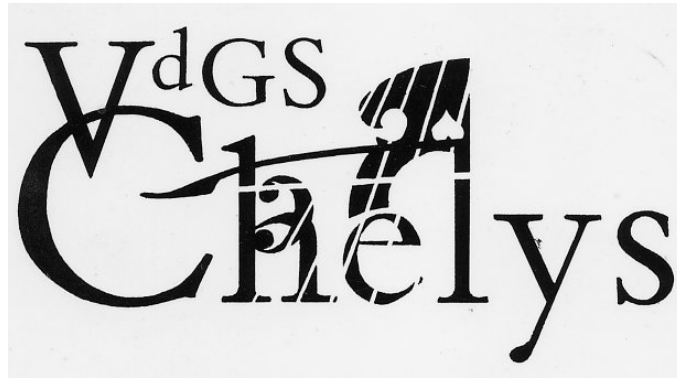




The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society

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 updated 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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[3]
STEPHEN BING:
A FORGOTTEN VIOLIST

PAMELA WILLETTS

Recent work by Dr Watkins Shaw has drawn attention to the considerable amount of music copied by Stephen Bing, minor canon of St Paul's Cathedral, during the 1670s.¹ This consists of church music, including substantial portions of the Gostling part-books now preserved in the library of York Minster, and manuscripts copied for Westminster Abbey and St Paul's which have remained in their places of origin. As Dr Shaw mentions, Stephen Bing was also the copyist of a set of part-books in the collection of Gresham College (G Mus.MSS 469-471, on deposit in the Guildhall Library, London). These were probably written earlier, possibly during the Commonwealth, and contain three-part music for the viol, the 'Flat Consort' by Matthew Locke, and fantasies by John Jenkins and William Young.² Sonatas and airs by 'Sietrich Beckron' (probably the German composer Dietrich Becker) are entered in the treble part-book, in the same hand, but apparently at a later date.

Stephen Bing is known to have been active as a teacher of the viol during the Commonwealth. His name occurs in John Playford's list of 'excellent and able masters' in London in the Rules and Directions prefixed to *A Musical Banquet* (1651). Bing's name is given under the heading for 'Voyce or Viol', together with those of Henry Lawes, Charles and Edward Coleman, William Webb, John Birkenshaw, George Hudson, Davis Mell and many others.

Further testimony to Stephen Bing's ability as a teacher of the viol is given in John Batchiler's *The Virgin's Pattern* (1661), an encomium of the young musician Susan Perwich published shortly after her death at the age of twenty-four. After mentioning her first masters on the treble viol - Thomas Flood, who gave her grounding in the notes, and William Gregory 'who did very much better the making and forming of her hand, and was the first that gave her that rare delicious stroke ...' - Batchiler comes to her most important teacher on the viol: 'Her principal Master at the Viol, for the last seven years, was Mr Stephen Bing, a surviving witness of her admirable abilities, which in great part (to his honour be it spoken) She gained from him, it being very much his care and ambition, to encourage her with the best grounds and suits of Lessons that could be gotten and thereby bring her to the highest perfections attainable at the Viol'.³

The verses which follow the prose section of Batchiler's biography have little merit as poetry but recapitulate the main events of Susan Perwich's life with extra detail. Poem IX relating to music mentions many of her masters and admirers and gives some idea of the virtues of her playing on the viol.

¹ Watkins Shaw: *The Bing-Gostling Part-books at York Minster* (Church Music Society, The Royal School of Church Music, Croydon, 1986); see also *The New Grove*, ii (1980), 723.

² Gordon Dodd: *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, i (1980), 74-5, 204; ii (1982), 128-9.

³ The frequent italics in Batchiler's book are omitted here and in subsequent quotations.

The poem is too long to be quoted here in full but the following extracts will give the flavour:

[4]

First for her Musick, who can give
Sufficient praise? or cause it live,
As it deserves in memory?
And that to all posterity?
Ask Rogers, Bing, Coleman, and others,
The most exactly skilful Brothers:
Ask Brian, Mell, Ives, Gregories,
Hows, Stifkins, all, in whom there lyes, Rare Arts of Musick, they can tell,
How well she sung: how rarely well
She play'd on severall Instruments
What high admir'd accomplishments,
She had attain'd to; Angels hands,
On Lute or Viol scarce commands
A sweeter touch ...

Laws, Sympson, Polewheel, Jenkins, all
'Mong the best masters musical,
Stand ravish'd while they hear her play,
And with high admiration say,
What curious strains! what rare divisions!
Are we not 'mong Celestial Visions!
This is no humane hand! These strokes,
The high immortal Spirits provokes
To listen to her! she plays so,
That after her none takes the bow,
To play again ...

... each touch

To most judicious ears was such,
So sweet, so quick, so dainty, rare,
That nothing could therewith compare.
No strain but was incomparable,
And by mens Art insuperable.
The deepest grounds where utmost skill,
Of a rich fancy lay, she still
Most finely nick'd; her nimble Arm
Still made a most delicious Charm.
Quick, numerous motions she would show,
With her swift, gliding, jumping bow.
Even in a moment she would measure,
Thousands of strokes, with ease and pleasure,
Where others hundreds scarce could reach,
Though such as most profest to teach.
All this, both by her hand and brain,
Without the least toil, labour, pain.

[5] Part of this may be discounted as hyperbole from a sorrowing 'neer Relation', as John Batchiler professed himself, but we cannot set aside the many visitors who came to listen to Susan Perwich, 'not onely persons of high rank and quality, of all sorts, came from London, the Inns of Court, and out of several Counties, to hear and judge of her abilities, especially the chieftest Musick-Masters that are now living: but many foreigners also ...'. Stephen Bing could have made, or renewed, many musical connections among the admirers of his pupil. After all John Jenkins is mentioned among those who heard her play.

The scene of these musical activities was a ladies' boarding school in Hackney about which John Batchiler gives a good deal of incidental information. In 1644 Susan Perwich's father, Robert, had 'removed his dwelling to his School at Hackney, where now he lives', from his previous parish of St Mary Aldermanbury, near St Paul's. Stephen Bing not only taught Susan Perwich but had a teaching post at the school, as appears from a reference in the Epistle Dedicatory in Batchiler's book to 'Mr Rogers, Mr Bing, Mr Coleman, Mr Brian, Mr Hazard, and the rest of the Masters of the School ...'. The house was of some size for we are told that Susan Perwich had to retire to the garden for her religious reading and meditation 'because the house was always full of company, having well nigh an hundred, and sometimes more of Gentlewomen with their attendants; and the Servants and Children of the House every where going up and down, in every Room, so that she could get no place of privacy ...'.

Local tradition in Hackney identified the house as Bohemia Palace, later known as the Black and White House, which formerly stood in Church Street, next to the church of St John, Hackney; the present Bohemia Place is on the site.⁴ The property was acquired by Sir Thomas Vyner in 1662 and this date may be significant. It is evident from references to Susan Perwich's reading and to her religious advisers, who included the well-known divine, Dr William Spurstowe, that the family were Puritans. Robert Perwich would not have been able to obtain a licence to continue his school without subscribing to the provisions of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Dr Spurstowe resigned his living as rector of St John's Hackney in 1662 rather than conform.⁵

Stephen Bing's reputation as a teacher of the viol during the Commonwealth and his access to music for the instrument suggests an extensive background of viol playing. He may have obtained or developed this during his short period of service as a minor canon of St Paul's before the Civil Wars. He appears to have joined the College of Minor Canons during the year 1640-1641 and would have found active practitioners of string instruments and composers of viol music among other members of the musical establishment there. John Woodington and William Cranford were among the vicars choral and Martin Peerson was almoner and master of the choristers. Simon Ives was organist of Christ Church, Newgate, and

⁴ William Robinson: *History and Antiquities of Hackney, i* (London, 1842-3), 95, 212, n.269. Bohemia Palace derived its name from a tradition that the Elector Palatine, the 'Winter King' of Bohemia, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of James 1, resided there briefly after their marriage. Stained glass in a window included the royal arms and those of the Elector Palatine.

⁵ For a summary of his life see *DNB*, xviii (1917), 843-4

according to Hawkins was a vicar choral of St Paul's before the Civil Wars. Furthermore Stephen Bing's career at St Paul's just overlapped that of John Barnard, another of the minor canons. Barnard was very probably the [6] owner or compiler of a scorebook of viol fantasies used by Sir Nicholas Le Strange to collate and annotate his own collections of viol music.⁶

Was this all? Moving from firm to less certain ground, I now propose to examine the possibility that Stephen Bing was the copyist of a large quantity of viol and vocal music, mostly preserved in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, but also to be found in the collection of St Michael's College, Tenbury (on deposit in the Bodleian Library) and in the British Library. David Pinto has recently studied the connections of this copyist with the music library of Christopher, 1st Baron Hatton, and has designated this unidentified person as 'K'.⁷ As a reminder of the importance of K's work it should be mentioned that it includes the large score-book of viol fantasies, Och MS 2, the interesting late version of William Lawes's 'Royal Consort' in Och MSS 754-759, and the collection of five-part sacred vocal music, including works by Henry Lawes, in Lbl Add.MS 31434. I touched on the manuscripts written by this copyist many years ago in connection with the work of Angelo Notari, George Jeffreys and John Lilly.⁸

The main reason for putting forward this proposal is the striking resemblance of Stephen Bing's music hand to that of copyist K. Particular similarities include the shape and formation of the crotchet heads, angled to the right, frequently showing a protrusion at the top right corner, and sometimes incompletely inked; the spacing of the notes; the custos; and the decorated endings to some pieces. These endings consist frequently of a breve or long surmounted by an ornamented pause mark and followed by a series of vertical lines of diminishing size arranged in the shape of an arrow or triangle. Good examples can be found in the Christ Church manuscripts written by K and these can be matched on some pages of the Gresham part-books and the Gostling part-books written by Stephen Bing. The signs for rests, particularly the arrangement of a series of rests, are similar in both groups of manuscripts. Stephen Bing uses two dots after a series of rests to indicate the ends of verses in verse anthems; copyist K uses the same device in Lbl Add.MS 31434. This practice is found in other sources connected with St Paul's, notably John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641), and Lcm MSS 1045-1051, the manuscript part-books which complement Barnard's collection.

Copyist K uses a variety of clefs. The treble clef in particular varies considerably, ranging from a commonplace 'g' clef in Lbl Add.MS 31434 and Och MSS 2 and 754-759 to a strange formalised type found in Och MSS 432 and 436 which resembles the treble clef used in Thomas Morley's *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*. It is possible that the use of longs at the end of pieces and some old-fashioned time signatures found in manuscripts copied by K and Stephen Bing derive from Morley. From a

⁶ Pamela J. Willetts: 'Sir Nicholas Le Strange and John Jenkins', *M&L*, xlii (1961)

⁷ David Pinto: publication forthcoming in the *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, xxiii (1989)

⁸ P.J. Willetts: 'A Neglected Source of Monody and Madrigal', *M&L*, xliii (1962), n. 332; John Lilly, Musician and Music Copyist, *The Bodleian Library Record*, vii (1967), 309-10

pencil note written in the account book of the warden of the College of Minor Canons of St Paul's we know that Stephen Bing was allowed to borrow a copy of Morley's book on 23 July 1647.⁹ (This can hardly have been his first acquaintance with the book; as will be seen he lost some of his possessions by confiscation in 1643 and the loan may have filled a gap in his [7] library.) The treble clef used by Bing in the Gostling part-books and the Gresham set is different again and could be based on the type used by John Playford in his earlier publications. For teaching purposes during the Commonwealth Stephen Bing may have chosen to use a form that was found in the current textbooks

Comparison of the manuscripts copied by K with those known to have been written by Stephen Bing is difficult owing to the wide dispersal of the sources.¹⁰ There is another problem in comparing the text-hands in the two groups. For his copies of church music and the few headings and titles in the Gresham College set Stephen Bing used an italic hand whereas the most extensive text hand in K's copies, in Lbl Add. MS 31434, is in a secretary hand. Stephen Bing's italic hand is not entirely fluent and shows a variety of forms for some letters Dr Shaw has commented on the stiffness and variety of this hand in the church music sources and goes so far as to refer to instability in style of writing on some pages of the Gostling part-books. Some forms seem, to my eye, to be imitations of printed characters, for instance the small 'g', with tightly curled tail, mentioned by Dr Shaw, and the serifs on some capital letters. It is interesting that in the Gresham part-books Bing imitates printed signatures at the foot of some pages. Examples of the hands of copyist K and Stephen Bing are given in Plates 1 and 2.

Stephen Bing was educated before the Civil Wars and would have learnt two styles of writing, a secretary hand for everyday use, and an italic hand for display purposes. I have found examples of Stephen Bing's secretary hand in an acquittance book containing receipts for salaries at St Paul's from 1670 to 1687.¹¹ Some of the recipients, including Bing, wrote a few words of receipt as well as their signatures when receiving payment. The samples of Bing's secretary hand are not extensive enough for a definite conclusion but where letters can be compared there is a resemblance to forms used (much earlier) in Lbl Add-MS 31434.

There is another example of K's work which may help to bridge the gap. I realised recently that Lbl Add. MS 27551, from a set of part-books (Lbl Add. MSS 27550-4) containing three-part Fancy-Ayre Suites and four-part Fancy-Ayre-Courant Suites by Jenkins, was written by copyist K. This set is a hotchpotch of different hands, including (as has been known for many years) John Lilly, who wrote part of Lbl Add. MS 27550.¹² The music-hand

⁹ Archives of St Paul's (Arch.St P.), Guildhall Library (GL), London, MS 25746.1 am grateful to the authorities of St Paul's and the Guildhall Library for access to the archives of St Paul's (on deposit in the Guildhall Library) and for permission to quote brief extracts.

¹⁰ Viola da Gamba Society S P 119, a facsimile (with some editorial additions) of Och MSS 754-9, can be compared with the plates in W. Shaw: *op. cit.* Facsimiles of pages from Och MSS 2 and 436 are given in W.G. Hiscock: *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church* (Oxford, 1960), Plates 35 and 38.

¹¹ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25650/2

¹² P.J. Willetts: *The Bodleian Library Record*, vii (1967), 310

in Lbl Add. MS 27551 agrees well with K's work in Lbl Add MS 31434, but the titles are written in an italic hand which could be Bing's. The set may be a late source; annotations on covers and flyleaves include the date '1674'.

Finally there is another possible link. After a recent re-examination of the manuscripts I consider that the headings and titles in Och MSS 2 and 436 could be an earlier form of Stephen Bing's italic hand.¹³ The small 'g' with the tightly curled tail is to be found in these annotations.

There is circumstantial evidence to show that Stephen Bing could have been in the right place to collaborate with George Jeffreys, and to act as assistant to Lord Hatton; and there are gaps in his life, as we know it, which could have coincided with other musical activities.

[8]

Plate 1: Copyist K; transcript of William Lawes, 'The Royall Consort', Och MS 754. Reproduced by permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

¹³ In 1967 I considered that these were in the hand of Henry Aldrich, *ibid.*, 309.



Plate 2: Stephen Bing; transcript of Matthew Locke, 'The Flatt Consort', Lgc G Mus. MS 469, f.20. Reproduced by permission of the Joint Grand Gresham Committee and the Guildhall Library.

[10] The main outlines of Stephen Bing's life have been established.¹⁴ He was born in 1610 in the parish of St George the Martyr, Canterbury, and served as a chorister in the Cathedral from the year 1617-1618 to 1624.¹⁵ There is then a long gap in our knowledge. He probably obtained a degree (possibly, as will be seen, at Cambridge) and was ordained, for he obtained a place as a minor canon at St Paul's not long before the Civil Wars.

¹⁴ W. Shaw: *op. cit.*

¹⁵ There is an intriguing possibility that Stephen Bing was taught to play on the viol by John Barnard, at Canterbury. I am indebted to Dr Andrew Ashbee for the information that a John Barnard, lay-clerk at Canterbury from 1618 to 1622 was paid 20s in 1620 for teaching the viol to the boys. Dr John Morehen (*The New Grove*, ii (1980), 165-6) suggested that John Barnard, the lay-clerk, might be identified with the later minor canon of St Paul's.

According to the statutes of the College of Minor Canons at St Paul's minor canons were required to be in holy orders, and, among other qualifications, to have good voices. Their duties were liturgical as well as musical. Bing's signature first appeared in the account book of the warden of the College at midsummer 1642 when he signed for his dividend. He was probably already at St Paul's during the year 1640-41 when he paid his Ingress money of 11s 8d.¹⁶ The establishment of minor canons at St Paul's suffered a considerable turnover of staff during the late 1630s. There were some natural vacancies through death or retirement but one suspects that other incumbents had seen the way the wind was blowing and had left their otherwise desirable posts in London for quieter parts of the country. Whatever the reason for the vacancies three new minor canons paid their Ingress money during the year 1640-41, Stephen Bing, Henry Smith and John Townsend.

The timing of Stephen Bing's appointment to St Paul's was most unpropitious. Not only was there political tension after the dissolution of the Short Parliament and a financial crisis but opposition was building up to the structure of ecclesiastical government and the establishment of the Church of England. The measures taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, to reform the liturgy and organisation of the Church had been misinterpreted, sometimes wilfully, by Puritan sects as an attempt to reintroduce Roman Catholicism. Widespread opposition was provoked by Laud's new Canons to regulate the government of the Church of England, which passed Convocation in May 1640. These included a requirement for members of the learned professions to take an oath of loyalty to the established church. Reaction to attempts to enforce the oath was immediate and the Puritan opposition was supported by many members of the House of Commons. On 11 December 1640, one of the London members, Alderman Isaac Penington, presented a petition to the House calling for the suppression of bishops 'root and branch'. John Pym, the Leader of the House of Commons, diverted the main thrust of the attack and on 18 December 1640 Archbishop Laud was accused of high treason.¹⁷ The next year, 1641, was overshadowed by the execution of Strafford, continuing differences between King and Parliament, the committal of Laud to the Tower, and at the end of the year the Irish Rebellion. One of Stephen Bing's last ceremonial duties at St Paul's before the Civil Wars may have been to participate in the anthem sung at the south door of the cathedral to welcome the King as he passed through the City on 25 November on his return from Scotland. Just over six weeks later the failure of Charles I's attempt to arrest five members of the House of Commons (who escaped to a safe house in the City, in Coleman Street, [11] not far from St Paul's) was followed by the King's withdrawal from London, and the uneasy months which preceded the raising of the Royal Standard at Nottingham on 22 August 1642.¹⁸

After the outbreak of open hostilities in the autumn of 1642 measures were taken by Parliament to raise funds and to control the activities of suspected Royalist supporters. Assessments and 'voluntary' loans were followed by the

¹⁶ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25746

¹⁷ For sources see C.V. Wedgwood: *The King's Peace* (London, 1955)

¹⁸ For sources see C.V. Wedgwood: *The King's War* (London, 1958)

sequestration of property of 'malignants' and the eviction of 'scandalous' ministers. St Paul's was an obvious target. *Mercurius Britanicus*, the satirical news-sheet on the Parliamentary side, directed its invective against St Paul's in December 1643: 'On this St Pauls is a goodly piece of Superstition in the eyes of the Bishops, this is that Saint Paules that Archbishop Will brusht so cleane, lest it should foule his satten Cassocke and his Lowne surplesse in his way to heaven, for it seems that he intended to ascend in his pontificalibus'.¹⁹ The sequestration of the rents and revenues of St Paul's was set in motion by an Ordinance of 12 March 1643/4 which appointed the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to supervise the administrative arrangements.²⁰

There are indications in the warden's accounts of the repercussions of these measures on the College of Minor Canons. In the accounting year 1643-44 they spent £8 of their dividends on expenses concerning their petition to Parliament for recovery 'of our Church-meanes'; in 1644-45 a further £9 3s 3d was spent 'about our Suite to the Parliament' and in 1645-46 £8 7s 6d 'for and about the prosecution of the Sequestrators Certificate which held us in agitation ever since Michaelmas last year'.²¹ The minor canons were successful in obtaining some payment from the sequestrators. A record has survived of the rents and revenues of St Paul's received by the sequestrators from 2 April 1644 to 10 April 1646 and of the payments which they authorised to various officials of the cathedral.²² Eleven minor canons are known to have been on the establishment at this date; payments were authorised to ten of them between June and November 1645, but there was no mention of Stephen Bing.

It is clear from other evidence that Stephen Bing was on some kind of black list. A memorandum at the beginning of the warden's accounts for 1645-46 noted that the sequestrators had deducted from the monies due to the College 'Mr Bing's and the two dead places'. The small amount paid over by the sequestrators to the minor canons was 'divided apart among nine of us here extant'.²³ There had been another death or retirement among the minor canons and Stephen Bing, so far as the sequestrators were concerned, was not entitled to any payment.

Examination of the signatures to the warden's accounts each midsummer shows that not all the minor canons signed each year. Of the nine minor canons 'here extant' at midsummer 1646 only six signed for their dividends. But the broken pattern of Stephen Bing's signatures is probably significant. He signed in the summers of 1642 and 1643 and again in 1647 to 1649. (The accounts cease after midsummer 1649 until the Restoration, since the Dean and Chapter and other offices were suppressed in 1649.)

[12] A gap in Stephen Bing's signatures at this time, combined with the other evidence just given that he was not allowed payment by the sequestrators, suggests to me that he had left London to join the Royalist supporters. His reappearance in the summer of 1647 may indicate that he

¹⁹ *Mercurius Britanicus*, 21-28 December 1643

²⁰ C.H. Firth & R.S. Rait: *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, i (London, 1911), 672; British Library E.40(2)

²¹ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25746

²² P.R.O. SP 28/355/1

²³ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25746

was able to take advantage of surrender terms, such as those offered by the articles agreed in June 1646 on the surrender of Oxford, and return to his place of former employment.²⁴ Oxford was the location of the King's Court from October 1642 to June 1646, and this is where several researchers have suggested that George Jeffreys and copyist K collaborated to provide music for the royal chapel in Christ Church. Lord Hatton, the employer of George Jeffreys, was appointed Comptroller of the Royal Household in December 1643.

I have now found evidence that Stephen Bing was listed as a delinquent, that is a supporter of the Royalist forces. An Ordinance of 27 March 1643 for 'sequestering notorious Delinquents Estates' had been followed by the setting up of administrative machinery to pursue the sequestrations.²⁵ A report by Ralph Farmer, the Solicitor for Sequestrations, for the period April 1643 to 1 March 1644, included a list of warrants for sequestrations issued from Camden House, Kensington, and indicated the results.²⁶ No. 281 on this list relates to Stephen Bing. The date of the warrant for his sequestration is given as 19 August (1643), the place of seizure as 'Petty Cannons' (that is the College of Minor Canons to the north of St Paul's); entries under other headings show that goods were seized but no details are given. A further account of warrants and their results made by Henry Linch, Clerk to the Committee of Sequestrations, describes Stephen Bing as a delinquent, and gives the name of the collector in this case as William Mills. Ralph Farmer, the Solicitor for Sequestrations, was later accused of fraudulently retaining sequestered goods and admitted holding back certain items, including a bass viol valued at 18s, which he had intended to purchase.²⁷ The owner of the viol is not stated.

It is not certain when Stephen Bing left London. His signature at midsummer 1643 to the warden's accounts appears to be authentic. A system of passes controlled movements out of London at this time but evasions were probably frequent. There was a significant exodus of Members of Parliament and other influential persons out of London in August 1643. Stephen Bing may have got wind of the warrant that was to be served on him.

I have not found any direct mention of Stephen Bing in Oxford but it is possible to give the context in which he may have worked. Sir Edward Dering returned to London from Oxford early in 1644 and placed himself under the protection of Parliament. Dering published his reasons for abandoning the Court at Oxford and among these was his disapproval of the form of the church services.²⁸ 'I observe that in matter of Religion, they are yet in love with those specious, pompous, loud, exteriour complements. One single groan in the Spirit, is worth the *Diapason* of all the Church-Musick in the world. Organs, Sackbuts, Recorders, Cornets, etc. and voices are mingled together, as if we would catch[13] God Almighty with the fine

²⁴ J. Rushworth: *Historical Collections* 4/i (London, 1701), 280-5

²⁵ C.H. Firth & R.S. Rait: *op. cit.*, i, 106-17

²⁶ P.R.O. SP 28/212

²⁷ *ibid*

²⁸ *A Declaration By Sir Edward Dering ... with his Petition to the House of Commons* (London, 164-1)

ayre of an Anthem, whilst few present do or can understand.' After a quotation in Latin from a Catholic writer²⁹ attacking the use of polyphonic music in church services Dering turned his attention to those responsible for the services. 'In this Devotion made up with noise like the *Dionysian Orgy's*, there is a parasiting part of the Clergie, who love with these lazie performances to arouse the people so much, that they had rather the Kingdom should be blown up, then that the King should forbear to hear the blowing of Organs: Some of these (I doubt not) do think the Cathedrall part of this great Contention, worth this War and Blood.' The passage relating to music, but omitting all reference to parasiting clergy, is quoted in order to refute the argument, in a defence of church music, *The Well-tuned Organ*, published in August 1660 shortly after the Restoration. The author was the clergyman, Joseph Brooksbank, who (as we shall see) may have been the son-in-law of Stephen Bing.

Was Stephen Bing one of the 'parasiting part of the Clergie' in Oxford who prepared the music for the services held before the King and his Court in Christ Church where George Jeffreys was organist? It is known that copyist K annotated certain Latin motets transcribed by George Jeffreys, and wrote in alternative words in Marian motets to make them suitable for Anglican worship.³⁰ Who more qualified to make such alterations than an Anglican clergyman who was also a trained musician and singer?

There seems to have been contact, possibly only of a business nature, between Stephen Bing and Henry Lawes before the Civil Wars. It had become the practice for the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's to lease out many of the houses originally intended as residences for the canons and minor canons. The incumbent concerned would be involved in the lease and would be entitled to a rent from the letting. A brief note in the warden's accounts for 1640-41 refers to the expenditure of 13s 4d for 'Sealing Mr. Bing's lease let to Mr. Lawes for Mr. Nightingale'.³¹ From other records relating to the lands and revenues of St Paul's it is clear that the property was Stephen Bing's incumbent's house, which abutted on the hall of the College of Minor Canons to the east, with access from Paul's Alley on the west.³² The lease was to Henry Lawes but 'use' was reserved to Roger Nightinggale, another of the minor canons; a rent of £7 per annum was payable to Stephen Bing. In some leases there was an option for the incumbent to occupy some of the rooms and receive a reduced rent. Perhaps Stephen Bing was availing himself of an option of this kind when his property was seized in the Petty Canons in August 1643.

The property of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's was surveyed in August 1649 in preparation for the sale of ecclesiastical lands ordered by an Act of 30 April 1649 for the 'Abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, and all other Offices ...'.³³ Stephen Bing's house is

²⁹ Sir Edward Dering: *A Discourse of Proper Sacrifice* (London, 1644) attributes the Latin quotation to Henry Cornelius Agrippa. In his earlier publication the attribution is omitted so that the Latin quotation appears to be part of Dering's text.

³⁰ See references in D. Pinto: *op. cit.*

³¹ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25746

³² Arch.St P., GL, MS 25632, f.222; see GL, MS 19859/1 for further details of some leases.

³³ C.H. Firth & R.S. Rait: *op. cit.*, ii, 81-104

described in detail.³⁴ It consisted of a kitchen and adjoining room on the first floor, a warehouse on the second, two rooms on the third floor and two garrets above, with a staircase [14] leading down to the Petty Canons garden. In the contract for sale the house was said to be 'now or late in the tenure or occupation of Stephen Bing'. The records show that Henry Lawes assigned the remainder of his lease to Ann Lloyd on 6 April 1649 and that there was a contract for the sale of this property and others by the Parliamentary trustees to Thomas Morrice of the city of Westminster.³⁵ Ann Lloyd was the married daughter of Roger Nightingale and her second husband was Thomas Morrice.³⁶ It seems that Roger Nightingale and his family managed to keep a hold on some of their property interests. Whether this enabled Stephen Bing to continue to live in the vicinity of St Paul's during the Commonwealth I have not managed to ascertain. That he was in financial difficulties is clear from two small grants made to him by the Committee for the Maintenance of Ministers: £4 on 26 April 1655 and 40s on 6 November 1657.³⁷ Similar grants were made to other former officers of St Paul's including Albertus Brian, the organist, who also taught at Hackney, and Bing's colleague Henry Smith, who is known to have remained in the parish of St Gregory by St Paul.³⁸

I have not found the date or place of Stephen Bing's marriage. It is known from his will that his wife's name was Katherine and that he had three daughters.³⁹ One at least of these, Elizabeth Brooksbank, was probably born before the Civil Wars as it seems likely that she was the wife of the clergyman, Joseph Brooksbank. The births of two children in 1658 and 1660 to Joseph Brooksbank 'minister', and Elizabeth his wife, are recorded in the parish registers of St Bride's, Fleet Street. Joseph Brooksbank was well-known as a schoolmaster and educational writer during the Commonwealth.⁴⁰

After the Restoration of the monarchy in May 1660 Stephen Bing was at hand with Henry Smith to take an active part in the recovery of the lands and revenues of the minor canons of St Paul's. Henry Smith was appointed Subdean, and Stephen Bing was formally admitted to the next senior place of Senior Cardinal.⁴¹ He also acted as warden of the College of Minor Canons during the first two difficult years when expenses exceeded income.⁴² Roger Nightingale, who must by then have been very elderly, survived to see the Restoration and died in November 1661. The

³⁴ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25632, f.222

³⁵ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25633, vol. i, ff. 185-7

³⁶ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25632, f.233

³⁷ A.G. Matthews: *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948), 11

³⁸ Vestry Minutes of St Gregory by St Paul, GL MS 1336/ 1, f.48v, refers to Henry Smith as 'our Reader Clerke and Register', 26 October 1657.

³⁹ Y.R.O. PROB 11/368/179. His daughters' names are given as Katherine Knib, Elizabeth Brooksbank, and 'daughter Thompson'. The latter was probably Judith, the wife of one of Stephen Bing's trustees, Dr Robert Thompson, LLD, Advocate of Doctors Commons and secretary to Archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft.

⁴⁰ Parish registers of St Bride's, Fleet Street, GL MS 6540/ 1. For further details of Joseph Brooksbank see *DNB*, ii (1917), 1323-4

⁴¹ Arch.St P., GL, MS 25664/1, f.12v

⁴² Arch.St P., GL, MS 25746

establishment of minor canons was brought up to strength, the revenues once again showed a profit and the choir was beginning to take shape when St Paul's was hit by the two major disasters which struck London, the Great Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of 1666.

As it happens a few letters have survived from Stephen Bing to William Sancroft, Dean of St Paul's, written during the time of the Plague.⁴³ These are in his italic hand but forms such as ampersands and some capital letters can be matched in the work of copyist K. The letters are of great interest in showing Bing's work during the months of the plague in the area around St Paul's. He was engaged not only in attempting to keep the church services going at a time when many of the clergy had left London but also in visiting the needy and distributing alms given by Dean Sancroft. He reported on 3 August that prayers were being said three times a day in St Paul's although only three of the minor canons [15] remained on duty, himself, James Clifford and Joseph Masters, and two of the vicars choral. Another minor canon, William Portington, was critically ill: 'Mr Portington lies at the point of death whose turne being to officiate this week I supply for no one els would doe it except they were paid for it...'. His next letter of 7 August reported the death of Mr Portington 'whom I buryed on Saturday last', and the spread of the plague in Carter Lane and 'in Sermon Lane wch is next my house'.

Stephen Bing survived the plague but must have lost his house near Sermon Lane in the Great Fire in the following year. His duties as a minor canon lapsed since normal choral services were not resumed at St Paul's during his lifetime. Dr Shaw has mentioned Bing's appointment as a lay clerk at Lincoln Cathedral from 1667 to 1672 and it was at Lincoln that part of the Gostling part=books was written.⁴⁴ I have just come across two letters of 1666 from Michael Honywood, Dean of Lincoln, to Dean Sancroft, relating to the former's attempts to build up the choir at Lincoln and his inducements to Stephen Bing to accept a position in the choir.⁴⁵ Honywood wrote on 24 October 'I shall take especial care of Mr Bing, for old acquaintance sake, if his name be Stephen (as I remember it is, if it be he I think of) and a Niece, my now Housekeeper, was his Scholar...', and that 'to induce Mr Bings coming hither' there was a curate's place available near Lincoln where he would get £20 per annum for reading prayers on Sundays. Honywood's second letter of 7 November shows that Bing was still hesitating: 'And who can tell but Bing may yet be prevailed with; since by his letter to me he seemed well enclined; and has varied, only in right of his wyfe; who perhaps may agayne vary ...'. From a comment later in the letter it seems that Stephen Bing was a countertenor and still sought after for his voice; he would then have been fifty-six. It also emerges that Honywood had not seen Bing for '30 or 40 years'. This casual remark probably enables us to place Stephen Bing in a Cambridge context in, say, the early-mid 1630s, since Honywood was a fellow of Christ's College,

⁴³ Lbl Harleian MS 3785, ff. 19, 20, 24, 27, 29 and 47; cited in W.G. Bell: *The Great Plague in London in 1665* (London, rev. ed., 1951) and W.R. Matthews & W.M. Atkins: *A History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1957)

⁴⁴ W. Shaw: *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ Ob Tanner MS 130, ff. 17 and 19

Cambridge, from 1618 to 1643, after which he retired to the Low Countries until the Restoration.

Dr Shaw's study covers the remaining years of Stephen Bing's life.⁴⁶ He returned to London about 1672 on his appointment as a lay vicar of Westminster Abbey. There are several references to his copying church music for Westminster during the 1670s and he remained there until his death in November 1681. Although his position at Westminster was of lower standing than his place at St Paul's he would, as Dr Shaw points out, have been entitled to dividends and other payments arising from the St Paul's freeholds. The acquittance books include a number of payments to him in the 1670s. Stephen Bing's will shows that, despite the vicissitudes of his career, he was able to make comfortable provision for his wife and leave bequests to his three daughters.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ W. Shaw: *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ P.R.O. PROB 11/368/179. Stephen Bing had lands in Grantchester, Ca rubs., 'mortgaged for use by Mr John Bing late dec'd'. John Bing was one of the Cambridge Bings. Stephen Bing may have been a distant cousin.

THE PANMURE MANUSCRIPTS: A NEW LOOK AT AN OLD SOURCE OF CHRISTOPHER SIMPSON'S CONSORT MUSIC

CALUM McCART

The Panmure collection of manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland, takes its name from Panmure House near Dundee, former seat of the Maules. A titled family of Franco-Scottish descent, they were active during the seventeenth century in political affairs, and several individual family members held posts either at Court or in Parliament at various times throughout the century. The family were also active amateur musicians, and from the nature of the present Panmure collection they appear to have enjoyed a cultured taste in music, with a bias towards works of French origin. Nowadays the collection is of particular interest to gamba players as it contains three volumes of works by Marin Marais,¹ two unique books of solo bass-viol music by M. de St Colombe,² and three part-books (for two trebles and bass) of French and English consort music.³ These part-books have not gone unnoticed; most of the English pieces have been identified and catalogued in Gordon Dodd's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*, including twenty of the twenty-two three-part dances by Simpson, and three dance-pieces by John Jenkins.⁴ Wendy Hancock has relied on the books as a primary source for her edition of Christopher Simpson's twenty-two dances for two trebles and bass.⁵ However, in the course of my research for an undergraduate dissertation,⁶ I managed to identify most of the sixteen anonymous pieces found at the beginning of the part-books, and uncovered other background material that may prompt Simpson scholars to reassess the value of the Panmure partbooks as sources of Simpson's works. Perhaps one of the significant features of these discoveries is that of a scribal relationship between the part-books and four manuscript books of solo-violin repertory. Two of these violin books also originate from Panmure House, while the other two belonged to members of the Ker family of Newbattle Abbey, Midlothian.⁷ The professional scribe in the Simpson part-books (there are two scribes, the other is amateur), is also the

¹ GB-En MSS 9465-57

² . GB-En MSS 9468-69

³ GB-En MSS 9455-57. The Panmure collection has recently been allocated new shelf numbers: previously the part books were known as GB-En MSS 12, 2 and 3 respectively.

⁴ Three-part airs nos 19 (Echo and Tripla), 20 (Almaine) and 21 (Corrante) of the eighty-four 'Newberry' airs

⁵ *Christopher Simpson:: Twenty-two Dances for two violins (treble viols) bass viol and keyboard* (Dove House Editions, Canada, 1981), VdG ser. no. 17

⁶ C. McCart: *The Kers and the Maules: Music in the Lives of Two Seventeenth-Century Scottish Aristocratic Families* (B.A. (Hons) dissertation, Colchester Institute, 1988)

⁷ Panmure MSS: GB-En MS 9454 and Scottish Record Office MS GD45/26/ 104; Newbattle Abbey MSS GB-En MSS 5777-78

dominant scribe in the violin books. Furthermore there are strong hints within the violin books which suggest provenance and possible authorship. These will be discussed in due course, but it is sufficient to say that I believe that both the violin and the consort part-books have common origins and that further research may establish this fact beyond reasonable doubt.

The consort part-books number amongst a group of twenty or so manuscripts which were collected during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and therefore date from after Christopher Simpson's death in 1669. All these manuscripts are believed to have been collected by two brothers, James and Harrie Maule, who were keen amateur musicians.⁸ The brothers were sent to France in the late 1670s to receive their education, and it is while they were there that they are thought to have collected the surviving Lully, St Colombe [19] and Marais volumes, as well as other French music books and manuscripts, most of which are now lost. After returning to Scotland, sometime in the early 1680s, the brothers eventually took up brief political careers.⁹

All of the French repertoire collected during the brothers' educational years is known to have been in Scotland by 1685 at the latest, as it appears in a library inventory written by Harrie Maule entitled 'Ane Catollogue of Books left at Edr Agustt 1685'.¹⁰ Missing from this list are the three Simpson part-books, and two manuscript books of solo violin repertory.¹¹ These volumes may therefore have been collected after the date on the inventory, possibly while the brothers were in London attending Court or Parliament (between 1686 and 1689), but as will be seen later this poses a problem when coupled with scribal dating. Nevertheless, all the existing evidence indicates that the part-books were prepared roughly fifteen years after Christopher Simpson's death. The violin books contain mostly works by various English court musicians, and it is my theory that while in London the brothers availed themselves of tuition from a professional musician, and from one who had contacts with the Court. Unfortunately little more can be said with certainty about the Maule brothers and music, as contemporary correspondence on the subject in the surviving family papers is completely lacking.¹² We may only speculate on their attitude to music and their abilities as amateur musicians from the nature of the manuscripts which they collected.

⁸ . Circumstantial evidence exists to suggest that James Maule played the violin and Harrie Maule the bass-viol. For further discussion of this see fn.6.

⁹ James Maule (b. 25 Sept. 1658, d. 22 April 1723); became 4th Earl of Panmure in 1686; was Privy Councillor to James VII/II; removed from office in 1687 after refusing to take an oath of loyalty to William and Mary. Harrie Maule (b. 18 Oct. 1659, d. 23 June 1734); served on the Convention of the Estates of Scotland under William and Mary from 6 March 1689 to 10 July 1689 representing the Burgh of Brechin.

¹⁰ Scottish Record Office, Dalhousie Muniments MS GD45/27/ 130 'Ane Catollogue of Books left at Edr Agustt 1685'. My thanks to the present Earl of Dalhousie and the staff of the historical search room at the S.R.O. for access to the papers.

¹¹ En MS 9454; S.R.O. MS GD45/26/104

¹² S.R.O. Dalhousie Muniments MSS GD45

The Viol Consort Part-Books

The three part-books are identically prepared and bound, with one instrumental part to each book. They are covered in a soft burnished brown leather, with the words 'Treble' and 'Bassus' etched crudely onto the front covers of MSS 9455 and 9457 respectively. The paper types are also identical, and the same 'Foolscap' watermark features in all the books. The watermark is similar to Heawood nos 2009 and 2031, though identical to neither.¹³ The first Heawood example originated from paper made in London in 1680, and the second example from paper made in Amsterdam in 1676. This information serves only in a limited way to assist in the dating of the manuscripts by suggesting that the books were prepared many years after Christopher Simpson's death.

The internal arrangement of the contents of each book has the Simpson and Jenkins pieces at the front, and the anonymous French pieces at the back inverted. All the books have pages missing at various points but especially so at the beginning of the French repertory, where all the books have incomplete contents. The pages appear to have been ruled by hand, probably using a five-nibbed rastrum, with five sets of stave lines to each page. The staves were ruled in black ink (now faded slightly), with red margin lines drawn down the page extremities. The contents have been copied out by two different scribes, one professional, the other amateur. Instinct suggests that the amateur scribe was one of the Maule brothers, for example Harrie, as his name, almost certainly his signature, [20] appears at the front of the bass part-book (MS 9457) on f. Iv. The English repertory in all the books begins on f. 1v, and at the top of each of these pages is the name of the respective instrumental part; MS 9455 designated '(1) Treble'; MS 9456, '2 treble'; and MS 9457, 'Bassus'. The actual instrumentation is not given, and the two treble parts could presumably have been played by either violins or treble viols.

The English pieces are arranged into two numbered groups; the first is a group of sixteen unattributed pieces, and the second, a group of twenty-three pieces (erroneously numbered to twenty-five) and attributed to either Simpson or Jenkins. All of the first group and nos 1-15 of the second group, have been written out by Scribe 1 (professional), while Scribe 2 (amateur) has written out the remaining pieces in the second group (as well as the French pieces at the back of each book):

Table 1: Arrangement of Scribal Hands and Contents

Scribe 1

Manuscript	Group 1 (nos 1-16)	Group 2 (nos I-15)
MS 9455	ff. 1v-6r	ff. 6v-13v
MS 9456	ff. 1v-6r	ff. 6v-13v
MS 9457	ff. 1v-5v	ff. 6r-12v

¹³ E. Heawood: *Watermarks (Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries)* (The Paper Publications Society, Hilversum, 1950)

Scribe 2

Manuscript Group 2 (nos 16-25)

MS 9455 ff. 14r-19r

MS 9456 fE 14r-18r

MS 9457 ff. 13r- 16v

The last three pieces in the second group (nos 23-25) are the Jenkins pieces described earlier, and the rest are twenty of the twenty-two Simpson three-part airs for two trebles and bass. It is these pieces that Wendy Hancock referred to in preparing her aforementioned edition of these works. The two 'missing' airs from the set of twenty-two are VdGS nos 8 and 9 in F major, as catalogued in the *Thematic Index*. Wendy Hancock, it seems, also considered them to be missing, and she describes the Panmure books as being '... a source corrupt in many details but fairly complete; ...'. It turns out, however, that airs 8 and 9 can be found literally over the page, at the end of the first group of sixteen pieces, as nos 15 and 16 respectively. These two versions favour well when compared with those that appeared in Wendy Hancock's printed edition, with only a handful of small discrepancies between them. The Panmure books therefore, are a complete source of the Simpson airs, and more than that, are the only complete source of these works known to date.¹⁴ Just how corrupt they are when compared to other surviving sources of the dances is not clear, as there is only a brief critical [21] commentary in the modern edition. However, the degree to which the pieces have been corrupted has to be set against certain factors, such as the time-lapse between the date of composition of the dances and the date of origin of the manuscripts, and the reliability of the scribes as accurate copyists. Wendy Hancock puts the date of composition of the airs at around 1650 but as indicated earlier the Panmure books do not appear to have been written until around the middle of the 1680s. And although I believe that we are now close to establishing the identity of the professional scribe, much more detailed research into his scribal habits would have to be done in order to assess his reliability as a copyist.

Now that nos 15 and 16 of the first group of pieces have been identified, there remain fourteen others which have so far eluded recognition. It is perhaps due to their relatively simplistic appearance that they have not received much research time. Yet this simplicity is in itself a clue to their origins, and it further reinforces the didactic nature of the manuscripts. I have found that half of the remaining pieces are arrangements of certain of the two-part airs contained in the appendix to the third edition (1678) of Simpson's *A Compendium of Practical Musick*.¹⁵ Panmure numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9 and 12 correspond to numbers 1, 3, 2, 6, 7, 9 and 5 respectively of the 'Short and Easie Ayres

¹⁴ For details of other surviving sources for Simpson's three-part dances see preface to Wendy Hancock's edition and Gordon Dodd: *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*.

¹⁵ Christopher Simpson: *A Compendium of Practical Music in Five Parts*. Teaching, by a New, and Easie Method, The Third Edition (London 1678)

Designed For Learners' which appeared in Simpson's book.¹⁶ (In fact airs 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9 appeared in the first edition of the *Compendium* in 1665, but air 7 is contained only in the third reprint.) In addition to this, no. 11 in the Panmure set is thematically derived from no.4 of the 'Short and Easie Ayres', while no. 10 is an alternative arrangement of the courante no. 9 in F major from the twenty-two three-part airs. No. 14 also begins in a similar way to VdGS no. 31 of Simpson's divisions and airs for two bass viols.

Table II

Arrangement of the fourteen 'anonymous' pieces in MSS 9455-57

No.	Key	Time Sig.
1	G	4/4
2	G	3/2
3	G	4/4
4	C/a	4/4
5	C/a	4/4
6	a	4/4
7	F	4/4
8	F	4/4
9	F	4/4
10	F	6/4
II	g	4/4
12	B flat/g	6/4
13	9	4/4
1 a	B flat/g	6/4

[22] The pieces are not arranged arbitrarily but rather grouped by key (or related keys) into four short suites of either three or four movements each as set out in Table II. This gives the impression that the pieces were written down at the same time rather than over an extended period

In general, the fourteen pieces show a high degree of inter-relationship with regard to compositional style. The harmonic and rhythmic vocabulary is somewhat limited, and in common-time frequent use is made of what Ila Stoltzfus referred to as a 'fanfare' rhythm (a crotchet followed by two quavers followed by either two more crotchets or a minim).¹⁷ These compositional features can be seen in the list of incipits of the fourteen pieces included below. Panmure nos 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 11 all display the 'fanfare' rhythm, while nos 8 and 9, and nos 12 and 14 respectively, share rhythmic similarities. Notice also the harmonic similarities of individual pieces within the suites, in particular the similarity of harmonic movement between nos 11 and 13, and the harmonic and rhythmic similarities of nos 12 and 14. In her article, Ila Stoltzfus deals with these unusual features of Simpson's compositional style. With regard to the relationship of sections

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 145

¹⁷ Ila Stoltzfus: 'Christopher Simpson's "Little Consort" ', *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America*, xxi (1984), 53-63

within a suite, Stoltzfus notes that, 'in the music from this period, one finds only a few examples of related motivic material within a suite'.¹⁸ Yet from the incipits of the Panmure pieces it can be clearly seen that there is much use made of such 'related motivic material'. Stoltzfus particularly points out the rhythmic relationship of the sarabands from the 'Little Consort' suites. This rhythm is exemplified in the opening bars of Panmure nos 12 and 14, both of which are untitled sarabands. (Panmure no. 7 is in ternary form, and the last section of this piece also features this particular saraband rhythm.)

Another trait to which Ila Stoltzfus refers is Simpson's occasional use of unusual key-structure within a piece. She notes that while most of the pieces in the 'Little Consort' begin and end in the same key, there are a few which do not. This, she points out, is in apparent contradiction to what Simpson and Playford advised. Simpson says, in *The Division Viol*:

Every Composition in Musick, be it long or short, is (or ought to be) designed to some one Key or Tone, in which the Bass doth always conclude.¹⁹

Playford similarly states:

For instance; Suppose you have a Lesson or Song prick'd down, you must observe in what Space or Line the last Note of it stands on, and that is the Key. Now it very often begins in the Key, but sometimes a Third or Fifth above it, and so you cannot so well tell, but it certainly ends in it ...²⁰

In the 'Little Consort', Stoltzfus tells us that:

.. three of the sarabands and one ayre, however, solidly begin in F major with interior [cadences in] F. The second sections begin in F or C major and remain there until just before the final cadence when they move to D minor for the close.²¹

This same direction of harmonic movement, from a tonic key to its relative minor, is used in the second Panmure suite (nos 4,5 and 6) within each individual [23] piece, and throughout the suite as a whole. Each piece begins in C major (no. 6 arguably so), and ends in A minor (nos 5 and 6 with sharpened thirds on the final chord). Likewise, the overall harmonic direction of the suite is from C major to A minor. The last suite in the Panmure set also employs this form of tonal interplay, where nos 12 and 14 (the two untitled sarabands) begin in B flat major, cadence half way through in the same key, but finally close in G minor I would say however, that the examples from the Panmure suites seem to differ from the Stoltzfus examples in that they do not 'solidly' begin in the tonic key or remain there

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 59

¹⁹ Christopher Simpson: *The Division Viol or The Art of Playing Ex tempore* upon a Ground. A Lithographic Facsimile of the Second Edition (J. Curwen and Sons Ltd., London, 1955), Part 2,16

²⁰ John Playford: *An Introduction To The Skill Of Musick*. 'An unabridged republication of the Twelfth Edition published in London 1694', F. Freeman (gen. ed.) (Da Capo Press, New York, 1972), Chapter VII, 197

²¹ Stoltzfus: *ibid.*, 65

convincingly. Instead the Panmure examples exploit the ambiguity of the tonic key and its related minor.

After careful consideration of these points of compositional style, and bearing in mind that the fourteen pieces have been deliberately arranged by key centre into four short suites, it is perfectly feasible to suggest that all the pieces are the work of the same composer. It follows then that the four pieces for which there are no known concordances are hitherto unknown Simpson works, although not necessarily in their original scoring. It is worth remembering that Simpson did not publish any books of his musical works, and his compositions seem to have been disseminated for the most part in manuscript form. If all fourteen pieces are indeed by Simpson then one wonders whether the arrangements were made by the composer or by the professional copyist, Scribe 1. If they were arranged by the composer then an archetype must have existed from which copies were made either directly or indirectly. If this was the case then it is surprising that there are no other surviving copies similar to the Panmure set, even if the archetype is now lost or destroyed. On the other hand, if Scribe 1 made the arrangements, from what source (or sources) was he working? For instance, did he make his own three-part arrangements of Simpson's 'Short and Easie Ayres' directly from a printed edition of the *Compendium*? Certainly the twenty-two three-part dances must have been copied from a reliable source based on autograph arrangements, as they seem to agree in more details than less with other surviving manuscript copies of these works. It would seem unlikely therefore that the two scribes would have been making their own arrangements, and I very much doubt if Scribe 2 would have had the musical ability to do so. A close study of the dissemination practices pertaining to Simpson's music would be needed in order to attempt to answer these questions. Yet, we still have to consider the background to, and possible authorship of, the Panmure copies and while the evidence is inconclusive at this stage, I believe that it may give a new perspective on the propagation of Simpson's works generally.

In order to assess the background to the Simpson pieces we must now also consider the evidence supplied by the four solo-violin manuscripts mentioned earlier, GB-En MSS 9454, 5777-78, and S.R.O. MS GD45/26/104. As was pointed out, the consort part-books and the violin books shared a professional scribe common to all these sources, Scribe 1. His hand is deemed professional by its appearance, with consistently well-formed notes, time-signature figures and [24] treble and bass clef signs. The same decorative flourish marking the end of a piece features in both the violin and the consort manuscripts. Another scribal habit common in all these sources is the use of a decorated letter 'B'. This was used consistently, though by no means exclusively when writing the surname 'Bannester' in the violin manuscripts. The same decorated 'B' was used when writing the word 'Bassus' on f. 1 v. of the bass part-book (MS 9457) of the Simpson set. These scribal features provide enough evidence to indicate that the consort books and the violin books were largely prepared by the same scribe.

The repertoire contained in the violin manuscripts is almost exclusively of English court dance tunes. Composers represented include John Bannester, Jeffrey Bannester, Davis Mell, Charles Price, Robert Smith, William Clayton,

Raphael Courteville, Louis Grabu and Matthew Locke. The majority of the tunes are by John Bannester but are formally attributed, in other words his name is prefixed by 'Mr'. In some cases, however, this is reduced to simply 'Mr:B', (for example, MS 9454, f.8), thus suggesting some degree of intimacy between composer and copyist. All of the other court composers, where named, are likewise formally titled, with one notable exception; the name of Jeffrey Bannester appears appended at the end of each of the first three pieces in MS GD45/26/104 without any formal title. Furthermore, the second of these names (on f.lv) would appear to be a signature. Unfortunately, Jeffrey Bannester's holograph signature has not been positively established yet, and there is good reason to doubt the authenticity of his 'signatures' which appear in surviving court records held at the Public Record Office in London. However, Bannester is not an unlikely candidate for being the scribe of the violin manuscripts in particular. He was an active court violinist from as early as 1660, although he did not receive his official commission until 24 December 1663 when he replaced Edward Strong in the royal band of twenty-four violins.²² Bannester is also known to have been a member of the select band of twelve violins run by John Bannester,²³ and while the exact family relationship between the two namesakes has not yet been established, if one indeed exists, the fact that they were both in the select band shows at the very least a close working relationship between the two. Furthermore, Jeffrey Bannester was also a contemporary with all of the other court musicians listed above, and would have worked closely with most of them. This would obviously explain then the particular repertory contained in the violin books. Much more problematic here is trying to propose a reason why Bannester should have been so well acquainted with the Simpson pieces which he seems to have used as teaching material. At the moment it is not possible to explain this at all, nor has it been possible to establish a link, either direct or indirect, between Bannester and Simpson. Yet despite the inability to establish this link, the other evidence available at present seems to suggest that Jeffrey Bannester is the most likely candidate for being the scribe of the violin books initially, and by consequence, the scribe also of the consort books.

Jeffrey Bannester remained at Court until February 1684 when he was given [25] leave of service to travel abroad for a period of six months.²⁴ The reason for his departure is not known, nor his destination. In fact it is not even clear whether or not he returned to England. And it is at this point that the problem occurs in trying to tie together the possible dates of compilation of the manuscripts. It is not possible as yet to identify with certainty a period of time before Bannester's departure when the Maule brothers were known to have been resident in London, and therefore have had the opportunity to study with him; after 1684 nothing is known of Jeffrey Bannester's whereabouts, and before that date nothing concrete is

²² Andrew Ashbee (ed.): *Records of English Court Music* (1660-1685), i (Snodland, 1986), 52

²³ *ibid.*, 59

²⁴ *ibid.*, 211. '22 Feb 1684/L.C. - 'I doe hereby give leave unto Mr. Jeoffery Bannister, one of his Majesties Musicians, to Travell beyond the Seas for the space of Six Moneths, or longer if his Occasions shall require'.

known of James Maule's activities.²⁵ Certain bills of exchange in the family papers indicate that Harrie Maule was in London in April 1684 but that before this date he was on the Continent.²⁶ In short, we are faced with two possibilities; either the Simpson part-books were prepared before 1684, and for some reason did not appear on Harrie Maule's 1685 library inventory; or the manuscripts were prepared sometime after 1684 on the hypothetical return of Jeffrey Bannester to England. With such scant and almost contradictory information it is impossible to date the Panmure manuscripts with firm conviction. However, the evidence all points to a date of origin around the middle of the 1680s. The Panmure manuscripts are therefore not contemporary sources of Simpson's works. The stature of the manuscripts is surely enhanced by the fact that they are the only complete source of Simpson's twenty-two three-part dances. In addition, they contain interesting and possibly unique three-part arrangements of some known and some unknown Simpson repertoire, and were probably compiled by Jeffrey Bannester as teaching/repertory books for one or both of the Maule brothers.²⁷

²⁵ Sir James B. Paul, LL.D. Lord Lyon King of Arms (ed.): *The Scott Peerage*. Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland (David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1908). James Maule is recorded as having taken part in the siege of Luxembourg in 1684. No source is quoted for this statement.

²⁶ For a fuller discussion of Hattie Maule's travels abroad see Patrick Cadell: 'La Musique Française Classique Dans La Collection Des Comtes De Panmure', *Recherches Sur La Musique Française Classique*, xxii (1984)

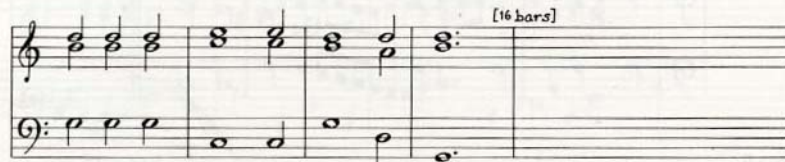
²⁷ My thanks to Patrick Cadell in his capacity as keeper of the manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland and for sharing his knowledge of the Panmure collection and of the Maule family generally.

Panmure MSS 9455-57: incipits of contents (ff. 1v-6, Trebles 1-2; ff. 1v-5v, Bassus)

No. 1



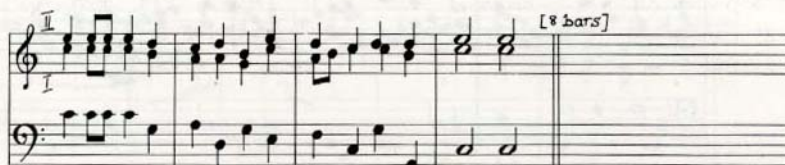
No. 2



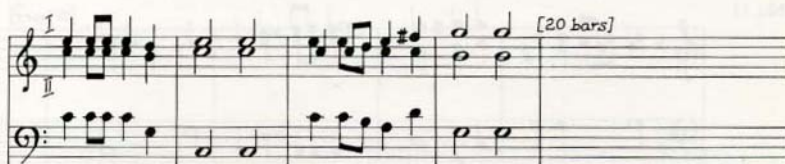
No. 3



No. 4



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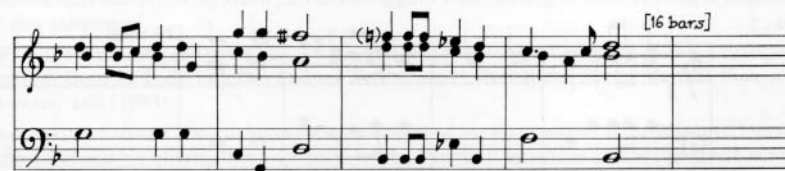
No. 9



No. 10



No. 11



No. 12



No. 13



No. 14



No. 15



No. 16



[30]
VIOL DRAWINGS

MICHAEL FLEMING

Are Drawings Worth the Paper they are Printed on?

Readers of this journal are unlikely to need convincing that viol music sounds best when performed on the types of instrument for which it was written. Of the very few old viols which survive,¹ most are preserved in collections for their historical value. The rest are beyond the financial means of the majority of amateur players. Consequently, it is usual to play on an instrument made either by one of today's professional makers or by the player himself. In either case, the ability of this instrument to carry out its musical function is dependant on, among other things, the extent to which its performance resembles that of the instrument for which it is a substitute. The most obvious stratagem for reproducing an authentic performance is to make a viol as similar as possible to the appropriate type of original.

Among the problems associated with old instruments is that with the passage of time both the sound and appearance change. As an instrument is used, various parts are consumed and replaced, not necessarily with similar components. The most obvious example is the strings, which have a tremendous effect on the sound produced. The bridge also significantly affects the tone; hardly any old instruments have their original bridge.² However, even if we are confident that we can restore the original specification, there remains an intractable problem. Over two or three centuries the physical characteristics of wood change, profoundly affecting acoustic performance.³ The result is that even the best preserved examples do not sound the same as when they were new. Attempts have been made to overcome this by the use of ancient wood, but artificial aging of wood can only help with the visual aspect. J.B. Vuillaume is known to have preferred thirty-to-forty-year-old wood and to have acquired antique furniture for the purpose, but the Hills express a preference for more youthful, well seasoned wood.⁴ There is no universally accepted answer to

¹ Perhaps something in the order of 2000?

² Sylvestro Ganassi suggests moving the bridge on a viol in order to change the string length as an alternative to changing strings to cope with a lower pitch; *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542). The position of the bridge on the belly of both violins and viols is still much neglected. The iconographic evidence that the bridge was frequently much nearer (and occasionally further from) the tailpiece than at present is overwhelming. This was noted over twenty years ago by David Boyden who wrote: 'With the bridge fitted in this way, the string length is increased, and (according to Sol Babitz) the violin gives a "silky viola-like tone"; see *The History of Violin Playing from its origins to 1761* (O.U.P., 1965), 34. Violists might do well to experiment along these lines.

³ Thomas Mace was aware of this; see *Musick's Monument* (1676), 245.

⁴ According to Franz Farga, Vuillaume eventually favoured ten-year-old wood; *Violins and Violinists* (1950), 89. Wood from Swiss chalets has been used by some makers. S.F. Sacconi also favoured wood of at least forty years seasoning; see the introduction to *The 'Secrets' of Stradivari* (Cremona, 1979), xiii. However, Salabue, writing before 1817, stated that wood '... should not be very old since then it is without life, five or six years is enough'; see A.

the question of how similar the wood available today is to that of three or four centuries ago, or to how it may have been treated between felling and use.

The musical functions of the proposed instrument must be carefully considered before a suitable model can be selected. For example, is it for music of the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth century? Of course not all instruments in use at a particular time were recently made. Not only viols contemporary with the music are suitable; old instruments have long been prized.⁵ Will it need to blend with all-gut stringing, or to hold its own in company with violins, oboes and so on? Would five strings be enough or are six or seven required? Will it be played at a = 415Hz, 440Hz or 392Hz and at what nominal pitch?⁶ Is it to be used [31] by a very tall and flexible person or by a child-sized player?⁷ The player must decide what is required, but should avoid arguing thus: 'If a 68cm. string length is required on some occasions and 81cm. on others, then half way between will be good enough for both.'⁸ Having decided on the theoretical description of the instrument required, a model may be sought from makers' lists, instrument collection catalogues, the Tourin list of viols⁹ or from private hands. If the viol is to be bought, then the details of manufacture may be left to the maker, but the discussion of instrument drawings below may still be of interest in considering why there is often more in common between instruments made by a maker and based on different models than there is between instruments by different makers which are ostensibly based on the same model.

Dipper and D. Woodrow (eds.): *Count Ignazio Alessandro Cozio di Salabue* (Taynton Press, 1987), 46. W.H., A.F. and A.E. Hill: *Antonio Stradivari, His Life and Work* (W.E. Hill & Sons, 1902/1963) 165

⁵ . '... sure I am, that Age Adds Goodness to Instruments ...', Mace: *op. cit.*, 246. See also Douglas Alton Smith: 'The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymond Fugger', *Galpin Society journal*, xxxiii (1980). Of the 141 lutes mentioned, fourteen are described as old and ten as 'good, old' or 'old good'. The inventory dates from 1566. Artificial aging of instruments was already occurring in the seventeenth century; see A., A., and W.H. Hill: *The Violin Makers of the Guarneri Family* (1931/1965), 14. In the same book see also the section on tone (107-121) where it is suggested that violins by various makers require a certain number of years of playing in order to 'season the tone', from ten years for a Stainer to as much as eighty years for a massive Bergonzi. However, the jury at the Paris Great Exhibition of 1855 scoffed at the effects of time on tone, while praising Vuillaume's ability to reproduce accurately the visual and tonal character of violins by Maggini, N. Amati, Stradivari and J. Guarneri del Gesu in new instruments. See R. Millant: J.B. Vuillaume (W.E. Hill and Sons, 1972), 100-1. Whatever the details, it must be accepted that the sound of a new instrument will change. Perhaps the ideal instrument for recreating a performance of 1630 might be a two-year-old reconstruction of a 1628 model or a fifty-year-old reconstruction of a 1580 model.

⁶ Some choices are: treble in d or c, tenor in a or g, bass in e or d or c, great bass in a or g or d or c.

⁷ Mace says the viol should be 'fit for your Hand; yet rather of a Scize something too Big, than (at all) too little ... ; *op. cit.*, 247.

⁸ This makes as much sense as saying 'If a treble is required on some occasions and a bass on others, then a tenor should be a good compromise'.

⁹ *VIOLLIST: A Comprehensive Catalogue of Historical Viole da Gamba in Public and Private Collections* (1979 version), Peter Tourin, Box 575, Duxbury, Vermont, 05676 U.S.A. Unfortunately this useful list is neither complete nor wholly accurate; later versions may be better.

There are basically two alternative approaches: either make an exact copy of the instrument or deduce from it what are thought to be the original maker's intentions and work along those lines. Is an exact copy possible? Should every dimension be duplicated, including every tool mark, asymmetry and blemish? It is by no means unknown to commission an instrument that faithfully reproduces the appearance of a well loved or unobtainable original; but even if the copy appears to the eye to be identical and duplicates the exact thicknesses and archings of the original, the sound will differ because of the nature of the wood. Therefore, unless appearance is more important than performance, the aim of achieving an exact copy should be abandoned. It is not, however, futile to try and understand the maker's intentions and to follow them to achieve a similar result. The dangers of this approach start with the outline. Is the present outline the same as when the instrument was new? Was the original outline exactly what the maker intended? The answer to the first of these questions is complicated by the answer to the second. In many cases it is obvious where wear has caused the original shape to be modified. The outermost edges of the upper and lower bouts are most vulnerable and are typically worn to an extent that the purfling, the line of which is set by the maker at a constant distance from the edge of the plates, can be a better guide to the original outline. Another factor to be taken into consideration is that wood shrinks more across the grain than along its length, and the softwood of the belly shrinks more than the hardwood of the back. This often results in splits which may be filled; however, fillets may not restore the instrument to its original shape. In addition, the size of instruments is often altered to suit an owner or a fashion. This usually entails a reduction in size which obviously changes the outline. Unfortunately, the vagaries of woodwork mean that one cannot examine an outline, discover an asymmetry and conclude that the original shape has been altered.

Modern instrument makers may obtain data through an inspection of the original instrument, but the more common method is via a technical drawing. These are available for a number of viols, principally from the museums in which they are deposited. Some drawings are advertised with a disclaimer such as that from the Germanisches Nationalmuseum at Nuremberg:

[32] It should be noted that [the drawings] are primarily intended as documents for organological research; therefore, some of the details wanted by an instrument maker might be missing.¹⁰

Others are advertised less cautiously such as those by the Brussels Museum of Musical Instruments:

All these drawings are full-scale plans with many details, useful to organological research or to build copies.

Whatever the intended use of technical drawings, the fidelity and comprehensiveness with which they present the data contained in the instrument are of primary importance. For an amateur maker, a set of

¹⁰ It is questionable whether any details should be considered unnecessary for organological purposes. Violins look so similar that it is only the differences of detail that make it of any organological interest to examine more than a few specimens. With viols, there are usually very few examples of the work of a particular maker and considerable detail is required to ascertain their common features.

working drawings accompanied by building instructions may be more immediately useful, but it is to be hoped that every violist would rather play something historically credible than a generalised new invention that is not representative of an instrument dating from the same period as the music for which it is intended. Any deviation from the design of an old instrument in its present state involves judgements of the importance of a particular feature and the maker's original intentions. Was the fingerboard veneered because ebony was too expensive for a solid one or because it was considered too heavy? Was the front made of seven strips because wider wood was unavailable or to give greater strength for the same weight? Was the purfling omitted on the back for reasons of economy and if so, why bother to double purfle the front? Does this instrument have its original front/neck/ bassbar or how do the extant parts differ from the originals? At least when the instrument is accurately portrayed as it stands, one is free to judge which aspects to follow and which to vary. If one is presented with a less than accurate drawing, the end result may contain more modern ideas than original ones. This is particularly true of outlines as old instruments usually exhibit a high degree of asymmetry.¹¹ Disregarding the effects of the backfold, in a symmetrical instrument the two halves of the outline on either side of the centreline could be superimposed on each other and show congruence: the same would be true of front and back. Thus there would be four identical half outlines. In reality, however, there are four different ones.¹² This is true of the best English viols and the finest products of Cremona. If this information is not precisely recorded on the drawing the user does not know if he is following the original maker or the interpretation of a particular draughtsman at a certain point in time. It should not be necessary to update drawings in order to reinterpret the instrument in the light of developing ideas.

In summary, the viol player who wishes to recreate an authentic performance must accept that this goal may never be achieved; even if it could, there is no objective test that can confirm it. Yet this should not discourage makers and players from striving to achieve the original sound. In the case of old instruments care must be taken to avoid anachronistic alterations to the structure or fittings. If a new instrument is used, the specifications can be more historically consistent, [33] although there are severe limits to how accurately a particular original can be reproduced.¹³

Old makers may have had a different attitude to the design of their instrument compared with what is appropriate for today. The variation between one instrument and another was a result of changing competence, experiment, new idea! and varying musical requirements. These would apply equally to a modern instrument maker who is interested in modifying or

¹¹ It is also true of neck setup as alteration of the original arrangement is so very common.

¹² This is one of the principal reasons why attempts to discover a geometrical/ proportional scheme for generating the shapes of particular viols (or violins) by analysing old instruments have, in my opinion, failed. For an examination of this issue see M. Fleming: 'Some Strangeness in the Proportion', *FoMRHI Quarterly*, 1 (January 1988), 46-48.

¹³ To keep matters in perspective it must be remembered that the instrument is only one factor in the realisation of the music. The bow and the manner of playing are just as important.

developing instruments, but one who seeks to match an established practice needs to strive to avoid innovation and development. As mentioned above, there is often more in common between instruments made by one living maker and based on different models than there is between instruments made by different makers which are based on the same model. This is partly due to makers working from information which is incomplete or ambiguous to the extent that their own personality and working practices overwhelm the characteristics of the instrument they are trying to recreate. It is not undesirable to have luthiers' personalities expressed in their products, and we certainly do not require all viols to sound like Linarols or all violins to sound like Stainers. However, anyone who does require a particular type of sound would be deluded in believing that a copy of a Jaye is the same as a real Jaye. One could commission a painting by a Great Artist, to be executed in the exact style of Rembrandt but the result would still not be the same as a real Rembrandt. The great luthiers were artists and it is this analysis-defying feature that distinguishes their works from those of their competent, even inspired, contemporaries and followers. Every player would like to use a great instrument and every maker would like to make great instruments but not all music of the past occurred in royal or similarly elevated situations and not only instruments of the finest sort were in use. Instruments made in a style believed to be typical of a certain time and place are more likely to be able to fulfil their promise than those which are intended to reproduce particular outstanding originals. This is not to deny the necessity of knowledge of and familiarity with fine old instruments. The inspiration they provide, together with an understanding of their original state and use, should be enough to emancipate contemporary makers from the slavery of duplication while increasing the validity of their instruments for use in historical performances. This is what players should demand.

Instrument Drawings - The State of the Art

Many of the published drawings are produced by custodians in response to the demand for access to the instruments themselves which is considered to be a hazard. Given this wholly justifiable concern for their preservation there is a natural reluctance to keep at bay unknown measurers bearing sharp-edged measuring implements, especially anything that might need to be inserted through a restricted space such as a sound hole. Even the most expert handling is potentially hazardous. However, those who produce technical drawings take on [34] the responsibility of ensuring that they convey accurately and comprehensively the information sought. The quantity and quality of the data which drawings contain have a direct bearing on the authenticity of instruments based upon them. As so many of the viols currently being made are based on published drawings, it is valuable to assess a sample of them. Violins are included as the relevant factors are similar; indeed the factors under discussion are relevant for any other type of musical instrument.

In order to copy a model,¹⁴ a maker would ideally like to examine the instrument itself. A drawing can be the next best thing but there are several ways in which its usefulness is liable to be diminished. Often the process of reproduction means that a drawing is not identical with its original. There should therefore be a generous quantity of dimensions noted all over the drawing or, at the very least, check scales so that measurements can be adjusted appropriately. In a quick examination of half a dozen published drawings I found a typical distortion of +0.5 % although one had +0.6% on one axis and -0.3 % on the other. Another drawing was the correct size on one side and +0.4% at the other end of the same axis. The result is a typical (but not consistent) error in the order of half a centimetre in the length of a bass viol. Similarly, it should be noted that a 1:1 scale photograph taken with a 200mm. lens can give an error of [2mm. in](#) the width of a treble viol.

There should be some notes on or with the drawings. These should indicate which parts are not considered to be original, the nature of the materials used, the measuring methods (including a description of the equipment and techniques employed for measuring together with an assessment of the accuracy obtained) and some information about the provenance of the instrument. There must be an indication of the tolerances of these dimensions such as whether they are accurate to +/- 0.5mm. or 1 %. An attempt should be made to describe the finish, including any visible tool marks, and to characterise the sound if it has been produced in living memory.¹⁵

Of the drawings under consideration, many were drawn by John Pringle and his style broadly deserves commendation. To illuminate the Pringle style it is interesting to compare his drawing of the 1564 Andrea Amati violin in the Ashmolean Museum with the Carlisle Museum's 1574 Andrea Amati violin, drawn by George Stoppani. Both violins are from the set built for Charles IX of France. According to Witten the two instruments are 'practically identical'.¹⁶ In the Pringle drawings, all the lines are clearly legible. The outlines are generally convincing and there is reasonably generous dimensioning on the drawing, although he rarely provides check scales. Unfortunately few of his drawings have supplementary notes and some information that would be essential to anyone seeking a profound knowledge and understanding of the instrument is not given. For instance, there is no indication of whether the sound holes are as seen from the front or the true shape (on the surface); there is only superficial information about the overhang of the plates over the ribs; and there is no [35] indication of method or accuracy of measurement.

The best documentation of measurement techniques I have seen comes with the Stoppani drawing, though his outline is so thick that its accuracy is needlessly compromised. Particularly praiseworthy is Stoppani's provision of a separate outline for the ribs as the disagreements between rib and plate

¹⁴ We are concerned at this point both with attempts to reproduce the appearance of an existing instrument and attempts to produce an instrument that will perform in a similar way to the model when new.

¹⁵ Laurence C. Witten 11 is one of the few brave enough to make such an attempt; see 'The surviving Instruments of Andrea Amati', *EM*, x/4 (1982), 493.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

outlines are significant in interpreting the intentions and working practices of the instrument's maker.¹⁷ In common with the Pringle drawing, there is insufficient information to reproduce the rim detail of various aspects of the pegbox and scroll.¹⁸ There is again very little about the materials, information which is critically important for an understanding of the thicknesses.

The Pringle drawing has about thirty thickness measurements for the belly, while the Stoppani has approximately three times as many. Stoppani also give eight arching profiles for the belly and seven for the back (Pringle gives five of each). It must be stressed that these are not required in order that they might be duplicated, rather they are essential for trying to understand the maker's intentions. These include the extent to which he aimed for uniformity or smooth transitions of thickness and his concept of the arching as a structure. The latter is particularly difficult to convey with a few arching templates, bearing in mind the distortion commonly present in antique instruments. There can never be too much information given. If an accurate impression of a particular instrument cannot be gained from the data available, then there is little point in distinguishing between one violin and another. The similarities between violins by Andrea Amati and his son, Hieronymous, and Hieronymous's son, Niccolo, and Niccolo's son, Hieronymous II are at least as remarkable as the differences. However, these differences are miniscule compared with the vast variation between viols made in different times and countries.

Unfortunately even the best drawings and descriptions cannot convey some aspects of these highly complex three-dimensional objects and to maximise their usefulness they should be accompanied by photographs. If these photographs were taken using the correct equipment and containing reference scales then they could provide a further check for dimensions. This does not apply to any of the published photographs that I have seen. For the instruments in the Hill Collection, there is the catalogue by Boyden. Although the text is not free from errors, the photographs do cast some light on details that are not conveyed by the drawings, or which are invisible on the instruments as presently displayed. These catalogue illustrations are not as clear as might be desired but the museum can provide prints or transparencies of any of the catalogue pictures (but no others, unfortunately). The Victoria and Albert Museum drawings come with some notes which illuminate the present state of the instruments but ignore measurement techniques and accuracy.¹⁹ They also include several large black and white photographs. Technically, these are all that could be desired, except in terms of distortion, and they successfully convey an impression of the instruments. These photographs set a standard that other publishers of drawings [36] would do well to emulate. My only reservations are that there could be more of them or a slightly different selection, and it would be desirable to have some that are suitable for measuring. It does

¹⁷ One further useful outline would be that of the purfling, but no-one provides this.

¹⁸ These are principally aesthetic matters but they do make a contribution to the character of the instrument and are essential when considering attribution.

¹⁹ I understand that the keyboard drawings from the Victoria and Albert Museum do address these matters.

seem strange not to include a full-frontal view with the 1667 Jaye set; one can be bought separately from the museum.

Unlike some, the Victoria and Albert Museum drawings are reproduced on substantial paper although it is sometimes rolled annoyingly with the data on the outside, unlike most others. At least they are rolled and are not folded like the Paris drawings; folds eventually become tears. The Paris Conservatoire drawing of the 1624 Jaye viol looks clear at first sight (partly because there are no dimensions on it!) and is accompanied by some rudimentary notes, but the fact that the back is drawn dead straight must lead one to question its overall accuracy and, therefore, its usefulness. The actual marks on the paper of most published drawings are not well served by the method of reproduction and I know of copies having to be returned because of illegibility, faintness compared with background 'noise'. Even legible copies are not destined for a long life as they fade with exposure to light. I think that serious users of these drawings would be prepared to pay a little more for legibility, longevity, dimensional fidelity and a few good photographs. Publishers of drawings, please note!

[38]

Appendix

This appendix contains a list of technical drawings of viols which have been offered for sale over the last decade or so, though some may no longer be available. Most of the institutions listed also offer drawings of violins, lutes, keyboard and/or wind instruments but these are not referred to here; neither are barytons or violas d'amore (The Viola d'Amore Society, c/o Robert Payne, Belvoik House, Welbourne Lane, Long Bennington, nr. Newark, Notts. NG23 5DP may be contacted for information on the latter). Catalogues, photographs and radiographs (x-rays) are also often available.

The drawings are listed according to institution (or in some cases the individual) through which they can be purchased or consulted. Each entry begins with the collection's catalogue number and/or museum number where one exists, followed by the size of viol and attribution to a maker as cited in the source. The draughtsman responsible for a particular drawing then appears in brackets, that is (1) Olga Adelman; (2) Stephen Barber; (3) Francois Bodart; (4) Martin Edmunds and John Pringle; (5) Michael Goater; (6) Pierre Jacquier; (7) Raymond Passauro; (8) John Pringle; (9) Antoine Leonard; (10) Paul Martin; and (11) Felix Wolff. Each entry concludes with comments on the drawings which I have seen. The key to these is as follows:

Quantity of data:

- a: Large number of dimensions given including thicknesses and archings; assessments of originality; check-scales provided or sufficient measurements to counter distortion of drawing as printed.
- b: Fair number of dimensions; other information probably includes indications of decoration, materials, and so on.

- c: Few dimensions presented; sometimes no representation of some gross features; few comments, if any.

Quality of data:

- a: Gives the appearance of presenting the instrument as it stands, that is, outlines taken separately from front and back, ideally both side elevations given, etc.; irregularities of construction, distortions, wear, damage, replacement parts, etc. drawn as extant.
- b: Apparently reasonable representation of present state of the instrument; some aspects give ground for suspicion of triumph of convenience over veracity, for example, back presented as dead flat, ribs of equal height from tailpillar to backfold, front and back outlines identical.
- c: Presents a modern design or an idiosyncratic or approximate interpretation of an antique instrument.

[39]

BELGIUM

Brussels: Musicological Research Association, Grote Zavel 37, 1000 Brussels
 M 1425: Renaissance-gamba; Batista Ciciliano, Venice (7)
 M 1431: Bass (now seven-string); Edward Lewis (1687-1730) (7) M
 1432: Seven-string Bass; Romain Cheron, Paris (7)
 M 227: Seven-string Bass; Nicolas Bertrand, Paris 1687 (3)
 M 2892: Bass; Peeter Borbon, Brussels mid-seventeenth century (3) B b M
 2885: Treble; Pieter Rombours, Amsterdam 1708 (9) C b/c

FRANCE

Paris: Societe des Amis du Musee Instrumental du Conservatoire National
 Superieur de Musigt 14 Rue de Madrid, 75008 Paris
 E.23 C.171: Basse; Henry Jaye, London 1624 (6)
 C b/c E.1005 C.138: Pardessus; Nicolas
 Bertrand, Paris 1714

GERMANY

1. Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
 Tiergartenstr. 1000 Berlin 30
 168: Bass; Barak Norman, London 1697
 229: Contrabass; Ernst Busch, Nurnberg, first half of seventeenth
 century (1) C b 2488: Bass; ?England 1627 (1) C b
 4520: Pardessus; Ludovicus Guersan, Paris 1766
 4521: Alt-Tenor; Gregorius Karpp, Königsberg,
 c.1700 4653: Bass; Gregorius Karpp,
 Königsberg, 1693
2. Nurnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, D-8500 Nurnberg 11,
 Postfach 9580 MIR 782: Pardessus; Michel Colichon, Paris, late-
 seventeenth century
 MI 6: Tenor (in d); Hans Pergette, Munchen 1599
 MI 5: Grosse-Bass (in d or g); Hans Vogel, Nurnberg 1563

SWEDEN

1. Linköping: Carl Hugo Agren, Allmogegetan 120, 583 30 Linköping, Sweden Treble; Barak Norman, in preparation
2. Stockholm: Staten Musiksamlingar Musikmuseet, Box 16326, S-103 26 Stockholm, Sweden Diskant; Johann Harp, Copenhagen 1730 (11) B/C b/c

U.K.

1. London
 - i) Mr D. Kessler, 11 Annington Road, London N2 Bass; Richard Meares, London c.1660 (2) Bass; Henry Jaye, London 1619 (8) A a Bass; Michel Colichon, Paris 1691 (2) A a
 - ii) Museum of Instruments, Royal College of Music, Prince Consort Road, London SW7 2B3 RCM 46: Division viol; Barak Norman, London 1692 (2) A a/b
 - iii) Victoria K Albert Museum, South Kensington, London SW7 2RL 1/1 (803-1877) Bass; John Rose, London c.1600 (8) A a 1/2 (173-1882) Tenor; Henry Jaye, London 1667 (8) A a
 - [40]
 - iv) Viola da Gamba Society, The Administrator, 56 Hunters Way, Dringhouses, York YO2 2JJ Treble; Henry Jaye, London (5) B b/c Bass; Barak Norman, London 1689 (Viol at Royal Northern College of Music) (5) B/C b
 - v) Martin Edmunds, 9 Hardy Road, London SE3 7NS Treble; Henry Jaye, London 1630 (4) B b
2. Manchester: Northern Renaissance Instruments, 6 Needham Avenue, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester M21 2AA
Various drawings which may be inspected and copied by visitors (not available for sale by post).
 3. Great Missenden: W.E. Hill & Sons, Havenfields, Great Missenden, Bucks. HP16 9LS Instruments in the Hill collection at the Ashmolean Museum:
Boyden No. 1: Treble; G. Maria, Brescia, late-seventeenth century (8) A a Boyden No. 2: Bass; Gasparo da Salo (8) A a
Boyden No. 3: Bass; Anon., Venice, sixteenth century (8) A a Boyden No. 4: Bass; attrib. John Rose (8) A a
Boyden No. 5: Small Bass (lyra); John Rose, 1598 (8) A a
Boyden No. 6: Small Bass (lyra); Richard Blunt, London, 1605 (8) A a Boyden No. 7: Bass; A. & H. Amati, Cremona, 1611 (8) A a
Bass; G.P. Maggini, Brescia c.1600 (8) A a

U.S.A.

1. Boston: Musical Instruments Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts 02115 Division viol; J. Donald Warnock, U.S.A. 1967 (10) A c

(Treble and Tenor may be available)

2. Vermillion: The Shrine to Music Museum, University of South Dakota,
414 East Clark Street, Vermillion, SD 57069-2390

3377: Bass; Ventura Linarol, Venice

1582 (8) Treble; John Hoskins, London

1609 (8) A/B a

The VdGS is keen to compile a card index of technical drawings of viols and would welcome references to examples not included in this appendix. Details should be sent to Michael Fleming, 13 Upland Park Road, Oxford OX2 7RU.

CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS AND THE 'ENGELSCH VIOOL'

TIM CRAWFORD

The name of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) may by now be familiar many readers of *Chelys*, after recent references to the lyra-viol repertory of the Goëss manuscripts in Austria.¹ Owing to the vast legacy of his correspondence with the illustrious artistic figures of Europe, this leading figure in seventeenth century Dutch cultural life has much to tell those studying the music of the period. His own favourite instrument was the lute, at which he excelled, but his enthusiasms also embraced keyboard instruments and the viol, which he, like most of his contemporaries, regarded as an 'English' instrument, in the same way as the lute was considered 'French', or the harp 'Irish'.

Two factors above all make Huygens's correspondence an essential source for historians of seventeenth-century English culture, both related to his official position as Secretary to three successive Princes of Orange: firstly, his lifelong diplomatic and emotional ties with England² and, secondly, the relatively orderly state of preservation of his huge archive of personal papers, especially the wide ranging exchanges of letters with the intellectual elite of Europe including many of the leading philosophers, scientists, poets, painters and musicians of Holland France, Germany, Italy and England.³ For the study of poetry, painting, music or science, Huygens provides the further advantage that he was highly expert in all these fields - both as critic and as practitioner - and has left us his thoughts of them,

¹ G. Dodd: 'Matters arising from the examination of some lyra-viol manuscripts', *Chelys*, ix (1980), especially 27. At a recent joint meeting of the Viola da Gamba and Lute Societies (5 November 1988), I gave a paper on the Goëss lute and viol manuscripts at which much of the material in this article was presented.

² This aspect of Huygens's educational, social and political life has been the focus of two excellent studies in English - Rosalie L. Colie: *Some Thankfulness to Constantine* (The Hague, 1956) and, concentrating in great detail on the earlier years, A.G.H. Bachrach: *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain 1596-1687 A Pattern of Cultural Exchange*, i (1596-1619), (Leiden and London, 1962) which is especially valuable for its penetrating account of the importance of the English in European culture at the time. (I shall frequently cite Bachrach's book in this article, since it is in English; even though the extracts quoted are often briefer than given in some Dutch secondary sources, it is an extremely useful and reliable starting point for Huygens research.) Huygens has a place in English literature as the first translator of John Donne's poetry.

³ The correspondence with musicians and on musical matters was published in French in W.J.A. Jonckbloet and J.P.N. Land (eds): *Musique et Musiciens au XVII^e Siècle. Correspondance et Oeuvres Musicales de Constantijn Huygens* (Leiden, 1882), but this pioneering edition, which is now showing its age, should be read in conjunction with the 'complete' correspondence printed in full or summarised in Dutch in J.A. Worp (ed.): *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, 6 vols (The Hague, 1911-17). Some of the letters relevant to the present study also appeared in early volumes of the complete works of Constantijn's son, Christiaan Huygens: *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens*, 22 vols (Haarlem, 1888-1950).

although it was his son Christiaan (1629-1695), known to posterity (not altogether accurately) as the inventor of the pendulum clock and the discoverer of the rings of Saturn, who was to raise the name of Huygens to its current eminence in the history of science.

[42]



Plate 3: Thomas de Keyser: *Constantijn Huygens with his secretary*, 1627. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery, London.

There are several versions of an autobiography by Constantijn Huygens, but none of them is sufficiently complete to be definitive.⁴ As well as these

⁴ The most detailed is the *Commentaria*, a Latin prose account of his early life (written 1629-31), which is published in J.A. Worp: 'Fragment eener Autobiographie van Constantijn Huygens' in *Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, xviii (The Hague, 1897). This can be supplemented by: i) a series of notes in French for a projected autobiography, printed in

substantial items, there are various journals,⁵ and together with what can be gleaned from the letters these enable most of the gaps in the biography to be filled adequately. One subject which Huygens took very seriously, as his father had done, was musical education, so it is not surprising that an unusual amount of detailed information on his own musical training is preserved in the autobiographical source-material. We learn that music lessons effectively began at the age of two when he astonished his mother by repeating back any tune sung to him. She responded by teaching him the tunes of the *Ten Commandments* in Clement Marot's metrical version. At five he began to learn the cistern, and the viol. followed when he was still only six and a half.⁶ Lessons on the lute with Jeronimus van Someren began a year later, in February 1604; instruction on keyboard instruments had to wait until 1614 when an ex-pupil of Sweelinck, the blind [43]organist Pieter Alewynszoon de Vooys Sr (c.1581-1654), was engaged as teacher. By his early twenties he was an expert lutenist, capable of impressing royalty,⁷ and throughout his life the lute remained his favourite instrument, supplemented by the theorbo and, as late as the 1670s, by the newly-fashion guitar.⁸ The surviving published testament to his skill as a composer is excellent *Pathodia sacra, et profana occupati* (Paris: Ballard, 1647),⁹ a collection of Latin psalms and Italian and French airs in which he used the most sophisticated principles of word-setting, expertly and subtly heightening the meaning of the text through the music, as might be expected from a leading

J.H.W. Unger: 'Dagboek van Constantyn Huygens', *Oud Holland*, iii (Amsterdam, 1885); ii) a long autobiographical poem in Latin dated 7 October 1678, *De Vita Propria Sermonum inter Liberos Libri Duo*, published in J.A. Worp (ed.): *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, 9 vols (Groningen, 1892-8), viii, 203-36. (A fair holograph copy and Huygens's rough draft of the *Sermonum* together with his epithalamium on the marriage of his master William III of Orange - later William III of England - to Mary Stuart are now in GB-Lbl Add. MS 22954.)

⁵ Published in Unger, *op. cit.*

⁶ See Bachrach: *op. cit.*, 58; Unger: *op. cit.*, 7.

⁷ A high point in Huygens's early diplomatic career was his performance on the lute for King James I on his visit to England in September 1618. Hunting at Bagshot having been spoilt by a storm, the King, who was known to have little interest in music, was at cards with his favourite, Buckingham, yet frequently interrupted his play to listen to Huygens, who had determined to play something 'digne de l'oreille d'un grand Roy'; Bachrach: *op. cit.*, 178-80 and 221-2. On a later visit to England, in 1622, Huygens was knighted by James (which explains the title of Bachrach's book).

⁸ His enthusiasm for the lute is evident throughout the musical correspondence. It was such even at the age of sixteen that in the first (now lost) of his many documented portraits, done by a pupil of the painter Rafael Coxie at Brussels in 1612, he chose to be portrayed playing a lute; H.E. van Gelder: *Ikonografie van Constantijn Huygens ende zijnen* (The Hague, 1957), 17-18. Huygens's theorbo lies on a cluttered table in the best known of the surviving portraits, that by Thomas de Keyser (1596/7-1667) now at the National Gallery in London (No. 212), painted in 1627, which is reproduced as Plate 3. John Evelyn refers to Huygens as 'an excellent Lat: Poet, & now neere 80 years of age, a rare lutinist' in his entry for 28 August 1664; E.S. de Beer (ed.): *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford, 1955), iii, 377. By his final year, at the age of ninety, when prevented gout from playing solos on the lute, Huygens writes - with some justifiable pride - that he can still manage an accompaniment on the theorbo; Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, letter xciv.

⁹ 9. Modern edition: F. Noske, ed. (Amsterdam, 1957; 2nd edition 1976)

poet.¹⁰ Whether he ever had any formal lessons in composition is not clear; what is certain is that he was amply talented in this direction as well as in performing. By the time was putting his musical affairs in order, so to speak, at the end of his life, he reckoned the total number of his instrumental compositions - solos for lute, theorbo, guitar, viol and harpsichord, and trios for viols - to have reached over 800 works.¹¹ With a single exception (see below) all these pieces, carefully handed down in Huygens's will to the care of his son Christiaan, seem to totally lost, a tragedy made particularly poignant by the general shortage of native Dutch instrumental music from the seventeenth century.¹²

'Barbitus Britannicus'

For Huygens, as for most Northern Europeans, the viol was *par excellence* the English instrument, and it was his father's favourable impression of viol-players in England¹³ that led him to employ an Englishman to take the six-year-old Constantijn through the elements of technique on the instrument in 1602. According to the Latin autobiography his teacher's name was 'Gulielmus' [i.e. William] H.' and he was in the cavalry regiment of a relation of Huygens, Marcellis Bax, Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom.¹⁴ Further than this he remains unidentified, although it is a little tempting to propose some connection with another military viol player active in the Netherlands some years previously, Tobias Hume.¹⁵

By the age of eleven, Constantijn's viol playing was good enough for him to take part in consort sessions in Amsterdam during 1608-9 with a regular group of musicians including the great Sweelinck himself. The Latin autobiography relates a familiar tale of woe: at the first of these sessions, the young and understandably nervous Constantijn successfully held his own until, raising his eye from the music, he missed an entry and promptly burst into tears.¹⁶

In May 1613 a special opportunity arose when Prince Frederick IV, Count Palatine, and his new bride, Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England passed through The Hague *en route* for their ill-fated court of

¹⁰ F. Noske: 'Affectus, Figura and Modal Structures in Constantijn Huygens's Pathodia (1674 *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxii (1987), 51-75

¹¹ Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, 83-4, letter xciv; see also 69-71, letter lxxix and 77, letter lxxxv

¹² The bulk of Constantijn's library was auctioned in 1688. The catalogue has been reproduced in diplomatic facsimile in W.P. van Stockum (ed.): *Catalogus der Bibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens verkocht op de groote zaal van het hof to 's-Gravenhage* 1688 (The Hague, 1903); the contents are discussed in detail in R. Rasch: 'De muziekbibliotheek van Constantijn Huygen', *Veelzijdigheid als Levensvorm: Facetten van Constantijn Huygen's leven en werk*, Deventer Studien ii (Deventer, 1987), 141-62.

¹³ Christiaan Huygens the elder (1551-1624), who was also Secretary to the Stadhouder, William of Orange ('The Silent'), until the latter's assassination in 1584 and then to the State Council, first visited London in 1581; Bachrach, *op. cit.*, 32-4.

¹⁴ Bachrach: *op. cit.*, 57; Worp: 'Fragment', 22

¹⁵ M. Morrow and C. Harris: 'Hume, Tobias', *The New Grove*, xvi (1980), 280-81

¹⁶ Worp: 'Fragment', 23

Heidelberg.¹⁷ Among the train were musicians attached to the parties of the various members of the German and English/Scottish nobility in attendance. The most distinguished English musician present was John Coprario, attached to the party of [44] the Duke of Lennox,¹⁸ and Huygens struck up a close relationship with the great viol player.¹⁹ It is probable that he took the opportunity for some lessons from Coprario, and it is certain that the English virtuoso made a lasting impression on the young man.

Years later, when his own children's musical education was in hand, it may be that Huygens put into practice advice given to him by Coprario in 1613. The children, Constantijn Jnr (1628-97, who succeeded his father as Secretary to William III, Prince of Orange, later King William III of England), Christiaan (1629-95, later the great scientist), Lodewijk (1631-99), Philips (1633-57) and Susanna (1637-1725), suffered the tragic loss of their mother, Susanna, in 1637. For the next few years, their education was partly undertaken by a housekeeper, and partly by their governor, Hendrick Bruno, who was appointed since Huygens was away for much of the time on campaign with his master, the Stadhouder, Frederick Henry of Orange. But he carefully organised their upbringing, not least in the matter of music.²⁰

Music lessons for Christiaan and his elder brother Constantijn began with the naming and singing of the notes from the various clefs in 1637; Christiaan was evidently highly gifted and was deputed to teach his brother, so that by the following year they were able to take part as singers in the 'collegium musicum' held by their father every Friday evening when he was at home in The Hague. Through a cousin in London, Huygens commissioned his friend, the Master of the King's Musick, Nicholas Lanier, to find a set of good viols; Lanier located a matched chest of six excellent old English instruments in the summer of 1638, on which Constantijn and Christiaan began to play in March 1639. Their viol instruction was in the hands of Steven van Eyck, pupil and son-in-law of Pieter de Vois, the blind

¹⁷ Bachrach: *op. cit.*, 68, citing an official Dutch account (Leiden, Municipal Archives, Sect. Arch. 1059, no. VI; not consulted)

¹⁸ He is listed among the retinue of the Duke of Lennox ('Fürst von Lenox, Königlicher vorenbster Gesandter') along with 'Daniel Callinder, Harpfenist' (?possibly related to James VI's [i.e. James I of England] master smith in Scotland, John Callander; *DNB*, iii, 707) in *Beschreibung der Reiss: Empfangung dess Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: and glücklicher Heimfuhrung ... Des ... Friederichen dens Fu'nfien ... mit ... Elisabethen ...* (Heidelberg, 1613) [catalogued under 'Frederick I of Bohemia' in the British Library catalogue], (appendix), 59.

¹⁹ An exchange of poems between the two survives in LBL Add. MS 22953, f. 26; Bachrach, *op. cit.*, 67-8 and 213. Since Coprario seems to be elegantly begging the price of a fare home, and Huygens has inscribed the draft of his own poem with his own age 'ann[orum] 16', this exchange probably took place during the summer of 1613, before Huygens's seventeenth birthday on 4 September 1613.

²⁰ An excellent summary account of their musical education is given in the 'Introduction' to R. Rasch's edition (with English and Dutch translations) of Christiaan Huygens's treatise on tuning and temperament, *Le Cycle Harmonique* (Rotterdam 1691) ... (Utrecht, 1986), 13-19. I am indebted to Dr Rudolf Rasch for much help in the preparation of this article.

organist who had taught Huygens.²¹ By the time Huygens returned to The Hague in October 1639, the boys were proficiently playing music by Marenzio 'with a steady tone and acceptable trills ("tamelycke tremblanten")'.²² Although the only music by Marenzio in the 1688 auction of Huygens's music library was one of the many editions of the hugely popular three-part *Villanelle*,²³ it does seem reasonable to conjecture that Coprario - whose admiration for the Italian composer's madrigals is evident in his frequent use of motives or entire sections from them in his own fantasies²⁴ - might have suggested instrumental performance of five- or six-part madrigals by Marenzio as training repertory for young violists.

It was not long before the Huygens family evidently constituted an excellent viol consort. Challenging music especially suitable for a consort of six old English viols was summoned by Constantijn *père* from London: when a fine old Bologna lute tracked down for him in London by Jacques Gaultier was finally dispatched to Huygens, inside the case were packed 'les 6 parties des Phantasies de Gibbons telles que vous les avez demandees'.²⁵

The Gibbons parts are lost, like practically all of Huygens's large music collection, and there is only one reference to English viol music in the 1688 [45] auction catalogue: *Engelse Musijck voor de Phiool, 5 deelen*,²⁶ which might be taken to suggest that the Gibbons was actually for five viols with an organ part, unless - as would seem more likely - Huygens owned English viol music in five parts as well. Also in the collection was a copy of XX *Konincklycke Fantasien* (Amsterdam, 1648), a collection of viol music largely composed by the English royal musicians Lupo, Coprario and Gibbons, brought out by the leading music printer in Holland, Paulus Matthysz, at the time when Charles II was in exile in The Hague, and in whose publication it is hard to believe Huygens had no part.²⁷ In the catalogue there are two further English items of interest in this context: Angelo Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* (London, c.1613) and Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* (London, 1615).²⁸ Notari's book, beautifully engraved by William Hole, presents music for the *viola bastarda* for the first time in an English print, and Tailour gives tablature parts for the lyra viol in preference to the lute in his collection of fifty psalms for five voices.

Two French items in the Huygens auction catalogue contain viol music: Eustache Caurroy's *Fantasies* (Paris, 1610) is an important collection of fantasies for three to six viols and Henri Du Mont's *Cantica Sacra* (Paris, 1652), of which Huygens seems to have owned two copies (probably presented by the composer, a close friend and regular correspondent)

²¹ Rasch: *Cycle*, 16. It is not known if van Eyck was related to Jacob van Eyck, the blind Utrecht carillonneur, flautist and recorder player who dedicated both parts of his *Der Fluyten Lust-Hof* (Amsterdam, 1644-65) to Constantijn Huygens.

²² Rasch's translation, *Cycle*, 17

²³ Rasch: 'De muziekbibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens', 150

²⁴ J. Wess: 'Musica Transalpina, parody, and the emerging Jacobean viol fantasia', *Chelys*, xv (1986), 3-25

²⁵ Frederic Rivet to Huygens, 1 May 1645; Lbl Add. MS 22953, f. 203.

²⁶ Rasch: 'De muziekbibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens', 153

²⁷ R. Rasch (ed.): XX *Konincklycke Fantasien* (facsimile edition, Antwerp 1987), introduction; see also P. Holman's review of the facsimile: *Chelys*, xvii (1988), 44.

²⁸ Rasch: 'De muziekbibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens', 152

contains five pieces for viols, which presumably were intended to participate in the vocal music as well.²⁹ The only other viol music represented has a similar title to the English set of five volumes, but the form of the title - possibly taken from a binding or flyleaf annotation - is German rather than Dutch: *Airs fur die Phiool, 5 theil*.³⁰ The autograph manuscripts of Huygens's own compositions for viols, many solos and a number of trios for three basses, would have been kept carefully numbered in the separate volumes which he left to Christiaan in his will, but which do not appear in the 1701 catalogue of the great scientist's library; their fate is unknown.

In the various autobiographical sources, written in different languages, Huygens uses several terms for the viol as used in England, and as taught by William H.: *barbitus* in Latin; *violet* in French; *Engelsche viool* in Dutch.³¹ (This has sometimes confused Huygens scholars, since the normal meaning of the word *viool* in modern Dutch is 'violin', whereas in Huygens's day it was equivalent to the Italian *viola* with all that word's inherent ambiguities; but there is no doubt that the *viola da gamba* with six strings is what he learned to play.) Like Marin Mersenne, with whom Huygens carried on an intense correspondence, he mentions the 'English viol' in the context of consort playing but also as a solo instrument, and he practised both styles himself. The *lyra* technique is explicitly described at a point in the Latin memoir immediately after the account of the excellent music in Sir Henry Wotton's embassy in The Hague the year following Huygens's encounter with Coprario.³² Twenty years later, this early enthusiasm for English *lyra-viol* music was to be rekindled by an encounter with another remarkable virtuoso.

[46] 'Le merveilleux Stiphkins'

In November 1646 much of Huygen's time was taken up with the preparations for the marriage of the Stadhouder's daughter, Princess Louise Henrietta of Orange (1627-67), to the Elector of Brandenburg,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 149 and 147. Henri Du Mont (1610-84), a Parisian organist and composer of Belgian origin, was one of Huygens's regular correspondents, and was clearly a close friend. On 6 April 1655 Huygens wrote to Du Mont about the *Cantica Sacra*, mentioning that he was honoured that the opening of the "Allemanda Gravis", which is presented man alternative version for keyboard alone (Bassus Continuuus partbook, ff. 24v-5) as well as for four viols with continuo (Superius part-book, f. 33), was based on one of his own allemandes sent with an earlier letter; Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, 23-4, letter xxix. The other ensemble viol pieces are a "Pavana" a 3 (Sup., f. 18) and two entitled "Symphonia", one a 3, the other a 4 (Sup., ff. 18v and 29); B. Gustafson: *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century* (Ann Arbor, 1979), i, 127-8 and ii, 243.

³⁰ Rasch: 'De muziekbibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens', 153. The title of this item (and the similar one cited above) could, of course, refer to five volumes of music for solo viol.

³¹ For the Latin see Worp: 'Fragment', 22 and Bachrach: *op. cit.*, 212; 'A six ans et 5 mois j'appris 6 a 7 semaines à toucher le violet d'un Anglois ...' in Unger: *op. cit.*, 7; 'Tot d'Engelsche viool nosh andere sess weken: ...' from his 'confession en vets hollandais' cited without source in Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, xiii.

³² Bachrach: *loc. cit.* Wotton was in The Hague from August 1614 until at least April 1615. He is known to have been in London in the autumn of 1615; *DNB*, xxi, 968.

Friedrich Wilhelm (1620-88), the 'Great Elector'. In a letter to Mersenne, he gives his news:

... Tassin tells me that Mr Ballard has begun to set my book [literally 'cut my print'] I will be happy to see a proof of it. I am going to write to Mr Luigi [Rossi] very soon in his own language as you ask, but I must be enlightened about his qualifications, and whether he needs a good reference [? literally 'illustrious word'] or something else. I pray you that this might be very soon. The Elector of Brandenburg has come here to marry the Stadhouder's [literally 'our'] eldest daughter. I am beginning to find out about his musicians, who have not arrived yet, but are staying at Cleves with an immense and splendid retinue which this Prince maintains according to his station. I have been told that the marvellous Stephkins, who performs more miracles on the viola da gamba than any man before, is one of them, that another does more [wonders] on a viol fitted with brass strings behind the neck and elsewhere, while a third does still more on what they call the dulcian, a wind instrument. You will be informed about what I find out. I must finish and get back to the needs of the contract of this fine match ... After this business will follow the wedding and [we will have] our complete fill of music.³³

This intriguing and important letter tells us a lot. The book being printed by Ballard is, of course, the *Pathodia*, which had occupied much of his energies during the previous years. The appearance here of the name of Luigi Rossi (1597/8-1653) is interesting. Rossi was one of the several eminent Italian musicians resident in Paris from 1644; his opera *Orfeo* was produced there in 1647. What is remarkable is that the context of Huygens's letter, taken in conjunction with other Huygens documents (see below), leaves no doubt that he was considering engaging Rossi's talents for the House of Orange, perhaps as *maitre de chapelle*. The dulcian player is probably to be identified with Moritz Neubauer (d. 1666), formerly in the service of the Duke of Pomerania and appointed to the Brandenburg Kapelle in 1638; as well as his musical duties, the Elector frequently entrusted him with political and diplomatic responsibilities.³⁴ Both viol players mentioned in the letter were distinguished soloists with English connections who seem to have specialised in playing *lyra-way*.

The name 'Stiphkins' appears in various forms in many of the manuscript sources of English *lyra-viol* music.³⁵ It is a phonetic rendering of the composer's own unusual spelling: 'Ditrich Stöeffken'.³⁶ His career in

³³ Christiaan Huygens: *Oeuvre completes*, ii, 550, letter 18a, Constantijn Huygens to Mersenne, The Hague, 26 Nov 1646

³⁴ C. Sachs: *Musik und Oper am kurbrandenburgischen Hof* (Berlin, 1910/R1977), 159

³⁵ G. Dodd: *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (1980-87), 'Steffkins'

³⁶ In this article, I shall adopt this form throughout (except when quoting early sources), rather than the anglicized equivalents of the 'Theodore Steffkins' type, since we are not dealing with a case of immigration like that of George Frederic Handel (formerly 'Georg Friedrich Handel'), who left clear and unequivocal examples of his preference for the anglicized form of his name, as well as taking full formal naturalisation. As far as I am aware, there are no extant naturalisation or denization records relating to the Stöeffken/Steffkins family.

the English court musical establishment seems to have been a glittering one, but was interrupted by the Civil War. Since his activities during that period are understandably less well known, I present here a summary of the main features of Stöeffken's life.³⁷

Of his place or date of birth and family background, I have been able to find nothing, although circumstantial evidence suggests a North German origin and a birth date around 1600. His first recorded employment was at the Copenhagen Court of Christian IV where he was appointed as an instrumentalist (unspecified) on 8 January 1622.³⁸ There were many English musicians in Copenhagen at this [47] time, and there seems little doubt that this was where Stöeffken first made the English connections that were to prove so valuable in years to come. The Danish employment was brief; he is recorded as leaving on 29 September 1622. On the same day William Brade and his son Christian William left the service of the Danish King; the elder Brade was appointed Kapellmeister to Duke Johann Adolf von Holstein-Gottorf, and it can be assumed that Christian William followed him there.³⁹ Possibly Stöeffken, too, found employment for some time at the Gottorf Court. Before many years had passed, however, he was in England.

Stöeffken was one of the 'English, French, Italians, Germans, and other Masters of Musick' engaged by Bulstrode Whitelocke for the spectacular masque *The Triumph of Peace*, performed in London in February 1634.⁴⁰ Four of the French singers in this masque, as acknowledged by Whitelocke, were selected from the establishment of Queen Henrietta Maria; recent research by Andrew Ashbee shows that Stöeffken, too, was one of the extraordinarily well-paid Queen's musicians as early as Michaelmas 1629. His name appears regularly in the Queen's establishment lists and he signed for his salary until December 1636; he is not in an undated list of c.1640. But by then he had been appointed one of the King's Lutes, receiving payment from Michaelmas 1635.⁴¹ Of course, there is no doubt that Stöeffken actually played the viol rather than the lute.⁴² By the time Charles I left the capital with Civil War looming in January 1642, and Queen Henrietta Maria fled to Holland to join her daughter Mary, Princess Royal, a month later, Stöeffken must already have been making alternative plans for

³⁷ The connection between Stöeffken and Huygens is not mentioned in C. Field: 'Steffkin', *The New Grove*, xviii (1980), 99. I hope to discuss the life of Stöeffken and his family in more detail in a future article.

³⁸ A. Hammerich: *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof* (Copenhagen, 1892), 214. I should like to express my gratitude to Prof. John Bergsagel for his help on the Danish records.

³⁹ Hammerich: *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ M. Lefkowitz: 'The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke: New Light on Shirley's *Triumph of Peace*', *JAMS*, xviii (1965), 42, includes facsimiles of the signatures of forty-one of the nearly one hundred musicians who took part in the masque.

⁴¹ A. Ashbee: *Records of English Court Music, iii* (1625-1649) (Snodland, 1988), 85, 151, 246-52 *passim*. My grateful thanks are due to Dr Andrew Ashbee for his help and for allowing me to see material from his book before publication.

⁴² As is confirmed by a payment of 100s 'To Deitrick Steffkin, one of his Mats Musicians for the viall, for strings by him bought and provided within one whole yeare ended at Mich'as 1636, by warrrt dated 9 March 1636/7'; *ibid.*, 151-2.

his own future, for on May 17 that year he was appointed as a violist at the Court of Frederick Wilhelm of Brandenburg.⁴³

In entering the Brandenburg *Kapelle*, Stöeffken was joining an establishment where English viol playing was especially appreciated. The longest-serving Brandenburg musician was an English viol player, Walter Rowe (1584 or 1585-1671), who served under three successive Electors from his appointment in 1614 until his death in harness over half a century later.⁴⁴ Rowe, about whose first thirty years nothing is known, was much in demand as a teacher as well as for his playing. Among the numerous viol players listed in Brandenburg service many are documented as Rowe's pupils, who also included both Electoral Princesses, as well as his own son, also, confusingly, called Walter (before 1618-1672).⁴⁵ Of the elder Rowe's music precious little survives: a courante in tablature for lyra viol dated Hamburg, 4 August 1614 (very soon after his appointment), which he entered in an *album amicorum*⁴⁶ and a few songs in the music book he prepared for his pupil Princess Louise Charlotte (1617-76).⁴⁷ Two untitled solo pieces, an allemande and a sarabande, in a Kassel manuscript bear the initials W:R';⁴⁸ these, like almost all the music in this source, are in tablature for the baryton, although many pieces, including works by Jenkins, Ives and Steffkins, exist in lyra-viol sources as well. It may be possible to link this manuscript directly to Rowe. Louise Charlotte of Brandenburg's elder sister, Hedwig Sophia (1623-1683), also a pupil of Rowe, married Wilhelm IV, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel, [48] in 1649; it seems more than likely that the

⁴³ C. Sachs: *op. cit.*, 166; Sachs's reference cites a printed account of now-lost archives, published in 1797, where the name appears as 'Dietrich Stofchen' (which became 'Dietrich Stösch' at the hands of a later Brandenburg historian). In the *Hofstaatsrechnung* of 1652, Stöeffken's salary is given as 400 Reichstaler; *ibid.*, 166. Sachs dismisses as improbable the suggestion made by von König in the late eighteenth century that Stöeffken was educated at the expense of Elector Georg Wilhelm (reigned 1619-1640); it would be intriguing to know on what grounds that assertion was made in the first place.

⁴⁴ C. Sachs: *op. cit.*, 151. Sachs prints several of the documents of Rowe's long employment pp. 211-25, *passim*.

⁴⁵ The article on Rowe in *The New Grove*, against its own advice, and against the evidence of Sachs's book and the Huygens correspondence, confuses the two Rowes and further asserts that Walter Rowe the elder died in 1647.

⁴⁶ Formerly at the Stadtbibliothek in Lubeck; present whereabouts unknown. The courante reproduced in diplomatic facsimile in C. Stiehl, 'Stammbuchblätter von Jakob Praetorius und Walter Rowe', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, xxvi (1894), 157 and xxvii (1895), 43.

⁴⁷ Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, olim MS XX.I-5, begun in 1632. Louise Charlotte married Jakob, Duke of Kurland, a small Baltic state, in 1645; the Ducal library, formerly kept at the east at Mitau, was transferred to the newly-founded St Petersburg Academy (now the Leningrad Academy of Sciences) during the early years of the eighteenth century; A. Curtis: *Dutch Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, *Monumenta Musica Neerlandica* ii (Amsterdam, 1961 Introduction, 'II The Leningrad MS', xii.

⁴⁸ D-K1 2" Mus. 61 /1, 1, ff. 2v-3. The first of them is an arrangement of a well-known allemand probably by Germain Pinel; see T. Crawford: '*Oeuvres des Dubut* (book review), *The Lute*, xxi (1983), Pt 1, 32.

baryton manuscript was compiled for her or for a player in her retinue.⁴⁹ What the Huygens letter quoted above seems to confirm is that Walter Rowe was indeed a baryton player. As the most senior Brandenburg musician Rowe is likely to have been the violist who played an instrument 'with brass strings behind the neck and elsewhere', i. e. the baryton.⁵⁰

Huygens's next letter to Mersenne, dated 23 December 1646, does not mention the Brandenburg wedding or the Elector's musicians, although it does report the arrival of a singer sent to The Hague from Paris.⁵¹ Mersenne replies: 'I 'm pleased that our singer pleases you to some extent. ... You haven't mentioned the wonderful musician and viol player at your splendid wedding. Because they didn't live up to your expectations? ...'⁵² Huygens answers almost immediately:

Our musician [i.e. the singer] continues to behave wisely and already finds himself crowded with near 20 pupils, besides that I expect good things in time from him. Our great violists have left with the Elector's family for Cleves; but the better of the two will come back. His Highness [Stadhouder Frederick Henry of Orange] has requested him from the Elector and I hope that we might add the excellent harpsichord player, Beer,⁵³ whom I have named and praised to you

⁴⁹ She may have played the harp as well: in an inventory of instruments in 1667, Rowe lists a harp that his Highness the Prince Elector gave to his sister the Landgravine of Hesse; cost 55 Talers Sachs: *op. cit.*, 225.

⁵⁰ Tantalisingly, another manuscript in the Leningrad Academy of Sciences, possibly also from Louise Charlotte's library, and which was apparently compiled over an extensive period beginning in 1614, contains baryton tablature, but I have been unable to see this source. See E Fruchtmann: 'The Baryton: Its History and its Music Re-examined', *Acta Musicologica*, xxvii (1962), 8; and C. Gartrell: 'The Origins and Development of the Baryton', *Chelys* xi (1982), 5

⁵¹ Christiaan Huygens: *Oeuvres complètes*, ii, 554, letter 23a, Constantijn Huygens to Mersenne The Hague, 23 Dec 1646: '... Le musicien que m'a choisy Monsieur Gobert est arrivé et correspond a peu près à mon attente. S'il continue d'estre sage et modere il subsistera icy avecq satisfaction e sera bien voulu parmi les gens de condition. Je voudray que vous l'entendissiez entonner me: Pseaumes aveq moy. ...' The musician sent to The Hague from Paris by *maître de chapelle* Thomas Gobert, one of Huygens's closest friends in Paris, was called Avril.

⁵² *Ibid.*, i, 47--19, Mersenne to Constantijn Huygens, 3 Jan. 1617

⁵³ Gottschalk Beer or Behr, who is mentioned in another letter to Huygens couched in similar term and written a few days later. (Leyden University, Huygens Archive 37, Sir William Swann to Constantijn Huygens, Breda 24 January 1647 (in English): 'By the enclosed [letter (lost!)] of ovr friend Mons. Beers you may see I am not forgettfull of him, whom I haue lett know how much hee is obliget unto you in remembring and wishing him wan of that quyre of Musyck his Hysse. is now erecting, and to that end have desired him to lett mee know with all speed whether hee stil was inclined to change his condition to live amongst more reasonable creatures then now hee doth, especially in the knowledge of his faculty ... My wife presents her humbel service to you and grieves much for the loss of her voice which a great cold has taken from her especially since shee hears of so rare a frenshman [i.e. Avril] that is come to you, but I hoope eere long shee will bee fin againe to beare her part in musyck with your consort, which I long to heare ...' (Sir Williarr Swann, an Anglo-Dutch diplomat attached to the court of Mary, Princess Royal, had married Huygens's favourite singer, a brilliant harpsichordist and the dedicatee of his *Pathodia*. Utricia Ogle, in 1645.) At various times Beer was attached to the Copenhagen court as a lutenist, see A. Hammerich: *op. cit.*, 216, for a large payment, presumably a year's salary, of 500 Rigsdaler, on 26 January 1646. Huygens's son Christiaan mentions Beer in a letter to his brother about a visit to the Copenhagen Court in 1649: '...Beer estoit le

before. These will be two good [foundation] stones put in place on which to build a larger ensemble which I am projecting, if God gives life to His Highness. The violist is called Stephkins, and has enormous skill on this instrument on which I considered myself to excel in this country up to now, but I don't consider myself worthy to pull off his boots. You've heard many good things, but this would amaze you. ...⁵⁴

In this letter we find clear confirmation that Huygens was attempting to set up a proper musical establishment at The Hague. Throughout his long life his letters contain implicit or explicit regret that the House of Orange was not especially interested in music and that he constantly had to look abroad for musical inspiration. Stadhouder Prince Frederick Henry was a highly cultured person and was himself musical to some extent: like his elder brother, Maurits, whom he succeeded in 1625, in his youth he had been a pupil of the lutenist Joachim van den Hove (1567-1620).⁵⁵ But neither showed much interest in music in later life. As the Stadhouder's secretary, Huygens must have had to work hard to persuade Frederick Henry to recruit a few eminent musicians. Sadly, his fears about the Prince's health were to prove justified. A letter from a Brandenburg diplomat to Huygens written at the end of February 1647 mentions the dispatch of medical and musical solace for the ailing Prince. Stöeffken's departure from Cleves was evidently delayed: 'It is not Mr Steffcken's fault that he has not come until now. May he, and the doctor we sent with him, be good for the Prince.'⁵⁶ Unfortunately, neither Stöeffken nor the doctor could help Frederick Henry, who died on 14 March. But it seems certain that before his death the Stadhouder agreed to engage Stöeffken, since Dutch archives record a payment of 300 florins authorised by William II, the new Stadhouder, on 19 March to 'a musician of the elector of Brandenburg'.⁵⁷ As we shall see, it took some time for Stöeffken to extract payment, an occupational hazard for musicians in the seventeenth century.

[49] There now began a kind of musical idyll for Huygens, during which he seem to have spent his leisure hours playing the viol with Stöeffken. A letter from John Ogle, the brother of Huygens's closest musical friend, the excellent amateur singer and harpsichordist, Utricia Swann, confirms that Huygens was keenly awaiting Stöeffken's arrival at The Hague early in

maistre qui nous enseignoir de ces contredances d'Angleterre, ou l'on ne s'en sert plus. ...'; *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 113, letter 67, Christiaan Huygens to Constantijn Huygens junior, Leiden 25 December 1649

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 558-9, letter 27a, Constantijn Huygens to Mersenne, The Hague, 14 Jan. 1647

⁵⁵ Van den Hove had dedicated his two lute publications to the brothers: *Florida* (Utrecht, 1601) to Frederick Henry, *Delitiae Musicae* (Utrecht, 1612) to Maurits; M.Jape: 'Hove, Joachim van den', *The New Grove*, viii (1980), 739-40.

⁵⁶ Worp: *Briefwisseling*, iv, 394 (letter 4558), Ewald von Kleist to Constantijn Huygens, Cleves, 28 February 1647 (here quoted from Worp's Dutch summary). The original letter is supposed to be at the Rijksarchief at The Hague, but could not be located on my brief visit in March 1987.

⁵⁷ Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, ccxxiv quoting from *Domestiquen-boek beginnende 14 Maart 1647*, f. 2

March.⁵⁸ A later letter, written at the very end of 1647, shows that Huygens was trying to keep the viol player in Holland.⁵⁹ Utricia Swann visited The Hague to join in the new-found musical delights, but was summoned early in 1648 by the unpopular Mary, Princess Royal, wife of Huygens's new employer, Stadhouder William II of Orange, to join her retinue as a lady-in-waiting. Huygens protested his mock indignation:

To My Lady Swanne at Teylinghen. 23. Feb. 1648

Madam

We doe live in so well policed an age, that the ravishing of honest wenches is held a notable crime. Lett the Princesse Royale her Highs be pleased to consider what she hath done in stealing from us out of the middel of the Haghe a married Lady, that, to my knowledge, passeth for honest till this very day. If I were disposed for the journey, I could find in my heart to bee revenged of the affront, by an enterprise upon Teilinghen, there to trouble the feast wth the harshnesse of a certain Tiorbe and the hoarsnesse of a certain voyce, both of them fit to dash and dazle the perfect harmony hit Highs hath deprived us of something tyrannically. But finding my selfe not able to goe and discharge my cholere so farr from home, I come to tell you for some mortification, that in yr absence, Lady, wee are not altogether out of tune. But that Mr Stöfckens and I are doing a kind of wonders upon two Leereway Viols, which could bring us in danger of ravishing, if there were an other Theilingen capable of the mischief, and that in time of necessitie I have hands enough to play a wofull Lachrime and such other stuffe upon my organs to have that wonderful] bow rowle upon my Bases. See if yu will make hast to heere oul r I miracles and, now my gall is out, beleeve, that either staying or coming, ravished or ravishing (which is yr part) yuwill find me,

Ravissante on ravie,

Tous les jours de ma vie,

Madame

Yr most humble servant⁶⁰

But Stöeffken did not stay much longer at The Hague. Letters from him to Huygens tell us that two months later he was back at Cleves in the Elector's service.⁶¹ Although he had hoped to get further employment at the Orange court, and to disengage himself from Brandenburg service, this was not to be. He may have made a trip to The Hague later in 1648 to 'present

⁵⁸ '... I should be glad to heare that Mr: Stephkins were settled there [i.e. at the Hague], not so much for his owne, as your contentment because I perceive you receive much satisfaction from him...' Leyden University Library, Huygens Archive 37, John Ogle to Constantijn Huygens, [Breda] 3 March [1647]

⁵⁹ I hope Sr: for yor owne contentment you have, or will keepe Mr: Stepkins wth you. I know he is not hard to be intreated ...' (Leyden University Library, Huygens Archive 37, John Ogle to Constantijn Huygens, Breda 29 December [1647])

⁶⁰ The Hague, Rijksarchief. Huygens Correspondence vol XLVIII, f. 47, draft in Huygens's hand

⁶¹ The six surviving letters - all written in English - are in the Huygens collection at Leiden University Library, Huygens Archive 37: D. Stöeffken (4 letters) and Lbl Add. MS 24212, ff. 7274 (2 letters). These will appear in my planned article about Stöeffken and his family.

his services' to the Prince of Wales, soon to become Charles II, who was there between September and February 1649, when the news of his father's death reached him. Any hope of employment for Stöeffken at that time by the impoverished Charles, utterly dependent as he was on the limited resources of the House of Orange, must soon have been dashed. The letters, probably written between April 1648 and the end of the year, contain references to the impoverished state of the Brandenburg Court, and Stöeffken's dread of the prospect of returning to East Prussia, 'so fare from the sunne towards winter', where the Elector was needed owing to the [50] death of the King of Poland.⁶² Running through the correspondence is the matter of the reclaiming from the 'Land Rentmeister' of an advance, or personal loan, of 200 Reichstalers paid over to Stöeffken by Huygens.⁶³ In the last of the letters Stöeffken refers to 'your last favorable Promise, in procuring of remainings of the 100 Rsd ['Reichsdollars'] part of my wadges due unto mee'. So Stöeffken had been engaged, apparently for the year February 1647 to February 1648, for 300 Reichstalers. By 1652 he was earning 400 Reichstalers in Brandenburg service, so it seems that a handsome rise in salary persuaded him to stay on.

Accompanying the exchange of letters was music by Stöeffken to be copied for Huygens's collection:

the promised Lessons for one Viol shall bee send [sic] with the next oportunity I would willingly have my two Books with the first, when you shall have done with them, ho[w]ever.⁶⁴

I would not neglect, by this good opportunity to send some of the long promised Lyra Lessons, which you may please to make use of at your good Leasure, I would have sent more, but the Time was to [sic] short, I have received the two bookes from her highneses Groome of her Chamber ...⁶⁵

It seems that Stöeffken loaned Huygens three volumes: a pair of books presumably containing viol duets and one book of solos for lyra viol. In his final letter he thanks Huygens for the '3 exemplar namly 3 books of your exelent composition'.⁶⁶ These were 'complimentary' copies of *Pathodia*, printed at Paris the year before, which the justifiably proud composer also sent to luminaries such as Cardinal Mazarin and the Queens of Sweden and Poland.⁶⁷ Stöeffken promised to pass a copy to his Brandenburg colleague

⁶² Stöeffken to Huygens, 11 July 1648 (Leiden University, Huygens Archive 37)

⁶³ This is yet another example, if such were needed, of the general difficulty of extracting prompt payment from royal employers, and of the very frequent necessity for obtaining loans. Many times we read in English documents of arrangements to assign a musician's salaries to a third party: Stöeffken himself made such an arrangement in 1668, assigning £8 out of his next salary to John Hingeston, 'he haveing supplied my occasions wth the Advance of soe much'; A. Ashbee: *Records of English Court Music, i* (1660-1685) (Snodland, 1986), 86.

⁶⁴ Stöeffken to Huygens, undated (probably 18-20 April 1648), Leiden University, Huygens Archive 37

⁶⁵ The same to the same, undated (?May or ?June 1648), *loc. cit.*

⁶⁶ The same to the same, undated (after 3 Sep. 1648). Lbl Add. MS 24212, f. 74

⁶⁷ Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, letters xviii, xix and xx

Walter Rowe and one to an anonymous harper, now at Oldenburg. This is presumably the same harper whom Stöeffken mentions in his previous letter as on the point of leaving England.⁶⁸

Although we lose track of Stöeffken during 1649-50, it seems likely he remained in the Elector's service: in January 1651 he stood witness at Berlin to the baptism of a son of a colleague, the English harper, Edward Adams.⁶⁹ He received his salary in 1652, but his name is not found in the establishment list of 1656.⁷⁰ But by this time, we find isolated references to his name in connection with Hamburg, which may imply a period of employment in that city.⁷¹ On the Restoration of Charles II in June 1660, Stöeffken must have hurried back to London, for he was immediately reappointed as a member of the King's 'Private Musick'.⁷² In November 1662 his appointment was confirmed jointly with his son Frederick William.⁷³

In September 1659 Huygens received the welcome gift of a 'viole angloise', presumably a coveted instrument by one of the great English makers, from his old music-loving friend Jacob van der Burgh (1600-

⁶⁸ Stöeffken to Huygens, undated (Autumn 1648?), Lbl Add. MS 24212, f. 72. It looks as though Huygens was anxious to meet this musician (perhaps even to engage him for the Stadhouder's service?), and the donation of a copy of *Pathodia* indicates that he held him in the greatest respect as a musician. Could this have been Lewis Evans, in Pepys's phrase 'the most famous man upon the Harp, having not his equal in the world' who had served with Stöeffken in England before the Civil War, and who was reappointed at the same time in the same group of musicians at the Restoration?; R. Latham and W. Matthews (eds): *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vii (London, 1972), 414. See footnote 72. On Lewis Evans (alias Williams) and his son Charles, see P. Holman: 'The harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts', *EM*, xv (May 1987), 195.

⁶⁹ Adams was appointed to Brandenburg service first in September 1638 and remained until death in 1659 with a short spell at Copenhagen from Easter 1641 to May 1643; Sachs: *op. cit.* 158-9; Hammerich: *op. cit.*, 216. There is, incidentally, no firm evidence to suggest that Adams was the harper from England referred to in the previous footnote.

⁷⁰ Sachs: *op. cit.*, 166

⁷¹ On 5 February 1653, Robert Bargrave (1628-61) was impressed by his viol playing at Hamburg M. Tilmouth: 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant: Robert Bargrave (1628-6 ML, liii (1972), 143. A year later he played before Emperor Leopold Wilhelm at Ratisbon (Regensburg), and was handsomely rewarded; P. Nettl: 'Zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Hofkapelle von 1636-1680', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Beihefte der DTÖ*, xvii (Vienna 1930), 103. (I am grateful to Ole Vang for pointing out this reference to me.) His allegiance to the English Court drew him back to Hamburg when, in June 1654, Cromwell's embassy to Queen Christina of Sweden passed through the city. The Ambassador, Bulstrode Whitelocke, who had been responsible for employing Stöeffken for *The Triumph of Peace* in 1634, records hearing him play; B. Whitelocke: *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy [sic] in the years MDCLIII and MDCLIV* (London, 1772), ii, 329 (16 June 1654).

⁷² '... money paid to John Wilson, Ditrich Steofkin and Lewis Evans, three of his Mats Musitions for the Lutes and private musicke ... due to them for one yeare ended at Midsummer 1661'; A. Ashbee, *Lists of Payments to the King's Musick in the Reign of Charles II* (Snodland, 1981), 49. The three musicians regularly appear together in the records.

⁷³ Ashbee: *Records of English Court Music*, i (1660-1685), (Snodland, 1986) 39. Frederick would have been aged sixteen-and-a-half, so could already have been a competent performer, but Stöeffken was securing the succession of the post for his son rather than undertaking a literal sharing of the work and its rewards. Such a joint arrangement was exceptionally rare, and is sign of the high esteem in which Stöeffken was held by Charles.

December 1659).⁷⁴ His interest in music continued unabated, but at The Hague he had to be content with playing and composing long into the early hours after the day's work was done; for this the *lyra viol* offered a welcome alternative to the lute. But it was a solitary pastime: after the failure of his attempt to form a musical chapel for Frederick [51] Henry of Orange, The Hague was not a place where many musicians were to be found.

Two years later Huygens's duties led him for the first time to Paris for a prolonged stay. For him, to whom Paris seemed like the centre of the musical universe, these protracted negotiations over the inheritance of the House of Orange, lasting over three years, must have seemed - in terms of music - a godsend. His long-standing correspondence with eminent French musicians had occasionally been supplemented by detailed reports of musical matters in letters from Paris written by his son Christiaan.⁷⁵ by this time himself a well-respected figure in scientific circles, but now it could give way to actual *tête-à-tête* discussion and music-making. That happy time with Stöeffken in 1647 when together they did 'a kind of wonders upon two Leereway Viols' must often have come to his mind amid the splendid musical opportunities of the French capital.

At Paris, in August 1662, he encountered 'the rarest man I ever hope to see upon the Lute', François Dufaut.⁷⁶ Dufaut was only in Paris for a few days and would soon be returning to London, so Huygens used him as messenger to Utricia Swann, herself now back in London, where her diplomat husband awaited a posting to Hamburg. With his letter to his old friend he enclosed one to Stöeffken. Although it contains little new information, its tone of real affection speaks of the continuing importance of the viol player to Huygens:

Paris 18/28 of Aug. 1662

My deare and beloved Mr. Stöfkin,

I could not let M. Dufaut, the rare man, depart from hence, where he hath past but few dayes, without assuring *yu* by so illustrious a

⁷⁴ P.C. Molhuysen and F.K.H. Kossmann, *Nieuw Nederlansch Biografisch Woordenboek*, i (Leiden, 1933), col. 114-15; Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, 36-7, letter x1i; see also clvii-clxv.

⁷⁵ Huygens (like his father before him) had trained his sons to keep detailed journals, and to report public and private events alike in great detail in their regular letters home. The letters and journals written at about this time by Christiaan in Paris and London contain some fascinating details of musical life; Christiaan Huygens, *Oeuvres complètes*, i-iii, passim and H.L. Brugman: *Le Séjour de Christian Huygens u Paris ... suivi de son Journal de Voyage d Paris et a Londrs* (Paris, 1935), passim.

⁷⁶ For Dufaut's life in France before 1642 see M. Rollin: 'Notes Biographiques' in M. Rollin and A. Souris (eds): *Oeuvres de Dufaut* (Paris, 1988), xiii-xvi. Rollin's identification of Dufaut English patroness 'Lady Warwick' as the Puritan Eleanor Wortley, Countess of Warwick, cannot be sustained in the light of a reference in the journal of Christiaan Huygens's visit to London in 1663 to hearing 'Mrs. Warwijck' play the lute 'excellent goet' with Dufaut, since he remarks in the same passage that her mother (presumably also present) was 'Lady Fretwell'; Brugman! *op. cit.*, 176. So this Mrs Warwick must be Elizabeth Freschville (1635-1690) who in 1661 married Philip Warwick, grandson of the Elizabethan musician Thomas Warwick (or Warrock DNB, xx, 896. Her mother, Lady Sarah Freschville (d. 1665), whose family name is occasional] found as Fretwell, had been a Maid of Honour to Queen Henrietta Maria in the 1630s; G.V. (Watson: 'Freschville of Stavely', *The Complete Peerage*, v (1926), 578.

bearer of my most constant affection to yr service. Doe not take it for a compliment [i.e. an empty compliment]. I speak it out of such a heart as I hope y^u have allwayes observed in me towards y^u and all what might belong to yr interests. If y^u have any remembrance left y^u of me, pray lett me see a testimonie of it by some lines of yr rare hand. If y^u are so good as to joyne some musical lines to it of yr latest composition, y^u know where they shall be bestowed. My Lady Swann is to receive a letter of myne by this same bearer, and will tell y^u where y^u are to find me in this forest I am living in. God keepe y^u in all health and prosperitie. ...⁷⁷

We read no more of Stöeffken in the Huygens literature. But this was, of course, the period of his greatest celebrity in England. He lived on, the bosom friend of John Jenkins, into a respected old age, until December 1673, when he died during a visit to Germany.⁷⁸

Huygens the viol composer

Huygens was a prolific composer. As well as his only printed work, *Pathodia*, and other vocal items, he wrote for all the instruments he played: lute, guitar, viol and keyboard instruments. The 'effroyable liste' of over 800 compositions that he mentions having written by his ninetieth year⁷⁹ did not include several pieces he composed for three 'Violes Basses', probably lyra-viol trios rather than the [52] type represented in XX *Konincklycke Fantarien*. Twenty years before, in March 1657, Huygens had sent the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands in Brussels, Prince Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of Philip IV of Spain, music for 'three bass viols ... the most harmonious sort of consort that one could produce with so few instruments.' He further refers to Don Juan's 'profound knowledge of this fine art [i.e. music]' and says that the English music he has supplied is 'chosen as it should be for a great King ... in a country where your Highness has rightly judged that the viol is in its highest perfection and the [art of] composition so solid that it owes nothing to Italy.'⁸⁰

Brussels was at that time the scene of protracted negotiations between the exiled Charles II and Spain, represented at first by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, then by his successor Don Juan. Huygens visited Brussels twice during the negotiations.⁸¹ The English trios were evidently only part of the music sent to Brussels, and would certainly have been well received by Don Juan, who is known to have been an enthusiastic player of English viol music a decade later.⁸²

Huygens's reference to a richer texture than one might expect from 'so few instruments' clearly implies a chordal style, as in the lyra-viol trios of

⁷⁷ The Hague, Rijksarchief, Huygens Correspondence vol. XLVIII, f. 28; copy in Huygens's ban

⁷⁸ Field: 'Steffkin', 99

⁷⁹ See footnote 11.

⁸⁰ Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, 29-30, letter xxxv, Huygens to 'Prince D. Juan d'Autriche', 1 March 1657

⁸¹ 8 April-22 June 1656 and 25 January-26 February 1657; Unger: *op. cit.*, 59 and 60

⁸² See 1. Woodfield: 'The First Earl of Sandwich, a performance of William Lawes in Spain and the origins of the pardessus de viole', *Cheyls*, xiv (1985), 40-42.

his acquaintance of forty-four years before, John Coprario. The use of the term 'Violes Basses' does not in any way rule out lyra-viol music, since the term would have been familiar and in no sense inaccurate; there was no specific French term for the lyra viol.⁸³

At the end of his life Huygens's musical activities, owing to crippling gout, were restricted to an occasional accompaniment on the theorbo.⁸⁴ For a while, in the 1670s, his beloved lute gave way to a short-lived infatuation with the fashionable guitar, but the viol does not seem to have played a significant role in these last years. There is little doubt that the period in the company of Stöeffken represented the apogee of his enthusiasm for the instrument, an enthusiasm that embraced composition as well as performance.

Until very recently it was thought that Huygens's surviving work as a composer was restricted to the *Pathodia*. Just in time for the tercentenary in 1987, however, another song turned up,⁸⁵ and I was lucky enough to uncover a unique survival of his instrumental output.

Among the manuscript tablatures in the Göess family library at Schloss Ebenthal, near Klagenfurt in southern Austria, is one volume which by an oversight had not been fully photographed at the time the discovery of the collection was announced.⁸⁶ On a visit in May 1986 I was able to examine the 'missing' pages of MS 'A'; on f. 73 the original owner of the collection copied an 'Allemande Mr Zuilekom' (see Plate 4). The composer is, in fact, Constantijn Huygens, whose appellation as 'Heer van Zuilichem' dated from his purchase of the manor and title of Zuilichem in 1630.⁸⁷ This

⁸³ Did Huygens have a valued copy of Coprario's trios - perhaps an autograph presented by the composer in 1613 - in his library at The Hague? Another possible composer could be John Jenkins, of whose lyra trios only a single part survives in the Dolmetsch collection: GBHADolmetsch MS II B 3 (Dodd: *Thematic Index*, Jenkins'). This could provide a neat solution to the problem of identifying the Jenkins trios a single part of which Don Juan (probably) sent to the painter Sir Peter Lely (possibly a musician himself; *DNB*, xi, Lely, Sir Peter', 900: 'A portrait group of himself and his family, with musical instruments, is in the Methuen collection') in order to get the others 'costa the costa' and which the composer, according to Roger North, failed to recognise; Woodfield: *op. cit.*, 40 and J. Wilson (ed.): *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 296. The Göess lyra-viol manuscripts (see below) contain some music by Jenkins, as does the Cassel baryton book; Huygens is highly likely to have had some tucked away on the shelves at The Hague.

⁸⁴ See footnote 8.

⁸⁵ L.P. Grijp, 'Melodieën bij teksten van Huygens', *Veelzijdigheid als Levenrvorm: Facetten van Constantijn Huygens' leven en werk*, Deventer Studien ii (Deventer, 1987), 89 and ' "Te viola done, bel oeil": An Autograph Tablature by Constantijn Huygens', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxxvii (1987), 170-4

⁸⁶ The collection was briefly described by its finder D.A. Smith: 'The Ebenthal Lute and Viol Tablatures', *EM*, x (October 1980), 462-7. Valuable work has been done on concordances of the viol music by Gordon Dodd (*Thematic Index*, passim.)

⁸⁷ The Dutch connections of the Göess collection and the Huygens allemande are discussed in T. Crawford: 'A composition for viola da gamba by Constantijn Huygens', *Veelzijdigheid als Levenrvorm: Facetten van Constantijn Huygens' leven en werk*, Deventer Studien ii (Deventer, 1987), 79-88 and 'Allemande Mr. Zuilekom: Constantijn Huygens's sole surviving instrumental composition', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxxvii (1987), 175-81.

excellent piece for conventionally tuned bass viol, full of gravity and with a degree of thematic integrity unusual for the *lyra-way* genre, was probably composed not long after Huygens's 'Stöeffken idyll'.⁸⁸

[53] While the quality of this piece must make us regret more than ever the loss of the rest of Huygens's instrumental music, it is perhaps fitting that this sole surviving instrumental composition by one of the seventeenth century's most ardent Anglophiles should be for what he would certainly have regarded as an 'English' instrument, the viol played *lyra-way* - the 'Engelsche viool'.

⁸⁸ An unusual feature of the *allemande* is that the two strains each have thirteen bars. In a letter written in 1656 Huygens states his preference for symmetrical binary compositions with equal strains of twelve bars; Jonckbloet and Land: *op. cit.*, letter xxxiv, 28-9. He may not have been including the final bar to each strain (usually a held chord) in his reckoning: twenty years later he states in another letter that his former practice (now abandoned) was to compose each strain with twelve bars 'not counting the final bar'; *ibid.*, letter lxxix, 69-71. This at least suggests that the *allemande* was composed at the earlier time rather than as late as the 1670s. The Goess viol manuscripts seem to have been compiled between 1655 and 1668 according to copying dates scattered throughout them.

73

Handwritten musical score for "Alleluia" on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs, with some words like "Alleluia" and "Zuilekom" written in the staves. The manuscript is on aged paper with some staining.

Plate 4: Goëss MS 'A' f.73, "Alleluia"

[61]
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

'The Music Catalogue of the Langraves of Hessen-Kassel'

In a letter published in this journal in 1987 (volume xvi, 50-1) I indicated correctly that the dating system used in Hesse before 1700 was old-style as advised by the archivists in various libraries in Hesse. However, the additional claim I made (on the strength of advice I received from a colleague at this university) that the dates in the music catalogue should be calculated as if the year began in March rather than on 1 January is not correct. Unlike a number of other countries which calculated their old-style years from a date in March, the region of Hesse calculated the old-style year from 1 January. Hence the original dates given in the music catalogue require no alteration and are: 14 February 1613, 24 February 1613, and 22 January 1638. As a result of this correction the comments in the original article (see *Chelys*, xv (1986), 33-7) concerning Coprario's proposed visit are the correct ones, and so those in the letter published in 1987 relating to Coprario's visit should be ignored.

RICHARD CHARTERIS
Music Department
University of Sydney
N.S.W. 2006
Australia

Dear Editor

In Mr Holman's review of my edition of Thomas Lupo's two- and three-part consort music, he refers to the fact that the section entitled 'Brief Comments about the Life and Music of Thomas Lupo' (one that was never intended to be exhaustive as its title makes quite clear) does not mention a number of articles which were published in 1983. Mr Holman was not aware of the history of the edition, and some explanation is required to put the matter on the record.

The introduction and edition were completed in 1982. Not very long thereafter I received proofs of the introduction, and from then until it was available in print in 1988 (this year is correct even though it bears the imprint year of 1987), it was not possible to make anything more than minor changes to the introduction. The reasons for its delayed appearance in print pertain to the publisher's misgivings about being able to recoup the expense involved in its publication. Its eventual appearance in print was finally secured as a result of the assistance of various people, not least myself.

RICHARD CHARTERIS
Music Department
University of Sydney
N.S.W. 2006
Australia

LOUISE-NATHALIE DOLMETSCH (1905-1989)**A Personal Memoir**

LAYTON RING

I can add but little to the excellent Obituary Notice of Nathalie Dolmetsch (L.N.D.) by Sheila Marshall published in April 1989 in the Newsletter (No. 65) of the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain except to extol its merits. I first met Lili (as she was called by family members and close friends) in August 1950 when I had come from New Zealand to study early music with the Dolmetsch family in Haslemere. She very soon 'collared' me and had me learning the viol in all its sizes (how well I remember struggling at the age of twenty-eight with the treble clef on the 'alto' viol) on Wednesday evenings in the Studio at Jesses in the various company of Louise and Tessa (her daughters), Dietrich Kessler (at that time a young viol maker at the Dolmetsch workshops), Diana Poulton, Ruth Daniells and Hannah Hammett amongst others. It was an introduction to the glories of the 'golden age' (as it was then still referred to) of viol music first come upon by Arnold himself in the 1880s, now exactly one hundred years ago - an initiation never to be forgotten.

Research forays to the British Museum followed, with all kinds of exciting discoveries (particularly of William Lawes) to be made, transcribed and duly performed (often at Fenton House, Hampstead, Kenneth Skeaping of blessed memory assisting) with the truest of pioneering zeal. Gold indeed.

Concurrently in 1956 together with my wife Christine as Secretary, we founded the Viola da Gamba Summer School, held successively at Pendley Manor and Offley Place in Hertfordshire, Culham College near Oxford, St Paul's School Cheltenham - latterly under the direction of Sheila and Arthur Marshall - Silsoe College, Bedfordshire, and finally at Little Benslow Hills, Hitchin, where it still flourishes with much the same numbers as in the early days, under the direction of Dorothy Harrison. Without Lili's encouragement and fortitude during difficult periods none of this could have happened, nor the present flowering of talent in all sorts of ways in the viol world both in research and performance practice.

In the early dance movement too, Nathalie Dolmetsch carried on her mother's selfless commitment in reviving the dances of former times, now so widely accepted in the early dance milieu, and encouragingly enough, even in the world of ballet. Her literary style was as chaste and impeccably clear in her correspondence as in her published writings.

In the last few years of her life her courage under the stress of a cruelly debilitating illness was a byword amongst those who knew her. 'Lili has the brains of the family', the kindly-natured but redoubtable Mabel Dolmetsch once remarked to me, no small tribute from one who had brought up the Dolmetsch family itself, none of whose members lacked, or are noticeably lacking in, that indispensable quality, 'nous'.

JOAN WESS (1929-1989)

ADRIAN DORAN

The many people who knew Joan were very sad to hear of her death on 11 April after a long and painful illness. This brief resume of her life can only hope to give glimpses of her sunny, strong and courageous personality.

Born in March 1929, Joan was the elder child of the Liverpool branch of the Tavener family, her father being the driving force in a well-respected sweet manufacturing company. An uncle's research into family archives a few years ago led to the conclusion that the family was probably in the direct line of descent from the recusant musician John Taverner (1495-1545) - a connection which gave her enormous pleasure as he was very high on her list of favourite composers. Educated at Huyton College in Liverpool, she went on to a Liverpool music college where she studied piano and oboe, which she later abandoned in favour of the viola. It was at this college that she met Tom Wess, who was studying composition and keyboard, and they were married in 1953.

Until 1972, Joan concentrated on bringing up her two children, but taught piano and recorders locally as time permitted. Her interests in Renaissance music were growing throughout this time, and she ran a small domestic madrigal group with singers from the area (including myself) where she was able to demonstrate her rare gift for getting enjoyable musical results from the slenderest resources. In the mid-1960s, she was persuaded, somewhat reluctantly, to take up the viol. This reluctance was due to feelings that she had not started the viola as a child, and felt disadvantaged as a string player in relation to her contemporaries. A visit to London for a starter lesson on tenor with Richard Nicholson and the late Marco Pallis, followed by a privileged sit-in as observer at a rehearsal of the English Consort helped her to overcome her reservations.

Throughout the rest of the 1960s she continued to develop her viol playing, and at the same time extended her interests very much more into the field of sacred choral music and late Medieval music. She was instrumental in establishing the Liverpool Renaissance Music Group although she was quite content to sing in it rather than direct it. She went to various summer schools - at first to the Lute Society's, and later on to the Viola da Gamba Society's and the Dolmetsch Historical Dance School. By 1969 she was tutoring at the Lute Society summer school.

Her children were now fast growing up, and Joan wanted to direct some of her burning energy to scholarship. She was accepted for a Diploma Course in Interpretation and Editing of Renaissance Music at Nottingham University. This involved her being away from home for at least three days a week, which caused her considerable personal anguish at leaving her family to fend for themselves part-time. To her fellow students she was a tower of strength, being [64] their confidante, morale booster and tea lady rolled into one.

After the award of her Diploma in 1972, her teaching career blossomed out, taking in a part-time lectureship in the Extension Department of

Liverpool University, talks and courses in places as far afield as Brussels and Devon, and, of course, countless summer schools. During the academic term, her teaching schedule at the peak was quite phenomenal. She had a fortnightly cycle which covered Nottingham, Sheffield, Leicester, Manchester, Birkenhead, Lancaster, Preston I remember trying to arrange a viol playing day with her and finding that she had only two free Saturdays in a period of some six months. Those people privileged to have been taught by Joan will remember her boundless patience, her enthusiasm, her skill in ensuring that people of almost zero talent could make a musical contribution and above all, her love of the music and her commitment to its comparability in quality to anything written since 1700.

These qualities also made her a delight to make music with. She was such a sensitive, listening player, always intensely musical, wonderfully creative and spontaneous in her ornamentation and divisions, absolutely reliable and in tune. So many of the outstandingly enjoyable viol playing sessions in my life have involved Joan, that I shall always think of her with great pleasure whenever the music is going well.

During the period 1972 to 1982, her abilities as a scholar achieved wide recognition. She contributed eleven articles to *The New Grove Dictionary*, published in 1980; she delivered various conference papers in Oxford, Glasgow, Bristol and London; she was awarded an M. Phil. by the University of Nottingham in 1981. Her gift for communication led to several talks for BBC Radio 3 *Music Weekly*, and academic teaching at Preston Polytechnic for London University B.A. Her pioneering work on relating viol pieces with madrigalian origins to their sources was published in this journal three years ago. Her scholarship gave an extra dimension to her teaching practice, particularly at summer schools, where she supplemented her instrumental teaching by giving lectures on *musica ficta* and notation, and helping non-academic musicians through practical sessions of playing from facsimiles.

The picture painted so far makes no mention of her other musical interests, which ranged wide. She made frequent visits to the Royal Opera in London at first, mainly for Mozart and Strauss operas, but in the late seventies, we had the immense pleasure of discovering Wagner together through *Parsifal*, and later on through *Der Ring*. With Tom she shared a passion for Brahms, and they spent many evenings playing reductions of symphonies and quartets for four hands at one piano.

Joan loved the outdoor life. On summer schools she would always find time for at least one long walk at a pace which would usually leave the rest of the company breathless. By all reports, she played a very competent round of golf, and also loved swimming, particularly on the remote island of the west coast of Ireland where she went for an annual holiday with the family for many years.

[65] It was ironic that someone who lived such a healthy life should receive the devastating news that she had cancer. This happened in early 1985, at the same time as we heard that our applications for tickets for a Ring cycle at Bayreuth that summer had been successful. Joan was determined not to be beaten, and she appeared to recover from the debilitating chemotherapy treatments in record time. She planned her

treatment around the Bayreuth schedule, although it was touch and go as to whether she would have the strength to travel. She did make it, and it was a wonderful experience for us both, in spite of the shadow of cancer in the background.

So she continued over the last four years of her life - appearing to overcome, experiencing the immense setback of a recurrence, having further debilitating treatment. She would not give in, nor did she ever appear daunted, not even when she was told in October 1988 that there was nothing more that the medical profession could do for her except to try and minimise the ever-increasing pain. She spent the last few months carefully sorting out her precious collections of music and instruments and dividing them between her family and friends. She maintained her sense of fun and her dignity to the end, sustained by her increasing commitment to Buddhism.

There must have been about three hundred people from all over the country at her funeral in Burton Parish Church, but there are probably many more people who would have liked to pay their respects, for whom the journey to the Wirral was too great. The North West Early Music Forum, of which she was the Chairman from its inception in 1979, are setting up a workshop to be held at Burton Manor in the second quarter of next year, which will be dedicated to her memory. They are also planning to establish a charitable fund, the proceeds of which are to be used to assist in giving tuition to promising Renaissance music students. This cause would have been dear to Joan's heart, and I am sure that most of Joan's friends will join me in wishing them every success.

At her funeral, one of her close Liverpool friends remarked that Joan must be the only person one could think of, about whom one had never heard a bad word. There must be very few people about whom that can be said. Our sympathies must go to Tom and her children Jane and David.

We are hoping to put on a memorial concert in London next April, which will be advertised in due course in Early Music News, and details will be sent to the various Early Music Forums.

MUSIC AND BOOK REVIEWS

Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder: Opera Omnia, ix 'Instrumental Music'. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 96, 9 vols. Edited by Richard Charteris. American Institute of Musicology, 1988.

This is the last volume of Ferrabosco the Elder's music edited by Richard Charteris, and is published exactly 400 years after the composer's death. About half the pieces in it are for the lute, and the rest are for bandora, keyboard, viols or mixed consort. Tablature for the plucked instruments is given, together with a transcription of it. Collected editions inevitably involve duplication with previous editions, but sadly there is very little new in this particular volume. Apart from an intabulation of Verdelot's "Ultimi miei sospiri" all the bandora and lute pieces have already been published.¹ Nearly all the viol music has now been published in *Musica Britannica*.²

The book does not get off to a good start, as there is a mistake on the first page. In the last bar tablature f should be b, although the transcription gives the correct note. In the same piece, Fantasy 1 for lute, the editor seems not to have made up his mind in finding a solution to two problematic passages in the unique manuscript source (Gb-Cu MS Dd 2.11). In bar 17 the second letter could be read as being on the 2nd or 3rd line of the tablature stave. If anything it is nearer the 3rd line, which would make more musical sense. In the edition the tablature has the note on the 2nd line, but the transcription assumes it to be on the 3rd, with no explanation of this discrepancy in the critical commentary. A similar thing happens in bar 67. A smudged letter c could be read either as a c crossed out or c written over another letter, possibly a. In the edition the tablature follows the first interpretation and omits the note, whereas the transcription follows the second by including it.

In bars 30 and 38 of Fantasy 1 the editor shows an extraordinary misunderstanding of the practicalities of lute-playing. In both of these bars two voices come together at the unison, notated in the source as c on the 4th course. The voice leading is obvious in the transcription, but the editor feels he needs to show it in the tablature too. [h] is duly added on the 5th course, even though it is quite impossible to play. Similar nonsense is found in No. 5, bar 40.

In bar 27 of Fantasy 1 a common cadential figure seems to resolve into thin air. In the edition the 'missing' note is added to the tablature to make the cadence complete, but in reality it is there all the time. It was common practice for lutes in the sixteenth century to have the three lowest courses tuned in octaves, and so Ferrabosco's missing note is supplied by the upper octave string of a course notated an octave lower. Some indication of such

¹ Nigel North (ed.): *Alfonso Ferrabosco: Collected Works for Lute and Bandora*, Music for the Lute 8, 2 vols (London, Oxford University Press, 1974/9)

² Paul Doe (ed.): 'Elizabethan Consort Music: F', *Musica Britannica*, xlv (London, Stainer and Bell, 1979); Paul Doe (ed.): 'Elizabethan Consort Music: II', *Musica Britannica* xlv (London, Stainer and Bell, 1988)

notes would be appropriate in the transcription, but there is no need to alter the tablature. Similar instances are in No. 5, bar 18, and in No. 10, bar 14.

[67] In the first piece, Lute Fantasy No. 1, I was puzzled by the appearance of some surprising dots in the tablature. In the Editorial Method we are told that dots below a note show that a note is to be struck with the index finger, and that other dots can be an ornament. In some sources (e.g. the Board Lute Book³) dots alongside a note can indicate an ornament, although Matthew Holmes, the scribe of MS Dd 2.11, uses a double cross (like a sharp sign) for ornaments, not a dot. Yet the four dots faithfully reproduced in bars 28, 37, 43 and 47 of the edition would not make sense with either interpretation. In fact none of them made any sense to me at all. The most implausible of them was squashed between two c's on adjacent lines. There was another dot in bar 2, which could conceivably have been an index-finger dot, but it looked wrong on its own at the start of a cadential flourish. Scribes either dot their notes or they don't, but they do not normally put one on its own like that. To try to get a better idea of what was going on I looked at the facsimile of the piece in the OUP edition. The dots were certainly there, although one big round one looked suspiciously like a worm-hole. Still puzzled, I looked at a different photocopy I had of the same page, which had been taken from a microfilm. There were no dots, not even worm-sized ones, apart from the one in bar 43. I therefore decided to examine the original manuscript in Cambridge.

Seeing MS Dd 2.11 was a revelation. The manuscript appeared to be deteriorating rapidly, and there were plenty of worm-holes, though none of them accounted for the five dots. The dot in bar 2 turned out to be a mark in the fabric of the paper, not ink. The dot in bar 43 was clearly visible, but did not strike me as an intentional dot. The dots for dotted rhythm signs showed a definite stroke of the pen, but the dot in bar 43 was quite different, more like one of the many tiny splashes of ink elsewhere on the page. The other three dots, so clearly evident in the OUP facsimile, were simply not there.

Richard Charteris states in his critical commentary that MS Dd 2.11 is also his primary source for No. 8, a pavan for the lute, so I turned to folio 77v of the manuscript. The notes are clear enough, but damp has damaged the page so much that if reproduced in facsimile the stains would make the music difficult to read. This is why Nigel North gives a reconstructed tablature for this piece instead of a facsimile. In the manuscript the music extends right to the edge of the page, where the paper curves over towards the binding. The last few notes of each stave are clearly visible, even if a sideways glance is sometimes necessary. In spite of this North and Charteris both felt obliged to reconstruct 'missing' notes in bars 6 and 44, which were at the end of the 1st and 9th staves of the manuscript. Confirmation for the reconstruction of the notes in bar 6 comes from the other extant source, Ge Euing MS 25. North makes no comment, but Charteris writes: '6, 8th c, line 1, tab. c from Euing 25'. The notes are indeed present in Euing MS 25,

³ The Board Lute Book owned by Robert Spencer of Essex. Facsimile edn: Robert Spencer (ed.): *The Board Lute Book*, Reproductions of Early Music, iv (Leeds, Boethius Press, 1976)

but they are also perfectly visible in MS Dd 2.11! For the note reconstructed at the end of bar 44 North writes: 'last note in tab. unclear - reconstructed in tab. - 'c' on 2nd line'. For the same note Charteris has '44, final *f**q*, line 3, tab. c unclear in Dd2. 11, and not found in Euing which has a different [68] reading at this point'. Different reading? There is no reading at all at this point, because there is no repeat of the last strain in the Euing version! One wonders what Charteris was doing here, but clearly North was working from photographs, microfilms or facsimiles of some sort rather than looking at the original manuscript.

Even more depressing than no.8 in Charteris's edition was No. 10, another pavan for the lute. The primary source for this piece is MS Dd2.11, f.1v, and there are two concordances a minor third lower: MS Dd 2.11, f.72 and Gb-Lbl MS Hirsch M 1353, f. 12v. In MS Dd 2.11 the top of folio 1 is badly damaged, so that only the lowest three notes remain of the last chord of bar 6. It is not difficult to reconstruct this chord, because the other two sources, albeit in a different key, can supply the missing note to make a four-note chord. Nigel North, however, overlooked this, and decided to add two extra notes to make up a chord of five notes. His transcription shows this five note chord, but in his reconstruction of the tablature he accidentally left out the middle note, that is the highest one still left on the page of the manuscript, so that his transcription does not match his tablature. Charteris does exactly the same, with the same five-note chord in the transcription directly above a four-note chord in the tablature, and the very same note is accidentally left out.

VdGS members will be familiar with No. 22b, as it was edited as SP No. 135 by David Pinto. The treble part alone appears in Lbl Add. MS 32377, and the other parts are gleaned from the only other source, Lbl Add. MS 30485, for keyboard. This keyboard version is published as No. 22a, and it is interesting to see how it has been raided for the lost consort parts. The two editions of the consort reconstruction are very similar, except that Charteris adds more editorial accidentals than Pinto. One thing, however, baffles me. Why does Charteris add editorial naturals to e's in one of the tenor viol parts in bars 5, 7 and 8? There is absolutely no need for them, as there is no e flat in the key signature, there are no e flats in these bars in any of the four parts, and no flats in the unique keyboard source. However, for each of the three notes in question Pinto has added editorial flats. Is it possible that for these three bars Charteris was inadvertently cancelling Pinto's editorial flats with his own editorial naturals?

Ferrabosco's Fantasy a 6, also in SP No. 135, has now been identified by Richard Charteris as "Sur la Rousée",⁴ and it is useful to have the extra details from this second source available in the critical commentary.

For each of the three In Nomines by Ferrabosco Charteris uses Lbl Egerton MS 3665 as his primary source, and we are even given an alternative version of the third In Nomine. It is interesting to compare these versions with those in *Musica Britannica*, where different sources are given priority, with different results. Charteris refers to Paul Doe's

⁴ Richard Charteris: 'The Origin of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder's Six-Part Fantasia C224', *Chelys*, xvi (1987), 12-15

comments concerning various aspects of these In Nomines, giving the appropriate references and credit where it is due.

Also from Lbl Egerton MS 3665 is Ferrabosco's Pavan for five viols, a piece which has not been included in any of the Musica Britannica volumes. The music [69] is easy enough to play, but to me the critical commentary is incomprehensible and apparently illogical. If a source is unique it has to be one's primary source, but how can there be another source too? It reads as follows: 'Primary and Unique Source: GB-Lbl Egerton 3665 (f.521v, attributed) /6 V 2: c/9 II 1-2 g' g' / e' (Add. 39550-4), d' in another source /201 2: sharp in Egerton 3665 suppressed in edition.'

In conclusion it must be said that when reviewing a book such as this it is all too easy to find faults in various details and take everything else for granted. No doubt for the sake of completeness the editor has felt obliged to venture into the world of tablature, which is probably less familiar territory for him. So he has slipped up with his handling of the lute pieces, possibly by trying to do too much too quickly, and cutting too many corners in the process. He is clearly more at home with music for viols, an area where he has done a considerable amount of excellent work. For the publishers I would add that although libraries might buy copies of the book, few individuals will. It is beautifully presented, but it has numerous page-turns and is expensive. Is it possible for the viol pieces to be published cheaply in separate part-books, so that the music can actually be played?

STEWART McCOY

Thomas Marc: *Suite de pieces de dessus et de pardessus de viole, livre Ier*, 1724. Minkoff, Geneva, 1987.

It is thanks to the skill of the engravers of French viol music that we have access to musically legible reproductions today, and this facsimile volume produced by Minkoff is no exception. The copy is excellent: clear notation, easily decipherable minutiae such as figurings, ornament signs, and so on, and accurate balanced alignment of top and bottom parts. Overall, the volume is reproduced to a high standard and is visually very satisfying. But what of the music itself?

Little is known about Thomas Marc except that he was a viol player performing, composing and teaching in Paris between about 1720 and 1735, making him a direct contemporary of the great Marais and Forqueray. Indeed Marc in his [70] 'avertissement' to the collection acknowledges that he has used Marais's system of notation for the many 'agréments' employed in the music, stating 'n'estant pas possible de trouver un plus parfait modele'. Stylistically too, he displays the influence of his illustrious contemporaries. Melodic and chordal writing, harmonic language and use of ornamentation are all closely akin to the work of Marais in particular. The pieces are idiomatic of the instrument; a testament to his skill in performance as well as in composition.

The volume contains music enjoyable both for the performer and the listener. The 'Suite de pieces' is a very welcome addition to the repertory of anyone who enjoys playing on the treble viol and has an affinity with the French style since it suits the instrument far more than the editions of

pardessus music published at the time. Marc embraces a more Italianate style in his three 'Sonates' contained in the same volume and this inevitably involves some quick passagework, but such writing is balanced by an abundance of charming and technically more straightforward gavottes and minuets.

For any player of solo viol music, and particularly anyone who enjoys the French style, I would recommend this collection.

SUSANNA PELL

Mary Remnant: *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times*. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986). £40.

This book fills a gap in our knowledge of early bowed instruments. Until recently the subject was the preserve of those who were mainly interested in something else (usually the later history of the violin) and who lacked the interest or the expertise to enlarge our alarmingly small base of received knowledge on the rebec, the fiddle (or *vielle*) and other Medieval bowed instruments. The way forward, as several recent books have demonstrated, is to look outside the normal sources of information about early instruments such as the music itself (which almost never indicates instrumentation) and treatises (which rarely mention bowed instruments before the sixteenth century). Instead, or rather as well, we need to look systematically at such source material as pictures and imaginative literature. Ian Woodfield used the former effectively in *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984) while Christopher Page showed in *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London, 1987) how such previously intractable material as the Medieval romance can yield up precise information about bowed instruments in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mary Remnant's book (a revision of her 1972 Oxford D. Phil. thesis) provides us with a survey of bowed instruments in England based largely on visual material; the sources range from illuminated manuscripts and a backgammon counter through stained glass and church carvings to photographs of surviving instruments, including the two fiddles recovered from the *Mary Rose*.

[71] Dr Remnant sensibly allows the heart of her book, the 155 illustrations, to speak for themselves in a chronological sequence after her main text. I am not an expert on Medieval iconography or organology, so I will confine my comments mainly to two areas covered by her text, one practical and the other scholarly, that will be closest to the interests of members of the Society. Suffice it to say that the admirably clear illustrations alone justify the existence of the book (and help to explain its high price); they, and the much larger accompanying checklist of known pictures, will be an essential tool for further research. Her chapters introduce us to the sources, analyse the main elements of bowed instruments, deal in turn with the main types of instrument found in England (the rebec, the crowd, the 'Medieval viol', the fiddle and the Renaissance viol) and set their players in their social context. A concluding chapter, 'The Use of Bowed Instruments in Music', attempts to show 'what could have been done on such instruments and in certain types of music' and 'hopes to contribute to the performance of

Mediaeval music today.' It needs to be read in the light of the current debate about the role of instruments in Medieval music.

Over the last few years a revolution has taken place in our understanding of how early bowed instruments were played. Ian Woodfield, for instance, has cast doubt on the assumption that the viol was played in the same way in the fifteenth century as it was in later times - that is, in sets of instruments of several sizes and pitches that play the single lines of polyphonic music. Christopher Page showed that the fiddle in twelfth- and thirteenth-century France was essentially a solo instrument, and that its technique, like other Medieval instruments such as the hurdy-gurdy and the bagpipe, was founded on drones. David Fallows and others have shown that instruments were used in Medieval polyphony more rarely than scholars previously assumed. It has been recognised, in effect, that such features of Renaissance bowed instruments as an arched bridge and the existence of several co-ordinated sizes were innovations produced in response to the spread of polyphony in the late Middle Ages, though we may argue about exactly when and where they were introduced. All this has had its effect on performers; Page's *Gothic Voices* has demonstrated that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chansons gain immeasurably by being sung simply by three or four voices; we are beginning to lose our appetite for shawms, viols, sackbuts and nakers in Machaut and Dufay.

Mary Remnant's position in this debate seems to me to be equivocal. On the one hand she recognises that fiddles should not be fitted with covered strings (which means that they cannot be used to play low-pitched parts without radical upward transposition) and that flat bridges should be made for fiddles so that they can be used to play drones in monophonic music. On the other hand she seems unwilling to relinquish many of the unspoken assumptions that underpinned performances of Medieval music in the 1960s and 1970s. Her use of the word 'consort' throughout the book is a case in point. We normally use it to mean a small vocal or instrumental ensemble in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century [72] polyphonic music. She extends it to include, for instance, a twelfth-century illumination of players of a 'Medieval viol', a harp, a rebec and a double pipe (Illustration no.26). She nowhere suggests directly that the four should be thought of as a polyphonic ensemble or even an ensemble at all, but her use of the words 'consort' and 'quartet' in such cases gives the unwarranted impression that such ensembles were or are feasible. Similarly, her use of the term 'Medieval viol' for the large lap-held fiddle of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggests a false connection between it and the Renaissance viol; a connection, fortunately, that she does not actually make in her account of the instrument.

More serious is the division of Remnant's last chapter into three main sections, 'The Use of Bowed Instruments in Monophonic Vocal Music', 'The Use of Bowed Instruments in Polyphony' and 'The Use of Bowed Instruments in Dances and other Instrumental Pieces'. By giving the sections equal space she implies that polyphony was as important to Medieval English fiddlers as monophonic vocal music; the section itself consists largely of a practical discussion of how string players today might approach selected items of the polyphonic repertory from the Worcester

Fragments to Henry VIII's Book. No doubt much of the advice she offers about, say, the use of a crowd in "Sumer is icumen in" is based on her own experience and makes good sense in practice, but the fact remains that she fails to make the case for the use of bowed instruments in such music. Incidentally, the idea that underlies many of her comments on polyphony, that textless passages in Medieval music provide evidence for the participation of instruments, is now generally discredited.

It seems appropriate for a review in *Chelys* to consider some aspects of Dr Remnant's chapter on the Renaissance viol in a little more detail. She starts, rightly, by pointing out that the word 'viol' existed in English before the instrument we know as the viol was invented; she mentions a reference in Caxton's *Knight of the Tower*, printed in 1483, but fails to point out that it is a translation of the French romance *Geoffroi de la Tour l'Andri* and that the word *viole*, from which, presumably, 'viol' is derived, is found in French literature as early as 1318.¹ She also quotes Thomas Stapleton's Latin life of Sir Thomas More to the effect that he played the *viola* as a student, taking it to mean a fiddle. But since *viola* was used in a generic sense at the time to mean all types of stringed instruments, bowed or plucked, it seems equally likely that More actually played the lute.

Remnant then describes the arrival of the viol at the English Court around 1515. Her account is weakened by the fact that it is based, like Woodfield's, on unsatisfactory secondary sources such as the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, and that she sometimes lacks a proper scholarly caution. A case in point is her statement that 'in 1515 the Flemish viol players Matthew, Philip, and Peter van Wilder came to England'. We do not know that they actually arrived then, only that 'Mathewe Weldre mynstrell lewter' appears in the court accounts from December 1516 to December 1517 and that Peter stated in 1544 that he had been [73] in royal service for twenty-nine years.² They were also not Flemish: Peter stated that he was 'born in Millom, in the dominion of the Emperor', which is probably the present-day village of Millom southwest of Dunkirk (I owe this to John Ward); around 1500 it was in the French-speaking part of the Burgundian Netherlands, not in Flanders. Finally, though Matthew and Peter are known to have played the viol, Philip is only recorded as a lutenist, though he could have played the viol as well. Peter, incidentally, seems to be the 'Peter Savage' (Savage = Wild = van Wilder) whom Remnant and Woodfield mention as a viol player in 1531; Peter van Wilder apparently formed a viol trio at Court in the 1530s with the Germans Hans Hossenet and Hans Highorne. All this only goes to show how urgently we need accurate and full transcriptions of the court records of Henry VIII's reign, similar to the ones Andrew Ashbee is providing for the Stuarts.

A warm welcome to *English Bowed Instruments*, then, as an iconographical study. As a documentary history, or as a discussion of the difficult

¹ R. Wright: *Dictionnaire des instrument de musiqye* (London, 1941), 185

² Public Record Office E36/215, pp. 510, 565; W. Page (ed.): 'Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England 1509-1603', *Publications of the Huguenot Society*, viii (1893), 244

performance practice issues surrounding the use of bowed instruments in Medieval England, it leaves something to be desired.³

PETER HOLMAN

John Jenkins: *A Selection of Aires for Treble and Bass Instruments*. Edited by Andrew Ashbee. Golden Phoenix Publications, 1988. £5, available from Joy Dodson.

John Jenkins: *Three Suites of Aires for Two Trebles and a Bass with Continuo*. Edited by Andrew Ashbee. Golden Phoenix Publications, 1988. £10, available from Joy Dodson.

Editions of previously unpublished music are always exciting, particularly, as in these two publications, when they reveal new aspects of a composer already known for rather different works, these two sets of short dance pieces, one set for treble and bass, the other for two trebles, bass and continuo, form a complement to the already published four- five- and six-part fantasias and pavans. The selection of nineteen duos (from a known output by Jenkins of 166) includes a variety of dances, among them two 'rants', in a number of keys. The principal source used for these pieces is Gb-Och MS 1005, though four duos are taken from GB-Lbl Add. MS 10445. For easy reference, the pieces are given the numbering used in Gordon Dodd's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (VDGS, 1980-87). [74] The trios, selected from over 200 pieces by Jenkins for that combination, are grouped into three 'suites': Pavan-Air-Ayre in F major, Air-Saraband in A minor and Pavan-Air-Galliard in D minor. Och MS 1005 is the source for the first five airs, while the third 'suite' is taken from Och MSS 1006-9. Once again the Dodd *Index* numbering is used.

The music in these Golden Phoenix publications is very cleanly and clearly printed. Since the pieces are all fairly short, most of them occupy just one side of music. There are no awkward page turns, but also no cramming. Only in the continuo/score part of the trios does the musical print seem almost too large, resulting in frequent page turns. At £5 for the set of duos (two copies in score) and £10 for the trios (separate parts for the two trebles and bass, with the continuo part including the full score) they are also reasonably priced.

My only quibbles with these editions lie in the editorial policies adopted. My reservations may appear rather 'academic' and certainly should not deter interested parties from buying this music.

Andrew Ashbee's editorial attitude is summed up in the Introduction to the duos: 'Since this is intended as a playing edition it has not been thought necessary to provide detailed editorial matter.' This is a curious statement since, of all groups of instrumentalists, those playing early instruments are most likely to need/benefit from good scholarly editorial criticism. Apart from a full list of 'corrections' to the sources, discussions on topics such as the following would have been useful: the necessity of the editorial harpsichord part for the first two suites; the importance of the missing lute-viol part in the D minor suite; and the significance, if any, of the unusual and often irregular barring in the original (regularised in the editions).

There are also a number of editorial inconsistencies. The presence of a prefatory stave in the duos is sporadic and not always accurate. For example, in the original source the proportional time signature appears *before* the clefs, not after as given by Ashbee.

Since these are specifically performing editions several editorial decisions are surprisingly unhelpful to would-be performers. As the duos are all rather short one would expect them to be played as suites in small groups in the same key. Yet the distribution of pieces amongst the various keys is uneven: there are five pieces in D minor, four in A minor, three in C major, two each in G minor, G major and C minor, and a single piece in B flat major. No tempo or dynamic indications are supplied in any of the duos (with the exception of a stray, and meaningless, 'p' in bar 22 of the Corant [31] and bar 11 of the final Rant [151]). The inclusion of editorial trills is also sparse. In the trios editorial dynamic marks are added only to provide consistency between the parts where dynamic markings have been found in the part books (Newberry Library, Chicago, Case MS VM.I.A.18J.52c). However, these markings are sporadic and Ashbee has chosen not to make more sense of them by supplying the necessary further editorial dynamic markings required.

[75] A final basic quibble concerns instrumental designation. The duos are labelled simply for treble and bass and one assumes they are meant to be played by bass viol, with treble viol or violin. The Introduction for the trios actually states that the two treble parts can be taken by two treble viols or two violins (with bass viol, harpsichord and/or theorbo). Yet while the treble parts of Pavan [68], Air [69] and Air [43] have been editorially labelled in the score [violin or viol], Ayre [70] and saraband [44] are simply labelled Treble I and Treble 2, while the final suite is all editorially labelled [violin]. (The part books are just labelled Treble I and Treble 2.)

In general, the accuracy of the transcriptions seems good (I have compared just the Christ Church sources). However, there are some mistakes. (Without editorial footnotes I must assume they are mistakes!) These include:

Duos

- i) "Corant" [41] Bass part: the 2nd 1st-time bar (bar 18) should contain the quavers d' c' d' as found at the end of the 1st 2nd-time bar (bar 9).
- ii) "Saraband" [42] Bass part: bar 10. The final crotchet should be a low F, not a c.
- iii) "Air" [64] Bass part: bar 3. For the first five notes Ashbee has read the C₄ clef as C₃. The notes should be a b c' a c', not c' d' e' c' e'.

Trios

- i) "Galliard" [126] 1st treble part: bar 16. The 2nd note should be a semibreve e", without the following anticipatory crotchet d".

IRENA CHOLIJ

John Huber: *Violin Price Determination*. Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, Frankfurt, 1988. DM 98.

This is not a modestly priced book. At DM98 for 208 unillustrated pages of which only ninety-three are in English (and these a slightly uneasy translation of the first German language section of the book), it represents quite a significant outlay. But all string players are aware of the ever-increasing values of their instruments and bows, so any book that helps them to avoid the pitfalls laid for the unwary in the hazardous process of buying and selling and to obtain good value for money must be a wise investment. *Violin Price Determination* fulfils this task.

The author's approach is firmly based on socio-economic principles. He states the obvious, but sometimes overlooked truism that 'in a market economy ... a violin is worth exactly what someone will pay for it, and nothing more', and then examines in some detail the historical factors which have influenced players' [76] attitudes towards instruments and, therefore, the price they can command. The fascinating truth is that the violins most highly valued today - those of Antonius Stradivarius and Joseph Guarnerius del Gesu - are no longer set up as their makers intended, and that the modern violin is not the creation of late seventeenth-century Cremona but of late eighteenth-century Paris. Prior to about 1800 there is no recorded judgement of violins where the flatter Stradivari-Guarneri type violin is preferred to the more highly arched Stainer-Amati type. (Veracini, Biber, J.S. Bach and Mozart all played on Stainers for instance.) After this point the classic Cremonese instruments were increasingly being modernized and first the French and then, more slowly, English, German and Italian makers were changing to producing the modern style of violin. Huber links this radical change in concept of the violin to 'the special conditions that existed in Paris about the time of the 1789 Revolution', and sees the dissemination of French ideas throughout Europe as a consequence of the Napoleonic Wars. But it is surely also important to stress that such new ideas went hand-in-hand with the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution and the widespread social changes that this brought: the rise of the *bourgeoisie* throughout Europe with money and leisure to spend on entertainment, and the consequent changing tastes and methods in music, concert promotion and retail trading. The development of the market economy changed even a specialist craft like violin making from a cottage industry usually supplying only a local market and dependent on established patronage, into a large scale business with violin dealers acting as entrepreneurs, and brought about the rise of the French and German violin workshops with their production-line methods.

After this brief, but stimulating historical survey, Huber turns his attention to the question of 'what is it worth', and here again he takes a pragmatic and fairly novel approach. All dealers are aware not only how subjective a player's response is to tone and how often an instrument is blamed for a performer's own shortcomings, but also what a difference proper adjustment and altered stringing can make to tonal qualities. Consequently, professionals value violins according to their provenance and condition and not by a subjective assessment of their tone. (The difference

an authenticated Hill Certificate can make to the value of an unlabelled instrument is proof of this.) The book, therefore, identifies the four basic categories of instrument - master-craftsman violins, atelier or workshop violins, mass produced factory violins, and amateur made violins - and divides these into twelve price classes (based on 1987 prices) ranging from under £1,500 to over £150,000. It then lists 468 names of violin and bow makers and assigns a category and class to each, even stating whether each maker's price is 'stable' or 'rising' (fortunately no maker is afflicted by falling prices!). It also describes the main points to look for when assessing the condition of a violin and what allowance to make for such repairs as soundpost patches, substituted scrolls, and so on, and provides some useful guidelines on deciding between differing instruments in the same price class. Of course, information based on a single year's [77] prices is necessarily limited and soon becomes dated, but the overall price relationships described are likely to be a fair guide for many years to come. Another factor that is taken into account is the growth of the Early Music Movement and the consequent renewed interest in (and therefore value of) eighteenth-century and earlier instruments that are either unmodernised or can be re-built back to their original Baroque condition. Many older instruments of the Stainer-Amati type that were considered unsuitable for modern professional usage and therefore of little worth are being sharply revalued now that a role has re-appeared for them.

No book can replace the need to buy or sell valuable instruments through a trustworthy source, but *Violin Price Determination* sheds some practical light on the problems that beset a musician about to make or realise an investment in an instrument. It might be worth buying a copy of this book before making what could be an expensive mistake.

RACHEL DOUGLAS