

*The*  
*Viola da Gamba Society*  
*Journal*

Volume Four  
(2010)

# The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain

## 2010-2011

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Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for The Viola da Gamba Society Journal, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. Finished material should preferably be submitted by e-mail as well as in hard copy.

A style guide is available on the vdgs web-site.

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Abbreviations:	
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , ed. D. Root < <a href="http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com">http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com</a> >.
MGG2	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , ed. L. Finscher < <a href="http://www.mgg-online.com">http://www.mgg-online.com</a> >
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Goldman < <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">www.oxforddnb.com</a> >.
RIISM	<i>Repertoire internationale des sources musicales</i> .

## Editorial

I am pleased to introduce the 2010 volume of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*. Beyond the usual emphasis on the history of early stringed instruments, particularly the viol, there is no overall theme to the current volume. We begin with José Vázquez's vivid account of the discovery of the fifteenth-century frescoes in Valencia Cathedral in 2004, a truly exciting find that throws fresh light on the earliest incarnations of the viol. Matthew Hall's article examines the *en concert* performance tradition, which can be traced back to improvised ensemble playing in the early seventeenth century. Hall deftly explores the origins and stylistic development of this tradition through a detailed examination of Charles Dieupart's *Six suites*, published at the turn of the eighteenth century; in the process, compelling new evidence is presented that challenges existing musicological thought.

Peter Holman's most recent book, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, will undoubtedly force a reappraisal of the history of the gamba. Among the many new avenues explored in the book, Holman demonstrates how the virtuoso Charles Frederick Abel sparked off a revival of the gamba in London in the 1760s and 1770s; complementing this exciting new research Holman here presents an exhaustive thematic catalogue of Abel's viol music in which he presents new evidence from documentary sources describing lost works and also revises and clarifies errors, omissions and misconceptions in Walter Knappe's catalogue of Abel's works.

Stepping back a hundred years or so, we continue the Germanic trend in the final article, Michael Feurst's examination of the *Partiturbuch Ludwig*, an intriguing manuscript compiled in the mid-seventeenth century, now housed in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. The manuscript (a facsimile of which is available online) contains viol music (in score) by composers from Germany, Austria, Poland, England and Italy: it offers a detailed snapshot of musical tastes at a Thuringian court c.1660. Feurst's article provides an introduction to the manuscript followed by an extremely useful thematic catalogue of its contents: both are taken from his forthcoming doctoral dissertation, which promises to illuminate this exciting and complex source even further.

Continuing in this catholic vein, we have a stimulating collection of reviews of recent monographs. The diverse topics covered include: the *recherché* baryton; the writings of the theorist and composer John Birchensha; the courtly consort suites in German-speaking Europe in the mid- to late seventeenth century; and Isaac Posch, an Austrian composer and organ builder active in early seventeenth-century Slovenia. In addition, three important recent music editions are under review: John Jenkins features prominently, with new editions of his five-part viol consorts and fantasia-suites by David Pinto and Andrew Ashbee respectively; also included is Harry Diack Johnstone's impressive edition of William Croft's chamber music.

Since its inception this journal has fully embraced the opportunity to present readers with detailed reviews whose dimensions are beyond the scope of most printed journals. In the last issue we included one such review: Bradley Lehman's in-depth appraisal of Claudio Di Veroli's eBook, *Unequal Temperaments: Theory, History and Practice (Scales, Tuning and Intonation in Musical Performance)*. The review has prompted Dr Di Veroli to compose an equally detailed and intriguing response, included here under 'Correspondence'.

The current issue also includes a lengthy review by David Pinto of my recently published book on William Lawes. It is not easy to edit a critical review of one's own work, and it would be remiss of me not to mention it here. The review is presented with a minimum of

editorial intervention; I would like to thank Andrew Ashbee for guiding it through the early draft stages. It will be clear to anyone reading it (and hopefully my book) that David Pinto and I have different opinions about many areas of Lawes scholarship. One cannot cover everything in a single book. I chose to focus on the sources—primarily the autographs—of Lawes’s consort music because this had not been done previously in a systematic manner. I welcome Pinto’s detailed engagement with the material, though I find nothing in his review that shakes my belief in the validity of textual criticism. I do not expect my book to be the last word on the sources of Lawes’s music or on his compositional process. Writing of this sort is unavoidably subjective, and discoveries and insights in the future may make me revise some of my hypotheses and conclusions. My research on Lawes builds on what has gone before, but also challenges many aspects of previous scholarship. The central position of Murray Lefkowitz in the history of Lawes scholarship cannot be questioned: I regard his 1960 monograph on the composer as a seminal work even though some aspects of it are now out of date. Lefkowitz was the first musicologist to engage fully with Lawes’s considerable output (and its sources), and he wrote about it with an engagingly sensitive enthusiasm that still inspires today. Members of the Viola da Gamba Society will not need reminding that David Pinto has made his own important contribution to Lawes studies, and continues to do so. My book and his review can be read side by side; let readers make up their own minds.

Editing this journal has been a stimulating and rewarding experience. I would like to close by thanking the general editor, Andrew Ashbee, for his expert advice and assistance through all stages of the process. I would also like to renew my thanks to each of the authors for their contributions, patience and prompt responses to my queries. The next issue, volume 5 (2011), will be edited by Paxti del Amo; the journal will continue to concentrate on research into early stringed instruments, focused on the viol. Please contact Mr del Amo or Dr Ashbee should you wish to submit an article. A style guide is available on the Society’s website (for further details and contact addresses see above).

JOHN CUNNINGHAM  
Dublin, January 2011

# Blessed Wings

JOSÉ VÁZQUEZ

*We are very grateful to José Vázquez for offering us his account of the discovery of the frescoes in Valencia Cathedral (also available in English and in German at <<http://web.me.com/vazquezjose/Orpheon/Vdg-Valencia-E.html>>).<sup>1</sup> For the benefit of readers who, like myself, had missed the event, here is a brief résumé of what happened (and some explanation of José's imagery in his first paragraph).*

*On 21 May 1462, around two hundred years after the cathedral was begun, what was described as 'a "burning" pigeon, representing the Holy Spirit', descended from the dome, setting light to the cloth around the wooden and silver altarpiece and destroying the decoration of the apse and the frescoes in the vault. Attempts at restoration failed, so, as José records, some ten years later two artists were commissioned to paint new frescoes. The contract survives and shows that in each space between the ribs of the vault they were to paint*

*two angels, dressed as directed by the honourable Chapter, with golden wings in exquisite colours;<sup>2</sup> to decorate the ribs with branches, leaves and fruits, painted with gold of ducats and to paint the windows in azure and gold of ducats too.*

*All this was hidden when a new baroque ceiling was built between 1674 and 1682 under the direction of the architect Juan Pérez Castiel. Work began on restoring this in May 2004. Pigeons had been heard behind the façade and a hole was made in the course of establishing the scaffolding. On 22 June a digital camera was poked through to investigate if anything could be seen. Part of the fifteenth-century painting was revealed, which unusually had not been destroyed but merely covered up by a false ceiling. The decision had to be made as to whether the renaissance or baroque work should be retained. It was subsequently decided that the frescoes should be preserved in situ and that the baroque replacements should be removed.<sup>3</sup>*

During the restoration of the Baroque frescoes of the vaulted ceiling of the Valencia Cathedral, the workers perceived a fluttering of winged beings through the wall. 'Pigeons', they thought. I, however, judging by the astounding revelation that ensued and was made manifest unto us, suspect in this incident a further manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

Their curiosity having been thus evoked, the craftsmen bored a hole through the wall, threw light into the hollow cavity and were overcome with great astonishment: what their ray of light encountered is recognized today to be the most outstanding example of Italian Renaissance fresco painting in the entire Iberian Peninsula. A series of winged beings are portrayed: angels in precious

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<sup>1</sup> Documentation and some photos were kindly made available by Vicent Ferrus Mascarell, who witnessed the discovery and subsequent study of the frescoes. The introductory note is by Dr Andrew Ashbee, drawing upon the Cathedral's own web-site (<<http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/index.php>>) and other contemporary reports.

<sup>2</sup> Altogether there are ten angels playing instruments.

<sup>3</sup> Details of what has been done can be seen at <<http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/los-frescos-obrasrealizadas.php>> (accessed 20 December 2010) where there is also a slide-show of some of the frescoes and of restoration in progress.

garments, each with a musical instrument, finely wrought in meticulous detail. Praise be to God, for behold, these frescoes, in their utter perfection, represent an iconographic monument of unspeakable worth.

Owing to the erection of a second ceiling in 1674, decorated with Baroque paintings, these Renaissance frescoes—now harboured in that cavity affording total darkness—have been miraculously conserved during the last 330 years in practically immaculate condition. The execution of this cycle of frescoes was entrusted to Francesco Pagano (Naples) and Paolo di San Leocadio (Reggio, Lombardy), two outstanding Italian artists. This was through the intervention of Rodrigo Borja (Italianized as Borgia), who later became Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503). Rodrigo, a native of Xativa, near Valencia, was responsible for the introduction of the viola da gamba in Italy: the newly-elected pope included his complete musical chapel in his entourage when he took up residence in the Vatican in 1492. The rest is history.

Of critical importance is the representation of two historically closely related instruments: the *vihuela de mano* and the *vihuela de arco*. The first shows a remarkable similarity with the depiction of a viola da gamba in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutsch und außgezogen* (Basel, 1511) that reappeared almost unchanged in Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529: see Figures 1-3).



Figure 1. Angel musician with *vihuela de mano*: Valencia Cathedral

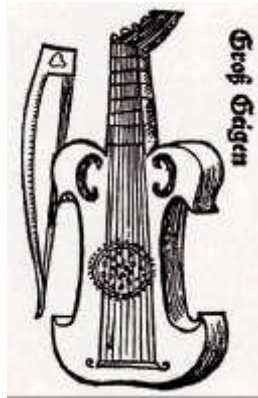


Figure 2. 'Groß Geigen': Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutsch und außgezogen* (Basel, 1511)

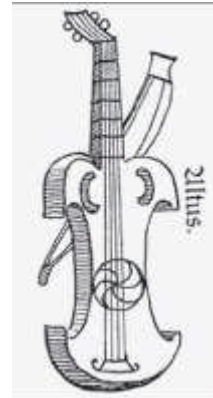


Figure 3. Viola da gamba: Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529)

Particularly interesting for us is the portrayal of the viola da gamba (Figure 4), which in view of the very early date of the painting (1472) must be seen as the very first iconographical evidence of a viola da gamba. Until this discovery—in 2004—the earliest known representation was the magnificent altar painting by Valentin Montoliu (1475-1485) in the Hermitage of St Feliu (St Félix) in Xàtiva (Figure 5).<sup>4</sup>



Figure 4. Angel musician with *vihuela de arco*: Valencia Cathedral



Figure 5. Angel musician with viola da gamba: Valentin Montoliu (1475-1485), Hermitage of St Feliu (St Félix), Xàtiva

<sup>4</sup> A (black and white) image of this picture in its un-restored state is printed in I. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 62.

The viola da gamba of the Valencia Cathedral derives its form from the guitar; viols of this form are also found in other pictorial representations in the region of Valencia *c.*1500. Viols in guitar-form were built in Italy from the sixteenth century until—astonishing as this may seem—the middle of the eighteenth century. Famous violin makers such as Gasparo da Salò, Grancino, Testore and Guarneri used this form in building their viols, though not to the exclusion of others. A tenor viola da gamba by da Salò (*c.*1570) and a bass by Paolo Antonio Testore (1717) are shown in Figures 6-7.



Figure 6. Viola da gamba (tenor) by Gasparo da Salò, Brescia, *c.*1570



Figure 7. Viola da gamba (bass) by Paolo Testore, Milan, 1717

### The viola da gamba in Valencia

A sophisticated musical culture was established in the Caliphate of Cordoba since the tenth century: its creations were appreciated not only throughout Spain, but across the entire Arabian World. Contemporary Christian chronicles report that the Spanish courts regularly employed Arabian musicians for their feasts and ceremonies, often making them travel long distances in order to supply the necessary musical entertainment at particularly important events. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the chronicles singled out the Arabian musical families of Xativa and Valencia for praise; they were entrusted with all musical activities for the feasts in, among others, Barcelona, Zaragoza, and even as far away as Perpignan in southern France. Indeed, these musicians were handsomely paid by the Spanish monarchs (alas, those wonderful times of old!). It should therefore be no surprise that the developments in the construction of musical instruments in the Valencian region would be particularly prominent. It is generally known that the *vibuela de mano* and *vibuela de arco* were invented in this region.<sup>5</sup> But did you know that, quite probably, one of these families—through the overzealous religious persecutions of 1492 now

<sup>5</sup> See Woodfield, *Early History of the Viol*, esp. 61-79.

transformed into ‘winged beings’ and forced to seek refuge on foreign soil—founded the violin-making tradition in Cremona? According to the French researcher Christian Rault, Andrea Amati (who signed his first violins with ‘Amadi’—a name not found in Italy, but encountered in Valencia: Amadi, Hamad) quite probably came from the same region as the inventor of the viola da gamba. But this should be the subject of another story.

### A closing remark

It could well be that these people are not allowed to erect minarets on Christian soil, neither in the past nor the present, but, please, let them nevertheless at least build our instruments.



Figure 8. Vicent Ferrus Mascarell, at the moment of the discovery of the frescoes on the ceiling of the Cathedral in 2004; the photo demonstrates the colossal proportions of the figures: the angels are roughly four meters tall!



Figure 9. Vicent Ferrus Mascarell in his atelier, working on the reconstruction of the viola da gamba

# Charles Dieupart's *Six suittes* (1701-1702) and the *en concert* Performance Tradition\*

MATTHEW HALL

## Introduction

Charles Dieupart (c.1667-c.1740) was a French-born harpsichordist, violinist, and composer, active mainly in London from about 1700.<sup>1</sup> By 1701 he was employed by Elizabeth, Countess of Sandwich (c.1674-1757); in that year he dedicated to her his famous set of harpsichord suites. The suites are of exceptionally high quality, and it is for this work that Dieupart is best remembered as a composer. Through Estienne Roger's publishing firm the suites enjoyed a broad distribution in print,<sup>2</sup> and subsequently they appear in several manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> Dieupart was the first composer to compose uniform suites, each consisting of an *ouverture*, *allemande*, *courante*, *sarabande*,

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\* This paper began as an M.Mus. thesis at the University of Leeds under the supervision of Prof. Peter Holman, to whom I am indebted for his thoughtful guidance. I should also like to thank Prof. Christopher Hogwood who granted me access to and allowed me to photograph GB-CAMhogwood, M1902, and Dr Andrew Woolley who provided access to his Ph.D. thesis and generously made related source materials available to me. The following kindly assisted in procuring source materials at the following institutions: Julia Cavallaro and Dr Kevin Leong (Harvard); Dr Arne Spohr and Christian Hogrefe (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel); Paul Kolb (Oxford); and Dr Helena Backman (Stifts- och landbibliteket, Skara).

<sup>1</sup> Brunhold and Dart have both argued reasonably that Dieupart's forename was probably 'François'; however, Holman and Fuller have pointed out, equally reasonably, that Dieupart was known in England—and in particular to the music historian John Hawkins (1719-1789)—as 'Charles'. It seems most likely to this author that his name was 'François Charles Dieupart' after his father, using 'Charles' everyday and reserving 'François' for legal purposes. This is consistent with all the documentary evidence and with French patronymic naming practices. It seems unlikely that his name would have been reduplicative ('Charles-François' or, even less likely, 'François-Charles') as these are considered single names in French and not usually separable. Whatever the case, in this article we shall know him simply as 'Charles Dieupart'. See C. Dieupart, *Collection*, ed. P. Brunold (Paris, 1934); T. Dart, 'Bressan and Schickhardt', *Galpin Society Journal*, 10 (1957), 85-86; P. Hardouin, 'Une adresse de Dieupart à Londres', *Revue de musicologie*, 41 (1958), 99; D. Fuller and P. Holman, 'Dieupart, Charles [François]', *GMÖ* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Copies survive in Britain, France, and Germany; see *RISM*, A/I/2, D 3042 and D 3044. See also Table 1, below.

<sup>3</sup> D-F, Mus. Hs. 1538 (copied 1709-1714 by Johann Sebastian Bach); D-Bsb, Mus. MS Bach P 801 (copied c. 1712 by Johann Gottfried Walther); D-Bsb, Mus. MS 8551 (copied by Aloys Fuchs, probably from D-Bsb, Mus. MS Bach P 801 and therefore after 1714); A-Wm, Mus. MS XIV 743 (copied after 1708 by a Viennese scribe). It seems that Bach's interest in the Dieupart suites was the impetus for their transmission in manuscript in German-speaking lands. For a catalogue of the manuscript sources, see D. Fuller and B. Gustafson, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780* (Oxford, 1990), 121, 253-255. For further description and contextual discussions, see G. B. Stauffer, 'Boyvin, Grigny, D'Anglebert, and Bach's Assimilation of French Classical Organ Music', *Early Music*, 21/1 (1993), 83-96 and A. Silbiger, 'Tracing the contents of Froberger's lost autographs', *Current Musicology*, 54 (1993), 5-23.

gavotte, menuet or passepied, and gigue.<sup>4</sup> In particular, the inclusion of an ouverture is an innovation which underscores the tendency of the suites to combine an idiomatic keyboard style with the French orchestral idiom.

The Dieupart suites were published in 1701 by Roger in Amsterdam as a keyboard book with accompanying instrumental parts under the title *Six suites de clavessin ... composées et mises en concert ... pour un violon & flûte avec une basse de viole & un archilut* (Figure 1).

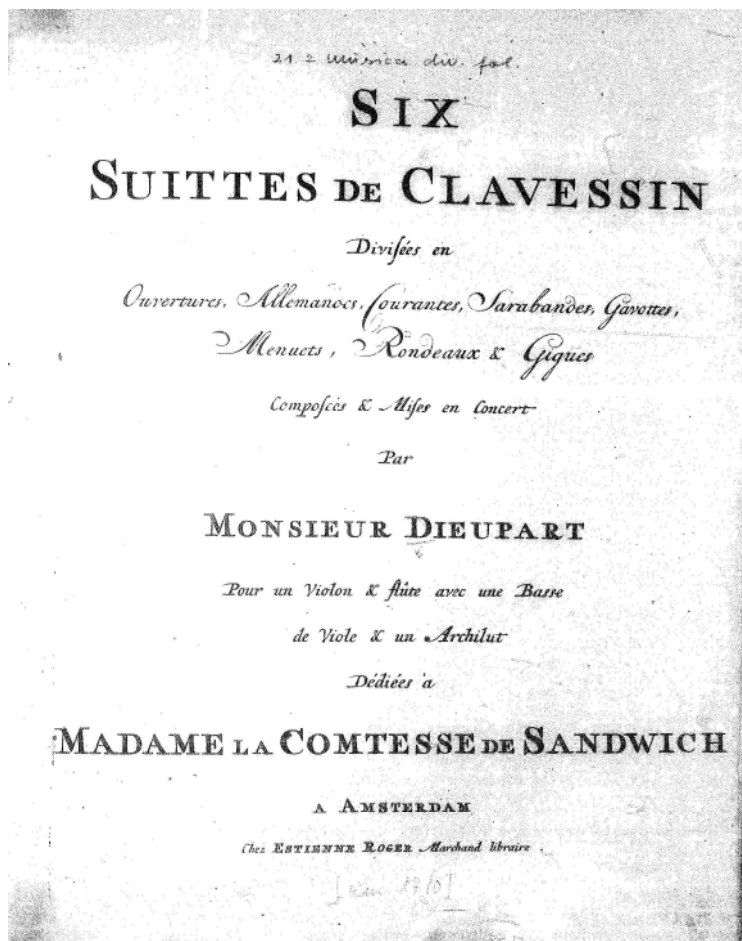


Figure 1. Charles Dieupart, *Six suites* (Amsterdam, 1701), title-page. D-W, 21.2 Musica 2°. By permission of Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

The 1702 edition, published as *Six suites ... propres à jouer sur la Flute ou le Violon avec une Basse continue* (Figure 2), is a reprint of the instrumental parts only. In the past it has been assumed that these represent two distinct performing options sanctioned by Dieupart; the 1701 edition seemingly corresponds to a solo-harpsichord version, and the 1702 edition to an ensemble version. Modern performing editions have been influenced by this historiography;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Fuller and Holman, 'Dieupart', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>5</sup> The first was Paul Brunhold's in 1934; this was an edition of the 1701 keyboard book to the exclusion of the instrumental parts. Kenneth Gilbert's 1979 revision of Brunhold's edition included facsimiles of the original instrumental parts but still presented the main musical text as a distinctive 'keyboard version'. Hugo Ruf prepared an edition of the 'instrumental version'

likewise, Dieupart's works list in *GMO* maintains a distinction between supposed instrumental and keyboard versions of the suites.<sup>6</sup>

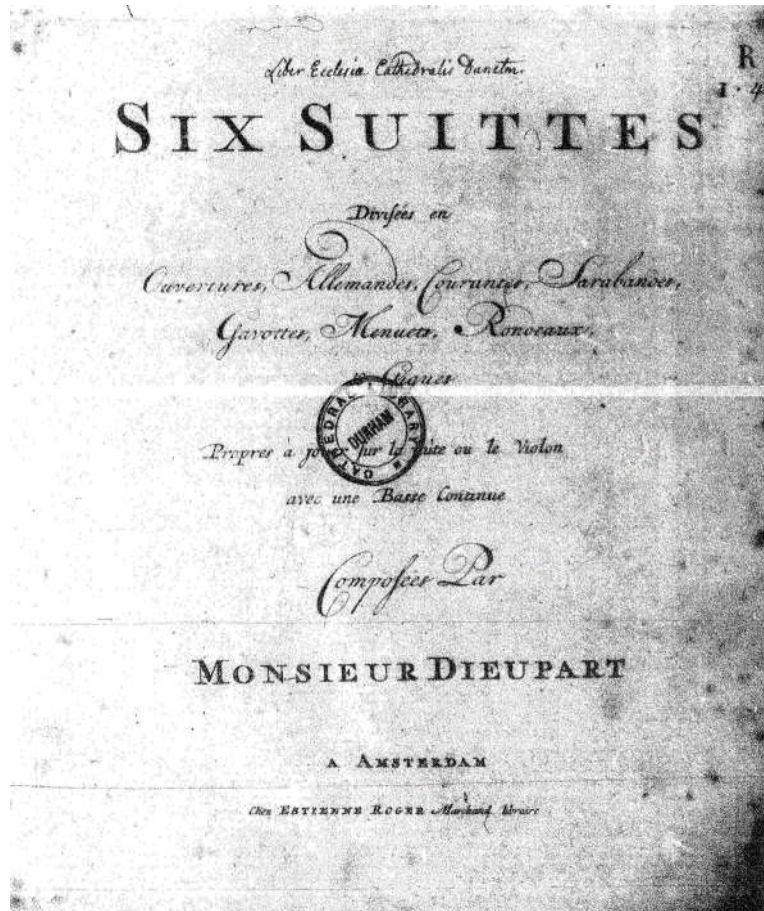


Figure 2. Dieupart, *Six suites* (Amsterdam, 1702), title-page. By permission of Durham Cathedral.

This paper re-evaluates this interpretation of the published performing parts, arguing that the two separate impressions do not correlate to two distinct performing ensembles sanctioned by the composer. This argument proceeds from an examination of the meaning behind the phrase *mises en concert*, which appears in the title of the 1701 print, and of the evidence in Roger's catalogue and newspaper advertisements. In addition, the Dieupart suites are situated in the larger context of music *en concert* from c.1650-c.1750.

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in 1966. In 1999 Microprint Musikverlag issued facsimile reprints of both the keyboard book and the instrumental partbooks; again, the music was presented as two distinct versions. See Dieupart, *Collection*, ed. Brunold; Dieupart, *Six suites pour le clavecin*, ed. K. Gilbert (Monaco, 1979); *Suite[n] für Querflöte oder Sopranblockflöte und Basso continuo*, ed. H. Ruf (Celle, 1966); and *6 Suiten für Cembalo*, ed. W. Michel (Münster, 1999); *6 Suiten für Blockflöte und Basso continuo* (Münster, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> This may merely reflect the state of affairs as far as published editions are concerned, but it does serve to reinforce the consensus that there is a real distinction to be made between the supposed instrumental and keyboard 'versions'.

The phrase *mises en concert* is revealing. It either suggests the possibility of an ensemble performance of the putatively solo version from 1701, or it anticipates the 1702 edition. No comprehensive overview of the early uses of *en concert* has been undertaken; what follows, while preliminary, attempts to amend the situation.

The term *concert* and its English cognate *consort* are used today to refer to a small group of instrumentalists playing together, typically one on a part, or to the group of instruments they play. This, however, is a modern usage which obscures the terms' original sense. It is clear that *consort* and *concert* originally implied a mixed ensemble.<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that this English usage is a 'false representation' of the Italian *concerto*,<sup>8</sup> but in fact it rather seems a felicitous rendering which preserves the original meaning of *concerto*, namely, a mixed ensemble of voices with instruments, as for example Gabrieli's *Concerti ecclesiastici* (Venice, 1587). A description of a royal entertainment in 1591 describes 'the musicke of an exquisite consort, wherein was the Lute, Bandora, Base-Violl, Citterne, Treble-violl, and Flute', the usual Elizabethan mixed consort.<sup>9</sup> Praetorius's description of the 'Englisch Consort' in the third part of the *Syntagma musicum* suggests that other combinations of instruments were possible, but assumes the mixed nature of these ensembles.<sup>10</sup> By the middle of the century, *consort* seems to have extended to include ensembles of like instruments. For example, the use of the specifier 'broken' in Matthew Locke's *The Broken Consort*—written for a mixed consort including violins, a bass viol, organ and theorbo—suggests that by around 1660 'consort' alone could no longer capture the meaning of a mixed ensemble.<sup>11</sup> Thus *consort* meant a mixed ensemble from the Elizabethan period until the Restoration.<sup>12</sup>

Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611) equates the French 'concert de musique' with a 'consort of musicke'.<sup>13</sup> Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1637) speaks of 'Violes dans les Concerts', which

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<sup>7</sup> P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford, 2/1995), 131-132.

<sup>8</sup> W. Edwards, 'Consort', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>9</sup> *The Honourable Entertainment ... at Elvetham* (London, 1591); reprinted in R. H. St Maur, *Annals of the Seymours* (London, 1902), 474.

<sup>10</sup> Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, iii (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), 168.

<sup>11</sup> Edwards argues that *The Broken Consort* is actually for an unbroken (in the modern sense) ensemble of viols or violins. In Edward's view, the use of 'broken' in this context denotes incompleteness, in contradistinction to a 'whole consort'. Thus Locke's pieces of three, four, and five parts are 'broken' in the sense that they do not consistently employ the whole consort. Setting aside the question of mixing the violin and viol families, this view is highly problematic given the evidence for the use of organ and theorbo in the accompaniment of consort music: see footnote 89, below. The date of c.1660 for *The Broken Consort* is not uncontroversial: dates as early as 1650 and as late as 1672 have been proposed. For an extensive discussion of *The Broken Consort* and Locke's other consort music contained in Lbl, Add. MS 17,801, see M. Tilmouth, 'Revisions in the Chamber Music of Matthew Locke', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 98 (1971), 89-100.

<sup>12</sup> W. Edwards, 'The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1974), 40.

<sup>13</sup> Edwards, 'Consort', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

suggests that other instruments were included in such ensembles as well. A rubric in Lully's *Ballet Royal d'Alcidiane* (1658) describes 'un Concert Rustique' comprised of 'a group of flutes and several other instruments'.<sup>14</sup> Michel de La Barre, writing in c.1740 about improvements made to the hautboy which allowed it to be included in string ensembles, uses *concert* to mean the mixed ensemble of strings and hautboys:

[The hautboy was saved from disuse] thanks to the Philidors and Hotteterres, who spoiled so much wood and persevered with so much music that they finally succeeded in making [the hautboy] suitable for *concerts*.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, as James Anthony has observed, the meaning of *concert* as a mixed ensemble persisted longer in France than in England, from about 1570 to the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> The survey given below of French *en concert* collections of lute and harpsichord music will bear this out. Henceforth we shall be concerned principally with this specific tradition of domestic music making, ostensibly of early seventeenth-century French origin, of playing lute and harpsichord music *en concert*.

The earliest use of the term *en concert* in print seems to be Perrine's *Livre de musique pour le Lute* (Paris, 1679). (Before Perrine, Henri Dumont's *Meslanges* (Paris, 1657) contains several allemandes 'for the organ or the harpsichord and for three viols *ad libitum*', so it is clear the *en concert* tradition has earlier antecedents.<sup>17</sup>) Perrine's *Livre* advocates the writing of lute music in staff notation over the traditional tablature (see Example 1). Given the difficulty in reconciling tablature with staff notation, he encourages the use of his transcriptions for those who wish to play the lute *en concert* with other instruments:<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> 'un Choeur de Flustes & de plusieurs autres instruments': A. Rowland-Jones, 'The Iconographic Background to the Seventeenth-Century Recorder', in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Wainwright and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2005), 87-112, at 98; my translation.

<sup>15</sup> '...mais son elevation ["le celebre Lute"] fit la chute totale de tous les entiens istrumens, a l'exception du haubois, grace aux Filidor et Hutteterre, lesquels ont tant gâté de bois et soutenus de la musique, qu'ils sont enfin parvenus a le rendre propre pour les concerts'; my translation. See also M. Ecochard, 'A Commentary on the Letter by Michel de La Barre Concerning the History of Musettes and Hautboys', in *From Renaissance to Baroque*, ed. Wainwright and Holman, 47-62, the letter is given in full (with translation) at 47-48.

<sup>16</sup> J. R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music: From Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, rev. edn (Portland, 1997), 345-347; 366-369. For further references to seventeenth-century uses of *concert*, see *From Renaissance to Baroque*, ed. Wainwright and Holman, esp. B. Haynes, 'Baptiste's *Hautbois*: The Metamorphosis from Shawm to Hautboy in France, 1620-1670', 23-46, at 26; M. Spring, 'Early *Air de Cour*, the Theorbo, and the Continuo Principle in France', 173-190, at 205; and P. Holman, 'From Violin Band to Orchestra', 241-258, at 250-252.

<sup>17</sup> 'pour l'Orgue ou le Clavecin & pour trois violes si l'on veut'; my translation. *RISM*, A/I/2, D 3701. A modern edition of the keyboard versions is available in H. Dumont, *L'Oeuvre pour Clavier* (Paris, 1956).

<sup>18</sup> See also D. Ledbetter, 'What the Lute Sources Tell us about the Performance of French Harpsichord Music', in *The Harpsichord and its Repertoire* ed. P. Dirksen (Utrecht, 1992), 59-85; and Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-century France* (London, 1987), 60-61.

Those who will play the lute using [staff notation] will be able to play *en concert* with all sorts of other instruments, which is done only rarely [*irregulierm(en)t*] now due to the difficulty which one has always found in relating [*faire un juste rapport*] lute tablature with staff notation.<sup>19</sup>



Example 1. 'L'immortelle du vieux Gaultier. Courante': Perrine, *Livre de musique pour le Lut* (Paris, 1679), p. 1

The function of the lute, whether solo or accompanimental, is of interest. Although the ease with which the lute might play continuo in an ensemble is part of Perrine's concern, *en concert* is unlikely to imply only an ensemble in which the lute fulfils an accompanimental function. To describe such performances as *en concert* would be tautologous, for they are concerted by definition. Crucially, the *Livre* contains 31 staff-notation transcriptions of pieces by Ennemond (1575-1651) and Denis Gaultier (1603-1672), all previously published for solo lute in their *Livre de tablature* (Paris, c.1672).<sup>20</sup> The trouble taken to transcribe these pieces in staff notation and the cost to print them would be baffling if Perrine did not have the same concerns regarding tablature's impediments to performances of solo lute music *en concert* as with the use of the lute as an accompanimental instrument.<sup>21</sup> Rather, it seems that Perrine's usage of *en concert* is best understood as a description of ensemble performances of lute music in contradistinction to solo performances of the same or similar pieces.

Perrine's observation that *en concert* performances of lute music are undertaken only 'rarely' (*irregulierm(en)t*) is telling. Far from demonstrating that the practice was unknown, it reveals that the practice, presumably common among professional lutenists, was adopted by amateurs only with difficulty. Amateurs, without the professional advantage of having a memorized repertory, could nevertheless have readily adapted keyboard music, which in France had always

<sup>19</sup> 'toutes les personnes qui toucheront ce noble instrument de cette maniere ... pourront concerter avec toutes sortes d'autres instruments, ce qui ne s'est fait jusques à present qu'irregulierm(en)t à cause de la difficulté qu'on a de tout temps trouvé à faire un juste rapport de la tablature du Lut à la musique, et de la musique à lad[i]te tablature': Perrine, *Livre de musique pour le Lut* (Paris, 1679), 15; my translation.

<sup>20</sup> M. Rollin, 'Gaultier, Denis', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>21</sup> D. Ledbetter, 'Perrine', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

been notated in staff notation. The most obvious source of difficulty in applying this practice to lute tablature is that tablature does not encode the durations of notes, nor can it easily distinguish distinct contrapuntal parts. Perrine was probably reacting to this deficiency in lute notation which did not serve a common (for keyboard) or desired (for lute) performance practice, rather than advocating a novel notation in the interest of promoting an equally novel practice.

The genesis of *en concert* performance as a professional improvisatory practice is evidenced further by Le Gallois's account of Louis XIV's weekly chamber concerts in the 1670s. Le Gallois reports that Jacques Hardel (c.1640-1678) would play the pieces of Chambonnières on the harpsichord 'de concert avec le Lut' with the lutenist Porion.<sup>22</sup> There is no mention of difficulties of the kind anticipated by Perrine arising between intabulated lute parts and scored harpsichord parts. It is easy to imagine why: harpsichord and lute performance of this period was to a significant degree improvisatory, even with respect to 'composed' pieces.<sup>23</sup> Therefore it seems unlikely that written musical texts were an essential part of an improvisatory performing tradition whose repertoire had been transmitted aurally.<sup>24</sup> In this context *en concert* must imply an ensemble where the delineation between solo and accompanimental rôles is ambiguous.<sup>25</sup> One can well imagine a fluid division of labour emerging as harpsichordist and lutenist play a standard of their repertoire without a visual *aide-mémoire*: one might lead while the other accompanies for a strain; then they might swap rôles for a strain; now they might play fully together. This improvisatory practice must have been similar to the *contrepartie* practice for which there is notated evidence in the music for two lyra viols of William Lawes (1602-1645), the *Lautenkonzert* of Jacques Saint-Luc (1616-c.1710) and others, and in the pieces for two harpsichords of Gaspard Le Roux (d. 1707).<sup>26</sup>

#### Rehabilitating Dieupart's *Six suites*

In light of the above sketch of the history of the terms, the meaning of the phrase *mises en concert* as applied to the Dieupart suites cannot so readily be assumed to mean that the 1702 instrumental parts are a transcription of the harpsichord 'version' and represent a distinct performance scenario. In principle, the published performance materials allow for three performance

<sup>22</sup> J. le Gallois, *Lettre ... à Mademoiselle Regnault de Solier touchant la musique* (Paris, 1680), 73.

<sup>23</sup> B. Gustafson, 'France', *Keyboard Music before 1700*, 2nd edn, ed. A. Silbiger (London, 2004), 119. Le Gallois reminds us elsewhere that Chambonnières never played his compositions the same way twice: '...toutes les fois qu'il jouoit une piece il y méloit de nouvelles beautés par des ports de voix, des passages, & des agémens differens, avec des doubles cadences. Enfin il les diversifioit tellement part toutes ces beautez différentes qu'il y faisoit toujours trouver de nouvelles graces': Le Gallois, *Lettre*, 70.

<sup>24</sup> Hardel took down a great many of Chambonnières's pieces by dictation as the master himself played, thus becoming, in Le Gallois's words, the 'sole proprietor' of much of the Chambonnières repertoire. D. Fuller and B. Gustafson, 'Hardel', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Gustafson, 'France', *Keyboard Music*, 122-123.

<sup>26</sup> For further discussion, see the section on 'Music *en concert* in a broader context, c.1624-1756', below.

scenarios. David Fuller has enumerated these as: a ‘solo’ scenario, where harpsichord alone performs the suites reading from the 1701 harpsichord book; a ‘treble and continuo’ scenario, where only the partbooks are used; and an ‘accompanied’ scenario, where all the performing materials are used simultaneously.<sup>27</sup> The distinction between the latter two scenarios is important. In the ‘treble and continuo’ arrangement, the keyboard would not play the solo keyboard part, but would improvise an accompaniment, presumably from a bass part. In the ‘accompanied’ performance the keyboard plays the same solo part as in a solo performance, but this composed part is accompanied by additional treble and continuo instruments doubling, more or less exactly, the outer voices of the harpsichord texture.

Fuller does not consider this latter ‘accompanied’ scenario viable for the Dieupart suites, arguing that ‘it is doubtful that [they] were ever intended as accompanied keyboard music’.<sup>28</sup> This amounts to the claim that literal doublings of the kind that would be present in an accompanied keyboard performance of the Dieupart suites are stylistically implausible. This assumes that the interpretation and performance of the notation in the keyboard part are not conditioned by the context of the performance—in other words, that the keyboard book would be performed literally in both a ‘solo’ and an ‘accompanied’ performance. These two claims will be addressed in turn.

#### *Publication plan*

Whilst the workability of the Dieupart suites as ensemble music raises valid stylistic questions, such questions should be preceded by an examination of the documentary evidence.<sup>29</sup> Fuller claims incorrectly that the keyboard and instrumental parts were published and sold separately, which would weigh against the notion of these parts being intended for joint use.<sup>30</sup> A mistaken notion that the 1701 edition comprised only a keyboard book permeates the literature;<sup>31</sup> it seems to have arisen from an examination of only the sources in Britain. The 1701 harpsichord book surviving in the Fitzwilliam Museum (GB-Cfm, MU. 435) and the 1702 treble and bass partbooks in Durham Cathedral Library (GB-DRc, Pr. Mus. C. 31) give the impression that the 1701 and 1702 editions correlate with distinct keyboard and instrumental versions of the suites. The change in title from 1701 to 1702 would seem consistent with this: in 1701 they are billed as harpsichord suites (‘suites de clavessin’), but in 1702 as suites suitable to be played on various instruments (‘suites ... propres à jouer sur la flûte ou le Violon avec une Basse continue’).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> D. Fuller, ‘Accompanied Keyboard Music’, *Musical Quarterly*, 60/2 (1974), 222-245, at 233.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> In this author’s view, Fuller’s preference towards stylistic judgement over documentary evidence is a gross methodological oversight.

<sup>30</sup> Fuller, ‘Accompanied Keyboard Music’, 234.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 233ff; A. Woolley, ‘English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts’, Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2008), 209ff; Fuller and Holman, ‘Dieupart’, *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010). Fuller is aware of the existence of the Wolfenbüttel exemplars of the instrumental version, but fails to realize that they belong to the 1701 printing.

<sup>32</sup> The prints themselves are undated. The dates are taken from François Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène* (Paris, 1969).

In fact, all three books were available from 1701 in the first edition. Roger's catalogue of 1716 lists a three-book set of parts consisting of a 'Partition' (keyboard part), a 'Dessus séparé' (violin or flute part), and a 'basse de Viole ou de Theorbe' (continuo part). The keyboard 'Partition' is also listed and sold separately.<sup>33</sup>

226 Six Suites de Pièces de Clavecin, com- | posées  
d'Allemandes, Gavottes, Rondeaux. | Menuets & Giges avec un  
Dessus séparé & | une basse de Viole ou de Theorbe ad libitum |  
mises en Concert par Mr. Dieupart. f 9. 0

229 Le meme livre quand on ne veut que la | Partition seule  
sans le dessus & la basse. | f 6. 0

Importantly, these two entries show that the relationship between the keyboard and instrumental parts is asymmetrical. Being listed in the harpsichord section of the catalogue and only available for purchase with the ostensibly essential keyboard book, it is clear that in the first instance the instrumental parts were dependent on the keyboard book. This is inconsistent with the notion that these instrumental parts represent a distinct 'instrumental version'. By contrast, the 1702 edition is listed with a different title and in a different section of the catalogue, with other 'Pièces à la Française'.<sup>34</sup>

227 Six suites à un dessus & Basse composés | par Mr.  
Dieupart. f 3. 0

Crucially, aside from the newly engraved title plate, the 1702 partbooks are printed from the 1701 plates.<sup>35</sup> Thus the instrumental parts subsequently became independent of the keyboard book.<sup>36</sup> It would seem that Roger and Dieupart quickly realized that they had been unnecessarily narrowing the market for the pieces.

A similar strategy was adopted by Francis Vaillant, Roger's London agent.<sup>37</sup> In 1701-1702 he placed a series of advertisements in *The Post Man* and *The Post Boy* for both Dieupart's *Six suites de clavessin* (1701) and *Six suites* (1702).<sup>38</sup> These are directed 'To all Lovers of Symphony', a formula Vaillant uses elsewhere only to advertise instrumental ensemble music.<sup>39</sup> The use in English of 'Symphony' is probably a translation of the French *symphonie*, meaning an

<sup>33</sup> E. Roger, *Catalogue* (Amsterdam, 1737), 226, 229; cf. F. Lesure, *Bibliographie* (Paris, 1969), [83]ff.

<sup>34</sup> Roger, *Catalogue*, 227.

<sup>35</sup> The structure of the books reinforces this: 16 numbered pages of both partbooks are comprised of four bifolio gatherings, with the title-page overlaid as a single folio.

<sup>36</sup> Lesure, *Bibliographie*, 65.

<sup>37</sup> Most of the Roger prints surviving in British libraries bear Vaillant's resale label, which styles him as the 'french bookseller in the Strand where you may be furnished with all sorts of musick'. See for instance GB-DRc, Pr. Mus. C. 99.

<sup>38</sup> *The Post Man*, 4 November 1701; *The Post Boy*, 6 March 1702; *The Post Man*, 11 April 1702; *The Post Boy*, 16 April 1702.

<sup>39</sup> See in particular Vaillant's other advertisements, viz. *The Post Man*, 14 November 1700 and 18 August 1702.

ensemble of instruments. This specific usage is consistent with that of the other London music sellers of the period.<sup>40</sup> By the application of this term to the 1701 *Six suites*, we may understand that ensemble (viz. *en concert*) performance was considered viable, at least by Vaillant. Moreover, inasmuch as both the 1701 and 1702 editions were advertised using the same formula, it is clear that Vaillant did not see them as marketed to different audiences.

The inclusive marketing principle is illustrated *par excellence* by an advertisement in *The Post Boy* of 5 March 1702, which lists ‘Mr. Dieupart’s Book of Lessons for the Harpsichord, made in Consorts, as it was Perform’d last Friday at the Consort at the Theatre in Little Lincolns Inn Fields’.<sup>41</sup> This is almost certainly a translation of the work’s title as given in the 1701 edition, *Suites de clavessin ... mises en concert*. While it is impossible to determine the nature of the rôle played by the harpsichord in the performance mentioned in the advertisement, the fact that it appears in 1702 and references a ‘Consort’ performance of the pieces while invoking the language of the 1701 title illustrates the degree to which both the 1701 and 1702 editions were conflated or viewed as equivalent. This is incompatible with the view that the 1701 and 1702 editions represent two distinct versions of the pieces.

Examples survive which show each of the various ways of purchasing the performing materials: the keyboard book alone, the 1701 partbooks with the keyboard book, or the 1702 partbooks alone.<sup>42</sup> Note especially the absence of any survival of the 1701 partbooks alone: Table 1. GB-Cfm, MU. 435 is the 1701 keyboard book, inscribed ‘R. Fitzwilliam 1766’. Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816), was in Paris from 1765 studying harpsichord with Jacques Duphly (1715-1789).<sup>43</sup> The Le Cène firm (formerly that of Roger) was disbanded in 1743; the remaining stock and plates changed hands several times and were finally dispersed in 1748.<sup>44</sup> Fitzwilliam would have acquired the volume second-hand in Paris, or perhaps was given it by Duphly. Another copy of the 1701 keyboard book survives complete with its accompanying pair of partbooks in Wolfenbüttel, bearing continuous shelfmarks D-W, 21.1 and 21.2 Mus. div. 2°. These were almost certainly purchased together as item no. 226 of Roger’s *Catalogue*.<sup>45</sup>

The later printing of the partbooks survives as GB-DRc, Pr. Mus. C. 31. These are part of the bequest of Philip Falle, chaplain to William III from 1694 and

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<sup>40</sup> See M. Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1 (1969). See also Bruce Wood’s discussion of the particular meaning of the term ‘symphony’ in English musical nomenclature of this period in the preface to his edition of Purcell’s *Symphony Songs*, Purcell Society Edition, 27 (London, 2008), and S. G. Cusick, ‘Sinfonia (I), 1. To 1700’, *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010) for a more general account of its various meanings.

<sup>41</sup> Tilmouth, ‘References to Music in Newspapers’, 40.

<sup>42</sup> *RISM*, A/I/2, D 3042 and D 3044.

<sup>43</sup> B. H. Blacker, ‘Fitzwilliam, Richard, seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (1745-1816)’, rev. J. D. Pickles, *ODNB* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>44</sup> S. Pogue and R. Rasch, ‘Roger, Estienne’, *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>45</sup> The provenance of items with this series of shelfmarks is unknown. See H. Haase, *Alte Musik in: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Brunswick, 1989), 74-81.

prebendary of Durham Cathedral from 1699, who left his music library to the Durham Chapter in 1722.<sup>46</sup> Unlike many other Roger prints in the Cathedral library, GB-DRC, Pr. Mus. C. 31 does not bear Francis Vaillant's 'French bookseller in the Strand' resale label. Falle probably purchased them in Amsterdam when he was there in 1702 with William III.<sup>47</sup>

Sigla	Date	Parts	Title	Provenance
D-W, 21.1 Musica div. 2°	1701	D, B	<i>Six suites de clavessin ... mises en concert ...</i>	Roger, <i>Catalogue</i> , 226; provenance unknown
D-W, 21.2 Musica div. 2°	1701	kbd	<i>Six suites de clavessin ... mises en concert ...</i>	
GB-DRC, Pr. Mus. C. 31	1702	D, B	<i>Six suites ... propres a jouer sur ...</i>	Roger, <i>Catalogue</i> , 227; probably purchased by Falle in Amsterdam in 1702
GB-Cfm, MU. 435	1701	kbd	<i>Six suites de clavessin ... mises en concert ...</i>	Roger, <i>Catalogue</i> , 229; inscribed 'R. Fitzwilliam 1766'; acquired in Paris possibly through Duphly
F-Pn, RES VMA-6	1701	kbd	<i>Six suites de clavessin ... mises en concert ...</i>	Roger, <i>Catalogue</i> , 229; unexamined
kbd = keyboard book; D = dessus partbook; B = bass partbook				

Table 1: Surviving exemplars of Dieupart's *Six suites* (1701-1702)

#### *Variants between the harpsichord and instrumental parts*

Fuller points to the many discrepancies between the instrumental parts and the keyboard book, which to him seem 'carefully calculated to improve [the keyboard] bass for a [bowed] continuo accompaniment intended to substitute for the keyboard original':<sup>48</sup> see Example 2. This falls short of demonstrating that the instrumental and keyboard versions are mutually exclusive; changes which translate a chordal bass designed for keyboard into a contrapuntal bass better suited to a bowed instrument are not necessarily inconsistent with both versions being played together.

<sup>46</sup> R. A. Harman, *A Catalogue of Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library* (London, 1968), pp. ix-x.

<sup>47</sup> M. Urquhart, 'Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A27', *Chelys*, 5 (1973-1974), 7-20.

<sup>48</sup> Fuller, 'Accompanied Keyboard Music', 234.

Example 2. Dieupart, ‘Overture’, *Six suites* (1701-1702), no. 8, bb. 1-16

Following Fuller, Andrew Woolley claims that ‘in one instance [the gigue to fifth suite], the partbooks contain a completely different piece’, which would suggest that they were not intended for use with the keyboard book:<sup>49</sup> see Example 3. This claim is mistaken, and seems to have arisen from a comparison of the incipits only of the dessus partbook and the upper staff of the keyboard part for the gigue in question. In fact, the same gigue appears in this suite in both the keyboard book and the partbooks.

The example of the F-major gigue is particularly interesting, for while most of the differences between the keyboard and the instrumental dessus amount to changes in an arpeggiated, chordal part to suit a monophonic melodic instrument—the same ‘carefully calculated’ improvements which Fuller notices in the basses of other pieces—other variants do not fit this description. Idiomatic voice-leading at cadences—both octave displacements (bb. 4, 18), and the so-called ‘Corelli clash’ (bb. 14, 28)—and extended passages of

<sup>49</sup> Woolley, ‘English Keyboard Sources’, 209.

contrary motion (bb. 20-22) offer rather more direct evidence that the two parts were designed to fit together.

The image displays a musical score for three parts: Dessus, Clavessin, and Basse continue. The score is written in 6/8 time and consists of four systems of staves, covering measures 6 through 22. The first system (measures 6-8) shows the initial entry of the parts. The second system (measures 9-10) includes first and second endings for the Dessus part. The third system (measures 11-15) continues the development of the themes. The fourth system (measures 16-22) concludes the passage. The Clavessin part features intricate sixteenth-note patterns, while the Basse continue provides a steady bass line with occasional melodic fragments. Fingering numbers (6, 4, 3, 7, 5, 4, 6) are indicated below the Basse continue staff in measures 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 14. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 6/8.

21

26

7 6 7 7 6 7 7 6 7 7 6 7 7 6 7

7 5 6 16 6 6 4

Example 3. Dieupart, 'Gigue', *Six suites* (1701-1702), no. 35

The kind of variation observed by Fuller in the basses is confined principally to the slow sections of ouvertures and, to a lesser extent, to allemandes; in general, arpeggiated keyboard figures in giges are sometimes recast as stepwise melodies in the dessus partbook. It bears mentioning that the examples cited by Fuller and Woolley are among the most problematic of their kinds. In most cases—as in the menuets, passepieds, and sarabandes—the instrumental parts generally reproduce without modification the outer parts of the keyboard texture: see Example 4.

Where these variants do exist, they are of a kind which is observable in contemporaneous collections of *en concert* music. For example, *Suites faciles* (1701) contains parts that are fairly unidiomatic to the lute, and while no corresponding lute part survives, one can reasonably assume that these are adaptations of a *style brisé* lute part.<sup>50</sup> In this case, the *Suites faciles* would corroborate the kind of textural variation present in the gigue from Dieupart's fifth suite which caused Woolley to claim that it was in fact two different giges. As for the claim that literal doubling is stylistically dubious, this is contradicted by the instrumental parts which accompany an anthology of Corelli arrangements, *Suites pour le clavecin composées à un clavecin, un violon & basse de viole, ou de violon ad libitum* (c.1715). These parts double the outer voices of the keyboard texture even more slavishly than the Dieupart suites. Finally, this kind of doubling is similar to the doubling produced by seventeenth-century

<sup>50</sup> See the discussion of *Suites faciles* (1701) and *Suites pour le Lute* (1703), above.

continuo practice. Although doubling by instruments *en concert* and continuo doubling have opposite structural conceptions, the aural effect of these practices is identical: the keyboard doubles—or, equivalently, is doubled by—the instruments.<sup>51</sup> Far from being stylistically questionable, it seems rather that the *en concert* practice is a late exponent of earlier continuo style.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Menuet' by Dieupart, from his *Six suites* (1701-1702), no. 27. The score is written for three parts: Dessus (treble clef), Clavessin (grand staff with treble and bass clefs), and Basse continue (bass clef with figured bass). The key signature is one sharp (F major), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into three systems, with measure numbers 9, 19, and 27 indicated. The Dessus part is a single melodic line. The Clavessin part is a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The Basse continue part is a single line with figured bass notation. The figures are: #6 6 6 6 # 6 6, 6 6 6 # 6 b 6 #6 #6 6 6 b, 6 6 # 6 6 #6 # # 6 #6 6 #3 6 6 4 #.

Example 4. Dieupart, 'Menuet', *Six suites* (1701-1702), no. 27

Similar textural discrepancies are also observable in later collections such as the *Pieces de clavecin en concerts* (Paris, 1741) of Rameau,<sup>52</sup> pieces for which *en concert* performance is uncontroversial. The differences between the dessus and the keyboard in the opening of 'La Marais' from Rameau's fifth *concert* are of the type found in Dieupart's F-major gigue cited above: see Figure 3a. Unison doubling of the keyboard by the accompanying instrument is in evidence

<sup>51</sup> For further discussion of the early practice of continuo doubling, see J. Kurtzman, 'Continuo Realization', *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* (London, 2000), 367-375 and F. T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass* (London, 1931), esp. 236.

<sup>52</sup> *RISM*, A/I/7, R 190; other editions, R 191-193.

throughout Rameau's *concerts*, as for example at the beginning of 'L'Agaçante', from the second *concert*: see Figure 3b.



Figure 3a. Jean-Philippe Rameau, 'La Marais', *Pieces de clavecin en concerts* (Paris, 1741), 38, bb. 1-5. Public domain.



Figure 3b. Rameau, 'L'Agaçante', *Pieces de clavecin en concerts* (Paris, 1741), 14, bb. 1-3. Public domain.

*Tracing the mistaken consensus: some further evidence from London advertisements*

If the circumstances of the survival of the sources in Britain reinforce the notion that the Dieupart suites exist in distinct keyboard and instrumental versions, the manner in which the volumes were advertised in the London papers may also have been misleading. An advertisement in *The Post Man* from 11 April 1702 describes the 1702 partbooks as 'Mr Dieuparts Book of Lessons purposely composed for a Violin and a Bass', which might easily be misconstrued to mean 'purposely composed for a Violin and a Bass' *only* (despite the fact that the musical texts of the 1701 and 1702 partbooks are

identical).<sup>53</sup> However, ‘purposely composed for’ would seem to be a near-literal translation (probably Vaillant’s own) of the phrase ‘propres a jouer sur’ which appeared on the new title-page of the 1702 partbooks.

This exclusive reading of ‘purposely composed for’ or ‘propres a jouer sur’ cannot be correct. The uses of the phrase ‘propres a jouer sur’ in other publications by Roger indicates that it means something more like ‘suitable to be played on’ rather than ‘expressly and exclusively for’.<sup>54</sup> An instance of this phrase which demonstrates *par excellence* its correct interpretation occurs in Louis Heudelinne’s *Trois Suites de pieces a deux violes propres à joier sur le violon & le clavessin* (c.1702).<sup>55</sup> The designation ‘a deux violes’ would be nonsensical if ‘propres a jouer sur’ meant ‘suitable *only* to be played on’. Markings in the musical text confirm this: the dessus part is marked with viol bowings and fingerings, the reader being advised that ‘these markings are only for those who play these pieces on the *dessus de viole*’.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, then, the single source was intended for use either by two viols or by violin and harpsichord, not one or the other combination exclusively.<sup>57</sup>

#### *Implications for performance*

Whether or not the instrumental and keyboard parts could accommodate simultaneous performance is less a question of fact, as Fuller and Woolley might have it, and more a subjective judgement of style to be made on the basis of comparison with other similar musical works and with respect to the larger historical context. An account from 1647 which describes ‘a *concert* for keyboard with two lutes, a theorbo, a [bass?] viol, and Sr Constantin playing his violin, the melody of which was second to none of the preceding *concerts*’ demonstrates that ensemble performance of the kind proposed here for the Dieupart suites was not without precedent;<sup>58</sup> the well-documented seventeenth-century practice of continuo doubling of the part-writing is another possible stylistic influence.

Moreover, the internal evidence indicates that the possibility of performing the suites ‘in Consort’ or ‘en concert’ was intended from their first publication.

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<sup>53</sup> One even senses intimations of the phrase ‘purposely composed for’ in Fuller’s characterization of ‘carefully calculated’ variants.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Propre’, *Trésor de la langue française informatisé*, ed. W. Delmancino <<http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm>> (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>55</sup> Lesure gives the date of c.1700 for Heudelinne’s *Trois suites*; c.1702 is a better estimate as the Amsterdam edition was ‘corrigée par l’Auteur de quantité de fautes qui sont glissées dans l’édition de Paris’ of 1701.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Ces marques ne sont faites que pour ceux qui jouent ces Pieces sur le Dessus de viole’; my translation.

<sup>57</sup> Likewise, a 1708 book of suites by Jacques de Saint-Luc (1616-c.1710) bears the title *Suites à un dessus et une basse propres à jouer sur le violon, la flûte et le hautbois*. It is perverse to interpret ‘propres à jouer sur’ as meaning the pieces were to be played *only* on the violin, flute, and oboe, making the only sanctioned disposition for the dessus part a rather unwieldy tripling. This exclusive reading may even be nonsensical here, as no bass instrument is listed explicitly.

<sup>58</sup> ‘un concert de clavecin avec deux lutz, un theorbe, une viole et le Sr Constantin qui jouoit de son violon dont la melodie ne ceddoit en rien aux autres concertz qui l’avoient précédé’: C. Massip, *La vie des musiciens de Paris au temps de Mazarin, 1643-1661: Essai d’étude sociale* (Paris, 1976), 29; my translation.

The 1701 and 1702 publications contain exactly the same pieces in the same order (*contra* Woolley) and the instrumental parts were available from 1701 (*contra* Fuller) only as a supplement to the harpsichord book. This contradicts the notion of the two impressions of the suites having independent status as distinct ‘versions’.

This cannot, of course, demonstrate that the simultaneous performance of the solo keyboard part with the instrumental parts—an ‘accompanied keyboard’ performance in Fuller’s language—was considered valid. It merely shows that the simultaneous use of the performing materials was not invalid. In other words, given that the keyboard player could have used the keyboard book when performing the suites ‘en concert’, does it necessarily follow that the player would have played the composed, soloistic keyboard part when doing so? Performance ‘en concert’ seems always to have been valid; the problem now becomes one of determining the nature of such performances with respect to the relationship among the participating instruments.

In this vein, Woolley has suggested that the term ‘concert’ implies that these pieces ‘were thought of as consort pieces only’.<sup>59</sup> The precise meaning of ‘mises en concert’, and what it might mean in contradistinction to ‘composées’ is of paramount importance here. In Woolley’s reading, ‘composé’ refers to the composition of the pieces for solo keyboard performance, and ‘mis en concert’ refers to the adaptation of the compositions for consort performance in lieu of the solo keyboard context.

The intended implication, that the keyboard book would play no role in a performance ‘en concert’, is negated by the preceding discussion of the performing materials’ publication and sale. Nevertheless this line of reasoning suggests a more nuanced alternative to Fuller’s assumption that the performance context would not influence the interpretation of the notation. The keyboard book might not represent the inflexible record of a composed part which was reproduced by the player every time the book was employed in performance; rather, the notation might more accurately be understood as an *aide-mémoire* which the player, depending on his skill, would adapt to the circumstances of the performance.<sup>60</sup> The ‘realization’, so to speak, of the keyboard part becomes contingent on the idiosyncrasies of individual performances; and whether, for instance, it was a solo or consort performance, might easily have been a relevant concern. This once again suggests the connection, mentioned above, with seventeenth-century continuo practice. Evidence in favour of this hypothesis regarding the function of the notation is laid out below through a survey of contemporaneous *en concert* collections published by Roger.

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<sup>59</sup> Woolley, ‘English Keyboard Sources’, 209.

<sup>60</sup> J. Butt, ‘Negotiating between Work, Composer, and Performer: Rewriting the Story of Notational Progress’, in *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge, 2002), 96-122.

### The Dieupart *Suittes* in the context of Roger's publishing scheme

Dieupart's *Suittes* belong to a sizeable group of collections of music *en concert* published by Roger. These collections are advertised as music for lute or harpsichord 'with [instruments] ad libitum'. The keyboard or lute books are published before or concurrently with accompanying instrumental books, a fact which seems to indicate that in essence these are adaptations of keyboard and lute music for ensemble performance. This in turn reveals a pattern of fluidity between 'solo' and 'ensemble' music of this period.

The one collection which is the exception to this characterization is *Suittes faciles à un dessus & basse continue* ... (1701), which later appeared as lute suites in *Suittes pour le Luth avec un Violon ou Flûte & une Basse continue ad libitum* ... (1703).<sup>61</sup> These volumes contain dances by Lully, Brünings, Dufault, and others, almost certainly collected and arranged by Roger.<sup>62</sup> It might seem that the *en concert* version of 1703 is derived from the treble and continuo version of 1701, which would undermine a characterization of this repertoire as derived from keyboard and lute traditions. No copies of the 1703 *Suittes pour le luth* survive, but evidence from advertisements suggests that it is the collection from which *Suittes faciles* was derived despite the fact it was only published two years later. The catalogue of 1700 advertises 'we will soon offer a book of lute pieces' ('on donnera dans peu un livre de Pieces de Luth'; my translation); the catalogue of 1702 advertises a forthcoming ('qui paroitra dans peu') *Suittes pour le Luth*.<sup>63</sup> Therefore it seems that the lute and instrumental parts were under preparation from 1700, but that the publication of the lute book was held up for some reason. In the meantime, the instrumental parts were released as *Suittes faciles* in 1701. If the relationship between the two editions of the Dieupart suites can be taken as any indication, the dessus and continuo books for the *Suittes pour le luth* were printed from the same plates as *Suittes faciles*.

Presumably on the success of this collection, Roger published a single-authored collection by Jacques de Saint-Luc in 1707-1708 while Saint-Luc was in the service of Prince Eugene of Savoy in Vienna.<sup>64</sup> These were *Suittes pour le luth avec un dessus & une basse ad libitum* (1707) and *Suittes à un dessus et une basse propres à jouer sur le violon, la flûte et le hautbois* (1708), of which only the dessus part of the 1707 edition survives (S-SK, MS 477).<sup>65</sup> However, Pierre Mortier issued his own impression of the 1708 edition as *Preludii, allemande, corrente, gighe, sarabande, gavotte etc. pour un dessus et une basse* in 1709.<sup>66</sup> In 1708, it was the entrepreneurial Mortier's plan to build a clientele for discount music books by plagiarising Roger's books, producing his own plates and prints, and selling them cheaper than Roger sold his own versions.<sup>67</sup> It is reasonable therefore to

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<sup>61</sup> RISM, B/II, 377.

<sup>62</sup> Fuller, 'Accompanied Keyboard Music', 233.

<sup>63</sup> Lesure, *Bibliographie*, 42.

<sup>64</sup> P. Vendrix, 'Saint-Luc, Jacques', *MGG2* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>65</sup> RISM, A/I/7, S 370.

<sup>66</sup> Vendrix, 'Saint-Luc', *MGG2* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>67</sup> Pogue and Rasch, 'Roger', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

assume that the musical text of the Mortier edition reflects that of the 1708 Roger edition. Conveniently, a copy of Mortier's dessus part survives as S-SK, MS 479, and so a comparison of the musical texts of the 1707 and 1708 Roger dessus books is possible, if indirect: the musical texts of these sources are identical.<sup>68</sup>

Saint-Luc's oeuvre—amounting to some two hundred other pieces for lute, dessus, and continuo—underscores the important connection between Roger's *en concert* publications and the Viennese *Lautenkoncert*.<sup>69</sup> Favoured c.1700-1720 by a small group of composers including Saint-Luc, Wenzel Ludwig von Radolt, Johann Georg Weichenberger, and Hinterleithner, the *Lautenkoncert* genre comprised lute suites accompanied by violin doubling the melody mostly at the octave, and bowed bass doubling the lute bass at pitch.<sup>70</sup> Saint-Luc's connections to Paris—he played the lute at the court of Louis XIV from 1643 until 1647, and whilst living in Brussels he maintained musical connections to Paris through Constantijn Huygens and others<sup>71</sup>—and the flourishing of the *Lautenkoncert* around the time Saint-Luc moved to Vienna in 1700 may indicate the influence of the French *en concert* tradition on the Viennese *Lautenkoncert*. Indeed, Radolt's only publication, *Die aller treieste, verschwigneste und nach so wohl fröhlichen als traurigen Humor sich richtende Freindin* (1701), begins with an explication of French lute tablature, French techniques of fingering and ornamentation, and instructions for ensemble performance.<sup>72</sup> The influence of Saint-Luc should not be underestimated, for 'whether or not the Viennese

<sup>68</sup> H. Backman (research librarian, Stifts- och landsbiblioteket), 'SV: RISM A/I/7, S370 and S371' personal communication (25 May 2010). See RISM, A/I/7, S 371.

<sup>69</sup> Saint-Luc's *Lautenkoncert* survive principally as CS-Pu, Mspt.II.Kk.49, CS-Pu, Mspt.II.Kk.54 and A-Wn, S.m.1820. A connection between accompanied keyboard music and the *Lautenkoncert* is also noted by Fuller.

<sup>70</sup> Recent secondary literature discussing the *Lautenkoncert* is sparse: the principal study remains A. Koczirz, 'Lauten-Musik und Österreichische Lauten-Spieler bis 1750', *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 6 (1905), 489. For references to the genre or relevant composers in the context of other discussions, see A. Cohen, 'A Study of Instrumental Ensemble Practice in Seventeenth-Century France', *Galpin Society Journal*, 15 (1962), 3-15; M. Collins, 'The Performance of Triplets in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19/3 (1966), 281-328; D. Fuller, 'Accompanied Keyboard Music', *Musical Quarterly*, 60/2 (1974), 222-245; [J.P.N. Land], 'Het Luitboek van Thysius beschreven en toegelicht', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlandsche Musiekgeschiedenis*, 2 (1886), 109-174; F. Noske, 'Two Problems of Seventeenth-Century Notation', *Acta Musicologica*, 27 (1955), 113-120; H. Radke, 'Zum Problem der Lautentabulatur-Übertragung', *Acta Musicologica*, 43 (1971), 94-103; R. Rasch, 'Constantijn Huygens in Brussel op bezoek bij Leopold Wilhelm van Oostenrijk 1648-1656', *Revue belge de musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Musiekwetenschap*, 55 (2001), 127-146; and D. A. Smith, 'The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures: Thirteen New Manuscripts of Baroque Instrumental Music', *Early Music*, 10/4 (1982), 462-467. For biographical studies, see E. van der Straeten, *Jacques de Saint Luc, Luthiste Athois du XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1887) and relevant entries in MGG2 and GMD. For music editions, see *Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720*, ed. A. Koczirz, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 50 (Graz, 1918) with Koczirz's separately published 'Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650-1720', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 5 (1918), 1ff; and *Weiner Lautenmusik im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. K. Schnurl, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 84 (Graz, 1966).

<sup>71</sup> M. Couvreur and P. Vendrix, 'Saint-Luc, Jacques de', GMD (accessed 17 December 2010); R. Rasch, 'Constantijn Huygens', 133.

<sup>72</sup> W. Boetticher, 'Radolt, Baron Wenzel Ludwig von', GMD (accessed 17 December 2010).

*Lautenkonzert* was a French importation, it became known in Western Europe through Roger's publication of Saint-Luc's music.<sup>73</sup>

Another publication that confirms the distinctly French origin of the *en concert* practice is *Un livre de pieces de Guitarre avec 2 dessus d'instruments & une basse continue ad libitum* (1703) by Nicolas Derosiers (?c.1645-after 1702). Derosiers was a French-born guitarist and composer who emigrated to Amsterdam and established a music publishing firm in 1667.<sup>74</sup> No copies of the 1703 *Pieces de Guitarre* survive, but like Roger's other *en concert* publications the catalogues indicate that they were available either as a complete set of parts or as a single guitar book 'séparé'.<sup>75</sup> The Roger impression of the *Pieces de Guitarre* is likely to be a reprint of—or even the self-same publication as—Derosiers's own *Concerts: ou ouvertures, allemandes, sarabandes, etc.* (c.1690), which is also lost.<sup>76</sup> Derosiers sold the stock of his publishing firm in 1692; later, perhaps in 1698, the stock was acquired by the Roger firm.<sup>77</sup> The Derosiers collection helps to bridge the gap between the accounts from Le Gallois of lute music *en concert* in the 1670s in Paris and the publication of Roger's collection in 1703 in Amsterdam.

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<sup>73</sup> Fuller, 'Accompanied Keyboard Music', 233.

<sup>74</sup> R. Rasch, 'Derosiers, Nicolas', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

<sup>75</sup> Lesure, *Bibliographie*, 43; Roger, *Catalogue*, 318.

<sup>76</sup> Thirty-seven of Derosiers's guitar pieces are preserved in B-Bc, Littera S, 5615, dated 1730. This manuscript, along with B-Br, MS 5551.D with which it shares the title *Recueil des pieces de guitare*, was copied by Jean-Baptiste Ludovico de Castillion. These are the only sources for the music of the Flemish composer François Le Cocq (fl. early eighteenth century); they also contain music by earlier composers including Derosiers, de Visée, and Corbetta, among others. The pieces by Le Cocq were presumably copied from the composer's autograph manuscripts, whilst pieces by Derosiers were probably copied from the Roger print cited above; Castillion's sources have yet to be identified with more certainty. B-Bc, Littera S, 5615 (of which B-Br, MS 5551.D is an abridged copy) also contains an extensive preface which discusses the tuning, stringing, and fretting of the guitar, explanatory notes on notation and ornamentation, and a glossary of musical terms; this is available online in translation: see 'Brussels: Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique Ms.S.5615', ed. and trans. M. Hall, *The Lute Society: François Le Cocq* <<http://www.lutesoc.co.uk/pages/francois-le-cocq>> (accessed 17 December 2010). Castillion seems also to have been the copyist of another guitar manuscript, B-Lc, MS 245, although this source contains no music by Derosiers or Le Cocq: see M. Hall, 'Le Cocq, François', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010); M. Hall, 'Santiago de Murcia and François Le Cocq', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 15 (1982), 40-51; C. Russell, 'François Le Cocq's Influence on Santiago de Murcia: Problems with Dates, Sources and Recomposition', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 16 (1983), 7-11; C. Russell, 'François Le Cocq, Belgian Master of the Baroque Guitar', *Soundboard*, 23 (1988-1989), 283-293; and M. Hall, 'I Will Praise God with My Guitar': Jean-Baptiste de Castillion—Bishop and Amateur Musician', *Lute Society of America Quarterly*, 36/2 (2001), 4-12.

<sup>77</sup> Rasch, 'Derosiers, Nicolas', *GMO* (accessed 17 December 2010).

Composer/ Editor	Date	Title/Catalogue entry (where no copies survive)	Copies/Comment
Dieupart	1701	<i>Six suites de clavier ...</i>	See Table 1, above
	1702	<i>Six suites ...</i>	See Table 1, above
Derosiers	1703	<i>Un livre de pieces de Guitarre avec 2 dessus d'instruments &amp; une basse continue ad libitum. Le même livre séparé.</i> [= <i>Concerts, ou ouvertures, allemandes, sarabandes, etc.</i> (Derosiers: Amsterdam, c.1690)]	NC; not listed in 1716, but advertised in 1702 and listed in 1737
	1703	<i>Le même livre séparé</i>	NC
Roger (ed.)	1701	<i>Suites faciles</i>	GB-DRc, Pr. Mus. C. 99
	?1703	<i>Suites pour le Luth avec un Violon ou Flûte &amp; une Basse continue ad libitum</i>	NC; advertised in 1700 and 1702.
Saint-Luc	1707	<i>Pièces de Luth, avec un dessus &amp; une Basse ad libitum</i>	S-SK, MS 477
	1708	<i>Suites à un dessus et une basse propres à jouer sur le violon, la flûte et le hautbois</i> [= <i>Preludii ...</i> (Mortier: Amsterdam, 1708)]	S-SK, MS 479: this exemplar is of Mortier's <i>Preludii</i> , which is used as a proxy for the Roger impression, of which no copies survive
Corelli et al. (ed. Roger)	c.1715	<i>Suites pour le clavecin composées à un clavecin, un violon et basse de viole ou de violon ad libitum</i>	B-Bc 7204 (parts); S-Skma, Alströmer B 2:22; GB-Lbl, f.17.a. (kbd) <sup>78</sup>
NC = no surviving copy; parts = treble and bass partbooks; kbd = keyboard book			

Table 2: Music *en concert* published or distributed by Roger, 1700-c.1715

<sup>78</sup> *RISM*, A/I/2, C 3886 also cites an exemplar in F-Pn (without a shelfmark); this author has been unable to verify that such an exemplar is or ever was at the Bibliothèque nationale. Holdings which may have been confused with this print include: F-Pn, D-11653, the keyboard book only from A. Corelli, *Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalo...Opera quinta* (Roger: Amsterdam, c.1708-1712); F-Pn, X-591, the keyboard book and partbooks from A. Corelli, *Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalo...Opera quinta...Nouvelle edition* (Roger: Amsterdam, c.1715); and F-Pn, VM7-2513, a manuscript of 43 folios containing music mostly by Corelli, copied out c.1740 in a single hand, inscribed 'Livre de pieces de clavecin de Mademoiselle Dellon', and comprising a keyboard book and a partially figured bass partbook (a treble partbook is clearly missing).

As a source of *en concert* keyboard music, *Suites pour le clavecin composées à un clavecin, un violon & basse de viole, ou de violon ad libitum* (c.1715) warrants special consideration. This volume contains arrangements by Roger or a house arranger of, among other things, Corelli's Op. 5, and was probably motivated by the success of the Dieupart collections. Several keyboard books survive alone,<sup>79</sup> and there is one extant set of the instrumental parts.<sup>80</sup> This is the same situation for the surviving prints of the Dieupart suites, and reflects the fact that the instrumental parts were at first available only as a supplement to the keyboard book.<sup>81</sup> There is no direct evidence from the catalogues confirming that the instrumental parts subsequently became available, but the survival of the parts without a keyboard book suggests that this was the case.

*Suites pour le clavecin* is perhaps most interesting for the evidence it provides that the keyboard book was used differently in solo and ensemble contexts: two of the surviving keyboard books are sparsely figured by eighteenth-century hands.<sup>82</sup> This demonstrates, at the least, that the musical text was not immutable in the view of the users of these copies, and it is consistent with the hypothesis elaborated above that the performance context may be relevant in the way a keyboard player 'realizes' the printed notes of the keyboard book.

The Corelli collection also demonstrates a continued demand for keyboard music *en concert* in the first few decades of the eighteenth century: the survival rate for exemplars of this collection is similar to that of the Dieupart suites, each of which greatly outpaces the survival of exemplars of all of Roger's *en concert* lute publications combined. Taken together, this seems to indicate that the *en concert* tradition, derived ostensibly from lute performance practice, was salvaged by its adaptation to keyboard practice at precisely the time when the lute was beginning to cede pride of place as a solo instrument to the harpsichord.<sup>83</sup>

#### Music *en concert* in a broader context, c.1624-1756

##### England

The earliest evidence of the *en concert* practice in England is the 'lute consorts' in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.410-414.<sup>84</sup> These are a set of partbooks including a lute tablature, a treble part for viol or violin, a lyra viol tablature, and two unfigured basses, ostensibly for a bass viol and a theorbo. There are 32 pieces in all, six of which are almost certainly by John Birchenha (d. 1681). Concordances with earlier lute sources show that many of these consorts

<sup>79</sup> GB-Lbl, f.17.a and S-Skma, Alströmer B 2:22.

<sup>80</sup> B-Bc, 7204; see also RISM, A/I/2, C 3886 and RISM, B/II, 377.

<sup>81</sup> Lesure, *Bibliographie*, 64; Roger, *Catalogue*, 402-403.

<sup>82</sup> See GB-Lbl, Music f.17.a., esp. f. 17; S-Skma, Alströmer B 2:22, *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> M. Spring, 'The Decline of the Lute in England after 1660', in *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford, 2001), 400-450; J. M. Vaccaro, *La musique de luth en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1981), 18; S. Beck, 'The Decline of the Lute', *Guitar Review*, 9 (1949), 8-12; and P. Pöfgen, 'Die europäische Laute und Lautenmusik', *MGG2* (accessed 17 December 2010); see also R. de Visée, *Pièces de théorbe et de luth* (Paris, 1716), 3.

<sup>84</sup> For a full description with examples, see T. Crawford, 'An Unusual Consort Revealed in an Oxford Manuscript', *Ceblys*, 6 (1975-1976), 61-68.

originated as solo lute pieces from as early as the 1630s. Matthew Spring has argued that these books were assembled in the 1650s or 1660s for an Oxford lute consort.<sup>85</sup> The partbooks show a flexibility of approach in adapting the solo lute versions as consort pieces.<sup>86</sup> The instruments will often double the outer voices of the solo lute part, but in many cases *contreparties* have been added to the known lute versions.<sup>87</sup> An even earlier isolated example—though not strictly *en concert* because it is not for a mixed ensemble—is the two-lute version of John Dowland's (1563-1626) 'My Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home'.<sup>88</sup>

As an early source which evidences keyboard music played with other instruments, *Parthenia inviolata* (?c.1624) warrants mention. This collection seems to be related to the earlier tradition of Renaissance instrumental music accompanied, usually by organ, of which Purcell's consort music is perhaps the latest exponent,<sup>89</sup> although it reverses the structural relationship between the instruments: whereas the keyboard accompanies (i.e. doubles) the parts in consort music, in *Parthenia* the keyboard is accompanied (i.e. 'inviolated') by the viol. This reinforces the relationship between the seventeenth-century practice of continuo doubling and the eighteenth-century *en concert* practice. Thus, although *Parthenia inviolata* makes no use of the term 'en concert' (or an equivalent like 'in consort'), it serves as a very early example of the *en concert* principle.

The two English manuscript sources for the Dieupart suites are the first documentary evidence of the fully-formed *en concert* practice in keyboard music in England. These are GB-Lbl, Add. MS 39,569, a keyboard anthology, and GB-CAMhogwood, M1902, a pair of instrumental partbooks, one dessus and one bass.<sup>90</sup> These volumes were copied around 1702 by Charles Babel (c.1634-

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<sup>85</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 344.

<sup>86</sup> Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 344.

<sup>87</sup> An area which merits further research is the connection between the history of the *contrepartie* and the *en concert* tradition in England through the consort music of William Lawes. See J. Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602-1645*, *Music in Britain, 1600-1900*, 5 (Woodbridge, 2010).

<sup>88</sup> See J. Dowland, *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland*, ed. D. Poulton and B. Lam (London, 1974), 199ff [no. 66a].

<sup>89</sup> For discussion of the continuo in early seventeenth-century consort music, see A. Ashbee, 'The Four-Part Consort Music of John Jenkins', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 96 (1970), 29-42; D. Pinto, 'William Lawes' Music for Viol Consort', *Early Music*, 6/1 (1978), 12-24; P. Holman, 'Suites by Jenkins Rediscovered', *Early Music*, 6/1 (1978), 25-35; and Holman, "'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly Acchording to All": the Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music', in *John Jenkins and his Time*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 353-382.

<sup>90</sup> For full physical descriptions, see Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 202-205 and Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, ii. 87-88; facsimile published as *London, British Library, MS Add. 39569*, ed. Gustafson, *Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music*, 19 (London, 1987). Two unrelated features of Add. MS 39,569 which heretofore have gone unmentioned in the literature are noted here. First, the British Library catalogue record indicates that the binding is original; it is not. The volume has been re-backed with the original spine laid in. The presumably original leather cover is applied to a much newer leather substrate, dyed and moroccoed to match the original; the newer substrate is particularly visible where the covers meet the spine, and on the bands of the spine. The original marbled endpapers have also been

c.1716), a French wind player and copyist active in England from about 1698.<sup>91</sup>

Dieupart is the most strongly represented French composer in Add. MS 39,569: the suites in A major (no. 1 in the Roger editions), D major (no. 2), E minor (no. 4), and F major (no. 6) are present, together with an E major suite not found in the Roger collection.<sup>92</sup> The Babel transcriptions are unlikely to derive from the printed collection, not least because the manuscript was complete by 1702; it is more probable that Babel acquired a manuscript source from Dieupart in England around 1700 and that his transcriptions (or arrangements?) derive from this.<sup>93</sup>

The M1902 partbooks almost certainly derive from the same lost manuscript source as Add. MS 39,569 because variants not present in the printed collections are common to both Add. MS 39,569 and M1902. Woolley has already pointed out that there is no missing second dessus partbook as had been previously suggested,<sup>94</sup> and that it is very unlikely that Add. MS 39,569 was intended as an 'accompaniment' to M1902.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, the very large number of concordances among M1902, Add. MS 39,569 and Babel's other keyboard manuscripts would be surprising if these collections were construed to serve ensembles of essentially different instrumentations.<sup>96</sup> Rather, this fact seems to suggest that this is the shared repertoire of any domestic ensemble, whatever the instrumentation.

The first piece in M1902, an allemande in A major by Robert King (d. after 1728), is particularly illustrative of this point. The toccata-like passages which occur throughout are decidedly idiomatic for keyboard and rather unlike what is typical of consort music, illustrating these partbooks' connection to the *en concert* tradition: see Example 5. Comparison with the concordant version in Add. MS 39,569 suggests even further that M1902 might have been intended to be used with a keyboard book (even if not Add. MS 39,569): see Example 6. Babel has halved the notation when copying M1902; thus C-stroke in Add. MS 39,569 becomes C in M1902. But because there is an odd number of bars in

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salvaged. The pages have been trimmed (noticeable especially on ff. 114ff), and an index manifestly of early twentieth-century origin has been bound in (ff. iv-ix). This conservation was probably executed upon accession by the British Museum, thus not earlier than 1917: see *British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1916-1920* (London, 1933), 47. Second, there are some significant nineteenth-century additions to the volume. A scribe, almost certainly Laetitia Frances Selwyn (1807-1868) copied out some arias of Handel in black ink (ff. 133v-136v) and attempted some keyboard compositions of her own, in pencil (ff. 105v-106): see Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 205.

<sup>91</sup> Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 199-200.

<sup>92</sup> The courante in this E major suite appears transposed as the courante to the F major suite in the Roger collection. For a discussion of the relationship between these two suites, see Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 214-215 and Dieupart, *Three Suites for Harpsichord*, ed. Woolley (Bicester, 2009).

<sup>93</sup> Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, i. 72; Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 216.

<sup>94</sup> R. Herissone, 'The Magdalene-College Part-books: Origins and Contents', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 29 (1996), 47-95, esp. 48. Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 205.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 209.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 208.

the C-stroke version, there is a half-bar left over at the end of the strain when it is transcribed in C; whence the change to C-stroke for the last bar of M1902. However, the musical sense of this extra bar (in C-stroke) or half-bar (in C), which makes the strain's phrase structure asymmetrical, is dependent upon the keyboard figuration which is present in Add. MS 39,569 but absent in M1902. The presence of this half-bar in M1902, and, moreover, the trouble taken to preserve it through a somewhat cumbersome notation, indicate that strict concordance with the keyboard version was a scribal priority. This in turn suggests that M1902 may have been intended to be used with a keyboard book, now lost.

*Allemande*—————

Example 5. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 39,569, f. 5: Robert King, 'Allemande':  
diplomatic transcription



Example 6. Comparison of the opening of King's 'Allemande' in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 39,569 and GB-CAMhogwood, M1902

The circumstances of the execution of M1902 support this possibility. The partbooks contain the bookplates of Charles Cholmondeley (1684/5-1759), who acceded to his seat at Vale Royal in Cheshire in 1701.<sup>97</sup> Records from a 1946 auction show that there was a substantial collection of early eighteenth-century music at Vale Royal.<sup>98</sup> Woolley has suggested that a keyboard book intended to be used in conjunction with M1902 may once have existed;<sup>99</sup> in fact, the mutilated lower half of a single folio from a c.1700 keyboard manuscript survives as part of the Cholmondeley accession in the Cheshire Record Office.<sup>100</sup> Whether or not this fragment is the remains of such a book, it implies the presence of at least one keyboard player at Vale Royal at that time, and is suggestive of a growing relationship between the *en concert* tradition—originally a professional improvisatory practice—and amateur domestic music-making in the early eighteenth century.<sup>101</sup>

### France

Ensemble performance of harpsichord and lute music seems to have been a robust tradition well into the eighteenth century. Robert de Visée's *Pièces de Théorbe et de Luth* (1716) specifies that 'this print is [for use by] the harpsichord, the viol, and the violin, upon which instruments these pieces have always been played in concert'.<sup>102</sup> By 1716, Perrine's prediction about the demise of the lute was slowly coming true; de Visée chose to print his book in staff notation, writing in the preface that 'the number of those who understand tablature is so small that I thought it unnecessary to needlessly enlarge my book [by including tablatures]'.<sup>103</sup> Thus de Visée simultaneously cites the seventeenth-century antecedents of the *en concert* tradition, while alluding to the related trends by

<sup>97</sup> Winsford History Society, *Vale Royal: Abbey and House* (Winsford, Cheshire, 1977), 24.

<sup>98</sup> GB-CRr, DBC 2309/2/7, pp. 34-37.

<sup>99</sup> Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 209.

<sup>100</sup> GB-CRr, DCH/M/32/25.

<sup>101</sup> See discussions of the rise musical amateurism in the eighteenth century in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. R. Cowgill and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2007); M. Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder, and Astonishment* (Aldershot, 2004); *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. C. Hogwood (Cambridge, 2003); and in works cited by these.

<sup>102</sup> 'le but de cette impression est le clavecin, la viole, et le violon sur lesquels Instruments elles ont toujours concerté': Robert de Visée, *Pièces de Théorbe et de Luth* (Paris, 1716), 4; my translation.

<sup>103</sup> 'le nombre de ceux qui entendent la tablature est si petit que j'ay cru ne devoir pas grosser mon livre inutilement'; my translation: *ibid.* 5; my translation.

which the *en concert* practice increasingly became associated with both keyboard music and domestic music-making. Indeed, de Visée was the last major French lute composer; the vast majority of the eighteenth-century French publications which continue the *en concert* tradition are for keyboard.

While a detailed account of the relationship between the *contrepartie* and *en concert* traditions exceeds the scope of this article, the connection between these traditions is evident from the earliest sources. Broadly speaking, the *contrepartie* is an added part which enhances a piece, but which is non-essential. It originates in the late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century as a device in instrumental consort music.<sup>104</sup> Early examples of the connection between the *contrepartie* and the *en concert* tradition include: the Dumont *Meslanges* (Paris, 1657), in which certain two-part organ allemandes are augmented by a third part '[de] faire plus grande Harmonie' when played on viols; the lute consorts in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.410-414 which often add parts to the earlier solo-lute versions; or the lyra viol music of Lawes. Eighteenth-century examples include: Le Roux's *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1705); François Couperin's harpsichord works (1713-1730); and Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin en concerts* (Paris, 1741). Another *en concert* technique is the instrumental doubling of the harpsichord or lute part. A fairly early example is Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre's *Pièces de clavecin qui peuvent se jouer sur le violon* (Paris, 1707); later examples include Jean-Joseph de Mondonville's *Pièces de clavecin en sonates* (Paris, 1734) and *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1748), and Jacques Duphly's *Pièces de clavecin avec l'accompagnement de violon* (Paris, 1756).<sup>105</sup> The parallel use of these two compositional techniques—doubling and *contrepartie* writing—illustrates an important point: music *en concert* does not 'progress' from a simple doublings in the vein of Dieupart's suites to complex *contreparties* as in Rameau's *concerts*. Both techniques were used throughout the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In particular, it is important to bear in mind that *contreparties* such as Rameau's, seemingly indispensable to modern ears, are completely optional. Rameau advises in the preface that 'these pieces performed on harpsichord alone leave nothing to be desired'.<sup>106</sup>

François Couperin's harpsichord pieces are particularly interesting in this regard, as the *contreparties* are peppered only sparsely throughout the four harpsichord books. These *contreparties* must surely represent 'the notational tip of an ... improvisational iceberg'.<sup>107</sup> In pieces for which a *contrepartie* is not written, a plausible performance scenario is one in which violin and/or bass viol are reading over the harpsichordist's shoulder and doubling the melody and/or bass.

Indeed, Couperin's *Concerts Royaux* were published in 1722 as an appendix to his *Troisième livre de pièces de clavecin* with the advice, 'besides the solo

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<sup>104</sup> For more detailed discussions of the history of the *contrepartie*, see Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes*, passim; Spring, *Lute in Britain*, 351-363.

<sup>105</sup> RISM, A/I/2, D 3840-1.

<sup>106</sup> 'Ces pièces exécutées sur le Clavecin seul ne laissent rien à désirer.' J. P. Rameau, *Pièces de clavecin en concert* (Paris, 1741), [i]; my translation.

<sup>107</sup> Butt, *Playing with History*, 113.

harpsichord, these pieces might also be performed on [a variety of other instruments]'.<sup>108</sup> Interestingly, Couperin also says that 'the following pieces are of a different kind than those which I have offered until now'.<sup>109</sup> But the differences between the *concerts* and the *pieces de clavecin* (to which he presumably is referring) are exactly the same kinds of differences—principally textural—which have been observed elsewhere in the *en concert* repertoire. Put another way, they can all be viewed as differences in the mode of physical presentation of the musical text.<sup>110</sup> The notation does not record a single set of instructions that the performer must follow to realize 'the work', but rather suggests possibilities by way of example. This view more readily accounts for the various performance possibilities that are nascent in the 'en concert' repertoire than would the prescriptive view of the function of notation. Thus while the *pieces* are printed in a way that caters to performance on harpsichord and the *concerts* are printed in a way that caters to ensemble performance, the presence of *contreparties* and various verbal rubrics evidence ensemble performance of the *pieces*, and the preface to *Concerts Royaux* explicitly sanctions solo harpsichord performance of the *concerts*. The gap between the 'solo' and *en concert* repertoires becomes ever more narrow.

### Conclusions

The question of the status of Dieupart's *Suittes* as accompanied keyboard music 'is an important one, for if they [are] ... they constitute the first true examples of the genre'.<sup>111</sup> The evidence of the surviving prints and catalogues is clear: Dieupart's *Suittes* were originally conceived as accompanied keyboard music in the *en concert* tradition and were subsequently re-imagined as music for any domestic ensemble in an effort to commercialize them. Dieupart's *Suittes* are part of a sizeable body of publications produced by Roger in the first few decades of the eighteenth century. These publications evidence the adaptation of a professional improvisatory practice to printed sources designed for amateurs. This increased amateur interest in domestic music is paralleled by the gradual demise of lute tablature and the trend by which the harpsichord began to be favoured over the lute. It would seem, therefore, that Dieupart's *Suittes*, as an early collection adapting the *en concert* practice to the keyboard for the benefit of a amateur public, played a significant rôle in ensuring the survival of the *en concert* tradition in the eighteenth century.

The Roger publications examined here, typically viewed as solo harpsichord or lute sources, have been shown to belong to a wider tradition of playing chordal instruments *en concert* with other instruments which reaches back to the early seventeenth century. To the extent that this survey is necessarily preliminary, further study will show that our modern conception of genre is in many ways

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<sup>108</sup> 'Elles conviennent non seulement, au clavecin; mais aussy au violon, a la flute, au hautbois, a la viole, et au Basson': F. Couperin, *Concerts Royaux* (Paris, 1722), [i]; my translation. See *RISM*, A/I/2, C4294-7 and A/I/11, CC 4295-6.

<sup>109</sup> 'Les pieces qui suivent sont d'une autre espèce que celles que J'ay donnees jusqu'à present': *ibid.*; my translation.

<sup>110</sup> Butt, *Playing with History*, 106-114.

<sup>111</sup> Fuller, 'Accompanied Keyboard Music', 233.

too dependent on an anachronistic view of the *Werktreue*.<sup>112</sup> The view that pieces exist in distinct versions whose existence implies similarly distinct performance scenarios sanctioned by a highly intentional composer is in conflict with what is known about the fluidity of musical texts and composerly intention for music of this period.<sup>113</sup> More importantly, this fluidity challenges the modern performer to envision plausible performances outside the parameters implied by the musical text. The performance of the solo harpsichord and lute repertoires *en concert* is just one example of this.

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<sup>112</sup> For a vigorous (if polemical) discussion of the concept of the *Werktreue* ideal as it relates to the performance of early music, see B. Haynes, 'How Romantic Are We?', *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music* (Oxford, 2007), 65-115 at 89. See also L. Goehr, 'Werktreue: Confirmation and Challenge in Contemporary Movements', *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, (Oxford, 2/2002), 243-286.

<sup>113</sup> See Butt, *Playing with History*, 113; Gustafson, 'France', *Keyboard Music*, 119; Le Gallois, *Lettre*, 70; and Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 98ff.

# Charles Frederick Abel's Viola da Gamba Music: A New Catalogue

PETER HOLMAN

Charles Frederick Abel was probably the most prolific composer for the viola da gamba after the Baroque period.<sup>1</sup> We have ninety-five surviving works featuring the gamba in solo or obbligato roles: thirty pieces for unaccompanied gamba (plus three short cadenza-like passages); forty-nine solos or sonatas and two separate minuets for gamba and bass; four duets for gamba and violoncello; a gamba part possibly from a sonata with obbligato harpsichord; two incomplete trios for flute, gamba and bass; a quartet for flute, violin, gamba and violoncello; two quartets for gamba, violin, viola and violoncello; and an aria with gamba obbligato. In addition, there are a number of surviving violoncello parts that may originally have been intended for the gamba, and we know from newspaper advertisements and other documentary sources that many other works once existed, as we shall see.

Most of Abel's viola da gamba music was catalogued and published in modern editions by Walter Knappe in the 1960s and early 70s, though his work is unsatisfactory in several respects.<sup>2</sup> A number of pieces were omitted from his catalogue, some of which were known when it was compiled, there are many errors in the listing of sources and in the incipits of the pieces, and he is not a reliable guide to Abel's hand, failing to recognize genuine examples and wrongly claiming copies made by others as autographs. All in all, the time is ripe for a new catalogue.

In what follows I have grouped Abel's gamba music into eight categories by scoring:

1. Unaccompanied viola da gamba
2. Viola da gamba and bass/continuo
3. Viola da gamba and violoncello
4. Viola da gamba and harpsichord
5. Flute, viola da gamba and bass/continuo
6. Flute, violin, viola da gamba and violoncello

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<sup>1</sup> For Abel's viola da gamba music, see especially F. Flassig, *Die soloistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1998), 195-203, 239-240; M. O'Loughlin, *Frederick the Great and his Musicians: The Viola da Gamba Music of the Berlin School* (Aldershot, 2008), 198-204, 212; P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 200-232. Abel is normally referred to today using the German forms of his first names, Carl Friedrich, though he Anglicized them for his English publications and on official documents, such as those relating to his lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co., GB-Lna, C12/71/6 (1773), or the letters patent for his denization, GB-Lna, C97/611497 (11 May 1775); I am grateful to Ann van Allen Russell for these references.

<sup>2</sup> W. Knappe, *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787)* (Cuxhaven, 1971); C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. W. Knappe, 16 vols. (Cuxhaven, 1958-1974).

7. Viola da gamba, violin, viola and violoncello
8. Soprano, viola da gamba, two violins, viola and bass/continuo

In addition, an appendix discusses surviving works with violoncello parts that may originally have been written for the viola da gamba, as well as lost gamba works known only from documentary sources.

Within each category the works are presented in the order they appear in the primary sources, and the sources are ordered by the alphabetical order of their RISM library sigla, with (in the case of Category 2), the printed collection coming first in the sequence. Knape's catalogue numbers (WKO) have been included, but since a number of works are not in WKO I have allocated new numbers in the form 1:4 (i.e. the fourth piece in Category 1) or 7:2 (the second in Category 7), thus allowing for extra pieces to be added as they come to light; I suggest that works are referred to by prefixing the number with A for Abel.

Abel wrote his viola da gamba parts mostly in the treble clef, expecting it to be played at the lower octave; I have preserved this feature in the incipits. Occasionally, as in 4:1, 7:1 and 7:2, the parts are written in the alto and bass clefs, as in modern practice, which suggests the intervention of a contemporary copyist or arranger. I have made a distinction between solo gamba works that have a simple accompaniment, occasionally figured and usually labelled 'Basso' (Category 2), and duets specifically for gamba and violoncello (Category 3) in which the violoncello presumably has a more active role—though the four works concerned are not available for study. The titles of the pieces are given in the form they appear in the principal source; I have given appropriate titles to untitled pieces in square brackets. The incipits have been transcribed directly from the sources with a minimum of editorial changes and additions, though a few obvious errors have been corrected without comment; the exact placing and duration of slurs is sometimes open to question and may differ slightly from modern editions. I have only included fingerings that are autograph, in my opinion.

I have tried to list all modern editions, and would be glad to hear of any I have missed—or of any other omissions and errors. I am grateful to Susanne Heinrich, Michael O'Loughlin and Günter von Zadow for their helpful comments on a draft of the catalogue.

#### Library Sigla

(Following the RISM system used in *Grove Music Online*)

A-HE	Heiligenkreuz, Musikarchiv des Zisterzienserstiftes
A-LA	Lambach, Benediktiner-Stift Lambach, Bibliothek
AUS-NLwm	Nedlands (Perth), Wigmore Music Library, University of Western Australia
CZ-Pnm	Prague, Národní Muzeum

D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden
DK-Kk	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen
GB-Ckc	Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College
GB-Lbl	London, The British Library
GB-Lna	London, The National Archives
GB-Lu	London, University of London, Senate House Library
US-NYp	New York, NY, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division

#### Publisher Abbreviations

CAP	Charivari Agréable Publications, Oxford
DE	Dovehouse Editions, Ottawa, Viola da gamba series
Fretwork	Fretwork Editions, London
EG	Edition Güntersberg, Heidelberg
HM	Hortus Musicus, Bärenreiter, Kassel
Knape	C. F. Abel, <i>Compositionen</i> , ed. Walter Knape, Cuxhaven
PRB	PRB Productions, Albany CA
UO	Ut Orpheus Edizioni, Bologna

#### Sources

*The Favourite Songs in the Opera Sifari*, 2 vols. (London: Welcker, [1767]). A selection of arias from the opera in full score. 8:1 is in vol. 1, pp. 2-7; copy consulted: GB-Lbl, G.206.k.(2).

*Six Easy Sonattas for the Harpsichord, or for a Viola da Gamba, Violin or German Flute, with a Thorough-Bass Accompaniment* ([?London, ?1772]). It consists of 2:1-6 in score. The circumstances of its publication are unclear: it is conventionally said to have been published by J. J. Hummel of Amsterdam in 1772, though it has an English title and the only evidence of his involvement is a printed label stuck on the title-page of the only surviving copy, D-Dl, Mus. 3122-R-2; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 218. There is a facsimile with an introduction by Michael O’Loghlin (Heidelberg, 2005), EG, G501.

*Les Suites des trios primieres: trios pour le violon, violoncello, et basso* (London: Longman, Lukey and Co., [1772]). It consists of parts of 5:1, 5:2 and a variant of *Six Sonatas for a Violin, a Violoncello, & Base, with a Thorough Base for the Harpsichord*, op. 9 (London, 1772), no. 5; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226. The only known copies are at GB-Ckc (violoncello and basso parts) and AUS-NLwm (violoncello part).

A-LA, oblong-quarto manuscript parts of 7:1 and 7:2, copied by an unidentified hand. The ultimate source was clearly Abel’s *Six Quartettos for Two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello Obligati*, op. 8 (London, 1769), nos. 5 and 2, though the fact that

they are numbered 1 and 3 in the manuscripts rather than 5 and 2 suggests that there was at least one intermediate source.

D-B, KHM 25 a/b. Folio scores of 2:7 and 2:8 copied by an unidentified late eighteenth-century German hand. It is not autograph, as claimed by Knappe:<sup>3</sup> the handwriting is quite different from Abel's known autographs, such as GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, Items 1-5 and the first section of US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, the composer is given the formal title 'Sig<sup>r</sup> Abel' (he signed his work 'C. F. Abel'), and the viola da gamba part is mostly written in the alto clef; the composer wrote his gamba music in the treble clef.

D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10. Folio parts of the three-movement version of 6:1, copied on paper stamped 'J J / Berlin' by the same late nineteenth-century copyist as part of D-B, Mus. Ms. 263 and Items 1 and 2 of D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. He may be the Braunschweig cellist and gamba player Johann Klingenberg (1852-1905) since D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 came from his collection.<sup>4</sup>

D-B, Mus. Ms. 263. Folio scores and gamba parts of 2:10 and 2:7, copied by two late nineteenth-century hands. The first, possibly Johann Klingenberg, also copied D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 and Items 1 and 2 of D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. The second hand used paper stamped 'C. Peters München'. They are edited for performance with added dynamics and a keyboard realization of the bass.

D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2. Folio scores of 2:10, 1:3 and 1:4 (Item 1), 6:1 (Item 2), 2:7 and 2:8 (Item 4), as well as Abel's two sonatas for violoncello and bass WKO 147 and 148 (Item 3), from the collection of Johann Klingenberg. The hand of Items 1 and 2, possibly Klingenberg himself, also copied D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 and part of D-B, Mus. Ms. 263.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697. A scrapbook containing seven separate items, the first five of which are Abel's autographs of 2:9, 1:1, 1:2, 1:3, and 1:4. Items 6 and 7 are manuscripts each containing sequences of 15 sonatas by Abel for viola da gamba and bass (2:10-21, 23, 25-26 and 2:27-41), as well as, in Item 6, the individual minuets 2:22 and 2:24. They were copied by an unidentified hand probably in the 1770s from Abel's autographs; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 209-211. Most if not all the items were owned by Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke (1737-1831), and it was probably assembled in its present form by the artist and gamba player Thomas Cheeseman (1760-?1842). There are facsimiles of Items 2, 3, 4 and 5 in C. F. Abel, *Music for Solo Viola da Gamba*, CAP040 (2007).

GB-Lu, MS 944/2/1-3. Three late eighteenth-century folio manuscript part-books containing, in the earliest layer, trio sonatas by Maximilian Humble and anonymous, as well as (in the first violin and bass parts) a set of early eighteenth-century sonatas composed or arranged for viola da gamba and bass; the gamba part of 4:1 comes at the end of this sequence, though there is no corresponding part in the bass part-book; see P. Holman, 'A New Source of Bass Viol Music

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<sup>3</sup> WKO, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> For Klingenberg, see O'Loghlin, *Frederick the Great and his Musicians*, 68.

from Eighteenth-Century England', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 81-99; Holman, *Life after Death*, 127-130, 226-227, 269-271. The part-books seem to have been owned in turn by John Williamson (1740-1815), a Canterbury surgeon; his son John (1790-1828), also a Canterbury surgeon; the organist Stephen Elvey (1805-1860); and his brother Sir George (1816-1893); they were given to London University Library in 1925 as part of the Elvey Collection.

US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871. An oblong large-quarto manuscript beginning with 29 pieces for unaccompanied viola da gamba (1:5-33) in Abel's autograph, as well as containing copies of Corelli's trio sonatas op. 1, nos. 1-2 and op. 3, nos. 1-5 in a different hand, and an anonymous 'Solo per il Cembalo' that appears to be in Abel's autograph and may be by him; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 203-204. The manuscript subsequently belonged to Joseph Coggins (1786-1866) and Edward Rimbault (1816-1876), passing into the Drexel Collection after the sale of Rimbault's library in 1877. There is a facsimile with an introduction by Walter Knappe (Peer: Alamire, 1993), Facsimile series, 21, and another in *Music for Solo Viola da Gamba*, CAP040 (2007).

Collection of the late Edgar Hunt, manuscript parts of 6:1. They have not been available for study, but a note in the 'VIOLA (or Viola da gamba)' part of Hunt's edition (Schott, 10190) states: 'The MS part (in the editor's possession) is headed "Viola da gamba" whereas in the title it is given as "Violetta"'. The part is written an octave higher in the treble clef in accordance with Abel's custom when writing for the Viola da gamba'.

Private collection, part-autograph folio manuscript containing ten sonatas for viola da gamba and bass (2:42-51) and four duets for gamba and violoncello (3:1-4). It has not been available for study, though a certain amount can be learned about it from the descriptions in sale catalogues: Puttick and Simpson, 27 November 1882, lot 508; Sotheby's 17 June 1947, lot 241; and Sotheby's 26 May 1994, lot 97; see also Holman, *Life after Death*, 216-218. One page is illustrated in the 1994 catalogue (reproduced in Holman, *Life after Death*, plate 14), providing an incipit for the Adagio of 2:42. It belonged to Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke (1737-1831), Edward Payne (1844-1904) and Arthur Frederick Hill (1860-1939).

## Category 1: Unaccompanied Viola da Gamba

- 1:1** [Te]mpo di Menuet, G major, WKO 153.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 6v (Item 2).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: slightly related to 1:24.



- 1:2** Tempo minuetto, D major, WKO 154.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 7 (Item 3).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: related to 1:22.



- 1:3** Sonata, G major, WKO 155.  
 Sources: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 8-9 (Item 4); D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 1, pp. 6-7.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, 10353; EG, G142; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: A later hand added 'Composed for the Lady Pembroke' on GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 8. D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 was presumably copied directly or indirectly from GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697. 1:3/1 is related to 1:4.

[Ada]g[io]



Allegro



Menuet





- 1:9 Vivace, D major, WKO 190.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 5.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:10 Andante, D major, WKO 191.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 6.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: the opening is related to Louis Caix d'Hervelois, Musette in D major for bass viol and continuo, *Troisième oeuvre* (Paris, 1731), 14-15.<sup>5</sup>



- 1:11 [Allegro], D major, WKO 192.  
 Sources: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 7.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:12 [Minuet], D major, WKO 193.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.




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<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Richard Sutcliffe for drawing this to my attention.

- 1:13 [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.  
 Edition: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:14 [Prelude], D major, WKO 194.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 8.  
 Edition: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:15 [Allegro], D major, WKO 195.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 9.  
 Edition: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:16 Fuga, D major, WKO 196.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 10-11.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: the subject is taken from Corelli's Concerto Grosso in D major, op. 6, no. 1.



- 1:17 [Adagio ], D major, WKO 197.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 11.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



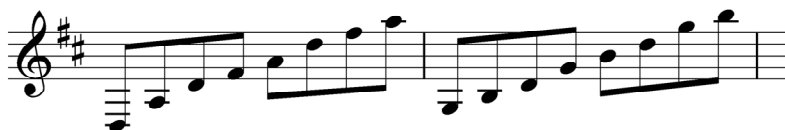
- 1:18 Allegro, D major, WKO 198.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 12-13.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:19 [Minuet], D major, WKO 199.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 13.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:20 [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 13.  
Edition: CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:21 Tempo di Minuet [en rondeau], D major, WKO 200.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 14.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:22 Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 201.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 15.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.  
Comment: related to 1:2.



- 1:23 [Minuet en rondeau], D major, WKO 202.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 16.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:24 [Minuet with two variations], in D major, WKO 203, 204.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 17.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.  
 Comment: slightly related to 1:1.



- 1:25 [Flourish or Cadenza], D major, not in WKO.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 17.  
 Edition: UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:26 [Prelude], D minor, WKO 205.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 18.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:27 [Minuet], D minor, WKO 206.  
 Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 18.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



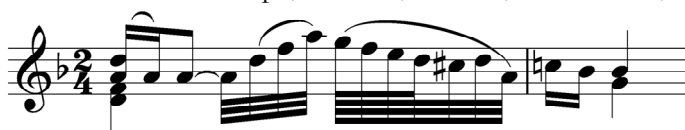
- 1:28 Allegro, D minor, WKO 207.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 19.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:29 [Allegro], D minor, WKO 208.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 20-21.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:30 Adagio, D minor, WKO 209.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 22.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:31 Tempo di Minuet, D major, WKO 210.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, p. 23.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



- 1:32 Allegretto, A major, WKO 211.  
Source: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5871, pp. 24-25.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; DE, 22; UO, HS99; CAP, 041, 042.



**2:1** Sonata, C major, WKO 141.  
Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 1, pp. 2-5.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062.

The first staff of music is written in treble clef with a common time signature (C). It begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a half note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a quarter rest. The notes G4, A4, B4, and C5 are beamed together, as are the notes B4, A4, and G4.

Allegro

[illegible]

Tempo di Minueto



- 2:3 Sonata, D major, WKO 143.  
Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 3, pp. 10-12.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 39; EG, G062.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:4 Sonata, G major, WKO 144.  
Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 4, pp. 13-16.  
Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:5 Sonata, A major, WKO 145.  
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 5, pp. 17-20.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



- 2:6 Sonata, E minor, WKO 146.  
 Source: *Six Easy Sonattas*, no. 6, pp. 21-24.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; HM, 40; EG, G063.

Moderato



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:7 Sonata, E minor, WKO 150.  
 Sources: D-B, KHM 25a; D-B, Mus. Ms. 263; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2,  
 Item 4.  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; Schott, ES1373; EG, G090.

Siciliano



The first staff of music is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It contains five measures: a half note F#4, a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a half note F#4.

**2:10** Sonata, C major, WKO 151.

Sources: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 10v-13 (Item 6, no. 1); D-B, Mus. Ms. 263; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2., Item 1, pp. 1-5.

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Comment: the Cantabile, arranged for gamba, violin and violoncello probably by Johannes Klingenberg, also appears in the D-B, Mus. MS 253/10 version of 6:1. The D-B manuscripts were presumably copied directly or indirectly from GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697.

Allegro



Cantabile



Tempo di Minuetto



**2:11** Sonata, D major, WKO 156.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 13v-15 (Item 6, no. 2).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Minuetto



**2:12** Sonata, G major, WKO 157.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 15v-17 (Item 6, no. 3).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Moderato



Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 17v-19 (Item 6, no. 4).

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 19v-21 (Item 6, no. 5).

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 21v-23 (Item 6, no. 6).

Minuetto



2:16 Sonata, D major, WKO 161.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 23v-25 (Item 6, no. 7).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



[Minuet]



2:17 Sonata, C major, WKO 162.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 25v-27 (Item 6, no. 8).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Vivace



2:18 Sonata, A major, WKO 163.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 27v-29 (Item 6, no. 9).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Tempo di Minuetto



2:19 Sonata, A major, WKO 164.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 29v-31 (Item 6, no. 10).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Minuetto



2:20 Sonata, D major, WKO 165.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 31v-34 (Item 6, no. 11).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Adaggio



Tempo di Minuetto



2:21 Sonata, D major, WKO 166.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 34v-36 (Item 6, no. 12).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



2:22 Tempo di Minuetto, C major, not in WKO.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 37.

Edition: PRB, CL014.

Comment: treated as the third movement of 2:21 in PRB, CL014, but the discrepancy of keys makes this unlikely.



2:23 Sonata, G major, WKO 167.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 37v-38v (Item 6, no. 13).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Tempo di Minuetto



2:24 Tempo di Minuetto, D major, not in WKO.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, f. 39.

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Comment: treated as the third movement of 2:23 in Knape, xvi and PRB, CL013. This is unlikely unless a *da capo* to 2:23/2 is intended, though it is not indicated in the manuscript.



- 2:25** Sonata, D major, WKO 168.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 39v-42 (Item 6, no. 14).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Allegro



Minuetto



Minuetto



- 2:26** Sonata, D major, WKO 169.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 42v-44 (Item 6, no. 15).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Minuetto



Allegretto



- 2:27** Sonata, C major, WKO 170.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 45v-48 (Item 7, no. 1).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Moderato



Andantino



Allegro



- 2:28** Sonata, G major, WKO 171.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 48v-51 (Item 7, no. 2).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Vivace



Cantabile



Vivace



- 2:29** Sonata, D major, WKO 172.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 51v-54 (Item 7, no. 3).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.  
 Comment: the second movement is wrongly given in the source with only two sharps.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



**2:30** Sonata, A major, WKO 173.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 54v-57 (Item 7, no. 4).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL014.

Allegro



Cantabile



Tempo di Minuetto



**2:31** Sonata, G major, WKO 174.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 57v-60 (Item 7, no. 5).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Moderato



Cantabile



Vivace



- 2:32** Sonata, C major, WKO 175.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 60v-63 (Item 7, no. 6).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Adaggio



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:33** Sonata, A major, WKO 176.  
Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 63v-66 (Item 7, no. 7).  
Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Andantino



Allegro



2:34 Sonata, A major, WKO 177.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 66v-69 (Item 7, no. 8).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Andante



Allegro



2:35 Sonata, G major, WKO 178.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 69v-71 (Item 7, no. 9).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Adagio



Minuetto



- 2:36** Sonata, A major, WKO 179.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 71v-73 (Item 7, no. 10).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL013.

Allegro



Andante



Minuetto



- 2:37** Sonata, D major, WKO 180.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 73v-75 (Item 7, no. 11).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Siciliano



Minuetto



- 2:38** Sonata, D major, WKO 181.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 75v-77 (Item 7, no. 12).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Minuetto [and two variations]



2:39 Sonata, G major, WKO 182.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 77v-79 (Item 7, no. 13).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Adaggio



Minuet



2:40 Sonata, A major, WKO 183.

Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 79v-81 (Item 7, no. 14).

Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Allegro



Adaggio



Minuetto



- 2:41** Sonata, C major, WKO 184.  
 Source: GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,697, ff. 81v-83 (Item 7, no. 15).  
 Editions: Knape, xvi; PRB, CL015.

Moderato



Tempo di Minuetto



- 2:42** Sonata, E major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 3.  
 Edition: none.

Allegro

Adagio



Tempo di Minuet

- 2:43** Sonata, E $\flat$  major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 4.  
 Edition: none.

Vivace

Adagio

Menuet

- 2:44** Sonata, B $\flat$  major, not in WKO.  
 Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 5.  
 Edition: none.

Moderato

Adagio

Tempo di Menuet

**2:45** Sonata, Bb major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 6.  
Edition: none.

Vivace  
Adagio  
Tempo di Menuet

**2:46** Sonata, Bb major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 7.  
Edition: none.

Allegro  
Adagio  
Menuet

**2:47** Sonata, F major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 8.  
Edition: none.

Moderato  
Adagio  
Menuet

**2:48** Sonata, G major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 9.  
Edition: none.

Allegro  
Adagio  
Tempo di Menuetto

**2:49** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 10.  
Edition: none.

Moderato  
Adagio  
Menuet

**2:50** Sonata, D major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 13.

Edition: none.

Allegro  
Adagio  
Allegretto

- 2:51** Sonata, A major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 14.  
Edition: none.

Moderato  
Adagio  
Tempo di Menuet

### Category 3: Viola da Gamba and Violoncello

- 3:1** Duetto, D major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 1.  
Edition: none.

Allegro  
Rondeau

- 3:2** Duetto, D major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 2.  
Edition: none.

Allegro  
Adagio  
Tempo di Menuet

- 3:3** Duetto, G major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 11.  
Edition: none.

Poco allegro  
Un poco adagio  
Rondeau alegretto

- 3:4** Duetto, G major, not in WKO.  
Source: part-autograph manuscript, private collection, no. 12.

Edition: none.

Un poco allegro

Andante

Tempo di Minuet

#### Category 4: Viola da Gamba and ?Harpichord

4:1 [Sonata], C major, not in WKO.

Source: GB-Lu, MS 944/2/1-3, part 1, pp. 30-31.

Edition: none.

Comment: only the gamba part survives, entitled 'F. Abel per il Viol di Gambo', though its style suggests that it comes from an accompanied sonata with obbligato harpsichord rather than one for gamba and bass; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 226-227.

[Allegro]



[Andante]



[Minuet]



#### Category 5: Flute, Viola da Gamba and Bass/Continuo

5:1 Trio, F major, not in WKO.

*Les Suites des trios premières*, pp. 8-9 in each part, no. 4.

Edition: none.

Comment: only the gamba and figured bass parts survive, in a publication said to be '*Pour le VIOLON, VIOLONCELLO, et BASSO*'. From the documents relating to Abel's lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co. in 1773 we know that it was written 'about 10 years ago' (i.e. around

1763) and was originally composed 'for a Flute, Viol di gamba and a Bass'; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226.

Moderato



Andante



Menuetto



**5:2** Trio, G major, not in WKO.

*Les Suites des trios premières*, pp. 9-10 in each part, no. 5.

Edition: none.

Comment: only the gamba and figured bass parts survive, in a publication said to be ‘*Pour le VIOLON, VIOLONCELLO, et BASSO*’. From the documents relating to Abel’s lawsuit against Longman, Lukey and Co. in 1773 we know that it was written ‘about 10 years ago’ (i.e. around 1763) and was originally composed ‘for a Flute, Viol di gamba and a Bass’; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 224-226.

Allegro



Andante



Menuetto



## Category 6: Flute, Violin, Viola da Gamba and Violoncello

### 6:1 Quartet, G major, WKO 227.

Sources: manuscript in the possession of the late Edgar Hunt; D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2, Item 2; D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10.

Editions: Schott, 10190; PRB, CL007.

Comment: the Edgar Hunt and D-B manuscripts preserve independent versions, published respectively by Schott and PRB; the one in D-B, Mus. Ms. Slg. Klg. 2 may derive from a manuscript, now lost, that was offered for sale in Hamburg in 1783 as ‘*Abel*, I Quatuor. Viola da Gamba Fl. Violin & Violoncel G dur’.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the version in D-B, Mus. Ms. 253/10 has a central ‘Cantabile’ described as an insertion (‘Einlage’); it is an arrangement, possibly made by Johann Klingenberg, of 2:10/2; see Holman, *Life after Death*, 227-228. The two-movement version is found as the outer movements of a flute quartet in CZ-Pnm, XXII A7, while the Allegretto also serves as the finale of the string quartet op. 12, no. 6, WKO 72/3.

Allegro Moderato



Cantabile: see 2:10/2

Allegretto



## Category 7: Viola da Gamba, Violin, Viola, Violoncello

### 7:1 Quarteto N: 1, A major, not in WKO.

Source: manuscript parts at A-LA.

Edition: none.

Comment: An arrangement of no. 5 of Abel's *Six Quartettos*, op. 8, WKO 65, with the gamba taking the first violin part down the octave. The part is written in the alto clef, which suggests that the arrangement was not made by Abel himself.

<sup>6</sup> C. F. Cramer, *Magazin der Musik*, i/I (Hamburg, 1783), 283.

Un poco Vivace



Adagio ma non Troppo



Allegro assai



7:2 Quarteto N. 3, B♭ major, not in WKO.

Source: manuscript parts at A-LA.

Edition: none.

Comment: An arrangement of no. 2 of Abel's *Six Quartettos*, op. 8, WKO 62, with the gamba taking the first violin part down the octave. The part is written in the alto clef, which suggests that the arrangement was not made by Abel himself.

Allegro con Spirito



Adagio



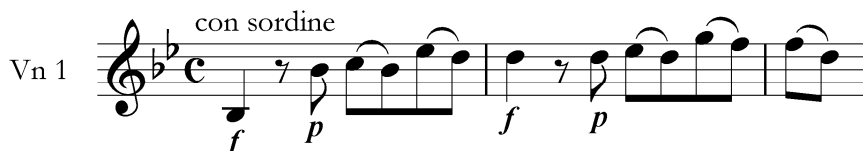
Tempo di Menueto



Category 8:  
Soprano, Viola da Gamba, Two Violins, Viola and Bass/Continuo

- 8:1** 'Frena le belle lagrime', B♭ major, not in WKO.  
Source: *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Sifari*, vol. 1, pp. 2-7.  
Modern edition: Fretwork, FE2.

Cantabile



### Appendix 1: Lost or Unidentified Works

Abel must have composed much more viola da gamba music than has survived. He came to England in the winter of 1758-1759 at the age of 35 or 36, having been employed at the Dresden court for about a decade, and yet no gamba music of his survives from that period, with the possible exception of his early Concerto in B♭ major, WKO 52.<sup>7</sup> It survives in a set of parts, D-B, Mus. Ms. 252/10, with the solo part labelled 'Violoncello Concertato', though the writing is significantly different from Abel's other solo violoncello music, such as the Duet in D major, WKO 228:<sup>8</sup> it is relatively simple and stays in the alto-tenor register, as in Abel's authentic gamba music, only descending to A. Abel is known to have composed gamba concertos: a manuscript of 'Mr. Abel's last solos and concertos, for the viola de gambo' was lot 37 in the first day of the sale of his effects after his death in 1787.<sup>9</sup> He is also known to have played gamba concertos, presumably of his own composition, in a number of London concerts.<sup>10</sup>

Much also must be lost in other genres. Abel was at the centre of London concert life for 25 years, and is known to have participated in more than 400 public concerts during that time, being advertised as playing 'A Solo on the Viola da Gamba' more than 60 times.<sup>11</sup> The advertised concerts must be only a fraction of

<sup>7</sup> Modern editions: C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, ix. 91-110; idem, *Konzert B-dur für Violoncello (Gamba), Streicher und Continuo*, ed. H. Lomnitzer (Wolfenbüttel, 1961). See also Holman, *Life after Death*, 200-201.

<sup>8</sup> Modern editions: C. F. Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xvi. 225-231; idem, *A Duetto for two Violoncellos*, ed. G. von Zadow and L. von Zadow, introduction by P. Holman (Heidelberg, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> S. Roe, 'The Sale Catalogue of Carl Friedrich Abel (1787)', in *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (London, 2008), 105-143, at 131.

<sup>10</sup> Holman, *Life after Death*, 185-187.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 177-179.

the total: announcements for the Bach-Abel concerts never list particular pieces, doubtless many appearances went unrecorded, and his public appearances might well have been equalled by those in private concerts at court and in the houses of the aristocracy. Thus, at a time when novelty was increasingly valued in London's concert life, Abel would have needed a constant supply of new 'solos'; I have argued that these were sonatas for gamba and bass rather than unaccompanied pieces, which seem to have been used for performances in private.<sup>12</sup> Most of Abel's surviving gamba sonatas come from manuscripts once owned by Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke, and seem to have been composed for teaching purposes.<sup>13</sup> Of the hundreds he must have composed for his own use, on presumably a higher technical level, we only have the two 'Prussian' sonatas, 2:7 and 2:8, and possibly 2:9, 2:10, and some or all of the 10 sonatas in the part-autograph manuscript in a private collection, 2:42-51. Evidence of the existence of lost sonatas or solos is provided by the manuscript of 'last solos and concertos, for the viola da gambo' in the sale catalogue of his effects, already mentioned, and a 1794 newspaper advertisement by the London booksellers Evan and Thomas Williams, who offered 'Eighteen Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, for the Viola da Gamba, written by himself, with the appoggiaturas and graces to the adagios, as he played them', and 'Ten Solos, in manuscript, by Abel, of his latest compositions, and which he played himself at the Hanover-square Concerts'.<sup>14</sup>

There is evidence of missing gamba music in two other genres. The 1794 advertisement also offered for sale 'TEN Quartettos, in score, for a Viola da Gamba, Flute, Violin, and Violoncello in Abel's handwriting' and 'Twenty-four Trios, in score, for a Viola da Gamba, Violin, and Violoncello, by Abel, and in his own hand-writing'. Of these, we only have the Quartet in G major 6:1, though it is likely that others survive as conventional flute quartets, and trios for violin, violoncello and bass. Two flute quartets by Abel, in F major WKO 225 and D major WKO 226, were published in *Six Quartettos for a German Flute, Violin, a Tenor, and Bass* (London, 1776),<sup>15</sup> and there are manuscript copies of others, in A-HE, V1c1; CZ-Pnm, XXII A7, A10-12; D-B, Mus. Ms. 250/10; and DK-Kk, mu. 6212.1640 and 6212.1642,<sup>16</sup> most of which are variant versions of Abel's *Second Set of Six Quartettos*, op. 12 (London, 1775).<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the violoncello parts of *Six Sonatas for a Violin, a Violoncello, & Base, with a Thorough Base for the Harpsichord*, op. 9 are likely to have been originally written for gamba,<sup>18</sup> particularly since we have seen that 5:1 and 5:2 were published as trios for violin, violoncello and bass. They are eminently suitable for the gamba, having the overall range *A-d''*, lying mostly in the alto-tenor register, and having no 'cello-like chords. More generally, almost all

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 179-183.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 209-218.

<sup>14</sup> *The Morning Herald*, 3 April 1794.

<sup>15</sup> Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xvi. 238-256.

<sup>16</sup> For full details, see *RISM Series A/II: Music Manuscripts after 1600* <<http://0-web.ebscohost.com>>.

<sup>17</sup> Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xi-xii.

<sup>18</sup> Modern edition: Abel, *Kompositionen*, ed. Knape, xiii.

of Abel's chamber music could be considered as suitable for the gamba, since there is evidence that he played the viola parts of chamber music in concerts at court,<sup>19</sup> and his practice of writing gamba music in the treble clef meant that he (and others accustomed to playing his gamba music now and then) could read any violin or flute part at the lower octave.

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<sup>19</sup> Holman, *Life after Death*, 187-191.

# The *Partiturbuch Ludwig* An Introduction and Thematic Catalogue

MICHAEL FUERST

The *Partiturbuch Ludwig* is a mid-seventeenth-century German manuscript containing a significant repertoire of instrumental ensemble music. It was compiled by Jacob Ludwig (1623-1698), who entered 100 works in full score and presented the bound volume to Duchess Sophie Elisabeth in 1662, on the occasion of the birthday of her aging husband, Duke August of Brunswick and Lüneburg. This important manuscript is housed in the Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel (D-W), where it has the shelfmark Cod.Guelf. 34.7 Aug 2°. This article is intended as a starting point for discussion; it offers a brief introduction to the manuscript as well as a complete thematic catalogue of its contents: both are taken from the author's doctoral dissertation—a study of this very source—which is nearing completion.<sup>1</sup> A full-colour digital facsimile of the manuscript is freely available online, through the Herzog August Bibliothek's digital archive.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript is bound in cardboard and contains 275 numbered pages. Those numbered 1 to 271 contain the music; the final pages, 272 to 275, contain an index titled '*Register Deren Stücke so in diesem Partitur-Buch zu finden*' ('Registry of those pieces to be found in this *Partiturbuch*'), which includes the number, title, scoring, and composer name ('*Incerti*' ('unknown') is used to indicate unattributed pieces). The title-page, from which the name *Partiturbuch* is taken, precedes the music. Its text (and my translation) is as follows:

PARTITUR BUCH. | Voll | Sonaten, Canzonen, Arien, Allemand:  
Cour: | Sarab: Chiquen. etc. | Mitt. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Instrumenten. |  
Der heutiges Tages besten und an Fürstl. | und ander Höffen gebräuchlichsten  
Manier. | Und Fürnehmster Autorum composition, | Mitt Fleiß zusammen  
geschrieben. | und auff des | Durchläuchtigsten Hochgebohrnen | Fürsten und  
Herrn | Herrn | AVGVSTI | Hertzogen zu Braunschweig | Und  
Lüneburg, | Meines Gnädigsten Fürsten und Herrn | Höchst erfreulichem  
Geburts=Tag, | war der 10 Aprilis. | Dero | Hertzliebsten Gemahlin |  
Der | Durchläuchtigsten Hochgebohrnen Fürstin | und Frauen. Frauen |  
SOPHIEN ELISABETHEN | Vermählter | Hertzogin zu  
Braunschweig und Lüne- | burg Gebohrnen Herzogin zu Mecklenburg,  
Fürstin der | Wenden, Gräffin zu Schwerin der Lande Rostock und |  
Stargard Fraüen. | Meiner | Gnädigen Fürstin und Frauen | unterthanigst  
überreicht von | Jacobo Ludovico. F. S. Bestalltem Musico | in Gotha. |  
Anno 1662.

PARTITUR Buch. | filled with | Sonatas, Canzonas, Arias,  
Allemandes Courantes | Sarabandes Chiques. etc. | with | 1. 2. 3.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Jacob Ludwig's *Partitur-Buch* of 1662: A Study of the Source and its Repertoire' (University of Würzburg, in progress).

<sup>2</sup> Direct link: <<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/34-7-aug-2f>>. The manuscript is viewable online and can also be downloaded as a PFD file.

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. instruments | written in today's best manner as in use  
 at princely | and other courts, | and compositions of the finest  
 authors | collected and written with diligence | and on | His  
 Serene Highness, | Prince and Lord, | The Lord | AVGVSTI |  
 Duke of Brunswick | and Lüneburg | my gracious Prince and  
 Lord's | highly joyful birthday, | which was the 10<sup>th</sup> of April, | to  
 his | beloved wife | the | most Serene Highborn Princess | and  
 Lady, Lady | SOPHIE ELISABETH, | by marriage the | Duchess  
 of Brunswick and Lüneburg, | by birth the Duchess of  
 Mecklenburg, Princess of the | Wends, Countess of Schwerin, Lady  
 of the Lands Rostock and | Stargard, | my | Gracious Princess and  
 Lady, | humbly presented by | Jacobo Ludovico, appointed royal  
 Saxon Musician | in Gotha. | Anno 1662.

Ludwig used red and black ink, creating an attractive document for the Wolfenbüttel library of the ducal bibliophiles. However, he also made a considerable number of errors, including the numbering of pages (108 is used twice). Several mistakes in the musical text—such as miscounting rests and copying the wrong part into a line intended for a different instrument—make it clear that he copied from parts. His corrections make use of cartoon hands pointing the way, relabelled lines, and swerving barlines to join together what no longer vertically corresponds. Although the number of errors in numeration does not nearly approach that of the Codex Rost,<sup>3</sup> the adoption of a standardized system that reflects the actual number of works in the manuscript is beneficial. Ludwig gave each individual dance movement its own number, although it is clear from the context that in several instances multi-movement suites were intended; he also erroneously used the numbers 51 and 64 twice.<sup>4</sup> Thus, although Ludwig's numeration goes from 1 to 113, the manuscript contains 100 works (i.e. counting a suite as a single 'work' and correcting erroneously duplicated piece numbers). For clarity, the thematic catalogue below and references to pieces in prose provide the original numeration as well as a modern editorial numeration: the standardized numbering, distinguishable by the use of an arrow, boldface and parentheses, e.g. (→001), is directly followed by Ludwig's original number (without a space).<sup>5</sup> This is followed by the original, uncorrected page number in the catalogue. At first glance, it becomes clear that Ludwig does not count the basso continuo as one of the parts of a piece. He begins with sonatas for violin and continuo (à1 according to him) and consistently increases the number of voices, building up to the Bertali sonata (→094)107 of eight voices (or nine, including the basso continuo), before ending with six pieces for three instruments and basso continuo. Ludwig specified instrumentation in the scores (in the form of

<sup>3</sup> F-Pn, Rés. Vm7 673 olim Vm 1621, Vm 480.

<sup>4</sup> The first piece labelled with number 64 was deleted by Ludwig so that there is no real error in numeration on his part here; however, as it is the Froberger capriccio fragment it merits having its own number for the purposes of discussion and reference.

<sup>5</sup> The notation (→013)25, for example, identifies the thirteenth piece in the collection, originally numbered 25 in the source.

headings) and in the *Register* (where discrepancies occur they have been noted in the catalogue).<sup>6</sup>

The *Partiturbuch Ludwig* was first brought to the attention of modern scholars by Ulrich Konrad. In a 1995 article, he discussed two sonatas in the manuscript attributed to Heinrich Bach, to whom no instrumental ensemble music is otherwise attributed.<sup>7</sup> A year later, in the same journal, Peter Wollny convincingly demonstrated that the sonatas were much more likely to have been written by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer.<sup>8</sup> The *Partiturbuch Ludwig* is particularly tantalizing as a source of unique pieces, but it also offers several concordances with composer attributions not found in other sources. The sonata (→036)51, for example, is attributed to Antonio Bertali, yet the piece is also preserved elsewhere with attributions to William Young and Dieterich Buxtehude.<sup>9</sup> Other attributions to Bertali in the *Partiturbuch* are spurious to say the least, such as the sonata (→013)25 which is found in Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli's print of 1660.<sup>10</sup> Attributions are indeed one of the most intriguing and difficult topics involving this source. For example, the Aria (→028)43 attributed to 'Cæsar: Majest.' appears to have been composed by one of the musical Habsburg emperors, yet Johann Heinrich Schmelzer is given as the composer of the piece in all other concordances. Of particular interest here, is that the reading preserved in Uppsala also gives Schmelzer's title of 'kaysserlicher Hoff Musicus' (imperial court musician) on its title-page,<sup>11</sup> which is remarkably similar to the Latin abbreviation meaning 'imperial majesty' found in the *Partiturbuch*. The *Partiturbuch* is full of attributions that in some instances seem to shed light on problems of attribution but in others serve only to confuse the issue further. Consequently for the purposes of this article, I have standardized composer's names in the catalogue, but I have not made an attempt to indicate or discuss concordances or to correct attributions.<sup>12</sup>

The pieces included in the *Partiturbuch* reflect the music performed at a Thuringian court c.1660. Geographically, the composers represented can be divided into those from Middle Germany and those from the Habsburg court in Vienna, with a few exceptions from North Germany, Poland, England, Italy, and southern German-speaking regions. The most-represented composer from Middle Germany is Andreas Oswald (1634-1665), court organist at Weimar, whose oeuvre is, with only one exception, found completely in the

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<sup>6</sup> Ludwig does not list the basso continuo in the piece headings or in the *Register*; however, for clarity, references to the continuo have been included editorially in the catalogue entries below.

<sup>7</sup> U. Konrad, 'Instrumentalkompositionen von Heinrich Bach (1615-1692)', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 81 (1995), 93-113.

<sup>8</sup> P. Wollny, 'Zum Problem der "Instrumentalkompositionen von Heinrich Bach (1615-1692)" I', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 82 (1996), 155-158.

<sup>9</sup> P. Holman, 'Buxtehude on CD: A Tercentenary Survey', *Early Music*, 35/3 (2007), 385-396, at 396, n. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Op. 3 no. 2, 'La Cesta'.

<sup>11</sup> S-Uu Instr.mus.i.hdskr. 8:6

<sup>12</sup> Questions of attribution and distribution of works form a significant part of my forthcoming dissertation.

*Partiturbuch*.<sup>13</sup> Only the Viennese composer Antonio Bertali has more music attributed to him in this manuscript, although as mentioned above, these attributions do not all hold water. Of particular interest are the pieces by the imperial organist, Johann Jacob Froberger, each of which is a transcription of a keyboard work.<sup>14</sup> One sarabande, (→009)14, and two doubles, (→009)12 and (→009)13, to an already known allemande and courante pair, are unique. The capriccio, (→050)64, scored for viol consort unfortunately remains a fragment of eight bars. It too is a transcription of a known keyboard work, the alternative reading of Capriccio XII.

The catalogue incipits are not intended to be systematic, but rather to aid in the quickest possible identification of pieces while only using two staves. The lower stave always gives the basso continuo: polyphonic if so notated in the source or the lowest sounding part when no basso continuo is included (in the case of the Froberger suites, for example). The upper stave always gives the line of the first instrument to begin, and may include other entries. In general, the clefs used in the incipits are not original.<sup>15</sup> The incipits have been transcribed with a minimum of editorial intervention. Redundant accidentals are given as in the source to avoid editorial natural signs; editorial accidentals have not been added. Only the gravest errors have been pointed out using ‘sic’ or corrected with a clarifying note stating the pitch given in the source. Any subjective judgements used in the making of these incipits will hopefully cause no great confusion.

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<sup>13</sup> A biography of Andreas Oswald by the current author can be found in the liner notes to *Andreas Oswald (1634-1665): Sonatas*. Ensemble Chelycus. Ogm 261035. Organum Classics (2006).

<sup>14</sup> Concordances: (→008): FbWV 628a, gigue from FbWV 612; (→009): FbWV 637, while both doubles and sarabande are unique; (→010): FbWV 603; and (→011): FbWV 611, gigue from FbWV 602.

<sup>15</sup> One reason for this is that Ludwig sometimes changes clefs within a few bars to save the use of ledger lines. Also, having adopted a two-stave system in order to show more than one voice, the use of original clefs ceased to be an option. It is my hope that these incipits will aid the user in navigating the on-line facsimile where all this original information will be available at first hand.

# Catalogue

Incipits are preceded by the following information:

(→**Standardized number**)original item number(s) in source; original page number in source

Attribution in source with standardized spelling: equivocal attributions in italics

Standardized title with key(s)

## Scoring

## Abbreviations

B.c.	Basso continuo
Bn	Dulcian (Bassoon)
Inst.	Instrument(s)
Trom.	Trombone(s)
Va	Viola
Vdg	Viola da gamba
Vdg scor.	Viola da gamba in scordatura
Vdg/Trom.	Viola da gamba or Trombone
Ve	Violone
Vn	Violin
Vn scor.	Violin in scordatura

( $\rightarrow$ **001**) 1; p. 1

Bertali, Antonio

Sonata in A minor

Vn, B.c.



(→002)2; p. 3

Bertali, Antonio

Sonata in D minor

Vn, B.c.



(→003)3; p. 5  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Ciacona in C major  
 Vn, B.c.



(→008)8 (Allemande, Double), 9 (Courante), 10 (Sarabande), 11 (Gigue); p. 23  
 Froberger, Johann Jacob  
 Suite in A minor-C major  
 Vn, Vdg

Allemande



Courante



Sarabande



Gigue



(→009)12 (Allemande, Double), 13 (Courante, Double), 14 (Sarabande); p. 25  
 Froberger, Johann Jacob  
 Suite in G major  
 Vn, Vdg

Allemande



Courante



Sarabande



(→010) 15 (*Chique* [Allemande]), 16 (Courante), 17 (Sarabande); p. 26

Froberger, Johann Jacob

Suite in G major

Vn, Vdg

Allemande



Courante



Sarabande



(→011) 18 (Allemande), 19 (Courante), 20 (Sarabande), 21 (Gigue); p. 27

Froberger, Johann Jacob

Suite in D major-D minor

Vn, Vdg

Allemande



Courante



Sarabande



Gigue



(→012) 22 (Allemande, Double), 23 (Courante, Double), 24 (Sarabande, Double); p. 28

Bernhard, Christoph  
Suite in D minor  
Vn, Vdg

Allemande



Courante



Sarabande



(→013) 25; p. 29  
Bertali, Antonio  
Sonata in A minor  
Vn, B.c.



(→014) 26 (Allemande), 27 (Courante), 28 (Sarabande, Variatio); p. 32  
Anonymous  
Suite in D major  
Vn, Vdg scor. [Gamba part notated in tablature; scordatura not given]

Allemande



Courante



Sarabande



(→015)29 (Allemande and two variations), 30 (Sarabande); p. 33

Briegel, Wolfgang Carl

Suite in D minor on a Ground

Vdg, B.c.

Allemande



Sarabande



(→016)31; p. 34

Herwich, Christian

Ruggiero in G major

Vdg, B.c.



(→017)32; p. 35

Norcombe, Daniel

Aria in G major

Vdg, B.c.



(→018)33; p. 36  
 Briegel, Wolfgang Carl  
 Sonata in A major  
 Vn, B.c.



(→019)34; p. 39  
 Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich  
 Sonata in G major  
 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→020)35; p. 42  
 Nicolai, Johann Michael  
 Sonata in C major  
 Vn, Bn, B.c.



(→021)36; p. 44  
 Nicolai, Johann Michael  
 Sonata in A minor  
 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→022)37; p. 47  
 Capricornus, Samuel  
 Ciacona in D major  
 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→023)38; p. 49  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Sonata in G major  
 2 Vn, B.c.

First system of music for Sonata in G major by Antonio Bertali, measures 38-41. The score is for Violin 1 (Vn 1) and Bassoon (B.c.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The Violin 1 part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Bassoon part provides a harmonic accompaniment with sustained notes and a single sixteenth-note figure in measure 40.

(→024)39; p. 53  
 Anonymous  
 La Calinigna in E minor  
 2 Vn, B.c.

First system of music for La Calinigna in E minor by Anonymous, measures 39-42. The score is for Violin 2 (Vn 2) and Bassoon (B.c.). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is common time (C). The Violin 2 part has a fast, continuous sixteenth-note passage. The Bassoon part has a more static accompaniment with some eighth-note movement.

(→025)40; p. 54  
 Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich  
 Sonata in D minor  
 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

First system of music for Sonata in D minor by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, measures 40-43. The score is for Violin (Vn), Violoncello (Vdg), and Bassoon (B.c.). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is common time (C). The Violin and Violoncello parts play a series of sustained chords. The Bassoon part has a more active line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

(→026)41; p. 57  
 Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich  
 La bella pastora in D minor  
 2 Vn, B.c.

First system of music for La bella pastora in D minor by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, measures 41-44. The score is for Violin 1 (Vn 1), Violin 2 (Vn 2), and Bassoon (B.c.). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is common time (C). The Violin parts play a series of sustained chords. The Bassoon part has a more active line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

(→027)42; p. 61  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Sonata in D minor  
 Vn, Vdg B.c.

(→028)43; p. 64  
*Cesar: Majest.* [as given in the *Register*]  
 Aria in A minor  
 Vn, Vdg B.c.

(→029)44; p. 67  
 Anonymous  
 Sonata in C minor  
 2 Vn, B.c.

(→030)45; p. 68  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Sonata/Aria in A major  
 Vn scor., Vdg B.c.

(→031)46; p. 71  
Hoffmann, Johann  
Sonata in D minor  
2 Vn, B.c.

Handwritten musical score for measures 46 and 47 of Hoffmann's Sonata in D minor. The score is for two violins (Vn 1 and Vn 2) and a basso continuo (B.c.). The key signature is D minor (one flat). The time signature is common time (C). Measure 46 shows Vn 1 playing a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while Vn 2 and B.c. provide harmonic support. Measure 47 continues the melodic development in Vn 1. Fingering numbers (6, 7, 6, 6, 6, 5, 6, 7, 6) are written below the B.c. staff.

(→032)47; p. 72  
Drese, Adam  
Sonata in A minor  
Vn, Vdg, B.c.

Handwritten musical score for measures 47 and 48 of Drese's Sonata in A minor. The score is for a violin (Vn), a viola da gamba (Vdg), and a basso continuo (B.c.). The key signature is A minor (no sharps or flats). The time signature is common time (C). Measure 47 features a melodic line in the Vn. Measure 48 continues the piece. Fingering numbers (4, #) are written below the B.c. staff.

(→033)48; p. 74  
Oswald, Andreas  
Sonata in G major  
Vn, Vdg, B.c.

Handwritten musical score for measures 48 and 49 of Oswald's Sonata in G major. The score is for a violin (Vn), a viola da gamba (Vdg), and a basso continuo (B.c.). The key signature is G major (one sharp). The time signature is common time (C). Measure 48 shows a melodic line in the Vn. Measure 49 continues the piece. Fingering numbers (4, #) are written below the B.c. staff.

(→034)49; p. 76  
Oswald, Andreas  
Sonata in A minor  
2 Vn, B.c.

Handwritten musical score for measures 49 and 50 of Oswald's Sonata in A minor. The score is for two violins (Vn 1 and Vn 2) and a basso continuo (B.c.). The key signature is A minor (no sharps or flats). The time signature is common time (C). Measure 49 shows Vn 1 playing a melodic line. Measure 50 continues the piece. Fingering numbers (4, #) are written below the B.c. staff.

(→035)50; p. 79

*Sign: Schampon*

Sonata in A minor

Vn, Vdg. B.c.



(→036)51; p. 80

Bertali, Antonio

Sonata in D minor

Vn, Vdg. B.c.



(→037)51; p. 81

*Cujusdam Eunuchi* (of a certain castrato)[Anonymous in *Register*]

Sonata in A minor

2 Vn, B.c.



(→038)52; p. 85

Oswald, Andreas

Sonata in A minor

Vn, Vdg/Trom., B.c.



(→039)53; p. 87

Herwich, Christian

Sonata in A minor [fragment: piece breaks off after 86 bars]

Vn, Vdg. B.c. [Vdg/Bn. in *Register*]



(→040)54; p. 88  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Aria in D minor  
 2 Vn, B.c.



(→041)55; p. 91  
 Drese, Adam  
 Sonata in A minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→042)56; p. 93  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Canzone in D minor [Sonata in *Register*]  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→043)57; p. 96  
 Anonymous  
 Sonata in E minor  
 2 Vn, Bn, B.c.



(→044)58; p. 98  
 Valentini, Giovanni  
 Sonata in C major  
 2 Vn, Va, B.c.



The musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is presented in two systems. The first system consists of a vocal line (Vn, Va) and a bass line (B.c., Vdg). The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The bass line is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The second system continues the vocal line and adds a bass line with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The vocal line features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass line provides a simple harmonic accompaniment. The piece concludes with a final chord in the bass line.

Violin 1 (Vn 1) and Bassoon (B.c.) staves. The Violin 1 staff is in treble clef, and the Bassoon staff is in bass clef. Both are in common time (C). The music features a melody in the Violin 1 part and a supporting line in the Bassoon part.

Vn.  
 Trom.  
 Bn.  
 B.c.

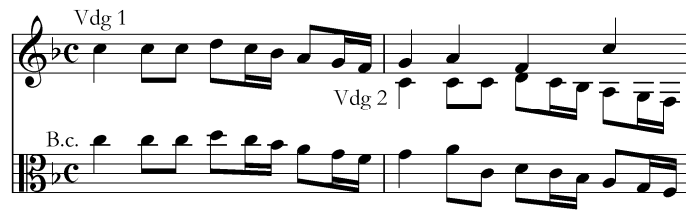
6  
 #

#

(→049)63; p. 110  
 Anonymous  
 Ciacona in C major  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→050)64; p. 112  
 Froberger, Johann Jacob  
 Capriccio in F major [fragment: piece breaks off after eight bars and is crossed out] [Not listed in *Register*]  
 3 Vdg, B.c.



(→051)64; p. 113  
 Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich  
 Sonata in D minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→052)65; p. 116  
 Herwich, Christian  
 Sonata 'La Chilana' in D minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.



(→053)66; p. 118  
 Anonymous  
 Ciacona in C major  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

(→054)67; p. 120  
 Arnold, Gregor  
 Canzone in G major  
 2 Vn, Bn, B.c.

(→055)68; p. 121  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Sonata in G major  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

(→056)69; p. 124  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Sonata in D minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

(→057)70; p. 128  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Sonata in F major  
 Vn., Trom., Vdg, B.c.

(→058)71; p. 131  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Sonata in C major  
 Vn, Trom., Bn, B.c.

First system of the musical score for measures 6-8. The top staff is for Violin (Vn.) and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.). Measure 6: Vn. has a half note G4, B.c. has a half note C3. Measure 7: Vn. has a half note A4, B.c. has a half note D3. Measure 8: Vn. has a half note G4, B.c. has a half note E3. Fingerings are indicated below the B.c. staff: 6, 7, 8, 4, 3.

(→059)72; p. 133  
*Mometschki*  
 Aria in E minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

First system of the musical score for measures 1-3. The top staff is for Violin 1 (Vn 1) and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.). Measure 1: Vn 1 has a half note E4, B.c. has a half note E3. Measure 2: Vn 1 has a half note F#4, B.c. has a half note F#3. Measure 3: Vn 1 has a half note G4, B.c. has a half note G3. Fingerings are indicated below the B.c. staff: #, #, 4, #.

(→060)73; p. 136  
 Anonymous  
 Canzone in G major  
 2 Vn, Bn, B.c.

First system of the musical score for measures 1-3. The top staff is for Violin 1 (Vn 1) and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.). Measure 1: Vn 1 has a half note G4, B.c. has a half note G3. Measure 2: Vn 1 has a half note A4, B.c. has a half note A3. Measure 3: Vn 1 has a half note B4, B.c. has a half note B3. Fingerings are indicated below the B.c. staff: 6, 6, 6, 5, 6, 6, #, 6.

(→061)74; p. 137  
 Pohle, David  
 Sonata in G major  
 2 Vn, Va, B.c.

First system of the musical score for measures 1-3. The top staff is for Violin 1 (Vn 1) and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.). Measure 1: Vn 1 has a half note G4, B.c. has a half note G3. Measure 2: Vn 1 has a half note A4, B.c. has a half note A3. Measure 3: Vn 1 has a half note B4, B.c. has a half note B3. Fingerings are indicated below the B.c. staff: 4, #.

(→062)75; p. 140  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Sonata in A minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

(→063)76; p. 142  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Sonata in D minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, Ve, B.c.

(→064)77; p. 149  
 Arnold Gregor  
 Canzone in G major  
 2 Vn, Va, Va bastarda, B.c. [2 Vn, Va, Ve, B.c. in *Register*]

(→065)78; p. 152  
 Anonymous  
 Sonata in A minor  
 2 Vn, Va, Bn/Ve, B.c.

(→066)79; p. 154  
Pohle, David  
Sonata in D minor  
2 Vn, Va, Ve, B.c.



(→067)80; p. 157  
Bertali, Antonio  
Sonata in F major  
4/5 Inst., B.c. (Ve optional)



(→068)81; p. 160  
Oswald, Andreas  
Sonata in D major  
Vn, 2 Va, Bn, B.c.



(→069)82; p. 164  
Pohle, David  
Sonata in C major  
2 Vn, Vdg, Ve, B.c.



(→070)83; p. 167  
Nicolai, Johann Michael  
Sonata in C major  
2 Vn, Vdg, Bn, B.c.



(→071)84; p. 170  
*Clementis*  
 Sonata in D minor  
 2 Vn, Vdg, Ve, B.c.

First system of the musical score for Sonata in D minor by Clementis, measures 84-85. The top staff is for Violin 1 (Vn 1) in treble clef, and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.) in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is common time (C). The Vn 1 staff shows a melodic line with a trill on the second measure of measure 85, marked with a bracket and the word "[sic]". The B.c. staff provides a harmonic accompaniment. Fingering numbers 6, 6, 4, #, # are indicated below the B.c. staff for measures 84 and 85.

(→072)85; p. 172  
 Anonymous  
 Fuga in G major  
 4 Vdg, B.c.

First system of the musical score for Fuga in G major by Anonymous, measures 85-86. The top staff is for Violoncello (Vdg 1) in treble clef, and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.) in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The Vdg 1 staff features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The B.c. staff provides a harmonic accompaniment. Fingering numbers 6 and 6 are indicated below the B.c. staff for measures 85 and 86.

(→073)86; p. 174  
 Anonymous  
 Canzone in C major  
 Vn, 2 Va, Ve, B.c.

First system of the musical score for Canzone in C major by Anonymous, measures 86-87. The top staff is for Violin (Vn) in treble clef, and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.) in bass clef. The key signature has no sharps or flats (C major), and the time signature is common time (C). The Vn staff shows a melodic line with a trill on the second measure of measure 87. The B.c. staff provides a harmonic accompaniment. Fingering numbers 6, b, #, and 6 are indicated below the B.c. staff for measures 86 and 87.

(→074)87; p. 177  
 Anonymous  
 Sonata in F major  
 2 Vn, Vdg, Ve/Bn, B.c.

First system of the musical score for Sonata in F major by Anonymous, measures 87-88. The top staff is for Violin 1 (Vn 1) in treble clef, and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (B.c.) in bass clef. The key signature has two flats (Bb and Eb), and the time signature is common time (C). The Vn 1 staff shows a melodic line with a trill on the second measure of measure 88. The B.c. staff provides a harmonic accompaniment. Fingering numbers 6 and 6 are indicated below the B.c. staff for measures 87 and 88.

(→075)88; p. 179  
 Anonymous  
 Sonata in E minor  
 2 Vn, Trom., Bn, B.c.



(→076)89; p. 182  
 Anonymous  
 Canzone in C major  
 5 Inst., B.c.



(→077)90; p. 183  
 Bertali, Antonio  
 Sonata in G minor  
 4 Vn, Va, B.c.



(→078)91; p. 185  
 Anonymous  
 Canzone in A minor [Sonata in *Register*]  
 2 Vn, 2 Va, Bn/Ve, B.c.



(→079)92; p. 186  
 Bach, Heinrich  
 Sonata in C major  
 2 Vn, 2 Va, Ve, B.c.

(→080)93; p. 188  
 Bach, Heinrich  
 Sonata in F major  
 2 Vn, 2 Va, Ve, B.c.

(→081)94; p. 190  
 Anonymous  
 Sonata in C major  
 3 Vn, Va, Ve, B.c.

(→082)95; p. 192  
 Valentini, Giovanni  
 Sonata in G minor  
 5 Inst., Ve, B.c. [Ve optional]

(→083)96; p. 195  
 Anonymous  
 Sonata in A minor  
 2 Vn, 2 Va, Bn, B.c.

(→084)97; p. 197

Anonymous

Sonata in G minor

2 Vn, 3 Va, Bass Ve, B.c. [Ve optional]



(→085)98; p. 199

Bertali, Antonio

Sonata in D minor

2 Vn, 2 Va, Vdg, B.c.



(→086)99; p. 203

Valentini, Giovanni

Sonata in G minor

2 Vn, 2 Va, Bn, B.c.



(→087)100; p. 206

Bertali, Antonio

Sonata in D minor

6 Inst., B.c. [2 Vn, 3 Va, Ve, B.c. in *Register*]



(→088)101; p. 210

Bertali, Antonio

Sonata in E minor

6 Inst., B.c. [2 Vn, 3 Va, Ve, B.c. in *Register*]



(→089)102; p. 214

Drese, Adam

Sonata in C major

2 Cornettini/Pochettes, 2 Cornetti/Vn, 2 Trom./Vdg, B.c.

Musical score for Cornettino/Pochette 1 (treble clef) and B.c. (bass clef). The key signature is C major, and the time signature is common time (C). The Cornettino part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The B.c. part provides a harmonic accompaniment with a bass line including fingerings 6 5, 4 #, 6 5, 6, and 6.

(→090)103; p. 219

Nicolai, Johann Michael

Sonata in A minor

6 Inst., B.c. [one of the lines labelled Ve][2 Vn, 3 Va, Ve, B.c. in *Register*]

Musical score for Inst. 3 (treble clef) and B.c. (bass clef). The key signature is A minor, and the time signature is common time (C). The Inst. 3 part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The B.c. part provides a harmonic accompaniment with a bass line including fingerings # 6 7 6 # b # # b 4 3.

(→091)104; p. 225

Anonymous

Sonata in C major

6 Inst., B.c. [2 Vn/Cornetti, 3 Trom., Bn, B.c. in *Register*; *quart fagott* specified]

Musical score for Vn 1 (treble clef) and B.c. (bass clef). The key signature is C major, and the time signature is common time (C). The Vn 1 part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The B.c. part provides a harmonic accompaniment with a bass line including fingerings 4 and #.

(→092)105; p. 230

Piscator, Georg

Sonata in A minor

2 Cornetti, 2 Vn, 3 Trom., B.c.

Musical score for Cornetto 1 (treble clef), Cornetto 2 (bass clef), and B.c. (bass clef). The key signature is A minor, and the time signature is common time (C). The Cornetto 1 part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Cornetto 2 part provides a harmonic accompaniment with a bass line including fingerings 4 and #.

Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich  
Sonata tubicinum in D major  
2 Vn, 4 Va, Ve, B.c.

Bertali, Antonio  
Sonata in A minor  
3 Vn, 4 Trom., Ve/Bn, B.c.

Bertali, Antonio  
Sonata in G major  
2 Vn, Bn, B.c.

Oswald, Andreas  
Sonata in D major  
Vn, Trom., Bn, B.c.

Herwich, Christian  
Aria in G major  
2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

(→098)111; p. 261  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Sonata in D major  
 Vn, Trom., Bn, B.c.

(→099)112; p. 264  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Sonata in D major  
 2 Vn, Vdg, B.c.

(→100)113; p. 266  
 Oswald, Andreas  
 Sonata in E minor  
 Vn, Trom., Vdg, B.c.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### The Baryton and its Music

JEREMY BROOKER

Carol A. Gartrell, *A History of the Baryton and its Music: King of Instruments, Instrument of Kings* (Lanham, Maryland, 2009). ISBN 978-0-81086-917-2; pp. 304, illustrated; £95.

The bicentenary of Haydn's death in 2009 provided a natural opportunity to re-evaluate some of his less familiar works. Prominent amongst these must surely be the extensive repertoire of baryton music created to satisfy the voracious demands of his aristocratic patron, Prince Nikolaus Esterházy. Papa Haydn wrote more baryton trios in little more than a decade than he managed either string quartets or symphonies in a lifetime, making 2009 a bumper year of opportunity for baryton players the world over and a focus for some significant publishing activity.

Works with baryton account for six volumes of the Haydn complete edition; volumes which, as John Hsu has observed, and are often to be found pristine and virtually unopened at the far end of the library shelf. Though these have been available for over thirty years, the absence of either performance material or comprehensive recordings has made this music relatively inaccessible. This is a pity because amongst these charming *divertimenti* lie some of Haydn's most exuberant and profound music.

The bicentenary saw a marked improvement in this situation with the welcome commencement of Edition Güntersberg's new performance edition (sensibly providing alternative instrumentation options) and the completion of the Esterházy Baryton Ensemble's ambitious project to record not only Haydn's surviving baryton music but somewhat bizarrely even the incipits of his lost works.

Of course, there is more to the story of the baryton than its more familiar manifestation in the hands of Haydn and his contemporaries. Fine though this music is, it makes relatively modest technical demands on the performer and the thumb-plucked notes which define its unique identity as a self-accompanying instrument are used sparingly if at all. The sheer quality of this repertoire has tended to overshadow a much richer history which stretches from lyra viol performers like John Jenkins and Dietrich Stoeffken in the early seventeenth century to a final flowering in Italianate love songs of the early

nineteenth century, and which continues to attract devotees to the present day. Though the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are relatively poorly documented, there is enough evidence to suggest near continuous use for almost four centuries.

There is a fairly extensive literature surrounding the baryton and its music, if you know where to look for it, but until now this information has been scattered and sometimes difficult to locate. The publication of Carol A. Gartrell's new history of the instrument will therefore be greeted with great enthusiasm by both aficionados and those who are new to this intriguing and enigmatic musical survivor.

Here, I must express a personal interest in this project. Like a number of other barytonists, I was first introduced to the wider history of the instrument though Dr Gartrell's pioneering Ph.D. thesis written in 1983.<sup>1</sup> This provided an overview of historical developments, details of surviving instruments, transcriptions and a thematic index and, although the thematic index is now sadly omitted, the present volume is essentially an updating of this earlier work. It was therefore with great anticipation that I received a copy for review, knowing that it is a labour of love representing the fruit of over thirty years' research.

As Dr Gartrell explains, the book was to have been a collaboration with the late Terrence M. Pamplin, a true enthusiast for the baryton well known to members of this society. Terry had completed his own Ph.D. thesis on the history and construction of the baroque baryton in 2000 under Dr Gartrell's supervision<sup>2</sup> and it seemed natural to combine their talents to create 'a single, definitive publication on the baryton'. This volume is touchingly dedicated to his memory.

The book falls into three sections: a 112-page chronological survey of the baryton's evolution; a partially illustrated 28-page inventory of antique barytons; and a 118-page inventory of extant baryton manuscripts, generously illustrated with transcriptions of 24 complete works representing the whole spectrum of historical baryton music.

In truth, there is very little new information in this volume. It is largely built on Gartrell's earlier work, supplemented through important researches by Pamplin, Fred Flässig, Robert Rawson, Marc Strümpfer, Tim Crawford, *et al.*, to portray both the extent and the limits of existing knowledge. As Dr Gartrell makes clear from the outset, the lack of firm evidence still makes much of the baryton's history conjectural, based on intriguing connections between

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Baryton: The Instrument and its Music', Ph.D. thesis (University of Surrey, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> 'The Baryton in the Seventeenth Century, from its Origins at the English Court of James I', Ph.D. thesis (Kingston University, 2000).

seemingly disconnected fragments of information. She has identified 49 surviving historical instruments and 20 manuscript collections as well a plethora of anecdotes and other documentary evidence. Links between these various sources are often tenuous at best, and it is clear that many crucial pieces of the jigsaw are still missing. There is no attempt to conceal this, but it does make for a slightly unsatisfactory narrative. For example, a discussion of a large body of mid-eighteenth century manuscripts located at Schlägl in upper Austria asks: 'Who were these works written by? When were they written? Do they constitute another center of baryton development? Who is responsible for this growth? Is there a princely connection? Does this constitute the true line of the evolution of the baryton? And what prompted this resurgence at a time when the viol family was in decline?' (p. 90). Approximate answers to the first two are provided readily enough, but the more intriguing questions prove largely unanswerable.

The main thrust of the book is to correct what Gartrell sees as a skewed perception of the baryton, created by the dominance of the Classical repertoire in modern times. She argues that limited use of the plucked manual, and the high pitch of the plucked strings in relation to the bowed strings, sets the Classical baryton apart from the main line of evolution of the instrument. For Haydn and his contemporaries, the delicate plucked strings belong to a world of musical clocks and automata, or to novel effect stops found on keyboard instruments. The effectiveness of these is perhaps diminished by excessive use, offering an occasional novel tone colour rather than an independent musical voice.

While I would agree that the Classical repertoire stands apart from other music for the instrument, this interpretation does encourage a somewhat partisan approach. The Classical composers may not have explored the full potential of the instrument's plucked manual, but surely it is overstating the case to speak of disregarding the baryton's 'true lineage' or describing it as 'a mere shadow of its former self'? Gartrell is similarly dismissive of the first generation of distinguished baryton players after the Second World War who re-invented the baryton as a fretless instrument played with endpin and vibrato. This she wittily dubs the 'cellyton', in the spirit of Thurston Dart's 'cellamba'.<sup>3</sup> Such instruments were far from the antique models on which they were purportedly based but the fine musicianship of pioneering artist like Janos Liebner and Riki Gerardy deserves more serious consideration. Perhaps the apparent continuity of baryton playing conceals a more significant truth; that the baryton is an instrument which never achieved a standardized form, but which has constantly been reinvented by generations of viol players, and later cellists, who were intrigued to explore its possibilities *within the musical context of their own*

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<sup>3</sup> T. Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (London, 1954), 32-33.

*times*. The baryton then is not *an* instrument but a *series* of instruments. By this reading, the Classical baryton and the ‘cellyton’ are not aberrations, but manifestations of a constant process of reinvention. A telling account not included by Gartrell illustrates this point. The nineteenth-century cellist Sebastien Ludwig Friedl took up the baryton at the request of his wealthy patron, King Maximilian of Bayern, who presented him with an antique instrument elaborately decorated with allegorical scenes and inset with precious stones. His later attempts to ‘modernize’ this instrument to suit current musical tastes left the neck so wide that it was almost impossible to play, and led to frequent structural breakages because of the strain of adding so many strings. It would seem his attempts to extend the musical range of the baryton to satisfy his requirements had pushed it to the very limits of its capabilities, and perhaps offer a suggestion why the instrument fell out of favour in the later nineteenth century.

Building on the work of Pamplin, Crawford and Peter Holman, Dr Gartrell argues strongly for the baryton’s English origin. The evidence is still somewhat circumstantial, but is highly suggestive. The appearance of the theorbo in England in 1605, an interest in contrasting instrumental timbres as explored through the mixed consort, experiments in wire-strung basses such as the bandora and the general climate of experimentation in instrument making in England noted by Kircher are all explored in some detail. Various contenders are put forward as possible inventors of the instrument, though again without the final telling piece of evidence. The first unequivocal reference to the baryton remains an account of Walter Rowe at Brandenburg in 1641, and the assertion that the baryton ‘must have been invented in the English court in the first decade of the seventeenth century’ and probably ‘before 1608/9’ (the date of a document related to the addition of sympathetic strings to a viol) is still only conjectural.

Subsequent chapters describe the emergence of the baryton as a solo, self-accompanying instrument in the seventeenth century, the suites for ‘viola bariton’ with viola da gamba by Gottfried Finger (based on research by Robert Rawson and Fred Flässig), the use of the baryton at the Vienna Hofkapelle (after Marc Strümpfer), in the court of Nikolaus Esterházy and in the hands of Hauschka and Freidl in the nineteenth century. The study concludes with a brief account of the revival of the baryton in the twentieth century. In addition to addressing the primary evidence, there is much useful background information and interesting speculation along the way and Gartrell succeeds in making this a most entertaining and intriguing read. Complex webs emerge linking many of the key players, perhaps underlining the fact that while the continuity of the baryton concept gives the illusion of a self-contained narrative, it is more helpful to regard it as part of a series of distinct historical contexts.

It is a pity that the book makes only brief reference to the revival of the baryton in modern times, especially the period since the 1980s, since it is surely the longevity of the baryton which makes its story so remarkable. Gartrell concludes that interest in the baryton reflected in literature from the early twentieth century was not matched by serious attempts to revive playing techniques: ‘the revival of the baryton related exclusively to historical and organological research’ (pp. 108-109). Aside from the question whether research can in itself be considered a ‘revival’, can we be certain to what extent these pioneering researchers were also engaged in practical music making? As Gartrell recounts, there were a few instruments built at around this time, notably the instrument by Max Moeckel (1911) built for Daniel Fryklund which is illustrated in her book, and we have little evidence regarding the extent of Fryklund’s musical aspirations. Another pioneering figure, this time unmentioned by Gartrell, is the Hungarian Béla Csuka (1893-1957). I have an un-sourced newspaper photograph of him playing a ‘cellyton’, apparently c.1938. The jury is still out, but it seems plausible that the revival of interest in the baryton as a musical instrument rather than as a museum piece extends back further than suggested here, to 1910 or even earlier.

Although always likely to remain something of a rarity, I would hazard a guess that there are more active baryton players today than at any time in the instrument’s history. By no means all these players confine themselves to Haydn or even to authentic historical performance and there is a growing repertoire of contemporary music. To mention a few, Sándor Veress (Swiss-Hungarian), Eero Hämeenniemi (Finland), Klaus Huber (Switzerland), Stephen Dodgson (UK) and David Loeb (USA) have all written at least one substantial work featuring the baryton. An important pioneer of this revival, Oliver Brookes, has continued the tradition of the player-composer with an impressive back catalogue of self-penned baryton works. To reflect the full history of the baryton, as the title suggests, it would be necessary to bring the story up to date and engage more directly with these recent developments.

Along the way, Gartrell is able to dispel a number of recurrent myths. The baryton is not synonymous with Vivaldi’s *viola all’inglese*, nor with the eighteenth-century *gambetta* or *gambetta Inglese*. The notion that the baryton developed into a fretless instrument in the eighteenth century, first elaborated by Gartrell herself,<sup>4</sup> is now moderated though not entirely abandoned. Her conclusion that ‘frets are ... an integral feature of many of the classical barytons, appearing on all but a few examples’ (p. 104) is based only on the current state of museum instruments and seems to me somewhat dubious.

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<sup>4</sup> For example, see C. Gartrell, ‘The Origins and Development of the Baryton’, *Chelys*, 11 (1982), 4-7, especially 6.

Some well-established errors have also crept into the text and should be addressed. Gartrell twice refers to the cantata *Deutschlands Klage auf den Tod des grossen Friedrichs*, whose former attribution to Haydn has now been corrected in favour of the horn and baryton virtuoso Karl Franz.<sup>5</sup> There is also the repetition of a mistake first introduced by Pamplin, who claimed there were four, and not three, works for the 3-manual baryton in the Kassel manuscript; a trivial correction, you might think, but since there is only one other known piece for the instrument a statistically significant error! The cellist Félix Battanchon (1814-1893) is cited as having revived the baryton in 1846, a myth perpetuated even in *GMO*.<sup>6</sup> This turns out to be a confusion of terminology, as pointed out by the Swedish researcher and collector Daniel Fryklund as early as 1922.<sup>7</sup> Battanchon devised a small-sized cello tuned an octave below the violin, and unfortunately chose to call it a baryton.

The text also introduces a few new controversies. Pamplin's assertions that the baroque baryton was directly related to the mixed consort and that the third manual of the early Baroque baryton somehow relates to high tessitura of plucked strings found in the Classical repertoire are wisely treated as attractive but speculative theories. Elsewhere there is a degree of certainty which may be unfounded. There is an assumption that the Finger suites would have had a continuo part in addition to the baryton and viola da gamba; a possibility, perhaps, but by no means a certainty. On a more technical point, it is assumed in discussion of works in tablature that the top string is tuned to *d'*. This is often a useful convention, but in this case the only unequivocal evidence—the Finger suites with viola da gamba, the description by James Talbot (GB-Och, Mus. 1,187, probably written c.1690-1700) and the introduction to Johann Georg Krause's *IX. Partien auf die Viola Paradon* (before 1704)—suggests this should be a third higher. In the transcribed works found in Gallery 2, Tomasini's *Divertimento Notturmo* is described as making no use of the plucked manual. Though unnumbered, comparisons with other works of the period make it self-evident that parts of this (the first notes of bb. 1-3, for example) are intended for thumb plucked basses; the only such examples found amongst this composer's output. Similarly, the aria by Ariosti reproduced on pp. 193-195 must surely have intended at least part of the continuo line to be played on the thumb plucked basses; a possibility mentioned in the text but not in the transcription. On a more self-interested note, I might add that a 'satisfactory design solution' for the 3-manual has indeed been found through the artistry and ingenuity of Shem Mackey (referred to in the text as 'Mackie'), from whom I commissioned just such an instrument in 2000.

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<sup>5</sup> See S. Gerlach, "‘Deutschlands Klage...’: Eine Haydn unterschobene Kantate auf den Tod Friedrichs des Großen", *Haydn-Studien*, 8/1 (2000), 39-62.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Sadie and T. M. Pamplin, 'Baryton [bariton, barydon, paradon, paridon, pariton, viola di bardone, viola di bordone] (i)', *GMO* (accessed 4 December 2010).

<sup>7</sup> 'Viola di bardone', *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning* (1922), 129-152.

In passing, I should note that there are also a substantial number of significant typographic errors. Amongst these, Krause's baryton is credited with 'six plus eight' strings instead of 6+18 (p. 35); Finger's viola bariton becomes a 'viola da baryton' (p. 45); Finger's crucial instruction to the viola da gamba player 'Con violit 2[a] volta' has been replaced by the meaningless 'Con violit 2 violit' (p. 46); in musical example 5.2, the first 4 bars are attributed to the bowed strings—a physical impossibility since the bow has already been laid aside to access the third manual 'violit' strings;<sup>8</sup> Hauschka has become 'probably the first of the famous baryton players' rather than perhaps the last (p. 100); a defining feature of the baroque baryton is said to be 'the addition of an internal plucked wire strung accompanying instrument' (p. 103) when surely 'integral' would be more accurate.

The Inventory of Antique Instruments which follows the main text is a revised and updated version of Gartrell's earlier inventory published in the *Galpin Society Journal*.<sup>9</sup> I leave it for organologists and instrument makers to comment on its usefulness to specialists, but there are certainly some handsome photographic illustrations to interest the layman. It is a pity that production costs prohibited a more comprehensive set of images, perhaps even in colour. Nevertheless, they provide a useful cross-section of surviving instrument types. In one or two cases the images have suffered in reproduction. A photograph of the intriguing [Henry] Jaye viol from 1615, thought by the author to have been adapted from an early baryton, appears as little more than a silhouette in the two copies I have seen. It would also have been useful to have alternative views of a few more instruments, as with the eighteenth-century Joseph Neuner baryton shown on p. 131.

The final section of the book is an inventory of surviving baryton manuscripts illustrated with editions of selected works, and as a player this was the section I found most problematic. Presumably the idea is to provide a cross-section of the available repertoire, but for whom? As a performer, the inclusion of a single work would merely whet my appetite for more, and there is no accompanying information about tuning which might inform decisions when commissioning a new instrument.

Obsolete c-clefs are preserved for the singers, and yet Finger's scordatura notation for the viola bariton has been transcribed to concert pitch without comment. The works in tablature contain no contiguous instructions on tuning for either manual, and would surely have benefitted from a parallel transcription into staff notation. For scholars, many of these works are already available. The arias from the Vienna Hofkapelle reproduced here have recently

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<sup>8</sup> See J. Brooker, "Like two instruments at once": The Origins and Playing Techniques of the 3-Manual Baryton', *The Consort*, 59 (2003), 16-36.

<sup>9</sup> 'Towards an Inventory of Antique Barytons', *Galpin Society Journal*, 56 (2003), 116-131.

been published through the Peacock Press in modern editions edited by Gartrell herself, and are anyway to be found in Marc Strümpfer's Ph.D. thesis.<sup>10</sup> There is also no scholarly apparatus recording alterations or ambiguities in the original manuscripts of the sort customarily provided in modern editions. Most worryingly of all, the transcriptions are littered with errors. It is beyond the scope of this review to enumerate these in detail, but sufficient to say that 'Transcription 3 (described as 'Anonymous Dance 6v from the Kassel Manuscript' but almost certainly by Walter Rowe) contains no fewer than twenty transcription errors in a piece lasting little more than two minutes in performance.

This book is an important contribution to the baryton not because it offers much to the serious researcher but as an introduction to viol players and others who are curious to know more about this extraordinary instrument. That there is need of such information is clear from the number of enquiries I receive. Most want to know something about the history of the instrument, the location and provenance of models to copy, or perhaps to be reassured that there is worthwhile music to play. This book amply fulfils this brief. However, there is also a feeling that this is a missed opportunity. It seems doubtful whether another book on the subject will be written and by casting its net so wide, this publication fails in some respects. There is undoubtedly a demand for a comprehensive book on baryton construction with high quality illustrations and working drawings. Perhaps there is also need of a method book to guide aspiring viol players and cellists wishing to tackle this demanding instrument. The information offered in Chapter 4 clearly falls far short of a practical treatise. Advice drawn from Krause's prefatory notes to amateur players is of the most rudimentary nature, advising against impeding mobility of the thumb by pressing the fingers too firmly and avoiding plucking the bass strings so loudly as to create unpleasant and unintended noises, while offering general advice (equally applicable to any other string instrument) regarding the use of the bow and basic posture. The baryton offers difficulties aplenty, and the claim that any competent seventeenth-century viol or lute player might easily master the instrument raised an eyebrow or two in this neck of the woods. A viol player can rapidly learn to play the baryton well enough to play Haydn and the other Esterhazy composers, and many have; mastering the various self-accompanied repertoires presents challenges of an entirely different order of magnitude.

These difficulties lie in the asymmetrical construction of the instrument, the compromise between ideal finger placement and access to the plucked strings, the general difficulty of locating descending figures and controlling the tone quality of the plucked notes, to name a few. An awareness of these issues

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<sup>10</sup> 'Die Viola da gamba am Österreichischen Kaiserhof', Ph.D. thesis (Vienna, 2001).

might well influence choices made when an instrument was being commissioned and before committing to irreparable design decisions. Another important omission is a clear exposition of the complex issues surrounding different tunings found in the various manuscripts. This becomes highly technical and would be of little interest to the casual reader, but is of vital significance to potential players. This is a very welcome publication which I feel sure will attract many new baryton enthusiasts but is perhaps not the definitive and comprehensive statement its author intends.

# Restoration Music Theory

ALAN HOWARD

*John Birchensha: Writings on Music*, ed. Christopher D. S. Field and Benjamin Wardhaugh, *Music Theory in Britain, 1500-1700: Critical Editions* (Farnham, Surrey, 2010). ISBN 978-0-7546-6213 6; pp. 331, illustrated; £65.

John Birchensha has always appeared a somewhat shadowy figure of Restoration musical life: one of those names encountered frequently on the periphery of elite musical culture whose status and renown, to judge from the language used by his contemporaries, were considerably greater in his own day than they are now. A name, indeed, whose very pronunciation is apt to reduce the uninitiated to furtive mumblings, though once understood it makes perfect sense as a phonetic spelling of that most often rendered today as 'Berkinshaw', especially given either or both of his likely family origins in Yorkshire, and youth spent (according to Anthony Wood) in Ireland in the service of George FitzGerald, sixteenth Earl of Kildare (pp. 4-7). In this, the latest in Ashgate's useful series of English theoretical texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Field and Wardhaugh present something akin to Birchensha's *oeuvres completes*. The result represents not only a comprehensive collection of Birchensha's writings, but also a fascinating account, both through those writings and the editors' extensive and sensitive commentary upon them, of the career and personality of this 'rare artist' (the description is Evelyn's; p. 19).

By far the longest of these texts is the autograph 'Compendious Discourse of the Principles of the Practicall & Mathematicall Partes of Musick' (chapter 3), written probably in 1664-1665 (as the editors conclude) for the use of the natural philosopher Robert Boyle and now among the papers of the Royal Society. Along with William Brouncker, the mathematician John Pell, and Samuel Pepys's patron the Earl of Sandwich, Boyle was a member of the committee set up by the Royal Society in April 1664 to investigate Birchensha's work, and the editors suggest that the 'Compendious Discourse' may have been produced in connection with these investigations (pp. 17, 94). This seems a plausible inference; indeed, the history of Birchensha's protracted dealings with the Royal Society and their encouragement of his ambitions for publication is one of the most intriguing stories to emerge from the pages of this edition. It is also, no doubt, one of the principal reasons why we know so much about his ideas despite the fact that his projected *magnum opus*, the treatise *Syntagma Musicae* which he advertised in the 1672 'Animadversion' edited here in chapter 5, was fated never to appear.

The Society's interest may well have been piqued by the appearance of Birchensha's translation of Book 20 of Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Encyclopaedia*, under the title *Templum Musicum: Or the Musical Synopsis* (London, 1664). Field and Wardhaugh edit Birchensha's dedicatory epistle and preface, together with a short preceding verse, as chapter 1. The translation itself is not included, presumably on the grounds (apart from its length) that it was not Birchensha's own 'original' work, though this concept is a problematic one for this period.

The writer's debt to Alsted is, however, frequently and helpfully explained in the notes to other chapters, such that the importance of this undertaking to his development as a theorist is more than adequately acknowledged.

Birchensha's subsequent dealings with the Royal Society form a narrative backbone to the first seven chapters of the edition. The members of the Society seem to have been enthused by the idea that Birchensha might ultimately deliver on his promise to explain 'the Mathematicall part of [Musick]' in such a way that it would 'in all things exactly square and harmonise with the Practicall part thereof', as he put it in the letter he wrote on 26 April 1664 in response to the entreaties of the committee appointed to investigate his work (chapter 2; the quotation is from p. 88). Spurred on no doubt by his confident rhetoric, the Society maintained an interest in Birchensha's work for at least the next twelve years, though the degree of repetition among the materials included here hints at the probable stagnation of the *Syntagma Musicae* project. Perhaps worried by the long silence that followed the theorist's *Animadversion*, the society invited him to address a meeting in February 1676. All that he was able to produce, however, was a Synopsis of *Syntagma Musicae* providing a more detailed gloss on the published prospectus (chapter 6), and a description of his much-vaunted 'Grand Scale' which, to judge from the transcript in the Society's Journal Book (chapter 7), added little to the similar presentation he had given to an unknown audience in June 1665 (as recorded by John Pell, whose transcript is edited in chapter 4).

One particular advantage of placing these samples of Birchensha's approach to the 'Mathematicall' part of music side by side is that it allows Field and Wardhaugh to clarify two previously puzzling aspects of the theorist's work. Firstly, they are able to dispel the widely held misconception that he was an advocate of equal temperament. As the extensive discussion of the calculation of intervallic ratios in his 'Compendious Discourse' clearly shows, Birchensha was an uncompromising adherent of Pythagorean theory, and fiercely critical of all other ways of dividing the perfect octave into the twelve pitch classes used in the music he would have known. Secondly, they are able to suggest convincing reconstructions of the contents of Birchensha's famous yet mysterious 'Grand Scale': in particular, the table illustrated on p. 112 of the fourteen intervals possible above each of the twelve steps of the chromatic scale (allowing for the separate treatment of the diminished fifth and augmented fourth, and diminished octave and major seventh, as demanded by Pythagorean intervallic theory), which they suggest may have been subsequently expanded to include every pitch produced by these fourteen intervals beginning on each of the 21 possible note names (that is, seven scale degrees, each of which may be flat, natural or sharp; p. 241, n. 1).

For the most part Birchensha's facility with the mathematics of his Pythagorean system appears impressive, though viewed from the perspective of his desire to unite the mathematical and practical sides of music it is puzzling. Even Samuel Pepys, who seems to have encountered an early version of the 'Grand Scale' while a pupil of Birchensha's in early 1662, seems to have grasped something of the problem. 'I do believe it cost much pains', he writes on 24 February, 'but it is not so useful as he would have it'. Indeed, not only was such an extensive list of intervals of limited practical use for Pepys and

other aspiring musicians, but it was fundamentally at odds with the entire practice of music in the late seventeenth century, for the simple reason that any conventional fretted or keyboard instrument would have been unable to make the fine adjustments of pitch needed in all but the most restricted key contexts, in order to achieve the intervallic purity demanded by the system. Voices and unfretted stringed instruments would in theory be capable of surmounting this problem, but any claim to this defence on Birchensha's behalf would be significantly weakened by his apparent inability to discern very small differences in interval size when called upon by the Royal Society in August 1664 to assist in their investigations into the correspondence between the theory of proportions and contemporary musical practice (p. 18).

One possible explanation of all this is that Birchensha was unconcerned by the contradiction between his Pythagorean system and the more pragmatic approach adopted in everyday performance, either because his ear was insufficiently sensitive (though such a professional musician seems difficult to imagine), or because his idea of a correspondence between mathematical and practical aspects of music was less literal than he implied. Perhaps more attractive, however, is the notion that Birchensha was increasingly troubled by his inability to reconcile the two sides of his musical experience, and that this explains at least in part the loss of impetus behind his *Syntagma Musicae* project. The remaining three chapters of the edition are devoted to Birchensha's 'practicall' side of music: specifically, to the three surviving manuscript versions of his famous 'Rules of Composition'. The earliest of these is an autograph which belonged to Silas Taylor, amateur composer and close acquaintance of both Samuel Pepys and Matthew Locke; a second version, again autograph but now rather more sophisticated, was made for an unknown pupil sometime in the period c.1667-1672, and the third consists of a series of examples copied by the Oxford musician Francis Withey perhaps ten years later.

Although the three versions of the 'Rules' show considerable development, their central concerns remain constant: the pupil learns simple rules for counterpoint in similar and contrary motion, and for the accompaniment of a conjunct treble with a bass part moving by leap; he then learns to apply divisions to a held note, and to handle syncopation (whether wholly consonant or involving suspensions), before finally tackling simple imitative textures. This content is not dissimilar to advice given by other Restoration theorists, though the range of examples suggests that these are specific progressions to select and make use of rather than demonstrations of more general procedures. What really marks Birchensha's 'Rules' apart as uniquely practical, though, is the complementary 'method', a version of which appears in each manuscript, and which equips the reader with a systematic and highly pragmatic approach to composition based on a hierarchical reordering of the principles already described. Begin with any imitative writing, Birchensha exhorts his pupils, then proceed to add cadences and suspensions as appropriate; thereafter, apply each of the more general voice leading principles in turn, responding to any resulting solecisms by switching to an alternative 'rule'. Similar procedures are implied by Christopher Simpson in his *Compendium of Practical Musick* (London, 1667), but Birchensha is by far the more explicit in this regard.

The relevance of Birchensha's 'Rules' to our understanding of how Restoration professional composers worked remains unclear: he clearly meant them for amateurs, and his occasionally idiosyncratic terminology reminds us that he was outside the relatively small group of elite musicians whose shared educational backgrounds and continued professional association led to some consistency in such matters. Conversely, he was clearly acquainted with some such people, not least Matthew Locke, and seems to have commanded respect from members of the Royal Society and the wider intellectual elite. Thus even if the 'Rules' are unlikely to unlock the secrets of many compositions by Blow or Purcell, they can offer additional evidence of possible creative strategies, to add to what we already know from other theoretical texts and musical sources.

The editors' contribution both to the conception and execution of this volume is commendable, especially in the extended notes to each chapter which clarify terminology both musical and mathematical, fill in indispensable context, and cross-reference with other theoretical texts. The lengthy Introduction, too, provides a concise and informative account of Birchensha's life and an invaluable overview of his writings and their many interrelationships; it will surely remain the standard biographical account for many years to come. The transcription is exemplary in its clarity and attention to detail; indeed, if I had one criticism in this area it would be solely one of over-conscientiousness (surely, for example, no ambiguity results from the omission of punctuation at the end of each of a series of list items on separate lines? The addition of a semicolon or full stop accompanied by square brackets in these and similar situations looks a little over-fussy to my eye). Apart from this, my only mild criticisms relate to the layout and production of the volume: music examples are printed at a visibly low resolution, and I wondered at times whether the textual notes would not have been better placed opposite the relevant pages of Birchensha's writings rather than forcing the reader to turn to the end of each chapter. No doubt attention to either or both of these issues would have placed economically unacceptable demands on both time and space; thankfully, neither these nor the very occasional mis-numbered endnotes represent serious impairments to the usefulness of the edition.

In a contemporary culture which values eclecticism and encourages interdisciplinarity in academic studies, Birchensha has obvious attractions in his apparent facility at traversing the boundaries between professional and amateur, between practical, theoretical and mathematical, and among social classes. On the other hand, his musical activities have hitherto been obscured by their preservation in just a handful of manuscripts and brief printed works, amounting to little more than a few frustratingly fragmented expositions of his theoretical ideas and a body of compositions unremarkable both in extent and ambition. With the appearance of Field and Wardhaugh's edition, we now have an accessible collection of Birchensha's writings that allows them to be understood for the first time as a whole, and perhaps most usefully underlines the importance of the *Syntagma Musicae* project, which had it ever come to publication, would surely have produced the most comprehensive English musical treatise of its day. Birchensha may never be viewed as a key figure in Restoration musical life, but this volume at least allows us to see why so many of his contemporaries held him in such high regard.

# Explosion in a Paint Factory

RICHARD CARTER

Michael Robertson, *The Courtly Consort Suite in German-Speaking Europe, 1650-1706* (Ashgate, 2009), ISBN 978-0-7546-6451-2; pp. 275; £60 (£54 if ordered online).

This important study is an expansion and development of the author's Ph.D. thesis, 'The Consort Suite in the German-Speaking Lands, 1660-1705'.<sup>1</sup> It throws much light on a repertoire which has remained obstinately obscure, from the period which up to 50 years ago was often lamely referred to—if not dismissed—as 'pre-Bach'. Michael Robertson is also active as an editor and performer of this music.

That small difference between the titles of thesis and book is significant. The subject matter is bewilderingly complex; in an attempt to get some background perspective I turned to a political map of 'Central Europe after the Thirty Years War (1648)' in an old Historical School Atlas. It looks like an explosion in a paint factory, a confused jumble of Kingdoms, Principalities, Dukedoms, Bishoprics, Free Cities, and, most worryingly, white areas described as containing 'regions and territories too small to represent'. The Holy Roman Empire presents a stark contrast to the monolithic blocks of colour which suffice to represent France or England at the same time, or even to the manageable number of regions which made up contemporary Italy. The musical world, dependant for patronage and employment on church, court or town, necessarily reflects the political world; it makes this period of German musical history difficult to grasp and to write about. As a means of bringing order out of chaos Michael Robertson has adopted a primary classification of the music according to its composer being a court or a town musician; this book, it hardly needs to be said, deals mainly with the first category. A companion volume, covering the suites of town musicians, is planned.<sup>2</sup>

The geographical coverage is delineated in the author's introduction, but the chronological limits are not. The starting point is the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648, the earliest dated collection studied in detail is from 1652 (from Wolfgang Carl Briegel); the rationale for the rather precise cut-off of 1706—as against 1705 in the title of the thesis—is not clear. 1706 is the date of J. Fischer III's *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust* (although this was simply a reprint of his *Tafel-Musik* of 1702; see p. 150) and the presumed date of J.C. Pez's *Sonata da camera à Tre ... Opera seconda*, both of which are treated. In fact, the latest collection to be given detailed analysis is J.C. Schieferdecker's *XII. Musicalische Concerte* of 1713, the discussion of which is fleshed out by references to Jacob Scheiffelhut's *Musicalisches Kleeblatt* (1707) and J.C. Schickart's *VI. Concerts* (issued c.1712; pp. 227-236). However, between 1700 and 1720 German composers moved away from the 'compare and contrast' approach to the

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<sup>1</sup> University of Leeds, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Information communicated by the author.

French and Italian styles and began to synthesize them into a genuinely native tradition, which reached its high point with the works of Telemann and J.S. Bach;<sup>3</sup> this turning point provides a suitable, albeit rather vaguely defined end for the study.

Chapter 1 (*'Une splendeur et une magnificence incroyable Music and Dance at the German Courts'*), begins by introducing the social and political background, describing the ways in which German courts imitated Versailles. Robertson goes on to consider the *Hofkapellen*, their size and instrumentation, their co-operation with one another, the hiring of extras for special events, and the presence of French musicians. A good deal of solid evidence for the doubling of outer parts in French and French-style music is presented.

Chapters 2 (*'Nach der lustigen Frantzösischen Manier zu spielen National Style and the Transmission of Dance Music'*) and 3 (*'Composées sur le même Mode ou Ton Defining the Suite'*) continue the discussion of the general musical background. The extent to which German composers of this time understood the difference between the Italian and French styles, and were able to express it in their own music, is a fascinating topic, and there is much food for thought in the presentation here—especially concerning the difficulty even distinguished contemporary commentators such as Mersenne, Kircher and Muffat experienced when trying to express the difference in words. Michael Robertson takes a critical look at the Muffat/Lully bowing and ornamentation rules: I'm sure he is right to join other recent commentators in the view that Muffat's exposition, seemingly the clearest, most authoritative source of practical advice on these points, has to be carefully put in context. Chapter 2 ends with a brief discussion of the transmission of dance music by single line and treble and bass only, backed up by examples of variant middle or bass parts. I wonder whether this feature of some seventeenth-century dance music has contributed to its not being taken up by present-day editors and performers. An approach which favours editing and performing an authoritative 'Urtext' will tend to leave collections consisting of only the treble and bass lines of dance music to the musicologists, however to provide or to modify middle parts to suit the forces immediately to hand is a perfectly legitimate way of making use both of the music which has survived only in this skeletal form, and that which has survived with 'authentic' middle parts.

Chapter 3 covers the multitude of ways in which dance movements were combined to form a suite; topics discussed include the allemande as an indicator of music which was not intended for dancing, and what the presence of movement linking might tell us about a suite. J.H. Schein's *Banchetto musicale* of 1617, an important early milestone of the published consort suite, is cited in the latter context; I rather hoped that Robertson might also draw Schein into the discussion of part doubling—the Allemande and Tripla of all twenty suites reduce to four parts by the omission of the second treble, which generally leaves consort players a bit nonplussed.

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<sup>3</sup> See L. Finscher, 'Germany' §I, 2. 1648-1700, *GMO* (accessed 8 January 2011), which covers exactly this period.

In view of the association of ‘suite’ with a retinue of an important person, it may not be fanciful to see this as the central figure of the *ouverture* followed by its entourage of dances (p. 46).

This is a lovely image; fanciful, yes, but in the best possible way!

The remaining chapters consider individual sources and composers:

Chapter 4 (*‘Frantzösische Branles, Courantes, Sarabandes, Ballettas* Manuscript Sources of the Courtly Suite before 1682’) discusses the importance of the sets of partbooks held at Kassel and Uppsala,<sup>4</sup> an importance increased by the poor survival of manuscript sources from this period. A mixed bag of French and German composers are represented, and despite a pioneering edition of 20 suites from D-Kl 2<sup>o</sup> mus. 61 being published in 1906,<sup>5</sup> most have yet to become household names. Michael Robertson has clearly spent much time on research into clearing up questions of identity, especially of the Frenchmen referred to only by nickname, and convincingly challenges some of the suggestions made by Écorcheville and others.

In Chapter 5 (*‘Burgermeistern Syndicis* Printed Editions by Court Composers before 1682’) there are no problems of identity or attribution: selected collections by Wolfgang Carl Briegel, Johann Christoph Seyfrid, Jacob Löwe von Eisenach, Wolf Ernst Rothe, Esias Reusner, Georg Bleyer, Adam Drese, Clamor Heinrich Abel and Johann Wilhelm Furchheim are the subject matter here. This substantial body of music is discussed with a particular emphasis on the ordering and structure of the collections, their relation to the town music tradition, and the composers’ varying degrees of understanding of French and Italian national styles.

The watershed year of 1682 saw the publication of Jean Sigismond Cousser’s<sup>6</sup> *Composition de musique*, the first significant work of the German Lullists, who are given two chapters:

Chapter 6 (*‘Ouverturen und Airs* The German Lullists I’) features Bleyer (the only composer to appear both ‘before’ and ‘after’), Cousser, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer, and ‘J.A.S.’ (identified as J.A. Schmierer or possibly Johann Speth). Chapter 7 (*‘Verschiedenen Ouverturen, Chaconnen, lustigen Suiten* The German Lullists II’) concentrates on Johann Fischer III (of Augsburg), Johann Philipp Krieger, and some manuscript sources associated with the Hanover court, and also considers the importance of the oboe band.

Chapter 8 (*“Cette nouvelle harmonie”* Unifying French and Italian Styles’) covers the work of Rupert Ignaz Mayr, Georg Muffat and Johann Christoph Pez.

The Viennese imperial court did things its own way,<sup>7</sup> and Chapter 9 (*‘Einer teutschen Führung* Vienna, the Imperial Court’) by the author’s own admission

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<sup>4</sup> D-Kl, 2<sup>o</sup> mus. 61 and D-Kl, 4<sup>o</sup> mus. 148; S-Uu, Instr. mus. hs 409 and S-Uu, Ihre 281-283.

<sup>5</sup> *Vingt suites d’orchestre du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle français*, ed. J. Écorcheville.

<sup>6</sup> Otherwise Giovanni Sigismondo Cusser, born Johann Sigismund Kusser.

<sup>7</sup> This has not changed, the city promotes itself today with the slogan ‘Wien ist anders’ (Vienna is different).

stands rather apart from the rest of the book, especially as, in order to keep things manageable, the rest of Austria is not included. Once again, a look at the historical atlas supports this notion: the region ruled by the Austrian Habsburgs covered most of present-day Austria, Tirol and Slovenia, plus Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and is by far the largest single block of colour, amounting to perhaps a quarter of the Holy Roman Empire. Political circumstances and musical patronage at court reflected this difference, and (as Robertson explains) the tension generated by the fact that in the later seventeenth century the Viennese court superseded the Spanish as the main continental centre of power counterbalancing France affected the way in which ‘all things French’ influenced music in Vienna. The composers whose work is discussed here are the father and son Johann Heinrich and Andreas Anton Schmelzer, Alessandro Poglietti, Benedikt Anton Aufschneider, and Joseph Hoffer.

Most of Chapter 10 (*‘Eine frische Frantzösische Ouverture ihnen allen zu praeferieren Conclusion and Case Studies’*) is given over to the case studies—of XII. *Musicalische Concerte* by Johann Christian Schieferdecker (Buxtehude’s successor in Lübeck), *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* by Johann Joseph Fux, and manuscript suites by Johann Fischer IV (of Vratislavia<sup>8</sup>)—which ‘demonstrate the continuing influence of Lully’s music not just on the music of the courts, but also on the music of the towns’ (p. 228). The inclusion of Fux helps to integrate the chapter on Vienna into the fabric of the book, but on the other hand, Schieferdecker and Fischer IV have the effect of taking the reader into hitherto unexplored territory. Thus there is not much feeling of summing up, but as this is not a closed chapter of musical history, I don’t feel that this is necessarily a shortcoming; it does mean, however, that the book ends rather abruptly.

Robertson has examined an impressive number of sources, and there is a wealth of valuable information here, including comprehensive tables of contents and details of instrumentation of many of the collections discussed. Copious musical examples illustrate various points, cross-referencing to the work of other composers, especially, where relevant, to Lully, or to other works of the same composer. Quotations from the composers’ introductions include many useful hints on performance practice. Because of the nature of the subject, the earlier chapters are a little hampered by the lack of any narrative thread—once the era of the German Lullists is reached, tracing the spread of this strand of French influence provides a focus, although even here the lack of evidence still requires most composers to be dealt with in comparative isolation. Of course, there was little time for German composers to influence each other, the ‘pure’ Lullist era was short (lasting around two decades) and in fact existed from the start in parallel with the ‘unifying’ style: Georg Muffat’s *Armonico tributo*, mixing French and Italian influences, was published in the same year as Cousser’s *Composition de musique*.

Not only is the subject matter, as mentioned before, bewilderingly complex, it is also a minefield of potentially controversial areas which defy tidy

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<sup>8</sup> Ger. *Breslau*, Pol. *Wrocław*, the capital city of Silesia. *Vratislavia* is the Latinized Czech form of the name, commonly used in official documents.

pigeonholing or categorization, such as: the nature and scope of the suite itself; whether the 'dance' movements originated in the ballroom (for social dance), in the theatre (danced professionally, with individual choreography) or are dance-based abstract music; instrumentation, especially the question of whether in French style suites the second part is for violin or viola; doubling of outer parts; 'orchestral' or basically one-to-a-part forces; interpretation of the Muffat/Lully performance rules. These topics are handled in a flexible and open manner, maintaining a policy of description rather than prescription. For example, Chapter 3 is subtitled 'Defining the Suite', but in fact Robertson carefully, and rightly, avoids doing just that, other than in the most general descriptive way.

There is, however, one area where I feel the author has made something of a rod for his own back, which is his strict division according to 'court' or 'town' origin. In saying this I am aware that I am striking at the central tenet of his interpretation and ordering of the material, but a rule which throws up so many exceptions and special cases is a rule which surely needs to be re-examined. Too many exceptions have to be explained away, too often there are phrases of this nature: 'printed collections of [courtly] suites, often written in the manner of town musicians' (p. 65). The cumulative effect of comments such as 'Even town musicians appeared to find the distinction [between the French and Italian styles] important' (p. 23) is to present the town musicians in a negative, almost disparaging light which I don't believe the author really intends.

I wonder whether a shift of emphasis to a categorization according to the purpose of the collection, rather than the employment status of the composer, might be more useful, and perhaps lead to fewer awkward exceptions. On the one hand, there are the published collections of suites which were sent out into the world to be dipped into and made use of as the purchaser had occasion or saw fit, where careful ordering and tidy presentation by dance type and key help the user to find his way around. On p. 115, discussing printed collections, Robertson in fact comes close to reaching this conclusion:

Why did court musicians make such a conscious decision to follow the suite-writing concepts of their town colleagues? Certainly, the printed suite collection after the mid 1660s was synonymous with careful organization of content ....

On the other hand, there is material associated with (i.e. used in, or designed to preserve) a particular event, usually at court: sets of manuscript partbooks or scores, or the printed volumes of instrumental airs from a particular opera. Might the relative paucity of printed collections by court composers (lamented in Chapter 5, p. 93) be linked not only to financial constraints and the general collapse of music printing in the aftermath of the Thirty Years War, but also to some of their employers' discouraging or forbidding publication of music which they had after all paid for, rather than composers' reluctance to publish?

As a possible explanation Robertson proposes that court composers may have written or compiled suites in the manner of town musicians in order to curry favour with the city authorities. As an example of this (in Chapter 5), he cites

the dedications of the second and third of Clamor Heinrich Abel's *Musicalische Blumen* collections, suggesting that Abel was actively seeking a change of employment, a move away from a court post in Hanover to a municipal one in Bremen:

The second volume of his *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen* was dedicated to the 'Burgermeistern Syndicis' of the town. When the desired appointment did not materialise, Abel's third volume named each dedicatee burgher individually. Eventually this brought success: Abel was given a post in Bremen in 1694 (p. 115).

There are problems with this, as I have previously pointed out:<sup>9</sup> the second volume is indeed dedicated to the entire administrative officialdom of the town,<sup>10</sup> but of the 34 individually named dedicatees of the third volume (published in 1677), only one was in Bremen—Ernst Abel, then *Ratsmusikmeister*—the others were Hanover court and town officials, local musicians, and businessmen and merchants from Hamburg, Hanover and Minden. It is a fascinating list, undoubtedly with a story behind it, but to suggest a direct link with Abel's Bremen appointment, which eventually came about 17 years later, despite Ernst Abel having died in 1679, is too speculative. Granted, Robertson admits that there is no specific evidence to link any publication with an application for a post as a town musician, but I can't help feeling he wishes there were!

An interesting subtext which could perhaps have been brought out more strongly is the degree to which a German composer could, or could not impose the French style on his musicians. In the competitive world of the small courts, running a *Kapelle* staffed largely by local or Italian musicians, they could not dream of wielding the absolute authority enjoyed by Lully, and of course they could exercise little or no control on what purchasers did with the published collections: are Muffat's increasingly lengthy didactic introductions evidence of a degree of frustration with his countrymen? A splendid official complaint lodged by an Ansbach violinist is quoted, to the effect that the daily exercises in the French style instituted by 'young Cousser from Stuttgart' were ruining his bowstroke for other music (p. 122). Elsewhere compromises are often apparent, especially in the instrumentation: the Germans, unlike the French, clearly tended to prefer a violin on a soprano clef second part (evidenced by the frequent occurrence of notes beyond the normal viola range), and a violone on the bass; in Chapter 9 we learn that the fourth part of Alessandro Poglietti's Viennese suites is marked 'Gamba'. This is, incidentally, all most reassuring for anyone involved in running an amateur baroque orchestra today, with plenty of violins, few violas, and bass viol players also

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<sup>9</sup> R. Carter, 'Clamor Heinrich Abel's *Dritter Theil Musicalischer Blumen*, 1677: A Lost Source of Lyra Consort Music', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 3 (2009), 55-83.

<sup>10</sup> *Denen Hoch- und WolEdeln/ Hoch- und WolWeisen/ Hoch-und Wolgelahrten HERREN Burgermeistern/ Syndicis, und gesamptem Rathe/ Der Hochberühmten Reichs- und Handel-Statt Bremen/* (To the most noble, most wise, most learned gentlemen Mayors, *Syndici* and entire Council of the most famed free imperial and trading city of Bremen). A *Syndicus* was a legal expert who served the council in an advisory capacity.

wanting to take part; it is good to know that this mixed instrumentation has its own historical authenticity and context!

Disappointingly the book displays a dismally low standard of copy editing and proofreading, something which is becoming worryingly familiar from the publisher Ashgate. The problems begin with the author's introduction, in which the policy determining whether quotations are printed only in translation or also in the original language is explained twice; obviously these are two alternative versions, one of which should have been deleted.

It is all here—misspellings which don't make a word (e.g. p. 19 'eupophonius'), misspellings which do make a word (e.g. pp. 93 and 100, 'straightened' for 'straitened'; p. 63 'award' for 'awkward'; p. 90 'where' for 'were', and vice versa on p. 149), repeated words, omitted words, wrong word order (p. 75: 'Little of music the in the Kassel manuscripts'), and layout errors (inconsistent font sizes, especially in the tables, and justification infelicities, especially before or after the insertion of music examples).

The inconsistent rendering of 'German Lullist' and its adjectival form 'German-Lullian' jars especially, because it occurs so frequently; the terms appear with or without hyphen, and the second word is sometimes italicized, sometimes not; occasionally noun and adjectival forms are confused, and I'm left not knowing which is the author's preferred form.

A few more selected examples:

'Reinforce' is more often than not given in the somewhat cumbersome form 're-enforce'.<sup>11</sup>

On p. 155 the superscript footnote number sequence in the text is interrupted between 7 and 8 by a spurious 19, which has no footnote attached.

A parenthetical reference: '(see page 206)'—which is actually on p. 206—should, I think, read: '(see page 211, footnote 28)'.

Rupert Ignaz Mayr's *Pythagorische Schmid's-Füncklein* (Pythagorean Blacksmith's Spark) is amusingly transformed on p. 143 (and in the index) to *Pythagorische Schmid's-Fincklein* (Pythagorean Blacksmith's Little Finch<sup>12</sup>).

This unfortunately makes for a bumpy reading experience which distracts the attention from Michael Robertson's often complex arguments, and undermines his laudable determination to stick to original orthography. The careful distinction between terms such as 'ballet', 'ballett', 'ballo' and 'balletto' goes for nothing without the most meticulous attention to detail during typesetting and proofreading. Occasionally a small error threatens to make nonsense of the text: on p. 238, in the discussion of J.J. Fux's *Concentus musico-instrumentalis*, we read:

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<sup>11</sup> The reference books I have to hand describe 're-enforce' as a less common American form now rare in British English. Fowler's *Modern English Usage* recommended it be reserved for the meaning 'to enforce again, as when a lapsed regulation is revived'.

<sup>12</sup> The ubiquitous use of the diminutive ending *-lein* in titles and dedications of the time is difficult to render in English. It was undoubtedly a conventional, self-deprecatory affectation, but to translate *Füncklein* directly as 'sparklet' is clearly ridiculous!

The return of the second trumpet for the ‘final’ [sic], which gives virtually the same instrumentation of [sic: surely ‘for?’] the opening and closing movements, seems to indicate that the serenade was intended to be played complete ....

In the accompanying table on p. 239, however, Clarino II has been omitted from the instrumentation of the ‘Final’. In fact, with the addition of Clarino II (which does indeed have a part), the instrumentation of the opening and closing movements is identical! Even allowing for the unfortunate concatenation of typing errors and imprecise phrasing there remains a residual uncertainty for anyone without easy access to an edition of Fux’s work, which obscures the evidence for the author’s contention.

The author is not entirely blameless: on the subject of doubling of the outer parts, a passage from Muffat’s introduction to *Florilegium secundum* is cited twice and interpreted in two different ways: ‘all the best players should not be assigned to the first violin (or upper)<sup>13</sup> part, so that the middle voices seem robbed of the necessary players’. On p. 21 Robertson writes: ‘Muffat’s comments suggest that he was somehow at odds with his fellow Lullists in preferring a more balanced ensemble ...’. On p. 184, however, he takes a less decided view: ‘While this comment is a little ambiguous, and it is not clear whether Muffat is talking about the number or quality of players, the sense of disapproval is obvious.’ In fact Muffat went on to write ‘It is greatly to be regretted that it often happens that [the best players] want to play the first part out of crude ambition,<sup>14</sup> and I think it is clear that he is talking about quality.<sup>15</sup>

A further issue, which will not be apparent to non-German speakers, is the way in which partial quotations have been extracted from various sources for the chapter headings: some of these have caused raised eyebrows in this household, as they should have had their case endings altered to be comprehensible in their abbreviated form. In Chapter 9, for example, where the passage cited reads *eine art von teutschen führungen*, either *Eine teutsche Führung* or possibly *Von einer teutschen Führung* would be more acceptable to a German speaker than *Einer teutschen Führung*.<sup>16</sup>

Despite these reservations, this is a book I shall continue to return to for the huge amount of valuable information and thought-provoking comment it contains. Reading over what I have written, I am uncomfortable that the mood

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<sup>13</sup> Here the translation quoted is from *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice*, ed. D.K. Wilson (Indiana, 2001), but Muffat’s German text in fact reads ‘Violin oder Oberstimme’, i.e. simply ‘violin or upper part’—Muffat calls the second part ‘Violetta’, which he likens to the French *haut-contre*, specifying that it should ideally be played on a small viola. Talk of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> violin surely belongs to Italian practice.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Welches, daß es wegen etlicher Plumpen Ehrgeiz den Ersten zu spihlen, oft geschehe, sehr betaurt wird’ (my raw translation).

<sup>15</sup> I recently had a listening experience which unexpectedly confirmed this: the conductor of an amateur symphony orchestra of generally very high standard had clearly not heeded Muffat’s advice, and despite there being 14 of each 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, during the passages where the 2<sup>nd</sup> violin part was exposed and tricky the performance almost fell apart.

<sup>16</sup> My thanks to Johanna Valencia for advice on this point. This is, I fear, not excused by the fact that modern everyday German is extremely cavalier with its adoption of English terms: for example, the adjective ‘handy’ has become *das Handy* (mobile phone), and the deeply regrettable neologism *wellness* is firmly established.

of this review is much more negative and critical than I set out to make it, but I cannot pretend that the serious typesetting and proofreading issues did not considerably reduce my reading pleasure. The number of easily detected slips inevitably raises doubts as to whether less readily verifiable ones (i.e. such as can only be checked by consulting the historical or secondary sources) are also present. Specialist books of this nature naturally carry a relatively high cover price, and readers deserve better.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, I look forward very much to the companion volume on the works of town musicians, which will nicely complement the present book.

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<sup>17</sup> To which I might add that I had bought a copy long before being asked to review it.

## Fresh Light on an Unfamiliar Name: The Life and Works of Isaac Posch

PETER HOLMAN

Metoda Kokole, *Isaac Posch, 'diditus Eois Hesperisque plagis—Praised in the Lands of Dawn and Sunset'* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009). ISBN 978-3-631-57593-2; pp. 349, illustrated; £47.80.

Isaac Posch seems to have been born in Austria—at Krems on the Danube in 1591—and was educated at Regensburg in Bavaria, though his family came from Laibach in the Austrian province of Carniola, now Ljubljana in Slovenia, and worked there as an organ builder until his premature death in 1622 or the first part of 1623. This explains why his complete musical works have been published in the series *Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae*, and why this book is the work of a leading Slovenian musicologist. Metoda Kokole is head of the Institute of Musicology in Ljubljana, a full-time researcher at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the author of most of the modern literature on Posch, including her 1999 thesis on the composer (of which this book is a revision and translation), and three of the volumes of the Posch complete works. It is a pleasure to welcome a book in English devoted to an interesting composer whose life and works are still little known in the English-speaking world.

Kokole lays out the book in the conventional life-and-works pattern. After a thorough literature survey ('The History of Research into the Life and Works of Isaac Posch'), there is a chapter on Posch's life ('Isaac Posch – an Attempt at a Reconstruction of the Composer's Biography') followed by chapters on Posch's three surviving publications: *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt* (Regensburg, 1618) is a collection of four-part dances; *Musicalische Tafelfreudt* (Nuremberg, 1621), consists of five-part pavan-galliard pairs and four-part intrada-courante pairs; while *Harmonia concertans* (Nuremberg, 1623) is a collection of Latin motets for one to four voices and continuo, six of which have obbligato instrumental parts; this chapter also includes a discussion of five motets surviving only in manuscript. After a short chapter entitled 'Isaac Posch in Slovenian and Austro-German Musicology and the Present-Day Appreciation of his Music', which duplicates the literature survey in part, the book ends with an extensive series of appendices of supporting material, including sample editions of the music, transcriptions of documents relating to Posch's life, and transcriptions of the prefatory material of the three printed collections. Given the thoroughness with which Kokole discusses every aspect of Posch's life and works, it is a pity that she does not translate the prefatory material of the publications into English. It is also unfortunate that there is no formal catalogue of Posch's music, especially since

GMO only summarizes the contents of the three publications and does not even list the manuscript motets.

Readers of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* will inevitably be most interested in Posch's two instrumental collections, though *Harmonia concertans* contains some obbligato bass parts for trombone or 'Viol.'—probably, as Kokole suggests, a contraction of *violone*, meaning a bass violin rather than a bass viol. Posch's dance music mostly attracted attention in the twentieth century because the sequences of Gagliarda-Tanz-Proportio in *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt* were seen as early examples of variation suites, though only a few of the galliards have even the slightest connection with the other dances, and the true importance of the collection is that it appears to be the first conceived for the 'string quartet' scoring of two violins, viola and bass. Posch does not actually specify violin-family instruments but he mentions 'allen Instrumentalischen Sayttenspilen' on the title-page, and professional string players at the time would doubtless have preferred to play functional dance music of this sort on violins rather than viols. *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt* contains six pieces in which the second part is the same range as the first part and continually crosses it in dialogue, implying the use of two violins; until then four-part dance music was always written for a single soprano part, two inner parts and bass, to be played using a single violin with two violas and bass violin.

Posch's 1621 collection, *Musicalische Tafelfreudt*, has been seen as more conventional than *Musicalische Ehrenfreudt* because, in Kokole's words, 'it remains a mystery why, in his 1621 collection, Posch did not again adopt the structure of the three-movement suite he had created in 1618, but instead decided to return to the traditional dance pair pavana-gagliarda and the somewhat less common combination of intrada-couranta'. In fact, the pavan-galliard pair was not traditional in Germany: in late sixteenth-century German publications including dance music, such as Bernhard Schmid's *Einer neuen kunstlichen Tablatur auff Orgel und Instrument* (Strasbourg, 1577) or Elias Ammerbach's *Orgel oder Instrument Tablaturbuch* (Nuremberg, 1583), there are passamezzo-saltarello pairs, while Adrian Denss's lute collection *Florilegium* (Cologne, 1594) has passamezzo-galliard pairs. The pavan-galliard pair only became popular in German-speaking areas of Europe when the elaborate and sophisticated idiom of English dance music was introduced by travelling English musicians around 1600.

Kokole recognises that Posch responded to the English style by using a more complex style in the pavan and galliards of the 1621 collection, though she does not realise that this entailed writing in five parts rather than four (significantly, the intrada-couranta pairs use the traditional four-part layout with a single soprano), and that the writing with two equal soprano parts was probably inspired by Anglo-German collections such as William Brade's *Neue ausserlesene Paduanen, Galliarden, Canzonnen, Allmand und Coranten* (Hamburg, 1609) or Thomas Simpson's *Opus newer Paduanen, Galliarden, Intradan, Canzonnen, Ricercaren* (Frankfurt, 1611; Hamburg, 2/1617). Furthermore, she is not alert to the English features of specific pieces, such as the references to the tune 'Lord Willoughby's welcome home' or 'Roland'

at the beginning of Paduana and Gagliarda I, despite the fact that she quotes from a pavan by Valentin Haussmann that uses the same idea, or the use of the contrapuntal motif at the end of Thomas Morley's 'Sacred end' pavan (also found in Dowland's 'Lachrimae Antiquae' pavan) in the third strain of Paduana V. Morley's popular pavan, with its brief change into triple time, was also probably the model for the same feature in Paduana VII.

More generally, Kokole's book suffers from over-compartmentalisation, a problem particularly common in German and American academic writing. Each chapter is divided into a number of bite-size chunks, thus the chapter on the 1621 collection has sections on 'Tafelmusik', 'Dance Pairs', 'Paduana', 'Gagliarda', 'Intrada', 'Couranta', 'Novelties of the Collection', 'Possible Instrumentation of Posch's Four- and Five-Part Dances', and 'Continuo'. This makes it all but impossible to develop sustained arguments, it tends to involve repetition (which also occur when the same topics crop up in different chapters), and the isolation of different characteristics makes it difficult to consider the music in the round. For this reason, her analyses are not so enlightening as they might be, though there is no doubt of her knowledge of Posch's music and the range of her reading in the literature relating to the musical and historical context. However, it is a pity that Arne Spohr's book *How Chances it they Travel? Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579-1630* (Wiesbaden, 2009) came too late for her to take it into account, for it would have helped her to understand the English elements in Posch's music.

Inevitably, there are a few errors and misunderstandings: Dowland's *Lachrimae* was published in 1604, not 1605; and she is not correct in saying (misquoting me) that 'the violin was introduced to the German lands by English composers at the end of the sixteenth century' (p. 117). In fact, violin consorts had been established at the Munich court in the 1550s, at the Viennese court in the 1560s, at Weimar in 1569, at Innsbruck in the 1570s and -80s, and at Hechingen in the Black Forest from 1581; there are also references to Italian *geigen* in inventories at Augsburg in 1566, at Baden-Baden in 1582, and at Hechingen in 1609.<sup>1</sup> The translation from Slovenian is fluent and idiomatic (Kokole credits Michael Talbot's help in this respect), though the translation of 'Dilectus meus candidus' as 'my bellowed is radiant' (p. 224) made me laugh out loud. Posch is not one of the great composers of his period, though his music is well worth playing, and this book offers a valuable insight into a musical milieu that will be unfamiliar to most English-speaking readers.

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<sup>1</sup> See P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 2/1995), 20-21.

# Reassessing a Court Composer

DAVID PINTO

John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602-1645*, Music in Britain, 1600-1900, vol. 5 (Woodbridge and New York, 2010). ISBN 978-0-95468-097-8; pp. 374, illustrated. £55.

The dust-jacket of this book succinctly lays out its three-stage plan. In first place, a preliminary 'contextual examination of the Private Music at the court of Charles I' looks at its 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', to which William Lawes belonged from 1635.<sup>1</sup> Second is 'a detailed study of Lawes's autograph sources: the first of its kind'. Appendices list their content, on the thorough lines of the Viola da Gamba Society's Index of Manuscripts, *IMCM* I-II.<sup>2</sup> Previous lists have been few, seldom easy to find, and have lacked the attention to watermarks or *rastra* found here; the one songbook is included, if naturally enough the text passes most of it by.<sup>3</sup> The third, cumulatively longest part devotes six chapters to the music. Three sectors are now incomplete, to some extent: scored for lyra viol ensemble, bass viol duos with chamber organ and, in dance-suite form, the first specifically-designated part for harp (accompanying bowed strings and theorbo). The jacket's portrait is apt: not the well-known head-and-shoulders in the Music School, Oxford, said to be William Lawes, but its full-length original, unearthed recently, in a timely way. Part of the aptness is that its sitter is identified by tradition alone, attached only to the Oxford copy at that. (Behind different suggested likenesses lies no tradition at all.) Our view of the chamber music is befogged in a similar way. Most of it is in print by now, in forms as authenticated and complete as ever likely without new discoveries; but little beyond the musical sources remains to shed light on its context, function, or even date. This book probes these matters anew. Gluing it together is a promise of 'ground-breaking new research into Lawes's scribal hand, the sources and their functions, and new evidence for their chronology'. Part of its handsome presentation is a generous freight of facsimiles, also accessible footnotes and thorough indexing (an answer to prayer). It assesses new areas, certainly. The new procedures may fall short of rigorousness at times, and rather than reach significant conclusions of any novelty the methodology tends to modify previous findings where they exist, in not always convincing detail. Even so, its energy and alertness to the general state of play over bowed-string genres place it well as a first resort for those hoping for solid fact about the chamber music, as well as hand, content and chronology in the autographs.

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<sup>1</sup> *Thematic Index* (VdGS) numbers are enclosed in curled brackets {} following Dr Cunningham; page-references are in ordinary brackets. A prefix GB- is understood for named English source-locations.

<sup>2</sup> *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts containing Consort Music*, 2 vols, ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright (Aldershot, 2001 and 2008).

<sup>3</sup> The bibliography, not so full on this side either, omits one edition that has done most to encourage re-enactments of James Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Peace* (1634) with extant music by Lawes: *Trois Masques à la cour de Charles I<sup>er</sup> d'Angleterre*, ed. M. Lefkowitz (Paris, 1970).

To remedy the lack of any one study covering musicians' functions under Charles I, Dr Cunningham pieces together far-flung material. Following his sources (cited amply, as throughout), he contrasts the court's refinement to its relatively modest entertainment budget, including music. What remains in shadow is the widest picture of how, if at all, Charles coordinated his political and aesthetic agenda. Because hard to define, the distinct qualities in the art of his reign (1625-1649) are the more easily dismissed as lightweight. His own ineptitude scuppered plans to instigate an *ancien régime* monarchy of the sort achieved in neighbouring France. The consequent discontinuity, the ousting of a near-feudal ruling class for two decades, changed social and cultural directions permanently, leaving some dead ends. Lawes epitomizes court success (or lack of it) and, some feel, its excess. Gauging his part in that continues to be a challenge; but he can no longer be treated as a mere aberration.

The background though is a desert. 'No information survives' on how musicians were required to attend (p. 13). Rota systems must have applied, 'despite the lack of documentary evidence' (p. 14); 'little documentary evidence' exists for places of performance at court (p. 15); 'records are limited' for repair of organs or cartage between palaces, let alone smaller instruments (p. 17). One should keep an open mind about performance sites. Take Greenwich: Charles was pictured there (to a pattern devised by Daniel Mytens, it seems) in a room open to the river or its land-side; not in state dress but with regalia on the table, ready to receive sea-borne ambassadors and diplomats, of whom Rubens was one.<sup>4</sup> Court and chapel musicians put down local roots, from Tallis to the Lanier family, which even owned a private play-house in the town, still standing in the eighteenth century. From the start of the reign brief details survive for payments to those attending to its chapel organ, as at Hampton, Whitehall and St James'. In that lies chances of lesser chamber instruments being maintained at the same time; but otherwise it is just one more site beyond the state of records.

Much of the rest is in attempting to refine methods of examining the sources, and so pace the development of the chamber work and its impact on the era. Cunningham concurs that most of it predated the outbreak of civil war in 1642, apart from special cases; also, that the fantasia-suites for violins were possibly in performable shape by 1635 when Lawes won his court appointment, and altered little thereafter in essentials (except, he proposes, one unusual fantasia). Most other types between those dates must have been elicited by short-notice demand, if quite likely in tranches rather than whole *œuvres*. More justifiably than with most writers of the time, one may assume that the work fell into distinct phases over relatively brief spans. Lawes came to write predominantly in suite-form at just the date when it first evolved; and the styles of the dance-suite's components are ephemeral. Even so, the origins of his Royall Consort dances seem to lie before 1635, as clearly does much for *lyra viol*. The compositional time-table may not then have been as hectic after that date as a

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<sup>4</sup> A version of 1631 in the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 1246, acquired 1899) shows a vista of what seems to be the Greenwich hillside. A studio copy, also of 1631, substitutes open water and a great ship; now in the Royal Collection (RCIN 405671, by purchase of 1948).

first glance intimates; though one has to reckon with the constant amount of day-to-day playing expected, and composing for entertainments, recorded or not. One oddity is that few composers' posts existed, and Lawes held none. Even so, it cannot be left at that. Assigning as much as possible to his earlier years has attractions; what part, and how spaced, has despite much previous hard thinking verged on the unestablishable up to now. Very welcome then is the most innovative part of this study, based on the examination of the lyra viol partbook (now in the Houghton Library, Harvard) for Cunningham's thesis.<sup>5</sup> The content of this survivor from a set of three is suggestively weighed against that of a later non-autograph manuscript owned by the Dolmetsch family at Haslemere, also incomplete and also newly assessed thoroughly (pp. 120-122): HAdolmetsch, MS II.B.3. The value here is to the precise degree that so much of the work for lyra viol consort, early or later, is now incomplete (as to a lesser extent are the suites for two bass viols). Understandably, but regrettably, these sectors do not support a whole publishable study in their own account.

Instead, reference to hand-styles in the autographs determines the book's slant, which seldom escapes from those terms. Even that is underpinned by assumptions over dating that do not always convince; some with far-reaching implications. One is to shift to 1633 the earliest copying in Lawes' first scorebook, Ob, Mus. Sch. B.2, rather than think it a product of his court appointment two years on. Another is to date everything in the 'Shirley Partbooks' (Lbl, Add. MSS 40,657-40,661), largely copied by Lawes, before that defining year 1633. Yet others affect non-autograph copies. The third is to see copies of the Royall Consort's 'old version' dating from the later 1650s as evidence of its formative period, over twenty years earlier; the fourth is a tendency to place those owned by the collector-copyist John Browne after 1638 and well into the 1640s, rather than c.1630-1641. The second of these moves is posited on the fragile basis of hand alone, in the absence of any other guide. This inductive strategy seems prompted most by an understandable wish to spread out the work-load, or maybe to redefine the role played by Lawes in forming the nascent suite. That is not in the slightest to disallow recourse to induction, more intimately entwined with deduction than regularly allowed. The following remarks are not intended to rebut all observations—which can be valid or useful—so much as probe the presumptions on manuscript-formation that precede the analysis, and query whether the arguments and the terms of the methods give cogent grounds for revising previously-held opinions.

Chapter 2 raises as many questions as answers, when dealing with hand in the eight undisputed autographs.<sup>6</sup> A straight view was stalled early on. Murray Lefkowitz declared them to be all 'bound exactly alike', seemingly 'part of one large set ... meticulously arranged and guarded', 'uniform in size, weight and watermark ... compiled in Oxford, c.1642-3'. He claimed to find support, in the one keyboard book's watermark, that 'Lawes himself' had it 'bound in the early

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<sup>5</sup> US-CAh, Mus. 70: see J. Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber: Studies in the Consort Music of William Lawes (1602-45)', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Following Cunningham, and considering partbook sets (complete or incomplete) as unitary.

1640s, while with the court in Oxford, and therefore ... may have copied and arranged his [other] autograph volumes during the same period'. In addition, Professor Lefkowitz proposed that five to seven further volumes or sets must have existed, to cover suites for lutes, work for voices, even keyboard and wind.<sup>7</sup> Now, even for those we have, to assert common size, binding, watermark, and so on, is a huge distortion; but so convenient was it to believe that even specialists have taken his pronouncements on trust ever since without more ado.<sup>8</sup> Brazen error has wings denied to foot-bound Truth (and nowadays a world-wide web of misinformation). The source-lists in this volume add to rebuttals made since then, and place the various autographs over a range of twelve years or more. But all in all they are too uncomprehensive to plot the whole output's development (pp. 89-91). It is a defect without cure. Lawes furthermore arranged material by himself or others more than most contemporaries. He excerpted from previous groups in his aires, not firmly dateable from autograph sources; something unappreciated when now-accepted listings were made in stages (by Erlebach, Meyer, Lefkowitz, Dodd).<sup>9</sup> From our standpoint, it mystifies his progress. Catalogue numeration does make the arguments that much harder to unravel; but the number-scatter in it has to be surmounted, to gain a feel of how contemporary copies, autograph and non-autograph, link earlier to later work.

To date the formation of the composer's fully mature signature, Cunningham relies on documented payments for a masque of 1634, *The Triumph of Peace* (p. 31).<sup>10</sup> That pivotal appearance has an acknowledged drawback: the lyra viol manuscript predates it (p. 29). This diagnostic tool cannot differentiate other autographs postdating it either, except (possibly) the Shirley Partbooks. It knocks on open doors to point out that in the partbooks for the violin fantasia suites, MSS Mus. Sch. D.238-240, signatures are 'mature', not 'early' (p. 49); no-one has yet claimed that they precede 1634. There is another fatal admission limiting the tool's force: earlier forms of signature recur at any later time, with no discernible cause. Lawes ran his first name, 'usually abbreviated as "Wj"', into the L of his surname (p. 28): 'WJ' with a dot crowning the 'j' may better approximate it.<sup>11</sup> Capital 'L' follows it in the surname 'Lawes', a form (as noted) conjoining two lower-case 'll', or else mixed 'Ll' with a swash

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<sup>7</sup> M. Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (London, 1960), 29-32, etc.: it leaves a trace even in this book (p. 57).

<sup>8</sup> See for example a widely acclaimed study (not noted here), P. Walls, *Music in the English Courty Masque, 1604-1640* (Oxford, 1996; repr. 2001), 181, which accepts that 'six uniformly bound Lawes autograph volumes in the Bodleian and British Library' were prepared by Lawes 'as a set in the early 1640s while the court was at Oxford'. Blithe academic ignorance of decades of correction on this point is unfortunate. It still may need reiteration that no direct evidence for the presence of Lawes in civil-war Oxford exists. To *surmise* unattested visits between campaigns is of course quite another matter.

<sup>9</sup> Only with the works for viol consort and bass viol duos did an overlap with rescored miscellaneous aires à2-4 determine numbering in the *Thematic Index*; even then some concordances were overlooked at first, as with the Royall Consort. Demarcating suites in Charles Colman's aires à3-4 by smaller or larger scoring is also affected, to lesser degree: they are akin to early groupings by Lawes.

<sup>10</sup> As noted, three signatures; dated 10, 16 and 17 March 1633/4.

<sup>11</sup> There is no record of any middle name; a novel French practice, though about to spread through the example of the queen consort's name, Henriette-Marie.

finial to the capital, both often receiving a crossing dash.<sup>12</sup> The merging of 'Will' and 'Lawes' was long-standing, found even in the first holograph section in the early lyra viol partbook: Fig. 2.30 (a-d). This form, brought to attention by Cunningham, is far less confident than the maturer one in the second section of the same source, and adds to unpredictability. In three out of the four illustrated cases, this figure gives simple 'i' for the commoner later medial 'j' form.<sup>13</sup> A form similar to these earliest ones is however detected in the songbook, Lbl, Add. MS 31,432, reckoned among the latest of the autographs, c.1639-1641 (p. 72). The debate should not generate great heat: the period of time for the major works is relatively limited. It does though leave unanswered doubts about the value of signature. For example, why in his songbook did Lawes sign a 'Sarab<sup>d</sup>.' for solo lyra viol with 'W:Lawes', but then put 'WJLlawes' and 'WL' respectively to a Corant and second Saraband immediately following, clearly written at the same time?<sup>14</sup> The same affects his alternation of forms for 'e', italic, or else greek epsilon.<sup>15</sup> 'This kind of "consistent inconsistency" is frustratingly common throughout the autographs, complicating the chronology of their contents', Cunningham frankly remarks (p. 26). The 'consistent inconsistency' paradox recurs too often for comfort (pp. 72, 89, 111, 195), where no clear alternative is quite established.

Examination of musical hand turns on characteristics just as few, or wayward. Most markers such as clef-forms, infrequent use of a straight rather than a long-s line in common-time signatures, etc., are similarly found insufficient by themselves to establish regular progression in hand (and so through time). Clef-forms bring their own problems. 'There are only two types of treble clef in the autographs' is stated outright (p. 32). The first as in Fig. 2.6 (a) is compared to a number '6', a sort of double crescent with the upper half engorged, C over c; the second, Fig. 2.6 (b), is a pure letter-form 'G'.<sup>16</sup> Yet delimiting forms to two sorts flies right in the face of the chosen facsimile examples. A *third* exceptional type appears in the Shirley partbooks, just twice: Fig. 2.11 (a) (p. 43). It combines unusual motifs; the upper loop now a deflated 'O' balloon, finished off beneath with a disassociated 'w' over a curve (a moustache over a mouth). Hard to parallel, seen nowhere else in the output of Lawes, it merits attention, if hard to see why it is ignored: it certainly

<sup>12</sup> Its crossed form is termed capital secretary, yet 'l' crossed is more typically used for genuine double 'll'. The only secretary capital habitually written as double small (then re-crossed) is F, 'ff'.

<sup>13</sup> Cunningham compares John Coprario's short 'j' form for initial capital 'I', while recognising that Lawes did not directly imitate that usage for his own initialings. In contrast, Alfonso Ferrabosco II refers to himself with capital 'J' five times in dedicating his *Ayres* (London, 1609) (though not as it happens in his *Lessons* for lyra viols of the same year, from the same printer and publisher).

<sup>14</sup> At the start ff. 2-2v: a sacred canon had been pre-copied, it seems, f. 2v at top. The three lyra viol solos are near-marginalia around it: also outside the book's norm, and possibly jotted casually for a song-pupil.

<sup>15</sup> For underlay script and signature Henry Lawes habitually used secretary 'e', in which the lower crescent precedes and the upper follows through horizontally from mid-point to the next letter. William always seems to follow through from the bottom stroke, in either form that he used.

<sup>16</sup> Called a lower-case type by Cunningham, though closer to an italic (or printed swash) capital.

controverts the basis of the arguments for date.<sup>17</sup> The piece in which it occurs is copied in all parts in a highly staccato hand: one might doubt it as the composer's, but for a full signature at its end. Cunningham's sole criterion here for early date, signature, is questionable.

Much rides on how to date the final four-part group in the Shirley Partbooks from hand. Cunningham punctiliously notes the first editions of Lawes from these books (pp. 23-25): Cdr Gordon Dodd, it seems, then Layton Ring, were first to recognize them in published form as autograph, in 1964.<sup>18</sup> But evolution of hand within them is not easy to plot. Following *IMCM* I, Cunningham distinguishes two layers, (A1-A2), called early and later (p. 32, line 2).<sup>19</sup> He then modifies that distinction, preferring to see in them more of a continuum of change (p. 45). In other words, attaching a specific date to hand A2, or isolating a middle period, is unresolved by aspects of hand *per se*. The question resurfaces in Table 4.2 and a discussion of a sequence of four-part aires, where a process of transition from earlier styles is also seen in hand A2 (p. 132); but criteria for dating it more exactly seem to have vanished (p. 131). On this reckoning the form could be middle-date, whatever that is, or as probably merge into later episodes. The second, 'G'-type treble clef, found here in Lawes' copies of his own five-part fantasias, gives Cunningham 'no reason to suspect that this is Lawes's late hand' (p. 33). Equally it gives no basis for seeing it as early—earlier than 1633, that is.<sup>20</sup> So far then, the type of evolution for these partbooks favoured by Dodd (a punctuated type) is not proven inadequate. To envisage a fully-fledged player-composer returning every so often to domestic roots, adding an assortment of aires, may be uncommon; but that would have been to a wealthy, influential and far from provincial family.<sup>21</sup> Here, hand alone cannot solve repertorial considerations. Synchronic correspondences are far easier than diachronic to make for hand; variance over time is less manageable. In these books, the only adaptations into larger-scale form by Lawes seem to come earlier: items later in the sequences yield fewer significant concordances, as though they were what they seem—late 'one-offs'.

Investigation of the main bass clefs found in the autographs distinguishes an '8'-form, arching the lower tail back to ascend at left around the top of the first arc, and a '2'-form that terminates the lower part of the crescent by a right-moving dash. That too produces inconclusive results; Lawes reverted or

<sup>17</sup> This form is found in treble parts for Alman {339b}: Add. MSS 40,657-40,658, f. 30 in both. In these books, alphanumerical distinction, {103a-b, 339a-b} seems needed for its variants from stock forms of later sources.

<sup>18</sup> Murray Lefkowitz acknowledged the set as autograph in addition to his revised W. Lawes, *Select Consort Music*, Musica Britannica, 21 (London, 2/1971), but did not take note of its variants to re-edit musical texts.

<sup>19</sup> *IMCM* I, 69-76.

<sup>20</sup> It occurs in 40,657, f. 15, the last 3-part aire {208}; also 4-part 'Aire' {306} in F major, and the two works in G minor by Lawes that similarly end the 5-part section, a fantasia (untitled) and a so-called 'Inomine' {68-69}. In 40,658, {306} has it, and in 40,661 the treble-clef parts for {68-69} too. There seems absolutely no reason *a priori* not to see it as middle-date; in this context, c.1634-1635.

<sup>21</sup> The boys, fatherless in 1633, were in the nominal guardianship of the 3rd Earl of Essex, their mother's brother; she moved in recusant literary circles after her remarriage. Her sons were to inherit her taste for the stage, as shown by their songbook c.1640-1650: US-NYP, Drexel MS 4041.

alternated with no discerned pattern (pp. 36-38; 49-50). Possibly unconsidered factors played a part. The modest, unobtrusive '2'-form occurs in his songbook in the unfigured continuo line, where *function* was constant and not open to confusion. It is habitual too in his scores—and that *is* likely to be the preference of his considered moments. Ensemble parts, especially if likely to be used by fellow-performers on bass viol or theorbo (as most of them must have been), can face them with rapid alternation between clefs: to enlarge the marker of that would have been instinctive.<sup>22</sup> Placing reasons for inconsistency at that level then would demand an answer to a different question: why Lawes, where he *did* vary bass clef (as for viol in partbooks D.238-240), ever used a '2'-form clef in a part. It could be tentatively proposed that in these books more than any others he was likeliest to be the one player who needed no reminder of clef-changes. It is an ad hoc resort, but possible axes of variance to be considered cannot easily be delimited. If the main tools suggested for analysing the composer's progress through his scorebooks as well as part-sets are so frail, there is little to fall back on apart from ink quality and so forth; which may be a marker for different bouts of activity when copying an individual opus, but says less for chronology between them, unless style and development are brought into play—inductively.

The hunt is then on for 'inconstant constancies' in general hand-style, as could have been said (but is not): to catch Lawes tending to a characteristic in one marker or other, and link it to considerations of copying *conditions*. Cunningham's first term for that is 'rushed' hand, on an axis of variance intended to combat facile 'late-early' distinctions (pp. 44, on). This, all well and good in itself, makes things less tractable. Conditions can alter within minutes at any time in a working life and, simply, we can say almost nothing for Lawes'. It thus disallows almost entirely a way of discriminating, without substituting anything stable. Less easy are distinctions that contrast 'rushed' with more formal styles (pp. 45-47). They employ a term 'presentation' (for the most part without quotation-marks), often joined to 'formal' or 'informal' (in inverted commas). Constant quotation-marks, especially when a phrase "'compositional draft" presentation style' emerges (p. 55), gives a niggling feeling that the distinctions created are too vague at root to be heuristically rewarding. In Cunningham's usage, a partbook that is a 'presentation volume' may well not be one presented outright. It 'suggests that the manuscript was intended for a purpose beyond personal record or use ... although whether such manuscripts actually were presented to patrons is debatable' (p. 45). Indeed; no evidence exists that Lawes made or intended presentations to persons of influence. Royal patronage in the 1630s was bounteous enough to lessen dependency of artists upon the gentry: one thinks of the Sun King's later strategy. (He *did* pass at least one manuscript to a pupil or friend, his songbook, Add. MS 31,432; possibly his three lyra viol books too: but probably after war had broken out, when prospects of the court's triumphal return can have seemed less and less likely.<sup>23</sup>) 'Presentation', undefined, seems to mean *any* music notated for

<sup>22</sup> That is to posit not a reasoned choice (or response to a perceived range of choices) but a reflex.

<sup>23</sup> It is conceivable that Lawes intended his personal partbooks for relegation to court stores. However, no good parallels exist for composers destining personal partbooks or working scores for that end; and that, and commissioned fair-copying of partbooks, surely

intelligibility. It takes on meaning if it distinguishes between wholly personal copying and that intended to present a persona to the world, in shared partbooks and scores for dissemination of work; and Cunningham does contrast ‘formal’ with autographs not for personal use by Lawes (p. 45); personal ones being his two score-volumes, songbook and the Harvard lyra viol book (here taken to have been primarily for use by Lawes, its major copyist). Manuscripts held to mix personal and non-personal, such as keyboard book and partbooks Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.229 and D.238-240, have the formal-informal axis applied to changes in function or circumstance; a refinement with its own bias. Fig. 2.17, from partbook D.239, is billed as a ‘change from “formal” to “informal” presentation styles’ (p. 53); but the difference is not obvious on the pages reproduced, nor does it bear out the recurrence of ‘presentation’. The comment on the figure is: ‘It is unclear why Lawes began this section with the ‘formal’ style, only to abandon it several pages later’. Consent is easy. ‘At some point, the inclination or need to complete these books as “presentation volumes” ceased’ is a further remark leaving the distinctions up in the air. Abandoning exegetic aims on this point confounds the initial resort to its premises. If ‘presentation volume’ is a significant category, the ‘inclination or need’ to discard one, or begin one in the first place, is just the point crying out for clarification. For D.229, an “informal” presentation style of the harp consorts, and the ‘compositional draft’ style of the viol consorts’ is a choice that after all ‘may not be clear-cut’ (p. 88). It seems that these cumbersome terms do not translate into exacter criteria about function or lead to a clear view of what the transformation, the ‘transitional point in the manuscript’s function’, entailed.

Cunningham feels able at times to withdraw the terms of the premises by which hand defines date. ‘Nevertheless, despite the fact that most initialling [by the composer; presumably in forms WL or WJL] occurs in later sources, it is not sufficient evidence to date the initialled pieces in the Shirley partbooks to a late period’ is one example (p. 41). One has to ask what value hand plays in this discussion, in any capacity, if that is so. The ‘not necessarily’ opt-out clause bedevils so much of this argument, to the extent of stale-mating any conclusive new finding. Attempts to show that ‘rushed’ hand may not be necessarily late, simply because of function (p. 45), backfire if defining the function of the manuscripts is circular—or unavoidably inductive. It seems that the function and application of scores, whether as drafts or for continuo use (as suggested at times, which seems unlikely with large and bulky bound folios) has to be presumed in advance, still. It is as possible that in the case of the seemingly fairest copies, such as the scores of the new version of the Royall Consort, Lawes would have left the time-consuming copying of partbooks (other than his own) to assistants, once he had attained his secure court appointment. It is no wonder that so few partbook copies survive of work by established composers in their own hand.<sup>24</sup>

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cannot apply here. We also have no evidence of what such a members’ archive, if it existed, may or may not have contained.

<sup>24</sup> Possibly an extreme case is that peripatetic domestic, Jenkins. There is no score or even partbook copy by him for early great fantasias in four to six parts.

Cunningham takes issue with a copying sequence previously suggested for the keyboard book D.229 (p. 49): that is, fantasia-suites (with chamber organ); harp parts for harp consorts on six-line keyboard staves; finally bass viol duos (with organ). He relies on speed of hand to judge that in the bass viol works it is more akin to the fantasia-suites and preceded those for harp consort (which is a distinct possibility: hand-styles *do* differ). That does not determine copying order. Their position, inverse rear, can be put down to genre; they do not involve violin as do the others. Their cluttered copying style may well be due to an unconsidered likelihood to add to the array, that of all the parts that Lawes copied, these (and bass divisions in the harp works) are among the most probable for his personal use, *qua* performer (just as reversion to his '2'-form bass clef will not have worried him). The anomaly is that he copied just the first eight harp parts into D.229. Lack of explanation for that reduces the significance in the question of priority. It is as relevant that among the remaining harp pieces unincorporated in it, nos. 27-29 engage in the same work as the bass viol duos; arranging pre-existent dances (with a difference: the duos were based on Lawes' own dances). Cunningham's observations note without generalising that Lawes could begin books at mid-point pages, a distance in (p. 60).<sup>25</sup> The implicit assessment is that he began with a mental reserve for future use of space, for new material or else retention of the old. (Equally, to leave a gathering or two unused at either end could have begun as much in taking a measure of protection for material as yet unbound.) It rebounds on discussion of all the partbooks including that for keyboard. Any case for dating work in D.229 so far seems to leave loose ends.

Discussion of hand in the lyra viol autograph partbook delivers a poser through an unprecedented form of signature (pp. 76ff.). Four examples in Fig 2.30 a-d (pp. 78-79) are all in slightly differing ways so lacking in the usual assurance as to make one inclined (again) to doubt on the terms specified that they are the composer's hand; though the recurrence of a maturer hand there, later on, is warranty enough of its authenticity, and there is no major difficulty in just taking it as another temporary stage. But it does not directly aid a case for directions in development. An unrefined capital L by itself is considered an early form (p. 80); yet the examples previously given in Fig. 2.10 (a, c) are from the Shirley books and B.3, the second of which is stated as c.1638, and the first only contentiously presumed early (p. 40). (This has implications for the validity of apparent signatures in the lyra viol trios of Och, Mus. 725-727.) Though Mus. 70 'was presumably part of a set of performance parts, copied in Lawes's "informal" style' (p. 84), the tablature in the second portion has to be 'a more careful "informal" version of the tablature in B.2 and MS 31432'.<sup>26</sup> 'What function the formal style represents is difficult to say', the follow-up to this, leads to a suggestion that Lawes did have presentation to a patron in mind (pp. 88-89): but no name is suggested. The songbook Add. 31,432 can be seen as a 'pedagogical tool' where 'clarity of presentation was not a priority, as the manuscript did not need to be read by a group of musicians' (p. 89).

<sup>25</sup> The scorebook B.2 with music for *The Triumph of Peace*; similarly, the songs in Add. 31,432.

<sup>26</sup> It is unclear why tablature letter c is called "Greek gamma (Γ)", when more normally taken as just another of the *civilité* forms derived from Robert Granjon, commonly-employed for lute.

Differentiation between types of clef could possibly be extended on that basis; but the conclusion (as at p. 26 above), for any autograph, is to resist 'definite conclusions' (p. 89), and so falls back to where all began, nearly.

The lyra viol chapter tackles another problem: identifying the copyist of the partbooks Mus. 725-727, and how to link other sources to Lawes, if any (p. 108). Cunningham faces them by saying that this copyist and Lawes 'share many scribal characteristics, but with several telling points of difference' (p. 112), including spellings, letter-forms and peripherals like the shape of fermata. He can only suppose that the signatures 'WJ:Lawes' appended in these books are 'more likely to be imitative than authentic' (p. 110). Why anyone other than the composer should go to that length is unanswered; the rule of 'consistent inconsistency' is not applied here for once (p. 111). Cunningham follows a recent consensus that the hand copied various other manuscripts, which ends by ruling out Lawes as the copyist of any. A supposition that there *is* a single hand for all those attributed to the mystery copyist seems far from proven, and start from the wrong end of the stick.<sup>27</sup> It may be relevant to note, within *IMCM* I (p. 201, n. 2), slightly variant recent opinion on one hand within this group, when discussing in passing one member manuscript set, Och, Mus. 732-735.<sup>28</sup> One can take it further and be disinclined to see the hand denoted Scribe A there as an entity. There seems to be a confluence of scripts assimilating each others' characteristics, and mutating, in a way that makes sense most at this point in time towards the end of the Jacobean era, and at the start of a new. From the point of view of Lawes, it could be preferable to *begin* with Mus. 725-727 as a genuine variant early hand marking a stage after Harvard Mus. 70, variant against 'mature' style as well. Cunningham finds what he calls a 'random pattern' of accumulation within the partbooks Mus. 725-727 atypical of Lawes, on grounds that absence of suite-form is a marker of inauthenticity. At a relatively early date (the set clearly predates 1634 by some time), that is significant only if one assumes suite-form to have evolved by then: the corollary, that absence of it merely confirms a relatively early date, is more likely than Lawes was not its copyist. It is after all conceded that 'the autograph portions of Mus. 70 are not all arranged into coherent suites'. Indeed, it takes some ingenuity to find any suite at all there; certainly none in ACS form. Taking Lawes as the copyist of Mus. 725-727, he is likely to have followed the dictates of others in his choice of copying material (work by others, as well as hand-style). Whichever way this argument goes, it is undeniable that the set is an irreplaceable source for his three-lyra works. Despite that, it is now incomplete: an annotation mentions two now-lost associated books (pp. 114-115).<sup>29</sup> There seems to be no internal reason to date either lyra autograph (to include Mus. 725-727 here) as late as 1633; Mus. 70 as the agreed older of the

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<sup>27</sup> Lbl, RM 24.k.3. (organ parts for Coprario fantasia-suites), part of Ob, Tenbury MS 302 (score; including Lawes three-part aires and five-part fantasias), Lcm, MSS 1045-1051 (partbooks for anthems and services with some scored material) and Och, Mus. 732-735 (Jacobean string repertoire, linked to court players and associated copyists).

<sup>28</sup> Here one can compare two facsimiles in *IMCM* I, both supposed to be Scribe A, Plates 5g and 5j, for strong differences in beaming, end-of-line directs and forms of accidentals. The argument then is not between lumpers and splitters, but simply where to make the essential divisions.

<sup>29</sup> Not though included with other annotations from the partbooks in Table 3.3 (p. 109).

pair could have been begun up to four years before 1630, Mus. 725-727 a little after.<sup>30</sup> This would suit Cunningham's own wish to place some part of the lyra viols trios early, suggesting that 'were in the repertoire ... probably from the mid- to late 1620s or early 1630s' (p. 122). Notably, Mus. 70 has two sarabands, one in each holograph section. So early, they are a rarity: Browne's ensemble dance partbooks of an assumed period 1630-1636 have only three, all isolates.<sup>31</sup> We lack woefully a good range of keyboard and lute sources to narrow down a date of entry into the pool for early examples, let alone a point at which this dance-form helped crystallize the recognized standard ACS suite.

Discussion of bindings is a complex affair, not quite clarified (pp. 47-48, etc.). By the reproductions given, if hard to be sure (stamping pressure varies), the block of royal arms on D.229 seems identical to that 'also found on Mus. 70'. Well-nigh-identical blocks were cut multiply to meet demand for bindings of this standard type with 'mask and claw handles', known in the terminology of Mirjam Foot and the British Library's classification as 'SRA VII' (from 'Stuart Royal Arms'). Sixteen variants are claimed.<sup>32</sup> In the present volume, the sort on D.229 and Mus. 70 is called 'similar to SRA VII' (p. 48).<sup>33</sup> It is accepted as identical to that on the songbook Add. 31,432, probably copied c.1639-1641; and one would suspect that bindings for that and D.229 came fairly close in time, as Cunningham thinks (though their corner flowers are non-identical). Source Descriptions (Appendix 1) identify D.229, Add. 31,432 and Mus. 70 as of this type, but lump B.2 and B.3 under it as well (pp. 290, 297, 305, 309, 316). However the design on B.2 and B.3 is another type altogether, with lion and unicorn supporters and encircled by vine branches.<sup>34</sup>

Mus. 70 may show something quite other. Its under-binding of vellum is taken as one 'probably owned by the original copyist', preceding Lawes (p. 86). In fact it is unclear that the hand of the first section in this manuscript is typical of earlier (twenties) copying. An alternative can be proposed. The 'first' hand

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<sup>30</sup> The signature in Mus. 725-727, if seen as variant, would pose less of a problem if it can be dated to (say) around 1630, or significantly before the attested signatures of 1634. However, there is again room here to query Cunningham's starting-point, on Lawes' mature signature. Late examples of its variation given in Fig. 2.10 (pp. 40-41) from B.2 and Add. 31,432, show the extent of non-standardisation maintained by him, relatively late on: these may not be so far from forms found in Mus. 725-727.

<sup>31</sup> Och, 367-370, nos. 7, 10, 42. The first, anonymous, is three-part and may be incomplete; the second is probably not by Jenkins, if the third definitely is. None by Lawes was included here.

<sup>32</sup> M. Foot, *Studies in the History of Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 1993), section 58, 'Some Bindings for Charles I', 340-351; also called 'lion' handles by Howard Nixon, who recognized 'at least fourteen variants'. A precursor of the lion-handle pattern may be a now-unique binding for Charles as Duke of York (1605-1612). Two more bindings (not specified by Professor Foot's article) revert the order of armorial quarterings for England and Scotland, normal for south of the border, to represent Charles as King of Scots. Even here a version of the distinctive corner-piece design found on the stamp for Charles as Duke of York is retained, arguing for a strong personal element of continuity.

<sup>33</sup> Cunningham, 'Music for the Privy Chamber' called the type on Mus. 70 SRA V, but then that on Add. 31,432 'SRA VIII, the same as [on] D.229 and Mus. 70: no initials' (none stamped on it, that is): illustration 2.14 (p. 57) and (p. 94).

<sup>34</sup> And even illustrated here, Fig. 2.20 (p. 58). Though this stamp has been stated to have been superseded after the 1620s, its latest use known to me is on a London publication dated 1633. Thus to place a further use c.1635 is not intrinsically unlikely in itself.

was a later owner-copyist: *both* bindings on Mus. 70 were put on for Lawes. Cunningham agrees that he began scorebook B.2 by diving some way in, to leave room for future pre-additions.<sup>35</sup> The practice is found in the songbook autograph too. If considered for Mus. 70, an anomalous feature then falls into place: the apparently prior hand misnumbered Lawes' first sequence.<sup>36</sup> An original owner would hardly have been so lax in overseeing an employee's copying. Cunningham's proposal is that a prime owner copied a section, then commissioned Lawes to copy more (and was then remiss in numerating the work); and then, Lawes later—somehow—took it back outright and expanded it in a mature hand (p. 84). This creates tortuous, unwieldy epicycles, compared with a simple supposition that Lawes had his own possession rebound after his appointment, incorporating earlier work into a standard new royally-confirmed status. For his first section in Mus. 70 to concord with Mus. 725-727, not the second, also seems a bit neater on this reading. (In another parallel, the songbook has its own non-autograph pre-addition: in this case an elegy by John Jenkins on the death of the copyist of the book's remainder. That is, if one needs to rub it in, logically unassailable proof of physically anterior copying, temporally later.)

Cunningham dates the score Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2 to before the court appointment, on the grounds that a section, music for *The Triumph of Peace*, was copied for and so just before the event, or contemporaneously (p. 58).<sup>37</sup> The assumption that B.2 must have been issued for Lawes' use then, because of 'the close association of the court with the masque', is part of a tendency to label events and for that matter musical sources as 'court', simply because related to music by court musicians. Here, the production and its repeat performance were sponsored and paid for by the law schools, the Inns of Court, and undertaken at arm's length from the court (no direct relation). The aim was to honour the royal couple, in particular the queen's impugned integrity. But the entertainment, however much appreciated by the queen, was not primarily devised or even performed by established court musicians. They were double-booked at this time: preoccupied by the official court entertainment, the 'queen's masque' for Shrove Tuesday night, Thomas Carew's *Calum Britannicum* (a point made before, if not loudly enough).<sup>38</sup> Hence the Inns had to turn elsewhere to secure a complement of composers. Their committee led by Bulstrode Whitelocke was fortunate to secure the services of four of the queen's musicians for the dances, but otherwise, remarkably, they

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<sup>35</sup> As source-lists make amply clear, both scorebooks B.2 and B.3 have been subjected to plenteous abstractions of sections, including from those at beginning and end.

<sup>36</sup> Its fifth item has doubled numeration, 5 and 6, which spikes the rest. For the 'first' hand not to have numbered sequence 2 by Lawes, a possible explanation is its tuning, 'harpway sharp' or defhf. The first hand's section is in 'eights', as is the numbered sequence by Lawes that follows. His second sequence may simply have stayed unplayed, at least at the time of numbering by a subsequent owner.

<sup>37</sup> Cunningham is however justified in knocking on the head a thought that its copying was carried out 1644-1645, as a recent edition of the vocal works has suggested.

<sup>38</sup> Enacted at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, on 18 February 1634. Henry Lawes has been thought its principal setter, but its published form, *Calum Britannicum* (1634), names no musician or performer.

looked to Simon Ives (a city musician) and Lawes, still a relative outsider.<sup>39</sup> *The Triumph of Peace*, enacted on 2nd February and again ten days later, preceded *Cælum Britannicum*. For years after, its resounding success left a glow of circulated items in musical sources; a more enduring presence than that of Carew's masque. That maybe arose because part of the event, a grand procession through the streets, was relatively accessible to the populace. It should not colour the fact that for retained court musicians it was a second-string affair; hence the need to seek out a cluster of lesser lights to perform, like John Jenkins and Charles Colman (from our perspective, maybe strange to see it put that way about). Thus to date the binding of B.2 by seeing it as part of *court* preparations for this event is a dubious preamble. Its binding, stamped with the handsome Jacobean block of the royal arms in vine-branches found on B.3, but with different added initials (respectively WL and HL) implies something quite else: the existence of standard personalized issue for royal musicians. A set of books for late Jacobean court wind repertoire, Cfm, MS Mu. 734, has the same block, seemingly superseded early in the 1630s in favour of the smaller SRA sort. It can be suspected that it retained cachet as a mark of royal service, and specifically for musicians, far longer. Everything about it so far supposed puts it down as old stock. One can go further than Dr Foot and suspect that an apparent post-Restoration use of this block, on the binding on Matthew Locke's scorebook, Lbl, Add. MS 17,801, is illusory. It is of the same format as B.2-3, but appears to have been *re*-bound; as though it had kept prestige as an 'association binding', to coin a phrase.<sup>40</sup> To propose that one was available for William before his appointment in 1635 stands in need of better proof than it has yet found. 'Lawes maintained a consistent musical and [verbal] textual hand throughout both scorebooks', (p. 66), leads to the connected aspect: what it says for his composing or drafting methods. Consistency is possibly related to available conditions. It is even likely to expect that he would have sought and found a constant and tranquil haven for the tasks involved. The hand in the books shows a type of organisation reflecting the new security. The considered positioning for masque music and much of the remainder (certainly the 'new' Royall Consort suites) also has some new degree of clarity, whether or not one chooses to regard them as drafts or else considered stock-in-trade kept for any type of future reference. He achieved a measure of settledness and presumably fixed abode with his appointment. Settled conditions may be the key to a norm, the underlying level of best style in hand. They may also have offered a new freedom to take up scoring or even composing projects intermittently; but for these matters hand-analysis is of no direct avail.

Table 2.1 sums up the discussions of autographs, presents the new framework and stacks the arguments for date-ranges in a 'Proposed chronology of Lawes's autograph manuscripts' (p. 90). They are not far off previous estimates, except

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<sup>39</sup> Davis Mell, a court violinist, had some input into the antimasque dances; but exactly what is unclear.

<sup>40</sup> It occurs on Lbl, MS RM 24.k.3, organ parts for Coprario's fantasia-suites for violins. Professor Foot notes another songbook use for SRA VII, on Lbl, Add. MS 27,932 (Slade Bequest). That however seems not to be rebound, but a book ruled for music, untouched until used for songs by Handel, Pepusch, etc. in the eighteenth century. The value placed on it then may mirror the block's perceived suitability for Mus. 70.

for bringing Mus. 70 into the fold. For this, Cunningham proposes 'c.1630-c.1633' to replace a wider range 'c.1620-1645': as intimated above, there may be a call to keep a slightly earlier inception, and later terminus. No-one can concur in a dating by Professor Lefkowitz for the keyboard book D.229, after 1640; the substituted range 'c.1638-c.1641' is fair, if a reason not to give it an extra year or two beforehand depends on the largely stylistic considerations put forward in following chapters. This does not exhaust dating issues for non-autographs and putative autographs. Some do have relevance. To put the Browne bandora-lyra book (now Lam, MS 600) at 'c.1620?' in Table 3.2 (p. 96) is overcondensed, and should be expanded. It was clearly started for bandora, and in the parent generation. John Browne probably had no access to his inheritance before 1629, when he came of age and walked off with a small fortune from his deceased guardian uncle, under a legacy contested by some family members. All his commissioned copying seems to date from that year onwards; and so a tag of the 1630s would probably fit his additions to the book better, as indeed the relatively mature hand in which he began to make his additions to inherited partbook sets. It affects the important issue of dating his dance partbooks, Och, Mus. 367-370 and 379-381, and would put his small acquisitions of early Lawes, still in non-suite form, to c.1630-1636.<sup>41</sup> With Browne, we are well-endowed with information, sufficient at least to surmise the outline of his career as a music-collector. And, in the parting shot on possible missing sources, it needs to be noted that citing an anecdote by John Aubrey, to refer to a five-year-old player of 'W. Lawes, his base's three parts' (daughter of Aubrey's local vicar) as 'Abigail Slop', transmits a misreading from a careless modern edition of Aubrey's 'Idea of Education' (p. 91).<sup>42</sup> Her surname was Sloper.<sup>43</sup>

In the following chapters, discussions on the range of chamber music in effect update the findings of Murray Lefkowitz, whose monograph of 1960 summed up *his* doctoral thesis to make a detailed placement of Lawes in an all-round context, including vocal output. Half a century on, what has changed? Lefkowitz only ever had a selection of the chamber music published. Since his thesis was never made available, it stayed unclear how comprehensive the thinking behind it was (and whether based on more than a selection). Regrettably little academic emulation followed from that; players and performers (their interest indeed generated mainly through the Viola da Gamba Society) were left to take things further. Now, the music is largely in

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<sup>41</sup> On his hand for vocal music before 1627, see D. Pinto, 'Pious Pleasures in Early Stuart London', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 41 (2008) 1-24. His second marriage in 1636, and appointment to the post of Clerk of the Parliaments in 1638, may both have given him fresh access to newly-available repertoire.

<sup>42</sup> Ob, MS Aubrey, 10; begun 1669 and still unfinished in the 1690s.

<sup>43</sup> J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives, Chiefly of Contemporaries*, ed. A. Clark (London, 1898), under John Sloper (Ob, MS Aubrey 23, f. 91): 'Mrs. Abigail Sloper [Grove] borne at Broad Chalke neer Salisbury, A.D. 1648 (the widowe Chalke sayeth 'twas on a Thursday). She was baptized May 4th, 1648. Goodwife Smyth (then a servant there) sayeth she beleeves she was borne 14 of Aprill. Pride; lechery; ungratefull to her father; married, ...; runne distracted, ...; recovered. John Sloper [junior], my godson, baptized Feb. 7, 1649'. Abigail was thus playing three-part Lawes of some sort in March of 1653. From 1644, Rev. John Sloper had been incumbent of Broad Chalke Wiltshire, a living in the gift of King's College, Cambridge: A. Powell, *John Aubrey and his Friends* (London, 1948; 2/1963), 87.

print; though an edition for the harp works has appeared too recently to be assessed authoritatively, except by Dr Cunningham.<sup>44</sup> Bass viol duos are not complete in any one publication. For both of these his discussions are welcome, and fresh. He establishes convincingly (with some leads from other findings) that the harp for the works involving it was almost certainly Irish, wire-strung: he demonstrates in bold and well-documented form that the most available expertise at court and elsewhere was trained for this, and analyses its instrumental resources.<sup>45</sup> He puts into context developments of writing for 'division' viol (so-named by Lawes) in virtuoso style: this investigates a possibility of parallel development with John Jenkins, a theme given attention for the violin fantasia-suites too. The treatment of lyra viol works is similarly detailed and to be prized. Fifty years ago the subject was almost untouched, and untouchable in the absence of editions and contextual studies. Even now they are not rife.

The remaining sectors have been treated, since Lefkowitz, in a fullness that directly matches the scale of their instrumentation. As that scale rises, there is less fresh or novel that is revealed here, apart from an eye brought to bear within each opus on the possibilities of redating. The chapter on the 'Royall Consort' has a prefatory summary to determine a point or two that one would have hoped to be a battle already fought. Lefkowitz at his most percipient first shed light on this. He unearthed a rare, valuable asset; a contemporary comment. Edward Lowe at Oxford had mentioned circulation of something *called* the 'Royall Consort', and in two scorings: 2Tr-T-B(-bc) (now labelled 'old') and 2Tr-2B(-bc). Lawes specified the 'new' second scoring exactly in his score, B.3: violins, bass viols and theorboes, two by two. B.3 preserves only 40 out of 66-67 dance-movements for this version, but an accurate total is attainable from completer sources. Cunningham's half step backwards is to probe its sources, date and content on the basis that it is 'a ... diffuse collection, the parameters of which are hard to define' (p. 126). 'Perhaps begun as early as the 1620s', the following remark, is hard to support, even by disputing the date at which dances entered earlier sources. The status of the dances in the Shirley books thus returns to dog the issue of how or if their contents impact on the formation of the suite; so do versions owned by John Browne.

The Royall Consort in especial is affected by Cunningham's schema for the development of suite-form. This needs *all* the aires in his Table 4.2 sequence from the Shirley books (p. 132) to be early, before 1633.<sup>46</sup> The argument becomes twisted by resorting to far later Commonwealth or Restoration sources for four-part dance: Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.233-236 / E.451, E.431-436, F.568-569. Sequences in these include a group of seven aires by Lawes in key *g* for 2Tr-T-B: Pavan {101}, Alman {103a}, Corant {338}, Alman {70}, Corant {339a}. *Two*-part Alman {102} is inserted, but only in D.233-236 / E.451. Their link to the Shirley dances is thus *only* through {339}. Maybe

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<sup>44</sup> J. Cunningham, 'Review: William Lawes, *The Harp Consorts*, ed. Jane Achtman, *et al.*', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 2 (2008), 84-98.

<sup>45</sup> This takes up findings by Peter Holman on personnel at court, supported by Layton Ring's similar views and the test of practical demonstrations instigated by him with associates, using Irish harp.

<sup>46</sup> Nos. {110, 306, 336, 109, 318; 319, 337, 103a, 339a}: see table below.

Lawes himself did form some such group, dipped into as a basis for his arrangements for two division bass viols and organ. (Since these occur in his parts and score, in two key-groups G minor and C major, they have secured a prime numbering {101-107}.)<sup>47</sup> He used the versions retained in the late sources in arranging {101, 103a} for two basses. However Cunningham's assumption that any part of this group belongs to the Royall Consort 'old version', because the later sources place it immediately beforehand, is unfounded. That lateness makes the sources incapable of speaking for the earlier development of 'Royall' sequences. The Pavan-Alman duo {101, 103a} first appears c.1630-1636 in Och, Mus. 367-70, but not in a considered pairing. Thus the status of {103b}, its Shirley version, is at issue.<sup>48</sup> Cunningham sees this as a discarded early form: it has seemed as useful hitherto to call it late, going by its position at the very end of the four-part section in the books. Obvious reasons to suspect a late date and explain the variance come from hurried hand-style and unique clef-forms. Lawes here improvised internal parts to accompany a Tr-B skeleton kept 'in his head'. He followed {103b} with a similarly novel Alman {339b}.<sup>49</sup> If it is proposed that he varied them during a regular period of settled copying for a domestic patron early on, some explanation should be tendered for the abnormal degree of reworking shown in these versions, and their failure to circulate thereafter. In its absence, the alternative still seems preferable: that he added them late, when casually passing. Here Cunningham relies principally on a stylistic opinion of signature to provide dating; again prompting one to query reliance on this (or the arbitrariness of a view that it cannot here be a late, post-1642 form).

Other difficulties stem from a discussion (pp. 129-131) accompanying Table 4.1: 'Lawes sequence from Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. F.568-9' (p. 130). The title of this, a trifle misleading, needs close reading of fn. 25 to the page. A sequence of 23 aires in the middle (nos. 39-61, out of 1-93 pieces) has recently been recognized as not by Lawes but Thomas Brewer. Thus at least five out of the 14 'suites' listed have no bearing on the Royall Consort at all. Neither do the first two suites, in keys G minor/G major. The fact that this comparatively late source (of the 1650s, like the other main one for the 'old version') is indiscriminate enough to lump in Brewer makes its order not highly relevant. It says next to nothing for the old version, or what sparked it, and blunts the suggestion that the early suites in G minor/G major/D minor were associated with it at all. It is not highly meaningful to term them suites, anyway. From the range of dance-types within them, they are not even proto-suites but rag-bags in a modern edition, as their published order shows (PAACACA, PAAC). The

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<sup>47</sup> In those autographs, {104-105} follow as a different group, all in C major; {106} is incomplete and not in the score B.2, where {107} stands alone.

<sup>48</sup> Cataloguing of {339a-b} apart is due to a placement amongst miscellaneous aires in G minor in the later collected sources, before its status was clear.

<sup>49</sup> That it was in his head, rather than in a notated form (in an oblong saddle-pack note-book, say), is suggested by the nature of departures of {339b} from {339a}: variant strain-length and interchange of the treble lines. Other circulated versions and adaptations show {339a} as the norm, though yet another form is hinted at by interesting if small deviations in the second strain of Benjamin Cosyn's keyboard arrangement: US-NYp, Drexel MS 5611, f. 127.

third, in D minor, is not a suite of any kind except by just that juxtaposition.<sup>50</sup> Agreed, the G minor/G major dances had a ‘valued status’ for Lawes; but not *as* sequences. Even the dances in G minor are not tightly bound together in the sources as they occur at the earliest stage extant, John Browne’s dance books. There, as stated, only Pavan and Alman {101, 103a} appear, unpaired (p. 131). It is directly erroneous, too, to state that these books give the neighbour Corant {339a} in D minor. To claim it next as evidence for an ‘originally large set of dances in D major/D minor that was eventually trimmed down into the Royall Consort proper’ drops a large stitch in the argument.<sup>51</sup> To call the later sequence in G minor a ‘discarded Royall Consort suite’ thus prejudges the issue. Aire {103b} may be in the Shirley partbooks, but does not add any proof that it or any other of these pieces is earlier than 1633, except by accepting Cunningham’s belief about everything in those books.<sup>52</sup> For {103b} to be ‘the earliest form ... subsequently revised’ does not, unsupported in that way, begin to deal with questions of how or why. The reverse view, taking a lead from Gordon Dodd, inclines to a very late date for the last sequence of four-part aires in the Shirley partbooks {319, 337, 103b, 339b}, the first two unique to them. Explaining variance in the last two by supposing that Lawes had in his head a Tr-B ‘gist’ of them, to appropriate the term adopted by Cunningham for a likelihood that dance-music came primarily into being in that basic unelaborated form (pp. 218-221), is supported by the interior lines II-III (Treble 2, Tenor): invented afresh for the occasion with imitative features varied, strain-length too. These by-forms are as unique in a different way as the others; unknown elsewhere. Casting them as early discarded forms seems arbitrary. If they are not in the form used as the basis for the bass viol duos, that is simply because they had not yet been penned by Lawes. They are more likely to date not only after 1638, but even well after 1640, if precisely when is now unrecoverable.

At a risk of straining at a gnat, the underlying problem is in weighing how (and when) the Shirley partbooks were built up. They have sections in 2-6 parts (that à2, one part now missing, in the reverse). As often, each section was added to incrementally, not sequentially. Its three-part aires by Lawes, a little-discussed category (as Cunningham notes), clearly came in two or even three batches at different times. The first six include two aires {75, 83} later expanded for five-part viols (keys C minor and C major): uncontentionally, these were copied by 1633. The remaining four, separated by some folia, end the three-part section {227, 207, 342, 208}: two or three are unica. Since this group has no regular ties to known work by Lawes from his court period, it requires some substantiation to push it back into formative years rather than see it as a late addition, post 1642. These dances form a quirky bunch, not

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<sup>50</sup> That published edition could (maybe should) have made the random nature of its contents clearer.

<sup>51</sup> This muddles {339} with Saraband {264} in D minor; a piece unlikely to be by Lawes at all—in Playford’s *The English Dancing Master* (London, 1651), and in other lesser sources where the name of Lawes is attached only once. In the four-part version, the second treble line anticipates the repeated-note theme of the first treble’s second strain at the end of the first: this seems just a way of infilling, atypical of Lawes.

<sup>52</sup> A (drafting) slip through a whole paragraph on this page is to term Alman {103} ‘Pavan {103}’, though this does not impinge on the argument.

juvenilia; and that they were *not* reused in any form puts them on a limb—of time (i.e. later). Differentiations can be made for the four-part aires in the books too, where two or more groups seem to be copied without gap but in differing hand-styles; the latest three pieces variant or else unica. The accompanying table may make this clearer, and the jumble of approaches covered by these segments, of aires or minor fantasias in their own right. Lawes may never have established a set pattern of dealing with either three-part dance or four-part work of fantasia-aire types: it may be telling that few hints survive of circulated collections scored in these ways. In sum, it seems likely that he channelled attention away from this area to pursue it in the Royall Consort *œuvre* in particular. That, if so, may also say something for date.

Aires by William Lawes in the Shirley Partbooks (all 2Tr)			
à3	Key <sup>53</sup>	Type	Comments ( <i>U=unicum</i> )
320	G	Alman	also in Tenbury MS 302
321	G	Alman	also in Tenbury MS 302
75	c	Alman	later adapted for five-part viol ensemble
226	c	Corant	second strain an Alman, with a tripla conclusion
83	C	Alman	in Tenbury MS 302; later, a five-part viol adaptation
206	C	Alman-Corant	<i>only</i> in Tenbury MS 302 otherwise
227	c	Alman	<i>U</i>
207	C	Alman	<i>U</i>
342	g	Alman	<i>U</i> thus: a version of Colman 314, Tr-A-B, but for 2Tr-B instead and, though in Lawes' hand, for once <i>not</i> signed as his. The Tr-B skeleton seems more in Colman's manner; the 2nd treble is stylistically in keeping for Lawes. That could have bearing on date (middle 1630s?), and a partnership with Colman
208	C	Alman	<i>U</i> except maybe for a lyra form {579}
à4	Key	Type	Comments ( <i>U=unicum</i> ; <i>2B=bass instead of tenor part</i> )
110	d	strophic	<i>2B</i> : reworked in MS Mus. Sch. B.2 in c (with 109 below)
306	F	strophic	<i>2B</i> : concords with MS Mus. Sch. D.220 (one partbook only; a <i>two</i> -part form)
336	g	unstrophic	<i>U</i> : extended, aire-fantasia type
109	c	strophic	<i>2B</i> : reworked in MS Mus. Sch. B.2, still in c
318	G	unstrophic	<i>U</i> : extended, aire-fantasia type
319	G	unstrophic	<i>U</i> : extended, aire-fantasia type; lacks one treble part ( <i>viz.</i> Lawes omitted that one part when copying)

<sup>53</sup> Minor keys in miniscule; major keys in majuscule.

337	g	Alman	<i>U</i>
103b	g	Alman	<i>U</i> thus: bass duo divisions on this, but as 103a
339b	g	Corant	<i>U</i> thus

Significant for dating purposes (*c.*1635?) are concordances found in Tenbury MS 302 for both three-part and five-part sections. The latter section has at its end Luca Marenzio's madrigal 'Solo e pensoso' (untexted), and the 2 fantasias in G minor by Lawes (one on a confected plainsong called 'Îñomine' in the Shirley books). These three pieces are otherwise wholly unparalleled in extant partbooks of the period.

In his printed collections, from *A Musicall Banquet* (1651) via *Court-Ayres* (1655) to *Courtly Masquing Aires* (1662) (here *MB*, *CA*, *CMA*), John Playford's two-part coverage of Lawes was catholic. Most of his ascriptions seem in keeping by style, but he was not infallible.<sup>54</sup> Totals can differ, for various reasons: for example, modern listing has wrongly attributed a piece by Lawes as Benjamin Rogers {1}.<sup>55</sup> The principle on which Playford built was clearly very different from that of the recent compilers of four-part aires; it may simply have been to harvest all available. If he was attempting maximum coverage, it would follow that he or his sources had limited access to the consort works. Cunningham notes first-time publication only, placing consort pieces aside.<sup>56</sup> Playford's choices from those, untreated by Cunningham, are *in tota* {41, 58, 61 (two forms)} from the Royall Consort; {102} as used in the bass duos; {118} from the fantasia-suites, and from the Harp Consorts {162-165, 170-171, 173-182}.<sup>57</sup> It is possible that Playford was returning the items from the Royall Consort to an original single treble line, instead of slimming them down. Morris in D major {41} and Corant in F major {58} both have a single melody line, even in the full versions; Saraband in F major {61} also has a single line, divided fairly between the top lines in the ensemble version, a strain each. Playford did not spurn another category either, unmentioned by Cunningham: ritornelli in masques. *CA* (1655) no. 135 is a 'Symphony' in C minor for William Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans* (1638), accompanying the 'Song of Galatea'; Mus. Sch. B.2 p.17. Playford's alman version uses the masque's following three-part chorus as a closing tripla: {231}. *CA* no. 136 likewise is from B.2 p. 44, the 'Sinfony' in C minor for an incomplete part-song 'Deare leaue thy home': {232}.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> An AC pair in C minor formerly {229-230}, *CA* (1655) nos. 131-132, is in fact by Jenkins, in his autograph scorebook nos. 88-89 à2; *CMA* (1662) nos. 109-111, ascribed to Lawes, are by Matthew Locke.

<sup>55</sup> *CA* no. 80, 'Country Dance' in G major, is ascribed to Lawes in the bass partbook but not in the treble: an erroneous modern pencilled attribution to Rogers added to that was accepted for some reason. It is {421} for solo lyra viol, ascribed; *Musick's Recreation: on the Lyra Viol* (London, 1655), no. 18, 'Country Coll'.

<sup>56</sup> Aires by William Lawes in Playford, minus consort pieces: *MB* (1651), 12 minus 5 = 7. *CA* (1655), 45 new, 51 *in toto*. *CMA* (1662) 11 new, 52 *in toto*. Cunningham includes eight from *Musickes Hand-maide* (1663); but none of these is new against previously available pieces, except for two Sarabands known only for keyboard: one, source-no. 47, is similar in its first strain to Royall Consort {48} in A minor.

<sup>57</sup> Significantly, the works for viol consort were not tapped; not even the long-popular Aire in A minor, {73}.

<sup>58</sup> Cunningham does not detail symphonies separately from vocal items in his handlists.

The Harp Consort's first six suites equate to {162-186}; through-numbered HC 1-25 by Cunningham. Lefkowitz suggested that {187-191} following, HC 26-30, were intended for insertion in the foregoing suites. It is highly believable; all five of them are more substantial, while conforming in key to suites 1-6. A slight irregularity is that two (HC 26-27) are in G major, whereas only one suite is in that key. Also there is only one new movement in the key of G minor to share between three suites (HC 29). But we are obliged to deduce from context that Lawes only ever conceived irregular shapes for his various suite-forms; apart from the fantasia-suites they approach regularity only in the Royall Consort, and not consistently there either. Cunningham's refinement is to query the way in which Lawes built on what are agreed to be the first six suites. There is food for thought in his suggestion that HC 26 was a staging-post to the later dances, where division strains are a notable feature. It stands out by being worked in four real parts, but lacking divisions. Saying that Lawes developed his treatment through the course of the whole sequence may possibly overstate the case, though. In fact, from the start his practice seems to vary and intersperse differing types of treatment: divisions of one sort or other appear at once, as the following list may show.

[Suite] {VdGS nos.}	Numbered HC 1-30 by Cunningham	Forms (Key <sup>59</sup> )
[1] {162-165}	HC 1-4 and	
[2] {166-169}	HC 5-8, both	ACCS (g)
[3] {170-173}	HC 9-12	ACCS (G)
[4] {174-177}	HC 13-16	AACS (d)
[5] {178-181}	HC 17-20	ACCS (D)
[6] {182-186}	HC 21-25	AACCS (D)
[7-11] numbered separately but proposed by Lefkowitz as possible supplements for Suites [1-6] {187-191}	HC 26	A (G)
	HC 27	Pavan (G)
	HC 28	Pavan (D)
	HC 29	Pavan (g)
	HC 30	Fantasia (d)
The following movements have no second-time division / variation strains:		
{162}	HC 1	Alman
{167}	HC 6	Corant
{172}	HC 11	Corant
{183}	HC 22	Alman
{187}	HC 26	Aire (Alman-type)
In the following, bass viol doubles bc (theorbo) in the first-time strains unvaried, but is given second-time extra division / variation strains in both halves:		
{163}	HC 2	Corant
{164}	HC 3	Corant
{165}	HC 4	Saraband [near-doubling: small amount of variance]
{166}	HC 5	Alman

<sup>59</sup> Minor keys in miniscule; major keys in majuscule.

{169}	HC 8	Saraband	
{170}	HC 9	Alman	
{174}	HC 13	Alman	
{175}	HC 14	Alman	
{178}	HC 17	Alman	
{180}	HC 19	Corant	
{181}	HC 20	Saraband	[3-strain; violin divisions—see {181}below*]
In the following movements, bass viol similarly doubles bc unvaried in the first-time strains, but has second-time and third-time extra divisions / variations:			
{168}	HC 7	Corant	
{171}	HC 10	Corant	
{173}	HC 12	Saraband	
{176}	HC 15	Corant	
{179}	HC 18	Corant	
{182}	HC 21	Alman	
{188}	HC 27	Pavan	
Division / variation writing for violin as well as bass viol occurs in the following movements, and so counts as an episodic, if expanding feature (there are no movements where bass viol does not counter violin variations in turn):			
{177}	HC 16	Saraband	
{181}	HC 20	Saraband	*third-time divisions; vn/bv, <i>not</i> simultaneously
{184}	HC 23	Corant	
{185}	HC 24	Corant	
{186}	HC 25	Saraband	
{189}	HC 28	Pavan	
vn/bv have separate divisions for the repeat strain of A, but play divisions together for B and C strains (both with a doubled repeat)			
{190}	HC 29	Pavan	
vn/bv are separate for A-repeat divisions but share both (doubled) B and C divisions			
{191}	HC 30	Fantazia—counts here for division-type figuration at times	

This skeleton listing bears out a contention of increasing complexity from suite 6 on, but only for violin, and not any especial pattern of technical advance for bass viol. It does seem that suite 6 is a node point (partly since it is in the sector omitted from the non-autograph harp part, Och, Mus. 5). But if a pattern of division writing set in early, the tendency to leave pieces unvaried also persists. Different methods of handling are simply spaced out—quite possibly, just for variety. If the earlier sector was separate from the rest by some (though unquantifiable) lapse of time as Cunningham supposes, there seems less need to insist as he does that the copying of a harp part for the first eight items into the keyboard book D.229 has to follow rather than precede the parts in that for the bass duos. Playford drew on this, the most recondite part of the whole output, which only later itself on draws on anything earlier. It

shows Lawes coping again with the demands of unprecedented scoring.<sup>60</sup> It is however tantalisingly short of preservation in complete form; one regrets that Cunningham's doctoral transcript is not available, to illustrate his understanding of the harp part's realisation.

The fantasia-suites (in modern terminology) are given an overview along lines that amplify the only satisfying contextual discussion so far, by Peter Holman, and again draw in Jenkins as a directly contemporary parallel. Its most detailed examination is of the place within the series of the last fantasia for one violin {135}, within the second suite (or set) in D major. Cunningham's belief that this was extensively revised has a major drawback. A large likelihood (he agrees) is that circulation of the opus occurred before the autograph parts were in quite their final state, as they now are. Since however divergences in circulated parts, whether for organ or strings, are strictly limited, that leaves no room for supposing envisageable revision of any substance at any point. And yet Cunningham hankers after an episode of just that to explain why this one piece was excerpted in the composer's scorebook, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, without its accompanying dance-movements. With any revision, length or at least the abnormal level of figuration in the piece would surely have been affected in some way or other; yet no trace of that is left. Where Lawes is glimpsed revising elsewhere, and always for the better, he decisively prunes dead wood or grafts new stock: measures of absolute length. There are major exceptions; but in those, sonority is the key. For a previous version of {135} to have been circulated, but altered invisibly in all extant copies, thus adds another undocumented epicycle. It may though be missing a trick to create a conundrum by thinking in terms of *structural* revision. One may best revert to a picture of Lawes fine-tuning his text for purposes of *sonorities*: specifically in the organ part, on just the level of incidental detail visible in B.2. As sources show, where his scores turned smaller-scale dances into five-part versions for viols, non-autograph partbook copies seem to revise detail at the octave in the internal parts, seemingly to lighten texture. The most radical attempt by Lawes to rethink sonority is surely the time-consuming rescoring of the whole Royall Consort—over 60 dances.

At this distance of time, and in this case, widening the scope may give the best solution to such a puzzling expenditure of effort. Fantasia {135} is notorious for its figurative, motivic play: each part constantly echoes and interrupts, even down to a level of hocketing four-semiquaver groups within a range of a crotchet gap. The keyboard has a full role in this interplay. Can sonorities affect that? A lead came from a modern player-scholar, in the first British recording of the Musica Britannica, vol. 21 selection. Thurston Dart found the texture of the organ part unsatisfactory in this one set, and out of the ordinary enough, to propose that it represented a harp part.<sup>61</sup> His performing version for the recording used Welsh harp, still discretely backed by his own

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<sup>60</sup> It is stated that Lefkowitz identified {177} as a 'reworking' of a song, 'O my Clarissa' (p. 228). In fact he merely noted the parallel (and thought the piece more a Corant than a Saraband). The song-text was in print by 1652, but its sagging metre shows it to be the addition; to a simple Tr-B version, maybe.

<sup>61</sup> The sleeve-notes to the recording suggesting this approach are by Margaret Bent, but one assumes a large input into them from performing artistes, preponderantly Dart in person.

improvisation on organ: a zany yet engaging, attractive sound. One wonders if Dart's habitual leap by intuition (where evidence was short) yet again landed on its feet here, or nearly so. The organ parts for the fantasia-suites as a whole can indulge on occasion in intervals of a twelfth, excessive for many hands. As remarked in the complete edition (*Musica Britannica*, 60), there is no evidence for refinements in instruments of the time such as pedals; but then our singular lack of information can rule nothing out. What we can say is that *claviorgans* existed. Remains of one survive, made for a recusant courtier of Elizabeth I by a Flemish maker, known to have worked at court.<sup>62</sup> There is a small but firm thread of remark up to the time of Edward Benlowes (poet and patron of Jenkins), and Thomas Mace, leading one to suppose that such combinations stayed in use till then; whereupon their attractiveness may have diminished as fashion shifted. Their intriguing capacity was to play harpsichord and organ simultaneously. This may be the missing link in discerning what exactly Lawes intended by bothering to tinker with this movement, in score-form too. Vacillation between keyboard readings then takes on a slightly different meaning. In more general terms, as affects string parts too, it could be that more of his decisions than now taken 'as read' one way or other could be real alternatives that in the case of a major composer should be open to the players, and on offer.<sup>63</sup> Commentators so far have offered too little on this perspective.

What then does Dr Cunningham's discussion of context effect? The conclusions reached over repertoire at the end of the six concluding chapters confirm that the court environment largely 'explains' the extant work (excepting maybe that for voices). They do not illuminate the early background for Lawes, or how he came to shape his environment, in any detail or profusion. New thoughts offered ray out from the way that he made striking resort to division-form, for harp consort and bass duo or elsewhere. Cunningham offers the advice that we should take two-part dance repertoire more seriously as an indicator of the norm for the bulk of composers' work; even court players would have largely extemporised performance to account for their habitual duties. That makes sense, to the extent that we have so little else to compare from this period. Lawes may be atypical for having extended his range of division techniques beyond the usual boundaries; also, in that so much by him survives fully-notated. And so, it strikes two ways: what have we lost; or do we even know what we have lost? Suites by Colman do seem to have been cut down early from four to three parts, in order to circulate. Repertoire by other now under-represented figures like Cormack MacDermott was clearly part of the working environment for Lawes, and yet is now close to unresurrectable as it was probably played. In one instance we can take remarks, by Edward Lowe again, to see material vanishing. He commented on dances by Davis Mell that came to him, and survive in Tr-B form, how a middle part had

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<sup>62</sup> Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London: for the instrument, see D. H. Boalch and P. Williams, 'Claviorgan', *GMO* (accessed 6 December 2010); B. Wilson, 'The Lodewijk Theewes Claviorgan and its Position in the History of Keyboard Music', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 16 (1990), 5-41; D. Gwynn, 'Organs and Organ-Builders at the Courts of Queen Elizabeth, [Kings] James I and Charles I', *BIOS Journal*, 33 (2009), 47-69.

<sup>63</sup> It affects the work for viol ensemble more than the rest: from some of his annotations in his score-books, it is hard to be certain whether all the inked alterations would have been ones that he stuck by.

been lost, or not arrived as expected, for one item. ‘Thes 10 are Mr Dauice Mell’s: w<sup>ch</sup> are for 4 parts, all but the 4.<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> had noe inner part sent./. the Other two parts are in the Countertenor & Tenor of my Parchment-couer Bookes’ (MSS Mus. Sch. E.451, p. 319 (INV)).<sup>64</sup> Court repertoire could have been far larger than now appears: it is likely just to have been pure entertainment music in the main, if Cunningham is right. And yet: there were those hankering for full as well as lighter matter. It was not just Thomas Mace, either. A titled contemporary of Lawes (born in the same year) noted how ‘by Ayres, Corantoes, and Sarabands, I was rendred more chearful; and when I desired to become Serious, the work was done for me by hearing Almayns, Fancies, and Pavans’.<sup>65</sup> There was a discriminating clientele ready to give lighter and weightier sides their due place, even in the relatively flighty cavalier decades: and that is just the divide straddled by Lawes. For him to have struck out in both ways, and for so much of that to survive, may leave us luckier than we are apt to think.

Reviewing the book that one would like to have seen written, or would have written oneself given the means (or in some cases may already have written), is not calculated to endear. It seems inevitable though to wonder if a tactic of interrogating the sources primarily through chronology has fully paid off, in trying to elucidate this particular man’s compositional process (a specific aim of the dust-jacket). Cunningham has wise words about the processes and visible revisions, especially as they affect different versions of the lyra viol trios, or in score and parts for the bass viol duos. As he notes, the scores are written in a clear and highly organized form of hand, but with scope remaining for scrutiny of the detail under its revisings. He touches on the case of revisions in the six-part ‘Inominy’ in B♭ major, which gives hope that someone may be able to tap funds needed for specialized imaging, to see beneath the page-surface of these scores. And yet some of the material needed to examine development is already available, in variants between sources that published editions have uncovered; to that extent, it has been possible to find ‘the workshop door ajar’ and venture a glimpse already. Perhaps neither approach will go the whole way. Rather more than most, Lawes enjoys or even suffers from a surfeit of novel musical ideas; not always equally effective, but enough to make his compositional processes and indeed the very flow of his music hard to assess. A quality of open-endedness is surely inherent in the unusual way that he thought, and keeps him ever fresh on the ear. One highway to the main issue here, an effectual chronology, would be to pay more attention to contemporaries in the field of the dance-suite. Charles Colman is highest on this list; it is a pity that interest in his dance-music has lagged. Another is in the song repertoire by Lawes: well outside the scope of this book, but holding some clues to his missing years. Dance and song may even tally to reveal his likely patrons and his other so-far unnamed associates—for if he was performing and writing lyra viol trios before his court appointment, he had fellow-players. Were they court musicians? If not, where and for whom did they play?

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<sup>64</sup> His books, now MSS Mus. Sch. D.233-236, have lost two that held the inner parts. A reduction for Tr-B is in MS Mus. Sch. E.451, pp. 326-318 (INV.).

<sup>65</sup> [Dudley 4th Baron North] *Observations and Advices Economical* (London, 1669), 120-121.

## Comments on Appendix 1 and Discography

'Source Descriptions' leave two five-part items in the Shirley Partbooks unidentified (p. 283). It is a pity that this, like *IMCM* I, overlooks available information.<sup>66</sup> The first item, source no. 17, is John Ward's 'Cor mio', no. 12 in Ernst Meyer's catalogue; demoted once its madrigalian origin was unearthed, but readmitted to *Thematic Index* since it circulated and was played in wordless form. The other (unnumbered, between 28 and 29) is a single treble part for Thomas Lupo's 'Miserere', setting 2 (Psalm 85).

Two canons in B.2, p. 107, listed as 'Regi Regis Regnum' (p. 303), should be 'Regi Regis Regum' (concluding 'Arcana Canon' [*sic* for Cano]: the second incipit repeats 'Arcana'). The detail could be significant. When Lawes wrote this text on the outer back flyleaf (as noticed at p. 303, n. *d*), he himself misspelled in a similar way. It appears there as 'Regie Regis Regnum | Arcana Canto'. Three errors in that maybe phonetic attempt suggest that Lawes was no latinist and that someone gave him the text to set, verbally at first. It points to his brother Henry, whose own canonic setting of the phrase is painted in *trompe-l'œil* fashion on his mature portrait, in the Oxford Music School collection (which has a further inscription on that to attest his identity). It seems apter for a singer in the Chapel Royal as he was, and William never became.

The discography omits major pioneering issues over thirty years old. That made by the Elizabethan Consort with Thurston Dart, taken from contents of *Musica Britannica*, vol. 21, still has admirers; Gustav Leonhardt had directed his own different selection. The Consort of Musicke deserves particular notice for four LPs, including one of the vocal music: these broke ground by drawing on private transcripts made available to the group and not falling back on *Musica Britannica* for its texts.

*Englische Consort-Musik um 1600-1640 | Consort Music in England, circa 1600-1640.*

Leonhardt-Consort, dir. G. Leonhardt. *Das Alte Werk*; Telefunken SAWT 9481-A (1966): includes Fantasia no. 1 à6 in F major, In Nomine à6 in B♭ major, Fantasia-Suite no. 7 in D minor for two violins

*William Lawes: Consort Music.* The Elizabethan Consort, dir. T. Dart. Argo ZRG 555 (1968)

*William Lawes: Dialogues, Psalms and Elegies,* The Consort of Musicke, dir. A. Rooley. DSLO 573. Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre (Decca) (1978)

*William Lawes: Royall Consorts.* The Consort of Musicke, dir. A. Rooley. DSLO 573. Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre (Decca) (1978)

*William Lawes: Setts for Violins and Division Viols,* The Consort of Musicke, dir. A. Rooley. DSLO 573. Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre (Decca) (1978)

*William Lawes: Viol Consort Music.* The Consort of Musicke, dir. A. Rooley. DSLO 560 (1978)

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<sup>66</sup> See the partbook set's listing in D. Pinto, *For y<sup>e</sup> Viols: The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes* (Richmond, 1995), 32.

## MUSIC EDITIONS

### Jenkins, the Five-Part Consorts

ANDREW ASHBEE

John Jenkins, *The Five-Part Consort Music*, 2 volumes, edited by David Pinto; Fretwork Editions FE29 (Fantasies 1-10) and FE30 (Fantasies 11-17, Pavans 1-3, Appendix). ISMN 979-0-708099-03-1; pp. xxiii + 55 (FE29) + 55 (FE30); score (2 vols.), £13; viol parts (standard size), £14; viol parts (large size), £20; score and viol parts (standard size), £25; score and viol parts (large size), £30; organ book, £7.

A significant milestone in the publishing of viol consort music was reached with the Viola da Gamba Society's handsome boxed sets of the five-, six-, and four-part consorts of John Jenkins. Nothing of the kind had been attempted before (although we must acknowledge the pioneering printed survey of part of the viol repertory in *Musica Britannica*, 9).<sup>1</sup> These editions included both scores and parts and were a far cry from the usual home-made offerings of select pieces by *Musica Rara*, the Viola da Gamba Society itself, and numerous enterprising individuals, invaluable though these were. Marco Pallis and Richard Nicholson spent an enormous amount of time and energy in gathering the support of eminent scholars for an appeal to the Gulbenkian Foundation to fund the Jenkins project, which ultimately proved successful. Faber Music Ltd in their turn produced a most elegant boxed set of Jenkins's five-part consorts, published in 1971,<sup>2</sup> and which proved a springboard not only for the six- and four-part sets of the Gulbenkian scheme,<sup>3</sup> but led Faber to issue similar volumes under their own auspices, comprising the six-part consorts attributed to Orlando Gibbons and the consort sets by William Lawes.<sup>4</sup>

The five-part Jenkins was eagerly taken up by players and it did not take too long for the edition to go out of print. The loss was keenly felt and attempts were subsequently made to keep the parts available. Brian Jordan and more recently Martha Bishop are owed our warmest thanks for their efforts in that behalf. Martha has generously allowed her computer files to give a jump-start to the new edition which Fretwork has now produced, edited by David Pinto.

It is nearly forty years since the Faber edition, so time to look again at all the evidence. The original edition by Richard Nicholson was based on transcriptions prepared by Marco Pallis for performance by the English Consort of Viols. Using all the experience of the players it proved a reliable text. However, the scholarly fraternity were slightly disappointed that a full

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<sup>1</sup> *Jacobean Consort Music*, ed. T. Dart and W. Coates (London, 1955; repr. 1962).

<sup>2</sup> J. Jenkins, *Consort Music in Five Parts*, ed. R. Nicholson (London, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> J. Jenkins, *Consort Music for Viols in Six Parts*, ed. R. Nicholson and A. Ashbee (London, 1976); Jenkins, *Consort Music for Viols in Four Parts*, ed. A. Ashbee (London, c1978).

<sup>4</sup> O. Gibbons: *Six Fantasias, for Viols in Six Parts*, ed. M. Hobbs (London, c1982); W. Lawes, *Consort Sets in Five and Six Parts*, ed. D. Pinto (London, 1979).

textual commentary was not provided—an omission rectified in the subsequent collections—since Richard decided to cite variants ‘only when they offer a musically viable alternative to the reading given in the text’. So, for instance, he records only one variant for the first fantasia (at b. 12, Organ-bass, notes 8-9), where the new edition cites sixty. A more detailed investigation of this particular commentary shows that in fact the two editions match each other well. These are the new amendments:

- b. 5, Organ-alto: final two quavers create fifths with (tenor) Viol III, so Pinto suggests removing the second quaver and playing a crotchet *g'*
- b. 28, Organ-alto, note 4: two tied crotchet *f*'s have been corrected to *f'* and *d'*

All other records match the Nicholson reading, although here there are occasional additional helpful remarks and the original signs of congruence have been added too. I use Fantasia 7 as a second sample: 3 variants in Faber; 52 in Fretwork. New variants recorded:

- b. 16, Organ-alto, note 3: dotted minim substituted for minim
- b. 17: signs of congruence added (and at b. 31)
- b. 24, Organ-bass, note 1: dotted semibreve replaces semibreve
- b. 26, Organ-alto, notes 1-2: minim replaces two crotchets
- b. 36, Organ-treble, notes 2-3: minims *g* and *b'* corrected to minim *g'* tied to crotchet *g'*
- b. 41, (treble) Viol I and Organ-treble, note 3: suggested editorial flat creates new colour here
- b. 41, Organ-alto, notes 1-3: changed to match (treble) Viol II
- b. 42, Organ-treble, notes 1-2: changed to match Treble 1 (and Organ-treble, note 1, is tied to previous note)
- b. 56, (treble) Viol II, notes 3-4 and Organ-treble, notes 5-6: tie added
- b. 63, Organ-tenor, notes 1-5: revised

The bulk of these amendments concern the organ part (in which Jenkins probably had no hand). Nevertheless they show how David Pinto has carefully reconsidered the whole text. These minor alterations clear up a number of places where Jenkins (technically not always the most careful of composers—even if sometimes the blame attaches to scribes) has created errors that need correction. The whole is now likely to be as perfect as we should hope for. It is also interesting to see in the commentary the original notation of bb. 41-49 of fantasia with its plethora of sharps and flats. Fifteen years ago in the predecessor to this journal, Annette Otterstedt argued for retaining such notation in editions on the grounds that it was a distinctive English trait of the time,<sup>5</sup> but, as with her other plea for retaining original clefs in editions, in these days both are dispensed with to make life easier for players. However Bill Hunt has given great consideration to the needs of players in supplying three alternative versions of parts: one ‘normal’; one in larger size (i.e. a two-page rather than single page format for each piece) and one without bar-lines. For a modern editor/publisher the last format creates problems in defining

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<sup>5</sup> ‘Review: J. Ward, *Consort Music of Five and Six parts*, ed. I. Payne’, *Chelvy*, 24 (1995), 73-75, at 74.

accidentals and considerable time and effort has been put into solving them without compromising editorial decisions and suggestions.

Much work has been done—and continues to be done—in researching the sources of consort music. David has been in the forefront of this and his commentary on the sources for these pieces is masterly and full of insights. Noting that the Newberry partbooks mention that the Pavan no. 50 *a4* was ‘set for five parts’, he has very successfully created second tenor and organ parts for this work to add to the three other pavans—a wonderful addition.

In giving permission for the new edition to be made the Society is owed the thanks of all violists. Greater thanks are due to editor and publisher; the former for all his work in re-examining this corner-stone of the repertory and the latter for risking publishing his fine new edition in the wake of the earlier ones. May their efforts be fully justified by an enthusiastic acceptance of all they have achieved.

## Jenkins: Fantasia-Suites

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

John Jenkins, *Fantasia-Suites: II*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, Musica Britannica, 90 (London, 2010). ISBN 978-0-85249-916-0; pp. xxxii + 159; score £82.

The term ‘fantasia-suite’ is a modern one, first brought into common currency in the 1930s. It conveniently describes a particular kind of three-movement suite, apparently invented by John Coprario in the fervently creative household of Prince Charles (later Charles I) in the early 1620s: a contrapuntal fantasia followed by two dances (often given the generic title of ‘Ayre’), the first a duple-time alman, the second a triple-time galliard ending with a common-time close. Coprario also established the scoring of one or two violins, bass viol and organ. Twenty-three such suites by Coprario survive complete: 15 for one violin, 8 for two.<sup>6</sup> Though somewhat uneven in quality, these innovative suites proved highly influential. The genre has understandably been often likened to the trio sonata that was beginning to take shape in contemporary Italy. The parallel appears to have been first drawn by Thurston Dart, who observed that Coprario’s suites were ‘trio-sonatas in all but name’.<sup>7</sup> In truth the fantasia-suite was an independent development; there is no evidence to suggest that Coprario knew of the sonatas of composers such as Salamone Rossi or Biagio Marini.

Coprario’s fantasia-suites appear to have held a place in the musical repertoire of the English court for at least the next decade, and provided a clear model for several notable composers of the next generation. By the mid-1630s or so

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<sup>6</sup> J. Coprario, *Fantasia-Suites*, ed. R. Charteris, Musica Britannica, 46 (London, 1980).

<sup>7</sup> ‘Jacobean Consort Music’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 81st Sess. (1954-1955), 63-75, at 69. William Lawes’s fantasia-suites were termed ‘violin sonatas’ by Murray Lefkowitz in his 1960 monograph on the composer.

William Lawes, once Coprario's pupil, had made his own significant contribution to the genre—like the suites of his erstwhile teacher—they no doubt formed part of the repertoire of the elite private music of Charles I. Lawes composed 16 fantasia-suites, eight each for one and two violins.<sup>8</sup> Each suite follows Coprario's three-movement plan; Lawes, however, adopted a more systematic tonal approach: each scoring set is divided into the same eight keys.

Coprario's model was also explored by John Hingeston, Christopher Gibbons and John Jenkins; Gibbons appears to have composed his suites in the 1650s. Hingeston was master of the music at Cromwell's court during the Interregnum—his fantasia-suites may well have been heard there. Jenkins certainly knew Coprario's suites: his realization of the organ parts for his two-violin suites made for Sir Nicholas L'Strange, apparently from a lost autograph manuscript once in the possession of Richard Ligon (the executor of Coprario's will), are now housed in the British Library.<sup>9</sup> The Civil War seems to have been a significant catalyst in the dissemination of the fantasia-suite beyond the courtly environs in which it was first cultivated. It is easy to understand why the genre became popular: the modest scoring requirements would have been available to many large households; although Coprario and Lawes specifically call for violins on the treble lines, a treble viol is an able substitute and was presumably used in the absence of a violinist (or two). Among Jenkins's vast oeuvre there are 56 fantasia-suites; to these can be added 22 fantasia-air pairs, clearly related in style and conception. The fantasia-suites and fantasia-airs are themselves arranged in sets or 'Groups', a useful taxonomical tool first introduced by Christopher D. S. Field.<sup>10</sup> Indeed Jenkins was the most prolific composer of fantasia-suites; the sheer scope of his essays in this genre presents a detailed picture of his development as a composer and demonstrates his willingness to experiment within traditionally established confines.

Unfortunately much of Jenkins's output is difficult to date precisely. The earliest of his fantasia-suites appear to be Groups I and II, which clearly show the influence of Coprario, most obviously in their adoption of the Fantasia-Alman-Galliard pattern, but also in their scoring: Group I comprises 17 suites for treble, bass and organ; Group II comprises 10 suites for two trebles, bass and organ. Both groups seem to have been composed in the 1630s and 1640s. Unlike Lawes, Jenkins did not receive a court post until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. We know little of his movements until the 1630s, by which time he was associated with the Derham and L'Estrange households in East Anglia: here his early fantasia-suites were presumably performed along with those of Coprario and—Ashbee suggests—those of Lawes. Indeed, there seems also to be some cross-influence between the Group I suites in particular

<sup>8</sup> W. Lawes, *Fantasia-Suites*, ed. D. Pinto, Musica Britannica, 60 (London, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> GB-Lbl, Add. MS 23779: see C. D. S. Field, 'Stephen Bing's Copies of Coprario Fantasia-Suites', *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 311-317.

<sup>10</sup> 'The English Consort Suite of the Seventeenth Century', Ph.D. thesis (New College, Oxford, 1970). Field's unpublished thesis remains an extremely valuable study in this area; another is J. T. Johnson, 'The English Fantasia-Suite, c.1620-1660', Ph.D. diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1971).

and Lawes's fantasia-suites.<sup>11</sup> While the potential of further explorations of the genre by Lawes was extinguished on the battlefield of Rowton Heath in September 1645, Jenkins continued to explore the fantasia-suite throughout the Commonwealth period, all the while pushing its traditional boundaries. One of the most significant deviations from Coprario's model is Jenkins's scorings. The first signs of this are found in Group III—a set of nine suites for treble, two basses and organ—now available for the first time in Andrew Ashbee's latest contribution to the *Musica Britannica* series. With the publication of this volume, all but two of the Jenkins fantasia-suite groups are now available in authoritative modern editions;<sup>12</sup> editions of the remaining groups are planned for publication in the *Musica Britannica* series.<sup>13</sup>

The Group III suites follow the ascending Gamut division of G minor, A minor, B♭ major, C major, D major, D minor, E minor and F major. In these suites Jenkins appears to be attempting to blend several elements. Within the three-movement fantasia-suite model he introduces the rich and distinct timbre of a pair of bass viols; he was, of course, a renowned performer on the instrument and composed dozens of bass viol duos. The treble instrument is rarely specified in Jenkins's fantasia-suites; his upper lines can generally be played on treble viol or violin. The reason for such flexibility seems to lie in the original performance context; the wealthy East Anglia households with which he was associated would have had a chest of viols, but—unlike the royal (or indeed Cromwellian) court—may not always have had access to gifted violinists. Although first instincts for the Group III suites may suggest the brilliant tone of the violin as an effective counterbalance to the bass viols, it seems most likely that Jenkins composed the treble line with a viol in mind. The case is compellingly argued by Ashbee's accurate observation that the 'style of the [Group III] treble parts matches the basses so closely that clearly a uniform sound was expected' (p. xxvii). One cannot help thinking that the primary reason for using two bass viols was divisions—a prominent characteristic of many of Jenkins's bass viol duos. Indeed, the dominant feature of the Group III suites is divisions, which are to be found in equal measure throughout all three string parts. As many viol players will know, these divisions are among the most challenging in the repertoire: in this respect, one is immediately reminded of Simpson's 'Seasons'. Each of the fantasias begins with a lengthy fugal-type section reminiscent of Jenkins's viol consort fantasias. The fantasias also include divisions; they are restricted to sections (sometimes one, sometimes more), which occasionally gives the feeling of contrasting sections rather than integration into the composition as a whole. Lawes and Jenkins appear to have first introduced elaborate divisions into their fantasia-suite opening movements around the same time: Lawes's D major fantasia from suite no. 8 for single violin is the unique example in his collection; two of the Jenkins fantasias from Group I similarly contain elaborate divisions.

<sup>11</sup> See J. Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602-1645* (Woodbridge, 2010), chapter 6.

<sup>12</sup> Groups II and VII: ed. Ashbee, *Musica Britannica*, 78 (London, 2001); Group IV: ed. Ashbee PRB Viol Consort Series, 10 (Albany, 1991); Group V: ed. Ashbee, *Musica Britannica*, 26 (London, 1969); Group VI: ed. R. Warner, rev. Ashbee, Fretwork Editions, 8 (London, 1993).

<sup>13</sup> Group I to be edited by Ashbee; Group VIII to be edited by Peter Holman.

Divisions are also prominent in the Group III dances; except for the first suite (where they are less elaborate), the divisions take the form of written out variations resulting in an AA<sup>1</sup>BB<sup>1</sup> structure. One wonders here whether we are getting a picture of frozen improvisation.

While Ashbee acknowledges that ‘there is no tangible evidence to support the suggestion’, he concludes that the ‘Group III pieces were also composed when Jenkins was associated with the Derham and L’Estrange families’ (p. xxii). In other words, these suites appear to have been composed in the 1630s or 1640s. Unfortunately the Group III sources offer no assistance in dating the collection. The suites survive in a single manuscript set, which has been housed in the Bodleian Library since the late seventeenth century: GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.241-244 (string parts) and D.261 (organ part). The manuscript set—which also includes other music by Jenkins as well as Lawes and Benjamin Rogers—appears to have been copied by the organist Theodore Coleby or an associate of his (p. xxiii). Copying seems to have been completed by 1660, at least a decade after the Group III suites were composed. Thus Ashbee highlights stylistic features to support his assessment of compositional dating. Several aspects support the assertion that these suites are later than Groups I and II; in particular the galliards of Groups I and II (and of the fantasia-suites of Coprario and Lawes) are dispensed with in favour of the more modern corant (without a common-time close), notwithstanding the ambiguous minim beat of the final movement of the first suite. Further, in terms of style the Group III pieces are similar to other division-heavy works—for two bass viols, and for treble and bass—by Jenkins, also apparently composed for the Derham and L’Estrange households; clearly there were players available in these households skilled enough to perform such challenging works.

Also included in the volume is an extremely interesting and useful 20-page appendix (with separate introduction) containing the extant bass parts for a set of divisions for treble and two basses, 29 items (untitled in the source) in all. The parts are unique: no concordances have yet been identified. It is difficult to get a clear impression of such works from a bass part, but it is obvious that these are high-quality mature works. All 29 are found in MS 515 of the Beinecke Library in New Haven—a manuscript as fascinating as it is frustrating. The manuscript is well-known. It is a guardbook, bound near the turn of the eighteenth century: its contents have been well documented previously, largely because it includes a set of early autographs by Henry Purcell.<sup>14</sup> The disparate fascicles—which also include with music by Lawes, Matthew Locke and Anthony Poole—were compiled by three scribes. The last fascicle is titled ‘29. Treble 2 bases. Divisions. J. Jenk.’. MS 515 is the sole survivor of the original set: a further two books were known until the mid-nineteenth century, when they appeared in the sale catalogue of the late Rev. Samuel Picart (1848); by the time it appeared in W. H. Cummings’s library sale in 1917 the bass book had lost its companions; it subsequently passed to Yale.

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<sup>14</sup> R. Ford, ‘Osborn MS 515: A Guardbook of Restoration Instrumental Music’, *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 30 (1983), 174-184; see also R. Thompson and R. Shay, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 293.

The 29 pieces are arranged according to key; two are single binary *Airs* (nos. 21 and 29), three are pairs (nos. 11-12, 17-18 and 19-20); the remainder are three- (nos. 1-3, 8-10, 22-24) or four-movement (nos. 4-7, 13-16, 25-28) suites. Three of the suites begin with rather concise fantasias. One of them, no. 18, is a particularly interesting piece: it includes two passages of rapid divisions, as well as a brief tripla passage (*Fantasia*, no. 11 also has a similar structure). Ashbee must be right to conclude that these pieces come 'relatively late in the composer's output' (p. 139). In addition to the compact nature of the fantasias, he cites the 'more measured and balanced phrases' found in Restoration-period music, the clear move away from the two- or three-movement suite structure found before the middle of the century and the addition of a saraband to make up a four-movement suite (common in the suites of Locke and Christopher Simpson, for example). The suites retain a progression from fast to slow movements, ending with a triple-time dance. Gone are the galliards of Lawes's fantasia-suites and Jenkins's Groups I and II; as in Group III, the more modern corant holds pride of place here. In most of the *Airs* the divisions are ever present. Compared to the *airs* the corants are simpler in style, presumably because of their faster pace. It is worth noting that four-movement suites are rarely encountered in Jenkins's music: nos. 13-16 and 25-28 comprise a *Fantasia* and three dances, a duple-time *Air* followed by a *Corant* and *Saraband*. In these two suites the dances lack the divisions found elsewhere in the collection, prompting the question of whether the lost parts were similarly bare. Ashbee also highlights the 'curious and apparently unique' introductory flourishes found in four of the *Airs* and *Fantasias* (nos. 19, 22, 25 and 29): four or so bars of rapid divisions that seem to serve a prelude function (what Ashbee describes as 'a kind of limbering up exercise before the main movement begins', p. 140).

The quality of Jenkins's music brings into sharp focus the frustration encountered when one discovers such fragmentary material. A quick glance through the VdGS's thematic catalogue reveals many similar examples. In some cases where only a single part (of several) is lacking reconstruction is often possible. In many cases, however, it is only a single part (of several) that survives usually precluding any useful attempts at reconstruction. However, all too often musicologists can be quick to overlook such fragments in favour of more readily workable material. The inclusion of these suites in an edition such as this is therefore extremely welcome. In addition to broadening our understanding of Jenkins, however slightly, making these suites readily accessible may well increase the chances of concordances being discovered.

Although many readers will be familiar with at least some of the Group III suites, this is the first time that they have been available in an edition. As we expect from the *Musica Britannica* series, the editorial standard is excellent, the introduction (and source descriptions) succinct and informative, and the commentary clear, uncluttered and easily navigable. Jenkins was not always the most conscientious copyist and the problem is often compounded by later copyists. From Ashbee's commentary, it seems that most editorial problems occurred between the organ and string parts (something encountered elsewhere in Jenkins's oeuvre); in the edition the divergent readings have been reconciled, which seems the most sensible path to follow. This fine volume

represents yet another significant step in better understanding Jenkins's vast output. Just as importantly, it contains some excellent music. It is difficult to argue with Ashbee's judgement of the fantasia in D minor, no. 7, which he describes as 'undoubtedly one of Jenkins's finest works' (p. xxiv). High praise indeed; it whets the appetite for the editor's long-awaited second book on the composer.<sup>15</sup>

## William Croft: Complete Chamber Music

ANDREW WOOLLEY

William Croft, *Complete Chamber Music*, ed. Harry Diack Johnstone, Musica Britannica, 88 (London, 2009). ISBN 978-0-85249-899-6; pp. xxxvii + 104; score £71.50.

This edition of chamber music by William Croft (1678-1727) brings together into a single volume works from two printed collections of sonatas published in 1700 and 1704 and works from an important manuscript containing a further six sonatas published here for the first time: four for two violins and bass, one for four violins and bass, the other for two recorders, two violins and bass. The term 'chamber music' can be problematic when applied to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music, although it has some etymological justification when referring to genres that contemporaries called 'sonata da camera'. Today it usually refers to smaller-scale (non orchestral) instrumental music, and tacitly excludes genres such as keyboard music, although the status of music intended for other solo instruments (without a bass part) and small-scale vocal music can be less clear. The term is nevertheless associated with the sonata genre in England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, presumably reflecting the use of an equivalent ('sonata da camera') by contemporary Italian composers: Matthew Novell's 1690 collection of sonatas for two violins and bass, for instance, was entitled *Sonate da Camera or Chamber Musick Being a Sett of Twelve Sonata's ... Composed For Two Violins and Bass with a Thorough Bass for the Theorbo-Lute, Spinett or Harpsicord*. In this way it may be easier to speak of the 'chamber music' of William Croft more assuredly than that of his forebears whose instrumental music is less easy to pin down; for instance, the term is not without its problems when applied to Purcell's output.<sup>16</sup>

Croft also wrote theatre suites consisting of an overture and dances (for four-part strings), intended as incidental music to plays, which were published by John Walsh around the same time as the published sonatas in the series

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<sup>15</sup> Volume 1, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, I: The Fantasias for Viols* (Surbiton, 1992), was recently re-released in paperback.

<sup>16</sup> See observations made by Peter Holman in a recent recording review, 'Purcell in the Chamber', *Early Music*, 37 (2009), 493-495.

*Harmonia Anglicana*. These can be excluded from an edition of chamber music on the grounds that they were intended for a public audience, although they have points of comparison with the sonatas, such as the cultivation of dance genres or movements that resemble dances. The opening adagios of the violin sonatas, for example, often resemble almands of c.1700 (for instance those of John Barrett), while their concluding fast movements are jig-like. (Two of the suites are due to appear in a forthcoming *Musica Britannica* volume of *Restoration Theatre Suites*, edited by Peter Holman and Andrew Woolley). Overlap between the spheres of Croft's sonatas and his theatre suites is also implied by the appearance of bass parts for two movements from *Courtship a la mode* (1700) in one early manuscript source where they are grouped together as the second and third movements of a work entitled 'Sonata' (GB-Lbl, Tyson MS 2, f. 19).<sup>17</sup> Useful comparison could also be made between the chamber works and Croft's extensive output of harpsichord music, for instance in their treatment of dance movements and ground bass.<sup>18</sup> In addition, one instrumental piece, which has not been included (although possibly originating from a lost theatre suite) might evade categorization altogether: a fine four-part ground in C minor, which was printed in 'Fac-simile' from a lost autograph manuscript in William Shield's *Rudiments of Thoroughbass* (c.1815).<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, applied to Croft's output of sonatas, the term 'chamber music' is probably, by and large, a helpful one. The composer's instrumental music as a whole certainly deserves closer study: this edition has no doubt provided an important stepping-stone to that end.

The music in this edition fits well with a little-studied English style of 'Italiente' composition that seems to have been cultivated primarily around the years 1690-1710. As Croft had done in an early publication containing his harpsichord music, *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinet* (John Young: London, 1700), his sonata publications were shared ventures: probably with Gottfried Finger (according to Peter Holman) in *Six Sonatas or Solos Three for A Violin And Three for the Flute* [i.e. recorder] ... *Compos'd by Mr Wm Croft & an Italian Mr* (John Young: London, 1700; John Walsh: London, 1700); the publication of the composer's sonatas for two recorders (without bass), *Six Sonatas of two Parts* (John Walsh: London, 1704) also included an 'Excellent Solo for a Flute [i.e. recorder] and a Bass' by John Christopher Pepusch (1667-1752). Like the harpsichord pieces in *A Choice Collection of Ayres*, later published in the Walsh collection *The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master* (1700), the duos in *Six Sonatas or Solos* were also 'pirated' by Walsh in editions that came out slightly later, judging from contemporary newspaper advertisements. Whether there was any relationship between Croft and the composers with whom he shared billing in these collections is not known; the appearance of their sonatas together in them may be coincidental. Walsh was evidently keen to capture the

<sup>17</sup> See *The British Library Manuscripts Catalogue*, available online: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/INDEX.asp>>. The Croft movements are numbered '2' and '3', while the first piece, '1', was not copied out.

<sup>18</sup> See *William Croft: Complete Harpsichord Works*, 2 vols., ed. H. Ferguson and C. Hogwood (London, 1974; rev. 1982).

<sup>19</sup> See C. Brown and P. Holman, 'Thomas Busby and his "FAC SIMILES OF CELEBRATED COMPOSERS"', *Early Music Performer*, 12 (2003), 3-12. A page of the piece as it appears in Shield's *Rudiments* is reproduced on p. 6 of this article.

market for new recorder music, and collections of duos by Finger, James Paisible and Raphael Courteville, all entitled *Six Sonatas of two Parts Purposely made and Contrived for Two Flutes* (or similar), were published by him in the same period; the pairings in the Croft volumes may simply reflect commercial expediency.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, manuscripts can often be more telling in this regard, especially contemporary ones, which can in some cases give clues to original performance contexts. In the case of Croft's chamber music, some works were apparently intended primarily for the use of amateurs (notably the sonatas for recorder duo), and a manuscript source contemporary with the date of the music is lacking.

The six Croft sonatas published here for the first time are found in a manuscript copied, apparently in the 1730s, by John Barker (d. 1781), who was a chorister of the Chapel Royal under Croft.<sup>21</sup> The source is a score book, which the copyist gave a quasi title-page, summarizing its contents, in the manner of a 'manuscript publication' (and also annotated it with further details about the scoring, and locations of the pieces within the book, in the margins):

An | Overture | & | Concerto | & the | Water Piece | by Mr:  
Handel. | Six | Sonata's | for Violins & Flutes. | by | Dr: Crofts.  
| The Golden Sonata. | by Mr: Henry Purcell | Three. | Trumpet  
Sonata's | by. | Mr: Godfrey Keller. | a. | Concerto. | by. | Sig:<sup>tr</sup>  
Corelli. | Two | Solo's. | by Mr: Handel.

Barker probably owned a library in which Croft's music figured prominently, since he also copied a large quantity of the composer's music into a multi-authored—and similarly retrospective—anthology of harpsichord music (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31,467). As Dr Johnstone admits in the Introduction to this edition (xxiv), it is difficult to judge the context in which Croft's sonatas were originally composed and performed, but the inclusion of three sonatas for trumpet, two violins and bass by Gottfried Keller (d. 1704) in the same source hints at the possibility they were intended for London concerts around the turn of the century. The recently discovered sale catalogue of Gottfried Finger's music library has drawn attention to the similar repertory of sonatas by composers such as Finger and Keller, especially scored for combinations of upper wind and string instruments, which were performed at the York Buildings concerts in London in the 1690s.<sup>22</sup> It is also worth noting that Croft was engaged as a public performer, in addition to his Chapel Royal duties, later on in his career: in 1725/6, for instance, he was paid by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple for 'music performed on the Grand Day, for himself and the several performers'.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps, towards the end of his life, with Handel's

<sup>20</sup> Exemplars of these publications, alongside the Croft publication, are bound together in modern bindings as two part books in the British Library (GB-Lbl, pr. bk. c. 105. a). A set of early pagination in the two books is continuous between the individual publications suggesting they were bound together at an early date and were perhaps originally sold as a single entity.

<sup>21</sup> GB-Lfom, Coke MS 1,262; available for viewing on microfilm as MS '114' in the Harvester Microfilm series *Music Manuscripts in Major Private Collections: The Gerald Coke Handel Collection* (Brighton, 1988).

<sup>22</sup> See P. Holman, 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Musical Library', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 23-38.

<sup>23</sup> *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records ... Vol. IV*, ed. R. A. Roberts (London, 1933), 151.

appointment as ‘Composer of Musick’ for the Chapel Royal in 1722/3, he Croft was required to find additional sources of income.

A fascinating aspect of Croft’s music is its relationship with that of Henry Purcell; among the harpsichord pieces, for instance, is a ground in C minor, which is a re-working or *homage* to a ground in the same key by Purcell.<sup>24</sup> The sonatas, similarly, highlight the special nature of this influence, although in general they seem to take their cue from Italian-style composition as developed in England in the late seventeenth century. The editor points out the striking resemblance of the sonata no. 2 in F major for two violins and bass to Purcell’s ‘Golden’ sonata in the same key (Sonata IX in *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts* (1697)), a work that follows on from the six sonatas by Croft in the Barker manuscript; in reinventing the piece in this way, Croft could well have been intending another *homage* to Purcell. The three-part pieces also seem to contain an example of self-borrowing: the theme of the fourth movement of the B♭ major sonata (no. 12d in the edition) was also used by the composer, within the same 3/4 time and harmonic context, for an ‘Air’ in A major for harpsichord.<sup>25</sup> The ‘Air’ is found associated with Robert King’s widely distributed almand in A major, and anonymous movements, in two English manuscripts, GB-Cfm, MU MS 653 (pp. 2-3) and F-Pn, 1,186 bis (ff. 46-46v), the latter probably dating from around 1700—a concordance which may indicate that the sonatas for two violins and bass were composed around the turn of the century also. It would indeed be difficult to argue otherwise from a stylistic point of view, and that their date differs greatly from the sonatas that are known to have been written c.1700. The three sonatas from *Six Sonatas or Solos* are interesting for a degree of stylistic variety comparable to that in the three-part pieces. In the Sonata in A major (no. 1), for instance, Croft inserts a ground bass composition between the second slow-fast pairing, while in the Sonata in G minor (no. 3) the third movement takes the form of a ‘drag’ section recalling earlier English consort music. Differing in style again to its equivalents in the other sonatas, the third movement of the B minor (no. 2) is a slow minuet. Also, an effective metrical displacement occurs in the second movement of this sonata (bb. 23-30). A salient feature of the sonatas for two recorders is that while for much of the time the second part functions as (or has the character of) a bass, it remains an ‘equal partner’ to the first.

The editing in the volume has been conducted in exemplary fashion. For instance, an admirably light-handed approach is taken to indicate points at which dotted rhythms would probably have been made more eccentric in performance: an economical combination of ‘*simile*’ indications and occasional explanatory footers are used. Perhaps ‘Allegro’ would have been a more suitable choice of editorial title, over ‘Vivace’, for the final movements of the three violin sonatas, which are untitled in the source. In eighteenth-century sources, ‘Vivace’ is ambiguous as a tempo marking: for example, according to Peter Prellieur’s *The Modern Musick-Master* (London, 1731) it simply indicates a performance ‘with Life, and Spirit’. By the end of the century, however, it seems that the term was used as a tempo marking: the glossary of *A Collection of*

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<sup>24</sup> See *William Croft*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood, no. 3a. For more on Purcell’s influence on Croft, see D. Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford, 2005), esp. 45-54.

<sup>25</sup> No. 30 in *William Croft*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood.

*Airs and Marches for Two Violins or German Flutes* (Preston and son: London, n.d.) positions 'Vivace' between 'Andante' and 'Poco Allegro'.<sup>26</sup> One error in the sources seems to have slipped the net: in b. 18 of no. 6b, the final four semiquavers in the first recorder part should probably be *a''*, *b''*, *a''*, *g''*.

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<sup>26</sup> This, relatively obscure, collection is a reprint of a collection published by Robert Bremner c1765; Preston's reprint probably dates from after 1789, when he acquired Bremner's stock. For Preston and Bremner, see *Music Printing and Publishing*, ed. D. W. Krummel and S. Sadie (New York, 1990).

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Unequal Temperaments: Revisited

Response to 'Unequal Temperaments', a review by Bradley Lehman of Claudio Di Veroli, *Unequal Temperaments: Theory, History and Practice (Scales, Tuning and Intonation in Musical Performance)*, Second revised edition (eBook, Bray Baroque, Bray, Ireland 2009), published in this journal, volume 3, part 2 (2009), 137-163.

CLAUDIO DI VEROLI

'The book is certainly worth its price, and more. I hope that this review itself leads to serious scholarly and practical discussion of the musical and theoretical points raised; and to a third edition of *UT*?' (p. 163). Reading this, the last sentence of the review, it may seem that Dr Lehman offered a benevolent list of suggestions for improvement. Unfortunately this is not the case: his lengthy review is ostensibly not an analysis of rights and wrongs in the *Unequal Temperaments eBook (UT)*, but a fully-loaded diatribe against it. Lehman strongly objects to the book's layout, formatting, organization, language, mathematics, tables, sources, historical presentation, tuning methods: everything. In the two introductory pages, he boldly deplores (a first in my 64 years of a very active scientific and musical life) my purported 'disorganized thought processes', 'weak standard of scholarship', 'mathematically-based points ... based on faulty premises' and so on. Except for a few short comments on 'Sections I found especially valuable', the review's sections bear headings such as 'Overemphasis on beat rates and mathematical precision ...', 'Unrealistic expectations for practical musicianship', 'Hasty or erroneous conclusions, apparent biases ... misleading information' and 'Points that appear too lightly-researched'. Are Dr Lehman's scathing criticisms justified? How can somebody with a Ph.D. supervised by world-famous scientists, followed by decades of dedication to early music instruments and interpretation, publishing works consistently praised by highly respected musicians and musicologists, have eventually failed so miserably? How can one reconcile the high praise received from knowledgeable readers of *UT* (not to mention reviews, including those published by the British Clavichord Society and Early Music America) with the distinctly negative appraisal presented by Lehman? To find out, let us scrutinize the review's main points, mostly checking them against published information that the reader can easily verify.

#### Format and editor

Lehman begins the review of *UT* with his opinions on 'The Format' (pp. 137-138), declaring that the 'page layout often looks amateurish'. The reader can easily check Lehman's mastery of the matter by examining the visual design he has produced

for his own main website, <<http://www.larips.com/>>. Actually, *UT* closely follows the recommendations made by specialists about material meant to be read on a computer screen rather than on a printed page. Moreover, when printed, *UT* has been found to be ‘a pleasure to read’ in the review by David Hitchin in the *British Clavichord Society Newsletter* (October 2009). This section of Lehman’s review also objects to the book’s contents (as discussed below) and ends thus: ‘these are problems that a competent outside editor ... would have handled, if the book had one’. A remarkable assertion considering that the text of the second edition (i.e. that under review) was thoroughly checked by someone very knowledgeable on tuning and temperaments: Fred Sturm, of the University of New Mexico, USA.

### Rough draft

Also in ‘The Format’ section, Lehman dismisses *UT* as very similar in content to my first (similarly titled) book on temperament, published in 1978:<sup>1</sup> where necessary, I shall hereafter distinguish between the volumes as *UT* 2009 (the volume under review) and *UT* 1978. Lehman deems *UT* 2009 ‘a rough draft ... as if Di Veroli is not fully committed to writing an entirely *new* book’ (p. 138). Indeed later in the review he goes even further: ‘Di Veroli does not want to deal extensively with anything that he did not already know about or use in the early 1980s, when his first book was greeted so enthusiastically by musicians’ (p. 144). At the risk of stating the obvious, the historical past does not change over time: only our understanding of it does, sometimes. Anybody collating my two *UT* books—scores of musicians have—will find that, though the general organization has been largely preserved, *UT* 2009 is a thoroughly rewritten work, which fully incorporates the musicological advances of the intervening thirty years. Note also the contradiction: the review implies that *UT* 1978 and *UT* 2009 are similar, while at the same time the former is very good and the latter very bad.

### The Internet

The reviewer argues that ‘Di Veroli often relies on Internet chatter, web sites, and vague rumours in preference to citing peer-reviewed and published work ...’ (p. 137) and that *UT* ‘teaches the reader (implicitly) to trust the Internet ahead of trusting books, academic journals, and libraries’ (p. 138). Both assertions are completely unrelated to the actual content of *UT*. Moreover, because of the web’s informality and lack of peer-review, Lehman finds it ‘questionable whether such Internet-based material should be included at all in a book or eBook’ (p. 138). I am afraid that many writers do it nowadays: a book review is arguably not the best place to question generalized and accepted present practices.

### ‘Valuable’ sections

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<sup>1</sup> *Unequal Temperaments and their Role in the Performance of Early Music* (Buenos Aires, 1978).

‘Sections I found especially valuable’ (pp. 138-139): in these few paragraphs Lehman only approves of two aspects of *UT*:

1. *Barbieri*: ‘At these and numerous other points, *UT* refers the reader to the excellent scholarly work of Patrizio Barbieri .... I had not known much about it before this year’ (p. 139). Lehman deplores my ‘weak scholarship’, yet this admission seems to reflect poorly on *his* scholarship, because Prof. Barbieri is widely considered one of the leading modern scholars on the history of temperament.
2. *Fretting*: The treatment in *UT* is found by Lehman to be ‘excellent’ (p. 139). Needless to say, this is the matter that most readers of the review—the members of the Viola da Gamba Society in particular—are likely to check in the book and have the knowledge to judge for themselves.

### Jorgensen

In the section of the review ominously headed ‘Overemphasis on beat rates and mathematical precision, ahead of *musical* listening skills’, the spectre of the late Prof. Jorgensen looms large in assertions such as ‘Di Veroli’s and Jorgensen’s approach ... within their calculation-based paradigm’ (pp. 139-140), ‘... heavy reliance on Owen Jorgensen’s speculations’ (p. 149) and ‘... over-reliance on Jorgensen’ (p. 149). This is surprising indeed. Of all the things that could be said about my work, I never imagined somebody would seriously, and repeatedly, assert that I have ever agreed with—or indeed followed—Prof. Jorgensen’s ideas and methods. The evidence on the contrary is there for everybody to check. As early as 1980, *UT* 1978 was described by the temperament scholar Prof. Rudolf Rasch as ‘the opposite’ of Jorgensen’s *Tuning the Historical Temperaments by Ear* (Marquette, MI, 1977).<sup>2</sup> Actually *UT* 2009 includes clear and detailed rebuttals to the main proposals of Jorgensen, including (a) his thesis about prevalence of unequal temperaments up to the twentieth century and (b) his practice of tuning and modifying historical temperaments by means of equal-beating, which *UT*—in spite of Lehman’s assertions to the contrary—does *not* follow, and indeed openly criticizes in Section 12.7. As elsewhere, here Lehman also digresses and explains at great lengths how he prefers doing things differently from *UT*, using the review as a propaganda vehicle for his own ideas.

### Tuning by beats

This practice only became widespread a century ago, as explained in detail in *UT*, which—uniquely in the literature—includes for most temperaments three tuning methods: one based on counting beats; another on estimating beats by interval comparison but without counting; and finally, one following traditional pre-nineteenth-century methods. All this notwithstanding, Lehman misrepresents *UT*

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<sup>2</sup> R. Rasch, ‘Owen Jorgensen: *Tuning the Historical Temperaments by Ear* (1977) and Cl. Di Veroli: *Unequal Temperaments and their Role in the Performance of Early Music* (1978) (book reviews)’, *Stimulus* (1980), 32-37.

as upholding that ‘beat rates ... and checks (by beats) is the only way to deliver sufficient accuracy in practice .... I [Lehman] disagree with the principle that tuners *must* use them to deliver acceptable work’ (pp. 139-140). This is outrageous, for I have never written nor believed such a thing: suffice to read *UT* where, on p. 140, I explain how *non-beat-rate* methods achieved good tuning precision in the eighteenth century and remarkable accuracy in the early nineteenth century. Lehman further insists in belittling my tuning methods by the naïve expedient of simply describing his own. In the process, he argues at length against the accuracy of tuning a keyboard using beat rates, a fact verified for over a century by the daily practice of piano, organ and harpsichord tuners. If Lehman now wants to prove everybody else wrong, he should use better arguments than simply describing his own tuning methods; moreover, he should refrain from using a book review for this—futile—attempt.

### Beat rates

Lehman also discovers fault with *UT* because he ‘find[s] beat-rate sequences difficult to memorize’ (p. 140). Why should anybody memorize beat-rates? *UT* clearly states that the tuner should read the beat rates from a printed page (see the box at the end of p. 201 in *UT*). In the same passage, Lehman also writes that ‘instructions based on beat rates work accurately only at one particular pitch level’. Not so: Section 12.6 of *UT* proves that beat rates for A=415 Hz are fully satisfactory in tuning practice, all the way from A=392 to A=447. Furthermore, if the utmost accuracy is desired, the Table in p. 184 of *UT* shows how to achieve it, for pitches from A=392 to A=466, by simply using a metronome with different speeds. Shouldn’t a reviewer read the book first?

### Non-keyboard instruments

In Lehman’s discussion of ‘Unrealistic expectations for practical musicianship’ there are five points to note:

1. *UT* asserts that “[violin] Fingering accuracy in any circular temperament is not difficult to master ....” On the next page, that statement is contradicted by this one: “Playing in tune with an equally-tempered keyboard is difficult. Playing in tune with an unequally tempered one is impossible ....” Which is it to be? (p. 141). The apparent contradiction is not in *UT*, but in the reviewer’s out-of-context quote, because he overlooked a very significant detail: in *UT* the second statement is preceded by the following clause: ‘When a Romantic or modern violin player follows Pythagorean intonation’. Pythagorean intonation is indeed truly incompatible with unequal circular temperaments.
2. The review states that on p. 317 of *UT*, where the 31-division is discussed, ‘[t]here is a forbiddingly complicated map of the fingerboard .... presented as something to learn directly ...’ (p. 141), further implying that *UT* introduces unnecessary mathematical tools in violin fingering. Yet, after the map, *UT* clearly explains that ‘some Baroque sources advocated it as

standard violin practice, including charts similar to Fig. 16.2.5 above'. The maps that Lehman dubs 'forbiddingly complicated' are actually historical!

3. 'It is a quixotic pursuit, this misguided expectation that all the notes by singers and non-keyboard instrumentalists ought to agree exactly with a keyboard's pitches, all the time' (p. 142). Nowhere in *UT* is the matter stated in those terms, but rather as trying to achieve an intonation in agreement with the keyboard. This is certainly not 'quixotic' and, as stated in *UT*, it was the advice of important Baroque musicians, not to mention leading modern performers such as the renowned gamba viol player Wieland Kuijken. He observed that 'When you have to play [the viol] with the harpsichord ... you just have to try to play in the same temperament as the harpsichord, however it is tuned'.<sup>3</sup>
4. 'Bruce Haynes addressed this issue thoroughly in 1991 ['Beyond Temperament: Non-Keyboard Intonation in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries'. *Early Music*, 19 (1991), 357-382], showing that most seventeenth and eighteenth century [sic] musicians probably did *not* try to match keyboard temperaments' (p. 142). This is not what Haynes wrote: on p. 362 he concurs with *UT* showing how some musicians did and others did not. Besides, Haynes's widely known and interesting paper was largely superseded by Barbieri's much more extensive work on the matter, often quoted in *UT*.
5. 'I hope that Di Veroli does not believe that violins ever had frets' (p. 148). Before writing such a disrespectful remark, Lehman should have read p. 315 of *UT*, where I explain why and how I use the term 'fret' for violins.

### Keyboard tuning

'Is anyone honestly able to "count alternatively 7 beats in a second and 8 in the next second", working with a timekeeping device? ... *UT* [p. 266] asks the reader to observe one second that has 7 beats and another that has 8, accurately' (p. 142). As above ('Tuning by beats'), it is surprising to find that a self-professed tuning specialist seems unfamiliar with everyday modern keyboard-tuning practices. Firstly, piano tuners have used 'timekeeping devices' maybe as early as Helmholtz's classical treatise, *On Sensations of Tone*.<sup>4</sup> Their use certainly became widespread in the early twentieth century: William Braid White specifically recommended the metronome for beat rates.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, Lehman seems unaware that these beat rates and even higher ones are in common use at present: White prescribed rates as high as 10 per second.<sup>6</sup> Finally and most importantly, the review fails to mention that *UT* does not ask for any accuracy here. On the contrary, the text acknowledges the

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<sup>3</sup> W. Kuijken and C. Hogwood, 'Wieland Kuijken and Christopher Hogwood on the Viol', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 4-11: quoted in *UT*, 308.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik* (Heidelberg, 1862), trans. by A. J. Ellis as *On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music* (London, 1875 and later editions).

<sup>5</sup> *Piano Tuning and Allied Arts* (London, 1917; Boston, 5/1946), 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

difficulty, and suggests an alternative in the previous paragraph: ‘Due to the very fast beat rates for the major thirds, the reader may find it easier to reverse the orders of the pairs in the scheme below’ (UT, p. 266), thus making an accurate beat-counting no longer necessary.

### Mathematical apparatus

‘Reading the sections about “Homogeneous Meantone” and “Attenuated Meantone” (1/5 and 1/6 syntonic comma systems, respectively), I miss the simpler sense that the seventeenth and eighteenth century [sic] musicians in actual practice flattened the 5ths and sharpened the 3rds as much as sounded acceptable to them’ (p. 143). The reviewer may have *missed* it, but is there more than once, for example: ‘Several different variants of standard meantone with fifths tempered by less than 1/4 S.c. were described in ancient times (some with precision, others quite obscure)’ (UT, p. 75); and ‘Leopold Mozart ... and many other 18th-century sources ... the “nine commas” dictum ... being best approximated by either the 1/5 S.c. or the 1/6 S.c. variants’ (UT, p. 77).

Lehman also dismissively notes that ‘[i]f some theorists in the past were adamant about mathematical or theoretical precision, to the same degree as Di Veroli is now, this did not necessarily concern any ... practical musicians ... [who] could make their music without needing to know *any* such mathematical apparatus!’ (p. 143). This is an amazing straw man argument. Any reader of UT can check that the book uses maths for the same purpose as ancient theoreticians, i.e. to explain and substantiate assertions on the properties of temperaments. Nowhere does UT state, or even suggest, that mathematics were used (or needed) in the daily tuning and performance practices during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

### Standard French Temperament

‘Presenting what he calls “Standard French” temperament ... [Di Veroli] asserts that “Music with extreme modulations or just many accidentals is likely to sound very dissonant.” Instead of saying it is “likely to” sound dissonant, why did he not do some hands-on testing with extant music, and report some concrete results?’ (p. 144, n. 25). I have three observations on this. First, there was no reason for Lehman to be dismissive about UT naming “Standard French” a temperament based on “Standard meantone” diatonic fifths. Second, Lehman is again misreading my book, where ‘likely to’ (UT, p. 109) clearly means that some music sounds very dissonant, while other music does not. Third, even more disturbing is Lehman’s disregard for published information. In Section 21.3 of UT—and also in other publications of mine—anybody can read about my long experimentation with French temperaments, including public performances. I still have a printed concert programme of mine (a duet of Baroque flute and harpsichord in the Universidad del Salvador in Buenos Aires) dated 3 December 1977, which testifies that the Baroque-model instruments were tuned to the *tempérament ordinaire*. This shows how my experience tuning and playing this most important tuning system spans more than 32 years, *pace* Lehman. As for Lehman’s request to ‘report some concrete results’, any reader—though for some unfathomable reason not the

reviewer—can find them in *UT*, on pages 108, 109, 111, 113, 159, 161, 162, 166, 228, 308, 309 and 406 through 409.

### Neidhardt and nicknames

‘[R]egarding Neidhardt’s ... “Big City”, we do not get to see its recipe by tempered 5ths’ (p. 144). The reviewer may ‘not get to see it’, but it is duly shown in *UT* on p. 128, Fig. 9.7.1 (last of the two green curves) and discussed in the ‘Circle of Fifths’ paragraph later on the same page. Lehman also objects to my criticism of Neidhardt’s temperaments (incidentally, a criticism shared by other modern writers), but does so by presenting his personal feelings as evidence: ‘I have tested most of Neidhardt’s 1732 temperaments hands-on; they often sound terrific ...’ (p. 145). Indeed, *terror* is what they produce in anybody trying to tune them using the methods of their time, and *UT* explains why in Sections 9.7 and 21.6; these sections are easy to spot in the CONTENTS searching for ‘Neidhardt’: this also shows how—again—the reviewer ignores information which is very easy to find in *UT*. Lehman further deplores that ‘*UT* guides the reader to favour a restricted set of only a few generalist solutions’ (p. 145). Of course it does! And the reason why is explained in the book’s MISSION STATEMENT on p. 14 (and elsewhere). Anyway, *UT* includes keyboard tuning instructions for 25 different temperaments, certainly not a ‘restricted set’.

On the subject of meantone ‘nicknames’ (pp. 143-144), Lehman strongly criticizes *UT* for calling 1/4 S.c. meantone ‘standard’: yet this is the common usage in the modern literature on early music, and was also common ancient usage in some countries, e.g. *temperamento comune* in Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More generally, Lehman objects to the assignment of nicknames to meantone variants in *UT*, even though the reason is clearly stated in the book: this time in a special box on p. 69.

### Vallotti’s major thirds

‘When tuning Vallotti’s temperament step-by-step, we are told to “Check that g-b is a very good major third (but not pure)”, and similarly for f-a and c-e. However, in the presentation of regular 1/6 comma, where these 3rds are practically the same size as in Vallotti’s (within 0.5 cent), they are called “good but noticeably sharp”. This implies a noticeable distinction of quality ... casting in good light the temperament the author endorses (Vallotti) and denigrating the one he doesn’t’ (pp. 145-146). Firstly, I do not ‘endorse’ temperaments: *UT* clearly states that they are mostly good or bad only with reference to the different music to be played. As for ‘within 0.5 cent’, it is indeed a very small amount! Could I be so biased? Let us check. Vallotti has 1/6 Pythagorean comma diatonic fifths, producing good major thirds tempered by 5.87 Cents, as shown in *UT*, p. 123 [check:  $dIII=4x dV + Sc = 4x(-1/6Pc) + Sc = 4x(-23.46/6) + 21.51 = 5.87$ ]. The 1/6 Syntonic comma meantone has instead the good major thirds tempered by 7.17 Cents, as shown in *UT*, p. 76 [check:  $dIII=4x dV + Sc = 4x(-1/6Sc) + Sc = 4x(-$

$21.51/6)+21.51=7.17]$ . The difference between 7.17 and 5.87 is not ‘the same size ... within 0.5 cent’ as claimed by Lehman, but almost three times as much.

### Intervals and consonance

‘In the “General Laws on Consonance and Beat Rates” [*UT*, p. 23] Di Veroli explains: “An interval is consonant if and only if the ratio between the two fundamental frequencies is equal to the ratio of small integer numbers.” ... By this standard, a major 10th (5:2) and a major 17th (5:1) are considered ‘more consonant’ than a major 3rd (5:4). This is at odds with Di Veroli’s later assertions ...’ (p. 146). It is not: as stated in the first paragraph on p. 21 of *UT*, all the treatment of interval consonance is restricted to intervals smaller than an octave. This is further clarified elsewhere: in the box on superparticular ratios on p. 22; in the title of the table on p. 24; and in the text on p. 25. I insist, a book reviewer should first read the book.

### Equal temperament

‘There are some overstatements about the necessity of equal temperament’ (p. 147). Lehman criticizes my advocacy of equal temperament for music dated from c.1750, and also for some music as early as 1742. Against this he offers his personal experience with his own ‘Bach temperament’. Actually *UT* could as well be criticized for the opposite excess, because the book—in agreement with Lehman—supports playing J. S. Bach’s music with decidedly unequal temperaments, while two eminent scholars such as Profs Rudolf Rasch and Mark Lindley have argued that Bach’s keyboard temperament may have been equal temperament, and this for important works famously written decades before 1742.

### Almost-equal temperament and Jorgensen (again)

‘[T]he book asserts what “some” or “most” nineteenth century [sic] tuners would do (with regard to the amounts of inequality that would have been tolerated in the musical taste of the time). It does not supply a single citation of support, or any description of the reasoning behind the statement’ (p. 149). Here the disregard for the contents of the book under review is blatant. It will suffice to refer to *UT*, pp. 138, 139, 142 and 172, where the full rationale for Almost-Equal temperament is explained, including historical sources (namely an eighteenth-century quote and a nineteenth-century description of a very similar temperament).

The review also states that the purported deficiency ‘appears to come from heavy reliance on Owen Jorgensen’s speculations ...’ (p. 149). This bold assumption goes directly against documented evidence: the Almost-Equal temperament (first published in *UT* 1978) was already included in typescripts sent by the author to prospective publishers back in 1976, one year before the first work on temperaments by Jorgensen was available.<sup>7</sup> When, in his 1980 review (see note 2

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<sup>7</sup> *Tuning the Historical Temperaments by Ear* (Michigan, 1977).

above), Prof. Rasch compared *UT* 1978 with Jorgensen's treatise he concluded that the two books were 'written totally independent from one another' (my translation, *op. cit.* p. 32). As a further confirmation, I have a letter from Prof. Jorgensen in which he agrees that this was indeed the case. More assertions in the review about the purported 'over-reliance of *UT* on Jorgensen' are discussed further below.

### Weak scholarship and Suppig

'Section 19.7 [*UT*, p. 368] asserts erroneously that Friedrich Suppig's manuscript about temperament was "published" in his lifetime. It was published only as recently as 1990, as a facsimile edition, with a historical essay by Rudolf Rasch' (p. 150). I wrote: 'Suppig's "Labyrinthus Musicus ..." was published together with his "Calculus Musicus"...' I stand corrected for my slip of the pen: I should have written 'put' instead of 'published'. But Lehman goes further: 'This is merely one example where Di Veroli relies only on secondary information, or on his own misreading of it (in this case, a 1984 article by Rasch), instead of taking a closer look at sources' (p. 150). This is Lehman's main attempt to show my 'weak scholarship'. However, the 'historical essay' to which he refers<sup>8</sup> includes the full contents of Rasch's 1984 article, thus the 'secondary information' and 'source' in this particular case are both in the same publication! And I could not possibly ignore all this when I wrote *UT*: Prof. Rasch can attest that he kindly sent me copies of both publications back in 2007.

### 1/6 comma meantone

On pp. 150-153 Lehman argues at length about the important historical use of the 1/6 syntonic comma (S.c.) meantone temperament. Let us check his assertions and misrepresentations:

1. Among the features of 1/6 S.c., Lehman repeatedly mentions 'the pure 45:32 tritone' as paramount, yet there is no evidence in eighteenth-century sources that this feature was ever considered relevant.
2. Lehman is the first writer known to me to argue that adding two pure intervals produces a pure interval, and indeed to describe as 'pure' an interval with the ratio 45:32.
3. Lehman never mentions that the 'pure tritone' is actually 7:5 (*UT*, p. 376).
4. Lehman refers to a particular vogue of 1/6 S.c. meantone that was restricted geographically and chronologically. Around the middle of the eighteenth century—mostly in Northern France and Germany—many temperaments coexisted: strings would follow either a meantone variant or the very different Pythagorean intonation, while accompanied by keyboards that were either circular or equally tempered. Indeed, equal

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<sup>8</sup> F. Suppig, *Labyrinthus musicus' and 'Calculus musicus': Facsimile of the Manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Rés. F.211-212 (Dated Dresden, 24 June 1722)*, ed. R. Rasch, *Tuning and Temperament Library*, 3 (Utrecht, 1990).

temperament was ideal to avoid the resulting cacophony, wrote d'Alembert in 1752; this matter is fully treated in *UT* on pp. 138, 149, 174 and 475.

5. In 1753 Leopold Mozart—mentioned by Lehman as supporting the general use of 1/6 S.c., and fully discussed in *UT*—wished violinists to learn this system as an exercise, but in actual ensemble practice he recommended tuning the open strings to the keyboard and following its tuning, which for his readers in his time was mostly an approximation to equal temperament.
6. Amidst the well-known mid-eighteenth-century French academic *querelles* about the meantone variant to be preferred, 1/6 S.c. was sometimes advocated, but most musicians expressed their preference for the traditional 1/4 S.c., notably among them Michel Corrette.<sup>9</sup>
7. Lehman refers to Telemann and his multiple-division theoretical writings, but ignores that in practice Telemann composed cantatas for solo trumpet in Eb, chamber music with lots of enharmonies, and harpsichord pieces with no fewer than seven flat/sharp pairs (including E# and B#). Playing this music with any non-circular temperament such as 1/6 S.c. meantone (see also the next section, 'Duffin') inevitably produces frequent and truly unplayable discords. Wolves are extinct in Europe: perhaps this is the way to have them back.

### Duffin

On p. 147, and elsewhere, Lehman professes his full approval for the work of Prof. Ross Duffin, who advocates in his writings the use of 1/6 S.c. meantone as a circular temperament. This was known not to be the case already in Baroque times, so much so that in the 1740s Riccati was busy producing radical changes to obtain a circular system, that later evolved into what we call today 'Vallotti's temperament'. The non-circularity of 1/6 S.c. meantone is easy to prove, as done with full details in *UT* (pp. 77 and 123). All this is conveniently ignored by Lehman, who uses Duffin's book, *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony*,<sup>10</sup> as an argument against *UT*, criticizing the latter—incredibly—for not following Duffin(!).

It is worth noting that *UT* is not alone in criticizing Duffin: Dr Ibo Ortgies recently published a review of Duffin's work in which, among other objections, it is stated that 'he makes little distinction between the theoretical concepts and the actual practices of tuning and temperament at a given time'. Ortgies concluded that 'the background of some important historical and tone-systematical principles of intonation is not correctly presented'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See P. Barbieri, 'Il "migliore" sistema musicale temperato: "Querelles" fra Estève, Romieu e altri accademici francesi (c.1740-60)', *L'Organo*, 27 (1991-1992), 31-81, esp. 54-55: see *UT*, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony (and Why You Should Care)* (New York, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> 'Not Quite Just: Review of Ross Duffin, *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony*', *Early Music*, 35 (2007), 452-454, at 453 and 454 respectively.

## Nine commas

‘The entire Section 6.4.6 is about “nine commas in a tone”, and it says: “Unfortunately it can be shown that the dictum [of ‘nine commas in a tone’] is not true for any existing or conceivable meantone temperament.” This is absurd, because it is true both for regular  $1/6$  Pythagorean comma, and for its practical extension, the 55-note division of the octave! Di Veroli is so firmly fixated on promoting and analysing syntonic comma schemes that he has missed this’ (p. 152).

Lehman seems to be in utter confusion here. First of all, please compare these statements with the section above on ‘Vallotti’: on p. 146 of the review Lehman accuses me of ‘endorsing’ Vallotti’s  $1/6$  *Pythagorean* comma scheme vs  $1/6$  *syntonic* comma meantone. Vice versa, now he accuses me of promoting *syntonic* comma schemes against *Pythagorean* ones! *Which is it to be?* Neither of course: Chapter 8 of *UT* is devoted to ‘French’ *syntonic* circular systems and Chapter 9 to ‘Good’ *Pythagorean* ones, clearly explaining differences and implications in Sections 8.1, 9.1 and 11.10.

As for my full discussion of the *Nine commas* dictum (*UT*, pp. 379-381), my results are not ‘absurd’ but actually very accurate. It is Lehman who is ‘so firmly fixated’ on arguing against *UT* that he has missed the initial full definition of the dictum in *UT* (p. 379) as three simultaneous statements. For meantone temperaments, ‘NIC: A Tone is subdivided into Nine Commas. / SEM: The Chromatic and Diatonic Semitone have respectively 4 and 5 commas. / ENH: A sharp is 1 comma lower than its enharmonic equivalent flat’. As shown on p. 380 of *UT*, the Dictum implies the following values in Cents: NIC=193.56, SEM=86.03 and ENH=21.51. If instead of the syntonic comma we used the Pythagorean comma, as kindly suggested by Lehman, the values for the Dictum would be respectively 211.14, 93.84 and 23.46 Cents. Calling V the pure fifth and VIII the pure octave, for any regular temperament, NIC=2V-VIII, SEM=7V-4V VIII and ENH=|12V-7V VIII|. These formulas, applied to  $1/6$  P.c. meantone, yield respectively 196.09, 86.31 and 23.46 Cents: only the last number coincides, proving that, in  $1/6$  *Pythagorean* comma meantone, only ENH coincides with the dictum, while—pace Lehman—NIC and SEM diverge much more than in  $1/6$  *syntonic* comma meantone.

The review is further in error where Lehman describes my statements on the dictum as ‘absurd’ because he finds the dictum strictly true for the 55-note division (p. 152). It is not. In *UT* I wrote that the 55-division provides ‘ENH best approximated ... also gives a reasonable approximation to NIC and SEM’ (*UT*, p. 381). The 55-division (where a ‘comma’ is  $1200/55=21.82$  Cents) best approximates a tone with 9 ‘commas’, thus its size is  $9 \times 21.82=196.4$  Cents, significantly different from the  $9 \times 21.51=193.6$  Cents produced by the dictum using the syntonic comma, as duly shown in *UT*. Even more interestingly, 196.4 is

almost 15 Cents away from the  $9 \times 23.46 = 211.1$  Cents we would get if we followed Lehman and used the Pythagorean comma instead!

### Schlick

‘[T]his very early ... system is placed inconspicuously near the back of the book, rather than given centralized attention for its virtues’ (p. 152). I suspect that the reviewer is referring here to some other book: in *UT*, Schlick is one of the five main temperaments assigned an individual section in Chapter 9 on IRREGULAR ‘GOOD’ TEMPERAMENTS: it could not be more ‘centralized’! And ‘inconspicuous’ it is certainly not, for it gets one of the most extensive treatments in the book: searching the CONTENTS for ‘Schlick’ sends the reader to three places with a total of eight full pages (pp. 116-117, 236-237 and 410-413), more than those devoted—say—to Werckmeister III, a temperament as important historically and much more relevant in performance practice.

### Vallotti/Young

On p. 152 Lehman objects to quite a few points in *UT* where, in my opinion, we actually agree. Then he criticizes my definition—commonly found in modern works—of Young No. 2 as a rotation of Vallotti, on the grounds that ‘while such a rotation looks easy enough on paper, it actually involves moving half of the notes: 6 out of 12’. This is certainly true, but as a criticism of *UT* is absolutely unfounded. Whenever a temperament can be easily produced on a keyboard as a retuning of another one, the matter is clearly stated in *UT* in Chapter 13, where the ‘original’ schemes have lines in a different colour. This does not happen in the sections on Vallotti/Young (13.16 and 13.17). Nowhere in *UT* is it stated or implied that Vallotti can be easily retuned/rotated as Young No. 2 or vice versa.

### Lehman’s Bach temperament

Remarkably, the reason for the rage of Dr Lehman against *UT* is clearly explained in his review: he was upset at finding that his own main contribution to temperaments is *not* included among the handful of tunings *UT* recommends to modern players. Lehman naïvely complains that *UT* ‘pointedly avoids evaluating my work ... in any meaningful way’ (p. 153). Actually, Lehman’s writings suggest that by ‘meaningful’ he means to agree with his ‘absolutely compelling’ reasons for his ‘Rosetta Stone’ Bach temperament discovery, i.e. his own interpretation of the ‘WTC squiggle’ as a tuning system.<sup>12</sup> Let me summarize where I disagree with Lehman in this respect:

1. A book review is not the place for a reviewer to engage in polemics against the author.

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<sup>12</sup> Published as a two-part essay, ‘Bach’s Extraordinary Temperament: Our Rosetta Stone’, *Early Music*, 33/1-2 (2005), 3-23 and 211-232.

2. It is outside the stated goals of my book—and a physical impossibility—to evaluate in any detail every one of the scores of modern proposals for Bach’s temperament. Lehman has no reason to complain: *UT* devotes almost two pages (pp. 130-131) to his own proposal!
3. Lehman is free to deem his own creation very important, and to call it ‘Bach temperament’, but leading scholars have published strong arguments in disagreement with his creature.
4. *UT*, p. 130, clearly states that only a particular issue in Lehman’s temperament is dealt with, because the fundamental weaknesses of his work have already been addressed (in spite of Lehman’s rebuttals) in an article by Lindley and Ortgies (duly mentioned on p. 130 of *UT*), which focuses on exposing the ‘many weak links in [Lehman’s] chain of reasoning [in his ‘Rosetta Stone’ article]’.<sup>13</sup>
5. Lehman also notes in his review that the ‘main argument presented [*UT*, p. 131] against my temperament is ... that “E-G $\sharp$  is his *worst* major third, and the thirds surrounding it are also quite bad.” This is preposterous and short-sighted criticism, because only a few pages later *UT* presents the “WTC Optimal+” solution that Di Veroli has worked out ... [which] has exactly the same size E-G $\sharp$  as mine, although the book doesn’t present that fact directly (why not?)’ (p. 153). Unfortunately, Lehman fails to distinguish between absolute and relative deviation of an interval with respect to its neighbours in the Circle of Fifths. The difference arises because Lehman’s ‘Bach temperament’ is significantly less unequal than ‘WTC Optimal+’. The relevant point is that in the latter the worst major tonality is F $\sharp$  major (6 sharps), which Bach demonstrably used much less often than Lehman’s E major (4 sharps). The all-important A major triad is also much better in WTC Optimal+.
6. It is also worth noting that *all* the historical circular temperaments (as well as modern reconstructions such as Kellner and Barnes) have been either ‘symmetrical’ (the mistuning of major thirds increasing at the same ‘speed’ towards either flats or sharps) or slower towards the sharps, sometimes very obviously so. This is the case in d’Alembert and most of Neidhardt’s systems, some of them with their worst major thirds located two positions further clockwise than expected by symmetry. Lehman’s proposal is unique in running straight against this systematic historical trend: his worst major thirds are located two positions *counter clockwise* from symmetry (see *UT*, p. 130, Fig. 9.7.2).
7. A fundamental fallacy in his review is that Lehman compares his ‘Bach temperament’—which he strongly upholds as the best ever proposal for Bach—against my WTC Optimal+ which he dubs my ‘champion’ (p. 153). This is seriously misleading, for *UT* very explicitly *does not advocate at all* the use of WTC Optimal+ in performance practice, for Bach or for any other music. (More on this below under ‘WTC Optimal’.)

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<sup>13</sup> ‘Bach-Style Keyboard Tuning’, *Early Music*, 34 (2006), 613-624, at 613.

## Couperin's temperament

On p. 148, Dr Lehman produces a novelty: the first objection to my accurate reconstruction of François Couperin's organ temperament:

1. Lehman boldly describes it variously as 'pseudo-seventeenth-century instructions' and a 'non-historical temperament', in spite of the fact that, after their initial publication almost three decades ago, those instructions were confirmed by their significant similarity to the temperament published by Lambert Chaumont with his organ works of 1695, barely five years after Couperin published his organ masses (see *UT*, p. 105, Fig. 8.2.5). (Interestingly, I have been recently informed that the well-known French organ maker Formentelli has found in a seventeenth-century organ in France intact original fluework, which is tuned in a very similar system).
2. Later (pp. 154ff.), Lehman objects again to my Couperin temperament. Here he presents an assortment of his personal feelings as arguments against my proposal (which carefully correlates consonance with frequency of use of major thirds in F. Couperin's *Messe pour les Paroisses*, for organ). Lehman writes that my proposal has the non-meantone notes 'crudely moved' (p. 154): yet a full research work and six full pages in *UT* (pp. 394-399) were devoted to their rationale and optimal fitting to Couperin's *Messe*.
3. Lehman states that he remained unconvinced after trying my Couperin temperament ... on a *harpsichord*! He should have used the right instrument, because Couperin's temperament was meant to enlarge the meantone compass avoiding however most of the prominent dissonances otherwise produced by the loud *Tierves* of Baroque French *organs*. Lehman should have read my clear explanations about this matter in *UT* at pp. 64, 100, 104, 197, 394 and 395.
4. Eventually Lehman suggests (for the fourth time! *Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*) his own idea instead: 'the assumed basis of 1/4 comma tempering in the naturals is entirely wrong .... Couperin had to have better circulating systems' (p. 154). Here Lehman's qualification of 'better' is unfounded: anybody minimally versed in French Baroque organs knows—as clearly stated in the above-quoted pages from *UT*—that a tuning based on wider fifths, and the consequent wide major thirds, would yield continuous discords with the loud French organ *Tierves*, a most important stop in the palette prescribed by Couperin and other French Baroque organists.
5. Lehman's idea is further contradicted by well-known evidence that a diatonic 1/4 S.c. was the rule in all French (and most European) organs well into the eighteenth century. In France, concrete proposals to change over to 1/5 S.c. or other meantone variants were first made years *after* F.

Couperin published his *Messes*, and were counterbalanced by many musicians attesting that 1/4 S.c. kept being the preferred solution for decades (Corrette specified ‘un quart de Comma’ for eight fifths in 1753, and the 1/4 S.c. was described as common fare in French organs by Dom Bédos and others c.1770). Again, this made lots of sense for French organs with their prominent *Tierves*. Lehman’s suggestion that François Couperin (in his late teens when he composed the *Messes*) had his imposing instrument at Saint-Gervais (or any other organ) fully retuned against sensible, widespread and well-established norms, is extremely unlikely and is not borne by any evidence.

### Digression: Rameau’s temperament

Lehman’s review is full of digressions. Let me digress once too, especially after discussing Couperin, because elsewhere Lehman has applied his peculiar ideas on French Baroque temperament to Rameau, no less. In his recent webpage, which he recommended in the HPSCHD-L online forum in March 2010, Lehman writes: ‘Rameau’s 1726 ... 1/4 comma division ... does not work well in practice; it has to be a gentler division such as 1/6 ... to sound sufficiently smooth in Rameau’s music .... the history books are mistaken .... Further evidence (admittedly circumstantial) away from 1/4 comma is in ... Rameau’s c1728-9 volume of harpsichord music .... He carefully described the theoretical “difference of one Quarter-tone” between such pairs, theoretically, but emphasized that they are exactly the same key on the keyboard’.<sup>14</sup> In the passages quoted Rameau clearly explained how one of the meantone tenets—differentiating sharps from flats—had to be modified in order to make the temperament enharmonic: in no way can this be construed as ‘evidence away from 1/4 comma’.

Even worse, having dubbed current musicology ‘mistaken’, Lehman is telling us how he *feels* that 1/4 comma *ordinaire* is too unequal for Rameau and why, therefore, it must have been another temperament with wider fifths. Here very obviously—as already observed in the aforementioned article by Lindley and Ortgies—Lehman gives his feelings priority over the historical record, which in this case consists not only of the works by Rameau he quotes, but also of the other contemporary French sources on the *temperament ordinaire*, all uniformly advocating 1/4 comma diatonic fifths yielding pure major thirds.

### German vs Italian

‘*UT* is weak on ... modern German language sources’ (p. 148). Now Lehman tries a low blow, knowing (from an online forum where I once asked for a translation) that my German is lacking. He also deplors that, among the huge corpus of modern publications on temperament, many of which are duly mentioned in *UT* (including indeed a few in German!) with a bibliography of 165 entries, six further

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<sup>14</sup> <[http://www-personal.umich.edu/~bpl/larips/practical.html#rameau\\_ordinaire](http://www-personal.umich.edu/~bpl/larips/practical.html#rameau_ordinaire)> (accessed 16 December 2010).

ones should have been included that Lehman deems ‘especially important’ (p. 148). This is ridiculous nitpicking: let me quote my heading in *UT*, p. 449: ‘LITERATURE CITED – This is not an exhaustive bibliography, but only the full list of published works cited in this treatise .... Specialised bibliographies are available online. The most complete one ... with about 6,000 entries’. Besides, I find that at least one of Lehman’s six ‘especially important works’ has basic flaws. Another one, dated 1985, is referenced on p. 149 (n. 57), where Lehman asserts that it makes ‘Section 19.9 [of *UT*] ... unnecessary’. Why? *UT* is not a research report but a treatise, which includes many topics already treated in other modern publications. Section 19.9 is indeed necessary and, more significantly, it is based on a manuscript of mine dated 1975 and abridged on p. 240 of *UT* 1978, thus *published seven years before* the source quoted by Lehman!

As for languages, nobody is perfect. I am only fluent in English, Spanish, Italian and French, and I also understand Portuguese, Latin and the German of the Gospels. I find that in temperament matters it is better to be fluent in English and Italian rather than German, because most ancient and modern German texts on temperament are today available in very reliable English translations, while some relevant ancient documents as well as many of the all-important works by Prof. Barbieri—which Lehman acknowledges as ‘excellent scholarly work’ (p. 139)—are only available in Italian.

### Fifths and Thirds

The originality of Lehman’s ideas cannot be denied. He objects to evaluating a temperament based on fifths and thirds thus:

- a) ‘There are other problems from over-reliance on Jorgensen as well, especially the heavy bias [of *UT*] toward analysing temperaments with regard to their 5ths and 3rds ...’ (p. 149). (Jorgensen cannot be blamed for this as we will see below.)
- b) ‘*UT* focuses on almost nothing but 5ths and major 3rds ...’ (p. 151). (This shows that Lehman did not read Chapter 6 of *UT*.)
- c) ‘Di Veroli’s spreadsheets are fine, but ... in their analyses of temperaments for comparison they focus almost exclusively on 5ths, major 3rds and minor 3rds’ (p. 163).
- d) In the section headed ‘Getting beyond *UT*’s insufficient analytical methods’ Lehman begins with ‘several case studies that show why the analytical methods in *UT* are insufficient, where it merely measures 5ths and major and minor 3rds’ (p. 159).
- e) ‘Analysis of major 3rds is a superficial way to assess temperaments for real music. It is more important to look at the sizes of steps within diatonic scales ...’ (p. 155). (This is used against Barnes and indirectly against all modern writers on the subject.)

This personal opinion of Lehman, which he repeats *ad nauseam* in the review, is in contradiction with the historical writers on unequal temperaments; from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, even through their fierce polemics, they all

agreed and wrote that the main intervals to be discussed and gauged in tuning work—theoretical and practical—were fifths and thirds. A compelling and widespread historical case—well-known to early music performers and tuners—is described in *UT* (pp. 85 and 153): the drastic change implied in all the sizes and proportions of the diatonic scale did not prevent most musicians throughout Europe from switching from Pythagorean intonation to meantone temperament in early Renaissance times, in order to achieve the desired good major thirds.

Interestingly, under the heading ‘Reference of temperament recipes based on 1/12ths of the Pythagorean comma’, Lehman produces a table of 13 ‘temperaments mentioned either in *UT* or in this review’ (p. 158-159). Oh, surprise: for the description and comparison of the temperaments he utilizes—inevitably—the much-maligned deviations of the fifths, preceded by a clever method to deduce the much-maligned deviations of the major thirds!

### WTC Optimal

I will not enter here a polemic on a topic fully discussed in my book. According to Lehman, ‘Di Veroli presents the recipe as a cycle of 5ths, but doesn’t display the all-important (to him!) set of the 12 major 3rds that turn up in it’ (p. 157). Oh yes I do: please read the main contents of Figs. 9.7.3 (*UT*, p. 134), 21.9.1 and 21.9.2 (*UT*, p. 427).

Lehman further finds that ‘*UT* gives an exceedingly complicated method to set ‘WTC Optimal+’ by ear, requiring the user to count ... beat rates. I have worked out a much simpler method ...’ (p. 158). Thanks for your contribution, Dr Lehman, but *UT* carries simple-no-beat-rate methods for historical temperaments only: WTC Optimal+ is a modern hypothesis that *UT* specifically does *not* recommend for practical use.

### Barnes

‘I am surprised that Di Veroli still champions Barnes’s method, in light of its devastating defects’ (p. 156). Actually, *I am surprised that Lehman* has now changed his opinion on a system, which a few years ago, in an online forum, he described as a ‘reasonable result’. (Yes, I read in the review that he disapproves of quoting web pages, but it is there where most of what Lehman has written is to be found). Further, I am curious as to what Lehman means by ‘devastating effects’, given that Barnes’s temperament is Vallotti with a minimal improvement: one note slightly changed so that only two major thirds are Pythagorean. Both tuning systems have now been in widespread use for decades by world-renowned soloists, ensembles, tuners and instrument makers, without them reporting any ‘devastating effects’ and indeed with excellent and unsurpassed results when performing the music of J. S. Bach and many other late Baroque composers. In his comments on pp. 155ff. Lehman conveniently ignores the full rebuttals, against Barnes’s detractors, which mostly comprise p. 132 of *UT*, the book he is purportedly reviewing.

Finally, Lehman states that ‘The Barnes temperament was then derived by trial and error, rather than systematically from the data ...; this is not properly scientific procedure’ (p. 155). This statement demonstrates a very limited view of scientific method: were this the only way, arguably most of the scientific and technological achievements of the twentieth century would not have occurred. Back to temperaments: only in a few cases it is possible to apply *deduction* to derive a historical temperament from the data; quite often, other methods are needed. Barnes used *induction*, the very scientific modelling procedure of inductive hypotheses formulation *followed* by verification against data. This is explained in many modern books.<sup>15</sup>

### Customized temperaments

*UT* describes the prevalence of the *tempérament ordinaire* in eighteenth-century France, something very well documented and agreed upon by current musicology, but not by Lehman who includes it under the heading ‘Getting beyond *UT*’s insufficient analytical methods’ (pp. 159-160). In that section he observes that the *ordinaire* is inadequate for Leclair, a composer not mentioned in *UT*. Indeed, the *ordinaire* was by far the most common system in use by Baroque French composers, but certainly not the only one, as clarified throughout *UT*. Further, on p. 150 of *UT* it is clearly stated that the book discusses ‘general tendencies and practical solutions, mostly disregarding secondary exceptions/variants which, as is well known and agreed upon, were manifold in ancient times’. Leclair is far from being the typical French Baroque composer, writing in late Baroque times with strong elements of Italian style.

More alarmingly, Lehman uses the music by Leclair, Corelli and others to argue that ‘when selecting a keyboard temperament ... it does not suffice ... to apply some generalist solution’ (p. 160): he argues that for each composer one should find out the ideal individual temperament and follow it in practice. The inevitable consequence is that, during every public recital, keyboard tuners (and non-keyboard players) should be busy changing the temperament as different composers are successively played. Am I wrong? Or is it Dr Lehman who has ‘unrealistic expectations’ and who advocates ‘quixotic pursuits’? One of the stated goals of my *UT* books has been precisely to help to resolve this type of issues. It is well known, and well documented on record booklets, that the leading modern performers of early music have always played following a handful of the ‘generalists solutions’—often using the same temperament for many years—that Lehman now boldly deplores. If he really believes that musicians should all change their ways and that eventually audiences would appreciate (and hopefully also pay for) multiple keyboard retunings during public recitals, Lehman should present his proposal in a more suitable context than a book review, which—for the umpteenth time—is arguably not the appropriate forum to launch such a radical reform in modern performance practice.

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<sup>15</sup> One example will serve for several: P. Rivett, *Principles of Model Building: The Construction of Models for Decision Analysis* (Chichester, 1972), esp. ch. 1: ‘The Model in Science’.

### Lehman has a point or two, or has he?

‘[Di Veroli] does not mention in detail any of the Marpurg or Sorge temperaments ...’ (p. 144). Not quite: Section 21.7 (*UT*, p. 420) is fully devoted to Marpurg’s temperaments, though I failed to include a circular one that may deserve some scrutiny. Anyway, Marpurg’s treatment of unequal temperaments (1776) is only of academic interest, being too late as a source for Baroque tuning and also—very significantly—because Marpurg was a staunch supporter of equal temperament! Lehman also objects (p. 149) to the vagueness of my sentence on mid-eighteenth-century German theoreticians and harmonic waste (*UT*, p. 45): he certainly has a (minor) point here, but this issue and the omission of Marpurg’s circular system were already spotted before mid-2009, when I added the required entries (re *UT*, pp. 45 and 420) to the ‘Errata and Addenda’ file in my *UT* website, <<http://temper.braybaroque.ie/>>.

### Conclusion

In decades of reading about tuning and temperaments I have never encountered a text with so many inaccuracies as Lehman’s *UT* review; nor have I ever read a book review with such a blatant disregard for the actual contents of the work under scrutiny. My *UT* treatise is certainly far from perfect, but the faults reported by the reviewer are simply not there.

In summary: (1) Dr Lehman’s review ignores most of the topics in *UT* that have been acknowledged—by other reviewers and knowledgeable readers—as important contributions. (2) The review often digresses for pages on end, expounding Lehman’s personal opinions in open contradiction with current musicological thought and tuning experience. (3) Most of the criticisms in the review are based on quoting out of context in such a way as to grossly misrepresent the actual content of *UT*. (4) The remaining criticisms are based on Lehman’s personal ideas and calculations that have been demonstrated to be in error.

## Notes on the Contributors

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JOHN CUNNINGHAM received his Ph.D. in 2007 from the University of Leeds, where he studied with Peter Holman. His first book, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602-1645*, was published by Boydell and Brewer in July 2010.

CLAUDIO DI VEROLI grew up in an Italian family in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he was trained by a distinguished group of European musicians. In the early 1970s he lived in Europe, where he was strongly influenced by Colin Tilney in London and Hubert Bédard in Paris. He was granted access and practised extensively on the antique keyboards in the Fenton House (London) and the Paris Conservatoire Musée Instrumental (now Musée de la Musique). With a Ph.D. in Statistics from Imperial College London (supervised by Profs. E. M. L. Beale and David R. Cox) he returned to Buenos Aires, where he pioneered the performance of Baroque music based on ancient practices. Considered a leading harpsichordist and specialist in Baroque interpretation in South America, he has been Professor of Harpsichord and examiner of the Organ course at the Conservatorio Nacional in Buenos Aires. For decades Di Veroli has carried out research in Baroque music interpretation, ancient keyboard fingerings and unequal temperaments, often applying state-of-the-art scientific and computer tools. His writings have been endorsed by leading musicians such as Gustav Leonhardt, Igor Kipnis and John Barnes. They include four books—two on tuning and temperament, one on Baroque keyboard technique and a recent one on Baroque keyboard interpretation—and more than 40 papers. He now lives in Bray, just south of Dublin, Ireland. Recent teaching practices include short courses and masterclasses in Uruguay, Argentina and Italy.

American-born harpsichordist and organist MICHAEL FUERST comes from Madison, Wisconsin, where he studied organ, mathematics and German. He continued his musical studies in harpsichord with Arthur Haas at the Eastman School of Music, where he was the assistant to lutenist Paul O'Dette. A Fulbright Scholarship enabled him to study with Robert Hill at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik in Freiburg. He is a member of various groups that specialize in seventeenth-century music, including Chelycus (which has recorded works of Andreas Oswald), and the Hamburger Ratsmusik (which was awarded the Echo Klassik prize in 2006). He worked at the University of Würzburg as a member of a Deutsche-Forschungsgemeinschaft-financed musicological research project to study sources of seventeenth-century German instrumental music. His doctoral dissertation on the *Partiturbuch Ludwig* is nearing completion. Amid an active

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MATTHEW HALL read music and linguistics at Harvard University and musicology at the University of Leeds on a Fulbright Fellowship. He is Organist at Church of Our Saviour (Brookline, Massachusetts), Artistic Director of the Harvard Early Music Society, and Editorial Assistant at the Packard Humanities Institute, publishers of *C.P.E. Bach: The Complete Works*. He is active throughout New England as a freelance harpsichordist and organist.

PETER HOLMAN is Emeritus Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Leeds. He has wide interests in English music from about 1550 to 1850, and the history of instruments and instrumental music. He is the author of the prize-winning *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (1993), and studies of Henry Purcell (1994), and Dowland's *Lachrimae* (1999), as well as numerous scholarly articles. His most recent book, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, was published by Boydell and Brewer in November 2010. As a performer he is director of The Parley of Instruments, the Suffolk Villages Festival and Leeds Baroque.

ALAN HOWARD took his B.A. and M.Phil. at Selwyn College, Cambridge, before completing his Ph.D. ('Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice: Compositional Strategies in the Fantasias and Sonatas') under Prof. Laurence Dreyfus at King's College, London (2006). In 2009 he joined the School of Music, University of East Anglia, having spent the previous three years as a research associate working with Dr Rebecca Herissone on the AHRC-sponsored project 'Musical Creativity in Restoration England' at the University of Manchester. His research interests include the music of Henry Purcell and his contemporaries, the history of English sacred and instrumental music from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and the reception of these repertoires between the eighteenth century and the present day.

DAVID PINTO had childhood experience (when school allowed) of performing with the English Opera Group and, rather later on, with the Jaye Consort and English Consort of Viols. He has applied a background in classical philology to instrumental and vocal music, up to the time of Purcell. It has resulted in novel research on sources of the era, *Urtext* editions including some of William Lawes, and interpretative studies.

JOSÉ VÁZQUEZ was born in La Habana, Cuba. In 1961 he emigrated with his family to North America, where he spent the next 13 years of his life. He studied at Northwestern University (Chicago) and performed in the Collegium Musicum of the University of Chicago under the direction of Howard Meyer Brown for four years before undertaking professional studies of the viola da gamba with Hannelore Müller and baroque violin with Jaap Schroeder at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in Switzerland. In 1980 he was appointed to the Conservatory of Music in Winterthur, Switzerland, where he teaches performance practice, viola da gamba and baroque violin. In 1982 he was appointed professor for viola da gamba at the University of Music in Vienna, Austria. He has performed extensively as a soloist (viola da gamba concerti, passions) with various European orchestras, including the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Zürich Opera Orchestra, Amsterdam Concertgebouw Chamber Orchestra, Dublin Radio Orchestra, Thessaloniki State Orchestra, Salzburg Mozarteum Chamber Orchestra, The Smithsonian Chamber Players, Mannheim Chamber Orchestra and others. He has also made recordings with diverse ensembles (including Ex Tempore, Belgium; Hans-Martin Linde, Switzerland; Musica Antiqua Köln, Germany). He is the founder and director of the Orpheon Foundation, harbouring a significant collection of string instruments from 1560 to 1800, used by the Orpheon Consort and Baroque Orchestra, with which numerous recordings have been made. In

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