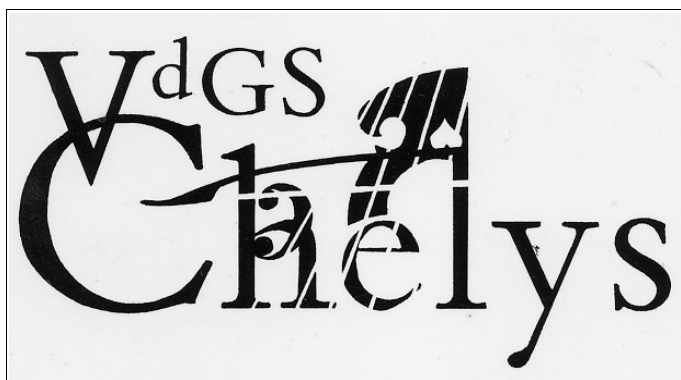




The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

Text has been scanned with OCR and is therefore searchable. The format on screen does not conform with the printed *Chelys*. The original page numbers have been inserted within square brackets: e.g. [23]. Where necessary footnotes here run in sequence through the whole article rather than page by page and replace endnotes. The pages labelled 'The Viola da Gamba Society Provisional Index of Viol Music' in some early volumes are omitted here since they are up-dated as necessary as *The Viola da Gamba Society Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, ed. Gordon Dodd and Andrew Ashbee, 1982-, available on-line at www.vdgs.org.uk or on CD-ROM. Each item has been bookmarked: go to the 'bookmark' tab on the left. To avoid problems with copyright, some photographs have been omitted.

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EDITORIAL

The theme of this year's journal, music and viols of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, is an appropriate one for 1988, the year in which we celebrate two major anniversaries in British history: the quatrcentenary of the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the tercentenary of the Glorious Revolution.

1988 also marks Wendy Hancock's retirement as editor of *Chelys*. Wendy first co-edited the journal in 1977 with Peter Holman before taking over as sole editor from 1980. Under her guidance, *Chelys* has achieved considerable recognition among scholars and performers alike.

A change of editor provides a suitable occasion on which to reiterate the journal's *raison d'être*, namely to promote research into all areas of bowed string music. In recent years *Chelys* has published major articles on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century viols and their repertoire. Indeed, as the journal of the Viola da Gamba Society it is important that *Chelys* should continue to focus on this fruitful area of research. However, it is also appropriate that the journal should expand its horizons into other aspects of bowed string music. Much work needs to be done on medieval bowed instruments and the early violin repertoire offers a rich source for further study. The editor would welcome contributions in all these fields.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Wendy for her advice and encouragement during my first year as editor.

LYNN HULSE

BRITISH LIBRARY ADD. MSS 30826-28: A SET OF PART-BOOKS FROM TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE?

IAN PAYNE

In a recent article tracing the flowering of a documented viol-playing tradition at Trinity College, I noted that two of its organists and masters of the choristers - Thomas Wilkinson (1609-12) and one Mason (1612-14) - were of special importance to the maintenance of this tradition.¹ In this light, I pointed to the significance of the fact that an incomplete set of early seventeenth-century partbooks, GB-Lbl Add. MSS 30826-28,² contains a number of dances for five viols by these men. In fact, certain other 'local' composers represented in these books, for example, John Amner³ of Ely Cathedral and George Kirbye⁴ of Rushbrooke Hall, near Bury St Edmunds, further increase the likelihood that they originated in East Anglia. But the inclusion of music by two Trinity organists, of an anonymous "Trinitye Colledg Pavan", and the distinct possibility that one of the College lay clerks copied the manuscripts some time between 1613 and c.1623,⁵ suggest even more strongly that they originated within the precincts of the College itself. To this circumstantial evidence may be added the conjectural identification of at least one or possibly two other composers whose music is found in them, namely 'Mr Jackson' and 'Mr Dethick', as Trinity men.⁶ This paper examines various probable links with Trinity against the background of its well documented violplaying tradition, c.1594-c.1615.

The Repertory

The set, which lacks both Quintus and Tenor, comprises the Canto, Alto and Bassus parts of twenty-seven five-part dances apparently for viol consort - twenty-five pavans and two galliards. All but three have ascriptions which include at least the composer's surname, and only one lacks an ascription of any kind. The copyist, who was responsible for transcribing all twenty-seven pieces, probably had access to College part-books, or at least to other sources of the three pavans by Wilkinson and eight by Mason. The fact that he began his selection with these sizeable groups may indicate that he found them closest

¹ 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, c.1594-c.1615: Archival and Biographical Evidence', *Me&L*, lxxviii (1987), 128-40

² For a brief discussion of these part-books see Warwick Edwards: *The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music*, i (Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 1974), 257-8

³ Anthony Greening: 'Amner, John', *The New Grove*, i (London, 1980), 330-31

⁴ David Brown: 'Kirbye, George', *The New Grove*, x (London, 1980), 72

⁵ See pp. 9-10

⁶ See pp. 5-7. Both Jackson and Dethick are listed with incipits of their extant consorts in Gordon Dodd: *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (1980-87). The latter, however, is spelt 'Pethick' in error; there is no doubt that the initial capital letter in this name as it appears in Add. MSS 30826-28 is a secretary-script 'D'.

to hand, which again might suggest that he was a Trinity man working from College sources.⁷

Numbers 1-13 were probably copied from one or at the most two sources. The only composer in this opening group other than Mason and Wilkinson is 'Mr Amner', almost certainly John Amner, organist and master of the choristers at Ely Cathedral from 1610 to 1641.⁸ The art of viol-playing was strongly encouraged at Ely, certainly from 1604/5, when the earliest surviving Treasurer's *Soluciones* account records payments for maintaining, restringing and teaching the instruments: [4]

Item: [paid] to Thomas Wiborowe for teachinge the schollers on the vialls	6s. 8d.
Item: paid to Tho. Wiborowe for charges aboute the vialles,	17s. 10d. ⁹

But they may have been taught as early as 1580, if not earlier, when Edward Watson, a lay clerk, was appointed one of the 'Other Instructors in Musick, & on the Viols Occasionally'. Watson died in 1587 and was subsequently replaced by Wiborowe in 1605¹⁰ who received 26s. 8d. for teaching the viols, and 13s. 4d. for strings, virtually every year until 1634/5. Wiborowe's successor, Robert Claxton, is the first Ely musician to be styled 'Master of the Violls'.¹¹

⁷ In a recent article discussing these manuscripts, John Irving claims, in error, that 'Mason's ...8th and 9th pavans were omitted by the copyist' ('A Note on British Library Add. MSS 30826-8', *The Consort*, xliii (1987), 17). Only Mason's 4th pavan was in fact omitted. There is a discrepancy in the numbering of nos. 8 and 9 in Add. MS 30826 f. 5v (containing two pavans, and not one as stated in Irving's inventory) where they were twice mis-numbered by the copyist, first as 9 and 10, then as 10 and 11, respectively. Their correct numbering, almost certainly 8 and 9, was restored by the copyist in Add. MSS 30827-28 and is printed (with incipits) in Cdr Dodd's Thematic Index. The following compositions, reconstructed and edited by the present writer, are to be published for viols or recorders (Westerleigh Publications, Thornhaugh, Lustleigh, S. Devon): the three pavans by Wilkinson, eight by Mason, the anonymous "Trinitye Colledg Pavan", and those by Kirbye, Jackson, Dethick and Gibbons. For an inventory of the five-part pieces in these manuscripts, see Augustus Hughes-Hughes: *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, iii (London, 1965), 221

⁸ Greening: *op. cit.*

⁹ Cambridge University Library, Ely Dean and Chapter records, (CUL EDC), 3/1/2, ff. 7r and 8r, respectively. I am grateful to Dr Dorothy Owen, Keeper of the Archives, for permission to publish extracts from these records.

¹⁰ CUL Ely Cathedral Music MS 4. The flyleaves contain lists, copied c.1754, principally of the Cathedral Organists, 1541-1682, but they also list Watson and Wiborowe as the first two 'Other Instructors ...' and give the dates of their appointments. It should be noted, however, that this is an eighteenth-century title and that these instructors are not thus styled in surviving contemporary archives. A transcript of these lists is in W.E. Dickson: *A Catalogue of Ancient Choral Services and Anthems preserved ... in the Cathedral Church of Ely* (Cambridge, 1861), 5

¹¹ CUL EDC 3/1/2, f. 208r. Claxton took over the viol-teaching duties from Wiborowe in 1635/6, but he is not referred to as 'Mr of the Violls' until the next year, 1636/7 (*Ibid.*, f. 220r). This title is of interest in suggesting that such teaching occupied an important place in the musical scheme of things at Ely, rather than implying that Claxton had undergone a meteoric rise in his musical status during the previous year.

Amner, who was a chorister in 1593,¹² was probably taught to play on the viol at about the same time. His later contacts with Cambridge, insofar as they concern his music-copying activities, are well documented in the Cathedral accounts; for example, in November 1637 he received £5 “for his paines in Pricking the Newbookes of the Quier’.¹³ It may have been on such a visit that Amner brought autograph copies of some of his anthems and services to Cambridge for inclusion in the Peterhouse Caroline part-books,¹⁴ but his pavan and galliard probably found their way to Cambridge during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

The selection of dances by Wilkinson is followed by three of Thomas Weelkes’s pavans (nos. 14-16). Weelkes had no apparent links with Cambridge, but his works circulated widely and were certainly known there.¹⁵ The next dance in the manuscript, the anonymous “Trinity Colledg Pavan” (no. 17), is of great interest for two reasons: first, it is the only work in the set which lacks an ascription of any kind, suggesting that the scribe himself may have composed it; and secondly, its specific title makes it virtually certain to have been composed by someone with Trinity connections. A Trinity lay clerk, working between 1613 and c.1623, would fit both descriptions perfectly. A third factor, musical style, may tentatively suggest that a professional musician rather than an experienced professional composer was responsible. In its original state the pavan may have had some very convincing moments, as the skeletal opening bars imply:



¹² . CUL Ely Diocesan Records (EDR), 8/12/13, f. 18r. Amner appears in the list of choristers drawn up for the episcopal visitation of the Cathedral on 22 October of this year. He is not in the list for September 1590 (CUL EDR 13/2/11, f. 38v), nor in that for October 1596 (CUL EDR 8/2/16, f. 37r).

¹³ CUL EDC 3/1/2, f. 230r (1637/38); see also ff. 221r and 224r (1636/37)

¹⁴ . See John Morehen: *The Sources of English Cathedral Music*, c.1617-c.1644, i (Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 1969), 179-82

¹⁵ There is, for example, sufficient similarity between some of the musical ideas in Henry Loosemore’s five-part full anthem “O tell the daughter of Sion” (which was certainly composed for use at King’s by the late 1620s, and was being sung at Peterhouse in the 1630s) and Weelkes’s sixpart “Hosanna to the Son of David” to lead me strongly to suspect that the King’s organist was acquainted with Weelkes’s musical style. It must be admitted, however, that the latter is poorly represented in the so-called ‘Henry Loosemore’s Organ Book’ (US - NYp MS Drexel 5469) which was in use in the Chapel by the end of the 1620s. (See Thurston Dart: ‘Henry Loosemore’s Organ Book’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iii (1960), 145-47 for an inventory of contents.)

[5] But it must also have had gauche, clumsy progressions (see *) which are virtually impossible to reconstruct with confidence:



James Harding's galliard (no. 18) is preserved in many sources, including the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book where it appears in a keyboard arrangement by William Byrd. Harding was a flautist at the English Court, 1575-1626.¹⁶ Given Trinity's royal connections, and especially the frequent visits of royal musicians during the early seventeenth century,¹⁷ it is not surprising that it should turn up here.

"Mr Kirbyes Pavan" (no. 19) is the only surviving consort music by the Suffolk madrigalist, George Kirbye (c.1565 -1634). This piece, with the oblique reference in its opening bars to John Dowland's "Lachrymae", possibly dates from the 1590s, when early versions of the tune existed, rather than post-1600, the year in which Dowland's earliest version was published.¹⁸ This pavan is typical of the anachronistic style of many of Kirbye's madrigals preserved in Thomas Hammond's autograph part-books dating from the 1630s.¹⁹

"Jacksons Pavan" (no. 20), like Kirbye's, is distinctly Elizabethan in style, and probably dates from the 1590s. No one of this name appears in the lists of lay clerks and other musicians employed by Cambridge colleges; but the fact that the ascription is written in all the part-books without the usual honorific prefix 'Mr' indicates that Jackson may have been known to the copyist. The composer is probably identical with the Daniel Jackson who matriculated at Trinity in 1589 as a Pensioner (i.e. an undergraduate wealthy enough to pay his own fees), proceeded B.A. in 1593/4 and M.A. in 1597,²⁰ and was an undergraduate chorister between 1589 and 1597.²¹ In his first year as a chorister he was paid 13s. 4s.,

¹⁶ Andrew Ashbee: 'Harding, James', *The New Grove*, viii (London, 1980), 159

¹⁷ See Payne: 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College', 138

¹⁸ M.C. Boyd: *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism* (Philadelphia, 2/1962), 166-67. Although Kirbye is known today chiefly for his Italianate madrigals, some of his earlier works were apparently scored for solo voice and a quartet of instruments, very probably viols. See 'George Kirbye: Madrigals from Manuscript Sources', Ian Payne (ed.), *The English Madrigalists*, xxxix (London, 1989), Introduction, iv, nos. 1-8, and Appendix

¹⁹ See principally Craig Monson: *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: the Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, 1982), Chapter 3 *passim*.

²⁰ W.W. Rouse Ball and J.A. Venn (eds.): *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge*, ii (15461700) (London, 1913), 170

²¹ It is clear that for much, if not all, of this period Jackson would have had a broken voice and would not have been a true chorister, but a so-called 'dry' chorister; see Ian Payne: 'The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1546-1644', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, Ixxiv (1985), 53-69.

appearing last in the list of ten names and styled simply 'Jackson'.²² Between 1590 and 1593 he continues to be listed by his surname only, and he received the usual 3s. 4d. quarterly stipend throughout this four-year period.²³ In 1594, however, having taken the Bachelor's degree, he is referred to for the first time as D[iscipul]us Jackson' and immediately joins the other *Discipuli* at the top of the list. He continues to be thus styled in 1594 and 1595 and appears as a chorister for the last time in 1597 when, having proceeded M.A., he is styled [6] 'Mr Jackson'.²⁴ Jackson would certainly have been fourteen years old by 1594, when he is first termed *Discipulus*, but he may already have attained this age by the time of his admission in 1589.

Nothing is known of Jackson's musical activities after 1597. His will, proved on 11 January 1636,²⁵ states that he resided in St Botolph's Parish but makes no reference to musical activity or materials. The accompanying probate inventory makes no mention of music books or instruments, though this is by no means unusual among the surviving probate records relating to Cambridge musicians.²⁶ The present piece, his only restorable pavan, resembles Kirbye's in several small details, most notably the Lachrymae-like opening phrase and the implicitly similar cadential harmonies:



but Kirbye's pavan, to judge from the remaining fragments, is more skilfully composed than Jackson's:

He would, however, have had musical training and may possibly have played a part in general music-making in the College.

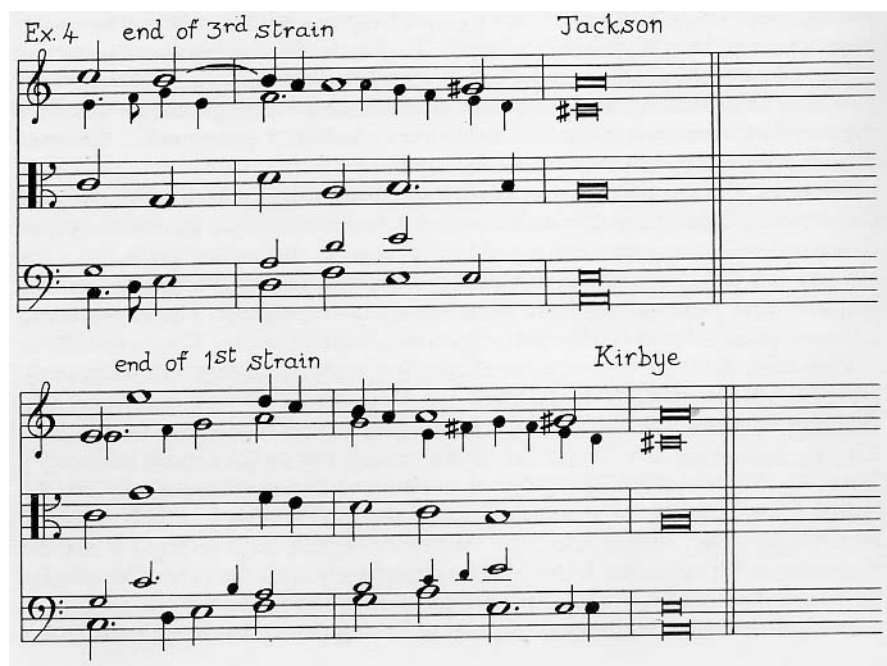
²² Trinity College Archives (TCA), Junior Bursar's Account, 1588/9, f. 187v. I am grateful to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College for permission to publish extracts from the College Archives.

²³ TCA Senior Bursar's Accounts (SBAs), 1589/90, ff. 152v-153r; 1590/1, ff. 178v-179r; 1591/2, f. 203v; and 1592/3, ff. 226v-227r

²⁴ TCA SBAs, 1593/4, ff. 255v-256r; 1594/5, ff. 278v-279r; and 1596/7, ff. 320v-320(a)r

²⁵ CUL University Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court Wills, Bundle K, 1632-36.

²⁶ See the transcripts from all known musicians' inventories from the period 1557-1667 in Payne: 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College', Appendix, 139-40



[7] The next piece with probable Cambridge associations is “Mr Dethicks Pavin” (no. 24). John Venn’s *Alumni Cantabrigiensi*²⁷ reveals that the name ‘Dethick(e)’ or ‘Dethyck’ was not uncommon among members of the University during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (probably deriving from the place of that name in Derbyshire), and states that one ‘Dethicke’ was a ‘Sizar at Trinity’ in 1567. However, there is no mention of this name in the printed admissions records of Trinity itself,²⁸ or in the lists of choristers and lay clerks which are preserved in the various Bursars’ accounts. Fortunately, another possibility is suggested by the list of Dethicks in Venn which includes two men who were also alternatively called Derrick.²⁹ Neither of these is identical with the composer, but this precedent opens up the possibility that ‘Mr Dethick’ the composer is identifiable as Gerrard Derrick, a singing man at York Minster c.1590-1604, some of whose church music had found its way to Cambridge by the mid-1630s when the Peterhouse Caroline part-books were compiled.³⁰

‘Gerrard Direck, cantator’ (*alias* ‘Direck Gerrerd’ and Jerit Derricke’) is first mentioned in the York Minster accounts for 1590/ 1, when he received a half-yearly

²⁷ Part I to 1751, ii (Cambridge, 1922), 37

²⁸ See above, note 20; the manuscript admissions records have also been searched, without success.

²⁹ *Alumni, loc. cit.*: the two entries are ‘Dethick or Dyrrycke, Henry’ and ‘Derrick, Dyrycke or Dethycke, Francis’. There is no evidence in Venn that Gerrard Derricke, the York Minster lay clerk, was ever a member of the University, unless he may be identified with the Sizar of Trinity in 1567 mentioned by Venn. However, in view of the fact that a search of the Trinity archives has failed to turn up any reference to this individual, this is in all probability a mistake on Venn’s part.

³⁰ See the list of works in Ralph Daniel and Peter le Huray: *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549-1660*, ii (London, 1972), 99. The “Jubilate” is shortly to be published in an edition by the present writer, in Westerleigh Publications’s ‘Cantica Antiqua’ series.

salary of £5 for his services in the choir.³¹ He is next referred to in 1592 when, in addition to eight vicars choral, the choristers, and two other singing men, he was listed as a third *cantator* but his name was subsequently deleted.³² Despite an incomplete run of accounts for the overall period of his employment, it is probable that he was hired during periods for which the accounts do not survive. He was certainly paid the half-yearly salary of £5 in 1594, 1598, 1600 and 1602. The last payment was made to him in 1604,³³ and his short will, dated 18 September of the same year, was proved by his ‘kinswoman’ Margaret Clement on 16 April 1605.³⁴ It contains no musical references. This is not surprising as he appears to have been a casualty of the plague which ravaged the City between August and November of the previous year:

Memorandum: that I, Jerrit Derricke, lyinge sore visited by the hand of God & beinge willinge therefore whielst I have yet a little tyme & remembrance to set in order myne estate...

Derricke left a young daughter, Anne, with the instruction that his kinswoman should inherit his estate ‘if it please God [for] my daughter Anne to dye of this sicknes,’ thereby strengthening the view that he was a plague victim.

“Mr Dethicks Pavin”, like Derricke’s extant church music,³⁵ is written in a very conservative style which eschews all expressive, madrigalian harmony, such as the cadential progression

7 6 5 -
3 4 - 3

for example, which was rapidly gaining currency in England during the 1590s *via* the first madrigalian publications of Thomas Weelkes and Thomas Morley. But its main flaw is perhaps its reliance upon the bland repetition of a cadential progression consisting of the primary triads of the tonic key, though these are to some extent

³¹ York Minster Archives, Vicars Choral (YMA VC), Bursar’s Roll VC6/4/59 (Martinmas 1590-Pentecost 1591). I am grateful to the Archivist, Miss Susan Beckley, for permission to publish extracts from the Minster Archives.

³² YMA VC Chamberlain’s Roll VC6/2/100 (Pentecost-Martinmas 1592). This deletion is explained by the fact that the Dean and Chapter appear to have considered about ten adult singers to be the optimum number for the choir, and used a pool of around a half-dozen singingmen to make up the seven or eight vicars choral to this number, as and when appropriate. It does not indicate that they had terminated Derricke’s employment permanently, though it is likely that he, like some of the other singingmen, had alternative means of support to see him through the periods when his services were not required.

³³ YMS VC Bursar’s Rolls VC6/4/60 (Martinmas 1593-Pentecost 1594); VC6/4/61 (Martinmas 1597-Pentecost 1598); VC6/4/62 (Pentecost-Martinmas 1600); VC6/4/63 (Pentecost-Martinmas 1602); and VC6/4/64 (Martinmas 1603-Pentecost 1604)

³⁴ University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Dean and Chapter Probate Register 5, (1557-1638), f. 178r

³⁵ For details of a forthcoming edition of his ‘jubilate’, see above note 30. His “Kyrie” and “Credo” (the second entry in Daniel and le Huray: *op. cit.*, 99), for example, sound very archaic beside much of the music in the Peterhouse Caroline part-books, and seem to have abounded in the so-called ‘English’ cadence that was condemned by Thomas Morley as ‘naught and stale’ (*A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), ed. R. Alec Harman (London, 1952), 259, 272). They also feature some rather four-square but competent passages in ‘Gimell’, apparently in six real parts; however, there are no madrigalian elements such as cadences with suspended dominant sevenths, and the music is very austere.

alleviated by an attractive opening section (Example 5) and some [8] shapely melodic contours (Example 6), due allowance being made, of course, for my reconstructed parts:

Ex. 5

opening

Ex. 6

end of 3rd strain

The next piece with probable Cambridge connections, the Pavan “de le Roye” by Orlando Gibbons (no. 25), is unique to this source.³⁶ Its style, while providing a foretaste of the master’s mature consort music, suggests that it is an early work. Writing of the composer’s incomplete five-part full anthem, “I am the resurrection”, Craig Monson suggests that this anthem ‘might possibly represent one of Gibbons’s earlier efforts, written during his time at King’s College’.³⁷ Although there is no record, archival or otherwise, of a College-sponsored viol-playing tradition there at any time before the Restoration, other evidence suggests that the performance of instrumental music was not unknown,³⁸ and it is therefore not impossible that this pavan is also an early work.

Nos. 26 and 27, the “Pavan Magno Petrio” and “2da [i.e. Secunda] Pavin Petreio”, respectively, are the only known instrumental compositions of the Danish composer Mogens Pederson (c.1583-1623), alias ‘Magno Petreo’.³⁹ Pederson, who was a musician of King Christian IV, studied with Giovanni [9] Gabrieli in Venice in 1599 and again in 1605, before being sent to England in 1611 to serve Anne, Christian’s sister and James I’s queen. Nothing is known of Pederson’s activities while in England, other than that he seems to have been in contact with Francis Tregian, and that he returned home in August 1614. There is no reason to doubt that these two pavans date from the period of Peterson’s visit,

³⁶ A very different reconstruction is published in John Harper (ed.): ‘Orlando Gibbons: Consort Music’, *Musica Britannica*, xlviii (London, 1982), 60

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, 126

³⁸ See Payne: ‘Instrumental Music at Trinity College’, 132 n. 34

³⁹ John Bergsagel: ‘Pederson, Mogens’, *The New Grove*, xiv (London, 1980), 328-30. All the biographical information on Pederson in this paragraph is taken from this article. Further on Pederson’s two pavans in these parFbooks, see J. Bergsagel: ‘Danish Musicians in England 1611-14: Newly-Discovered Instrumental Music’, *Dansk aarbog for musikforskning*, vii (1973-6), 9-18.

but there is no evidence to connect him with Cambridge, and only the possibility of his music reaching Trinity via some as yet unknown English court connections could easily explain its presence in these part-books. Perhaps his greatest value to the present investigation lies in the fact that the known dates of his stay in England suggest that much of this music may have been copied in about 1613-14 if not as early as 1611 or 1612, and that they are therefore roughly contemporaneous both with the Trinity periods of Wilkinson and Mason, and with Thomas Staresmore's appointment in 1613 as a College lay clerk, the significance of which is discussed below.

Thomas Staresmore (?1585-1644): a Possible Copyist?

Given the above evidence of a Trinity provenance, it is reasonable to assume that these part-books were copied either by a College officer or chapel musician, or else by someone outside the College who had both strong connections with it and ready access to its music. By a happy chance the University Archives, as we have seen, hold a considerable quantity of probate material relating to various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musicians connected with either the University waits or Trinity and King's Colleges.⁴⁰ The holograph will of one such musician - Thomas Staresmore, who was appointed a lay clerk at Trinity on 24 January 1613 and remained until c.1623⁴¹ - reveals him as a very plausible copyist, though the palaeographic evidence is not conclusive.

Both Staresmore's known hand and that of Add. MSS 30826-28 are unusual in the wide variety of letter-forms used, as well as in their inconsistency in joining a number of adjacent letters (compare Plates 1 and 2).⁴² Although the spelling of 'Collegg' with the medial 'd' is very common in Cambridge records of the early seventeenth century, and cannot therefore be taken as evidence that one man was responsible for copying both documents, the hands are markedly similar, especially in the shape of the ligature 'dg'. Other points in favour of the suggested identification include the 'Th' ligature, the looped 'b', 'd', 'g' and 't' (as in the word 'Colledge'), the small 'o' and the fact that it is not always separated from adjacent letters by a space, and one form of the small letter 's' (E - not illustrated in Plate 2). Unfortunately, some of the letter-forms in the will (e.g. the Roman 'e') do not occur in the part-books; and there are no examples in the part-books of some of the more unusual and distinctive letters, such as 'q', 'x' and 'z', which frequently appear in the will. Among the notable dissimilarities are the capital letters 'A' and 'J'. Two further obstacles to comparison (which may have affected the character of his handwriting) are first, that Staresmore was ill - 'crasie in [10] body' as he puts it - when the will was written on 3 July 1643; and secondly, between twenty and thirty years probably separate the two documents, since the part-books were almost certainly compiled by the end of the second decade of the

⁴⁰ See above, note 26

⁴¹ TCA Old Conclusion Book, 1607-73, 38. It is not known for certain when Staresmore left Trinity: he appears for the last time in TCA SBA, 1620/1 (f. 353r), when he received the statutory £8 annual stipend, indicating that he served as a lay clerk for the whole year (the next surviving SBA is that for 1636/7); he is first recorded as a lay clerk at King's during the term ended at Michaelmas 1623 (see below, note 45), and must therefore have left Trinity by this date.

⁴² I am most grateful to Pamela Willetts, Deputy Keeper in the Dept. of Manuscripts, British Library, for offering a very valuable second opinion on this comparison. Plate II and the musical examples are published by kind permission of the British Library.

seventeenth century. Finally, the fact that the will is written principally in italic script, while the part-books have pronounced characteristics of secretary script (as revealed by the letter 'r', for example) is an additional barrier.⁴³

Thomas Staresmore is the only identifiable Trinity musician who is remotely likely to have copied these part-books during the 1610s, when the music of Wilkinson, Strogers, Kirbye and others was still in vogue in Cambridge. Staresmore, whose will reveals him to have been a man of property in Cambridge, was descended from a Leicestershire manorial family who, though originally of Staresmore in Staffordshire, had been lords of Frolesworth, co. Leics., since the early sixteenth century. The pedigree printed by John Nichols,⁴⁴ based on seventeenth-century heraldic visitations of the county, suggests that "Thomas was born in 1585, the eldest son of George and Katherine, a grandson of Francis Staresmore, gent. (d.1582) and Mary, and a great-grandson of John (d.1545), who was lord of Frolesworth in right of Mary, his second wife.

On leaving Trinity in c.1623, Staresmore obtained a lay clerk's place at King's where he appears for the first time in the account for the term ended at Michaelmas that year.⁴⁵ His will which was proved by his widow on 17 May 1644, states that he was a scholars' servant (a part-time occupation common among Cambridge University musicians), and not a singingman, but the fact that his name regularly appears in the King's College Mundum Books between 1623 and 1644 attests to his long career in the College choir. Although another Staesmore (probably his eldest son, Thomas) was given the reversion of a choristership at Trinity on 29 April 1640⁴⁶ and appears in the Senior Bursar's accounts between 1641/2 and 1648/9, long after services had been discontinued, it seems reasonable to assume that the 'Staersmoer' (or 'Staes more') manuscripts examined and collated during the compilation of Lbl Add. MSS 39550-54⁴⁷ probably belonged to Thomas senior.

⁴³ On the general difficulties involved in attempting to compare secretary handwriting and italic signatures, see Ian Payne: 'The Handwriting of John Ward', *M&L*, *lxv* (1984), 176-88, *passim*.

⁴⁴ *The History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, *iv*/ 1 (London, 2/1810), 190

⁴⁵ King's College Archives, Mundum Book, 1622/3, *Pensiones*. I am grateful to the Provost and Fellows of King's College for permission to cite this reference.

⁴⁶ TCA Old Conclusion Book, 167

⁴⁷ See Pamela Willetts: 'Sir Nicholas Le Strange and John Jenkins', *M&L*, *xlii* (1961), 30-43, *passim*.

July the third 1645:

In the name of god Amen the last will and testament of
me Thomas Stareshmore beinge weak in body but of perfect minde
and memory, my will is as followeth. First I give and be-
queath my lease which I have of Jesus collidge to my six
children namely Thomas Stareshmore, George Stareshmore,
Francis Stareshmore, Elizabeth Stareshmore, Ann Stareshmore and
Margaret Stareshmore to have equally divided amongst them,
After their mothers decease. For my will is that shee have the
full profit of it during her naturall life provided that shee
keepe the lease one foot not suffering it to exceed twenty
yeres of exsiring in as much as in her lease is ~~and is~~
and that shee bringe up the fore named children in the true
fearre of god, and in a good manner for meat, drink, and
clothing and education, in her manner that make her able
for my lease at the stone which I have of Corpus Christi
Collidge. My will is, that it be sooth to pay my debts, and
what that shall com short, to set such reasonable stuff as
she shall best spare the remainder to take a catalogg of and
she the saide Elizabeth my wife to have the free use of
it during her naturall life, and then to be divided as be-
fore amongst my saide six children or the survivors of
them, and in case my saide wife marry, and that hee
whome shee shall marry, shall survive the saide Jesus collidge
lease to exceede twenty yeres, that then it shall be lawfull
for the saide six children or the survivors of them to enter upon
the saide Jesus collidge lease wth the appurtenances thereto be-
longing, ~~and~~ my wife I make executrix and joint with her
my eldest son Thomas Stareshmore, Inwitnessing them at the will
I have before god to see this my will truly performed according
to my true meaning and not the interpretations of others what
soever, thus bequeathing my soule in to the hands of the almighty
that gave it, and my body to be deafe^{nt} as much priuidge as
or little expence as possible shee can, giving to the parson of the
parish with her owne hands, with in ten dayes after my burial twenty
shillings: witness Phillip Scarlett. *Thos. Stareshmore*
Edward Gibson, William Scarlett.

Plate 1. Thomas Stareshmore's Will (CUL University Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Court Wills, 1602-58, iii, f.274v). Reproduced by kind permission of Dr Dorothy Owen, Keeper of the Archives.

Trinity College, Llanan

MS 30827, f. 6v

The Gal.

MS 30828, f. 2r

13
C. of. sc. 115.
m^r willerions J. Llanan

MS 30828, f. 5r

the first frame of this paper must be last
for the last is the middle the middle the first

MS 30826, f. 5r

Llanan: M^r Amner: James Hardings Gall:

MS 30828, f. 2r

MS 30827, f. 7r

Plate 2. Examples of Handwriting from Lbl Add. MSS 30826-28, reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

Lessons for the Lira Violl.

He Punckes delight.

Corkine: "The Punckes delight" from *The Second Book of Ayres* (1612)

THE LYRA-VIOL VARIATION SETS OF WILLIAM CORKINE

GRAHAM NELSON

The English fashion for playing the viol *lyra*-way from tablature grew quickly during the early years of the seventeenth century. Evidence of this vogue is confirmed by the publication of ten sources of music for the *lyra* viol between 1601-1615.¹ Essentially any viol could be tuned and played *lyra*-way, but it seems that the technique was most regularly applied to a bass viol. For example, Richard Jones's *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (1601), the earliest printed volume, calls on the title page for a 'Base by tablature after the leero fashion' which is offered as an alternative method to the lute of accompanying the voice.²

Following its initial use as an accompaniment to solo song, playing the viol *lyra*-way entered a new phase under the guidance mainly of Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Tobias Hume and William Corkine who together promoted and cultivated the idiom as a solo style. Their combined talents produced dance settings, variation sets, and character and programmatic pieces for one or more instruments. The contributions made by Ferrabosco II and Hume are generally regarded as the more significant and tend to overshadow those of Corkine. Yet the latter figure was the only one of the three to have variation sets published. Indeed, apart from a set of variations on the "Cate of Bardie" for '... two Basse-Viols, the Liera-way' found in Thomas Ford's *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (1607),³ Corkine's seven sets of variations for one instrument stand alone in the early published repertory.

These works are divided between Corkine's two published volumes, *Ayres to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl* (1610) and *The Second Booke of Ayres* (1612).⁴ Two variation sets are found in the first: "Whoope doe me no harme goodman" (Fv-F[2]) and "Fortune" (F[2]v-G). Surprisingly, the composer makes no reference to them on the title-page. The remaining five are included in his second print: "If my Complaints" (Gv); "Come Live with Me and be My Love" (G2v-H); "Walsingham" (Hv-H2); "Mounsiers Almaine" (H2v-1) and "The Punckes delight" (Iv). The second group is referred to on the title-page as '... divers new Descants upon old Grounds'.⁵

Corkine's description here requires closer examination. If the seven works are viewed together, it emerges that all but one are based on so-called 'old Grounds'. In fact, these are ballad tunes which are employed in a melodic sense and not as repeating ground-bass figures. Three of them appear in print for the first time, namely "Whoope doe me", "Come live with me" and "The Punckes delight". Others like "Fortune"

¹ For a complete list see F. Traficante: 'Music for Lyra Viol: The Printed Sources', *LSJ*, viii (1966), 7-24

² For the full title see D. Greer (ed.): *English Lute Songs 1597-1632*, vii (Menston, 1970)

³ The duet is found on folio Mv-M2 of Ford's book. See D. Greer (ed.): *English Lute Songs 1597-1632*, v (Menston, 1971)

⁴ Both prints are found in D. Greer (ed.): *English Lute Songs 1592-1632*, iii (Menston, 1970)

⁵ It is worth noting that the term 'Ground' at this time referred to a piece constructed on a given bass, but did not necessarily imply that it was embedded in the bass.

and “Walsingham” were extremely popular with composers of the period in dance and variation settings. But Corkine’s variation set on “If my Complaints” stands apart from the remainder as it is based not on a familiar ballad melody but on John Dowland’s vocal setting of his galliard written for Digorie Piper, the Cornish sailor turned pirate.⁶

[18] In nearly all, Corkine applies the melodico-harmonic variation technique, that is to say, the main notes of the melody remain more or less constant, as do the harmony and formal proportions of the material. The structural features which express themselves in phrasing and length are usually the most stable elements. All seven sets utilise the f f h f h tuning scheme.

The composer’s reference to ‘new Descants’ appears to have a two-fold meaning, implying new variations and the influence of division style upon them. Indeed, the works stand not only as a unique collection in themselves, but also as one of the first attempts in print to merge lyra style with that of divisions. This stylistic amalgamation is demonstrated most clearly in Corkine’s treatment of the melodic material. Here, lyra style is identified by use of multiple stops, loose counterpoint, large leaps and figures built around broken chords, that of divisions is identified by rapid scalar and arpeggio figuration, and exploitation of the instrument’s wide tessitura.

However, the degree to which a balance is achieved between the two styles varies somewhat within and between each of the variation sets. For example, the nine variations on “Come live with me come closer to division style. Here, the thematic material serves as a basis for increasingly elaborate and virtuosic passage work. The first variation, as in all Corkine’s sets, is cast in lyra style, but the eight which follow are dominated by diminutions and punctuated occasionally by multiple stops. Intricate scalar patterns extending over a wide range of the instrument are woven around the model. Sometimes only the first note of each bar of the theme is retained as a comparison of the opening bars of variations 1 and 3 reveals:⁷

Ex. 1

Variation 1, bars 1-4

Variation 3, bars 1-4

Other melody notes may re-appear within each variation but not necessarily within the same rhythmic placement. Occasionally the melodic skeleton disappears, but it is never lost for any length of time.

⁶ V. Gutman: ‘Viola bastarda - Instrument oder Diminutionspraxis?’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xxxv (1978), 178-209

⁷ In the lyra-viol transcriptions, the music has been notated on a single staff employing the treble transposing clef. Time signatures have been modernised and original note values retained. The following nominal tuning has been used: g’ -d’ -a -d -A -D.

Corkine's set of variations on "Fortune" offers us the most sophisticated example of the stylistic marriage between lyra and division writing. The composer divides the popular theme into two strains (A and B):

[19]

Ex. 2

'A' bars 1-2

'B' bars 5-8

These give rise to varied repeats in the first variation. In the second and third, however, Corkine introduces fresh, more ornate versions of the original theme:

Ex. 3

Variation 2, bars 13-14

'A'

'B' bars 18-21

[20]



These are then further embellished in each reprise. The formal layout can thus be described as follows:

Variation 1
A Ai B Bi

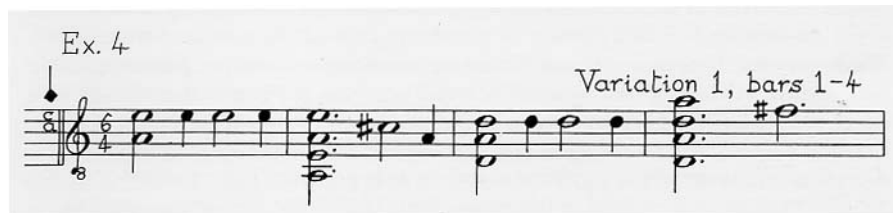
Variation 2
Aii Aiii Bii Biii

Variation 3
Aiv Av Biv By

Of equal interest is the composer's handling of the two styles. In Variation 1, the melody is supported in each strain by regular chords, but we find that this rich texture is transformed into fast-moving divisions in each reprise. This procedure paves the way for the introduction of Variation 2 where upward and downward scalar figures, broken chord patterns and wide leaps hold the upper hand in both strains and their respective repeats. The new setting of the theme in Variation 3 is mainly cast in lyra style but diminutions assert themselves in each reprise. In other words, it appears that Variations 1 and 3 and their repeats alternate between the two styles, but divisions gain ascendancy in each strain and reprise of the central variation.

While "Come live with me" and "Fortune" stand essentially as virtuosic examples of the stylistic merger, Corkine's variations on "The Punckes delight" and "If my Complaints" reflect a slightly different approach. Rather than use his source material as a vehicle for technical display, the composer prefers to emphasize their inherent character.

[21] His four variations on "The Punckes delight" promote the rhythmic vitality of the lively jig-tune. Throughout, Corkine's predilection is for lyra-style mannerisms, particularly the use of double, triple and quadruple stopping on strong beats. It is interesting to note that many of these chords lack thirds, a deliberate ploy to enhance the piece's unrefined rustic flavour:



When one recalls that the sixteenth-century definition of a ‘Puncke’ is a lady of ill-repute, it seems that Corkine has produced in effect a novel character piece inspired by the bawdy title of the jig-tune.⁸

Corkine also strives to retain the melancholy mood of Dowland’s borrowed theme in his variations on “If my Complaints”. Here the three-strain layout of the original dance is retained. Each is followed by a varied repeat. That Corkine was familiar with either the four-part vocal or solo-song version of the galliard is shown by the way he incorporates elements of at least three of the parts into his setting. This process is evident if the first strains of the original and the lyra-viol version are compared:⁹

Ex. 5 Four-part vocal setting by Dowland bars 1-8

Lyra-viol setting by Corkine bars 1-8

As in his “The Punckes delight” variations, Corkine favours a lyra-style approach. But it is interesting to note that by embracing several parts of Dowland’s song, Corkine has expressed in terms of lyra writing one of the main characteristics of division style, namely that the instrument is not tied to any particular part.

The existence of such a unique collection of variation sets is surely indicative of the high standard of viol playing in the early years of the seventeenth century. We know that Ferrabosco II and Hume were among the leading players of their generation.

⁸ “The Punckes delight” was later included in Playford’s *English Dancing Master* (1651); see facsimile reprint edited by M. Dean-Smith (London, 1957), 61. An early reference to a tune or dance of this name is found in Taylor’s *A Can Over the Water* (1615): ‘... for his action he eclipseth quite, the ligge of Garlik, or the Puncks delight’; see J. Baskerville: *The Elizabethan Jig*, (Chicago, 1929), 294

⁹ For a complete transcription of Corkine’s lyra-viol version see T. Dart and W. Coates (eds.): *Jacobean Consort Music*, *Musica Britannica*, ix, 201, revised edition (Stainer and Bell, London, 1971)

Although no conclusive evidence has yet been discovered, it is conceivable that Corkine was also a gifted executant of the viol. Despite the fact that his name is not linked with any particular instrument, a document recently discovered tells us of his participation in a concert with John Dowland at the Middle Temple on Candlemas 1612 (new style, 1613).¹⁰ Corkine's appearance at this location in company with his illustrious partner surely confirms his position as an established performing musician of the period.¹¹

The reputation of English musicians as players of and composers for the viol attracted considerable attention on the continent. Andre Maugars, the French diplomat and gamba player, spent some years studying in England during the reign of James I and subsequently became a great admirer of the tradition of English viol playing and, in particular, *lyra-way*:

Every country excels in something the English play the viol perfectly. I admit my own debt to them and that I imitate their chordal playing.¹²

Writing of him in 1687, Rousseau refers to Maugars's exceptional ability in improvising on the viol, a skill which he probably acquired in England:

.... on a theme of five or six notes given to him on the spur of the moment, he could vary it in innumerable different ways until he had done everything that was possible to do with it, using chords as well as divisions.¹³

This description confirms that the art of improvising variations in a mixed style on a simple theme was a popular pastime among the more able players of the period. Therefore, it would seem that Corkine's rare sets of printed variations played *lyra-way* stand essentially as models of what was done in performance and not as definitive works in themselves. Perhaps Corkine, like Hume, wished to demonstrate that the viol was capable of performing similar musical functions to the lute, that is to say, it could offer a full *lyra-style* texture crossed with divisions. The works do serve, however, as an important link with Simpson's *The Division Violist* (1659), the first systematic method for teaching improvisation on the instrument.

In the light of his significant achievement, we should re-consider our evaluation of Corkine particularly when compared with his contemporaries Ferrabosco II and Hume, and acknowledge more fully his importance as a composer of works that provide

¹⁰ See P. Frank: 'A new Dowland document', *MT*, cxxiv (1983), 15-16

¹¹ Dowland must also have been convinced of Corkine's competence as a composer, otherwise he would not have willingly agreed to the latter's use of "If my Complaints" for his variation set. It is interesting to note that Dowland had disapproved strongly of the publisher William Barley including some of his lute pieces in *A New Booke of Tabliture* (1596) without prior consent. One year later, Dowland complained of this irresponsible act in *The First Booke of Songes and Ayres*: 'There have been divers Lute-lessons of mine lately printed without my knowledge, false and imperfect'.

¹² E. Thoinon (ed.): *Andre Maugars, Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie* (Rome, 1639) avec notes et eclairissement r (Paris, 1685 reprinted London, 1965) cited in C. Rabson: *Lyra-way on the Viols and Violins* (M.A. diss., State University of New York College at Potsdam, 1972), 42

¹³ J. Rousseau: *Traité de la Viole* (Paris, 1687), cited in Rabson: op. cit., 42

insight into the improvisatory style and ability of the Jacobean school of lyra-viol composers and players.

10. See P. Frank: 'A new Dowland document', *MT*, cxxiv (1983), 15-16

11. Dowland must also have been convinced of Corkine's competence as a composer, otherwise he would not have willingly agreed to the latter's use of "If my Complaints" for his variation set. It is interesting to note that Dowland had disapproved strongly of the publisher William Barley including some of his lute pieces in *A New Booke of Tabliture* (1596) without prior consent. One year later, Dowland complained of this irresponsible act in *The First Booke of Songes and Ayres*: 'There have been divers Lute-lessons of mine lately printed without my knowledge, false and imperfect'.

12. E. Thoinon (ed.): *Andre Maugars, Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie* (Rome, 1639) *avec notes et eclairissement* r (Paris, 1685 reprinted London, 1965) cited in C. Rabson: *Lyra-way on the Viols and Violins* (M.A. diss., State University of New York College at Potsdam, 1972), 42

13. J. Rousseau: *Traité de la Viole* (Paris, 1687), cited in Rabson: op. cit., 42

[24]
ON PRAETORIUS AND ENGLISH VIOL
PITCHES

EPHRAIM SEGERMAN

In his article ‘Praetorius and English Viol Pitch’¹ John Catch interprets Praetorius’s comments on the tuning of English viols in sets to mean that they were tuned with the lowest strings at D, A and E at either Cammerthon (a’=c.430 Hz, slightly lower than modern pitch) or a pitch standard a tone lower. He assumes modern sizes for the English viols and that English size names were shifted by one with respect to German size names. I will contend that i) English and German viol sizes and size names were the same, and ii) Praetorius should be interpreted as meaning that, though the English assumed higher nominal pitches and normally tuned to higher actual pitches than the Germans did, an occasional practice was to tune down to the German pitches when only viols were involved.

The relevant passage in Praetorius is as follows, using Catch’s translation which divides the original text into sections:²

i) The viole da gamba have six strings, tuned in fourths, with a third in the middle, like the six-choired lutes.

ii) The English, when they play together among themselves, set them all sometimes a fourth, sometimes indeed a fifth lower,

iii) so that they reckon and hold the lowest string of the small bass in D, of the tenor and alto in A, and of the discant in E

iv) otherwise each one is tuned a fifth lower (reckoning by the Cammertun) as may be seen above in the Table, namely the bass in GG; the tenor and alto in D; the discant in A.

v) And that tuning gives sweeter, grander and nobler harmony than if they are kept at the normal pitch.

The contending interpretations of words in the passage are:

<i>Praetorius</i>	<i>Catch’s interpretation</i>	<i>My interpretation</i>
ii) among themselves sometimes... sometimes lower (than?)	in a set always either... or higher (than German pitch)	with viols only at times either ...or lower (than usual English pitch)
iv) otherwise	by comparison, in German practice	but when the English tuned down
v) that tuning	the tuning a fifth higher	the last-mentioned tuning

¹ *Chehys*, xv (1986), 26-32

² M. Praetorius: *Syntagma Musicum II, De Organographia*, (1619), 44; this passage is in the translation by J.R. Catch: *op.cit.*, 27

the normal pitch

the German pitch

the normal
English pitch

There are two strong reasons, each one sufficient in itself, why my interpretation is to be preferred over Catch's from a scholarly point of view. First, Catch assumes that Praetorius erroneously wrote 'lower' for 'higher' in ii) quoted above without having any independent evidence for this assumption, while my interpretation [25] makes sense without any such assumption of error. Secondly, Catch concludes that the English tuning which 'gives sweeter, grander and nobler harmony than if they are kept at the normal pitch' is higher than the 'normal' pitch. This interpretation conflicts with Praetorius's statement earlier in Chapter II that 'the deeper the pitch of sackbutts, curtals, bassanelli, shawms or bass viols, the more solemn and stately they will sound'.³ My conclusion, that the English tuning referred to is lower than the 'normal' pitch, is consistent with Praetorius's other statement.

It would be useful to discuss further how Praetorius's German tunings and English tunings fit with the sizes of the viols. Let us consider all of the bowed instruments Praetorius discussed. We can measure their string stops (i.e. vibrating string lengths) from Praetorius's scaled drawings. Praetorius also gave their various nominal tunings, as well as the pitch standard he was using (from his depicted set of pitch pipes it has been deduced that it was $a' \approx c.430$ Hz). We thus have both string stops and tuning frequencies for all of his bowed instruments and can make some generalizations about the overall ranges of bowed gut strings. We expect, from both theory and practical experience, that the highest pitch one can safely go to without breaking is inversely proportional to the string stop, and does not depend on diameter or tension. Similarly, the lowest pitch does not depend on diameter or tension, but taking inharmonicity into account, it varies by five semitones for each four fret-lengths of string stop.⁴ This leads to a total range that encompasses all of Praetorius's bowed instruments, which is two octaves and a fifth at a string stop of 80 cm., and two octaves and a major third at a string stop of 40 cm. His bass viol is at the bottom of its range and his tenor and treble viols are, at a semitone higher than the bottom of their ranges. The top of the ranges for these viols is c sharp' for the bass, f sharp' for the tenor and c'' for the treble viol at Praetorius's pitch standard.

If English viol nominal pitches were as Praetorius described them, and the string stops of English and German viols were the same, the normal pitch could not have been any higher than a minor third above that noted by Praetorius (i.e. c'' compared to a' for the treble viol). But we have evidence to suggest that Praetorius's report of English viol nominal pitches is a tone too high for the tenor and treble viols. His impression was that their top strings were at a' and e'', while all the English evidence (except for Talbot's report of tenor viol tuning, which was probably derived from Mersenne rather than a first-hand English source) is that they were

³ M. Praetorius: *op. cit.*, 14; this passage is in the translation by D.Z. Crookes (Clarendon Press, 1986), 31

⁴ A full discussion of this is given in my article: 'A closer look at pitch ranges of gut strings', *FoMRHI* Q, xl (July 1986), Comm. 632, 45-56

considered to be g' and d''. Direct evidence survives from the second half of the seventeenth century, for example in Playford (*Skill of Musick*, 1674 and previous editions) and Mace (*Musick's Monument*, 1676). As for early seventeenth-century evidence, Robinson in *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603) implies these tunings in his chapter 'Rules to instruct you to sing', where he presents vocal lines with unison viol parts in tablature. Viols in d', g' and d'' are apparently called for. In the bandora-set tuning found in Tobias Hume's *The First Part of Ayres ...* (1605) the treble viols are tuned an octave above the [26] bass viols. Since it is most likely that these instruments were also used in the normal tuning without restringing, and that the retuning procedure used for treble and bass viols was the same, normal tuning was also probably an octave apart.

A possible scenario for Praetorius's error is that he only investigated the lowest strings of each viol (his report was only of the lowest strings) and that of the bass viol had been tuned to the common 'double cee-fa-ut' sixth string tuning, but the information he had was that the bass had a D nominal tuning. The other possible scenario is that the only hard information he had related to the bass viol and he just assumed that tunings of English treble and tenor viols relative to the bass mirrored German practice.

The evidence of surviving English viols strongly supports the view that their sizes were essentially the same as those Praetorius depicted. Many trebles and tenors of Praetorius's sizes survive; they must be accepted as valid evidence and have to fit into any hypothesis of what the sizes were. Extant bass viols which are much smaller than Praetorius's bass (klein bass) do not conflict with this same-size hypothesis if we identify them as small non-set solo bass viols; there is evidence for the wide use of such instruments. In contrast, under the hypothesis that modern sizes correspond with what were used in England then, the surviving bass viols fit, and the Praetorius-size tenor viols are interpreted as division or lyra viols. But the many Praetorius-size treble viols that survive can only be fitted into the modern-size hypothesis by assuming that they were alto viols; yet such instruments are never mentioned in contemporary documents. Praetorius-size bass viols and modern-size treble and tenor viols have not survived. The weight of evidence is in favour of Praetorius sizes. In this discussion, we have not brought to bear the strongest evidence, that of Talbot, which will be discussed in another paper.

What then were the actual nominal tunings of English viols that Praetorius did not mention? When Playford in *Skill of Musick* described the tuning of viols in sets, he wrote of the bass (and implied for the others) that the first string was tuned as high as it would safely go. From Praetorius's information we can conclude that this set of pitches would have been d', g' and d'' at a pitch standard about a tone below his standard or modern (the precision involved here is not high enough to distinguish between a'=430 Hz and 440 Hz). This standard is most probably what Mace was referring to when he mentioned 'consort pitch'. If it was the normal pitch for viols early in the seventeenth century as well, which is very likely, then the special practice when viols were playing alone that Praetorius commented on involved tuning down two or three semitones, or indeed a tone further.

The pitch standard a tone below modern has a much better claim to be the standard for the early music movement than the current standard a semitone higher than this. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries this pitch was commonly used for ‘serious’ music throughout Europe except for Protestant [27] German-speaking countries.⁵ It was called ‘Ton de Chapell’ in France and ‘choir pitch’ in the local languages in Italy,⁶ Switzerland⁷ and Catholic German-speaking countries, as well as ‘consort pitch’ in England. This standard was replaced by higher standards in the eighteenth century at different times in different places. It was still Roman pitch in 1800⁸ and ‘concert pitch’ in England into the second half of the eighteenth century.⁹ The instrument-making centres of South Germany and Italy produced lutes and viols of sizes that were used universally, but were most appropriate for this standard. From a pitch point of view, the Germany of Praetorius and Bach was rather out of step with the main cultural centres in the rest of Europe.

⁵ The analysis of non-English pitches is in my ‘On German, Italian and French pitch standards in the 17th and 18th centuries’, *FoMRHI Q*, xxx (Jan. 1983), comm. 442, 27-39, amplified by ‘Eighteenth century German and French pitches’, *FoMRHI Q*, xlii (Jan. 1986), Comm. 683,62-68

⁶ For example G. Diruta: *Il transilvanio, 2da parte*, Libro terzo (1622), 4

⁷ Two physicists measured pitch in Basel, D. Bernoulli in 1742 and L. Euler in 1727. Their reports were in Latin but we assume that the name of the standard that they mention reflected local vernacular usage.

⁸ C. Gervasoni: *La scuola della musica* (1800)

⁹ The physicist Taylor measured the pitch in 1713. W. Tans’ur in *A New Musical Grammar and Dictionary* ... third edition (1756), 83 mentioned that English concert pitch was a tone lower than that of Lombardy, which was like modern pitch.

FANTASY AND MUSIC IN SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

GRAHAM STRAHLE

Having started as an enquiry into the nature of the instrumental fantasia in England, this thesis developed into a broad-ranging investigation concerning the musical significances of fantasy theory during the Renaissance and Baroque periods in England. The author became aware of an impressively vast literature belonging to those periods on the meaning and creative implications of fantasy in the fields of philosophy, psychology, rhetoric and poetic theory, and was able to show from a wide study of musical sources that fantasy had a direct bearing on musical aesthetics, theory and composition. Specifically, this offered the key to a fuller understanding of that often complex and enigmatic instrumental composition called the 'fantasia'. The thesis shows that the English type differed in many important respects from its continental counterparts, chiefly because English fantasy concepts developed along different lines, usually being connected with poetry and the affections. Thus the most interesting aspects of the English fantasia, along with many poetic and some other musical forms (such as the sonnet and madrigal), is the fact that it became a direct expression of all that creative fantasy stood for in the artistically brilliant Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

The initial premise of the work is that the fantasia, as viewed throughout all European countries during the Renaissance, was such an extremely diverse and changeable form that it is impossible to define according to any fixed set of criteria. This fact alone separates it from most other compositional forms of the Renaissance, except for the *ricercar*, with which it is closely related. The fantasia can either be a very free, improvisatory composition or a highly strict 'exercise' in applied counterpoint. Also, the ensemble repertory often shows major unconformities with the solo repertory because, like the imitative *ricercar*, it is typically modelled after polyphonic vocal forms such as the motet and madrigal. It is paradoxical that, as one of the principal instrumental genres, the fantasia relied heavily on vocal music when it was supposed to be one of the freest of all compositional genres. A not unrelated problem is that there exist numerous cases when the title 'fantasia' is applied to other compositions such as the *ricercar*, preambel, carminum, preludium, hortus and tiento, and later on was sometimes interchanged with voluntary, automaton, capriccio, canzona and fuga. Analysis of literary documents mentioning 'fantasia' from the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth centuries, including the theoretical writings of Milan, Sebastiani, Doni, Bermudo, Santa Maria, Zarlino and others, shows that the word referred in the first place not to a fixed form but more generally to any type of musical invention which stemmed from the composer's imagination. This fact [29] accounts for the many difficulties in treating it, at least in this early period and most probably in later ones as well, as a specific and definable musical term. Since all discussions of creative imagination or 'fantasy' (this was the preferred word) were closely bound to Classical

philosophy, the study of fantasy theory starts with Plato and Aristotle, both of whom exercised an influence on nearly all later writers, and moves on to Cicero and Quintilian, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, to the Renaissance and Baroque periods of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fantasy theory was an important area in a great number of philosophical writings in England and was a major concern for Thomas Elyot, Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Obadiah Walker and Peter Sterry, and also in poetic theory (including such writers as Stephen Hawes, George Puttenham and John Davies) and the affections (including Thomas Wright, Edward Reynoldes, Timothy Bright and Robert Burton). Interest in the philosophical, psychological and literary aspects of fantasy occurred much later in England and France than in Italy, and quickly assumed a central place in creative doctrine in all the arts including music. Its importance in Elizabethan England was unparalleled elsewhere and only began to diminish with the onset of the new, rationalist-empiricist thinking which characterized the later 'Age of Reason'. (This sheds light on why the fantasia later ceased to be a viable form.)

In ancient Greece, musical fantasy meant the capacity of a musician to imagine sounds in his mind to enable him to animate properly his vocal chords and thereby emit a pure sound. In the Renaissance the same concept became associated with the magical and universal power of music of the spheres and the psychic medium of air as it affects the individual (in the writings of Ficino and Agrippa). In England as in France it was almost exclusively associated with the passions and their power over the soul. English writers contributed little to the theory of fantasy but the subject provoked a great amount of discussion, with sharply polarized views emerging on the place of fantasy in art. Most of the arguments raised in favour and against fantasy in music were the same as those pertaining to literary criticism. In particular, the notions of 'musical flights of fancy', 'formal fantasy', 'musical fury', and variety, were directly borrowed from literary fantasy. More generally, there evolved a fantasy ideal which was responsible for propagating the increasingly popular, humanist notion that art must entertain as well as instruct. Looking at it in the widest possible way, the idea of fantasy shows itself to be a new and vital force in the underlying process of artistic liberation which underscores the English Renaissance.

In musical composition, the idea of fantasy was closely connected with the Renaissance view that art must seek to represent the ideals of nature and man by conveying images. These images are extensions in the composer's mind of real phenomena and form the basis of his imaginative process. They are expressed as *topoi*, that is, specific musical patterns which carry extra-musical associations, and they lend even a textless composition a more-or-less definable and recognizable meaning. This general principle governed much instrumental and so-called [30] free, 'abstract' composition of the period, including stylized dance music, voluntaries and those fantasias cast in the madrigal mould. At another level the idea of variety, originally connected with poetic fantasy, shows itself in both vocal and instrumental music, especially in terms of the mood changes and overall structure of madrigals, canzonets, medleys, capriccios, fantasias and voluntaries. Indeed, the constant search for variety in madrigal composition proved the strongest influence on the fantasia in its most formative phase. Later on the emphasis shifted in a subtle fashion. When variety is

pushed to extreme and all symmetry, balance and predictability are lost in the music, fantasy expresses itself in terms of strangeness and the bizarre. This is convincingly demonstrated in music for the Jacobean and Restoration theatre, especially in such masques as *Brittania Triumphans*, *The Triumph of Peace*, and *The Tempest*, in which the novel aesthetic of Baroque fantasy comes to the fore. Thus 'fantastic' in music of the later period implies irregularity of melody, unpredictability of rhythm and strangeness of harmony.

In attempting to place the fantasia in this larger perspective, it is at once apparent that in England, as elsewhere, the word itself 'fantasia' (alternatively 'fantasy' or 'fancy', a contraction which interestingly did not occur in other European languages) does not refer necessarily to a fixed species of composition. As a study of commentaries by Morley, Christopher Simpson, Mace, North and others shows, the fantasy 'genre' bestowed on the composer considerable freedom to do what he liked with a minimum of constraints. Variety of both compositional procedure and musical form, the borrowing of devices from other compositional species, and perhaps most important of all the pre-eminence of the composer's own volition and will - these then were the main characteristics of the English fantasia.

Looking closely at the fantasia's origins and remarkable development in England confirms this interpretation. Its initial cultivation in the middle years of the sixteenth century probably owed considerably to the particular enthusiasm of Ferrabosco I while he was stationed in England. His rather inconsistent and unconventional approach (by Italian standards) gave English musicians a number of different alternatives for composing fantasias, and what quickly proved to be the most popular for the consort type was to incorporate a variety of mood changes so as to mimic the effect of the contemporary madrigal and lyric, 'fantasy' verse. Robert White and William Byrd were two early figures who seem to have helped transform the consort fantasia from an obscure, anonymous motet-style and probably vocal composition to a more-or-less distinct, varied and interesting one with occasional secular elements, written primarily for viols. With its potential released by its emancipation from the liturgical context and with a new generation of young and progressive composers, the consort fantasia blossomed and lost its last remaining links with its continental *ricercar*-style cousin. The middle period fantasia relies greatly on the use of musical images, that is, borrowed themes and *topoi*, to provide quite literally the starting 'point' for the [31] imaginative process. The fantasias of Ferrabosco II, Coprario, Lupo, Ward and Gibbons are vocally-inspired free inventions which take the listener on an imaginative journey often beginning with a familiar theme, hence the significance of the 'parody fantasia'. In a slightly different way, the 'madrigal fantasia' (to be differentiated from a fantasia which is really a written out madrigal) is composed around a 'phantom' text because its use of madrigalian devices evokes a series of images in the listener's mind. In the later period, from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, the fantasia became increasingly instrumental in idiom and became an *alamode* composition through the impact of the Baroque fantasy aesthetic. In the works of William Lawes, Locke and Purcell, it asserted itself as an extremely bold and adventurous composition with unprecedented contrast of form.

Three of the most important composers of the period, John Dowland, William Byrd and Thomas Morley, receive detailed study in light of the preceding analysis. Although as fantasia composers they are less typical than others, it can be seen that the idea of fantasy penetrated deeply into their musical consciousnesses, and it should not be surprising that they responded in very different and personal ways. Melancholic fantasy, a much loved theme in contemporary lyric and some meditative poetry, had a particular relevance to the music of Dowland. His interest in its artistic possibilities, at a time when there existed a cult for melancholia in Elizabethan England, is demonstrated by his choice of verse for his 1600 set of songs. The seven *lachrynae* pavans, through repetition of their tear-laden head-motif and their unbroken mood of dolorous resignation, are the artistic equivalent of the 'melancholy of fixedness' as expounded by Reynoldes. Dowland's rhapsodic lute fantasias find an interesting literary parallel in the intensely melancholic poems of Nicholas Breton (foremost of the literary 'fantasticks'), and it is probable that Dowland used them as a creative point of departure. Byrd chose a wealth of fantasy verse for his song publications of 1588, 1589 and 1611, including some by one of England's most distinguished fantasists, Thomas Watson. The changes to be observed in his vocal writing in these publications, from his early consort-song style to a more varied and expressive mode, are paralleled in his canon of consort fantasias, for they progressively move in the direction of poetic variety and secular entertainment. In a more open way, fantasy for Morley was the cornerstone of his new and radical view that music should be a pursuit which, in all its facets, is accessible to the average musician. He developed a doctrine of inventive fantasy, drawn from many different sources including the mathematical concept of *ars combinatoria*, which formed the basis of his new aesthetic of 'light music'. The obvious originality of his own approach to the fantasia stemmed from his conviction that the form should, on account of its creative implications, exist at the forefront of this aesthetic development. Although he acknowledged that fantasias were traditionally 'grave music', he himself preferred to compose ones which were 'light'.

One of the obvious points to come out of this study is that the subject of [32] fantasy, particularly creative fantasy, was vast, embracing many different disciplines but ultimately revealing a network of fascinating links which unite them. It shows that fantasy theory was uniquely important in England, not only in the sphere of music and particularly in relation to the fantasia, but in artistic thought generally. Indeed, if the later seventeenth century onwards can be called the 'Age of Reason' (Thomas Paine), then it would not be out of place to call the earlier period the 'Age of Fantasy'. To conclude, it is hoped that this avenue of research will unlock further secrets and offer a wider scope for an alternative perspective of music of the period. The work ends with three appendices, one giving an etymology of 'fantasy', the second giving fifty thematic concordances in the English fantasia repertory, and the third comprising an edition of two as yet unpublished five-part fantasias by Morley.

Summary by the author.

The above thesis was submitted to the University of Adelaide in May, 1987, and accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in November.

JAMES TALBOT'S VIOLS

JOHN R. CATCH

With the revival of interest in viol-consort playing from the beginning of our century there grew up a broad consensus on the right sizes for the instruments (see Table I).¹ Most viols nowadays are of these orthodox sizes, which seem to have been based on a conspectus of the sizes of surviving viols and just possibly on a thread of tradition surviving through the nineteenth century.² However, the few historical documents which allow of a quantitative correlation of measurements with functional names all refer to the bigger Praetorius sizes, and have led to the suggestion that these sizes were in fact the norm (see Table I).³ The scarcity of surviving 80 cm. viols has been supposed to be the consequence of destruction or 'cutting down' to smaller sizes.⁴ It would certainly be wrong to assume that surviving viols are a representative sample of those which once existed. The problem is a perplexing one, bound up with the equally perplexing problem of historic pitches. The difference of size between the two hypothetical families is, we may note, roughly that which might be expected for a difference of pitch of a whole tone, but historical evidence is silent as to whether that was their *raison d'être*.

This article examines in some detail only one of the historical documents, the notes made by James Talbot in the 1690s.⁵ Readers of the published transcripts must be warned that they are not complete, and that they may give an impression of tidiness and coherence which is not borne out by the original papers. Talbot was not an expert on bowed strings. He never completed his collection of primary data and never reviewed it critically. His tuning diagrams in particular are not individually associated with his measurements of the instruments. They are quite separate, and the two can be correlated only by the names of the instruments. Unfortunately, consistency of nomenclature is not one of Talbot's strong points. Comments may sometimes be associated with measurements, sometimes not; but even when they are we can never be sure that they are indeed related.

Much of the relevant material to this article is preserved in a fairly tidy notebook of thirty-two numbered pages, covering bowed and plucked strings, with usually one item

¹ N. Dolmetsch: *The Viola da Gamba* (1962); A.H. König: *Die Viola da Gamba* (1985)

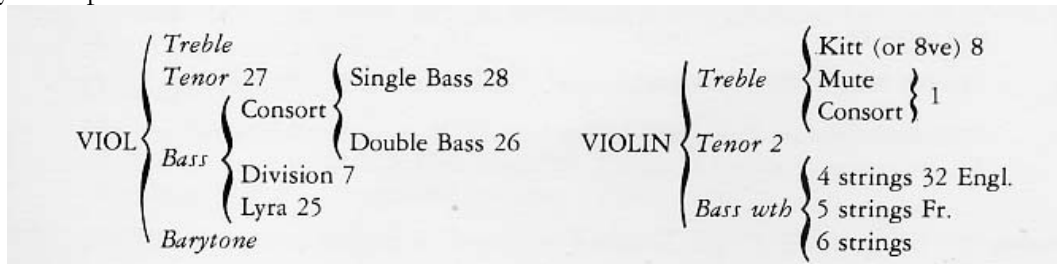
² J. Rutledge: 'Towards a history of the viol in the 19th century', *EM*, xii/3 (1984), 328-36

³ M. Praetorius: *Theatrum Instrumentorum* (1620), Table xx; C. Simpson: *The Division Viol* (London, 1667), facsimile reprint (1955), 1; James Talbot's manuscript, GB-Och MS 1187; R. Donington: James Talbot's Manuscript - II. Bowed Instruments', *GSJ*, iii (1950), 27-45; T.B.: *The Compleat Musick-Master* (1722)

⁴ 'Cutting-down' would leave tell-tale evidence. I know of only one orthodox-sized bass which *may* show such evidence and think it a doubtful case.

⁵ See GB-Och Ms 1187. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the courtesy of the Governing Body and of the Librarian of Christ Church in making this manuscript available to me. See also A. Baines: James Talbot's Manuscript - I. Wind Instruments', *GSJ*, i (1948), 9-26; R. Donington: James Talbot's Manuscript - Bowed Strings', *Chelys*, vi (1975-6); R. Unwin: 'An English Writer on Music: James Talbot 1664-1708', *GSJ*, xl (1987), 53

to a page. The manuscript opens with a classified scheme which is obviously a fair copy. The part which concerns us is:



[34]

Table I (String lengths, cm.)

	<i>Bass</i>	<i>Tenor</i>	<i>Treble</i>	<i>Division</i>	<i>Lyra</i>
<i>Orthodox</i>	70	52	35	65-8	60
<i>Praetorius</i>	80	60	40	76	70

Table II

	<i>T.'s Page</i>	<i>Talbot's Name</i>	<i>Supplier</i>	<i>Lowest String</i>	<i>Belly Length (cm.)</i>	<i>String Length (cm.)</i>
1.	7	Division viol	?	D	65.4	68.6
			(Talbot's recorded measurement 69.2)			
2.	25	Lyra viol	?	D/E	71.1	71.4
3.	26	Double bass viol	Finger	FF	119.7	101.9
4.	27	Tenor viol	Finger	?G ?A	58.4	61.0
5.	28	Bass viol consort	?	C/D	76.2	81.3
6.	32	Bass violin	Paisible	??BBflat	71.7	62.2

Table III

		<i>cf. Table II</i>	<i>Lowest String</i>	<i>Belly Length (cm.)</i>	<i>String Length (cm.)</i>
1.	Consort bass	no. 1	C/D	67.9	71.4
2.	Division viol	no. 5	D	73.7	78.3
3.	Division viol	no. 2	D	73.6	74.3
4.	Division viol	no. 3	D	89.2	67.5
5.	Double bass viol	no. 1	GG	95.9	95.8
6.	Lyra viol	no. 1	D/E	62.9	65.7

[35] Note that in this scheme ‘bass viol’ and ‘bass violin’ are generic and not specific terms. There is a double bass viol but no double bass violin; and there is a bass violin with 6 strings, which is odd.

The notebook as a whole is certainly not a fair copy of existing information, but was used to record material as it became available. The items are in no particular order and Talbot seems to have entered the page numbers into the scheme as the pages were used, I would suppose more or less progressively, but the entries are not entirely methodical.

Page 6 was headed ‘Treble Viol’, but this was later crossed through and ‘Cittern’ substituted to carry over information on this instrument from page 5. Talbot does not give a first-hand description of the treble viol, although he notes elsewhere that Gottfried Finger provided one for him; nor is there any first-hand evidence for an alto viol.

Page 7 is headed ‘Division Viol’ and detailed measurements are tabulated (see Table II, no. 1).⁶ It is an orthodox size. Page 8 was first headed ‘Bass Viol’; ‘Consort’ was later prefixed to it. There is then this note:⁷

NB. that the Consort Viol is longer than the Division Viol 1’ in the Neck and Body: it is broader at the top of the Belly [figure illegibly corrected; Z/3’?] & in the sides $\frac{1}{2}$ ’: at the bottom 1’: its Bow 3’ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ ’.

If this note is applied to the division viol on page 7 it gives us a consort bass (see Table III, no. 1) which is again an orthodox size. Many such viols survive. If the note is applied to the Praetorius consort bass which we shall find on page 28 (see Table II, no. 5) we get a very big division viol (see Table III, no. 2). It appears that Talbot is giving one functional name to viols differing greatly in measurement.

There is nothing more about viols on page 8. The next example is on page 25, headed ‘Lyra Viol’, which begins with this note:

Lyra Viol bears the proportion to the Division Viol, viz. it is shorter in the Body and Neck 1’: in the sides $\frac{1}{2}$ ’: it is narrower at the top of the Belly $\frac{1}{2}$ ’: at the bottom 1’: its Bow 30’.

The tabulated measurements which follow are those of a Praetorius size (see Table II, no. 2), not shorter than the division viol on page 7 but altogether bigger. Applying the note to the measurements on the same page we get a big division viol (see Table III, no. 3). Applied to the orthodox division viol of page 7 it gives us a smaller lyra viol (see Table III, no. 6). Once again, one name - two sizes; but Talbot seems not to be aware of this, referring to *the* division viol or *the* consort bass as if each were a defined size.

⁶ I have adjusted the belly length because Talbot’s detailed figures suggest that his measurement includes the overhang of the tail-piece.

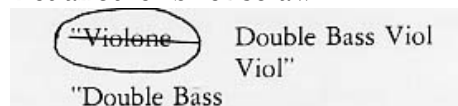
⁷ This and similar notes may be construed in various ways. I have adopted the reading ‘longer 1 inch in the whole neck, including the pegbox, and 1 inch in the body.’ I have taken the bridge to stand at 0.54 of the length of the belly from the neck joint. This reading seems most in accord with comparative viol sizes. Other interpretations will alter details in the deduced figures but not I believe my general conclusions. I follow Talbot’s manuscript in using one stroke’ for ‘inch’ and two strokes “ for ‘ $\frac{1}{2}$ inch’.

Page 26, headed 'Double Bass Viol', begins with a note:

Has the following Proportions to the division Viol. Longer in Body 1 Foot: in Neck 6':
Wid2r in upper part of Belly 6' in lower 10': Deeper at rimms 3', under Bridge 4'. Lengths
of Bow 36'. All viols but this carry 7 Frets.

The tabulated measurements follow (see Table II, no. 3). Donington and others [36] have long since pointed out that the dimensions are not those of any viol but are close to those of the common orchestral double bass. The note, although on the same page, cannot refer to the measurements. The result would be an incredible division viol (see Table III, no. 4). But if we apply it to Talbot's division viol on page 7 of the manuscript we get a size well suited to a quint violone in GG, a fifth below the ordinary consort bass viol (see Table III no. 5). Talbot gives exactly this tuning elsewhere for the 'German' six-stringed double bass viol. Another note, 'Double Bass Viol Violone - It has six strings 5 notes lower than Bass Violin', followed by the same GG tuning, confirms his knowledge of such a quint bass, the term 'Bass Violin' here being obviously a misnomer for the consort bass viol.

Yet another brief scrawl -



- suggests that Talbot was uncertain about the right names; perhaps, for him, all double basses were viols.

I can find nothing in Talbot's manuscript referring to a full size violone of 16' pitch, one octave below the consort bass. Talbot's pages 27-28 clearly show tenor and bass viols of Praetorius sizes (see Table II, nos. 4-5).

Page 32, headed 'Bass Violin', is amplified in the classified scheme as 'with 4 str. Engl'. We shall be unwise to equate this with the large cello tuned down to BB flat which the term means to us today. Talbot indeed gives this tuning, and not the modern cello tuning, elsewhere in the manuscript, but it is surely cribbed from an earlier writer. The continued use of that tuning in the 1690s is very unlikely.⁸ Talbot's 'bass violin' (see Table II, no. 6) is doubtless a violin, but is shorter in the body and in the string length than a representative cello, with a short neck and fingerboard, but with a peg-box unusually long for just four pegs. The fingerboard is 4.45 cm. (1³/₄"") wide at the nut, half as wide again as that of a cello would be. It suggests to me a small five-stringed cello or 'violoncello piccolo', with the tuning C - G - d - a - e'. The instrument was supplied by a Frenchman, James Paisible, and Talbot may have put the page number in his scheme against the adjoining item by mistake.

This tentative identification of Talbot's page 32 has particular relevance to our next problem:

Lewis has a Bass Violin (made for Lord Abergenny) which has 6 strings: its neck is somewhat shorter than that of usual B. Violin to bear a Pitch: he says the treble string is of the same sound and size with the 3d of B. Violin (or B. Viol) it is louder than either.

⁸ I believe Purcell in his church and theatre music never goes lower than the cello C. See also P. Allsop: 'The Role of the Stringed Bass as a Continuo Instrument in Italian Seventeenth Century Instrumental Music', *Chelys*, viii (1978-79), 32

And tuned B. Viol way. [Note: strings are numbered from highest to lowest throughout the MS.]

Donington's intuitive feeling was that this 'most bewildering' statement implied a small violone.⁹ '6 strings - tuned B. Viol way' certainly denotes a viol, not a violin. '3d of B. Violin (or B. Viol) it is louder than either' means that Lewis was comparing it with two different instruments, not with one under two different [37]

names. I can offer eight possibilities for those two unknowns:

Talbot's Tunings	Others
1. Consort bass	5. Cello
2. GG violone	6. 'Violoncello piccolo'
3. Bass violin	7. DD Violone
4. Double bass viol (Finger)	8. Double bass

No two of these have '3d' strings (from the top) of the same sound.

It is indeed Talbot's normal practice to number from the top down, but characteristically there are at least two places where he has reckoned from the bottom up, and that way round the '3d' strings are the same for bass viol and for BB flat bass violin. The consequences of this assumption are however unacceptable. We would have to assume the BB flat tuning in the 1690s; Lewis's bass violin would be a very large violone in CC, a tone lower than the full-size violone in DD; and there would be an even larger and lower-pitched one which was, for Lewis, the 'usual B. Violin'. I cannot believe that.

There must be an error in the number '3d', and the only alternative which makes any sense is '2nd'.¹⁰ These are the same for bass viol and 'violoncello piccolo', so that the treble string of Lewis's instrument would be a; it would be a small violone in AA, a tone higher and therefore 'somewhat shorter' than the German double bass viol in GG. This is the most plausible answer I can offer, and is at any rate a reasoned argument which supports Donington's intuitive feeling in 1950.

Two further points in Talbot's manuscript are worth a brief mention. One is a partially illegible note, not reproduced by Donington (the words in parentheses are uncertain):

in low[est] Basses [mixed] with Copper or [Silver] Wire in lowest[est] of Bass Violin or Viol.

This note presumably refers to overspun bass strings. The second point concerns the body proportions (width/length) of Talbot's division, tenor and consort bass viols (see Table II, nos. 1, 4 and 5). They are all substantially wider in proportion (by 9-13%) than the 'classical' contemporary outlines by for example Barak Norman and Richard

⁹ See R. Donington: GSJ, iii, 40

¹⁰ '1st' would equate Lewis's viol with a GG double bass, which would not call for special comment; nor would the neck need to be 'shorter to bear a pitch'.

Meares. This could provide a clue to their possible provenance. The ‘double bass viol’ (see Table II, no. 3) is by contrast a more slender outline than a Barak Norman and it is possible to see in the measurements something like the ‘violin’ shape of the well-known Maggini violone which Mabel Dolmetsch used to play.

[38] Summary

It is very interesting that Talbot’s notes reveal Praetorius-sized viols in England in the 1690s, but there is evidence in them for smaller sizes of consort viols as well, without any indication that I can see that either the one or the other was the more commonly used.

Talbot’s account of the bass violin is a significant parallel. I do not think that anyone would seriously suppose that the small instrument of his page 32 was representative of the bass violin or cello used by Henry Purcell, but he gives us no indication that it was not, just calling it ‘bass violin’. Talbot’s pages 27-8 are a comparable case. They existed, but we should be wary of assuming them to be typical. As Charles Mould wrote twenty years ago, studying Talbot on the harpsichord, ‘his discrepancies must cause all his work to be treated with the utmost caution.’¹¹ To address the problem of viol sizes in seventeenth-century England we must take other evidence into account, notably evidence on pitches. Talbot regrettably has nothing to tell us about that. It is a subject which bristles with difficulties. Some essential piece of historical evidence is surely missing.¹² I certainly do not know the answers.

¹¹ C. Mould: James Talbot’s Manuscript - VII. Harpsichord’, GSJ, xxi (1968), 40

¹² P. Holman has suggested that the pitch used at the Oxford Music School in the 1660s was 460+; see ‘Thomas Baltzar (?1631-1663), the “Incomperable *Lubicer* on the Violin”’, *Chelys*, xiii (1984), 18. It is hard to believe that Praetorius-sized viols would have been practical at so high a pitch. It seems very high even for Simpson’s 76 cm. division viol, yet Simpson says nothing about high or low pitch. Mace does, in vague terms, and yet in advertising his table organ he tells us nearly everything about it except its pitch; see *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676), 242-4.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Editors,

On a recent visit to the United Kingdom I discovered that the sole part-book (a Tenor volume) of William Byrd's *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum* (London, 1589) in the Archive Library of King's College, University of London, at shelfmark PM8, includes some manuscript folios bound at the rear of the volume where there is some music which has not been discussed in print as far as I am aware. The music was probably copied in the late Elizabethan period and the copyist of these works is unknown to me.

The music on these folios comprises nine numbered parts, though the piece at number 9 is recopied in a transposed version at the foot of the folio containing piece number 5. The copyist has identified these textless 'Tenor' parts as being from compositions of '4 parts'; these descriptions are found at the top of each folio. None of the nine works is attributed and there are no instrumental or vocal titles included on the folios. However, as the music of piece numbers 1-8 is instrumental in character (piece number 9 could just as easily be vocal in origin) it is quite possible that these parts might have once belonged to viol consort fantasias.

I have shown my copy of these parts to Gordon Dodd who has indicated that the works are not found in his index of viol compositions. While there is not much that can be determined from isolated parts such as these, the music appears to be consistent with the melodic style of instrumental consort writing of a number of Elizabethan composers such as William Byrd, a composer I would be inclined to put at the top of any list of possible contenders.

The sole part-book in the Archive Library was originally owned by Thurston Dart, who received the volume as a gift. It is to be hoped that someday the missing part-books belonging to this particular set will be located for they are [40] likely to have the remaining manuscript parts of these nine works bound in three out of the four outstanding volumes of Byrd's 1589 print.

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NOTE

Thurston Dart's copy of the tenor part of William Byrd's *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum* (1589), referred to in Richard Charteris's letter, was sold at Sotheby's sale on 27 November 1987 to a private buyer for the sum of £2,600; see Arthur Searle: 'Salerooms-Manuscripts and printed music', *Early Music*, xvi/2 (May 1988), 253.

EDITORS

Dear Editors,

The fantasies a3 by 'John Okeover' in the Society's SP 154 are a welcome addition to the published repertoire. In the interests of accuracy, may I add an historical footnote? The unique source for these pieces, GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. D 245 -7, ascribes them to 'Mr Okar'.

Y

In fact four of the five known manuscript sources for his whole work use the shorter version of his name, Oker or Okar: viz. D 245 -7 itself, GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17792-6 (a5), GB-Lcm MSS 1045 -51 (anthems), and the lost Gloucester source a3 known from a seventeenth-century catalogue. The main five-part source (Lbl Add. MSS 17786-91) uses both versions, Okeover predominating, yet even here the sequence concludes 'Here endeth Mr Okers fancies'. No source uses only 'Okeover'. All five are datable to within the composer's lifetime.

On the question of nomenclature the music manuscripts are thus in broad agreement with the biographical evidence surveyed in my article on the composer in *Chelys xvi*, showing that in contemporary usage Oker/Okar was more widespread than Okeover/Okever. The longer version probably came into modern usage through the five-part works in Add. MSS 17786 -91 becoming known earlier than the rest of his music - see for example previous editions of *Grove*, and *DNB*.

Seventeenth-century spelling is notoriously unsystematic. And what is in a name? But standard usages have some practical advantages, and the VdGS seems to prefer them, e.g. the replacement of 'Coperario' by 'Coprario' since publication of Dr Charteris's researches. History too carries some weight. On the evidence in this case, the Society may perhaps wish to consider giving a lead in favour of 'Oker' as the norm, as suggested in my article.

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[41]

JOAN HASSALL O.B.E. (1906-1988)

JOAN WESS

When Joan Hassall died on 6 March this year, the art world and book-loving public mourned one of this country's finest wood-engravers. Her exquisite illustrations to many books, from the 1930s to the 1970s, earned her the highest respect: she was the first woman Master of the Art Workers' Guild, and was awarded the O.B.E. in 1987. Joan Hassall had the distinction of being chosen to design the invitation to the Coronation, a postage stamp to celebrate the Silver Wedding of the King and Queen in 1948 and a book plate for Edward Heath.

For members of this Society and for her many musical friends our loss is threefold: we mourn a musician of ability and sensitivity, a strong supporter of the Society, and most of all, a person of many unusual qualities who enriched the lives of all who were privileged to know her. Joan Hassall played a number of instruments - flute, recorder,

keyboard (piano, spinet, clavichord, and organ), a small Morley harp which she sometimes used as a continuo instrument for viols, and probably the most important to her of all, the viol. In the May Newsletter, Bernard Palmer described how he and Joan came to the viol and to the Viola da Gamba society in 1962. From 1969 to 1974 she was a valued member of the Committee, making her comfortable house in Kensington Park Road available for committee meetings and playing meetings, and leading the Society to its present meetings' venue - the home of the Art Workers' Guild in Queen Square.

Anyone who was fortunate enough to have played in consort with Joan will have a store of vivid impressions, and no recollection of her musical life could be complete without mention of a few of them. To make music with Joan was a particular pleasure - one was aware of her deep musicality and the warmth which was of her character. Her own delight in playing was transported to those around her, and a sort of holy contentment exuded from her corner of the consort. Joan's company was always a joy - her keen observations of all that was around her were a source of continual entertainment, delivered in a fragile voice which she once overheard (delightedly) described as 'London posh'. One treasured her robust sense of humour (surely inherited from her famous father, John Hassall the poster artist), the way she enjoyed the 'thumps' in lra-viol pieces, her ready association with Byrd at his most extrovert as well as his most 'sublime' (Joan's choice of word) and her particular love of Jenkins's consort music. Finally, one remembers Joan at Malham in Yorkshire in her last years, when she faced much ill-health and failing eyesight with fortitude, surrounded by cats and all kinds of gadgets, and her mirth at the electronic clock that chimed Bach's Minuet in G in duple time.

Joan Hassall's wood-engravings will surely delight many future generations one thinks especially of such books as *The Oxford Book of Nursery Rhymes* [42] (1955), the novels of Jane Austen, which she illustrated for the Folio Society (1957-63), and *Collected Poems* of Andrew Young (1950). And there are two books devoted entirely to her work: *The Wood Engravings of Joan Hassall*, by Ruari McLean (1960) and *Joan Hassall*, by David Chambers (1985). For our part, in the Viola da Gamba Society, we will continue to find pleasure in the decorative frame for the *In Nomine* part, which Joan designed for the Society, and which was used for Sup. Pubs. nos. 77 and 78 (Gibbons five-part *In Nomines*) and no. 64 (Ward six-part *In Nomine*). One hopes that it will be possible to use the frame on future occasions, to serve as a souvenir of Joan Hassall, who enlivened many viol playing occasions, and whose friendship was so richly valued by many members. In Bernard Palmer's words, we remember her 'with gratitude and pride'.

ERIC MARSHALL JOHNSON (1899-1987)

JOHN R. CATCH

Eric Johnson's most notable contributions to viol playing were as teacher and promoter of consort playing. He was truly an excellent teacher, enthusiastic, methodical, patient, persistent, and almost unfailingly good-humoured; but he put first

things first and could be huffy with anyone who fussed about frills before he had a competent command of basic bowing and fingering. He was enthusiastic about the thoroughly professional standards achieved by the Wenzinger consort in the 1950s and 1960s, but equally so in encouraging the humblest of amateur groups, with whom, again, he would concentrate on basic musical requirements.

Eric, with his wife Cecily Arnold, researched, copied and edited a remarkable quantity of seventeenth-century English music, of which only a small fraction was printed. Many of us in those distant days augmented our own collections of consort music with manuscript copies from texts which Eric and Cecily made available to us.

As with many people of a gentle, unassertive manner, there was underneath a firm core of quiet self-confidence. Eric always had a great respect and regard for Canon Galpin, and in their different careers, I suspect that their characters had much in common, getting on with the work they had chosen to do without arrogance or polemics.

Eric told us more than once that he would wish to leave the world before he became unable to play any more, and he had his wish. He never told me what his parting message might be for those of us who came after; he would I think have rejected the very idea as conceited. But it may be guessed at with some confidence. A smile, a twinkle in the eye, and 'Just carry on making music. I shall be listening up there.'

MUSIC REVIEWS

Thomas Lupo: *The Two- and Three-Part Consort Music*. Edited by Richard Charteris. Boethius Press, Clifden, 1987. £38.

***XX Konincklycke Fantasien*. Edited by Rudolf Rasch.** Amsterdam, 1648/
Reprinted 1987. £24.45, available from Brian Jordan.

Until recently Thomas Lupo has been the least-known of the quartet of Jacobean court composers who effectively created the English consort tradition. Orlando Gibbons has been extensively studied, and his consort music has appeared in several editions - most recently in *Musica Britannica*, xlviii. Richard Charteris has done Coprario proud with his *John Coprario: A Thematic Index of his Music* (New York, 1977) and with a series of scholarly editions published in Britain and America. Ferrabosco has been tackled less systematically, but most of his four- and five-part fantasias have been edited either in our Supplementary Publications or in the *English Consort Series*, and his *Lessons for 1, 2 and 3 Viols* (London, 1609) has appeared in facsimile (New York, 1973). Meanwhile Dr Charteris has been working through Thomas Lupo. Boethius Press published his editions of the complete vocal music in 1982 and the four-part consort music in 1983; the present volume consists, apart from two 'duos' and three pavans, of twenty-five three-part fantasias, six of which have apparently not been edited before.

Lupo's three-part fantasias invite comparison with the nine famous works printed in Orlando Gibbons's *Fantasies of Three parts*. Gibbons's set divides into two groups. The first four, the more contrapuntal and conventional works, are scored for treble, tenor and bass. The other five are generally more modern in style: they have passages in a lively dance-like idiom similar to the almans of Coprario's fantasia suites and they are similarly scored for two trebles and bass, though there is no obvious evidence that they were intended to be played with organ accompaniment. Lupo's three-part fantasias also divide into 'conservative' and 'modern' pieces, though he was clearly happiest with the modern idiom. His counterpoint is less assured than Gibbons and some of the two-treble pieces are more like dances than fantasias: they do not open with imitative entries and they only differ from extended ternary almans in that section endings are marked by fermatas rather than repeat signs. Lupo also experimented with unusual scorings. One fantasia, VdGS no. 27, Charteris no. 16, is for two tenors and bass; four others, VdGS nos. 5, 6, 8, 24, Charteris nos. 4-6, 14, are for two trebles and tenor; two more, VdGS nos. 15, 26, Charteris nos. 12, 15, make up what might be described as an 'antithetical pair', since they are for three trebles (transposed in two sources for three tenors) and three basses respectively.

What can these connections between Gibbons and Lupo tell us about the origin of their fantasias? In the 1950s Thurston Dart suggested, on the basis of the [44] limited archival material then available, that both wrote their modern pieces for the Private Music, the court chamber ensemble that included Lupo as violinist, Coprario and Ferrabosco as viol players and Gibbons as organist.¹ We now know that Dart was essentially correct (a typically inspired guess), but that the ensemble was in Prince

1 T. Dart: 'The Printed Fantasies of Orlando Gibbons', *Mc&L*, xxxvii (1956), 342-49

Charles's household, not in the main royal music; it only became the Private Music in 1625 when Charles became king and his servants were brought into the main royal household. Gibbons and Lupo can be identified as his servants in 1619-21 and 1618-19 respectively from autograph documents now in GB-Lcm MS 2187, GB-Lbl Add. MSS 33965 and 48590 and GB-Ob MS Autog. C. 19, f.148. From other evidence, too complex to be detailed here, we know that a section of Prince Charles's musicians was known as 'Coprario's Music', that its repertory included Coprario's fantasia suites and Gibbons's great bass-viol fantasias and that its members included the violinists Adam Vallet and John Woodington.

There is, furthermore, documentary evidence to connect some of Lupo's three-part fantasias with Prince Charles's household: the Dutch publisher Paulus Matthysz wrote in the introduction to *XX Konincklycke Fantasien* (Amsterdam, 1648), a volume of English three-part fantasias including works by Lupo, Coprario and a reprint of Gibbons's printed set, that the collection had originally been selected to serve at 'the wrecked marriage festivities between England and Spain'. This must be an allusion to the wedding that would have taken place had not Prince Charles's trip to Spain in 1623 to woo the Spanish Infanta ended in failure. My information is derived from Rudolf Rasch's interesting introduction to the facsimile reprint of the volume, recently issued by the Belgian company Musica Alamire. Several other volumes from the same source are also of interest to viol players.

I have explored the background to Lupo's three-part fantasias in some detail here because Charteris is disappointingly vague on the subject; indeed, in several respects his introduction falls short of the standard we have come to expect from his work on Coprario. To begin with, he follows John M. Jennings in *The New Grove* and elsewhere in stating wrongly that Ambrose Lupo was brother to Joseph (the composer's father) and Peter Lupo. In fact, Ambrose was their father (and Thomas Lupo's grandfather) - see, for instance, Joseph's statement in his denization document of 1600-1 that he was the son of 'Ambrose Lupo and Lucia his wife'.² It is not accurate to say that Peter and Joseph Lupo 'migrated from Italy to London in the middle of the century'. Although they were born in Venice, the work of the Antwerp historian Godeliebe Spiessens has shown that they were members of the Antwerp musicians' guild from 1555 and 1557 respectively; they presumably came to England from there, and they received their court appointments in 1563 and 1566.³ Charteris also seems to be unaware of the research published by Roger Prior, David Lasocki and myself in 1982-3 which showed that the Lupos and a number of other immigrant families at the Tudor court were Sephardic Jews of Spanish or Portuguese origin.⁴ 'Lupo', like Wolf [45] and 'Lopez', was a surname adopted for Gentile society (it was presumably an ironic commentary on the Christian perception of Jews as financial wolves); the Jewish family name of the

2 W. Page (ed.): 'Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England 1509-1603', *Publications of the Huguenot Society*, viii (1893)

3 G. Spiessens: 'Geschiedenis van de Gilde van de Antwerpse Speelieden (Deel xvide eeuw)', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, xxii (1968), 33; Public Record Office, E351/541, ff. 51, 96

4 R. Prior: 'Jewish Musicians at the Tudor Court', *MQ*, lxix (1983), 253-65; D. Lasocki: 'Professional Recorder Playing in England 1500-1700, is 1500-1640', *EM*, x (January 1982), 23-29; P. Holman: 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, cix (1982-3), 39-59

Lupos was recorded in a probate document of 1542 as 'deolmaliyex', a word that seems to be a corruption of 'de Olmaliach' or 'de Almaliach', a form of the Sephardic name 'Elmaleh'.

Turning to Thomas Lupo himself, a persistent problem has been the existence of other Thomas Lupos - particularly his first cousin, the son of Peter Lupo, who was also a member of the court violin band; he was baptised on 7 June 1577 at the London parish of St Botolph, Aldgate.⁵ Although it is unlikely that the confusion between them will ever be entirely resolved, it is possible to improve on the information in *The New Grove* (largely followed by Charteris). A conventional birth-date for the composer has been c. 1570 - a guess based on the fact that he first appeared at court in 1588 (not 1587 as stated by Charteris) following Francis of Venice's death on 26 January of that year.⁶ However, since his father Joseph lived in the London parish of St Olave, Hart St, it is likely that his baptism was recorded there on 7 August 1571 under the name 'Thomas s[on] [of] Basanew'.⁷ Since Thomas's mother was Laura Bassano, the daughter of the court musician Alvise, it is likely that the clerk at St Olave mistakenly set down his mother's maiden name instead of his father's name; there was a Thomas Bassano at that period, but he was baptised on 27 February 1588/9 at All Hallows, Barking.⁸

Charteris (following Jennings) appears to be correct in ascribing all of the 'Thomas Lupo' music to the older man, for the Declared Accounts of the Chamber for 1625-6 record him as 'Thomas Lupo Senior Composer of the violins'; he was thus presumably the individual who wrote and arranged masque dances for the violin band.⁹ It can also be shown that it was the elder Thomas Lupo who was a member of the households of Prince Henry and Prince Charles, so he was presumably also the composer of the three-part fantasias and the other contrapuntal consort music. Two of the autograph documents from Prince Charles's household mentioned above (dated 2 September 1618 and 16 October 1619) bear a different signature from one for arrears of wages from the Chamber dated 5 April 1647, Ob MS Autog. C. 19, f.149. The 1647 document must be by the younger Thomas since the elder died in the winter of 1627-8.¹⁰ Incidentally, he was replaced by his son Theophilus at Christmas, so he probably died in December 1627, not in 1628 as is usually stated. Charteris assumes that a letter dated 13 January 1627/8 from 'Thomas Lupo' to Secretary Nicholas requesting a purser's place (not 'pursuer' as in Charteris!) for his son in the Navy was written by the composer shortly before his death, but it is in a third hand and is probably the work of a seafaring member of the family.¹¹ Yet another nautical Thomas Lupo, with a distinctive fourth hand, drew on wood a chart of the Mediterranean; it is inscribed Mayde By Thomas Lupo in Shadwell & Neere unto The Mill'.¹² The Lupo family needs to be sorted out properly in print; this introduction is a missed opportunity.

Dr Charteris proves to be far more effective as Thomas Lupo's editor than as [46]

5 Guildhall Library, MS 9220

6 Public Record Office, E351/542, ff. 100, 148; Lbl Add. MS 34195, f.13

7 D. Lasocki: *Professional Recorder Players in England*, ii (Ph.D. Diss., University of Iowa, 1983), 591-4

8 *Ibid.*, ii, 560

9 Public Record Office, E351/544, f.201

¹⁰ Public Record Office, AO1/393/66

¹¹ Public Record Office, SP 16/90

¹² Lbl Add. MS 10041

his biographer. Judging from spot checks and a play-through of much of the volume, his musical texts appear to be commendably accurate, and are based wherever possible on early sources - particularly a group of manuscripts written by an as yet unidentified Jacobean court musician. Incidentally, one of these, MS ff1995M4 at the Clark Library in Los Angeles, a set of three part-books first described by Charteris, may actually have been compiled for Prince Charles's circle; apart from four incomplete early fantasias by Jenkins, it consists entirely of music by his servants: Lupo, Coprario, Gibbons and Robert Johnson.¹³ Two fantasias for three trebles by Lupo and Johnson, nos. 10 and 18 in this collection, are obviously related by their rare scoring; perhaps the composers were collaborating in some way for a particular occasion or in a spirit of friendly rivalry.

Several aspects of Charteris's handling of manuscripts in the Filmer collection at Yale University Library require comment. The two 'duos' from Filmer MS 3, nos. 17 and 18, are clearly incomplete as they stand: there are a number of nasty moments of exposed fourths in both pieces, and the composer has made no attempt to incorporate bass notes into the two lines - the cadences, for instance, are all made 2-1 (or 2-3) and 7-1. Both pieces are alman-like dances (one is like a masque dance with a concluding triple-time section) and appear to have a bass part, and possibly one or more inner parts, missing.¹⁴ Charteris also mentions, but does not print, two galliards in the late-Elizabethan Filmer MS 2; his description of them needs correcting in several respects. Although the collection consists of three part-books, the dances, including the two Lupo pieces, occur in only two of them: an alto or second treble part and a bass part. They are nos. 12 and 15, not nos. 6 and 9 (these numbers come from a sequence starting with no. 7) and they presumably have more than one part missing, since the consort concordances in the collection are with five- or six-part pieces.

Despite these criticisms, which are mainly concerned with the introduction rather than the musical text, Dr Charteris's edition is an important addition to the Boethius catalogue, and will be indispensable for anyone interested in Jacobean consort music. Like other volumes in the series, it is nicely printed and is presented in hardback (for the score) and paperback (for the parts). We are promised further volumes of Lupo's five- and six-part consort music; they will hopefully provide an opportunity for the introductions to be brought up to date.

PETER HOLMAN

Orlando Gibbons: *Five-part In Nomines*. Edited by George Hunter. Northwood Editions (1987). Available from Brian Jordan or direct from the publisher, \$9.

It seems so right that the great works of chamber music should be available in collective form and in *parts*. The huge scores found on the library shelves perch precariously on the music stand and turning over the pages is somewhat difficult when both hands are otherwise employed. Surely music must be played before it can be listened to, and it is only through being played that music becomes known and loved. But playing music requires parts. George Hunter has also provided a score and sure

13 R. Charteris: 'A Rediscovered Source of English Consort Music', *Chelys*, v (1973-4), 3-6

14 A number of other pieces ascribed to 'Lupo' in the same source, not printed by Charteris, appear to be by Thomas Lupo's son Theophilus, for the bass parts of three of them are found in Ob MS Mus. Sch. D. 220, B flat section nos. 22-4 ascribed to 'Theo Lupo' and 'The: Lupo'.

enough Gibbons's music is as good to the eye as to the ear. And unless I am mistaken George Hunter is the first person in history to provide printed parts of Byrd's magnificent chamber music (in their original key); and is not Byrd a giant?

So much good was done in this direction by the Viola da Gamba Society's supplementary publications, even if they did at one time go brown at the edges and smelt of chemicals. What must have been the most popular of Gibbons's five-part In nomines, judging by the number of sources in which it originally appeared, and now known as No. 2, was first made available by the German Viola da Gamba Society in the 1950s and was in the most beautiful manuscript imaginable; and they also produced some of his madrigals which after all were called fantasias in GB -Och MS 21, so that they could be played on viols. It can often be more rewarding to play a fine madrigal rather than a bad fantasy. Then No. 2 (as we shall call it) appeared in *Musica Britannica* ix with the appropriate scholarly notes, and parts were made available as off-prints. It is true to say that they were rather heavily laden with marks of expression and articulation, but are not all editorial marks likely to become dated after so many years? Surely the great [48] beauty of these In nomines is that they are devoid of these, so that every time they are played they can sound different and perhaps reveal something new. Fashions in editing are always changing. At present the original notation is often preferred and in long bars. It is certainly pleasurable to the eye and often it seems to have the effect of making the music sound more serene. Also the alto clef has been reinstated for the middle parts; surely the clef which has middle C right in the middle of the stave has a somewhat commanding position? All this is to be found in George Hunter's edition. And he has retained the original key of No. 2: minor with one flat, which does not seem unreasonable. The whole textual commentary is a massive piece of labour and is worth study to see the complexities of editing old music.

No. 1 so rightly begins as Taverner's In nomine did - the very first - but here it is in diminution. There is a beautiful patch in the middle which Hunter describes as frozen time. No. 2 makes use of the cantus firmus holding the rhythm together and so allowing the other parts to continue playing in syncopation for a long time, ending with climbing dactyls in the manner of Monteverdi's *Vespers* of 1610, but easier on viols than on trombones. In No. 3 he is already striding around in large intervals just as William Lawes was to do some thirty years later. But what is so wonderful about these works is that they are all of a piece, as if in starting to write them he could already see the end. Very beautiful music. Viol music.

FRANCIS BAINES

Pierre Jacquier and Jean Louis Charbonnier: *L'Art de Jouer la Basse de Viole*. 2 vols., Heugel, Paris 1987, £15.90 and £13.30.

Here are two very useful supplements to the ever-growing range of pedagogical material for the viol. They are not tutors as such, but volumes of exercises which, although devised by Charbonnier especially for those interested in playing the French solo repertoire, are relevant to all players who are seeking to improve their technique.

The books are laid out very clearly: seven chapters in all each devoted to a different key and including such edifying material as scales, left-hand strengthening exercises, studies and

chordal scales, followed by a selection of appropriate French pieces, many of them by Marais (a continuo book for each volume is supplied).

In the introduction to the first volume Charbonnier uses quotes from French writers including J. B. Forqueray, Loulié, Rousseau and Marais to cover very briefly the subjects of ornamentation, bowhold and left hand position. The rest is a short history of the viol supplied (in French of course) by Pierre Jacquier, and accompanied by an excellent table showing the different types of instrument as described by writers through the ages.

In the second volume Jacquier writes in some detail about the history and [49] construction of the French seven-string viol and then provides useful advice of the general care and maintenance of your own instrument, including diagram showing how to tie new frets and hints on stringing.

Overall these books are to be recommended, but beware the price, they are certainly not cheap!

SUSANNA PELL

Johann Pachelbel: *Kanon and Gigue für drei Violinen and Basso continuo* Edited by Anne Marlene Gurgel. Peters, Leipzig/Dresden, 1985. £7.75.

Karl Munchinger and the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra (who recorded the Canon in 1961) were originally responsible for the amazing popularity of this piece, without which no anthology of baroque pops can be complete. It is not, of course, intended for orchestra at all, but is among the small number of pieces for three solo violins and bass. There are problems in preparing an edition. The main source was probably lost in the war. The Canon, however, was published in Urtext form as part of an article by Gustav Beckmann (*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, i (1918-19), 267-274). The Gigue appeared with the Canon in a less satisfactory edition by Max Seiffert as *Organum III*, xxiv (Kistner & Siegel Leipzig, 1929) with considerable editorial dynamics and phrasing. This has generally been used as the source for subsequent editions and arrangements. This new edition is based on a different source: Berlin Staatsbibliothek Mus.MS 16481/8, dating from around 1800. It is mentioned by Beckmann in connection with a *Partie* for violin, two violas and violone, but in a slightly indirect manner, so perhaps he was confused and this is in fact the lost source. Be that as it may, the new edition is disappointing. The score is fine, but the parts include bowings and fingerings by Christoph Jacobi made on the assumption that a group of three or four notes can only be phrased by slurring some of them. So a good opportunity of providing an accurate edition for the conscientious player has been missed. My expectations that this would make my own less legible but slur-less edition (King's Music, £3.00) redundant have not been fulfilled.

CLIFFORD BARTLETT

André Danican Philidor: *Pièces à deux basset de viole basset de violon et baryon ... Paris ... 1700*. Minkoff, 1988. £22.65.

As a former music librarian, I feel some attachment to someone whose entry in *The New Grove* begins with the words 'Music librarian'. In that capacity, he was responsible for a considerable amount of the music surviving from the French seventeenth-century Court. His grandfather or uncle Michel (c.1600-1659) had joined the royal *grand ecurie* around 1650,

followed soon after by his father (c.1620-1679). Both Andre (c. 1647-1730) and his brother Jacques (1657-1708), [50] distinguished as *l'ainé* and *le cadet*, were employed by Louis XIV, as were many of the thirty-three children the brothers produced; the best known of these was André's youngest son François-André (1726-1795) who excelled as a chess player as well as a dramatic composer.

As a performer, Andre seems to have concentrated on wind instruments, including the bassoon; so the instrumentation on the title page deserves attention. At first glance, it may be suggesting two alternatives: two bass viols or bass violin and bassoon. But the wording at the head of the first page of music is slightly different:

Pieces a deux basses de viole
De viole de violon et de basson.

This gives three possibilities: two bass viols, two bass violins or two bassoons. Since there are no chords (except for a few passages in thirds) nor any other indications idiomatic to the bass viol, perhaps this is really bassoon music. Philidor was also a drummer, and he includes a drum part for a *Marche du Roy de la Chine*.

Readers of *Chelys* interested in the French viol repertoire will probably already have acquired the edition by Barbara Coeyman (Dove House, Viola da Gamba Series no. 21), which is perfectly satisfactory. But if you have not, and fancy some attractive and not too difficult bass duets, the consideration is primarily economic. The original engraving is very clear, and reproduced with Minkoff's customary clarity, so two players should be able to read a single copy. The Dove House version provides two copies and is cheaper (£4.50 from Brian Jordan).

CLIFFORD BARTLETT

Anon. (Berlin School, c.1760): *Sonata in C major for bass viol and basso continuo*. Edited by Donald Beecher and Bryan Gillingham. Dove House Editions, Canada, Viola da Gamba Series no. 44. C 3.90 score and parts.

The British Library manuscript of music by Roland Marais closes with this anonymous piece. The only true sonata in the collection, it is evident from the musical style that the piece cannot be attributed to Marais and the editors quite rightly identify the style to Berlin shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century. They suggest that it may be the work of Christoph Schaffrath and compare it to C.P.E. Bach. Unfortunately I am reminded only occasionally of that composer and never of his lyrical moods (e.g. there is nothing here to compare with the first and last movements of the D major sonata).

The sonata is in three movements: slow, not quite so slow and slow minuet. Judging from the nature of the technical demands, the composer probably played on the viol himself. The abundance of consecutive thirds makes for thickish textures and slowish tempi, but they provide a useful exercise in coping smoothly with awkward shifts of hand. Yet the quality of this sonata rarely justifies the [51] effort in mastering its technical difficulties, and such effort I would suggest should be confined to the home.

The editors are to be commended on presenting the music in an exemplary manner: leaving inconsistencies in articulation as they appear in the manuscript, using the

original clefs of treble octave down and bass (though I think it would have been useful to point out that the bass clef is at written pitch), and reproducing the figures in the continuo exactly. The realisation is useful only in that it can easily be ignored, otherwise it commits all the usual sins: too high, doubling exactly the viol, and so on. But somehow I do feel that there is still much solo viol music, even from this time and place (for example C.P.E. Bach's C major - a new edition of the D major?), that is more worthy of the editors' talents.

RICHARD BOOTHBY