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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 introduce Volume 7 of the Viola da Gamba Society Journal as guest editor for 2013, and I am grateful to Andrew Ashbee for affording me this honour. A gap of several years has elapsed since I passed on the editorship of *Chelys* to Lynn Hulse in 1988, and many aspects of performance-practice and scholarship concerning viols and related stringed-instruments have changed and developed since then.

One of the most refreshing characteristics of the VdGS – and indeed the Lute Society- is that these societies provide forums for discussion covering a wide range of talents and disciplines within the field. Just as makers, scholars, performers and others mingle to share and exchange ideas at meetings, so the journal is able to reflect this diversity of interest.

Perhaps by the criteria of other scholarly journals, it may be unusual to present up-to-the-minute research by someone whose principle skill is in performance; but this is a case in point, and as a direct result of this, we are able to welcome an article by Robert Smith who presents us with a very particular view of the music – in this case British Library MS Mus 249, which contains music for lyra viol entirely in tablature, by John Jenkins and others.

Andrew Ashbee's opening article considers afresh the work of John Merro, known as the copyist of three large manuscript sets of music: New York Public Library, Drexel MSS 4180-5, British Library, Add. MSS 17792-6, and Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. D.245-7, all associated with Gloucester Cathedral. Whereas much of the ground has already been covered, nevertheless Ashbee offers a fine re-examination of Merro's manuscripts with particular regard for the staff-notated instrumental music in them, much of which is unique to these sources. In addition, he offers some fascinating insights into the likely situations for performance by viols, both in the cathedral itself and for recreation within its precincts. He also offers some clear evidence for the type of music which was played : not only verse anthems and consort songs, but also untexted madrigals, both English and Italian, as well as purely instrumental pieces; and he offers some tantalising evidence for Merro's teaching of the viol to Gloucester choirboys.

As always Peter Holman manages to surprise and delight – on this occasion by proving that the problematic trio sonata in G major for two violins and continuo hitherto ascribed to John Blow, is in fact by Johann Kaspar Kerll.

Finally, Ian Payne offers us an extensive review of the latest *Musica Britannica* volume (93), Thomas Ravenscroft: Rounds, Canons and Songs from Printed Sources. As Payne emphasises, the volume is superbly edited by John Morehen and David Mateer. Here, Ravenscroft's works from his three printed collections (*Pammelia* (1609), *Deuteromelia* (1609) and *Melismata* (1611), plus the 20 compositions appended to his theoretical treatise, *A Briefe Discourse* (1614), are brought together for the first time. Ravenscroft is often viewed as a problematic composer owing to his irregular part-writing and penchant for consecutives; nevertheless, as Payne writes 'Players seeking music for voices and viols, even if they already know the composer's consorts, will find plenty to surprise and entertain them here.'

Wendy Hancock, February 2014

John Merro's Manuscripts Revisited

ANDREW ASHBEE

It is now more than fifty years since Pamela Willetts first identified the 'I. M.' on the covers of British Library, Additional MSS 17792-6 as the initials of a John Merro, surmising that 'he was connected to the West of England'.¹ Subsequent investigations with the help of the then Gloucester City Librarian, A. J. I. Parrott, revealed Merro to be a singing-man at Gloucester Cathedral between 1609 and 1639.² Merro is known as the copyist of three large manuscript sets of music: New York Public Library, Drexel MSS 4180-5, British Library, Add. MSS 17792-6, and Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. D.245-7.³ The first two of these have been extensively discussed by Craig Monson⁴ and the third by John Sawyer.⁵ Their discussions are selective however: Monson mentions instrumental music only in passing, while Sawyer concentrates on the music for lyra viol, excluding that in staff notation. Suzanne Eward's very fine study of cathedral life at Gloucester in Stuart times fills in the background⁶ and there is also a list of instrumental 'MUSICK – BOOKS belonging to the cathedral of Glouc^r.',⁷ none of which have survived. This article re-examines Merro's manuscripts with particular regard for the staff-notated instrumental music in them.

Drexel 4180-5

Monson argues convincingly that Drexel 4180-5 was compiled before Add. MSS 17792-6 and that a probable date for this was between about 1615 and 1625. It seems to be assumed, although not specifically stated, that the set was used by musicians at Gloucester, presumably involving those in the cathedral community. I am sure this is right, in which case we should then note that the 'I. M.' on the covers of Add. 17792-6 identifies this set as belonging to Merro

¹ P. J. Willetts, 'Music from the circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *British Museum Quarterly*, 24, no. 3-4 (1961), 71-75.

² A. Ashbee, 'Lowe, Jenkins and Merro', *Music & Letters*, 48 (1967), 310-11. The original '1636' date for Merro's death given in this letter came from eighteenth-nineteenth-century printed sources, led by Browne Willis, *A survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester* [etc.] ... 3 vols., London, 1742.

³ All described with lists of contents in A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, Aldershot, 2001, [IMCM I] 24-36, 139-166, 235-249.

⁴ C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: the sources and the music*, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, 1982.

⁵ J. E. Sawyer, 'An Anthology of Lyra Viol Music in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Manuscripts Music School D. 245-7', Ph.D. dissertation (University of Toronto, 1972).

⁶ S. Eward, *No Fine But a Glass of Wine*, Salisbury, 1985; I am very grateful to her for corresponding about John Merro.

⁷ Kept in the Cathedral Library; see R. Andrewes, 'Hidden Treasure in Gloucester?', *VdGS Bulletin* 28 (January 1968), 13-14, reprinted with additional notes by Christopher Field, *Chehs*, 31 (2003), 68-71.

personally. D.245-7 too is inscribed 'John Merro his booke' and presumably was also his alone.

Drexel 4180-5 does not seem to be part of the Gloucester cathedral choir music, but more likely is a collection made for the informal use of the choir-men and their friends. It may be significant that it does not appear in the list of music books noted above, perhaps because it had become separated from the others, or was no longer in Gloucester. (But David Fallows's suggestion noted below might indicate that it had become the possession of succeeding Gloucester cathedral organists.) Susanne Eward records that Merro was 'paid annually for many years for "writing the [sermon] table".' It seems to have been the organist's responsibility to copy music for the choir to sing from⁸ He might well have been commissioned to write the books (not necessarily officially) because he had a particularly neat and legible hand. Sadly his copying skills did not extend to producing accurate musical texts and his work is full of careless errors.

It is unfortunate that the original covers are lost, for they might have been able to confirm ownership. Using surviving early music fragments David Fallows has shown that 'it seems likely that the Drexel partbooks were bound no later than 1620 and in Oxford'⁹ He further suggests that the books were acquired by Edward Rimbault 'from John Stafford Smith, who was born in Gloucester, Merro's home town, where Smith's father, Martin Smith, had been cathedral organist.'¹⁰ Joseph Drexel acquired the set from 'Sabin' for £20.10s following the sale of Rimbault's library on 31 July 1877, lot no. 1337. It was donated to the Lenox Library in 1888, which became part of the New York Public Library in 1895. Rimbault had edited some of the anthems in his *A Collection of Anthems by composers of the Madrigalian Era* (London, c.1846) and included the following note:

This valuable set of ancient Part-books consists of six small oblong volumes in the original binding, and with the Arms and Badge of Edward the Sixth stamped on the sides ... The writing commences in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and ends in that of Charles the First, the last composition entered being an Ode composed by Orlando Gibbons for the marriage of that king with the princess Henrietta Maria.

There are errors here. Rimbault said the manuscripts were 'formerly in the possession of the celebrated John Evelyn', but no mention of them appears in Evelyn's own catalogue. The 'Ode' by Gibbons does not conclude the books and in any case is incorrectly identified.¹¹ The coat-of arms, assuming it existed, would not be of Edward VI. Nevertheless 'stamped on the sides' does suggest arms could have been present, perhaps those of Gloucester, and separates their ownership from Merro himself.

⁸ A letter from Suzanne Eward dated 13 January 1986 to another, a copy of which she sent to me.

⁹ D. Fallows, 'The Drexel fragments of Early Tudor Song', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 26 (1993), 5-18.

¹⁰ Footnote 13, p.13. On Martin Smith, see H. W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1991), 124.

¹¹ See J. Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot, 1999), 225, footnote 9.

Monson notes Merro's

initial entries were large retrospective groups of full anthems in four and five parts, perhaps drawn from the Gloucester Cathedral library. Throughout the compilation the copyist continually returned to the full anthem, which accounts for more than seventy works in the collection.¹²

It seems to me likely that the choice of repertory was not Merro's own, but, subject to availability, was agreed on by the group performing it. The presence of some music which falls outside liturgical use confirms that the set was intended for recreation.

How was the music gathered? Much, as already noted, could have come from the choir library at the cathedral and Monson remarks that 'it is not surprising that his [Merro's] manuscripts should be rich in works by west countrymen.'¹³ The ebb and flow of personnel between towns could facilitate the movement of music too. It is likely that a publication like Amner's *Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and six parts for Voyces and Vyols* of 1615 was available in Gloucester, perhaps in the cathedral library. Other English publications may well have been owned by local musicians, and there is a considerable list of (mostly madrigal) collections used in compiling Drexel 4180-5:

Byrd: *Psalmes, Sonets, and songs of sadness and pietie*, 1588; 2nd. edn. 1590
(six pieces)

Weelkes: *Ballets & Madrigals to five voices*, 1598 (14 pieces)

Wilbye: *The First Set of English Madrigals*, 1598 (13 pieces)

The Triumphes of Oriana, 1601 (seven pieces)

East: *The Third Set of Bookes*, 1610 (two pieces)¹⁴

Tomkins: *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts*, 1622 (16 pieces)

East: *The Sixt Set of Bookes*, 1624 (three pieces)

To these can be added music from the 'Englished' madrigals by Italian composers:

Musica Transalpina 1588 (12 pieces)

Italian Madrigals Englished 1590 (six pieces)

Musica Transalpina 1597 (two pieces)

Morley's *Selected Canzonets* 1597 (two pieces)

Both English and Italian madrigals were in vogue in the early seventeenth century, so it is not surprising that both are represented here. Monson points out Merro's decision to exclude foreign texts entirely, even extending this to all but one of the English versions of Marenzio's madrigals from *Musica Transalpina* 1588. Were these pieces sung wordlessly, or played on viols? Viols certainly were needed in the few verse anthems and consort songs (ff. 34-37, 49v-55v) and in purely instrumental pieces (of which more below).

Questions arise with the remaining continental pieces, all untexted. The seven movements of Palestrina's 'Vergine bella' on ff.40-43 are now unique as

¹² Monson, *op. cit.*, 139.

¹³ Monson, *op. cit.*, 138.

¹⁴ Monson, p. 142, states that the two anthems are 'not in the printed version of 1610, but in the earlier manuscript version ...'.

manuscript copies in England.¹⁵ So too is the unattributed 'Circumdederunt me / Quoniam tribulatio' (by Clemens non Papa) (f.17), a late addition. And so too are the eleven pieces which Monson suggests were taken from the three collections of *Gemma Musicalis*, published in Nuremberg (1588, 1589, 1590) ff.138-149.¹⁶ He further identified three of the six 'Italian' works as from Hans Leo Hassler's *Madrigali a 5. 6. 7. & 8 voci* of 1596, actually printed in Augsburg, but with Italian texts throughout. The other three pieces remain unidentified. How were these copies acquired, and from whom? They are unlikely to have been the normal fare for cathedral musicians to own, but may have been imported by a bookseller such as Henry Fetherstone.¹⁷ He supplied books to the Bodleian, many from Italy, so we may further speculate either that someone from Gloucester—even John Merro himself?—could have seen and copied them there while on a visit to Oxford, or someone in Oxford or London made copies which were then sent to Gloucester. It is probably not without significance that the binding of Drexel 4180-5 was done in Oxford, as previously noted.

The number of purely instrumental pieces is very small: four five-part fantasias by Lupo (VdGS Nos. 1, 2 and 4) and Dering (VdGS No. 8) on folios 43v-45, and a small group of ancient In Nomines by Byrd, Parsons, Ferrabosco I and Brewster, with the two parts of Parsons's *De la courte*, beginning at f.75.

The final folios have a mixture of three groups of instrumental consorts:

(a) Two fantasias by Byrd in six and four parts with Bull's only known four-part fantasia, here headed 'Dorick 4 voc: Doc: bull'.¹⁸ The Byrd fantasia *a4* was subsequently transferred to GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7, where the tenor is missing.

(b) Seven four-part fantasias by Ives, Jenkins and Ferrabosco II. This group also appears in GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-6, ff. 47v-53v, where the copies are more accurate, suggesting they were made first. Neither copy is likely to be earlier than about 1625, when music by Ives and Jenkins was making its first appearance, and more probably is after 1630.

(c) The nine three-part fantasias by Orlando Gibbons (the printed set). John Harley suggests publication of these was between June 1618 and February 1621/2.¹⁹ Merro made three manuscript copies of this set: here in 4183-5, ff. 174-181; in GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 17793-5, ff. 1v-9v; and in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-7, pp.95-103.

¹⁵ Published in *Il primo libro di madrigali*, for five voices, Venice, 1581.

¹⁶ Today RISM catalogues a single cantus part for all three collections in the British Library as the sole English source.

¹⁷ See J. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), especially pp.28-30.

¹⁸ Byrd's six-part fantasia (VdGS no. 3) was also copied by Thomas Tomkins in GB-Lbl, Add. 29996. Bull's Dorick fantasia is copied as an anthem 'Frail man despise the treasures' in Myriell's *Tristitiae Remedium*, GB-Lbl, Add, 29372-7 and its predecessor, GB-Lbl, Add. 29427.

¹⁹ J. Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons family of musicians* (Aldershot, 1999), 62-3.

Between (b) and (c), as shown by the succession of pieces in 4183-5, is a fine untitled and anonymous five-part fantasia (VdGS No. 1665), unique to these books. Thomas Tomkins has been suggested as a possible composer.²⁰

British Library, Add. MSS 17792-6

It is perhaps misleading to assess Merro's preferences in choral music (as Monson does) and to admonish him because his taste 'clearly lags behind the times' (p.148). In my view Drexel 4180-5 may have been compiled solely from what was available to him in Gloucester, with most of the vocal music deriving primarily from books at the cathedral or from those owned by members of the participating group. It is interesting to note that the block of full anthems (ff.25-35) in the one surviving bass partbook from a pre-Commonwealth Gloucester Cathedral set are, with two exceptions, all found in Drexel 4180-5 and Add. 17792-6.²¹ However, only two of the succeeding 35 verse anthems are in Merro's books.

Merro's own two manuscript sets show a far greater interest in instrumental music, and here his 'taste' is more up-to-date – and indeed seems to have kept up with new music, presumably via packages sent from London or elsewhere.

We know that Merro undertook the teaching of the viol to the Gloucester choirboys, but when and for how long is not known, although it could well have extended to the time of his death in 1639. Ongoing searches in Gloucester's Dean and Chapter Account Books have so far revealed three annual payments such as this for 1628/9:

Repayed to John Merro for a Roome which he rented of John Beames to teache the Children to playe upon the Vialls ... 10s.

Beames was admitted as a lay-clerk in October 1621 and resigned in June 1629.²²

Ian Woodfield shows that the practice of teaching the viol to choirboys seems to have originated in London:

There is evidence to suggest that by the mid 1540s at the latest children of the Chapel Royal were beginning to take up the viol. At about the same period the viol was introduced into London choir-schools such as St Paul's and Westminster, where it quickly became popular. Certainly by the mid 16th century, playing the viol had come to be regarded as a very important element in the education of choirboys, at least of those attending the aforementioned institutions. Having mastered the instrument, the young choirboy viol players contributed much to its success. As a result of their performances, the viol was introduced to a wider audience than would have encountered the instrument if

²⁰ Introduction to VdGS, ME 217.

²¹ J. Morehen, 'The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Part-Book MS 93', *Music & Letters*, 62 (1981), 189-196. The two exceptions are the anonymous first anthem 'Grant we beseech thee O Lord' (unique to this source), and Byrd's 'Arise O Lord why sleepest thou' (f.34v). Morehen suggests the book was copied c.1640-1 by John Oker.

²² S. Eward, *op. cit.*, 229. In a letter to me of 13 November 2000 she writes that 'The room ... would probably have been in "Babylon", where the singing men lived – i.e. where the King's School playground is now.' I am grateful to Jenny Tribe for searching the books; payments appear for 1628/9, 1629/30 and 1630/31.

it had remained in the confines of the court and a few of the largest private households.²³

By the early seventeenth century viol consorts feature at many provincial cathedrals, not only for teaching, but equally for recreational rather than liturgical use.²⁴ John Irving links some surviving partbooks to consort playing at Worcester, where members of the Tomkins and Withy families and others would have played from them.²⁵

The repertory in GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-6 indicates that the books were begun no earlier than about 1620-2, but continued into the 1630s. There are duplicate copies of some groups of pieces, not only in Drexel 4180-5, but also in Mus. Sch. D.245-7. Presumably this was in part to supply music for groups of consort-playing choristers, but the duplicates in Drexel 4180-5 were evidently late copies made for the (adult?) group. Like many collections, the contents of 17792-6 were initially organized into sections of three, four, five and six parts.

The three-part pieces are arranged in two parallel groups, a neat way of saving paper. Fifteen works by Tomkins are in 17792, 17796 and the lost sextus book, while the remaining 15 fantasias and eight almains, beginning with the nine Gibbons fantasias, are in 17793-5. All these appear to have been copied from D.245-7, where the sequence is similar, but contains additional pieces not transferred to 17792-6.

The four-part section begins with 18 fantasias by Ferrabosco the Younger, followed by seven more by Ives (four), Jenkins (two) and another Ferrabosco (VdGS no. 15). These seven were also added to Drexel 4180-5, slightly re-ordered, but with the 17792-6 sequence shown in the numbering. It is interesting to see that the undated list of 'MUSICK-BOOKS belonging to the Cathedral of Glouc^r.' includes 'Alfonso Ferabosco's Fancies in four Books bound in yellow Leather Covers in 4^o being two Trebles A Tenor and Bass', which might have been a copy source for the pieces in 17792-6. Suzanne Eward wondered whether the list was in Merro's hand, but I believe the contents indicate that it was compiled much later, perhaps around the time of the Restoration when there was a great deal of evaluation and refurbishment of resources. John Oker, then the organist, is a more likely scribe. The list is fascinating in detailing nine instrumental collections, but only one vocal set – 'Derings Cantica Sacra'. Composers mentioned are 'Cooperario ... Three Bookes in fol. ...(Cantus) (Bassus) [...] Organum' [Fantasia Suites?]; William Lawes [...] 'in three Books [...] the Organ part in Fol: the Bass and Treble in 4^o' [Fantasia Suites?]; 'Alfonso Ferabosco's Fancies in four books'; 'Six Consorts entituled within (The Violin part) (The Theorbo part) (the first Lyra

²³ I. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 216-221.

²⁴ See for example I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547-c.1646* (Garland, 1993), 134-155, mentioning Cambridge colleges, Exeter, Lincoln, Peterborough, and Norwich; R. Bowers, *English Church Polyphony* (Ashgate Variorum Collected Series, 1999), IV/442 (Canterbury), and VI/69 (Lincoln).

²⁵ J. Irving, 'Oxford, Christ Church MSS. 1018-1020: a valuable source of Tomkins's consort music', *The Consort*, 40 (1984), 1-12; *ibid.*, 'Consort playing in mid-17th-century Worcester: Thomas Tomkins and the Bodleian partbooks Mus. Sch. E.415-18', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 337-344.

part) 'The Harpsichord and [...]. 'The Musick is composed by Mr William Lawes, M^r Jenkins and M^r Simpson' [lyra consorts]; 'Four little long Books in Parchment Covers 8^o entituled on the outside (Altus) (Cantus) (Bassus) (Thorough Bass) set by Ives and Jenkins' [three-part airs?]; 'Fancies of three parts [...] by Mr John Oker'; 'The Royall Consort in Seaven Bookes [...] with the Kings Arms gilt upon the Covers' [William Lawes]. It seems likely that some of these manuscripts were available to Merro, including the Oker fantasias, which are in D.245-7. There is no mention of any of Merro's manuscripts in the list, presumably because none of them actually belonged to the 'Cathedral of Glouc'.', but it is clear that consort-playing at Gloucester was well established even after his death. Lawes's Royal Consort 'with the Kings Arms gilt upon the Covers' must have been squirreled away from the Court, perhaps following its dissolution in 1642.

The five-part section begins with two ancient pieces by Byrd and William Mundy followed by 18 pavans. Six of these are unique to this source: four are anonymous (VdGS Nos. 1611-14) and one each is by Tomkins and Richard Carlton. A substantial collection of two-part pieces occurs in 17795 at this point and will be discussed later. 29 five-part fantasias follow, including two more anonymous ones unique here (VdGS Nos. 1615-16), and the six-part section follows directly, comprising six fantasias by White, six by Ward and one by Cranford (attributed to 'Ward').

The remainder of the music is vocal, predominantly copied from Drexel 4180-5, but with 11 pieces not found there.

Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. D.245-247

In many ways the most remarkable of the three sources is this collection of over 450 pieces for one to three viols, many of them unique survivals. It is impossible to put a date on when the collection was begun, but I see no reason to doubt that this could have happened at around 1610, making it at least as early as Drexel 4180-5 and possibly Merro's first effort. It is clear that the contents reflect a wide variety of works and that certain sections show emphasis on particular types of them. It is also clear that D.245-7 was still being added to in the 1630s, with symphonies from *The Triumph of Peace* of 1633-4 providing absolute confirmation. By that stage a number of duplications between Merro's three collections are likely to reflect that, whatever their original purpose, they had been called into service for teaching viols to the choirboys.

D.245-6 open with 57 pages of music for two bass or lyra viols, entered consecutively in six blocks, some in tablature and some in staff notation. (50 pieces, some anonymous and some identified, which are unique to Merro are shown in **bold**, as against just 36 others duplicated in sources elsewhere. Solos/duets in D.246-7 only are shown in italics):

pp.1-12²⁶ ffeffh tuning. **Byrd** *Ne irascaris (two parts) and eight anon.*²⁷

²⁶ Page numbers are taken from D.245.

- pp. 13-22 staff. Three pieces by Coprario (one) and Ward (two) are the only ones identified; **the remaining 15 are anonymous**. The first piece (VdGS No. 455) may tentatively be ascribed to Ward: the sequential structure and some patterns match his other fantasia (VdGS No. 1 of the six duos), but here it lacks the organ part which is so necessary. The remaining pieces are an odd miscellany, including VdGS anon. 457, which is Hume's 'A French Jigge' (No. 63 of *Musicall Humours*, 1605) with an additional second part. One or two other pieces might also be unknown airs by Hume. The impression is that most could have been arrangements made or pieces composed by a local musician, a friend, or possibly a teacher of Merro. They are generally very dull.
- pp. 23-40 fefhf tuning. Eight pieces from Ferrabosco II's *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. viols*, 1609.
one pavan by Michael East
15 pieces from Ford's *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes*, 1607.
- pp. 41-42 staff. Four **anon. airs**. Like some of those on pp.13-22 these are in an Elizabethan style – comparable with the duos in *Musica Britannica*, 45 – with strict imitation and limited tonality; they show little imagination.
- pp. 43-50 ffhfh tuning. **12 anon. dances and one by Sherley** (one part of the latter is unique to Merro) **and one by Ives**.
D.245 and D.247 contain about half of Sherley's extant compositions and are second only to the later 'Manchester lyra viol book'²⁸ as a source for his music.
- pp. 51-57 fhfhf tuning. Nine pieces, two of which are in Ferrabosco's 1609 *Lessons* and one is by Thomas Gregory. **The other seven are tentatively ascribed to Ferrabosco** in the VdGS *Thematic Index*.
- pp. 59-64 fhfhf tuning. The first pieces for three viols begin here, continuing with two from Ferrabosco's 1609 publication and **four more tentatively ascribed to him** in the VdGS *Thematic Index*.
- pp. 65-66 staff. **Two anon. fantasias for three bass viols** of no great merit. (Only two parts of the second are extant.)
- pp. 66-70 staff. For two bass viols: **five anon.** and the last an error-filled textless transcription of Morley's 'Go ye my canzonets' from his 1595 publication.
- pp. 71-82 ffeff tuning. 14 pieces for three bass viols selected from Hume's *Poeticall Musicke*, 1607.

²⁷ See R. Carter, '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 ...', *Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 5 (2011), 24-55; 6, 2012, 52-66.

²⁸ GB-Mp, BrM 832 Vu 51. Sherley flourished in the early 17th century and performed (as a lutenist?) on 16 July 1607 at Merchant Taylors Hall at a banquet for James I. See Ross Duffin, 'To Entertain a King: Music for James and Henry at the Merchant Taylors Feast of 1607', *Music & Letters*, 84/iv (November 2002), 525-41.

pp. 83-91 staff. Textless transcriptions of Nos. 1-7, 12 and 15 of Morley's *Canzonets*, 1593, for three bass viols.

There is nothing in the above music to suggest copying was later than c.1610-20 and the content is all compatible with a late-sixteenth/early seventeenth-century date. Merro had access to at least three publications with lyra viol music: Hume (1607), Ford (1607) and Ferrabosco II (1609) and made selections from them.

pp. 92-93 staff. D.245 only. The ground basses to seven anon. pavans and galliards from a later sequence of divisions in D.246, pp. 140-157. They presumably filled a previously blank opening.

A group of three-part fantasias follows next:

p. 94 staff. Two fantasias by Oker, with a note that 'The three songes that should follow in this booke are Immediately following M^r Tomkins fansies' [the 'three songes' are fantasias 1, 2, 4 *a*3 by Coprario, on pp. 149-150] Pages 92-4 are clearly inserted at a later time and there was no room for placing the Coprario treble parts here in D.245.

pp. 95-103 staff. The nine printed fantasias *a*3 by Gibbons, numbered 1-9
p. 104 staff. Byrd, fantasia *a*4 (lacking tenor). The complete work is in Drexel 4181-4, f. 180

Merro's copies are the only ones surviving of Oker's three-part fantasias and these two are copied again with the other eight on pp. 196-199. John Oker (1595-1663) was born in Worcester and seems to have been trained there by Thomas Tomkins.²⁹ He may have held posts at Winchester College and with the Petre family at Ingatestone Hall, Essex at times between 1611 and 1620, before becoming organist at Wells. The Tomkins connection is surely the reason why his music was known at Gloucester (where Thomas's father was a minor canon between 1594 and 1627) and a copying date from c.1620 or even earlier is plausible, although it is much more likely to have occurred during the 1620s after Oker's appointment as organist at Wells. Oker had charge of the viols at Ingatestone in 1616 so may have composed his fantasias there, perhaps encouraged by William Byrd, a visitor to and friend of William Petre. However, the style of the three-part fantasias harks back to the Elizabethan era and would fit well with the idea of their composition earlier under Tomkins's direction. The Gibbons copies which follow are likely to be the earliest of Merro's three transcriptions of them.

A first group of lyra viol solos follows in the early fffhf tuning:

pp. 106-133 Seven by Sherley (**four unique**); one by Corkine; one by Daniel Farrant (**and one attributed to him in the VdGS Thematic Index**); 12 anon. A **saraband** in edfhf tuning by 'Ed. College' is a later addition and appears again on p.200.

Again these pieces are likely to date from the early seventeenth century.

²⁹ J. Bennett, 'John Oker/Okeover', *Chelys*, 16 (1987), 3-11.

At this point there is a significant change in format and content, with music entered in D.246 and then D.247 only. It is unlikely that the music dates from before about 1620 at the earliest, and could well be from the 1630s.

Merro's connection with the Tomkins family is well known (for instance he witnessed the will of Anne Tomkins on 27 November 1627), so it is equally likely that he knew the Withy family of Worcester, friends of Thomas Tomkins and certainly part of the consort-playing fraternity there. Of these John Withy is of particular interest. He seems to have been a brother of Humphrey and to have been born by 1611 since he entered the Worcester cathedral choir in 1619.³⁰ Later sightings are extremely sparse, however, but Anthony Wood wrote the following:

'Withie, John a Roman catholic and sometimes a teacher of music in the city of Worcester. Father of Francis Withie of Oxon, composed several things for two violins.

John Withie was excellent for the lyra-viol and improved the way of playing thereon much.'³¹

The Catholic grapevine was a powerful means of communicating, not only within England, but also with the continent.³² John Withy (d.1685) seems to have been a source from whom later generations, including his son Francis at Oxford, were able to obtain music from the continent. It seems to me highly probable that much of the music on pages 107-161 of D.246 was supplied to Merro via John Withy. Withy's whereabouts are extremely hazy, but Robert Thompson shows that he was probably in London in the late 1630s.

*pp. 107-118 of D.246. Staff. **six anon. divisions for solo viol or violin.***

*pp. 119-130 of D.246. ffeff. **nine anon. pieces** including two sets of divisions*

*pp. 131-161 of D.246. Staff. Three sets of divisions by **John Withy**, Norcombe and Ferrabosco II, followed by anon. pavan-galliard pairs (including those at D.245, pp, 92-3), unique to Merro*

Versions of the first and last pieces of the initial group (VdGS 361 and 366) are found in the German/Italian manuscript Breslau 114, ff. 8v and 28v,³³ so it is likely that the others also had a continental origin.

The next group would, in modern parlance, be styled 'studies'. I am not sure that VdGS 6587 (p.122) is a complete piece: it has no time-signature and begins with a minim rest.

John Withy's divisions on the hexachord (pp.131-2) are copied again (in tablature) on p.194 of D.245. 'The grownd by Daniell Nercum' (pp.133-4) also appears again later in GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. C.71, an Oxford manuscript owned

³⁰ See R. Thompson, "'Francis Withie of Oxon" and his commonplace book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337', *Chelys*, 20 (1991), 3-27.

³¹ See J. D. Shute, 'Anthony Wood and his manuscript D 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: an annotated transcription', Ph.D. dissertation (International Institute of Advanced Studies, Clayton, Missouri, 1979), (=f.136r of D 19 (4))

³² See P. X. del Amo Iribarren, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629-1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics', (Ph.D. thesis University of Leeds, 2011) for information on the Jesuit schools on the continent and their contacts with England.

³³ B. Brooks, 'Étienne Nau, Breslau 114 and the early 17th-century solo violin fantasia', *Early Music*, 34 (2004), 49-72.

by William Butler, a colleague of Francis Withy, John's son.³⁴ Norcombe's piece is that called 'Hugh Ashton's Ground' by William Byrd and appears in four keyboard sources from the 1590s to the 1620s.³⁵ A Catholic link is strengthened by its appearance as 'Treg[ian's] Ground' in Tregian's own *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (no. LX). But Norcombe's piece is a poor relation to Byrd's fine variations, as is an anonymous setting in GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.C.24 (f.16v-18r), a post-Simpson source. Simpson's own divisions are much more imaginative (US-NYp, Drexel 3551, 72-5). Curiously Merro includes a treble part labelled 'the grownde' after the piece, while the bass is copied at the head of it. Daniel Norcombe seems to have spent his life on the continent, serving as violist to the Archduke Albert in Brussels between 1602 and 1655, so his music probably reached Merro through the Catholic network, and in particular John Withy.

The third and fourth pieces in the group are the first of six pieces in *bastarda* style which are a unique survival in England in Merro's books. VdGS 367 (D.246, pp. 135-7)³⁶ is headed 'Sound out my voice Alfonso' and is based on the first part of Palestrina's madrigal published in *Musica Transalpina* in 1588. Peter Holman suggests that the other group (D.246 pp. 245-258) may be by the younger Ferrabosco too and that he was introduced to the *bastarda* style by Angelo Notari during the short-lived court of Henry Prince of Wales (1610-1612).³⁷ He further proposes that the means whereby these pieces reached Merro was through Jonas Wrench, one of Prince Henry's musicians and who may have been part of the Wrench family of Gloucester (although not recorded as such).³⁸ Various members of the family leased 'The Common Kitchen' (now 3, Miller's Green) between 1612 and the eighteenth century, and Merro himself leased it between 1630 and 1634, so the suggestion is promising.³⁹ The sequence continues with ten pavans and galliards, including four pairs (mentioned above). Holman writes:

They all have a florid soprano part, and the first seven have a corresponding bass part in D.245, pp. 92-3. Merro evidently thought of them as divisions on ground basses because he headed the first 'The first pavin to a ground', and, indeed, six are based on (or refer to) Italian chord sequences: one pavan-galliard pair uses the Passamezzo antico, and two use the Passamezzo moderno. There can be little doubt that they were written for violin and continuo ... Professional string-players, who would have played both violin and viol, would doubtless have preferred the violin for such vigorous dance music. Their author, if he was a court musician, was probably an instrumentalist first and

³⁴ See IMCM II, 155-8.

³⁵ See *William Byrd: Keyboard Music I*, ed. A.Brown, Musica Britannica, 27 (London, 1969/rev.2013), 71-77; O. Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, (London, 1978), especially 127-130.

³⁶ VdGS ME 128.

³⁷ P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), 205-9. Ferrabosco, Notari and Wrench continued to work together until 1626 as musicians to Prince Charles.

³⁸ Jonas does not show up in any online genealogical websites. He may have been brother to Elias Wrench (d.1633), who at various times held the offices of Prebendary, Receiver and Treasurer, and Sub-Dean at the cathedral, and was Rector of Lassington from 1607. His son Berkeley was sufficiently musical to be the cathedral organist in 1638-9. See Eward, *op.cit.*

³⁹ See Eward, *op. cit.*, especially 22, 36 and 324.

foremost, for his passage-work lacks the sophistication and variety of Notari's variations, and some of the writing is crude in places.⁴⁰

Parallel with the above, a separate batch of pieces for solo *lyra viol* was copied into D.247:

ff. 24r-35v of D.247. fhfhf. 35 lyra viol solos by Ferrabosco II (six+one), Norcombe (two), Crosbey (one), Ives (one), R. Taylor (four), T. Gregory (11+two). nine more are anon.

There are few clues in the source as to composers. Folios 26v-28 have a galliard and pavan by D. N. [Daniel Norcombe] and three other airs are attributed to R. T. [Robert Taylor]. More have been identified through concordances: five pieces from Ferrabosco's 1609 *Lessons*, an anonymous arrangement of Dowland's *Lachrimae*, an almain by Crosbey – his only known composition – identified from Sir Peter Leycester's book, two confirmed pieces by Taylor and one other which is probably his (and one which elsewhere is assigned to Thomas Gregory and to Robert Johnson). Eleven pieces by Thomas Gregory appear as a group on ff. 32v-35. At least five pieces are known as duets, some of which are re-copied in a later group (see below: pp. 151-171 of D.245; 176-196 of D.246). The uncertainties and lack of information as to authorship hint that Merro simply copied what became available, perhaps in a parcel from London or Oxford.

pp. 134-148 staff. Two In Nomines and 13 fantasias *a3* by Thomas Tomkins

The same pieces were entered into GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-6 in the same order.

pp. 151-171 fhfhf, ffhfh and ffeff. 47 pieces for two *lyra viols* by T. Gregory (five), Ward, Ives (five), **Cranford** (three), **Maynard** (two), **Bosley/Besley** (three), **Woodington** (one), **Rede** (two), Ferrabosco II (two), and **anon. (21)**.

There are a good many duplications between this group of duets and the 'solos' on ff. 24v-35v of D.247, so presumably Merro was again copying from a loaned or acquired collection and was not aware of (or did not mind) the duplications. In looking for a supplier of these pieces, the community of vicars choral at St Paul's Cathedral seems a distinct possibility. John Tomkins was organist there from 1619, while Cranford and Woodington are recorded from 1624 (probably serving in earlier years too). Woodington was also active as a violinist at court, apparently without fee, from at least 1619, both in the main violin group and also in a special ensemble directed by John Coprario for Charles, Prince of Wales. One of their companions at St Paul's was Richard Sandy, formerly a choirboy (1605-11), then a lay clerk at Gloucester (1612-1618), before he moved first to Westminster Abbey (1618-26) and then to St Paul's and the Chapel Royal. His father, John, served at Gloucester as lay-clerk

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 209. Two comments: Merro is not known as a violinist, so may have been restricted to the viol; the crude writing may well be due to his poor transcriptions.

(1597-1610) and then as minor canon, (1610-1641), so there was a strong family link between the two places. Compositions by Cranford ('Mr Cramforde/Cramforth'), Woodington, John Maynard and Ives are all identified,⁴¹ but others by Ferrabosco II, Gregory and Ward are not. There is also music by the obscure 'Jo. Bosely/Besley', and [Richard/Roger/Henrie?] 'Rede'. More solos appear in D.247:

ff. 43v-49r of D.247. fhfhf (three), ffeff (seven), ffhfh (nine), edhfh (one). Lyra viol solos: two by Gregory, one by Sherley and one by Westley?, 17 anon.

pp. 172-178 staff. Fantasias *a3*: one by Coprario, one by Tomkins, seven by Lupo

This group was copied again into GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 17792-6, but with three of the pieces omitted there (Lupo, VdGS Nos. 5, 14, 15).

pp. 178-181 staff. *Airs a3* by Jenkins, Ives and W. Lawes

These nine airs by Jenkins, William Lawes and Ives are unlikely to have been copied before about 1630. The Lupo fantasia (VdGS 15 and [26]) for three basses or three trebles is copied at the end.

ff. 54v-55bis of D.247. Four songs to an unfigured bass

- [1]. O heare my praier Lorde
- [2]. O Lorde make haste to heare mee
- [3]. Fier, fier, loe heare I burne
- [4]. Greevd with my paine

The only one I have identified is No. 3, by Nicholas Lanier, which is a very different version from that found elsewhere.⁴² It is probably the earliest copy known (and is not recorded by Ian Spink in *Musica Britannica*, 33). The other three are all to sacred texts.

pp. 184-185 D. 245 only. fhfhf. An Almain by Jenkins and Corant by W. Lawes for solo lyra viol are duplicated in D.246, p. 217.

pp. 209-210 of D.246. Staff. Norcombe divisions VdGS No. 4) is duplicated below on p. 192 of D.245.

The ground only for this set occurs at the end (f.42 inverted) of the tenor book of three partbooks owned by John Withy, each signed on the cover 'Jo: Wythie his Booke'.⁴³ It is in his hand, so again a Norcombe/Withy link is shown.

⁴¹ The Cranford and Woodington pieces are unique to Merro. The VdGS *Thematic Index* attributes the only other known Woodington piece to 'Thomas': GB-Mp, BRm 832 Vu 51, tuning XXI, no. 2, but this could be a misnaming.

⁴² *English Songs 1625-1660*, ed. I. Spink, *Musica Britannica*, 33 (London, 1971/rev.1977), No. 2, p. 2.

⁴³ US-R, MS Vault M350.F216. A careless copy of the whole piece is no. 19 in GB-HAdolmetsch, MS II.c.24.

pp. 184-191 staff. Treble and Bass airs by Jenkins (seven), etc Ferrabosco II (two), Coleman (seven). Three anon. masque dances follow: the first is by Stephen Thomas: (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, f.7v-82); the second is no. 19 in John Adson's *Courthy Masquing Ayres* (1621), also called 'The Bull Masque' in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, f.38v. **The third** is unknown elsewhere.

These are a later insertion. Although labelled 'Almans and Ayres for the Base and Treble Viols' most are known elsewhere in from three to five parts. Many occur in John Browne's manuscripts GB-Och, Mus 379-81 which indicates they were in circulation in London around 1630 or soon after. GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.415-18 derive from Worcester where the Ferrabosco Almain (no. 4 in the D.245 group) was copied by John Withy.

No.			VdGS No.	GB-Och 379-81, no.
1	[Jenkins]	[Air]	A/2/16	6
2	[Jenkins]	[Air]	A/2/12	14
3	[Ferrabosco II]	[Pavan]	2 [a5]	[GB-Ob, E.415-8/1]
4	[Ferrabosco II]	[Almain]	1 [a5]	[GB-Ob, E.415-8/50]
5	[Coleman]	[Almain]	258	7
6	[Coleman]	[Almain]	259	[GB-Och 367-70, 2]
7	[Coleman]	[Almain]	313	3
8	[Coleman]	[Almain]	314	4
9	[Coleman]	[Almain]	315	5
10	[Jenkins]	[Air]	A/2/91	[GB-Och, Mus 44: arr. by Benjamin Cosyn]
11	[Jenkins]	[Pavan]	A/2/144	-
12	[Coleman]	[Air]	208	17
13	[Jenkins]	[Almain]	A/2/93	12
14	[Jenkins]	[Almain]	A/2/82	-
15	[Coleman]	[Almain]	1	10
[16]	[Jenkins]	[Almain]	A/2/84	1

pp. 215-218 of D.246. *fhf*. Lyra viol solos by Ives (three), Jenkins (two) and W. Laves (one). The Ives includes Whitlocke's coranto, apparently composed c.1633-4.

pp. 192-195 divisions by Norcombe and John Withy in tablature, of pieces **formerly copied in staff notation at pp. 209 and 131**

pp. 196-199 Ten fantasias a3 by Oker (Nos. 7-8 also copied at p. 94)

The last is incomplete, lacking a treble part, but the now-lost manuscript of Oker's fantasias mentioned earlier could have supplied it.

pp. 200-207 edfhf (nine), fhfhf (one), efhhf (one), defhf (one), defhh (one), fedfh (two). 16 pieces for solo lyra viol: **11 anon. and unique to Merro**, four by Jenkins and one by Colledge, the last also added on p.132.

pp. 223-4 of D.246. Staff. Two duos for treble and bass; one at least is by Herwich and the other could well be by him too. The latter is also copied into Lbl, Add. MS 17795, f.44v (see below).

Christian Herwich (1609-1663) is a surprising composer to find in a Gloucester manuscript. Details of his life are sketchy, but he worked at Weimar and at Kassel as gambist and lutenist. These pieces (one of which was published under his name in *T'Uitnement Kabinet* in 1646) must be early works, since in 1630 he would only have been aged 21.

pp. 208-212 Staff. Airs for treble and bass by Jenkins (seven), Coleman (one), and Ives (six). Four are attributed to 'Mr Hartwell'.⁴⁴ Six of these airs are known to come from *The Triumph of Peace* (1633-4).⁴⁵

pp. 212-213 Staff. **Two pieces** for tenor viol (tablature) and bass (staff) **by Cutting and Johnson**, probably lacking a treble part.

pp. 214-215 Staff. Two 3-part airs (Jenkins and Ives) and **three two-part airs** (anon. and unique to Merro).

p. 216 **An anonymous piece 'for the lute set and leero viol'.**

pp. 218-229 tablature. 11 pieces for three lyra viols by Coprario, **nos. 1-2 unique to Merro.**

pp. 245-262 of D.246. **Nine pieces for solo bass viol** (mentioned above, including *bastarda* settings on pieces by MacDermott, Ferrabosco I, Tallis and Francis Cutting.) Two are copied again in tablature in D.247, ff. 67v-71r

It is very likely that all nine pieces came from the same source. In detail:

- [1] pp. 245-6 No headings, but the four sections suggest a *bastarda* setting of a vocal piece.
- [2] pp. 247-9 An anonymous *bastarda* setting of 'Vidi pianger Madonna' by Ferrabosco I, not published in his two madrigal collections of 1587, but present in four English manuscript sources.
- [3] pp. 249-50 No headings, but a *bastarda* style piece in one continuous section.

⁴⁴ One is by Jenkins, one by Coleman, and one by William Lawes. The remaining 'Mr Hartwell' piece is probably misattributed too: a masque-like air it remains anonymous and unique here.

⁴⁵ See P. Holman, 'The Symphony', *Cheyls*, 7 (1975-6), 10-24.

- [4] pp. 251-2 'Cormacks Almaine by Daniell Nercum' Divisions on a ground (two sections) which is the bass of MacDermott's Almain, VdGS no. 4.
- [5] pp. 252-3 S^r Thomas Brooks Pauin'. Also by MacDermott, VdGS no. 3. The bass is written as a single set of divisions.
- [6] p. 253 Treble and bass in score of an anonymous galliard.
- [7] pp. 253-6 An anonymous *bastarda* setting of Tallis's 'O sacrum convivium' from *Cantiones Sacrae* (1575). A second copy in tablature is on ff.69v-71r of D.247
- [8] pp. 256-9 'Alfonso's'. A *bastarda* setting of an unidentified vocal piece. A second copy in tablature is on ff.67v-69r of D.247 and has the same heading.
- [9] pp. 259-62 'Cuttings Galliard', known from several lute sources, but this is the only known version for viol: a *bastarda* setting.

Peter Holman suggests that these pieces came from the musicians of Henry, Prince of Wales, and that the *bastarda* style was introduced to them by Angelo Notari, one of their number.⁴⁶ He further proposes that 'Alfonso' is the younger Ferrabosco, composer of [2], [7] and [8], and that he 'may well be the author of all of them'. I am happy to accept Ferrabosco's possible authorship of [2], [7] and [8], but am less certain about the others. There is little doubt that [4] and [5] are a pair and that [5] is also probably by Norcombe. The question arises: how did Norcombe come to set pieces by MacDermott, presumably in Brussels? MacDermott served not only as harpist at the English court, but also as a servant of Sir Robert Cecil. He is known to have been a regular carrier of state letters to and from Ireland and since Cecil was also greatly involved in diplomatic negotiations with Spain and the Spanish Netherlands it is quite likely that MacDermott could have acted as his messenger to Brussels too. It is equally possible, of course, that normal diplomatic channels were the means of transferring this music alongside correspondence. MacDermott may have continued in service with Cecil's son William, Second Earl of Salisbury, a close friend of Prince Henry. I suggest that on grounds of style [3] is also by Norcombe, and possibly [1] too, though this is more doubtful.

What is surprising is how little music of this kind for viol has survived from the early seventeenth century. There are numerous examples of florid lute divisions by Dowland, Bachiler and others, and keyboard intabulations and variations were normal fare. Hume includes elaborate divisions in his lute pieces (perhaps a deliberate attempt to emulate Dowland and his lute), but there is little else from the Jacobean era.

One wonders too why these pieces arrived fairly late in Merro's copying scheme. Could it be that the death of Ferrabosco in 1628 released them for more general circulation? Again the St Paul's vicars choral John Tomkins and John Woodington may have been in a good position to have acquired them.

pp. 230-239 Staff. Twenty-five three-part airs by Jenkins (25), **four unique to Merro**, and **one by Dering**, all in a later hand.

⁴⁶ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers...*, 205-8.

None of the Jenkins pieces are among the group composed in 1644-5⁴⁷ so the addition could have been made when the manuscripts were still in Gloucester.

GB-Lbl, Add. 17795

Together with the missing Sextus book this manuscript contains a selection of pieces copied from D.245-7, all originally in two parts. They were fitted into folios 44-73, presumably in both books, enabling matching folios for the music to ensue in 17792-6 from this point onwards.

The **[Air]** on f.44v, is probably by Herwich (D.245/224 [VdGS 642]) and like the Ferrabosco Almain on f.47v (D.245/52) is isolated, so could have been copied at any time. The remaining pieces are ordered as in D.245 (with gaps) so probably were copied in the order shown.

	[Byrd] Ne Irascaris I and II	D.245 1-2	
	Mall Simmes	D.245/3	[VdGS 6571]
	Galliard	D.245/47	[VdGS 9166b]
	Galliard	D.245/48	[VdGS 9167a]
	Galliard	D.245/49	[VdGS 9168a]
1-6	AFII	D.245/59-64	[VdGS 201, 155, 121-124]

The first two only were published in the 1609 book and the other four are tentatively ascribed to the composer. All are marked for three basses and the other parts are extant in D.245-7.

Then follow the sixteen airs from D.245, pp.184-190, but without the three extra ones which follow there.

Duplications

A considerable number of the lyra viol pieces are duplicated within the three books, but there seems to be no explanation for why this is so. For instance eight of the duets on pp.43-64 are re-copied, but in the same book. The same is true of some lyra viol solos from D.247. Was this purely an oversight when new pieces arrived for copying? Some divisions and *bastarda* pieces appear in staff notation in one book and in tablature in another, which might have served the preferences of particular players.

Table 1: duplicates from D.245

	D.245	D.245	D.246	
[Air]				
[Air]				
[Corant]	50/3 'K.10'/154		'K.10'/180 58	[2 nd part] [1 st part]

⁴⁷ See A. Ashbee, 'Towards the Chronology of Grouping of some Airs by John Jenkins', *Music & Letters*, 55 (1974), 30-44.

Galliarde	'3'/53	'9'/57	[2 nd part]	
Pavin	'4'/54	'37'/166	[2 nd part]	
Galliard	'5'/55	'36'/166	[2 nd part]	
Almaine [2 nd part]:	'8'/56	'G.7'/153	'G.7'/178 '8'/56	
Saraband	132	200/3		
[Air]	168/2		50/2 193/2	[1 st part] [2 nd part]

Table 2: duplicates from D.247

	D.247	D.247	D.245	D.246
Corant	28v	35v/2		
Allman	30v	44r/1		
[Rice Davies Maske]	32v/2		'A.1'/151	[2 nd part]
[Corant]	33r/2	[2 nd part]	'H.8'/153	
[Air, 2 nd part]: [1 st part]:	34v/2		'F.6'/153 'E.5'/152	'E.5'/177 'F.6'/177
[Corant]	45v/2	48r/2		
[Corant]	47r/2	49r/2 [incomplete]		

So far as some larger sets are concerned, we can assume that Merro's duties as instructor of the choirboys was the catalyst. Three copies of Orlando Gibbons's and two of Tomkins's three-part fantasias would have been very useful, as would the duplicate copies of some four-part fantasias by Lupo, Jenkins and Ives.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that John Merro's manuscripts are among the most important to have survived from the early seventeenth century. A substantial amount of music is unique to them. Some of this is slight and of no great import, but it adds to the overall picture of what was in circulation. Monson attributes aspects of Merro's 'taste' as being conservative – 'clearly lagging behind the times' and that he worked in 'relative isolation'. This may be true of the vocal music, but even here it is possible that other factors inhibited him. Consort songs were doubtless always performed by a mixture of voices and viols, but the absence of verse anthems from his manuscripts may support the view that these were generally performed with organ rather than with viols – at

least in Gloucester – and that a keyboard instrument was not available where Merro’s consort played.

My impression is that D.245-7 was begun before the other two collections, and it is possible that the first pieces entered were duets either for a teacher and pupil, or for two relative beginners on the bass viol, one of whom was probably Merro. Many are in tablature, which had found favour at the English Court and had gained popularity in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Merro copied them from the publications of Ferrabosco II, Hume and Ford, but not those by Corkine, whose books appeared slightly later in 1610 and 1613. A third bass player was around early on for the performance of trios. Merro was constantly gathering and copying music and throughout his career he had contacts in London and elsewhere who were active in sending him pieces. His collection of instrumental music in particular is surprisingly varied for its time and was kept up to date as new composers came to his attention. The continental music by Norcombe and Herwich is unexpected, as is the music in *bastarda* style. Furthermore these include some extremely demanding technical challenges; was Merro able to play them?

The list still extant in the Cathedral Library indicates that Merro’s successors – perhaps including the very boys he had trained – kept up consort playing in Gloucester with music by William Lawes and Christopher Simpson added to that of Ferrabosco II, Oker, Jenkins and Ives.

Today we are grateful to him for preserving unique copies of a wide variety of music, not all good, of course, but invaluable in building a picture of what was sung and played by a community of off-duty cathedral musicians in Gloucester. Merro and his wife were buried in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral and the inscriptions on their graves were recorded by Browne Willis:⁴⁸

Here lyeth the Body of John Merro, who deceased March 23 1636 [*recte* 1639]

*I once did sing in this,
Now in the Choir of Bliss*

Near him, on adjoining Stone, this:

Here lyeth Elizabeth, the Wife of John Merro, who departed this Life
Nov. 13. 1615 [*recte* 1645]

One hopes that from his exalted position Merro looks down with delight and pleasure that his work is still valued 400 years after he began it.

⁴⁸ Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Bristol, Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, Peterborough, Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester, Chichester, Norwich, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, St David’s, Llandaff, Bangor, and St Asaph*, 3 vols (London, 1742), II, 709.

British Library: MS Mus. 249

Robert Smith

Several years ago while studying viola da gamba at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, I came across a photocopy of a 'Manuscript for the Lyra-Viol c.1670' in the Royal Library of The Hague. This contains 38 pages, with works by John Jenkins, William Lawes and Thomas Mace amongst others. I made a copy for myself and took it home to explore with my instrument. At the time a relative newcomer to the viola da gamba, I failed to make much sense of the contents – the challenge of learning to read tablature and figure out the tunings was a little overwhelming. I filed the manuscript away and forgot about it for a time.

A couple of years ago I dug out the copy again and this time had more success in deciphering it. The manuscript is often very unclear, with a sparing use of bar lines and frequent absence of rhythmic notation. Despite this I realised that there were a good number of high quality pieces present and decided it would be worth the effort to explore the whole collection. Correspondence with Peter Holman and Andrew Ashbee revealed that the manuscript was now British Library MS Mus. 249 and that an index had been made by Andrew some years ago. When Resonus Classics asked me to record a disc of solo viola da gamba music last year I had the perfect opportunity and motivation to explore the manuscript in detail. A recording of 33 of the pieces contained in Mus. 249, together with a handful of other lyra viol pieces, will be released on Resonus Classics in Spring 2014 and will be available from www.resonusclassics.com.

I am very grateful to Andrew Ashbee for his help in preparing this article. His index of Mus. 249 provided many answers for me. My own updated version, with incipits, is based on his and is appended to this article.

Overview

British Library MS MUS 249 was auctioned as Lot 186 by Sotheby's to the British Library on 1st December 1995. The manuscript was consigned to Sotheby's by a private client on the continent whose identity remains unknown. Sotheby's believes the description of the manuscript for the auction was probably made by the late Robert Spencer (1932 - 1997). It is very thorough and tells us much about the contents:

186 JENKINS (JOHN) FINE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF OVER SIXTY PIECES FOR LYRA-VIOL, including nine or ten pieces by Jenkins (one attributed to him), and others by Dietrich Steffkens, William Lawes, Thomas Mace, William Young, "J. Esto", De Londi ("Gigue Nouvelle"), [?Nicholas] Hotman, one inscribed "Courante J. Esto o Jenkins", notated in brown ink on up to eight staves per page, in an apparently English hand characteristic of the 1660s or 1670s, including one piece entitled "Alexandre le Grand", and another with a title in Dutch ("Die Min[n]e

der lydt veel pyn”), together with Preludes, Allemandes, Courantes, Sarabandes and Aires, with an instruction in French (“retirez l’archet, C’est un ton de la chanterelle plus bas que la 1[iè]re piece de ce livre...”), with deletions and alterations, 38 pages, folio, printed eight-stave paper, six-line staves, watermarked with the arms of Berne, with over 40 leaves of printed staves, stain on first leaf, contemporary vellum boards (Amsterdam watermark on flyleaves, rather similar to Heavood 345), England or the Low Countries, probably 1670s.

This is a fine manuscript with music by the most important mid-seventeenth-century English composer for the viols, John Jenkins (1592-1678). The work ascribed to “J.Esto o Jenkins” is apparently unrecorded in English sources. Otherwise the pieces are not explicitly ascribed to Jenkins in the manuscript itself, but nine pieces are known, attributed to him in other sources. The pieces by other important English composers include a Sarabande by William Lawes, and two pieces by Thomas Mace, which appeared in his *Musick’s Monument* (1676). The other composers flourished mainly during the period c.1630-1660, including Englishmen that visited the continent such as Young, and Steffkins, a German composer resident in England who knew Jenkins. Several of the pieces are anonymous and untraced in other sources. One of these is here entitled “Alexandre le Grand”, possibly a reference to the play by Nathaniel Lee (1677), in which music was inserted.

The Lyra viol was a small bass viol (or viola da gamba), for which there was a specialized solo repertory. This collection uses several different viol tunings, and the pieces are arranged accordingly. Some of the more extreme tunings suggest a continental rather than English provenance. The manuscript is written on paper similar to that recorded by W.F. Tschudin, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of Basel and their Marks* (Hilversum, 1958), no. 372, where a date of 1619 is given. The script however suggests a rather later date, one approximately contemporary with the binding of c.1670s, possibly by an Englishman resident in the Low Countries. The staves are mostly printed from wood-blocks, but the lowest stave on each page is made up from small pieces of type.

£4,000-6,000

Table 1: MS 249: a summary

Item	Number
Pieces in MS 249	62, of which three are duplicates
Pieces unique to MS 249	24
Different tunings	11
Harpe Sette Sharpe <i>defbf</i>	18
Harpe Sette Flat <i>edfbf</i>	13, of which one is a duplicate
High Harpe Flat <i>fdefb</i>	8
French Sette <i>efdef</i>	5, of which one is a duplicate

<i>fedef</i>	5
<i>ededf</i>	4, of which one is a duplicate
Other tunings	<i>fedfb</i> =3, <i>edefb</i> =3, <i>edeff</i> =1, <i>fefff</i> -1, <i>ffeff</i> =1
Allemandes	18, of which five implicit, one duplicate
Courantes	17, of which five implicit, one duplicate
Sarabandes	10, of which one implicit, one duplicate
Airs	8
Preludes	3
Pieces by Jenkins	8 or 9 (one attributed in MS), of which one duplicate
Pieces by Esto	5 or 6 (one attributed in MS), of which one duplicate
Pieces by Steffkins	5 or 6
Pieces by Young	4, of which one duplicate
Pieces by Ives	3
Pieces by other composers	Mace=2, John Taylor=2, Coleman=1, William Lawes=2, Hotman=1

Table 1 shows that the manuscript consists largely of Allemandes, Courantes, Sarabandes and Airs, with the occasional Prelude or other piece. Two thirds of the manuscript is taken up by the three main tunings, 'Harpe Sette Sharpe', 'Harpe Sette Flat' and 'High Harpe Flat'. The pieces are largely, but not entirely, organised by tuning. Concordances are mostly found, in no particular order, in The Marsh, Manchester and Goëss manuscripts as well as Playford's *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol*.¹ The manuscript has a significant amount of left- and right-hand ornamentation shown in symbols.

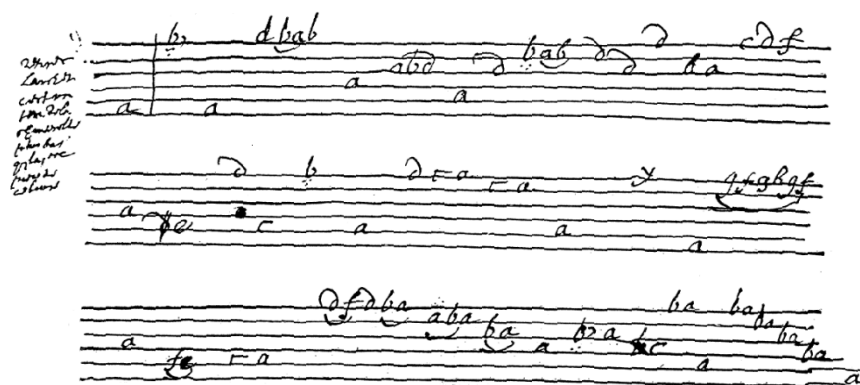
Scribes

One fact that the description by Sotheby's missed is that at least two different hands contributed to this manuscript. Although there is a 'primary' hand that dominates the manuscript, seq. 30 – 37 are in a secondary hand (or hands). In seq. 30 the note-letters are written over the tablature lines (~~abcde~~) rather than sitting on top (abcde). Seq. 31 – 37 may be in the same secondary hand or a different one – there are variations in the way the tail of the 'd' curls for instance – but it is not clearly or consistently different. However, the paper appears to be the same throughout the manuscript and seq. 30 directly follows a piece in the primary hand on the same page. This makes it seem unlikely that seq. 30 – 37 originated in a different manuscript from the earlier pieces. Two out of the three duplicate pieces in the manuscript are shared by the two hands. It could be possible that pieces after seq. 47 (all in the primary hand)

¹ 'The Marsh Lyra-viol Book' EIRE-Dm, MS Z3.5.13; 'The Manchester Lyra-Viol Book' GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51; 'The Goëss Manuscripts' A-ETgoëss A, A-ETgoëss B; Playford *MRLV* 1652-5, 1669, 1682.

were added at later stages and this would be one explanation for the higher frequency of blank pages and the reversal of f.16 in the binding.²

An interesting change of hands occurs in seq. 9 – 10: three versions of the same Allemande, VDGS 62 by Steffkins. Both 9a and 9b are in a secondary hand, without rhythm indications and are unintelligible on their own. I would guess that 9b (see Example 1a) was written first because of a scribbled out section, and 9a was added afterwards as a 'cleaner' copy on the opposite page. Despite this second attempt, 9a still has many errors. Seq. 10 (see Example 1b) is in the primary hand with just enough information to make a coherent piece out of it. Did the confusion here originate from the fact that the other known version of this piece³ (see Example 1c) is found in a different tuning? In MS 249 the tuning used for this piece is *edefb* whereas in A-Etgoëss A *fdefb* is used. That gives more relevance to the text written next to 9b, 'retirez l'archet, C'est un ton de la chanterelle plus bas que la 1[*i*è]re piece de ce livre...'⁴, since in MS 249 the highest string is a semitone lower than in A-Etgoëss A.

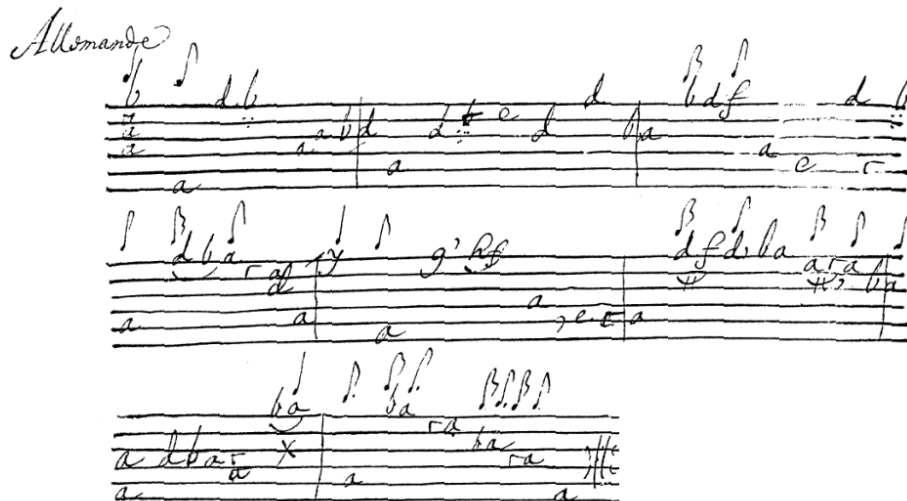


Example 1a: MS 249 Seq. 9b first half in a secondary hand. Tuning *edefb*.

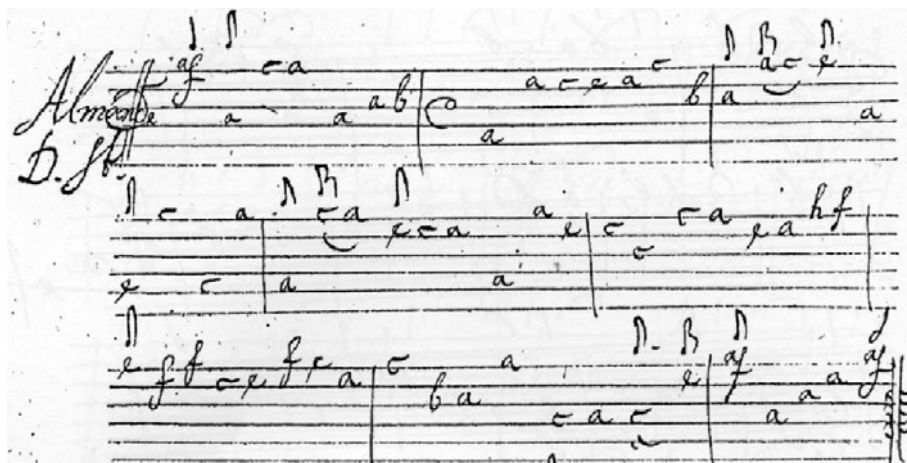
² f.16r has the second half of seq. 48 followed by seq. 49. f.16v has seq. 50 followed by the first half of seq. 48.

³ A-Etgoëss A seq. 11 f.5v.

⁴ 'Retake the bow, the pitch of the highest string is one tone lower than the first piece in this book...'



Example 1b: MS 249 Seq. 10 first half in the primary hand. Tuning edefh.



Example 1c: Steffkins 62 first half from A-Etgoëss A. Tuning fdefh.

Two questions about this allemande are difficult to answer. Why are the initial versions in the secondary hand so sketchy and unintelligible? Why is the 'final version' of the allemande, in the primary hand, still so different from the Goëss manuscript? I have the feeling that in MS 249 not all of the allemande could be remembered and some passages had to be invented to fill in the blanks. It is worth noting that Steffkins himself was associated with the principal scribe of Göess MSS A and B, so the version given in A is likely to be authoritative.⁵

Text

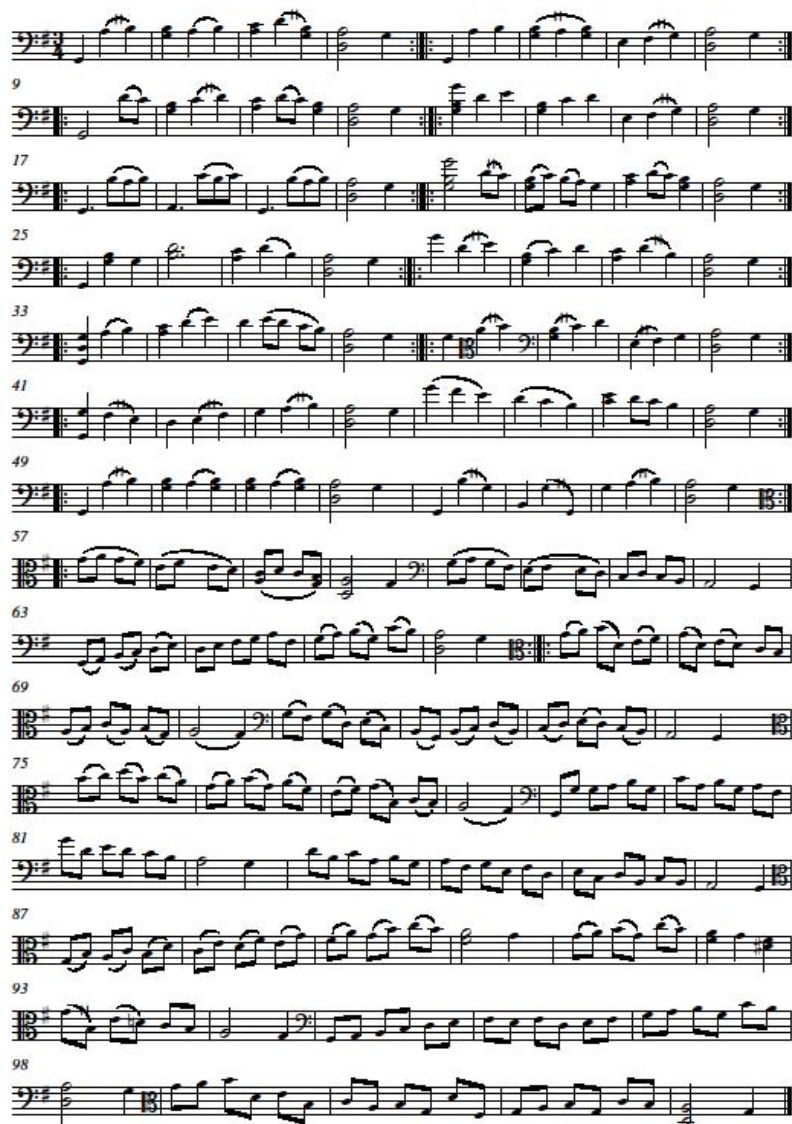
It could be possible that the text and titles of the pieces were added at a later stage, perhaps in haste. We find the second half of Courante seq. 19, which starts on a new page, entitled 'Sarabande'. Seq.41, labelled 'Courante' is clearly an allemande and seq. 51, a courante by Jenkins, is labelled 'Allemande'.

⁵ See the introductions to the facsimiles (Tree Edition, (1997 (B) and 1999 (A))).

Style

[illegible]

25



Example 3: MS 249 Seq. 23. Rhythm is a suggestion. Left-hand ornaments omitted.

The Allemande by Ives seq. 18 is notable for its cross-rhythms in the first strain, which see several bars in what is effectively triple-time. This piece also occurs in Goëss A and B and the Marsh manuscripts.

The two pieces by Thomas Mace, seq. 17 and 28 do not occur in *Musick's Monument* (1676) as Sotheby's description suggested, but in the Marsh Lyra Viol Book and in the case of seq. 28 also in the Cartwright Manuscript.⁶ Seq. 17 is a prelude that exploits the rich resonance of the concordant open strings to the full. Seq. 28 is a delightful thump (See Example 8).

⁶ GB-Lbl. Add. MS 59869, f.11v, no. 2.

Ornamentation

Table 2 - Ornaments in MS Mus. 249

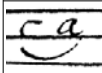
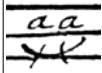
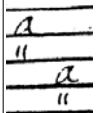
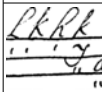
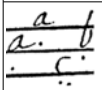
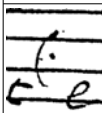
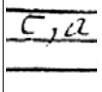
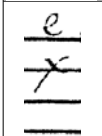

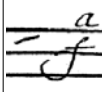

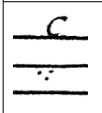
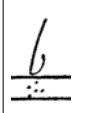
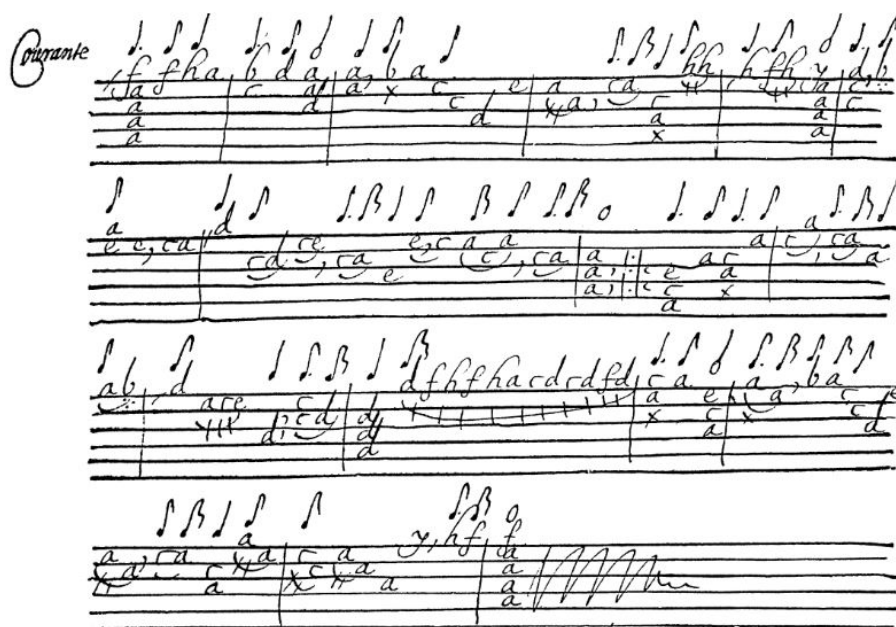
Ornament	Type	Frequency	Remarks
	Slur	Very frequent	Longest slur = 16 notes
	Jut	Very frequent	longest jut = 12 notes
	Thump	Seq. 28	
	Thump	Seq. 63 & 28	
	Thump	Seq. 63 & 28	
	Re-take bow?	Seq. 30 (6 times), seq. 36 (5 times)	
	Trill/ Shake from above	Very frequent	The shake is on the note after the sign. Does not occur in secondary hand.
	Relish? Mordent?	Very frequent	 Possibly a mordent, possibly an 'inverted' mordent since it also occurs on open strings. Compare with Marsh Ms.
	Beate/ Half-Fall / Whole-Fall / Forefall	Frequent	
	Turn/ mordent	Frequent	
	Relish / Trill with turn	Seq. 42 (once)	

Table 2: Ornaments in MS 249

For an overview of lyra viol ornamentation in general I refer the reader to Carolyn Coxon's article 'Some Notes on English Graces for the Viol'⁷ and Mary Cyr's articles 'Ornamentation in English Lyra Viol Music'.⁸ The primary hand of this manuscript obviously enjoyed peppering the pieces with ornaments. Table 2 shows the various ornament symbols contained in the manuscript.

Example 4 is of seq. 41 which demonstrates typical ornamentations in MS 249. Slurs and juts are very frequent and increase the enjoyment (and challenge) of playing the pieces. Shakes or trills also occur very often and have an interesting way of being written: the comma symbol for the shake often implies a hold between a previous note and what becomes the upper note of the trill. Sometimes other notes occur in between. This way of notating shakes is logically and consistently applied throughout the manuscript. The symbol never occurs in the secondary hand.



Example 4: Ornaments in MS 249 seq. 41.

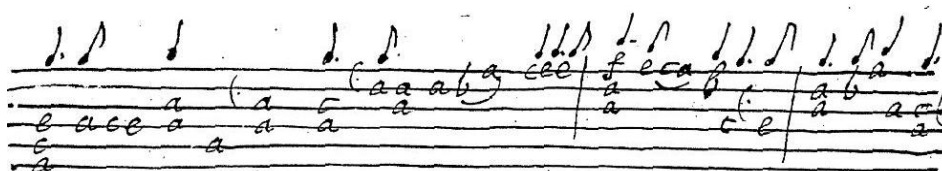
The symbol that is very puzzling is the 'x' that occurs very frequently underneath notes in both hands. I am still not sure of its real meaning. Whichever known ornament I tried to apply to the symbol, there were always situations where the ornament did not work. For example applying a mordent works very well in all the cases except where the 'x' is written below an open string – it is not possible to play a mordent on an open string. For a while I toyed with the idea that it might be an instruction to *not* play any lower strings than written – it never occurs under a note on the lowest string – but that is not such a convincing idea. The best solution I found was to think of it as 'some kind of relish' and play a mordent where possible, reversing the mordent

⁷ *Chelys*, vol. 2, 1970, pp 18-22.

⁸ *Viola da Gamba Society of America Journal*: vol. 34, 1997, pp 48-66; vol. 35, 1998, pp 16-34.

when it occurs on an open string. This ornament also appears frequently in the Marsh Lyra Viol Manuscript. Any suggestions as to what the 'x' really means are most welcome!

The short diagonal line '/' works well as a fall and the three dots work well as a mordent or turn. I do not know what ornament the sign '·' refers to, but I wonder if it might be a bowing instruction, perhaps to retake (See Example 5).



Example 5: MS 249 seq. 30 (extract). Tuning defhf.

There is a mixture of vertical dashes and dots in the two thumping pieces, seq. 28 and 63, referring to right- and/or left-hand pizzicato and perhaps to particular fingers. (See Example 8). It is difficult to say exactly what the symbols here refer to, although there is more about this in the following section.

Information from other sources

Thankfully more than half of the pieces in MS 249 have concordances. MS 249 is often difficult to understand without them. It is not like the Manchester Lyra Viol Book, for instance, which has a clear explanation of ornaments and tunings and neatly written out tablature. MS 249 is often very unclear and the music text can only be understood by reference to other sources. I would guess that the primary hand of the manuscript was that of its original owner, a lyra viol player. His purpose in writing down the pieces was to serve as a memory aid. If it had been for any use other than personal, one would expect a neater script. The owner knew the pieces 'more-or-less' so he did not need to waste time spelling out every detail of every piece. The consequence for us is that for some pieces where concordances do not exist it is difficult to make even an approximate guess at the music.

Where there are other sources, however, we can make interesting comparisons. Example 6 shows the first half of an Allemande by Jenkins, seq. 5, compared with the only other known copy in the Marsh Lyra Viol Book (IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, no. 2, f.5v). The lower line, from MS 249, has been 'stretched' to match the other line so may appear somewhat distorted.

We can see immediately that the rhythm differs between the two sources, sometimes dotted and sometimes straight. These small rhythmic nuances are typical of differences throughout between MS 249 and other sources. They occur so often that I wonder if lyra viol players of the time saw rhythm as a question of interpretation rather than accurate transcription. Comparisons can also be made regarding the ornamentation. The shake symbol often occurs in the same place, and looks the same in the two sources. The [/] symbol appears more often in the Marsh version and is placed below the note-letter. In Ms 249 [/] occurs less often and tends to be written before the note-letter. The [x] is

written below the note letter in both sources. I assume the meaning of the [x] is the same in both sources.

The image displays a comparison of handwritten musical notation between two sources, IRL-Dm (top) and GB-Lbl (bottom), for MS 249 seq. 5. The notation is presented in six systems, each consisting of two staves. The top staff of each system is from IRL-Dm, and the bottom staff is from GB-Lbl. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with 'x'.

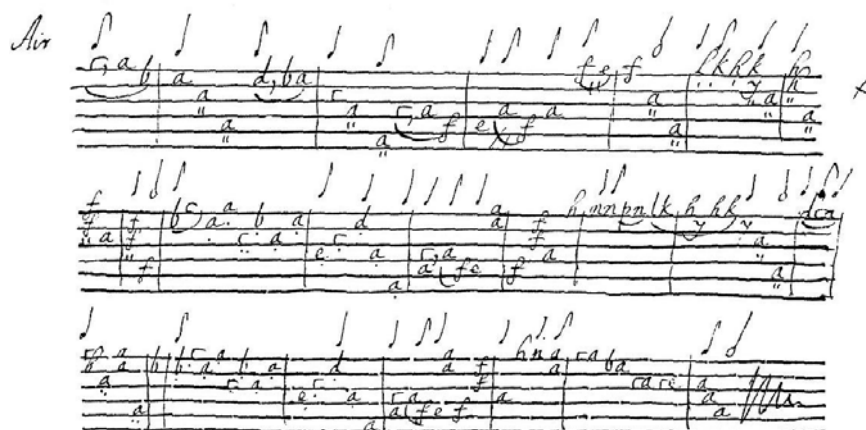
Example 6: MS 249 seq. 5:
comparison between IRL-Dm, Z.3.5.13 (above) and GB-Lbl, Mus 249 (below).

A particularly interesting comparison occurs in the third line of the example. Unhelpfully, the rhythm disappears from the Marsh version, but the spacing of the notes is informative and suggests a slower arpeggiation of the equivalent chords in MS 249. Without the arpeggiation, the chords in MS 249 sound like clusters and my first thought was that they were mistakenly notated. Only by using the two manuscripts together was I able to reach the following suggestion for that passage:



Example 7: Solution for a passage in seq. 5.

This example is typical of the work necessary to reconstruct many of the pieces in MS 249. Sometimes, as above, it involves using two less-clear sources to make a 'best guess' solution, while at others it involves using clearer sources to interpret the information in MS 249. To illustrate the latter, the thumpe seq. 28 (Example 8) makes an interesting comparison with Example 9, from the Cartwright manuscript (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869, f.11v, no. 2). In the Cartwright version we find the instruction 'both hands' which I would interpret as using both the right-hand as well as the left-hand for pizzicato. We later find the instruction 'bow' to retake the bow with the right-hand.⁹ These instructions clarify somewhat the information in MS 249, although the difference in meaning between one dash, two dashes and the dots still remains ambiguous. The Cartwright version is more specific and instructs us which fingers to use (two or three dots for second or third fingers and a dash for a thumb).



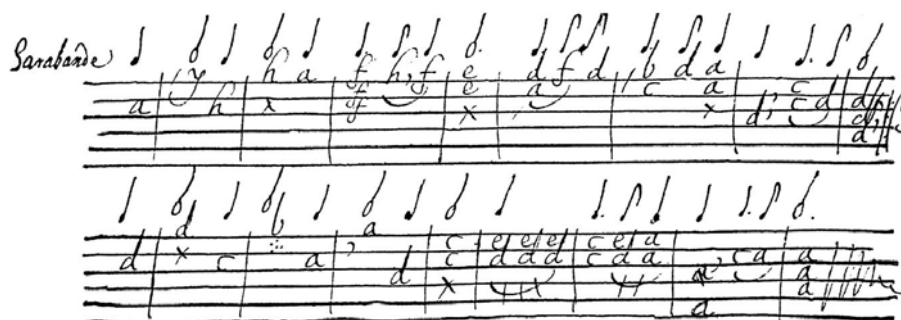
Example 8: MS 249 seq. 28 'Air'.

⁹ My personal conclusions here differ from those given by Mary Cyr in the *Viola da Gamba Society of America Journal*: vol. 34 (1997), 62. There she discusses the version of this piece in the Marsh Lyra Viol Book where the word 'finger' is used instead of 'both hands', and concludes that it means 'arco'.

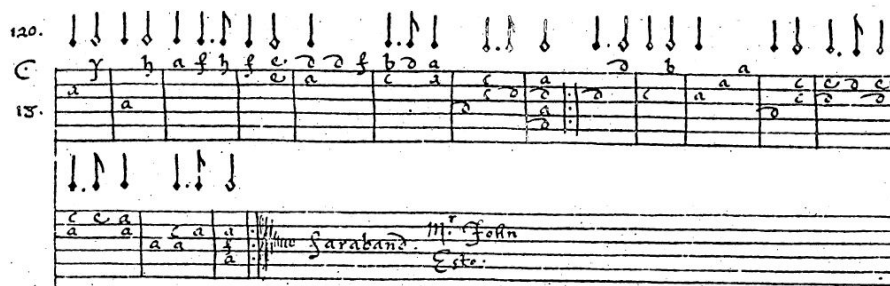


Example 9: Add. MS 59869, Thumpe.

Seq. 42, a sarabande by Esto is easy enough to read without help from other sources. A comparison, however, reveals a rhythmic displacement between MS 249 on the one hand, and the Playford and Manchester versions on the other. Both versions work well, although since the earliest Playford version from 1652 most likely predates MS 249, it is probably the most correct. Compare examples 10 and 11.

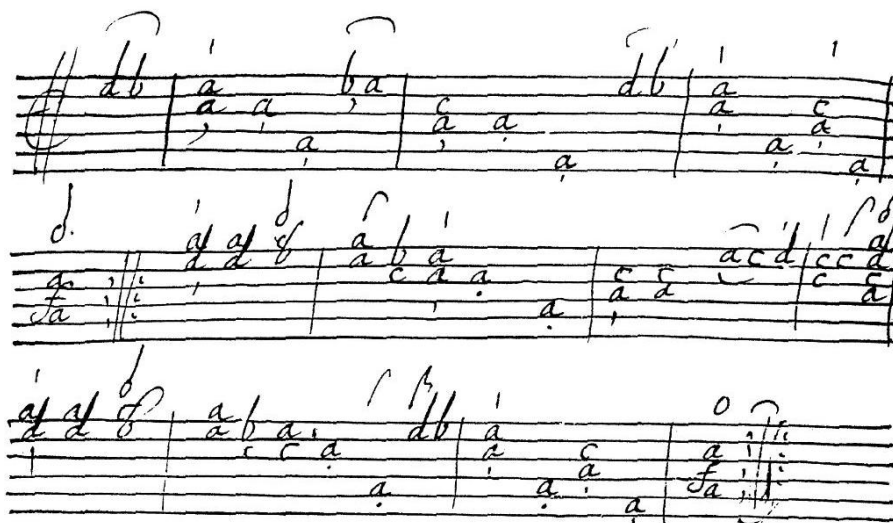


Example 10: MS 249 seq. 42 Sarabande.



Example 11: Manchester Lyra Viol Book, tuning XI, no. 18, f.120r, 1st piece.

Seq. 63 is the final piece of MS 249. Unique in this manuscript, it has a time signature and rhythmic notation similar to the Goëss manuscripts (the arching quaver, and straight-line-without-a-head for a crotchet). The index of MS 249 attached below lists twelve concordances for this piece. Until now I have been able to look at four of them (Playford MB, Playford MRLV, Add. MS 63852, Manchester Lyra Viol Book) and am not convinced they are the same piece. The Playfords and MS 63852 are only very loosely similar, and the Manchester matches MS 249 in the first half only. Comparison is not helped by different tunings between the sources. It is possible that this piece was so well known that it changed over time in the manner of Chinese-whispers. Compare Examples 12 and 13.



Example 12: MS 249 seq. 63. Tuning defhf.



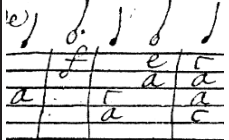

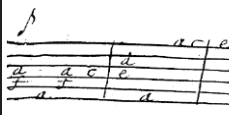

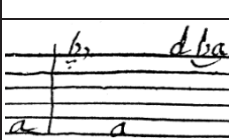
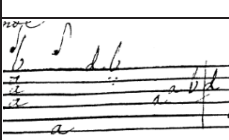

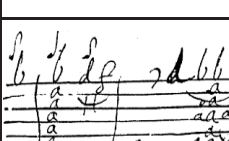

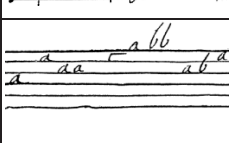

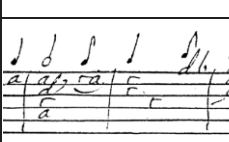

Example 13: Playford T280, MB 1651, no. 1. Tuning fefhf.

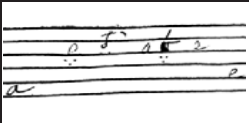

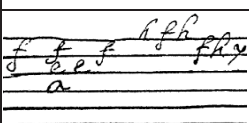

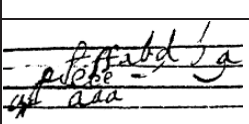

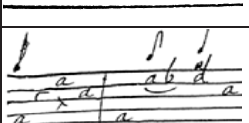

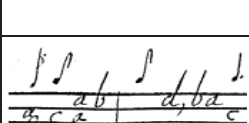
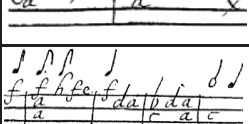
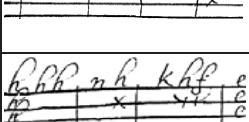

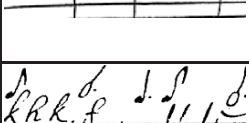
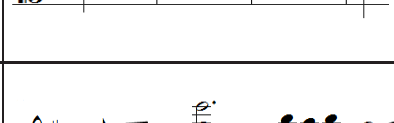
Perhaps the most interesting question raised by this manuscript is who did it belong to? From studying and playing the manuscript it is possible to make some guesses as to the type of person. It was somebody who was very able on the viola as some of the pieces are technically very difficult. Not only that, this player liked a challenge and to show off – pieces are often peppered with ornaments and are rhythmically elaborate. It was somebody who had an ear for a good piece of music – there is a high occurrence of musically interesting and entertaining pieces, well-known ones as well as pieces unique to this manuscript. If the original owner was living in The Netherlands, as Sotheby's description suggests, they probably had access to a variety of sources of viola-viol music on the continent as well as in Britain. The person was more interested in performing than collecting for posterity – that the manuscript served as a memory aid is shown by the large number of pieces (about 16) with unclear, little, or no rhythm.

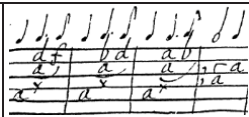

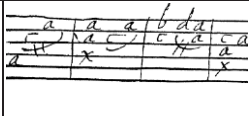

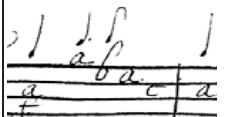

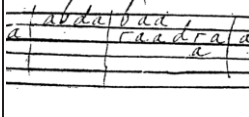

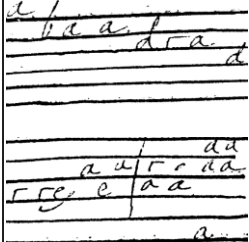

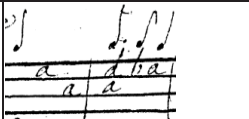

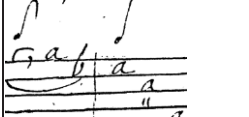

When one thinks of the viola-viol and The Netherlands together, one thinks of names such as Constantijn Huygens and Dietrich Steffkins. It is very tempting to think that whoever owned and made this manuscript was also well acquainted with the famous diplomat Huygens and his most favourite viola-viol player Steffkins.

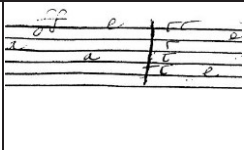
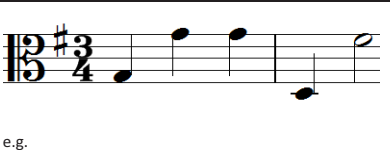
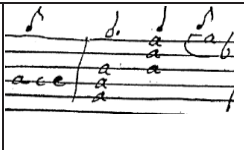

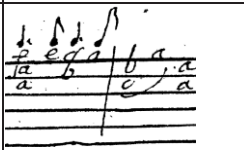

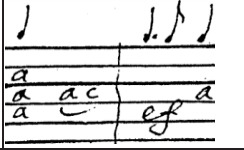
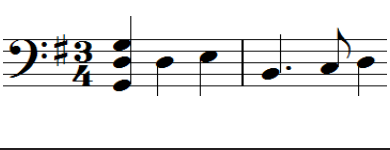
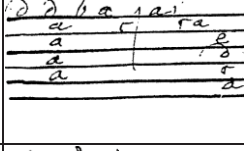

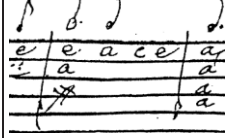
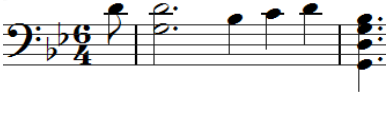
British Library: MS MUS 249 Index

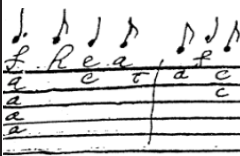

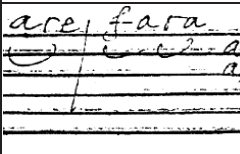
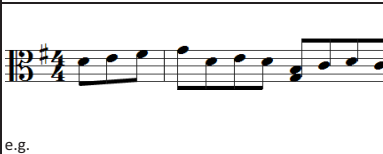
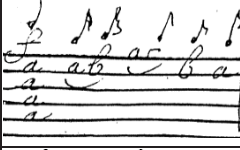
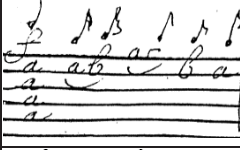

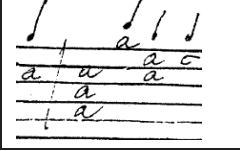

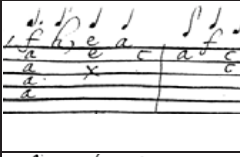

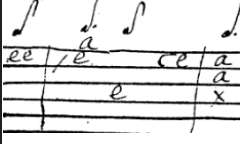

Seq.	Page	VDGS Nr.	Title	Composer	Tuning	Concordances	Notes	Tab.	Mens.
1	1r	322	Allemande	[Jenkins]	fdefh	Playford T 243 [MRLV 1652-5/75 [88]; 1661/85 [88]; 1669/119] A-ETgoëss A, seq. (33), anon. F-Pc, Rès 1111, no. 42, f.37v GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869, f.1v, no. 2 GB-Lbl, Add. MS 63852, f. inv. 95 GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XIII, no. 8; p.143 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.575, f. inv. 85	Very similar to MS 63852.		
2	1v	334	[Courante]	[Jenkins]	fdefh	IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, no. 4, f. 7v			
3	1v-2r	57	Courante	[Steffkins]	fdefh	A-ETgoëss A, seq. (7) GB-Lam, MS 600, f.59v, anon GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869, f. 27v, second piece: 'Mr [William] Drue'			
4	2r	58	Sarabande	[Steffkins]	fdefh	A-ETgoëss A, seq. (8), (21) A-ETgoëss B, seq. (63); anon Dbrd-Kl MSS 4o MUS 108, book 3, no. 49, f. 27r Dbrd-Kl MSS 4o MUS 108, book 4, no. 49, f. 11v IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, no. 5, f. 8v F-Pc, MS Rès 1111, no. 35, f. 31v; anon GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869, f. 25r, 3rd piece GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.573, f.19v, 1st piece; anon S-L, MS G.28, p.108, 2nd piece; anon			
5	2r	333	Allemande	[Jenkins]	fdefh	IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, no. 2, f. 5v			
6	2v	65	Courante	[Steffkins]	fdefh	A-ETgoëss A, seq. (14)	Second half feels like a variation. Is the undiminished version missing? Goëss MS identical second half. Some differences in 1st half.		

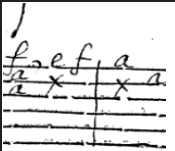

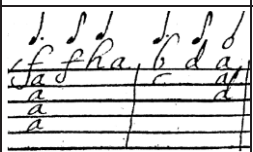

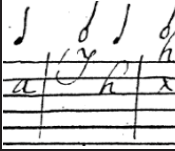

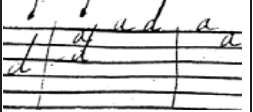

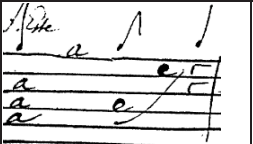
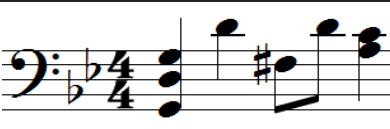
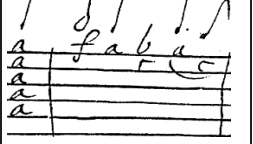

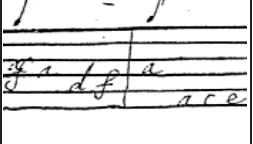

7	2v	A8935	Sarabande		edefh				
8	3r	A8936	Prelude		edefh		Rhythm sometimes unclear. Very different style - Italian Diminution style with the bowed out trills. [Separate tuning: eedfh, at bottom of page]		
9a	3v	62	[Allemande]	[Steffkins]	edefh	Ex. A8665	Secondary hand. No Rhythm. Rough. Tuning eedfh at bottom of page.		
9b	4r	62	[Allemande]	[Steffkins]	edefh	Ex. A8665	Secondary hand. Text at the beginning reads 'Retirez l'archet. C'est un ton de la chanterelle plus bas que la 1re piece de ce livre.' Rough. No Rhythm.		
10	4v	62	Allemande	[Steffkins]	edefh	Ex. A8666 A-ETgoëss A, Seq. 11	Primary hand. Neat Copy of Seq. 9a and 9b.		
11	4v-5r	A8667	Courante		edefh		No rhythm. Tuning edefg at end of piece.		
12	5r	A8668			edefh		No Rhythm, one barline.		
13	5r	A9945	[Courante]		edefff	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.245, p.206, 2nd piece; anon.	Text: Alexandre le Grand.		

14	5v	A8937	Allemande	fedfh		No Rhythm, no barlines.		
15	5v	A8938	Courante	fedfh		No Rhythm, no barlines.		
16	5v	A8939	Sarabande	fedfh		Tuning: 'hedfg' at end [actual: fedfh]. No Rhythm, no barlines.		
17	6r	5	Prelude	[Mace]	defhf	Ex. A7563, A7415. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, no. 1, f. 75 & 62.		
18	6v	61	Allemande	[Ives]	defhf	A-ETgoëss A, seq. 47 A-ETgoëss B, seq. 92 IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, f.72 inv.		
19	6v	A7082	Courante		defhf	=7564, 7565 A-ETgoëss B seq. 93		
20	7r	A7082	Sarabande'		defhf	=7564, 7565 A-ETgoëss B seq. 93		
21	7r	452	Courante	[C. Coleman]	defhf	Ex A7566 GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XII, no.14; p.134 Playford T 151 1652-5 No. 43[44]		

22	7r-v	434	Sarabande	[W. Lawes]	defhf	GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.575, f.12v: 'Saraband to Mr Lawes Suite in the paper.'			
23	7v-8r	A7567			defhf		No Rhythm		
24	8v	32	Allemande	[Steffkins]	defhf	A-ETgoëss A, seq. 46	Cross Rhythms.		
25	8v	A7012	Air [The Apollo]		defhf	[The Apollo] [Anon.: Playford T250]. Playford: MRLV 1652-5, no. 40 [11]	No rhythm.		
26	9r	A7568			defhf		No Rhythm. There may be 2 separate short pieces here.		
27	9r	49	Courante	[Ives]	defhf	Playford T25: MRLV 1652-5, no. 31 [32]	.		
28	9r	6	Air	[Mace]	defhf	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869, f.11v, no. 2 IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, no. 12, f. 65. Ex A7569.	Thumping. Ms 249 and MS 59869 very similar.		

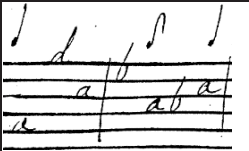

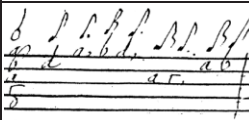

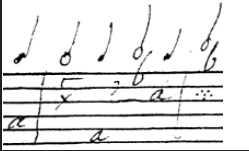

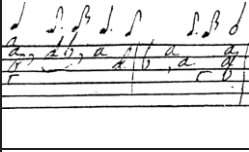

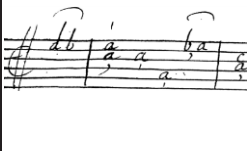

29	9v	433	Sarabande	[Lawes]	defhf	Ex. 7570 A-ETgoëss B Seq. 91 GB-Lbl, Add. 59869, f.9v:2 <i>Sarabrand Mr. Lawes</i>	No Rhythm.		
Seq. 30 - 37 in a secondary hand.									
30	9v-10r	59	J.T.	[John Taylor?]	defhf		Courante with variation repeat. Note-letters written over the line. Unknown ornament appears 6 times.		
31	10r	11	[Almande]	[Taylor]	defhf	Dbrd-Kl, MSS 4o MUS 108, vol. 2, no. 80; anon. IRL-Dm, MS Z3.5.13, no. 7, f.70 inv.			
31a	10r	A7573	[Sarabande]		defhf				
32	10r	509	[Courante]	[Jenkins]	efdef	Ex. A9841 See Seq. 48 for Details	No Rhythm. Seq. 48 alternative. without variation repeats. Unfinished? Work in progress?		
33	10v	A8055	[Courante]		edfhf		variation repeat. Petit reprise. Rhythmic play.		

34	11r	Y72/ E13	[Almaine]	[Young /Esto]	edfhf	<p>Playford T, no. 177, attrib. W. Young: MB 1651, no. 21; MRLV 1652-5, no 52 [53]; MRLV 1661, no. 27; MRLV 1669, no. 83; MRLV 1682, no. 31</p> <p>A-ETgoëss B, seq. 15; anon.</p> <p>F-Pc, MS Rès 1111, no. 2, f. 2v; anon.</p> <p>GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31, f.149, 2nd piece; anon.</p> <p>GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59869, ff. 2, 17, 2nd piece; anon.</p> <p>GB-Lbl, Add. MS 63852, f.112r, 2nd piece inv., 'Mr Younge'.</p> <p>GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XI, no. 14, f.118, 1st piece.</p> <p>GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.575, f. inv. 78, 1st piece; not ascribed in a group labelled 'Mr Esto's harp way.'</p> <p>GB-NTu, 'Leyden MS', no. 63, f. 38r; anon.</p>	Seq. 38 Alternative. All versions very similar. Ms63852 and Goess B have interesting ornaments.		
35	11r	A7571	Prelude		defhf		no rhythm.		
36	11v	A7572	[Allemande?]		defhf				
37	11v	A8056	de minne der lydt veel pyn [Allemande]		edfhf		It is not the Dutch Melody "Die Mindt, die lijdt veel pijn" that was well known in the 17th Century.		
Seq. 38 - 62 in primary hand.									
38	12v	Y72/ E13	Allemande	[Esto/Young]	edfhf	See No. 34 for details.	Seq. 34 Alternative.		
39	12v	A8057	Courante		edfhf	<p>US-L Auc MS M286 M4 L992 No. 8 f.10</p> <p>GB-CHer, MS DLT/B31 f. 148v:3</p> <p>A-ETgoëss B, seq.14</p> <p>GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XI, no. 9, p.115 =7941, 8039</p>			

40	12v-13r	83	Sarabande	[Ives]	edfhf	Playford T 48: MRLV 1652-5, no. 59 [63]: anon.; MRLV 1661, no. 48 [49] Esto; MRLV 1669, no.65 [67], Ives A-ETgoëss B, seq. 16; anon. Drbd-Kl, 4o MUS 108, vol. 3, no. 100, f.58v; anon. F-Pc, Rès 1111, f.3v; anon. GB-CHEr, MS DLT/B 31, f.77, 3rd piece; anon. GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XI, no. 26, p.124	Manchester version has different, interesting, ending.		
41	13r	A8058	Courante [Allemande]		edfhf				
42	13r	25	Sarabande	[Esto]	edfhf	Playford T15: MRLV 1652-5, no. 56 [69]; MRLV 1661, no. 43 [44] GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XI, no. 18, f. 120r, 1st piece	MS 249 off-set rhythm from Manchester and MRLV		
43	13v	A8059	Air		edfhf		Folk song?		
44	13v	22	Allemande	J. Esto	edfhf	Playford T206: MRLV 1652-5, no. 53 [66]; MRLV 1661, no. 34 [35]; MRLV 1669, no. 101; MRLV 1682, no. 26 GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59,869, no. 3, f.17v, 1st piece	MRLV has variation repeat.		
45	13v-14r	E42	Courante	J. Esto or Jenkins	edfhf		tricky. Text: J. Esto or Jenkins.		
46	14r	16	Allemande	J. Esto	edfhf	Playford T244: MRLV 1652-5, no. 52 [65]; MRLV 1661, no. 41 [42]; MRLV 1669, no. 96; MRLV 1682, no. 24 GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XI, no. 17, f. 119r, 2nd piece GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.575, f. inv. 77r, 1st piece			

[illegible]

51	17v	504	Allemande [Courante]	[Jenkins]	efdef	A-ETgoëss A, seq. 65 GB-Lam, MS 600, no. 3, f. 81v, 3rd piece GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning X, no. 5, p. 103 GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.573, f. 20v, 3rd piece	Quite independent version, re rhythms, ornaments. Closest to goëss A for the ending.		
52	18v	531	Allemande	[Jenkins]	ededf	A-ETgoëss C, seq. 35; anon GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XVII, no. 6, p. 183, 1st piece US-LAuc MS M286.M4L992, f. 1	Seq.52-54 very similar to Manchester.		
53	18v	95	Allemande	[Young]	ededf	Ex A9905 GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XVII, no. 1, p.180, 1st piece			
54	18v-19r	97	Sarabande	[Young]	ededf	Ex A9906 A-ETgoëss C, seq. 36; Mr William Younge Dbord-Kl 2o Mus61.1.(1), f.19, 2nd piece GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning XVII, no. 3, p.181 US-LAuc, MS 286.M4L992, f.10v	Better copy at Seq. 61. No Rhythm, no barlines.		
55	19v	A9742	Air		fedef		variation repeat		
56	19v	A9743	Air		fedef				
57	20r	122	Air	[Steffkins]	fedef	A-ETgoëss A, seq. 26 (attributed); A-ETgoëss Aseq. 31: anon. (variation) GB-Lbl, Add. MS 59,869, f. 27, 1st piece; anon ? Gb-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.573, Seq.50 f.29v:2			
58	20r	A9744	Air		fedef				

59	20v	A9745	Air		fedef		variation repeat		
60	21v	1	Gigue Nouvelle	Gigue Nouvelle par Bezond	fefff		Bezond? De Londi? Rhythm unclear.		
61	22r	97	Sarabande	[Young]	ededf	Ex A9906 See Seq. 54 for details.	Same as Seq. 54, but complete with rhythm and ornaments.		
[four blank leaves]									
62	23r	50	Allemande	Allemande de Hotteman	ffeff		Rhythm unclear.		
63	24v	A7001	[Thumping Almaine]		defhf	Playford T280: MB 1651, no. 1 [tuning: fefhf]; MRLV 1652-5, no. 26; MRLV 1661, no. 1; MRLV 1669, no. 26; MRLV 1682, no. 44 GB-Cu, MS Dd 6.48, f. 3v GB-CHer, MS DLT/B 31, f.1, 3rd piece [tuning: efhfh] GB-En, Sutherland MS [Sutherland Papers, no. 314, deposit 28 (on loan)], p.22, 1st piece GB-En, Reid MS 787.1, f. 1r GB-Lbl, Add. MS 63,852, f. 116v, 1st piece GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, tuning V [efhfh], no. 1, p. 71, 1st piece GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.575, f. inv. 89v GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. F.578, f. 7 [tuning: efdef]; f. 22 [tuning: defhf] S-[Kl], MS 21.068, f. inv. 27: 'Ballet' S-L, MS G.35, p. 4: 'Engelska klocken'	Thumping. Unique b-section? Only piece with time signature. Rhythm notation similar to Goëss Manuscripts.		

John Blow and Johann Kaspar Kerll: A Puzzle Solved

PETER HOLMAN

The Viola da Gamba Society's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* lists two pieces by John Blow, the Ground in G minor for two violins and bass and the well-known Sonata in A major for two violins, bass viol and continuo. They are both undoubtedly genuine works and were included by John Cunningham and me in the recent Purcell Society edition of *Restoration Trio Sonatas*.¹ The Sonata in A major exists in five manuscripts, two of which are close in time and place to the composer. GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33236 is a score copied in the early 1680s by someone close to Henry Purcell (he had access to the autograph score, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 30930 and his manuscript is the only source of Purcell's three-part pavans, Z.748-51), while GB-Lbl, R.M. 20.h.9 also dates from the early 1680s and was copied by the Winchester organist John Reading the elder (d. 1692), whose son John, also an organist as an adult, was a Chapel Royal choirboy under Blow; much of the repertory in the manuscript was probably obtained from musicians accompanying the court on visits to Winchester between 1682 and 1684. Reading attributed the sonata to Blow, as did the copyist of one of the secondary sources, GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400-3, an associate of the amateur composer James Sherard. The Ground in G minor is attributed to Blow in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33236, the sole source of the consort version, and in five of the six sources of a shortened keyboard arrangement.²

While preparing *Restoration Trio Sonatas* we considered including another sonata, in G major, that is often taken to be by Blow. It was edited as by him alongside the A major sonata by W.G. Whittaker in 1933 and again by Donald Beecher and Bryan Gillingham 50 years later.³ There are also at least two recordings of it attributed to Blow, by the Canadian group Les Boréades de Montréal and the Freiburg-based group L'Art du Bois.⁴ However, the attribution seems to be based solely on the fact that it comes after the Sonata in A major in three manuscripts, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33236, GB-Ob, MSS E.400-3 and GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.254; it is found by itself in two more, J-Tn, MS N2/15 and US-Cu, MS 959.⁵ In none of them is it

1 *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham, The Purcell Society Edition Companion Series, 4 (London, 2012), nos. 2, 3.

2 J. Blow, *Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. R. Klakowich, Musica Britannica, 73 (London, 1998), no. 70.

3 J. Blow, *Deux sonates pour deux violons, viole de gamba et basse*, ed. W.G. Whittaker (Paris, 1933); Blow, *Sonatas in A Major and G Major for Two Violins, Viola da Gamba (Cello) and Basso Continuo*, ed. D. Beecher and G. Gillingham (Ottawa, 1983).

4 *Private Musick*, Les Boréades de Montréal, ATMA Classique 22132 (1997); *Musical Humours and Lamentations*, L'Art du Bois, Etcetera1418 (2011)

5 See the tabulation of sources and the discussion in R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 109-21.

attributed to Blow, and the A major and G major sonatas are about as different as it is possible to be, given that they must have been written at much the same time and are both examples of the *sonata à tre* genre, with an obbligato bass part that takes part in the contrapuntal argument, partly doubling and partly elaborating the continuo.

The most striking feature of the A major sonata is the creative way Blow mixes elements of the current (c.1680) idioms of Italian, French and English consort music. His starting-point was the mid-century Italian *sonata à tre* as transmitted to England in prints and manuscripts; he would doubtless have come across examples published in Venice by Cazzati, Legrenzi, G.B. Vitali and others, as well as manuscript Roman *sinfonias* (sonatas in all but name) by Lonati and Colista.⁶ The Sonata in A major is Italianate in its scoring, though the bass viol departs from the continuo more often and completely than in any Italian trio sonata I have encountered, often producing rich four-part writing. Also, on the face of it the third section is an Italianate *canzona*, though it moves rapidly from idea to idea like an English madrigalian fantasia, and the pacing of its harmonies and its violent and unpredictable changes of harmonic direction are quintessentially English, recalling Matthew Locke and, of course, other works by Blow and Purcell. Its first two sections are clearly meant to evoke the sort of overtures in the French style that Blow was writing for his anthems and odes, though with much more interesting harmony and counterpoint than in overtures by contemporary French composers – with of course the solitary exception of Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Another English trait is the way that the canzona concludes with an Adagio passage returning to the dotted rhythms of the opening, in the manner of the ‘drag’ or ‘close’ passages of fantasia suites.

By contrast, there is no sign of these (or any other) English traits in the G major sonata. It is a lively, attractive but relatively simple and unambitious work in the mid-century sonata idiom shared by Italian and German composers. Its most substantial section is a canzona-like movement, marked Presto in at least one source and based on a repeated-note elaboration of the classic long-short-short pattern of sixteenth-century canzonas [Ex. 1]. It is marked to be repeated at the end, as in some Italian sonatas of the period. The material enclosed by it divides into two sections, one in duple time marked Adagio and the other in three-minim triple time, also implying a moderate tempo. These sections are ‘madrigalian’ in that they are based on a series of short contrasted ideas, though as in many central European sonatas there is an element of ‘chain’ or ‘variation’ techniques: most sections have something in common with preceding and succeeding ones, whether it be a turn of phrase, a melodic shape or just a rhythmic pattern. These features taken together led us to omit the work from *Restoration Trio Sonatas* and to suggest that it was written by ‘an unidentified mid-century Italian or German composer’.

⁶ See the extended treatment of this subject in *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, ed. Holman and Cunningham, esp. xiv-xv.



Example 1

There matters rested until a recent chance discovery, made possible, as with so many others in recent years, by the ready availability on the Internet of digital copies of primary sources and out-of-copyright modern editions. It came when I was looking for possible concert material in an anthology of music by the German composer Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-93), edited by Adolf Sandberger in 1901 for the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*.⁷ A copy is available on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library) along with other early *Denkmäler* volumes,⁸ and it also can be found on the IMSLP/Petrucchi site.⁹ Kerll, a pupil of Carissimi in Rome and Giovanni Valentini in Vienna, worked in Munich for nearly 20 years before returning to Vienna, hence his inclusion in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*.

Glancing through Sandberger's excellent and extensive introduction,¹⁰ I came across the incipit for a G major canzona that seemed strangely familiar, though I had no recollection of having heard it nor of having taken part in a performance. According to Sandberger it was preserved in a manuscript at the Landes- und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, though he did not give the shelf-mark. The other relevant source readily available to me, Ernst Meyer's 1934 book on northern European consort music, listed it, but also without a shelf-mark.¹¹ However, with Michael Robertson's help I was able to find details in Clytus Gottwald's catalogue of the music manuscripts at Kassel, part of the complete catalogue of the library's manuscripts.¹² The work is preserved in a set of four separate parts at 2° Ms. Mus. 60u with the following title on the wrapper: 'No. 37. Canzone à 3; 2 Violini, e Fagotto overo Viola da Gamba. di Gio. Gasparo Cherll'. 'No. 37' probably refers to its position in some early collection or location in a library; it does not relate to the rest of the items in 2° MS Mus. 60.

At this point I rather belatedly looked through the folder of material on Kerll I have collected over the years, and found to my surprise that I had a photocopy of a rough transcription of the canzona/sonata, made from the Kassel source by the Czech musician and musicologist Pavel Klikar; he must have given it to me while I

7 J.K. Kerll, *Ausgewählte Werke, Erster Theil*, ed. A. Sandberger, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, 2 (Leipzig, 1901).

8 <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00064299/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=en>.

9 [http://imslp.org/wiki/Ausgew%C3%A4hlte_Werke_\(Kerll,_Johann_Caspar\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Ausgew%C3%A4hlte_Werke_(Kerll,_Johann_Caspar)).

10 Kerll, *Ausgewählte Werke, Erster Theil*, ed. Sandberger, lxvii.

11 E.H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Kassel, 1934), 218.

12 *Die Handschriften der Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel*, ed. H.J. Kahlfuss, vi: *Manuscripta musica*, ed. C. Gottwald (Wiesbaden, 1997), 179.

was on a visit to Prague in the 1980s, though I had completely forgotten about it. As we might expect, the piece as preserved at Kassel is essentially the same as the one in English sources, though entitled ‘canzona’ rather than ‘sonata’ and with the bass part primarily allocated to ‘Fagotto’ (or dulcian) rather than a bass viol – which was presumably the instrument used when the piece was played in England. I am surprised that the connection between the ‘Blow’ sonata and the Kerll canzona does not seem to have been spotted before, since there is at least two recordings of the piece attributed to Kerll and presumably made from the Kassel manuscript, one as part of a collection of music by the composer recorded by the Leipzig-based Johann Rosenmüller Ensemble directed by Arno Paduch and issued in 2002,¹³ the other in an anthology of instrumental ensemble music by the Cologne-based group CordArte, issued in 2008.¹⁴ It is odd that Kerll’s canzona was recorded by CordArte since their CD is subtitled ‘Chambermusic from the Collection of the Olmütz Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelcorn’. So far as I can see, there is no manuscript of the piece in the Kroměříž collection and Kerll had no direct connection with Liechtenstein-Castelcorn.

I hope this discovery will encourage someone to make a new critical edition of the piece based on all the sources. Also, it would be a good idea to include the other two trio sonatas attributed to Kerll: the excellent and lengthy Sonata in G minor for two violins, ‘Viola da Gamba’ (a highly florid part, as prominent as the violin parts) and continuo from a manuscript at Uppsala, included in Sandberger’s edition;¹⁵ and the slighter F major *sonata à due* for two violins and bass, no. 12 of the Rost Manuscript in Paris,¹⁶ with concordances at Kroměříž,¹⁷ and in the anthology *Exercitum musicum* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1660), no. 8. As for the implications for our understanding of consort music in Restoration England, the discovery reinforces the impression created by others in recent years: that English musicians at the time were as interested in sonatas written in Germany, the Netherlands and Central Europe as they were by those written by Italians in their native land – the ‘most fam’d Italian Masters’ mentioned in the preface to Henry Purcell’s *Sonnata’s of III Parts*.¹⁸ How these sonatas were transmitted to England from far-off parts such as Bavaria and Austria is something that has yet to be explained, for the most part.

13 J.K. Kerll, *Geistliche Werke*, Johann Rosenmüller Ensemble/A. Paduch, Christophorus CHR77249 (2002). I am grateful to John Cunningham for alerting me to this recording.

14 *Sonate, Battaglie & Lamento*, CordArte/D. Deuter, Pan Classics PC10206 (2008).

15 Kerll, *Ausgewählte Werke, Erster Theil*, ed. Sandberger, 159-71.

16 M.A. Eddy, *The Rost Manuscript of Seventeenth-Century Chamber Music: A Thematic Catalog* (Warren MI, 1989), 9.

17 Caroli de Liechtenstein-Castelcornio Episcopi Olomucensis Operum Artis Musicae Collectio Cremosirii Reservata, comp. J. Sehnal and J. Pešková, 2 vols. (Prague, 1998), i. 310.

18 On this subject, see (in addition to the Preface of *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, ed. Holman and Cunningham) R. Thompson, ‘Some Late Sources of Music by John Jenkins’, *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 271-307; P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), esp. 13-19, 62-4, 78-80.

More on Polewheel

ANDREW ASHBEE

Further to my article 'The mystery of Polewheel and his Ground' in volume 5, François-Pierre Goy has kindly alerted me to an entry in the burial register of St Gregory by Pauls: 'ffrancis Polewheele: m^f. Pagetts man – Buryed 13th Aprill 1663'. He wonders whether 'Mr Pagett' might be the lawyer Justinian Paget/Pagitt (who died on 20 December 1668). We cannot confirm this of course, nor identify the Francis Polewheel who died in 1663 as the same man born to the Cornwall family in 1608, but the possibilities to do so are tempting. The dates 1608-1663 for Francis are a good match and a London provenance for his divisions on 'Polewheel's Ground' seems more likely than a Cornwall one. Is this Francis in fact the mysterious Polewheel mentioned by John Batchiler and John Evelyn as the musician? 'mr. Pagetts man' implies a social standing for Francis lower than that of Paget and one wonders whether he was kept as a resident musician.

Justinian Paget appears often as one who enjoyed and participated in music making. His common-place book or diary of 1633-4 (GB-Lbl, Harley 1026) includes many references to dancing and masques, not forgetting the odd query: 'Whether is not playing on the viol immediately after meales hurtfull, by reason that it stirs the fancy & bringeth a heate into my face at that time?' (f.6).¹ He wrote to his cousin that the King and Queen 'saw us ride in the streets' in the procession before performances of *The Triumph of Peace*, and he features seven times in Pepys's *Diary* between 1660 and 1667, often playing with him in trios and singing psalms. On 21 December 1662 they were joined by [Christopher] Gibbons, [Humphrey] Madge, and [Thomas] Mallard, which suggests a good measure of accomplishment. The *milieu* of the Inns of Court was ideal for music making. Paget, at the Middle Temple, probably knew Francis's elder brother John who was also there. Maybe one day we will learn more about the two men.

I take this opportunity to add to the catalogue of sources given in the article. A set of divisions on Polewheel's Ground by Anthony Poole is in GB-DRC, MS A.27, pp. 253-256: 'Division to a Ground/ D molle/ Mr Anthony Poole' [VdGS, PW27].² Although the manuscript was copied or completed by Philip Falle, probably at some time between 1722 and 1739, Germanic descriptions for the keys throughout suggest he was working from continental sources.

¹ Quoted in Wilfred Prest's account of Pagitt in *ODNB*. Paget was Recorder of the King's Bench.

² See *IMCM* II, 43-53.

Thomas Ravenscroft: Rounds, Canons and Songs from Printed Sources

IAN PAYNE

Thomas Ravenscroft: Rounds, Canons and Songs from Printed Sources.

Transcribed and edited by John Morehen and David Mateer. Musica Britannica 93 (Stainer & Bell for the Musica Britannica Trust; London, 2012). Score, £90.00.

(ISMN 979 0 2202 2339 6; ISBN 978 0 85249 926 9; ISSN 0580-2954)

In June 1605 – at the unusually young age of only fourteen, we are told – Thomas Ravenscroft proceeded Bachelor of Music at Cambridge after ten years' study. According to his degree supplicat (xxx), he was required to compose the obligatory *canticum*, or exercise, to be sung in the presence of the University on the day of the *comitia*.¹ We can deduce from this that he was composing sacred music, and able to produce a competent (full) anthem or motet for at least five voices, in that year;² but as we do not know what this work was, or even if it has survived, we cannot judge its musical quality or his skill as a budding composer. He may or may not therefore have been an unusually precocious writer of sacred polyphony in the year of the Gunpowder Plot; but he was certainly an early-developer, and a prolific all-rounder, whose subsequent output embraces the 'serious' and the 'popular' on a scale unrivalled in the field of Jacobean music.

It is with the 'popular' (and published) Thomas Ravenscroft that this volume is concerned, for it brings together for the first time under one cover his three printed collections of secular music – the complete (154) rounds, canons, partsongs and consort songs from *Pammelia* (1609), *Deuteromelia* (1609) and *Melismata* (1611) – plus the 20 compositions appended to his theoretical treatise, *A Briefe Discourse* (1614). The latter, in particular, contains some of his most attractive music for voices and viols; and while *Pammelia* offers only

¹ The *Comitia*, or Commencement, was the precursor of today's Congregation for admission to degrees. Before Senate House was used for this purpose, the first 'Public Commencement' being held there in July 1730, both the ceremony and the performance of music-degree exercises took place in Great St Mary's Church.

² The number of parts in which the *canticum* was to be composed is never stated in Cambridge records, and the only two such named 'Commencement Songs', by John Tomkins (1608) and Robert Ramsey (1616), are in seven and eight parts respectively; but it is often given at Oxford, where it varied between five and eight parts until the Laudian Code of 1636 made five the statutory number. (For a good general discussion of early music degrees, though mistaken (206) as to the date of Ravenscroft's, see Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1958), 153-210 *passim*; and for more detail within the period 1560-1640, Ian Payne, 'Thomas Bateson and Randal Jewett: The Earliest Music Graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, in the Light of Music Degrees at Oxford and Cambridge', *The Consort*, 70 (2014), forthcoming.)

rounds or catches,³ the other three collections explore a much wider variety of genres, including consort songs and partsongs.

Players seeking music for voices and viols, even if they already know the composer's consorts,⁴ will find plenty to surprise and entertain them here.⁵ One of the most accomplished and delightful consort songs in the volume, and surely one of Ravenscroft's best works in any genre, is the mini consort 'song-cycle' on the rustic dalliance of Hodge Trillindle and his 'zweet hort' Malkin [BD17-20]. Their musical courtship spices up, in mock South-West dialect, the *Briefe Discourse's* 'Enamouring' section, harmoniously rounded off with the couple's 'wedlocke' set to music by the madrigalist John Bennet. No wonder it has enjoyed several recordings, one as early as 1969.⁶ Works such as these, together with others from *Deuteromelia* and *Melismata* – their texted parts sometimes marked 'The Singing Part' and the accompanying strands crying out for performance on strings – seem tailor-made for voice(s) and viols. Alternatively, as the 'Notes on Performance: Instruments' section suggests (xlv), the more homophonic consort songs could be sung as partsongs. It would be an easy matter to add underlay to their simple untexted parts, and the possibilities for performance, rather like the perpetual canons themselves, are virtually endless.

The volume is handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated with source and document facsimiles in the best tradition of the Series. It is a *tour de force* of scholarship – and indeed of 'editorship', since the notation of some of this music exercises an editor's knowledge of mensural notation more than most music of the Jacobean period, and the 'satisfactory resolution' of some of the rounds had presented an insuperable challenge to some earlier editors (xli), making a completely accurate collected edition even more desirable. The music is clearly and spaciously set out; and the verbal texts are printed in full on the music pages for the convenience of performers, following practice in the original prints.

Editorial accidentals are printed small on the stave, and there are no editorial cautionaries. Inevitably there are a few places – such as 'The painters' song of London' [M11] for voice and four viols, bar 17, Treble, 3rd note, a c'[natural] –

³ One item, the rumbustious 'Sing after, fellows, as you hear me'[P74], could be sung through as a partsong.

⁴ The four five-part fantasias (VdGS nos 1-4) were respectively published as follows: Schott, Viola da Gamba Society Publication no. 12; VdGS, Supplementary Publications nos 98 and 110 (all 1973); and Schott, Recorder Bibliothek no. 25, score and parts, ed. Nicholas Steinitz (Schott, 1965). I am grateful to Dr Andrew Ashbee for some of this information. (VdGS nos 1, 3 and 4 are recorded on *There were three Ravens*, The Consort of Musicke/Rooley, Virgin Classics Ltd, VIR 91217, London, 1991.)

⁵ Although the publishers currently have no plans to issue separate instrumental parts, offprints of the score will be made available. (Information kindly supplied by Ms Mandy Aknai, Stainer and Bell's Production Director.) These offprints can be used for performance, if tenor-violists are content to read their parts in the (G2) octave-transposing 'treble' clef rather than the customary C3 'alto' one.

⁶ *English Secular Music of the Late Renaissance*, Purcell Consort of Voices/Grayston Burgess, STGBY 624 (London: Vox Records, 1969); also *There were three Ravens* (above, note 4) which includes two very different, but equally charming, works for voices and viols: 'The crowning of Belphebe' [M2] and 'The crier's song of Cheapside' [M14].

where one might wish for their reassurance. But the policy is a sound one since, as every editor knows, deciding where to place cautionaries is to some extent subjective and the policy of adding them, once embarked upon, can be hard to stop: the page can so easily become cluttered if they are scattered around too liberally; and in any case, a small (editorial) accidental may occasionally be pressed into service to do the same thing. (See, for example, ‘The courtier’s courtship to his mistress’ [M4], bar 21, Medius, 4th note.) The treatment of accidentals in this volume is in fact exemplary: there will always be places where performers may hold a different view;⁷ but the editors’ approach is both restrained and judicious.

Idiosyncratic part-writing is a characteristic of Ravenscroft’s musical style, especially in his verse anthems, but it occurs even in the four fantasias for viols and three Latin motets which are arguably his technically most accomplished works. The editors of the present volume respect this trait in the printed collections, which share with Ravenscroft’s manuscript compositions a penchant for consecutives, and no attempt is made to ‘over-edit’ the text. Thus, in bar 4 of ‘Yonder comes a courteous knight’ [D22] the edition presents the original text, warts and all:⁸ faced with the two glaring, adjacent sets of consecutive octaves between Medius and Bassus here, one might well be tempted to assume a misprint or composer error, and read g’ for b’ on the second minim beat, were it not for the important fact that the reading is presumably supported by all five original exemplars consulted (p. 165).

This volume is however much more than a first-class complete edition of Ravenscroft’s printed secular music; the supporting material is first-rate, too. Following the informative Introduction (on which more below) a concise Critical Commentary includes notes on the sources, and on concordances of music and texts, where known.⁹ As one might expect of a volume containing such carefully-prepared musical texts, the accompanying Introduction and Commentary are no less meticulous, and in the course of normal reading the writer was aware of only two small slips, both in the Preface.¹⁰ A particularly

⁷ For example, in ‘By a bank as I lay’ [D19] many will instinctively sharpen the leading-note in bar 4, Tenor, 4th note; and some may wonder whether, in the exquisite ‘There were three ravens sat on a tree’ [M20], a tritone between Treble and Bassus (bar 8, 3rd beat) was actually intended, notwithstanding any precedent set by the editorial flat to Treble e”, previously heard in bar 4 and strongly implied by the part-movement (d” e” d”).

⁸ Recorded on *There were three Ravens* (above, note 4).

⁹ The notes to ‘Sing after, fellows, as you hear me’ [P74] (p.179) include a list of contemporary occurrences of the melody in Ravenscroft’s Cantus (‘Now foot it as I do, Tom boy, Tom’). This tune, sometimes called ‘Lusty Gallant’, was also one of those used by William Cobbold in his enigmatic five-part consort song, ‘New Fashions’, but it was completely lost with its Quintus part. Ravenscroft and Cobbold (who also uses words from ‘There were three ravens’ text in the same work: see [M20] and p. 186) employ the same rhythm at first, but it is not known what text was sung to the tune in Cobbold’s setting. (See Ian Payne, ‘New Light on “New Fashions” by William Cobbold (1560-1639) of Norwich’, *Cheby*, 30 (2002), 11-36 (at 16-20); and *William Cobbold: The Music for Five Voices and Viols*, ed. Ian Payne, Fretwork Editions FE20 (London, 2002) where the present writer’s reconstructed Quintus part – recorded on *The Cries of London*, Harmonia Mundi HMU 907214 in 2006 – incorporates this melody.)

¹⁰ This attributes twelve *Briefe Discourse* pieces to Ravenscroft and states that there are only ‘[s]everal madrigals, motets, songs and anthems’ by him in manuscript sources. (There are six madrigals, eleven English anthems if one discounts the separate *partes*, and three Latin motets. See the list of anthems and motets in Ian Payne, ‘The sacred music of Thomas Ravenscroft’,

useful aspect of the volume's presentation, given the large number of short pieces included, is the allocation to each piece of a unique identifier – the initial letter(s) of the original print's title plus that item's number within it – in both Contents and Critical Commentary. This will be a handy system of reference for scholars who wish to refer to individual pieces in future discussions. At the back of the book there is an index of first lines, though readers wishing to locate a piece by its title (or compelled to do so because they do not know the first line) must scan the Contents pages for it. However, this task is not too onerous, especially if one happens to know which print the piece is in.

One issue that is addressed at the outset (Preface, xxiii; Introduction, xl-xli) is Ravenscroft's role in presenting all the pieces assembled in the present volume. Was he simply their collector or was he, either wholly or in part, their composer?:

All the compositions in these three collections [i.e. *Briefe Discourse* excepted] are by unnamed composers, and there is no reason to believe that any of them are Ravenscroft himself [Preface, xxiii].

In the case of the twenty *Briefe Discourse* pieces the answer is crystal clear, for all except one (the anonymous 'urchins' dance' [BD8]) are attributed to their composer in the original print: 11 to Ravenscroft himself, six to John Bennet and two to Edward Pearce – a further reminder, if any were needed, of his adult membership of the select group of musicians which formed an 'enclave' around St Paul's Cathedral.¹¹ (Pearce was master of the choristers in 1599 and Ravenscroft's influential teacher there: as Thomas 'Rainscrofte', the composer had become a chorister at St Paul's in 1598, having presumably migrated from Chichester Cathedral. See xxviii-xxix.)

In the case of the three earlier collections, however, as the Introduction points out (xl), Ravenscroft was heavily indebted to pre-existing music;¹² this is clear from the so-called 'Lant' manuscript (c.1580) which, say the editors, 'provides 57 rounds and canons, all but nine of which were subsequently included in Ravenscroft's printed collections' (167). In a few other cases, his reliance on earlier material, while discernible, is much more distant and harder to pin down. One possible example, 'Hey, down a down (II)' [P28], is cited in the Commentary (173). Another is the partsong, 'By a bank as I lay' [D19], which agrees with some of the harmonic and melodic framework implied by a manuscript contratenor part copied into the fragmentary early print, *XX Songes* (London, 1530).¹³

Early Music, 10/3 (July 1982), pp.309-15 (at p.309); for the madrigals see Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1982), 113, 276.)

¹¹ See, for example, Monson, *Voices and Viols in England*, 9, 60.

¹² Perhaps the clearest single example (anywhere) of Ravenscroft as borrower is his parodistic reworking of Bennet's 'For hern and duck' [BD5] as a five-part madrigal: see Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England*, pp.100-102. For a possible borrowing from John Ward see Ian Payne, 'John Ward and the London Set: Further Evidence for Musical Borrowing in the "Late" English Madrigal', *The Consort* 66 (2010), 3-17 (at 8-9).

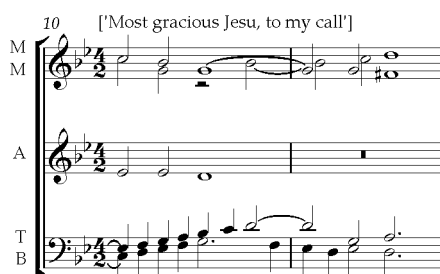
¹³ Payne, 'John Ward and the London Set', 8; and especially *idem*, 'Further Light on Thomas Ravenscroft's "By a banke as I lay"', *Lute News*, 108 (December, 2013), 20-23.

While it would be unrealistic to expect Ravenscroft to have written all the pieces in the first three collections, however, it does seem reasonable to assume that he would have composed some, at least, of the pieces closest in style to those attributed to him both in the *Briefe Discourse* and his music in manuscript sources. One's suspicions are aroused by the presence in a few works of such idiosyncratic 'fingerprints' as the frequent disregard for consecutives and a tendency to omit the leading-note from the dominant chord – the latter as in the following extract from his consort anthem, 'All laud and praise' (Ex. 1).¹⁴

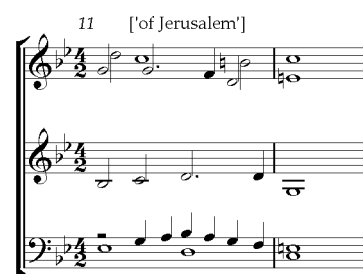


Ex. 1. Ravenscroft, ALL LAUD AND PRAISE, b. 10.

This impression is of course purely subjective, and utterly incapable of proof: Ravenscroft was not alone among his contemporaries in flouting the usual 'academic' conventions of part-writing, and one swallow doesn't make a summer. However, in 'There were three ravens sat on a tree' [M20], for example, the unresolved seventh, unorthodox spacing and low-placed third in the Tenor (bars 3 and 7) are thoroughly typical of the composer, particularly in his sacred music (Exx. 2 & 3):



Ex. 2. Ravenscroft, O JESU MEEK, bb. 10-11



Ex. 3. Ravenscroft, O WOEFUL RUINS, bb. 11-12

But the Introduction offers more than a comprehensive contextual account of the music in the volume; it breaks new ground with the composer's biography, too – as the Publisher's newsletter explains:

[O]ur knowledge of the early years of Thomas Ravenscroft (c.1589 – after 1622) is at best patchy – the place and date of both his birth and death is either missing or has yet to be firmly established. His origins and childhood are particularly obscure, thanks to an impenetrable jumble of conflicting evidence and misinformation. Fortunately, new documents have recently emerged that

¹⁴ For this feature, compare the attributed Ex. 1 and [BD6] bars 5-6, with the anonymous [D20] bars 7, 18 and [M23], bar 15.

make it possible safely to discount the most persistent of the red herrings relating to Thomas's parentage.¹⁵

This passage promises a new attempt to sort out the elusive earlier part of Thomas's life and career, though one persistent 'red herring' (the old assertion that he was a son of Roger Ravenscroft, canon of Chester Cathedral) had already been convincingly dispatched in print by one of the editors.¹⁶

Perhaps the most interesting biographical suggestion in the Introduction concerns an earlier birth-date for the composer than 1592, which would be a landmark discovery if it could be proved beyond doubt. The contemporary evidence supporting 1592 (see xxx) has always seemed impressive, but there is a problem: it is inconsistent with Thurston Dart's discovery, half a century ago, that one Thomas 'Raniscroft' was admitted a chorister at Chichester Cathedral in May 1594 (xxviii). The editors take the view (subscribed to by the present writer in 1986)¹⁷ that this Chichester chorister and the composer are 'almost certainly' identical (xxviii),¹⁸ and propose an intriguing new candidate – and an earlier birth-date (xxvii):

The baptismal record of Thomas the musician is no longer extant, but there can be little doubt that he was born on Portsea Island, Hampshire, probably in 1589. His father, John Raniscrofte (1554-1605), had been raised in London, the son of Arthur Ravenscroft, citizen and innholder of the parish of St John the Evangelist, Watling Street.

Unfortunately, Thomas is not named in his father's will (xxxi); but this identification, if firmly established, would certainly offer a neat solution and bring to the table a valuable genealogical bonus, uniting the 'official' spelling of the surname used by the composer and the variant spelling 'Raniscroft' used for the Chichester chorister in two successive generations of the same family – a family, argue the editors, that can be traced back in a direct line to the Ravenscrofts of Hawarden, a collateral branch of the Bretton line, on the Flintshire/Cheshire borders.¹⁹

When the editors turn their attention to the composer's adult career, the results are no less interesting, as for example their argument that he was bound apprentice to Robert Barker, the royal printer, in 1608 (p.xxxii). But

¹⁵ *The Bell* (Summer 2013), 10.

¹⁶ David Mateer, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23172>].

¹⁷ 'Thomas Ravenscroft: a biographical note', *The Musical Times* 127 (1986), 707-9 (at 708).

¹⁸ That 'Raniscroft' was a variant spelling of 'Ravenscroft' is attested, for example, in *Pedigrees made at the Visitation of Cheshire, 1613*, ed. G.J. Armytage and J.P. Rylands, (n.p., 1909), p.317: the surname is evidently locative, deriving from the township of Ravenscroft in Middlewich parish, and the name is given there with both spellings, though whether this should be 'Raniscroft' or 'Rainscroft' is unclear without seeing the original documents in question. (As a phonetic corruption of the original, the latter variant – also used to spell the composer's name as a St Paul's chorister – is much the likelier reading.) For Ravenscroft township, and an outline of the medieval Ravenscrofts, see George Ormerod, *A History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 3 vols (London, 1819), Vol. 3, 10-11.

¹⁹ xxvii and n. 5. Although the text here does not say, it would be interesting to know what is the crucial primary source that firmly identifies the London Thomas's family with the North West family. (The latter were gentry, and as such entered their pedigree at the Elizabethan heralds' visitation of Cheshire. See *The Visitation of Cheshire in the Year 1580*, ed. J.P. Rylands, Publications of the Harleian Society, 18, London, 1882, 194-5.)

Ravenscroft's long-established career activities are also discussed at length. These include his close association with the theatre – in 1618 he famously witnessed the will of Richard Cowley, an actor named in the Quarto and Folio versions of Shakespeare's *Much ado about nothing* (p. xxxv) – and his stint (1618–22) as 'singing schoole master' of Christ's Hospital (pp. xxxiii–xxxvi). The editors' in-depth treatment of the latter is especially welcome: thanks to their painstaking researches in the Hospital's archives, we now know that the post-holder was expected to teach three or four of his boys 'To Play upon ... the Virginalls & Violl' (p. xxxv). This suggests one possible reason why Ravenscroft composed his fantasias for viols, and especially his consort anthems, many of which emphasise or exclusively employ 'meane' boys' voices in their verse sections. Maybe these were used domestically by the boys for recreational (and of course educational) purposes, though the evidence is inconclusive: apparently, only one bass instrument is mentioned in the archives; and the editors presumably found no record that a full consort of viols was officially maintained by the President and Governors.

This is without doubt the most detailed, elegant and 'joined-up' attempt yet published to reconstruct the composer's life and career. As anyone will know who has researched the family history of a late-Tudor or Jacobean musician (or indeed their own) the process, as the editors realize,²⁰ is not problem-free: for example, early parish registers are often lost or defective, and bishop's transcripts sparse and patchy; probate and visitation records may respectively be incomplete and incorrect, making parent-child relationships unprovable, and movements between parishes hard to trace and even harder to confirm; and shared common Christian names can complicate matters further. Nevertheless, they are to be congratulated on their biographical researches, and it will be very interesting to see how their findings mesh with those of other scholars as further work is carried out.

Today Thomas Ravenscroft is best known for the music in these four celebrated prints,²¹ much less so for his small quantity of consort music, and hardly at all for his still largely-unpublished madrigals and sacred music.²² However, the publication of this splendid complete critical edition will hopefully locate the famous composer-collector and his attractive rounds, canons, partsongs and consort songs even more prominently on the musical map.

²⁰ They readily concede, at the very start, that our knowledge of the composer's life remains 'patchy, and [that] certain basic biographical information – such as the place and date of both his birth and death – is either missing or has yet to be firmly established' (xxvii).

²¹ No doubt helped by the fact that 'several facsimile editions' of *Pammelia*, *Deuteromelia* and *Melismata* 'have appeared in recent years' (xli), some of which have inevitably found their way onto the Internet.

²² Two fine Latin motets are recorded on *There were three Ravens* (above, note 4).

Ut Orpheus Editions of Italian Consort Music

PETER HOLMAN

English viol players tend not to be fully aware of the rich repertory of Italian consort music suitable for their instrument, and until recently good editions were few and far between. Performers mostly had to make do with bad old editions, such as the selection in vol. 7 of Luigi Torchi's *L'arte musicale in Italia* (Milan, 1907), or had to make their own editions from facsimiles, such as those published in the 1970s and 80s by S.P.E.S. (Studio per Edizioni Scelte) in Florence. However, Ut Orpheus Edizioni in Bologna has been making up for lost time, producing complete editions of early seventeenth-century Italian printed collections that are mostly up to scratch in their scholarship but also cater for the performer. Those in search of good new repertory for viols with or without other instruments will find it worthwhile reading though their on-line catalogue (<http://www.utorpheus.com>), looking particularly at two series, 'Music for Ad Libitum Instrumental Ensemble' and 'Ricerare Capriccio Fantasia'. I have been sent five publications in the 'Ricerare Capriccio Fantasia' series: complete editions of Tarquinio Merula's *Primo libro delle canzoni*, op. 1 (Venice, 1615), RCF 16A; Pietro Lappi's *Canzoni da suonare*, op. 9 (Venice, 1616), RCF 10A; the instrumental ensemble items in Giovanni Martino Cesare's *Musicali melodie* (Munich, 1621), RCF 14; Cherubino Waesich's *Canzoni a cinque*, op. 2 (Rome, 1632), RCF 17A; and Andrea Falconieri's *Primo libro di canzone, sinfonie, fantasie ...* (Naples, 1650), RCF 18A.

The Ut Orpheus publications I have seen tend to take a similar approach to editorial practice, suggesting that the company has made an effort to make its editors conform to a common set of editorial guidelines – something that is more associated with non-commercial scholarly series such as *Musica Britannica* or *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* than with a general music publisher. The way the original notation is treated in these five editions is something of a compromise, inconsistent or pragmatic according to your point of view. Note values are unchanged and it is not assumed that accidentals last to the end of the bar as in modern practice; 'redundant' accidentals in the original are left in place – though those 'missing' according to this system are not always supplied, a strange inconsistency. C clefs are mostly replaced by treble and octave-transposing treble clefs, though they are retained for some of the trombone parts in the Cesare edition and for the inner parts of the Waesich canzonas. Duple-time signatures (C and C-stroke) are retained, but triple-time ones are standardised using 3, 3/2 and 6/4. Duple-time sections are mostly barred in two minims, as in modern practice, though the Waesich canzonas are barred in four minims. These pieces often have florid writing in semiquavers and even triplet semiquavers, so two-minim bars would be easier to read. Conversely, some of the Lappi canzonas, using a minim beat and with simple writing in minims, crotchets and quavers, would be better in four-minim bars. The way of distinguishing editorial accidentals from the original ones varies: editorial ones are either supplied before the note in square or round brackets or above the staff – the last being the best policy, in my opinion. Where there are original continuo parts realisations are not supplied, and the

original figuring is mostly not completed, though there is a half-hearted attempt to do so in the Waesich edition.

By and large, the five editors have done their work thoroughly and discrimination. The introductions vary in their length and coverage, though they all include proper critical commentaries, with the editorial policy clearly stated and individual changes to the musical text listed. Looking through the musical texts, my impression is that there has been a real effort to spot and emend mistakes in the original, though missing accidentals have not always been supplied and, conversely, accidentals are sometimes used to make pre-tonal harmonic writing conform to modern expectations. But these things are often a matter of taste, and can easily be changed by performers. More important is the question of whether pieces need to be transposed down according to the bundle of conventions called *chiavette*. There is considerable evidence that pieces in 'high' clefs (such as G2, C1 or C2, C3, and F3 or C4 for most of the Merula four-part canzonas and in all but one of those by Lappi) were played as written by *stromenti acuti* such as violin consorts or cornetts and sackbuts but were transposed down a fourth when played by *stromenti grave*, such as consort of viols and recorders. So far as I can see, Ut Orpheus do not make provision for *chiavette* transpositions, so viol players will either have to play them as written or make their own transposed versions. As it happens, the Merula canzonas fit well on a conventional modern viol consort consisting of a treble, two tenors and a bass. I have only seen the scores of these editions; the parts are sold separately and it is not clear from the Ut Orpheus website which clefs are used in them, or whether they include any alternatives. Viol players may have to cope with tenor and octave-transposing treble clefs.

Tarquino Merula's *Primo libro*, the first and most conservative of at least four collections of instrumental ensemble music he published between 1615 and 1651, consists of twelve four-part canzonas and three rather Monteverdian dances, 'Alemana Prima', 'Alemana Seconda' and 'Corrente'. They use the classic late sixteenth-century SATB scoring with an unfigured 'Basso Generale' doubling the lowest sounding part. They are said to be suitable for 'all types of musical instruments' ('ogni sorte de stromenti Musicali'), and would work equally well on consorts of viols, violins, recorders or cornetts and sackbuts. Emanuela Di Cretico's introduction (in Italian only) is extremely thorough, and the music is a delight, combining a supple and fluent command of traditional counterpoint with lively figuration and dance-like triple-time passages. I was reminded to some extent of Orlando Gibbons's fantasias, which will be recommendation enough for most English viol players.

Pietro Lappi worked as *maestro di cappella* at S. Maria delle Grazie in Brescia from about 1593 until his death in 1630, and mostly wrote sacred vocal music; the *Canzoni da suonare* of 1616 is his only instrumental collection. It consists of a varied collection of pieces ordered by ascending number of parts, beginning with traditional four-part canzonas and ending with the imposing 13-part three-choir canzona 'La Monteverde'. Lappi did not provide a continuo part, but it would be a good idea to add one, particularly in the four-part 'La Frederica' and 'La Luzzaga' and the six-part 'L'Usipina', economy versions of two- and three-choir pieces in which instrumental choirs are reduced to their outer parts. There are no indications of instrumentation, though the five-part

'La Penolaccia', scored for SSSBB instruments, looks as if it was intended for three cornetts and two trombones. Viol players will probably find the traditional full-voiced canzonas in four, five and six parts most congenial, though the large-scale polychoral pieces would be useful material for summer schools. Lappi's canzonas are fluent and attractive, but are rather old-fashioned, simple and lacking in drama and virtuosity by comparison with Giovanni Gabrieli's late canzonas and sonatas. Andrea Bornstein's introduction (again just in Italian) is rather less thorough than Di Cretico's.

Giovanni Martino Cesare was a wind player from Udine who spent most of his career in Bavaria. The Ut Orpheus edition consists of the instrumental ensemble items from *Musicali melodie*, fourteen canzonas for one to six instruments and continuo; the collection also includes fourteen motets, published separately by Ut Orpheus. It is the last of his three publications; after 1621 he only seems to have published a few motets in anthologies, though he did not die until 1667. Cesare's canzonas were only published five years after Lappi's, but are much more modern. They too are ordered by ascending number of parts, but use small, varied groups of instruments, all with specified instrumentation and with an essential organ continuo part. The collection starts with canzonas for solo cornett or violin and trombone or 'viola', followed by those for two violins/cornetts, cornett and trombone, two cornetts/violins and trombone/'viola', three cornetts/violins, four trombones, three cornetts and trombone, two cornetts and two trombones, and three cornetts and three trombones, all with organ. The 'viola' here is presumably a bass viol, and all the trombone parts in the collection would suit the instrument. In particular, no. 11, 'La Bavara', for four trombones and organ, would make an excellent piece for four bass viols.

Cesare's style can be described as by Biagio Marini out of Giovanni Gabrieli; his music combines the lively figuration and textures of the former with the harmonic style of the latter. The result is a series of substantial and effective pieces that deserve to be better known. As we might expect, no. 10, an 'Ecco' canzona for three violins or cornetts, is indebted to Gabrieli's three-violin sonata, but is also related to Marini's 'Sonata in eco con tre violini'. The latter was not published until 1629 so Marini was presumably influenced by Cesare rather than the other way round. Robert Ischer's introduction, given in English (in a comically bad translation) and French as well as Italian, does not display much understanding of Cesare's historical position or the performance-practice issues raised by his scoring indications, though his editing of the music is efficient enough.

Cherubino Waesich's canzonas are the only pieces reviewed here written specifically for viols, though they are something of a historical oddity. By 1632, when they were published, viol consorts seem to have passed out of use in most of Italy, though one was still flourishing in Rome, in the household of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the nephew of Pope Urban VIII. The historical context is outlined by the editor, Florian Grampp, though his introduction is only in Italian, and there are more details in his article 'A Little-Known Collection of Canzonas Rediscovered: The *Canzoni a cinque da sonarsi con le viole da gamba* by Cherubino Waesich (Rome, 1632)', *Chelys*, 32 (2004), pp. 21-44 (<http://www.vdgs.org.uk/files/chelys/32chelys.pdf>). We learn there that

Waesich probably came from the Netherlands or the Rhineland and worked in Rome as an organist at least from 1632 to the winter of 1649-50. Francesco Barberini's viol consort performed works with singers as well as playing on its own, hence the inclusion of two madrigals for six voices, six viols and continuo in the collection and in this edition. There are similar pieces for voices, viols and continuo in Domenico Mazzocchi's *Madrigali a cinque voci* (Rome, 1638), presumably written for the same group.

Waesich's canzonas are all scored for five-part viol consort with continuo, and are suitable for two trebles, two tenors and bass. They are fine, substantial pieces, demanding because of their florid writing, their mercurial changes of mood, and their chromatic writing. *A*#s and even *E*#s are required in places, taking them outside the envelope of keys usable on keyboard instruments tuned in quarter-comma meantone. Perhaps Waesich played the continuo part on one of those chromatic harpsichords or organs, popular in Rome at the time, with more split keys per octave than the two pairs per octave often used for *D*#/*E flat* and *G*#/*A flat*. The idiom of Waesich's canzonas is difficult to place in context since so little Roman instrumental ensemble music survives from the first half of the century. However, Grampp rightly points out that they are quite different in style from Frescobaldi's ensemble canzonas, and they strike me as being closer to late Italian polyphonic madrigals than to any type of consort music; Grampp also points out that Barberini's viol players had printed collections of madrigals by Gesualdo, Monteverdi, D'India, Merula, Landi and others available to them, which they presumably sometimes played rather than sang. Any viol consort that enjoys the challenges posed by William Lawes's five- and six-part consorts or Locke's Consort of Four Parts will relish these pieces.

With Falconieri's *Primo libro* we move from Rome to mid-century Naples at a period when it was ruled by Spanish viceroys – hence the Spanish titles of many of the pieces. Falconieri was a lutenist rather than an organist, and clearly had an interest in popular music. His collection is much lighter in style than the others reviewed here, with a good deal of dance music and some pieces founded on traditional ground basses such as the *folia*, the *passacaglia* and the *ciaccona*. Even those pieces labelled *canzona*, *fantasia* or *sinfonia* are mostly divided into repeated sections and use dance idioms. The collection is mostly scored *à tre* for SSB instruments (specified as 'per Violini e Viole, overo altro Stromento') with continuo, though there are smaller sections at the end *à due* (SB or SS with continuo) and *à uno* (S and continuo), reversing the normal ordering by ascending number of parts. The obbligato bass parts are presumably intended for bass viol, and treble viols would also work well for the upper parts, particularly in the more serious pieces. There is a particular interest for English musicians in the 'Canciona dicha la preciosa, echa para Don Enrico Butler'. Falconieri cast it as a large-scale pavan and galliard in the English style, presumably as a tribute to Henry Butler, viol player at the Spanish court. This is a fine collection, well served by its editor, Concetta Pellegrino, though I would have liked her to explain the titles of the pieces; her statement 'Various pieces are entitled to gentlemen or dames of the Spanish court' is no use to anyone. Her introduction, as this extract shows, is another one that seems to have been translated dictionary in hand.

All in all, everyone interested in studying or playing early instrumental ensemble music will find things of interest in the Ut Orpheus catalogue. Its publications are generally well edited, are nicely printed on thick paper with stout paper covers, and include a good deal of worthwhile music that has never been edited properly before. More power to its collective elbow!

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Richard Carter's article in volume 6 (2012) of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 'An Investigation into the Anonymous Setting of William Byrd's *Ne irascaris, Domine* for Two Lyra Viols. Part Two: "Hard progressions and monstrous combination"', states, in reference to a motet in volume I of my edition of the collected works of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder, published by the American Institute of Musicology, that 'since there is no detailed critical commentary provided in the edition it is not clear whether these alterations have the authority of one of the subsidiary sources' (p. 62, note 29). This statement requires correction, since as indicated in the edition itself (vol. I, p. xviii) the critical commentary was issued separately. It was published in a single volume that same year as Richard Charteris, *Critical Commentary and Additional Material for volumes I, II and III of Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae no. 96: The Opera Omnia of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543–1588)* . . . (Sydney, 1984). There are many copies in libraries in the UK and elsewhere, and if anyone is interested I still have some spare copies.

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Notes on Contributors

ANDREW ASHBEE is the current curator of the Viola da Gamba *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* and General Editor of this Journal. His principal research interests are in English Court Music 1485-1714, and music for viols, especially that of John Jenkins. He has published much on both topics in books and articles. It is hoped that the second part of his study of the music of John Jenkins: *Harmonious Musick: Suites, Aires and Vocal Music* will be published later in 2014.

ROBERT SMITH www.baroquebass.com is an English baroque cellist and viola da gambist. He studied viola de gamba with Mienieke van der Velden (Amsterdam) and Paolo Pandolfo (Basel). He also studied baroque cello with Wouter Möller, Jaap ter Linden and Viola da Hoog. He was principal cellist for the European Union Baroque Orchestra in 2005/6. Robert plays with the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and the ensemble Fantasticus, amongst many others. In 2010 he won the second prize in the International Baroque Soloist competition in Brunnenthal, Austria. In 2012 he won the Bach-Abel Viola da Gamba Competition in Köthen, taking the 1st Prize, Audience Prize and Special Prize. Robert's ensemble Fantasticus www.fantasticus.nl has received wide critical acclaim for its recent recordings of stylus fantasticus and French baroque music. In ensembles he received several prizes in the Bruges Musica Antiqua Competition and the Van Wassenaer Competition (Amsterdam). His playing was described recently by The Strad as, 'Intensely expressive, highly dramatic.' Robert lives in Amsterdam.

PETER HOLMAN is Emeritus Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Leeds. He has wide interests in English music from about 1550 to 1850, and the history of instruments and instrumental music. He is the author of the prize-winning *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (1993), and studies of Henry Purcell (1994), and Dowland's *Lachrimae* (1999), as well as numerous scholarly articles. His most recent book, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, was published by Boydell and Brewer in November 2010. As a performer he is director of The Parley of Instruments, the Suffolk Villages Festival and Leeds Baroque.

IAN PAYNE has been General Editor of Severinus (formerly Boethius) Press since 1982, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries since 1994, and has published extensively in the fields of Elizabethan and Jacobean English music, cathedral and Cambridge choral institutions c.1547-c.1646, and the music of G.P. Telemann. Among his publications are editions of the manuscript madrigals of George Kirbye and John Ward in Stainer and Bell's English Madrigalists series, and two Musica Britannica volumes devoted to the music of John Ward. An edition of Ravenscroft's Music from Manuscript Sources is to be published in the latter series.