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Abbreviations used in issues of this Journal: *GMO Grove Music Online*, ed. D. Root <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>. *IMCCM 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). Now online at <www.vdgs.org.uk/indexmss.html> *MGG2 Die Musik in Geschichte ud 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.*www.rism.info

EDITORIAL

Jonathan Wainwright's paper on the consort music of George Jeffreys was originally given as an on-line presentation to the Viola da Gamba Society earlier this year, so it is good that we can now present it again here. As part of his research into sources related to a volume of violin divisions now at Frankfurt-am-Main, Andrew Ashbee was intrigued to note that the former Dolmetsch Library MS II.c.24 seemed to be of music largely composed on the continent, even though it then found a home in England. Recently the Dolmetsch Library has been dispersed and we are fortunate that the British Library was able to buy this important manuscript at the Sotheby's auction on 15 September 2021. Peter Holman has examined the extensive collection of poems entered from the reverse end, which shows a distinctly Royalist bias. I am very grateful to him for all his help with preparations for this issue of the Journal and in particular with this article. With his own indefatigable research into the Eccles family, he has built up a picture of one of the most important English families of musicians. Their influence was at its peak for some 75 years after the Restoration, although it has not been easy to differentiate between the various members, who were often given the same Christian names. Peter Adams lists the contents of a lyra viol manuscript now at Weimar, which had formerly been catalogued as for lute. It is available on-line at https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/resolver?urn=urn:nbn:de:gbv:32-1-10001576762 . Although much of the music remains unidentified, it is a good source for beginners wishing to embark on playing from tablature. Most of the pieces use normal viol tuning ffeff and there are few chords.

The 2022 issue of this Journal will be devoted to commemorating the centenary of the birth of Margaret Crum (1922-1985). For many years she was the expert at the Bodleian Library who responded to queries about literature and music. Many of us have been thankful for her helpful replies and we can still acknowledge the fruits of her research in the *Revised Descriptions of Music School Manuscripts* which she compiled and which remain indispensable for researchers. Her *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969) is equally important Those wishing to submit an article for this issue should contact Peter Holman in the first instance: peter@parley.org.uk

The Consort Music of George Jeffreys

JONATHAN P. WAINWRIGHT[1]

George Jeffreys is best known today as a composer of vocal music and as one of the few pre-Commonwealth English composers to have shown a wholehearted commitment to the *stile nuovo*; as such, he must be recognized as one of the main pioneers of Italianate sacred music in England in the seventeenth century.[2] Amongst Jeffreys' early music, however, are six three-part consort pieces and his 'Fantasia of 2 p[ar]ts to the Organ For the Violin', which are the subject of this article.[3] These works are important in explaining Jeffreys' development as a composer and, by examining them in the context of his life, a hypothesis about his early links with the Caroline court will be proposed; the sources of the fantasies and the compositional influences on the works will also be considered.

GEORGE JEFFREYS (*c.*1610–1685)

George Jeffreys was associated for much of his life with the important musical patron, Sir Christopher Hatton and, thanks to surviving letters in the British Library and the Northamptonshire Archives, we know a fair bit about Jeffreys' later life.[4] Unfortunately, there is very little information currently available concerning his earlier life – the period when he composed his consort music. The Oxford historian Anthony Wood, in his 'Notes on the Lives of Musicians', states that he was descended from the family of Matthew Jeffries, a Vicar Choral at Wells Cathedral who flourished around 1590, but in a marginal note adds 'Dr Rogers [i.e., Benjamin Rogers (1614–98)] thinks he was born in Northamptonshire about Weldon'.[5] Jeffreys is known to have been associated with the village of Weldon throughout his life and therefore Rogers' suggestion would seem to be likely. It is probable that Jeffreys spent time in Cambridge in the 1630s for annotations in his handwriting have recently been identified in a fascicle of the Peterhouse 'Caroline Partbooks' that were compiled in the

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1 A version of this article was presented as a paper to the Viola da Gamba Society (by Zoom) on 22 April 2021. My thanks to Peter Holman and Richard Rastall for their comments.

2 For Jeffreys' vocal works, see J. Wainwright ed., *George Jeffreys: English Secular Vocal Music* (York, 2020: https://www.york.ac.uk/music/about/music-presses/yemp/publications/); *idem* ed., *George Jeffreys: Italian Secular Vocal Music* (York, 2021: https://www.york.ac.uk/music/about/music-presses/yemp/publications/); *George Jeffreys: English Sacred Music*, ed. *idem*, Musica Britannica, 105 (London, 2021); and *George Jeffreys: Latin Sacred Music*, ed. *idem*, Musica Britannica (forthcoming). See too, P. Aston ed., George Jeffreys: *16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices* (York 2010: https://www.york.ac.uk/music/about/music-presses/yemp/publications/).

3 For Jeffreys' instrumental music, see J. Wainwright ed., *George Jeffreys: Instrumental Music* (York, 2020: https://www.york.ac.uk/music/about/music-presses/yemp/publications/); M. Rogers ed., *George Jeffreys: 6 Fantazies of 3 Parts*, Viola da Gamba Society Supplementary Publication No. 245; and G. Dodd ed., *George Jeffreys: Fantasy à 2 to the Organ*, Viola da Gamba Society Supplementary Publication No. 133.

4 See also P. Aston, 'George Jeffreys', *MT* 110 (1969), 772–6; *idem*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' (D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1970); *idem*, 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', *PRMA*, 99 (1972–3), 105–15; K. E. Bergdolt, 'The Sacred Music of George Jeffreys', Ph.D. thesis (University of Cincinnati, 1976); J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 115–77 and *passim*; and A. J. Cheetham, 'The Baroque Concertato in England, 1625–*c.*1660', Ph.D. thesis (University of Huddersfield, 2014), *passim*.

5 H. Watkins Shaw, 'Extracts from Anthony à Wood's *Notes on the Lives of Musicians* Hitherto Unpublished', *ML*, 15 (1934), 157–62; and J. D. Shute, 'Anthony à Wood and his Manuscript Wood D.19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford', Ph.D. thesis (International Institute of Advanced Studies, Clayton, Missouri, 1979).

1630s.[6] In Cambridge Jeffreys would have had contact with the Hatton family – an influential Northamptonshire family for whom Jeffreys was to work for most of his life.[7] In 1631 he set verses by Richard (later Sir Richard) Hatton (b. *c.*1608) who was a cousin of Christopher Hatton III (1605–1670), an important sponsor of the arts who was to become Jeffreys' patron.[8] Both Richard and Christopher Hatton were students at Cambridge, but there is no record that Jeffreys attended the University himself.

Jeffreys was certainly working for Christopher Hatton in some capacity by 1633, as a manuscript in the Northamptonshire Archives, in Jeffreys' hand, is headed 'A Cattalogue of some Manuscripts of my Masters taken at Moulton Parke Aprill 15th. 1633' (Moulton Park was one of the Hatton estates).[9] Jeffreys worked for the Hatton family for the rest of his life, and correspondence exists, preserved in either the Northamptonshire Archives or the British Library, between Jeffreys and various members of the Hatton family until the 1680s. During the Civil War Jeffreys, no doubt due to the patronage of Christopher Hatton III, became Charles I's organist at Oxford during the period when the court was based in the city; this was Jeffreys' only professional musical appointment.[10] One suspects that, rather as Hatton had made the best of the circumstances of the Civil War to advance his own position,[11] Jeffreys—a musician with no previous record as a Court musician[12]—also took advantage of the unique situation to gain an appointment which in peacetime would have been inconceivable.[13] We should note, however, that during the war-time court, with the normal system of court appointments and payments in disarray, any musical post or title would probably be regarded as temporary and somewhat unofficial. This confused state of affairs is reflected in Hawkins' comment that Jeffreys 'was succeeded in the king's chapel by Edward Low'.[14] When did Lowe replace Jeffreys as the king's organist? Lowe had been organist at Christ Church since 1631 and, as far as is known, was present in Oxford throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth periods.[15] It is possible that Lowe and Jeffreys both played the

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6 *GB-Cp* MSS 47 [475] ff. 95–7; 39 [476] ff. 105–7; 38 [478] ff. 101b–103; 34 [479] ff. 94–6; 49 [480] ff. 91–4; and 33 [481] ff. 95–7. See J. P. Wainwright, 'Widening the Cambridge Circle: Further High Church Musical Connections', in *Music, Politics, and Religion in Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks in Context*, ed. S. Mandelbrote (forthcoming).

7 As Weldon is close to Kirby Hall, the Hatton family seat, it is possible that Jeffreys had links with the Hatton family before he moved to Cambridge sometime in the 1630s.

8 See V. Slater, 'Hatton, Christopher, first Baron Hatton' (bap. 1605, d.1670)', *ODNB*, xxv. 823–4; and see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, *passim*.

9 Northamptonshire Archives Finch-Hatton MS 4016.

10 Both Anthony Wood and Sir John Hawkins report that Jeffreys was Charles I's 'organist at Oxford'; A. Clark, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (Oxford, 1891), i, 274; A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1691; 3rd edn, with additions by P. Bliss (London, 1813–21), repr. New York and London, 1967), i. xxxiv–xxxv; and John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), iv. 56, 64 and 323. Jeffreys confirms that his presence in Oxford was due to Hatton in a letter of 1665 to Lady Hatton (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 29550, f. 236v): he reports that, when asked if he had been at the Oxford Court, he replied 'I was, being sent for by my Lord and Master [i.e. Hatton]'.

11 Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 6–22

12 Hawkins' claim that Jeffreys had been one of 'the gentlemen of king Charles the First's chapel' (*A General History*, iv. 56) is almost certainly erroneous; Jeffreys' name does not appear in any of the surviving court records concerning music; see A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, iii (Snodland, 1988).

13 Jeffreys did, however, have some reputation as a musician before the outbreak of war: he is listed as ninth out of the ten 'most excellent Artists in musicke in our dayes sub anno 1640' in Sir Peter Leycester's 'Booke of Miscellany Collections', dated 1659; see H. Abbey, 'Sir Peter Leycester's Book on Music', *JVdGSA*, 21 (1984), 28–44.

14 Hawkins, *A General History*, iv. 64.

15 R. Thompson, 'Lowe, Edward (*c.*1610–1682)', *ODNB*, xxxiv. 561–2.

organ in Christ Church when the Court was based there; perhaps Lowe played for the public services in the cathedral and Jeffreys for the King's private devotions in his chambers?

After the capitulation of Oxford and Baron Hatton's move to France in November 1646, Jeffreys returned to his family in the village of Weldon near Kirby Hall, and continued to serve Lady Hatton who had remained in England. It seems that he spent most of his time in Northamptonshire and only occasionally visited London, where the Hattons maintained a house in Ely Place, Holborn. Jeffreys was to spend the rest of his life serving the Hatton family, not as a musician but as an administrator and secretary. By the time of the Restoration Jeffreys had acquired some land of his own in Weldon, and he was obviously no longer dependent solely on the employment and patronage of Baron Hatton. Nevertheless, he continued to serve Christopher Hatton IV after the death of the First Baron in July 1670 and, as part of the attempts to repair the family's finances, Jeffreys may even have been involved in the negotiations concerning the dispersal of the Hatton music collection (the hypothesis being that Dean Aldrich of Christ Church, Oxford bought a substantial part of the collection).[16]

George Jeffreys died at Weldon on 1 July 1685 and his music manuscripts presumably passed to his immediate descendants before being gradually dispersed.[17] The majority of his manuscripts eventually found their way to the British Library, the Royal College of Music, or the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford). Jeffreys' scorebook (now *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 10338)—the primary source of Jeffreys' consort music—became part of the collection of Edmund Warren (later Warren-Horne, *c.*1730–1794) and subsequently belonged to Thomas Oliphant (1799–1873) who presented it to the British Museum in 1849. Oliphant also presented a bass partbook, now *Gb-Lbl* Add. MS 17816, to the British Library 'as proof that the handwriting in Add. MS 10338 is that of George Jeffreys';[18] Oliphant was also the owner of two more of Jeffreys' sets of partbooks: *GB-Lcm* MSS 920 and 920A. Part of Jeffreys' collection of Italian motets (now *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 31479), along with many others, was offered to the then British Museum in 1879 by the collector Julian Marshall (1836–1903).[19] Marshall had obtained a number of manuscripts from the collection of Joseph Warren (1804–81).[20] Some of Warren's other manuscripts had passed to Sir Frederick Ouseley, the son of Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, the founder of St Michael's College, Tenbury and this may explain the presence of various of Jeffreys' manuscripts in the Tenbury collection (today in the Bodleian Library, Oxford).[21] The important points to bear in mind from this very brief biography are that we know very little about Jeffreys' career up until the Civil War period and that Jeffreys never held an official court post.

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16 Wainwright *Musical Patronage*, 42, footnote 40.

17 Jeffreys' manuscripts are not mentioned in his will which survives in Northamptonshire Archives. For a transcription of the will see Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', iv. 224–8.

18 *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 17816, f. 1v. Add. MS 17816 is, together with Add. MSS 30829–30, part of an incomplete set of partbooks containing English and Lain music by Jeffreys for 4–6vv and basso continuo.

19 The Marshall collection was classified as British Library Add. MSS 31384–31823; see A. Searle, 'Julian Marshall and the British Museum: Music Collecting in the Late Nineteenth Century', *British Library Journal*, 11 (1985), 67–87

20 Concerning Joseph Warren, see A. H. King, *Some British Collectors of Music c.1600–1960* (Cambridge, 1963), 56–8 and *passim*.

21 For full details of Jeffreys' manuscripts, see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, *passim*.

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The primary source for George Jeffreys' instrumental music is his autograph scorebook, *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 10338. This manuscript, which contains 126 pieces (all but thirteen of Jeffreys' total number of works), has been described as 'a well organised, retrospective, fair-copy collection'.[22] This is true to some extent. The manuscript was certainly well organized in that it was divided up into sections of different types of music: instrumental pieces, Italian madrigals, English secular songs, and sacred music for one, two, three, four and five parts (in Latin and English), but the system faltered due to insufficient space having been allowed for the three- and four-part music; certain pieces in the scorebook were copied retrospectively some years after composition, but others were added in chronological order as they were composed; and some were indeed 'fair copies', but others are obviously 'working-copies' as they contain various alterations and marginal notes. The texts were invariably added after the notes had been entered and a number of pieces include revisions, some of which provided the basis for 'fair copies' in his other partbooks. A comprehensive examination of the scorebook's contents, dates, annotations, paper-types, rastrum-rulings and gatherings, in relation to events in Jeffreys' life, is given elsewhere[23] and the following paragraph—after some general comments—is concerned primarily with the fascicles that contain Jeffreys' instrumental music.

GB-Lbl Add. MS 10338 consists of thirty-five gatherings of thirteen different types of paper. The great variety of paper used by Jeffreys indicates that the collection did not start life as a single volume but was collected together at a later date. A system of binder's marks is present in the manuscript which appear to relate to a binding during Jeffreys' lifetime rather than subsequent ones (the present binding probably dates from about 1849 when Thomas Oliphant presented the manuscript to the British Museum). The seventeenth-century binder numbered the first and last folios of each gathering (1–2, 3–4, etc.) to ensure the correct ordering of the pieces;[24] that the binder felt that this was necessary probably indicates that a considerable amount of music had already been copied. Jeffreys also appears to have instructed the binder to incorporate gatherings of unused ruled paper in certain places so that further copies could be added in a systematic way.[25] Only one gathering in the manuscript (the one beginning on f. 171 and extending to f. 176b) does not contain the binder's marks. This gathering, which consists of paper with a Pot GRO watermark, was inserted between the binder's marks 43 and 44 and provides evidence of the date of the original binding. The gathering contains the four-voice anthem 'Turn thou us O good Lord'

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22 P. Holman, 'George Jeffries and the *Great Dooble Base*', *Chelys*, 5 (1973–4), 79. Until Robert Thompson's work ('English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648–1688', Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 1988), 172–220, and 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music: A New Date for his Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338', *ML*, 70 (1989), 317–41), British Library Add. MS 10338 was assumed to have originated as a single bound volume into which Jeffreys copied his works. Thomas Oliphant (a one-time owner of the manuscript) read the last date in the score as 1669 (*recte* 1662) and this date was accepted as the date of copying by subsequent commentators without question.

23 See Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade', 172–220; *idem*, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo"'; and Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 132–54 and 217–32.

24 There is an error in the binder's markings at the gathering 11–[12] as the final number is also marked 11: the sequence of odd and even numbers thereafter is reversed (12–13, 14–15, etc.).

25 It is noteworthy that, with the exception of 'Mottects of 2. pts' (f. 73v), the section-headings of the sacred music are on the first folio of a gathering: 'Mottects a 1 voc' (f. 60), 'Mottects of 3 parts English and Lattyn' (f. 106v), 'Songs of 4. Parts For the Church' (f. 177), and 'Songs Mottects of 5. Parts' (f. 226). Perhaps there were four separate volumes of pieces for one and two voices, three voices, four voices, and five and six voices before they were all bound together to form the present scorebook.

(ff. 172–6) which is dated '[16]55'; if the manuscript had been bound after this date the gathering would have been incorporated into the binder's scheme. The paper used in this added gathering was not the usual ready-ruled paper: the stave lines were ruled individually by hand and, as Robert Thompson has noted, the same paper appears in Jeffreys' letters to Lady Hatton of 1649.[26] Therefore the score was probably bound around 1650.[27] The first fifty-six folios of the manuscript contain Jeffreys' earliest surviving compositions: his seven instrumental fantasias, thirteen Italian madrigals, and songs for stage plays (such as Thomas Randolph's *The Maskque of Vices* and Peter Hausted's *The Rivall Friends*). The fantasias and the English songs show that Jeffreys was well versed in the native English musical tradition. The first two gatherings of the scorebook, which contain the six 'Fantasies of 3. Parts for ye Violls and the Virginall', the 'Fantazia of 2 p[ar]ts to the Organ For the Violin', and nine three-part Italian madrigals (without basso continuo), are made up of paper with a watermark of Pillars lettered ID.[28] Robert Thompson noted that the two gatherings probably once formed a separate volume as a worm bore passes through the gatherings from folio 4 to 18, but does not extend into the paper on either side;[29] he has also demonstrated that the Pillars ID watermark can be dated to *circa* 1640, so we are probably looking at a date of the 1630s for the composition of the consort music.[30]

The three-part fantasias in British Library Add. MS 10338 are concordant with a number of other manuscripts (see Figure 1: Secondary Sources). The first four fantasias appear, as later additions, in Christ Church Mus. 459–62, a set of four books copied in part by Thomas Myriell (*c.*1580–1625). The first stage of copying in these partbooks must have taken place between 1616 and 1625,[31] and the four Jeffreys fantasias were probably added in the early 1630s (by an unidentified scribe using an old-fashioned heavy black diamond-shaped notation). The readings of the four three-part fantasias in the Myriell partbooks differ in a number of details from those in the autograph scorebook. So the partbooks *GB-Och* 459-62 appear to contain the earliest versions and the British Library scorebook copies represent later revisions (a sure sign that this music was being performed and was in circulation). Perhaps, in the late 1630s, Jeffreys had a renewed burst of interest in instrumental music and revised his four existing three-part fantasias, composed two more plus one for violin, bass viol and organ (an instrumental combination closely associated with the Court), and then copied them all into his manuscript reserved for consort music (which was later to become ff. 4–18v of his composite scorebook). The instrumental pieces in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 10338 are followed by a number of blank pages which probably indicate that Jeffreys intended to

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26 *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 29550, ff. 91–93v; see Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade', 206; and *idem*, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo"', 324.

27 Jeffreys' copies of pieces dated 1651 and after are more untidy than those copied before binding; this was perhaps due to the difficulties of writing in a large newly (and tightly?) bound volume.

28 The Pillars watermark can also be found in the last section of *GB-Och* Mus. 880: basso continuo parts to Gesualdo's Madrigal Books I, II and IV copied by Jeffreys' colleague Stephen Bing; see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 168–9 and 405–14.

29 Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo"', 319.

30 Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade', 220; Thompson notes that similar Pot and Pillars watermarks appear in *GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 18940–44 which contain music for Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Time* performed in 1634.

31 See P. Willetts, 'Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell', *ML*, 49 (1968), 36-42; *eadem*, 'The Identity of Thomas Myriell', *ML*, 53 (1972), 431–3; C. Monson, 'Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection: One View of Musical Taste in Jacobean London', *JAMS*, 30 (1977), 419–65; and *idem*, *Voice and Viols in England, 1600-1650* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 5–69.

FIGURE 1
SECONDARY SOURCES

Dublin, Marsh's Library (*IRL-Dm*) MS Z3.4.13, ff. 47–59v
An autograph fascicle, containing scores of George Jeffreys' six three-part fantasias probably copied in the late 1630s, bound with miscellaneous other fascicles and loose papers. Contains Fantasias *a* 3 1–6.

Oxford, Christ Church (*GB-Och*) Mus. 417–18 and 1080
Three manuscript partbooks copied by Stephen Bing (lacking the tenor book for the four-part works) of English instrumental music *a* 3–4, probably copied in the mid–late 1630s. Contains Fantasias *a* 3 1–6.

Oxford, Christ Church (*GB-Och*) Mus. 459–62
Four partbooks containing instrumental music *a* 3–4 copied in part by Thomas Myriell between *c.*1616 and 1625. Jeffreys' four fantasias were probably added in the early 1630s by an unidentified scribe using an old-fashioned heavy black diamond-shaped notation. Contains Fantasias *a* 3 1–4.

Oxford, Christ Church (*GB-Och*) Mus. 468–72
Five partbooks containing instrumental music *a* 3–5, the first layer of which was copied by William Ellis in the mid-1660s (probably in part from scores in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin). Contains Fantasias *a* 3 1–6.

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compose more fantasias. That this was not realized was perhaps a result of his patron's changing interests, in the late 1630s, from instrumental music towards Italianate vocal music (which was also to be of practical use at Court). Jeffreys' nine three-part Italian madrigals, copied at the end of the instrumental gatherings (ff. 14v–18v), are perhaps the first examples of his Italianate compositions. Another fact should be noted which further links Jeffreys with the court-related instrumental repertoire of the 1630s: Jeffreys and his colleague Stephen Bing (1610–81)[32] collaborated in copying Coprario's eight fantasia-suites (a specifically court repertoire) for two violins, bass viol and organ (this manuscript is today *US-R* MS ML96 L814f, fascicle 3).[33] It was Stephen Bing who copied Jeffreys' six three-part fantasias in *GB-Och* Mus. 417–18 and 1080, one of the key Hatton sets of consort music, which it has been argued were the product of court circles in the pre-Civil War years.[34]

Two other manuscript sources contain Jeffreys' six three-part fantasias: *IRL-Dm* MS Z3.4.13, folios 47–59v, and *GB-Och* Mus. 468–72. The Marsh's Library fascicle is an autograph score

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32 For details of Stephen Bing career and copying activities, see S. Boyer and J. Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell: the Copying Activities of Stephen Bing', *EMc* 23 (1995), 620-48; and Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 52–114 and 160–77.

33 See C. D. S. Field, 'Stephen Bing's Copies of Coprario Fantasia-Suites', *EMc*, 27 (1999), 311–17.

34 See J. P. Wainwright, 'The Christ Church Viol-Consort Manuscripts Reconsidered: Christ Church, Oxford, Music Manuscripts 2, 397–408 and 436; 417–418 and 1080; and 432 and 612–613' in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 189-241; *idem*, *Musical Patronage*, 66–84 and 384–6; and John Milsom, *Christ Church Music Catalogue* <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+417--18%2C+Mus.+1080> (accessed 29 June 2021).

bound with miscellaneous other fascicles and loose papers.[35] Its presence in Dublin is undoubtedly due to Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh, who founded his library in 1704.[36] Marsh lived in Oxford from 1655–78 and we know, from his diary, that he was keenly interested in consort music and, from 1666, organized weekly music meetings.[37] Many of the manuscripts of consort music in Dublin were collected by Marsh during his Oxford years for use at his musical gatherings. Manuscript Z3.4.13, folios 47–59v could have been obtained through Christopher Jeffreys, George Jeffreys' son who was a student at Christ Church from about 1658 to 1666[38] and is therefore likely to have known Marsh, and may even have participated in his earliest music meetings. George Jeffreys copied his fantasias stratigraphically across the inside openings of MS Z3.4.13 folios 47–59v on paper with a grapes watermark. The paper is consistent with a copying date of the 1630s and thus may be contemporary with the first section of *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 10338; unfortunately a comparison of readings does not offer any further information concerning the chronology or links between the two scores (although, interestingly, the Marsh manuscript has a few ornamental additions squeezed in—in Jeffreys' handwriting—at a later date than the original copying.) The other manuscript source which contains Jeffreys' six three-part fantasias, *GB-Och* Mus. 468–72, was copied in Oxford by William Ellis[39] and appears to date from the mid 1660s;[40] a comparison of readings suggests that *GB-Och* Mus. 468–72 may have been copied from *IRL-Dm* Z3.4.13, ff. 47–59v. The first folio of the second partbook (Mus. 469) contains the perplexing annotation 'Geore Jeffreys 1729' [*sic*] and this led to Peter Aston's dating of Jeffreys' fantasias to 1629;[41] no explanation can be offered for the annotation.[42]

THE MUSIC

Jeffreys' six 'Fantasies of 3. Parts for ye Violls and the Virginall' are, in effect, fantasias of three equal contrapuntal lines, although the designation 'and the Virginall' (or organ, as specified in the fifth fantasia) suggests the performance practice of adding a keyboard instrument (perhaps doubling the instrumental lines). The first four fantasias are for two upper instruments notated in the G2 clef and a bass viol, and the fifth and sixth fantasias are notated in G2, C3 and F3 clefs. These are early works where Jeffreys' reveals his training in

35 See R. Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *RMARC*, 13 (1976), 31–2, 38 and 40–1; and *idem*, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music, and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Clifden, 1982), 112–18.

36 See M. McCarthy, 'Marsh, Narcissus (1638–1713)', *ODNB*, xxxvi. 803–6.

37 See page 9 of Marsh's diary (*IRL-Dm* Z2.2.3a; Z2.2.3b is a typescript transcription); cited in Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts', 33 and 35.

38 Christopher Jeffreys matriculated at Christ Church on 9 December 1659 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, ii. 805) although Anthony Wood described him as the fifteenth new member of William Ellis's music meetings in Oxford in 1658: A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford. To which are added the Fasti, or Annals, of the said University* (London, 1691), i. xxxiv–xxxv.

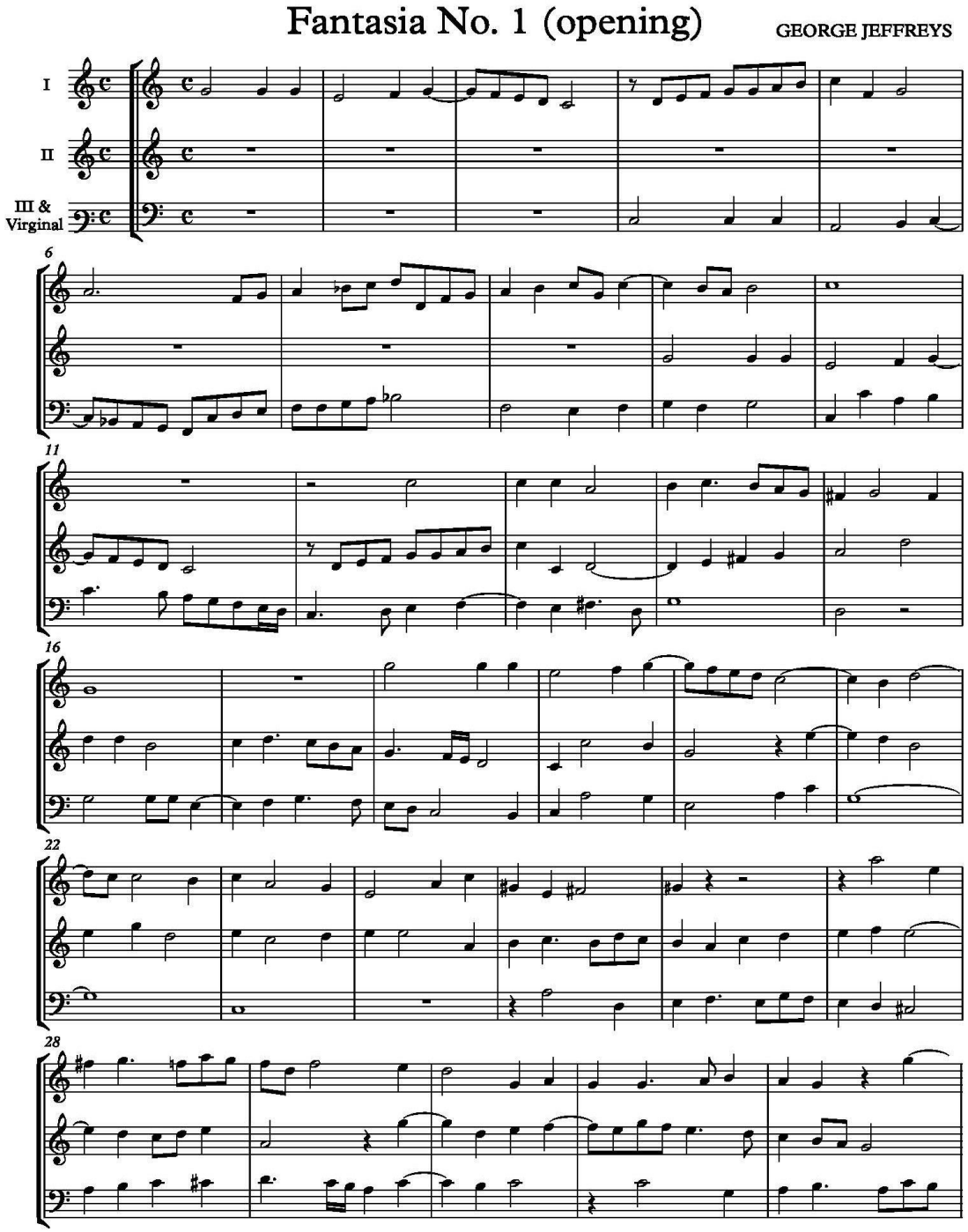
39 See R. Thompson, 'A Further Look at the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Chelys*, 24 (1995), 3–18 (where Ellis is copyist 'Q'); and Milsom, *Christ Church Music Catalogue* <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+468—72> (accessed 29 June 2021).

40 The paper contains the watermark of a fleur-de-lys with a countermark IHS and is typical of Angoumois papers of the period *c.*1657–62; see Thompson, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade', 260–5 and 276–7.

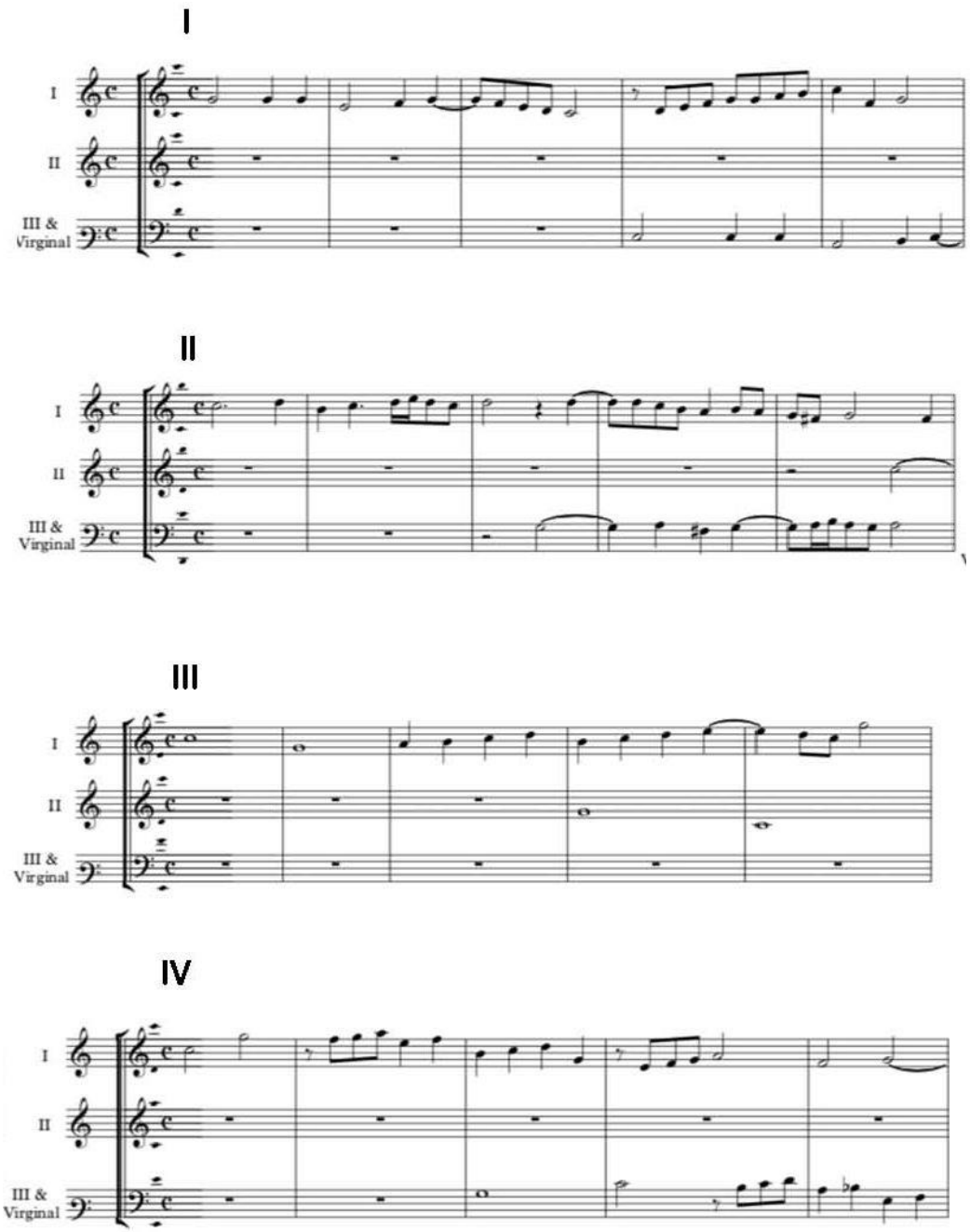
41 Aston, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', 772 and 775; and *idem*, 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', 107.

42 Jeffreys' grandson, the poet George Jeffreys (1678–1755), could possibly have been responsible for the annotation but, as David Pinto has noted (in correspondence with the writer), he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and had no connections with Oxford.

the English polyphonic mode of composition. The fantasias are pervasively contrapuntal with just occasional sections of homophony (enlivened by the frequent use of the augmented fifth chord) and are stylistically similar to those of composers such as John Coprario (*c.*1570–1626) and Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625). (Example 1 gives the opening of Fantasia 1). The first four fantasias (all in C) are linked in that their imitation points are related: the opening point of the second fantasia is close in melodic shape to the first fantasia, and the first few notes of the fourth is an inversion of the opening point of the third fantasia (see Example 2).

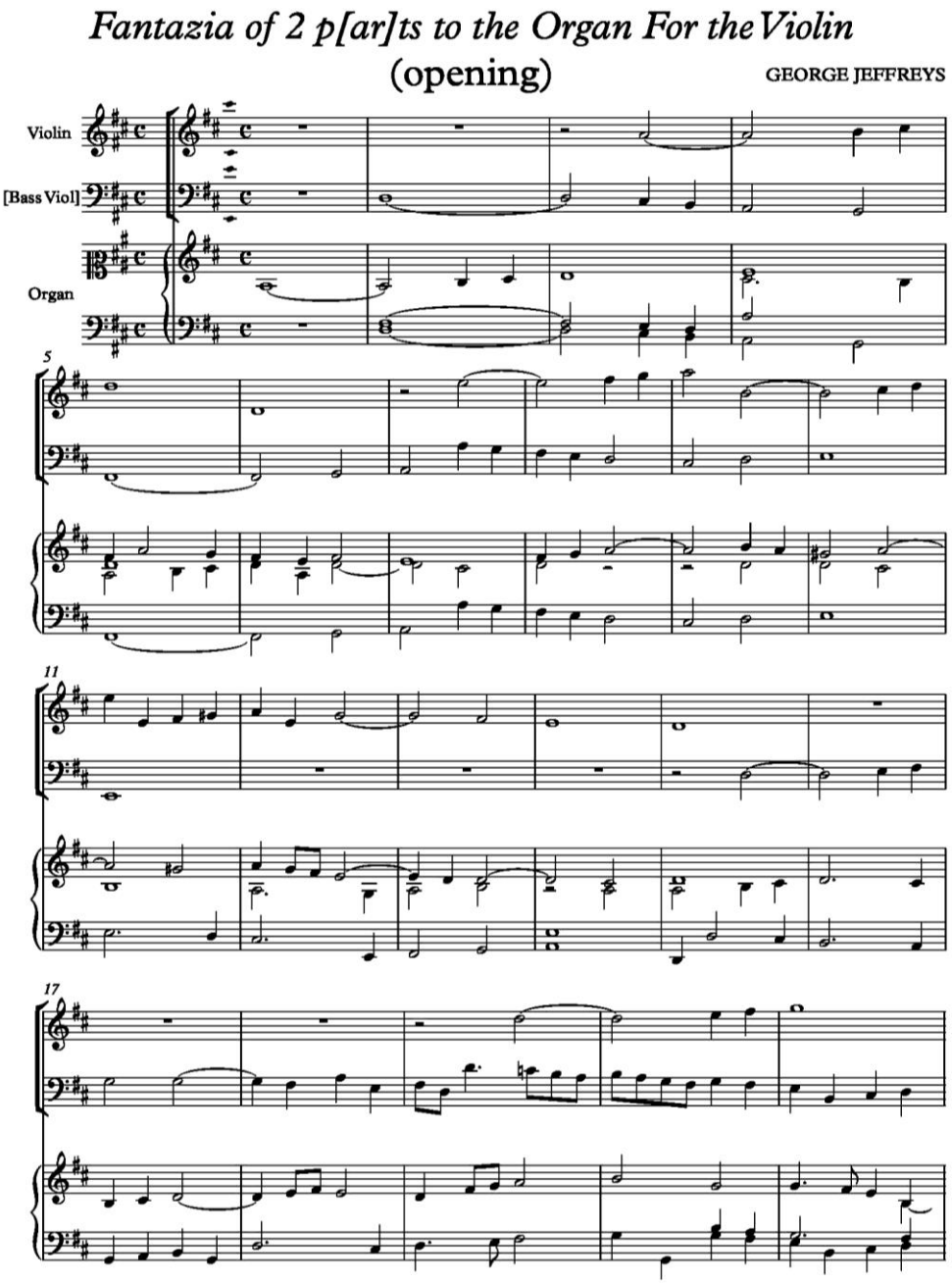


Example 1



Example 2

The 'Fantazia of 2 p[ar]ts to the Organ For the Violin' is, perhaps, more successful and interesting than the three-part fantasias. (Example 3 gives the opening.) This piece aligns closely to the 'progressive' consort music being produced at Court in the 1620s under the patronage of Charles I. Charles, when still Prince of Wales, had employed four of the most eminent composers of consort music—Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger (*c.*1575–1628), John Coprario, Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Lupo (1571–1627)—and together they were responsible for extending the range of scorings employed in the English fantasia idiom and for the introduction of the violin into contrapuntal music. Charles was himself a skilled



Example 3

performer on the bass viol (having been taught by Alfonso Ferrabosco) and, according to John Playford, 'could play his part exactly well on the Bass-Viol, especially of those Incomparable Fancies of Mr. Coperario to the Organ.'[43] Coprario was one of the first composers to use the violin in contrapuntal consort music. Although the violin had first appeared at the English court in 1540, it had been used almost exclusively for dance music

[43] J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 10/1683). This is the first edition to make reference to the king's performing ability; previous editions which contain the section, are concerned only with the king's musical preference: 'And for Instrumental Musick none pleased him like those incomparable Fantazies for one Violin and Basses Viol, to the organ, Composed by Mr. Coprario' (4th–7th editions; 1664, 1666, 1667 and 1670). All editions subsequent to 1683 repeat the version of the tenth edition.

until about 1620.[44] In 1622 Prince Charles formed a violin and viol ensemble[45]—'Coperario's Musique'—which consisted of Lupo, John Woodington and Adam Vallet (violins), Ferrabosco II and Coprario (viols) and Gibbons (keyboard).[46] Once the violin had become established as an instrument for 'serious' contrapuntal chamber music, court composers began experimenting with new forms and scorings using mixed groups of violins and viols with keyboard (usually organ) and/or theorbo continuo. It is from this tradition that Jeffreys' 'Fantazia of 2 p[ar]ts to the Organ For the Violin' emanated.

With this music in mind let us return to Jeffreys' life and, based on the influences outlined above, I suggest that, in the 'missing years' between his appearance in Cambridge and when he began working for Christopher Hatton officially during the Civil War years, Jeffreys along with his friend Stephen Bing was moving in court circles and soaking-up the court consort music of Charles I's musicians: his consort music is the result. It is unfortunate that we do not know about Jeffreys' contacts and musical work at this time but I find it hard to believe that he was not on the—at least—periphery of court instrumental music-making. In conclusion, mention should be made of some other instrumental music by Jeffreys: Example 4 gives the opening 5-part sinfonia of his cantata-length Italian piece *Felice Pastorella*, a setting of Guarini's text and a work which includes a range of *concertato* solos, duets and trios, as well as five-voice choruses, all supported by a basso continuo.[47] Interestingly, interspersed between the various vocal sections are a series of five-part string *Simphonia*s—the top part of which is labelled 'violin' and the bottom 'Great Basse'. The use of a 'Great Basse' perhaps indicates Jeffreys' noble connections, for the instrument seems to have been primarily associated with the court.[48] Here we have Jeffreys becoming interested in the new Italianate styles in the vocal writing but, in the interspersed instrumental sinfonias, he is still part of the English instrumental court tradition.

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44 See P. Holman, 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century', *PRMA*, 109 (1982–3), 39–59, and *idem, Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), *passim*.

45 Dated from John Woodington's petition to Charles I (12 May 1625) in which he states that he had been a member of 'Coperario[']s musique 3 yeres' (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 64883 f. 57).

46 See Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* (Snodland, 1991), iv. 217–30.

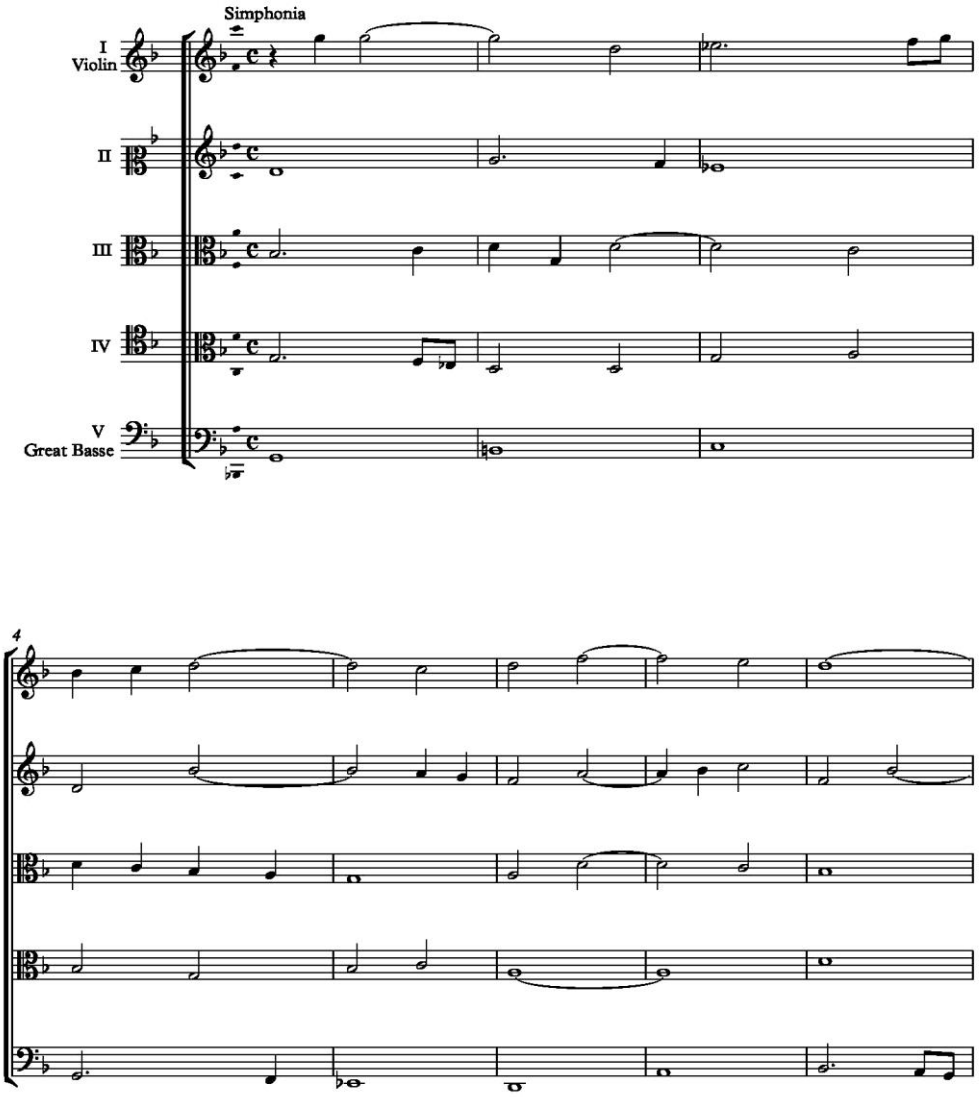
47 For an edition, see Wainwright ed., *George Jeffreys: Italian Secular Vocal Music* (York, 2021: https://www.york.ac.uk/music/about/music-presses/yemp/publications/

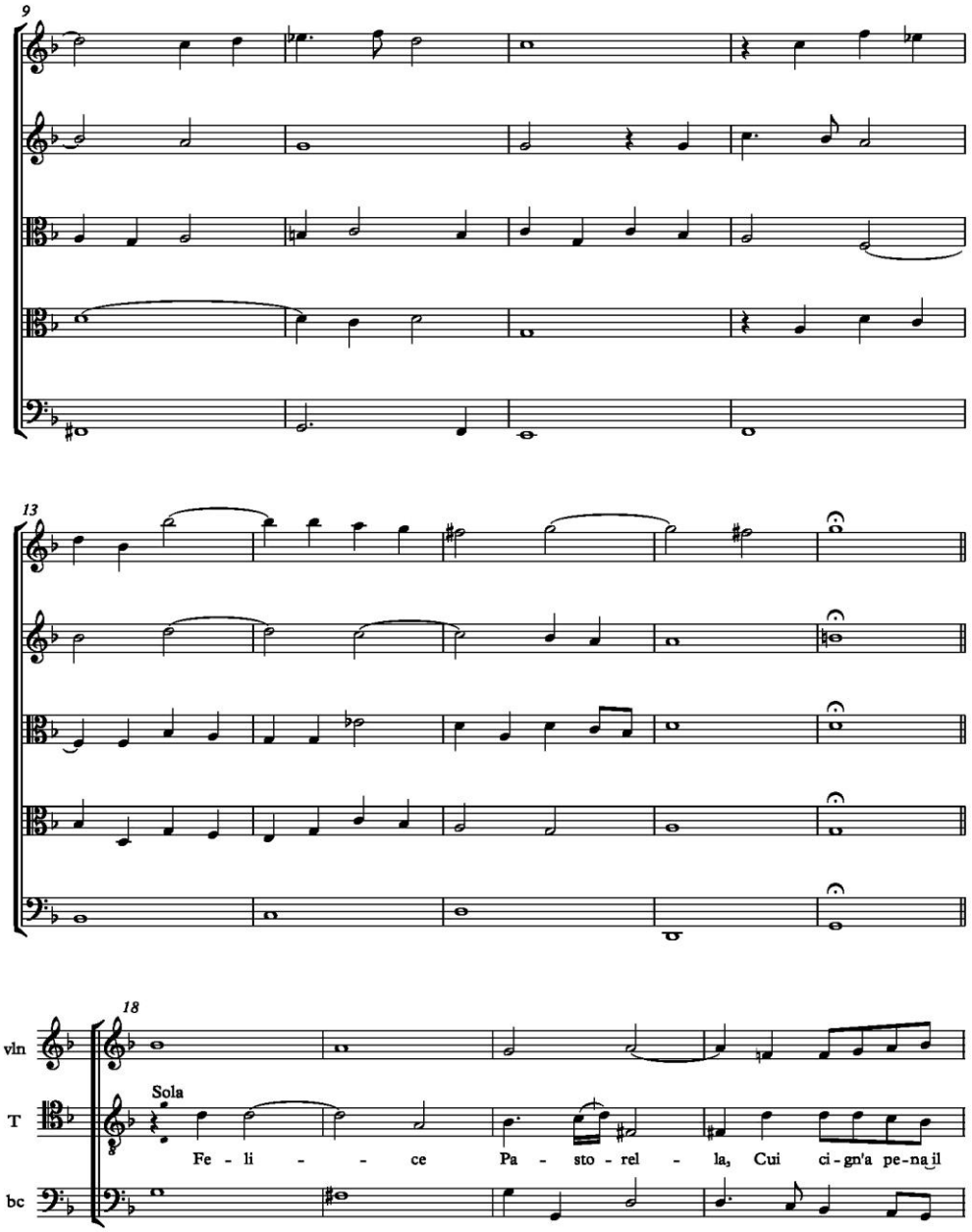
48 See Holman, 'George Jeffries and the *Great Dooble Base*'.

[G. B. Guarini]

Felice Pastorella

GEORGE JEFFREYS





Example 4

British Library, MS Mus. 1869 (formerly GB-HADolmetsch MS II.c.24)

ANDREW ASHBEE

with PETER HOLMAN

For the past 130 years this manuscript has resided in the remarkable library of music prints and manuscripts that Arnold Dolmetsch and his family assembled at Haslemere. Sadly, the time has now come for them all to be dispersed. Part has become the Jeanne-Marie Dolmetsch collection housed at the University of Cambridge Library, where it will continue to be available to scholars. MS II.b.3, the single part of lyra viol trios by Jenkins, Ives and William Lawes, and II.c.25, trios for two violins or violin and bass viol with continuo are both now there. The remaining part of the library was put up for auction at Sotheby's on 15 September 2021, when the British Library was able to acquire the important manuscript which was MS II.c.24 (now GB-Lbl, MS Mus. 1869). Stephen Rose provides an appreciation of Dolmetsch and his collection, highlighting music sold at the auction [1] Peter Holman also mentions II.c.24 as a possible source for Edward Payne's awareness of the work of Daniel Norcombe when he gave his 1885 lecture.[2] We shall have to get used to its new home and number and the *Thematic Index* will reflect the change of identity in the 2022 update.

GB-Lbl, MS Mus. 1869 is an upright folio manuscript of 48 folios containing bass viol music, to which has been added from the reverse end a later collection of English songs, apparently dating from the 1680s; Peter Holman contributes an inventory below. A note by A[rnold] D[olmestch] on the inside cover records that the book was 'Exchanged for a copy of the First Edition of Purcell's "Lessons for the Spinet" in December 1898'. A pencil note in another hand above notes it was 'From Dr Maunces Library'.

The bass viol music occupies folios 1-33, but the scribe identifies only two composers: 15 sets of divisions by Daniel Norcombe, often labelled as just 'Nor' or 'D: N:' and three by Christopher Simpson, or 'C: S:'. There is too the ubiquitous ground by 'Pole Wheele' on ff. 29v-30r, but the remaining 15 pieces are anonymous.

The scribal hand is neat and professional-looking, but detailed study shows numerous errors, not only of missing accidentals, but of occasional missing or wrongly-placed clefs and faulty notes and note-values, all of which would make performance difficult. These errors may have come from the copy-text, of course, but there are few instances of corrections being inserted – and those few may be in a modern rather than a contemporary hand.

Although the manuscript appears to be English, most of the contents have a continental origin. (I will return to this aspect later.) MS Mus. 1869 opens on ff. 1v-2v with what is by far the most comprehensive version of what has come to be known, rather misleadingly, as

[1] <https://www.sothebys.com/en/articles/arnold-dolmetsch-music-collection-appreciation>.

[2] P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.330.

'The Skolding Wife'.'[3] No titles are given and I have made this the subject of a supplementary article exploring the many versions.[4]

The Contents of GB-Lbl, MS Mus. 1869, ff. 1-33v

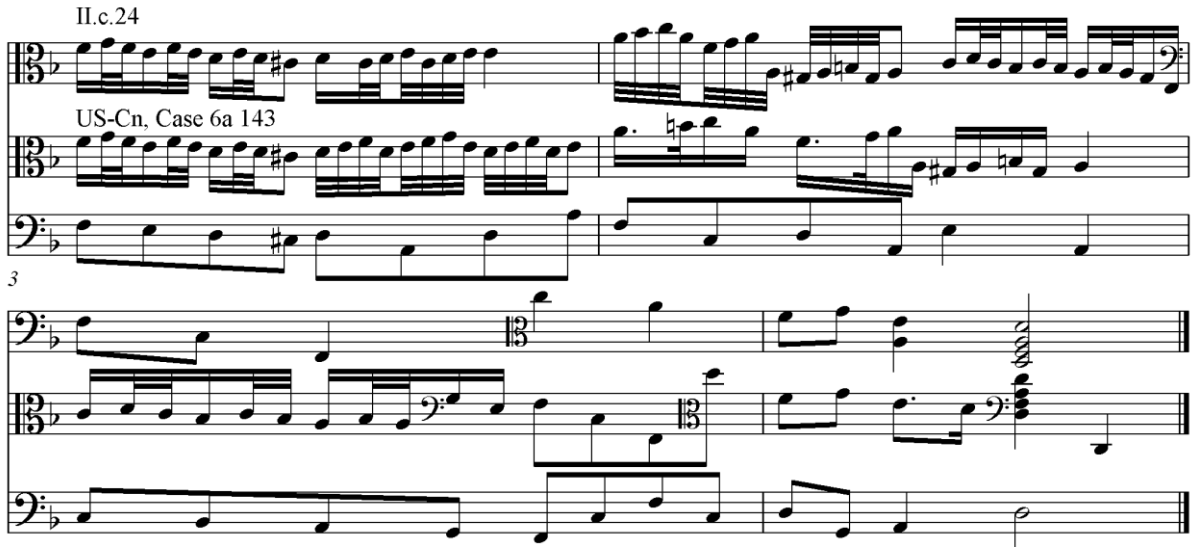
Folio	*Key*	*Composer*	*Title*	*VdGS No.*
1r	d		[the 'Skolding Wife' suite]	Hotman 36
1v	d			Hotman 37
2r	d			Hotman 38
2v	d			Hotman 39
2v	G			Anon 254
3r-v	D	Daniel Norcom		9
4r-v	d	[Norcombe]	2	11
4v-5v	C	[Norcombe]	3	3
6r-v	c	[Norcombe]	Nor 4	6
7r-v	c	[Norcombe]	5 Nor	25*
8r	(The words of a political song, 'See here's the Confederate's train' added by the copyist of the songs in the inverted portion of the manuscript. No music was entered and they are apparently unique.)			
8v-9r	a	[Norcombe]	6 Nor	21
9v-11r	d	Mr Simpson		18
11v-12r	d-g		Preludium	Anon 255
12v-13r	d	C Simpsõ		21
13v-14r	g	D: Norcomb	10	32
14v-15r	d	D Norcomb	11	29
15v-16v	d		Ffantasia	Anon 256
17r-18r	d		[Tregian's Ground]	Anon 45
18v-19v	C	[R. L'Estrange?]	['R.L' in GB-Ob, Mus c.184.c.8] also	Anon 46
19v-20r	C	[Norcombe]	15 Nor	1*
20v-21r	G	D Norcome	16	33
21v-22r	g		17	Anon 47
22v-23r	D	Dan Norcom	18	26
23v-24r	C	Mr Daniell Norcombe	19	4
24v-25r	d	Mr Dan: Norcombe	20	27
25v-26r	a	C: S:	21	22
26v-27v	d	Dan: Norcombe	22 [Tregian's Ground]	13*
27v-28r	C		23	Anon 48
28v-29r	C/a		24	Anon 49
29v-30r	d	Pole Wheele	25	P. Young 1
30v-31r	G	D: N: [Norcombe]	26	35
31v-32r	d	D: N: [Norcombe]	27	28*
32v-33r	a	D: N: [Norcombe]	28	34
33v	D	[William Young]	29	27,29,30

* Edited in D. Norcombe, *Nine Divisions for Bass Viol*, ed. P. Connelly (Albany CA, 1996).

Folios 3r-9r (Nos.1-6) are six sets of divisions by Daniel Norcombe; the anonymous pieces 2 and 3 are identified from other copies. No. 1 in D major (Norcombe 9) is based on the

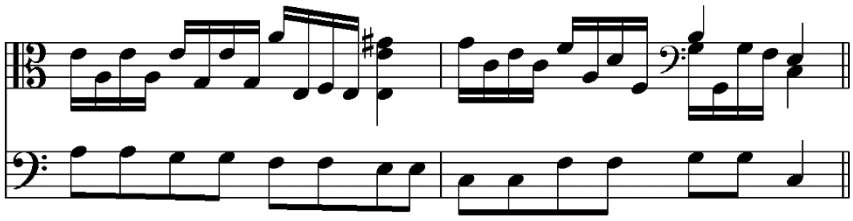
[3] From GB-Cfm, Music Box 2, Folder 10, p.13.
[4] 'The "Skolding Wife" Revisited,' pp.27-32 below.

'Jenkins' ground, so-called from the identification in the Frankfurt-am-Main manuscript D-F, Mus HS 337, a collection of violin arrangements of bass viol divisions.[5] No. 2 in D minor (Norcombe 11) is a poor copy, replete with errors, although two other sources give reliable texts. Example 1 shows the kind of errors found in this volume by comparing the final four bars of II.c.24 with the text in the more accurate late copy now in the Newberry Library, US-Cn, Case 6A.143.[6]



Example 1: conclusion of II.c.24, no. 2 and Newberry MS Case 6A 143

The scribe soon realised that to play nos. 1-5 involved page turns for each piece, so from f.8v (no. 6) he avoids this by beginning each piece on the left-hand verso. The pattern is consistent too in the way the pieces are organised. Each starts with the same sequence: first part of the ground and division on it followed by the second part and its division and then five sets of paired divisions on each section. No. 3 is in triple time. No. 6 is the only one on the group where the ground is of two rather than four bars. It also has an extra division on the opening two bars at 33-34, upsetting the pairing of the rest of the piece (Ex.2).



Example 2: bars 33-34 of Norcombe 21

The seventh piece is an extended set of 13 divisions on an eight-bar ground by Christopher Simpson.[7] This ground was also used by Norcombe (this manuscript, No. 11 = Norcombe 29), Anthony Poole (F-Pn, Rés Vm7 137323/137317 = Poole 25a) and by Hugh Facy (= Facy 1) in New York Public Library, Drexel 3551, pp. 23-26. I have suggested elsewhere that the Drexel manuscript was owned and compiled by Paul Francis Bridges, who was appointed

[5] To be published in Musica Britannica.

[6] VdGS, ME 137 is a facsimile of this manuscript.

[7] Simpson 18. Other sources are GB-Ob, Mus. C.39, f. 35v and D-F, Mus. Hs 337, pp.81-86 (no. 21), an arrangement for violin.

as bass violist to Charles II from Midsummer 1660.[8] He had probably replaced Norcombe at the Brussels court of Spain, where artistic patronage had blossomed during the reign of Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella before 1621 and again with Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria between 1647 and 1656. The influence of the Jesuits, of which Poole was a member, increased substantially at Brussels at this time.[9] Although Facy was a chorister and then a secondary at Exeter cathedral until around 1619, he was then twice granted leave of absence and disappears from the Exeter records. Susi Jeans suggests that he spent time abroad because he was sometimes known by an Italianate form of his name: 'Facio'.[10] The possibility that he had Catholic leanings seems quite strong and is explored further in an article by Christopher Maxim.[11] Brussels and the Netherlands are just as likely as Rome for a Facy visit. No. [9] is also by Simpson, a much less demanding piece technically, with two eight-bar grounds allowing just three divisions on each.

No. [8], a 'Preludium' (Anon 255) and no. [12], a Fantasia' (Anon 256) are two substantial but anonymous pieces, currently unknown elsewhere. Both are unaccompanied solos. The Preludium (72 bars) runs through a series of sequential patterns which change every few bars – a kind of warm-up piece perhaps – before embarking on playing divisions. Much more interesting, although beset with numerous problematical readings of notes and accidentals, is the D minor Fantasia (140 bars). Where the Preludium confines itself to a single melodic strand, the Fantasia indulges in demanding passages of multiple stops, separated by three sections of single line division-like figuration, some involving excursions to the major mood. As with the 'Skolding Wife' pieces which open the collection, the Cracow Manuscript again suggests a possible composer – here William Young – especially since he can be identified as the composer of the final three pieces in this manuscript.[12]

Before the Fantasia are two more sets of divisions by Norcombe (Norcombe 21 and 32) in G minor and D minor respectively, both known only from this manuscript. The G minor ground is split into the usual two four-bar units for its seven sets, but the eight-bar ground of the D minor piece, like its Simpson companion at no. 7, is undivided throughout for its five sets of divisions.

Following the Fantasia is an anonymous set of divisions which consort players know from the *Thematic Index* as 'Tregian's Ground' – a further set by Norcombe is at no. 22. John Caldwell in *Tudor Keyboard Music* (Musica Britannica 66, no. 46) attributes the ground to Hugh Aston from British Library Add, MS 60577, f. 204v, and Byrd later also called it 'hughe ashtons grownde' for his setting.[13] Apart from the two sets in MS Mus. 1869, another by Christopher Simpson occurs in US-NYp, Drexel MS 3551, p.72; the ground was certainly popular in Catholic circles. The association with the Tregian name is actually very apt, if still a misnomer, for Tregian himself had spent a dozen years at Brussels between 1594 and 1606 and the ground could well have circulated there. Two and a half bars of divisions are missing from the third set, probably due to the copyist's eye catching the wrong semiquaver group.

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[8] A. Ashbee, 'The Mystery of Polewheel and his Ground', *VdGS Journal* 5 (2011), pp.1-13, especially pp.7-10.

[9] On music and the Jesuits in the Netherlands, see P. del Amo, 'Anthony Poole (*c.*1629-1692): The Viol and Exiled English Catholics', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2011), especially Chapter 1.

[10] S. Jeans, 'Hugh Facy', *GMO* and 2001 edn., vol. 8, p.308.

[11] C. Maxim, 'Hugh Facy's *Ave Maris Stella*: A Postcard from Rome?', *The Musical Times* 142 (Autumn 2001), pp.33-8.

[12] Now PL-Wtm, R221.

[13] GB-Lbl, MS Mus 1591, f. 153v (*My Ladye Nevells Booke*, copied by John Baldwin).

Gordon Dodd indexed the 14th piece in the manuscript as 'Anon 46', but it can be identified as the first set of manuscript divisions by 'R.L.' (believed to be Roger L'Estrange) in Bodleian Library, Mus.184.c.8, a printed copy of Simpson's *Division-Violist* (London, 1659) with thirteen additional pieces in a manuscript supplement bound at the end, some being holograph copies by John Jenkins.[14] The whole was bought by John Covel (1638-1722) in 1660, when he was a fellow of Christs College, Cambridge. Here, perhaps, is a clue to a possible context for the music in MS Mus. 1869. Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704) was a son of Sir Hamon L'Estrange of Hunstanton, Norfolk, an ardent Royalist family.[15] His education included schooling at Sedgeford, Westminster and Eton before his admission to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, on 6 November 1634. Family accounts show him being taught on the [bass] viol by Thomas Brewer, the resident musician, in 1635-1636. Like his brothers he was admitted to law school in London, in his case Gray's Inn, from 3 November 1637. In 1639 he travelled with Charles I and his army to Scotland, but at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642-3 he was at Lynn, Norfolk, where his father had been made Governor.[16] They failed to hold the town, so Roger travelled to Oxford to join Prince Rupert's Troop, and then he spent some time in Newark. Is this perhaps the reason for Jenkins writing 'Newark Siege'? Roger persuaded the King that he could recapture Lynn for the Royalists, but he was betrayed by two associates and was captured and sent to London. There he was tried and sentenced to death, but was saved by pleas on his behalf. He spent three years in Newgate Prison in much discomfort before escaping to Hales Place, Kent in 1648 and his friend Edward Hales (1626-84). L'Estrange immediately organised the abortive rising which began the Second Civil War, placing the inexperienced Hales in charge of the Kentish Royalist forces. Hales had pledged £80,000 to the cause, but the coup failed and he, his wife, and L'Estrange fled to Sandwich and then by ship to Holland.[17]

The presence of L'Estrange's piece in MS Mus. 1869 opens the question of whether the manuscript was made (or begun) in Holland, or whether, as seems more likely, it was later compiled in England. If L'Estrange reached Brussels and the Spanish Court there, as an enthusiastic bass violist he presumably would have made contact with Daniel Norcombe, acquiring the Norcombe pieces, many of which are currently only known from this manuscript. Of course, we cannot be sure that L'Estrange's piece was known in Holland rather than being copied later in England, but it is possible. At any rate, it seems to me that Brussels is a likely venue for the origin of much if not all of the music in Mus. 1869 and that L'Estrange's continental stay between 1648 and 1653 gave him the opportunity to collect it. That does not identify the owner or copyist of MS Mus. 1869, but the contents do suggest they might originally have been acquired around 1650. Perhaps the scribe had been an English associate of L'Estrange abroad; the later addition of Royalist inspired poems and music at the reverse end of the volume certainly adds to the feeling that the owner was a committed believer in the monarchy. None of the three Simpson pieces in the manuscript are printed in *The Division-Violist*; nevertheless, their composition could have preceded the book's publication in 1659. The Dolmetsch copy of L'Estrange's piece has more textual errors than Covel's and two omissions are particularly interesting: notes 6-7 in bar 30 and

[14] See the edition by Jennifer Barron, VdGS ME 231, 2011, no. 1.

[15] See A. Dunan-Page and B. Lynch, *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot, 2008); in particular A. Ashbee, '"My Fiddle is a Bass Viol": Music in the Life of Roger L'Estrange', pp.149-166.

[16] On the activities of the L'Estrange and Derham families during the Civil War, see A. Ashbee, *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins*, vol. 1 (Surbiton, 1992), especially pp.41-50; and. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* (London, 1969), especially pp. 275-281.

[17] See R. Cox Hales, 'Brief Notes on the Hales Family, *Archaeologia Cantiana* 14 (1882), pp.1-84.

the whole of bar 46 (13 notes). These were originally missing from Covel too, but the scribe squeezed them in afterwards. There are more than 30 wrong (or different) notes in Dolmetsch and a missing clef change. Covel has its own wrong clef for one whole line of manuscript (bars 47-49). It is fascinating to observe that the second piece in Covel, also by 'R.L', includes reminiscences of patterns found in the 'Skolding Wife', sufficiently identifiable to receive a comment from the editor.[18]

Most of the remaining pieces are currently known only from this manuscript. Nos. 16-18 and 20 are all based on eight-bar continuous grounds. Although 17 is anonymous it could well be by Norcombe, like 16 and 18; the composer generally writes around 5-6 divisions on each ground, as here.

There are no less than three copies of no. 19 (Norcombe 4) in John Merro's books, Bodleian MSS Mus. Sch D.245-7, two of them paired with a ground on a rising and falling hexachord by John Withy (Withy 24).[19] The link with Withy is strengthened by the Norcombe ground (only) appearing in the bass book of 'Jo: Wythie his Booke[s]', a now incomplete set at the Sibley Music Library, Rochester, New York, where it is inverted on a hitherto empty stave of the last page.[20] Anthony Wood lists Withy as 'a Roman catholic and sometimes a teacher of music in the city of Worcester' and it is interesting to find Thomas Tomkins as another composer who wrote consort pieces on the rising and falling hexachord. This ground had been popular with earlier composers of keyboard music like Byrd and Bull, but its transfer to consorts may have originated in Worcester with Tomkins and Withy. If so, one wonders whether they in turn – and Withy in particular, because of his Catholic faith – played any part in the fact that Norcombe also wrote divisions on 'ut, la, mi', known only from the copy here at no. 26 (Norcombe 35)?[21] John Withy's Catholic faith may also have enabled the group of Norcombe pieces in Bodleian, Mus. Sch. C.71 to reach his son Francis, and through him the owner, William Noble.[22]

The last of the three Simpson sets is at no. 21, where the ground divides into two continuous four-bar units, followed by pairs of divisions on each strain. This manuscript's second set of divisions on 'Tregian's Ground' is ascribed to Norcombe. Where the anonymous set at no. 13 is definitely in a 3/2 pulse, this one at no. 22 generally has a 6/4 lilt, except in the most florid passages. The eighth set is even marked 'Ecchoe', alternating *forte* and *piano* figures, a practice which could easily be continued in the ninth set where the contrasts apply different octaves for the echo.

Longer grounds for divisions normally aim for a new key or half-close at the half-way point, but the anonymous no. 23 is unusual, first because it comprises four then eight bars and also because each element lands on C. No. 24 (Anon 49) on ff. 28v-29r presents both parts of the ground before embarking on the divisions, eschewing Norcombe's apparent preference for splitting the first division. It is an attractive piece with eight divisions on each strain,

[18] Jennifer Barron; see fn. 12.

[19] See A. Ashbee, 'John Merro's manuscripts revisited', *VdGS Journal* 7 (2013), pp.1-19, especially pp.10-11. Norcombe 4 is at D.245, pp.192-3 (in tablature apart from the ground); D.246, pp.133-4; D.246, pp.209-10. Withy 24 is on D.245, pp.194-5 and D.246, pp.131-2.

[20] US-R, MS Vault M350.F216, bass book, p.42.

[21] Two of the Tomkins consorts (T. Tomkins, *Keyboard Music*, ed. S.D. Tuttle, rev. J. Irving, Musica Britannica 5 (London, 3/2010), no. 33 ('Fancy for viols' and 35 ('Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la'), are later consort versions of keyboard originals. Maybe John Withy was the arranger, since John Irving notes the four-part score 'is unlikely to be by Tomkins himself' (ibid., p.170.

[22] Sequence nos. 21, 24-29 (which includes one piece by Simpson, also in MS Mus. 1869).

including a 12/8 section for both parts of the third and fourth 'a' section, but just the third of the 'b' variant.

The piece universally known as 'Polewheele's Ground is no. 25 and the text seems to match most closely readings associated with the Oxford manuscripts linked with the Withy family, John and Francis. Norcombe's divisions on 'ut, la mi' (no. 26) is mentioned above – just three variations, becoming increasingly florid. The final two Norcombe sets revert to his normal pattern with the ground split by the first 'a' division. No. 27 attractively mixes F major and D minor harmonies, while no. 28 unusually has two eight-bar units for its ground and just three sets of divisions upon them.

Folio 33v has the final three dances in the collection, in D major, anonymous, with the second only titled 'Corant'. The pencilled attribution to William Young now in the manuscript was made by Gordon Dodd when he catalogued the contents of MS Mus. 1869 for the VdGS *Thematic Index*. He was in the fortunate position of editing the Cracow manuscript for the firm Minkoff and found two of the pieces there.[23] The first is an Allemand, but markedly different in detail from the Cracow text. The second, a Corant, is absent from Cracow where another piece is copied, but surely Gordon is correct in his attribution, while the third is a Saraband.

The remaining unused music pages (ff. 48v-34), with the manuscript inverted and starting from the back, is an anthology of Restoration songs, many of them settings of Royalist verses, and I am very grateful to Peter Holman for drawing up an inventory, below.

[23] *Recueil de piéces de basse de viole, dit Manuscrit de Crakovie*, ed. G.J. Dodd (Geneva, 1995) ff. 92r-93r; VdGS *Thematic Index*, Young-3, nos. 27, 29-30.

GB-Lbl, MS Mus. 1869, ff. 48v-34: A Preliminary Inventory

PETER HOLMAN

Abbreviations

(Books and collections of music were published in London unless otherwise stated.)

Chappell W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols. (1859; repr. New York, 1965).

CMMBM A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, ii: *Secular Vocal Music* (1908; repr. 1966); iii: *Instrumental Music, Treatises etc.* (1909; repr. 1965).

Crum *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library Oxford*, ed. M. Crum, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969).

D&M C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie, *English Song-Books 1651-1702, a Bibliography* (Oxford, 1940).

Simpson C.M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick NJ, 1966).

Ward J.M. Ward, 'Apropos *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967), pp.28-86.

WHP The Works of Henry Purcell: vol. 22A: *Catches*, ed. I. Spink (London, 2000); vol. 25: *Secular Songs for Solo Voice*, ed. A.M. Laurie (1985).

Z F.B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (1963).

Folio	Number	
48v	1	'Fy, nay, prithe John, doe not quarrell man' A three-part catch; C major; duple time; treble clef; with 'The Base', a descending scale, bass clef, copied separately after the voice part. First published without words in the single-sheet tablature *Lessons for the Recorder* (*c.*1680), and with words in *Catch that Catch Can* (1685), no. 16; *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1686), part 1, no. 10, both printed without the bass. It is probably by Christopher Fishburn, but it was also attributed to John Blow and Henry Purcell. *CMMBM*, ii, pp.27, 29, 39, 43, 45; *Chappell*, pp.565-6; *Crum* F290; *D&M* 993; *WHP* 22A, Appendix, no. 1; Z. D100.
	2	'Oh the bonny Christ Church bells' A three-part catch; C major; duple time; bass clef. By Henry Aldrich, first published in *The Musical Companion* (1673), supplement, p.1; *Catch that Catch Can* (1685), no. 1. *Chappell*, p.565; *CMMBM*, ii, p.26; *D&M* 2534; *Simpson*, pp.48-9.
48	3	title in pencil: 'Sawney'

A binary instrumental piece; G major; duple time; bass clef, apparently for solo bass viol. A version of the song 'Sawney was tall and of noble race', first published in *Choice Ayres and Songs*, iii (1681), p.9, entitled 'A *NORTHERN* SONG'. It was sung in Act III of Thomas D'Urfey's play *The Virtuous Wife* (1679), entitled 'SCOTCH *SONG*.' in the published play text (1680), pp.30-1. *Chappell* suggested that the music was composed by Thomas Farmer, who wrote other songs for the play. *Chappell*, pp.618-20; *D&M* 2850; *Simpson*, pp.632-5; *Ward*, p.72.

4 untitled

Another setting of 'Sawney was tall and of noble race'; C major; apparently for two bass viols and continuo. The three parts (the viol parts are in alto and bass clefs; the continuo part in the bass clef) are laid out successively. The continuo part is an amalgam of the lower lines of the two crossing viol parts.

47v blank

47 5 'Who comes there, stand'

A three-part catch; C major; triple time; treble clef. By Henry Purcell, Z. 288, first published in *Catch that Catch Can* (1685), no. 23 as '*The* London Constable'; *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, part 1, no. 14. *CMMBM*, ii, pp.27, 28, 37, 42; *Crum* W2059; *D&M* 3906; *WHP* 22A, no. 49.

46v 6 'Tell me no more of flames in loue'

A binary strophic song (3 verses); D major; duple time; treble and bass clefs. The music is essentially the same as a wordless score in the late seventeenth-century portion of the Blakiston Manuscript, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17853, f. 22; I am grateful to Andrew Woolley for this concordance. The song was printed in *Choice Ayres and Songs*, v (1684), p.5 with a different bass part and an attribution to Christopher Fishburn. *CMMBM*, iii, p.109; *D&M* 3163; A. Woolley, 'Tunes for Violin or Recorder Collected in North-East England and London in the Late Seventeenth Century: The Provenance and Contents of the Blakiston Manuscript (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17853)', *Music in North-East England 1500-1800*, ed. S. Carter, K. Gibson and R. Southey (Woodbridge, 2020), pp.127-150.

46 7 'By all that's fair i'le loue no more'

A binary strophic song (3 verses); G major; duple time; treble and bass clefs. Apparently unique.

45v 8 'Drown'd in a deluge of despaire'

A strophic song (2 verses); C minor; duple time; treble and bass clefs. Apparently unique.

45 9 'In the shade upon the grass'

A strophic song (2 verses); D minor, duple time; treble and bass clefs. By Christopher Fishburn, published in *Choice Ayres and Songs*, v (1684), p.9. *D&M* 1780.

44v 10 'Ah what a happiness is y^e^ enjoying'

A strophic song (4 verses); G minor; triple time; treble and bass clefs. Apparently unique.

44 11 'Long had Amintor fixt his heart'

A strophic song (2 verses); G minor; duple time with a concluding triple-time section; treble and bass clefs. The music is essentially the same as a wordless score, in the late seventeenth-century portion of the Blakiston Manuscript, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17853, f. 22; I am grateful to Andrew Woolley for this concordance. *CMMBM*, iii, p.109; Woolley, 'Tunes for Violin or Recorder' (see no. 6).

43v 12 'How uncertein is the State of that greatness wee adore'

A strophic song (2 verses); G minor; duple time; treble and bass clefs. Apparently unique.

43 13 'Ne're molest y^e^ pate with Tory, Whig, or Trimmer'

A strophic song (9 verses); D minor; triple time; treble clef voice part only. It is concerned with Titus Oates and the Popish plot hysteria of 1678-81, and therefore probably dates from the early 1680s. Apparently unique.

42v blank

42-41v 14 'Joy to great Caesar'; pencil headings: 'La Folia' / '1681' / 'St James'

A song in six sections or strains; A minor; triple time; treble clef voice part with 'The ground.', bass clef, inserted after the fourth section. A vocal version of Faronel's Ground or La Folia; see S. Schönlau, 'Farinel's Ground and other "Follyes" in English Sources of the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries', *Early Music* 49 (2021), pp.67-86. This vocal version was first published (in D minor) as *The King's Health, set to Farrinel's Ground in Six Strains* (1682); T. D'Urfey, *Several New Songs* (1684), pp.13-18. *Crum* J145; *Simpson*, pp.216-18; *Ward*, pp.37-41.

41 15 'State & Ambition too soon will deceiue you'; pencil heading: 'before 1680'

A strophic song (3 verses); G minor; triple time; treble clef voice part only, with staves and bass clefs prepared for the bass part, which was not entered. Essentially the same as Thomas D'Urfey's song 'State and ambition, alas! will deceive ye', published in his *Several New Songs* (1684), pp.10-11, where it is entitled '*To* SY[L]VIA; *a Song set to a new Playhouse Tune*.'. An extended version with the tune is in *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* (1685), pp.92-4. *D&M* 3056; *Simpson*, pp.683-5.

40v 16 'Faction & folly (alass!) will deceiue you'

A strophic song (7 verses); G minor (but with most of the necessary accidentals missing); triple time; treble clef voice part at the top of the page, seven verses in the middle, and the (rather incompetent) bass at the bottom of the page. The tune is similar to the one for no. 15. The words were first printed in *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs* (1684), pp.219-21 with the title '*The Royal Admiral, an excellent new SONG on His Illustrious Highness the Duke of York His being confirm'd High-Admiral of* England.'; In *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* (1685), pp.94-6 it is printed without the tune, but the heading '*To a pleasant new Tune, call'd* State and Ambition' refers to no. 15. *D&M* 922; *Simpson*, pp.683-5.

40 17 'Let the whole nation rejoyce & be glad'

A strophic song (4 verses); G minor, triple time; treble clef voice part only; the same tune as no. 15. The words, apparently unique, celebrate James II's accession to the throne in 1685.

39v 18 'Since one poor view has drawn my heart'

A song; C major, duple time; treble and bass clefs. The tune is by Henry Purcell Z. 416, as printed in *Choice Ayres and Songs*, iii (1681), p.13, though the (rather poor) bass is quite different and may be by the copyist. *D&M* 2951; *WHP* 25, no. 9.

19 'How I sigh when I think of y^{e} charms of my Swain'

A song; C minor; triple time; treble and bass clefs. The tune is by Henry Purcell Z. 374, as printed in in *Choice Ayres and Songs*, iii (1681), p.13, though the (rather poor) bass is quite different and may be by the copyist. *D&M* 1428; *WHP* 25, no. 8.

39 20 'Why should you cruell proue, & fair'

A strophic song (3 verses); G minor; duple time; treble & bass clefs. Attributed to 'John Hawkins' at the end of the music. A different hand wrote 'the words made by Lancyer Becwith' at the bottom of the page. Apparently unique.

38v Blank except for 'Basill Brookes' written in a different hand at the top of the page.

38-37v 21 'Beat on proud billowes Boreas blow'

A strophic song (13 verses); C major; duple time; treble and bass clefs. There are a number of smudged corrections to the notes and bar lines. A setting of Roger L'Estrange's popular poem 'The Liberty of an Imprisoned Royalist', first published in 1647. Essentially the same setting is in GB-Ob, Don. C. 57, f. 34; GB-Llp, MS 1041, ff. 6v-7 (with a tablature theorbo accompaniment); see E.H. Jones, *The Performance of English Song 1610-1670*, 2 vols. (New York, 1989), i, pp.181-3; ii, pp.98-9; *Songs with Theorbo (ca. 1650-1663): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxbourne 84.9, London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1041*, ed. G.J. Callon (Madison WI, 2000), pp.37-8. For the poem, see *English Song 1600-*

1675, ed. E. Bickford Jorgens, vol. xii: *The Texts of the Songs*, p. 373; *Songs with Theorbo*, ed. Callon, p.92 (fn. 58). *Crum* B100.

37 22 'When the best of Monarchs ruled y^e^ land'

A strophic song (4 verses); C major; duple time; treble and bass clefs. It belongs to the family of songs deriving from Martin Parker's ballad with the refrain 'When the king enjoys his own again', and uses the tune associated with it, though these verses seem to be unique. It has a rather incompetent bass part. At the bottom of the page are the inscriptions: 'Vive le Roy.' and 'sic precor' ('thus I pray'), followed by the initials 'J:W'. *Chappell*, pp.434-9, 782; *Simpson*, pp.764-8.

36v 23 'Though you are young, and I am old'

A strophic song (6 verses); D minor; triple time; treble and bass clefs. A version (in crotchets rather than minims) of the melody and words of Thomas Campion's song, published in Philip Rosseter, *A Book of Ayres* (1601), no. 2, but with a different bass part and no lute tablature. It is not related to the setting by John Playford; see *D&M* 3330.

36-35v 24 'Forth from the dark & dismall cell'; pencil heading: 'Mad Tom'

An extended strophic song (2 verses); G major; bass clef voice part only. A vocal version of the tune of a Jacobean antimasque dance, 'Gray's Inn Masque'; see *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, ed. A. Sabol (Providence RI, 1978), no. 152. This version was first published in *Choice Songs and Ayres*, i (1673), p.94, 'TOM *a Bedlam*. / *For a Bass alone*.' *Chappell*, pp.328-32, 778-9; *D&M* 1064; *Simpson*, pp.263-6. The heading and a note at the bottom of f. 35v listing sources of the tune, both in pencil, are probably in Arnold Dolmetsch's hand.

35 25 'All you that loue mirth, giue ear to my song'; pencil heading: 'Lilliburlero'

A strophic binary song (6 verses); G major; treble and bass clefs. The words, a dialogue between 'Sawney' and 'Teag', seem to be unique, but they are set (not very comfortably) to Lilliburlero; see *Chappell*, pp.568-74, 786. *Simpson*, p.447; *Ward*, p.57. The (rather poor) bass is unrelated to the one in Henry Purcell's keyboard setting Z. 646.

34v 26 'Say good master Bacchus astride on your butt'

The words of a strophic song (2 verses) laid out between treble and bass staves, but without any music entered. However, a setting of what seems to be the same text was included in a group of songs added to *Apollo's Banquet … the Second Book* (London, 1691); see *D&M* 2853.

34 27 'Lay by y^r^ reason, truths out of season'

A strophic song (5 verses); G minor; duple time; treble and bass clefs, but with the words set out below the music rather than underlaid. The words, a political ballad deploring the Glorious Revolution of 1688, seem to be unique, though the first line is the same as verses in *A Choice Collection of 180*

Loyal Songs (1685), pp.100-3; see *D&M* 1940. The tune is an instrumental dance often used for political ballads, with various titles including 'Love lives a bleeding' and 'Ignoramus'. *Chappell*, pp.431-2, 782; *Simpson*, pp.429-31.

More will doubtless be discovered about this fascinating collection of Restoration songs and ballads when the concordances and other settings of particular pieces are investigated in more detail, though a few preliminary conclusions can be drawn. It is in a single hand throughout, apart from the annotation 'the words made by Lancyer Becwith' at the bottom of no. 20, the name 'Basill Brookes' on f. 38v and some pencil headings and annotations probably in the hand of Arnold Dolmetsch. As with the sequence of bass viol music at the front, the main hand is unidentified, though it is clearly practised and it strikes me as rather old-fashioned for the time, with some secretary forms of letters still present, suggesting an individual born in the first half of the century. The initials 'J.W.' at the bottom of f. 37 may be a clue to his identity, and (given the connection with the Withy family noted above) a possibility is John Withy junior (1639-1701), the son of the Worcester composer John Withy (*c.*1600-85).[24]

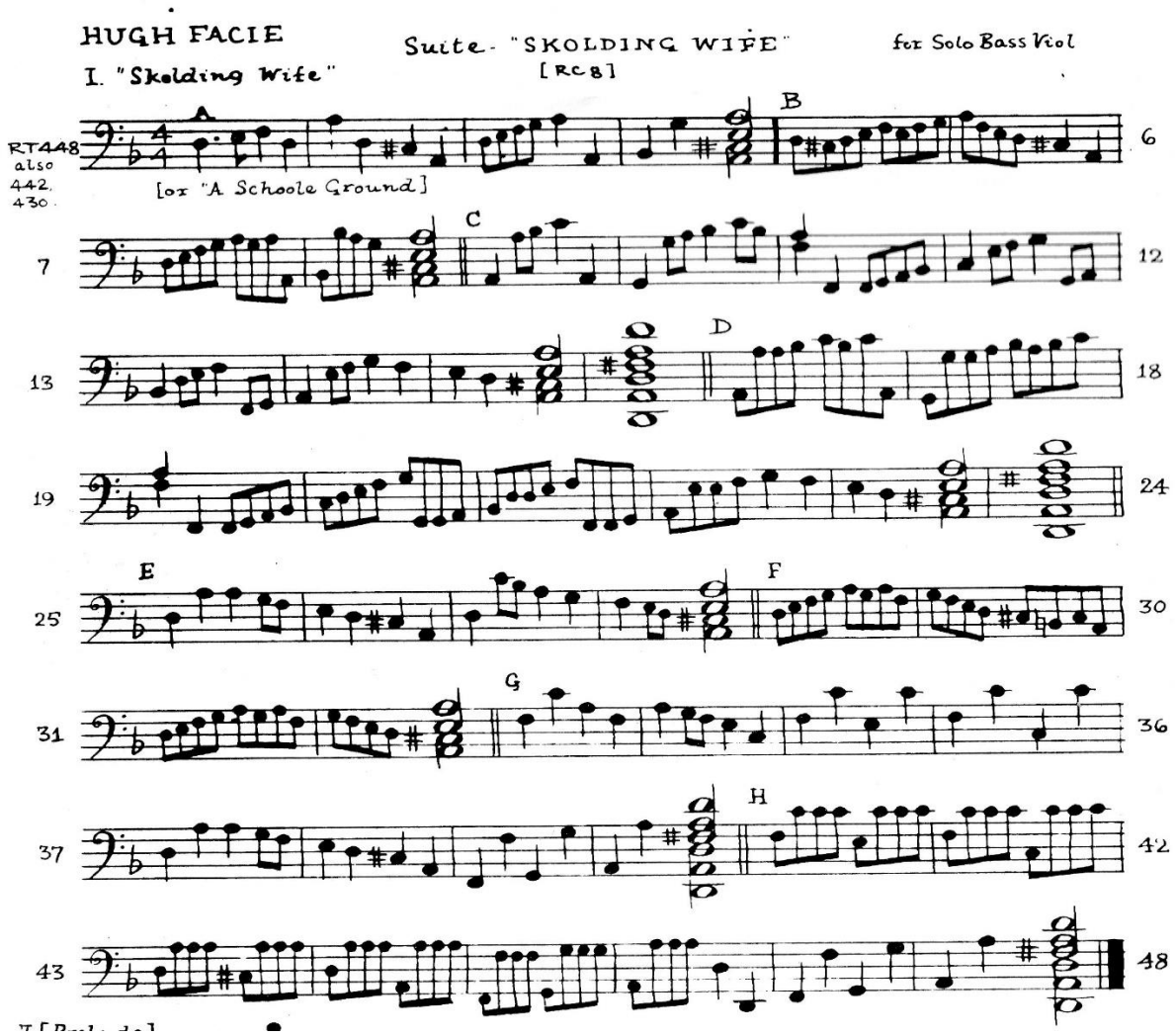
A striking feature of the collection is the unusual number of songs or ballads dealing with political events, always from a royalist or even proto-Jacobite perspective. They enable it to be dated with confidence to the 1680s. For instance, no. 13 deals with Titus Oates and the Popish Plot of 1678-81; no. 17 celebrates James II's accession to the throne in 1685; while the last song, no. 27, deplores the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Andrew Ashbee has suggested that the copyist of the bass viol music at the front had connections with Roger L'Estrange, so it may be significant that no. 21 here is an anonymous setting (also found in two earlier manuscripts) of L'Estrange's poem 'The Liberty of an Imprisoned Royalist'. This later copyist may also have been a viol player, since nos. 3 and 4 are instrumental settings of the song 'Sawney was tall and of noble race', the first for solo bass viol, the second apparently for two bass viols and continuo. What is clear, however, is that his or her musical discernment was limited. There are numerous wrong notes and missing accidentals, some of the tunes do not fit the words very well, and a number of the bass parts are incompetent, as if the copyist (or someone in the line of transmission) only had access to the tunes (including two early songs by Henry Purcell, nos. 18 and 19), and lacked the skill to write replacement bass parts that conformed to the accepted rules of harmony and voice-leading.

[24] For John Withy junior, see R. Thompson, "'Francis Withie of Oxon" and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337, *Chelys* 20 (1991), pp.3-27, at pp.5-7; *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, comp. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, vol. ii (Aldershot, 2008), pp.9-10.

The 'Skolding Wife' Revisited

ANDREW ASHBEE

'Skolding Wife' is a memorable title for a popular piece, but unfortunately it carries no authority. The sole source for the name is Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 647 (formerly Music Box 2, Folder 10, page 13), but when Gordon Dodd prepared his edition - VdGS Supplementary Publication [now ME] 85 - in 1972, he adopted 'Skolding Wife' and it has stuck. Here is the first of the four sections in Gordon's elegant script:

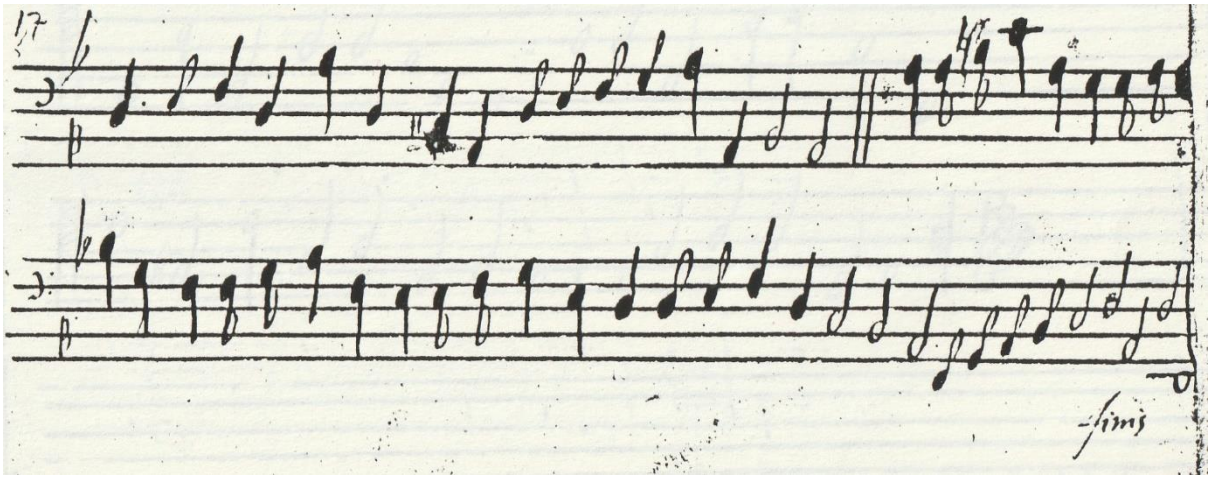


I believe a much more pertinent title is the one which opens the Manchester Gamba Book, GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51: 'A Schoole Grounde'. The piece was indeed often used for schooling the tyro gambist and it also provided four- and eight-bar patterns for their first steps in playing divisions, as seen above.

There are fourteen known sources, but virtually none name a composer, so who was he? Initially Gordon ascribed the piece to 'Hugh Facie' as recorded in the Manchester book, but later, in editing a facsimile of a manuscript formerly from Cracow, Poland, he found it among

a section of 16 pieces by Nicolas Hotman (*c.*1614-1663).[25] This seems to be the correct attribution and was adopted by Gordon in the *Thematic Index*. Although born in Brussels. Hotman lived and worked mainly in Paris, where he gained a fine reputation as musician on the viola da gamba and theorbo lute. He served the Duke of Anjou, brother of Louis XIV, as violist and theorbo player and in 1661, two years before his death, he became a chamber musician to the King. He is also known to have corresponded with the Dutch polymath Constantijn Huygens.

Not only is the piece rarely ascribed, it appears in a bewildering variety of different forms. Which of these represent Hotman's original version is now impossible to deduce. Among the most basic copies surviving is S-N, MS Finspång 9096.3, a manuscript apparently of English origin – or at least by an English copyist – although there are some French items too. Here the amateur scribe has further simplified the octave leaps in the second strain (C above) as well as inventing his/her own elementary conclusion, which upsets the eight-bar pattern of the original.



Sweden, Norrköpings State Library, Finspang 9096.3, p.4, seq. 17

My interest in this piece was aroused by the version in British Library, MS Mus. 1869, which is the basis for Gordon's ME 85 edition. This has four sections of 48, 63, 56 and 16 bars respectively on folios 1 and 2, and is unnumbered, the numbering sequence in the manuscript beginning with the next piece on f. 3r. However, it seems to me questionable that this group began life as a suite, although it works satisfactorily as one. Section 2 is found in three manuscripts (as shown later), all anonymous and not joined to Section 1. It is called 'Preludium' which implies either an opening or an independent piece. Section 3, unknown elsewhere, certainly has similar patterns to Section 1 and Hotman's authorship seems likely. Section 4, again uniquely known from this source, is a courante (although there is no title) and it is immediately followed on the same page by an anonymous allemand-type movement in G major (= *Thematic Index*: Anon 254).

Section I is set out as

A (bars 1-4 closing on A) and B (5-8; divisions)

C (bars 9-16 closing on D) and D (17-24; divisions)

[25] Now in Warsaw: PL-Wtm, R221. Facsimile: *Recueil de pièces de basse de viole, dit Manuscrit de Cracovie*, ed. Gordon Dodd (Geneva, 1995).

E (bars 25-28: variant of A) and F (29-32; divisions)

G (bars 33-40 closing on D) and H (41-48; divisions)

These are useful guides in establishing which sections appear in the various manuscripts, with sections A, C, E and G as the basic ones. The divisions vary from source to source, as is to be expected.

First, here are the sources which have just two strains of 4 and 8 bars:

GB-Mp, MS 832 Vu 51, p.3:1: 2 strains, A + C in staff notation, Hugh Facie, A Schoole Grounde.

GB-CHEr, MS DLT/B 31, f. 117r:2 [original 50r]: 2 strains A + C, tablature, ffeff; Preludium; anon.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 15118, f. 33:1: 2: 2 strains, A + C in tablature ffeff; anon.

S-N, SM Finspång 9096.3, seq.7: 2 strains, 4 + 10 bars. A + C in staff notation; anon.

US-NH, MS Filmer 3: 2 strains, A + C in staff notation; anon.

D-Kl, 4o Mus 108, book 2, f. 9v:[26] 2 strains: E + G; anon.

Several manuscripts have more than one passage of division writing for some sections and a further discrepancy occurs with some sources beginning with Section E rather than A, although the latter may appear later in the piece.

PL-Wtm, R221 [Cracow MS], f. 62v-64v, 84 bars.[27] Staff notation; 'Ballet', 'Piesce de Mo.r hauttemant': E; E var; G; G var; A; A var; H (7 bars); C (7 bars); C; H var; H div (12 bars); C (7 bars); C var (12 bars).

D-Kl, 4o Mus 108, book 3, ff. 2v-6r, 118 bars.[28] Tablature: ffeff, anon.; 'Ballet': E, E var; G; G var; A, A var; G var2; C; A var2; A var 3; G var3; G var4; G var5; G var6; G var7.

GB-Cfm, MU MS 647 p.13:1, 44 bars. Staff notation, 'Skolding Wife', anon.; A; A division (not as B above); C; E; E division (not as F above); G; H variant (12 bars) = 41-42 twice, 43-44 twice; 37-38 division; 39-40.

D-B, Mus. MS 30401. This MS contains 32 pieces for viola da gamba and two songs, all anonymous except for four attributed to 'Mr hott' or 'Mr hotteman'. However, the six anonymous pieces on ff. 2v-3v are numbered 1-6 and include versions of the 'Skolding Wife' set; in sequence: '1' (2r) is a scale exercise; '3' (2v:1) is a version of A; '2' (2v:2) is a variant of G; '6' (3r:1), '5' (3r:2) and '4' (3v) are all variants of C.

F-Pc, Rés 1111, f. 237v:[29] 25 bars, Staff notation; Allemand and 'variatio' the only version in G minor. A; G; A var (5 bars); G var.

A-ETGoëss C, seq. 45, 54 bars. Tablature, ffeff; A; A var; G var; C; A var2; A var3; A var4.

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[26]<https://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/searchadvanced/-/%2528%2528MD_SHELFMARK%253A%25284%25C2%25B0+AND+ms.+AND+mus.+AND+108*%2529%2529%2529/1/-/-/>.

[27] Modern edition: no. 97, Güntersberg G365: 'The Cracow Manuscript for Viola da Gamba solo', volume 4, Nicolas Hotman (Heidelberg, 2020)..

[28] Modern edition: no 97A, Güntersberg G365 (Heidelberg, 2020).

[29] Online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k859846f.r=Res%201111?rk=21459;2>.

S-L, MS Saml. Wenster 36: 'Gavotte de Lut ou Gitare' [not seen].

The second section or movement is found in three sources: GB-Lbl, MS Mus. 1869, and MSS 'B' and 'C' of the Goëss manuscripts.[30] Scholars date the five 'Group I' Goëss manuscripts, which include 'B' and 'C', to the 1660s and Tim Crawford suggests how they came to be at Ebenthal.

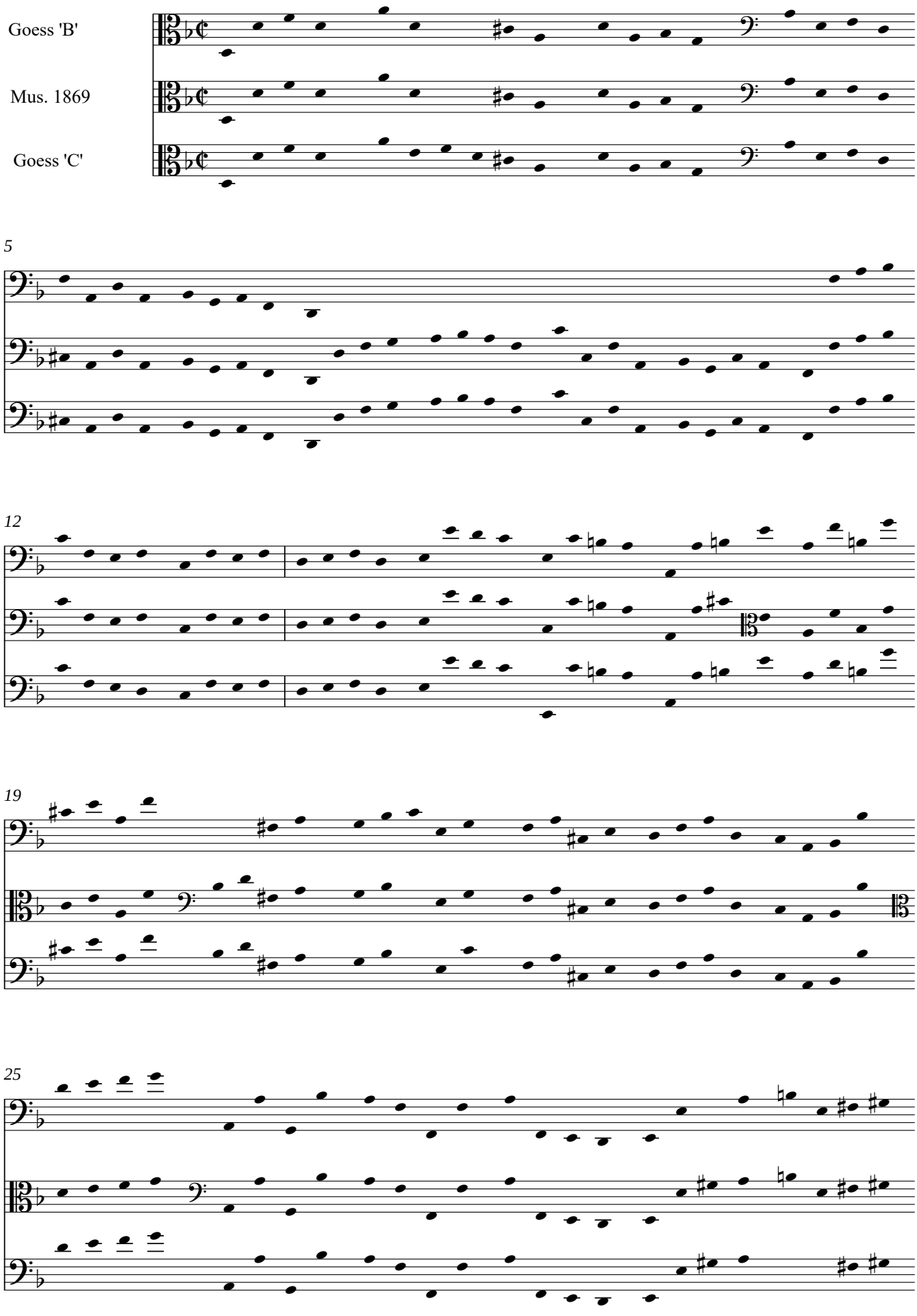
> Each of the manuscripts in group I has a substantial contribution (totally over 220 pieces) from one particular unidentified scribe (named Q in Smith's article[31]), who also wrote the dates 'a Utrecht le de[cem]bre 1664' and 'A Utrecht le 6 de May 1668' in the viol Mss A and B, respectively. […] I suggest that [scribe] Q may have been the uncle and guardian of the first Count von Goëss, the distinguished Imperial diplomat, later prince-Bishop of Gurk in Carinthia and subsequently Cardinal, Johan von Goes (1611-1696), who was involved in diplomatic activity in Holland and even owned property in The Hague and elsewhere. Thus he had the opportunity to collect the music in group I.[32]

There are pieces by Hotman in in all three Goëss viol collections: 'A' (2), 'B' (10), 'C' (21) and by Young 'A' (9), 'B' (7), 'C' (7). One cannot help but wonder whether the important Crakow manuscript, like them, made a journey eastwards (perhaps from Germany rather than Holland or France) in a diplomatic or other bag. Apart from the 95 pieces by Dubuisson, it has 16 pieces by Hotman and 29 by Young. GB-Lbl, MS Mus. 1869 gives by far the most extended version of the three known copies of this piece.

[30] The Goëss MSS are published as facsimiles: Tree Edition, Albert Reyerman, ed. Tim Crawford and François-Pierre Goy and are now available on the UK Lute Society web-site <www.lutesociety.org/pages/tree-edition-files>.

[31] D. Alton Smith, 'The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures: Thirteen New Manuscripts of Baroque Instrumental Music', *Early Music* 10 (October 1982), pp.462-7

[32] General Preface in the editions of 'A' and 'B'.


Goess 'B'
Mus. 1869
Goess 'C'
5
12
19
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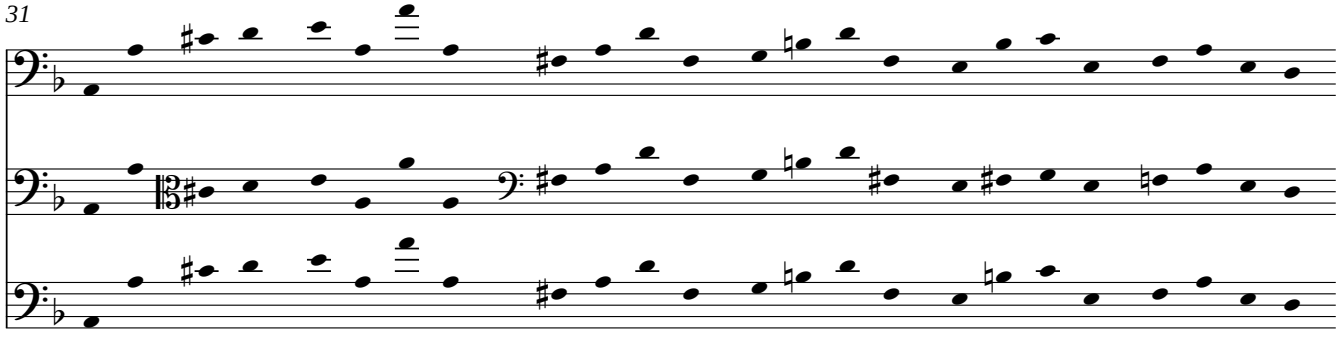

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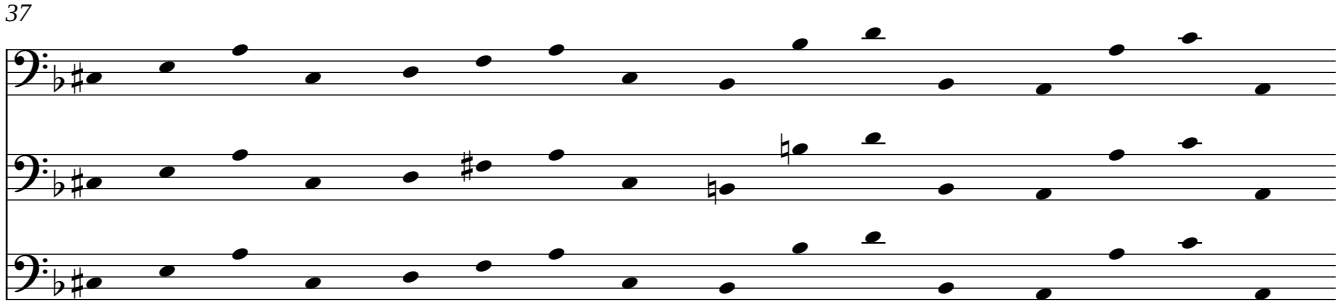

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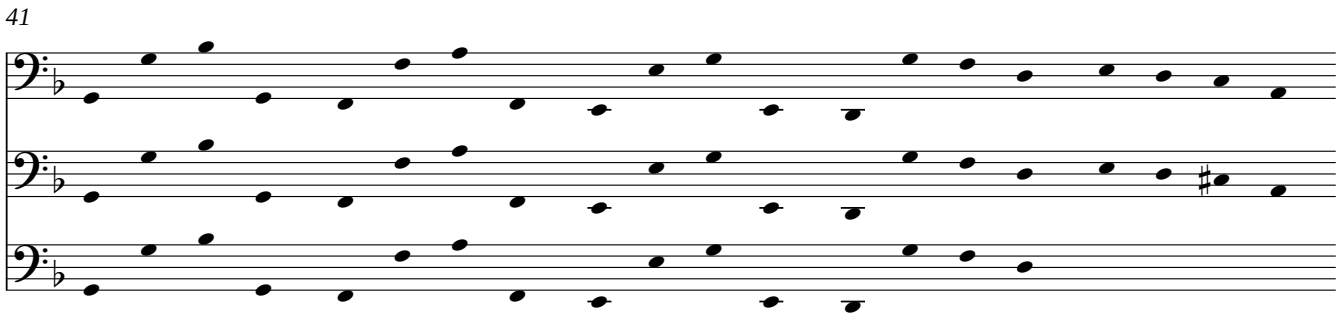

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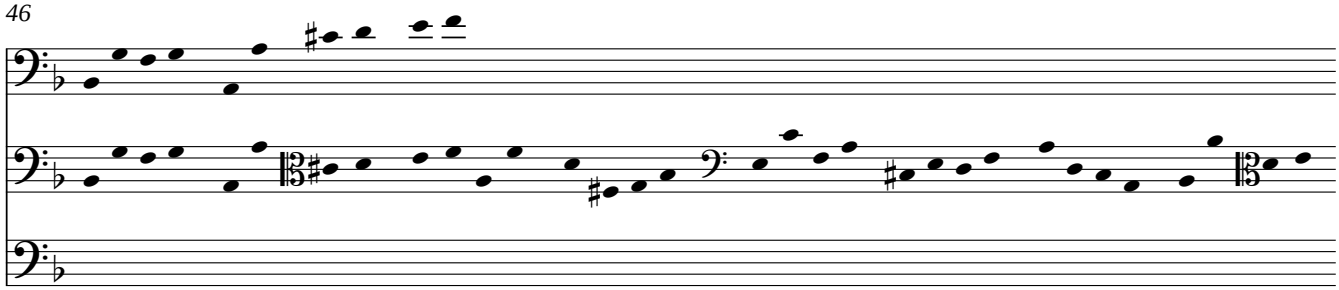

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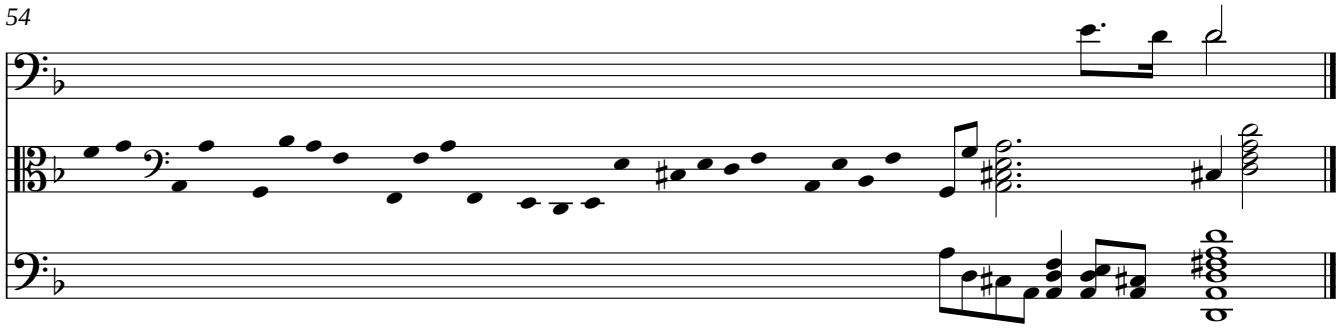

Six Generations of Music and Scandal: New Light on the Eccles Family of String Players

PETER HOLMAN

Before 1822, when the Royal Academy of Music was founded in London, training professional musicians in England tended to be a haphazard process. In 1695 a 'Royal Academy' was proposed which was to include music among the 'accomplishments' taught,[1] and Daniel Defoe published an ambitious proposal in 1728 for a music 'Academy' based on Christ's Hospital '*to prevent the expensive Importation of* Foreign Musicians'.[2] However, nothing came of either plan, and throughout the eighteenth century the music profession continued to rely on a mixture of apprenticeships, the training given to choirboys in cathedrals and other choral foundations, and the traditional process of training boys (and, increasingly, girls) within the extended families of professional musicians – as in the self-contained family groups of instrumentalists and instrument makers, a number of them Jewish, that brought the earliest consort music and the instruments to play it from Italy to northern Europe in the early sixteenth century.[3] Several of these families, notably the Bassanos and the Lupos, established themselves at the English court in the reign of Henry VIII and served successive monarchs for multiple generations. A few of their members were still in post at the beginning of the Civil War in 1642.

Cohesive family groups of this sort were particularly necessary in seventeenth-century England, partly because the forced disbandment of cathedral choirs and other collegiate institutions at the beginning of the Civil War brought to a sudden halt one of the main routes into the music profession for musical boys, while the closure of the London theatres at the same time removed another source of musical training. The Thirty Years' War had also disrupted the training of musicians in Germany and central Europe a little earlier in the century, though the decentralised nature of the Empire, with its many courts and city states competing in cultural affairs, enabled musical life to recover quickly, as the example of the Bach family shows.[4] Its members served churches, towns and courts over a wide area of central and northern Germany from the early seventeenth century and continued to do so until the early nineteenth century.

Music historians have often looked for an English family equivalent to the Bachs, pointing for instance to the Valentines of Leicester, a family that produced successive generations of instrumentalists and composers from the late seventeenth to the mid nineteenth centuries.[5]

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1 M. Tilmouth, 'The Royal Academies of 1695', *Music & Letters* 38 (1957), 327-34.

2 D. Defoe, *Augusta Triumphans, or The Way to Make London the most Flourishing City in the Universe* (London, 1728), 16-23; see also B. Trowell, 'Daniel Defoe's Plan for an Academy of Music at Christ's Hospital, with some Notes on his Attitude to Music', *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. I. Bent (London, 1981), 403-27. I am grateful to Michael Talbot for reminding me of Defoe's pamphlet.

3 See esp. P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 2/1995), 19-21, 71-86; D. Lasocki, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot, 1995), 3-98; T. Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot, 2007), 68-75, 78-86, 231-3.

4 A useful overview in English is P.M. Young, *The Bachs 1500-1850* (London, 1970).

5 M. Medforth, 'The Valentines of Leicester: A Reappraisal of an Eighteenth-Century Musical Family', *The Musical Times* 122 (1981), 812-18. For a recent study of Robert Valentine, see M. Talbot, 'Robert Valentine and the Roman Concerto Grosso', *Ad Parnassum* 14 (April 2016), 1-36.

However, the Valentines were always peripheral to English musical life – their most prominent member, the violinist Robert or Roberto (1673/4-1747), settled in Italy for good at an early age – and they could not compete in terms of prominence or staying power with the Eccles family. As we shall see, there is evidence that members of this remarkable family were professional musicians for at least six generations, from the early sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century. While most of them were relatively humble instrumentalists, three became court musicians, and one of them, the violinist and composer John II Eccles (1670-1735), reached the top of his profession: he was a distinguished theatre composer, initially a colleague of Henry Purcell in the United Company, and in 1700 he succeeded Nicholas Staggins as Master of the Music at court, a post he held under four monarchs.[6]

Research into the Eccles family has been hampered partly because its members repeatedly gave their children the same few Christian names – particularly Solomon and Henry – and partly because many of them lived in the same few parishes in London and Surrey. There is also the problem that Eccles is a relatively common surname, and that members of the family (and/or the clerks recording their activities) used many variants of it, including Eccles, Ecles, Eckles, Eckle, Ekles, Eclas, Eacles, Eaccles, Egells, Eagle and Eagles – Eagle and Eagles, we suspect, being on occasion deliberate obfuscations designed to distance the family's court musicians from the most famous or notorious member of the family, Solomon I the Quaker (1617-82). This paper is entitled 'Six Generations of Music and Scandal' because there were other 'black sheep' in the family: the virtuoso violinist, gamba player Henry III, revealed to be a plagiarist in the twentieth century; and his brother Thomas II, reduced to busking in a London tavern in 1735. We shall see that the whiff of scandal even attached itself to John II Eccles himself.

I do not use 'we' here in the editorial or royal sense, but to acknowledge the help I have received from two long-standing friends and colleagues: Andrew Ashbee and Michael Talbot.[7] They have helped me locate and make sense of the mass of new information from digitized parish records and other primary and secondary sources now available on the internet. In particular, we have used the subscription sites *Ancestry* and *FindmyPast* and the free sites *FamilySearch* <@> and *FreeReg* <@>; unless otherwise stated information found in parish registers is quoted from them. In this paper the symbol <@> means that a digital copy of the item concerned was freely available on the internet at the time of writing.

These powerful tools have enabled us to advance our knowledge of the family substantially beyond that embodied in the existing reference works: the article 'Eccles family' by Stoddard Lincoln and Margaret Laurie in the 2001 revision of *Grove's Dictionary*, now *Oxford Music Online* (*OMO*); the articles 'Solomon Eccles' by Caroline L. Leachman (dealing mainly with the Quaker) and 'John Eccles' by David J. Golby in the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*); and the entries for Henry II, John II and Solomon II Eccles in *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714* (*BDECM*), comp. Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998), i. 374-7. I have set out an outline family tree in Appendix I to make clear the relationship between the musicians in the various branches of the family. To distinguish them conveniently I have assigned regnal-style numbers where necessary:

[6] For John Eccles's court activities, see P. Holman, 'New Light on John Eccles (1670-1735), Handel's Court Colleague', *Handel Institute Newsletter* 32/2 (Autumn 2021), 5-8.

[7] I am also grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson and to Alan Howard for their comments on a draft of this paper, and for helping me in various ways.

Henry I, Henry II and Henry III, and so on. Appendices II, III and IV set out the immediate families of Henry I of Guildford, his son the court string player Solomon II, and his grandson the composer John II Eccles.

Solomon Eccles the Quaker and his Family

In 1667 Solomon I Eccles the Quaker stated in his autobiographical tract *A Musick-Lector* that 'my Father, and Grandfather, and Great-grandfather were Musitians'.[8] He was said to be 'Aged ab<ou>t Sixty Five years' when he died on 2 January 1681/2,[9] so it is usually said that he was the 'Solomon Eckles' baptised at St Etheldreda in Hatfield, Hertfordshire, on 14 September 1617, the son of (in the genitive form) 'Solomonis Eckles'. Two of his sisters, 'Anna Ecles' and 'Tamasena Eccles', were baptised there on 27 September 1618 and 3 June 1621 respectively. However, another candidate for Solomon the Quaker's baptism is the 'Solomon Eclas', the son of 'Sollomon Eclas', baptised on 17 April 1614 at St Lawrence, Ardeley, a village between Stevenage and Buntingford in north-east Hertfordshire. Two older sisters, Elizabeth and Francisca, were baptised at Ardeley on 1 April 1610 and 8 August 1611 respectively, daughters of 'Solomonis Eccles'. The 'Salomon Eccles' who married 'Margreta Re' at St Mary, Bayford on 5 April 1608 could be the Hatfield Solomon or the Ardeley one, though Bayford (about three miles south of Hertford) is much closer to Hatfield than Ardeley. Nevertheless, given that the unusual Christian name Solomon evidently ran in the Eccles family, it is highly likely that the Ardeley and Hatfield families were related.

If we accept Solomon I's statement that he was a fourth-generation musician, then this means that members of his family must have been active in the profession from at least the middle of the sixteenth century, though nothing is known at present about them or their activities. The presence of a Solomon Eccles in Hatfield is certainly suggestive, given its proximity to Hatfield House, a royal palace from 1538, when Henry VIII acquired it from the Bishop of Ely.[10] Mary, Edward VI and Elizabeth all lived there at different times as children; Elizabeth spent most of her time there until her accession as queen in 1558, and it continued to be maintained as a royal palace as a convenient country retreat for her. In 1607 it was given by James I to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who set about replacing the Mediaeval manor house with the present building.

However, there are no references to members of the Eccles family in the Cecil Family and Estate Papers, which richly document musical activity there in the last years of Robert Cecil's life; he died in 1612.[11] There also do not seem to be any references to early members of the family in court records or in the State Papers.[12] It is possible, of course, that the Hatfield Solomon Eccles worked elsewhere, perhaps at Brocket Hall (the seat of the Brocket family from the 1550s), about four miles north of Hatfield and now in the village of Lemsford, or in a waits group in the area. It is also possible that the grandfather and great-grandfather mentioned by Solomon I were members

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[8] S. Eccles, *A Musick-Lector* (London, 1667), 12. There is a slightly modernised complete transcription available from *Quaker Heritage Press, Online Texts* <@>. For the context of the publication, see P.A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (Oxford, 1934; repr. 1969), 52-4.

[9] Quaker Birth, Marriage and Death Registers, 1578-1837, *Ancestry*.

[10] For Hatfield House, see esp. 'Hatfield', *A History of the County of Hertford*, iii (London, 1912), available via *British History Online* <@>.

[11] R. Charteris, 'Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605-1613', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 12 (1974), 115-36; see also L.M. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, *c.*1590-1640', Ph.D. diss. (King's College, London, 1992) <@>; *The Cecil Papers* <https://about.proquest.com/en/products-services/cecil_papers/>.

[12] *Records of English Court Music* [*RECM*], ed. A. Ashbee, 9 vols. (Snodland and Aldershot, 1986-96); *State Papers Online, 1509-1714* <https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/state-papers-online>.

of his mother's family, not his father's, which might explain why no evidence of sixteenth-century musicians named Eccles has come to light.

Solomon I the Quaker described *A Musick-Lector* on its title-page as a discourse 'by way of Dialogue, between three men of several Judgments':

> The one a MUSICIAN, and Master of that Art, and zealous for the Church of *England*; who calls Musick *The gift of God.* / The other a BAPTIST, who did affirm it to be *a decent and harmless practice.* / The other a QUAKER (so called) being formerly of that Art, doth give his Judgment and Sentence against it; but yet approves of the Musick that pleaseth God.

He wrote the role of the Quaker in the third person, though it clearly represents his own point of view, and in the lines given to that character he included a number of interesting autobiographical snippets, inserted between continual quotations from the Bible justifying his religious position. They include the sentence about his forebears already quoted, and what seems to be a description of the performance of a five-part viol fantasia, apparently dating from around 1635 when he was about 18 and beginning to earn a lucrative living as a music teacher (p. 16):

> I was once playing a part with four more, more than 30 years ago; and the parts hit with the Fuige, and came in with the Discords and Concords so very lovely, that it took very much with that part which stands not in unity with the Lord: So that a *M*aster of Musick being in the Room the same time, heard the parts, and took his Hat off his head, and flang it on the ground, and cryed aloud, saying, *Now take Body and Soul and all!*

Earlier in *A Musick-Lector* Solomon I described his spiritual journey from an Anglican and a professional musician to a Quaker (pp. 9-10):

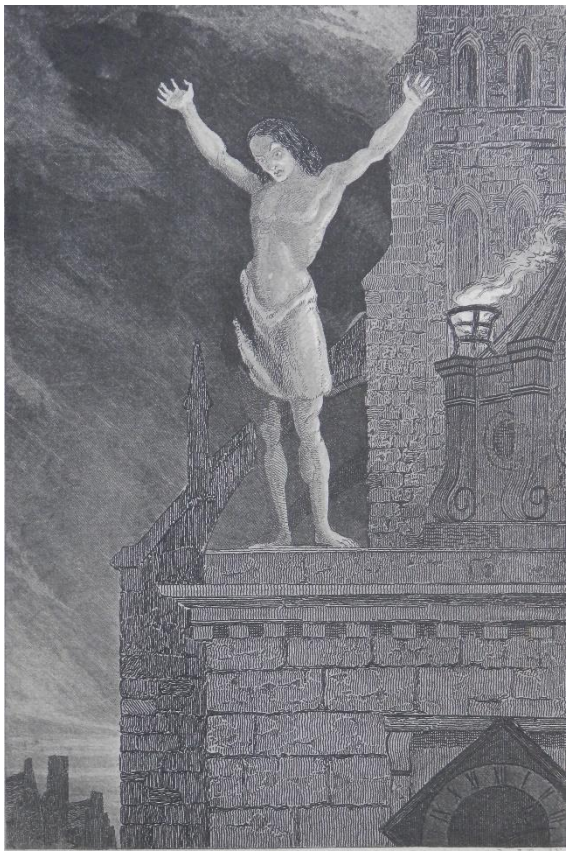
> When the Church of *England* was govern'd by Episcopal Order, I could follow it, and call'd it *the gift of God*; and when I became more strict, a *Presbyter*, I made a trade of it, and never question'd it at all: and after that I became an *Independent*, I could follow it; and when I came further, and was *baptized with water*, and eat *Bread and Wine* with them about the year 1642. they encouraged me in it, and some of them had their Children taught on the *Virginals*: but I went further, and was an *Antinomian* (so called) and then I could teach mens Sons and Daughters on the Virginals and on the Viol, and I got the two last years more than an hundred and thirty pounds a year with my own hands, and lived very high, and perceived that the longer I followed it, the greater in-come I had: but when Truth came, I was not able to stand before it, the Lord did thunder grievously against this practice…

After Solomon I's conversion around 1659 'the Voice of the Lord' commanded him to sell his music books and instruments and to become a tailor, which Quakers thought a harmless trade, though he was subsequently told (p. 12): '*Go thy way*, *and buy those Instruments again thou lately soldest*, *and carry them and the rest thou hast in thy house to* Tower Hill, *and burn them there*, *as a Testimony against that Calling*', a process that cost him 'more than four and twenty pound'.

Solomon I's later life, which included visits to Ireland, the West Indies and New England, belongs more to the history of religion than music.[13] He became notorious for walking near-naked through

[13] For the Quaker background, see esp. W. Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers* (Philadelphia, 3/1728) <@>; W.C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919) <@>.

the streets of London with a bowl of burning coals on his head calling on people to repent, for which he was repeatedly imprisoned, a process he described in detail in a broadside of 1663 entitled 'Signs are from the Lord to a People or Nation, to forewarn them of some eminent Judgment near at hand'.[14] His antics even caught the attention of Samuel Pepys, who wrote on 29 July 1667: 'One thing extraordinary was this day, a man, a Quaker, came naked through the Hall [Westminster Hall], only very civilly tied about the privities to avoid scandal, and with a chafing-dish of fire and brimstone burning upon his head did pass through the Hall, crying, "Repent! Repent!"'.[15]



Illus. 1: John Franklin, 'Solomon Eagle Denouncing the City' from William Harrison Ainsworth, 'Old St Paul's' (1841) (Victorian Web).

Solomon I must have been a severe embarrassment for the rest of his extended family, particularly those who continued to practise as musicians. It must have been painful to them that his memory was kept alive in later seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century accounts of Quakerism, including Daniel Defoe's semi-fictional *Journal of the Plague Year*, published in 1722.[16] In later times he was remembered as a character in William Harrison Ainsworth's novel *Old St Paul's*, published in instalments in 1841; the subsequent three-volume edition of the novel included an etching by John Franklin depicting Solomon denouncing the City from the roof of St Paul's (Illus. 1). Ainsworth's novel inspired other depictions of him, including a painting of 1843 by Paul Falconer Poole,[17] and a chalk drawing by Edward Matthew Ward, done in 1848 (Illus. 2).

Solomon I was married at least twice. His wife Elizabeth seems to be known only from the burial of their son Harman, on 13 August 1649 at St Botolph, Aldgate, and her own death, on 23 July 1665.[18] According to the Quaker burial record she died 'of a dropsie', though Daniel Defoe wrote, presumably embroidering for dramatic effect, that her husband:

> had predicted the Plague as a Judgment, and run naked thro' the Streets, telling the People, that it was come upon them, to punish them for their Sins, had his own Wife died the very next Day of the Plague, and was carried one of the first in the Quakers *dead Cart*, to their new burying Ground.[19]

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[14] There is a transcription at *Early English Books Text Creation Partnership* <@>. See also K.L. Carroll, 'Early Quakers and "Going Naked as a Sign"', *Quaker History* 67/2 (Autumn 1978), 69-87.

[15] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, viii: *1667* (London, 1974), 360..

[16] D. Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year* (London, 1722), 120, 269-70, 278..

[17] Paul Falconer Poole, *Solomon Eagle*, Museums Sheffield, VIS.1483. There is a digital image at *Art UK* <@>.

[18] Quaker Birth, Marriage and Death Registers, 1578-1837, *Ancestry*. The date is stated incorrectly as 20 July by *Ancestry* and as 24 July in Leachman, 'Solomon Eccles', *ODNB*.

[19] Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 270.

Illus. 2: Edward Matthew Ward, 'Solomon Eagle' (1848) (Wellcome Collection).

Solomon I married 'Anne Butcher, widow' at the Quaker 'Meetting place in Devonshire house, London' on 16 October 1673.[20] The record of this event is important because it includes a list of the 25 guests, including 'John Eccles' and 'Henry Eccles' (Illus. 3). We shall see that these two men were apparently two members of the Guildford Eccles family known to have been living in London at the time, which in turn helps to establish the likely relationships between the two branches of the family. It also shows that at that stage Solomon's notoriety did not prevent his relatives from attending his wedding.

Solomon's second wife was also a Quaker: on 26 July 1677 'Solomon and Ann Eccles alias Eagles' were among five people convicted at Plaistow in Essex for being members of 'an unlawful assembly or covenenticle [*sic*] under the pretext of religion'.[21] It had been held that Easter with a congregation of 30 at their 'dwelling house' in West Ham, so they were given by far the largest fine: £20. Solomon I was buried on 2 January 1681/2 in the Quaker burial ground in Chequer Alley on the west side of Bishopsgate Street, when he was described as 'of Spitalfields'. However, in his will, made only four days earlier, on 29 December 1681,[22] he described himself as 'Chandler' of 'Stepney al<ia>s Stebonheath' – the original name of the Thameside village.

This remarkable document, an original will with an autograph signature (Illus. 4), shows that by the time of his death the relationship between Solomon I and the rest of his extended family had completely broken down. He began by recalling that he had lent 'my brother Henry Eccles' £30, but then cut him and 'each and every of his children whether male of female' off with the proverbial shilling,[23] a provision he extended to 'every one of my Kindred and Relations, and my last wife Anns kindred or Relations dec<ease>d though not here particularly nominated or mentioned whether male or female'. To make things worse he left sizeable sums of money to a number of

[20] Quaker Birth, Marriage and Death Registers, 1578-1837, *Ancestry*.

[21] Essex Record Office {ERO], Chelmsford, Q/SR 435/100, quoted from the online catalogue <www.essexarchivesonline.co.uk>. I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for bringing this document to my attention; it was unavailable when they visited ERO in November 2021.

[22] ERO, D/AEW 26/253. I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for obtaining a copy for me.

[23] For the common but mistaken idea that the law required heirs to be left a shilling in order to disinherit them, see J.P. McNamara, 'Curiosities of the Law: Cut Off with a Shilling', *Notre Dame Law Review* 4/1 (10 January 1928), 53-4 <@>.

individuals who were presumably members of his Quaker 'family', including 'my Couzen Susanna Hobman wife of Matthew Hobman' and 'my Couzen Mary Shipheard wife of Thomas Shipheard' – these two presumably relatives who were also Quakers. However, the will is important because, as we shall see, it establishes the relationship between Solomon I and the rest of the musical branch of his family, and it establishes that Ann had predeceased him – he specifically stipulates that his Eccles relatives should not have any claim on 'either my last deceased Wife Anns Estate or mine'. The word 'last' here probably just means 'late', though taken literally it could mean that he was married more than twice. It is possible that he contracted an otherwise unrecorded marriage as a young man in the 1630s.

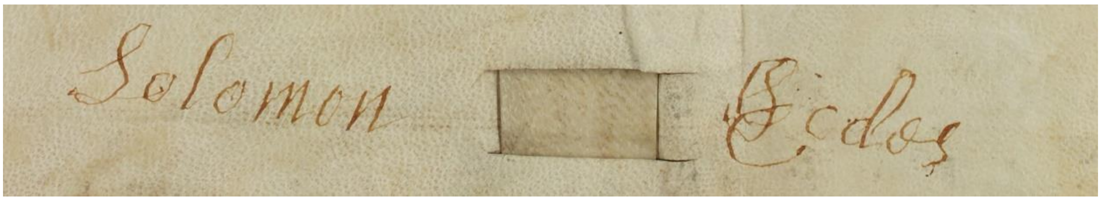
1673. Sollomon Eccles of Spittle fields tooke Anne Bucher of the same place widdow, to be his wife and she tooke him to be her Husband, the 16th day of the 8th moneth, 1673, att our Meetting place in Devonshire house, London In the p^rsence of

Wm Brend, Wm Welch, Wm Mackett, Wm Bayley, Wm Ingram, John Elson, John Osgood, James Claypole

John Eccles, Henry Eccles, James Parkes, Ezekiell Wooley, Thomas Zachery, Edward Brush, Thomas Mathews, Rich Cannon

Rebecca Travers, Anne Whitehead, Anne Travers, Sarah Willman, Mary ffoster, Mary Elson, Margarett Meekins, Sarah Welch, Mary Booth

Illus. 3: The marriage record of Solomon I Eccles and Anne Butcher, 16 October 1673, National Archives, RG 6/974.



Illus. 4: The signature of Solomon I Eccles on his will, 29 December 1681, Essex Record Office, D/AEW 26/253.

The Guildford Eccles Family

As already mentioned, a large branch of the Eccles family was established in the parish of St Mary, Guildford, in the centre of the town. The earliest record of them there is the wedding on 13 July 1640 of 'Henrie Eagles & Susanne Botler both of this parish'. Henry I Eccles and Susanne had at least ten children, all baptised in St Mary: 'Frances' or Francis (3 August 1641, buried at St Mary on 28 April 1662); Susanne (4 June 1643); Henry (4 January 1645/6); Solomon (3 June 1649); William (26 January 1651/2); John (1 June 1654); Thomas (13 July 1656, buried at St Mary on 12

December 1682); James (13 March 1658/9, buried at St Mary on 26 March 1705); Elizabeth (4 March 1661/2); and Robert (8 August 1664) (see Appendix II). Henry I was described as a musician in four of these baptismal records: for Henry II, John, Thomas and Elizabeth. He was not the only professional musician active in Guildford at the time: Lawrence Ledger was described as 'Musiconer' when his daughter Mary was christened at St Mary on 22 April 1657, while Henry I's son James was similarly described as 'musitia[n]' when he was buried at St Mary in 1705. Henry I was presumably the person of that name buried at St Mary's in Guildford on 27 April 1690. It is likely that, given its prominence as a commercial and administrative centre (designated the county town of Surrey in later times), Guildford maintained a group of municipal waits, though no evidence of it has so far come to light.[24]

Two of Henry I Eccles's children, Henry II and Solomon II, can seemingly be identified with musicians working in London. The clearest case, tentatively suggested in *OMO* and *BDECM*, is the composer Solomon Eccles, who worked in the London theatres from at least 1682.[25] He received a post in the Private Music at court in 1685, when he was said to be one of 'three New Basses' – i.e. bass violin players – appointed at that time 'in ye place of three disabled by age'.[26] However, he also seems to have been a violinist: Sir John Hawkins wrote that he was 'a master of the violin',[27] and he published some interesting sets of idiomatic violin divisions in a popular style.[28]

Solomon II married Rebecca Clifton at the Temple Church in London on 7 June 1677, and they seem to have divided their time between the parish of St Bride, Fleet Street in London and Egham in Surrey – the latter convenient for work at Windsor Castle. Three of their children were baptised at St Bride: Henry (28 February 1681/2), Eleanor (28 December 1684) and Charles (21 March 1685/6), while five more were baptised at St John the Baptist, Egham: Lewar (22 August 1678),[29] Rebecca (19 October 1683), Elizabeth (1 June 1688), William (9 June 1689), and Solomon (24 August 1690). A ninth child, a second Charles (the first presumably died in infancy), has been known hitherto only from Solomon's will,[30] but can presumably be identified with 'Charles Son of Solomon Eccles by Receca [sic] his wife', baptised at St Bride on 24 March 1690/1. The following year, 1692, 'Solomon Eagles' is recorded as playing tax in the City of London ward of Farringdon Without, which included the parish of St Bride.[31]

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[24] There is no mention of waits in Guildford in Appendix C, 'Entries Relating to Music from Municipal Records', in W.L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton NJ, 1953), 280-95; R. Rastall, 'Civic Minstrels in Late Medieval England: New Light on Duties and Careers'; *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, 52 (2021), 183-218; 'Historical Records in England, Scotland and Wales', *The Waits Website* <@>. I am grateful to Richard Rastall for advice on this point.

[25] He wrote sets of theatre airs for plays put on by the United Company at Dorset Garden in 1682 and by Betterton's Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1700; see C.A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* ([Ann Arbor MI], 1979), 153, 170, 187, 229-30, 234.

[26] *RECM*, ii. 4, 5.

[27] J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London, 1776); repr. in 2 vols. (London, 2/1853; repr. New York, 1963), ii. 786 <@>.

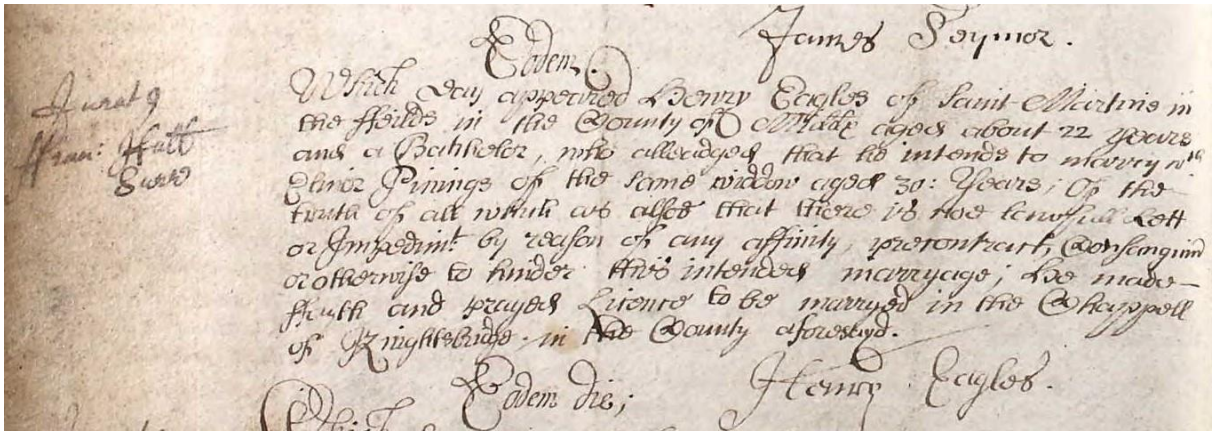
[28] First published respectively in *The Division Violin* (London, 3/1688), nos. 32, 33 <@>; *The Second Part of the Division Violin* (London, 1705), pp. 4-5, 6-7, 9-10, 11-12 <@>.

[29] Lewar's baptism is misdated 22 August 1673 in *BDECM*, i. 377. Her unusual first name was rendered as 'Lawarr' in Solomon II's will.

[30] National Archives [NA], PROB 11/518/430, summarised in *BDECM*, i. 377.

[31] Land Tax Records, 1692, *Ancestry*.

None of these children (Solomon's immediate family is set out in Appendix III) are known at present to have been musicians, though the second Charles could be the person who composed a gavotte published in about 1745.[32] The court musician Solomon Eccles can be identified with the Guildford Solomon II by virtue of the fact that he seems to have retired there. He wrote a letter from Guildford on 22 September 1708 authorising William Brown to collect his court salary,[33] and he surrendered his court post on 6 October 1710.[34] He made his will a few weeks later, on 18 November, when he described himself as 'of St Mary in Guildford in the County of Surrey Gentleman' and mentioned arrears deriving from 'my place and Office of Musick to the Queen'. He was buried at St Mary on 1 December and his will was proved on 19 December.



Illus. 5: The signature of Henry II Eccles on the allegation of his marriage, 23 March 1667/8, London Metropolitan Archives, MS. 10091/27.

Henry II, Solomon II's elder brother, can seemingly be identified with the 'Henry Eagles' who received a post in the Private Music with his brother in 1689,[35] and with the 'Henry Eagles' of Saint Martin-in-the-Fields 'aged about 22 years and a Batcheler' who married the widow Elinor Jinings or Jenings in Knightsbridge on 23 March 1667/8;[36] the marriage allegation document includes what appears to be his signature (Illus. 5). Thus this Henry Eccles was born around 1646, making it likely that he really was the Guildford Henry II Eccles, christened in January 1646. The St Martin-in-the-Fields registers record two children of Henry and 'Helenae' or 'Elianorce': Henry, born on 15 August 1669, baptised on 24 August and buried on 18 August 1670; and John, born on 10 December 1670 and baptised on 25 December. We shall see that this is the composer John II Eccles, establishing an exact date of birth for him for the first time; it has conventionally been given as *c.*1668. Henry, Eleanor and John had apparently moved to the parish of St Bride, Fleet Steet before 29 September 1687, when 'Henry Egles' of St Bride, Fleet Street, was burgled by William Summers and Philip Minor; the trial of Summers on 12 October revealed that they had

[32] Suggested in M. Laurie, 'Solomon Eccles [Eagles] (ii)', *OMO*. The piece, 'Gavot by Mr. Charles Eccles', was published in J. Simpson, *The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy* (London, *c.*1745), 12; copy in GB-Lbm, d.47.f.(2) <@>.

[33] *RECM*, ii. 96.

[34] *RECM*, ii. 104.

[35] *RECM*, ii. 27, 28.

[36] London Metropolitan Archives, London Diocese Marriage Allegations 1667/8. 23 March. MS. 10091/27, *Ancestry*.

stolen 'a Violin, a Flute' among other things.[37] We can be sure that this was the court musician because 'Henry Eagles', with 'Ellinor & John son' were recorded as living in the parish of St Bride in 1695.[38]

Henry II Eccles served in the Private Music until his death. In his will, made on 9 March 1710/11 and proved on 29 March 1711, he described himself as of St Martin-in-the-Fields and appointed his son John II as an executor (another executor was the instrument-maker and publisher John Walsh); he left the residue of his estate to be divided between the three daughters of his son John: Anne, Bridget and Mary Eccles.[39] He is presumably the 'Henry Æccles' buried at St Martin-in-the-Fields on 31 March 1711. Henry II's will confirms that this John really was the composer, since, as we shall see, John's own will reveals that he had three daughters with those names. Henry II, like his brother Solomon II and his son John II, was a contributor to *The Gentleman's Diversion* (1693-4), published by their court colleague John Lenton.[40] The Purcellian character of his two-part saraband-like air in the collection makes one regret that no other music by him has so far come to light.

There is also evidence that two more of Henry II's children, Francis (b. 1641) and John I (b. 1654) moved from Guildford to London, to be apprenticed to members of City livery companies. Francis, said to be the son of Henry Eccles, musician of Guildford in Surrey, was apprenticed on 28 August 1657 for seven years to John Badgett of the Goldsmith's Company.[41] He evidently returned to Guildford, for he was buried there on 28 April 1662. John Eccles, also said to be the son of Henry Eccles, musician of Guildford, was apprenticed on 25 February 1667/8 to Anthony Hardyman of the Turner's Company, though the apprenticeship was said to have been 'turned over to Leonard Dowse, citizen and clothworker'.[42] The Turner's Company included a number of makers of woodwind instruments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Samuel Drumbelby and Thomas Stanesby senior and junior, though Anthony Hardyman does not seem to have been among them.[43]

However, the presence of John I Eccles in London from 1668 is important because it confirms the relationship between two branches of the family: it makes it likely he was the John Eccles who, with his brother Henry, was a guest at Solomon I the Quaker's second wedding in London on 16 October 1673. As we have seen, Solomon I mentioned in his will that he had a brother called Henry, and the reference to 'each and every of his children whether male or female' makes it virtually certain that he is referring to the Guildford Henry I and his ten recorded children. No baptism for Henry I has come to light, but if he was about 20 in 1640 when he was married then he would have been a few years younger than his brother, born around 1620. The 1673 wedding

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37 *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London's Central Criminal Court, 1674-1913* <@>.

38 *London Inhabitants Outside the Walls, 1695*, ed. P. Wallis (London, 2010), *British History Online* <@>.

39 London Metropolitan Archives, AM/PW/1711/037, *Ancestry*; see also *RECM*, ii. 106-7. Some of the information in *BDECM*, i. 374 comes from a different will, NA, PROB 11/517/`176, made by 'Henry Eagle … Gentleman' of St Martin-in-the-Fields on 15 April 1704 and proved on 12 September 1710. It is evidently the will of another man of the same name.

40 See M. Boyd and J. Rayson, '*The Gentlman's Diversion*: John Lenton and the First Violin Tutor', *Early Music* 10 (1982), 329-32.

41 *Records of London's Livery Companies Online* <@>. Francis was buried at St Mary, Guildford on 28 April 1662.

42 London Apprenticeship Abstracts, 1442-1850, *FindmyPast*. At the time, an apprenticeship in a livery company did not necessarily mean that the apprentice would go on to ply the same trade.

43 See D. Lasocki, 'Woodwind Makers in the Turners Company of London, 1604-1750', *Galpin Society Journal* 65 (2012), 61-91.

document also shows that Solomon I's antics as a Quaker, including public near-nudity and repeated imprisonment, had not at that stage entirely alienated the rest of his family, though things clearly went from bad to worse as his activities as a Quaker developed.

The Sixth Generation: Three Brothers?

So far we have explored the family relationships of the Eccles family of musicians mainly through parish registers, wills and other primary sources. However, with the sixth generation, John II, Henry III and Thomas II, we have an apparently authoritative account published by Sir John Hawkins in 1776.[44] Hawkins, born in 1719, was probably too young to have known the people involved personally, though he drew on a conversation that an unnamed 'good judge of music' had had with Thomas II in a London tavern 'about the month of November, in the year 1735'. Hawkins stated that John 'was the son of Solomon Eccles, a master of the violin' and went on to state that John, Henry and Thomas were brothers, and more specifically that Thomas had told his informant 'he was the youngest of three brothers, and that Henry, the middle one, had been his master'.

The problem with this is that it does not fit the facts as revealed by the primary sources. We have seen that John II's father was Henry II, not Solomon II (an error repeated in many later accounts of the family), and Henry III and Thomas II cannot have been the children of Henry II and his wife Eleanor since John is repeatedly mentioned as their only child, and there is no mention of Henry III and Thomas II in Henry II's will, made in 1711. It is possible, however, that Henry III and Thomas II were cousins of John II, perhaps the children of one of the other Guildford brothers, such as James (1659-1705), who is known to have been a musician. However, there is no evidence that James or any of his other brothers had children named Henry and Thomas, or even that James was ever married. However, we shall see that John II christened his eldest son Henry-Thomas, suggesting a close relationship with Henry III and Thomas II, and it may be that to impress Hawkins's informant Thomas II exaggerated the closeness of his relationship to the most famous member of the family. At present, the parentage of Henry III and Thomas II and their relationship to John II is a mystery. I hope it will be resolved when the documentary sources are investigated more fully.

John II Eccles

There is no need here to provide the composer John II Eccles with a full biography, though there is certainly scope for a book-length treatment of this important but long misunderstood and undervalued musician, the most talented and prominent English composer working in the theatre between Henry Purcell and Thomas Arne. As already mentioned, I have explored his activities at court and his relationship with Handel in a recent article,[45] and his work in the theatre is being documented in the relevant volumes of the complete edition of his music, now in progress.[46] I will concentrate here on establishing his family relationships and outlining his working life and personal circumstances.

Hawkins wrote that John Eccles 'was instructed by his father in music' (though we now know that his father was Henry II, not Solomon II), and 'became a composer for the theatre, of act-tunes,

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[44] J. Hawkins, *A General History*, ii. 786-7.

[45] Holman, 'New Light on John Eccles'.

[46] Published by A-R Editions in the series The Works of John Eccles <Eccles: Works - Collections (areditions.com)>.

dance-tunes, and such incidental songs as frequently occur in the modern comedies'. John was certainly essentially a theatre musician in the first part of his career. He began working for the United Company at Drury Lane in 1690 or soon after, moved with Thomas Betterton to Lincoln's Inn Fields when the company broke up in the spring of 1695, and is known to have contributed music to about 80 productions.[47]

It is conventionally said that John Eccles stopped working in the theatre around 1707, discouraged by the failure of his opera *Semele* to reach the stage,[48] though the real reason for this failure seems to be that the successor company to Betterton's, now at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, was no longer allowed to employ singers.[49] There is certainly evidence for Eccles writing instrumental theatre music long after that. His lost set of theatre airs 'in Parts for Violins, Trumpets and Hautboys' for Addison's *Cato*, first performed at Drury Lane on 14 April 1713, was advertised by Walsh the following month,[50] while a bill for copying music at Drury Lane for Rowe's *Jane Shore*, first performed on 2 February 1713/14, included 'Goeing to Kingston For the Tunes on Sunday and Return on Monday'.[51] We shall see that John II had a residence in the Kingston upon Thames area, so this was presumably another lost set of instrumental theatre airs by him.

The other main area of John II Eccles's work was at court, and here we have confirmation that he was principally a violinist, not a keyboard player as is often said.[52] When he became a member of the Private Music in 1695 (sworn in on 28 March) he succeeded Thomas Tollett, a string player (who had succeeded Robert Carr, also a string player),[53] and when he became Master of the Music in June 1700 he succeeded the violinist Nicholas Staggins.[54] Such was the importance of the Twenty-Four Violins (later called the Private Music) at court that the Master of the Music had been a violinist ever since Louis Grabu succeeded the singer and lutenist Nicholas Lanier in 1666.[55] Eccles was succeeded in 1735 by the organist and composer Maurice Greene, reflecting the reduction of the Master's role by then to writing and directing the annual performances of two choral and orchestral odes, for the New Year and the king's birthday.[56] I have argued that as a violinist Eccles was at a disadvantage in the competition in 1701 to compose and perform settings of Congreve's masque *The Judgment of Paris* (the winner, John Weldon, was a keyboard player and

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47 See the worklist in Lincoln and Laurie, 'Eccles family', *OMO*.

48 Most recently in M. Gardner, 'John Eccles', *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, ed. A. Landgraf and D. Vickers (Cambridge, 2009), 204-5.

49 Suggested to me by Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson. See the discussion of the theatrical situation that season in *The London Stage 1660-1800, a New Version of Part 2, 1700-1729*, comp. and ed. J. Milhous and R.D. Hume (2001), 372-8 <@>.

50 *The Post Boy*, 23-6 May 1713. In W.C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695-1720* (Oxford, 1968), 130, this publication is wrongly said to be for Southerne's play *The Fate of Capua*, an error corrected in J.A. Winn, *Queen Anne, Patroness of Arts* (Oxford, 2014), 743 (fn. 31). See also *The London Stage 1660-1800*, *Part 2: 1700-1729*, ed. E.L. Avery (Carbondale IL, 1960), 299-300.

51 *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660-1737*, comp. and ed. J. Milhous and R.D. Hume, 2 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1991), i. 503. See also *The London Stage, Part 2*, ed. Avery, 316.

52 Most recently in *George Frideric Handel: Collected Documents* [*HCD*], ed. D. Burrows, H. Coffey, John Greenacombe and A. Hicks, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 2013-), ii. 17, where he is described as 'the harpsichordist-composer John Eccles'.

53 *RECM*, ii. 58, 124; *BDECM*, i. 233, ii. 1082-3.

54 *RECM*, ii. 67, 128; *BDECM*, ii. 1039-43.

55 For the circumstances, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 294.

56 For a list of the court odes by Eccles and Greene, see R. McGuinness, *English Court Odes 1660-1820* (Oxford, 1971), 23-35.

was therefore able to direct his setting by leading the all-important continuo team), and this may explain the unusually prominent string writing in his own *Judgment of Paris* setting and in his opera *Semele*.[57]

Hawkins wrote that 'in the latter part of his life he [John II Eccles] was known to the musical world only by the New Year and Birth-day Odes, which it was his duty to compose, having retired to Kingston in Surrey for the convenience of angling, a recreation of which he was very fond'. However, I have argued in my article on Eccles's court activities that this characterisation, which has been repeated in virtually all subsequent writing on the composer, overstates the case. It is likely that he led the orchestras assembled for state occasions up to and including the Coronation of George II in 1727.[58] As late as 1725-6 he was paid, presumably as a violinist, as one of the six professional musicians paid to participate in Philo-musicae et -architecturae societatis Apollini, the masonic music society directed by Francesco Geminiani that met at the Queen's Head Tavern, Temple Bar.[59] His masque *Acis and Galatea*, first performed in 1700, was regularly revived into the 1720s, possibly with the composer directing.[60]

There is certainly evidence that John II Eccles was active and present at the performances of his court odes even late in his life. The performances in St James's Palace and the public prior rehearsals in a Westminster tavern were regularly mentioned in the press, as for the ode for George II's birthday on 30 October 1732. We learn from a detailed newspaper report that it was rehearsed two days earlier at the Bell Tavern in King Street, Westminster; that the performance was given in 'the Old Council Chamber at St James's'; that the soloists included the tenor Francis Rowe and the bass Bernard Gates;[61] and that 'After the Rehearsal was over, a Youth of about 12 Years of Age, belonging to the Chapel [Royal], at the Request of Mr. Eccles, and several Gentlemen and Ladies present, sung a fine Cantata, and accompanied it on the Harpsicord, to the Satisfaction of all that were present'.[62] The cantata was presumably by Eccles himself,[63] and the precocious soloist may have been Thomas Barrow (*c.*1720-89), a Chapel Royal boy who sang solo in the performance of *Esther* given at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on 23 February 1732.[64]

Hawkins mentioned that John II Eccles 'retired to Kingston in Surrey', but we know that he had a residence there much earlier in life because his daughter Honour was buried on 10 March 1699/1700 at All Saints, the parish church of Kingston upon Thames; the register describes him

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57 P. Holman, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (Woodbridge, 2020), 209-12, 240-1.

58 Holman, 'New Light on John Eccles', 7-8.

59 A. Pink, 'A Music Club for Freemasons: *Philo-musicae et -architecturae societas Apollini*, London, 1725-1727', *Early Music* 38 (2010), 523-35, at 525. Pink assumes that Eccles played the keyboard and gives his father's first name wrongly as Simon.

60 Holman, 'New Light on John Eccles', 6-7.

61 For them, see D. Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford, 2005), 585-6, 591.

62 *The Daily Courant*, 30 October 1732. For the ode, a lost setting of Colley Cibber's 'Let there be light!', see McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 31.

63 I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for informing me that two cantatas by Eccles survive: the Abraham Cowley setting 'They say you're angry', published in March 1709 (see *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702-1711, a Facsimile Edition*, ed. Baldwin and Wilson (Aldershot, 2007), no. 263), and 'Love kindled in a breast', published separately by Walsh in, apparently, November 1709.

64 *HCD*, ii. 497-500. For Barrow, see Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 575; *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, ed. P.H. Highfill jr. *et al.*, 16 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1973-93), i. 312-13.

as 'John [Eccles], musick-master, fro<m> L. Ditton'. It is likely that Eccles initially went to live in Long Ditton (a Thameside village a little way upstream from Kingston, opposite Hampton Court Palace), because it was convenient for his work as a court musician at the Palace, but we know he also maintained a central London residence, in part from an advertisement in February 1713 offering a reward for a lost dog:

> LOST on Wednesday the 4th inst. At Hungerford-Stairs, a middle-siz'd Black Dog; he carries his Tail like a Dutch Mastiff, has broad hanging Ears like a Hound, 2 or 3 Notches in the tip of each Ear; a white Blaze down his Breast, and white Muzzle; he had on a brass Collar, ty'd with a Piece of black Ribbon. The Inscription, John Eccles in Great-Russell street in Blomsbury: Whoever brings him to Mr. Will. Brown at the Crooked-billet in Woolstaple near the new Palace, Westminster, shall have 10s. Reward; or, if found about Kingston upon Thames, and brought thither to Mr. Harvest's Brewhouse, the same Reward.[65]

Hungerford Stairs near Charing Cross, where the dog was lost, was a central London landing-place on the Thames, convenient for travelling between Kingston and Great Russell Street.

There is also evidence that John was living in the Bloomsbury area (convenient for the Lincoln's Inn Field's Theatre) much earlier than 1713. He married Anne Ange on 9 November 1697 at St Anne and St Agnes in Gresham Street near St Paul's, when he was said to be 'of S^{t} Bridget London' (St Bride, Fleet Street) and she 'of S^{t} Clement Danes'. Four of their children were baptised at St Giles-in-the-Fields between 1698 and 1705: Anne (June 1698);[66] Henry-Thomas (2 September 1702); Bridget (29 August 1703); and Eleanor (30 December 1705). The composer is also probably the John Eccles recorded in 1705 as paying rates in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.[67]

We can be sure that this John Eccles, husband of Anne, is the composer because two of their children, Anne and Bridget, are mentioned in the will of their grandfather Henry II, made in March 1711. Also, the name Henry-Thomas is suggestive since it appears to be an amalgam of the names of John's probable cousins Henry III and Thomas II. Two other children of John and Anne are known, though their baptismal records have not come to light. We have seen that Honour was buried at Kingston in March 1700, presumably as an infant; and Mary was mentioned in her grandfather's will in 1711, and in her father's will, to be discussed shortly. Conversely, Henry-Thomas and Eleanor are not mentioned in their grandfather's will, so they probably died before March 1711. The John Eagles baptised at St Mary, Long Ditton on 29 February 1707/8 could be another child of John and Anne,[68] though the Christian name of the father is not given. Thus John and Anne seem to have had six or seven children, probably in the order: Anne, Honour, Henry-Thomas, Bridget, Eleanor, Mary and John (see Appendix IV).

John made his will on 30 July 1728,[69] and died on 12 January 1734/5. His will was proved the following day and he was buried at St Mary, Hampton on 15 January. He described himself in his will as 'of Hampton in the Country of Middlesex', and it is usually said that he died at Hampton

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[65] *The Post Boy*, 10-12 February 1713. William Brown was presumably the court 'attendant on her Majesty's musick, sworn in on 2 October 1707 as the 'keeper of the instrumental musick'; see *RECM*, ii. 90, 112, 131, 132. In a letter from Kingston on 6 September 1720 Eccles appointed him to collect his court livery; see *BDECM*, i. 376.

[66] Between 22 June and the end of the month; the dates are not visible in the gutter of the page of the register.

[67] *Survey of London*, 36: *Covent Garden*, ch. 10: 'Henrietta Street and Maiden Lane Area', *British History Online* <@>.

[68] The date is given wrongly as 29 February 1702/3 in *BDECM*, i. 376.

[69] NA, PROB 11/669/87, summarised in *BDECM*, i. 376.

Wick, across the Thames from Kingston, near Hampton Court. However, one newspaper report stated that he died 'at Wandsworth', perhaps taken ill while travelling between Hampton and central London.[70] He seems to have moved house several times in the Kingston area: as we have seen, he was living in Long Ditton in 1708, but in 1724 'Mr Eagles's House in High Row' in Kingston was listed as having a rateable value of £6.[71]

John II's will is evidence of a second scandal in the Eccles family. In it he mentions his daughters Anne, Bridget and Mary only to cut them off with the proverbial shilling, 'to be in full of all claim and claims whatsoever' – an unfortunate echo of the will of his great-uncle Solomon I. John made his servant Sarah Gainer his executrix and left her 'the last residue and remainder of my Estate both Reall and personal of what nature or kind soever or wheresoever lying or being whet[h]er moneys Stocks Books Bonds Bills Notes or otherwise howsoever … for her own and sole use forever'. He was clearly aware that this might be contested because he specifically revoked 'all former and other Wills made by me at any time heretofore and do declare this and no other to be my last Will and Testament'; he requested 'that my three daughters shall not presume to dispute this my Will the said one Shilling being the whole I will them to have'. In a codicil made on 27 December 1734 he added: 'I do hereby acknowledge my self indebted to my Servant Sarah Gainer … the Sume of thirty pounds for five years wages due to her'.

It is clear that there had been a disastrous falling-out between John and his three daughters, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that this was because Anne had been supplanted by Sarah Gainer as a sexual partner, either because Anne had died or had become estranged from her husband. No burial record for Anne has come to light; the last sighting of her seems to be in February 1706, when she was one of the witnesses for the nuncupative will of Frances Purcell (Henry Purcell's widow) of Richmond in Surrey, made on 7 February 1705/6 and proved on 3 April 1706.[72] Eccles's servant can surely be identified with Sarah Gainer, daughter of Thomas and Hannah, baptised at Kingston on 29 June 1707, which would make her just 21 when John made his will – at the age of 57. It would have caused comment and disapproval even in the tolerant eighteenth century that the Master of the King's Music had taken up with a servant more than 30 years his junior, who was probably only a teenager when the relationship started – the more so when it eventually emerged that, following the example of his great uncle Solomon I, he had effectively disinherited members of his family.

Nothing more is known of Sarah Gainer, unless she was the person of that name buried at St George, Hanover Square on 5 February 1747/8. Of John II's three surviving daughters, Ann is probably the 'Ann Eccles of Kingston upon Thames Surry' who married 'John Cairnes of Ham Surry' at St Benet, Paul's Wharf on 11 July 1721. Nothing more is heard of Bridget, though Mary could be the 'Mary Eccles of S^{t} Margarets Westm<inst>er' who married Edward Burton of St Martin-in-the-Fields on 13 February 1730/1; she is said to have been 'above Five and Twenty years and a Spinster'.[73] If this is the right Mary Eccles, then she was apparently born in 1704, between Bridget in August 1703 and Eleanor in December 1705.

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[70] *Grub Street Journal*, 16 January 1735.

[71] Kingston History Centre, Poor Rate Book KG3/2/6, p. 19, information included in a letter dated 2 February 1987 from Joan Ruddle to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson.

[72] NA, PROB 11/489/180, edited in F. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695, his Life and Times* (Philadelphia PA, 2/1983), 282-3. I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for drawing this document to my attention.

[73] London Metropolitan Archives, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, *Ancestry*.

Henry III Eccles

As already discussed, Hawkins reported Thomas II's statement in 1735 that Henry III was his elder brother and had been his teacher, presumably on the violin. Nothing else is known about his early life, though it would make sense if he was born about 1680 and was in his twenties in 1705, when he came to prominence as a virtuoso violinist and composer. At the beginning of that year two technically demanding sets of divisions by 'M[r] Hen[r]. Eccles Jun[r].' (junior, presumably, to distinguish him from Henry II, the court musician) were published in *The Division Violin*.[74] It will be suggested in a forthcoming Musica Britannica volume that Henry III was also the arranger and possibly the copyist of a collection of technically advanced violin arrangements of bass viol divisions in an English manuscript now in Frankfurt-am-Main (D-F, Mus Hs 337); it was probably copied around 1700 or shortly before.[75]

Henry III must also have been the Henry Eccles junior who had a benefit concert in London on 2 January 1705, as advertised in *The Daily Courant* on that day:

> For the Benefit of Mr. *Henry Eccles*, Jun. / This present Tuesday being the 2d of January, at Mr. Hills Danceing Room in Crossby-Square in Bishopsgate-street, will be a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, perform'd by several Eminent Masters, with several Italian Sonata's perform'd on the Violin by Mr. Henry Eccles. Beginning at Six a Clock. At 2s. 6d. per Ticket. Tickets may be had of Mr. Young at the Dolphin and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, Cole's Coffee-house in Bartholomew-Lane behind the Royal Exchange, Garraway's Coffee-house, and Mr. Walsh's Musick-shop in Katharine-street in the Strand, and at the Door.

Henry III evidently moved at some point from England to France, since the next definite sighting of him is on 15 May 1713, when he gave another benefit concert in London as a musician in the household of a French aristocrat, the Duc d'Aumont. The advertisement appeared in the *Daily Courant* on 12 May and was repeated on the day of the concert:

> For the Entertainment of His Excellency the Duke d'Aumont, Embassador extraordinary from France. / For the Benefit of Mr. Eccles, Musician to his Grace. / AT Stationer's-Hall near Ludgate, this present Friday, being the 15th of May, will be perform'd an Extraordinary Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by the best Masters: With several new Foreign Pieces, chose out from the greatest Authors. Also a Sonata on the Violin, and a single Piece on the Bass-Viol, by Mr. Eccles. Tickets may be had of Mr. Walshe's, a Musick-Shop, in Catherine-street; at the Tilt-Yard Coffee-house at White-Hall; at St. James's and Smyrna Coffee-house in the Pall-Mall; at Will's Coffee-house in Cornhill; at

[74] *The Division Violin* (London, 6/1705), pp. 49-52: 'A *new* Ground *by* M[r] Hen[r]. Eccles Jun[r].'; pp. 53-8: 'A *new* Division *upon the* Ground Bass *of* John *come kiss me Compos'd by* M[r]. Hen[r]. Eccles Jun[r].' <@>. It was advertised in the *Post Man*, 20-3 January 1705; see Smith, *A Bibliography of … John Walsh … 1695-1720*, 54. A Prelude in A minor by 'M[r] Henr[r]. Eccles' in *Select Preludes & Vollentarys for the Violin* (London, 1705), p. 12 was advertised in the same newspaper; see Smith, *A Bibliography of … John Walsh … 1695-1720*, 53-4. It is probably also by Henry III rather than Henry II Eccles.

[75] *Divisions for Violin or Bass Viol: The Frankfurt Manuscript*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. del Amo, Musica Britannica (forthcoming). For the manuscript, see del Amo, 'Anthony Poole (*c.*1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2011), esp. 219-24.

> Tom's Coffee-house against the Royal-Exchange, and at the Hall-Door, at 5s. per Ticket. To begin exactly at 6 of the Clock.

Louis, third Duc d'Aumont de Rochebaron (1667-1723), governor of Boulogne, had been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary by Louis XIV to be in residence in London during the negotiations leading up to the Peace of Utrecht, concluding the War of the Spanish Succession.[76] He arrived in London from France with his entourage in January 1713; the peace settlement was concluded on 11 April; he had a public audience with Queen Anne on 4 July; and left London for France on 7 November. The other musician known to have been employed by d'Aumont, the Irish trumpeter Jacob Twistleton, did not return to France with his employer but went instead to Dublin, where he was promptly arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of being a Jacobite agent. It is not known whether Henry III stayed in England after d'Aumont left or went back to France with him, though he was certainly in Paris by 1720, as we shall see.

It will be noticed that Henry III Eccles, as well as playing violin sonatas in both concerts, also played in 1713 'a single Piece on the Bass-Viol' – 'single' probably in the sense of a solo, without any or many other instruments participating. There is confirmation that 'bass viol' in this case really does mean the viola da gamba (rather than an imprecise reference to a bass violin or violoncello) from a list of prominent musicians in London compiled by the composer and harpsichordist Johann Sigismond Cousser, who arrived in London from Germany on Christmas Day 1704 and worked there until 1707, when he went on to Dublin.[77] Cousser gave the instruments played by 'Eccles. Junior.' as 'Violin. V. da gamba', and if Samantha Owens is correct in dating the list to 1706, then it suggests that Henry III was still in London for at least a year after the 1705 concert and that he played the gamba before he went to France. It might be supposed that he took up the instrument in Paris, where it was still more in the musical mainstream than in London,[78] though if he did make the violin arrangements of bass viol divisions in the Frankfurt manuscript then it is likely he was a virtuoso on both instruments from an early age.

The other possible sightings of Henry III in London are in two lists of the orchestra of the Italian opera company, based at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket. In 'The List of the Performer's of the opera, in the Hay-Market, Last Opera Night', apparently drawn up in November 1710, 'Mr Igl' appears as the third of the four second violins; he was apparently replacing a 'Mr Cragg's' or 'Craig'.[79] In another list, dated 22 November 1710, 'C. Gall – Echel … a Violin' is one of four 'persons excluded' from the orchestra.[80] I cannot explain the letter 'C' here, though the strange name 'Gall – Echel' appears to be a cryptic reference to Henry Eccles, if we take it that 'Gall' is a pun on Henry (via the Latin *gallina* = hen) and that 'Echel' and 'Igl' are yet more variants of the family's name.[81] There is a parallel here with the rebus on Henry Purcell's name, which begins

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[76] For d'Aumont's embassy, see P. Holman, 'Arcangelo Corelli, his Trumpet Sinfonia and the Mysterious Mr Twisleton: New Light on a Murky Episode in British, French and Jacobite Cultural Politics', *A Handbook for Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Music* 25 (2021), 1-25.

[77] S. Owens, 'Johann Sigismond Cousser (Kusser): a "European" in early Eighteenth-Century England and Ireland', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 56 (2010), 445-67, at 455-60. For Cousser in England and Ireland, see Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe* (Woodbridge, 2017).

[78] For the role of the instrument in early eighteenth-century London, see P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), esp. 49-134.

[79] *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706-1715*, ed. J. Milhous and R.D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1982), 151, 158.

[80] *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, ed. Milhous and Hume, 159-61.

[81] I am grateful to Michael Talbot for this suggestion.

'From the Mate of the Cock, Winter-Corn in the Ground, / The Christian Name of my Friend may be found', explained in 1711 as follows: 'Here the Mate of a Cock is a *Hen*: The Winter-Corn is either Wheat or *Ry*; but because it is to make up a Name, it is the latter is meant: so the Christian name is *Harry*'.[82] Having decoded 'Gall – Echel' as 'Hen. Eccles', it seems that Henry III played in the opera orchestra at the Haymarket theatre for a short time in 1710, though whether he had already been to France and had temporarily returned or was yet to leave London, cannot be determined at present.

We reach firmer ground trying to trace the later activities of Henry III Eccles through his two books of violin sonatas, *Premier livre de sonates à violon seul et la basse* (Paris, 1720) and *Second livre de sonates à violon seul et la basse, avec deux sonates pour la flûte traversière* (Paris, 1723),[83] though once again things are not what they seem; they eventually created the third scandal associated with the Eccles family. Most scholarly attention has inevitably focussed on the discovery, announced by the violinist and writer Andreas Moser in March 1923, that 18 of the movements in the 1720 book were taken essentially unchanged from Giuseppe Valentini's *Alettamenti da camera*, op. 8, published in Rome in 1714 and reprinted by Roger in Amsterdam and by Walsh in London.[84] Further borrowings were subsequently detected from Bonporti and J.-B. Loeillet, and it has been said without specific evidence that the second book also contains borrowings.[85] The two collections urgently need a detailed study to establish the facts and to try to determine whether Henry III wrote any of their contents.

So far as is known, no one suspected Henry III of plagiarism at the time, and this is not the place for an extended discussion of the rights and wrongs of the case, except to note that there are parallel cases in the dissemination of Vivaldi's music, notably in the publication in Paris in 1737 of *Il pastor fido*, a collection of sonatas by Nicolas Chédeville with some movements based on ideas by Vivaldi; Chédeville attributed the collection to Vivaldi as his op. 13.[86] Another case is Vivaldi's Sonata in D major RV810 for violin and continuo, three movements of which were borrowed by the Venetian composer Antonio Pizzolato for the fifth of his op. 1 sonatas, published in London around 1750.[87]

A little more can be deduced about Henry III's connections and activities in Paris from the title-pages and dedications of the two collections. He dedicated the first to 'MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER GAGE GENTILHOMME ANGLOIS', identified by Barclay Squire as Sir William Gage of Firle in Sussex, seventh baronet (1695-1744), though another candidate is his namesake, Sir William Gage of Hengrave in Suffolk, second baronet (*c.*1651-1727). The latter was educated in Paris and maintained strong connections with the city, supposedly introducing the greengage to England

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[82] W.F. Shortz, 'British Word Puzzles (1700-1800)' *Word Ways* 8/2 (1978), 131-8, at 133 <@>. A variant of this, 'The mate to a cock, and corn tall as wheat', with its Latin version 'Galli marita par tritico seges', was attributed to the court violinist Richard Tomlinson and was set as a catch by John Lenton; see Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695*, xxvii.

[83] RISM A/1, E 203, 204.

[84] A. Moser, 'Musikalische Criminalia', *Die Musik* 15/1 (March 1923), 423-5; W. Barclay Squire, 'Henry Eccles's Borrowings', *The Musical Times* 64 (1923), 790; E.F. McCrickard, '"Baroque Music" in Later Centuries: "Re-creations" of Henry Eccles' Forgery', *International Journal of Musicology* 6 (1997), 121-48, esp. 127-8.

[85] See the page 'List of Works by Henry Eccles', on the *IMSLP* website <@>, where it is asserted that the 1723 book also contains borrowings, from Valentini and Nicola Matteis.

[86] See esp. F.M. Sardelli, trans. M. Talbot, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder* (Aldershot, 2007), 73-83.

[87] See M. Talbot, 'Miscellany', *Studi Vivaldiani* 19 (2019), 85-94, at 87-8. See also the modern edition, A. Vivaldi, *Sonata in D major RV810*, ed. F.M. Sardelli (Milan, 2012).

from there in about 1725.[88] Henry III dedicated the second book to 'MONSIEUR LE BARON DE SPARRE', identified in the dedication as 'ENVOYE EXTRAORDIN<ai>re. de sa Majesté Suedoise a la Cour d Angleterre'. This was Carl Gustav, Baron Sparre (1688-1741), who had briefly been the Swedish Ambassador in Paris in 1719 before moving to London.[89] The conventional dedications do not tell us much more, except that Henry III asserted in the first book (ironically, given the plagiarisms) that he had worked with all care ('travaillé avec tous les soins') to merit his patron's protection, and that the sonatas were in the Italian style ('dans le goût Italien').

Hawkins wrote that Henry III was 'a violin player in the king of France's band' and reported Thomas II's statement that he was 'then [1735] in the service of the king of France'. However, Henry III does not appear in lists of French court musicians at the time,[90] and the fact that he obtained a *privilège du roi* for the two publications does not imply any special connection with the king or the court, as has sometimes been asserted.[91] What we do have for him is a precise address, given in 1720 as 'Ruë de la Harpe, proche le Collège d'Harcourt chez un Vitrier' and in 1723 as 'Ruë de la Harpe proche le Collège de Justice chez un épicier vis à vis d'un Horlogeur'. The two colleges, both now part of the Lycée Saint Louis, were adjacent in this street in the Latin Quarter. So far, nothing more has come to light about Henry III's activities in Paris, though it is likely that he worked in the household of a courtier or a member of the aristocracy. His signature 'Eccles' on the title-page of surviving copies of the books certainly demonstrates that he was in Paris in 1720 and 1723.[92] As just mentioned, Thomas II stated in 1735 that Henry III 'was then in the service of the king of France', implying that he knew or at least presumed his brother was still alive in that year. Henry III is often said to have died in 1742 or '1735-45',[93] though seemingly without any hard evidence.

Thomas II Eccles

Our knowledge of Thomas II's life comes entirely from Hawkins. As already mentioned, the music historian reported that Henry III was his elder brother and had been his teacher. I have suggested that Henry was born around 1680, and therefore Thomas would have been a few years younger, born perhaps around 1685; he might have been taught by the teenage Henry in the late 1690s. The core of Hawkins's account, the report of his unnamed 'good judge of music', is a fascinating glimpse of Thomas II in action as a violinist, performing in a London tavern:

> It was about the month of November, in the year 1735, that I with some friends were met to spend the evening at a tavern in the city, when this man, in a mean but decent garb, was introduced to us by the waiter; immediately upon opening the door I heard the twang of one of his strings from under his coat, which was accompanied with the question, "Gentlemen will you please to hear any music?" Our curiosity, and the modesty of the man's deportment, inclined us to say yes;

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88 See F. Young, 'The Curse of the Greengage' <@>.

89 See 'Baron Sparre, Swedish Ambassador in England, 1688-1741', *Twickenham Museum* <@>; 'Sparre, släkt / 'Sparre family' <@>.

90 M. Benoit, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi … 1661-1733* (Paris, 1971); R. Machard, 'Les musiciens en France au temps de Jean-Philippe Rameau d'après les actes du Secétariat de la Maison du Roi, 1733-1764', *Recherches sur la musique fançaise classique* 11 (1971), 5-177.

91 I am grateful to François-Pierre Goy for this information.

92 The signatures are present on the title-pages of the copies of both books in GB-Lbl, K.7.e.5 (1, 2) and F-Pc, X.609 (1, 2). The title-page of GB-Lbl, K.7.e.5 (1) is illustrated in McCrickard, '"Baroque Music" in Later Centuries', [126]; I am grateful to François-Pierre Goy for providing me with photographs of pages from F-Pc, X.609 (1 and 2).

93 For example, McCrickard, '"Baroque Music" in Later Centuries', 123-4; Laurie, 'Henry Eccles ii', *OMO*.

> and music he gave us, such as I had never heard before, nor shall again under the same circumstances: with as fine and delicate a hand as I ever heard, he played the whole fifth and ninth solo of Corelli, two songs of Handel, Del minniciar in Otho, and Spero si mio caro bene, in Admetus; in short, his performance was such as would command the attention of the nicest ear, and left us his auditors much at a loss to guess what it was that constrained him to seek his living in a way so disreputable[.]

Thomas might have played these pieces unaccompanied, though it is possible that the tavern had a harpsichord or at least someone to play a bass part on a bowed or plucked instrument, perhaps in a private room, behind the door opened by the waiter. It is interesting, too, that Hawkins's informant was impressed by Thomas's playing, 'as fine and delicate a hand as I ever heard' which 'would command the attention of the nicest ear'. This tells us that his brother Henry was a fine teacher, and more generally that musical standards in the Eccles family were high.

Hawkins framed the quotation from his 'good judge of music' with some comments of his own, perhaps drawn on information he had gathered as a young man. He wrote that Thomas was:

> one of those itinerant musicians, perhaps the last of them, who in winter evenings were used to go about to taverns, and for the sake of a slender subsistence expose themselves to the insults of those who were not inclined to hear them; there are none of this class of mendicant artists now remaining, but in the time of the usurpation they were so numerous, that an ordinance was made declaring them vagrants.

Hawkins went on to explain:

> Upon inquiry some time after, it appeared that he was idle, and given to drinking, He lodged in the Butcher-row near Temple bar, and was well known to the musicians of his time, who thought themselves disgraced by this practice of his, for which they have a term of reproach not very intelligible; they call it *going a-busking*.

It is likely that Thomas the alcoholic busker was a severe embarrassment to the rest of his family, producing the fourth scandal in the Eccles family. Butcher or Butcher's Row was in the parish of St Clement Danes, north of the Strand between the church and Temple Bar.[94] No record of Thomas's life there has come to light, and his dates of death and burial are unknown.

Loose Ends

So far we have identified twelve members of the Eccles family who seem to have been musicians, but there are references to a number of other musicians called Eccles or Eagles who cannot at present be firmly identified with them. The 'M[r] Eagles' who played among the 'Violins' (i.e. in the violin band) for the court masque *Calisto*, first performed at Whitehall on 22 February 1675, was probably either Solomon II, perhaps playing bass violin, or his brother Henry II.[95] The person concerned received a payment, £5, which indicates that he was an extra musician, without a regular

[94] For the parish, see esp. 'St Clement Danes', *London Lives 1690 to 1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis* <@>.

[95] *RECM*, i. 145-6, 150; see also A. Walkling, 'Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court: John Crowne's *Calisto*', *Early Music* 24 (1996), 27-62, at 34-5.

court post. Solomon II and Henry II did not receive their court places until the 1680s, though this payment suggetss that one of them was active in London as a string player a decade earlier.

A 'Mr. Eagles junior' was chosen on 10 February 1692/3 to be one of the three candidates for the post of organist of St Bride, Fleet Street; the organ, newly installed, was by Renatus Harris, and the other candidates were Francis Forcer and Philip Hart.[96] The competition was held on 11 May 1693, though its outcome is unknown except that the winner served until 1696, when he vacated the post. In London in 1693 'Eccles senior' to this 'Eccles junior' would have been one or both of the court musicians, Henry II and Solomon II, which suggests a close connection with the Guildford family. As can be seen from Appendix I, the obvious candidate is John II Eccles, Henry II's son, who was living with his parents in 1693 in that parish, St Bride, Fleet Street. He was then in his early twenties and was making his way in the London music profession.

I have argued here and in other writings that John II Eccles was a violinist first and foremost, but Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson have suggested to me that he might have acquired sufficient keyboard skills to accompany psalms and improvise voluntaries, the requirements for a London church organist at the time, and he might have thought it worth competing for the post in his local parish church as a way of increasing his income in a way that was compatible with his theatrical work – the playhouses were closed on Sundays. The other candidates were prominent keyboard players and composers of keyboard music, so we can take it that he was not successful, and nothing more is heard of his keyboard playing. However, the sources of his vocal music (including the autograph score of *Semele*) strongly suggest that he was trained as a composer through the figured bass system, and he was doubtless a sufficiently fluent continuo player to be able to coach solo singers in his own vocal music, but not (so far as is known) to direct public performances from the harpsichord.

Another 'unattached' Eccles is the John Eccles, musician of Bath, who was involved in a lawsuit in 1734 with his wife Ann, late wife of Thomas Fagg, innholder, deceased of Bath, and members of her family, against Isaac Gale.[97] This John Eccles (not to be confused with John II Eccles the composer) was presumably the individual buried at Bath Abbey on 10 April 1749.[98] He was clearly not the organist of the Abbey since that post was held at the time by Josias Priest (1711-26) and Thomas Chilcot (1726-66),[99] and he is not mentioned in Kenneth James's very thorough study of concert life in eighteenth-century Bath.[100] However, the main source of employment for musicians there in the early eighteenth century was the Pump Room band, established in about 1710.[101] The names of its members are not known in its early years, though an etching of the Pump Room in about 1737, found on a fan, shows a group of five musicians in a small gallery, four of whom are playing what appear to be a trumpet, two violins and a bassoon.[102] Other opportunities for employment for professional musicians also developed in the city within this John Eccles's lifetime, including 'concerts of music' reportedly held in Harrison's Assembly Rooms in 1725 and 'a kind of musical society' established in a Bath inn in the 1730s.[103] In other cities such groups were led

96 D. Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850* (Padstow, 1983), 37-8, 95.
97 NA, C 11/1879/63.
98 *Bath Record Office* <@>.
99 'List of Organists and Assistant Organists of Bath Abbey', *Wikipedia* <@>.
100 K.E. James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth Century Bath', Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, U. of London, 1987).
101 Ibid., 129-30.
102 Reproduced in ibid., 349.
103 Ibid., 133.

by, and stiffened with, professionals. There is a possibility that the Bath John Eccles was John I Eccles, the member of the Guildford family baptised on 1 June 1654, who (we have seen) was apprenticed in 1668 to a member of the Turner's Company and then to a member of the Clothworkers' Company. Perhaps he subsequently turned to music and moved to Bath when its concert scene developed in the early eighteenth century. If so, he would have been 94 when he died in 1749.

It remains to be established if and how the various branches of the Eccles family of musicians were related to the wider community of people called Eccles or Eagles. These relationships are particularly significant when potential candidates had the unusual Christian name Solomon, which clearly ran in the Eccles family, so the 'Sollomon Eckles', husband of Mary, whose daughter Elizabeth was buried at St Botolph, Aldgate on 5 August 1651, was probably related to the musicians, as was the Solomon Eccles, 'Cordwainer' of St Saviour, Southwark, who married Ann Walters on 21 November 1738.

A second line of enquiry in the future will be to look for connections with other families of people called Eccles or Eagles who lived in the same parishes as known Eccles musicians. For instance, the James Eagle who married Isabella Clarke at St Giles-in-the-Fields on 6 February 1699/1700 may have been related to John II Eccles, living in that parish at the time. There were at least two Eccles/Eagles families living in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields alongside Henry II Eccles and his family. Gilbert and Elizabeth Eagle had at least three children baptised there: Gilbert (born 26 June 1678, baptised 2 July, buried 18 May 1679); Henry (born 25 April 1681, baptised 9 May); and their daughter Utrecia (born 28 October 1682, baptised 10 November). Gilbert senior was presumably the 'Gilbert Eagle' buried at St Luke, Chelsea on 8 December 1685. Henry Eagle, 'son of Gilbert, Westminster, gentleman, deceased' was apprenticed to John Taylor of the Vintners' Company on 7 October 1696.[104] Thomas and Elizabeth Eagle had at least three children baptised in St Martin-in-the-Fields: Thomas (born 10 December 1674, baptised 1 January 1674-5); Ann (born 11 January 1679-80, baptised 29 January) and William (born 17 April 1683, baptised 29 April). There is a possibility that the father of these children was the Guildford Thomas (1656-82), son of Henry I, in which case William would have been a posthumous child, born four months after his father's burial on 12 December 1682.

Conclusion and Summary

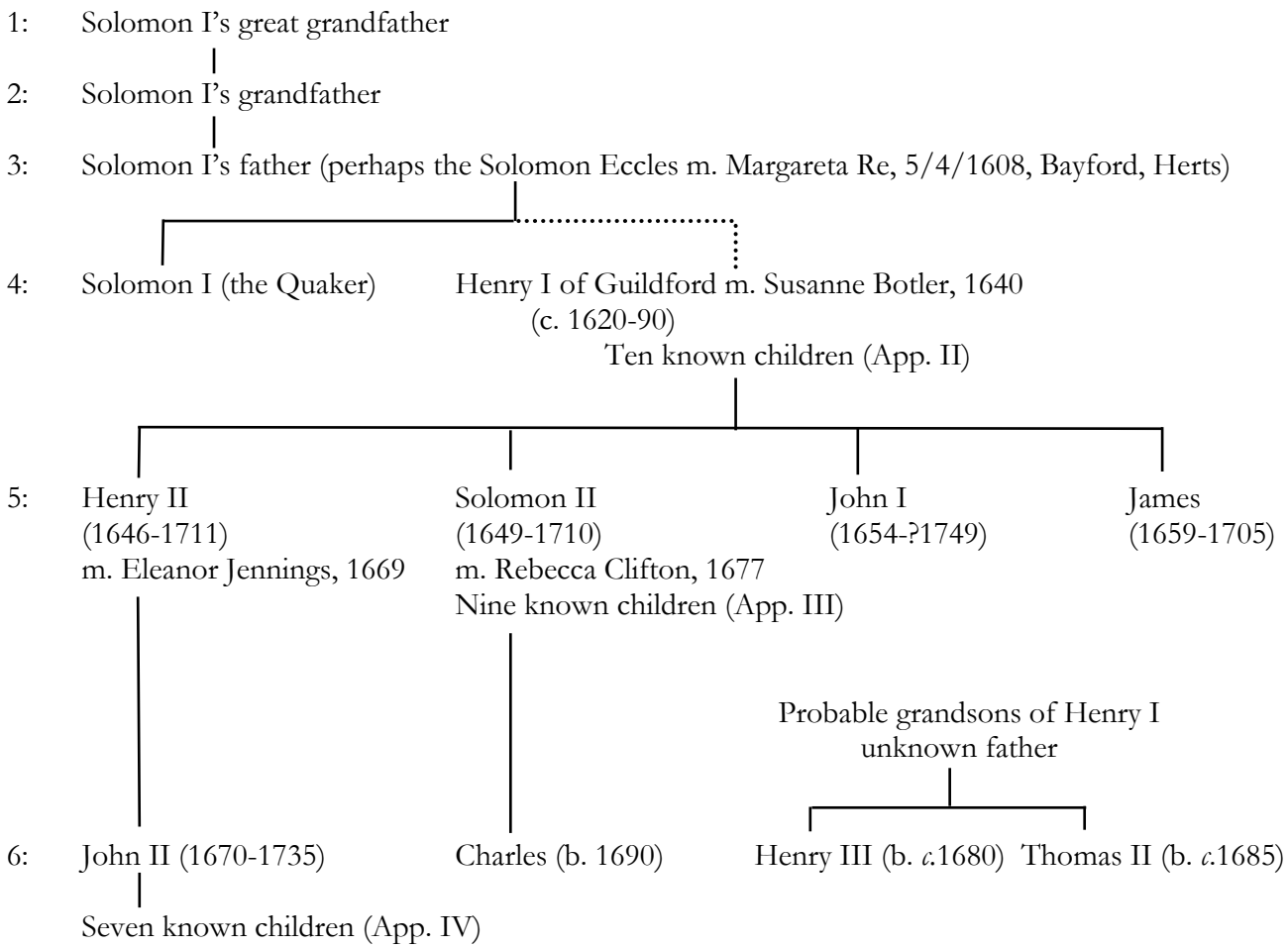
Future research will doubtless fill out the picture and refine it further, but we can now see that most if not all of the musicians named Eccles, Eagle or Eagles belonged to a single extended family initially active in Hertfordshire, with Solomon I the Quaker (?1617-81/2) apparently working in London and his brother Henry I (*c.*1620-90) establishing a large branch in Guildford; Solomon I wrote that he was a fourth-generation musician. In the fifth generation, two of Henry I's sons, Henry II (1646-1711) and Solomon II (1649-1710) established themselves as musicians in London and eventually joined the Private Music at court. Two of their brothers, Francis (1641-1662) and John I (b. 1654), came to London to take up apprenticeships, and John I could be the John Eccles (d. 1749) recorded as a musician in Bath in 1734. A sixth brother, James (1659-1705), is also known to have been a musician but remained in Guildford so far as is known.

[104] London Apprenticeship Abstracts, 1442-1850, *FindmyPast*.

The sixth generation of Eccles musicians included the composer John II (1670-1735), the violinist, composer and plagiarist Henry III (b. *c.*1680) and the violinist Thomas II (b. *c.*1685). Sir John Hawkins reported that they were brothers, but the evidence suggests that John II (the son of Henry II) was actually an elder cousin of Henry III and Thomas II, whose parentage is at present unknown. None of Solomon II's children are known to have been musicians, unless Charles (b. 1691) was the person who composed a gavotte published in about 1745. So far as is known, there were no musicians in the Eccles family in the seventh or subsequent generations, so it was no match for 84 musicians over eight generations in the Bach family.[105] Nevertheless, the family made an important contribution to English musical life, hitherto only recognised in part. John II Eccles's importance as a composer will become clearer when the collected edition of his music is complete, and I plan to write a follow-up article about the activities of other members of the family as string players. In particular, the sets of violin divisions composed, arranged or performed by Solomon II and Henry III give us a precious glimpse into the working repertory of professional violinists in Restoration London.

[105] See the family tree in C. Wolff *et al.* 'Bach Family', *OMO*.

Appendix I: The Eccles Family
Known or Suspected Musicians Only



Appendix II:
The Immediate Family of Henry I Eccles

all baptisms in St Mary, Guildford
* = known or suspected musician

*Henry I (b. *c.*1620), m. Susanne Botler 13 July 1640, St Mary, Guildford

'Frances' or Francis, bapt. 3 August 1641
Susanne, bapt. 4 June 1643
*Henry II, bapt. 4 January 1645/6; m. Eleanor Jenings 23 March 1667/8, Knightsbridge; bur. 31 March 1711, St Martin-in-the-Fields
*Solomon II, bapt. 3 June 1649; m. Rebecca Clifton 7 June 1677; bur. 1 December 1710, St Mary, Guildford; see App. III
William, bapt. 26 January 1651/2
*John, bapt. 1 June 1654; possibly the John Eccles bur. Bath Abbey, 10 April 1749
Thomas, bapt. 13 July 1656; bur. 12 December 1682, St Mary, Guildford
*James, bapt. 13 March 1658/9; buried 26 March 1705, St Mary, Guildford
Elizabeth, bapt. 4 March 1661/2
Robert, bapt. 8 August 1664

Appendix III
The Immediate Family of Solomon II Eccles

Solomon II, bapt. 3 June 1649, St Mary, Guildford; m. Rebecca Clifton 7 June 1677, Temple Church; bur. 1 December 1710, St Mary Guildford; see App. 1

* = mentioned in Solomon II's will, made on 18 November 1710

*Lewar or Lawarr, bapt. 22 August 1678, St John the Baptist, Egham
Henry, bapt. 28 February 1681/2, St Bride, Fleet Street
*Rebecca, bapt. 19 October 1683, St John the Baptist, Egham
Eleanor, bapt. 28 December 1684, St Bride, Fleet Street
Charles, bapt. 21 March 1685/6, St Bride, Fleet Street; he presumably died as an infant
*Elizabeth, bapt. 1 June 1688, St John the Baptist, Egham
*William, bapt. 9 June 1689, St John the Baptist, Egham
Solomon, bapt. 24 August 1690, St John the Baptist, Egham
*Charles, bapt. 24 March 1690/1, St Bride, Fleet Street

Appendix IV
The Immediate Family of John II Eccles

John II, b. 10 December 1670, bapt. 25 December 1670, St Martin-in-the-Fields, the son of Henry II and Eleanor; m. Anne Ange 9 November 1697, St Anne and St Agnes; d. 12 January 1734/5; bur. 15 January 1734/5, St Mary, Hampton; see App. I

* mentioned in Henry II's will, made on 9 March 1710/11, and John II's will, made on 30 July 1728

*Anne, bapt. June 1698, St Giles-in-the-Fields
Honour, bur. 10 March 1699/1700, St Mary, Long Ditton, presumably as an infant
Henry-Thomas, bapt. 2 September 1702, St Giles-in-the-Fields
*Bridget, bapt. 29 August 1703, St Giles-in-the-Fields
*Mary, b. *c.*1704
Eleanor, bapt. 30 December 1705, St Giles-in-the-Fields
John, bapt. 29 February 1707/8, St Mary, Long Ditton

A Miscatalogued Lyra Viol Manuscript in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

PETER H. ADAMS

The Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Klassik Stiftung Weimar (HAAB) houses the manuscript Mus VIII:12 (hereafter the manuscript) previously mis-catalogued for lute. Now it may be identified as a work for solo lyra viol set in French Baroque tablature. The manuscript contains no title page, date, contents list, or record of previous owners[1]. It was damaged by a fire at the HAAB in 2004, after which it was rebound and given a signature Scha BS Mus Hs 00334 (1) kept. Among those noting that it was for lyra viol rather than lute was the musicologist Ekkehard Schulze-Kurt (in 2018), Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,[2] and initially the English lutenist Linda Sayce, who first pointed out this manuscript to Dr. Andrew Ashbee, who subsequently passed the reference to the author[3].

The purpose of this article is to describe this manuscript and select Lessons, ~~p~~rovide a contents list and an appendix of concordances noted in the RISM online database (accessed 21 September; 2020). The reader will quickly understand that this manuscript contains an abundance of very simple Lessons, quite suitable for beginning lyra viol players.

The *Thematic Index of Music for* **Viols** (hereafter *TI)* first listed this manuscript in 2020, as D-WRa, Mus. VIII:12 (accessed 10 September, 2020), and provides incipits.[4] RISM *Handschriftlich Überlieferte Lauten-und Guitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* München: G. Henle Verlag, 1978, page 351), kindly provided by Bettina Hoffman, provides more information such as folio numbers, and the manuscript's binding, but no history or discussion of water marks.[i]

> WEIMAR. Thüringische Landesbibliothek. Ms. Mus. VIII:12. Frz. Lt. Tab. Lin. Für Viola da Gamba. 1. Viertel des 17. Jh. 84 fol. Unbeschrieben f. 1-6, 37v-68r, 71v-74v, 79v-84; f. 78r (nur Lin.). 10,1 X 18,9 cm. Tab.-Teil: f. 7-57r, 68v-71r, 74v-77, 78v, 79r, zuzuglich Innenseite des Rückdeckels (aufgeklebtes Blatt). Für Viola da Gamba, die Sätze sind überwiegend 1stimmig, jedoch an Schlüssen 4-, vereinzelt 5stimmig. Originale Numerierung des Sätze *1-88* (f. 7-57r), dann *1-5* (f. 68v-71r), nach 4 unnumerierten Sätzen folgen Nr. *6* und *7*, was auf eine Verheftung in jüngerer Zeit hindeutet (obwohl die Tintenfärbung zwischen Nr. *5* und 6 abweicht). Restliche Sätze unnumeriert. 1 Satz, originale *Nr. 78, Sarabande*, ist gänzlich ausgestrichen, die Nr. ist am Satzkopf durch Rasur getilgt, der folgende Satz, *Allemande*, setzt dann mit *Nr. 78* fort. 1 Schreiber, unterschiedliche Tintenfärbung, was auf einen größeren Zeitraum der Niederschrift des Ms. Schließen läßt. Pappband der Zeit, Vorder- und Rückdeckel mit bunt marmoriert bedrucktem Papier beklebt, Buchrücken Pergament mit originaler Lederband-Heftung. Buchrücken originale, stark defekte Aufschrift (Tinte) seitlich: *Violdig*[am]*b.*[a] T. (Freie Instrumentalsätze, Tänze,

[1] *Musikalein und Musikschriften der HAAB Weimar Handscriften der HAAB Weimar.* Mus VIII:12. Previous titles of the manuscript are: Lautentabulatur, and Französische Lautentabulatur. The new title is [Lyra-Viol Tabulatur], https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/resolver?urn=urn:nbn:de:gbv:32-1-100001576762.

[2] Private communication of 14-09-2020 from Angelika v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Bibliothekarin at the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. Andrew Ashbee for pointing out this manuscript, and answering questions about Dodd's *TI*. If a copy or microfilm exists of this manuscript prior to the fire, the author is most desirous of obtaining a copy.

[4] Pages A-ffeff 40-45; A-defhf 24-25; A-efdef 5-6

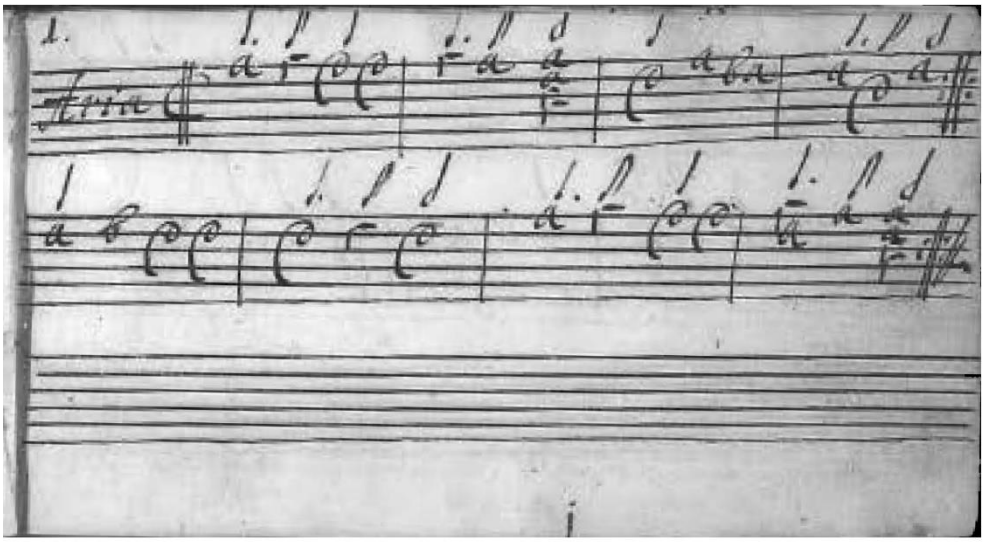
Arien, dt. Incipit.) **Literatur**: Fehlend.

Precise dating is not currently possible, although the Lessons themselves suggest a date of *c*1650-*c*1700. As the manuscript was damaged during the fire and later rebound, whatever datable information that might have existed is now lost. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff provided me with an image of a water mark found on an unidentified folio. This author's drawing of that water mark is at example 1.[5]

Example 1

The manuscript is in one hand throughout and is unfoliated.. Most of it is in normal ffeff tuning and numbers 1-88 are all numbered, except for a crossed- out Lesson (number 75 unintentionally duplicated) on f.45r. Lesson 49 (Anon 10048) and Lesson 73 (Anon 10072) are the same music, except that Lesson 73 is transposed down one string. The remaining 14 pieces [89-102] have varied tunings and include one or two concordances. Numbers 89-93 are labelled 1-5 and are in efdef tuning. These are followed by [94-96] in fedfh, then three more [97-99] in normal viol tuning. At the end of the manuscript are three pieces in defhf tuning, two with known concordances, widely distributed in Europe, and each having a distinctive character. No. 100 is a Courante by Ives (31), styled variously in the manuscripts as 'The Chimes', 'La Cloche', or 'Englische or Engelske glocken or Klocken', mixing pizzicato and bowing. No. 101 was also popular, presumably because it too required the 'thumpe' in performance. The fact that so many pieces currently remain anonymous, together with the character of those called 'aria', may indicate that they are transcriptions of songs.

[5] A search of online images of historic European water marks, mentioned below, conducted by this author and by the staff at Stanford University Library's Rare Books and Cataloging Department ~~also~~ found no match. Further examinations of the Bayerische StaatsBibliothek's online database of water marks from 17th century (bsb-muenchen.de); the watermarks on the website germanprints.ru. and the Wasserzeichen-online.de was also fruitless.~~.~~ A poor match was found in *Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries*, at watermark.kb.nl (accessed 18, November 2020). That image, WM I 01031, is described as a shield, letters, and (?), crown, III dated 1495.



Example 2: the first piece

Titles of the pieces are Aria (62), Sarabande (18), Allemande (10), Courante (7), Gig (and variant spellings) (4), Ballett (2), Praludium (1); one piece has no title.

Features of the Lessons are the following: 1. An unexpected number of fermatas. Many frequently include two fermatas within a single bar, at cadences. The fermata might be ornamental signs, though this seems unlikely. 2. The ranges utilized rarely exceed an octave, thus the lowest two strings are rarely used. They rarely make use of frets above f; even fewer include letters above the frets. 4. Frequently, similar melodic features are shared, such as a leap from A (second string) to F (first string) followed by a downward scale. 5. Ornamental signs are rare and generic. As stated previously, the fermata functions both as a fermata and possibly also as a trill or other ornament, or even a breath mark. The thump is notated with two dots below an open string. Slurs appear only in Lesson 59, [5e] [96], 6 [98]. Lesson 71 is unique in the manuscript in using forte and piano signs. No other ornamental signs appear in the manuscript.

The Contents list of the Lessons follows. Spellings of titles are as in the source. All folio numbers are editorial. Item numbers are irregular from f.51v onwards. Index numbers are from *TI*.[6] Spellings of titles are from the source.

Title	Folio	item number	index number	tuning
Aria	1r	1	Anon 10000	ffeff
Aria	1v	2	Anon 10001	ffeff
Aria	2r	3	Anon 10002	ffeff
Aria	2v	4	Anon 10003	ffeff
Aria	3r	5	Anon 10004	ffeff
Aria	3v	6[7]	Anon 10005	ffeff
Aria	4r	7	Anon 10006	ffeff
Aria	4v	8	Anon 10007	ffeff
Aria	5r	9	Anon 10008	ffeff
Aria	5v	10	Anon 10009	ffeff

[6] [*Editor*: The 2022 *TI* update will note the duplicates at nos. 49, 66 and 73 and will correct the numbering of pieces 97 [=10089] and 99 [=10091].

[7] Mateusz Kowalski pointed out in a private email to me that Lesson 6 in the Weimar MS is "a top voice of aria coming from David Funk's Stricturae viola di gambice." [*Ed.*: Funck's work will be indexed in *TI* at the 2022 update.]

Aria	6r	11	Anon 10010	ffeff
Aria	6v	12	Anon 10011	ffeff
Aria	7r	13	Anon 10012	ffeff
Aria	7v	14	Anon 10013	ffeff
Aria	8r	15	Anon 10014	ffeff
Saraband	8v	16	Anon 10015	ffeff
Saraband	9r	17	Anon 10016	ffeff
Aria	9v	18	Anon 10017	ffeff
Aria	10r	19	Anon 10018	ffeff
Aria	10v	20	Anon 10019	ffeff
Aria	11r	21	Anon 10020	ffeff
Aria	11v	22	Anon 10021	ffeff
Allemande	12r	23	Anon 10022	ffeff
Ballett	12v	24	Anon 10023	ffeff
Sarabande	13r	25	Anon 10024	ffeff
Courante	13v-14r	26	Anon 10025	ffeff
Aria	14v	27	Anon 10026	ffeff
Aria	15r	28	Anon 10027	ffeff
Aria	15v	29	Anon 10028	ffeff
Aria	16r	30	Anon 10029	ffeff
Sarabande	16v	31	Anon 10030	ffeff
Aria	17r	32	Anon 10031	ffeff
Aria	17v-18r	33	Anon 10032	ffeff
Courante	18v-19r	34	Anon 10033	ffeff
Courante	19v	35	Anon 10034	ffeff
Aria	20r	36	Anon 10035	ffeff
Aria	20v	37	Anon 10036	ffeff
Gygue	21r	38	Anon 10037	ffeff
Sarabande	21v	39	Anon 10038	ffeff
Aria	22r	40	Anon 10039	ffeff
Aria	22v	41	Anon 10040	ffeff
Aria	23r	42	Anon 10041	ffeff
Sarabande	23v	43	Anon 10042	ffeff
Aria	24r	44	Anon 10043	ffeff
Aria	24v	45	Anon 10044	ffeff
Sarabande	25r	46	Anon 10045	ffeff
Aria	25v	47	Anon 10046	ffeff
Aria	26r	48	Anon 10047	ffeff
Aria	26v	49	Anon 10048 Anon 10072	ffeff
Sarabande	27r	50	Anon 10049	ffeff
Aria	27v	51	Anon 10050	ffeff
Gygue	28r	52	Anon 10051	ffeff
Aria	28v	53	Anon 10052	ffeff
Aria	29r	54	Anon 10053	ffeff
Allemande	29v-30r	55	Anon 10054	ffeff
Aria	30v	56	Anon 10055	ffeff
Ballett	31r	57	Anon 10056	ffeff
Allemande	31v-32r	58	Anon 10057	ffeff
Aria	32v-33r	59	Anon 10058	ffeff
Aria	33v	60	Anon 10059	ffeff
Aria	34r	61	Anon 10060	ffeff

Sarabande	34v-35r	62	Anon 10061	ffeff
Courante	35v-36r	63	Anon 10062	ffeff
Aria	36v-37r:1	64	Anon 10063	ffeff
Sarabande	37r:2	65	Anon 10064	ffeff
Courante	37v-38r	66	Anon 6272, Anon 6376 Anon 10065	ffeff
Aria	38v	67	Anon 10066	ffeff
Gigue	39r	68	Anon 10067	ffeff
Aria	39v	69	Anon 10068	ffeff
Aria	40r	70	Anon 10069	ffeff
Aria	40v-41r	71	Anon 10070	ffeff
Aria	41v	72	Anon 10071	ffeff
Aria	42r	73	Anon 10048 Anon 10072	ffeff
Allemande	42v-43r	74	Anon 10073	ffeff
Aria	43v	75	Anon 10074	ffeff
Aria	44r	76	Anon 10075	ffeff
Aria	44v	77	Anon 10076	ffeff
[duplicate Lesson crossed out in the manuscript on folio 45r]				
Allemande	45v-46r	78	Anon 10078	ffeff
Gigue	46v-47r:1	79	Anon 10079	ffeff
Aria	47r:2	80	Anon 10080	ffeff
Sarabande	47v	81	Anon 10081	ffeff
Aria	48r	82	Anon 10082	ffeff
Sarabande	48v	83	Anon 10083	ffeff
Aria	49r	84	Anon 10084	ffeff
Aria	49v	85	Anon 10085	ffeff
Aria	50r	86	Anon 10086	ffeff
Allemande	50v	87	Anon 10087	ffeff
Sarabande	51r	88	Anon 10088	ffeff
Sarabande	51v	1 [89]	Anon 9842	efdef
Sarabande	52r	2 [90]	Anon 9843	efdef
Allemande	52v-53r	3 [91]	Anon 9844	efdef
Aria	53v	4 [92]	Anon 9845	efdef
Courante	54r	5 [93]	Anon 9846	efdef
Allemande	54v-55r	[5b] [94]	Anon 8928	fedfh
Sarabande	55v	[5c] [95]	Anon 8929	fedfh
Allemande	56r	[5e] [96]	Anon 8930	fedfh
Preludium	56v	[5f] [97]	Anon 10089	ffeff
Aria	57r	6 [98]	Anon 10090	ffeff
Aria	57v	7 [99]	Anon 10091	ffeff
[blank folio at 58r]				
Courante	58v	[7b] [100]	Ives 31	defhf
Aria	59r	[7c] [101]	Anon 7001	ffeff
[blank folio at 59v]				
[Untitled]	60r	[7d] [102]	Anon 7517	defhf

Letters are written through the lines, a feature somewhat more commonly found in Continental sources than English sources. The fifth and sixth string are hardly ever used and high notes are similarly rare. Lesson 35 is the first to reach g and h, while Lesson 61 includes k and l. No Lesson has a chord that uses all six strings. .Lesson 16 is unusually chromatic. Lesson 71, an 'Aira Echo', has *piano* and *forte* echo effects. Lessons 74 and Lesson 96 are Allemandes with the

texture of a Prelude. Brief melodic motifs are interspersed with quasi-polyphonic broken chords. Rhythmic values, except at cadential points, are primarily 8th notes [quavers].

CONCLUSION

Without access to the physical item, one is unable to provide an exact date and provenance. A scientific analysis of the paper might provide some clues to dating the manuscript. Dating the watermark would provide a clue to dating the source. The large number of currently anonymous and unknown Lessons within this manuscript is a point of further research.

This manuscript is an excellent collection for learning to play from tablature. All Lessons in the first section are in standard viola da gamba tuning (ffeff). Very few of the Lessons in section one use chords and they are quite easy to perform. This manuscript uses just the fermata, the thump, the slur, forte, piano, and repeat signs. Few tunings are required. No Lesson makes use of the florid semiquaver runs frequently found in divisions. However, Preludes are normally set in quavers. Lesson 97 is such an example making use of broken chords and quasi-polyphonic texture. If all or most of the above concordances are correct, then whoever assembled the Weimar MS had access to a sizeable music library.

Book Review

Bettina Hoffmann, *The Viola da Gamba*, trans. Paul Ferguson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018)

PETER HOLMAN

Bettina Hoffmann will be well known to readers of this journal for her important article 'The Nomenclature of the Viol in Italy' (*VdGSJ* 2/1 (2008), pp.1-16), and for 'Viol Music in the Palazzo Ruffo, or How the Viola da Gamba Came to Sicily' (*VdGSJ* 12 (2018), pp.1-15), a fascinating account of a manuscript from Messina in Sicily, now in Sweden, that reveals a hitherto unsuspected nest of late seventeenth-century viol players in that beautiful city. In addition, Hoffmann is the author of two earlier books: *Catalogo della musica solistica e cameristica per viola da gamba* (Lucca 2001) and *I bassi d'arco di Antonio Vivaldi: Violoncello, contrabbasso e viola da gamba al suo tempo e nelle sue opera* (Florence, 2020), the latter reviewed in *VdGSJ* 14 (2020), 104-8. A native of Düsseldorf resident in Florence, she is active as a viol player, a Baroque cellist and a teacher, and is a leading member of the period-instrument group Modo Antiquo, founded by her husband the flautist and writer Federico Maria Sardelli.

Hoffmann's *The Viola da Gamba*, first published in Italian in 2006 and then in German in 2009, is the most recent of four attempts in English to encompass the history of the viol between two covers. It succeeds Gerald Hayes, *The Viols and other Bowed Instruments* (Oxford, 1930; repr. New York, 1969); Natalie Dolmetsch, *The Viola da Gamba: Its Origin and History, its Technique and Musical Resources* (London, 1962; 2/1968); and Annette Otterstedt, *The Viol: History of an Instrument*, trans. Hans Reiners (Kassel, 2002). Taking these volumes off the shelf and comparing them with Bettina Hoffmann's book, I became acutely aware how much the subject has expanded during my working life.

As an early music-obsessed teenager in the 1960s, I can remember being excited by the appearance of Natalie Dolmetsch's book, though when I read it I was disappointed even then by its brevity and simplicity. Despite promising to cover the instrument's 'origin, history, … technique and musical resources', Dolmetsch only managed to fill 87 pages with eight chapters, the pages generously laid out on thick paper with a large typeface, some of them taken up with the 27 plates. By contrast, Hoffman's book runs to 391 dense pages, with nearly 100 sections grouped into six large chapters and with no fewer than 125 illustrations. Not surprisingly, it is printed in a much smaller typeface on much thinner paper, though it is nicely hard bound with an attractive painting of 'Angel musicians' of 1535 from Piacenza on the cover – one of a number of interesting Italian pictures that were new to me.

Even a glance through these two books clearly shows how and why the subject has expanded. For Natalie Dolmetsch the viol was a relatively straightforward instrument. There was essentially only one type, the one used in what she clearly assumed to be its mainstream, from the consort music of seventeenth-century England to the solo music of early eighteenth-century France. She restricts herself to a single way of holding, stringing and tuning the various sizes of viol, though she occasionally mentions earlier types and includes a short section on tablature and the lyra viol. By contrast, Hoffmann's apparent stance (she does not provide the reader with a proper statement of aims and objectives, a point to which I will return), is that (to quote the blurb on the back cover)

'the *viola da gamba* was a central instrument in European music from the late 15th century well into the late 18th', and that in 'this comprehensive study, Bettina Hoffmann offers an introduction to the instrument – its construction, technique and history – for the non-specialist, interweaving this information with a wealth of original archival scholarship that experts will relish'.

The phrase 'original archival scholarship' is telling in several respects. Hoffmann's book reflects the great change that the discipline of organology has undergone in the last few decades. Natalie Dolmetsch's approach to sources was typical of the Victorian antiquarianism that unfortunately still lingered on into the 1960s among those writing about musical history. She was content to quote extensively from the major published sources readily available to her – notably John Playford, Christopher Simpson, Thomas Mace and Jean Rousseau – and her historical sections largely consist of a series of factual nuggets presented without sources or given a credible context – a context that becomes more sketchy and less convincing the further back she goes.

By contrast, Hoffmann is not just standing on the shoulders of several generations of archival scholars and organologists, but she is also ferociously committed herself to historical research of this sort, listing in her bibliography more than 100 primary written sources from Pietro Aaron to Luigi Zenobi; Natalie Dolmetsch's bibliography consists of just 18 items. Hoffmann has also read widely in the secondary literature, not confining herself to writing on the viol and related instruments, though she misses much of the recent literature about England and in English, perhaps partly in an attempt to rectify the focus on English viol consort music in the books of her three predecessors.

Thinking about English viol music, I was surprised to see that her bibliography does not include such significant and pertinent items as: Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (London, 1978); Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, *c.*1590-1640', Ph.D. thesis (King's College, London, 1992); Arne Spohr, *'How chances it they travel?': Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579-1630* (Wiesbaden, 2009); John Irving, 'The Instrumental Music of Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656)', Ph.D. thesis (U. of Sheffield, 1984); the first volume of Andrew Ashbee's *The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins* (Surbiton 1992); David Pinto, *'For ye Violls': The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes* (Richmond upon Thames, 1995); John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602-1645* (Woodbridge, 2010); Robert Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger *c.*1655-1730', Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, U. of London, 2002); and Alan Howard, 'Purcell and the Poetics of Artifice: Compositional Strategies in the Fantasias and Sonatas', Ph.D. thesis (U. of London, 2006).

However, this failure to take account of the literature in English does not just affect the sections on the viol in Britain. It also weakens the chapter entitled 'Antecedents' (pp.61-77), since much of the work on the predecessors of the viol is by Anglo-American scholars. She seems unaware, for instance, of the seminal work on Mediaeval bowed instruments by Howard Mayer Brown and Christopher Page. There are also signs that she has not thoroughly updated this version of the book to take account of recent scholarship. It may seem invidious to mention my own work, but my book *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* provides a convenient example. It was published in 2010, after the appearance of her Italian and German editions, though she lists it in her bibliography and takes account of it to some extent in her interesting chapter 'The Revival', covering developments from eighteenth-century Italy to the present.

It has to be said, however, that her account of viol playing after World War Two is disappointing, with only a few individuals mentioned and no account taken of the development of professional viol consorts, nor of the remarkable amateur viol-playing movement, embodied in the activities of the Viola da Gamba Society and its counterparts around the world. The history of the early music revival is a hot topic for research at the moment, so I was surprised not to see such items in the bibliography as Harry Haskell's seminal *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London, 1988; repr. Mineola NY, 1996), or Bruce Haynes's, *The End of Early Music A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford, 2007).

Returning to my book *Life after Death*, had Hoffmann taken account of the earlier parts of it she would not have given Gottfried Finger's birth date as *c.*1660 (Robert Rawson established many years ago that he must have been born around 1655); or have described Finger's *Sonatae XII pro diversis instrumentis* (1688) as 'pro violin & viola da gamba' (only the first three sonatas have gamba parts). Also, she would not have listed *The Compleat Violist* (1699) as by Benjamin Hely in the bibliography (it is anonymous but includes some suites by Hely at the end); and she would have been able to identify a possible player of the gamba part in Handel's *Giulio Cesare* (I suggested he was the German double bass player David Boswillibald). More important, she characterises the history of the viol in Britain between Daniel Defoe in the 1720s and Charles Frederick Abel in the 1760s as a 'long silence' (p.227), whereas I identified a number of amateur and professional players, composers of gamba music and viol makers active during that period. They may not be important in the great sweep of musical history as it concerns the viol, but they include some remarkable individuals important in other fields, including the clock maker John 'longitude' Harrison; the composer and harpsichordist Elisabetta de Gambarini; and the instrument maker and Moravian evangelist John Frederick Hintz. They deserve a mention in a supposedly 'comprehensive study' of the viol.

Given that Hoffmann includes a good deal of interesting and useful material on Telemann's viol music, another notable omission from her bibliography is Stephen Zohn's monumental book *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (Oxford, 2008). It would have reminded her of Telemann's larger-scale concerted works, including the ouverture-suite for gamba, strings and continuo TWV 55:D6, the concerto for gamba, two violins and continuo TWV 51:A5 and the double concerto for recorder, gamba and strings TWV 52:a1, all three frequently performed and recorded works that need discussing.

French eighteenth-century viol music is clearly one of Hoffmann's special interests, so it is not surprising that the relevant section in the 'Baroque and classical' chapter (pp.230-66) contains a valuable account of the solo and chamber repertory from Marais and Sainte-Colombe to Rameau, particularly fastening on matters of performance practice. However, justice is not done to earlier French viol music. I could find no mention, for instance, of the superb collection of *Fantasies* in three to six parts by Eustache de Caurroy, published posthumously in 1610 and surely intended principally for viol consort; and Marc-Antoine Charpentier's concerted works with viol parts are passed over in a sentence (p.238). These include ten fine sacred works written for Mademoiselle de Guise's household in Paris and scored for six-part vocal ensemble with two obbligato treble parts and continuo, all apparently intended for treble viols; one of them is labelled specifically for 'deux dessus de violles'. There are also some dramatic works by Charpentier with viol parts, including *Actéon* (also written for the Guise ensemble) and *La descente d'Orphée aux enfers*, with its

beautiful airs for Orpheus accompanied by three bass viols and continuo. Théodora Psychoyou's article 'The Historical Importance of a Distinctive Scoring: Charpentier's Six-Voice Motets for Mademoiselle de Guise', *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Shirley Thompson (Farnham, 2010) is required reading on this subject.

I will return later to what I cannot help feeling amounts to an anti-English stance in Hoffmann's book, but I must admit that it has an important benefit for those like me who struggle with academic writing in Italian and German. As a German fluent in Italian (with an understandable special interest in the viol in the areas of Europe in which those languages were spoken), she is able to introduce us painlessly to German and Italian sources and the modern literature on them, and as already mentioned she contributes some important original research based on Italian manuscript and printed sources, as when she surveys Italian archival sources and treatises in her large 'Renaissance' chapter (pp.78-183).

In this chapter, I was particularly intrigued by a diagram she reproduces (p.81) of the fretboard a six-string instrument with the classic bass viol tuning in D. She argues (using an article by Don Harràn, 'In Pursuit of Origins: The Earliest Writing in Text Underlay (*c.*1440)', *Acta musicologica* 50 (1978), pp.217-40) that it comes from a 'Venetian milieu around the end of the 15th century' because it is in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana that contains copies of two treatises made around then. However, the diagram is on a loose sheet, apparently not part of the manuscript itself, raising the question of whether it really does date from before 1500. I also wondered whether it is a diagram of the fretboard of a bass viol, as she claims, rather than of a lute or some other plucked instrument. I will be interested to read in due course the opinion of those who have made a special study of stringed instruments around 1500 and/or are expert in evaluating manuscripts of that period. But full marks to Hoffmann for drawing it to our attention, and in general this chapter is a fine achievement, an admirably clear account of a complex subject. In my opinion it is worth the price of the book alone.

The study of old instruments essentially involves the use of five types of evidence: I: the surviving instruments; II: depictions of instruments or of musicians using them in art; III: material referring to them in literary, personal or administrative documents; IV: discussions of them in contemporary treatises; and V: the music written for them, or that might have been played on them. Bettina Hoffmann's book is mostly based on Types III, IV and V, and given how treacherous Type I tends to be (at least for those like me who often find the 'connoisseurship' involved bafflingly unfathomable), I can sympathise with her reluctance to base her arguments on artefacts that might have been modified (if not falsified) a number of times.

It is symptomatic that, of Hoffmann's 125 illustrations, only a handful are devoted to surviving instruments, and of those, two (the 1582 Linarol bass at the National Music Museum in Vermilion SD and the 1598 John Rose junior bass at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) are represented by drawings made by Federico Maria Sardelli (p.167) rather than photographs. Hoffmann's husband also contributes a 'copy' – a drawing (p.199) – of an interesting painting by Anton Domenico Gabbiani (1652-1726) that seems to show three young men, with one holding a bass viol. It is said to be 'a panorama of Rome' (so it is clearly a detail because we only see the three figures), and to come from a private collection, which is probably why, frustratingly, we are not provided with a photograph. I suspect that the Linarol and Rose viols are also represented by Sardelli's drawings

rather than photographs as a way of avoiding excessive reproduction charges – a move I can sympathise with, having been held to ransom in this way by several rapacious public institutions.

Hoffmann's reluctance to tackle Type V is more serious and more difficult to understand, given that she is a professional viol player and teacher who presumably wants to communicate her enthusiasm for the music written for her instrument – I include the word 'presumably' here because, as already mentioned, she does not start her book with a statement of aims and objectives. It is not that she fails to deal with music: she spends quite a lot of the 'Baroque and classical' chapter discussing the eighteenth-century French and German solo and concerted music, to generally good effect – though a survey of the gamba parts in J.S. Bach's sacred music is another strange omission.

However, there are important areas of the viol repertory that are simply ignored. While reading the book, by the time I reached seventeenth-century England (the 'Golden Age' as she calls it) I was prepared for her to pass over the greatest body of viol consort music (and the most popular one today) in a few pages (pp.200-6) – effectively damning it with faint praise. But that is not such a problem because many of the readers of this English edition will be amateur and professional viol players who already know and love their Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Thomas Lupo, John Coprario, Orlando Gibbons, John Ward, William Lawes, John Jenkins and Henry Purcell.

More regrettable is her failure to discuss or even mention the various sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century types of ensemble music that are clearly intended principally for viols but are still virtually unknown even to specialist early music groups. They include the superb repertory of 'songs without words' (wordless elaborations of Flemish chansons) by Josquin, Isaac and their followers; the early sixteenth-century Italian *frottola* and its German equivalent the *Tenorlied*, both scored mostly for a single voice accompanied by three instruments, probably intended principally for viols; the fine Elizabethan repertory of In Nomines and fantasias by Robert Parsons, Robert White, Christopher Tye, Alfonso Ferrabosco I and their contemporaries; and last but not least, the rich repertory of five- and six-part consort dance music by William Brade, Thomas Simpson and their German followers such as Valentin Haussmann, Johann Hermann Schein and Samuel Scheidt. I was left with the strong feeling that Bettina Hoffmann prefers to play, teach and write about later solo music, but by largely ignoring earlier consort music she weakens her book and denies herself a rich source of information about the instrument she so clearly loves.

This is a pity, because Bettina Hoffman writes clearly and logically, is generally well translated by Paul Ferguson, and distils an enormous amount of research into a handy format. But I was left with the feeling that what she was attempting had essentially become impossible even by the time her first edition was published in 2006. To summarise adequately for the 'non-specialist' (not to mention the 'experts' mentioned in the publisher's blurb) the accumulated research on the viol and its music would today take a number of volumes. The gaps in her coverage will not matter so much to amateur and professional viol players, who can fill them in for themselves from their own experience. However, for other potential readers – such as teenagers and university students getting interested in old music or just wanting to write an essay on the viol; young people who are being taught the viol; adult players of other instruments who are becoming attracted to playing it (a crucial market, surely, for a book of this sort); or just music lovers intrigued by recordings or concerts of viol music – the picture of the viol and its rich history they will receive from this book will be strangely lopsided.

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT is a professor at York University and a musicologist and performer. He has published extensively on English and Italian music of the 16th and 17th centuries, including two volumes of vocal music by Richard Dering in the Musica Britannica series. He was editor of the *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* from 1994 to 2010.

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. The second volume of his study of the music of John Jenkins: *Harmonious Musick: Suites, Airs and Vocal Music* was published in 2020, following the completion of editions of Jenkins's Fantasia-Suites, the last appearing as Musica Britannica, vol. 104 (2019).

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), *Henry Purcell* (1994), *Dowland's Lachrimae* (1999) and *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (2010), as well as numerous scholarly articles. His most recent book, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain*, was published by Boydell and Brewer in 2020. As a performer he is director of The Parley of Instruments, the Suffolk Villages Festival and Leeds Baroque. He was awarded an MBE for services to Early Music in the New Year's Honours, 2015.

PETER ADAMS began studying double bass in Riverside, California in Junior High School. He entered the University of California, Riverside Music Department in 1974. There, in 1975, Dr. Frederick Gable introduced brought Carol Hermann to teach viola da gamba to Mr. Adams. In 1977, he transferred to the University of Maryland, College Park, where he finished his undergraduate degree in Music History with a minor in Art History. He studied viola da gamba with Tina Chancy in Maryland. In 1989, Mr. Adams completed graduate coursework in organology at the University of South Dakota's National Music Museum. He received two Junior Fellowships at the Library of Congress, Music Division, and then went on to work at the Patent Office Library. In 1994, Mr. Adams moved to the San Francisco bay area and retired in 2005 due to poor health. In Maryland, he began composing music for viola da gamba, and editing historic lyra viol manuscripts for publication. As of 2021, Mr. Adams has privately published 19 volumes of lyra viol music including the Weimar Manuscript, over 100 Lessons for Solo Lyra Viol, over 130 compositions for viola da gamba ensembles, and 19 transcriptions for viola da gamba ensembles. Mr. Adams is a published author of the two volume *An Annotated Index of Articles from The Musical Courier*, and other organological reference books.