratby family of

⁴ Facsimile in *Narcissus Marsh's Lyra Viol Book* (Clarabricken, 1978).

⁵ Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Grey family papers, uncatalogued.

five generations of that name, who were both carpenters and farmers by trade.⁶
[42] This Abraham Bunney would have been 39 years of age at the time of playing at Bradgate House in 1679.

[40]

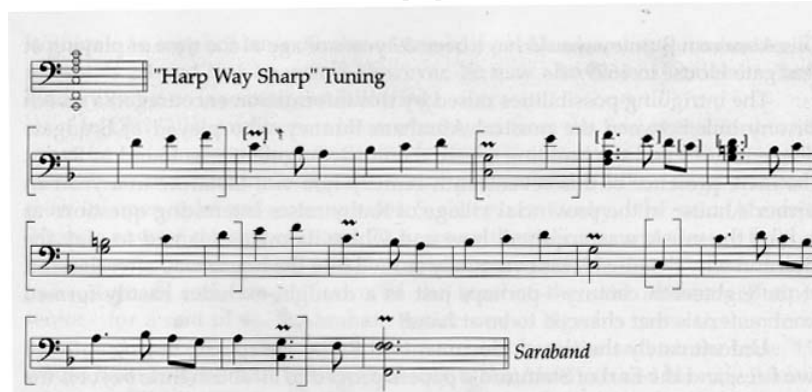


Plate 1. The Ratby fragment, side 1.



Plate 2. The Ratby fragment, side 2.

⁶ Michael Ball, personal communication.



Example 1. The Ratby fragment: second strain of a saraband.



Example 2. The Ratby fragment: triple-time dance.

The intriguing possibilities raised by this information encouraged a search for any link between the musical Abraham Bunney who played at Bradgate House in 1679 and the building where the music fragment was found in Ratby. The mere presence of this seventeenth-century lyra viol tablature in a yeoman farmer's house in the provincial village of Ratby raises interesting questions as to how the music was acquired, how and where its owner learned to play the viol, and why the music was eventually stuffed into the house wall after the start of the eighteenth century—perhaps just as a draught-excluder hastily formed from materials that chanced to be at hand!

Unfortunately the church documents at Ratby are sparse, having suffered two fires; and the Earl of Stamford's papers proved to establish little beyond the presence of this branch of the Bunney family in Ratby. Caution is also required when looking for mention of any 'Abraham Bunney' in documents of

the period: there was, for example 'a farmer at Peckleton' called Abraham Bunney, copyholder from the Earl of Stamford in Groby (a manor which then included Ratby) in 1709. This particular Abraham, however, did not die until 1777 and so is unlikely to have been around to play at Bradgate in 1679.⁷

Almost all of the land and property in Ratby was owned by the Grey family of Bradgate House, Earls of Stamford, and the Bunney family leased much property from them over the years. for which documentation survives. An Abraham Bunney of an earlier period than the above-mentioned can be shown to have been a resident of Ratby in the relevant year under discussion, but it cannot be proved which house he lived in there, nor whether he had any connection, therefore, with either the music fragment or with Bradgate House.

The first mention of this Abraham is at an unlocated messuage in Ratby leased from the Earl in 1666 (4 May, 18 Charles II). Abraham was then 24, and had been living there with his two older brothers, William, aged 32, and Thomas, a freeholder aged 30, since at least the time of the Groby Manor Survey of 13 April 1658. The holdings are for an otherwise unidentified messuage, orchard, croft, virgate of arable land, meadow and pasture with appurtenances in Ratby, with all three brothers as joint copyholders, for 13s 10d annual rent.⁸ By the 1666 reference the holding is specified as being 'for the use of William Bunney, Katherine Jayne and Abraham Bunney': Thomas has apparently moved out. In 1675 the reason for this can be deduced: William Bunney, aged 42, and his two daughters Katherine aged 9 and Elizabeth aged 7 are jointly the copyholders of (presumably) the same messuage for 13s 10d rent and four boones.⁹ In other words, as soon as Katherine was born in 1666 she was made one of the joint copyholders of the messuage. In 1675 Abraham also has apparently moved out, but in 1677 reappears, this time with Frances his wife and Katherine daughter of [43] William, as copyholder in Groby of one half yardland and appurtenances, for rent of 7s 2d and two boones.¹⁰ However, he may also have continued to hold land in Ratby, as is seen in the following.

In 1709/10 a counterpart lease was issued from the Earl of Stanford for 99 years to an 'Abraham Bunney Senior of Ratby, yeoman', of 'a cottage or tenement, barn and croft in Groby, also 1 cow pasture and 1 fallow to go and common in open tide and common for 5 sheep ... in Groby ... the said Abraham Bunney now of the age of 5 and 20 years or thereabouts, and George Bunney junior now ... one yeare and a half or thereabouts and Abraham Bunney Junior now ... 4 years and one half, two of the sons of the said Abraham Bunney senior ... for a rent of 4s.'¹¹ Abraham senior cannot sign his name to this document, and appends just his mark, not a signature, to the seal on the lease. He would have been born in 1684/5, probably to the Abraham and his wife Frances of the 1677 holding in Groby. However, he is described in the 1709/10 lease as a yeoman 'of Ratby', and presumably may have held

⁷ ROLLR, DE1982/ 182, p. 9. This and subsequent similar references are to the Grey papers in ROLLR.

⁸ ROLLR, DE1982/ 181, Survey of Manor of Groby, pp. 193-8; Roll of Surrenders at Groby Manor Court 1662-8, p. 255.

⁹ ROLLR, DE1982/ 181, Ratby Copyholders, p. 27 (18 Jan 26 Charles 11).

¹⁰ ROLLR, DE1982/181, Entry of Copies and Leases in Groby and Breadon Lordships & rental, 1655-1677, p. 3.

¹¹ ROLLR, DE1982/45.

land in both parishes, as perhaps did the Abraham of 1677. An Abraham Bunney was still in fact a resident of Ratby in 1701, when the will of Richard Lawley, lodged in Groby Peculiar Court,¹² refers to 'my house and land in Ratby wherein Abraham Bunney now dwelleth'. Regrettably, it does not seem possible to confirm the location of this house.

From the foregoing we can place an Abraham Bunney in the village of Ratby both before and after 1679, thus probably also in 1679 at the time of the Twelfth Day entertainments at Bradgate. It has proved more difficult to locate his residence and to connect this Abraham with the building where the music fragment was found, later known as Church Farm.

The Ratby Enclosure Award of 1771 and the associated map provide the earliest and only identified information on the locations of Bunney family property,¹³ and show that by 1771 some members of the family lived not at the music findspot of Church Farm (mapped as plot 27 at Enclosure), but in the adjacent property to the north, nearer to the church. The Church Farm site itself, plot 27, was occupied by one John Lea. The Enclosure Commissioners state in their Award that in allocating parcels of land at Enclosure they had a duty to have 'due regard' not just to the quantity and quality of land holdings but also to 'the situation and contiguity of the same to the respective dwelling houses of the several persons to or for whom the same is hereinafter allotted'. Sure enough, plot 27 is shown adjacent to the allocation of more than 94 acres allocated to John Lea, and is described as 'an ancient homestead within the Ring of the Town of Ratby aforesaid in lease as aforesaid to the said John Lea on or towards the West and North' [of the 94-acre allocation].

No Abraham Bunney is mentioned in the Enclosure Award, Thomas, William Senior and William Junior being the only Bunney family members entitled [44] to land. The holding of Thomas Bunney is closest to the findspot of the music fragment, but lies adjacent and to its north. It probably comprises one or both of plots 55 and 56. Lord Stamford's First Allotment as Proprietor of Land consists of 31 acres and 24 perches, and is described as bounded 'by Homesteads or Ancient Enclosures within the Ring of the Town of Ratby...belonging to the said Earl and in lease ... to the said Thomas Bunney...on or towards the west'. These homesteads or enclosures are, in conformity with the Commissioners' above-mentioned guidelines, adjacent to Thomas Bunney's landholding of more than 15 acres held by copy of Court Roll so that his holding in the fields was contiguous to his dwelling house.

The somewhat frustrating conclusion to this exploration is that the only available documentation does not place the Bunney family at Church Farm in 1771, but in the property to its north. Whether this was also the case earlier in the century at the time of deposition of the music, or earlier still at the time of the 1679 Twelfth Night entertainments at Bradgate, unfortunately cannot now be established.

No mention is made of musical instruments or music in any of the wills and inventories which survive for several members of the Bunney family in Ratby. Nevertheless, every village at this time and later had musicians including bass viol players who played in church and for secular dances, and Ratby

¹² ROLLR, DE73/254.

¹³ ROLLR, DE2/28 (En/A/260/1); with map DE 20/2/189 dated 1773 'based on original 1771 map'.

church had a minstrels' gallery from around 1630 until the 1930s. Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) pictures the last vestiges of this tradition in *Under the Greenwood Tree* and in his poem *A Church Romance*¹⁴

She turned in the high pew, until her sight
Swept the west gallery and caught its row
Of music men with viol, book, and bow
Against the sinking sad tower-window light.

As portrayed by Hardy, these music-men were the village yeomen, peasants, labourers or tradesmen. The introduction to a modern edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree* points out that Hardy's own father and grandfather, both builders by trade, had been members of the church band of instrumentalists probably from the late eighteenth century onwards, playing in the gallery of their church at Stinsford, Dorset.¹⁵

Noble houses had their own musicians, who sometimes served in other capacities, as, for example, one of the Hastings family musicians who also acted as body servant to the Earl of Huntingdon, his master.¹⁶ These household musicians could have been supplemented with local players for larger occasions. Such an occasion may have been the Twelfth Day Revels alluded to in the account book. The Vigil and Feast of the Epiphany (5 and 6 January) were known as the Twelfth Night and Twelfth Day respectively because they brought to a climax the festivities connected with the Twelve Days of Christmas. For ordinary [45] village people this time of year saw a relaxation in the manorial work requirements and associated restrictions. Church ceremonies and secular revelry brought with them a period of what must have seemed like an almost continuous holiday, the heart and centre of which were the two great feasts of Christ's Nativity and of his Manifestation to the Gentiles (the Epiphany). This holiday was brought to an end on Epiphany, or Twelfth Day, with a kind of 'last fling' before work was resumed in earnest on Plough Monday. Agnes Strickland in her *Lives of the Queens of Scotland* describes a Twelfth Day feast at Holyrood in 1564 at which Mary Queen of Scots was present.¹⁷ At Bradgate House in 1679 Abraham Bunney was paid to help provide for the Earl of Stamford similar feasting, dancing, music and revelry: probably he was drafted in as an additional bass viol player, but the tablature fragment found in what might have been his neighbour's former home indicates thaftsome people in these Leicestershire villages may have had surprisingly wide musical interests. The Ratby lyra-viol fragment provides valuable evidence of amateur interest in music in circles outside London.

Acknowledgements

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¹⁴ J. Gibson (ed), *The Complete Poems of Thomas Hardy* (1976), 252.

¹⁵ T. Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree or the Mellstock Quire* ed. J. Grigson (1974), 17-18.

¹⁶ James Knowles, personal communication.

¹⁷ A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1850-59), IV, 20-22.

(DE3502). The help of Robert Thompson, Alison Crum, Elizabeth Dodd, Martin Cummins, Stewart McCoy, Julia Craig-McFeely, Martin Grayson and Steve Heavens in interpreting the document or in transcribing and restoring the tablature is gratefully acknowledged.

THE VIOL AT THE WÜRTTEMBERG COURT c1717: IDENTIFICATION OF THE *HAND* *GAMBA*

Samantha Owens

In a number of archival documents relating to the musical establishment of the Württemberg court during the first half of the eighteenth century, a somewhat mysterious string instrument is mentioned: the *Hand Gamba*. Following the death of Oberkapellmeister Johann Christoph Pez (1660-1716), a complete reorganisation of the Hofkapelle was ordered by Duke Eberhard Ludwig (1676-1733). To this end, the former Kapellmeister, Theodor Schwartzkopff (1659-1732), and the local Stuttgart Stiftskapellmeister, Johann Georg Christian Störl (1675-1719), were commissioned to provide documents detailing the musical establishment's current state, and to suggest possible cost-cutting initiatives. The earliest known reference to the *Hand Gamba* comes from Störl's report, dated 19 May 1717, in which he described the musicians' individual capabilities and set out the numbers required for each of the Hofkapelle's main duties—namely, chamber, *Tafel*, and church music. Störl's plans for a 'well-appointed' church music, for a 'reduced' church music, and for *Tafel* music all included a 'handt Gamba' among the bass string instruments of the continuo section, in each case listing: '1 Großen *Violon*' (a large string bass), '1 kleinen frantzösischen Bag' (a small French string bass), and '1 handt *Gamba*!'. This evidence suggests that Störl, at least, considered the *Hand Gamba* to be a reasonably standard member of the Hofkapelle.

The employment of the term *Hand Gamba* appears to be unique to the Württemberg court circle.² Exactly what type of instrument was it? Literally translated, of course, the expression is nonsensical, 'Hand' being German for hand and 'Gamba' Italian for leg. Although on occasion the German language makes use of the prefix 'hand' to denote smallness—as, for example, in the case of *Handbrot*, which indicates a small loaf of bread—significantly, not all such items are hand-sized, or even hand-held. The appearance of the expression 'gamba' in the instrument's nomenclature points to its probable membership of the viol family, a hypothesis supported by a reference made by the court's 'Musical Instrument Keeper', Sigmund Castenbauer (1677-1736). In an

¹ Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (henceforth *D-Sa*) A21 Büschel 607, J. G. C. Störl, report of 19 May 1717.

² The only comparable reference I could find is to two 'hand-violen', but these appear to be violins: on 24 January 1652 Lodewijck Huygens noted in his diary that he had dined in a London tavern where six musicians played 'eenighe seer goede stucken van Will. Lawes, Colemans Taylors en oock van haer eigen compositie; Drij van haer hadden Theorbes, 2 hand-violen, en een een bas met 4 snaren' ('some very good pieces of Will. Lawes, Colemans, Taylor, and also some compositions of their own. Three of them had theorbes [sic], two had ordinary violins, and one had a bass viol with four strings'). See A. Bachrach and R. Collmer, eds and trans., *The English Journal*, 1651-1652, Lodewijck Huygens (Leiden, 1982), 205 and 62. I would like to thank Peter Walls for pointing this passage out to me.

inventory compiled in November 1718, Castenbauer divided the instruments under his care into three categories: firstly, those 'considered usable by the Hofkapelle and by other ducal musical ensembles'; secondly, 'Those instruments which partly need to be repaired and partly could be used if necessary'; and lastly, 'Those instruments which as old things are useless and not able to be played'.³ Included within the first group were '2. Hand *Gamba* v:[nd] 1. *Viola du Gamba*' (two hand gambas and one viola da gamba). Castenbauer's placement of these-together on the same line--suggests two things: firstly, that the two types were related in [48] some way, and secondly, that each was an entity in its own right, distinct not only from the other 'gamba' but also from the other instruments listed in the report.

The viol at the Württemberg court

Although the viol had enjoyed great popularity in the Württemberg Hofkapelle during the first half of the seventeenth century, by the 1660s it appears to have entered into decline. In 1662 court musician Paul Kreß (d.1694) requested the duke's permission to leave for England in order to study the 'the viola da gamba, which is flourishing there', a statement implying that similar opportunities did not exist in Stuttgart.⁴ (It is perhaps also significant that the Englishman William Young, one of the most celebrated viol virtuosos in Continental Europe, had died in Innsbruck on 23 April 1662.) Despite this, like other composers in southern and central Germany, a number of the Württemberg court musicians continued to write works featuring groups of viols up until the 1680s.⁵ These included Johann Michael Nicolai (1629-85), whose *Anderer Theil instrumentalischer Sachen* (Augsburg, 1675) consists of 24 capriccios scored for four viols and basso continuo. Likewise, the extant output of Johann Albrecht Kreß (1644-84; brother of Paul, above), Württemberg vice-Kapellmeister from 1669 until his death, includes sacred vocal pieces featuring viols, for example, *Es stehe Gott auf* for five voices, two violins, three viols, violone, four clarini, and organ, and *Wohl dem, der die Gottseligkeit und Furcht des Höchsten übet* for four voices, two violins, three viols, and basso continuo.⁶ Kreß's colleague Johann Friedrich Magg (fl.1655-c1690),

³ D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, S. Castenbauer, 'Inventarium', 24 November 1718. 'Daß vorstehende *Instrumenten* in bey sein Unterzogenen außerlesen and a1ß brauchbahr zur Hof Capell and andern Herrschafft: *Musiquen* erachtet: and zugleich dem *Instrum.* Verwalter behörig tradirt worden, bescheint... Der *jenigen Instrumenten, welche noch theils reparirt:* und theils zur Noth gebraucht werden können...*Der jenigen Instrumenten, welche vor ohnbrauchbahr and nicht zutractiren, alsß alte Sachen, dienlich seynd.*' For further information regarding this inventory, see S. Owens, 'Upgrading from consorts to orchestra at the Württemberg court' in *From Renaissance to Baroque*, ed. P. Holman and J. Wainwright (forthcoming).

⁴ J. Sittard, *Zur Geschichte der Musik and Theater am württembergischen Hofe* (Stuttgart, 1890-1), 1, 58: '*Viol de Gamba* welche dort im Flor'.

⁵ This, of course, represented the continuation of a long-standing tradition throughout wider Germany: see E. Linfield, 'The Viol Consort in Buxtehude's Vocal Music: Historical Context and Affective Meaning', in *Church, Stage and Studio: Music & its Contexts in 17th century Germany*, ed. P. Walker (Ann Arbor, 1990), 163-92. On the use of the viol in the German-speaking lands generally see L. Robinson, 'Viol: 7. Germany and the Low Countries from c1600', *Grove*, XXVI, 679-83.

⁶ See E. Stiefel, 'Nicolai, Johann Michael' and 'Kress, Johann Albrecht', *Grove*, XVII, 871, and XIII, 901; the two works by Kreß are held in Frankfurt, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Ff. Mus. 418 and 420.

Kapellmeister until 1688, also composed at least one similar work, an 'Aria concertata' *Strahlt ihr lichter, Mond, Sterne and Sonne* for two altos, two violins, two violas, one 'Violonbass', and four viols.⁷

These works aside, by 1700 in Germany emphasis had shifted noticeably from the consort use of the viol to solo performance. A number of well-known virtuoso gambists were employed at German courts during the first half of the eighteenth century, and some also undertook extended concert tours. These included, most famously, Johannes Schenck (bap. 1660; d. after 1710) at Düsseldorf, Christian Ferdinand Abel (c1683-1737) at Cöthen, and Ernst Christian Hesse (1676-1762) at Darmstadt.⁸ In Stuttgart the demise of the viol consort at court was due, at least in part, to the overwhelming popularity of the latest musical fashion: Lullian-style violin bands. The court had its own 'Französische Bande' by the early 1680s and contemporary documents provide telling evidence of the group's importance—with termination of employment threatened for those musicians who failed to attend. Although the violin band was undoubtedly established with certain function-specific duties in mind, namely the provision of dance music for balls and *ballet de cour*, along with 'French-style table music',⁹ there is little evidence to suggest that the viol continued to be used with any regularity for chamber music (a task commonly [49] referred to as 'music in the princely rooms'). In 1717, when Störl and Schwartzkopff filed their reports on the court musical establishment, only two men were described as performers on the viola da gamba. Typically for German court musicians of this period, both were capable of performing on a selection of instruments, neither having been employed specifically for their skill on the viol. Georg Melchior Fenchel (d.1725) was a 'musical' trumpeter, who also played the violin extremely well (according to Schwartzkopff) and the viola da gamba reasonably well; in 1714 Pez noted that he was particularly useful for providing accompaniments.¹⁰ The 'choirboy' Georg Heinrich

⁷ Since lost, but listed in the '*Catalogus* deren jenigen Musikalischen Stücken, welche theils aus dem erkaufften Kirchnerischen *corpore*, theils aus der Hofkapell ausgesprochen and kraft ergangenen gndgst. Befehls zur Stiffts Mußic geliefert worden. 4. Nov. anno 1695' ('Catalogue of those musical pieces, which have been supplied to the *Stiftsmusik*, partly from those bought from the collection of Kirchner, and partly those rejected from the ducal chapel, by the virtue of a most gracious command that was issued, 4 November, in the year 1695'), transcribed in A. Bopp, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stuttgarter Stiftsmusik', *Württembergisches Jahrbuch für Statistik und Landeskunde* 1910 (Stuttgart, 1911), 238-43 (particularly 240). On Magg, see W. Pfeilsticker, *Neues Württembergisches Dienerbuch* (Stuttgart, 1957), 1, §924, and Sittard, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, I, 58-62.

⁸ See P. Dirksen, 'Schenck, Johannes', *Grove*, XXII, 473-4; W. Knappe, M. Charters and S. McVeigh, 'Christian Ferdinand Abel', *Grove*, I, 14-15; E. Noack and S. Voss, 'Hesse, Ernst Christian', *Grove*, XI, 464. In 1698 the latter was sent to France by Ernst Ludwig, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt to study with Marin Marais and Antoine Forqueray.

⁹ See D-Sa A21 Büschel 631, T. Schwartzkopff, letter to Duke Friedrich Carl, 9 July 1688: 'zu deren Frantzösischen Tafel *Musiken*'.

¹⁰ D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, T. Schwartzkopff, 'Die Hoff and Capell Music', 27 May 1717: 'Georg Melchior Fenchel, ist ein guther *Musicalischer* Trompeter, and Streicht neben einer perfecten *Violin*, auch auf der *Viola da Gamba* gar guth'; D-Sa A21 Büschel 607, J. C. Pez, 'Lista', 14 January 1714: 'Feinhl...ist ein Trompetter, and damit er sich beÿ der Music gebrauchen last, hat mann ihm die *addition* gegeben, geigt ein sehr guthes *Violin*, wie auch *viola da Gamba*, welchen ich überal beÿm *accompagniren* vonnethen hab, ist gar ein fleißiger alter diener'.

Schmidbauer (d. 1730) played the violin, viola da gamba, and keyboard, sang tenor, and was capable of leading the chorale singing in the Stuttgart court chapel in the event of his father's absence.¹¹

In February 1725 this situation altered with the appointment of virtuoso gambist Johann Daniel Hardt (1696-1763).¹² Employed as a Württemberg 'chamber musician', Hardt's duties included teaching the instrument to the royal children.¹³ In 1737 he gave lessons on the 'little Viola di Gamba' [*vi*] to three young Württemberg princes (sons of Duke Carl Alexander, who reigned from 1733): Carl Eugen (1728-93), Ludwig Eugen (1731-95), and Friedrich Eugen (1732-97).¹⁴ Following their father's death in 1737, the three princes were sent to the court of Brandenburg-Prussia to be educated and it is highly likely that their viol studies continued there—perhaps with the virtuoso gambist Ludwig Christian Hesse (1716-72), employed at the Prussian court from 1741 onwards.¹⁵ Hardt was obviously renowned as a performer on the treble viol: in 1747 the Baden-Durlach Kapellmeister Johann Melchior Molter recommended that singer Maria Elisabeth Hengel travel to Stuttgart (for study with Francesca Cuzzoni), and that she be accompanied by her father. The latter suggestion was not solely for reasons of propriety, but also so that 'the father himself can also further and perfect his skill on the treble viol with Hardt, the virtuoso resident there'.¹⁶

It is possible that Hardt may also have given viol lessons to Princess Louisa Frederica of Württemberg (1722-91). A set of inventories made after the premature death in 1731 of her father, Crown Prince Friedrich Ludwig (b.

¹¹ *D-Sa* A21 Büschel 609, T. Schwartzkopff, 'Die Hoff and Capell Music', 27 May 1717: 'Georg Heinrich Schmidbauer, ist alß ein Cappell Knab, and beÿ seinen Vatter, streicht eine Viol, and Viola da Gamba, schlägt ein Clavir, and Singt einen *Tenor*, beedes zur noth, führt auch in abwesenheit seines Vatters, wann derselbe alß Coralist in Ludwigsburg ist, den Coral in der Hof Cappel'.

¹² *D-Sa* Büschel 612, decree of Duke Eberhard Ludwig, 21 February 1725: 'Demnach Unsers Gnädigsten Fürsten and Herrns Hochfürstl: Durchlt den *Violgambisten Hardten* wegen seiner *extraordinair*en *Qualitäten* and Geschicklichkeit in der *Music* zu *Dero Cammer-Musico* Gnädigst bestellt and angenommen. Hardt became Württemberg Oberkapellmeister in July 1738: see Pfeilsticker, *Dienerbuch*, I, §883. For further biographical information see E. Schauer, 'Das Personal des Württembergischen Hoftheaters 1750-1800', in *Musik und Musiker am Stuttgarter Hoftheater (1750-1918): Quellen und Studien*, ed. R. Nägele (Stuttgart, 2000), 11-83, at p. 30.

¹³ A requirement by no means unusual at the time, as the instrument was highly popular with noble amateurs at the French court during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV, and well-known aristocratic viol players in Germany included Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen (1694-1729), the Palatine Elector Johann Wilhelm II (1692-1716), the Electors of Bavaria, Maximilian II Emanuel (1679-1726) and Maximilian III Joseph (1727-77), Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia (1722-58; brother of Frederick the Great) and his son, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (1744-97).

¹⁴ *D-Sa* A21 Büschel 614, J. D. Hardt, letter to Administrator Duke Carl Friedrich von Oels, 2 December 1739: 'welcher gestalten ich Unsem Durchlauchtigsten Land-Printzen vom 4. Nov: ao: 1737 auf der Kleinen *Viola di Gamba* zu *informiren*, gnädigst beordert worden'.

¹⁵ See M. O'Loughlin, 'Ludwig Christian Hesse and the Berlin Virtuoso Style', *JVdGSA* 35 (1998), 35-73.

¹⁶ K. Hafner, *Der badische Hofkapellmeister Johann Melchior Molter (1696-1765) in seiner Zeit* (Karlsruhe, 1996), 182-3: 'der Vatter auch beÿ dem daselbst stehenden *Virtuos*en, Hardt, auf der *Dessus Virole* sich selbst deß mehreren *habilitieren* and *perfectioniren* kan.

1698; son of Duke Eberhard Ludwig), show that in addition to a selection of music by celebrated viol player-composers such as Marais, Schenck, and August Kuhnel (1645-c1700), he owned three viols:

6. 1 viola da gamba, from Munich, without bow in a case, 30 *Gulden*.
7. 1 Hamburg viola da gamba, with bow and case, 40 *Gulden*.
8. 1 small viola da gamba, from Wurzburg, with bow, without a case, 7 *Gulden* 30 *kreutzer*.¹⁷

It is not surprising, then, that the remnants of the crown prince's music collection include an assortment of works featuring the viol. Subsequently inherited by Louisa Frederica and transferred to upper-eastern Germany upon her marriage [50] to the Crown Prince of Mecklenburg in 1746 (and now held by the Universitätsbibliothek, Rostock), the surviving manuscripts are generally impossible to date, particularly since one cannot always be certain whether they originally formed part of Friedrich Ludwig's library, or his daughter's. Included among these are a duo for bass viol and figured bass, consisting of a 'Paysan en Rondeau' and two minuets, 'del Sigr Hesse', thought to be Ernst Christian Hesse.¹⁸ Another manuscript of equally uncertain origin contains a pair of sonatas, each with four movements, for two bass viols and unfigured bass; the 'Basso' part has the inscription 'Corbett', most likely William Corbett (1680-1748).¹⁹

In addition to these external works, a number of local composers are represented in the prince's collection. The violinist Sebastian Bodinus (c1700-59)—appointed chamber musician to the Württemberg court in 1724—is represented by a three-movement sonata for treble viol and unfigured bass.²⁰

¹⁷ Weyl: 'Deß Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten and Herrn, Herrn Friderich Ludwigen... Verlaßene *Effecten und Mobilien*', compiled September and October 1737: '6. 1 *Viola di Gamba*, von München, ohne Bogen in einem Futteral...30 G.; 7. 1 Hamburger *Viola di Gamba*, mit Bogen und Futteral...40 G.; 8. 1 Kleine *Viola di Gamba*, von Würzburg, mit Bogen, ohne Futteral...7 G. 30 x.'. Included under the heading 'Musicalische Bücher and Opera' are '*Pieces de Violes*, in 3 französischen Banden, von *Marais*. 3 G.'; '3 Bücher von *Viola de Gamba*, in frantzösischen Band, von *Marais*. 3 G.'; 'Trio, in roth gold Pappier, 3. theil, von *Marais*. 1 G. 45 x.'; '*Opern* von *Schenck* in Kupfer gestochen in einen Pack. 1 G.' (although this reference may refer to vocal, rather than viol music: see R. A. Rasch, 'Schenck, Johannes', *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. S. Sadie (1992), IV, 215); and a 'Trio in türkischen Pappier, 3 Band, von *Kuhnel*. 40 x.'.

¹⁸ Universitätsbibliothek Rostock (hereafter *D-ROn*) Mus. Saec. XVIII: 14²¹.

¹⁹ *D-ROn* Mus. Saec. XVIII: 66³⁷. Sonata I: Preludio: Adagio, Corrente: Vivace, Adagio, Gigue: Presto; Sonata II: Adagio, Allemande: Vivace, Adagio [Grave in bass part], Corrente: Allegro.

²⁰ *D-ROn* Mus. Saec. XVIII: 8¹¹. 'Sonata per un Soprano Viol Dal Sign.^r Bodinus': Vivace, [untitled], Grave, Tempo di Menuet. For details of Bodinus's appointment see *D-Sa* A21 Büschel 614, decree of Duke Eberhard Ludwig, 12 February 1724. While in Württemberg Bodinus dedicated two parts of his *Musicalischen Divertissements* (Augsburg: J. C. Leopold, n. d.) to members of the royal family: the first part, dedicated to Duke Eberhard Ludwig, consists of six sonatas for two violins and harpsichord or violoncello, while the second part, a further six sonatas for flute, violin, and harpsichord or violoncello, is dedicated to the flute-playing Crown Prince Friedrich Ludwig. Bodinus described himself on both title pages as a Württemberg 'Cammer-Musico' so the publication of these works must date from between February 1724 and his release from Württemberg service on 10 March 1728 (see Pfeilsticker, *Dienerbuch*, I, §888). See also K. Hafner, 'Bodinus, Sebastian', *Grove*, III, 773-4, and *Der badische Hofkapellmeister*, particularly 120 and 175.

There is also a significant selection of music by Hardt, including a copy of 'Six Sonates a une sitte Viole et Basse Continue' originally dedicated to the exiled King of Poland, Stanislaus Lesczynski (1677-1766), whom Hardt served in Zweibrücken between 1714-18. The six sonatas are scored for either tenor or bass viol (in French violin and bass clef, with the lowest note of G appearing in the first sonata) and figured bass; the two partbooks also contain a further eight sonatas 'pour la Deßus de viol et baß de viol' without continuo.²¹ With the exception of the opening movements, which are most often designated 'Allegro', these fourteen sonatas consist primarily of French dances—perhaps a sign of the Polish monarch's preference for emulating the musical taste of Louis XIV, the father of his future son-in-law.²² Further works by the same composer include a four-movement 'Solo per la Viola da Gamba del Sig.r Hardt' for unaccompanied bass viol (in bass clef, down to D); a similarly structured 'Duetto del Hardt' for two bass viols (the first in French violin and bass clef, down to E; the second solely in bass clef, down to D); and a 'Sonata' (or 'Trio', the set of parts features two divergent title pages) for 'Dessus del viol' or violin, violin, and basso continuo.²³

Württemberg Kapellmeister Theodor Schwartzkopff, who may have studied the viol during a sojourn in Paris between 1684-86, also contributed repertoire for the instrument to the prince's music collection. The extant works are, firstly, a 'Sonata a 3' for viola da gamba, bassoon, and continuo (with figured 'cembalo' and 'Violon parts), consisting of six movements, of which the most noteworthy is an 'Aria' with 24 variations.²⁴ Another is a suite of French-style 'Pieces a 3 Viola di Gamba col Basso Continuo', seemingly scored for three different sizes of viol (written in French violin clef, alto clef, and bass clef respectively, and labelled simply viole da gamba 1, 2, and 3) with 'Cembalo' and 'Violori parts.²⁵ Lastly, three partitas ('Partie') offer a variety of scorings: one for 'Viola da Gamba Solo con Cembalo' in d minor,²⁶ another for 'Viola da Gamba [51] vel Violino Solo con Cembalo' in a minor,²⁷ and a 'Partie 3 2 Viola da Gamba con Cembalo', also in a minor, with parts headed 'Viola da Gamba Piccola' (in French violin clef), 'Viola da Gamba' (in alto and bass clef),

²¹ *D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII*: 33¹⁸. For further information regarding Stanislaus Lesczynski's patronage of music, albeit several decades later, see G. Rose, 'La Musique a la cour de Lorraine sous le roi Stanislas', *Musica Antiqua* 3 (1972), 247-64.

²² His daughter, Marie Lesczynska (1703-68), married Louis XV in 1725 and was herself both a patron of, and participant in, music making: see M. Cyr, 'Leczinska, Marie, Queen of France', *Grove*, XIV, 453.

²³ *D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII*: 33²⁰⁻²². One further untitled work, apparently scored for viol (in French violin and bass clef, down to E) and an undesignated bass instrument, is possibly also by Hardt: see *D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVIII*: 33²⁰. With the exception of Hardt's 'Solo per la Viola da Gamba', these works were thought to have been lost during the Second World War (see F. Flassig, *Die solistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1998), 84-8 and 267-8), but the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock supplied the present author with a microfilm copy.

²⁴ *D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII*: 58¹⁵: Grave, Allegro-Adagio, Aria, Bourée, Aria, Gigue: Presto.

²⁵ *D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII*: 58¹⁶: Intrada: Andante, Allemande, Courante, Chaconne, Bouree, Gigue.

²⁶ *D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII*: 58¹⁷: Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Gigue.

²⁷ *D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII*: 58²²: Allemande, Courante, Sarabande and Double, Passepied, Bouree, Gigue, Menuet, Gigue.

and 'Cembalo'.²⁸ Technically speaking, none of Schwartzkopff's music for the viol is exceptionally demanding. It may well have been written for performance by a combination of court musicians and Württemberg royalty, at least partly serving as didactic material. A similar scenario is perhaps less likely for Schwartzkopff's only large-scale work to include viols, his Concerto da Camera in C major scored for clarino *ad lib*, two oboes, two violins, two violas, two viole da gamba, bassoon, 'Violon', and keyboard ('Basso Continuo').²⁹

The identification of the *Hand Gamba*

None of these manuscripts specifies the use of the *Hand Gamba*, bringing us no closer to identifying it. In 1717 Störl described three court musicians as performers on the obscure instrument:

Anthony Meister 'plays the violin and *handt Gamba*, but is mostly employed as a copyist'.

Georg Albrecht Kreß 'plays the violin well, plays the viola d'amore, and *handt Gamba*, also plays the keyboard'

Franz Anton Maximilian Pez 'plays the violin with a good style to perfection, plays the recorder and the viola d'amore, and the *handt Gamba* as an accompaniment, whom we hear is leaving here'.³⁰

The last description is the most valuable: that the *Hand Gamba* was useful for accompaniment indicates that it was capable of performing a bass line, a suggestion supported by its position amongst the bass strings in Störl's plans for church and *Tafel* music ensembles. Like most similar contemporary documents his outlines are hierarchical in their layout: moving from the singers, to the upper and middle-range instruments, and then, finally, down to the members of the basso continuo section. This is confirmed by Schwartzkopff's parallel 1717 report. He also described the musicians' capabilities, although on occasion these differ from those summaries provided by Störl. Schwartzkopff's entry on Meister, for example, largely focuses on other matters: 'a Catholic, came here as a copyist with the recently-deceased Oberkapellmeister Pez, plays the viola indifferently, is used by the concertmaster Brescianello as a copyist, however seldom attends Hofkapelle performances'. On the other hand, his description of G. A. Kreß's abilities reads: 'plays the *Hand Bassettein*, together with the viola, quite well, also plays the keyboard, and a viola d'amore'.³¹ In German-speaking lands during the

²⁸ D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 58¹⁸: Allemande, Courante, Gigue, Sarabande (with two variations), Aria: Rondeau. Also available in a published version: M. Bishop, ed., *Theodor Schwartzkopff. Trio Sonata (Partita) for viola da gamba piccola (treble viol, violin), viola da gamba and basso continuo*, Baroque Chamber Music Series No. 14 (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1983).

²⁹ D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII: 58¹⁴.

³⁰ D-Sa A21 Büschel 607, J. G. C. Störl, report of 19 May 1717: Meister 'spielt eine *Violin* and *handt Gamba*, wirdt aber meistens zum Nothen schreiben employt'; Kreß 'spielt eine gute *Violin*, streicht die *Viola d'Amour*, and *handt Gamba*, schlägt auch das Clavier'; and F. A. M. Pez 'spielt eine *Violin* in guter *Manier* and *perfection*, blaßt eine Floten, and streicht die *Viola d'Amour* and *handt Gamba* zum *accompagnement*, welcher dem vernemmen nach von hier hinlang gehet'. Kreß was the son of Paul Kreß, (see above) and Pez was the son of former Oberkapellmeister J. C. Pez.

³¹ D-Sa A21 Büschel 609, T. Schwartzkopff, 'Die Hoff and Capell Music', 27 May 1717: Meister, 'ein *Catholique*, ist mit dem verstorbenen Ober Cappellmeister Petzen, alß *Noñst* anhero kommen, streicht eine mittelmäßige *Viol*, und läst sich alß *Noñst* bey dem

eighteenth century, 'Bassel', 'Bassetl', and 'Bassete' were common terms used to describe the violoncello, as a diminutive of 'bass' in the sense of a double bass. Leopold Mozart, for one, was explicit on this point.³² In some cases they could also refer to other 8' string instruments, as in 1701 when Georg [52] Muffat used the term 'Bassetl' to specify the French *Basse de Violon* as an alternative to the violoncello in a concertino group.³³ At the Württemberg court in 1717, a wide selection of bass string instruments were available. Within his 1717 report Schwartzkopff distinguished between players of the violoncello, the 'Großen Violon', the French *Basse de Violon*, the viola da gamba, and the 'Hand Bassetlein'. Taking G. A. Kreß as the common denominator, it is clear that the last of these was a variant term for Störl's *Hand Gamba* and that the instrument was used for the performance of bass, or at least bassetto, lines.

A number of writers, including Quantz, C. P. E. Bach, and Leopold Mozart, mention the practice of using viola-range instruments to play bass lines.³⁴ Although not recommended, this was sometimes unavoidable and required great care—particularly with regard to the creation of unwanted dissonances caused by crossing the upper parts. According to Mozart these 'high basses' were normally performed by an instrument called the *Fagot Geige* (bassoon violin), somewhat larger than a viola, with which one could 'play the bass ... but only to violins, *Zwerchflauten* [high flutes], and other high upper

Concertmeister Brescianello gebrauchen, kommt aber selten zur Cappell Music'; and Kreß 'streicht das Hand Bassetlein nebst der Viol, guth, tractirt auch das Clavir, and eine Viol d'Amour'. In this report Schwartzkopff uses the term 'Viol' to refer to the viola, as distinct from both 'Violin' and 'Viola da Gamba'.

³² L. Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756), 3: 'Die siebente Art heißt das Bassel oder Bassete, welches man, nach dem italiänischen *Violoncello*, das Violoncell nennet'. ('The 7th type is called the *Bassel* or *Bassette*, which also goes under the name *Violoncell*, from the Italian violoncello.') See also J. Webster, 'Violoncello and Double Bass in the Chamber Music of Haydn and his Viennese Contemporaries, 1750-1780', *JAMS* 29 (1976), 413-38.

³³ G. Muffat, *Außerlesener mit Ernst- und Lust-gemengter Instrumental-Music* (Augsburg, 1701), ed. E. Luntz, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 23, XI/2 (Graz, 1959), 8: 'Diser Bas aber, wird auff einem frantzösischen Bassetl besser als auff einem diser Orthen gebräuchigen *Violone* außkommen'. ('This bass, however, would be better played on a French bass rather than the *Violone* which is used hereabouts [i.e. in German-speaking lands] .')

³⁴ J. J. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), 211: 'Wenn der Bratchist, in Ermangelung des Violoncells, ein Trio oder Solo begleitet; muß er, so viel als möglich ist, allezeit eine Octave tiefer spielen, als sonst, wenn er mit dem Basse im Unison geht, and wohl Acht haben, daß er die Oberstimme nicht übersteige'. ('If, in the absence of the violoncello, the violist accompanies a trio or a solo; when he plays in unison with the bass, he must, as much as possible, play an octave lower than he usually does, and must be careful not to go above the upper part': trans. E. Reilly, *On playing the flute*, (2nd edn, 1985), 240); C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, Part II (Berlin, 1762), 2: 'Einige lassen sich beym Solo mit der Bratsche oder gar mit der Violine ohne Clavier begleiten. Wenn dieses aus Noth, wegen Mangel an guten Clavieristen, geschiehet, so muß man sie entschuldigen, sonst aber gehen bey dieser Art von Ausführung viele Ungleichheiten vor... Was können nicht fur Fehler entstehen, Venn die Stimmen einander übersteigen!'. ('Some soloists take only a viola or even a violin for accompaniment. This can be condoned only in cases of necessity, where good harpsichordists are not available, even though it creates many discrepancies... What confusion when the parts cross!': trans. and ed. W. Mitchell, *Essay on the true art of playing keyboard instruments* (1951), 173).

parts'.³⁵ He also noted the existence of an instrument sometimes mistakenly called the bassoon violin, but which was actually larger again: the *Hand Bassel*. While this sounds striking similar to Schwartzkopff's *Hand Bassellein*, it is virtually impossible to link the two with any certainty given the geographical and chronological distance between them. In fact, the *viola di fagotto* (bassoon violin) and *Hand Bassel* represent only two of a myriad of tenor-range, viola-type instruments in use in Germany during the eighteenth century—others included the *viola pomposa* and the *viola da spalla* (shoulder viola). For this reason we cannot rule out entirely the possibility that the word 'Hand' may have denoted a hand- or arm-held instrument.³⁶

If, on the other hand, the instrument was a member of the gamba family as Störl's version of its name suggests—it was definitely not the bass. A number of contemporary German theorists held that the expression 'viola da gamba' on its own commonly referred to the bass viol. Friedrich Erhardt Niedt, in his *Musicalische Handleitung* (Hamburg, 1706), stated that the 'Viola di Gamba' was 'a small tenor or bass string instrument [*Geige*]'. In the second edition of the same work (1721) he elaborated on this somewhat, writing: 'Voladagamba: a tenor or little bass string instrument; it goes from great D to g', a". As for the smaller viols, Niedt discussed them under the entry 'Violetta', explaining that the 'Violetta: is a stringed instrument for the middle part, be it in the manner of a Braccio or a small Viola di Gamba'. By 1721 he had altered this statement to refer only to viols: 'Violetta: a treble Violadigamba; it goes from four-foot pitch c to g", a°...also an alto Violadigamba; it goes from six-foot pitch G to d", e".'³⁷ Johann Gottfried Walther obviously had Niedt's work to hand when compiling his own *Musicalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), since he agreed that the phrase 'Viola da [53] Gamba' designated the bass instrument, and his entry on the 'Violetta' is largely drawn from Niedt's.³⁸ The concept of using viols interchangeably with violas as 'instruments of the middle', or to perform the bass part when there was a lack of more suitable instruments, may well have been standard practice in some German musical

³⁵ Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, 2: 'den Baß damit zu spielen: allein nur zu Violinen, Zwerchflauten, and andern hohen Oberstimmen'.

³⁶ It may be significant that all the Württemberg musicians mentioned in connection with the *Hand Gamba* also played other shoulder-held instruments, as it was relatively unusual for the German musicians at the court to play both the violin or viola *and* bass string instruments; whereas the Italian Francesco Venturini played both violin and violoncello. See S. Owens, 'The Württemberg Hofkapelle c.1680-1721' (Ph.D., Victoria University of Wellington, 1995), particularly Chapter 6. See also G. Barnett, 'The Violoncello da Spalla: Shouldering the Cello in the Baroque Era', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 24 (1998), 81-106.

³⁷ F. E. Niedt, *Die Musicalische Handleitung*, Part II (Hamburg, 1706; 2nd edn 1721), trans. P. Poulin and I. Taylor as *The Musical Guide* (Oxford, 1989), 154.

³⁸ J. Walther, *Musicalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), 637: '*Viola di (da) Gamba* [ital.] Basse de *Violo*, it. *Violo de Gambe* [gall.] eine Bein-Violo, Weil sie zwischen den Beinen gehalten wird, hat *ordinairement* sechs Saiten, welchen von oben nach unten zu folgender massen gestimmt werden: d', a, e, c, G, D'; '*Violetta* [ital.] ist eine Geige zur Mittel-Partie, sie Verde gleich auf Braccien, oder kleinen *Violo di Gamben* gemacht. s. Niedtens Mus. Handleitung zur *Variation* des G. B. p. 115. Die *Discant-Viola di Gamba* gehet vom c bis ins g°, a"; and die *Alt-Viola di Gamba*, (so *Violetta* heisset) vom G bis ins d', e".

establishments. Telemann is one composer who appears to have used the term 'Violetta' in this manner.³⁹

One further piece of evidence supports the theory that the *Hand Gamba* was probably a member of the viol family. In late 1712 the Frankfurt student and musical enthusiast Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach (1687-1769) visited the house of Oberkapellmeister Pez in Stuttgart. His travel diary records that he was treated to a selection of musical entertainment which included a work featuring Pez and his son playing viole d'amore, the court musician Stephan Freudenberg (d. 1749) on a 'small viola da gamba', and a fourth musician at the keyboard. Uffenbach described this performance as a 'trio', so the gamba had presumably joined the keyboard in performing the basso continuo part.⁴⁰ Given this description, it is perhaps most likely that the Württemberg *Hand Gamba* was an instrument akin to the English division viol: that is a bass viol somewhat smaller in size than the consort bass instrument. The division viol was mentioned by a number of English writers on music, including John Playford in successive reprints of his *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (from 1667 onwards):

There are *three sorts* of BASS VIOLS, as there are three manner of ways in Playing.

1. *A Bass-Viol for Consort* must be one of the largest size, and the Strings proportionable.
2. *A Bass-Viol for Divisions* must be of a less size, and the Strings according.
3. *A Bass-Viol to Play Lyræ-way*, that is, by *Tablature*, must be somewhat less than the two former, and Strung proportionably.⁴¹

In his notes on musical instruments made around 1690, James Talbot likewise outlined the distinction between consort, division, and lyra bass viols.⁴² But it is Christopher Simpson who provides us with the most telling description: 'A Viol for Division, should be of something a lesser size than a Consort Bass; that so the *Hand* [my emphasis] may better command it: more or less short, according to the reach of his fingers, who is to use it.'⁴³ The master luthier Jacob Stainer (?1617-1683) acknowledged in 1678 that he closely modelled his own viols on an instrument made in London and owned by virtuoso William Young.⁴⁴ Given this fact, and the significant number of

³⁹ See H. Brown and S. Bonta, 'Violetta', *Grove*, XXVI, 701. Annette Otterstedt has recently challenged the assumption that the treble and tenor viols had died out in Germany by the beginning of the eighteenth century, citing the existence of sizeable numbers of instruments built after 1700 as strong evidence to the contrary: see A. Otterstedt, 'Zwei Sonaten für die Diskantgamba von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Zur Geschichte der Viola da gamba in Preußen', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Preuß. Institute für Musikforschung* 1994, 247-77 (particularly 253).

⁴⁰ E. Preugner, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach*. Aus einem Reisetagebuch des Johann Friedrich A. von Uffenbach aus Frankfurt a. M. 1712-1716 (Kassel, 1949), 17. Uffenbach commented further that he did not much like these instruments and preferred the 'normal' violin, a statement which appears to relate to the presence of viole d'amore, rather than that of the small gamba.

⁴¹ See, for example, J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 7th edn (1674; repr. Ridgewood, NJ, 1966), 101, and 12th edn (1694; repr. New York, 1972), Part II, p. 12.

⁴² See J. Catch, 'James Talbot's Viols', *Chelys* 17 (1988), 33-9.

⁴³ C. Simpson, *The Division-Viol* (1665), 1.

⁴⁴ W. Senn and K. Roy, *Jakob Stainer, Leben und Werk des Tiroler Meisters 1617-1683* (Frankfurt, 1986), 153.

English viol players resident in German-speaking lands and, vice versa, the many German viol players who visited England during the seventeenth century, it would not be at all surprising to find that the English division viol, or a Continental version of it, had been adopted by German musicians.⁴⁵ Whatever the truth, as late as 1738 Württemberg court musician Johann Christoph Biener (d. 1748) backed up a petition for a salary [54] increase by stressing his versatility, commenting that 'as well as the horn, I can be used to play the *Hand Gamba* and violin'-clearly the *Hand Gamba* continued to be valued at the Württemberg court well into the eighteenth century.⁴⁶

NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Ninth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Dublin, 2000. I am very grateful to Peter Holman and Robert Thompson for their helpful comments on that occasion. In transcriptions from German manuscripts, text written in 'Kurrentschrift' (cursive or gothic) is represented by Roman type and that written in a Roman hand by italic type.

⁴⁵ See Flassig, *Die solistische Gambenmusik* 8-9. Among the English in Germany were William Brade, John Price (employed at the Württemberg court from 1605 until 1625, or possibly 1629), Walter Rowe, and Thomas Simpson; Germans who travelled to England included David Adam, Gerhard Diessener, Gottfried Finger, E. C. Hesse, Jakob Kremberg, August Kühnel, Dietrich Steffkins, and Ludwig Vogelsang; see also T. Crawford, 'Constantijn Huygens and the "Engelsche Viol"', *Chelys* 18 (1989), 41-51.

⁴⁶ *D-Sa* A21 Büschel 614, J. C. Biener, letter to Administrator Duke Carl Rudolph von Neustadt, 7 February 1738: 'ich mich bey dem Waldhorn mit der Hand Gamba and Violin gebrauchen lagen kan'.

REVIEW

Bettina Hoffmann, *Catalogo della musica solistica e cameristica per viola da gamba - Catalog of solo and chamber music for viola da gamba* (Lucca, Lim Antiqua, 2001), 254 pp. ISBN 88-88326-01-4.

A comprehensive and accurate catalogue of the known extant international repertory of music for viola da gamba is long overdue, but this book is perhaps better perused in a library than purchased in the hope of acquiring such a volume, which it is far from being. The author should perhaps be regarded more as a compiler, since most of the items listed appear to have been gleaned from secondary sources, notably earlier publications of the same kind, library catalogues and correspondence, rather than from an examination of all or even a substantial proportion of the music involved, admittedly a huge task in itself, but surely a necessary one given the title and implicit claims of this volume. The international nature of the viol repertory, combined with the fact that much of it still lies in the byways rather than on the highways of what is generally known and performed by gambists today, would surely require a co-operative venture between a number of researchers familiar with their own particular national field to achieve any hope of comprehensive coverage. The fact that hitherto unannounced-but not unknown to individual experts-works for the gamba are still coming to light is proof indeed of this. This volume is nevertheless useful in bringing a number of relatively unfamiliar works and sources to the reader's attention, and, possibly equally as important, in including in its bibliography at least one very important publication that is omitted from both the new *MGG* and *New Grove* dictionaries, Fred Flassig's *Die solistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, Cuvillier Verlag, 1998).

Although the catalogue entries (alphabetical by composer and 'Anonymous', with a scoring index by category for each piece together with a listing of relevant composers) are in Italian, the introductory material is also given in English, and non-Italian speakers should experience no real problems in negotiating their way through the volume. Because of the new book's reliance on secondary materials, a number of known errors in previous publications have been perpetuated and given additional credence, and readers should also be warned that the catalogue omits a number of relevant works and available modern editions-several UK-based publishers are absent, for example, and a basic problem with exactly what constitutes viola da gamba music remains unresolved. The inclusion of pieces in tablature and of music for lyra viol, viola bastarda and other related instruments, but the omission of viol consort music, of baryton and other pieces of *shared* repertoire and of vocal works with gamba (the latter presumably too substantial in number to merit inclusion), not to mention the lack of any comment on the ensemble works listed as to whether the gamba [61] plays a soloistic or a basically accompanimental role, are frustrating, as is the lack of much basic information (such as the key and number of movements) concerning many of the works listed. Nevertheless, the book certainly fills in some gaps, and most readers will probably be highly grateful for this.

DAVID J. RHODES

Letter to the Editor

THE ENGLISH CHEST OF VIOLS; A RESPONSE

Dear Editor,

In 'The English Chest of Viols', *Chelys* 28 (2000), 22-27, Herr Muthesius does not mention the pitch at which his large consort plays. He has kindly told me that it is $a' = 415$. In his article, the only observation on pitch (note 11) contributes little to the wider argument, because there is no close relationship between the size and optimum pitch of a viol; the consort repertory was out of fashion in Talbot's time; and we do not know when the viols he measured were made.

There has never been any serious doubt that viols bigger than those played nowadays-'Praetorius sizes'- were made and used.¹ A 1652 Stainer bass of vsl c840 mm. survives in Copenhagen. The assumption, however, is that the pitch of these instruments was much lower than 415. That was certainly so for Praetorius: his viols, if notated in a conventional D tuning, would be at a reference pitch of something around $a' = 320$. Such low-pitched consorts have been demonstrated, as at the VdGS meeting of 25 April 1981.²

August Wenzinger, in his *Gambenubung* of 1935, wrote that 'any ensembles of old instruments' should use a pitch lower than 440 and he in fact played at 415, as many consort players still do. His consort used viols of conventional, not large, sizes. He offered no historical evidence for this pitch: his judgement was purely aesthetic as, it appears to me, is that of Muthesius, who offers no historical evidence for his own choice of pitch. No-one, as far as I know, has attempted to justify 415 on historical evidence for this period and repertoire.

But evidence of pitch does in fact exist. In the 'Golden Age', c1620-1660, viols were played with organs (and violins). Organ parts for consort music are fully written out, always in the same key as the other parts, and often descend to eight-foot C but never beyond: examples I have examined are fully consistent with the organs of that period, which did not commonly go lower than eight-foot C, with a short octave. The obvious conclusion is that viols and organs were at the same pitch and that organ parts were not transposed.

What was that pitch? This has been deduced with some certainty from the pipe and soundboard markings of surviving organs in England, enough of them to be statistically significant: of nine seventeenth-century chamber organs listed by Dominic Gwynn, seven were apparently pitched higher than $a' = 440$, in two cases by two semitones.³ The assertion (not, to be sure, made by Muthesius) that organs pitched lower than $a' = 440$ were the norm is no more than conjecture to support an unproven hypothesis: there is no evidence for organs pitched at $a' = 415$ or lower, and the preponderance is the other way.

¹ Nevertheless, Gerald Hayes dismissed them as 'contrary to common sense' and Natalie Dolmetsch simply ignored them: see G. Hayes, *Musical Instruments and their Music* (Oxford, 1930), II, 41 and N. Dolmetsch, *The Viola da Gamba* (1962), 24-31.

² See I. Harwood, 'A Case of Double Standards? Instrumental Pitch in England c1600', *EM* 9 (1981), 470-81, and *VdGS Newsletter* 34, (July 1981), 5.

³ See D. Gwynn, 'The Sound of the Seventeenth-Century English Chamber Organ', *Chelys* 25 (1996/7), 22-31, esp. p. 26.

[63] The suggestion that smaller viols came into use with the fashion for organ accompaniment c1620 is attractive, although they would be more highly stressed than at $a' = 415$ (by nearly 25% for strings of equivalent gauges). Small trebles of vsl c350 mm or less are not so scarce as has been supposed: there are few in public collections but many in private ownership. (Muthesius's opinion that they were 'high trebles' to avoid position shifting must be considered another conjecture.) But against the case for small viols we have the Simpson division viol of vsl 760 mm. which, Simpson tells us, was played 'to the organ'.

One statement of Mace calls for comment. On placing the bow on the instrument, he instructs, 'If it be *Stiff Strung*, or *Stand at a High Pitch* (which is both as one) the Play a little *Further* from the *Bridge*'.⁴ Here is evidence (but in 1676) of 'high' or 'low' pitch. It is implied that strings were not changed for altered pitches, which in turn implies that the difference between high and low pitch cannot have been great, perhaps about a tone, as was a well-attested practice in Germany later in the century. As I have remarked before, the difference in size between the two hypothetical viol families, the smaller intended to be played with the organ, corresponds with just such a difference of pitches.⁵ The absence of recorded measurements for smaller viols is not proof that they were not in use, and there is evidence for smaller viols in Talbot, as one might expect by his time. But Simpson states that his *large viol* of vsl 760 mm is to be played with the organ.

With so much uncertainty about pitch it is not much use discussing the comparative tonal merits of bass string lengths. To illustrate this point, a D sixth string of the same gauge and fabrication used on Muthesius's large bass at 415 and on a conventional bass of 700 mm. vsl at $a' = 465$ will be at much the same tension, and the pitch E on the large bass will be equivalent in every way (except of course for the difference in sound-boxes) to the D on the smaller one: the string, *as a string*, will have identical characteristics. Here is another thought: the common advice to 'tune the top string as high as you dare' shows that the brighter tone of a highly tensed string was recognised and liked. A bass viol of 700 mm. vsl (to say nothing of a 650 mm. Barak Norman) is well below the danger point at 415, and a 25% increase in tension to 440 raises no problems: a good top string used for an hour or so a day may last, in my experience, up to a year. Whether it would in practice bear a 56% increase to 465 I do not know; to raise the pitch of the big viol to 465 would, however, mean an increase in string tension of no less than 144%, and it is hard to believe that this is realistic.

To conclude, I am not satisfied, any more than I was in 1988, that this problem of English viol pitches has been satisfactorily resolved. Simpson's division viol of 760 mm. vsl and organ pitches of $a' = 460+$ seem to be irreconcilable. If Simpson had his measurement wrong the conclusion, on the evidence, must be that small viols were played at 460+. But the error, if it was one, remained uncorrected [64] in the second edition and Simpson, more than most, is a writer who inspires confidence. Can any reader reconcile the evidence convincingly?

John Catch

⁴ T. Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), 249.

⁵ J. Catch, 'James Talbot's Viols', *Chelys* 17 (1988), 33-8, at p. 33.

Further contributions to this debate will be most welcome, although readers might like to await Michael Fleming's article 'How Long is a Piece of String', to appear in the next issue of this journal.

Editor