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THE VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY JOURNAL

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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 Grove Music Online, ed. D. Root

<<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

IMCM *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, I (Aldershot, 2001); II (Aldershot, 2008)

MGG2 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. L. Finscher

<<http://www.mgg-online.com>>

ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Goldman

<www.oxforddnb.com>.

RISM *Repertoire internationale des sources musicales*.

Editorial

It gives me great pleasure to bring you the fifth issue of the Viola da Gamba Society Journal. As with previous volumes there is no overall theme here, but rather an attempt to present some of the most stimulating research into the history of early stringed instruments, and particularly the viol, produced over the past twelve months.

Recent discoveries have allowed Andrew Ashbee to take stock of all previous research into the elusive Polewheel and his ubiquitous Ground. The investigation into no fewer than twenty related sources draws up a fascinating web with possible links to Cornwall and the network of English Catholic colleges in continental Europe. My article is an examination of an intriguing manuscript from the second half of the seventeenth century housed in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Brussels. It contains trios by Italian, English, Netherlandish and French composers, and informs our understanding of musical exchanges across the Channel. I would like to thank Andrew Ashbee for undertaking the editing of my contribution to this volume.

Richard Carter's article – part one of two dealing with lyra-viol arrangements of music by William Byrd – considers the evidence afforded by the *ffeff/b* tablature setting of the composer's popular five-part motet *Ne Irascaris, Domine*, deftly exploring the suggestions derived from the process of arrangement and copying, as well as the implications for performance. Peter Holman's survey of music for viols available on the internet is a welcome addition to this issue of the Journal. As online resources for researchers and performers proliferate, Professor Holman's thoughts on what is out there and how to make the most of it will be invaluable to many of us.

The current issue also includes four reviews of recently published, highly significant monographs. Simon McVeigh's wholehearted recommendation of Peter Holman's *Life after Death* (a volume reviewed by fellow Society member Lucy Robinson in *Early Music* 39/3) reflects on the many noteworthy threads weaved by the author into this important book. Richard Carter's exceptionally thorough examination of Charles Brewer's *The Instrumental Music of Schmelzer, Biber, Muffat and their Contemporaries* (which also received attention in *Early Music* 39/4), recognizes its many virtues, while clarifying errors and pointing out omissions. We end with Andrew Ashbee's insightful reviews of two particularly fine monographs – respectively by Christopher Marsh and John Harley – published in 2010.

In short, these articles and reviews present exciting and compelling evidence that illuminates several important trends of current research. While there is no general theme to this issue, those concerned with lyra-viol music, the circulation of music in Early Modern England, seventeenth-century instrumental music from Central Europe, the growth of online resources, Byrd scholarship, the later history of the viol, and the musical networks created by exiled English recusants, will find something of interest here.

I am grateful to the general editor, Andrew Ashbee, and all other contributors for supporting and encouraging me through what has been a rewarding and thought-provoking first experience as Journal editor.

PATXI DEL AMO
London, January 2012

The mystery of Polewheel and his Ground

ANDREW ASHBEE

Laws, Simpson, Polewheel, Jenkins, all
'Mong the best masters musical,
Stand ravish'd while they hear her play,
And with high admiration say,
What curious strains! what rare divisions!

When Susanna Perwich died aged twenty-four, her 'neer Relation' John Batchiler took it upon himself to write a glowing tribute of her qualities, in which music-making played a significant part.¹ It seems that many celebrated musicians of her day knew her, some of whom were employed at her father's school in Hackney. These do not include the four mentioned at the head of the extract from Batchiler's poem quoted above. 'Laws', presumably Henry, since William would have died when Susanna was just eight, Simpson, and Jenkins are all well-known, but who was Polewheel among three such illustrious names?

He is probably the 'Paule Wheeler' mentioned by John Evelyn in his diary entry for 4 March 1656, having been astounded by the skill of Thomas Baltzar in performing the previous evening at the house of Sir Roger L'Estrange:

I stand to this houre amaz'd that God should give so greate perfection to so young a person. There were at that time as excellent in that profession as any were thought in Europ: *Paule Wheeler*, *Mr. Mell* and others, 'til this prodigie appeared & then they vanish'd ...²

The implication is that Paule Wheeler was a violinist, well-known in musical circles – but perhaps not sufficiently well-known in London to establish his true name! Many years later John Playford indexed 'A Division on Mr. Paulwheels Ground' in his *Division Violin* of 1865, where the title on the piece itself gives 'M' Powlwheel', lending support to the belief that the names all belong to the same man.

The only familiar piece associated with the name is 'Polewheele's Ground', certainly one of the finest grounds extant and rightly purloined by Norcombe,³ Poole,⁴ Jenkins,⁵ Simpson,⁶ John Withy⁷ and John Banister the elder for their own divisions on it.⁸

1 J. Batchiler, *The Virgin's Pattern*, London, 1661. See P. Willetts, 'Stephen Bing', *Chelys*, 18 (1989), 3-17, especially 3-5.

2 E. S. de Beer, ed.: *The Diary of John Evelyn*, iii (Oxford, 1955), 167-8.

3 D-F, Mus Hs 337, no. 3.

4 GB-DRc, MS A.27, 253.

5 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, 100.

6 GB-CHEr MS DLT/B.31 original ff. 54v-55r.

7 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, 140; D-F, Mus Hs 337, no. 8.

8 There is an erroneous attribution to Henry Butler in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71,

had from the beginning of the late unhappy troubles, vigorously and faithfully served his Majesty under the command of Ralph lord Hopton, then of sir Jam. Smith in the quality of a major of horse, and continued in arms until the surrender of Pendennis Castle, from whence he went to his late majesty of blessed memory, and afterwards followed his now majesty [Charles II.] in Holland and Flanders; and in about the year 1650 he returned into Cornwall, his native country, where he betook himself to the study and practice of physic, &c.¹⁵

The Polwheles then were of some social standing, their connections extending to Oxford and its university,¹⁶ the English court, and the Inns of Court. We have no evidence of any artistic leanings, although their status as minor nobility was fertile ground for developing any such talent. Equally important were the London and Oxford links, which could be just the places where a work like 'Polewheele's Ground' might become established.

But it would appear from the Frankfurt manuscript (D-F, Mus Hs 337) that the ground itself was not by Francis Polwhele at all, but by a 'Peter Young'. His name crops up in three previously known instances: Peter Leycester's lyra viol book, ff.54v-55r ('Per Peter Younge'); GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p.6 ('Peter Young'), US-U q763 P699c, f.9v ('Peter Young'; Francis Withy's hand in manuscript pages added to a copy of Playford's *Cantiones Sacrae* 1674). To these can now be added the four pieces in the Frankfurt manuscript:

- (1) 4. *M^r Francis Polwheels Division on M^r Peter Young's Ground* [...]
- (2) 5. *M^r Daniell Northcombe's Division on M^r Peter Young's Ground* [...]
- (3) 7. *A Division by M^r Peter Young* [...]
- (4) 8. *A Division by M^r John Withey on M^r Peter Young's Ground* [...]

However, we are no further forward from Gordon's Dodd's comment in 1981 that 'As yet we cannot identify Peter Young as a person.'¹⁷ Is it just possible that he was connected in some way with William Young? Even more curious is the fact that the divisions generally associated with Polewheel's ground turn out not to be those by Francis Polewheel either!

A rough pencilled copy of the ground (only) is found together with an otherwise unidentified second ground on a blank page of MS imhs 079.001 of the Düben collection at Uppsala University: treble and bass parts for Jenkins's two suites in VdGS Group IV. These parts are believed to have travelled to Sweden from England with the musicians in Bulstrode Whitlocke's Embassy of 1654. It is also printed anonymously as 'A Ground' in John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 1655), p. 52.¹⁸

Assuming the attributions are correct (and there is no reason to doubt them),

15 A. Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis*, ed. P. Bliss, Oxford, 1820, IV, ii, 234.

16 Seven members of the family attended Exeter College during the seventeenth century, and one was at Queen's. See J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1886*, Oxford, 1891.

17 VdGS ME 140.

18 Margaret Gilmore, in her facsimile edition of Playford's *The Division Violin*, Oxford, 1982, lists US-NYp, Drexel MS 3554, p.61, as another source for the ground, but I have been unable to confirm this.

the ground was composed some time before the death of Norcombe in 1647 and was circulating in England by the mid-1650s. Furthermore Norcombe and Poole (d.1692) both worked on the continent, and their settings, together with the Goëss manuscript noted below, confirm it travelled widely. One can imagine it perhaps being gathered up during the Royalist skirmishes in Cornwall, transferring to Oxford and thence via messengers to the Continent, where it was distributed among the Catholic musicians. These early references to Polewheel are crucial in identifying the older Francis (b.1608) rather than the younger (b.1645) as the putative composer of that set of divisions.

The normal structure for the Polewheel/Young divisions is Ground (1st strain), division a¹, Ground (2nd strain), divisions b¹, a²-a³, b²-b³, a⁴-a⁵, b⁴-b⁵.

The known sources are these:

A. GB-CHEr MS DLT/B.31 original ff. 54v-55r. Copied by Sir Peter Leycester c.1640s-1650s. Divisions are labelled 'Per Peter Younge', but are in fact the same as those known as 'Polewheel's Ground'; ff. 55v-56r follow on directly and are on the same ground 'Per Christofer Simson'.

B. A-Goëss MS 'A', ff.47v-49r, seq. (110), ffeff tablature. Anonymous copy of the 'Polewheel' divisions¹⁹ The manuscript bears the inscription 'A Utrecht le 19 de+bre 1664' and the main copyist has been recently identified by Rudolf Rasch as Johan van Reede, Lord of Renswoude (1593-1682).²⁰

C. GB-Ob, MUS 184.c.8, p.81. Anonymous divisions (perhaps by Roger L'Estrange) on pp. 81-83, followed by a note: 'P.W.'s [i.e. Polewheel's] own follow'. The latter (pp. 83-85) duplicate the divisions in the two manuscripts listed above.²¹

D. US-U, q763 P699c, f.9v. A manuscript attached to a copy of Playford's *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1674. The same 'Polewheel' divisions, but attributed to 'Peter Young', and in the hand of Francis Withy, singing man at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1670 to 1727.²²

E. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.61, p.6, ascribed to 'Peter Young': the same 'Polewheel' divisions. The book was copied by Francis Withy between c.1688-1700.²³

F. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71. Christopher Simpson's *Division Viol* (1667) with manuscript divisions on pages added at the end. The book was owned by William Noble (1649/50-1681), an Oxford graduate, ordained there on 23 December 1677. He became a chaplain at Christ Church on 14 March 1678. The following pieces were among those copied between 1671 and 1673:

pp. 100-102: 'Mr Jenkins' divisions on Polewheel's ground

pp. 102-104: credited to 'Mr Butler', but actually the normal set for Polewheel's

19 Facsimile: Tree Edition: *Goëss A*, Lubeck, 1999.

20 See Patxi del Amo, *op. cit.*, 140-2.

21 Ed. J. Barron, VdGS, ME 231, 2011..

22 See R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell's Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, 154-5.

23 See *IMCM* II, 138-143.

ground.

pp. 140-142: 'Finis M^r: Withey' at end [John Withy, VdGS no. 26], but succeeded by three pairs of a-b divisions. The first pair is anonymous, but the others duplicate strains from the Jenkins set: a¹, b¹, a², b².

G. GB-HAdolmetsch MS II.c.24, ff.29'-30r: a volume of bass viol divisions, including the Polewheel set ascribed to 'Pole Wheele'.

H. D-F, Mus Hs 337: a volume of bass viol divisions transcribed an octave higher for violin and including the four sets noted earlier. It appears to have been compiled in England around the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The manuscript is very specific about the 'Polewheel' ground being composed by Peter Young. A companion ground, no. 17, is headed 'A Division by M^r John Jenkins his Ground by M^r Daniell Norcome ...', implying that Jenkins composed that ground (Jenkins, VdGS no. 9), which is also known with divisions by Norcombe, Simpson and Francis Withy.

No. 4, by 'Francis Pollwheel' has the same divisions as in GB-Ob, MS Mus. C.39, ff.16r-17v.

No. 5, by 'Daniell Northcombe', not known elsewhere.

No. 7, by 'Peter Young' are the usual 'Polewheel' divisions.

No. 8, by 'John Withey' are not the same divisions attributed to him in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71.

I. Playford: Division Violin, 1685, no. 3: 'Mr Powlwheel's Division on a Ground'. Polewheel's divisions arranged for violin, with some additions:²⁴

an added treble to the first strain of the ground and instead of a plain statement of the ground's second strain there is a division on it. A different division is also substituted for the final b⁵.

No. 8, pp. 14-15 'A Division on a Ground by Mr. Banister', also based on the Polewheel ground.

J. GB-Ob, MS Mus. C.39. This manuscript headed 'Divisions for the Viol, 1679' has received little attention from scholars. Many of its contents are anonymous and there are fewer concordances for its pieces than in other manuscripts of the kind. Seven sets by Norcombe and eleven by Simpson appear alongside single pieces by Baltzar, Steffkins and J[ohn] W[ithy]. Some pieces preview the published versions for violin in Playford's *The Division Violin*.

ff. 11v-12v: an anonymous bass viol version of 'A Division on a Ground by Mr. Banister' in *The Division Violin*, pp. 14-15. The end of the piece (sections b6 and b7) is on f, 23v, where there is the heading 'Powl Wheel'. Curiously the piece concludes with the first and third strains of *The Division Violin* no. 3: 'M^r Powlwheel's Division on a Ground'

ff. 14v-15v: anonymous, but the usual Polewheel/Young divisions

ff.16r-17v: the set of Francis Polewheel divisions for bass viol, but otherwise similar to D-F, Mus H 337, and ascribed 'Pole Wheele' at the end.

24 Facsimile, ed. M. Gilmore, OUP, 1982.

K. US-Cn Case 6a.143, seq. (2) Powlwheels Ground for bass viol, similar at first to the set in Playford's *Division Violin*, but with four pairs of extra divisions on each strain added at the end.²⁵

L. GB-Och, Mus 1183, ff.32r-33v. Divisions for bass viol by 'Polwheele' are the usual set.

M. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59,869, ff.38r-37v. Simpson's *Division-Violist* (1659) with manuscript pages added. Attention has hitherto focussed on the lyra viol music added inverted at the reverse end, but two sets of divisions are copied in staff notation immediately after Simpson's print. The first of these is Polewheel's Ground (without any titles) and includes one variant division at b⁴ not found elsewhere. The second is a long (36-section) anonymous set on VdGS A58, again unknown elsewhere.

For the sake of completeness, although they do not relate to the viol/violin divisions and will not be discussed, I insert here references to five sets in keyboard sources:²⁶

N. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.219, f.18v-19r. A setting of an anonymous 'Ground in D sol re' the bass of which is 'Polewheel's Ground', followed by a single division on each strain.²⁷ Part only of a piece in source Q below, which assigns it to 'Mr Price'. The manuscript dates from the 1660s.²⁸

O. GB-Och, Mus. 1176, f.14v-15r. This piece is among those copied by Edward Lowe (*d.* 1682).²⁹ Anon. [Source Q has 'Mr Price']

P. GB-Och, Mus. 15, ff. 85v-r [reverse end]. Copied by Henry Aldrich. Incomplete at end. Anon. [Source Q has 'Mr. Price']²⁹

Q. F-Pn, 1186bis II, pp.10-21. The second part of a composite manuscript 'Grond / Mr. Price'.

R. B-Bc 15139z, p.158 (c.1700) 'A Ground / D^r Blow'.³⁰

S. GB-Llp, 1040, f.1r. Two grounds only (single stave, bass clef). The first is Jenkins, VdGS no. 9, the second is 'Polewheel's Ground'.³¹

²⁵ Facsimile, VdGS, ME 137.

²⁶ I am very grateful to Andrew Woolley for letting me see his forthcoming article 'Purcell and the Reception of Lully's "Scocca Pur" (L.WV 76/3) in England' which sets the keyboard settings in context of other English keyboard grounds.

²⁷ VdGS ME 90; see V. Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c.1660*, Oxford University Press, 1996, no. 617. Transcriptions in C. Bailey, *Late-seventeenth-century English Keyboard Music, Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era*, 81 (1997), and as VdGS ME 90, ed. G. Dodd.

²⁸ See B. Cooper, 'Albertus Bryne's Keyboard Music', *Musical Times*, 113 (1972), 142-3.

²⁹ See <library.ch.ch.ox.ac.uk/music/> mus. 15 and mus. 1176.

³⁰ Transcription, ed. R. Klakowich, *John Blow; Complete Harpsichord Music*, Musica Britannica 73 (1998), no. 88, with note on pp. 137-8. Klakowich suggests only part of the setting is by Blow. See also P. Holman, 'A New Source of Restoration Keyboard Music', *RMARC* 20 (1986-7), 53-7.

³¹ J. Harley, 'An Early Source of the English Keyboard Suite (Lambeth Palace Library MS 1040)', *RMARC* 28 (1995), 51-58.

T: US-NYp, Drexel 3551

I would have you peruse the *Divisions* which other men have made upon *Grounds*; as those of Mr. *Henry Butler*, Mr. *Daniel Norcome*, and divers other excellent men of this our Nation, who (hitherto) have had the preheminance for this particular Instrument observing, and Noting in their *Divisions*, what you find best worthy to be imitated.³²

Perhaps it is to be expected that the Catholic Christopher Simpson would extol the virtues of Butler and Norcombe, bass violists serving in exile because of their faith. Indeed it is becoming increasingly evident that the Catholic network was of great importance in distributing music around Europe, especially the divisions for bass viol composed and played by Butler, Norcombe, Simpson, Young, Poole and others.

US-NYp, Drexel 3551 is an 84-page manuscript of divisions for bass viol bound at the end of a copy of Christopher Simpson's *Division Violist* of 1659. It is in one hand throughout and includes some of the most technically formidable pieces of the kind. An important clue as to its origins comes with a series of eleven pieces by Dietrich Stoeffken copied at the end of the volume, five of which form 'A Suite of Mr Steffkins he gave me. octob: ye 1664.' The same eleven pieces, with four more, occur on ff.31v-37v of A-Goëss MS 'A', apparently in Stoeffken's own hand. As noted earlier MS 'A' has a note on the fly-leaf 'a Utrecht le 19 de+bre 1664' by the main copyist ('Q') Johan van Reede, Lord of Renswoude (1593-1682). In his introduction to the Tree edition³³ Tim Crawford writes 'a few pieces in Q's hand are dated before this, the earliest given date being '11 Feb. [16]55' (Ms B., f.15).' I believe that Q's associate in the copying ('R') was Stoeffken himself: the 'D Stoeffken' on ff.69r and 70r of MS 'B' closely matches his signature for receipt of payment in *The Triumph of Peace*—although this was made twenty or more years earlier³⁴. In the 1650s Stoeffken travelled widely throughout Europe, but these manuscripts confirm that he kept in touch with friends in the Netherlands, Constantine Huygens being one of them. As a diplomat Johann van Rede had endeavoured to support both Charles I and his son the future Charles II when in exile.³⁵ It is likely that Stoeffken added his music to Reede's books some time before 1660, when he was re-appointed to the establishment of Charles II. Therefore they were not new when the copyist of Drexel 3551 added them to his manuscript.

A closer look at the remaining contents of 3551 leads me to propose that the book probably belonged to Paul Francis Bridges, who was appointed as bass violist in the Private Musick of Charles II from Midsummer 1660, he

32 Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol*, 1669, 57.

33 Facsimile: *Goëss A*, Lubeck, 1999; *Goëss B*, Lubeck, 1997.

34 However, Patxi del Amo sees three hands: Q, R and Stoeffken, so the issue is not resolved.

35 See ODNB: Reede van Renswouden, Johan van [John de Reede], Baron Reede (1593–1682),

most humbly begging the performance of your Ma^{ts} gracious promise, haveing left service at Bresulls (being come with all his family) to serve your Ma^{tie} as musician for the Chappell & Chamber of your Ma^{tie}?

The supporting letter by the Earl of Worcester and others noted

that he [Bridges] hath often times brought in Camarades to make Musick for our Sovereigne the King [of Spain], and many times himself hath plaied alone before his Ma^{ty}, and did quit the said service ... out of his love and duty to serve his Maiesty in England'.

Surviving lists between 1648 and 1652 show Bridges at Brussels, although at this time Stoeffken had taken up a post with Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg. Nevertheless in view of Stoeffken's links with his friends in the Netherlands we cannot rule out an acquaintance between Bridges and Stoeffken there in the 1650s.

Contents of Drexel 3551					
[Divisions on grounds for solo bass viol]					
<i>Seq.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Ascription</i>	<i>Key</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>VdGS No.</i>
1	[1]	Mr Jenkins	A	1-6	4
2	2	Mr Henry Butler	a	6-8	14
3	3	- ³⁶	a	9-11	A55
4	4	Mr D. Norcome	A	11-13	23
5	5	Mr. Polewheele	a	13-15	3
6	6	Mr Buttler	C	16-19	2
7	7	Mr Cooper Norcomb	d	19-22	30
8		Mr Hugh Facy	d	23-26	1
9	8	Mr Polewheele	c	26-29	1
10	9	Mr Butler	F	30-33	9/10
11	10	Mr Norcome	F	34-35	15
		[<i>blank</i>]		36	
12	10 [<i>sic</i>]	Mr Buttler	e	37-39	7/8
13	11	Mr Maurice Webster	C	40-42	1
14	12	Mr Tho. Balthaser	G	43-47	2
15	13	D ^r . Coleman	g	48-49	2
16	14	Mr Norcomb ³⁷	e	50-53	14
17	15	[D. Norcombe?]	Bb	54	24
		[<i>blank</i>]		55	
18	16	Mr Norcomb	a	56-57	21
19	17	Mr Norcomb	a	58-59	19
20	2	-	d	60	A104
21	3	-	a	60	A105
22	4 ³⁸	-	G	60	A13
23	- ³⁹	-	d	61	
24	18	-	a	62-3	A57

36 Same ground as on p.65, but different divisions.

37 Ground also used by W. Young in GB-DRc, D.10, p.139.

38 Page 60: three grounds, no divisions, numbered 2-4; nos. 2 and 3 unidentified.

39 The Polewheel/Young Ground, no divisions.

		[<i>blank</i>]		64	
25	19	-	a	65-67	A56
26	20 ⁴⁰	[D. Norcombe]	D	68-69	9
		[<i>blank</i>]		70	
27	-	[Fragment omitted from no 20]		71	
28	-	Mr Simpson ⁴¹	d	72-75	15
29	28	Mr Norcombe	C	76-77	2
30	-	Almand. Mr Steffkins 1664.	g	79	8
31	-	Coranto. Mr St:[effkins]	g	79	9
32	-	Cor: [Steffkins]	g	80	10
33	-	Sar. Mr St:[effkins]	g	80	11
34	-	Jigue. A Suite of Mr Steffkins he gave / me. octob: ye 1664.	g	80	12
35	-	Almand Mr Steffkins	d	81	1
36	-	Coranto Mr St:[effkins]	d	81	2
37	-	Coranto Mr Steffkins. a second suite	d	82	3
38	-	Almane Mr Steffkins	C	82-83	14
39	-	Courant mr Steffkins	C	83	15

A likely scenario is that in coming to England Bridges purchased the newly-published *Division-Violist* of his fellow Catholic Christopher Simpson and began filling the manuscript extension.⁴² A few pieces are by his English colleagues Jenkins, Baltzar and Coleman, but many more are likely to have been part of his repertory in Brussels, particularly four by Butler and nine by Norcombe, whom he himself appears to have replaced. Polewheel (to whom we will return later) also appears to belong to the latter group. What is extraordinary is that virtually all these pieces have no known concordances, the main exception being the four Butler pieces in GB-DRc, MS D.10. This latter manuscript was acquired by Philip Falle, quite likely during one of his embassies to the Netherlands. Its contents too could well have come from a centre like Brussels: nos. [1]-[6] by J. M. Nicolai; nos. [7], [11-20], [22-23], [44-46] by Butler; nos. [8-10] by 'Mr. Maarit Webster', 'Mr. Ditrich Stoeffken' and 'Mr. Daniel Norcum' respectively; nos. [25-43], [48-49] by [William] 'Joung'; and no. [47] by Zamponi, director of the chamber music at Brussels.⁴³ The city was, of course, the headquarters of the Spanish Netherlands at this time, so music by a composer like Butler (and possibly even the composer himself) could have made the journey from Spain. Andrew Fowler points out that D.10 appears to be the work of an amateur. He records that it contains numerous errors and its small size prohibits its use for performance.⁴⁴ Maybe Philip Falle acquired it from a (former?) courtier at a time when the glories of the Brussels

40 A decorated form of the ground also used by Jenkins, C. Simpson and F. Withy.

41 On Tregian's Ground.

42 It is of course possible, but less likely, that the whole was begun in Brussels.

43 See A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, Aldershot, 2008, II, 64-9.

44 A. Fowler, 'Englishmen Abroad-The Contents of Durham Cathedral Library Music MS D10', *The Viol*, 23 (Summer 2011), 19-26. See also IMCM II, 64-69.

court had faded.

Susi Jeans suggests that Hugh Facy had Catholic sympathies⁴⁵ so his set of divisions sits well among the others in Drexel 3551 and adds weight to her argument. One of Maurice Webster's only two surviving sets of divisions is in Drexel 3551 with the other in D.10, although at one time there were many more.⁴⁶ He, of course, is thought to have been born in Germany and played there until 1622-3, when he came to England, so a continental provenance for these pieces is also likely. Pages 60-61 of the Drexel manuscript contain four ground basses without divisions, the last of which is the Polewheel/Young ground.

Peter Holman's examination of Baltzar's music led him to suggest too that the set of divisions in Drexel 3551 might have been made for one of his English colleagues:

Late seventeenth-century English sources contain a number of other examples of violin music transposed down an octave for bass viol. Baltzar's other set of divisions, a G-major work found in a manuscript appendix to a copy of Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Viol* now in the New York Public Library [i.e. Drexel 3551], may also be an arrangement of a violin work, though its original form is less easily reconstructed. Transposing the solo line up an octave reveals that there are several passages that lie too low for the violin, as well as a number of chords that are unplayable on the instrument as they stand. Nevertheless, as in the D minor divisions, the transposed solo line lies mainly between g and d^{'''}, and it is almost [15] entirely a descant over the ground bass; only in the last variation does it pick out and reinforce the bass in the standard manner of real bass-viol divisions. Perhaps the piece is Baltzar's own revision for bass viol of a set of divisions originally for violin, made for one of his viol-playing colleagues at the Restoration Court such as John Jenkins or Dietrich Stoeffken; certainly, both sets demand a virtuoso, be he a bass-viol player or a violinist.⁴⁷

Of particular interest are the two other sets of divisions ascribed to 'Mr Polewheele' which are unique to this manuscript and complete his known output.

45 *GMO*, Hugh Facy.

46 See *BDECM*, Maurice Webster; L. Hulse, 'Apollo's Whirligig: William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle and his Music Collection', *The Seventeenth Century*, 9 (1994), 213-46. The ground only of Webster's divisions (VdGS, no. 1) is copied on sig. 1/1 of GB-Och, Mus 1019, together with the ground for Norcumbe's divisions (VdGS, no. 2).

47 P. Holman, 'Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663), The Incomperable *Lubicer* on the Violin', *Chelys* 13 (1984), 15-16.

[illegible]

The image shows a musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". It consists of two staves. The top staff is for the vocal melody, and the bottom staff is for the piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The melody starts on a G4, goes up to an A4, then a B-flat4, and continues with various intervals. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more complex, syncopated pattern in the left hand. The score is written in a clear, legible font.

At this point we need to introduce a new character into the scene. There is a George Warham, born at Whitechurch Canonichorum, Dorset, in 1607,⁴⁸ who as a Catholic priest adopted the alias of Polwheele. There are two generations of sixteenth-century 'Warams' recorded in the parish register, one of whom seems to have been George's father Thomas (bapt. 12 May 1580). Their complete absence from the registers thereafter probably indicates that they were recusants. A short account of George appears in 'A list of the more Noteworthy Priests who are to be found at present among the English Secular Clergy'⁴⁹

George entered the college at Douai on 3 November 1622, aged fifteen and the Diary entry already gives him his Polwheele alias. He was ordained at Mons on 21 May 1633⁵⁰ and was made a canon in 1644, became archdeacon of Kent and Surrey in 1649, later becoming collector (of taxes to pay Rome) for Norfolk, where he lived. He died near Dorking, Surrey, on 25 May 1676. The disparaging account above implies that he was not academically inclined, but maybe his skills were in organization, otherwise his promotion to Archdeacon seems surprising. There is no mention of music in references to him, but at Douai, like other Jesuit colleges, music was important and he certainly would

50 G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests. A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558-1850: II: Early Stuarts 1605-1629*, Great Wakering, 1975, 249, 337.

have had the opportunity to study and perform it there.

Was there a Catholic composer called 'Polewheel'? We can be fairly certain that Francis Polwhele of Cornwall was not: three members of his immediate family became vicars or rectors of English parishes. The fact that Polewheel's [Young's] Ground quickly found its way to the continent to be set by Norcombe and Poole suggests that the Catholic network took it up with enthusiasm, but does not in itself endorse a Catholic origin. A possible link between the Cornish Polwheles and Catholics may arise from their membership of Exeter College, Oxford, known to have been home to a significant number of Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fact remains that the ground's earliest manifestations do not mention Polewheel at all, but rather acknowledge Peter Young as the composer. Appearances of the ground in many English collections of divisions seems in part to be the result of a reverse process whereby music from the continent was taken up by English players. Sources D, E and F involve John and Francis Withy. John was a Catholic and undoubtedly part of the web transmitting music to and from his fellows. His brother Francis would clearly have contact with John and as a bass violist would have been able to add music by Butler, Norcombe, Poole and Simpson to his own collection and to that of his probable pupil William Noble (source F). In Sir Peter Leycester's book (source A) the fact that Polewheel's Ground is joined to divisions on it by Christopher Simpson may indicate a Catholic path too. The continental origin of sources B and T has already been discussed.

On present evidence the mystery remains of why a ground evidently written by Peter Young became associated with the name Polewheel. For John Batchelor to have included Polewheel in his 1661 list he must have assumed that his readers would be familiar with the name. In his diary entry John Evelyn sets Polewheel alongside Davis Mell, which suggests that he considered both to be famous violinists. If so, presumably Polewheel was a professional rather than amateur player - and English.

A Francis Polewheel is credited with a set of divisions on Peter Young's ground. This could be the Francis Polwhele born in 1608 and a member of the family from Cornwall. But his family background makes it unlikely that he was more than an amateur musician – and probably a bass violist rather than a violinist. Two copies of his divisions are extant, both probably dating from around the 1670s.

The violin was beginning to be taken up by amateur players by the mid 1650s: John Playford says it 'is now an instrument much in request' in his *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* of 1655 (p.54). Violin divisions appear alongside bass viol divisions from the 1670s onwards, as do others for keyboard. The popularity of divisions on Peter Young's ground is greatest in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The earliest extant copies of 'Polewheel's Ground' labelled as by 'PW' or 'Polewheel' seem to date from the 1660s. The owner/copyist of Drexel 3551 did not write out the Peter Young divisions, but did have two other sets by 'Polewheel' unique to this manuscript. If the manuscript did indeed belong to Francis Bridges, then the pieces were probably acquired in the early 1660s.

Three sets of divisions at least seems to rule out the idea that 'Polewheel's Ground' was named after a performer rather than a composer—and indeed no performer, whether bass violist or violinist, has yet been identified to claim authorship.

George Wareham alias Polewheel remains an enigma. On the one hand it is possible that he received musical instruction at Douai and that he continued to play and/or compose in later years. He seems to have had a peripatetic life in England which could have assisted in the circulation of a piece like Polewheel's Ground. We cannot rule out the possibility that the Polewheel pieces in Drexel 3551 were by him, whether composed in England or on the continent. But on the whole this seems unlikely, given the naming of a musician called Polewheel by Batchelor and Evelyn and my own feeling is that he had nothing to do with the celebrated piece known as 'Polewheel's Ground'. The titles in the Frankfurt manuscript give the clearest indication that Peter Young wrote the popular set of divisions on it, but nowhere do the sources show an attribution to 'Peter Young alias Polewheel' – which would solve the mystery!

A fresh look at B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910

PATXI DEL AMO

B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 is a little-known collection of manuscripts housed at the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Brussels, catalogued as ‘Trii di vari autori’. It consists of three upright folio part-books, each labelled on the spine respectively ‘viol I’, ‘violII-linto[sic]-bassoI’ and ‘bassus-bassoII’.¹ All three part-books have the same dimensions, 320x202mm, and are accompanied by a manuscript score copied and signed by ‘A. Goeyens’ and dated ‘1/10/1908’. Alphonse Goeyens, an enthusiast of eighteenth-century music, was professor of trumpet at the Brussels Conservatoire from 1891 and *Conservateur du Répertoire* from 1897.² Fly-leaves are not seventeenth-century, but each part-book includes a table of contents in the hand of the main scribe and compiler (the unidentified hand A) immediately before page one, which suggests the collection was assembled and indexed during the copyist’s lifetime.

The collection was bound in leather, and it bears the stamp ‘Geh. Rath Wagener/Marburg’, the personal seal of the avid music collector Guido-Richard Wagener (1822-1896).³ Wagener, professor of anatomy at the Universities of Berlin and Marburg, built up five collections; two dedicated to anatomy and three to music. His collection of musical artefacts comprised stringed instruments by Stradivari, Amati and Guarneri, and was largely destroyed during the bombing of Hamburg in 1943. A second collection of musical pictures was dispersed after its sale in 1982. The third collection included printed and manuscript music, *libretti*, books on music, catalogues and periodicals. It was acquired in 1902 by the librarian of the Brussels Conservatoire, Alfred Wotquenne, and then sold to the library. It included the present set of part-books, rebound to Wagener’s taste with marbled fly-leaves, coloured edges and a case for the set designed to look like a book. Pre-1700 items in the collection either have retained their original bindings and are in good condition, or were rebound to match Wagener’s in-house style. This suggests that Wagener only had historical bindings replaced when they were damaged or deemed unbecoming, so it may be that B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 arrived to him in poor shape or in more casual – perhaps paper – binding.

A study of the paper, ruling, music and hands will reveal B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 to be a composite manuscript, a guard-book devised by the compiler for the safe-keeping of the six distinct sections contained within it. For this reason each section will be discussed in turn before the evidence that the collection presents as a whole is summed up.

Section one originally consisted of four quires of paper copied by hand A. The

¹ I will refer to these as part I, part II and part III respectively.

² B-Bc, SS48, *L’Annuaire du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles, 1907, 31^e Année* (Brussels, 1907-1908), 26-28. See also B-Bc, ARC007, *Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles: Etat du Personnel Enseignant, 1833-1907*, (Unpublished Manuscript), 143.

³ For Wagener and his collections, see J. Eeckeloo *et al.*, *FRW in B-Bc: 100 Jaar Collectie Wagener in het Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel* (Brussels, 2004).

third of these was removed or lost after the compilation of the index and the numbering of each folio, but before definitive binding. The paper, uniform throughout the section, is so-called ‘Dutch paper’ with watermark foolscap and countermark HG between the chains. Although this particular combination of watermark and countermark is unknown in English sources, other combinations of foolscap and HG are recorded in England, c.1683.⁴ The paper is rastrum-ruled with ten staves per page, and it presents vertical ruling in red ink. The use of such marginal ruling was a widespread and well-established practice in England, to be found on most contemporary sources of English music.⁵

The first two quires (ff.1-16 in parts I and II) contain sonatas for two violins and bass, one each by ‘Loiselet’, Zamponi, Corelli and [Gian] Carlo Chailo, two bearing a scrawled attribution ‘Incert’, or possibly ‘Gneert’, and nine more by ‘Godfrey Finger’. The second quire ends with a sonata in G minor for violin, bass viol and continuo by the expatriate English Jesuit, composer and violist Anthony Poole (c.1629-1692), the bass viol part of which is in the violin I book and the violin part in the violin II book.⁶ According to the index, the missing third quire contained a set of twelve sonatas by Corelli (ff.17-26 in parts I and II) and the final quire has twelve sonatas by Giovanni Battista Bassani.

All that may be inferred from the surname ‘Loiselet’ is that the unidentified musician is likely to have been of French or Netherlandish extraction. It may refer to the little-known composer Jean Loisel (fl.1644-1649), a musician active in the Spanish Netherlands and responsible for three volumes of sacred vocal music published by Phalèse, respectively in 1644, 1646 and 1649. It is also possible this ascription is intended to be a reference to a member of the Loeillet family of Flemish musicians, a dynasty with ramifications in London, Brussels, Lyons, Paris and Munich, which presided over music in Ghent from the 1670s until the final years of the eighteenth century.

Three other versions of the sonata by the Brussels-based organist and composer Giuseppe Zamponi (d.1662) survive – all of them transposed a semitone higher, that is, in B \flat major – in F-Pn, Rés Vm⁷ 673, GB-Drc, MS D.2 and GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.25. The Zamponi attribution is not unproblematic, as the version in GB-HAdolmetsch, II.c.25 is ascribed to composer and cornettist Balthasar Richardt (fl.1631-1657), a musician known to have been in the employment of the Brussels chapel of Archducal Princess Isabella.⁷ The third item in the source, attributed to Corelli, is a trio sonata in A major, catalogued by Hans Joachim Marx as Anh. 16.⁸ It is also extant in a number of English sources such as GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400-403 (where the bowed

⁴ E. Heawood, ‘Further Notes on Paper Used in England after 1600’, *The Library*, 2 (1947), 137.

⁵ R. Thompson, ‘Manuscript Music in Purcell’s London’, *Early Music*, 23/4, (1995), 605-18.

⁶ P. del Amo, ‘Anthony Poole (c.1629-1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics’, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 2011).

⁷ E. vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, 8 vols (Brussels, 1867-1888), ii, 71-85.

⁸ H. Marx, *Arcangelo Corelli: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Musikalischen Werke* (Köln, 1980), 237-38.

bass part is labelled 'di gambo'), US-Cu, 959 (where the piece is attributed to 'L. Calista' [sic]), GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.254, and GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33236 (in score).

None of the parts for the two sonatas – respectively in C minor and Bb major – that constitute the next group bear any titles or inscriptions, and the only attribution to be found is the one offered by scribe A in the indexes. These tables appear to read '2 Sonata's Incert'. Presumably this is intended as an abbreviation of *incerto*, the Italian word for uncertain or unsure, meaning an unknown composer. It may be that scribe A, an English musician who transcribed all other Italian terms correctly, did not understand enough Italian to realise this was not an attribution (Fig.1).

Sonata. Loiselet	1.
Sonata Zampori	2.
Sonata Corelli	3.
2 Sonata's Incert.	4.
Sonata Carlo Chailò	5.
9 Sonata's Godfrey Finger	6.
12 Sonatas Corelli	17.
12 Sonatas Falsani	27.
The 4 Seasons. Chr. Symphon.	45.
7 Division-ays. F. Poole	54.
Sonata Butler.	57.
Ays a 3. Geo. Loofermore	58.
Preludes & ays. La Voler	62.
Sonata's & ays. Carlo Ambrogia	71.

Fig.1: B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part-book II, fly-leaf.

The next item is a sonata attributed to [Gian] Carlo Chailò (?1659-1722), a Roman violinist and composer based at the Vice-regal Chapel in Spanish Naples from 1683. He was active as an educator as well as a performer, and his students may have been responsible for the transmission of his two other surviving works, now extant in libraries in Berlin and Lund. It is followed by nine sonatas by Finger, six of which correspond with works in his Op. 5, published by Roger of Amsterdam c.1702. If – as it would seem likely – these were copied from the printed volume, their copying cannot have happened before 1702. The next item – the fine sonata for violin, bass viol and bass by Poole – is unlike the rest of the section in terms of instrumentation, and it would appear complete as it stands, perhaps because a missing continuo part could be identical to the extant bass part but for the addition of figures.

The missing set of twelve sonatas by Corelli is recorded and then crossed out in the indexes (Fig.1). This suggests that the compiler's intention – even at the time of indexing – was to include the pieces, and it is not apparent why they were eventually not incorporated. An addition to the deleted entry on part-

book I reads ‘Bavaria’ in a different hand (Fig.2). It would seem logical to assume that this missing set of twelve works was a complete copy of one of the four published collections of trio-sonatas by the Italian composer. The earliest, and perhaps most likely candidate, is the 1681 Op. 1 (reprinted in Amsterdam in 1685 and in London c.1705).⁹ However, we cannot rule out the 1685 Op. 2, the 1689 Op. 3, or the 1694 Op. 4. The reference to Bavaria in the index may also suggest that it was a copy of the spurious set advertised on 23 September 1695 by Ralph Agutter in the *London Gazette*:

Twelve sonata’s, (newly come over from Rome) in 3 parts... by A. Corelli and dedicated to His Highness the Elector of Bavaria... fairly prick’d from the true original.¹⁰

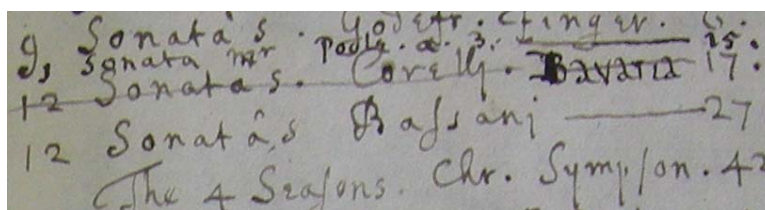


Fig.2: B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part-book I, fly-leaf (detail).

The *Sonate* by Giovanni Battista Bassani included here are the twelve works in his Op. 5, first published in 1683 and subsequently by Hendrik Aertssens in Antwerp in 1691.¹¹ The published collection consists of four part-books, namely ‘violino primo’, ‘violino secondo’, ‘violoncello’ and ‘organo’. In the first three sonatas, the violoncello part bears the proviso ‘à beneplacito’, in the following three ‘se piace’ and in the remaining six ‘obligato [sic]’. In B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 none of these stipulations are recorded, and the organ part is missing. The only instruments that are specified or can be ascertained from the nature of the part-books are violins and viols, and perhaps scribe A was primarily interested in music for violins and viols to the organ. If he was a violist, he may have intended to play Bassani’s bowed bass parts on the bass viol. This practice is documented by GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.255, a manuscript copy of Corelli’s Op. 2 sonatas where James Sherard substituted the composer’s label ‘violone’ with ‘bass de viol’.¹²

The use of secretary script, the scribal practice of frame-ruling, and the spelling of performance indications such as ‘repeate’, ‘End wth y^e first straine/Adagio & close all’, ‘the next to be playd before this’, and ‘on y^e other side’ suggest that scribe A was English.¹³ This anonymous scribe also copied music into US-NHb, Osborn 515 and US-NH, Filmer MS 7 – two isolated manuscript bass part-books containing Restoration music – and was in

⁹ Marx, *Arcangelo Corelli*, 76-99.

¹⁰ P. Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli 'New Orpheus of Our Time'* (Oxford, 1999), 191.

¹¹ Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Sinfonie a due e tre Instrumenti, con il Basso Continuo per l'Organo* (Bologna, 1683). See R. Haselbach, *Giovanni Battista Bassani: Werkkatalog, Biographie und Künstlerische Würdigung* (Kassel, 1955), especially 24-26.

¹² P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 79.

¹³ Respectively B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, part II (f.1^v), part I (f.31^r), part III (f.24^v) and part I (f.32^v).

addition responsible for indexing the first of these two sources.¹⁴

A few things stand out when considering the section as a whole, such as the fact that all of the music is by Catholic composers, and that authors working in Rome and the Spanish Netherlands are particularly well represented. The Italian repertoire and the music by Finger are compatible with the content of a number of contemporary English sources (and so this section might have been assembled from sources of Continental music known in England), but the inclusion of little-known music from the Low Countries suggests it could also have been copied by scribe A in Flanders. The music ranges in date from the early works by Zamponi to the sonatas by Finger, showing that the manuscript was compiled over a long time, perhaps c.1655-1705. It also seems beyond doubt that there would originally have been a fourth part-book for this section.

Section two is an autograph copy of *The Four Seasons*, by Christopher Simpson.¹⁵ Parts for the four fantasia-suites are exquisitely copied into the three books, each taking up a single quire. The paper, which bears the Arms of the Seven Provinces as a watermark, with countermark PC, is ruled with red frame ruling and ten staves per page. The title page at the beginning of each part reads 'For two Bass violls and a Treble with a thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Organ by Chr. Simpson', with part I carrying the additional designation 'The 4 Seasons'. The two bass viol parts and the treble part are to be found respectively in the three surviving volumes, but the advertised keyboard continuo part is missing. This fourth part (different from the second bass part) is essential to the work, and survives in other sources, including GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 296-299 and GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.54-57. Its absence implies that there is a continuo part missing for this section too. The style of the four fantasia-suites suggests they were composed towards the end of the composer's life, so this autograph could be dated between c.1660-1669.¹⁶

The third section of the manuscript is a single quire matching the opening gathering in terms of watermarks, frame and stave-ruling technique. It contains six division-ayrs for violin, bass viol and continuo by Anthony Poole, not known elsewhere, and one identically scored sonata by Butler in F major, all in the hand of scribe A. The perplexing entry into the table of contents '7 Division-ayrs. F. Poole' has baffled scholars in the past, as there are only six such works in the source and the credit to be found in the music is 'Poole a.3'. 'F. Poole' appears to be another indexing error, perhaps because the scribe misremembered, but it is also possible that he knew Poole to be a clergyman and 'F. Poole' stands for Father or *Frater* Poole. The attribution of these works to the Jesuit composer is supported by stylistic analysis and seems beyond doubt.¹⁷

¹⁴ For a discussion and inventory, see R. Ford, 'Osborn MS 515, A Guardbook of Restoration Instrumental Music', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 30 (1983), 174-84. An overview of the Filmer Collection can be found in R. Ford, 'The Filmer MSS: A Handlist', *Notes*, 34 (1978), 814-25.

¹⁵ Facsimile Edition: M. Urquhart (ed.), *Christopher Simpson: The Seasons* (Genève, 1999). See also M. Urquhart, 'The Handwriting of Christopher Simpson', *Cheyls*, 15 (1986), 62-63.

¹⁶ Urquhart (ed.), *Christopher Simpson: The Seasons*, 5.

¹⁷ del Amo, 'Anthony Poole', especially 279-84.

Section four consists of six pieces for violin, lyra-viol and bass, numbered 19-24, which implies this fragment was removed from elsewhere and it originally belonged in a larger set. This must surely account for the fact that, while there is no attribution at the start of the section, these six ‘Ayrs a3’ (almands and corants) are assigned to ‘Geo. Loosemore’ in the index. George Loosemore (1619-1682) was a composer from Barnstaple, in Devon, who spent his career as an organist in Cambridge. The set, which is autograph, suggests that George Loosemore was interested in lyra-viol music to the point of composing for it in *defhf* tuning and writing the part out in tablature himself.¹⁸ I do not know of any instances of non-viol-playing musicians composing in tablature, so perhaps Loosemore played viols. He visited the North family in Kirtling, near Newmarket, whose music manuscript collection included viol consorts by Jenkins, Lawes, Coprario, Mico, Simpson and others.¹⁹ There is no doubt that viol repertoire was central to the music-making Loosemore would have been involved with at Kirtling, where his instrumental fantasies were played and appreciated.²⁰

Due to the specific demands of lyra-viol notation, this section presents the biggest discrepancies between the three part-books with regards to paper and ruling. Part I is a single quire of paper with Arms of Amsterdam watermark and countermark IV. It is ruled with ten rastrum-ruled staves per page, framed by vertical ruling in dark ink. Part II, which contains the lyra-viol tablature, is a single quire of paper with a watermark dated c.1665.²¹ It also has vertical ruling in dark ink but it is ruled with eight rastrum-ruled, six-line staves per page. The bass part is copied into a bifolio with watermark AI, or possibly IA, ruled with ten rastrum-ruled staves per page, framed by vertical ruling in dark ink.

The erroneous label ‘linto’ [Pluto] on the spine of the Wagener binding surely refers to this tablature part. Wagener’s inaccurate assumption appears to have misled the next generation of scholars, as can be seen from the pencilled annotation ‘with arcilute’ on f.52^r in part-book III, possibly in Wotquenne’s hand. The viol tablature part was wrongly labelled lute, and subsequently mistranscribed in Goeyens’s 1908 manuscript score. At the front of part-book II Wotquenne wrote down a set of instructions for deciphering the tablature notation on 6 April 1909. He transcribed the pitches one octave too high, believing it to be lute tablature, rather than viol tablature in harp-way sharp tuning (*defhf* or D–G–d–g–b–d’).

Given the scoring of sections one, two and three, an obvious question to ask is whether these lyra-viol trios are complete. Since no other lyra-viol consort suites by Loosemore have survived, we need to look at possible contemporary models. John Jenkins composed a large number of aires, pavines, almaines,

¹⁸ G. Dodd and A. Ashbee, *The Viola da Gamba Society Thematic Index of Music for Viols*. The set, ed. A. Ashbee, is published as VdGS ME 234, 2011.

¹⁹ For the North family of Kirtling as music manuscript owners, see A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, [IMCM] 2 vols (Aldershot, 2001 and 2008), i, 11-12.

²⁰ M. Crum, ‘The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667’, *Cheyls*, 4 (1972), 3-10.

²¹ W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England and France etc. in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935), fig.8.

corantos, and sarabands for one treble instrument, lyra-viol, bass viol and harpsichord. These are mostly binary movements arranged in suites, and were written for the North family, as can be seen from GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.84, C.85 and C.88. It is likely that Loosemore would have been familiar with Jenkins's works and perhaps wrote his in imitation – even for the same purpose – and it is therefore probable that, here too, there is a bass part missing.

In all three part-books, section five consists of an intact quire of paper plus an incomplete one comprising five to six folios. They all share the foolscap watermark with countermark LM, display vertical frame-ruling, and are ruled with ten staves per page, evidently produced with the help of a five-stave rastrum. Scribe A copied into these pages 41 preludes and dance movements by La Volée and 'sonatas & ayrs' by 'Carlo Ambrogia [sic] Lonati'. The Milanese composer, violinist, singer and teacher Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c.1645-c.1715) was active in Rome from at least 1668, leading Christina of Sweden's string orchestra by 1673, which might account for the circulation of his works in expatriate Catholic circles. In addition he seems to have had occasion to visit London between January and April 1687, when he accompanied the castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi (1653-1697) on his visit to Mary of Modena.²²

Jean de La Volée (fl.1663-1668) was a French harpsichordist, violinist and composer active in London. He is first recorded in 1663, when he was admitted as one of 'the King's French musicians' and stayed in England until at least 1687 or 1688. In 1673 he applied for naturalisation under the name John Volett, presumably in order to circumvent the employment restrictions that the promulgation in 1673 of the Test Act placed on Catholics and foreigners.²³ These pieces represent Volett's complete extant output. Incomplete versions can also be found in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31424 (set five) and GB-Och, Mus. MS 1066, two sources further linked by concordances of music by the priest Miguel Ferreira (fl.c.1662-1688), one of Catherine of Braganza's musicians.²⁴

The sixth and final section in this guard-book is a single leaf pasted on to the *verso* side of a hole cut out from the last page of the part-book I. It was done in such a way that the outer edges of the original bound page act as a frame for the glued sheet. This operation of archival maintenance may offer us an insight into the profile of the person responsible for it. The damage patterns visible on the *verso* side of the glued insert (evidence of careful tearing on the outside, and flaking on the top, bottom and inside) suggest that it was originally a *recto*, and it was glued in reverse, presumably to protect the content now visible on the *verso*. It seems that one would only go to such lengths in order to safeguard a document that was regarded as important or unique. The *verso* contains an autograph set of six variations on a D minor ground by Christopher Simpson

²² For Grossi's English sojourn, see M. Tilmouth *et al.*, 'Siface', *Grove Music Online*. For the attribution of Lonati-Colista repertoires in England and elsewhere, see P. Allsop, 'Problems of Ascription in the Roman Simfonia of the Late Seventeenth Century: Colista and Lonati', *Music Review*, 50 (1989), 34-44.

²³ For the Test Act and its effect on court musicians, see P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (London, 1993, 2/1995), 299.

²⁴ P. Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza 1662-92', *Early Music*, 29/4 (2001), 570-87.

titled 'for y lone violl', concordant with GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.71, p.138.

The *recto* side contains a set of nine variations on a ground in F major by the violinist, flageolet player and composer [John] Banister (1624/5-1679), copied in the hand of scribe A.²⁵ The set is a partial concordance with item no.19 in John Playford's *The Division Violin*. The leaf carries the monogram DC by way of a countermark, the watermark presumably having stayed in the other half of the folio it was separated from. This – along with the type of damage I have described – suggests that this sheet might originally have been the last page of a larger gathering, or perhaps that it may have existed as a loose sheet for a while. Both sides have vertical frame-ruling and are ruled with ten staves per page.

To sum up, sections one, three and five, and the set of divisions by Banister in section six are in a single English hand (A), the main hand of the collection and the likely compiler and owner. It is a well-practised hand, with a rather elaborate treble clef, which facilitates the identification of his contributions. When copying the Poole sonata, hand A introduced some variants to his style (such as an italic e and intricate final flourishes), perhaps in an attempt to accurately reproduce the model, which may have been an autograph. Sections two and six are in the autograph of Simpson, which suggests that A had personal contact with Simpson and valued the autographs he owned. The selection of repertoire suggests that either A was a competent viol player or had one in his music-making circle.

The Simpson autographs must have been produced before his death in 1669, the lyra-viol pieces and the works by La Volée belong to the 1670s, and compiler-scribe A's copies from Finger's Op. 5 probably date after 1702. This suggests that A may have accumulated the manuscripts over a long time, but did not assemble them into a collection before the early 1700s. Although the paper is broadly compatible with paper used in English sources from the mid-1670s to 1688, none of the combinations of watermark and factor's initials present are recorded elsewhere in England. This would seem to indicate an English scribe either working in Europe, or working in England but employing an unusual source of paper. A may have been a Catholic, since all composers in the collection except for Loosemore and Banister are Catholics. Perhaps he copied B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 in the Netherlands (hence the pieces by Loiselet, Poole and Zamponi) and had access to music by Banister and Loosemore. Alternatively he could have compiled it in England out of an interest in the latest Continental music.

The mixture of Continental and English music is not unusual in English sources of the period. In terms of the breadth of content, it is worth drawing a possible parallel with GB-DRc, MS D.2, a similar source containing music for two stringed instruments and continuo by Butler, Jenkins and Young, as well as Matteis, Schmelzer, Nicolai and others. It includes a partial concordance with

²⁵ For a possible connection between John and Jeffery Bannister and Simpson, see C. McCart, 'The Panmure Manuscripts: a New Look at an Old Source of Christopher Simpson's Consort Music' *Chelys*, 18, (1989), 18-29, especially 23-25.

the Zamponi sonata in B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, as discussed.²⁶ Part-book two in GB-DRC, MS D.2 bears an inscription on the front fly-leaf which reads ‘for the honora^{bl} Sir John St Barbe Bart neare Rumsey in Hampshire’. The collection was probably copied in the 1670s for John St. Barbe (1655-1723), who had been taught by Christopher Simpson since at least 1665. Between 1674 and 1678, St. Barbe embarked on a Grand Tour that took him to France, Italy and perhaps Germany.²⁷

The subsequent history of B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 fails to throw additional light on the question of its origin. On 12 August 1814 the fifth day of the sale of Charles Burney’s ‘valuable and very fine collection of music’ got underway. Among the items up for sale, lot 632 was described as ‘Sonatas, Trios for Two Violins and Bass, by Loiselet, Zamponi, Corelli, Finger, Bassani &c – and Fancies, Airs &c. by C. Sympson, Poole, Butler, Loosemore, Ambrogia, &c MS. 3 books’.²⁸ This description must surely refer to B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910, and it shows that the set was already missing a volume. The annotations on the margin of the British Library copy of this sale catalogue record that the Hereford Prebendary and music collector Samuel Picart (1776-1836) obtained the lot.²⁹

Picart paid four shillings in total for lot 632 and lot 633, a comparable collection described as ‘D[itt]o. for d[itt]o. [i.e., Sonatas, Trios for Two Violins and Bass], by M. Locke, Kircher, Poole, Wren, H. and D. Purcell, J. Jenkins, Becker, Nicola, W. Lawes, &c. MS. 3 books’. This must refer to the aforementioned US-NHb, Osborn 515, which was already incomplete. Reverend Picart’s ‘very valuable musical library’ was auctioned by Puttick and Simpson of 191 Piccadilly on 10 March 1848.³⁰ Lot 209, described in the catalogue as ‘Sonatas &c. of 3 parts, by Loiellet [sic], Zamponi, Corelli, Bassani, Poole, Butler, La Valée [sic], C. Ambrogia, 3 vols. *curious MSS*’ was sold for 2s. 6d. to a certain ‘Wilkes’, perhaps the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Music George Wilkes, who also acquired US-NHb, Osborn 515 as lot 208.³¹

Burney probably acquired B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910 in England, but he is also known to have visited Paris with his daughters in 1764, and he organised European journeys (to France and Italy in 1771, and to Germany, Austria and the Low Countries in 1772), with the specific purpose of acquiring a grand music library. If Burney sourced this item while touring Continental Europe, it would seem to lend weight to the hypothesis that the collection originated while scribe A was abroad. If on the other hand Burney obtained the volumes

²⁶ For a discussion and inventory of this source, see *IMCM*, ii, 54-59. See also R. Thompson, ‘Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins’, in Ashbee and Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time*, 271-307, especially 299-307.

²⁷ M. Urquhart, *Sir John St Barbe Bt. of Brodlands* (Southampton, 1983). For his activities as a music manuscript owner, see Ashbee, Thompson and Wainwright, *Index of Manuscripts*, ii, 6-7.

²⁸ A. Hyatt King (ed.), *Catalogue of the Music Library of Charles Burney, Sold in London, 8 August 1814* (Amsterdam, 1973), 25.

²⁹ An obituary appeared in Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 160 (London, 1836), 209.

³⁰ GB-Lbl, S.C. Puttick and Simpson, 10 March 1848.

³¹ del Amo, ‘Anthony Poole’, especially 224-36 and 248-51.

from an English source, the collection would be more likely to have been assembled in England, and therefore it would inform our understanding of the circulation of Continental repertoires in Restoration England and provide us with further evidence of the esteem that the music of exiled Catholics such as Anthony Poole enjoyed. Comparable sources in the Dolmetsch library in Haslemere are also the work of unknown compilers working in England, an area in need of further research.

An investigation into the anonymous setting of William Byrd's *Ne irascaris, Domine* for two lyra viols.

Part one:

‘... two Base Viols, expressing five partes ...’

RICHARD CARTER

The name of William Byrd does not automatically spring to mind in connection with the lyra viol, but two of his vocal works survive in anonymous tablature arrangements, both of which are incomplete. *Lulla, lullaby*, no. 32 of *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (London, 1588), is found in ‘The John Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book’, GB-Lam MS 600¹—one part only in the tuning Alfonso way (*ffhfh*, sounding *d'-a-e-A-E-A*). In GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. D.245-247,² copied (c.1620?) by John Merro (d.1639), there is a setting in tablature for two viols in consort tuning of *Ne irascaris, Domine, satis* and its second part *Civitas sancti tui facta est desolata*, nos 20 and 21 of *Liber primus Sacrarum Cantiones Quinque Vocum* (London, 1589)—often referred as *Cantiones sacrae I* for convenience. In 2008 I published a hypothetical completion of *Lulla, lullaby* for lyra viol trio,³ and subsequently turned my attention to *Ne irascaris*, expecting to make it similarly available in a practical edition. However, I shelved the project because the transcription is not only incomplete but unsatisfactory. After it was pointed out to me by Richard Turbet⁴ that it would leave an untidy loose end in Byrd scholarship if it were neither edited nor written up, we agreed that the best way to present the piece was by means of an article containing a transcription and commentary, and a preliminary discussion of some of the issues which it raises. David Skinner's recent discovery of a fragment of a contemporary keyboard arrangement could not have been better timed, and this is also transcribed here.⁵

In the present article I shall consider the duo arrangement of *Ne irascaris* in the context of other transcriptions of vocal and consort music for lyra viol(s), and in the light of Tobias Hume's ‘Musicall Conceites for two Base Viols, expressing five partes, with pleasant reports one from the other’.⁶

Some aspects of lyra viol duo and trio repertoire have recently been discussed in detail by John Cunningham.⁷ This article charts different waters, but with

¹ *IMCM*, vol. 1, 125-130.

² *IMCM*, vol. 2, 139-166.

³ ‘Birds Lullaby Set for Three Bass Viols Alfonso Way’, *Oriana Music* OM119 (Kritzendorf, 2008).

⁴ See especially R. Turbet, ‘Byrd's music arranged for instruments by his contemporaries’, *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, vol. 3 (2009), 113-116.

⁵ Arundel Castle MS M419, see D. Skinner, ‘A New Elizabethan Keyboard Source in the Archives of Arundel Castle’, *Brio*, vol. 39 no. 1, 18-25 (includes facsimile).

⁶ T. Hume, *Captaine Humes Musicall Humors*, otherwise *The First Part of Ayres* (London, 1605), from the title page.

⁷ J. Cunningham, ‘Lyra Viol Ecclesiastica: A Neglected Manuscript Source in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin’, *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, vol. 3 (2009), 1-54; *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602-1645* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 98ff.

some overlap, it is indebted to his work, and will, I hope, make a useful contribution to continuing efforts to establish terms of reference for discussing this music.

That these two vocal works by Byrd should have been singled out for transcription seems not to have been a matter of chance. Richard Turbet has traced evidence⁸ that in the seventeenth century both featured as ‘calling cards’ to promote sales of their respective collections, and through the centuries *Ne irascaris* and *Civitas sancti tui* continued to be particularly favourably regarded. The various editions which were published at roughly 100 year intervals provide a concise history of performing and editorial practices with respect to Tudor music, which will be discussed further in part two of this article.⁹

Briefly, then, the motets circulated in manuscript during the composer’s lifetime, with both Latin and English texts; Byrd’s own print of 1589 took the usual form of five partbooks—*Superius*, *Medius*, *Contratenor*, *Tenor* and *Bassus*—in this pair of motets the clefs are C1-C3-C4-C5-F4. *Ne irascaris* and *Civitas sancti tui* were anthologized in 1641 by John Barnard, in *The First Book of Selected Church Musick*,¹⁰ and in the eighteenth century in *Cathedral Music*,¹¹ the compilation of which was begun by Maurice Greene (1696-1755) and completed after his death by his former pupil William Boyce (1711-1779).

In 1842 William Horsley (1774-1858) edited the *Liber primus Sacrarum Cantiones Quinque Vocum* for the Musical Antiquarian Society,¹² his introduction singles out *Ne irascaris* and *Civitas sancti tui* as ‘the finest of all the songs’. With the growth of wider interest in early music in the twentieth century came the series *Tudor Church Music* (1923-1937), edited by Percy Buck (1871-1947) and others, three volumes of which were devoted to Byrd; however, the 1589 *Cantiones sacrae* did not appear until Edmund Fellowes (1870-1951) launched his ambitious complete edition (1937-1950).¹³

Turning to the setting for two viols: what little is known of the copyist John Merro is summarized by Ashbee, Thompson and Wainwright.¹⁴ Three substantial sets of partbooks in Merro’s hand survive, he is thought to have copied them for use as teaching material for the choristers at Gloucester Cathedral. GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. D.245-247 are three partbooks containing nearly 450 assorted pieces in one to three parts, roughly equally divided between staff notation and tablature. GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17792-17796 are five

⁸ R. Turbet, ‘Three glimpses of Byrd’s music during its nadir’, *The Consort*, 65 (2009), 18-28

⁹ Forthcoming, planned for vol. 6 (2012) of this journal.

¹⁰ RISM 1641⁵: *The first book of selected church musick, consisting of services and anthems, such as are now used in this kingdome. Never before printed ... Collected out of divers approved authors, By John Barnard, one of the Minor Canons of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul* (London, 1641).

¹¹ W. Boyce (ed.), *Cathedral Music: being A Collection in Score of the Most Valuable and Useful Compositions for that Service by the Several English Masters of the last Two Hundred Years*, 3 vols (London 1760-1773, second edition 1788), vol. 1, 24-33.

¹² W. Horsley (ed.), *Book 1. of Cantiones Sacrae for Five Voices, Composed by William Byrd, Originally Published A. D. 1589; and Now First Printed in Score* (London, Printed for the Members of the Musical Antiquarian Society, no. 6, Second Work of the Second Year (1.11.1841 to 31.10.1842)).

¹³ E. Fellowes (ed.), *The Collected Vocal Works of William Byrd*, vol. 2 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1937)

¹⁴ *IMCM*, vol. 1, 9.

survivors of a set of six partbooks containing mostly consort music in staff notation,¹⁵ the third set is at US-NYp Drexel MSS 4180-4185 and contains mostly texted pieces, sacred and secular.¹⁶

Bodleian Library D.245-247 contain 117 solos, 108 duos, and 31 trios in tablature (these figures do not take into account a few duplicates), mostly in the tunings commonly used in the first decades of the seventeenth century, ‘Viol’ or ‘Lute way’, *ffeff/h*, Lyra way, *febf*, and ‘Alfonso way’, *ffhfb* or *fbhfb*; some are copied from the published collections of Ferrabosco, Hume, Thomas Ford, William Corkine and John Maynard, but many are unique, and Merro’s partbooks are an important source of this repertoire.

The tablature arrangement of *Ne irascaris* is the first item in each of D.245-246, and heads up a sequence of tablature duos in consort tuning with low C (*ffefb*). Merro also copied the upper part into Add. MS. 17795, the quintus partbook of the British Library set; the second part was in the now missing sextus book. In addition he included the five-part motet with the English text ‘O Lord turn thy wrath’ in both the Drexel and British Library partbooks.

Viol 1: GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. D.246 pp. 1-2, tuning *ffeff* (*d'-a-e-c-G-D*)
GB-Lbl Add. MS. 17795 f:54v, tuning *ffeff* (not consulted)

Viol 2: GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. D.245 pp. 1-2, tuning *ffefb* (*d'-a-e-c-G-C*)

In D.246 Viol 1 is annotated *Ne Irascaris first parte* at the end of part 1. There are no further rubrics in the Bodleian manuscripts.

A passage is missing from Viol 2 (bb. 136-142 of the transcription). The intabulation of b. 142 was presumably the same as, or at least, very similar to that of b. 135—the two lowest sounding parts (b. 135 *Tenor & Bassus*, b. 142 *Medius & Bassus*) are basically the same in both places—and Merro simply jumped these 14 semibreves, an easy enough mistake to make. It tells us that he was copying from tablature parts (in which the error may indeed already have been present), and means that he was not responsible for the arrangement. It is unfortunate that the sextus partbook belonging to Add. MSS 17792-17796, into which he copied Viol 2, is missing, as the presence or absence of this passage there would be most informative. In fact a minor error in the second half of b. 10, also in Viol 2 (see below), would ensure that any play-through collapsed before coming anywhere near the missing section. There is no evidence that Merro made any attempt to make the parts useable by comparing with the staff notation versions he had also copied, although he did correct a few faulty rhythm symbols. As a lay ‘singing man’ at Gloucester Cathedral he must surely also have been familiar with the motets from performing them.

Lyra viol duos and trios may, much like the solo repertoire, be divided into original compositions and arrangements. The arrangements are mainly of airs and dances, and, to borrow an expression from Thomas Mace, ‘common tunes’.¹⁷ These are pieces which may be reduced to, and transmitted by, a ‘gist’,

¹⁵ *IMCM*, vol. 1, 24-36.

¹⁶ *IMCM*, vol. 1, 235-249.

¹⁷ T. Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), 129: ‘Common Tunes, (so called) are Commonly known by the Boys, and Common People, Singing them in the Streets ...’

which may consist of melody and bass, melody alone, or some combination of melodic and harmonic elements which, even when not exactly reproduced, is immediately identifiable. Such pieces survive in a range of settings: either for consort, with the basic treble and bass fleshed out by a variable number of added parts in the treble, alto or tenor register (TrTrB, TrTrTB, TrTrTTB, TrTTTB, etc.), or for solo instrument, bowed, plucked, or keyboard, and it is often not possible to identify an original or ‘authentic’ version.¹⁸ In the solo arrangements, inner parts—which may or may not be derived from a consort setting—are sketched in more or less completely, to a degree dependant on the characteristics, capabilities and limitations of the instrument. A successful arrangement might be defined as one which exploits the capabilities, plays down the limitations and introduces characteristic figuration or ornamentation. In the matter of realizing polyphony, a bowed string instrument will always be at a disadvantage compared with keyboard or plucked instruments, because chords on more than three strings have to be spread, and when intervals wider than those playable on adjacent strings are called for, the intervening strings must also be sounded. Thus polyphonic, fantasy-like pieces only feature in the repertoire for more than one lute viol.

Three general features of the tablature arrangement of *Ne irascaris* stand out. The first is the tuning: it is most unusual to have the two viols tuned differently. Tuning the sixth string down to C is such a commonplace of consort playing that it is easy to underestimate the effect it has on the viol: the standard tuning of the bass and treble viols is the most neutral possible in terms of key bias, and the fact that three adjacent strings form a C major triad scarcely registers (perhaps partly because it is inverted). When thinking in terms of chordal playing, tuning just this one string down transforms the viol into a C major instrument. Even though Viol 1 has only one note on the sixth string (in b. 54), the extra resonance to be gained from retuning the bottom string is lost.

The second feature is the remarkable extent to which notes are subdivided—a breve is invariably notated as two semibreves, dotted semibreves as semibreve plus minim, semibreves often as two minims, dotted minims often as minim plus crotchet. It is true that in the English language version of the motet the longer notes of the Latin version are frequently subdivided, but equally, there are instances of the reverse. However, the quantity and extent of the subdivision of longer notes in the tablature goes far beyond that necessary to accommodate the English text, so this cannot provide a satisfactory explanation.¹⁹ It is a common feature of lute transcriptions; here it would seem to reflect a serious lack of confidence in the ability of the viols to sustain longer notes (see especially the opening bars), or of players either to create the impression of overlapping independent lines, or to play a note such that it rings on in the listener’s ear long enough to register as a dissonance with a later note.

¹⁸ See M. Gale and T. Crawford, ‘John Dowland’s “Lachrimae” at Home and Abroad’, *The Lute*, 44 (2004), 1–34, for a discussion of 60 of the 100 or so known versions of Dowland’s pavan. Also P. Holman, *Dowland Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 36ff.

¹⁹ The single surviving tablature part of *Lulla, lullaby* includes passages in which the subdivision of notes of the consort song viol parts necessary to accommodate the text is evident, showing that the arrangement was made from the fully texted version published in *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* and not from the original consort song, see Example 3.

Whatever thinking lies behind it, a dull, plodding effect is the result, in which the sustained interplay of five individual parts is barely discernible.

A particularly striking example of this practice may be seen, surprisingly enough, in Alfonso Ferrabosco II's own arrangement of his 'Dovehouse' pavan, VdGS 1, for solo lyra viol (see Example 1).²⁰ From b. 3 onwards the lyra viol is notated in almost unbroken crotchet movement, which is deliberately emphasized in the upper of the two staff notation transcriptions—without prolongation of note values, representing an inexperienced performance. However, even a skilled player, whose aim would be to create in the listener's mind the impression of the prolonged note values of the lower transcription, is presented with a tremendous challenge in overcoming the notated subdivisions to bring out longer lines.

5

Consort a5

Lyra viol (transposed up a fourth), tuning: ffbfb

Example 1: Alfonso Ferrabosco II, 'Dovehouse Pavan'
Consort (VdGS 1) and solo lyra viol (VdGS 138) versions compared.

The third notable feature is the strict layering of the *Ne irascaris* parts²¹—Viol 1 lies consistently higher, making almost no use of the bottom string, Viol 2 makes absolutely no use of the top string. This is uncharacteristic for lyra duos and trios, in which composers or arrangers typically took full advantage of having two or three equal instruments with a wide range at their disposal and enjoyed sharing out the upper, middle and lower parts between the players. This may be seen in the transcription for three lyra viols by Ferrabosco II of

²⁰ All the Ferrabosco lyra viol settings quoted here were published in *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols by Alfonso Ferrabosco* (London, 1609). See C.D.S. Field, 'The Composer's Workshop: Revisions in the Consort Music of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger', *Cheby* 27 (1999), 1-39, for a discussion of Ferrabosco's arrangements of his consort music for lyra viol(s).

²¹ This feature is shared by the sequence of anonymous duos which follow it in D.245-6, VdGS 6571-6580, suggesting they may stem from the same arranger.

his own ‘Sharpe Pavin’, VdGS 3. Example 2 shows the entire second strain, in which each lyra viol in turn takes on the upper, middle or bass role (shown by the use of treble, alto and bass clefs in the transcription). The middle parts are clearly closely related to the consort version, but even with three instruments at his disposal Ferrabosco did not attempt to include everything; notably, he twice transposes the second tenor part (fourth instrument) up the octave to become a second treble part crossing with the *cantus* (bb. 13 and 16, marked with square brackets), and is also flexible about the octave of the bass.²²

The *Ne irascaris* arrangement resembles very much the distribution between left and right hand of a keyboard instrument, as may be seen by comparing the keyboard fragment with the transcription of the viol tablature. Generally Viol 1 is allotted the upper two sounding parts and Viol 2 the lower two, in five-part passages the middle part sometimes crosses and re-crosses mid-phrase from one viol to the other, so that the contrapuntal line can no longer be identified without consulting the vocal original. In several passages an important inner part is missing altogether, without good reason, elsewhere the texture is unhelpfully thickened by unnecessary extra notes, chords and doublings between the two viols (see for example b. 49). *Contratenor* is, unsurprisingly, the part most often omitted (see especially bb. 79-83 and 93-96).

12

Consort a5

Lyra viols (transposed up a seventh): tuning fflfbh

Example 2: Alfonso Ferrabosco II, ‘Sharpe Pavin’, second strain.
Consort (VdGS 3) and lyra viol (VdGS 155) versions compared. Continues ...

²² In b. 16 the parts are unevenly distributed, and the second tenor part is effectively also played at pitch, along with first tenor and bass, by lyra viol 2, but re-written to avoid parallel octaves. Arguably lyra viol 1 would have been better occupied relieving lyra viol 2 of the important bass entry.

15

18

(Example 2 continued)

There are, however, passages in which the intabulation is more successful, creating a texture which feels like lyra viol music (bb. 116-125, for example).

A layering of lyra viol parts is also evident in the two almaines for three lyra viols by Robert Taylor.²³ Taylor uses the viols flexibly, there are moments when the three parts function on equal terms, but nevertheless, it is no problem to label them according to their main role in the texture—Viol 1 usually takes the upper voice, and is the only part required to play beyond the frets; Viol 3 generally takes the bass, and thus makes much more use of the sixth string than the other two parts; Viol 2 mainly covers the inner parts, and is rhythmically often in opposition to treble and bass. One result of this is that, with the exception of a few brief passages, a performance omitting Viol 2 is perfectly feasible, although the texture is thin and the pieces far less vital. In the Ferrabosco example above, labelling of the lyra viols as 1, 2, and 3 is arbitrary, and omitting one part in performance is unthinkable.

Up to this point the examples have all been from dance-based pieces, in order to illustrate some aspects of the business of arranging for lyra viol(s). *Ne irascaris*, however, as a truly polyphonic work, makes rather different demands on the arranger who wishes to stay true to his model. In five-part pavans, almaines, and ayres, imitative points are typically briefly touched upon, inner parts switch between melodic interest and harmonic or rhythmic filling as required, and there is considerable freedom for an arranger to pick and choose without doing the original an injustice. Understandably, our anonymous arranger aimed to include everything, at its proper pitch. Lyra viol settings of polyphonic originals are rare (discounting transcriptions of two- or three-part works for the same number of lyra viols); for a complete example we may turn again to Alfonso Ferrabosco II, who arranged his Fantasy a4 VdGS 13 for three lyra viols tuned *flhlf* ('A Fancie for three Viols' VdGS 201, in the *Lessons* of 1609).²⁴

The obvious point to make is that Ferrabosco chose to set a four-part piece for three lyra viols, rather than a five-part piece for two. One might imagine therefore, that, except in passages of three-part texture, one of the three viols would cover two parts, but in fact the fantasy is submitted to a thorough re-composition, and passages where the polyphony is densest are reduced to three parts. Thus for most of the piece the three lyra viols each play a single line, with remarkably few double stops or chords. The device of octave transposition, as noted in the pavan settings, is also employed here—not only of the treble part downwards to avoid going beyond the frets, but also the second tenor part upwards to become a second treble.²⁵ These alterations, some of which are quite radical and could only have been made by a composer arranging his own music, represent an approach which cannot be directly compared with the case of *Ne irascaris*.

²³ GB-Och MSS 725-727. Edition: R. Carter & J. Valencia (eds), 'Robert Taylor, Two Almaines for Three Lyra Viols Alfonso Way' *Oriana Music* OM120 (Kritzendorf, 2009). See also the discussion and examples in Cunningham, *Laves*, op. cit., 113-114.

²⁴ See the discussion and examples in Field, op. cit., 5-6 and 10, Examples 2, 3, 4 and 7.

²⁵ The overall range used by Ferrabosco's contemporaries in this wide tuning is three octaves plus a minor third, from *A'* to *c''*; this avoids going further than three semitones beyond the seventh fret (tablature letter 'I'), which allows the player's first finger to remain securely located on that fret. Ferrabosco himself, however, rarely calls for any note beyond the frets, and then at most one or two semitones.

Superius

Medius
Song a5 Lul - la, lul-la - by,

Contratenor

Tenor

Bassus

Lyra viol (transcription transposed up a fourth), tuning: ffhsh

lul - la, lul - la - by, Mysweetlit-tle ba - by, mysweet lit-tle

Example 3: William Byrd, *Lulla, lullaby*
 The five-part song version from *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (London, 1588)
 and the single lyra viol part from GB-Lam MS 600 compared.
 (Text shown only in *Medius*)

Lulla, lullaby is also a case on its own—setting aside for the moment the fact that only one part survives—because the five parts of the original piece, one vocal and four instrumental, are not on an equal footing. The single surviving lyra viol part indicates that elements of a layered approach were adopted. It contains all of *Medius*, the voice part of the original consort song, but when that part has rests, it freely takes fragments of other parts, either the highest sounding voice (sometimes set an octave lower—and not only to avoid higher notes) or the bass, and uses the full range of the instrument. Given the nature of the original, there are sound reasons for allocating the whole of *Medius* to one viol. We can only speculate as to what other parts there were, and how the remaining musical material was distributed, but the way that the surviving part draws on each voice of the consort version (Example 3 shows the opening bars) strongly suggests an ensemble of equal instruments, in other words, a lyra viol duo or trio. Given that considerably less than half the music is contained in that part, a trio is most likely. My reconstruction demonstrates that three viols can indeed ‘express five partes’ of this nature without undue strain, and without omitting any important material.

This overview of arranging techniques for the lyra viol would not be complete without a brief consideration of original compositions. The small quantity of solo lyra viol music published by William Corkine is attractive, finely crafted and idiomatically conceived. The dense nature of the writing is typical of Jacobean composers for the instrument, and as Example 4 shows, a transcription in three parts may readily be made. Note, however, that the middle part comes and goes, appearing sometimes in the alto, sometimes in the tenor register; often it is debatable whether it is a genuine strand in the texture, or simply necessary harmonic filling on an intermediate string—this is what gives lyra viol music of the period its special character.

Example 4: William Corkine, Pavin VdGS 2, tuning *ffhfb*, the first strain, from *Ayres, to Sing and Play* (London, 1610)

The eleven trios by John Coprario, also preserved by John Merro's copying, represent a high point of lyra viol ensemble music.²⁶ The three fantasies (VdGS 1-3, tuning *flbflb*) are of particular relevance here, as they are the only original polyphonic compositions for this medium which survive complete from the Jacobean period. It is quickly apparent that here too the maxim 'more is less' applies, as the three viols each play a single line for most of the time. The thematic material is, however, often in idiomatic lyra viol form, in which broken chords and occasional touching of the bass strings sketches in the ghost of a two-part texture, and all three viols make use of their entire range. Unlike the pavans, almaines, and corantos, this is music which does not readily transfer to another medium. But despite the wide tuning (*d'-a-d-A-D-A'*), the tessitura is not as great as one might imagine: like Ferrabosco, Coprario does not ask for any note more than two semitones beyond the seventh fret (tablature letter 'k'), and the sixth string is required only a handful of times. It is a feature of this tuning (also apparent in Ferrabosco's 'Fancie'), in which pieces are in the key of the open fifth string, that very sparing use is made of the sixth string.

Having borrowed a title from Hume, it is only fair to examine his music for two bass viols, especially to see how it achieves his claim of 'expressing five partes'. In *Captaine Humes Muscicall Humors* there are just four pieces which fit this category: three (99. 'The Duke of Holstones delight', 100./101. 'Touch me sweetely' and 'The second part') are for 'two Base Violes, with reports one from the other' and one (107. 'The Spirite of Musicke') for 'two Leera Violes.' It seems that he quickly exhausted this vein: despite the contents of his second book, *Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke* (London, 1607) being described on the title page as 'Principally made for two Basse-Viols', they in fact represent a completely different approach to duo composition, in which one part may stand alone as a solo piece and the other is an optional *contre-partie*²⁷—in addition there is an optional staff notation bass part. So it is to *Captaine Humes Muscicall Humors* that we must turn for an example.

In the staff notation transcription in Example 5 I have tried to bring out as many implied 'polyphonic' strands as possible. It can be seen that what Hume means by 'expressing' is rather 'creating an impression of', achieved by means of rapid switches of register, not by the simultaneous sounding of two or three parts. Sometimes the illusion of two lines is maintained for several bars, on other occasions the 'virtual' parts barely overlap. This technique is also evident in the Corkine example, and was taken up, almost to the exclusion of the denser chordal writing, by the next generation of composers, Jenkins, Lawes, Colman, Stoëffken, Young and others, who employed similar procedures to sketch in the impression of two parts, or of melody and bass.

²⁶ The only complete source is GB-Ob D.245-247, two parts of eight pieces are also in GB-Och MSS 531-532; R. Charteris (ed.), John Coprario 'Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Organ and Eleven Pieces for Three Lyra Viols', *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* B41 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1982); also included in M. Bishop (ed.), *Tablature for Three* (Emory University, Atlanta, 1980).

²⁷ This form of duo is extensively discussed in Cunningham, 'Lyra Viol Ecclesiastica', *op. cit.*

The Bandora set *fzbf*

Example 5: Tobias Hume, from *Captaine Humes Musicall Humors*,
‘The Spirite of Musicke’, first strain.

With so few surviving examples of arrangements of polyphonic music for lyra viols it is only possible to draw tentative and provisional conclusions. It is clear that the anonymous arranger of *Ne irascaris* set himself (or was set) a challenge to which he was not equal. An ensemble of three lyra viols would have enormously increased the chances of satisfactorily realizing five contrapuntal parts, but what also emerges from even as brief survey as this is that to produce an idiomatic setting for lyra viols required a much bolder approach to the material. Byrd’s motet, with an overall range of only two octaves and a sixth, and two tenor parts, has a low centre of gravity; the device of transposing selected phrases from the inner parts an octave higher could perhaps have been used to open up the texture, for example. The indications are that this was a unique experiment, and there seems to have been no appreciable market for such transcriptions, which are demanding for the arranger and performers alike.

One can imagine that the *Ne irascaris* arrangement could have given pleasure to contemporary viol players who knew Byrd’s motet well, much in the same way

that simplified piano/guitar arrangements of modern hit songs can conjure up the real thing today. A Thomas Beecham anecdote comes to mind:²⁸

Sir Thomas was repeatedly whistling a passage from a Mozart concerto in a New York taxi and his exasperated companion exclaimed at last: 'Must you do that?' Sir Thomas replied calmly, 'You, my dear fellow, can only hear my whistling; I can hear a full orchestra.'

The Transcription

The transcriptions are intended as a means of comparing the different versions, they are not presented as a critical edition with full commentary.

Obvious simple copying slips in the tablature—wrong string or letter—have been tacitly corrected by comparison with the motet. A handful of more complicated corrupt readings are dealt with in the commentary below, these are marked by boxes. In order to ease comparison the staff notation transcription is transposed up a fourth (i.e. as if the top string were tuned to *g*), to match the notated pitches of both the motet and the keyboard arrangement. I have indicated the most striking instances of a middle part hopping—often needlessly—from one viol to the other, and pointed out many of the places where significant material from one or another of Byrd's original five parts has not been included in the intabulation. I have, however, not highlighted every instance, nor indeed every instance of additional material not found in the motet.

The M419 keyboard version is written on two six-line staves, with F4 clef in the left hand and C3 in the right, changing to C2 at b. 27. The tablature, on the other hand, is copied onto standard five-line staves, Merro did not trouble himself to rule a sixth line.

The tablature and keyboard versions are both barred irregularly; standard bars of four minims are adopted here, which should match most modern editions.

I have condensed the five-part motet onto three staves; the clefs and distribution of the parts are chosen to assist comparison. I have omitted the text—it would clutter the picture considerably, and is in any case readily available elsewhere.

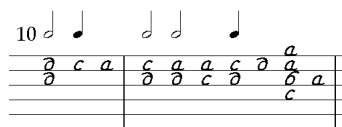
Selected commentary

Here *Merro* refers to the Lyra viol duo, *Byrd* to the original vocal work.

c3 means second fret, third string.

bb. 10-11 Viol 2: *Merro* has one minim too few:

²⁸ Quoted, without source, in H. Atkins and A. Newman (eds), *Beecham Stories* (London: Futura Publications, 1979), 56.



An obvious solution would be to correct the minim rhythm symbol to semibreve after the first barline above (b. 10, event 4, in the transcription), and the fact that the next chord repeats the rhythm symbol would support this. However, my suggested reconstruction as two minims fits *Byrd* better, I suspect that the chord may have been an error in an intermediate copy.

bb. 50 & 51 A number of extra notes rather clutter up the texture here in Viol 2; in particular the **c6** at b. 51, event 1, is not present in *Byrd*, and could usefully be omitted.

b. 97 Viol 1, event 3: this chord produces the wrong harmony. I suggest that the original intabulation may have had following:



which picks up the otherwise missing *Contratenor* entry on beat four. If this passage appeared in an intermediate copy in poor vertical alignment, event 3 could have been misinterpreted as an incomplete chord, and 'corrected' to a standard pattern by the insertion of **d3**.

bb. 112-113 Viol 1: if *Medius* and *Contratenor* were correctly intabulated the original must have been so:



A combination of copying error (**e** for **a**) and subsequent 'correction' to fit the harmony in intermediate copies could have led to the faulty version in *Merro*.

b. 127 Viol 1, event 3: **a4** at the bottom of the chord changes Byrd's 1st inversion to root position, and should probably be omitted. Is this another case of a copyist automatically writing a standard chord pattern?

Tuning: Viol 1 *ffeff*
Viol 2 *ffefb*

Ne irascaris

[WILLIAM BYRD]

Viol 1 *ffeff*

Viol 2 *ffefb*

Measures 1-5 of the piece. Viol 1 (top staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: a, a, a, a, a, c, c, c, c, c, d. Viol 2 (bottom staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: a, c, c, a, c, a, e, c, e, h, c, h, a, c, c, e, f, c, e.

Viol 1 *ffeff*

Viol 2 *ffefb*

Measures 6-11 of the piece. Viol 1 (top staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: d, a, d, d, d, d, a, a, a, a, d. Viol 2 (bottom staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a.

Viol 1 *ffeff*

Viol 2 *ffefb*

Measures 12-16 of the piece. Viol 1 (top staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: c, a, a, c, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d. Viol 2 (bottom staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a.

Viol 1 *ffeff*

Viol 2 *ffefb*

Measures 17-21 of the piece. Viol 1 (top staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: a, c, d, d, c, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d. Viol 2 (bottom staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a.

Viol 1 *ffeff*

Viol 2 *ffefb*

Measures 22-26 of the piece. Viol 1 (top staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: c, c, c, a, c, a, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d, d. Viol 2 (bottom staff) has a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains notes: a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a.

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f f d c f d a d c c a d d c
 d d c a d d d c a a d b a d a b a c a e c a a c a

81

d c d d d c a f d c c f f a a c d a
 a b f d d f a a a a a c a c a d b

86

c a a a d c a a a c d d c f
 a a c c e c a a d a a a d a

91

d c a a f e f a c d c c e f e c c a c a d c a c
 a a b b f a a f a c c e a a e c c c e e

96

c a c c d c f e c c a d c
 a d h f e c a f c e e a a e a

101

106

113

118

123

128

133

14 semibreves missing

138

144

149

Ne irascaris, Domine

Prima Pars

WILLIAM BYRD

Superius 5

Medius
Motet a5

Contratenor
Tenor
Bassus

Keyboard

(transposed up a fourth)
Lyra viols

10

see commentary

System 1 of the musical score, consisting of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. The system contains four measures of music. The first measure features a melodic line in the top staff and a bass line in the bottom staff. The second measure continues the melodic line with a slur. The third and fourth measures show a more static texture with sustained notes and chords.

System 2 of the musical score, also consisting of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. The system contains four measures of music. The first measure is marked with a '15' above the first note. The second measure features a melodic line in the top staff and a bass line in the bottom staff. The third and fourth measures show a more static texture with sustained notes and chords.

20

parallel fifths

Contratenor missing

25

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of three staves. The notation includes vocal lines with lyrics and piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4.

System 1 (Measures 30-34):

- Staff 1 (Soprano):** Measures 30-34. Measure 30 has a vocal line starting with a half note G4. Measure 34 has a vocal line ending with a half note G4.
- Staff 2 (Alto):** Measures 30-34. Measure 30 has a vocal line starting with a half note F4. Measure 34 has a vocal line ending with a half note F4.
- Staff 3 (Bass):** Measures 30-34. Measure 30 has a vocal line starting with a half note E4. Measure 34 has a vocal line ending with a half note E4.

System 2 (Measures 35-39):

- Staff 1 (Soprano):** Measures 35-39. Measure 35 has a vocal line starting with a half note G4. Measure 39 has a vocal line ending with a half note G4.
- Staff 2 (Alto):** Measures 35-39. Measure 35 has a vocal line starting with a half note F4. Measure 39 has a vocal line ending with a half note F4.
- Staff 3 (Bass):** Measures 35-39. Measure 35 has a vocal line starting with a half note E4. Measure 39 has a vocal line ending with a half note E4.

System 3 (Measures 40-44):

- Staff 1 (Soprano):** Measures 40-44. Measure 40 has a vocal line starting with a half note G4. Measure 44 has a vocal line ending with a half note G4.
- Staff 2 (Alto):** Measures 40-44. Measure 40 has a vocal line starting with a half note F4. Measure 44 has a vocal line ending with a half note F4.
- Staff 3 (Bass):** Measures 40-44. Measure 40 has a vocal line starting with a half note E4. Measure 44 has a vocal line ending with a half note E4.

Annotations:

- Measure 30:** "30" above the staff.
- Measure 34:** "fragment ends ..." written below the staff.
- Measure 35:** "35" above the staff.
- Measure 38:** "Tenor incomplete" written below the staff.
- Measure 40:** "40" above the staff.
- Measure 42:** "no third" written below the staff.

45

entries not well-defined

50

muddled: cf. b. 54

55

see commentary

Contratenor incomplete

First system of musical notation, measures 55-58. It features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 12/8. The piano part includes a section labeled "Medius incomplete" in measure 58.

Second system of musical notation, measures 60-63. It continues the vocal and piano parts. Measure 60 is marked with a "60" above the staff. The piano part includes a section labeled "Contratenor & Tenor incomplete" in measure 63.

Third system of musical notation, measures 65-68. It continues the vocal and piano parts. Measure 65 is marked with a "65" above the staff. The piano part includes a section labeled "Bassus missing" in measure 68.

70

Tenor missing

Contratenor missing

Civitas sancti tui Secunda Pars

75

80

85

Bassus & Medius missing

Contratenor missing

90

95

see commentary

100

105

Contratenor missing

110

see commentary

115

Contratenor missing

120

Contratenor missing

125

Contratenor incomplete

see commentary

130

Contratenor incomplete

see commentary

135

Contratenor incomplete

see commentary

14 semibreves missing

System 1 (Measures 140-144): This system contains five measures of music. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It features a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes, including a measure with a fermata. The middle staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing a more active melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat, providing a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The system concludes with a double bar line.

System 2 (Measures 145-149): This system contains five measures of music. The top staff continues the melodic development with various note values and rests. The middle staff maintains its active role with rhythmic patterns. The bottom staff provides a steady harmonic foundation. A measure rest is present in the top staff of the second measure. The system ends with a double bar line.

System 3 (Measures 150-154): This system contains five measures of music. The top staff shows a melodic line with some complex rhythms and a measure rest. The middle staff continues with its melodic and rhythmic patterns. The bottom staff provides accompaniment, with some measures featuring chords. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Viol Music on the Internet

PETER HOLMAN

Until recently the ways in which viol players were able to acquire music for their instrument were expensive and/or time-consuming. A certain amount of the repertory was available in published editions, and this was supplemented by a few published facsimiles of primary sources, often extremely expensive and difficult to obtain. Otherwise, players had no option but to spend large amounts of time in research libraries copying out viol music, or they had to order expensive microfilms or photocopies from them and then had to spend the time making their own editions. This tiresome situation is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, thanks to the internet. Now, anyone with a computer and a reasonably fast broadband connection can easily download electronic copies of thousands of original sources or modern editions made from them.

In most cases they are on free sites that claim to house material that is either public domain or has been made available for ‘non-commercial use’, to use the standard formulation. One of the most prominent of these sites, *The Werner Icking Music Archive* (WIMA, <http://icking-music-archive.org>) defines ‘non-commercial’ as follows:

The archive contains ‘free’ sheet music, free for non-commercial usage. This means that you may download the files and print paper copies, but neither the files nor the paper copies may be sold. You are not allowed to distribute digital copies of these editions to other web archives, either in the existing format or any other derived format without the explicit consent of the Icking Archive editors. The right to print the music does not automatically imply the right for public performance; that right is regulated by applicable copyright legislation. Such legislation holds that the copyright on the music itself remains in force until 70 years after the composer's death.

This seems to mean that, in the case of old (pre-1800) music that is clearly out of copyright, the only restriction relates to the distribution of digital or paper copies taken from images on the site. ‘Non-commercial’ seems to cover performance, recording or even the publishing of new editions made from material on the site.

However, this is not entirely good news. As with free sites in general, there is no guarantee of quality. Primary sources may be inaccurate, incomplete or have been tampered with; it is not unknown for scanned copies of facsimiles to appear on the internet with bowings and fingerings added by a present-day player. Internet editions often contain errors, either uncorrected from the original or introduced by the editor, and accidentals often need to be added. Many editions do not reveal their sources and have clearly been made from a single print or manuscript; a proper critical edition will take all the relevant sources into account. When performing parts are provided they often take no account of turns, which means that they have to be modified before they can

be used. However, these faults are not confined to internet sites; my library is full of unsatisfactory editions purchased at great expense from supposedly prestigious publishers! Used with proper caution, the internet can be an exciting new resource for musicians.

Internet music sites divide into three main types. Of the free ones, the most high-profile are those that collect material from different sources, such as *WIMA* and the *International Music Score Library Project* (IMSLP, also known as *Petrucchi Music Library*; <http://imslp.org>). They are mostly contributed to and run by enthusiasts who wish to make their discoveries available to others. *IMSLP* has the extraordinary aim of eventually including all public-domain music; it is a Canadian site, so it conforms to Canadian law, under which copyright expires 50 years after the author's death. It is also by far the largest of these free sites: it was only started in 2006 but as I write this in December 2011 it claims to contain no fewer than 48,181 scores. One of its strengths is that it contains scanned copies of original prints and manuscripts, often borrowed from other sites, as well as modern editions, sometimes of the same pieces. *IMSLP* is in the process of incorporating *WIMA*, an older site based on one founded by Werner Icking (1943-2001). *WIMA* includes several important discrete collections, notably Johan Tufvesson's editions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music mostly made from Swedish sources, and the large collection of transcriptions of viol consort music made by Albert Folop, an American amateur viol player.

Locating particular pieces in *WIMA*, *IMSLP* and the *Choral Public Domain Library* (CPDL; <http://www.cpdll.org/wiki/>), which includes a good deal of early music for voices and instruments, is made easy because they are indexed by *Wikipedia* (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>): the *Wikipedia* biographies of composers include links to any relevant pages in them, and major works by important composers have individual *Wikipedia* articles, again with relevant links. Other valuable finding aids are the lists of 'other music score websites' on the *IMSLP* site (http://imslp.org/wiki/IMSLP:Other_music_score_websites) and the list of 'other free music archives' near the bottom of the front page of *WIMA*. They list specialist sites such as the *Acadia Early Music Archive* (<http://www.acadiu.ca/~gcallon/www/archive/ftp.htm>), Gordon Callon's editions of mostly seventeenth century music, including a fair amount of Italian and English vocal music; Mario Bolognani's collection of mostly late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century chamber and orchestral works (<http://www.barquemusic.it/>), many edited from primary sources available on the internet; the *Center for Computer Assisted Research in the Humanities* (CCARH; <http://scores.ccarh.org/>), which includes new computer-set scores of all of Corelli's trio sonatas; and the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music's *Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music* (WLSCM; <http://aaswebsv.aas.duke.edu/wlscm>), which consists mainly of sacred music, much of it for voices and instruments.

Library Sites

Many free music sites are based on the collections of particular libraries, usually found as part of their general web sites. A number of libraries in continental

Europe and in America are digitising some or all of their holdings of music manuscripts and public-domain printed collections. For example, the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich (<http://www.digital-collections.de>) has made available many of its manuscripts and early prints, and has also included some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collected editions, notably the complete works of Handel edited by Friedrich Chrysander, the whole of the first series of *Denkmäler der Deutschen Tonkunst* (DDT), and its second series, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern* (DTB). DDT includes a good deal seventeenth-century German music for viols or with parts suitable for viols, including collections of instrumental ensemble music by Buxtehude, Franck, Haussmann and Rosenmüller, and sacred music by Buxtehude, Tunder, Ahle, Hammerschmidt, Theile, Sebastiani and J.P. Krieger. Volumes of interest to viol players in DTB include works by Johann Kaspar Kerll, including a sonata for two violins, gamba and continuo; two volumes of music by Johann Staden, including some consort music; and two volumes of music by Johann Erasmus Kindermann, also including consort music.

Another German library with an extensive digital collection is the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. There are only a few music manuscripts, but among them is one of outstanding importance, the *Partiturbuch Ludwig* (<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/34-7-aug-2f>), described by Michael Fuerst in the 2010 issue of this journal. It was copied by Jacob Ludwig (1623-98) and was presented in 1662 to Sophie Elisabeth, wife of Duke August of Brunswick and Lüneburg. It contains 100 instrumental ensemble pieces in score, ranging from one to eight parts with continuo. There are a number of pieces for solo bass viol and continuo, and many with obbligato viol parts in ensembles with one or more violin-family instruments. Many of them are otherwise unknown, and in general this is a source of the greatest importance since the German mid-century ensemble repertory is otherwise represented mainly by peripheral, late sources – such as manuscripts in the Düben Collection at Uppsala in Sweden (see below), those at Kroměříž in Moravia, or those copied in late seventeenth-century England.

The Royal Library in Copenhagen hosts *The Danish National Digital Sheet Music Archive* (<http://www.kb.dk/en/nb/samling/ma/digmus/index.html>) seems to be digitising its entire collection of manuscripts and early prints, including so far Alessandro Orologio's five- and six-part *Intradae* (Helmstaedt, 1597), several collections of sacred music by Michael Praetorius, Orazio Vecchi's vocal and instrumental collection *Selva di varia ricreatione* (Venice, 1590), and the autograph score of a fine set of trio sonatas dated 1738 by Georg von Bertouch (1668-1743), a German-born officer in the Danish army; some of them have an obbligato bass part apparently intended for bass viol. The Music and Theatre Library of Sweden (Musik- och teaterbiblioteket) in Stockholm has a much larger collection of old music, but only two collections have appeared on line so far, the autograph manuscripts of Johann Helmich Roman (1694-1758), the leading Swedish Baroque composer (<http://www.muslib.se/ebibliotek/roman>) and the library of the Utile Dulci society in Stockholm (<http://www3.smus.se/UtileDulci>), which consists mostly of manuscript and

printed scores and parts of eighteenth-century sonatas, concertos and symphonies, some of which are suitable for a bass viol on the continuo part.

In France the main library with a collection of digital music is the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, with its *Gallica* site (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>). *Gallica* is very large and includes prints and manuscripts, the latter including the Collection Philidor of scores of ballets, operas and other dramatic music produced at the French court mostly between about 1670 and 1710 but including some earlier material copied at that time. There seems to be a pretty comprehensive collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prints of French instrumental ensemble music and cantatas using viols. They can be searched for by composer, but it is also worth trying key words such as ‘gamba’, ‘viole’, ‘pardessus’ and ‘basse continue’. In addition to those prints by French composers or published in Paris, there are some collections of German and Dutch instrumental music with viol parts, some of them apparently from the collection of Sébastien de Brossard, including J.M. Nicolai’s *Erster Theil instrumentalischer Sachen* (Augsburg, 1675), 12 sonatas for two violins, bass viol or *fagotto* and continuo, S.A. Scherer’s *Sonatae*, op. 3 (Ulm, 1680), also for two violins, bass viol or *fagotto* and continuo, Jacob Richmann’s *Six Sonates*, op. 1 (Amsterdam, c.1710) for bass viol and continuo, and the French edition of Francesco Guerini’s *Sonates a violino solo con viola di gamba ó cembalo*, originally published in Amsterdam around 1739.

The *Gallica* site also includes items from the Bibliothèque de Toulouse, the Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles and the Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon, including some manuscripts. I have been unable to download these, though some of them also appear on *IMSLP* so it must be possible to do so. In general, *IMSLP* tends to cream off only the more popular items available on library sites, so it worth searching around if what you are looking for is not available there. This applies particularly to Italian libraries, a number of which are brought together in the site *Internet Culturale* (<http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/opencms/it>). By clicking on ‘Arti’ and then ‘Musica’ a list of 33 sites will appear. Some of them are of no immediate interest to us, such as the ‘Album Verdi’ of documents relating to the composer, the Verdi-Puccini collection in Milan or the collection of Mediaeval choir-books in the Biblioteca comunale Augusta in Perugia, though there are many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music manuscripts elsewhere, notably in the Biblioteca nazionale centrale in Rome, the Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella in Naples, the Conservatorio statale di musica Luigi Cherubini in Florence, the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, and the Mauro Foà and Renzo Giordano collections in the Biblioteca nazionale universitaria in Turin.

Finding one’s way around these collections is not easy, though it is possible to search by composer or title (it is worth trying genre words such as ‘sonata’ and ‘sinfonia’ if you are looking for seventeenth-century instrumental music), and browsing by date supposedly brings up the earliest items first, so you can avoid having to wade through lots of late eighteenth-century operas. The vast majority of the pre-1700 manuscripts are of sacred and secular vocal music, though scores of most of Stradella’s instrumental music are available from the library at Modena and the Turin library contains 16 volumes of German organ

tablature copied in Augsburg in the 1630s, which include many intabulated versions of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ensemble music. Others may have more luck than me in finding music suitable for viols in these libraries; the survey of instrumental ensemble manuscripts in the 'Sources' article in *Grove Music Online* ought to be a useful guide, though unfortunately there does not seem to be a way of searching these collections by shelf number. However, this site is clearly of major importance, and I suspect that many of the manuscripts it contains will become available at *IMSLP* over the next few years.

For Spanish music the most important resource is the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* (<http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/>), the digitisation project of the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. There, two of the options are 'Música impresa' (Printed Music) and 'Música manuscrita' (Manuscript Music), containing at present 658 and 718 items respectively. The printed music includes early publications as well as some nineteenth-century modern editions, including Francisco Barbieri's edition of the *Cancionero de Palacio* of about 1500 (Madrid, 1890), the largest source of polyphonic Spanish song, and *Lira sacro-hispana* (Madrid, 1852-60), a 10-volume anthology of Spanish church music from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries; the earlier volumes have a large amount of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music, much of it suitable for viols. Early prints include the *Trattado de glosas* (Rome, 1553) by Diego Ortiz, the most important treatise dealing with improvised ornamentation on the viol, Juan Bermudo's comprehensive *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555), and a number of vihuela and guitar tablatures. Among the manuscripts are many sixteenth-century choir books of sacred music and autograph manuscripts by the seventeenth-century composers Sebastián Durón, Juan Hidalgo and Antonio Literes.

There are many library sites in the English-speaking world with digital music collections, though only a few of them include material of interest to us. Of those in America, one of the largest sites, the Sibley Music Library at the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester NY (<https://urresearch.rochester.edu/viewInstitutionalCollection.action?collectionId=63>), has a copy of the second book of the *Pièces de viole* (Paris, 1701) by Marin Marais, and Charles Frederick Abel's *Six Sonatas for a Violin, Violoncello & Base*, op. 9 (London, 1772), which I have argued were originally written for violin, gamba and continuo (see *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 225-6). There is also a large manuscript collection, *Recueil de pièces choisies à une et deux flutes*, copied in London by Charles Babel in 1698. It mostly contains pieces for recorder and continuo by composers working in England, which were presumably played with a viol on the bass line.

Many American libraries have items acquired in English auction sales during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the same is true of the Nanki Library in Tokyo, which contains a portion of the library of the collector W.H. Cummings (1831-1915), auctioned at Sotheby's in 1917. The collection is being made available by the Research Institute for Digital Media and Content (DMCA) at Keio University (<http://note.dmc.keio.ac.jp/music-library/nanki>). So far only the printed items have been digitised, but among them are many

seventeenth-century English printed collections, including a number of Restoration song books, the first treble part of John Lenton's *Three-Part Consort of New Musick* (London, 1697), otherwise unknown; several copies of Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of Three Parts* (London, 1683), one with extra pieces added in manuscript; Robert Taylor's *Sacred Hymns* (London, 1615), for five-part voices with lute and viola parts; Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597); and several copies of Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, which includes a short section on the viola.

Libraries in Britain have lagged behind, doubtless prevented by lack of funds from embarking on digitisation projects, though the British Library has recently put its collective toe in the water with *Early Music Online* (<http://www.earlymusiconline.org/>), a collection of more than 300 of its sixteenth-century printed anthologies. Most of them are part-books of vocal polyphony, though among them are a few with instrumental pieces, such as *Fantasia et ricercari a tre voci, accomodate da cantare et sonare per ogni instrumento* (Venice, 1549), with music by Tiburtino, Donato, Rore and Willaert, and Gastoldi's *Primo libro della musica a due voce* (Milan, 1598). There are also collections of vocal music that mention instrumental participation, such as *Ein aussbund schöner Teutscher Liedlein: zu singen, und auff allerley Instrument, zugebrauchen, sonderlich ausserlesen* (Nuremberg, 1549), and of course most if not all the sets of part-books in the collection (there are also some prints of lute tablature and keyboard music) can be performed with voices and viols or just with viols. Dr Sandra Tuppen of the British Library tells me that they intend to extend the collection into the seventeenth century when resources allow, and that among their current digitization projects is one to make autograph scores by Henry Purcell available, including Add. MS 30930, which contains the fantasias and other instrumental music.

Before leaving British digital projects a brief mention of *The Digital Image Archive of Mediaeval Music* (DIAMM; <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/index.html>) is in order. It is the fruit of a collaboration between the University of Oxford and Royal Holloway, University of London, and lists all known manuscripts containing polyphony copied to 1550, with 'a few prominent later sources'. At present only a small proportion of the listed manuscripts have images attached, mostly those in British libraries, and of these only a few contain viola music, though of course many of the sources of sixteenth-century vocal polyphony are suitable for viols. I could find images of only two manuscripts obviously relevant to viola players: British Library, Add. MS 31922, edited complete as *Music at the Court of Henry VIII* (Musica Britannica, vol. 18), and Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 984-8, the Dow Partbooks, also available in a published facsimile produced by DIAMM and the Viola da Gamba Society (<http://www.vdgs.org.uk/publications-Dow.html>). The former was copied around 1515 and contains consort music likely to have been used by the earliest viola players in England, while the latter was copied in the 1580s and is an important source of Elizabethan consort music, consort songs and other pieces for voices and viols. Editions of some of the vocal pieces in the Dow Partbooks are at CPDL.

Archives of Manuscript Performing Material

An exciting recent development is the digitization of complete archives of performing material. *The Düben Collection Database Catalogue* (<http://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php>) is a project to make available the collection assembled by Gustav Düben the elder (1628-90), Kapellmeister at the Swedish court. It consists of more than 2000 items, mostly performing parts of late seventeenth-century concerted sacred vocal music for voices and instruments by composers working in the Lutheran areas of Germany, but also including a fair amount of instrumental ensemble music and a little secular vocal music. It is possible to search the database by composer, by title, and (most useful for viol players looking for new repertory) by scoring. The database acts as a catalogue to the collection, and entries for each piece give 'Facsimile Information' at the bottom, with links to downloadable colour scans where they exist. The searcher will quickly discover that the process of adding the scans is not yet complete, despite a claim that the project 'will hopefully be completed during 2011'. However, this is already a rich resource, and it contains a good deal of music either written for viols or suitable for them. 184 pieces have at least one part specifying a viola da gamba (they can be found by putting the abbreviation 'vg' into the 'scoring' field), and there are hundreds more with 'viola' parts – the unqualified term that can mean either violin- or viol-family instruments at this period.

Another important project consists of instrumental music copied for the Dresden court, now in the Saxon State Library (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, also known as SLUB). It contains the whole of the 'Schränk II' ('Cabinet II') collection (<http://www.schrank-zwei.de>), assembled and largely copied by Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755), the leader of the Dresden orchestra. Most of it consists of performing material used by Dresden composers, those elsewhere who wrote for it such as Vivaldi and Telemann, or those whose music found their way to Dresden by one means or another – there is, for instance, a sizeable amount of music by composers working in England, including Dieupart, Geminiani, Pepusch and Handel. Searching the database only reveals five pieces with obbligato gamba parts: sonatas by Pepusch, for violin, gamba and continuo, flute gamba and continuo and two violins, gamba and continuo; a sonata by Telemann for flute, gamba and continuo; and an elaborate setting of 'Miserere, Christi, mei' by the Halle composer Samuel Ebart (1655-84) for tenor, violin, gamba and continuo – one of the few vocal and pre-1700 pieces in the collection. However, there are many other chamber pieces which would be suitable for a bass viol on the continuo part. A large number of the Dresden manuscripts are also available at *IMSLP*, together with an increasing number of modern editions made from them.

A third collection of manuscript performing material consists of scores and parts copied by Christoph Graupner (1683-1760) for use at the Darmstadt court; he was Kapellmeister there from 1711. It is at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt (http://www.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/spezialabteilungen/handschriften_musikabteilung/musikabteilung/christophgraupner/graupner.de.jsp). Graupner produced a large collection of his own compositions and those of many others, including Telemann, J.F. Fasch, Heinichen and the Graun brothers. So far the site only contains copies

of his own music, including the instrumental music and 1418 sacred ‘cantatas’ or vocal concertos, but as yet excluding the secular vocal music. The only pieces that call explicitly for viols are three trio sonatas in canon, with violins, recorders and oboes respectively, and with bass parts labelled ‘Violoncello overo Viola di Gamba’. However, a number of the sacred works have obbligato parts in the alto clef labelled ‘violetta’, which may mean a viol rather than a viola, particularly when, as in ‘Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust’ (1712), there are already two orchestral parts labelled ‘viola’. This fine piece is one of several using a text that was later set by J.S. Bach, and it is available in modern edition edited by Brian Clark (Prima la Musica; <http://www.primalamusica.com/>).

A much smaller collection includes a number of autograph scores and parts by Johann Melchior Molter (1696-1765), who was Kapellmeister at Karlsruhe from 1722 to 1733 and from 1742 until his death; his manuscripts are in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe (<http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/Musikalien/>). Among them are a number of quartets variously called ‘sonata’, ‘concertino’ and ‘concerto’ and scored for varying combinations of treble viol (written in the treble clef and called ‘Soprano Viola da Gamba’ or ‘Dessus Viole’) with flute or violin, viola or viola da gamba and continuo, with occasional additional violin and bass part ‘di rinforzo’. As with Graupner’s manuscripts, most if not all of this collection is also available at IMSLP.

Early English Books Online

A third type of database brings together comprehensive collections of particular types of printed material. Collections of digitised newspapers and journals such as the *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Burney Collection Newspapers* and *British Periodicals* are indispensable research tools for those interested in the social history of English music, but the one of immediate interest to viol players is *Early English Books Online* (EEBO; <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>). Unlike the other sites described here, it is only available by subscription, but many university libraries subscribe to it and it can also be accessed at the British Library. A number of items at IMSLP appear to have been ‘liberated’ from it.

EEBO includes a copy of most English books published up to 1700, including many music books. Thus it includes instrumental ensemble collections such as Anthony Holborne’s *Pavans, Galliards, Almains* (London, 1599); John Dowland’s *Lachrimae* (London, 1604); Orlando Gibbons’s *Fantasies of Three Parts* (London, c.1620); John Adson’s *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (London, 1621); Michael East’s *Seventh Set of Bookes* (London, 1638), containing fantasias in two, three and four parts; Matthew Locke’s three-part *Little Consort of Three Parts* (London, 1656); John Playford’s two-part *Court Ayres* (London, 1655) and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (London, 1662); and Gottfried Finger’s *Sonatae XII*. (London, 1688), which includes three sonatas for violin, bass viol obbligato and continuo. In addition, there are a number of lyra-viol books, sets of Restoration instrumental music requiring a viol on the bass part, and theoretical works relevant to the viol, such as Christopher Simpson’s *Division-Violist* (London, 1659) and *Cheyls* (London, 1665), and Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676). There are also hundreds of collections of vocal

music of interest to viol players, including sets of madrigals and/or consort songs, verse anthems with viols, lute-song books and Restoration song books.

However there are problems. The images are sometimes not very clear, and the compilers evidently did not grasp that musicians need all the parts if a set of part-books is to be usable; for example, only the bass parts of *Court Ayres* and *Courthy Masquing Ayres* are provided. Also, they evidently did not think that it was necessary to provide all the volumes from the various series of Restoration song books, doubtless unaware that they all have different contents. Nevertheless, this is an essential site for those interested in English music; it is unfortunate that it is not freely available to everyone. EEBO has a much more selective counterpart, *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (<http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/eighteenth-century-collections-online.aspx>), which is also only available by subscription. Unfortunately, it does not contain much music, and the item of most interest to viol players is Thomas Brown's *Compleat Musick-Master* (London, 1722), which includes 'RULES and Instructions for a Young Beginner, on the Bass, Treble or Tenor VIOLS' as well as a set of simple 'Easie Lessons for Beginners on the BASS-VIOL'. 'Bass viol' was often used to mean the violoncello at the time, but the tuning instructions show that Brown was concerned with the six-string fretted instrument.

Modern Editions

There are editions of many sixteenth-century Italian pieces available on *WIMA*, *CPDL* and *IMSLP*, though most of them are for voices rather than instruments. However, there is a sizeable body of wordless music around 1500 suitable for viols on the *Petrucchi* site (not to be confused with *IMSLP*; <http://home.planet.nl/~teuli049/petrucontact.html>), edited by the Dutch recorder player and harpsichordist Arnold den Teuling. It includes pieces by Ockeghem, Agricola, Martini, Isaac, Josquin, Willaert and others. The editions keep original note values and look reliable, though octave-transposing treble clefs are used for the inner parts and the shorter pieces only have scores. The site also includes den Teuling's useful discussion of the music, the sources, the instruments and performance practice. Moving to the late sixteenth century, there are a number of editions of Giovanni Gabrieli's sonatas and canzonas at *WIMA* and *IMSLP*, though with varying attitudes to the modernisation of notation and the choice of clefs. *WIMA* also includes a complete edition of Alessandro Raverij's *Canzoni per sonare* (Venice, 1608), containing pieces by Gabrieli, Frescobaldi, Merulo, Guami and others, though not all the pieces have the tenor-range parts in C clefs. The simplest way to find them is to click on 'Raverij' under 'Editors', reached from 'Scores indexed by Editors and Publishers'.

Later Italian instrumental ensemble music is mostly for violin-family instruments, with the word *violone* apparently meaning the bass violin rather than any sort of viol in seventeenth-century Italy; see Bettina Hoffman's article 'The Nomenclature of the Viol in Italy' in vol. 2 (2008) of this journal. However, a number of collections edited complete on the internet have pieces with bass parts suitable for the viol, including G.P. Cima's *Concerti ecclesiastici* (Milan, 1610), edited by Andrea Friggi (*WIMA*); Biagio Marini's *Affetti musicale*,

op. 1 (Venice, 1617), edited by Mario Bolognani; Marini's *Diversi generi di sonate, da chiesa e da camera*, op. 22 (Venice, 1655), edited by Johan Tufvesson (*WIMA*); G.B. Buonamente's *Quarto libro de varie sonate* (Venice, 1626), edited by Maurizio Gavioli (*IMSLP*); and Tarquinio Merula's *Quarto libro delle canzone a sonare*, op. 17 (Venice, 1651), also edited by Tufvesson (*WIMA*). *WIMA* also includes substantial selections from the two volumes of Dario Castello's *Sonate concertate in stile moderno* (Venice, 1621, 1629) and G.B. Fontana's *Sonate à 1. 2. 3.* (Venice, 1641).

The largest collection of viol consort music is Albert Folop's at *WIMA* (now being transferred to *IMSLP*). As well as music originally written for viols, mainly from the English repertory, there are also many scores and parts of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century motets, madrigals and chansons. It is good to have these pieces, which are a legitimate part of the viol repertory, though it is a pity that the words are not included. Folop has edited an extraordinary amount of English viol consort music, including most of the core fantasia repertory from Coprario and Ferrabosco to Purcell, and a sizeable number of fantasia suites and consort dances. He uses original note values and his editions are serviceable, though it is worth checking them with scholarly editions, such as those in the Musica Britannica series. Folop has not edited much Elizabethan music: there is nothing by Christopher Tye (though there are a few pieces edited for recorders on the main *WIMA* site) and only one piece by Robert Parsons. However, *The Robert Parsons Project* (<http://www.millertheatre.com/parsons/index.html>) includes what appears to be a complete edition of his consort music and consort songs. The editing looks scholarly and accurate, though only scores are available.

German viol music is patchily represented before the late sixteenth century. *CPDL* and *WIMA* have editions of a number of *tenorlied* (German songs usually for tenor and three instruments) by Ludwig Senfl and his contemporaries, though without instrumental parts in the former and often without words in the latter. Things are much better in the early seventeenth century, thanks to Ulrich Alpers. His editions at *WIMA* and/or *IMSLP* include complete scores and parts of a number of collections of five-part dance music in the Anglo-German repertory, including Holborne's *Pavans, Galliards, Almains*; Füllsack and Hildebrandt's *Erster Theil* (Hamburg, 1607), with music by William Brade, Johann Sommer, Thomas Mons, Anthony Holborne, John Dowland and others; Hildebrandt's *Ander Theil* (Hamburg, 1609), with music by Johann Steffens, Benedict Greebe, Matthias Mercker, Johann Sommer and others; William Brade's *Neue außßerlesene Paduanen, Galliardien, Cantzonen, Allmand und Coranten* (Hamburg 1609); and Thomas Simpson's *Opusculum neuer Pavanen, Galliardien, Couranten und Volten* (Hamburg, 1610). Alpers has also edited William Brade's six-part *Neue außßerlesene Paduanen und Galliardien* (Hamburg, 1614) and Andreas Hammershmidt's *Erster Fleiss* (Freiberg, 1639) for five-part *violen* (probably violins rather than viols) and continuo, and has contributed to the complete *WIMA* edition of the instrumental music of Johann Hermann Schein, drawn mainly from *Banchetto Musicale* (Leipzig, 1617).

For later German instrumental music with parts intended for or suitable for viols we are particularly indebted to Johan Tufvesson, whose work on *WIMA* (currently being transferred to *IMSLP*) includes complete editions of three of

Johann Rosenmüller's instrumental collections, *Paduanen, Alemanden, Couranten, Balletten, Sarabanden* (Leipzig, 1645) for two trebles, bass and continuo, the three- and five-part *Studenten-Music* (Leipzig, 1654) and *Sonate à 2. 3. 4. 5. Stromenti* (Nuremberg, 1682). The upper parts of the last are most suitable for violins, though the bass 'Viola' part is probably for viol, and the set includes a sonata for violin, bass obbligato ('Fagotto ò Viola') and continuo. Tufvesson has also edited complete Dietrich Becker's *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* (Hamburg, 1668) and *Erster Theil* (Hamburg, 1674). The former has several pieces with specified viol parts, including a suite for two violins, bass three viols and continuo, while the latter includes a fine extended sonata with suite in D major for violin, bass viol and continuo. In addition, there are complete editions by Tufvesson of William Young's *Sonate à 3. 4. e 5.* (Innsbruck, 1653), for two, three or four violins, 'Viola' (presumably bass viol) and continuo, and Buxtehude's *VII suonate* opp. 1 and 2 (Hamburg, ?1694 and 1696) for violin, bass viol and harpsichord continuo.

WIMA has a good deal of sacred music by Buxtehude, including 'Laudate pueri Dominum' BuxWV 69 for two sopranos, five viols, 'Violon' and continuo and 'Vulnerasti cor meum' from *Membra Jesu nostri* BuxWV 75/6 for two sopranos, bass, five viols and continuo. Notable pieces with viols by Buxtehude's contemporaries include Christoph Bernhard's 'Was betrübst du dich, meine Seele', for solo alto, viola and bass viol obbligato, and continuo, edited by Tufvesson, and the complete *IMSLP* edition of J.A. Reincken's *Hortus musicus* (Hamburg, 1687) for two violins, gamba obbligato and continuo. This is technically a modern edition, though it was published by J.C.M. van Riemsdijk as long ago as 1888. It is perfectly usable despite its age, and includes string parts as well a score, though the gamba player has to be able to cope with the tenor clef from time to time. *Hortus musicus* consists of six extended sonata-suites and is fine, technically demanding music that influenced the young J.S. Bach – who arranged a number of movements from the collection for harpsichord. There are modern editions of two of Johann Schenck's collections of viol music at *IMSLP*, Hugo Leichtentritt's 1907 edition of *Scherzi musicali*, op. 6, for bass viol and continuo, and *Le nymphe di Rheno*, op. 8, for two bass viols, taken from an edition in the Das Erbe Deutsche Musik series. *IMSLP* also has facsimiles of Schenck's *Il giardino armonico*, op. 3 for two violins, bass viol and continuo, and two editions of *L'echo di Danube*, op. 9 for bass viol with or without continuo, as well as the original edition of *Scherzi musicali*.

There is a certain amount of French viol music available in modern editions, beginning with Albert Folop's *WIMA* editions of pieces in three, four and five parts from Eustache Du Caurroy's *Fantasies* (Paris, 1610) and in four parts from Etienne Moulinié's *Cinquieme livre d'airs de cour* (Paris, 1639). Notable later works with obbligato viol parts include Marc-Antoine Charpentier's remarkable eight-part sonata H548 for two flutes, two violins, bass viol, bass violin, theorbo and harpsichord (Mario Bolognani); Charpentier's 'Concert pour quatre parties de violes' H545 (*IMSLP*, but in an edition that wrongly makes the *second dessus* double the *hautcontre* part in the tutti sections – both solo treble viols should play the *dessus* part in the tuttis); a complete edition of the *Pièces en trio* (Paris, 1692) for two flutes, violins or 'dessus de viole' and

continuo by Marin Marais (Tufvesson); the ‘Sonate a la Maresienne’ and the famous ‘Sonnerie de Ste. Genevieve du mont’ from Marais’ *La gamme* (Paris, 1723), both for violin, bass viol and harpsichord (Tufvesson); François Couperin’s superb sonata ‘La sultane’, for two violins, two bass viols and continuo (Tufvesson); and Rameau’s *Pièces de clavecin en concerts* (Paris, 1741) for violin or flute, bass viol or viola, and obbligato harpsichord (*IMSLP*, in an edition by Nicolas Sceaux). There is, of course, an enormous amount of French vocal and instrumental music that requires a bass viol on the continuo part, and a fair amount of it is available at the sites already discussed.

All of J.S. Bach’s works with viola da gamba parts are available online in the nineteenth-century Bach Gesellschaft edition; it can be consulted either in the original complete volumes (<http://cinam.com/bach/>), or at *IMSLP* with the volumes conveniently broken down into individual works. In addition to the three sonatas with obbligato harpsichord BWV1027-9, Brandenburg Concerto no. 6 BWV1051 and the solos in the St Matthew and St John passions BWV244 and 245, there are gamba parts in six cantatas, BWV76, 106, 152, 198, 199 (Cöthen version), and 205. Of these, *Bach Digital* (<http://www.bach-digital.de/content/index.xml>) has facsimiles of manuscripts of BWV76, 152, 198, 244, 245, and 1027. In addition, there are vocal scores of the cantatas and the passions at *IMSLP*, and a useful score by John K. Patterson at *CPDL* of BWV106 with all the parts in F major; in this work Bach wrote for Baroque treble recorders in F, expecting them to be pitched a tone lower than the gambas and the continuo, which he wrote out in E flat. Finally, *IMSLP* has the Peters Edition orchestral parts of BWV245 and 1051 and Breitkopf parts of BWV244, while there is a clear computer-set score of BWV1051 at *CCARH*.

Most late viol music is by German composers, and Telemann was by far the most prolific eighteenth-century composer for the instrument. There are editions by Johan Tufvesson of his *XIIX Canons mélodieux, ou VI Sonates en duo* (Paris, 1738) for two flutes, violins or gambas, with versions in the treble, alto and bass clefs, and Trio no. 10 in D major for violin, gamba and continuo from *Essercizii musici* (Hamburg, 1739-40). Works at *IMSLP* include a score of the Concerto in A minor TWV52:a1 for recorder, gamba, strings and continuo, and two pieces from *Der getreue Music-Meister* (Hamburg, 1728-9): the Sonata in D for solo gamba and the duet written for recorders in Bb major, flutes in G major and viols in A major; *IMSLP* and *Gallica* have facsimiles of this publication. *Gallica* also has a facsimile of *Six quatuors* (Paris, 1736), the first set of Paris Quartets for flute, violin, gamba, violoncello and continuo, and there are facsimiles of two manuscript sets of parts deriving from this publication at *The Danish National Digital Sheet Music Archive*.

There are a few modern editions of viol music by other eighteenth-century German composers. Those available at *IMSLP* include Pepusch’s fine A minor sonata for violin, bass viol and continuo (one of those already mentioned as being in manuscript at Dresden), and the old but serviceable Schott edition by Hans Brandts Buys of C.P.E. Bach’s Trio in F H588 for ‘viola’ (perhaps *da gamba* rather than *da braccio*), ‘flauto basso’ (bass recorder or possibly bassoon), and continuo; Mario Bolognani has recently added an edition of this fine piece to his site. Last but not least, Loïc Chahine has begun what I hope will be a complete edition for *IMSLP* of Charles Frederick Abel’s pieces for

unaccompanied gamba in New York Public Library, Drexel MS 5871, arguably the last great music written for the instrument in the continuous tradition. They are available in the alto clef as well as in Abel's original treble-clef notation, to be read an octave lower.

Surveys of this sort are inevitably incomplete and become out of date rather quickly, so I intend to contribute supplements to future volumes of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*. Please let me know of any significant corrections and omissions: peter@parley.org.uk. I am grateful to Richard Sutcliffe and Patxi del Amo for their helpful comments on a draft of the article.

Life after Death

Peter Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Boydell Press, 2010). ISBN 9781843835745; pp. 432, illustrated. Price: £50.00

This is a highly unusual and in many ways remarkable book that maps out in immense detail an area of European music and music-making likely to be entirely unknown to the wider musical public – and in many aspects to most readers of this journal too. The title itself is intentionally misleading, as most of the book deals with a more-or-less continuous life-form rather than resurrection: and to eliminate any possible confusion there is not much here about either Purcell or Dolmetsch, for essentially the book is about an uninterrupted playing tradition throughout the eighteenth century, extending to at least a tenuous presence during the nineteenth.

The central figure around whom the book revolves is Carl Friedrich Abel, gamba soloist and associate of J.C. Bach, whose joint concerts in London from 1765 to 1781 cemented the role of the public symphony concert in the musical calendar. Is Abel's instrumental preference just a one-off or is there a hinterland that led to and in some way supported what might otherwise appear to be merely an eccentric oddity?

Certainly the gamba proved remarkably adaptable. The first part of the book charts how players and composers around 1700 negotiated a transition from bass and chordal writing to inner melody in the alto clef and solo in the octave-transposing treble – a transformation enhanced in London by its continued cultivation by the cosmopolitan virtuosi of the Italian Opera orchestra (though not within the orchestra itself). In terms of original repertoire the star turn is the older figure of Gottfried Finger, whose solo viol music has already become much better known through the Rawson and Wagner edition, not to mention a number of recent recordings. Some sonatas probably pre-date his London arrival, to judge from the Biber-inspired use of *scordatura* and freely rotating sectional structures, but other sonatas adopt a more Italianate idiom with separate movements. This section of the book is typically rich in its range of reference to musical sources (both solo and chamber), to precise identification of historical precedents in style and tunings across Europe, in the easy connections drawn with William Corbett and Purcell (the G minor 'violin sonata'), and in the relationship with the emerging virtuosic requirements of London's incipient concert life.

Holman also draws to attention in Chapter 3 to a number of new sources from the circle of Italian musicians in Handel's London – a cantata by Handel's associate Pietro Giuseppe Sandoni, probably intended for the Baillie family; a set of sonatas and arrangements surviving in the late eighteenth-century Williamson manuscript (already described by Holman in *Early Music* in 2003); and a manuscript in the Fitzwilliam museum of 11 cantatas by Tommaso Bernardo Gaffi wherein the obbligato parts have in five cases been allocated to the gamba. Indeed an important argument throughout the book is the adaptability of any treble-range music once the clef became familiar and habitual – whether Italian arias ornamented, Corelli sonatas, or indeed any

suitable violin solo. A rich seam of evidence is offered for such adaptations, the implication being that players today could be much more enterprising in the way they seek out new repertoire in this vein, especially with the benefit of historical justification in support.

Thus although the bass violin and cello soon became the preferred instrument of the professional (even if confusingly denominated ‘bass viol’), the gamba proper rapidly took on a character and distinct solo role of its own: aristocratic in tone (for all the notable examples of artisans offered here), with a *recherché* reputation as an instrument of exquisite taste and a certain exoticism in its suggestion of antiquity (as in Handel’s evocation of Egyptian luxury in the Parnassus scene in *Giulio Cesare*, the changing versions of which are analysed in detail here). Providing refined amusement in the solitary confines of the home, a favourite of Oxbridge-educated clergy, doctors and lawyers, it also maintained a special appeal to women (curiously, especially in Scotland) and also proved attractive to artists and writers of a sensitive temperament.

These are overarching themes to the book as a whole. Much of the story is about the special aura the gamba enshrined in a largely private world. Holman argues very persuasively that whatever the instrument represented as a memory of the antique, nevertheless in the later eighteenth century it caught something of the contemporary mood – the sensibility of the 1760s, the decade of Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey* and the poignant deathbed scene of Lieutenant Le Fever in *Tristram Shandy* that Abel reportedly captured in his solo improvisations. The gamba’s plaintive sound, highly expressive yet fragile, readily evoked the aesthetic category of the beautiful, with all the associated connotations of affecting melody and pathos. Indeed the very linkage with the instrumental exoticisms and curiosities so enthusiastically paraded during the decade suggests an element of proto-romanticism in the instrument’s continuing hold on the imagination.

It is indeed an alluring idea that the gamba embodied an esoteric sub-culture in eighteenth-century musical life – cultivated by solitary aesthetes in private, nurtured by little-known professionals, recorded only in elusive references, the music itself surviving only patchily. How much remains uncovered? We can be very sure that Holman has revealed as much as we are likely ever to discover, short of some entirely unexpected cache of material coming to light. What the book implicitly proposes is that there are many narratives of music history, and that the modern orthodoxies of public concert history do not necessarily coincide with how music was perceived at the time. Indeed this even suggests that we should rethink our idea of what a Bach-Abel concert felt like for audiences of the day.

Although most surviving gamba music by Abel – especially the miscellaneous collection of his patron and pupil the Countess of Pembroke – comprises easier solos (sonatas with bass accompaniment), some indication of a professional solo repertoire survives in the more virtuosic and richly ornamented pieces in Drexel MS 5871 and in the two so-called ‘Prussian’ sonatas. Evidently a great deal of Abel’s personal performing material (including any concertos) has been lost. Nevertheless closer knowledge of this repertoire certainly casts a new light on the supposedly bombastic, attention-seeking tone of London musical life:

after all Abel's gamba solos were clearly much prized by the upper echelons of the concert-going public, almost *de rigueur* at the principal benefit concerts.

At the same time, Abel seems to have nurtured his own private style in parallel. The idea of the reluctant public virtuoso is a common trope in the late eighteenth century, and indeed into the next – compare Paganini's admiration for the Beethoven quartets, which he is said to have particularly relished away from the glare of publicity. Holman has unearthed some eloquent descriptions not only of Abel's revelling in musical science, but also releasing strong emotions in his listeners through some kind of programmatic improvisation, as with the *Tristram Shandy* example cited above. Some indication of this style may be captured in a number of highly expressive (often chordal and chromatic) pieces in D minor in the Drexel manuscript. The idiom evidently relates to North German *Empfindsamkeit* and makes more than passing reference to the Baroque. Yet this is not entirely out of keeping with other aspects of Abel's output. While it is true that the printed collections hardly ever include minor-mode movements (p. 206), nevertheless his symphonies and quartets are much more prone to chromaticism and minor-mode harmonic inflexions than those of J.C. Bach. No doubt there is a link too with his reputation for improvising abstruse harmonic elaborations at the keyboard.

Of course this hidden vogue for the gamba is hardly unique to Britain, although there are suggestions that the gamba was regarded as particularly British in the early part of the century, and indeed (in a curious report by Richard Steele) that it peculiarly caught the English character:

There is another Musical Instrument, which is more frequent in this Nation than any other; I mean your Bass-Viol, which grumbles in the Bottom of the Consort, and with a surly Masculine Sound, strengthens the Harmony... [It] may signifie Men of rough Sense, and unpolished Parts, who do not love to hear themselves talk, but sometimes break out in an agreeable Bluntness, unexpected Wit, and surly Pleasantry, to the no small Diversion of their Friends and Companions. In short, I look upon every sensible true-born *Britain* [sic], to be naturally a Bass-Viol (quoted on p.51)

Even the later manifestation of the gamba in the person of Abel was appropriated to British taste: in this case the 'feeling, taste, and science' that he brought to the Adagio ('no musical production or performance with which I was then acquainted seemed to approach nearer perfection', in Burney's words). This was something that British critics were proud to claim as a peculiarly British appreciation; and it must surely be what is meant by references to contemporary violinists and cellists being 'of his school' rather than pupils in a literal sense.

Abel's solo repertoire is far from unknown to specialists, but Holman has added greatly both to its interpretation and to musicological detail, as for example in his revisions to Knape's assessment of Abel autographs. Yet this is not the only music of the period brought out into the open. Abel himself wrote chamber music involving the gamba, as indeed did J.C. Bach, although it is typically disguised behind the more orthodox viola, violetta or tenor on title-pages. Still less well-known is the music of contemporaries revealed here – for

example, an attractive set of trios for flute/violin, gamba/viola and obbligato keyboard by Tommaso Giordani, or some interesting chamber music by the Esterháza baryton and gamba player Andreas Lidel ("Seventeen-string Jack"), the variant versions of which are explored in detail. The pointer that viola parts in chamber music could readily be played on the gamba opens up yet further options for modern players.

Following the death in 1813 of the cellist Johan Arnold Dahmen ('the last professional gamba player in Britain in the continuous tradition'), the story takes on a different aspect. Nevertheless Abel's shadow – and that of the Countess of Pembroke – still looms remarkably long over the following century, as does the history of individual instruments; for example, through Thomas Cheeseman (who acquired the Pembroke collection) and subsequently John Cawse, both artists and enthusiastic amateur gamba players. It is striking too that their preferred repertoire consisted almost entirely of eighteenth-century solo or chamber music, as if precariously preserving the slenderest possible playing tradition.

Indeed the gamba never died out entirely, its spirit kept alive not only by such individualists but also by antiquarian collectors of musical instruments and sources, and by various revivals (such as the 1845 concert derived from Fétis, which Holman himself has revealed elsewhere as largely a fake, with the gamba the only truly antique instrument on show). These diverse references are presented as part of a conspectus of the many strands of the early music revival across the nineteenth century, one of many useful contextual views in the book. The gamba began to be used in Bach passion performances in London during the 1870s, but it was not until the scholarly work of Mary Louisa Armit on the Oxford Music School manuscripts and eventually of course the début of the Dolmetsch viol consort in 1890 that the glories of the seventeenth century began to come to light.

Aside from the intrinsic interest of its main line of argument, the book is packed full of fascinating byways, not all directly connected with the gamba. Even the pronunciation of Abel's name gains a passing mention. A poem by Peter Pindar is offered as proof that his name was pronounced as Able, to rhyme with Babel – as in Cain and Abel, source of many a contemporary pun, although it should be added that pronunciation of Babel is itself disputed (compare Babylon, babble). The extraordinary John Frederick Hintz merits a chapter of his own, detailing his remarkable three-layered career as furniture maker, Moravian evangelist and instrument dealer, the gamba being only one of eleven exotic instruments that he advertised for sale in 1763. Then there is the Brousil family whose concerts featured the young Adolphe playing viola parts on the tenor viol, as depicted in a remarkable family photo from 1857.

Those familiar with Peter Holman's writings will recognise the astute combination of meticulously researched biographical information with detailed studies of sources and instruments, plus telling descriptions of largely unfamiliar repertoires. The range of reference, whether in his usual stamping ground of the later Baroque or in the tributaries of the nineteenth century, is truly prodigious. I can't pretend it is the kind of book you will be likely to read

from cover to cover in an evening, but I warmly recommend it as one it will always be a pleasure to dip into.

Schmeltzer, Biber and Muffin

RICHARD CARTER

Charles E. Brewer, *The Instrumental Music of Schmeltzer, Biber, Muffat and their Contemporaries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), xxvi + 411 pages.

ISBN 9781859283967 (hbk) £65.00 (10% discount for online orders)

ISBN 9781409419402 (ebk)

Reading this book now for the third time, I am still uncertain how best to approach it. The initial problem is not so much with the content, but with the structure and presentation. At first glance the overall form seems to be thus: the main material is presented in the three central chapters, which take the reader on a chronological and geographical journey around Central (or East-Central) Europe in the late seventeenth century. Brewer begins with Schmeltzer in Vienna (Chapter 2); the constant musical trafficking between Vienna and Kroměříž leads naturally to the composers at the court of Prince-Bishop Carl Liechtenstein-Castelcorn,¹ including Biber and Muffat (Chapter 3), whose fortunes are then followed to Salzburg and the court of Archbishop Maximilian Gandolph von Kuenburg and his successor Johann Ernst von Thun (Chapter 4). This is a very attractive framework, which does much to hold the attention and offers a narrative thread on which to hang the detailed discussions of the music and the circumstances of its creation. These chapters form the filling, as it were, in a Kircher sandwich: Chapter 1 introduces Athanasius Kircher and the concepts of instrumental music in the seventeenth century formulated in his writings—in particular *Stylus Hyporchematicus* and *Stylus Phantasticus*—whilst Chapter 5 rounds the book off with a discussion of the ‘Dissemination and Dissolution of the *Stylus Phantasticus*’.

In fact, this is not how the book is structured at all. As the author indicates in his preface, it is a set of (quasi-)independent studies, each the result of different research projects undertaken during visits to Europe over the years since Dr Brewer’s interest in this music was first aroused. And yet, the inclusion of introductory and linking passages, the cross-referencing, and the title are evidence of an intention to forge these studies into a unified whole. The result falls rather uneasily between two stools, as can be shown by two examples:

First, despite expectations which might be aroused by the book’s title, Muffat’s two *Florilegium* collections—a significant part of his output—are hardly treated, because they were published after Muffat left Salzburg for Passau, and thus fall outside the strict remit of Chapter 4. To be fair, *Florilegium primum* (1695) is covered briefly (pp. 321–322, with a full contents table (p. 323) but no examples), because Muffat writes in his preface that the music was composed during his time in Salzburg, but *Florilegium secundum* (1698) is mentioned only in passing (p. 336).

¹ I shall follow the author and use this spelling throughout: any ‘c’ may be replaced by ‘k’, and ‘-corno’ is also common.

Second, Brewer includes a section on the ‘Instrumentarium’ of the period, which forms a substantial part of Chapter 3, a perfectly good place when seen only as part of that essay. But it seems to be intended to do for the whole book, as the reader is referred forward to it in a footnote at the start of Chapter 2, in the section ‘Musicians and Musical Performance at Leopold I’s Court’ (p. 47), in which case it would have been better if it had been moved to the start of Chapter 2. As it is, the reader must search for it, since the footnote merely refers to Chapter 3, without giving a page number; and this brings me to another weakness in the presentation, that of difficulty of navigation. The contents page lists only the five main chapter headings, but the three central chapters are respectively 84, 104, and 98 pages long, and are divided into many sections by carefully differentiated subheadings (bold, or italic). In order to make better sense of it all, and to find my way around whilst writing this review, I found it necessary to make my own detailed contents listing.

A word about that spelling in the book’s title: as a result of his examination not only of the printed and manuscript sources of Schmelzer’s music, but also of his surviving correspondence, Brewer concludes that the composer favoured the spelling Schmelzer, and therefore adopts it in his writing. ‘Schmeltzer’ is listed as an alternative in *Grove*, along with ‘Schmeltzer von Ehrenrueff’ which the composer adopted after successfully petitioning to be elevated to the nobility in 1673 (p. 53).² This is harmless enough, indeed, one gets quite used to it after a while, and I have nothing against the use of original orthography; but in reality this amounts to a substitution of one standard for another, and such standardization is itself not ‘historic’. It also leads, as the author points out in his introduction, to a nice confusion, in that he carefully preserves ‘Schmelzer’ in references to and quotations from primary and secondary sources which use it. This is managed pretty consistently, I have found only one faulty use of ‘Schmelzer’, and one occurrence of ‘Schelmzer’.³

Would that the proofreading in general had been so punctilious! The spelling of other frequently occurring names and terms is often thoroughly inconsistent, and far too many casual typing errors have slipped the eye of the proof-reader. Completely baffling, and inexcusable, is the matter of Schmelzer’s date of birth, which is given in four versions, two sometimes even competing on the same page: the accepted standard, c.1620/23-1680,⁴ vies with c.1630-VI.1680, the also-rans c.1623-1680 and 1620-1680 appear just once each (p. 347 and p. 353 respectively). In the brief biography on p. 53 the date of birth is given as ‘around 1630’, without explanation, despite the running chapter heading being correct.

² It is not clear what Brewer means when he writes that ‘Schmelzer’ is a Latinized form, it is simply an alternative spelling; as a proper name, both spellings exist side-by-side to this day. Schmelzer means ‘smelter’ or ‘founder’, and if it were Latinized in the spirit of previous generations of composers—e.g. *Sagittarius* (Schütz), *Capricornus* (Bockhorn) or *Praetorius* (Schultz)—the result would presumably have been based on a term such as *fusor* (‘a founder in metals’) or *auricoctor* (‘he that melts or refines gold’). I wish to thank Johanna Valencia for her assistance with all matters concerning German names and texts.

³ Whilst writing this section I googled both spellings, and unexpectedly (and unscientifically) came away with the impression that ‘Schmeltzer’ produced more hits in Germany and The United States, but ‘Schmelzer’ brought up sites in Austria.

⁴ Given so in *Grove VI* (1980), and not altered since.

Brewer makes a similar case out of the Czech lexicographer Janovka (1669-1741), preferring the old Czech 'Janowka' in his own text, but preserving 'Janovka' in references (the 'v' is evidently preferred by present-day Czech musicologists). Here, however, the case is weakened by the Christian names being given as 'Tomàs Baltazar' in Chapter 1 (*Grove* has 'Tomàš'), but Germanized to 'Thomas Balthasar' in Chapter 3. There are recurring problems of inconsistency with German names and places, and if some are perhaps trivial—Jacob/Jakob, Gandolf/Gandolph, St. Stephen's/St. Steven's (the *Stephansdom* in Vienna)—they are nevertheless irritating, and others are potentially confusing: Minoriten monastery or Cloister, *Minoritenkloster* and *Minoritenkonvent* all in fact refer to the same establishment, and the Biber source which is found in its archive is a *Kodex* on p. 314, but a manuscript two pages later. Brewer is also unable to make his mind up as to whether a term such as *Vize-Kapellmeister* should be given in standard modern German, in old German (*Vice-Capell-meister*), or awkwardly translated as 'Vice-Chapel-Master'.

This should surely all have been avoided by robust intervention from the Ashgate editor and proof-reader—both are thanked by name in the preface—and the same applies to unfortunate phrases such as 'The use of an extended ground bass will be used [sic] more frequently ...' (p. 69), or 'rather unique' (p. 354), and a muddled moment on p. 87 in which 'The vast majority' is contrasted with 'a slightly smaller number'.

One example may stand for the more trivial but far too frequent presence of uncorrected careless typesetting (each read-through reveals more): on p. 225 the Venetian printer Vincenti appears as 'Alessandro Vinceti' in the main text, and 'Allessandro Vincenti' in a footnote. Here again it is not clear whether the footnote is reproducing the original orthography, or whether the '-ll-' is an error.

The general sloppiness extends to punctuation matters, where three different forms of inverted comma/apostrophe jostle for position;⁵ there are also frequent instances of small random groups of unwanted italic or bold letters intruding, sometimes mid-word, into plain Roman text.

This is all the more surprising given the apparently long time the book was in the press. The only item in the bibliography dated later than 2006 is a monograph published in 2008: Brewer writes in his Preface (dated October 2010) that it 'arrived too late to fully incorporate its contents into my own research.' Michael Robertson's *The Courty Consort Suite in German-Speaking Europe, 1650-1706*, published by Ashgate early in 2009,⁶ clearly came too late even to be mentioned, which is a great pity, as the two books cover much common ground.

As mentioned previously, the detailed discussion of the music is contained in the three central chapters. Chapter 2, 'Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c.1620/23-80) and Music at the Viennese Court', begins by setting the scene ('Musicians and Musical Performance at Leopold I's Court'), and introduces the composer with a short biography. Schmelzer's instrumental output is then considered

⁵ ['], ['], and [´], the last is actually the acute accent. The problem occurs mostly where instrument tunings are given in the Helmholtz pitch system.

⁶ Reviewed in this Journal, Vol. 4 (2010)

chronologically, divided into two main creative periods: the first running from 1657, the date of his earliest known work, up to 1665, during which time he was employed as an instrumentalist, both at the *Stephansdom* and at court; the second begins with his promotion to *Hofballetkomponist* (1665), and continues as he became *Vize-Hofkapellmeister* (1671) and finally, shortly before he succumbed to the plague, *Kapellmeister*. Brewer shows that this is a very meaningful divide. When not officially employed as a composer, Schmelzer was able to channel his energy into a series of Sonata publications—which meant going to Nuremberg to find a printer—with varied instrumentation, thus putting together a showcase for his talents. In addition, by means of carefully chosen dedications, he ‘cultivated the favor of three of the most powerful individuals at the Habsburg court’ (p. 80) and smoothed the way to his eventual appointment as court composer of dance music. The printed sonatas are tabulated, analysed, compared and contrasted in some detail, with plentiful musical examples.

Something in all this creates the impression that Schmelzer the composer developed rather late, certainly by comparison with his almost exact contemporary Matthew Locke, for example, but this may of course only be a question of incomplete survival and missing records—it is not a point pursued by Brewer.

What is abundantly clear is that after 1665 Schmelzer had his hands thoroughly tied by his court composing duties. The great strength of this chapter is its bringing to life of the constant round of ‘occasions’ for which *Balletti* were required—just the birthdays and, in a Catholic country, the name days of countless Habsburgs would have kept him busy enough, but dances were also required for insertion into Italian opera productions, and then there were the extended festivities associated with *Fasching* (Carnival), during which masque-style productions involving perhaps as many as 150 members of the nobility dressed as peasants (pp. 81-82) took place. An eye-opener for me was that *Fasching* traditionally ended with a mock-lament, for which suitably facetious music was also required.

Schmelzer’s 150 or so *Balletti*, typically consisting of three to five short movements were composed and individually choreographed for special occasions which can now only with difficulty be recreated. They comprise a substantial body of music which is difficult to write about, and tricky to programme for today’s concert culture. Brewer points out that these works were nowhere near as widely circulated as Schmelzer’s sonatas, but he does discuss the way in which the copies surviving in Kroměříž show signs of adaptation, re-grouping, or re-ordering by key, which might have been intended to make them more suitable for a ‘concert’ performance. He also considers questions of French influence, and of instrumentation, and here the way in which his interpretations complement, and sometimes contrast with those expressed by Michael Robertson make interesting reading. Clearly the last word on these matters has not yet been said. On the question of Leopold I’s attitude to the French, and French music, Brewer quotes a letter from the emperor to Count Franz Eusebius von Pötting in a splendidly forthright and typically macaronic style (mixing Austrian dialect, Latin and Italian), in which he writes that if one may watch a street entertainer and conjurer (*Gaukler und*

Taschenspieler’), then why not a French fool and dancer (‘frantzösische Narren und Tanzer’)?

Space is given to two works for which there are attribution, borrowing and concordance issues. In the first case Brewer traces the links between a *Pastorella* a3 from the Rost Codex attributed to Schmeltzer, a *Pastorella* for violin and continuo by Biber, and an anonymous motet *Parvule pupule*, which all borrow and quote instrumental ritornelli from Schmelzer’s Christmas motet *Venite ocyus*. The Biber work also quotes a song by Johann Jacob Prinner which features again later in the book. I think here that the full texts and translations of the motet and song might usefully have been removed to appendices, as they are peripheral to the musical argument, but take up disproportionate space.

The second work is the well-known *Sonata violino solo rappresentativa*. The unique source of this (in the Kroměříž archive) was apparently copied by Biber, but is unsigned. It is ascribed to him, by another hand, in the contemporary inventory, and in modern times has generally been accepted as Biber’s composition. Brewer presents convincing arguments that Biber may simply have served as copyist for a work composed and sent by Schmelzer at Prince-Bishop Carl’s request, quoting letters to Carl from Graf Johann Kunibert Wenzl von Wenzelsberg,⁷ and from Schmelzer himself, which make reference to a piece whose description perfectly matches the *Sonata rappresentativa*.⁸

The chapter continues with an assessment of Schmelzer’s later output. After his promotion to *Vize-Hofkapellmeister* in 1671 he evidently had more time for other types of music, he began to compose more vocal works and returned to the sonata. His complete sonata output, printed and manuscript, is usefully tabulated on p. 118, and a chronological list of all the dated works (in all genres) forms Appendix 1. Because so many works are dated Brewer is able to trace Schmelzer’s development as a composer, with examples of increasingly assured handling of counterpoint and harmony in the later sonatas. Finally, there is a brief consideration of humour, including an early bassoon joke in the *Sonata a cinque per Camera Al giorno delle Correggie* (Chamber Sonata a5 for the day of the Bean-Feast) of 1676.

The essay which forms Chapter 3, ‘The Chapel of Prince-Bishop Carl Liechtenstein-Castelcorn’, moves away from the chronological approach based on one composer’s life, and is instead a source-based study of the extraordinary collection of late seventeenth-century manuscript and printed music which survives in Kroměříž, which focuses particularly on instrumentation. After a brief introduction, ‘Bohemia in the Seventeenth Century’, Brewer considers the ‘Instrumentarium’ at length before moving on

⁷ Wenzelsberg (d 1680) was *Generalquartiermeister* (Billet-Master) in Vienna, he regularly sent reports on Viennese court life to Prince-Bishop Carl in Kroměříž (p. 134) and acted as a musical go-between (p. 95). This is the fullest version of the count’s name which I have been able to find, Brewer uses all the various elements on different occasions, with some variety of spelling and order, but never all together.

⁸ In the letter in which Wenzelsberg describes Schmelzer’s reaction to a request for the work, Brewer translates ‘Er hat daryber geschneuet, und nichts darauf geantworet’ as ‘He blew his nose concerning this and answered nothing about it’, which I confess had me roaring with laughter. Better perhaps: ‘He snorted, and said no more on the matter.’

to 'Questions of Genre' and the 'Per chiesa e camera' issue. Selected works of five composers are then discussed under the following headings: *Pavel Josef Vejvanovský* (c. 1639-93); *Phillipus* [sic] *Jacobus Rittler* (1637-90); *Heinrich Biber at Kroměříž*, 1668-70; *Georg Muffat* (c.1645-1704); *Alessandro de Poglietti* (Early Seventeenth Century-1683). 'Roman Harmonies' looks at some anomalous music, evidently of Italian origin, copied under the titles *Harmonia Romana* and *Sonata Ittalica*, and another section on 'Humor and Representation' rounds off the chapter.

The introduction to Bohemia is very compressed, and as a result rather confusing. Asserting (p. 131) that 'Bohemian musical culture flourished' during the Thirty Years War, and on the next page that 'there were few opportunities within the Kingdom of Bohemia to develop elaborate musical ensembles' sends conflicting messages. Two Bohemian composers are introduced, Adam Michna z Otradovic and Alberich Mazák, who then do not feature in the subsequent survey of music in the Kroměříž archive. It reads oddly to have 'Vienna' in English but 'Praha' in Czech. The section introducing the Bishopric of Olomouc, Prince-Bishop Carl and his *Kapelle* in Kroměříž is, however, focused and informative.

Next up is the lengthy 'Instrumentarium', 45 densely written pages which take as a starting point the inventories made towards the end of the century in Kroměříž. Brewer shows the way in which the various instruments were employed, and in which combinations, with music examples and tables of works which reveal painstaking and exhaustive analysis of the surviving music. Contemporary dictionary definitions and explanatory extracts from treatises serve to broaden the scope beyond the confines of one court. As a string player I found the sections on brass instruments particularly informative, and especially relished the concept of the *Faul-Stimm* ('lazy part'), the 'tenor' voice in a trumpet ensemble, which is often restricted to a notated G throughout entire pieces. The presence of Vejvanovský, evidently a trumpeter of quite extraordinary ability, means that ensemble music for and with trumpets was of particular importance at the Liechtenstein-Castelcorn court.

One thing I miss here is any drawing in of more concrete thoughts relating to known or possible performing pitches: there are clues and hints which are, however, not followed up or elaborated upon. The way in which wind instruments are employed, especially the restricted use of the *cornetto*, for example: the late Bruce Haynes's research has shown this instrument to be a reliable point of reference, its consistent presence, or absence, can deliver valuable information about the pitches used.⁹ Brewer writes (p. 156) that *cornetti* (the vast majority of surviving examples are at A+1) were employed in sacred music, but *cornetti muti* (usually pitched at A+0 or A-1) in *Balletti*—there is information here which would allow at least speculative conclusions to be drawn about performing pitch(es) used at Kroměříž, perhaps in Vienna and Salzburg too.

⁹ B. Haynes, *The Story of "A", A History of Performing Pitch* (The Scarecrow Press, 2002). I shall adopt Haynes's eminently practical system for naming pitch standards in which A+0 is the modern *diapason normal*, A+1 a semitone above, etc.

Another organological issue which is taking time to become fully accepted is the importance of the relationship between pitch and the ideal sounding string length for members of the viol and, more especially, the violin family: an understanding of this matter helps to clarify a few seemingly obscure aspects of instrument sizes and tunings. This comes to the fore in connection with the *violino piccolo*. The smallest members of the violin family were always built with as long a string length as practicable for the intended pitch of the top string: to this day, the standard ‘full-sized’ violin retains a string length near to the upper practical limit for a gut string tuned to *e''* at A+0.¹⁰ A smaller violin was most probably intended for a higher tuning, so the *violino piccolo* was not, as Brewer suggests on p. 141, ‘often tuned above a normal violin’, it was *always* tuned so (a convenient parallel is to imagine a tenor viol tuned as a bass—it is possible, but the evidence is that it was not seventeenth century practice). Moving a little further down the same page, Johann Samuel Beyer’s definition ‘*Violino piccolo*, ein *Quart* Geiglichen’ does not mean ‘a little quarter violin’: for that he would have written ‘*Viertel* Geiglichen’. It is important not to confuse the *violino piccolo* with the small-sized instruments for children, which are nevertheless tuned the same as a normal violin; *Quart* here is the musical interval of a fourth, meaning that the *violino piccolo* is to be tuned a fourth higher than a normal violin (as *Quartposaune*). One very helpful source which Brewer quotes elsewhere, but not in this context, is Prinner’s *Musicalischer Schliessl*. Prinner states that the *violino piccolo* is tuned *g''-d'-g'-c*, basically a fourth higher than the violin, but explains that the top string is not tuned up to *a''* because it would break.¹¹ Exactly this tuning is required for the *Balettae a4* by Johann Fischer, cited on p. 142. The other ‘standard’ tuning, in regular fifths down from *g''*, as indicated for the anonymous *Balletto* cited on p. 141 (and used later by Bach in the first Brandenburg Concerto), is obviously much more convenient to notate and play, as it is merely a transposition and not a scordatura.¹²

The discussion of the obscure *violino piffaro* quotes Daniel Speer, who describes viola strings being wound with fine silver or copper wire ‘von den Knöpffmachern’. This means that the wire was obtained from button makers—Brewer’s translation of ‘Knöpffmacher’ as ‘string-maker’ is incorrect.

¹⁰ Without going into detail, the breaking *pitch* of a gut string depends only on the sounding string length, regardless of string diameter. What one might call the ‘Renaissance Ideal’ was to have the string as long as possible, or to tune the top string as high as possible, such that it did not break—for safety, one or two semitones below the breaking pitch. The modern violin string length of around 32.5 cm was fixed at the end of the nineteenth century in the days of the notoriously high ‘Philharmonic pitch’, with concert *a'* as high as 455Hz.

¹¹ Based on a convenient nominal string length of 32cm for a violin at A+1, that of a *violino piccolo* tuned a fourth higher would be just 24cm. The practice Prinner describes, with the top string only a minor third higher, allows the string length to be usefully increased to about 27cm. Note that in *Syntagma musicum*, 1619, Praetorius gives the tuning in fifths down from *a''*.

¹² I think what we are seeing here is that the long established practice of having members of a family of instruments tuned at intervals of a fourth or fifth apart was thwarted by the true ‘Fourth violin’ being impractically small. These tunings are two possible compromises. On the other hand, a proportionally sized viola is uncomfortably large for a *da braccio* instrument—string length 48cm in the example above—and a bass violin tuned an octave lower (*a-d-G-C*) would be, at 96cm, too long to play tuned in fifths. For these members of the violin family other compromises were adopted.

The *violetta* question is covered in some detail, without coming to any definitive conclusions—quite rightly, I believe, since the term apparently meant so many different instruments over such a short space of time. Not discussed here is the definition implied by Muffat and expressed by some later lexicographers, in which *violetta* specifies a function within the ensemble, and not a particular instrument. On p. 143 Brewer seems a little perplexed that in one work *violetta* and *viola da gamba* are by implication two different instruments, and that parts labelled *violetta* seem to cover such a wide range: here Prinner comes once again to the rescue, as he is clear that *viola da gamba* (without any further modifier) is the bass viol in D, and the *violetta* a tenor viol in G. Prinner also tells us that players of the *violetta* should be able to read at least treble, soprano, alto, and tenor clefs, plus bass in emergency.

The fact that much of the music preserved at Kroměříž consists of sets of performing parts provides further useful information on performance practice, illuminating especially the questions of when strings play more than one to a part, and the make-up of the continuo group. The former is shown to apply particularly to works with trumpets; what we learn about the latter is that I have used the wrong term, as Brewer comes to the inescapable conclusion that the continuo was typically played on organ only, occasionally with the addition of a bowed string bass—probably at 12ft pitch (he ducks the thorny question of 16ft doubling, commenting merely that references to *Basso Violone* and *Violone Grande* indicate something ‘closer to a double bass’). Harpsichord and plucked instruments are very rarely called for explicitly, and Brewer argues that the idea, which has grown in popularity in recent years, of a large continuo group, colourfully ‘orchestrated’ for variety, is out of place in this repertoire. This is persuasive, although caution is surely needed when generalizing from practice at one court. I was nevertheless glad to have support for my growing feeling that the Biber ‘Mysteries’ are best done simply with violin, organ and G-violone. Still in the bass department, it is interesting to read that the instrument inventories include two *Bassetl* and that a *Basseto* is called for in one work (p. 148): Brewer mentions that Johann Gottfried Walther (in 1732) described the latter as a small bass violin, but not that Muffat referred to a *frantzösisches Bassetl* in 1701, in a context which can only mean the same thing.¹³

In the subsequent discussion of genre issues, and indeed elsewhere in this book, the question of *da chiesa* or *da camera* arises, and it is surprising—disappointing, even—how much time the author has to spend correcting faulty conclusions drawn by previous commentators. The evidence of the title pages of the printed collections and sets of manuscript parts held at Kroměříž and elsewhere, which Brewer presents and analyses, appears to be more than usually clear, and although not all is black and white, lengthy debate seems superfluous.

Many of the examples quoted in the ‘Instrumentarium’ are from works by Schmelzer, and in the context of a free-standing study, he would surely have

¹³ G. Muffat, Foreword to *Auserlesene Instrumental-Musik* (Passau, 1701): ‘Diser Baß aber/ wird auff einem frantzösischen Bassetl besser als auff einem diser Orthen gebräuchigen Violone außkommen/ ...’ (‘this bass part will be more effective on a small French bass than on the violone commonly used in these parts, ...’).

been one of those highlighted under the heading ‘Five Prominent Composers’. This is a series of brief vignettes (only Poglietti gets more than five pages), with a variety of approaches ranging from discussion of a single work (e.g. Muffat’s only solo violin sonata) to a compact overview of the relevant composer’s *oeuvre* (Rittler). All five men are introduced by short biographies.

Chapter 4, ‘Biber and Muffat in Salzburg’, returns to a chronological, composer-based presentation. Here the lion’s share goes to Biber, barely one fifth of the chapter is devoted to Muffat—indeed, given that Schmelzer and Biber are both treated in full, and that Muffat spent a significant part of his creative life outside the scope of the book, it would, on reflection, have been a service to the reader (certainly to the potential reader) to have left him out of the title. When he does appear it is quickly apparent how much he stands apart from the other composers whose music is featured. As a widely travelled figure he presents a striking contrast to the conservative and—if Prinner’s attitude may be taken as typical¹⁴—somewhat xenophobic men who stayed most of their lives within Austria and Bohemia. In discussing his instrumental music the dichotomy of the French and Italian styles comes to the fore, and the lengthy prefaces to his publications make it clear how concerned he was to educate the Germans and Austrians in their proper execution—for the remainder of the book this is a relatively minor issue.

But the bulk of this chapter is concerned with a detailed look at Biber’s instrumental music, published and in manuscript. This is presented in much the same way as Schmelzer’s music in Chapter 2, the works are discussed in relation to his steady promotion from a lowly *cubicularis* in 1670 to *Kapellmeister* in 1684, and to outside events such as the major centenary celebrations in 1682 (1100 years of the Archdiocese of Salzburg), and the changes accompanying the succession of Archbishop Thun after Maximilian Gandolph’s death in 1687. Once again Brewer is able to show how the constraints imposed by the particular circumstances of a composer’s employment and status at court had a decisive influence on the type(s) of music he composed, and on whether he was free to publish or not. This is a very useful contextual overview of Biber’s instrumental works.

There is so much material here, that I can do no more than pick out a few items. Published collections by two other contemporaries are briefly spotlighted: the little-known Salzburg composer Andreas Christoph Clamer produced his *Mensa harmonica* for the 1682 centenary, it consists of seven partitas scored for two violins, viola da gamba and violone, apparently without further continuo instruments, and looks to be an interesting set.¹⁵

¹⁴ Towards the end (pp. 167-169) of Prinner’s *Musicalischer Schlissl* there is a ‘rant’ against the insufferably superior attitude of the Italians, and against the noble Austrian patrons of music who take a shine to all things foreign during their travels, and subsequently favour Italian, French or English musicians, scorning the locals and their home-grown traditions. He also (p. 97) mocks the French for their insistence on using the French violin clef, even though the music is not high enough to justify it.

¹⁵ The modern edition, R. Scholz and K. Schütz (eds), *DTÖ* 129 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), nevertheless includes a realization of the unfigured violone part.

I confess that I was not aware that Johann Pachelbel had published partitas for two *scordatura* violins (*Musicalische Ergötzung*, c.1691), which are compared and contrasted with Biber's last published collection, *Harmonia artificiosa-ariosa* (1696), which also entirely consists of *scordatura* partitas. Brewer rather half-heartedly proposes that Biber's set was a bit of one-upmanship in response to Pachelbel's technically less adventurous offering, but even he does not seem convinced by the tenuous arguments. Intriguing, in the light of my comments earlier about the sounding string length of the violin, is that three of Pachelbel's tunings lie very much in the *piccolo* range, and require the top string to be tuned to *f''*. This should set off an alarm, because Biber never asks for an upward alteration of the top string, which is understandable if it is already tuned to the upper safe limit. Brewer does not comment on this; it is noted by Dagmar Glüxam¹⁶ who, however, stops short of suggesting that these partitas might actually be intended for two *violini piccoli*. Since there are other works in the Kroměříž library with parts calling for a similarly high *scordatura* (first string *f''* sharp) but not explicitly designated *violino piccolo*,¹⁷ there is a question here worth investigating.

It is good to see that progress is being made identifying more of the songs Biber quotes simultaneously in that extraordinary 'quodlibet' passage (*Die liederliche gsellschaft von allerley Humor*) in his *Battalia*—four out of eight can now be accounted for, one of them being the Prinner song mentioned earlier.

Perhaps Biber's best known collection in modern times, the 'Mysteries' for *scordatura* violin and continuo, raise more questions than any of his other collections, largely because they survive only in a single manuscript copy which has lost its title page, and Brewer devotes considerable space to these issues. In particular he marshals persuasive arguments that Biber would probably have regarded these works as partitas, and not sonatas—as they are usually described nowadays. Persuasive, but not entirely convincing: amongst the similarly heterogeneous published sets of pieces (i.e. mixing abstract and dance-based movements) he cites as evidence, there are two, Biber's own *Mensa sonora* (1680), and Clamer's *Mensa harmonica* (1682) in which the sets are indeed headed *Pars* or *Partita* respectively,¹⁸ but the transcriptions of title pages reveal the use of *Sonata* (Biber) and *Sonatina* (Clamer), apparently referring to the individual movements—Clamer describes his collection as containing XLII *Sonatini*. This suggests that a definitive answer is not so easily to be found.¹⁹

Attempts to trace both symbolism and directly programmatic writing in the music of Biber's Mysteries are not new. On p. 315 Brewer reminds us that one of these works, Mystery X 'The Crucifixion', is found copied in another source in Vienna; it has one extra movement, is transposed a whole tone higher,

¹⁶ D. Glüxam, *Die Violinskordatur und ihre Rolle in der Geschichte des Violinspiels, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Quellen der erzbischöflichen Musiksammlung in Kremsier*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 37 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999), 95.

¹⁷ Ibid.; and Robertson, *Courtly Consort Music*, 241-249.

¹⁸ The sources appear to use *Pars*, *Partita* and *Partie* (i.e. Latin, Italian and German) fairly indiscriminately; once again, it would be kinder on the eye of the reader to settle for one version in the body of the text, and to save the others for specific references and contents tables.

¹⁹ A recent recording is titled simply 'The Sacred Mysteries', which is a neat solution.

ascribed to ‘Schmelzer’, and furnished with a detailed programme depicting the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. One might think this would be enough to put a stop once and for all to the search for overtly programmatic elements. In his discussion (p. 307) the author confines himself to some vague observations on the symbolism of key choice. I confess I do not see that the choice of G minor for Mystery X is ‘easily understandable’, and no further explanation is offered: Biber’s use of major keys for ‘The Scourging’ and ‘The Crowning with Thorns’ is seen as depicting the mocking crowds, and justified by a lengthy quotation from Matthew 2. This all comes over more as rather glib rationalizing than offering any meaningful insights.

An oddity in the tunings might have been worthy of a mention: Mystery XIII, ‘The Descent of the Holy Spirit’, requires the tuning *e''-c'* sharp-*e'-a*, in which the interval between the middle strings is, most unusually, greater than a fifth. The handgrip notation system assumes that first position and open strings will be used; in this case the highest note available in extended first position on the third string (written *g'* sharp/*a'* flat) sounds *a'* sharp/*b'* flat, but the next open string (written *a'*) sounds *c'* sharp, so the sounding pitches *b'* and *c'* cannot be notated.²⁰ Biber had, of course, planned the piece not to need those pitches.

When publishing his *Mensa sonora* (1680) Biber chose to print the title page and dedication not only in Latin—the usual choice up to that time—but also in German, and Brewer provides transcriptions and translations of both. They repay closer study, as there is a similar situation here to that in Muffat’s later multilingual explanatory texts, in that they are not always literal translations of each other. Comparison is here made unnecessarily awkward, as the German version is relegated to an appendix. Biber makes erudite classical culinary allusions which deliberately contrast with the simple, unpretentious ‘dishes’ on his ‘Resounding (or Sonorous) Table’; these are treated quite confusingly by Dr Brewer in his translations and discussion. The Latin phrase ‘*lauta Apicij fercula*’ is translated as ‘luxurious courses of Apicius’, and the explanatory text describes Apicius as ‘a noted epicure of fine food’ (p. 267); Biber’s German enlarges on his Latin,²¹ with ‘*von dem verschryenen Prasser Apicius ein seltene Speiß-Gerichte*’—‘a rare food-course from the notorious glutton Apicius’, which certainly fits better with what I have been able to discover about this ancient Roman character.

Brewer relishes drawing the reader’s attention to the obvious enjoyment both Schmelzer and Biber had from punning on ‘Fides’ (meaning either ‘a stringed instrument’ or ‘faithful’) at every opportunity in their Latin dedications. It is nice to see that Biber found other possibilities for word-play in his German version—in this extract the word ‘Noten’—and was prepared to completely revamp the text to include it (p. 365):²²

Ich ersihe abermal ein grosse Schuldigkeit, wo nicht
Nothwendigkeit, dise meine Noten dem grossen Schutz-Herrn der

²⁰ Except, of course, as the lower note of a double stop in which the player is forced into using the second string for the upper note, e.g. written *b'* flat & *a'*, sounding *d'* & *b'*.

²¹ i.e. Biber assumes that readers of his Latin text will not need the allusion to be explained.

²² The parallel passage in the Latin is framed so as to include the ‘Fides’ pun. I have adapted the author’s translation.

Sing- und Kling-Kunst anzubefehlen.²³ Hierdurch, wie man sagt, eine gute Noten zu gewinnen; ...

I see again a great obligation, if not a necessity (*Nothwendigkeit*), to commend these, my compositions (*Noten*), to a great patron of the art of song and sound. In this way, as they say, to get a good mark (*Note*); ...

The *Mensa sonora* partitas are clearly announced as *Tafelmusik* in their title, and on the title page, and yet Brewer's discussion (p. 266ff.) touches on how difficult they might have been to choreograph, and goes on to attempt to draw conclusions about the relative popularity of various dances in Salzburg at the time, based on the frequency of their appearance in just this one set. Next come two examples showing differently notated 'Courantes', which are inconclusively discussed without raising the possibility that they might well be Biber's take on an Italian *Corrente* and a French *Courante*—which is what they immediately suggest to me. There is room here for a much more in-depth treatment of the various dance forms, particularly in respect of the contrast between French and Italian styles, and the need to differentiate between music for dance and abstract dance-based movements.²⁴

The final study, 'The Dissemination and Dissolution of the *Stylus Phantasticus*', takes a brief look (the whole chapter is only 20 pages long) at sources and composers beyond Bohemia and Austria, tracing both the spread of the music of the Habsburg composers, and the Habsburg style as adopted or imitated by outsiders. Brewer finds a few Italian examples, Legrenzi's *La Cetra* (1673), and some later violin sonatas by Lonati (including a rare instance of *scordatura*) which show Habsburg influence. I must say, I had thought that in the case of the two sonatas in *La Cetra* which Legrenzi headed *à quattro viole da gambe o come piace*, the provision of alternative clefs and key signatures was to allow the viols, as *stromenti coristi*, to take the lower option, the higher clefs being for *stromenti acuti* such as violins;²⁵ it is not clear in what way this might be construed as a 'nod to the *stylus phantasticus*' (p. 341).

A series of short sections gather together some evidence for Habsburg influence in North Germany, Sweden, and England, examining manuscript sources of works by Schmelzer and Bertali, and in the case of England, also drawing Gottfried Finger and Thomas Baltzar into the picture. Compared with the detail of the previous studies, the treatment here is almost cursory, although a few issues are gone into in a little more depth. One of these is the fascinatingly interrelated sets of manuscripts Durham Cathedral Library Ms Mus.D.2, British Library Add. Ms. 31423 and Dolmetsch Library Ms. II.c.25. One of the works which all three contain is Clamor Heinrich Abel's *Sonata sopra CucCuc* or *Sonata Cucu* for violin, bass viol and continuo, which Brewer contends is—along with some other sonatas in these manuscripts—unplayable, due to a corrupt passage which 'makes no musical sense'. This notion has been suggested to me privately in the past, but I have transcribed the piece from

²³ Thus in the original, but this must be 'anzubefehlen'.

²⁴ These matters are fully addressed in Robertson, *Courty Consort Suite*, op. cit.

²⁵ See the discussion in P. Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20.

both the Durham and British Library sources and find no place in either which fits this description.

Presumably at the time this chapter was drafted, the Wolfenbüttel source—the large presentation manuscript of ensemble music now generally known as the *Ludwig Partitur-Buch* after its copyist Jacob Ludwig—was a better kept secret than it has since become. It has been available in an excellent quality facsimile online for some years now, a steady trickle of practical editions is appearing from specialist early music publishers, and a thematic inventory, prepared by Michael Fuerst, has been published in this journal.²⁶ Brewer does not mention the online availability, but does refer to Michael Fuerst's forthcoming doctoral dissertation on the manuscript. Both authors provide a transcript and translation of Ludwig's title page, as well as a brief introduction and an inventory; that found in the present book is described as provisional and forms Appendix 3. The transcripts and translations differ in a few minor details,²⁷ the inventories are to some extent usefully complementary: Fuerst modernizes and standardizes spellings and provides two-stave incipits; Brewer retains original orthography and adds much useful information on concordances—but here too there are transcription discrepancies which mean that users would do well to double-check the facsimile. Ludwig himself perpetrated a few errors and inconsistencies in his numbering of the pieces, it seems that at least two solutions to this are now in circulation, so we have three systems, and three versions of the total number of pieces—Ludwig 113, Brewer (who eliminates only the obvious errors) 115, Fuerst (who also tidies up the inconsistencies) 100²⁸). However, both inventories retain Ludwig's numbering in parallel and give the page numbering.

For someone like myself who has not made a special study of Athanasius Kircher, but is aware of him as a significant background figure, Chapter 1 is a most welcome introduction to his writings on music. I first encountered Kircher in the early 1970s, in the entry on Rossini in the deeply irreverent book 'Bluff your Way in Music', which informed the reader that Rossini had somehow come by Kircher's automatic composing machine, and had managed to get it going again—but it would not do vocal parts, which explained why the overtures to his operas are always the best bit—and went on to say that the machine had last been heard of in the possession of Irving Berlin.²⁹ Dr Brewer does not mention the machine, but (to my delight) it does appear to be genuine, and Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* includes a chapter on 'the new craft of "Musarithmica," by which anyone unskilled in music would be able to attain a perfect knowledge of composing in a brief time' (p. 13), which is presumably the method applied to the machine. However, the reason for introducing Kircher is his classification of musical styles, and its application to late seventeenth century instrumental music.

²⁶ M. Fuerst, 'The *Partiturbuch Ludwig*: An Introduction and Thematic Catalogue', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, Vol. 4 (2010), 74-102

²⁷ The most serious being 'Fürstin der Wenden', for which Brewer has 'Meuden'.

²⁸ Brewer also informs us that Ulrich Konrad, who in 1999 was one of the first to publish anything about this source, reckoned with 114 pieces.

²⁹ J. James, in *The Music of the Spheres* (Grove Press, 1993), 137, writes that the machine is currently to be found in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, but that the then museum curator considered that it had nothing to do with either Pepys or Kircher.

Brewer explains that Kircher has generally been misinterpreted by modern commentators, and that we should not look to him for answers to mundane questions such as ‘what is a sonata?’, in other words, that the *Musurgia* is to be approached primarily as an abstract work of Neo-Platonic Hermetic philosophy (speculative music), and not as a dictionary-cum-encyclopaedia (practical music). And yet there are sections—Book VI, for example, where instruments are described—which present information in a straightforward ‘encyclopaedia’ form. Perhaps separating the speculative from the practical has been a problem for modern understanding of Kircher. Brewer also cites the historian R.J.W. Evans, who concluded that ‘Scepticism will never be able to penetrate the Counter-Reformation mentality which Kircher so eminently represented’—firing a timely warning shot across the bows of this sceptical reviewer. It may be that I am not qualified to comment.

Kircher was not a professional musician, his *Musurgia universalis* summarizes, and theorizes and philosophizes about music as he found it in the early to mid seventeenth century. The book obviously aroused great interest, an impressive number of copies have survived, many later theorists quoted it, and the high regard in which it was held by Emperor Leopold I and Samuel Pepys is documented (see pp. 10-11), but Brewer is not able to advance any but the most circumstantial evidence that professional musicians actually learned their craft from it—like any comparable treatise, it must surely be more descriptive than prescriptive.

Those of Kircher’s styles which are of particular importance for instrumental music, *Phantasticus*, *Hyporchematicus*, and *Symphoniacus*, are given varied amounts of space here, the first being seen as the most problematic. *Symphoniacus* appears to be the ‘consort’ style, compositions for homogeneous families of instruments (although Kircher’s example (Example 1.9, p. 30) also includes bass figures), and is not referred to again. *Hyporchematicus*, the dance style, would appear to be the most straightforward of the three to identify, and Kircher made the necessary and obvious distinction between music for social dance (*choraicus*) and that for choreographed, theatrical dancing (*theatricus*).

Stylus phantasticus is explained in this chapter simultaneously as an intellectual abstraction—an idealized ‘method of approaching composition’ (p. 26)—and as a nuts and bolts blueprint for the composing process itself, or as defining an identifiable genre—the extract quoted from Andreas Hirschen’s 1662 abridged German translation of the *Musurgia* (p. 23) says that the ‘expressed’ style—of which *phantasticus* is one category—is ‘ein gewisse weis/ vorgeschriben/ wie man componieren solle’ (lit.: ‘a particular way, prescribed,³⁰ how one should compose’). As we have seen, the main body of the present book is concerned with practical matters, setting the works of real composers in the mundane context of the demands and requirements of the daily round at court. This is achieved with success, especially in the Vienna and Salzburg chapters; but when Kircherian classification is called upon, it is usually only to provide simple tags—any piece which is not obviously *hyporchematicus* is *phantasticus*—and the relevance of Kircher’s speculative, Hermetic philosophizing is not brought out.

³⁰ Note that the author’s translation of ‘vorgeschriben’ as ‘previously described’ is incorrect.

A great deal of the later music discussed here (Biber and his generation), particularly in the context of the development of the partita as a new, mixed genre (see p. 301ff.), is abstract dance-based music for listening (or at least intended as *Tafelmusik*), which, despite its having existed since the late sixteenth century, is not explicitly catered for in Kircher's scheme. Furthermore, as the author himself points out in his concluding remarks (p. 357), musical taste and style were moving on, and Schmelzer and Biber, whose violin sonatas are early examples of solo virtuosic display, were important agents of fundamental changes which were steadily taking music away from the world which Kircher's writings represent.

A familiarity with Kircher's concepts can surely illuminate aspects of the music, but Brewer does not make a strong enough case for it being the key to understanding it. Other commentators have felt able to write about this period of music scarcely mentioning Kircher; there must be a middle ground. Not least among the problems is that commentators then and now have developed differing concepts of *Stylus phantasticus* (this point is raised in the author's discussion on p. 25ff.).³¹

The wealth of music examples is to be welcomed, but I must register a plea for consistency of presentation (which, it is fair to say, applies not only to this book). Some examples give each instrument its own stave—and these appear mostly to preserve original clefs—others group together instruments with a like function (two *clarino* trumpets, or two violas, for example); here the original clefs cannot be preserved in all cases, neither are they indicated (although I am glad to report that Brewer favours C-clefs for the middle parts, the anachronistic octave treble clef makes only one appearance). Instrument names are given sometimes before, sometimes above the stave, or not at all, there is a similar situation with respect to bar numbers. However, the main problem here is the staff size, which varies disconcertingly from a comfortable 5mm down to a microscopic 2.5mm. No publisher would dream of producing a book such as this without deciding on suitable font(s) and appropriate font sizes for the text, and applying them consistently, and a similar approach needs to be adopted for the music examples. There is no *a priori* requirement for brief examples such as these to be formatted so as to fill a whole number of systems, and to make them do so by tweaking the staff size is equivalent to varying text font sizes (from 12pt down to 6pt!) so that each sentence or paragraph exactly fills an arbitrarily predetermined number of lines.

One music example fails to make the point apparently intended: on p. 244 a set of *Balletti* by Biber is described, a4, but evidently with three viola parts. The second and third play in unison except in the one movement a5. But in the example given (Example 4.1, p. 245) *Viola III* doubles either *Viola II* or *Violone*, and has no independent material.

The inclusion of the full texts of so many title pages, dedicatory and other prefatory material from printed editions, and extracts from letters, both in the original language and translated, is also welcome. However, it is probably already apparent that I have reservations about many of the author's

³¹ Only six articles in *GMO* mention *Stylus phantasticus*, one in connection with Gesualdo's madrigals.

translations. I shall confine my detailed remarks to the German texts, which I am better equipped to judge, but the general comments apply equally to the Latin. There is an overall impression that the texts have been translated out of their original language, but not yet into idiomatic English.³² In particular there are some misinterpretations of case endings and verb forms, which lead to incorrect identification of subject and object, confusion between active and passive, and wrong tenses. In a few instances isolated words and phrases are simply wrongly translated. An extract from a letter to Schmelzer from Prince-Bishop Carl (quoted on p. 140) illustrates some of these points—here with the author’s translation:

Dessen Schreiben vom 28. 7. bris jüngsthin habe ich wol erhalten und bedanke mich, dasz er den Heger etwas zu sehen mit nach Grätz genohmen habe, welcher sonst gegen mier keine sondere obligation hat. Ich erkenne aber hieraus dessen gute affection, der ich hingegen zu begegnen nicht ermangeln werde. In vorder ist aber, dasz er sich in Solo und zwar auch mit der verstimbten geigen exerciere.

Your most recent letter from September 28th I have received and thank you, that he, Heger, had travelled with you to Graz to see something, which however had no special obligation towards me. I also know from this your good affection, which I will not abuse. But it is foremost, that he [Heger] should exercise himself on the solo and, indeed, also with the *scordatura* violin.

and a suggestion which remains more faithful to the gist of the original:³³

I recently received your letter of September 28th, and wish to thank you for taking Heger—who otherwise has no special obligation (duty?) to me—to Graz to see something. I recognize your goodwill in this, which I shall not fail to reciprocate. The most important thing, however, is that he should occupy himself on the solo, and indeed, also with the *scordatura* violin.

For the casual reader the point which Brewer wishes to make—that the Prince-Bishop attached considerable importance to a violinist learning the art of *scordatura* playing—is not seriously affected, but otherwise everything is as if seen through a distorting mirror.

Chapter 4 begins by describing Biber’s departure without permission from Kroměříž, and here Brewer gets into trouble presenting evidence of the friendly relations which Biber is supposed to have quickly re-established with Prince-Bishop Carl, quoting an extract from a letter to Biber from the Prince-Bishop’s chancellery (p. 239):

³² I note that this is an increasingly common complaint in the context of editorial introductions to printed music, and CD booklets. A text consisting of a string of English words is offered, which far too often closely hugs the word order of the original language, and thus features awkward literal translations of foreign idioms. When the original text is several centuries old the difficulties multiply. Time and budget clearly play a part, and, in a specialist field such as this, a tendency to underestimate the cross-disciplinary expertise required.

³³ To only have this short extract is to be at a disadvantage; to produce a finished translation it is of course necessary not only to see the whole letter, but also to study all the relevant surviving correspondence.

Wohledler hochgeehrter Herr! Dessen Schreiben vom 21. July samt beygeschlossener Serenada ist dem Herrn Paul Trompeter zurecht zukommen. Wieweilen er aber neben den Hanszl Trompeter gebeten hat, einen Feldzug zu verrichten, haben Ihro f[ürstliche] Gn[ade] solches eingewilligt und sie an ein gar gutes orth recommendiert.

Most honourable, highly respected Sir! Your letter of July 21, together with the enclosed Serenade, has been sent in good order to Pavel [Veyvanovský], the trumpeter. However, since he along with the trumpeter Hanszl has been requested to perform on a campaign, His Princely Grace has in this matter consented and he has recommended you for a very good position.

This translation seriously distorts the meaning: in the first clause of the second sentence the verb is active, the two trumpeters had themselves requested leave to serve on a campaign; and in the second clause ‘sie’ means ‘them’, the Prince-Bishop granted *them* permission, and there is nothing in this extract to suggest that he had recommended Biber for anything (if the writer were formally addressing Biber, he would have used ‘ihn’ or ‘Ihnen’).

I long for a much bolder approach to the translations, and in fact Biber himself shows the way, in the parallel Latin and German dedication to *Mensa sonora* discussed above: but it is a tough challenge, because it requires the translator to get under the skin of what the writer *meant*, and not just what he wrote.

I have already covered some of the isolated words or phrases. Here are some more:

In a contemporary description quoted on p. 81 the court ladies and musicians are seen travelling in coaches decorated, amongst other things, ‘mit ... guldenen flindern’; these ‘golden streamers (or ribbons)’ are inexplicably translated as ‘scares’.

Schmelzer apologizes (pp. 82-3) that he has troubled Prince-Bishop Carl with ‘fast ungereimten’, I think something like ‘near incoherent [ramblings]’ is better than ‘almost immature [stories]’.

‘Camerdienst’ is admittedly tricky; it describes a servant’s duty in the private apartments. A phrase such as ‘Montag war abends widerumb Camerdienst’ (p. 83) probably needs to be translated something like ‘On Monday evening I was on duty again in the [Emperor’s] private apartment’—a little cumbersome, but immediately comprehensible. The author’s over-literal ‘Monday there was in the evening again a chamber-service’ conjures up either inappropriate porcelain-related associations or suggestions of a religious observance.³⁴

It is intriguing to read (p. 84) that the Viennese nobility dressed up in ‘Welsh’ national costume (amongst many others); but is this actually a case of ‘Welsch/Wälsch’ meaning ‘Italian’?

On pp. 90-91 ‘Gaukler’ is misleadingly given as ‘charlatan’, whereas on p. 211 the equivalent term ‘Gaugler’ is acceptably translated as ‘acrobat’.

³⁴ *Tafelmusik* and *Kapellmeister* are parallel cases, but are widely enough understood not to need translation.

The author's translation of 'Paukerjungen' ('drummer boys') on p. 137 as 'schoolchildren' has mystified all the authorities I have consulted.

What then awaits the reader who succeeds in penetrating the uneasy overall form and structure, and the orthographical (amongst other) inconsistencies, and who is able to ignore or forgive the endless typesetting errors and untrustworthy translations? It will be clear by now that no small effort is required to get the heart of this book. Dr Brewer has without doubt invested a huge amount of time and enthusiasm in this project over the years, and has, through detailed study of the sources, amassed a large quantity of material. The presentation of this material, of the insights it provides and the conclusions which may be drawn from it, is however achieved with variable success, and the book would have benefitted enormously from a much firmer guiding hand on the part of the publisher. On the whole the straightforward presentation of material comes off best—those sections of Chapters 2 and 4 which set in context the works of Schmelzer in Vienna, and Biber in Salzburg are the most successful, especially in their demonstration of the almost ruthless way in which a change of duties at court (whether due to promotion, or to a change of ruler) profoundly influenced a composer's activities and dictated the genres in which he might demonstrate his skill. It is for these chronological surveys and for the tables and descriptions of the works that I shall return to the book, and not for the often disappointingly superficial analysis.

Summing up, I find that I have covered fewer than half of the specific points which I had earmarked—at the rate of roughly one every four pages—but there is little to be gained by continuing. The appearance—at much the same frequency—of so many obvious uncorrected simple typing mistakes naturally leads to continual doubt as to what other, less easily detectable errors may be present, and the whole cries out not only for thorough proofreading, but also for strong-minded and focused copy editing to help prevent the author doing himself and his material a disservice.

Musicians in Society

Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). ISBN 978-0-521-89832-4; pp. 610, illustrated; accompanied by CD; Price: £65.00

The blurb on the cover summarizes the scope of this book: 'a fascinating and broad-ranging account of musicians, the power of music, broadside ballads, dancing, psalm-singing and bell-ringing.' Marsh notes that 'Aristocratic patronage has been well studied, but the same cannot be said of support for music at the village level.' He admits that 'this perspective will generate difficulties of its own [and indeed it does]. The musical worlds of artisan and aristocrat cannot be cut apart with anything resembling a clean incision.' So this is music experienced by the common man rather than by his social superiors. For historians of viol-playing the omission is devastating, since so much of what we play had its origins in the houses of the upper classes. Nevertheless Marsh's study is both fascinating and rewarding in assessing what music came to the ears of the village yokel or urban tradesman in the course of their lives. In many ways it meshes with the current enthusiasm for family history. Earlier biographical writing was concerned almost exclusively with the movers and shakers in society—those who shaped and led their communities—whereas today family and local historians are searching out the humble men and women who made up the bulk of the population. Inevitably accounts of the latter are less easy to find than those of the former and Marsh has delved impressively into a vast range of sources in constructing his narrative. I can do no more than pick out a few observations relating to my own far less impressive exploration of the sources.

Chapter 1 is headed 'The Power of Music' and explores how music influenced the 'mind, body and soul', from the 'rough music' accompanying miscreants to the stocks or other punishment, to reflections on cosmic harmony. The wide range in social status of musicians from itinerant vagrant to city wait is discussed. The former were always likely to be hounded by authorities and it was wise to try to gain patronage from some nobleman. A look through the Chamberlains' Accounts for Maidstone between 1587 and 1593 shows regular payments to Patrons' groups: 'the quenes players', 'the Erle of Essex players', 'my Lord Chamberlen's playeres', 'my Lord Strange's players', 'the lorde of Wosteres players', 'the Lorde admaralles players', as well as payments to trumpeters and musicians celebrating Coronation Day anniversaries in pageants. The question is: who was the audience for these performances? Were they public or more private occasions?

Marsh makes it clear that ballads were consumed by the whole of society from the highest nobility to the lowest of tavern drinkers. His evidence covers a wide field too, although it would have been good to have mentioned the many manuscript copies, particularly for lute and viol, usually derived from Playford's publications. There are also simple (and often incompetent) arrangements such as those in Filmer MS 3 for a treble and a bass.

I recently was a member of a team transcribing all the surviving inventories 1669-1729 from Gillingham, Kent. Only one of the 110 inventories mentioned a musical instrument: 'a pa' of virginalls' in the household of Richard Taylor, bricklayer, on 15 November 1682. He also owned a 'small parcel of books' and his estate was valued at £63. 8s. 0d.—a considerable amount. Previous experience in exploring some of the vast collection of inventories in Kent led me to expect no more than one or two instruments in any hundred inventories searched, but it was generally clergy and minor gentry who had them, rather than tradesmen like Taylor and Henry Jenkins, father of John.

Church musicians clearly had more skill than the roving vagabonds and musicians and we know that many delighted in consort music-making for voices and viols. Probably this was more of an urban than country pastime and for country folk it must have been difficult to form and play consorts unless there was a stately home nearby where such pleasures were cultivated. I have always treasured the delightful accounts of psalmody singing found in Millar Patrick's *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London, 1949). True they date from around 1800, but one imagines the experiences are part of a long tradition. Maybe John Hilton at Westminster had more control and a more expert congregation than that described by Mrs Smith in *Memoirs of a Highland Lady* quoted by Patrick:

[the minister] stooped over the pulpit to hand his little book to the precentor, who then rose and calling aloud the tune—"St. George's Tune", "Auld Aberdeen", "Hundred and Fifteen", &c.—began himself a recitation of the first line of the keynote, taken up and repeated by the congregation; line by line he continued in the same fashion, thus doubling the length of the *exercise*, for really to some it was no play—serious severe screaming, quite beyond the natural pitch of the voice, a wandering search after the air by many who never caught it, a flourish of difficult execution and plenty of the *tremolo* lately come into fashion. The dogs seized this occasion to bark (for they always came to the Kirk with the family), and the babies to cry. When the minister could bear the din no longer he popped up again, again leaned over, touched the precentor's head, and instantly all sound ceased. The long prayer began ...

In a substantial section Marsh draws our attention to the importance and pervasiveness of bell-ringing to society at large. I had not realised how much ad hoc groups were willing and able to seize control of the bells for 'recreational' purposes. Divisions between those for whom bell-ringing was a blessing and those for whom it was a curse were always likely to be recorded in print or litigation. I do not agree that Jenkins 'was an accomplished bell-ringer himself'. He may have been, but there is no evidence. It is also disappointing that a general survey of this kind prevents detailed investigation of, for instance, the six-note peal found in 'And sings a dirge for dying souls' in Vautor's *Sweet Suffolk Owl*, also added to Byrd's *Battell* in Elizabeth Rogers's copy, and sounding in e.g. Jenkins's *Bell Pavan*. It seems to have found particular favour during the seventeenth century. Marsh suggests rural parishes rarely had as many bells, so perhaps an urban environment is implied.

So this is a very well-researched book covering an enormous range of material, and if there are disappointments that various strands are not covered as fully as one would wish, there is just too much ground to cover. It is entertaining, informative and thought-provoking, supplemented by a CD of suitably rustic performances by the Dufay Collective.

John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham, 2010). ISBN 978-1-4094-0088-2; pp. 306; Price: £65.00

John Harley's impressive and exhaustive research into the life and work of William Byrd led to his fine book *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Ashgate, 1997). Since then he has continued to delve into Byrd's life and times and further findings are now published in this sequel. Here is a way of life higher up the social scale than that inhabited by most of Marsh's subjects and one inevitably better documented than them. Even so, it is remarkable what has been uncovered in this fascinating exploration of the Byrd family and its place in contemporary society. Harley writes that 'the book is cast as a series of essays' rather than as a continuous narrative and explores in greater depth some topics from the earlier book, while revealing new discoveries.

The text is prefaced by a family pedigree and a useful map of London (Hogenberg, 1572) on which has been superimposed the position of about 80 places mentioned in the book. The first section is concerned with the earlier part of Byrd's life in London, where we learn that his two elder brothers Symond and John were choristers at St Paul's, and where (it is presumed) he followed them. The paucity of documents relating to the singers at St Paul's prior to the 1660s is always cause for regret, but the religious upheavals of the mid-sixteenth century fortunately gave rise to petitions which list allowances due to those named as serving there. There is new information on John Heywood and music at the church of St Mary-at-Hill and the section concludes with 'Byrd the apprentice musician'.

'Merchants' largely comprises a series of essays on eight men, including William's brothers Symond and John, Robert Dow the elder (father of Robert the compiler/owner of the Dow part books—GB-Och, Mus. 984-8—now available in the facsimile edition) and Ferdinando Heybourne alias Richardson. Tudor merchants and music are often linked, of course, as shown by Nicholas Yonge's preface in *Musica Transalpina*, and further evidence of that is shown here.

'Musicians-2' returns to Byrd in his mature years, not only as musician, but also as landowner and publisher. There is also detailed discussion of the Byrd family's recusancy.

'Magnates' is in some ways the most fascinating of all the sections, for here are those pillars of Tudor society whose friendship and patronage Byrd was at pains to cultivate. Most are Catholics, but not exclusively so. More than twenty names and families are surveyed, with links between them recorded. Brief accounts of individuals follow, often incorporating fascinating details such as those drawn from the kitchen book for Margaret Herbert's house in the Strand, showing that Byrd, Bull and William Heyther all dined there during 1601.

There are seven appendices, some repeated from previous publications, but it is good to have them all here. They include the inventory of Symond Byrd's house at Brightwell and the contents of his manuscript (now British Library, Add MS. 15233), transcripts of St Paul's documents and a survey of the Deans and Subdeans of the Chapel Royal during Byrd's lifetime.

The bibliography shows how involved the research has been, with numerous documents cited from repositories around the country. And it has continued since with investigations into several books which miraculously have survived from Byrd's own library. I have no doubt that more will continue to emerge from the minutiae of Harley's research, but in the mean time we must be enormously grateful to him for all that he has achieved in illuminating 'The World of William Byrd'.

Notes on Contributors

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RICHARD CARTER grew up in a musical family, playing the 'cello, but was dissuaded from studying music and took a degree in Physics at New College, Oxford. Dissatisfied with the career which unfolded, he spent twenty years living and working on the English canals. Increasing interest in early music and historical performance led to him taking up the viol and baroque 'cello, with encouragement and guidance from Stewart McCoy, Alison Crum and Catherine Finnis. Since moving to Austria in 2002 he has devoted himself to early music, supporting the teaching and performing activities of his partner, Johanna Valencia, and running a small publishing venture, *Oriana Music*, with a special emphasis on lyra viol and viol music for beginners. He is a founder member of the Vienna-based viol consort *Almayne*, and a former editor of this journal (2009).

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