

SSN-2513-9029

*The
Viola da Gamba
Society
Journal*

Volume 19
(2025)

The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain (2025)

PRESIDENT

Alison Crum

CHAIR

John Bryan

TRUSTEES

Ibrahim Aziz, John Bryan, Alison Crum, Nic Hyde, Mary Iden, Margaret Woodruff

ADMINISTRATOR

Sue Challinor, 12 Macclesfield Road, Hazel Grove, Stockport SK7 6BE

tel.: 0161 456 6200

admin@vdgs.org.uk

THE VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY JOURNAL

General Editor: Peter Holman

Editors of Volume 19 (2025):

Peter Holman, 119 Maldon Road, Colchester, Essex CO3 3AX

peter@parley.org.uk

Jonathan P. Wainwright, 14 Lime Tree Mews, Dunnington, York YO19 5SD

jo.wainwright@york.ac.uk

Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for The Viola da Gamba Society Journal, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. A style guide is available on the VdGS website.

CONTENTS

PETER HOLMAN – Editorial	v
BETTINA HOFFMANN – Not in Spain. On the Origin of the Viola da Gamba, When, When and Why?	1
RICHARD RASTALL – The ‘Consort Anthem’ Revisited	27
JOËLLE MORTON – Indeed, Size Matters: Music by Gibbons and Coprario with the ‘Great Dooble Basse’	55
DAVID PINTO – Milton’s Casella: Henry Lawes and his <i>Choice Psalmes</i>	92
ROBERT THOMPSON – Undefined Borders: Purcell’s Early Music for Violin Band	108
PETER HOLMAN – Buried Treasure in Yorkshire: The Leeds Partbooks and the Taphouse Collection	119
REVIEWS	146
Peter Holman and Bryan White, <i>The Purcell Compendium</i> (Woodbridge, 2025)	
MARK CAUDLE	
<i>Restoration Theatre Airs</i> , ed. Peter Holman and Andrew Woolley, Musica Britannica 110 (London, 2025)	
BRYAN WHITE	
Vittorio Ghielmi and Christoph Urbanez: <i>Decoding Marin Marais: From Cryptic Signs to New Musical Perspectives, Sources 1: Pièces de viole, Troisième livre (1711), Deuxième livre (1701)</i> (Milan, 2025)	
LUCY ROBINSON	
Günter von Zadow: <i>Catalogue of the Works of Carl Friedrich Abel (AbelWV)</i> (Beeskow, 2022)	
PETER HOLMAN	
Notes on the Contributors	159

Abbreviations used in issues of this journal:

<@>	A digital copy of the item concerned was available at an open-access site on the internet at the time of publication. All of these were last accessed on 10 December 2025.
BDECM	<i>A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714</i> , comp. A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki with F. Kisby and P. Holman, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998).
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , ed. D. Root < https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ >.
JVdGSA	<i>The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America</i> <@>.
IMCCM	<i>The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music</i> , ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2001, 2008) <@>.
IMSLP	<i>International Music Score Library Project / Petrucci Music Library</i> <@>.
MGG2	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , ed. L. Finscher < https://www.mgg-online.com/ >.
ME	Modern edition.
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Goldman < https://www.oxforddnb.com/ >.
RECM	<i>Records of English Court Music</i> , ed. A. Ashbee, 9 vols. (Snodland and Aldershot, 1986–96).
RISM	<i>Répertoire internationale des sources musicales (RISM Catalog)</i> <@>.
VdGSJ	<i>The Viola da Gamba Society Journal</i> <@>.

EDITORIAL

After two years of special issues, marking respectively the centenary of Margaret Crum's birth and Andrew Ashbee's contribution to the work of the Society and to scholarship in general, we return for this volume to the format of previous years: a single issue with papers covering a wide range of topics relating to stringed instruments and their history between about 1500 and 1700.

The first two papers challenge established orthodoxies relating to the history of the viol. Bettina Hoffmann revisits the question of the origin of the instrument in fifteenth-century Spain, put forward by Ian Woodfield in his book *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984). Her argument, supported by iconographical and documentary evidence (including transcriptions and English summaries of the references to viols in the correspondence of Isabella d'Este), is that the instrument, large bodied and made in several sizes, was created in northern Italy shortly before 1500 and had no connection with the late-Mediaeval Spanish *vibuela d'arvo*. Richard Rastall tackles an equally persistent notion: that Elizabethan and early Stuart consort songs with sacred texts were performed in church as anthems with the accompaniment of viols. He argues, supporting his case with extensive documentary evidence, that the 'consort anthem' is essentially an anachronistic modern concept; and that verse-style music was only rarely performed in public worship with any accompaniment other than the organ.

Joëlle Morton marks the 400th anniversary of the death of Orlando Gibbons by revisiting the remarkable repertory of consort music with a 'great dooble basse', composed by Gibbons and John Coprario – whose own quatercentenary anniversary falls next year. This timely paper brings a detailed discussion of the sources of the ten surviving three- and four-part pieces (seven by Gibbons, three by Coprario) together with a survey of the documentary evidence for large viols in England up to 1700 and beyond. In particular, those who have played the great bass viol parts by Gibbons and Coprario will be interested in Joëlle's argument that, though they only go down to *AA*, they work better on an instrument tuned *GG–C–F–A–d–g*. David Pinto investigates the relationship between Henry Lawes and the poet John Milton, focussing on Milton's Sonnet 13, in praise of Lawes and printed in *Choice Psalmes* (1648). This paper is one of several in recent issues of the *Viola da Gamba Society Journal* concerned with English seventeenth-century domestic vocal music, a thread we intend to continue in future issues. David reminds us that the characterisation of the song repertory of Dowland and his followers as 'lute song' was an Edwardian creation; that English composers soon turned to providing an unfigured bass accompaniment instead of lute tablature, which could be played just by a bass viol; and that the lyra viol was an alternative chordal accompanying instrument.

The last two papers in this issue concern Restoration string consort music and its sources. Robert Thompson, developing his editorial work for the forthcoming revision of the Purcell Society Edition, vol. 31, now entitled *Consort Music*, discusses the sources of Purcell's early violin band music, focussing on the overtures and other pieces by the composer in the bass partbook *US-NHb*, Osborn Music MS 515 and in John Reading's scorebook *GB-LbI*, R.M. 20.h.9. He points out, among other things, that when Purcell revised an early standalone G major overture as the symphony to his court ode 'Swifter Isis, swifter flow' (1681), he incorporated a chromatic passage very possibly inspired by a section of a four-part sonata by G.B. Vitali – which Reading had copied into his scorebook. My paper is concerned with a little-known but important set of four manuscript partbooks, now in Leeds Central Library. It mostly contains extracts from Lully's operas and sets of theatre airs (or portions of them) written for Restoration plays, some of them unique to this

source. The set is part of a large collection acquired by Leeds in 1905 at the auction of the library of the Oxford collector Thomas Taphouse, and I argue that the unidentified copyist conceived it as a supplement to the copy of Purcell's *Collection of Ayres Compos'd for the Theatre* (1697) that was also in Taphouse's library. I include an inventory of the collection which will eventually be incorporated in the Society's *Thematic Index*, continuing a project initiated by Andrew Ashbee to catalogue the sources of Restoration theatre and instrumental music.

My work on the Leeds Partbooks, as the set is now known, is in part a byproduct of my editorial work, undertaken with Andrew Woolley, for the edition *Restoration Theatre Aires*, Musica Britannica 110, published earlier this year. We used the Leeds Partbooks as the primary source for Gottfried Finger's fine set of airs for William Congreve's tragedy *The Mourning Bride* (1697), so it seemed appropriate to include a review of this publication by Bryan White. Also, given the focus on Henry Purcell in this issue, we also include a review of another new publication, *The Purcell Compendium*, compiled by Bryan and myself. This volume is intended to be a convenient up-to-date reference guide to all things Purcellian; the distinguished viol player, cellist and bass violin player Mark Caudle reviews it for its relevance to string players and performers in general.

Lucy Robinson reviews the first instalment of a remarkable project undertaken by Vittorio Ghielmi and Christoph Urbanetz to publish facsimiles and a study of the copies of Marais's *Pièces de viole*, once owned by the Bardet family of Montpellier and now in Toulouse, that have extensive contemporary manuscript performance annotations that the authors argue go back to Marais himself. The reviews section of this issue is completed by my review of the comprehensive new catalogue of Carl Friedrich Abel's music, compiled by Günter von Zadow. He is well known to viol players for his work with Edition Güntersberg, now the leading publisher of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century solo gamba music – including many editions of Abel.

Peter Holman

NOT IN SPAIN: ON THE ORIGIN OF THE VIOLA DA GAMBA, WHERE, WHEN AND WHY?

BETTINA HOFFMANN

Status quaestionis

It is a widespread and ingrained commonplace: the viola da gamba originated in Spain. This is affirmed by the great music dictionaries with long scientific tradition as well as the less prestigious dictionaries that have sprung up online; it is taught by organology experts; and it is confirmed by every musicological writing that deals with the instrument. And, therefore, anyone with some knowledge of the history of the viola da gamba, be it thorough or superficial, takes the Spanish origins of the viola da gamba for granted.

This assertion is based almost entirely upon iconographic evidences, namely the numerous Spanish paintings from the second half of the fifteenth century depicting bowed instruments played in the gamba position. The wealth of references leaves no doubt as to the diffusion of this playing position, but the crucial question is a different one: do these paintings really show us instruments of a new type and genre, or rather instruments that are wholly compatible with the organological landscape of the previous centuries, to be ascribed to the Medieval tradition? Did these small instruments, that nothing distinguishes from old Medieval fiddles, have any influence on the profiling of the new bass bowed instrument called viola da gamba?

Advocates of the viol's Spanish origin then quote a number of archival documents to link early Italian violas da gamba with the Kingdom of Naples, at the time under Spanish rule, which allegedly acted as a conduit for the instrument's dissemination in Italy. Unfortunately, these documents are referred to in a decontextualised and even distorted manner, so much so that their evidential weight does not stand up to careful analysis. An attentive reading of these documents will reveal that, on the contrary, Italians often point out the Spanish or Neapolitan origin of some plucked instruments, but not of bowed instruments.

Finally, research on the viola da gamba in sixteenth-century Spain is lacking, but perhaps it is lacking precisely because it would yield very disappointing results; to find any first traces there we have to wait until the last quarter of the century. This reinforces the impression that the instruments depicted in Spain in the last decades of the fifteenth century were witnesses to the end of a path, rather than the signs of an innovation pregnant with organological developments such as the appearance of the viola da gamba. It is therefore urgent to question that commonplace.¹ Let us start with the music.

Ranges

The Guidonian hand, the undisputed basis of all performance practice of the time, comprises the notes of two octaves and a sixth, beginning at the bottom with *Gamma ut* (our G) and ending at the top with *ee la* (our *e*²); it embraces – not by chance – the reasonably accessible middle range of the overall human vocal registers. The exquisitely vocal nature and origin of this system anchors this range to a fixed pitch

¹ The thesis of a Spanish origin of the viola da gamba was already questioned in B. Hoffmann, *La viola da gamba* (Palermo, 2010), 115–33; and almost simultaneously, focussed on Venetian lutherie, in S. Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers, Venice 1490–1630 / L'interia veneziana, 1490–1630* (Venice, 2011), 22–50. See also P. Holman *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), 1–31.

reference that – unless we want to assume an unlikely change in the physiology of the human vocal cords over the centuries – can still be reconstructed today with an acceptable margin of error. We are particularly interested in the lower limit of this ambitus, a limit that is confirmed by organological research: with the exception of very few rarities, we do not see in the entire Medieval period instruments capable of reaching notes lower than that *G*. The Mediaeval musician, evidently, never seems to have shown any interest in extending the range of his instruments downwards. Let us look in particular at string instruments. Without wishing to take the proportions of the Mediaeval representations too much at their face value, we can establish that the majority of bowed-instruments were shorter than the performer's arm, and that it was only quite rarely that an instrument would exceed half a person's height. The low *G*, not by accident, is also the lowest string of the *vielle*-tunings as proposed in the thirteenth century by Jerome of Moravia in his *Tractatus de musica*.²

Mediaeval polyphony with its two or three (rarely four) voices observed without any problem the limited compass of the Guidonian hand, but as the fifteenth century progressed something changed. The high polyphonic art of the Franco-Flemish school, which set the trend in chapels throughout Europe, expanded both the number and range of its voices. Four- or five-part structures became the norm, and by the end of the century masses, motets and chansons with six or even eight parts were the great, sensational innovation. In these rich polyphonic structures, even just for mechanical reasons of part voice leading, the Guidonian hand became a straitjacket. With increasing consistency, composers ventured outside its limits, loving above all to explore the low sound space. The bass parts increasingly extend *extra manum*, so much so that *F* was now reached almost routinely. But the search for low sonority went far beyond this, and authors such as Johannes Tinctoris, Johannes Ockeghem, Josquin des Prez, Pierre de la Rue, Nicolaus Craen, Heinrich Isaac and Antoine Brumel, to name but the first in a long series, intensively exploited the deep tonal spaces with a *bassus primus* and a *bassus secundus* descending to *D* or *C*, sometimes even to *BB*.³ Thus, from the last decades of the fifteenth century, a new deep sound characterised the aural landscape of polyphony. These developments in composition went hand in hand with innovations in instrument building: instruments now had to be able to produce deep notes strongly and clearly. The fifteenth century was the century that saw the birth of the trombone; that extended the keyboards of the organ; that lengthened the strings of the harp, which reached such a size that it must be placed on the ground and no longer held on the player's lap; that added a sixth course to the lute, extending the range of the open strings to two octaves.

A Venetian-Mantuan account from around 1494 shows how strong the appeal of grave sounds was in those times. The *piffieri* of the Doge of Venice intended to perform two four-part motets by the Franco-Flemish composers Jacob Obrecht and Antoine Busnois, but the four parts – two sopranos, tenor and contralto – were ill-suited to their six-part group, including two trombones. Giovanni Alvise Trombon, musician in the group, found the solution: 'because we are six, I have added two bass voices to be played by the trombones, which comes to be six voices and makes a good sound'.⁴ Thus he wrote to the Marquis

² Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de Musica*, F-Pn, Lat. 16663, ff. 93–4; a digital copy is available at Gallica <@>.

³ We cannot discuss here the complex question of the performance practice of such parts: were they dedicated to singers or instruments of exceptional low range? Or were these compositions intended for a transposed performance? We should bear in mind, however, that there are pieces in which the range is extended both down and up, thus excluding any possibility of transposition; an overall extension of voices from *E* to *f* is not a rarity. As a minute clue, notice the doubled *C* in Brumel's bass part (Illus. 1). It could be intended to overcome the difficulty of the *C*, thus indicating that performances indeed did reach exceptionally low notes; see K. Kreitner, 'Very Low Ranges in the Sacred Music of Ockeghem and Tinctoris', *Early Music* 14 (1986), 467–79.

⁴ Letter from Giovanni Alvise Trombon to the Marquis of Mantua (undated but written in 1495), Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 1435, f. 574r: 'In questi zorni pasadi nui avemo posto zerti moteti in nordine per sonar, dei quali do ne mando ala Signoria Vostra. Et l'uno dei quei si è hopera de Hobret, zoè le quatro voze, do sovrani e uno tenor

of Mantua Francesco I Gonzaga, proud of his intervention that today would appear bizarre and disrespectful of the original composition. His version, amplifying the lower register with one or two ‘chontra baso’ parts, was indeed much appreciated by the doge himself, and was so pleasing that ‘in truth all Venice does not want to hear anything else’; Giovanni Alvise was honoured to present it to the Marquis of Mantua for the festivities.

Illus. 1: Antoine Brumel (1460–1513), the bass part (in F5 clef) of ‘Fors seulement’ from the Basevi Codex, *I-Fc*, MS Basevi 2439, f. 21, detail. Public domain.



There is another element that will shape the instrumental landscape of the Renaissance and distinguish it from previous centuries: the new polyphony, with its greater number of parts and compact textures, required instruments to be replicated in various sizes, forming families that could cover the new tonal spaces from the depths to the heights in a tonally homogeneous way, while instrument types in the Middle Ages stood alone and were arranged in mixed groups, avoiding the combination of instruments of the same family. This was the fertile ground from which a new bowed instrument could blossom, distinguished from the many vielles and rebecs that populated the Middle Ages by two fundamental elements: a radically larger dimension, with a string length that allowed notes below the *Gamma ut* to be reached with good presence of sound, and the multiplication into various sizes, homogeneous over the entire range; this became the viola da gamba.

Iconographic Evidence

If we enter the church of Santa Maria della Consolazione in Ferrara, we are greeted from the top of the apse by the fresco of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, dated 1503, in which the Madonna is surrounded by multiple choirs of musician angels playing a variety of instruments. Observing the choir of stringed instruments on the right side of the vault (Illus. 2), we are immediately struck by the modernity of the two instruments played *a gamba*. We, posterity, are well aware that the shapes and sizes of these

et uno contra alto; et perché nui siamo sei li ò azonto do voxe base per sonar chon i tromboni che viene a esser a voxe sei et fa un bon aldir e chi'l volesse sonar anche a zingue voze, li ò fato anche un altro chontra baso da parte de quei do. Dapoi vi mando anche un altro moteto dimandase Gabrielem, ed è hopera de Busnojs; zoé le quatro voze et yo li ò fato un altro contra baso che el soniamo a zingue, che in verità tuta Venezia non vol audir altro et nui l'avemo tribuido al Nostro Serenissimo, el qual ne a gran piacer d'eso moteto, et però ne ò volluto farne uno presente ala Signoria Vostra per queste feste, ala qual Idio misericordiosissimo doni felice stato'. See also S. Davari, 'La musica a Mantova', *Rivista storica Mantovana* 1 (Mantua. 1885), 53–71, at 53–4 <@>.

instruments of the very early sixteenth century are destined to become, within a century, the standard for the viola da gamba. The sizes, the number of strings, the frets, the sloping shoulders, the angled side edges without pointed ends; everything conforms to what was to become the norm for the viola da gamba of the Baroque era.

Illus. 2: Michele di Luca dei Coltellini (attributed), *The Coronation of the Virgin*, Ferrara, Santa Maria della Consolazione, apse (1503). Photograph: Riccardo Boccardi.

a) The group of string players.



b) Detail of the viol player on the right.



c) Detail of the viol player on the left.



d) The complete apse fresco.



The Ferrara fresco is by no means the only one, nor the first, to show us the new large bowed instruments; indeed, from 1497 onwards, in little more than a decade, we find numerous examples of them. These include paintings by Lorenzo Costa from Ferrara; Francesco Raibolini called il Francia from Bologna; Timoteo Viti from Urbino; Bernardo Zenale from Bergamo; Eusebio Ferrari from Piedmont; Ambrogio da Fossano called Bergognone, active in Lombardy; and Baldassarre Peruzzi and his collaborator Giovanni Pinura, active in Rome, to list only the earliest of a long series.⁵ The instruments depicted by these painters have very different shapes, expressions of their experimental period, but are all united and characterised by the size of the body and the length of the vibrating strings.

Let us now turn our attention to those Spanish paintings – mostly from Valencia and other regions under Aragonese rule, including Sardinia in particular – in which the mainstream mindset among musicologists want to see the first violas da gamba.⁶ Even at first glance, a simple yet significant fact jumps out at the viewer: all the Spanish and Sardinian instruments of these paintings are small to medium sized, so that they can be placed above the knees and reach from there, at most, the height of the player's ear. Without meaning to give too much weight to the not-always-perfect proportions of these paintings, we can however estimate from an anthropometric comparison that these instruments have an overall length of at most 70–80 cm, a measurement that roughly corresponds to that of a soprano or alto of the later

⁵ For reproductions of these paintings see B. Hoffmann, *The Viola da Gamba* (New York, 2018), 83–90. See also J. Bryan, 'Verie sweete and artificiall: Lorenzo Costa and the Earliest Viols', *Early Music* 36 (2008), 3–17.

⁶ There are approximately 15 depictions from the period c.1470–1510, all reproduced in I. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 55–68, with the exception of the fresco by Paolo da San Leocadio and Francesco Pagano in Valencia Cathedral, discovered after the publication of Woodfield's book.

English viol consort. These dimensions are entirely in line with Medieval bowed instruments (compare illus. 3 and 4); it is not difficult to find depictions of late-Medieval bowed instruments, played in arm position, that show similar dimensions. It cannot therefore be argued that the Spanish *viella* played in leg position was much larger than other bowed instruments, as it is sometimes claimed.⁷ This misunderstanding regarding the size of the instrument probably originates from a figure in Ian Woodfield's book,⁸ which proposes a comparison between the viola da gamba reproduced in Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Violist* and the viol painted by the Maestro di Castelsardo, without respecting the proportions between the two depictions, roughly doubling the size of the small Spanish instrument. This is not a trivial matter since, for the technology and the musical function of an instrument, its size is indeed of great importance.

Illus. 3: Anonymous, attributed to Maestro de Calviá, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, detail (c.1510). Valencia, Museo Bellas Artes.



Illus. 4: Anonymous, *King David with musicians*, illumination, detail (c.1170). The York Psalter, Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 229 (U.3.2), f. 21v.



⁷ For example, in I. Woodfield and L. Robinson, '2: '15th-century origins', 'Viol [viola da gamba, gamba] (Fr. Viole; Ger. Gambe; It. viola, viola da gamba)', *GMO*.

⁸ Woodfield, *The Early History*, 69 (fig. 5).

The Spanish instruments are therefore of a size that could have allowed an arm position. But the leg position of even small instruments was widespread, as documented in a number of Medieval iconographic sources scattered throughout Europe (Illus. 4). While towards the beginning of the fourteenth century this position falls out of favour almost everywhere and disappears from depictions, in Spain it is never completely abandoned, certainly because stimulated by the Arabic influence; small as it may be, the Arab bowed instrument is in fact always held upright. The position of the fifteenth-century *viellas* played ‘da gamba’ thus fits seamlessly into a long Medieval and typically Spanish tradition. Vice-versa, for the large Italian instruments, the upright position is an obvious and self-evident choice: their size made the arm position extremely uncomfortable if not ridiculous, and it certainly did not require any particular tradition but only practical sense to suggest placing the new large viols on the calves or on the ground.

Apart from the new dimensions and playing position, the Italian instruments all have one feature in common, quite important from the point of view of playing technique. While the Spanish *viellas* fluctuate between three and even eight strings, Italian paintings show viols that are all fitted with six strings.⁹ Such uniformity is remarkable after centuries during which the number of strings of the instrument was unspecified and variable. With its six strings that highlight the close relationship with the lute of the time, from the very beginning the viola da gamba broke away from the Medieval tradition and profiled itself as a new organological entity.

Many Valencian *viellas* also show a curious characteristic: they lack a bridge, whether curved or straight, i.e. they do not have any device that raises the strings from the table, and consequently they are often without a tailpiece and without a fingerboard that protrudes beyond the table.¹⁰ The arrangement of the strings is therefore identical to that of plucked instruments. Indeed, this is not the only element that highlights their kinship with the *vibuela de mano*, the plucked instrument so widespread in Spain. In certain Spanish depictions, the *vibuelas de arco* resemble the *vibuelas de mano* so perfectly that they appear to have been adapted to bowed performance without the slightest change in lutherie. Conversely, the above-mentioned Italian viols show, as expected, the bridge, tailpiece and overhanging fretboard: the centuries-old tradition of bowed instruments is here continued uninterrupted.¹¹

Finally, let us look at the instrumental ensembles in which our violist angels participate. In the Spanish paintings they are all mixed, made up of instruments belonging to different families according to the tradition of the Medieval *mischklang*; the Spanish upright viellas play together with keyboard, wind, plucked and percussion instruments and, systematically, turn out to be the only bowed instruments depicted.¹² In the Italian paintings, on the contrary, we can find the combination of several instruments

⁹ Perhaps the sole exception is the left-hand viol in Costa’s *Madonna and Child*, which has only five tuning-pegs. On the Peruzzi fresco the right-hand viol, insofar as the poor condition of the painting allows us to make it out, seems to have only a single string.

¹⁰ H.W. Myers, ‘The Rise of the “Family Principle” of Instrument Building’, *Groß Geigen um 1500. Orazio Michi und die Harfe um 1600*, 39. *Basler Beiträge zur historischen Musikpraxis*, ed. M. Papiro (Basel: 2020, 125–45, at 141–5. See also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, esp. 7–11.

¹¹ It may well seem that there are certain exceptions to this, e.g. on the fresco in San Pietro in Montorio, in the broad and perhaps not original brush-strokes of which we should perhaps not place too much faith. The instrument painted by Francesco Francia, with its bizarre contours, is far removed from reality; his round bridge without a tailpiece is a technical absurdity; and the absence of frets both from the lute and the viol as well as the lute-like canted peg-box (while other instruments of this period have the usual crescent-shaped peg-boxes) make it unique.

¹² The only exception is the anonymous ‘Incoronation of the Virgin’ (Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes) which shows two viols in the two groups of music-making angels. Woodfield (*The Early History*, 79) concludes the discussion of the musical practice of the *vibuela de arco* by considering ‘the Valencian viol as a late offshoot of the old medieval tradition of using bowed

of the same family and species. We see two viols of slightly different sizes, that can be defined as tenor and bass, in the *Madonna with Child* by Lorenzo Costa; two viols in the *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine*, attributed to Costa as well (Illus. 5); two viols, again of slightly different sizes, in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the church of Santa Maria della Consolazione in Ferrara; two viols in the *Coronation* attributed to Giovanni Pinura or Baldassare Peruzzi in San Pietro in Montorio in Rome; and there are even three viol-playing putti painted by Bernardo Zenale for the church of the Umiliati in Santa Maria di Brera in Milan (Illus. 6).

Illus. 5: Anonymous Bolognese, attributed to Lorenzo Costa, *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine*, private collection. Photograph by the author.



instruments [...] since its technique and musical capabilities differed so radically from those of later viols' and admits that the instrument 'clearly owes much to the medieval tradition'.

Illus. 6: Bernardo Zenale, *Angeli cantori e musici* (before 1508), originally in the church of Umiliati di Santa Maria di Brera, Milan, organ parapet, now in the Collection Sormani Andreani Verri. Photograph: Orlando Manta.



A painting with as many as four viols belongs to the next decade: the musician angels attributed to Francesco Raibolini called il Francia found in Bologna in the Basilica of San Petronio are dated sometimes before 1517, sometimes around 1525. In a nutshell, these are the first viol consorts. Let us now read some documents from Ferrara and Mantua to find even larger viol ensembles.

Documents from Ferrara and Mantua

In 1499, the same year in which we found the first depictions of low bowed instruments in the Ferrara area, the famous instrument-maker Lorenzo da Pavia tells of a visit by Alfonso I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, to his workshop in Venice:

E l'è qua a venecia el signore don alfonse al quale vole li faci 5 viole da arco e con grandissima instancia. Non me vale a dire che io non le poso fare: el vole a tuti i modi del mondo che le faci. La sua signoria vole inparare.¹³

Don Alfonso, who is here in Venice, asked me to make for him five *viole d'arco* with the greatest urgency. It's no use me telling him that I can't make them: he insists that I do so at all costs. His Excellency wants to learn to play.

¹³ Letter dated 19 March 1499, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, busta 1438, f. 614, f. 1f., quoted from C.M. Brown and A.M. Lorenzoni, *Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia* (Geneva, 1982), 48. In many modern English-language studies the expression 'a tutti i modi del mondo' ('at all costs') is mistranslated as 'in all the possible sizes', and is accordingly cited as proof that the five instruments were all of different sizes, whereas we can actually deduce this only from the number of instruments and the further circumstances.

Don Alfonso's insistence was evidently crowned with success; just three years later, in 1502, he could show his progress on the much desired instrument. From the chronicle describing the nuptials of Alfonso and Lucrezia Borgia we learn that a theatrical performance was enriched with musical interludes:

Al tertio atto venne una musica de le viole a sei, fra quali era el Signor Don Alphonso.¹⁴

In Act three we had a music of *viole* in six parts, with Don Alfonso among the performers.

Here, as elsewhere, the term 'viola' must obviously be interpreted with the utmost caution because it was the current name for all kinds of instruments, bowed but also plucked.¹⁵ But in this case we are lucky: a Ferrarese inventory dating from 1511, just a few years later, mentions a group of six instruments which were undoubtedly identical to the viols played at Alfonso's wedding. The brief words add some valuable technical details: we learn that all six viols were bowed and held between the legs, and especially record the name of the instrument for the first time in history:

Viole da gamba, numero sei, con sei archetti[.]¹⁶

Violas da gamba, six in number, with six bows[.]

The guests at the wedding in Ferrara had thus heard a consort of six *viole da gamba*, a novelty that would certainly have aroused amazement; Alfonso, with tenacity and assiduous study, had succeeded in positioning himself as the promoter of an avant-garde musical culture.

Again, in Ferrara in 1506, and also during a theatrical performance, an even larger ensemble performed, consisting of as many as eight bowed instruments:

lo primo intermezo fo de lire grande sonate da octo persone.¹⁷

The first interlude consisted of large *lire* played by eight people.

The term 'lira' – as much as, and perhaps more so than 'viola' – was vague and applicable to various instruments, and in this case no other document comes to our aid for organological clarification. It could mean the *lira da braccio*, but the idea of a group of eight *lire* is hardly convincing, since that instrument was typically played by a single singer to accompany himself. In fact, 'uno Appollo sonando la lira' ('one Apollo playing the lyre') also appeared in the same performance described here,¹⁸ evidently an instrument

¹⁴ Letter from Isabella d'Este to her husband Francesco II Gonzaga, dated 9 February 1502, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, busta 2993, libro 13, f. 42v. Isabella's description is reported by Marino Sanuto (*I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. iv, ed. N. Barozzi (Venice, 1880), col. 230) in these words: 'Al 3° acto vene una musica de sei viole, assai bona, fra quale vi era il Signor don Alfonso' <@>.

¹⁵ S. Lorenzetti, '*Viola da mano e viola da arco*: testimonianze terminologiche nel *Cortegiano* (1528) di Baldassare Castiglione', *Liuteria Musica e Cultura*, 1996: *Essays Dedicated to John Henry van der Meer*, ed. R. Mieucci (Cremona, 1996), 2–23; B. Hoffmann, 'Dal concerto alto al concerto basso: accordature delle viole da gamba nell'Italia del Cinquecento', *Recercare* 16 (2004), 23–67, at 45.

¹⁶ W.F. Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, Master Instrument-Maker', *Early Music History* 2 (1982), 87–127, at 110.

¹⁷ Letter from Bernardino Prosperi to Isabella d'Este, dated 5 February 1506, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, busta 1241, f. 9f, quoted from A. Luzio and R. Renier, 'Niccolò da Correggio', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 21 (1893), 205–64, at 263.

¹⁸ Ibid.

other than the eight *lire grande*. Being characterised by their larger size, we are inclined to believe that this was once again a consort of as many as eight violas da gamba.¹⁹

Alfonso's sister Isabella d'Este, wife of Francesco II Gonzaga of Mantua and an influential patroness of music, had broad musical interests and played many instruments, particularly favouring plucked instruments, but arguably bowed instruments as well, as we shall see from the letters reproduced in the appendix to this article. These documents form a sequence that suggests that Isabella's interest in the new large viols dated as far back as 1495. In March of that year Isabella, taking advantage of a four-day stay in Brescia, met a luthier there, a 'maistro de le viole', whose name is unknown, and commissioned three *viole* from him.²⁰ The number of instruments ordered makes one inclined to believe them to be bowed instruments, better suited to form an ensemble, rather than plucked instruments. Leaving for Mantua, Isabella entrusted her relationship with the luthier to a certain Marco Nigro, prefect of munitions in Brescia. Nigro delivered her an apology from the maestro – a person unaccustomed to the manners of the court – for his uneducated demeanor towards the Marquise, and also updated Isabella on the progress of the 'viole, over lire'.²¹ When the instruments were ready to be collected that June, the marquise instructed her musician Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa to go to Brescia, negotiate their price, together with Nigro, and bring them to Mantua.²² Thanks to a stratagem worthy of an experienced merchant, Isabella managed to buy the three instruments for 15 ducats.²³

Four years later these *viole* are found again in the Este letters: on 22 August 1499, Isabella asked Marco Nigro to see to it that the same luthier from Brescia make her another 'viola grande' of the same size: 'As we desire to have a large viol from the master who made the other four, we would like you to go to him and order from him one of the same type and size as those that were the largest'.²⁴ From this we learn that the Brescian viols were of different sizes, suggesting the image of a consort of variously sized instruments including some characterised by their large dimensions. The fourth viol was also finished in a few months,²⁵ and on Christmas Eve Isabella, through one of her messengers and to her great satisfaction, received this fourth large viol at the same price of five ducats. The viols from Brescia were coveted: in 1507, Piero Gonzaga wrote to Isabella d'Este that he wanted to learn to play some instruments, in particular *violoni*, which he favoured; he therefore begged her to lend him those that Giovanni Angelo had had made for her some time before in Brescia and of which he knew the excellent quality.²⁶ Calling them 'violoni', Piero confirms the large dimensions of the Brescian instruments.

¹⁹ Even less is known about the exact nature of the 'viole' and the 'viola grande' that Michael Schubinger, a musician active with the nickname 'Michele Pifaro' at the court of Ferrara under Ercole, played and possibly constructed; see W.F. Prizer, 'Bernardino Piffaro e i pifferi e tromboni di Mantova: strumenti a fiato in una corte italiana', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 16 (1981), 151–84, at 163; idem, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', 202; idem, 'Review', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 100–1.

²⁰ Appendix, letters dated 15 and 22 March 1495.

²¹ Appendix, letter dated 7 May 1495.

²² Appendix, two letters dated 19 June 1495.

²³ Appendix, letters dated 27 June, 30 June and 1 July 1495.

²⁴ Appendix, letters dated 22 and 23 August 1499. The inconsistency in the number of viols – three or four – must be due to an oversight on Isabella's part; Marco Nigro, in his letter of 14 November 1499 to Isabella, in fact mentions again three viols: 'Your Lordship wrote to me in the past months that I should have a viol made by the master who made the three others for your Excellency'.

²⁵ Appendix, letters dated 18 and 24 November 1499.

²⁶ Appendix, letter dated 19 January 1507.

A further letter from Isabella's correspondence finally adds the decisive element to our deductions: the bow. Isabella is informed that Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa has left Mantua without her permission,

et che egli habia negli manj cinque pezi de istromenti, cioè tri vyoloni de archetto e doi spagnoli.²⁷

and that he has five pieces of instruments in his hands, i.e. three bowed and two Spanish violoni.

It is impossible not to make a connection between the instruments mentioned in the letter above with the three viols that Testagrossa collected in Brescia in 1495, a connection that thus confirms that the latter were large bowed instruments. We can then deduce that Isabella possessed a consort of three violas da gamba as early as 1495.

But the 1503 letter is also relevant for our investigation in another respect: Isabella opposes the 'tri vyoloni de archetto' with the 'doi spagnoli', making a clear distinction between bowed instruments and Spanish instruments, which therefore must have been plucked. Also, elsewhere in the correspondence between Lorenzo da Pavia and Isabella, the term 'Spanish' consistently refers to plucked and never to bowed instruments; there is much talk, for example, of a 'lute in the Spanish style'.²⁸

It is worth going back to the above-mentioned Ferrara inventory to find a very similar contrast. This is the complete list 'de Viole e Violoni et Lauti':

	Viole	Lauti
Una viola, Zoe un Basso	No. 1	
Una Viola, Zoe un Tenore	No. 1	
Viole da Gamba, n. sei, con sei Archeti	No. 6	
Due Lauti, Uno con la Cassa, Uno l'altro No		No. 2
Quattro Violonj, alla Napolitana		No. 4[.] ²⁹
	Violas	Lutes
A viola, i. e. a bass	No. 1	
A viola, i. e. a tenor	No. 1	
Violas da gamba, six in number, with six bows	No. 6	
Two lutes, one with a case, the other not		No. 2
Four violone, Neapolitan style		No. 4

The four 'Violonj, alla Napolitana' are therefore plucked instruments, quite distinct from bowed instruments, but also from lutes. It is more than likely that these Neapolitan and Spanish *violoni* in the Ferrara and Mantua documents were *vibuelas de mano*, typically Iberian instruments imported to Italy probably through the Aragonese vice-kingdom of Naples, subsequently becoming popular by the Este

²⁷ Letter from Federico Gonzaga di Bozzolo to Isabella d'Este, 6 December 1503; Archivio di Stato di Mantova, busta 1801, f. 443r.

²⁸ Letters dated 23 July 1497, 16 December 1499, 13 March 1500; quoted from Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', 110–112, 121.

²⁹ Prizer, 'Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia', 110.

and Gonzaga families.³⁰ From the documents, however, it is equally clear that this was a path peculiar to these particular instruments, shared neither by lutes nor violas da gamba.

We then have a report from 1493 of instruments that were not strictly ‘Spanish’ but played by Spanish musicians. Isabella’s Chancellor Bernardino de’ Prosperi refers on the festivities in the town of Vigevano (then under Milanese rule) to celebrate the birth of a Sforza son:

& poi se presono à fare sonare quelli sonadorj spagnoli che mando el Rev[erendissi]mo Mons[ignor]e As[canio] da Roma, qualj sonano viole grande q[uas]i come mj, & in vero il sonare suo è più presto dolce e ha de multa arte.³¹

And then they asked those Spanish musicians that His Excellency Monsignor Ascanio had sent from Rome to start playing. They play *viole* that are almost as big as I am, and in truth their playing is sweet and has a lot of art.

Once again: what kind of *viole* did these Spanish musicians play, and were they plucked or bowed? The document offers us no help; and we infer from the correspondence between Isabella and Lorenzo da Pavia that ‘liuto’ and ‘viola’ were interchangeable in her terminology.³² But, anyway, we do not know of any string instruments with fingerboards in the Spanish iconography of the time which were anything like as big as a human being;³³ in no way they can have been the small Valencian *vihuelas de arco*.³⁴ A glance at the Italian iconography of those years would rather lead us to believe that these Spanish musicians got to know such large instruments in Italy.

String Production

Ever since fretted string instruments – lutes and violas da gamba – were equipped with six strings or courses tuned to a distance of two octaves between the first and last string, they created a problem of no small importance for the technique of string making. The double octave requires, mathematically speaking, a length ratio of 1:4, but in stringed instruments on which the fingers stop the notes, all the strings must be the same length. As long as the strings were made from pure animal gut, the only solution for reaching low notes was to increase their thickness. But large thicknesses posed new problems: the strings were hard, not very elastic and slow to respond.

It is significant, then, to find a witness who, precisely in the years when instruments were increasing their range in the lower register, proposes – if we interpret his meagre words correctly – a solution to this problem. Ugolino da Orvieto (b. Forlì, c.1380, d. Ferrara, 1452), completed his *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* in the years 1430–40, when he was by then living permanently in Ferrara, and therein dedicated a chapter

³⁰ Woodfield, *The Early History*, ch. 5; H. Minamino, ‘The Spanish Plucked Viola in Renaissance Italy, 1480–1530’, *Early Music* 32 (2004), 177–93.

³¹ Archivio di Stato di Mantova, busta 1630, f. 183r. The last part of the sentence could also be deciphered as ‘che de multa arte’ (‘rather than with a lot of art’).

³² Lorenzetti, ‘Viola da mano’, 8.

³³ It is sometimes stated that on the Retablo de San Vicente, attributed to Master of Javierre or to Francesc Baget (known as Maestro de Ager), dated to the end of the fifteenth century and now in the Diocesan and Comarcal Museum in Lleida, a large bass vihuela de mano is depicted; see A. Batov, *Vihuela da mano*, ‘Vihuela grande’ <@>; Pio, *Viol and Lute Makers*, 32 (fn. 16). However, this statement is based on a partial reproduction; looking at the whole painting it is evident that the instrument is indeed unusually wide, but not longer than the ordinary *vihuelas de mano* of the time.

³⁴ This, however, is argued in Woodfield, *The Early History*, ch. 4.

to gut strings and their regularity of thickness.³⁵ Strings with an always equal diameter ('uniformiter') are compared with those with regular variations in diameter ('uniformiter difformiter') and with those that are completely irregular ('difformiter difformiter'). We are interested in the strings of the second type, 'uniformiter difformiter' because, according to Ugolino, they are the ones that produce the lower notes:

Nervus instrumentalis uniformiter difformis et subtilis motus velociter per medium resistentiae difformiter difformis causat sonum remissioris acuminis.³⁶

A uniformly deformed and thin instrumental string moving rapidly in a medium of unevenly deformed resistance causes the sound of a more relaxed pitch.

Here we may be looking at the first evidence of roped strings, also known as catlines, i.e. those twisted with the joining of several strings, which are rope-like to the touch due to the surface being moulded precisely by a regular irregularity. It is a technique that allows the production of thicker strings while maintaining a relative elasticity, therefore suitable, as Ugolino writes, for the lower notes. Whether it was this technology that fostered the descent of stringed instruments into the bass range, or vice versa, the search for lower sounds promoted the discovery and diffusion of this technology: in any case, it is noteworthy that, in Ferrara around 1440, attention was paid to strings suitable for low notes.

Neapolitan Links?

We must now correct some arguments that are put forward in the modern literature as further evidence of the Spanish origin of the viola da gamba, crediting Spanish musicians with having introduced the instrument to Italy. These are written testimonies that seem to place the first appearances of the Italian viola da gamba in the Kingdom of Naples, at the time under Spanish rule. However, one need only check the original texts, rather than relying on the inaccurate modern translations replicated in so many studies, to see that often, on the contrary, these same testimonies distance the viola da gamba from Spain.

The Flemish Johannes Tinctoris wrote his treatise *De inventione et usu musicae* in Naples around 1487. In a chapter devoted to fretted string instruments, he distinguishes between two instruments both named *viola*. On the one hand, he knows of an instrument invented by the Spaniards that they and the Italians call *viola*, the French *dimidium lentum*, and that is distinguished from the lute by its flat, waisted body; this is certainly the *vibuela de mano*. On the other hand, he describes a *viola* invented by the Greeks, which differs from the former by the rounded position of the strings and the fact that it is played with a bow. Tinctoris most probably refers to the *lira da braccio*, an instrument that for the humanists evoked the splendour of the lyre of Orpheus or Apollo. Be that as it may, it must be emphasized that Tinctoris does not attest to any link between the bowed violas and either Spain or the kingdom of Naples.³⁷

A passage from Marino Sanuto's diaries has undergone a truly curious rehash in some modern publications, an example of how a flawed translation can create a monster. A correspondent of Sanuto's, a certain Raynero di Fideli, described the sumptuous banquet given by Cardinal Grimani in Rome in 1505 during which – as we read in the critical literature – there were 'two players of viole grande da archetto

³⁵ Ugolino da Forlì, *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* (c.1430–40), liber quintus, capitulum IX, 'De cordarum seu nervorum instrumentalium subtilitate et grossitie', transcription in Albert Seay, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* 7, 3 vols. (Rome, 1962, iii. 112–8. See also P. Barbieri, 'Roman and Neapolitan Gut Strings 1550–1950', *The Galpin Society Journal* 59 (2006), 147–182, at 158–9.

³⁶ Ugolino da Forlì, *Declaratio*, liber quintus, capitulum IX.

³⁷ Contrary to what Ian Woodfield suggests in *The Early History*, 95.

from Palermo', thus seemingly coming from Sicily under Spanish rule.³⁸ Let us rather read the original text as reported by Sanuto:

Poi, levato un mantile, fu data acqua rosa de lavanda a le mane a son de pifari, trombeti et tamburini, e venne confeti menuti, che foron coriandoli da Palermo canella zuchata dorata, seme di melon, andisi folignato, mandole e pignoli et storte con lebia e dui compagni, che sonoron dui viole grande da archeto, con grandissima suavità et gratitudine di tutti.³⁹

Then a tablecloth was removed and rose water was given to clean hands while fifes, trumpets and drums played. Then came small confetti, namely coriandoli from Palermo, gilded candied cinnamon, melon seeds, anise from Foligno, almonds, pine nuts and rolled wafers; with Lebia and two companions playing two large bowed viols with the greatest sweetness and to the delight of everyone present.

Not the players, but the confetti came from Palermo (a city still famous for its sweets), and nothing is specified about the origin of the two viol players.

In 1581 Vincenzo Galilei published some observations on the history of bowed instruments:

La Viola da Gamba, & da braccio, tengo per fermo che ne siano stati autori gli Italiani, & forse quelli del regno di Napoli; & la cagione che à credere ciò mi muove è questa. nella Spagna non se ne fanno, & poco vi si usano, nella Francia & nell'Inghilterra occorre l'istesso, & così parimenti tra Fiamminghi, & nella Germania; ancora che alcuni habbiano dubitato esserne stati autori.⁴⁰

I am firmly convinced that the authors of the viola da gamba and da braccio are the Italians, and may be those from the Kingdom of Naples; and the reason why I think so is this. In Spain they are not made and are little used, in France and England it is the same, and likewise among the Flemish, and in Germany; though some have supposed them to be the authors.

According to Galilei, all bowed instruments as a whole are therefore of Italian origin, both violas da braccio and violas da gamba, and only doubtfully he adds that they might originate from Naples. He then states positively that these instruments are missing in Spain, both as concerns lutherie and performance practice, as well as in other European countries. Galilei is evidently misinformed about the widespread use of bowed instruments or even blinded by some italo-centricity, but that is not what interests us here. Rather, we would like to warn the reader if he sometimes finds this testimony adopted as proof of the

³⁸ Ibid., 95.

³⁹ 'Sumario di una lettera venuta di Roma scrive successo di nostri oratori el audientia pubblica et pranso dil reverendissimo cardinal Grimani a ditti oratori data a Roma a di 16 ma[r]zo 1505', in: Marino Sanuto, *I diarii*, quoted from M. Scopel, 'Feste e banchetti di prelati veneziani: i Grimani', *Appunti di gastronomia* 65 (2011), 79–108, at 96. I would like to thank Marina Scopel for clarifying the meaning of some obsolete gastronomic terms in this text. Having found no match for the word 'lebia', we assume that it is a proper name, probably that of a singer-actor who performed accompanied by the two violists.

⁴⁰ V. Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence, 1581), 147 <@>.

Neapolitan origin of the viola da gamba in particular, as opposed to the da braccio instruments, suppressing – with deliberate manipulation of the historical fact – the subsequent sentence about Spain.⁴¹

At the end of this survey there is nothing to show: we have no documents attesting to a Spain-Naples transfer of bowed instruments played gamba way. Moreover, in the kingdom of Naples for many years we find no evidence of it, be it archival or iconographic. We have to wait until 1533 to read that a Pisan merchant resident in Palermo, a certain Attilio Opezinghi, took note of some ‘violuni di arco cum soi archi’ (‘bowed violoni with its bows’).⁴² A fresco attributed to Francesco de Montereale in the Santuario della Madonna d’Appari near L’Aquila in central Italy, showing a first viola da gamba in the Neapolitan reign, dates back to around the same years or a little earlier.⁴³ The comparison between this isolated fresco and the rich mass of paintings with violas da gamba in northern Italy in the first three decades of the sixteenth century is harsh. The Hispanic-Neapolitan route is evidently barred: the viola da gamba cannot have been introduced into Italy via the Neapolitan vice-kingdom.

Without a Future

Let us assume for a moment that those bowed instruments we saw depicted in Spain and Sardinia in the second half of the fifteenth century were indeed the new violas da gamba. We should then expect that in the following years Spain would develop a viol culture, show signs of the spread and further evolution of the instrument. These would be vain expectations. From 1510 onwards, Spanish iconographic sources of bowed instruments held upright become decidedly rarer, and those few paintings and sculptures continue to replicate the old models; they depict small instruments, held on the knee, in the size of a soprano or contralto at most. Nor can we find a single image that shows us even a small family of at least two violas da gamba. Nothing comparable to the now fully developed instruments painted by a Raphael, Pordenone, Veronese or Dürer, or outlined, described and discussed in minute technical detail in the treatises of a Silvestro Ganassi or a Hans Gerle.

Furthermore, nothing appears in archival documents or other writings. One piece of evidence, due once again to a mistranslation according to which *vibuelas d’arco* were in use at the imperial court in Spain, and often repeated in the scholarly literature, must be corrected here. The misunderstanding relates to the 1539 inventory compiled by Pedro de Santa Cruz, chamberlain to Isabella of Aviz, queen of Spain and Empress. This inventory lists a ‘vihuela grande con un lazo’ and a ‘otra vihuela mediana, con dos lazos’.⁴⁴ Ian Woodfield translates this word ‘lazo’ (i.e. a ‘knot’ or ‘loop’) by ‘bow’.⁴⁵ However, in instrument making ‘lazo’ means that the rose usually found on the soundboards of plucked instruments, and certainly gets its name from the elaborate interlaced carving. Similarly, much later, Thomas Mace refers to the ‘Knot or Rose’ of a lute.⁴⁶ The two *vibuelas* of Pedro de Santa Cruz did not therefore come equipped with bows, and were in all probability plucked instruments.

⁴¹ Woodfield, *The Early History*, 95, summarised the text as follows: ‘Vincenzo Galilei believed that the viol had actually originated in the Kingdom of Naples’.

⁴² Archivio della Fondazione Lauro Chiazzese di Palermo, eredità Opezinghi vol. 151, ff. 28v, 30v, 31v; quoted from M.A. Balsano, introduction to G. Martoretta, *Il secondo libro di madrigali cromatici a quattro voci (1552)* (Florence, 1988), xv.

⁴³ Reproductions in *Connotazioni iconografico-musicali e simbolico liturgiche nel territorio aquilano del XVI secolo: il Santuario della Madonna d’Appari in Paganica*, ed. M. Salcito and S. Iovane (Pescara, 2001), 25–38.

⁴⁴ E. Vander Straeten, *Les musiciens néerlandais en Espagne du douzième au dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1885), 249 <@>.

⁴⁵ Woodfield, *The Early History*, 197.

⁴⁶ T. Mace, *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676), 49 <@>. See also J.M. González, ‘El arte de los violeros españoles 1350-1650’, Ph.D. thesis (University of Madrid, 2015), 407–44 <@>.

It is significant that the Spaniard Diego Ortiz only wrote his treatise on diminution on the viol when he was living in Naples,⁴⁷ where he may have known the ‘Suonatori eccellenti della Viola d’arco, della Città di Nap. che oggi non viuono’ (‘Excellent players of the bowed viola, from the town of Naples who are not alive at present’) listed by Scipione Cerreto.⁴⁸ Ortiz himself is mentioned in that list not among viol players but only among composers.⁴⁹ Since other musicians also appear in more than one category, it is to be assumed that Ortiz was not professionally active or not known as a violist.

Sometimes, it is true, we read in Spanish documents about ‘vihuelas de arco’, but we should bear in mind that only today this term is assumed to refer exclusively to the Renaissance instrument played in upright position and related to the ‘vihuela de mano’. At that time, the situation was much more open and varied: ‘vihuela’ was the name for all stringed instruments with a fingerboard, and a ‘vihuela de arco’ could have many forms and be played on the arm or between the legs. Amid a number of documents that speak of ‘vihuelas de arco’ without providing any information on the nature of these instruments, there is one that catches our attention: an inventory made in Valencia in 1546 includes ‘Un juego de V vihuelas de arco; dos grandes y tres medianas’ (‘a group of five *vihuelas de arco*, two large and three medium-sized’).⁵⁰ The mere fact that they appear in a group and in two different sizes suggests that they were violas da gamba. But this is the inventory of the Duke of Calabria, the Italian prince Ferdinand of Aragon, heir to the throne of the Kingdom of Naples, who later became Viceroy of Valencia.

We have to wait until the last quarter of the century to find in Spain the evidence of that low instrument that had been widespread and beloved in Italy, Germany and beyond for many decades, evidence that moreover retains some debt to Italy. The first iconographic reference in Spain is a painting by El Greco, recently arrived from Venice: in *The Martyrdom of St Maurice and his Legions*, dated 1579–82, an angel holds a large bowed instrument; the *Nativity* by the Spaniard Fray Nicolás Borrás, which shows a medium-sized six-stringed instrument with frets, could date from the same period.⁵¹ The first Spanish theorist to devote some attention to the viola da gamba was Francisco Salinas, who had been active in Rome and Naples for more than twenty years. In his treatise *De musica* of 1577,⁵² in the context of a discussion of temperament, he mentions the *viola* together with the lute, instruments related by tuning and the presence of frets.

During the sixteenth century in Italy, Germany and France the viola da gamba had already attained an honoured position in musical life, favoured by musicians and listeners, the subject of attention by writers of treatises and depicted countless times by painters and engravers. By contrast, Spain thus presented itself for many decades – around three quarters of the century – as a veritable viol’s desert. It is clear, therefore, that the Spanish *viellas* held vertically, of which we only have evidence in iconography, were not the first step towards a new instrument, destined to reshape the organological landscape of the period, but were instruments on their way to extinction, the last glimmers of an era that was coming to a close.

⁴⁷ D. Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas* (Rome, 1553) <@>.

⁴⁸ S. Cerreto, *Della prattica musica vocale, et strumentale* (Naples, 1601), 160 <@>.

⁴⁹ Cerreto, *Della prattica musica*, 158.

⁵⁰ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, cod. 147, f. 135v; quoted from J. Griffiths, *Vihuela Database*, ‘Inventory of Fernando de Aragón, Duke of Calabria’ <@>.

⁵¹ Reproduction in *Nicolás Borrás Falcó (1530-1610) Palau Comtal, Cocentaina, del 28 d'octubre de 2010 al 30 d'abril de 2011* (Cocentaina, 2010), fig. 36, and in Sotheby's, Auction catalogue L10237, London, 6 December 2012, lot 167.

⁵² F. Salinas, *De musica libri septem* (Salamanca, 1577), *Liber III, passim* <@>.

Conclusions

Wanting to define a place and date of birth of a musical instrument is historiographically naive, doomed to failure and an ultimately futile undertaking. Historical instruments – tools of human culture – evolve in complex processes, in which relationships with the past and kinship ties intertwine and intersect with innovations that are sometimes welcomed immediately, but more often are slow to take their place in musical practice. These processes are never linear, as they obey musical demands and the laws of physics and acoustics as much as the collective cultural imagination and flights of human fancy. The further the investigation delves into the past, where documents become sparser, the contours of the matter become more blurred, defying a precise spatio-temporal framing. Yet sometimes research manages to identify moments of rupture and qualitative leaps within that fluid evolution, so much so that we can speak of the ‘birth’ of an instrument: and this is the case for the viol.

It can and should be pointed out that in Italy, in the last years of the fifteenth century, something new blossomed in the garden of violas. In direct descent from the many rebecs, fiddles and liras of the European tradition, in the milieu of a high Italian bowed-instrument culture, and in connection with the evolution of the lute, an instrument emerges that is distinguished by its greater dimensions, an extended range in the bass register and the multiplication of sizes, an instrument that soon receives its own name: the ‘viola da gamba’. This innovation is promoted by a precise musical impulse as it meets the new taste that favours low registers and homogeneous sonorities. It is the instrument of the future that will evolve and spread rapidly, conquering Renaissance polyphony throughout Europe.

On the other hand, it is equally necessary to state that the Spanish *vibuelas de arco* played in the upright position constituted nothing new compared to the bowed instruments of the past. Let us not be misled by the then Renaissance painting technique with which they are represented: they were instruments of a Medieval tradition, played in a position that, in turn, was nothing new compared to that of the past centuries. This episode died out without a sequel, and we have no trace of their evolution in Spain nor of their export to other European nations. They are placed on a dead branch of the evolutionary tree of musical instruments.⁵³

⁵³ Special thanks to Lisa Nocentini for her help with the translation of this text.

Appendix:
Extracts from the Correspondence of Isabella d'Este, Marquise of Mantua,
Concerning her Brescian Viols

In the transcription, abbreviations have been tacitly expanded. The numerous orthographic oscillations, e.g. between double and simple consonants, between univibration and separation, have been retained. Punctuation, apostrophes and accents have been prudentially adapted to modern usage; the alternations between 'u' and 'v' and between 'i' and 'j' have also been modernised. Roman numerals, the initials of personal names, place names and the formulae of honorary titles are capitalised. A single obvious pen error has been corrected; the manuscript text is given in square brackets.⁵⁴ The extracts come from the letters preserved in the Mantua State Archive, Gonzaga Archive.

15 March 1495, Isabella to the Marquis of Mantua

busta 2992, libro 5, ff. 24v–25r, no. 104

Hози sono venuta ad alogiare a Cochaglio:⁵⁵ domane andarò a Bressa et li starò ferma el marte per vederla bene; mercori venirò a Capriana et zobia a Mantua.⁵⁶ [...] Ex Cochaglio XV martii 1495

Abstract: Isabella tells of her return journey from Milan, the next day (16 March, a Saturday) she will go to Brescia where she intends to stay until Tuesday (19 March).

22 March 1495, Marco Nigro to Isabella

busta 1599, fasc. 1495 (LXV), carta 739

Illustrissima Madona, [...] me vene a chaxa el maistro de le viole, e de altro animo ch'el non feze a la presentia de Vostra Signoria, scusandosse che mai el fu davanti tanta magnificentia, e dimandò perdonanza, e contento servir Vostra Excellentia de 3 viole, e promesse, como el tempo se aconzava, trovar el ligname, e immediate principiarle tute tre e compirle quanto più presto el poteva [...]. Ex Brixia XXII martii 1495

Abstract: Nigro reports that the master luthier apologises for his uneducated demeanor towards the marquise and says he is willing to build the three viols Isabella has ordered, as soon as possible.

7 May 1495, Marco Nigro to Isabella

busta 1599, fasc. 1495 (LXV), carta 746

Vostra Signoria sapia che non me son ricordato de lei: li notifico che le sue viole, over lire, saran compite presto, e si spera le saran bone e Vostra Excellentia sarà ben satisfata. Li scrissi subito che Vostra Excellentia parti de qui: e par per questo el Maestro Miser Guidon da Bagno me scrisse Vostra Signoria non havesse la littera. Ma non molto importa: non son restato de sollicitar, e cussì persevero fin le sian ultimade; e si altro posso far per Vostra Signoria, quella me ha a commandar, a la qual continue me riccomando. Quam feliciter vale. Ex Brixia, die VII maii 1495

Abstract: Nigro reassures the marquise that he will continue to take care of the matter of the 'viole o lire' until they are finished.

⁵⁴ I cordially thank Giulia Perucchi for her valuable help in transcribing these documents.

⁵⁵ Coccaglio is a village about 25 km from Brescia.

⁵⁶ 'zobia': Thursday

10 June 1495, Isabella to Marco Nigro
busta 2992, Libro 5, f. 38v, no. 157

Ringratiamovi [ms: ringratiavomi] che la cura haveti preso per far finire le nostre viole non vi rincresca, mo dite al maestro ch'el debbe lui stesso portarle qua, dove li saranno datti li soy denari. [...] Mantue X junii 1495

Abstract: Isabella d'Este is grateful for the care with which Nigro has seen the viols finished. The luthier will be paid when he delivers the instruments to Mantua.

19 June 1495. Isabella to Giulio Cesare Martinengo
busta 2992, libro 5, ff. 42v–43r, no. 174

Havemo inteso quanto humanamente la Magnificentia Vostra ha raccolto Zohanmaria nostro factore et consignatoli le septe casse de cedri: quelle sono state conducte a salvamento, cosa de che havemo preso grandissimo piacere. Ringratiamola summamente et del presente et de la fatica che haveti usato per nui. Vene là questo nostro sonatore al quale Sua Magnificentia farà consignar l'altra cassa rimasta, che se condurà cum uno carro da Goito, che venerà per esso. Mandiamo anchora dicto sonatore per tuore le nostre viole che ha fatto fare Marcho Nigro, et scrivemoli in bona forma. [...] Mantue XVIII junii 1495

Abstract: Isabella d'Este is grateful for the gift of the seven cedar chests she has received through her factor, Giovanni Maria. She now sends one of her musicians to collect a further chest and the viols that Marco Nigro has had made.

19 June 1495. Isabella to Marco Nigro
busta 2992, libro 5, f. 43r, no. 175

Benché ve scrivessimo l'altro dì che dovesti far portar le viole qua ad nui dal maestro proprio che le ha facte, nondimeno, havendo doppo deliberato de mandarli questo nostro sonatore, ve pregamo che vogliati esser cum lui et fare el mercato d'esse, et fare ch'el ge le consignì sotto una fede et securtà, dandone aviso de l'acordo facto che subito ve mandaremo li dinari.

De la cura che di questa cosa haveti preso ve ringratiamo assai. [...] Mantue XVIII junii 1495

Abstract: After an initial indication to the contrary, Isabella d'Este has decided to send one of her musicians to collect the viols. She begs Nigro to receive him and assures him that the payment money will be sent.

27 June 1495, Marco Nigro to Isabella d'Este
busta 1599, fasc. 1495–99 (LXV–LXIX), f. 757

Illustrissime et Excellentissime Domine Domine Colendissime. Ad ambe littere de Vostra Excellencia, una de X, l'altra de XVIII^o del presente, me atrovo a far risposta, e prima a quella de 10: dico non accader che Vostra Signoria me rigratia dela cura prexa in far fenir le sue viole, però che li son servitor deditissimo et ho de singular gratia poterli far cossa grata, perché oltra che Vostra Excellencia sia dilectissima fiola de mia Illustrissima Signoria, le sue excellentissime condition me ha obligato perpetualmente ad esserli servitor. A la secunda de 19 dico Zuan Angelo, sonator de Vostra Sublimità, vene qui e compite le viole; insieme con lui fu cum el maistro per concluder el mercato: quel maistro, che ha del bizaro, me rechiexe XXV ducati. Zuan Angelo el menò via e disse ch'el conzeria la cossa. Tandem eri el maistro vene a mi dicendo che el voleva li danari et io li offersi de darli, pur fossamo d'acordo del precio; el qual lui par de non contentarse de li XV ducati li offersi. Zuan Angelo voleva li desse XVIII; io, veramente, parendomi el precio eccessivo, non ho voluto darli se prima vostra Illustrissima Signoria non l'intenda; la qual so confortar a star um poco sopra d'esi che credo l'averà de gratia a darle, perché el precio me par piui che conveniente in XV ducati. Vostra Signoria commanda come li piazze, che farò quanto la me cometerà. [...] Brixiae, XXVII junii 1495.

Abstract: Nigro reports on the negotiations regarding payment for the viols. The master luthier asks for 25 ducats, Giovanni Angelo [Testagrossa], Isabella's musician, would like to offer him 18 ducats, while Marco Nigro believes that 15 ducats is the correct price.

30 June 1495, Isabella to Marco Nigro

busta 2992, libro 5, f. 49r

Spectabilis Amice noster charissime. Mandamovi per il cavalaro presente quindec ducati per scodere quelle nostre viole. Quando el maestro se ne contenti potete dargele. Quando anche el volesse piu dinari, che le non valeno, poteti dirli che'l ne disponi al piacere suo, che nui non le volemo. Siamo sempre ali commodi vostri aparecchiate. Mantuae XXX junij 1495.

Post scripta. Per seguire el consiglio vostro, quale ne piace, havemo scritto la littera in la forma che l'è. Pur vi mandamo per esso cavallaro deceocto ducati, a cio che quando per obstinatione el maestro li volesse gie li possiati dar. Et fati che'l cavallaro per modo alcuno non torni indreto senza esse.

Abstract: Isabella officially offers 15 ducats for the viols, showing that she does not want to pay anything more. In the postscript, however, she clarifies that she is actually sending 18 ducats because she wants these instruments at all costs.

1 July 1495, Marco Nigro to Isabella d'Este

busta 1599, fasc. 1495 (LXV), f. 758

Ho hauto lettera sua cum la poliza incluxa e li XVIII ducati, e subito fui cum el maistro. El qual, post multa, non solum ha contentato le 3 viole per li xv ducati, ma etiam la chassa, che val un ducato; e ben che non me intenda, pur me par che l'abia ben servito Vostra Excellentia, e sì spero la se contenterà: il che me sarà grato intenderlo. Ho fato ch'un mullo condurà dita chasa fin a Chastion,⁵⁷ e de lì el cavallaro la farà condur a Mantoa. Al qual ho dato li 3 ducati avanzati. [...] Brixiae primo julii 1495

Abstract: Nigro reports that the maestro from Brescia has accepted to sell the three viols for 15 ducats, and has also added the case. The three leftover ducats will go to the courier.

22 August 1499, Isabella to Marco Nigro

busta 2993, libro 10, f. 41v

Desiderando nui de havere una viola grande dal maestro che ne fece le altre quatro, haveremo charo che siati cum lui, ordinandoli che'l ne facia una de la sorte et grandezza che furno le maggiore tenendolo poi sollicitato a cio che ne servi presto che ne fareti cosa gratissima. Mantue XXII augusti 1499

Abstract: Isabella asks for the same luthier in Brescia to make her another large viol, of the size of the large viols she already received from him.

23 August 1499, Marco Nigro to Isabella

busta 1599, fasc. 1499 (LXIX), f. 855

Recevuta la littera sua, immediate mandai per el maistro et ordinai la viola in la forma che Vostra Excellentia me ha scripto, presente el messo vostro. Qual maistro ha tolto, tempo un mexe al piui, de darmella, et anche forsi più presto. Io solicherò come Vostra Signoria me comete, et ultimata daroli immediate aviso. [...] Brixiae die XXIII augusti 1499

Abstract: Nigro has ordered the viol, which will be ready in a month.

⁵⁷ Castiglione, a town in the Mantuan area.

18 November 1499, Marco Nigro to Isabella
busta 1599, fasc. 1499 (LXIX), f. 856

La Signoria Vostra ni mexi preteriti me scrisse li facesse far una viola da quel maistro che fece le tre altre a Vostra Excellentia, e che io solicitasse la se compisse, che la manderiade qui a levarla e li danari. Il che, secondo me scrisse vostra Illustrissima Signoria, cussi ho fato e già piui di è che l'è compita; e ben che non me intenda, al ochio la me satisfa assai: et ho fato far un rezerchar sula deta, et invero me par l'abia bon son. Vostra Excellentia adunque potrà mandarla a tuor, chè l'è in ordene: cum la sua cassa: el precio, credo el maistro sarà contento de quel de le altri, benché questa sia piui granda arquanto, et anche, se la memoria me serve, pui bella de quelle. Vostra Signoria me advisa quel che ho a far perché el maistro me solicita; al qual, volendo cussi Vostra Excellentia, li darò li danari, secondo rimaniremo dacordo, fazando como la cossa fosse mia. [...] Brixiae XVIII november 1499

Abstract: The viol that Isabella had ordered from the master luthier is ready, and Nigro thinks it looks and sounds very good. He believes the luthier will ask the same price as the viols already supplied even though this one is bigger and also more beautiful than the others.

24 November 1499, Marco Nigro to Isabella
busta 1599, fasc. 1499 (LXIX), f. 857

Scrissi a XVIII de questo a Vostra Excellencia zircha la causa de la viola fata far. E perché dubito la letera non sia smarrita, venendo questo cavallaro apostata me ha parso replicar e dir a Vostra Illustrissima che havendome scripto fin l'aosto preterito le facesse far una viola. Io immediate la ordenni, et è fata e secondo mi bona. Vostra Excellentia scriva, si li piace, quello habrei a fare. [...] Brixiae XXIII november 1499

Abstract: Fearing that the previous letter did not arrive, he informs Isabella again that the viol she ordered is ready and in his opinion has turned out to be good.

10 December 1499, Isabella to Marco Nigro
busta 2993, libro 11, ff. 7v–8r, no. 24

Mandamo a Vuj el presente cavallaro perché gli faciati dare la viola; et più presto l'haveriamo mandata a tore, se'l tempo sinistro, quale è stato questi giorni passati, non ne havessero necessitate ad differire fin adesso per dubio che nel portarla non se offendesse. Et per esso cavallaro vi mandemo cinque ducati d'oro in tanti marcelli per che li exbursati al maestro per pagamento suo, persuadendone che l'habi ad restare contento, havendo nui havute le altre per el medesimo pretio.⁵⁸ Tamen non contendandose non restareti de levarla, perché di quanto mancharà a la satisfactione sua subito vi remetteremo li denari. [...] Mantue X dcembris 1499

Abstract: Isabella d'Este writes Nigro that she is sending a messenger on horseback to collect the viol, together with five gold ducats for the luthier, which she hopes will be enough because it is the price paid for the previous viols. If this is not accepted, she will send more money.

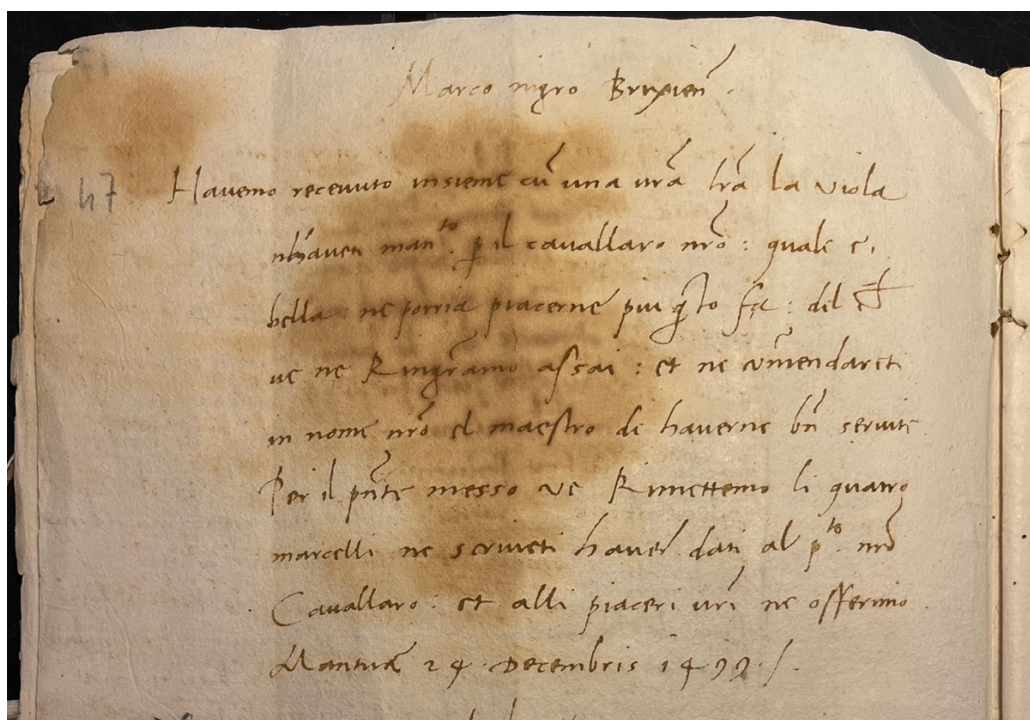
24 December 1499, Isabella to Marco Nigro
busta 2993, libro 11, f. 16v, no. 47 (Illus. 7)

Havemo ricevuto insieme cum una vostra littera la viola n'haveti mandato per il cavallaro nostro. Quale è bella ne porria piacerne più quanto fa: dil che ve ne ringratiamo assai: et ne commendariti in nome nostro el maestro di haverne ben servite. [...] Mantue 24 dcembris 1499

Abstract: Isabella d'Este has received the requested viol and is very satisfied with it.

⁵⁸ Indeed, in 1495 she had paid 15 ducats for three viols.

Illus. 7: Letter from Isabella to Marco Nigro, 24 December 1499. Photograph by the author.



6 December 1503, Federico Gonzaga di Bozzolo to Isabella
busta 1801, f. 443r.

Havendo questi giorni passati recepita una de la Excellentia Vostra et inteso quanto la mi scrive circha che Joanangelo sia partito senza licentia de quella, et novamente aconzatosi mecho, et che egli habia negli mani cinque pezi de istromenti, cioè tri vyoloni de archetto e doi spagnoli; ma perché ala recepta di quella esso Joanangelo non gli era, per questo sono retardato insino a questa hora a fargli provisione; per la qualcosa ho adomandato a lui che ni è de li sopradicti istromentj, et me responde che la Excellentia Vostra prestò al Signor Lodovico mio fratello li tri viyoluni, li quali ho apresso dj mi perchè esso Signor mio fratello me gli prestò, ma subito li remandarò a quella insiemi cum una de li doy spagnoli, laquali Joanangelo ha apresso di se; de l'altra mi dice che l'ebe la Excellentia del Signor Marchese nostro et da che ce la dette non gli è più pervenuta ali mani. [...] Bozzoli VI dicembre 1503

Abstract: Giovanni Angelo [Testagrossa] has left Mantua without permission, taking with him – according to Isabella – three bowed *violoni* and two Spanish *violoni*. Federico Gonzaga, who has consulted with Giovanni Angelo, informs her instead that the three *violoni* are those that Isabella had lent to his brother Lodovico Gonzaga, and are now with him, Federico, while Giovanni Angelo has taken one of the two Spanish instruments. Federico promises to send these instruments back to Isabella as soon as possible. The other Spanish instrument, according to Giovanni Angelo's information, was lent to the Marquis Gonzaga.

19 January 1507, Piero Gonzaga to Isabella

busta 1802, f. 81r

Illustrissima et Excellentissima Domina, Domina Observandissima. Per non consumare inutilmente questa mia gioventù, maxime in questi tempi assai ociosi, il pensiero mio è fare alquanto di professione di musica cum instrumenti, praecipue violoni, che più mi delectano. Et perchè, in questo principio di questo mio appetito, non sum cussi provveduto de ditti instrumenti, etiam ch'io sii in pratica d'haverne, supplico ala Excellentia Vostra che me voglia compiacere de quelli suoi che altre volte Joanangelo gli fece fare a Bressa, perchè da lui intendo sonno molto ellecti, et questo non in dono, perché mai presumeria privare quella d'una cosa a lei grata, anzi per gratificare lei più presto vorrei privare me stesso d'ogni mia soddisfazione; ma li dimando in servitio, per finchémi possa provvedere, che sarà non molto tardi [...] Gazzoli XVIII Januari MDVII

Abstract: Piero Gonzaga would like to dedicate himself to the practice of instruments, in particular *violoni*, which he favours. As he has none at his disposal, he asks Isabella to lend him the ones Giovanni Angelo procured for her in Brescia because he has heard from him that they are very good. He will only need them to get started; as soon as possible he will provide himself with instruments of his own.

THE ‘CONSORT ANTHEM’ REVISITED¹

RICHARD RASTALL

In Memoriam John Morehen

The ‘Consort Anthem’ Hypothesis

The question of the so-called ‘consort anthem’ in England was a contentious issue when John Morehen addressed it in 1978.² Some of the major choral foundations are known to have used viols for training their choirboys in general musicianship, providing the boys with skills that they would need to become professional church or domestic musicians.³ Thus far, the music performed by the boys should be classified as ‘domestic’, being played and sung in the music room, often in the boys’ residence, set aside for their training. In the Chapel Royal and St Paul’s Cathedral the skills obtained were put to practical use, for the boys performed instrumental pieces and consort songs (that is, solo songs accompanied by a consort of viols) in professional dramatic presentations of a high standard.⁴ These performances, too, should be classified as ‘domestic’, even if the *domus* concerned was sometimes the royal court.

Many consort songs are set to texts – mainly but not exclusively verses from the Psalms – that would be suitable as anthems to be performed in church. In the choral foundations where viols were played, the viols, the chorister-performers and the occasions of liturgical ceremony coincided, and in those circumstances the consort song genre could have been transferred from the secular household (where the choristers lived) into the church building. The question has therefore been asked why viols would *not* be used to accompany anthems in church when the performers and the liturgical situation coincided. Put like this, the question is decidedly suspect, yet it opens up many related lines of enquiry, and must be answered, though preferably in a more respectable form. In early Stuart times (1603–49), were singers of verse-style anthems in church ever accompanied by a consort of viols? Did the domestic sacred consort song and its performers – specifically, a group of choirboys – ever migrate to the church building? In this article I hope to show that this was not the case, but that the situation concerning instruments in church was more complex and more interesting than the ‘consort anthem’ hypothesis suggests.

¹ I am very grateful to Drs Ian Payne and Roger Bowers for commenting on successive drafts of this article; and further to Dr Bowers for providing the text of his unpublished paper ‘Chapel, Church and Parlour: The Locale of the Verse Anthem and Sacred Domestic Consort, c.1590–1625’, delivered at the conference ‘Chains of Gold: Rhetoric and Performance in the Verse Anthem’, Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Cambridge (2013).

² J. Morehen, ‘The English Consort and Verse Anthems’, *Early Music* 6 (1978), 381–5.

³ For a detailed discussion, see I. Payne, ‘The Provision of Teaching on the Viols at Some English Cathedrals, c.1594–c.1645: Archival Evidence’, *Chefys* 19 (1990), 3–15 <@>.

⁴ L.P. Austern, *Music in English Children’s Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia PA, 1992); D. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990), ch. 5; and for instruments/strings elsewhere, see *Records of Early English Drama* [REED] (Toronto, 1979 onwards). ‘Consort song’ as now understood is a recent term; for an explanation, see *Consort Songs*, ed. P. Brett, *Musica Britannica* 22 (London, 1967), xv.

‘Consort anthem’ was a term apparently coined by Peter Le Huray in the late 1950s. The theory, set out in the book based on his doctoral research, was that ‘The direct antecedents of the verse anthem and Service would seem to have been the metrical psalm or prayer and the consort song’.⁵ That is, these latter genres apparently provided the structural pattern that characterises the ‘verse’ style: obbligato-accompanied solo sections with one or more singers, followed by chorus sections in which the instrumental accompaniment simply doubles the vocal lines.

Le Huray did not say that the accompaniment of viols was also transferred to the verse anthem and verse service. It is true that every mention of the ‘consort anthem’ (there are actually very few in his book) is in relation to viols;⁶ but on the other hand, he did not specifically mention any form of instrumental accompaniment other than the organ when discussing the verse anthem and verse service (i.e. the liturgical items).⁷ ‘Consort anthem’, then, seems to have referred only to domestic settings in his mind, although he never stated that. It is an unclear situation that leaves room for a belief in viol-accompanied verse anthems without providing any evidence.

Le Huray regarded as an ‘anthem’ any English-texted song that set sacred words suitable for performance in church, other than texts from the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP);⁸ this agrees with Michael East’s use of the term, discussed below. But he identified a piece specifically as a consort song (rather than as an anthem) if it did not appear in any liturgical source. Thus he might have defined ‘consort anthem’ as any sacred-texted consort song that also existed in a liturgical source (i.e. with organ) and had therefore presumably been performed in church. This has the unfortunate effect of using the same term, ‘anthem’, for versions of a sacred song that had quite different purposes; and, in fact, the change of purpose, from domestic to liturgical, could give rise to considerable rhythmic and textural differences in the fabric of the music.⁹

At this stage I must clarify the status of an ‘anthem’ in relation to services observed according to the provisions of the BCP of the Church of England. The 1662 BCP includes, immediately after the collects at both Morning and Evening Prayer, the rubric ‘In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem’. The five closing prayers (or, at Morning Prayer, the Litany as an alternative) then end the service. It is only from 1662 onwards that the anthem is thus incorporated into Morning and Evening Prayer; no earlier version of the BCP refers to it. It is in no. 49 of the

⁵ P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (London, 1966), 217. This account of the origin of the verse style has always seemed unlikely, but for present purposes it is irrelevant. An alternative explanation – that the verse style was developed at Lincoln from scratch by William Byrd – is in R. Bowers, ‘Ecclesiastical or Domestic? Criteria for Identification of the Initial Destination of William Byrd’s Religious Vernacular Texts’, *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide*, comp. R. Turbet (New York and Abingdon, 3/2024), 134–60, at 147–8. The term ‘consort song’ had in fact been used by Sir William Leighton in *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorronfull Soule* (1614), but he was referring to the first section of the book, containing full-style songs in which the voices are doubled by the instruments of the ‘English’ mixed consort. Le Huray used the term in the more recent sense of a song for soloist(s) accompanied by obbligato viols, as defined two paragraphs back.

⁶ For example, Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 321.

⁷ Anthems are, strictly speaking, extra-liturgical: but it will be convenient here to use ‘liturgical’ more loosely, to include any item performed immediately before, during, or immediately after such a service.

⁸ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 96.

⁹ Domestic music-making could have various purposes: recreational, most obviously, but also devotional and to some extent educational. For the adaptation of domestic songs to liturgical use, see R. Rastall, ‘From Music Room to Cathedral: The Metamorphosis of Two Consort Songs’. *The Consort* 79 (2023), 28–43.

Royal Injunctions of 1559 that ‘an hymne or suchlike song’ is allowed to be sung either before the service proper has started, or after the service proper has ended. The ‘anthem’ of the 1662 *BCP* was therefore seen earlier not as an ‘integral and authorised component of any service, but only as an optional bolt-on either before or after [the service]’.¹⁰ Sermons, to which such musical items might also be added, were extra-liturgical, too, taking place at a separate time and often in a separate location.

Some Definitions and Terminology

In considering the liturgical use of instruments we should be careful of the terminology: for the debate has been confused by the loose way in which some commentators have made a seamless transition from ‘instruments’ to ‘viols’ and have used ‘verse anthem’ and ‘consort anthem’ interchangeably. Viols are certainly the instruments specified most often in the context of the domestic consort song (for which see below), but other ‘soft’ instruments could also be involved, as we shall see: there is no justification for the assumption that ‘instruments’ in the context of a *BCP* service must imply viols, much less a whole consort of them. We should therefore ask what precisely is the evidence for instruments being used in church, and what instruments seem to be indicated.

There are problems of terminology here, and arguments concerning the ‘consort anthem’ have often been dogged by the indiscriminate use of terms. ‘Consort anthem’ itself begs the question at issue; and its use as interchangeable with ‘verse anthem’ makes rational discussion of its putative existence very difficult. Other terms, too, can cause misunderstandings if they are used loosely. I must therefore be clear about what they mean in this article:

‘Verse anthem’: a musical item sung in the context of *BCP* Morning or Evening prayer, additional to the texts set down in the *BCP*, performed by one or more solo singers (the ‘verse’) and a chorus of all singers. Instrumental accompaniment is provided by the organ, which has an obbligate role in the verse sections and doubles the vocal lines in the (full) choruses.

‘Verse service’: a collection of Morning and/or Evening canticles, sometimes with items from the Communion service (Kyrie, Nicene Creed, Sanctus and Gloria), performed in the same way as above, with organ accompaniment.

‘Full anthem’: a musical item sung in the context of *BCP* Morning or Evening prayer, additional to the texts set down in the *BCP*, in which the whole musical texture is sung by the choir. This may be supported by the organ, which doubles the vocal texture without having any independent role.

‘Full service’: a collection of Morning and/or Evening canticles, sometimes with items from the Communion service (Kyrie, Nicene Creed, Sanctus and Gloria), in which the whole musical texture is sung by the choir. This may be supported by the organ, which doubles the vocal texture without having any independent role.

¹⁰ Dr Bowers’s words, in private correspondence (2025).

In the early Stuart period ‘full’ distinguished anthems and services as defined here, but ‘verse anthem’ and ‘verse service’ are more recent terms. What we now call items in ‘verse’ style were then referred to as anthems and services ‘with verses’. This is a more accurate term, because the choruses of any ‘verse anthem’ or ‘verse service’ are actually in full style. In this article I shall keep to the modern usage, but the reader should bear this distinction in mind.

Objections to the ‘Consort Anthem’ Hypothesis

John Morehen’s review of the situation in 1978 presented four reasons for doubting that consorts of viols were used in church:¹¹

- 1: ‘one would expect a much closer correlation between the musical texts of the versions for viols and those for organ than is actually the case’.

Transfer from a domestic room to a church requires a five-part texture for viols to become a two- or at most three-part texture for organ, so the organ books do not simply show note-for-note arrangements of the viol parts, but a re-thinking of the accompaniment.¹² Sometimes, too, the vocal parts show quite radical adaptations of the texture, voices, rhythms and even harmonic progressions, because of the adaptation to a different medium, different forces and different performance spaces. Clear examples can be seen in the various versions of Martin Peerson’s songs that appear in both domestic and liturgical sources. These show that the domestic song was musically adapted for liturgical use, in one case to both full and verse versions.¹³ In Peerson’s ‘Blow up the trumpet’ and ‘I will magnify thee, O Lord’, changes of rhythm, structure and scoring were evidently demanded for the large space of Durham cathedral because of the very different acoustic.¹⁴ This process has not yet been surveyed extensively, but Morehen was evidently aware that songs surviving in both domestic and liturgical sources were liable to be adapted in this way. Had such songs been composed for liturgical use originally this would not have been necessary. In contrast, the version of Peerson’s ‘Blow up the trumpet’ copied for performance in the chapel of Peterhouse, Cambridge, a building of more intimate size and acoustic, shows almost no change from the domestic version other than that to organ accompaniment.

- 2: ‘viols were not a common adjunct to church worship at this period or any other’.

Morehen did note some evidence for occasional use of viols in church but, as we shall see, this seems to be for a mixed consort rather than for a whole consort of viols. This criterion is simply an opinion, of course – albeit a very well-informed one – and so is Bowers’s endorsement of it. Although Bowers declined to make a categorical statement, his opinion is very clear:

Music in verse style with viol accompaniment is domestic, and never ecclesiastical; music in verse style with organ accompaniment is ecclesiastical, and never domestic. Verse

¹¹ Morehen ‘The English Consort and Verse Anthems’, 383.

¹² This includes amalgamating the top voices into a ‘continuo treble’ and the lower voices into a ‘continuo bass’ when necessary.

¹³ In both cases the music has been changed structurally, rhythmically and in other ways, the better to conform to the needs of a cathedral choir (initially Durham) in a large building.

¹⁴ Rastall, ‘From Music Room to Cathedral’. ‘Blow out the trumpet’ is the domestic version, ‘Blow up the trumpet’ the liturgical one.

music which survives in both forms originated as domestic; the ecclesiastical form is a subsequent adaptation, compressing the original viol accompaniment into one for church organ.

- 3: 'viol parts are preserved only in secular sources; no liturgical sources contain parts for any instruments other than organ'.

'Secular sources' effectively means 'domestic sources', physically distinct from liturgical sources. A domestic source is a small book in landscape format, placed on a table so that a single performer, or one singer and one instrumentalist, could read from it.¹⁵ Liturgical sources are larger and in upright (portrait) format. The notation is large enough for two or three people to share a book, standing together in a choir stall with the book either held by a singer or resting on the ledge in front. As already noted, these liturgical books do not include purely instrumental parts (i.e. for the accompaniment of solo sections of verse-style music), which are available only in associated organ books. Hence any instrumentalists supporting the singers would: (a) read from the same books as the singers; (b) therefore stand in the choir stalls with the singers of the relevant voice-parts; and (c) perform only in 'full'-style music. Liturgical partbooks could not, therefore, be used by violists.

Morehen's distinction between secular and liturgical sources is not as clear as it seems. There are many secular sources in large upright format,¹⁶ and that format was not always used for liturgical partbooks. It is only the printed sets – Day's *Certain Notes* (1560) and Barnard's *Selected Church Musick* (1641) – and the liturgical books copied at Durham in the 1630s onwards that provide this 'norm'. The smaller landscape format was certainly used for liturgical music.¹⁷ Moreover, if viols (or harps, lutes, etc.) were to play in the context of BCP services, the players would have to sit round a table and use what we otherwise think of as domestic sources. If 'soft' instruments were indeed used in church, therefore, one could reasonably expect to find pairs of partbook sets: a domestic set for viols etc. (which could include secular songs for household use) and a liturgical set with the same liturgical repertory for the singers. The domestic partbooks containing devotional (possibly liturgical) items do also include secular songs and instrumental pieces, which the liturgical partbooks never do. So, while the liturgical vocal and organ books are dedicated liturgical sources, any liturgical instrumental music was apparently in mixed sources, not kept in the chapel (or other room) solely for liturgical use, but kept for both purposes and presumably carried about as necessary from one venue to another. This possibility really refers only to small private chapels; in a major church such as a cathedral one might expect any instrumental source

¹⁵ Individual music-stands did not exist at this time: the extended type of stand used by eighteenth-century secular instrumentalists existed only as the desk-tops of church choir stalls.

¹⁶ For example, *GB-Ob*, MSS Mus. Sch. D.212–16, containing repertory for the Oxford music professor's weekly music meetings; manuscripts copied by Thomas Myriell, notably 'Tristitia Remedium', *GB-Lbl*, Add. MSS 29372–7; and many others, for which see the plates in C. Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600–1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor MI, 1982).

¹⁷ For a good example, see R. Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444–1644', *King's College Chapel, 1515–2015*, ed. J.M. Massing and N. Zeeman (London and Turnhout, 2014), plate at 274–5.

to contain only music for use in the church, and that it would remain in the ecclesiastical buildings.¹⁸

This last type of source is very specific, and the only examples currently identifiable are from Canterbury cathedral: a 'Sackbut book' was repaired in 1625, and a service was copied into 'both Sackbut bookes' in 1634/5.¹⁹ Evidently these latter two, at least, were to be used in conjunction with singers. As Bowers noted, such a book must have been very rare: no example seems to have survived.²⁰

4: 'as a very broad generalization church music was written by church musicians and secular music by secular musicians', and (although this was not spelled out) for different purposes. Morehen recognised that many composers were active in both fields, however, and explained this in some detail.

As Bowers acknowledged, none of these four objections is really watertight, although very likely to be correct. In reiterating them he added another objection, one that had earlier been noted by Morehen:²¹

5: Liturgical and domestic sources show different vocal compasses and different clef-configurations. Bowers later stated:

Any music identifiable as composed to meet compliance with the strict constraints imposed by the nature of the ecclesiastical choir was composed originally with church use in mind. This extends to:

(i) a standard five-part scoring of MCCTB (and its derivatives MCTB and CCTB).²²

(ii) all constrained within an overall compass of up to, and not exceeding, 20 notes (17 notes for CCTB).

(iii) The clef-configuration is almost invariably C1-C3-C3-C4-F4.²³

Any music composed to any other clef-configuration, or to any compass exceeding 20 notes, is for domestic use.²⁴

Watertight or not, these objections are enough to cast considerable doubt on the notion of the 'consort anthem' as a transfer of the devotional consort song and its chorister performers from the music-room to the church. One might add, too, that musical training is not the same as

¹⁸ Liturgical music-books, being for use only in the church building, might most conveniently be kept on bookshelves, or in a chest, in the church itself. At Canterbury, a chest was bought in 1598–9 'to sett in the Quire for to lay the singing books'; see R. Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music', *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson *et al.* (Oxford, 1995), 408–50, at 440.

¹⁹ Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music', 445.

²⁰ Bowers, private correspondence (2025).

²¹ J. Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117 (1997), 62–85, at 64. Dr Bowers stated his views during the William Byrd conference at Leeds University in 2004, and later enlarged on them in private correspondence, noting that 'There are two independent sets of criteria: one relates to vocal scoring and overall compass, the other to sources. Neither is entirely watertight, but they seem to be of a validity sufficiently broad and universal to have some value'. These views were later published in *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide*, comp. Turbet, 134–60.

²² Here M = mean, C = contratenor, T = tenor, B = bass.

²³ These are the C- and F-clefs on the lines of the staff, counting upwards.

²⁴ Bowers, private correspondence (2025).

liturgical performance, and not necessarily allied to it; and that dramatic performance is not the same as liturgical performance, although they are both public events.

There are also practical objections. While some choral institutions had the resources for those dramatic performances, in liturgical performance the use of five choirboys to play viols would seriously deplete the body of singers on the top lines,²⁵ for if the choristers could field five competent players those boys were playing viols, not singing.²⁶ True, the men might provide some or all of the players, assuming that some of them had learned the viol as choristers and had continued to play regularly, as many singing-men certainly did. Again, the viability of such an arrangement would partly depend on who played the instruments and what they would otherwise be singing. If one or two choristers played viols with three or four singing-men, that could address my objection about depleting the top two vocal lines of the choir, but a second practical objection would remain.

Violists could not be accommodated in the choir stalls, so they would have to be seated round a table elsewhere in the chancel. They could not be situated centrally, so as to be in contact equally with the two sides of the choir, because a table in the centre aisle would make processions impossible, preventing the arrival and departure of clergy and choir. (The modern solution, with the violists seated along the sides of the centre aisle, was not possible in an age that did not use individual music stands, and it still impedes processions.²⁷) Indeed, one of the most experienced musicians responsible for modern liturgical performances with instruments has noted that performing with viols in college chapels and cathedrals ‘always ... seemed doomed to compromise’.²⁸

An alternative would be to place instrumentalists on the pulpitum or in a gallery. The pulpitum of a major church would perhaps be acoustically unsatisfactory and too far from the singers, but we shall return to the question of a gallery in considering the evidence for ‘soft’ instruments being used in private domestic chapels. The special arrangement in the chancel of Exeter Cathedral in 1622, noted below, was probably a one-off solution of the problem, and no doubt short-lived.

On all these grounds it seems most unlikely that the ‘consort anthem’ ever existed, at least in the original formulation with a whole consort of viols played by choirboys. But the evidence shows that the question of instrumental participation in the context of *BCP* services is both more complex and more interesting than the discredited theory. While scholars now seem happy to reject that theory, therefore – even if some performers continue to offer consort songs with viols as if they

²⁵ Although liturgical music for the 1549 *BCP* was mainly in four parts, early Stuart settings are usually in five, as are the majority of consort songs.

²⁶ Very few major choral foundations could field more than eight or ten boys in their choirs: 16 in the Chapel Royal, King’s College, Cambridge, Magdalen College and New College, Oxford at various times, and also in Eton College and Winchester College; a maximum of 14 or 15 at Exeter and Lincoln, while some supported only six or even fewer; see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 14–17.

²⁷ I have played in viol consorts for services in various sizes of church, from York Minster down to a very small country parish church, with others in between. However the consort is arranged, the result is inconvenient for everyone.

²⁸ W. Hunt, ‘*In Chains of Gold: Brief History of a Passion*’, *The Viol* 70 (Spring 2023), 11–13, at 11 (l.h. column).

were legitimate liturgical pieces – we should explore the evidence further.

All discussion of these matters tends to assume that viols – and only viols – were concerned in the performance of consort songs. This is largely because of information from the Oxford music meetings of the 1630s and the much later reminiscences of Thomas Mace and Roger North, backed up by the memorial painting for Sir Henry Unton.²⁹ As an assumption, this needs to be examined.

The Evidence

Viols in Early Stuart Culture

The role of viols in early Stuart culture was demonstrably an important one. When instruments are mentioned in collections of consort songs, it is most often ‘viols’ that are specified. They are specifically mentioned as the accompaniment to consort songs in *GB-Ob*, MSS Mus. Sch. D.212–16,³⁰ and between 1600 and 1630 some 13 sets of printed books (including several that set sacred texts) refer to their contents as ‘apt for viols and voices’, while another three use the wording ‘apt for voices and viols’. These appear to show that viols were the normal instrumental resource for consort songs.

Nevertheless, this leaves the instrumentation unspecified in the great majority of consort song sources. Should we assume that a whole consort of viols is the default? There is no over-riding reason to think so, and there are a few other sources that specify otherwise. Sir William Leighton’s *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorronfull Soule* (1614) has the voices doubled by the mixed consort of treble viol, flute, lute, bandora and bass viol; Martin Peerson’s *Private Musicke* (1620) is stated to be ‘fit for Voyces and Viols’, but with the instrumental alternatives of virginals, lute or (as a last resort) ‘to the Base Viol alone’; his *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630), also ‘fit for Voyces and Vials’, includes an organ part, ‘which for want of Organs, may be performed on Virginals, Base-Lute, Bandora, or Irish Harpe’; and Walter Porter’s *Madrigals and Ayres* (1632) specifies the instrumental accompaniment of harpsichord, lutes, theorboes, bass viol, and two violins or two viols. The Peerson volumes offer reduced accompaniments as a sales ploy, but Leighton’s and Porter’s issue requirements as a matter of musical need. Thus, the sources do not entirely allow us to assume that a consort of viols is the automatic default accompaniment for consort songs. Indeed, it is possible that ‘viols’ should be read as a shorthand for ‘viols and/or other soft instruments’.

On the matter of viols in church, MSS Mus. Sch. D.212–16 offer no evidence: the set is a domestic source, apparently copied for the Oxford music professor’s Thursday afternoon music meetings.³¹

²⁹ Oxford meetings: R. Rastall, ‘Benjamin Rogers (1614–98): Some Notes on his Instrumental Music’, *Music & Letters* 46 (1965), 237–42. Mace: *Musick’s Monument* (1676), part 3 <@>. North: John Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959). Unton: R. Rastall, ‘Spatial Effects in English Instrumental Consort Music, c.1560–1605’, *Early Music* 25 (1997), 268–88, esp. 269–70. The Unton painting has mistakenly been considered to depict a consort song, due to the lack of clarity in monochrome images. Colour reproduction shows that the boy with his back to us is not beating time but playing a viol.

³⁰ Morehen, ‘The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660’.

³¹ Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 193–207, at 194.

Nor are the printed books good evidence, being domestic sources, and most of them containing songs on both sacred and secular texts: so, at best, they are candidates for books used in both secular and sacred venues (for which see ‘Domestic Chapels’, below). Two printed sets do include settings of devotional texts only: John Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes* (1615) and Michael East’s *The Sixt Set of Booke*s (1624). The terminology used in these is discussed below (‘Terminology: the anthem’) because in certain circumstances domestic sources probably were used in the context of *BCP* services.

The Use of Instruments in Church

One Lieutenant Hammond visited Exeter cathedral in 1635, and his description of its music (discussed below) appears to be evidence of liturgical participation by ‘soft’ instruments.³² This is rather surprising in such a large building, but we cannot know the exact circumstances. It must be noted here, however, that Lt Hammond also visited several other cathedrals in 1634–5³³ and, despite his comments about various instruments in addition to the organ, he reported that the voices were accompanied by organ only.³⁴ This is a significant statement, confirming that the various instrumental consorts were not involved in vocal music, at least in Hammond’s experience of music in those cathedrals.

Evidence concerning private household chapels has been discussed by Lynn Hulse. Her examples (see ‘Domestic Chapels’, below) show mixed ‘soft’ consorts placed in a gallery. In one case the musicians were out of sight and clearly playing purely instrumental music; in the other, they appear to be accompanying voices, although whether in full or verse style is not known. In both cases the musicians will have been those of the household, performing from domestic partbooks placed on a table round which they all sat.

In such situations, with household musicians playing from domestic partbooks in a household chapel, the music was not necessarily performed by voices and viols; but one can conceive of household musicians performing a sacred-texted consort song – whether in a music-room, reception room or household chapel – in which the singers were accompanied by a mixed group of ‘soft’ instruments. The anonymous four-part verse-style setting of the Creed in *GB-Ob*, MSS Tenbury 1162–7, for instance, which we might automatically accompany with viols (treble, two tenors and bass), could easily be performed with – say – treble viol, recorder, lute and bass viol; and for any five-part song one could add a harp or other plucked instrument. Evidence for this sort of consort is for only a limited period in the 1630s and 40s, but the use of the ‘English’ mixed consort in Allison’s *Psalmes of David* (1599) and Leighton’s *Teares* (1614) is a reminder that instruments other than viols were already in use in domestic sacred music.

³² I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547–c.1646* (New York and London, 1993), 151; J. Morehen, ‘The “Burden of Proof”: The Editor as Detective’, *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), 200–20, at 220.

³³ Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Chichester, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Rochester and Winchester; see *Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties Observed in a Seven Weeks’ Journey Begun on 11 August 1634 by a Captain, a Lieutenant and an Ancient, all Three of the Military Company in Norwich*, ed. L.G. Wickham Legg, Camden Society Miscellany 16 (London, 1936).

³⁴ Morehen, ‘The “Burden of Proof”’, 219–20.

Some evidence for the liturgical use of instruments comes from literary sources, but most of our information has been found in the documentary material of individual institutions. Ian Payne's researches in the archives of selected cathedrals and Cambridge colleges showed that in certain institutions instruments and strings were bought and occasional repairs carried out; investigations by Roger Bowers and more recently by Helen Roberts have added material from institutions not covered by Payne; and the volumes of the Records of Early English Drama (REED) project have added records from Oxford colleges and St Paul's Cathedral in London.³⁵ While the evidence shows that both wind and stringed instruments were owned and maintained by certain institutions, little of it specifically shows their use in connection with the liturgy.

The only instrument normally used liturgically was the organ. There is some documentary evidence for this, but the main evidence is the organ books that survive in association with sets of liturgical partbooks. It appears that no organ book was ever printed in this country prior to the secular example of Martin Peerson's *Mottects, or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630). Such books were otherwise in manuscript, and so had a wider range of use than printed books would have: the organist could add voluntaries and other useful pieces in what was effectively his personal collection. At the same time, he did not need to include any piece in the vocal partbooks (printed or manuscript) that was not in the church's current repertory. Thus organ books do not necessarily match the vocal partbooks at all closely, and it may be difficult to show that a particular organ book belonged with a particular set of partbooks.

The possible use of instruments in the liturgy concerns both full- and verse-style music, and both must be considered here. My focus is on verse-style settings, however, because it is the obligatory function of instruments during the verses that is the contentious issue.

The Organ

The largest body of evidence for instrumental participation in connection with *BCP* services is for the organ, the only instrument mentioned by Le Huray in discussing instrumental support for the singers.³⁶ The organ was also used to provide short instrumental interludes ('verses' and 'voluntaries') between vocal items, especially before the first lesson, and the obligatory accompaniment in verse settings.³⁷ The evidence of verse-style items in the liturgical sources is very clear: while the vocal partbooks do not include any purely instrumental lines in the verse sections, the entire accompaniments were contained in the organ books.³⁸

³⁵ I. Payne, 'The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music'; *REED Cambridge*, ed. A.H. Nelson (Toronto, 1989); *REED Oxford*, ed. J.R. Elliott Jr, A.H. Nelson, A.F. Johnston and D. Wyatt (London and Toronto, 2004); *REED Ecclesiastical London*, ed. M.C. Erler (Toronto, 2008).

³⁶ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 147. Le Huray (*Music and the Reformation*, 115–16) suggested that the organ was not used to accompany full-style music at Chichester, Hereford and elsewhere, but as a general rule this seems to me very doubtful: surviving organ books do include full-style pieces (and surely not only for rehearsal purposes); much would depend on absences from the choir; and in any case the choruses of works 'with verses' are also in full style.

³⁷ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 115–16.

³⁸ Organ books tend to be separated from their associated partbooks, perhaps because they were kept by the organist. The few printed sets of books do not include associated organ books, which were supplied in manuscript.

In the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods church organs were small by modern standards, usually with a single manual, and without a pedalboard.³⁹ Beginning in 1605, however, when Thomas Dallam built a new organ for King's College, Cambridge, a number of double-manual organs were built for cathedrals and university colleges, reflecting the growing influence of the more ceremonial style of worship that culminated in the Laudian revival of the 1630s. The second manual on these organs was for the 'chair' organ situated behind the player. Nicholas Thistlethwaite has plausibly suggested that, while the great organ was used as before to accompany the full choir, the chair organ was designed for use with solo voices in the 'verse' sections of the new-style verse anthems.⁴⁰

Wind and Other Instruments

There is also a long history of wind instruments being played in church. In the fourteenth century these were shawms joining the singers in performing *Te Deum* on special celebratory occasions, sometimes supplemented by a trumpet in the fifteenth; during the sixteenth century cornetts and sackbuts took over that role.⁴¹ This was not the liturgical use of *Te Deum* as a canticle during Morning Prayer, but a processional use that was normally followed by a celebration of Mass. In the early Stuart period, however, there is evidence of wind instruments supporting or replacing singers, not only on festival days or special celebrations.⁴² Concerning the use of wind and other instruments in church, it will be helpful to consider the institutions individually.

Canterbury Cathedral. Roger Bowers has explored the Canterbury archives. He noted that in late 1574 a 'set' of viols and a 'set' of lutes were acquired 'For the better exercise of the Maister and of the queresters'; and that a set of recorders was bought in 1600 for the use of the boys. These are the only instances known to me of lutes and recorders being used in the training of choirboys, and it indicates (as Bowers noted) that such extended training would qualify boys for domestic service as well as for careers in church music.⁴³ The distinction drawn here between the Master and the boys suggests that the viols and lutes were available also for the Master's private consort playing with friends. A second chest of viols was bought in 1615, to be maintained by the lay clerks; Bowers notes that, whereas the first chest of viols was intended 'for the choristers' school', the second was for the lay clerks' recreation and perhaps for the entertainment of guests.⁴⁴

³⁹ Pedalboards surely did exist, although perhaps only on the continent. Some surviving music seems to require them, with plainsong lines distinguished by black notation; and John Bull's 11/4 *In Nomine*, for instance, lies under the hands much better if the chant line is played on pedals.

⁴⁰ N. Thistlethwaite, 'Barometers of Change: The Silencing and Reintroduction of Organs during the English "Long Reformation"', *Early Music Performance & Research* 54 (Autumn 2024), 3–10, at 8–9 <@>.

⁴¹ See G.R. Rastall, 'Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England', 2 vols. Ph.D. diss. (Victoria University of Manchester, 1968), i. 70–1 <@>.

⁴² On the use of instruments generally, see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 127–31, although some details are still questionable.

⁴³ Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music', *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Collinson *et al*, 438, 442. Any instruction in keyboard-playing (organ or clavichord) would be an aid to a career of either type; on the teaching of keyboards, see J. Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library, Add. MS 30513): Music Education in Sixteenth-Century England', Ph.D. diss. (Duke University, 1993), 229–36; Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century', *English Choral Practice*, ed. Morehen, 189. Of course, the same could be said of consort playing on viols.

⁴⁴ Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music', 442.

Wind players were appointed at least from 1597 to perform at major festivals; in 1603–10 these were three cornettists (no doubt playing instruments of different sizes), but from 1610 until services were suspended they were two cornettists and two sackbut players. Their purpose being ‘to make music in the quire’ on feast days and associated vigils, it seems that they acted independently of the singers, providing instrumental music only.⁴⁵

This evidence of wind instruments in church services has been further investigated by Helen Roberts, working on the archives of Canterbury cathedral and elsewhere.⁴⁶ She reports that in 1660 two cornettists and two sackbut players petitioned the Canterbury dean and chapter for their former positions as members of the choir, which they had held when services ceased in 1642.⁴⁷ Roberts noted that the wind players employed from 1633 until 1642 were initially different from the city waits, but that the two groups later overlapped. The cathedral supplied this group with surplices in 1638, which implies an official position in the choir, although not necessarily commensurate with that of the singers.⁴⁸

Chester Cathedral. Lt Hammond reported that after attending Morning Prayer in 1634 he went to the residence of the organist, then either Thomas Jones or Richard Newbold, where he ‘heard his domesticke Organs, Vyalls, with the voyces of this civill merry Company sweetly consorted’.⁴⁹

Durham Cathedral. The service books copied at Durham within a few years either side of the Commonwealth show that the vocal repertory was performed by voices and organ. The wind band required in the 1630s to attend services every day (Wednesdays and Fridays excepted) presumably supplied purely instrumental music.⁵⁰

The use of wind instruments and other resources was commented on adversely by Peter Smart in 1628.⁵¹ A Durham prebendary with anti-Arminian views, Smart was infuriated by the ceremonial and – as he saw it – ‘popish’ observances, and was still opposing these practices in the 1640s when, instead of Morning Prayer, the chapter ‘brought in a solemn Service, with singing and Organs, Sackbuts and Cornets, little whereof could be understood of the people’.⁵² At the same time he noted that the Nicene Creed (i.e. in the Communion Service) was sung by the whole choir with musical instruments.⁵³ Smart’s writing is repetitive and piles on his objections with little regard for precision, so that it is difficult to know how reliable he might be in the detail of his objections. His

⁴⁵ Bowers, ‘The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music’, 440–1.

⁴⁶ H. Roberts, ‘New Light on the Seventeenth-Century English Cathedral Wind Band: A (Fragmentary) Canterbury Tale’, *Early Music* 50 (2022), 493–510.

⁴⁷ Roberts, ‘New Light’, 493.

⁴⁸ Bowers, ‘The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music’, 440; see also Roberts, ‘New Light’, 494–5.

⁴⁹ A. Parrott, *Composers’ Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, 2015), 377 (n. 36), citing *Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties*, 46–7; also cited in I. Payne, ‘The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes (d. 1629): Instrumental Music at Salisbury and Winchester Cathedrals Revisited’, *The Antiquaries Journal* 83 (2003), 369–96, at 381.

⁵⁰ Roberts, ‘New Light’, 494 (l.h. column).

⁵¹ P. Smart, *The Vanitie & Downe-Fall of Superstitious Popish Ceremonies* (Edinburgh, 1628), 15. William Laud became Bishop of London in 1628; he was translated to Canterbury in 1633.

⁵² P. Smart, *A Catalogue of Superstitious [sic] Innovations* (London, 1642), item 18.

⁵³ Smart, *A Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations*, items 18, 20. For the religious context, see G. Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2006), ch. 8.

main concerns, in any case, are with the primacy of the words in *BCP* texts and the distracting effects of ceremonial, with music merely one of those distractions. While ‘singing and Organs, Sackbuts and Cornets’ could imply that the instruments accompanied the singers, his intention seems otherwise. Smart’s objection is to the singing itself, where the texts should have been plainly spoken for the congregation’s understanding. Thus ‘singing’ may simply be the first in a list of misapplied resources: ‘singing and’, not ‘singing accompanied by’.

The connection between pre- and post-Restoration practices at Canterbury makes it relevant to quote an even later description of music at Durham. Lord Chief Justice Francis North, accompanied by Roger North, went there in the summer of 1676, and Roger’s description of the music is worth quoting:⁵⁴

They have the ordinary wind instruments in the Quires, as the cornet, sackbut, double curtaile and others, which supply the want of voices, very notorious there; and nothing can so well reconcile the upper parts in a Quire, since wee can have none but boys and those none of the best, as the cornet (being well sounded) doth; one might mistake it for a choice eunuch.

North notes a general use of the wind instruments here, covering whatever voices would otherwise be missing; but he specifically mentions that the cornett sounded most like the boys, who were not always competent singers, and was ideal for supporting them. However, this does not describe a regular use of instruments forming a wind band, and probably indicates that the instruments were played, as required, by other members of the choir.

Ely Cathedral. The treasurer’s accounts show that expenditure on musical resources between 1605 and 1643 included a regular sum, usually £2, concerned with viols. No information is given about this consistent expenditure – which was perhaps for planned maintenance – but it presumably involved the choristers. The cathedral singing school was described in 1649 as including a ‘roome with a place taken out of it for a place to play upon the vyall in’,⁵⁵ which sounds like a deliberate provision for consort playing. In 1639 a new viol was bought ‘for the choristers’ Singing School’.⁵⁶ Other payments were for the organ (much less regular, and the larger sums no doubt relating to repairs), for service books and for music books.⁵⁷

Exeter Cathedral. In 1609 the Exeter chapter paid Edward Gibbons for teaching the choristers and secondaries in instrumental music.⁵⁸ A month later two sackbuts – one double and the other single – were in use, apparently the property or in the guardianship of one of the secondaries.⁵⁹ On 24 August 1622 the Exeter chapter ordered that ‘convenient seats’ be placed near the bishop’s

⁵⁴ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 40; cited by Roberts, ‘New Light’, 494.

⁵⁵ Parrott, *Composers’ Intentions?*, 377 (n. 36); citing I. Payne, ‘The Provision of Teaching on the Viols’, unpaginated, at n. 38.

⁵⁶ J. Morehen, ‘The Peterhouse Caroline Partbooks: A “Showcase” Repertory’. *Music, Politics and Religion in Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks in Context*, ed. S. Mandelbrote (Woodbridge, 2025), 396–408, at 406.

⁵⁷ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 87–8.

⁵⁸ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 11, 151. The secondaries were clerks of the second form, professional singers who were normally in minor orders.

⁵⁹ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 146.

throne in the chancel for the choristers, secondaries and ‘the musicke’.⁶⁰ This seems to be a single body of musicians, with singers and instrumentalists sharing the choir’s seating, so ‘the musicke’ would be the sackbuts and, if they were already in use, the cornetts. In 1637 a new set of viols was acquired; at the same time the cathedral replaced the two sackbuts and also bought two new cornetts, ‘for the service of the Quire’. Payments for repairs of these four instruments continued until Christmas 1644;⁶¹ they would have provided a four-part consort.

Morehen and others noted that Lieutenant Hammond visited Exeter cathedral on Sunday 6 September 1635 and commented on the music. Hammond wrote of the impressive organ, ‘which with their Vialls, & other sweet Instruments, the tunable Voyces, and the rare Organist’ produced excellent music.⁶² It is difficult to know how to interpret this information, as it is not clear that he was commenting on specific consorts or groupings of musicians. The ‘Vialls’ could certainly be a whole consort, but the ‘other sweet Instruments’ suggests a mixed consort of strings and perhaps other quiet instruments such as recorder or lute. It is not clear, either, that any consort including strings joined with voices and/or the organ. Payne concluded that the viols were probably played in a mixed consort, not in a five-part whole consort, and that this consort accompanied the voices.

The first conclusion seems likely to be correct. A five-part whole consort of viols played by choristers would raise my objection that the loss of singers on the top lines would deplete the choir unacceptably. It would be possible, certainly, to form a whole consort of viols played by one or two choristers and three or four singing-men who – perhaps as ex-choirboys – played viols. However, the notion of any consort of quiet instruments raises the question concerning the positioning of a table: where could such a table be situated within convenient hearing-distance of the singers? In the chancel, it would seem, but certainly not in the centre aisle, for reasons already given. The solution to this problem in 1622, as noted above, probably concerned only the wind players, who could share the choir stalls.

Payne’s second conclusion therefore seems less likely. No doubt a space could be found somewhere in the chancel to place a consort round a table, but probably not in convenient relation to the singers. This would make the instrumental consort available for purely instrumental music rather than for the accompaniment of the choir.

Gloucester Cathedral. The singing-man and music copyist John Merro was responsible for teaching the choristers to play viols in 1629.⁶³ At a visitation in 1663 it was reported that ‘ancient custom’, which at that date must mean before the Civil War, required ‘two sackbuts and two cornets for the singing-service and anthems’.⁶⁴

Lincoln Cathedral. In the late fifteenth century the Master of the Choristers at Lincoln, besides

⁶⁰ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 151. There is no information on why the seating was apparently changed.

⁶¹ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 146–7.

⁶² Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 151; Morehen, ‘The “Burden of Proof”’, 220.

⁶³ Payne, ‘The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes’, 381–2.

⁶⁴ ‘The Manuscripts of the Diocese of Gloucester’, ed. W.D. Macray, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vii (London, 1914), 44–69, at 64 <@>; see also W.L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton NJ, 1953; repr. New York, 1969), 150 (n. 19); Roberts, ‘New Light’, 500.

teaching the boys the usual methods of improvising over a plainsong, was required to teach them to play the organ, and the most promising of them the clavichord as well.⁶⁵ The Master in 1595, Thomas Butler, had apparently failed adequately to train the boys in organ playing.⁶⁶ At some time the boys were also trained in consort playing: in January 1594/5 payment was made to the Master of the Choristers for buying ‘chordis & aliis necessariis p^{er} violis’, and the viols were being maintained at least as late as 1624/5.⁶⁷ There was apparently a complete chest of viols, with which the Master taught the boys.⁶⁸

Lieutenant Hammond attended Morning Prayer at the cathedral in August 1634 and commended the organs and other instruments at the ‘solemn Service’.⁶⁹ He did not identify the ‘other instruments’, but they may have been a wind group: in September 1637 the chapter agreed to pay the city waits £4 p.a. for ‘their service and paines in the Quire of the church upon everie Sunday and holyday at morning and evening prayer’, which looks like the regularising of an existing arrangement. It seems unlikely that the waits accompanied the choir, which would greatly increase rehearsal time, even if the waits were capable of playing the vocal polyphonic repertory. The annual wage of £4 does not suggest a great deal of work for four musicians, spread over more than 50 Sundays and several feast-days in addition, and it probably represents purely instrumental music in one or more of the usual places in the service.

St Paul’s Cathedral, London. The boys of St Paul’s were active in dramatic performances in the early 1550s, and were playing viols in public musical performances by 1553. In February 1559/60 they performed at the wedding celebrations for Sir William Petre’s daughter Thomasine, when their costumes and instruments were transported in a chest.⁷⁰ These were evidently secular dramatic performances: there is no reason to think that they performed in the wedding service itself.

On 3 April 1582 the Almoner and Master of the Choristers, Sebastian Westcote, made his will (proved on the 14th) by which he bequeathed ‘my chest of vyalyns and vyalles to exercise and learne the children & Choristers there’.⁷¹ Apart from this statement about the training of the boys there is no indication of how these instruments were used, but we know from other sources of the role they played in dramatic performances.⁷² These were revived when Edward Pearce became Master of the Choristers in 1599, but the St Paul’s playhouse closed in 1607.⁷³ Viols probably continued as part of the boys’ training under Martin Peerson, Master from 1625, as he and his colleague William Cranford (and perhaps others) were active as composers, and presumably players, of consort music.

⁶⁵ R. Bowers, ‘Lincoln Cathedral: Music and Worship to 1640’ *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994), ed. D. Owen; repr. in Bowers, *English Church Polyphony* (Aldershot, 1999), ch. 6, at 59.

⁶⁶ Bowers, ‘Lincoln Cathedral’, 69.

⁶⁷ J. Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1997), 40; Payne, ‘The Provision of Teaching on the Viols’, 6.

⁶⁸ Bowers, ‘Lincoln Cathedral’, 69.

⁶⁹ Bowers, ‘Lincoln Cathedral’, 73.

⁷⁰ Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*, 17–18 (nn. 28, 34); REED *Ecclesiastical London*, 387.

⁷¹ REED *Ecclesiastical London*, 153. There were then ten boys living in the Almoner’s house.

⁷² Austern, *Music in English Children’s Drama*, esp. 5–6, 273–7.

⁷³ T. Dart, D. Scott and R. Bowers, ‘Edward Pearce [Pearse, Pierce, Perse, Peers]’, *GMO*.

Christ Church, Oxford. Here, it seems that a small consort of ‘soft’ instruments was heard when the court was exiled to Oxford (1642–6): Hawkins wrote that choral services there were performed ‘after a very homely fashion’,⁷⁴ which suggests small forces. At this time George Jeffreys was an organist there, apparently for the king’s chapel, so the liturgical repertory perhaps included some of his Italianate chamber settings – typically, for solo performers with a basso continuo.⁷⁵

Oxford was not one of the cathedrals visited by Lt Hammond in 1634–5, and the circumstances of the royal exile in Oxford were unusual, but his comment that voices were accompanied only by the organ must hold good for other cathedrals unless positive evidence to the contrary is found. Hammond was not a musician, and so may be unreliable in discussing performances in detail, but we can surely assume that he knew the difference between singing accompanied by the organ only and that accompanied by other instruments.

Wells Cathedral. Payne noted that among the cathedrals possessing viols, it was Wells, ‘whose vicars choral built up a domestic music collection including consort music and Italian madrigals’, where ‘consort playing would certainly have been in full swing by 1623, when a wealthy benefactor gave them a chest of five viols, ‘to the chieftest use and behoofe of those who cann play thereon, to bee used att such their Civil Convocations and meetings as the major parte of them shall thinke fitt’.⁷⁶ Interestingly, this widens the range of performers beyond the choristers, showing the vicars choral as a group to be consort players on viols.⁷⁷

Winchester Cathedral. Viols were used and maintained at Winchester at least between 1618 and 1637; cornetts and sackbuts were also used in John Holmes’s time there (c.1599–1621), Payne thinks perhaps to reinforce the voices of the choir.⁷⁸

York Minster. Viols were bought in 1618, presumably for the choristers, and were still in use in 1639.⁷⁹ The Minster also paid the city waits 6s. 8d. ‘for playing in the Quire’ in 1607, and again in 1611, when the waits received 23s. 4d. ‘for playenge in the Quier 5 Services this yeare’ (i.e. 4s. 8d. per service). Shared between three or four players, these sums hardly represent a great deal of work; compare Lincoln, above.

The use of instruments in these various cathedrals is unclear in several respects, but perhaps the situation may be different for other types of institution.

Cambridge Colleges. Trinity College, clearly the town’s most musically active institution, had the college viols mended in 1593/4, among other instruments, and bought a set of new viols in 1594/5. Another chest of viols was bought in 1613/14. This was presumably for teaching the choristers,

⁷⁴ J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776; repr. New York, 1963), ii. 679.

⁷⁵ Such a repertory can be found, for instance, in G. Jeffreys, *English Sacred Music*, ed. J. Wainwright, Musica Britannica 105 (London, 2021). See also P. Aston, rev. A. Cheetham ‘George Jeffreys’, *GMO*.

⁷⁶ Wells Vicars Choral, Indenture Book, 1617–1661, f. 17v, cited by J. Bennett, ‘John Oker/Okeover’, *Chehys*, 16 (1987), 1–10, at 8.

⁷⁷ As Ian Payne noted (‘The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes’, 381), consort-playing choristers could become consort-playing lay clerks and vicars choral.

⁷⁸ Payne, ‘The Will and Probate Inventory of John Holmes’, 378–9.

⁷⁹ Payne, ‘The Provision of Teaching on the Viols’, 12–13.

and the viols were evidently in regular use: new strings for them were bought in 1594/5, 1609/10 (when two viols were mended) and 1613/14, and viols were restrung the following year.⁸⁰ The chapel organ was renovated in 1594, so the viols were not bought to replace the organ. The college's sackbut and other instruments were mended in 1593/4; the college acquired a sackbut (a second one?) in 1594/5, along with some singing books, and the following year bought a cornett 'for the Chappell'.⁸¹ A sackbut was again mended in 1600/1, 1609/10, 1611/12 and 1613/14: it is not clear whether one or two sackbuts were involved.⁸²

There are no other certain records of wind instruments at Cambridge. King's College appears to have used a mixed consort, including strings, at sermon time in the chapel – that is, not in connection with the *BCP* services – and Payne concluded that this was not a whole consort of viols, and was not used to accompany voices; nor is there any evidence that it was heard during the liturgy.⁸³ However, the college also regularly employed a group of musicians at celebrations on the King's Day (5 November), the Purification (6 January) and the Annunciation (25 March),⁸⁴ and this was almost certainly a wind band: for on 5 November 1628 the musicians were paid 'for playing on ye topp of ye chappell 2s 6d & in ye hall 2s 6d', the first of which would certainly have been inaudible otherwise.⁸⁵

Bowers suggested that these might have been the waits, and in fact several colleges established arrangements with the university and city waits for particular occasions, including certain church festivals and academic ceremonies in chapel. Again, there is no indication that these performances were in connection with *BCP* services.⁸⁶

Oxford Colleges. There appear to be no surviving records of viols being bought for any Oxford college, and the Cambridge evidence for cornetts and sackbuts, similarly, is not replicated at Oxford. Some Oxford colleges did hire waits (i.e. the town or university musicians, whatever instruments they played), again for academic and national celebrations: but when the venue is specified it is always the college hall.⁸⁷

The Chapel Royal. The boys of the Chapel Royal performed plays at the Blackfriars Theatre from 1597 until 1626. According to Frederic Gerschow, accompanying the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, who attended a play there in 1602, the boys were 'taught to sing and to play on all sorts of musical instruments' and were required to perform a play each week. He noted that the performance was preceded by an hour's concert for organs, lutes, pandoras, citterns, viols and recorders ('Orgeln, Lauten, Pandoren, Mandoren, Geigen und Pfeiffen') and that a boy sang charmingly to the

⁸⁰ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 59; REED *Cambridge*, 354, 519, 520, 526.

⁸¹ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 59; REED *Cambridge*, 351, 354.

⁸² REED *Cambridge*, 381, 420, 489, 520.

⁸³ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 151.

⁸⁴ Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir', 280–81.

⁸⁵ REED *Cambridge*, 616.

⁸⁶ In 1600/1 Sidney Sussex College bought 'a sett of wayts' (REED *Cambridge*, 381), but these are unlikely have been shawms: the college paid only 12d. for them, a cost more appropriate for a set of weights for the kitchen scales.

⁸⁷ REED *Oxford*. Several private and domestic consort-playing meetings were held in various colleges in the 1630s to 1650s: see *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1891–1900), ed. A. Clark, esp. i. 204–6; Rastall, 'Benjamin Rogers', 237–42, esp. 240–1.

accompaniment of a bass viol ('einer Bassgeigen'). He did not write that any adults were involved in either the concert or the play, with the implication that all the performers were choristers.⁸⁸

For the Chapel itself it seems likely, as noted above, that during the court's exile in Oxford in 1642–6 services included vocal chamber music of a domestic kind, presumably for solo singers and instrumentalists with basso continuo. The situation concerning wind instruments is clearer, for cornetts and sackbuts had been heard since Tudor times on special occasions of celebration or memorial.⁸⁹ On 4 December 1633 an order was made that members of the king's wind band should attend 'in the Chapel and at his Majesty's table': they are all named. Two groups of six were to be available in alternate weeks, and all twelve, together with another three, were to attend 'at the principall feasts and Collar Days'.⁹⁰ The following year, on 26 December 1634, a warrant was issued for 'twelve surplices to be delivered to the Yeomen of the Vestry' for the wind musicians when they attended in the Chapel.⁹¹ On a later occasion the rota set out in 1633 was modified, so that the two groups of six would attend for alternate months rather than weeks.⁹²

The repertory played in the Chapel is largely unknown, although it presumably included purely instrumental items. However, there is evidence that – no doubt on very rare occasions – the wind players performed in anthems. At Prince Henry's lying-in-state in the chapel of St James's Palace in 1612, the gentlemen and children of the Chapel Royal sang 'divers excellent Anthems, together with the Organs, and other wind Instruments'.⁹³ A similarly unspecific case was the anthem 'Before the mountains were brought forth' by William Lawes, which was apparently 'with Verses for Cornetts and Sagbutts' – the music does not survive, although the text does.⁹⁴ This is in a list of verse anthems, again implying that the instrumentalists accompanied one or more singers in the solo sections – but not, by implication, for the choruses. Both of these cases could involve the accompaniment of solo singers, but if so it seems to have been a rare occurrence.

Domestic Chapels. There is a third type of institution – the domestic chapel – to be considered. Pertinent evidence has been presented by Lynn Hulse,⁹⁵ with examples concerning two wealthy households where music-making was a major feature. First, Sir James Whitelocke had his

⁸⁸ G. von Bülow, 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the Year 1602', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series 6 (1892), 1–67, at 28. See also Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern*, 125–6. Baldwin discusses the dramatic work of the Chapel Royal boys in his chapter 5; and see also Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama*, esp. 7–10.

⁸⁹ P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), 393.

⁹⁰ *RECM*, iii. 74. Collar days were the major church festivals and other days of court ceremonies when knights wore the collar of their order.

⁹¹ *RECM*, iii. 81. Thus, the wind players were accepted as members of the choir, although, as at Canterbury, probably not of the same status as the singers.

⁹² *RECM*, iii. 94–5.

⁹³ A. Parrott, 'Grett and Solompne Singing: Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', *Early Music* 6 (1978), 182–7, at 186; reprinted in his *Composers' Intentions?*, at 375.

⁹⁴ 'The Chapel Royal Anthem Book of 1635', *The Musical Antiquary* 2 (1910–11), 108–13, at 113. The list of anthems is in *GB-Ob*, MS Rawlinson Poetical 23, and an enlarged post-Restoration list is in *GB-Lbl*, Harley MS 6346. Morehen reassigned 'When the mountains were brought forth' to Henry Lawes ('The Peterhouse Caroline Partbooks', 406), though without explaining why.

⁹⁵ L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590–1640', Ph.D. diss. (King's College, London, 1992), 283–4 <@>.

musicians perform the daily service in his chapel at Fawley Court ‘with organ and violl’.⁹⁶ It appears that Sir James's father had brought together lutes, viols, harp and organ in a gallery at the west end of his chapel, performing behind a curtain, and there was some debate about this usage when the chapel was consecrated on 27 December 1631. This music was ‘by way of verse, before the lessons’: that is, it was an instrumental interlude – the voluntary that would normally be played on the organ – and did not involve vocal music. This usage side-stepped the main problems of ‘soft’ instruments in the liturgy, by using them for instrumental items only, by siting them in a place where they did not need to communicate with the singers, and by giving them space to sit round a table.

The passage (which Hulse quotes extensively) is ambiguous, however, about precisely what instruments were used and how, in its comparisons with the practice in cathedrals and the Chapel Royal. It is far from clear that stringed instruments were used in the latter places, but it is suggested by a comment in the report on the debate of 27 December 1631: ‘att this day all reformed churches approve & make use of vocall musicke in singing of psalmes wherin the instruments of musicke doe adde muche to the harmony, & keep the singers in the better tune & order’.⁹⁷ Sir James was not wedded to Laud’s ideas, but the comment may, nevertheless, mean that quiet instruments were involved.

Sir James died in June 1632, after which his son Bulstrode discontinued music in ‘cathedral style’, in which a full musical participation seems implied, however performed, and had psalms accompanied by the organ only. The change to organ accompaniment shows that psalms had previously been accompanied by other instruments, for which, as we have seen, there is almost no evidence in cathedral practice, and only minimal evidence for wind instruments in collegiate chapels.⁹⁸

Hulse’s second example concerns parts of two psalms and the canticle *Benedicite*, set to music in 1640 and sung in Lord Strange’s household at Knowsley, Lancashire, to the accompaniment of organ, lute, Irish harp and viols.⁹⁹ Strange noted that the ‘troubles’ of the ensuing decade (i.e. the Civil War) made it irrelevant to set the Creed for similar performance, as had been intended. Had this been for devotional or recreational music-making, performance of the Creed could have gone ahead, so it seems that the intention was for liturgical performance, with Lord Strange’s paraphrase ‘Come, ye hearts that be holy’ taking the place of the *Benedicite* itself.¹⁰⁰ Strange did not actually say that the piece was performed in the chapel during a service, and the use of an organ need not indicate that: but if, as it appears, it was indeed performed as the second canticle at Morning Prayer,

⁹⁶ Hulse, ‘The Musical Patronage’, 283–4.

⁹⁷ Hulse, ‘The Musical Patronage’, 284.

⁹⁸ Richard Allison’s *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599) set metrical psalm tunes for four voices supported by lute and cittern, with the possibility of doubling the voices with other instruments. While this is a domestic source, it could have been transferred, with its performers, from music-room to domestic chapel. The book is in table format, requiring the performers to sit on all four sides of the table.

⁹⁹ Hulse, ‘The Musical Patronage’, 283. This instrumentation echoes that suggested as alternatives to a consort of viols in Peerson’s *Private Musicke* (1620) and *Mottects, or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630). Other than in the latter, the Irish harp does not appear in any title page of the period.

¹⁰⁰ The Creed could also have been a paraphrase, such as ‘All my belief and confidence’, set in full style by Angus and Kirbye: but see above for the four-part setting of the BCP text in Tenbury MSS 1162–7.

that was not strictly in accordance with the provisions of the prayer book. Members of the aristocracy and landed gentry may have felt a certain freedom in their own private chapels, where the public were not admitted, however. While one would expect general conformity to the prayer book, the detailed adherence necessary in a public space (cathedral, parish church or collegiate chapel) was perhaps not required.

In all, this evidence is ambiguous, but it does seem that Sir James Whitelock used ‘soft’ instruments in his chapel to perform purely instrumental verses, and that Lord Strange allowed vocal music in his chapel to be accompanied by a mixed consort of ‘soft’ instruments. In both cases the instruments would have been played by the household musicians.

The use of instruments in a gallery, as in Sir James Whitelocke’s chapel at Fawley Court, deserves a little explanation. Several great houses had chapels with galleries at the west end; these were not the type of narrow tiered gallery known from later Nonconformist chapels, but consisted of an upper-floor extension from an adjacent room, a projection ‘on the flat’ at the level above the double-height chapel below. This arrangement can still be seen at Hampton Court Palace, among other places. The gallery might be accessed from a music-room, or ‘organ room’ as at Knole,¹⁰¹ or the householder’s lodging, as at Bramshill,¹⁰² in either case allowing an organ to be moved between secular and ecclesiastical spaces.¹⁰³ Such a gallery also allowed the musicians to sit round a table, so that various combinations of voices, instruments and organ could be accommodated.

Payne’s Conclusions

Payne surveyed the evidence for viols in various cathedrals and college chapels, and concluded that ‘there is no archival evidence that five-part viol consorts were used liturgically for the polyphonic accompaniment of verse anthems’.¹⁰⁴ It would indeed be surprising if such evidence were found. To the question: ‘did the consort anthem exist?’, then, the simple answer must be ‘no’ – at least in the original formulation concerning anthems performed in church buildings using a whole consort of viols played by choirboys. Two conclusions follow from this. First, when there is evidence of worship (public or private) taking place ‘with instruments’ this does not mean ‘with a consort of viols’. The alternatives, with or without the organ, seem to be a group of cornetts and sackbuts, or – in private chapels and, very rarely in a cathedral (Exeter) – a mixed consort of ‘soft’ instruments. Second, especially because of the likelihood of instruments playing purely instrumental music, the question needs to be posed in a more focussed way, perhaps as: ‘were instruments other than the organ used in vocal music in church?’

¹⁰¹ M. Renshaw, ‘An Early Seventeenth-Century British Organ’, *BIOS Journal* 4 (1980), 34–42, at 34–5.

¹⁰² In the 1630s: see E. Cole and J. Rothwell, ‘The Plan, Furnishing and Function of a Jacobean Country House: Bramshill, Hampshire, in the 1620s and 1630s’. *The Antiquaries Journal* 104 (2024), 264–303, at 277, 287, 291.

¹⁰³ Not many houses retain this layout unaltered. The organ concerned is of course a chamber organ capable of being moved, as expected in a private house.

¹⁰⁴ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 150.

The Repertory

Morehen's reasons for doubting the existence of the consort anthem mainly concern the sources, as does Bowers's additional one. To these I offer a sixth, concerning the repertory:

- 6 If these sacred consort songs were composed as anthems to be performed in association with *BCP* services, should we not also have domestic verse-style settings of *BCP* texts to be sung on the same occasions? It seems inconceivable that instruments of whatever kind used to accompany anthems would be silent during the *BCP* service itself. If it was normal, at any time or in any place, for 'soft' instruments to be used in church, these other settings should be identifiable in domestic sources.

More specifically, we might expect to see verse-style settings of the morning and evening canticles, with the doxology as required; complete psalms (or the sections set for particular days of the month) and festal psalms, all with the doxology; and such items as Communion service texts, and perhaps the preces and responses, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed.

Without a close knowledge of the whole repertory it is impossible to be sure of numbers, but I am not aware of any consort song setting of a psalm that includes the doxology. Morehen reviewed the texts of English anthems and identified the kinds of text that would have been considered suitable for setting as anthems.¹⁰⁵ He found that of the 34 festal psalms set for the major feasts of the Church year, all but two were given musical settings, the great majority in full style and therefore providing no evidence of instrumental participation. Only six were set in verse style: two by Michael East and one each by George Jeffreys, Robert Ramsey, John Ward and Thomas Wilkinson. The tally of canticles, preces and Communion items is of similarly small significance. Morley's verse service (Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis and Athanasian Creed) appears as a fragment in one domestic manuscript.¹⁰⁶ There appear to be no verse settings of the preces and responses in domestic sources, but there is one anonymous verse setting of the Apostles' Creed.¹⁰⁷ While this is no doubt not a complete listing, it still represents a very small repertory of verse-style liturgical items in domestic sources.

It is true that we should expect many more settings suitable as anthems than of liturgical items, because anthems were performed in conjunction with sermons, as well as before or after *BCP* services. Nevertheless, the paucity of the repertory of *BCP* texts, while not negating the possibility of verse service settings using instruments, certainly does not strengthen the argument for the consort anthem. To put it simply, such a small number of *BCP* texts set in verse style with instruments makes it inconceivable that consort songs setting psalm verses were intended as anthems to be sung in church or in a separate sermon-house.

The full story of instrumental participation in the context of *BCP* services, then, includes the use of instruments other than a whole consort of viols in certain institutions and over a relatively short

¹⁰⁵ Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660', 62–85.

¹⁰⁶ In *GB-Lbl*, Add. MSS 37402–6, copied some years after Morley's death; the treble part only is copied in MS 37404. The relationship between this part and Morley's organ part needs investigation.

¹⁰⁷ *GB-Ob*, MSS Tenbury 1162–7, nos. 24, 25.

time period. In the rest of this article I shall survey the remaining evidence for instrumental usage and consider its wider implications.

Instrumental Usage

The possible use of instruments in the liturgy concerns both full- and verse-style music: but my focus is on verse-style settings, because it is the obbligate function of instruments during the verses that is the contentious issue. Lieutenant Hammond noted that only the organ was used to accompany voices in the cathedrals he visited, and the organ books confirm that usage in services and anthems ‘with verses’.

Wind Instruments

Exeter cathedral owned two sackbuts at least as early as 1609, and in 1622 ‘the musicke’ was moved to ‘convenient seats’ near the bishop’s throne in the chancel, together with the singers: this would have to be the wind players, who could sit or stand with the singers. At some time before 1637 the cathedral owned two sackbuts and two cornetts ‘for the service of the Quire’, and these instruments continued in use until Christmas 1644.¹⁰⁸ The group of two cornetts and two sackbuts was also known in the Chapel Royal and at Canterbury, Durham and Gloucester.¹⁰⁹ Such a group could have provided a four-part consort, with or without singers.¹¹⁰ Although the numbers are not always specified, two of each was certainly a standard consort.¹¹¹ The cornetts and sackbuts were sometimes counted as members of the choir (Durham, the Chapel Royal), but not on a level with the singers. They were sometimes used to supply weak or missing parts due to singers’ absence, but their more regular contribution was probably purely instrumental music in four parts.

Trinity College Cambridge possessed a sackbut and other instruments in 1593/4; another sackbut was acquired in 1594/5; and a cornett ‘for the Chappell’ the following year.¹¹² The sackbut was evidently in regular use at least until 1613/14.¹¹³ Occasionally, Cambridge colleges made arrangements with the university and city waits: these do not appear to be for performance in connection with *BCP* services. Some Oxford colleges also hired waits, but when the venue is specified it is always the college hall.¹¹⁴

Difficult as it is to identify the precise role of sackbuts and cornetts played in church in the period concerned, there are three possibilities.¹¹⁵ There is some evidence for a wind ensemble performing instrumental music in those parts of the service where an organ voluntary might be played; this

¹⁰⁸ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 146–7.

¹⁰⁹ See n. 64 above; Roberts, ‘New Light’, 494–5. The Gloucester item dates from 1663, but reports usage ‘according to ancient custom’, which must refer to before the Civil War.

¹¹⁰ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 147. Cornetts and sackbuts were also heard in York Minster in 1590 and 1591, probably played by the city waits, but whether in a group of four or more is unknown.

¹¹¹ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 147; Roberts, ‘New Light’, 501 (r.h. column). On the use of cornetts and sackbuts generally, see Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 149–50.

¹¹² Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 59; REED *Cambridge*, 351, 354.

¹¹³ REED *Cambridge*, 381, 420, 489, 520.

¹¹⁴ REED *Oxford*, *passim*.

¹¹⁵ In private conversation (2017), John Morehen noted that he had not been able to resolve this matter to his satisfaction.

could well involve the group of two cornetts and two sackbuts found in some records. This usage may be the implication of a 1653 poem by Nicholas Hookes of Trinity College, Cambridge, which praises the playing on the cornett of one Mun in King's College chapel 'after Sermon's done' – that is, after a separate, extra-liturgical event, not in the context of *BCP* services – which in any case had been long discontinued by 1653.¹¹⁶

Second, it would be possible for such a group to double the voices in four-part full-style vocal music, in effect taking on the usual role of the organ. The group of two cornetts and two sackbuts seems so standard that any role in supporting full-style music in five parts need not be considered: and this, in turn, means that wind instruments could not be used in the performance of most verse-style music. It is possible that they supported the singers by doubling the top and bottom voices only on each side of the choir,¹¹⁷ thus giving the same support (only the top and bottom voices) normally notated in the organ books. Besides, an organ could supply the whole texture, and probably often did. (The internal voices were perhaps understood to be less important in the musical texture, but a competent organist would surely know the complete harmonic content.) However, the Lincoln and York records show that the wind groups there were paid too little to suggest that they performed extensively, and it is much more likely that they played purely instrumental music, in the manner of an organ 'verse'.

Third, the instruments could substitute for singers missing because of illness and other causes. When Benjamin Rogers was reappointed as a singing-man at St George's, Windsor, in 1662 he was able to command an increased salary because he could also play both organ and cornett.¹¹⁸ In a major professional church choir there would be a minimum of three *medii*, two *contratenores* I, two *contratenores* II, two *tenores* and two *bassi* on each side. (In four-part music either the *medii* were silent or the *contratenores* of each side did not divide.) By redeploying singing-men who could play cornett or sackbut the choir could maintain a good balance of voices. More importantly, the boys (*medii*) being the most vulnerable to illness, the men could give cornett cover for missing boys without the loss of a lower part. In a choir depleted by illness or simply not up to strength, therefore, Rogers might be of more immediate use playing a boys' line than singing his own.¹¹⁹

Some of these instruments were owned by the institutions concerned. As the case of Rogers and others shows, they may have been played by any capable singing-men, including secondaries, but the frequency with which wind instruments were used in support of the singers is unknown.

From all this we should infer that references to unspecified 'instruments' in the liturgy must usually refer to wind instruments. There is no clear evidence that cornetts and sackbuts performed the obligato accompaniments in 'verse' items, and if they ever did so it was a rare experiment; nor is there evidence for the full five-part consort that would be required, although the Chapel Royal

¹¹⁶ Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 150.

¹¹⁷ Roberts, 'New Light', 501 (r.h. column); Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 127.

¹¹⁸ P. Holman, 'Benjamin Rogers', *GMO*.

¹¹⁹ His ability on the cornett was perhaps particularly useful in 1662, soon after the Restoration, when choirs were still recruiting and training a new generation of choirboys.

could field the necessary forces. The role of the cornetts and sackbuts seems to have been to support the singers in the full-style repertory only, and normally to play purely instrumental music.

Terminology: the ‘Anthem’

Although the concept of the ‘consort anthem’ as originally formulated is unsustainable, it is clear that in some circumstances anthems and certain liturgical items might be performed with mixed ‘soft’ instrumental accompaniment. Finally, therefore, we should revisit the terminology itself. This is not only because of the confusion caused by the use of ‘consort anthem’ as interchangeable with ‘verse anthem’, but because of the present-day understanding of ‘anthem’.

The printed books containing sacred-texted songs described in relevant terms are all domestic sources. The title page of John Amner’s book (1615) shows the contents to be ‘Sacred / *Hymnes*. / Of 3.4.5. and 6. parts / for *Voyces & Vjols*’, but each individual piece is described as ‘A Motect’, ‘An Alleluia’ or, in the case of the one memorial piece at the end, ‘An *Eligie*’. Amner seems to have regarded ‘hymn’ as a general term, not specifically for an item to be sung in church: and this is what one would expect of a collection for such a wide range of forces, and especially one that sets clearly devotional, rather than liturgical, texts.¹²⁰

Amner did not use the word ‘anthem’ for his songs, unlike Michael East. East used the term in his *Third Set of Bookes* (1610), where the two *partes* of his setting of ‘When Israel came out of Egypt’ are labelled ‘Anthems, for Versus & Corus’ in the contents list; the pair ‘Turn thy face’ and ‘O give me the comfort’ are labelled ‘Anthems’ in the same list, where all the items are labelled with genre-descriptions (Pastorals, Anthems, Neapolitans, Fancies or Madrigals), as also described on the title page. The items are also labelled individually with these descriptions. The title page of East’s *Fourth Set of Bookes* (1618) describes its contents as ‘Anthemes for *Versus* and *Chorus*, / Madrigals, and Songs of other kindes, / To 4. 5. and 6. Parts: Apt for / *Viols and Voyces*’. The songs in 4 parts are entirely secular; those in 5 and 6 parts are in mixed groups containing both secular and sacred songs. The sacred five-part pair ‘O clap your hands’ (no. 10) and ‘God is gone up’ (no. 11) ends with a setting of ‘Amen’, as does ‘O Lord of whom I do depend’ (no. 14); of the six-part settings, ‘When David heard’ (no. 20) does not include ‘Amen’, whereas ‘But let all those that seek thee be joyful’ (22), the *secunda pars* of ‘Haste thee O God’ (no. 21), does so. The psalm-settings end with ‘Amen’, therefore, while the setting of another biblical text does not. In the context of mixed sacred and secular compositions this suggests domestic devotional use rather than liturgical performance: so does the absence of settings of the doxology, which would be required at the end of a liturgical performance of a psalm (i.e. as a psalm set for the particular day), although ‘Amen’ would suit a psalm-text used in church as an anthem.

East’s *Sixt Set of Bookes* (1624) was designed as a collection exclusively of ‘anthems’, according to the title page,¹²¹ and so might be thought to contain only works suitable for liturgical performance. But in the prefatory epistle to the Bishop of Lincoln, East refers to the contents as ‘motects’ and

¹²⁰ For instance, the text of no. 1 (‘A motect’), based on ‘Diligite vos in vicem, sicut et ego vos dilexi’: ‘Loue we in one consenting, / each others hart contenting, / Alleluia, / Our heavenly Lord that bought vs / this holy lesson taught vs, / Alleluia’.

¹²¹ However, the unnumbered secular piece that opens this book, ‘You meaner beauties’, is clearly a late addition.

‘songs’ but not as ‘anthems’. The term was not used by him exclusively for an anthem sung before or after a *BCP* service or a sermon, then, but as a more general term that could encompass ‘motet’ as well, with ‘song’ being the most general term of the three. In conjunction with Amner’s similar use of ‘hymn’ as a general term for a devotional item we must accept that neither of these terms was intended to suggest, or should ever suggest, that these songs were composed for liturgical use.

The term ‘anthem’ was also attached to sacred consort songs found in a manuscript source, *GB-Lbl*, Add. MSS 37402–6, and this too has been taken as evidence that sacred consort songs were sung in connection with services or sermons. These partbooks form a mixed domestic collection, the final section of which is headed ‘Antoms’. This section includes the following items:¹²²

- (a) Martin Peerson: five-part fantasia ‘Attendite’
- (b) Sacred-texted consort songs:
 - Martin Peerson: ‘O God, when thou went’st before the people’
 - Thomas Wilkinson: ‘Put me not to rebuke’
 - William Simmes: ‘Rise, O my soul’, with *secunda* and *tertia partes*
 - Martin Peerson: ‘I am brought into so great trouble’, with *secunda pars*
- (c) Thomas Lupo: three fantasias
- (d) Sacred-texted consort song:
 - Michael East: ‘When Israel came out of Egypt’, with *secunda pars*
- (e) Secular consort song:¹²³
 - Anonymous: ‘What first did break thee’
- (f) William Byrd: first pavan, consort version

The sacred pieces in this section, (b) and (d), were probably copied c.1606–10, and it is to these that the heading ‘Antoms’ presumably refers. The instrumental items (a), (c) and (f) and the secular song (e) were copied later into available spaces as needed, probably by 1615.¹²⁴

The inclusion of a sacred song by Michael East might suggest that the heading ‘Antoms’ was put there because of the terminology in his printed books; but, as Monson noted, East’s ‘When Israel came out of Egypt’ is here in a simpler version than was published in *The Third Set of Bookes* (1610), which casts some doubt on that line of thinking. Monson believed that this manuscript copy may represent some sort of transition between accompaniments for viols and for organ.¹²⁵ If he was correct in this, any transition between five-part consort and organ score (usually in two or three voices only) would probably be from strings to organ, for the reverse direction requires the composition of internal voices.¹²⁶ An earlier version of the consort song therefore seems to me

¹²² In Add. MS 37404 only, there follows service music by Morley: Te Deum, Benedictus, Apostles’ Creed, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, all from his Verse Service, and part of the Magnificat from his full Evening Service. These were presumably not part of the original collection of ‘Antoms’.

¹²³ *Consort Songs*, ed. Brett, no. 37. Monson (*Voices and Viols*, 222–3) suggests a practical reason for this ‘love song’ to be copied here.

¹²⁴ For the date of this source, and an inventory, see Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 221–6.

¹²⁵ Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 222.

¹²⁶ Several people, including myself, have adapted the organ parts of verse anthems for a consort of viols, always finding that ‘reconstruction’ is an inappropriate term for a process that includes so much new composition by the arranger. See, for instance, John Bryan’s comments in the liner notes (p. 11) to *What Joy so True: Anthems, Canticles*,

much more likely: and in any case, where a consort song also exists as a verse anthem (i.e. with organ) the latter is apparently the more recent version.

It is relevant to ask which of these ‘antoms’ exists in a liturgical source. Identifiable liturgical sources of the right period (c.1590–1615) are rare – most date from the 1620s or later – but one might expect that any consort song used in church or chapel by 1610 or so would turn up in one of the relevant collections. None of these five songs is in John Barnard’s *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641),¹²⁷ or the first edition of James Clifford’s *The Divine Services and Anthems* (1663), but the second edition of Clifford (1664) gives the texts for both East’s ‘When Israel came out of Egypt’ (p. 216) and Wilkinson’s ‘Put me not to rebuke’ (p. 260). The Wilkinson is found in liturgical sources now in Durham, York and the British Library, as well as in Barnard’s manuscript collection at the Royal College of Music; the East is found in sources now in Durham, Gloucester, Lichfield, the British Library, Christ Church Oxford and the Bodleian Library (Tenbury MSS), suggesting a more widespread use of the piece as an anthem in the 1620s and 1630s. The other three ‘antoms’ are apparently not found in liturgical sources.¹²⁸ They may have made that transition early in the century, as many other consort songs did after appropriate adaptation, but there is no evidence of it. Most importantly, these sacred consort songs, copied into *GB-Lbl*, Add. MSS 37402–6 by 1615 or so, in any case antedate the liturgical versions of the 1620s and 30s.¹²⁹

None of this is surprising. Clearly, in the early Stuart period ‘anthem’ did not carry the very specific meaning that we now attribute to it: indeed, it seems likely that our current definition was then one of the least-commonly understood. The pre-Reformation use of the word, and its revised meanings in the later sixteenth century, have been set out by John Harley, who gives the lowest common denominator as ‘a song in praise of God’, with clear examples of ‘anthem’ and ‘prayer’ being used interchangeably.¹³⁰ To attach the word ‘anthem’ to sacred consort songs now, therefore, is likely to be misleading: ‘consort anthem’, to a modern audience, will specifically mean an item written to be sung in church as part of a *BCP* service, and it is better not to use the term at all for sacred consort songs.¹³¹ In this I entirely agree with Roger Bowers, and I quote him here because his statement is tucked away in a footnote that could easily be missed:¹³²

The term ‘anthem’ will be used here in conformity with its technical historic sense, namely exclusively for works performed in the context of, or in association with,

Consort Music [by] Thomas Weelkes (1576–1623): the Choir of Chichester Cathedral, the Rose Consort of Viols, Timothy Ravalde (chamber organ), Thomas Howell (organ), directed by Charles Harrison, Regent Records REGCD571 (2023).

¹²⁷ East and Peerson were ineligible for Barnard’s printed collection, however, being still alive in 1641.

¹²⁸ I have used R.T. Daniel and P. Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music 1549–1660* (London, 1972) to establish the sources in which these songs appeared, but this work has many limitations; see Morehen, ‘The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660’, 63–4. As Morehen stated privately, the relationship between consort songs and their versions as adapted for liturgical use has yet to be examined in detail. However, for the types of structural, rhythmic and textural modification made, see Rastall, ‘From Music Room to Cathedral’.

¹²⁹ The possibility still exists, of course, that these partbooks, bearing a mixed sacred/secular repertory, were used in a small private chapel in conjunction with a contemporary liturgical set now lost. These putative liturgical books would have carried a pre-1610 version of East’s ‘When Israel came out of Egypt’.

¹³⁰ J. Harley, *Thomas Tallis* (Farnham, 2015), 66–7.

¹³¹ I do not forget such usage as that of the National Anthem, but it would not, I think, be uppermost in the general understanding of most people.

¹³² Bowers, ‘Ecclesiastical or Domestic?’, 155 (n. 17).

observances of the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer, undertaken in church by the ecclesiastical choir of boys and men. The term ‘consort anthem’ will not be used, for it seems to be a contradiction in terms; the ‘anthem’ was sung only in church, in which location the consort of viols was never used.

Conclusions

Final conclusions on the matter of instrumental usage in church buildings are decidedly elusive, and there is no space here to introduce more than a small selection of the comments made by others on the evidence available. I hope that this selection is representative, so that the current position can be stated with some certainty: all of these conclusions have in fact been stated by others:

1. We can dismiss the notion that domestic consort songs, accompanied by choirboys playing their viols, were ever performed as anthems in church. There is no evidence for this, and there are strong practical objections.
2. Some consort songs were copied into liturgical sources, after being adapted in various ways. The instrumental parts were always omitted, the voices being accompanied by organ only. Relatively few of the many sacred consort songs available were so adapted.
3. During a short period, surely only c.1625–45 at most, mixed stringed instruments were used in one cathedral (Exeter) and two private chapels (Whitelock, Strange). This seems to have been an experimental usage, and was short-lived in each case. In the secular households of wealthy gentlemen who had the domestic musicians available, these consorts presumably performed from domestic partbooks, which would be transferred between secular and sacred spaces as required.¹³³
4. The instrument normally used in public worship, both to support the singers in full-style music and to provide the obbligato parts in verse-style music, was the organ.
5. Wind instruments – usually two cornetts and two sackbuts – were used in certain major churches. Their main purpose was probably to perform instrumental music in four parts. They may also have supported the singers by doubling the top and bottom lines on each side of the choir in full-style music, but there is no reason to think so, and certainly no clear evidence.
6. When existing professional wind groups, typically, town or university waits, were employed after sermons or in the context of services, possibly replacing organ ‘verses’, they provided instrumental items. There is no evidence that these groups accompanied or supported the singers (but see (8), below).
7. Wind instruments were sometimes used to substitute for singers who were absent, the players (the existing professional church musicians – secondaries or singing-men) standing in the choir stalls to perform from the choir’s partbooks.

¹³³ It is most unlikely that we could ever identify a liturgical source to match the domestic set *GB-Lbl*, Add. MSS 37402–6, for instance: the sacred repertories would have to match very closely, and so would the places of origin. Only thus could one show that the ‘antoms’ in this source were indeed performed liturgically.

8. Apart from item (3), above, and the possible case of the sackbut books at Canterbury, instrumentalists could never have supplied the untexted obbligato lines in the solo sections of verse-style music, since the music was not available in the liturgical partbooks.

9. Modern performances have demonstrated that accompanying a solo voice with wind instruments causes problems of balance. Since such forces were certainly used in Italy, Germany and France, research is needed into the appropriate compositional methods, voice production and playing techniques.

10. If all these consort songs were available to be sung in church, there is a disproportionately small number of consort songs setting *BCP* texts. The few settings of service texts in domestic sources, some of them in verse style, are what we should expect if 'soft' instruments were used in vocal items during *BCP* services, and they are therefore possible evidence of such a usage. The practice was of a rare and experimental nature; see 3. above.

11. The term 'anthem' was used in early Stuart times to designate a sacred-texted song; it did not refer specifically to a musical item performed in association with either *BCP* services or sermons. The modern understanding of an 'anthem' being specific, implying music in a church service, it would be best not to use the term for any domestic consort song. Such use would (a) promote the discredited notion that consort songs (i.e. songs performed by one or more solo singers accompanied by viols or other instruments) were performed during public worship in church; and (b) blur the distinction between a devotional consort song and a version of the same piece adapted for liturgical use.¹³⁴

The term 'consort anthem', therefore, has only a very restricted legitimate use – for an anthem 'with verses' performed with instruments during private worship. Since no examples have come to light, the term should be abandoned.

¹³⁴ This is the main problem of using Daniel and Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music* to count 'anthems': most of the music and its sources are not 'church music' at all, and no distinction is made between versions.

INDEED, SIZE MATTERS: MUSIC BY GIBBONS AND COPRARIO WITH THE ‘GREAT DOOBLE BASSE’

JOËLLE MORTON¹

Most viol players know that there is English consort music written in staff notation requiring an instrument with a lower range than the standard six-string bass viol, and are at least passingly familiar with the music for ‘great Dooble Basse’ by Orlando Gibbons; see Appendix 1. These pieces – nine fantasias and a galliard – were published in 1982,² though three of them have since been reattributed to John Coprario.³ The bass parts descend to *AA* in six pieces, to *BB♭* in three others, and in one to *GG♯*. Eight pieces are in three parts and two are in four. Players typically approach them as traditional viol consorts, with a treble viol on top, bass viol in the middle and a larger viol or the more readily available (but anachronistic) seven-string bass on the bottom. At the time this music was written, the ‘great bass viol’ was perhaps not such a rarity. As we shall see, Jacobean and Carolin inventories mention it, starting c.1610, and over the course of the next few decades there is additional English music that requires its low range.

Illus. 1: Godaert Kamper (1613–79), *Portrait of a Musician* (1646). Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf, Alamy.



¹ This subject has interested me for many years, and I have been fascinated by the evidence that has come to light over that time. I wish to extend special thanks to my friend and colleague Julia Vetö in Oldenburg, Germany for prompting me to write formally on the subject; an abbreviated version of this article was published in *Viola da Gamba* 131 (December 2024), the newsletter of the Viola da Gamba Gesellschaft. Additional heartfelt thanks are extended to many other scholars who assisted with dialogue, questions and help accessing materials, in particular and Jon Baxendale, Richard Charteris, David Force, John Harper, Ben Hebbert, Peter Holman, Mimmo Peruffo and Jonathan Wainwright.

² O. Gibbons, *Consort Music*, ed. J. Harper, Musica Britannica [MB] 48 (London, 1982), nos. 16–25.

³ The attribution was suggested by O. Neighbour, ‘Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625): The Consort Music’, *Early Music* [EM] 3 (1983), 351–7, and is now formalised by their inclusion in J. Coprario, *The Two-, Three- and Four-Part Consort Music*, ed. R. Charteris (London: Fretwork Edition FE4, 2/1993), nos. 11–13.

Aside from the characteristics of the great bass viol, to be discussed below, the Gibbons and Coprario pieces pose other problems and questions. Their treble parts are all high; was a violin intended? And what about the contrapuntal cues that are marked into some of the middle and bottom parts? Would a keyboard have played those notes? For a player, determining what is ‘original’ can be challenging, since various modern editions have sometimes transposed the low parts up to accommodate viol consorts without a great bass viol, and/or omitted the additional cue material.⁴ Is it possible to say exactly when and for whom the music was conceived, and what specific instruments should be employed? Was the term ‘dooble’ bass or ‘double base’ widely known? Do any English great bass viols survive? Is it possible that those composers associated with the households known to have possessed great bass viols might have intended other pieces for them, even if the parts do not go very low? The great bass viol repertory has been discussed since at least 1946,⁵ but the source material has not hitherto been brought together in one place. A thorough study enables many questions of performance practice to be addressed.

These pieces by Gibbons and Coprario were not published at the time. None of the manuscript sources are holograph and they were all copied posthumously, though there are no fewer than eight of them (see Appendix 2), which attests to the music’s popularity, implying that a number of musicians wanted to, and were seemingly able, to perform it. Three sources are sets of partbooks; four are full/open scores; and one is a two-stave short score for keyboard. The middle parts are notated in a variety of clefs, sometimes simply C3 or C4, and other times oscillating among C3, C4, F3 and F4. By contrast, the top and bottom parts are consistent, employing G2 for the treble lines and F5 for the bass parts (*US-NYp*, Drexel MS 5612, a keyboard reduction, is the only exception, with F4 on the bottom). F5 in the low bass parts is noteworthy since it is not frequently encountered in viol consort music, although it is immediately legible if a player conceives of it as ‘treble clef down two octaves’. The sources have few labels with instrumental designations. In point of fact, only two have anything specific, written in different hands almost certainly later than the music was copied. They refer to the lowest instrument as ‘Dooble Basse’ and ‘Double Base’. The covers of one source, the Ord-Dart manuscript (see below), is labelled for specific treble and keyboard instruments: ‘This Booke hath Fancies of 2 and 3 parts to ye organ of Mr Gibbons, and Mr Coprario, with ye violl and violin to ye organ’.

The bass parts have a range of two octaves and a diminished fifth, from $GG\sharp$ to d' . The inner bass parts require a similarly large compass, from D to g' . The treble parts have a two-octave range, down to c' but all with a high tessitura: two pieces require c^3 ; two go up to $b^2\flat$; five go up to b^2b ; and one to a^2 . The alto parts for the two Gibbons four-part fantasias are found only in a single source, and have a more limited range, from $f\sharp$ to c^2 . Relating the lowest and highest pitches in these pieces to a keyboard makes perfect sense: seventeenth-century English virginals and chamber organs have restricted ranges, up to c^3 and with short octaves in the bass, with C and D and the rarely used $C\sharp$ key tuned to AA .⁶ The keyboard was unable to

⁴ The MB edition is faithful in most respects, but with the pieces barred incorrectly (they should have four minims per bar in the duple meter sections). The editions by George Hunter (Urbana IL: Northwood Music, 1996, 2002) give the additional cues but suggest a seven-string viol as appropriate. Some of the editions available at IMSLP <@> have simply transposed all the low notes in the bass parts to fit on a regular six-string bass, with no mention of having done so.

⁵ One piece was included in E.H. Meyer, *English Chamber Music: The History of a Great Art from the Middle Ages to Purcell* (London, 1946); rev. as *Early English Chamber Music, from the Middle Ages to Purcell* (London, 1982), 3–7; two were included in *Jacobean Consort Music*, ed. T. Dart and W. Coates (London, 1955), nos. 9, 17. Francis Baines called attention to the subject with two articles: ‘Fantasias for the Great Dooble Base’, *Cheyls* 2 (1970), 37–8; ‘The Consort Music of Orlando Gibbons’, *EM* 6 (1978), 540–3.

⁶ See esp. D. Kinsela, ‘A Taxonomy of Renaissance Keyboard Compass’, *The Galpin Society Journal [GSJ]* 54 (2001), 352–96, at 387–8, 392; D.R.S. Force, ‘“A Holding, “Uniting-Constant Friend”: The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic

play $BB\flat$ or $BB\sharp$ or anything lower than AA ; those pitches would create even greater problems due to a lack of keys for intervening diatonic notes. As will be discussed below, the great bass viol parts do have BB naturals and flats, notes not available on organs; organists were presumably able to adapt parts up the octave at sight. But the keyboard range provides an entirely reasonable explanation for treble parts that go up to c^3 (the upper limit of violin parts without going out of first position) and great bass parts that generally extend down to AA .

Seven of the pieces, in both partbook and score formats, contain cues with additional material that are intrinsic to the composition; see Appendix 3. They are appended to the middle and bottom lines, introducing an extra voice in imitative counterpoint. Consider Gibbons's three-part Fantasia no. 1, and how unusually barren the piece would be without its cue material; the middle voice would have an extended solo passage before the entrance of the bottom line; see Illus. 2. Portions of the cue material could in this example be played by a treble instrument, but this instrument would have to cut the line short in order to make its proper entrance, with no one else available to take over. There is however inadequate cue material to suggest a completely separate or extra voice. These cues almost certainly indicate that a keyboard was involved, with the player realising its part at sight by doubling material from the notated lines but adding its own voice at opportune moments.

Illus. 2: Orlando Gibbons, Fantasia à3 no. 1, *F-Pc*, MS Rés F.770, p. 49 (detail). Public domain.



Two pieces contain cues in the great bass part that are not contrapuntal material, but are instead an indication of where material must be transposed upwards by the keyboard player. Low BB flats and naturals are sometimes isolated notes that can be easily omitted or transposed at sight, but melodic passages are harder to see coming. Illus. 3 below, from the great bass part of Gibbons's second four-part fantasia, has

Music', Ph.D. thesis (The Open University, 2019), 29–31 <@>. A revised version, *The Consort Organ and its Use in Seventeenth-Century Ensemble Music*, is forthcoming in the Ashgate Historical Keyboard Series, published by Routledge.

a melodic passage with a cue indicating what the organist should play, avoiding notes unavailable on the instrument. This is the only piece of the ten great bass viol pieces where a direct is used as a transposition symbol (it appears in both of its sources), suggesting that the great bass would continue in the lower octave until the final note of the line, *E*. Some will object to this conclusion, observing that *GG#* is not available on a great bass with its lowest string tuned to *AA*. However, this may not have been the tuning used, an idea to be explored later. Note that there are numerous places in all of these pieces where a keyboard player would need to transpose at sight to avoid unavailable notes in the bass, as well as for the lines to fit comfortably under the hands.

The Musical Sources

The eight sources with this music were copied at different points during the century and none can be dated with absolute assurance. With the exception of Narcissus Marsh, they do not appear in the materials of well-known collectors, such as Thomas Myriell, John Merro, John Browne or John Lilly.⁷ The earliest source is a set of four partbooks from the 1630s, preserved as *GB-Oib*, Mus. 732–5. A companion organ book, that does not contain the pieces with great bass viol, is now *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 24.k3. These volumes focus on 22 of John Coprario's fantasia-suites for one and two violins, bass viol and organ. At the end are the four three-part fantasias and the two four-part fantasias by Gibbons. The music was copied by four different scribes, only one of whom may be confidently identified: Stephen Bing (1610–1681), long-standing copyist for Sir Christopher, first Baron Hatton III (1605–70) of Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire.⁸ The alto part to Gibbons's first Fantasia à4 and the treble and great bass part his second Fantasia à4 are in Bing's hand; see Illus. 3.

⁷ J. Harper, 'The Distribution of the Consort Music of Orlando Gibbons in Seventeenth-Century Sources', *Chelys* 12 (1983), 5–18 <@>.

⁸ *IMCCM*, ii. 1. See also S. Boyer and J. Wainwright, 'From Barnard to Purcell: The Copying Activities of Stephen Bing', *EM* 23 (1995), 621–48.

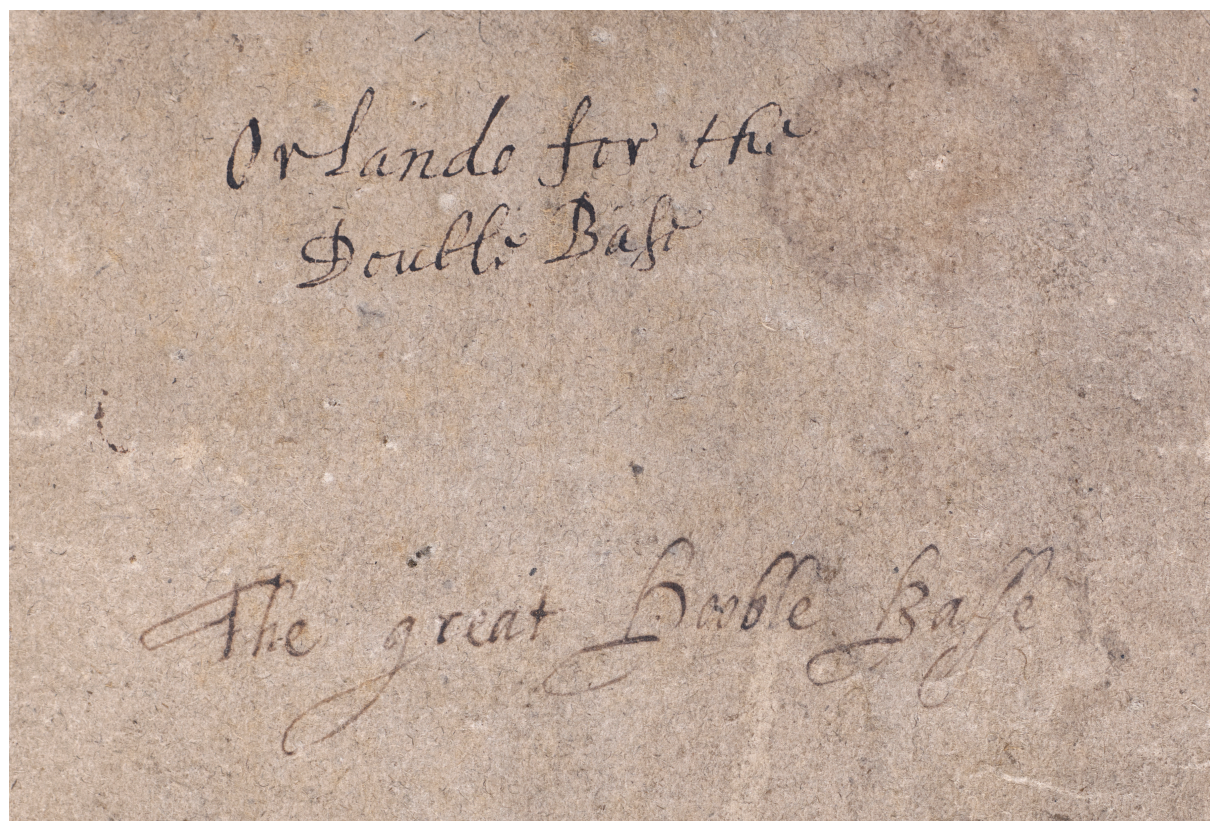
Illus. 3: *GB-Och*, Mus. 735, f. 6v, detail of the great bass part of Orlando Gibbons, Fantasia no. 2 à4, copied by Stephen Bing. By kind permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.



The partbooks of *GB-Och*, Mus. 732–5 each have mid seventeenth-century wrappers of thin grey card lined with white paper, added to the bindings after the music had been compiled. They have been labelled by an unidentified hand: ‘Canto’, ‘Canto secundoe’, ‘Basso’ and ‘the great Dooble Basse’. Two other unidentified hands contributed additional text to the wrappers; not only is the handwriting clearly different, but the ink colour is not the same. The first three parts are annotated ‘Coperario his 2. & 3. pts to the organ’ and ‘Orlando Gibbons his musique for the Double Base’ and on the great bass part ‘Orlando for the Double Base’ (Illus. 4). The name ‘John Wodenton’ appears inside the first canto partbook and ‘Woodington’ is written on the back cover of the basso book. These inscriptions are not in the hand of violinist John Woodington (1618–1642), and he is not one of scribes associated with the compilation of these books.⁹

⁹ *IMCCM*, ii. 200–7. For Woodington, see *BDECM*, ii. 1166–7.

Illus. 4: The front wrapper of *GB-Och*, Mus. 735. By kind permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.



The Gibbons pieces also appear in six later sources, including a second set of partbooks at Christ Church, *GB-Och*, Mus. 419–21, dating later, from c.1650–75. These books do not have instrumental designations, and the set lacks the alto parts for the two four-part fantasias. The four three-part fantasias also exist in the Ord-Dart Manuscript, formerly at *GB-Llc*, MS 3; it had previously belonged to Henry Festing Jones, Boris Ord and Thurston Dart. It was sold at auction by Sotheby's on 27 November 1987 and is at present untraceable.¹⁰ In addition to the Gibbons fantasias, the volume contains six fantasias by Coprario 'for one Basse & Treble to the Organ'; John Bull's canon 'Miserere me, Domine'; three madrigals by Monteverdi from *Il quinto libro*, 'Cruda Amarilli' (incomplete), 'Troppo ben può' and 'T'amo, mia vita'; an anonymous pastoral dialogue 'As Celia'; and Nicolas Lanier's dialogue 'Shepherd, in faith I cannot stay'. This manuscript was once owned by Henry Purcell: the ten-part Bull canon is in his hand, likely copied c.1679–81 at a time when he was devoting himself to an intense study of counterpoint. The front and rear covers of the volume bear handwritten titles in a later hand: 'This Booke hath Fancies / of 2 and 3 parts to ye organ / of Mr Gibbons, and Mr Coperario, / with ye viol and violin to ye organ'. Inside, the Gibbons pieces bear the heading 'Orlando Gibbons Fantazies to the Organ of 3 parts, Treble, Basse & Double Basse'. The Gibbons and Coprario music in this volume was likely notated c.1640–50 by the same scribe. The pieces by Gibbons are presented in three-stave open scores, while those by Coprario are in two-stave short scores. Both sets would appear to have been intended to be used by a keyboard player and reflect the copyist's familiarity with these two different notational formats.

¹⁰ A photocopy can be consulted at *GB-Lbl*, MUS RP 3774. For the manuscript, see T. Dart, 'Purcell and Bull', *The Musical Times* 104 (1963), 20–1; R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscript: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 23, 217–18; P. Holman and B. White, *The Purcell Compendium* (Woodbridge, 2025), 31, 114–15.

F-Pc, MS Rés F.770 is a substantial volume also in open score format containing English consort music of three and four parts by William Lawes, Matthew Locke, John Jenkins, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, John Ward and John Coprario. The copyist is believed to have been the violinist John Atkins or Atkinson (d. 1671), a member of Charles II's 'private consort' of violins, and therefore the collection may have been copied for the Restoration court.¹¹ It contains the four three-part fantasias by Gibbons, and, as mentioned above, keyboard cues appear in both of the two lower lines.

The remaining sources for the Gibbons's three-part galliard and the three fantasias à3 by Coprario appear in manuscripts copied even later in the century. Two were compiled by Narcissus Marsh, later the Archbishop of Armagh (1638–1713) and are now housed at the library named after him, Marsh's Library in Dublin. Marsh was educated at Oxford and was ordained in 1662 before moving to Ireland in 1679. As a young man, he was passionate about music and especially the bass viol. He wrote in his diary: 'I had before this betaken myself to the practice of Musick, especially of the Bass Viol, and after the fire of London [September, 1666], I constantly kept a weekly consort (of instrumental musick and sometimes vocal) in my chamber on Wednesday in the afternoon, and then on Thursday, as long as I lived in Oxford'.¹² Six volumes with consort music were copied for Marsh's use at his weekly Oxford meetings, and two of them are of interest, here. *IRL-Dm*, MS Z2.1.13 is a collection of 20 consort pieces in open score format and is the only complete source for the three fantasias à3 by Coprario (the first two have keyboard cues with essential counterpoint). By contrast, *IRL-Dm*, MSS Z3.4.1-6 is a set of six partbooks labelled treble 1, treble 2, alto, tenor, bass 1 and bass 2. It contains 145 consort pieces notated by four different scribes, and is the only consort source for Gibbons's three-part galliard, positioned after the notation of Gibbons' first and fourth three-part fantasias. The galliard is short and simple by comparison with Gibbons's other great bass viol pieces, but with pitches in the bottom part reaching down to *BB♭*.

A two-stave short score setting of the Gibbons galliard is also found in a keyboard manuscript, *US-NYp*, Drexel MS 5612.¹³ This version contains additional counterpoint and has rhythmically decorated section endings. Portions of the lowest line are transposed to a higher octave where the consort bass line is not playable within a keyboard's range. Was this version intended to be played independently, or along with three string parts? Either way, it strengthens the evidence for a keyboard instrument being associated with this repertoire. It also provides a valuable historical example of exactly how consort parts might be adapted for keyboard use; see Appendix 4 for a transcription of the two versions of this piece.

An eighth source should also be described. A fragment of Coprario's third fantasia is bound into *Histoire de la notation musicale* by Ernest David and Mathis Lussy (Paris, 1882). This book about the history of notation is held by Case Western Reserve University Library in Cleveland, Ohio, *US-CLwr*, KSL Special Collections Vault 3, ML431.D24. This copy of the book was grangerised by the addition of 37 fragments cut out of original manuscripts, illustrating different styles of notation from the eleventh to seventeenth centuries. These have been bound into end of the volume, with each example housed in a sleeve incorporating a window through which the fragment may be viewed on both sides. The Coprario specimen, taken from an otherwise unknown manuscript, is an open score with details, such as use of the F5 clef and black note rhythmic notation, that match other sources; see Illus. 5. It has been cropped from what was

¹¹ For Atkins or Atkinson and his manuscripts, see *BDECM*, i. 33–5.

¹² R. Charteris, 'Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *RMARC* 13 (1976), 35.

¹³ For the manuscript, see esp. *English Court and Country Dances of the Early Baroque: New York Public Library, Manuscript Drexel 5612*, ed. H. Gervers, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 44 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982). A copy of the manuscript is available at the New York Public Library Digital Collections <@>.

originally the left side of a larger page, and as a result the top stave does not lead properly to the second stave. The music on the first stave begins in the middle of bar 33 of Coprario's fantasia (using the MB bar numbers) and concludes with bar 44 at the end of the second stave. At the top of the fragment is penned the name 'Coprario' in a seemingly seventeenth-century hand. Its location on the page – centred to this particular fragment and inserted in the middle of the piece – gives me pause. But the reverse of this fragment also has music by Coprario, an extract of the organ part of the fantasia of his Fantasia Suite no. 1 RC93 for violins, bass viol and organ.¹⁴

Illus. 5: Fragments of (a) John Coprario, Fantasia no. 3 à3, portions of bb. 33–44); and (b) the organ part of the fantasia from Coprario, Fantasia Suite no. 1 RC93 for violin, bass viol and organ, added to *US-CLwr*, KSL Special Collections, Vault 3 ML431.D24E, grangerised copy of E. David and M. Lussy, *Histoire de la notation musicale* (Paris, 1882).



¹⁴ See R. Charteris, 'A Postscript to *John Coprario: A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Introduction* (New York, 1977)', *Chelys* 14 (1982), 13–19, at 16–17; Coprario, *The Two-, Three- and Four-Part Consort Music*, ed. Charteris, vii, and the other items cited there.

The eight sources described above yield few definitive answers about performance practice issues. To determine precisely when, where, for whom and for which specific instruments this music was conceived, it is worth briefly considering the careers and affiliations of Gibbons and Coprario.

Orlando Gibbons had joined the Chapel Royal by May 1603, likely taking part in the coronation of James I and Queen Anne at Westminster Abbey on July 25 of that year.¹⁵ His special talent was as a keyboard player, and by March 1605 he was serving at court as an organist of the Chapel Royal. Gibbons also enjoyed the patronage of Sir Christopher Hatton II (1581–1619), at that time an officer in the household of Henry, Prince of Wales. He dedicated his first publication, *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets* (London, 1612) to Hatton, writing: ‘They were most of them composed in your owne house, and doe properly belong to you’. Conjecturally, Hatton may have held musical gatherings under Gibbons’s direction in his city home ‘in the parish of Great St. Bartholomewes in the Ward of Faringdon without London’.¹⁶

In May 1612, Princess Elizabeth became engaged to Duke Friedrich V, Elector Palatine and along with John Bull (the princess’s keyboard instructor) and William Byrd (retired, living in Essex), Gibbons hastily compiled and published a collection of keyboard music, *Parthenia, or The Maydenhead of the First Musicke that ever was Printed for the Virginalls*, that was presented as a gift to the royal couple before their wedding on February 14, 1613. Following the nuptials, Gibbons may have been one of a huge entourage of 374 people that accompanied the newlyweds home to Heidelberg, departing London in April 1613. By the time of the group’s return to England at the end of the summer, John Bull had fled the country and Gibbons took over his role as senior keyboard player at court. Charles became Prince of Wales in 1616, and assembled his own private musical establishment, largely drawn from the ranks of his older brother Prince Henry, who had died in 1612. Orlando was named as a core member of that group, that also included Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Thomas Ford, Robert Johnson, Thomas Lupo, John Coprario and Angelo Notari. In 1619 he was appointed as a keyboard player in the household of the King’s Privy Chamber, and in 1623 he became organist at Westminster Abbey. An illustrious career was cut short by his unexpected death in June 1625.

John Coprario was also known at court, from at least 1605 when Queen Anne paid him £5 for musical compositions.¹⁷ He was certainly a member of the English entourage that accompanied Princess Elizabeth and Duke Friedrich to Heidelberg. On that trip, Coprario visited the court of Moritz, Landgraf of Hessen-Kassel and, on his return journey via The Hague, met Constantijn Huygens. His other patrons included Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Recent scholarship disputes the popular legend that Coprario was English born but adopted an Italianate spelling of his name.¹⁸ The Privy Council issued him a passport on 13 July 1616 ‘to goe into forraigne partes for one yeare about dispatch of his private occasions’, and a further payment authorised in January 1617 was made after ‘his returne from the cittie of Ragusin in Italie’. The type and length of that stay suggest complex legal family affairs, and potentially tie him to Trieste or the Balkans. Coprario was officially named as part of Prince Charles’s household from 1622, where he led an elite group of musicians known as ‘Coperario’s Musique’, with violinists John Woodington and Adam Vallet, viol players Alfonso Ferrabosco II and Coprario

¹⁵ Biographical information taken from *BDECM*, i. 477–80 except where otherwise stated.

¹⁶ J. Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (Aldershot, 2020), 37.

¹⁷ Biographical information taken from *BDECM*, 296–98 except where otherwise stated.

¹⁸ D. Pinto, ‘Black Swan: Coprario’s Name, Origin, Œuvre’, *VdGSJ* 18a (2024), 1–17 <@>.

himself, plus Orlando Gibbons on keyboard. Coprario seems to have been formally appointed composer-in-ordinary at Charles's accession to the throne in 1625, but it was a position he held only briefly before his death in June 1626.

The Instruments

It is generally asserted that Gibbons and Coprario composed their great bass pieces for use at court between 1622 and 1625, when they worked together as members of Charles I's Private Music. In such a setting, performance of the music would almost certainly have included Gibbons playing the chamber organ and Coprario playing a viol. Violinists John Woodington and Adam Vallet were the ones for whom Coprario's fantasia suites were composed, combining one or two violins, bass viol and organ. The king himself is said to have been an excellent viol player: John Playford, in the preface to his 1664 *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* said: 'For Instrumental Musick none pleased him [Charles] like those Fantazies for one Violin and Basse Viol to the Organ, Composed by Mr. Coperario', and 'Charles I...could play his part exactly well on the Bass-Viol, especially of those Incomparable Fancies of Mr. Coperario to the Organ'.¹⁹ Speculatively, the great bass viol music might have been played by John Woodington or Adam Vallet on violin, Charles I on the bass viol, John Coprario on the great bass viol, and Gibbons playing the organ. If the king himself was not involved, then Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Thomas Ford, Thomas Lupo and Robert Taylor were other in-house viol players, names well known to us today.²⁰ The use of a chamber organ, indeed played by Gibbons, for a large portion of royal music at exactly this period is important to note and Coprario's fantasia suites are found in many of the same sources as the pieces under discussion with a great bass.

The use of a keyboard along with viols may be fairly unusual today, but, in the words of David Force,

a substantial proportion of the viol consort repertoire was intended to be played with the involvement of the organ, often in an obbligato role, and organs were employed in as wide a variety of contexts as the string consorts themselves... String players are frequently unaware of the organ's proper function in the music, and organists are not often familiar with the many and varied techniques, often of an *ex tempore* nature, that were employed by their seventeenth-century forebears, and rely instead on editorial keyboard realizations that often perpetuate unidiomatic or anachronistic solecisms. This lacuna of knowledge is amplified by a lack of detailed accounts of the consort organ's organology, performing contexts and playing techniques, and by a dearth of research into its practical deployment and the role of its players.²¹

Consort organs were common in households of the English aristocracy and minor nobility and their existence is amply confirmed through household inventories, wills, accounts and other contemporary documents. The residences at court are known to have housed them, in addition to the larger stationary pipe organs in their chapels. Otto, Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Kassel (1594–1617), was in England from 23 June to 7 August 1611, among the unsuccessful suitors to Princess Elizabeth. On July 16, 1611, Otto described seeing an extremely beautiful 'spielorgel' in Prince Henry's private chamber at St. James Palace, inlaid with mother of pearl, inscribed with the prince's coat of arms and with his motto 'Ich diene' and references to Wales and England. In Queen Anne's chamber at Whitehall, he also mentioned 'a positive of silver. A beautiful organ, mostly of silver parts, which when wound up played itself, and [figurines of] Mary

¹⁹ P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690*. (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), 213.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 198.

²¹ Force, "'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend'", 1–2.

and the Christ child upon it went around by themselves. Emblems were found painted upon shields, representing the knights'.²²

These mechanical instruments were unlikely to have been used in ensemble music; other more appropriate consort organs were surely available. Henry's retinue at the time was extensive. After his investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610, his musical establishment comprised two singing boys and twelve instrumentalists, including the then senior organist John Bull.²³ After Henry's death in 1612, younger brother Prince Charles took over use of the household instruments and continued to employ the musicians. In December 1622, the English organ builder Thomas Crad[d]ock was paid £44 'for new making the Princes Winde Instrum^ent at St James viz for making a new stoppe of Pipes, for timber, leth^er, glewe, wier, soder, scruepinnes, nayles, Coales and lighties, for his owne and his servants wages for 20 weeks'.²⁴

These court instruments are sadly no longer extant and only a few seventeenth-century English consort organs remain intact with their original features. An example from c.1630 does however exist, formerly owned by the L'Estrange family of Norfolk: the Hunstanton organ, so named for their family home near King's Lynn.²⁵ The L'Estranges are well known to viol players because John Jenkins joined their household around 1644. From at least 1636 the family had employed a resident organist, Thomas Brewer.²⁶ A substantial re-furnishing of their house took place in 1629 to mark the baronetcy of Nicholas L'Estrange, and this included the purchase of 'a payer of Organs' for the modest price of £11. The cost is far lower than one would expect for the time, so either this was only a partial payment, or the instrument was purchased second-hand, and was therefore older.²⁷ Its date and features place it nicely in context for the great bass viol pieces by Gibbons and Coprario.

Table 1:
Specification of the Hunstanton Organ
Compass $C\ A\ A\ D-c^3$

Left side stops: Principal Bass [4ft $C-b$]	Right side stops: Principal Treble [4ft c^1-c^3]
Fifteenth Bass [2ft $C-b$]	Fifteenth Treble [2ft c^1-c^3]
Stop Diapason Treble [8ft c^1-c^3]	
Open Flute [8ft $c-c^3$]	
Stop Diapason Bass [8ft $C-B$]	

The Hunstanton instrument is a table organ. This type is described and even illustrated in 1676 by Thomas Mace, who considered it an ideal part of a music room, in which musicians would gather around a centrally located table organ.²⁸ The concept was not 'new' in Mace's time, it was something that had been practiced

²² R. Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986), 173. The source for this information is 'Itinerarium der Reise des Landgrafen Otto 1611 (II)', *D-Kl*, 4^o MS Hass. 68, f. 70 <@>; see also Force, *The Consort Organ*.

²³ *RECM*, iv. 210–11.

²⁴ *RECM*, iv. 225.

²⁵ For the Hunstanton organ, see esp. J. Collier and D. Gwynn, 'The 1630 Consort Organ from Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk, England, now in St Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, USA', Goetze and Gwynn, *Harley Monographs* 43 (Welbeck, 2002) <@>; *Organ Restoration Reconsidered: Proceedings of a Colloquium*, ed. J.R. Watson (Warren MI, 2005); Force, "'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend'", 207–11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*.

²⁷ D. Force, "'Loud or soft, as you like best': 'Humouring' the L'Estrange Manuscripts on the Consort Organ", *Early Music Performer* 49 (2021), 3–14, at 4.

²⁸ T. Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), 239 <@>: 'the Organ to be so *Contriv'd*, as to be Plac'd in the midst of the *Room* and serve instead of the *Table*'. However, in his illustration of 'a Musick-Room' (*ibid.*, 242), he placed it in a corner of the room.

at court and in private households for decades. The keyboard of the Hunstanton organ and its entirely wooden pipes are positioned on top of a frame or table, with its bellows located at the very top of the case. Because chamber organs and viols were so often used together, voicing of these keyboards was carefully crafted to complement and blend.²⁹ This organ has been fully restored and is now owned by, and housed at, Historic St Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia; its short-octave keyboard is clearly discernable; see Illus. 6.

Illus. 6: The Hunstanton Organ, now at Historic St Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, USA. With the permission of St. Luke's Historic Church and Museum of Smithfield VA.



Three of the Gibbons fantasias have $BB\flat$ as the lowest note in the great bass parts. Modern players are accustomed to tuning their keyboards before each session and might well enquire: could the pitch of the AA on the $C\sharp$ key simply be manually adjusted upwards to make feasible the pieces that only descend to $BB\flat$? David Force explains:

There's nothing to suggest that the pitch of organ pipes was [ever modified] ... Most of the pipes were open wood pipes and didn't have a way of being retuned (the metal tuning flaps you often find today are always later additions). The maker effectively set the pitch in the workshop and it stayed that way. One advantage of this was that it meant that the users didn't need to find an organ builder to keep it in tune, or learn how to do it themselves, which was useful if the organ was in a rural house or if there wasn't a professional musician in the household... The AA pipe of the Stopped Diapason stop [could] be pushed in enough to raise the pitch by a semitone, but there are two problems with that. One is that the biggest pipes tend to be the hardest to get to inside the organ. The other is that, due to the way the pipes are voiced, moving the pitch up a semitone would affect the speech and tone of the pipe if it were retuned that much. So changing the pitch to accommodate BB flat is not a likely option [and indeed] it was very rarely needed.³⁰

Even had it been feasible to retune, that single adjustment would not resolve the problems in a variety of pieces that require AA but that also have harmonically and melodically important $BB\flat$ s and $BB\sharp$ s, some even on strong beats. There are not enough organ keys to play all of those pitches. Instead, the lines could be, and presumably were, transposed to a higher octave at sight. In any case, consort parts rarely lie close

²⁹ Force, "Loud or soft, as you like best", 4; Force, "A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend", 59.

³⁰ D. Force, private communication (December 2024).

enough for a keyboard player's hands to be able to manage each and every note in the correct octave. These are skills that were part of a keyboardist's training. In a domestic context, the organ was primarily an instrument for professionals, and less frequently taken up by amateur players. Wealthy seventeenth-century households employed organists among their professional musicians. Notable names in households that will be discussed below because they also owned large bass viols include John Hingeston with the Cliffords of Skipton Castle; Richard Cobb with the Bouchiers of Tawstock in Devon; Richard Mico with the Petres of Ingatestone Hall in Essex; and George Jeffreys with the Hattons of Kirby Hall.³¹

Extant seventeenth-century domestic consort organs have mostly been altered in various ways over the centuries, but enough original features still exist in a dozen instruments to be able to reliably discuss pitch standard. Secular organs did not use the transposed liturgical F pitch (6–7 semitones higher) that was employed in the chapel. More importantly, none of the extant chamber instruments was tuned as low as modern Baroque pitch ($a' = 415$ Hz). Generally speaking, they were tuned higher than modern standard pitch ($a' = 440$ Hz). Further, David Force has documented a clear trend in the *rise* of the consort organ pitch over the course of the seventeenth century, up to approximately $a' = 485$ by c.1690.³² This will surely come as an unwelcome surprise to viol players, accustomed as we are nowadays to using a low pitch standard. Such details also hold some importance when considering the sizes of the string instruments that would have regularly played along to the organ.³³

As already mentioned, in the Gibbons and Coprario sources, the violinist John Woodington's name appears twice in *GB-Och*, Mus. 732–5; the violinist John Atkins was the probable copyist of *F-Pn*, MS Rés. F.770; and the cover of the Ord-Dart Manuscript specifies violin – all suggesting that this was the instrument intended for the top parts. Woodington's association is particularly striking. In addition to his royal duties as a violinist at court, along with William Cranford, John Tomkins, Richard Sandye, Adrian Batten and William Morgan, he was one of the six vicars choral at St. Paul's Cathedral from 1628 to 1637.³⁴ Furthermore, from at least 1622 he was also active as a copyist: a royal warrant was issued on 15 February 1634/5 for £20 'to John Woodington ... for a whole sett of Musicke Bookes by him p<ro>vided & prickt w<i>th all Coperaries & Orlando Gibbons their Musique, by his Ma<jes>t<ie>s speciall Comand'.³⁵ What a shame that Mus. 732–5 is not in his hand to provide proof positive! Perhaps it was a 'copy of Woodington's copy', with his name retained in reference to it? Or was he the violinist who played from the Mus. 732 partbook in the Hatton household? Then again, Mus. 732–5 might have been a private copy made for Woodington and his fellow musicians to use at St Paul's Cathedral.³⁶

The pitch standard for chamber organs at court, St. Paul's and the Hatton household would presumably not have been identical; this might have affected Woodington's choice of a particular violin in each place. On January 25, 1637/8 a warrant was issued for £12 'To John Woodington, one of his Ma<jes>t<ie>s Music<i>ons for the [v]iolins, for a new Cremonia vyolin to play to the Organ.³⁷ This is in contrast to warrants for another court violinist, Etienne Nau: 20 February 1629/30, £34 for 'four instruments: vizt.,

³¹ Force, "Loud or soft, as you like best", 3.

³² Force, "A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend", 42–6.

³³ See the graph, *ibid.*, 226; also D. Gwynn, 'Organ Pitch in Seventeenth Century England', *BIOS Journal* 9 (1985), 65–78; *idem*, 'The English Organ in Purcell's Lifetime', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. M. Burden (Oxford, 1996), 20–38, at 30–5.

³⁴ P. Willetts, 'John Barnard's Collections of Viol and Vocal Music', *Cheyls* 20 (1991), 33.

³⁵ R. Charteris, 'A Postscript', 14; *RECM*, iii. 150.

³⁶ Willetts, 'John Barnard's Collections', 32; *BDECM*, ii. 1166–7

³⁷ *RECM*, iii. 154.

£12 for a bass, £6 each for two tenors, and £10 for a treble violin'; and 20 April 1634, £24 to 'Mr. Estienne Nau, for two tenor violins brought out of France'.³⁸ Woodington and Nau's violins were likely of different sizes, in order to accommodate the needs of different groups and different pitch standards. Woodington was a member of the group in the Private Music once known as 'Coperario's Musique', while Nau was the leader of the main court violin band.³⁹

Violin-family instruments were in fact available to English musicians during this period without the need to import instruments from abroad. Foremost among the London violin makers was Jacob Rayman, originally from Füssen, who was resident in England by 1618, with a workshop in Blackman Street, Southwark; he is not known to have made viols. Extant Rayman instruments have features such as elongated bodies and long f-holes that are noticeably similar to those of the Amati family in Cremona. Like some of the early Amati violins that are smaller than is typical today, a 1641 Jacob Rayman violin matches very well in size and features when compared to a 1572 Andrea Amati; see Illus. 7. The 1618 Girolamo Amati violin at the Ashmolean Museum (WA1948.136) has an even smaller body length of 32.95 cm, almost 3 cm less than the typical 35.4–35.6 cm now considered standard for a violin. With a court consort organ tuned to a higher than modern pitch, a small violin may likely have been necessary for playing with the keyboard. The painting, wrongly attributed to John Baptist de Medina and known variously as 'The Cabal' and 'The Crimson Bedchamber', apparently depicts a group of musicians from the court Private Music in 1662–3.⁴⁰ Several of those shown are holding what appear to be small violins.

Illus. 7: Violins by Andrea Amati (1572) and Jacob Rayman (1641) compared, both with body lengths of 34.4 cm. By permission of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; courtesy of Benjamin Hebbert.



³⁸ *RECM*, iii. 50, 78.

³⁹ For Nau, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, esp. 231–8, 240–2, 244–50; *BDECM*, ii. 822–3.

⁴⁰ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 280–1.

Perhaps relevant here, it should be noted that in May 1622 a royal privilege was proposed for ‘Orlando Gibbons, Adam Vallett, Thomas Daye, Will^m Heather, and John Clarke, and their assigns, for the sole making of all strings for musical instruments, called Venice, or Romish minikin, and Catlin strings for 14 years, with a prohibition of any such strings, paying to his Majesty the yearly rent of £16’.⁴¹ Minikins (or menekins) and catlines are two of several different types of gut strings, mentioned in English sources as early as the 1540s.⁴² But the clearest explanation of strings comes from the lutenist John Dowland, printed in Robert Dowland’s *Varieie of Lute Lessons* (London 1610):

Now these strings as they are of two sorts, viz. Great and Small: so either sort is pact vp in sundry kindes, to wit, the one sort of smaller strings (which come from *Rome* and other parts of *Italy*) are bound vp by certain Dozens in bundels; these are very good if they be new, if not, their strength doth soone decay: the other sort are pact vp in Boxes, and come out of *Germany*: of these, those strings which come from *Monnekin* and *Mildorpe*, are and continue the best. Likewise there is a kinde of strings of a more fuller and larger sort then ordinary (which we call *Gansars*.) These strings for the sizes of the great and small Meanes, are very good, but the Trebles are not strong. Yet also there is another sort of the smaller strings, which are made at *Linuornia* in *Tuscanie*: these strings are rolled vp round together, as if they were a companie of horse hayres. These are good if they be new, but they are but halfe Knots. Note there is some store of these come hither lately, and are here made vp, and passe for whole Knots. For the greater sorts or Base strings, some are made at *Nurenburge*, and also at *Straesburge*, and bound vp onely in knots like other strings. These strings are excellent, if they be new, if not, they fall out starke false. The best strings of this kinde are double knots ioyned together, and are made at *Bologna* in *Lumbardie*, and from thence are sent to *Venice*: from which place they are transported to the Martes, and there-fore commonly called *Venice* Catlines. The best time for the Marchant is to provide his strings at Michaelmas, for then the string-makers bring their best strings which were made in the Summer to *Franckford*, and *Lypzīg* Martes. Contrarily at Easter they bring their Winter strings, which are not so good.⁴³

Minikins were generally employed as treble strings for lutes, violins and viol-family instruments, with the earliest mentions of them early in the sixteenth-century, such as in the Capriola Lutebook (1517), where they were said to come from Munich and were considered true and strong, especially for use as the highest or first string. Catlin or catlines are a different twist, possibly roped, perhaps taking their name from Catalugna in Spain, but quite flexible and better suited for lower strings. On viols, minikins would seem to work well for the upper strings and catlines perhaps better for the bottom, with the supposition that minikins were quite stiff and not very elastic, while catlines were a lot more elastic, but weaker.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *RECM*, iv. 55; see also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 49.

⁴² ‘Menekyn’ is defined as ‘a thin string of gut used for the treble string of the lute or viol’, appearing as early as 1541 in English dictionaries; see <https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/menekin>.

⁴³ R. Dowland, *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (London, 1610), sig. Dv, in the section entitled ‘For Chusing of Lute Strings’ in John Dowland’s ‘Other Necessary Observations Belonging to the Lute’ <@>.

⁴⁴ D. Abbott and E. Segerman, ‘Strings in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *G&S* 27 (1974), 48–73; Mimmo Peruffo, private communication (December 2024).

Illus. 8: Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), detail from Plate V showing the ‘Groß Contra-Bas-Geig’ with strings of differing twists. Public domain.



Returning to the proposed 1622 privilege for Gibbons and his associates to manufacture and distribute strings, their privilege was subsequently blocked, but one must wonder why this particular group sought a monopoly: only Vallet (a violinist) and Daye (a lutenist) specialised on instruments that used gut strings. Gibbons (keyboard player and apparent head of the group) and Heather and Clarke (singers, Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal) would have had less immediate need. The group’s intention may have been primarily financial, but with court instruments of varying sizes being played in the Chapel Royal and the Privy Chamber, access to specialized gauges and types of strings must have been a general concern.⁴⁵

At the English court, £23 was paid on June 4, 1621 to ‘Robert Tailor, one of the Prince’s Musicons, for five Instrumentes by him boughte and delivered for his H<ighn>es use and service’.⁴⁶ Were these violins or viols? Challenges arise when trying to define precise sizes and tunings for both string families in England since precious few English documents describe them in specific detail. The viola da gamba family, so widely played by English amateurs and written for by English composers, is documented only from a period later than most of its music. In 1651 John Playford illustrated the fingerboard of the ‘Basse Violl’, writing:

the first or highest string which is the Treble is *D-la sol-re*, the second, *A-la-mi-re*, the third *E-la mi*, the fourth, *C-fa ut*, the fifth, *Gamut*, the sixth or lowest string double *D sol re* ... These Rules also serve for the Treble Violl, which is but the same eight notes higher *G sol-re-ut*, on the Basse Violl, which is stop on the third fret on the third string, is stopt on the same fret and string on the Treble Violl.⁴⁷

The earliest English viol manual is Christopher Simpson’s well-known *Division-Violist* of 1659, where he only wrote: ‘I would have a *Division-Viol* to be something a shorter *size* than a *Consort-Bass*, that so the *Hand* may better command it’.⁴⁸ Shorter, but by how much? No other sizes or types of viols are mentioned, nor is there a verbal description for tuning, though his musical examples with fingerings clarify what we know as a standard six-string bass *d*-tuning. Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* is similarly frustrating. He described in great detail his ideal music room, as well as the instruments it should contain:

⁴⁵ For more information about string making in England, see M. Fleming, ‘Some Points Arising from a Survey of Wills and Inventories’, *G.S.J.* 53 (2000), 301–11.

⁴⁶ *RECM*, iv. 224.

⁴⁷ J. Playford, *A Muscicall Banquet* (London, 1651), sig. A2–A2v <@>.

⁴⁸ C. Simpson, *The Division-Violist, or an Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground* (London, 1659), 1 <@>.

YOur Best Provision, (and *most Compleat*) will be, a *Good Chest of Viols*; Six, in Number, viz. 2 *Basses*, 2 *Tenors*, and 2 *Trebles*: All *Truly*, and *Proportionably Suited* ... After all *This*, you may add to your *Press*, a Pair of *Violins* ... And now to make your *Store* more *Ample-Compleat*; add to all *These* 3 *Full-Sciz'd Lyro-Viols* ... They will serve likewise for *Division-Viols* very Properly.⁴⁹

Mace did not give tunings for his viols, but the music he printed in tablature again confirms a *d*-tuned bass. More thorough, though incomplete, is a document from the 1690s compiled by James Talbot.⁵⁰ Talbot listed the standard tuning for a 'Treble Viol' and provided tunings as well as dimensions for what he called 'Tenor Viol', 'Division Viol', 'Lyra Viol', 'Consort Bass Viol' and 'Violone or Double Bass wth 6 strings (German)'. Talbot perhaps copied some of his material from Simpson,⁵¹ but differed over the measurements for a bass viol. The 'Double Bass' is provided with the tuning: *GG-C-F-A-d-g*.

English viols are similarly rarely shown in paintings or engravings,⁵² but a realistic depiction of what appears to be an English bass viol contemporary with Gibbons and Coprario appears in a painting by Reinholdt Thim (fl. 1615-1639) with four musicians from the British Isles employed at the Danish court of Christian IV around 1622;⁵³ it is now at Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen; see Illus. 9. One might quibble about the lack of discernable frets and appearance of f-holes instead of the more common C-holes, but the viol player is likely the Englishman Thomas Simpson, and he holds a six-string all-gut-strung instrument.

⁴⁹ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 245–6.

⁵⁰ *GB-Och*, Mus. 1187, p. 340. A copy is available at Digital Bodleian <@>; see also R. Donington, 'James Talbot's Manuscript: Bowed Strings', *Cheyls* 6 (1975–6), 43–60.

⁵¹ E. Segerman, 'On Talbot's Measurements of Viols', *FOMRHI Quarterly* 25 (1981), 57.

⁵² For a discussion of English paintings with viols, see M. Fleming, 'Paintings of Viols in England, c.1580–1660', *Cheyls* 25 (1996), 3–21.

⁵³ P. Holman, 'An Englishman Abroad: Thomas Simpson Revisited', *VdGSJ* 18a (2024), 18–51, at 31–3.

Illus. 9: Reinholt Thim, *Four Musicians at the Court of Christian IV of Denmark*. Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, public domain.



Another painting of a viol player apparently from the British Isles is at the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich: *Die Gambaspielerin* from the workshop of Sir Anthony van Dyck, c.1635–40.⁵⁴ It is thought to be a portrait of van Dyck's Scottish wife, Mary Ruthven, and she is seen from the back, so only a portion of her bass viol is visible. Details in these paintings generally confirm features that modern players consider to be standard on bass viols. Looking to the middle parts of the Gibbons

⁵⁴ Fleming, 'Paintings of Viols in England', 9–11.

and Copratio pieces, the *d*-tuned bass seems entirely plausible and beyond dispute since the music lies comfortably on it, with ranges extending from its bottom open string up to its top fret.

While there are few written explanations or graphic depictions of English viols, there are many extant original instruments. Thomas MacCracken has listed and detailed viols made between the years of 1575 and 1725, of which, 99 are basses made in England during the 1600s.⁵⁵ The subject of English viols has been discussed at length.⁵⁶ Problematic is the fact that the extant instruments display so many different features: shape, overall size, sound holes, finials, string length, body decoration, bridge location, *etc.* Many have undergone alterations through the years, whether reparations due to damage, adaptation for changing tastes, or modification for a totally different purpose, such as conversion to four-string violoncellos. Some of these extant instruments are fragments and others are too badly damaged to be playable. It may be comforting that so many English basses still exist, though the same is not true for smaller viols. There are only 49 known English trebles, and a paltry twelve English tenors. We must resist the temptation of assuming that the small number of instruments extant today reflects their infrequent use hundreds of years ago; in order to play viol consort music, there must have been adequate numbers of trebles and tenors.

The variability of old viols has been of particular interest to modern researchers, especially because it is in notable contrast to the violin family, which was greatly more standardised. The string length of viols poses special problems because bridge location and placement can be easily changed, affecting the functional dimensions. For the purposes of a coherent discussion, body length is a more reliable characteristic and is closely correlated to string length. In order to accommodate seven frets, viol string length is usually just a few centimeters greater than body length. In 1659 Simpson prescribed 30 inches (76.2 cm) as the desirable string length for a division viol,⁵⁷ while Talbot's measurements⁵⁸ of the 1690s are slightly larger, setting a consort bass at 32 inches (81.3 cm). In 1676 Thomas Mace claimed that a treble viol string length should be half that of a bass, and a tenor should be three quarters of the bass.⁵⁹

Extant English bass viols support these numbers. The six largest English basses in MacCracken's database have body lengths of more than 73 cm. The largest bass, by William Turner (*c.*1650) now in private ownership in Australia, has a body length of 77.5 cm and is currently set up with a string length of 83 cm. An instrument by Thomas Allred (1635) has a body length of 75.2 cm, but its private owner has chosen a shorter string length, of 69.5 cm. The famous Henry Jaye 'ex-Kessler' 1619 viol (large, but not one of the six largest basses), now at the Royal College of Music, London, has a body length of 72.1 cm and a string length of 75 cm. Overspun strings were not invented until the 1650s (they were first mentioned by the scientist Samuel Hartlib in 1659),⁶⁰ and did not immediately go into widespread use. We may assume that long string lengths were important and desirable to viol players who wished to have quickly sounding/responding pure gut from their low strings.

Having a sense of how large *d*-tuned bass viols were, it may now be asserted that an even larger viol was in existence, because of its lower tuning. On the continent, mention for a viol with a *GG* or *AA* tuning is

⁵⁵ T. MacCracken, *The Viola da Gamba Society of America's Online Database of Historical Viols* provides full and searchable information about surviving viols made before the twentieth century <@>.

⁵⁶ See in particular, M. Fleming and J. Bryan, *Early English Viols: Instruments Makers and Music*. (London, 2016).

⁵⁷ Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, 2.

⁵⁸ R. Donington, 'James Talbot's Manuscript: Bowed Strings', *Cheyls* 6 (1975–6), 48–50. Note that in Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, 318, 32 inches is incorrectly converted to 804 mm.

⁵⁹ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 246.

⁶⁰ Sheffield University Library, Hartlib Papers, Ephemerides 1659, 29/8/3A, 4B; see the online edition, *The Hartlib Papers* <@>.

found in at least 17 published theoretical sources, beginning early in the sixteenth century and appearing with increasing frequency through that century and the following one.⁶¹ This instrument was the proper bass member of the viol family and consort. However, it was not used as a doubling bass: its existence greatly predates basso continuo accompaniment, and the related practice of adding a bass sounding its part an octave lower than notated pitch. This large viol played its parts at written pitch and functioned as the true bass of an ensemble. Nowadays, calling it a ‘bass viol’ leads to confusion with the smaller *d*-tuned instrument, and calling it a ‘double bass’ leads to confusion with the later large orchestral instrument. In modern parlance, I find it best to speak of this instrument as the ‘great bass viol’, as it is described in many English documents, or as the ‘G (or A) violone’ if a specific tuning can be determined. Hereafter, the term ‘great bass viol’ will be employed.

Instruments with the low tuning and compass were employed regularly on the continent, and some of the most virtuosic pieces for *viola bastarda* were seemingly conceived specifically for it, even played by women.⁶² A viol of the appropriate magnitude may be seen in many continental paintings, drawings and engravings, including Godaert Kamper’s beautifully realistic *Portrait of a Musician* (1646) (Illus. 1). Another example, relating to England, is *The Sense of Hearing* (1617–18) by Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Breughel the Elder, now at the Museo del Prado in Madrid. In it, a great bass viol leans against the harpsichord; six-part music by the expatriate Englishman Peter Philips is on the music stands; and many smaller viols and violins and their bows are pictured as well; note the smaller bass viol being played in a back chamber to the rear, top left of the painting; see Illus. 10.

Illus. 10: Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Breughel the Elder, *The Sense of Hearing* (1617–18). Museo del Prado, Madrid, public domain.



⁶¹ Agricola (1528), Gerle (1546), Zacconi (1592), Banchieri (1609, 1613), Cerone (1613), Praetorius (1619), Doni (1635, 1640), Prinner (1677), Speer (1687), Falck (1688), Talbot (1690s), Merck (1695), Majer (1732), Walther (1732) and Eisel (1738); see J. Morton, ‘The Early History and Use of the G Violone’, *JVdGSA* 36 (1999), 40–66 <@>.

⁶² J. Morton, ‘Will Wonders never Cease? The *Viola Bastarda* at the Ferrarese Court’, *Early Music* 50 (2022), 155–68.

In English household records and inventories, one finds many mentions of especially large viols. They were known at the English court as far back as 1610–12, where the accounts of Sir David Murray, keeper of Prince Henry’s Privy Purse, records £40 paid ‘To Voyalls, [for] twoe greate ons’.⁶³ The term ‘greate’ refers to their size and the expense was substantial.⁶⁴ At court, two further purchases were made. Jerome Lanier was compensated by a warrant dated 24 January 1624/5, £20 for ‘a greate base Vyall’;⁶⁵ and Alfonso Ferrabosco II, paid by a warrant dated 17 February 1626/7, £20 for ‘a greate Base Vyall, and greate Lyra to bee by him provided for his Ma^{<jes>t<ie>s} service’.⁶⁶ It is worth noting that court documents employ distinct terminology for ‘great’ bass viols, ‘lyras’ and ‘vyolls de Gambos’. These types are not synonymous.

As mentioned previously, prior to Princess Elizabeth’s wedding to Friedrich V, Gibbons was involved with the preparation of a copperplate engraved volume, *Parthenia, or The Maydenhead*, published by William Hole just before the nuptials in February 1613. It contains eight pieces by William Byrd, six by Gibbons and seven by John Bull, who was Elizabeth’s virginals teacher.⁶⁷ A sister volume, *Parthenia In-Violata, or The Mayden-Musicke for the Virginalls and Bass-Viol*, was published rather later, perhaps around 1620 (although the precise date is unknown).⁶⁸ Here, the keyboard is accompanied by the viol. Such a scoring is unusual for its time, indeed novel. Was it initially conceived with the other volume so that the groom could play along with his bride? Two pieces in the second volume have viol parts that descend very low: ‘The first part of the old yeere’ (unattributed) drops to low *AA* and an untitled coranto (also unattributed) goes regularly to *C*. This publication is less meticulous than the first volume and the low pitches could be printing errors or oversights. But the fact that a great bass viol was known at court by this time inclines me to suggest that the pitches were intentional. The title page (see Illus. 11) shows a six-string viol and bow lying next to a harpsichord. Is this a bass viol or a great bass? In all likelihood it is probably a standard *d*-bass, but a definitive answer is problematic without knowing the dimensions of the keyboard. Playing devil’s advocate, I will merely observe that this instrument’s rib depth is similar to that of the harpsichord, as also seen for the violone in the Breugel painting, discussed above.

⁶³ *RECM*, iv. 215.

⁶⁴ By contrast, in 1621 Robert Tailor or Taylor was paid £23 for five (presumably string) instruments (*RECM*, iv. 224); £44 was paid to Thomas Crad[d]ock and associates on 15 December 1621 for their work on the consort organ (*RECM*, iv. 225); and by a warrant dated 5 December 1623 Alfonso Ferrabosco II was paid £20 ‘for a new Lyra and vyoll de Gambo by him bought’ (*RECM*, iv. 114).

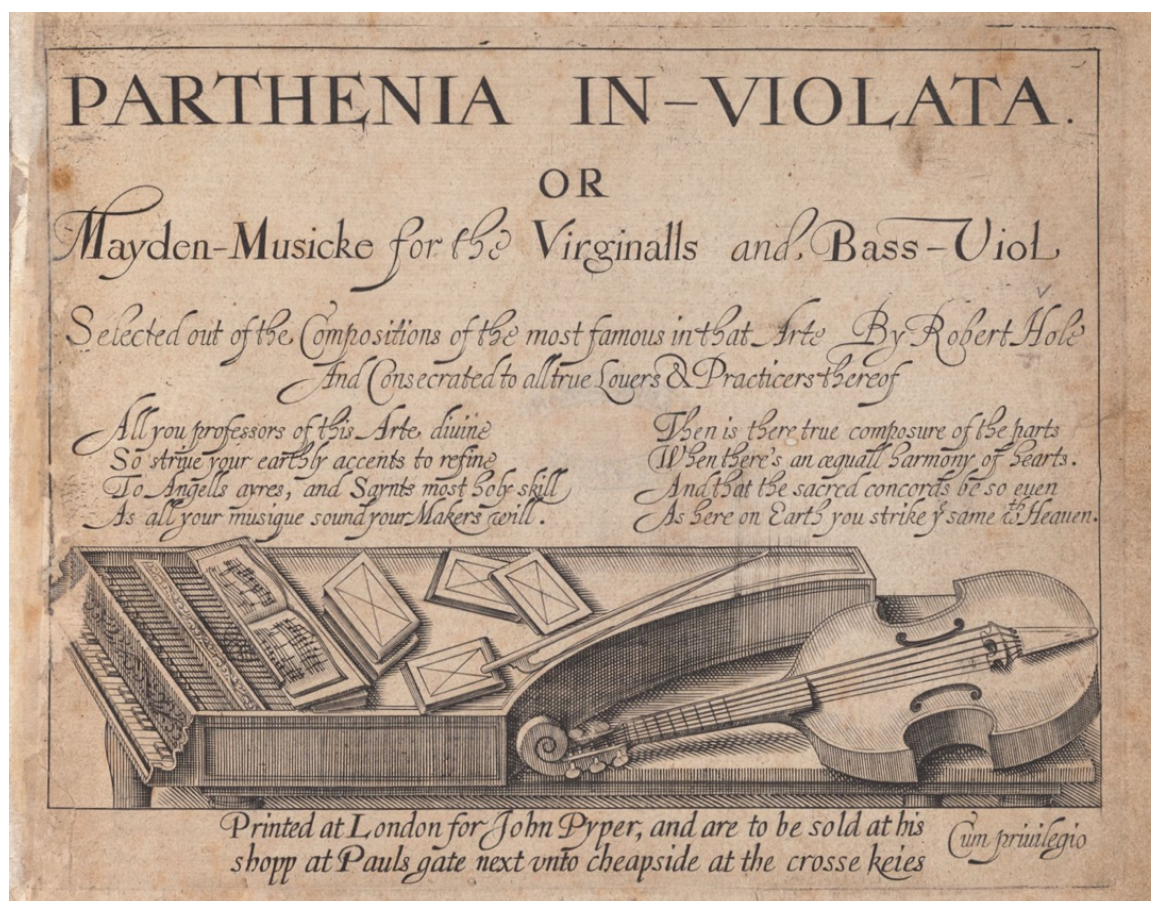
⁶⁵ *RECM*, iii. 134.

⁶⁶ *RECM*, iii. 138.

⁶⁷ *RECM*, iv. 207.

⁶⁸ The sole surviving copy is at *US-NYp*, Drexel 5120; a copy is available online at the New York Public Library Digital Collection <@>. The catalogue of the New York Public Library suggests a date of 1614, though in the recent modern edition, *Parthenia and Parthenia In-Violata*, ed. J. Baxendale and F. Knights ([Tynset]: Lyrebird Music, 2021), v–vi, it is pointed out that the volume was sold by John Pyper, who is not known before c.1620, and that the title-page, with its depictions of a harpsichord and bass viol, may have been inspired by plate VI of Praetorius’s *De Organographia*, published in 1619.

Illus. 11: The title page of *Parthenia In-Violata*, US-NYp, Drexel 5120. Public domain.



If Gibbons travelled to the continent with the newlyweds in 1613, this might have exposed him to the great bass viol in broader use, and the music created for it. Instruments of such magnitude were common in German regions and used in many different types of settings. From the continent, and prior to the eighteenth century, MacCracken lists more than 30 extant instruments described as ‘violone’, nine of which come from German-speaking areas of Europe.⁶⁹ As early as c.1570, a large viol was clearly depicted in a large mixed ensemble of Bavarian musicians, painted by Hans Mielich in a manuscript collection of Orlando Lasso’s *Psalmi Poenitentiales*, where the composer is shown standing at the bottom left of the image; see Illus. 12.

⁶⁹ Hans Vogel (c.1563) with a body length of 93.9 cm; seven instruments made by Ernst Busch (prior to his death in 1650) with body lengths from 79.0 cm to 91.3 cm; and Jacob Stainer (c.1659) with a body length of 87.0 cm; see MacCracken, *Online Database of Historical Viols*.



Gibbons's familiarity with continental matters is additionally reflected by the inclusion of a Dutch peasants' song: 'Geeft wat om den rommelpot' in the third fantasia à3 with great bass viol. David Pinto has pointed out that this tune resembles 'The Cramp', the alto voice in 'A Round of Three Country Dances in One,' no. 74 in Thomas Ravenscroft's *Pammelia* (London, 1609).⁷⁰ Personally, I find the Flemish version a more convincing match than the triple-time Ravenscroft. However, this is not the only time that Gibbons borrowed from the popular tune repertoire: his first fantasia à4 quotes the last strain of 'Ruffy Tufty', a tune later published in John Playford's *English Dancing Master* (London, 1651), p. 70. Several of his virginal pieces are based on broadside ballad tunes, such as 'Peascod Time, or The Hunt's Up'.⁷¹

Large bass viols are recorded in the inventories of a number of noble English households. A 1639 probate inventory from Ingatestone Hall, Essex, seat of Robert Petre, third Baron Petre (1599–1638), lists a 'A great Base violl' valued at £15 that was stored 'In the Chamber over the Kitchen' (Illus. 13).⁷² The Petre family were long time patrons of the arts. Sir John Petre (1549–1613), created Baron in 1603, was friend

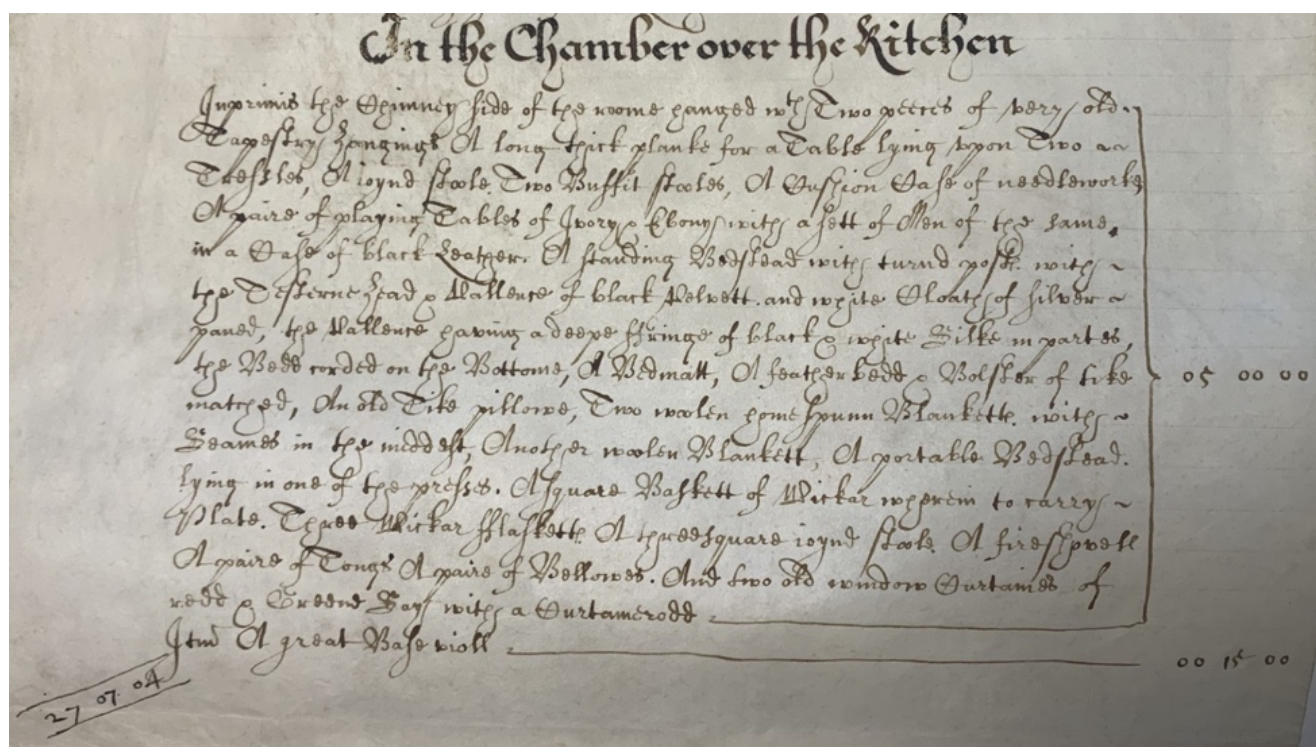
⁷⁰ D. Pinto, 'Gibbons in the Bedchamber', *Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 89–109, at 103.

⁷¹ O. Gibbons, *Keyboard Music*, ed. G. Hendrie, MB 20 (London, 3/2010), no. 30.

⁷² *US-NHUB*, Osborn b344, leaf 4; partially transcribed and reproduced in H.E.P. Grieve, *Examples of English Handwriting 1150-1750, with Transcripts and Translations* ([Chelmsford], 1954), 30.

and patron to William Byrd,⁷³ whose 'Pavan and Galliard Sir William Petre', named after the second Baron (1575–1637), was included in *Parthenia*;⁷⁴ Byrd's second book of *Gradualia* motets was dedicated to the first baron in 1607.⁷⁵ This recusant family was known for hosting large musical gatherings, as well possessing, according to a list dated 1608 in Richard Mico's hand, five viols (2 trebles, 2 tenors and a bass), 'my lords lute with a base to it', 'the great virginals' and the 'wind instrument' (an organ installed in 1590);⁷⁶ Mico was employed in the Petre household from 1608 to 1630, before joining the household of Queen Henrietta Maria at court.

Illus. 13: Probate inventory of Ingatestone Hall, 7 September 1639, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, the James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Osborn b344, detail of leaf 4.



Inventories from the estate at Tawstock, near Barnstaple in Devon, home to Henry Bouchier, Earl of Bath and his family include many musical instruments.⁷⁷ In 1637 there were in the parlour '1 pair of organs with virginals' (i.e. a claviorgan), and in the 'Chamber up the stairs by the Closets ... 1 chest of vials'. By 1639 the instruments had been moved to 'the Stair Case', and the collection expanded: '1 organ with virginal; 1 chest of viols; one very greate double base viole, one Irish harp, one little viol, one violin'. In the Great Chamber was also 'one fair organ'. Several members of the family are known to have played instruments. The 1639 inventory lists '1 viol with a case, 1 gittern with a case' in a chamber 'without the Gentlewomen Chamber', which suggests that they were placed there for the dedicated use of the ladies of the house. The countess herself, Rachel Bouchier, personally possessed and presumably therefore played,

⁷³ For Byrd and the Petres, see esp. J. Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1997), 93–8.

⁷⁴ W. Byrd, *Keyboard Music I*, ed. A. Brown, MB 27 (London, 3/1999), no. 3.

⁷⁵ Harley, *William Byrd*, 117–18.

⁷⁶ J. Bennett and P. Willetts, 'Richard Mico' *Chevy* 7 (1977), 24–46, at 29.

⁷⁷ D. Force, 'Richard Cobb and Domestic Music in the Household of Henry Bouchier, fifth Earl of Bath, 1638–1655', *VdGSJ* 14 (2020), 1–23, esp. at 4, 5, 14.

both violin and viol. Music tutors to the household include Charles Coleman, Henry Lawes and possibly John Jenkins.⁷⁸

A c.1644 inventory of furniture left by Lord Cork (Richard Boyle, 1566–1643) at his house in York lists ‘One black box with a great viol in it’ and also ‘diverse music books’.⁷⁹ Richard Boyle was son-in-law to Henry Clifford, whose father Francis Clifford was fourth Earl of Cumberland (1605–1641), resident at Skipton Castle. John Hingeston (c.1606–1683) joined the household in 1621. A substantial collection of instruments was available to the musicians by the time Hingeston was in residence. George Mason (lute) and John Earsden (Mason’s apprentice) collaborated with the Earl in the acquisition of two chests of viols, two violas da gamba, a lyra viol purchased from Coprario back in 1614, and a variety of plucked-string instruments, including lutes, theorboes and a ‘Citharen’.⁸⁰ Violins of a sort were first introduced in 1617, when ‘three viols’ were sent to York ‘for cutting’ (perhaps converting treble viols into violins); it was not until William Hudson’s appointment in 1625 that true violins were acquired.⁸¹ Hingeston had access to two chamber organs, a virginal, a harpsichord, and a ‘virginal with a wind instrument in it’ (a claviorgan) purchased by Francis Clifford in December 1620.⁸² Many of these instruments accompanied the Cliffords as they moved from one residence to another, though Francis is known to have borrowed keyboard instruments for Hingeston when in London. John Hingeston himself also owned a large viol that he described as ‘my great double Basse’ which he left to William Gregory II in his will, written on 12 December 1683.⁸³

The Hatton family of Kirby, Northamptonshire also had plausible connections to the large instrument and repertoire.⁸⁴ We have seen that Sir Christopher Hatton II was patron to Orlando Gibbons, plus Tobias Hume dedicated a copy of *Captain Hume’s Poeticall Musicke* (London, 1607) to Christopher I.⁸⁵ Stephen Bing was employed as a copyist by Christopher Hatton III (1605–70), first baron, and many of the Hatton music manuscripts at Oxford Christ Church, such as Mus. 732–5, show evidence of his involvement. Hatton was particularly interested in Italian and Italianate music, and some of the manuscripts copied for his use reveal that inclination. Angelo Notari, employed formally at court, shared materials with Hatton’s scribes.⁸⁶ Notari’s *Prime musiche nuove* (London, 1613) is the first English source with material *alla bastarda*. His setting of ‘Ben qui si mostra il ciel’, after a four-part madrigal by Cipriano de Rore,⁸⁷ is presented in a form suitable for voice or viol, and as a result does not require pitches below *E*. But, with the highest pitch of *a'*, the piece has a more modest overall range than contemporary continental *bastarda* music, and certainly could have been played on a *GG*- or *AA*-tuned great bass.

George Jeffreys (c.1610–85) was connected with the Hatton family from at least 1631, when he set four poetic texts by Sir Richard Hatton, Christopher III’s cousin.⁸⁸ From 1646 Jeffreys was employed as steward

⁷⁸ Ibid., 14–16.

⁷⁹ Chatsworth, Bolton MSS, inventory of furniture left by Lord Cork at his house in York c.1644; see W. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton NJ, 1953; repr. New York, 1969), 279.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 256–60.

⁸¹ L. Hulse, ‘John Hingeston’, *Cheyls* 12 (1983), 23–42, at 26.

⁸² Ibid..

⁸³ *BDECM*, i. 575.

⁸⁴ P. Holman, ‘George Jeffries and the “great dooble base”’, *Cheyls* 5 (1973–4), 79–81.

⁸⁵ D. Pinto, ‘The Music of the Hattons’, *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 23 (1990), 79–108, at 106 (fn. 42).

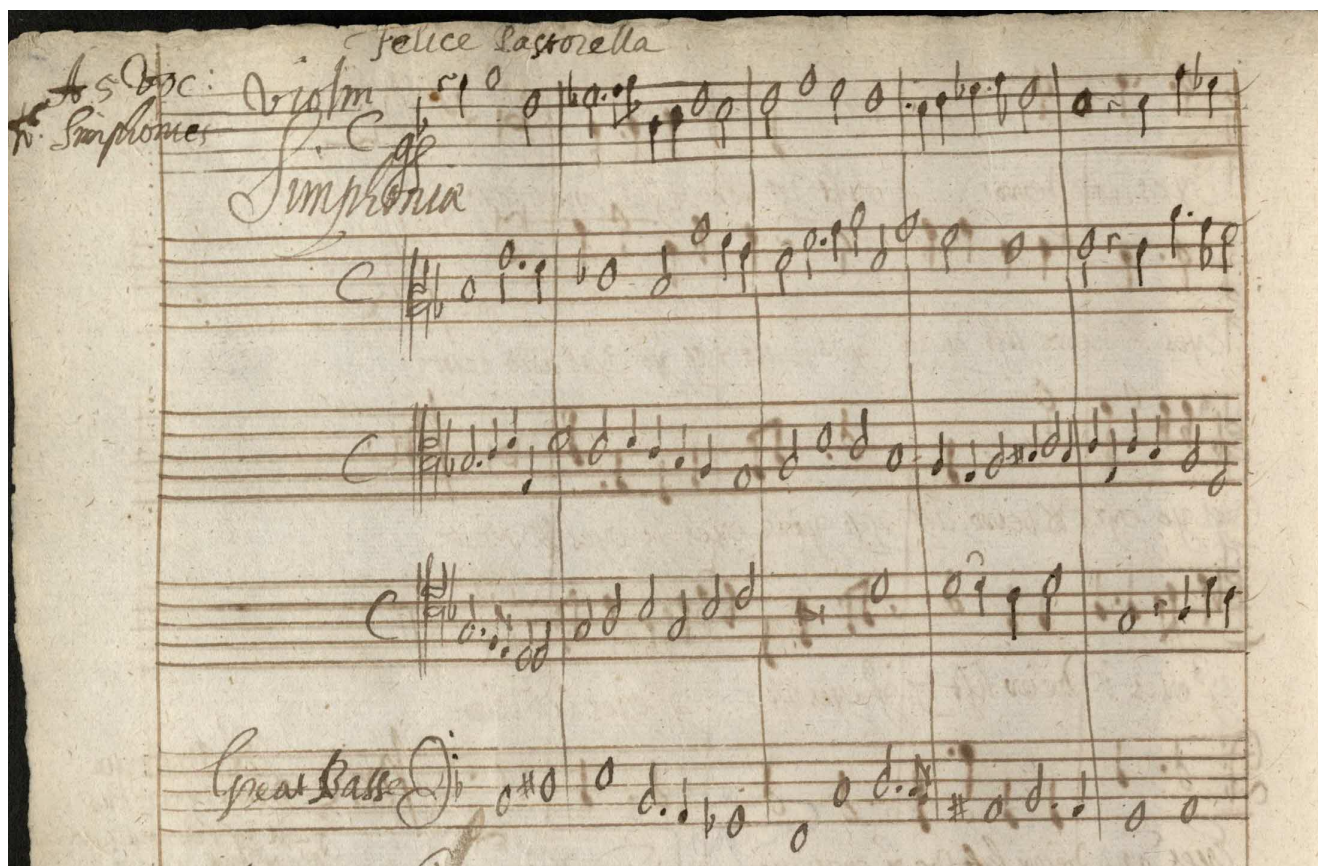
⁸⁶ See esp. A. Notari, *Collected Works*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, 3 vols. (Middleton WI, 2022), i. xvii–ix, xxxi–ii.

⁸⁷ ME: *ibid.*, i. 53–5.

⁸⁸ ME: G. Jeffreys, *English Secular Vocal Music*, ed. J.P. Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2020), nos. 4a–4d <@>.

at the Northampton estate. A holograph manuscript includes canzonettas à3 as well as the cantata 'Felice pastorella' (c.1650), a setting of an extract from G.B. Guarini's play *Il pastor fido*.⁸⁹ Jonthan Wainwright describes this cantata as the most adventurous of Jeffreys's Italian pieces, and notes that the watermarks of the sole source, the fascicle in the autograph, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10338, suggest a date only slightly later than his canzonettas, which are from around 1640.⁹⁰ The lowest part of the opening Symphonia to the cantata is labelled for the 'Great Basse' and the part descends several times to low BB $\flat$, see Illus. 14.

Illus. 14: George Jeffreys, the opening Simphonia from 'Felice pastorella', GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10338, f. 51v (detail). © The British Library Board.



A great bass viol was surely available in Oxford for Narcissus Marsh to include the music of Gibbons and Coprario requiring it in two of his manuscripts. Marsh refers in his manuscript diary to weekly meetings 'after the fire of London', but the manuscripts he compiled were likely copied before the Restoration.⁹¹ Anthony Wood wrote that Marsh held regular meetings at Exeter College starting as early as 1658.⁹² Most of the music that is included in the six Marsh manuscripts was composed during the Jacobean and early Caroline period. Four different hands are found in MSS Z3.4.1-6 (one hand is Marsh's own) and MSS Z2.1.13 is written by another three scribes, one of whom was William King (1624–80), organist at New College. There are any number of ways that the courtly repertoire might have found its way to Oxford,

⁸⁹ ME: G. Jeffreys, *Italian Secular Vocal Music*, ed. J.P. Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2021), no. 13 <@>.

⁹⁰ Personal correspondence, December 2024.

⁹¹ R. Thompson, 'A Further Look at the Consort Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Chebs* 24 (1995), 3–18 <@>.

⁹² A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, 5 vols. (London, 1813–20), i. xxxv–vi; iv. 498 <@>; Thompson, 'A Further Look', 3 (fn. 2).

including the period in the mid-1640s when Charles I was in temporary residence there and created his Oxford Parliament; Stephen Bing was likely at Oxford during some of that time, with Hatton c.1643–6.

Rounding out the century, John Blow's (1649–1708) anthem 'Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle' (c.1680) has a part for 'Double Base' that is contrasted with a 'Base Flute' (a recorder, also non-transposing) going down to C[#].⁹³ In addition, the first version of Blow's masque *Venus and Adonis* (1683) has a GG in a solo section of Act II,⁹⁴ while the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D major (1709; revised 1715) by William Croft (1678–1727), has a number of AAs in the orchestral sections,⁹⁵ all pitches that descend below the available range of six-string bass viols, bass violins or violoncellos. Solo vocal passages may have been accompanied by harpsichords or spinets without a sustaining bass, but bowed instruments were surely employed in orchestral passages, especially in four concerted works by Jeremiah Clarke (c.1674–1707): *Song on the Assumption* T202 (15 August 1695); *Song on the Death of the Famous Mr Henry Purcell* T200 (January 1696); 'Tell the world', *Song upon the Peace of Ryswick* T208 (November 1697); and *Song for the Gentlemen of Barbados* Z204 (January or February 1703) with parts down to AA and GG.⁹⁶ Peter Holman has observed that Clarke's *Song on the Assumption* has the striking feature of two separate and crossing bass parts in the first movement of its Symphony, both descending to AA, and noted that the low pitches are approached by leap.⁹⁷ These bass parts are always written at actual pitch, unlike later parts for 'contrabasses' that are notated an octave higher than they are meant to be sounded. In any case, the argument against a doubling bass is a moot point since no instrument of any type is equipped with low AAA or GGG.

Claver Morris (1659–1727), doctor and amateur musician in Wells, Somerset, owned an instrument by Edward Lewis (fl. London 1687–c.1740) that he referred to variously as a 'great Bass-Violin', a 'large Bass-Violin' and 'my Double-Bass'.⁹⁸ Morris was a loyal friend and patron to Lewis. His instrument was collected from the maker on 8 December 1711; arrangements for its transport to London were made, indicating a weight of 54 lbs; and a payment of £5 made to 'Mrs. Lewis' on 12 January 1712. (The amount seems low; perhaps he had partially paid for the instrument earlier, in instalments.) In March 1712 Morris paid 2s 'for 4 ounces of Wire to cover the biggest String on my Double-Bass'. A curious and innovative man, he created 'two Stands to set a Bass-Viol on to make it sound louder in playing on it'; from this, one may infer the instrument had an endpin, or perhaps something functioning rather like a stool, to rest it on.

That a great bass viol was known in England should now be clear, with at least a dozen that can be documented in different locations. The royal court purchased at least four; five other important households of the minor nobility possessed them, as well as the composer John Hingeston and the amateur musician Claver Morris. The existence of the GG tuning is documented by James Talbot in the 1590s, and a number of other pieces as well as those by Gibbons and Coprario call for its low compass, notated at pitch. These musical communities supported many additional viol players and composers who would surely have incorporated the large instrument into their music at opportune moments; the expense alone of owning

⁹³ ME: J. Blow, *Anthems II: Anthems with Orchestra*, ed. B. Wood, MB 50 (London, 1984), no. 3; see also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 408–10.

⁹⁴ ME: J. Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, ed. B. Wood, Purcell Society Edition Companion Series 2 (London, 2008), 78.

⁹⁵ ME: W. Croft, *Canticles and Anthems with Orchestra*, ed. D. Burrows, MB 91 (London, 2011), nos. 1, 2.

⁹⁶ P. Holman, 'Inexperience or Boldness? The Orchestral Writing of Jeremiah Clarke's Early Concerted Works', *Early Music Performer* 48 (April 2021), 3–24, esp. 4–6; see also T.F. Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke* (Detroit MI, 1977).

⁹⁷ Holman, 'Inexperience or Boldness?', esp. 18–19.

⁹⁸ H.D. Johnstone, 'Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133 (2008), 93–127, at 106; Johnstone, 'Instruments, Strings, Wire and other Musical Miscellanea in the Account Books of Claver Morris (1659–1727)', *G&S* 60 (2007), 29–35.

one suggests it would have been employed for more than just the occasional piece. At court and in three private homes the instrument was referred to as a 'greate base Vvall' or a similar variant. Five sources (four of them late in the century) refer to them as 'double' basses. The spelling 'dooble' appears only a single time, on the cover to *GB-Och*, Mus. 735; elsewhere in those partbooks it is spelled 'double.'

An Extant Great Bass

With all this evidence, why are so few physical examples of English great basses remaining? One must first recall that there are similarly few consort organs, English violins, tenor viols *etc.* of the period. For great basses, the problem is compounded by the conversion of many beautiful old instruments that have been repurposed as modern double basses, mostly undocumented if they are now in private ownership. There does, however, exist at least one large English instrument,⁹⁹ and coincidentally it may possibly be by Edward Lewis; see Illus. 15. (Would it not be an amazing coincidence if this was Claver Morris's bass?) Ten smaller bass viols by Lewis exist for comparison. This large instrument has a three-piece flat back with the characteristic viol-family bend; a body length of 115.3 cm; width(s) of 49.3/37.4/61.3 cm; a rib depth of 16.4 cm; and a current string length of 106.7 cm. The neck, fingerboard, pegbox, tailpiece, bridge and pegs are modern. The head is not original to this instrument, although it is said to be old. Lacking its original pegbox and neck, how many strings would it originally have had, and how would it have been tuned? The current set-up is with five strings, and its owner employs it as a doubling bass with a *D* violone tuning lacking the top string.

Illus. 15: The front and back of the 'Edward Lewis' violone. By permission of the owner; photographs by René Zaal.



⁹⁹ The instrument is in private ownership in the Netherlands.

Assuming that viols are sized in proportion to each other, the string length of the extant ‘Lewis’ instrument is in keeping with the dimensions mentioned by Simpson, Mace and Talbot. According to Mace, the strings of treble and tenor viols are 50% and 75% respectively of the length of those on basses.¹⁰⁰ Trebles and basses both take *D* tunings, an octave apart, so by adding an even larger viol with the *GG* tuning (as Talbot specified), this instrument would logically double the size of a tenor, and the *D* bass would be 75% of its size. So if bass viols had string lengths between Simpson’s 30 inches and Talbot’s 32 inches, proportionally, a great bass viol ‘should’ have a string length between 40–43 inches (101.6–108.6 cm). With its string length of 42 inches (106.7 cm), the extant ‘Lewis’ instrument fits perfectly. The size is perhaps on the upper end of playability using standard four-finger viol technique, but according to this author, is entirely feasible. Mace wrote, even within the range of possible bass viol sizes, ‘take This Certain Rule, viz. Let your Bass be Large’.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, if an *AA* tuning is desired, and/or an historically appropriate very high pitch standard is being used, a great bass slightly smaller than this ‘Lewis’ instrument might be desirable.

Tuning

Was the great bass viol of Gibbons’s and Coprario’s time tuned in *AA*? This has long been asserted, based on the observation that most parts only descend to *AA*, though as mentioned above, *AA* is the lowest pitch for a keyboard, which may have been more of a determining factor than the tuning of the viol. Gibbons’s second fantasia à4 seems to call for a *GG*♯. This is the only place in the Gibbons/Coprario pieces where a pitch lower than *AA* is indicated, and that passage could certainly be played up the octave by the viol along with the organ. So the *AA* violone is feasible, and there is nothing to formally disprove the idea. There are, however, several things that might argue against it. Tunings for *GG* violoni are documented considerably more frequently than those with *AA* tunings: there are 17 sources for the former and only four for the latter, spread wide apart by date.¹⁰² Interestingly, the four *AA*-tunings appear in sources that also mention the *GG* tuning! Perhaps the strongest argument against using an *AA* tuning is its playability: several of the Gibbons and Coprario great bass parts are quite awkward on an instrument tuned in *AA*, whereas they pose no problems on the *GG* instrument.

These great bass viol pieces favour minor keys: three are (in modern terms) in *G* minor; two are in *D* minor; three are in *A* minor (but two of those conclude in *D* minor); and only two are in *C* major. The highest upper note in the great bass parts is *d*′, the fifth fret on an *AA* instrument and the top seventh fret on a *GG* instrument; neither of which is problematic. *BB*♯s are generally also not a problem; they occur at the first fret on the *a* or *A* string, and at the third fret on the open *g* or *G* string. *E*♯s are similarly comfortable on the *d* string of a *GG* instrument, but much less so on an instrument tuned in *AA*. The *AA* tuning (*AA–D–G–B–e–a*) has both *e*♯ and *B*♯ open strings. The *B*♯ is manageable because the string below, *G*, is only a third away, and the addition of an extra finger on the *G* string before moving to the next is not a challenge. But *e*♯s are quite annoying, especially on a large instrument where the hand would need to stretch, fingering 1-3-4 on the *B* string every time the sequence *c–d–e♯* is encountered. The pitches of *c*♯ and *f*♯ occur at the first fret in half position, or by an even more arduous backward extension if the hand is in first position. If the instrument is instead tuned in *GG*, notes lie much more comfortably with no need

¹⁰⁰ By way of simple illustration, a bass of 80 cm (31.5 inches) relates to a tenor of 60 cm (23.6 inches) and a treble of 40 cm (15.75 inches).

¹⁰¹ Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 246. Fleming and Bryan point out in their thorough discussion of English viols (*Early English Viols*, 318), that the idea that a viol might ever be ‘too large’ is never mentioned or discussed as a concern.

¹⁰² Gerle (Nuremberg, 1546), Cerone (Naples, 1613), Praetorius (Wolfenbüttel, 1619); Merck (Augsburg, 1695); see Morton, ‘The Early History and Use of the *G* Violone’, 42.

for the fourth finger and there is an open *d* string in the middle. This particular sequence of pitches is found many times, especially in the Gibbons fantasias à3. Using a great bass viol tuned *GG–C–F–A–d–g*, the player will have many more open strings (a characteristic feature of viol music), little need for the fourth finger and comfortable sequences without having to extend or shift.

***G-tuned violone fingering**

18 3 1 3 0 3 0 1 0 3 1 3 0 2 3 0 3 1 0 2 0 1 0 2 0

****A-tuned violone fingering**

26 2 0 3 0 2 0 1 3 0 2 3 0 3 0 1 3 1 3 0 0 1 0 3

35 0 0 3 1 0 0 3 1 1 3 0 2 3 1 3 0 1 3 0 0 1 — 0 3

Ex. 1: Orlando Gibbons, Fantasia no. 1 à3, bb. 18–41, indicating where notes lie/are fingered on *G*- versus *A*-tuned instruments.

A related question is whether the ‘great dooble bass’ might have been a smaller bass viol, using a lyra viol tuning. There are indeed four early lyra viol tunings that go as low as *BB♭* and *AA*, and two of them are used in lyra viol pieces by Coprario; no music by Gibbons survives in tablature. The tunings that take the instrument to *AA* are ‘Alfonso way’ and ‘Eights’ and the two that take it to *BB♭* are ‘Bandora Set’ (with a lowered bottom string) and an unnamed *e–f–b–f–b* tuning.

Table 2: Lyra Viol Tunings with *AA* and *BB♭* Strings

Tuning	Name	Pitches	Number of Sources Using Them
f–f–h–f–h	Alfonso Way	<i>AA–E–A–e–a–d'</i>	22
f–h–f–h–f	Eights	<i>AA–D–A–d–a–d'</i>	22
f–e–f–h–h	Bandora Set*	<i>BB♭–F–C–f–a–d'</i>	3
	*bottom string one tone lower		
e–f–h–f–h	(no name)	<i>BB♭–F–B♭–f–b♭–d'</i>	5

Coprario supplied Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, with a lyra viol on 6 July 1614; the document reads: ‘Item paid this day to Mr. Coperario by my lord’s commandment for a Lyro viol and a case sent by sea to Londsborough and bought of him by my lord, £7’.¹⁰³ Coprario did not publish music for the lyra viol, but 17 pieces by him exist in manuscript sources: eleven trios, four duos (all lacking their second parts) and two solo lessons. Alfonso Way, with its *E*♯ strings poses the same issues as in the *AA* violone tuning. Three of Coprario’s trios are in Eights tuning and four are in the modified Bandora Set tuning, so these are the logical tones to examine. Modified Bandora Set tuning requires the hand to play in both half and first positions, and with so many strings separated by the interval of a fifth, it requires regular use of the fourth finger. Eights is even worse, requiring regular extension from the first to the fifth fret, and even higher up to the sixth fret for the passage illustrated above! None of these options are logical. Lyra viol tunings were carefully prescribed and utilized by composers to facilitate playing in a specific key. None of the four lyra viol tunings with the lower notes are useful for the Gibbons/Coprario tonalities or their great bass viol parts. (It should also be recalled that court documents differentiate between lyras and great basses.) The defining characteristic of lyra viol music is that it is notated in French lute tablature; by contrast, the great bass viol parts discussed here are all in staff notation, without indications for specific tunings. With all this in mind, I find it implausible that these parts were intended for, or played by, a lyra viol.

Before closing, a painting by Dutchman Peter Lely (1618–80) must be discussed, since it is well known and often mentioned with reference to the English great bass viol.¹⁰⁴ Lely came to England around 1641 and was appointed Principal Painter in Ordinary to Charles II in 1661. The artist played the lute and is said to have liked to have live music played in his studio while he painted. ‘The Concert’ (late 1640s) is allegorical, with Lely himself depicted playing a large, five-string violin-shaped instrument. No frets are visible, and the lack of discernable detail makes it difficult to say exactly what type of instrument it is. But its size, seated playing position and underhand bow hold would certainly relate it to the great bass viol. The woman with exposed breasts at the far right of the painting is likely the Flemish courtesan Margaret Lemon, who long served as Peter van Dyck’s companion, model and muse. She was resident in London by 1629 and is depicted in a dozen or more paintings.

¹⁰³ W. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 258.

¹⁰⁴ See also C. Berget, ‘Le leurre du “violone” dans *The Concert* de Sir Peter Lely: les sources intimes de l’harmonie’ *Revue de la Société d’études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* 69 (2012), 139–49.

Illus. 16: Peter Lely, *The Concert* (late 1640s). The Samuel Courtauld Trust, Courtauld Gallery, London, public domain.



When I first began my work on this subject approximately 30 years ago, I came to it after getting to know Gibbons's (and Coprario's) carefully crafted and charming pieces with the experience and sound of a consort of three viols in my ears and fingers. As the years have passed, more and more details have emerged. When I sat down to write this summary, I expected to be focusing on the great 'dooble' bass. It has been a revelation to find that chamber organs and violins of the 1620s are equally little known and understood, and to find that even the English bass viol of the period was probably a different size from the type we employ in modern times. These pieces can and do work with a consort of viols, but to experience them as I think they were truly intended breathes new life. I find the mental image of Woodington, Charles I, Coprario and Gibbons making music of an afternoon to be delightful and inspiring. How might their practices have been passed to the many composers and musicians who were affiliated with the same milieu? My hope is to encourage others to experiment—with violins playing the top parts, adding the chamber organ to their viol consorts, and to incorporate a great bass viol more often. The ten pieces by Gibbons and Coprario are just a starting point. There are a huge number of related fantasia suites by Coprario (24 of them), but also by William Lawes (16), John Jenkins (27), John Hingeston (27), Christopher Gibbons (10), and of course the many ensemble pieces by Matthew Locke, that in turn influenced Henry Purcell. The timbre of these instruments in ensemble together is quite special and these repertoires all deserve to be played more often and to be understood in context of what came before.

Appendix 1: Pieces by Gibbons and Coprario with Great Bass Viol

Composer	Title	Scoring	Edition / no.	VdGS no.	Sources
Gibbons	Fantasia no. 1	à3	MB / 16	Gibbons 1	732–5, Ord-Dart, F.770, 419–21, Z2.1.13, Z3.4.1–6
	Fantasia no. 2	à3	MB / 17	Gibbons 2	732–5, Ord-Dart, F.770, 419–21, Z2.1.13
	Fantasia no. 3	à3	MB / 18	Gibbons 3	732–5, Ord-Dart, F.770, 419–21, Z2.1.13
	Fantasia no. 4	à3	MB / 19	Gibbons 4	732–5, Ord-Dart, F.770, 419–21, Z2.1.13, Z3.4.1–6
	Galliard	à3	MB / 23	none	5612, Z3.4.1–6
	Fantasia no. 1	à4	MB / 24	Gibbons 1	732–5, 419–21 (lacking middle part)
	Fantasia no. 2	à4	MB / 25	Gibbons 2	732–5, 419–21 (lacking middle part)
Coprario	Fantasia no. 1	à3	MB / 20	Gibbons 5	Z2.1.13
			FE / 11		
	Fantasia no. 2	à3	MB / 21	Gibbons 6	Z2.1.13
			FE / 12		
	Fantasia no. 3	à3	MB / 22	Gibbons 7	Z2.1.13, CWR (fragment)
			FE / 13		

Abbreviations

419–21	<i>GB-Och</i> , Mus. 419–21
732–5	<i>GB-Och</i> , Mus. 732–5
5612	<i>US-NYp</i> , Drexel MS 5612
CWR	<i>US-CLwr</i> , KSL Special Collections Vault 3, ML431.D24, addition to a grangerised copy of E. David and M. Lussy, <i>Histoire de la notation musicale</i> (Paris, 1882).
F.770	<i>F-Pn</i> , MS Rés F. 770
Ord-Dart	Untraceable manuscript formerly at <i>GB-Lkc</i> , MS 3; photocopy at <i>GB-Lbl</i> , MUS RP 3774
Z2.1.13	<i>IRL-Dm</i> , MS Z2.1.13
Z3.4.1–6	<i>IRL-Dm</i> , MSS Z3.4.1–6
FE	J. Coprario, <i>The Two-, Three- and Four-Part Consort Music</i> , ed. R. Charteris (London: Fretwork Edition FE4, 2/1993).
MB	O. Gibbons, <i>Consort Music</i> , ed. J. Harper, Musica Britannica 48 (London, 1982).

Appendix 2: Characteristics of the Sources

Source (Date)	Format	Barlines	Instrumental Designations (Clefs)
732–5 (c.1630s)	parts	no	Canto (G2) / Canto Secundo (C2) / Basso (C3/C4/F3) / Great Dooble/Double Basse/Base (F5)
5612 (c.1620–40)	2 stave score	yes	none (G2/F4)
F.770 (c.1630–49)	3 stave score	yes	none (G2) / none C3/C4/F3) / none (F5)
Ord-Dart (c.1640–50)	3 stave score	yes	Violin / Treble Violl (G2) / Basse (C3/C4) / Double Basse / Organ (F5)
419–21 (c.1650–75)	parts	no	none (G2) / part lacking / none (C3/C4/F3) / none (F5)
Z2.1.13 (c.1666–78)	3 stave score	yes	none (G2) / none (C3/C4/F3/F4) / none (F5)
Z3.4.1–6 (c.1666–78)	parts	no	Treble 1 (g2) / Alto (C3/C4) / Tenor (F5), three parts from a set of six
CWR (unknown)	3 stave score	yes	none (G2) / none (C3) / none (F5)

Appendix 3: Analysis of the Organ Cues

Piece, bar nos. in MB (part)	Source(s)	Characteristics & Comment
Gibbons no. 1 à3, bb. 2–14 (middle)	Z2.1.13, F.770	Additional counterpoint. The cues are necessary, providing an essential entry at the opening.
Gibbons no. 1 à3, bb. 14–16 (great bass)	Z3.4.1–6, F.770	
Gibbons no. 2 à3, bb. 2–6 (middle)	F.770	New counterpoint. The cues are necessary, providing an essential entry at the opening. They do not appear in the partbooks, which implies they were used in conjunction with organ scores.
Gibbons no. 2 à3, bb. 99–110 (great bass)	F.770	
Gibbons Galliard, many places (middle)	5612	Extensive new counterpoint.
Gibbons Galliard, 15–17 (great bass)	Z3.4.1–6	Doubling up an octave.
Gibbons no. 2 à4, bb. 73–5 (great bass)	732–5, 419–21	Doubling up an octave. The cues appear where the great bass part is functioning melodically, using notes that would not exist on the keyboard's short octave. The copyists for both these sources notated just the first few notes, followed by a direct, indicating that the passage continues.
Coprario no. 1 à3, bb. 1–2 (middle)	Z2.1.13	New counterpoint. The cues are necessary, providing essential entries at the opening.
Coprario no. 2 à3, bb. 1–5 (middle)	Z2.1.13	New counterpoint. The cues are necessary, providing essential entries at the opening.

Appendix 4: Orlando Gibbons, Galliard à3

a: consort version in *IRL-Dm*, MSS Z3.4.1-6, no. 21

Consort version of Galliard à3. The score is written for three staves. The top staff uses a C4 clef (soprano), the middle staff uses a C4 clef (alto), and the bottom staff uses an F5 clef (bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music consists of five measures, with a repeat sign at the end of the fifth measure.

b: keyboard version in *US-NYp*, Drexel MS 5612, pp. 214-15

Keyboard version of Galliard à3. The score is written for two staves. The top staff uses a C4 clef (soprano), and the bottom staff uses an F5 clef (bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music consists of five measures, with a repeat sign at the end of the fifth measure.

Continuation of the keyboard version of Galliard à3. The score is written for two staves. The top staff uses a C4 clef (soprano), and the bottom staff uses an F5 clef (bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music consists of five measures, with a repeat sign at the end of the fifth measure.

11

16

MILTON'S CASELLA: HENRY LAWES AND HIS *CHOICE PSALMES*

DAVID PINTO

John Milton commended in verse only one living artist; no poet either, but Henry Lawes, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1626, and from 1631 member of the Private Music of Charles I (the 'lutes, viols and voices'). His songs forge a *lieder*-like rapport with hearers, lovingly handled. Historians of music tend to find him shallow, but on partial criteria, formed in Charles Burney's long shadow. They first coalesced to settle quite other scores. By sneering at Thomas Carew and 'the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease', Pope set a bar for songsters: lesser fry, accessories to *flâneurs* at best. Lawes is doubly at fault: he interpreted Carew *too felicitously*. A reputation can revive, even Carew's. This is not to shield hapless pre-Augustan warblers like Henry from literary bugaboos: amends began to be made in a thorough modern study.¹

But decrying him exacts a price. It convicts Milton too, either of limited æsthetic sensibility or else outright insincerity. To sidestep the charges one must recognise that Milton did not so much address song's innate value as, atypically, resort to sonnet's mode of familiar address and so frame ethical within technical and personal concerns. His views on a highly lauded contemporary, an associate in past years, are measurable with high exactitude, but only when one lets Music lend its full counterpoint for once, granting it an equal footing accorded at times by major Stuart poets.

Milton's Sonnet 13, the first printed notice of his former partner, helped seed views of Lawes as a mere polished setter of coterie verse – and that *does* bulk large in extant output. His hail-fellow greeting 'Harry' gives way to an array more distant in sum than often sensed: even part-deprecatory, granted Milton's goodwill and a *desire* to commend. The much-quoted phrase 'just note and accent' heads latinate comments that mine Horace's *Odes* in almost a five-finger exercise. Stock personnel from Ovid – Midas, Envy (replacing the phrase 'the pipe of Pan' in draft) and Apollo – raise impersonal barriers.² Line 11 has a marginal note in its first-printed form only; it steers a reader to Harry's setting of a Classical topic in English: he could provide Greek or Latin.³ The last tercet dispels the mythological air by an abrupt turn to a new context. Shifting emphasis from 'honour', Milton wholly absents his persona to let Dante enable 'Fame'. Fame (prominent in

¹ W. McClung Evans, *Henry Lawes Musician and Friend of Poets* (New York, 1941; repr. 1966).

² See the appended text and notes. Henry's associate George Sandys, translator of *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (Oxford, 1632), is pointedly inferred *passim*; he supplies Apollo, Midas, Envy and, in draft, Pan (for whom Horace preferred native Faunus).

³ Henry's now-scanty foreign-language work, including Spanish and Italian, may have been more extensive. His *First Booke* (1653) has Thomas Fuller's echo-poem 'Imbre lachrymarum largo' and the Anacreontic 'Thélō légein Atreídas' set in Greek type (θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας), followed by John Berkenhead's translation. His second (1655) has English type for 'Légousin hai gunaïkes' (λέγουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες). His colleague John Wilson set an amount in Latin by Horace and others, preserved in his songbook; it was transcribed in Commonwealth Oxford by assistants overseen by Edward Lowe, who presented it to the Bodleian Library, Oxford: GB-Ob, MS Mus. b.1; see 'Manuscripts at Oxford Part II', *English Song, 1600–1675: Facsimiles of Twenty-Six Manuscripts and an Edition of the Texts*, 12 vols., intro. E.B. Jorgens (New York, 1986–89), vol. 7. In this series the autograph songbook of Henry Lawes, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 53723, forms the sole content of vol. 3, 'British Library Manuscripts Part III'.

Ovid *Metamorphoses* XII) is pride-induced, typifying Dante's Hell more than the contriter region above it named here: Purgatory.

Yet Purgatory, as the Church of England's 22nd article put it, is a 'Romishe doctrine . . . grounded vpon no warrantie of Scripture, but rather repugnaunt to the worde of God'. Every other reformed church or sect repudiated its confessional status as vehemently. To brandish it in envoi disconcertingly 'weaponises' the *Commedia's* central third; provocation indeed.⁴ Late entry of this strong Christian cross-current alters the drift, even final port of call. The intent was not to build foundations for historical criticism, but fire a volley in a current battle. To interpret that comprehensively must clarify practice in music-setting, published and unpublished. A need to review the hitherto scamped record in this context leaves correspondingly less room for all but the most relevant literary turf wars.

Lawes, no weathercock, stayed aloof from Cromwell's court; during the Protectorate he wrote anthems for Anglican conventicles and published overtly royalist texts. The Restoration saw him regain his posts; he set the coronation anthem for Charles II, 'Zadok the Priest', sung while Milton was being harried for service to the ousted Republic. Sonnet 13 reached print in 1648; Milton was then rising spokesman for opposition to Henry's embattled kingly master. Some would implausibly see Milton still above party fray, a vacillating libertarian.⁵ Even if 'Harry' was a ready mixer, and broad-minded, what induced him to print this eulogy just then, oddly boosted by a marginal note? His circle can only have been diverted for the worse by Milton's advocacy of divorce issued 1643–5; so blatant as to meet Parliamentary distaste too. Mismatches mount, the more the pieces accumulate in this jigsaw puzzle.

Milton left no fewer than three versions of the sonnet in his manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, quarto section.⁶ He titled the first 'To my freind M^r Hen. Laws Feb · 9 · 1645' (NS 1646); *Poems* (1645) had not included it. Another hand titled his tidied draft 'To M^r: Hen: Laws on the publishing of his Aires'. A third non-autograph form used that second titling to provide copy for a full edition (1673), deleting mention of 'publishing' in so doing. *Non*-autograph titles lead to a common default view: Milton intended it for Henry's *Ayres, and Dialogues . . . The First Booke* (1653). Fairly clearly, the now-blind poet did ask that a second state be retitled around then, to some such end. Why, though, chop and change again in a finally published form, to excise mention of its (assumed) basic aim? Then, to suppose it a sonnet supplied for a printed songbook must

⁴ In giving this essay the benefit of a close reading, Layton Ring stressed its strong position at the heel of Milton's *commiato*, if in conscious irony. It jars insouciantly with his youthful Anglican lines on the Powder Plot ('Purgatorem animæ derisit Iacobus ignem'), and his wry joking comparison of Purgatory to the Papal Index in *Areopagitica* (1644). Sonnets 14 and 23 proclaim salvation for their deceased subjects, but in eternity, not within our time-frame (from which Purgatory by its cultic practices is inseparable). Milton's mortalism, developed by the time of *De Doctrina Christiana* (maybe as early as 1646), disallows any such state. Mortalism was indeed the first of Sir Thomas Browne's three personal 'heresies' in *Religio Medici* (1642), but incompatible with his idiosyncratic third, to allow prayers for the dead, which thus implies some purgatorial condition.

⁵ For example, T.N. Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1992); especially ch. 3, 'Milton as Heretic and Poet'; and 55–63.

⁶ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.4; see *A Variorum Commentary on The Poems of John Milton, Volume Two: The Minor English Poems, Part Two* ed. A.S.P. Woodhouse and D. Bush (London, 1972), 399–405, with reference to McClung Evans, *Henry Lawes* and M. Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (London, 1960); *A Milton Encyclopedia*, 9 vols., ed. W.B. Hunter Jr *et al.* (Lewisburg PA, 1978), vol. 8, under 'Trinity MS'.

paper over a seven-year delay. The usual stopgap is to propose a *plan* for print in 1646, but postponed. Conveniently, neither stage leaves a trace – a non-event then, a Victorian ghost, to be laid here.⁷ The havoc that it entails is of a parcel with ignoring the disparity that Lawes did not deign to use the sonnet in *any* of his three songbooks issued 1653–8. Nor did he ever print a single setting of Milton; why? Even his autograph songbook seems curt: its Miltonic segment over three folios (37–9) has five airs excerpted from the masque now known as *Comus*.⁸ For *Comus* no score survives; for Milton's contribution to the entertainment *Arcades*, whosoever set it, no music at all.

More special pleading lies in another figment held at times for fact: Milton sent the sonnet to Henry in commendation when presenting a copy of his *Poems*. A copy *will* promptly have been sent; its title page parades the cachet of Henry's name. To suppose anything more is to create a random, gratuitous extension to the bounds of a carefully crafted edition, circulated at latest by 2 January 1646, over a month before the sonnet's drafting.⁹ (Wording gives it no support unless very obliquely, lines 9–10.) A linked tactic is to convert Milton's approval of a colleague into a vehicle to define his own place in the decade's poetics.¹⁰ Did he apply his craft to burnish an *amour-propre* as intently as modern scholars do? Could ostensible praise for Lawes really hope to hide a subtext deflecting tangential reflections on himself? It would skew commendation, a mode of shaping a very specific critique of a musician and his music, into reflections on something else: literature – a background contradistinction, but surely not its focus? He sets out no self-absorbed, self-referential stall, in quite the reverse of overt design for *Lycidas*. Also, the fully authorised original publication made a poor site for so convoluted a manoeuvre. That site holds the key. But first one must face strange longueurs in the annals of published song; outright deficits, affecting repertoires in the contemporary field. Evading that has served neither musician nor poet.

Would Lawes have braved a market for printed song in 1646? The idea is not implausible but incredible. He would have had to *create* the market, after a lull of a generation: the last native song-publication with lute tablature was by John Attey (1622).¹¹ The disaffection of song writers from publication after that is a problem, but not one of stylistic or technical evolution: nothing abrupt occurred. The Edwardian creation of a 'school of English lutenist song writers', the chief way to present editions or reprints of an era from John Dowland's *First Booke* (1597) up to Attey, is misleading. One should instead stress that the threads to link publications are double: texted vocal lines *and* a basso line of some type, habitually textless. No such term existed as the confused

⁷ Speculation began with W.H. Husk, 'Milton's Sonnet to Henry Lawes', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series 9 (May 1860), 337–8 <@>.

⁸ P. J. Willetts (*The Henry Lawes Manuscript* (London, 1969)) assessed Henry's place in music of his time, with a handlist of the autograph, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 53723. No full analysis of its strata is available, but I. Spink, *Henry Lawes* (Oxford, 2000) gives a sketch, pp. 9–22, and a non-exhaustive appendix listing works. Even as it stands, this songbook is anyhow palpably a part of a now-incomplete hand-copied output, all necessarily deriving from Henry's own selection.

⁹ George Thomason's manually dated copy, GB-Lbl, E.1126, gives this *post quem non* for issue of *Poems*. Humphrey Moseley had registered it on 6 October 1645. Sonnet 13, as well as not a possible New Year's gift (by its date), was numbered '13' even in its first draft. That shows a deliberate *new* phase, unless seen as a temporary detour.

¹⁰ N. McDowell, 'Dante and the Distraction of Lyric in Milton's "To My Friend Mr Henry Lawes"', *Review of English Studies*, no. 239 (April 2008), 232–54. For lines 9–10, see annotations to the text provided below.

¹¹ One cannot except *French Court-Aires, With their Ditties Englished*, edited by (Sir) Edward Filmer (London, 1629), dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, whose musicians were mainly French. Ben Jonson added commendatory verse. It anthologised Pierre Guéron and his son-in-law Antoine Boësset, prominent in the *Chambre du Roy*. *Lyrics from English Aires 1596–1622*, ed. E. Doughtie (Cambridge MA, 1970) is an astute survey of the period.

modern subgenre ‘lute song’; the lute, if prominent, never *defined* vocal style, form, or genre. Polyphonic lute parts typify the chief authors – Dowland, John Danyel, Thomas Morley – but are no *sine qua non*. The lute can be replaced: a main alternative was the lyra viol, chordally played.¹² Some basso parts in Dowland’s *Second Booke* (1600) have vocal underlay, but ill-set to the texts: the dual function seems aimed at broadening market appeal. Neither were attempts by Dowland and others to add lower texted voices and create part songs, balancing ensemble effects against a solo voice (a nod to the French *voix de ville*), always satisfactory.¹³

That variety in delivery leads to another point. Thomas Campion’s later printed songs turn to plain (unfigured) basso continuo line, bonding his distinct achievement of pellucid verse to pure melody. Style *was* simplifying. Fragmentary outputs by Alfonso Ferrabosco Junior and Nicholas Lanier show that by 1610–20 court performers of foreign extraction adapted Italian declamatory recitative to English or Italian texts.¹⁴ At that date Lawes was only at prentice level. No great innovator, then, he was foremost in the *next* generation for integrating declamatory style with agile English diction – the very view set out by Milton in applauding his specialism.¹⁵ By 1625 the scale of court patronage may well have lessened print’s attractions; even so, for transformation in essentials of style or performance to be only gradual, in a whole period 1623–50 without printed song, is striking on any terms. What halted issue of songbooks with accompaniment, fully realised or single-line bass, if it was so compelling a norm?

Entrepreneurial publishing re-emerged only *c.*1651.¹⁶ John Playford, with his former master John Benson, began vocal-instrumental miscellanies for a new bourgeois class of buyer: *Musick and Mirth* and *A Musically Banquet*. Soundings once made, Playford (acting alone) evolved disparate ‘forms’ for Commonwealth niche markets. His timely acumen struck gold. A long-standing anthology series in song began with *Select Musically Ayres, and Dialogues* (1652; 2/1653). Its title page named Henry Lawes as one of four main authors, out of ten printed. If this bit part irked Lawes, his riposte rode on Playford’s coattails. The preface to his *First Booke* (1653) holds a routine pretext; unauthorised publication had corrupted his texts. With some irony Lawes then admits to falling back on the one and only corruptor to handle his work *and* bear its cost – in fact the sole current viable agent, Playford, ‘who himself hath undergone the Charge and Trouble of the whole

¹² Robert Jones, *Second Booke* (1601) marks the known start of this; its tablature parts include some for lute.

¹³ Collected in J. Dowland, *Ayres for Four Voices*, ed. D. Greer, Musica Britannica [MB] 6 (London, 2000), replacing a first edition founded on transcripts by Edmund Fellowes. Excluded are brief five-part choruses in airs for betrothals or weddings, printed in Dowland’s *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612).

¹⁴ Ferrabosco heads a line of composers for declamation with continuo, stretching through the Baroque far beyond Lawes, but in a sort of work that significantly stayed unprinted: Alfonso Ferrabosco II, *Manuscript Songs*, ed. I. Spink The English Lute-Songs, second series 19 (London, 1966). Lanier’s pioneering long recitative for Hero, awaiting Leander, is with his extant vocal output, in *English Songs 1625–1660*, ed. I. Spink, MB 33 (London, 1971; 2/1977).

¹⁵ Milton’s epithet ‘first’ applied to Lawes is also classicising, by not intending priority in time: see notes to the text.

¹⁶ See D.W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553–1700* (London, 1975), for analysis of this, and a survey of printing and publishing in the period. Other first publications: *The English Dancing Master* (1651), renamed *The Dancing Master* (1652); *A Booke of New Lessons for the Gittern* (1652); *Musicks Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652). The earliest copy of *A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern & Gittern* is also of 1652, but one of 1650 (or new-style 1651) is attested: J.M. Ward ‘Sprightly and Cheerful Musick Notes on the Cittern, Gittern and Guitar in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England’, *The Lute Society Journal* 21 (1979–81). Benson partnered Playford for that and for John Hilton’s *Catch that Catch Can* (1652), which amplified previous instalments of catches in its precursors.

Impression', down to an engraved title page portrait.¹⁷ In 1642 royal musicians had disbanded; Henry then astutely became tutor to the capital's most select gentle or noble clientele. Four years on, he had been setting verse for over two decades. Would his grasp of the times have been so woeful as to float a songbook as war gripped harder in 1646? No publisher of record was in prospect; returns were incalculable, liabilities unforeseeable. Even in 1651, or after, it lay beyond anyone but Playford; beyond Lawes, certainly. He remained an ornament of the anthologies: acquiescence in that seems a *quid pro quo* for his series, prolonged while it suited him.

Lawes placed Sonnet 13 in *Choice Psalmes* (1648), its first printing; it had Milton's original commendatory title, but for date of composition (unusable after accrued delay). He printed 60 psalms or biblical passages for three voices, by him and his younger brother William (half each), in four quarto partbooks, unlike his later folio songs. They flank a section of musical elegies on William, who had paid the price of enlisting for his king.¹⁸ Shielded by a post of army treasurer, he still joined a sortie out of besieged Chester on 24 September 1645, and was mown down under cross-fire near Rowton Heath. Despite losing his cousin Bernard Stuart in the action, Charles observed special mourning for William, Thomas Fuller recorded.¹⁹ In 1648, Milton is one of two commanders to avoid mention of a co-author brother. Instead, his prose marginal note typifies Henry's art in another figure: Ariadne, deserted on Naxos, singing recitative. He thus yoked her 'story' (myth) to 'hymne'; sacred, of course, but to Apollo. Milton's twist is a distortion in ways unmarked so far, in that both myth and story are *pagan*, through and through. Ariadne's Ovidian plight is irrelevant to Anglican devotional music, and in fact outright inept for it in any form, let alone published. Other paradoxical misfits burgeon in this arena of print.

Milton, a musical boy, paraphrased psalms by the age of 15. In full maturity, could he have borne to condone high-church royalist attempts, unless to repay a debt? And how are debts totalled? Milton's epitaph on Shakespeare was placed unattributed in the Second Folio (1632), the last of four commendations there – Ben Jonson's still the first.²⁰ Did Henry intervene, prevailing on the Earl of Pembroke to have a protégé included?²¹ A need to posit that is lessened by a family scrivener link to the book trade; John Milton Senior was a trustee of the Blackfriars Theatre in 1620, and may just have been the 'I.M.' who contributed a poem to the First Folio (1623).²² If Henry prompted *Arcades* (c.1632–3) as singing tutor to masquers among its young Egerton family

¹⁷ By William Faithorne the elder (reproduced in Willetts, *The Henry Lawes Manuscript*, frontispiece), in plain bands and cloak, half-length, like the oil of Henry now in the Faculty of Music, University of Oxford. Such an engraving had been awarded thitherto to only one song writer in court employ, Angelo Notari; possibly for *Prime Musiche Nuove* (c.1613).

¹⁸ Further to those are William's lament on a colleague, John Tomkins (d.1638), likewise for three voices; and (thorough bass partbook only) ten sacred canons by him; three are in Latin as are four of his psalms, and one of Henry's; see A. Robinson, "'Choice Psalmes': A Brother's Memorial", *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. A. Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 175–95. Modern edition: *Divers Elegies Set in Musick by Sev'rall Friends, upon the Death of William Lawes*, ed. J. Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2017) <@>.

¹⁹ Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* (1647–8) gives elegies for both men. William's status in the war machine was higher than once supposed, 1644–5: D. Pinto and L. Ring 'William Lawes, "Treasurer at Warr"', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 44 (2013), 87–97.

²⁰ M. Freedman 'Milton's "On Shakespeare" and Henry Lawes', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 14 (1963), 279–81.

²¹ Milton dated the epitaph 1630 in *Poems* (1645), so maybe predating any bid for inclusion in the 1632 Folio.

²² G. Campbell, 'Shakespeare and the Youth of Milton', *Milton Quarterly* 33/4 (1999), 95–105. A more traditional candidate is James Mabbe, an associate of another verse supplier who is identifiable, Leonard Digges.

performers, he may have commissioned Milton; but possibilities are open. By 1632 Milton was living at Horton near Harefield, home to the masque's honorand, Alice Spencer, Dowager Countess of Derby. Could he have been fêted there in his own right? Henry did publish *Comus* (1634) in 1637; a friendly act, his preface veiling its author in gentlemanly anonymity. In 1638 his proximity to power secured a licence for Milton's travel to Italy.²³

But what kept courtesies alive eight years on? Did Henry solicit verse from an already radical free-thinker? If Milton volunteered a puff for the *Psalmes*, why not commiserate there *above all* on Henry's recently fallen brother? True, his connexion was not to William – who on slender evidence may have been fellow performer with Henry in the first *Comus*.²⁴ True also, Aurelian Townshend's commendation in 1648 also omits mention of William's death; but that seems a tactical move, in a piece carrying its own freight. Townshend considers both brothers for music in the *past* tense, then commends Henry anew for raising the current tone of discourse by pursuing divine themes, at a cost of neglecting his female pupils.²⁵ In contrast, Milton's heavy trailing in a marginal note emphasises a *chef-d'œuvre* in Henry's output based on a heathen myth. Was it an obtuse act to post it in a work of Christian devotion, or rather a duplicitous stratagem outright, just not spotted in time? Who was playing whom?

Intentionality in the transaction is less deniable by the sonnet's date, closer to plans for publishing than first appears. Richard Woodnoth, one of a consortium of two publishers named on its titlepage, registered psalms by the brothers Lawes in late 1647.²⁶ Delay before and after that can be assumed. Register entry needed full copy submitted; his did not even mention musical elegies on William, a group no doubt solicited but maybe still absent. Most likely, final assemblage of material so diverse was tardy; these would have taken longest to put into final form (by finding music for any supplied texts). In number and length, they outweigh commendatory verse from

²³ In 1638 Henry forwarded a pass from the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk – to whom John Dowland had dedicated *A Pilgrimes Solace*. Milton annotated the letter enclosing the pass, no longer preserved; it is prefaced to his commonplace book, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 36354, f. 1.

²⁴ Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, 17 (fn. 2).

²⁵ A view that the commendation predated even 1645 was based on 'internal evidence'. *Aurelian Townshend's Poems and Masks*, ed. E.K. Chambers (London, 1912), 113 claims it 'written before the death of William . . . probably upon the first appearance in print of the settings by the brothers Lawes, as an accompaniment to the translations from the Psalms included in George Sandys' *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (1638)'. This misapprehends the music's authorship in that (enlarged) edition. The first lacked music. Settings added in 1638 were Henry's alone; unpretentious psalter-like tunes, and incidentally his only music in print before Milton's sonnet eight years on. Henry accounts for almost all known extant settings of verse by Townshend. Absence of any by William implies his lack of close acquaintance with Townshend, and may explain the stance in his commendation.

²⁶ *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640–1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London, 1913–14), vol 1: 1640–1655, ed. G.E. Briscoe Eyre, 279 <@>: 16 November 1647, 'RICH. WOODNOTH Entred . . . under the hands of Master DOWNHAM and Master BELLAMY warden a booke called *Composicions of 3 parts* by **Hen:** and **W^m Lawes**, servants to his Ma^{ty} **vjd**'. According to H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907) <@>, Wodenoth, Wodenoth, Woodnorth (Richard), bookseller and haberdasher traded at (1) Star under St Peter's Church, Cornhill, and (2) Leadenhall Street next to the Golden Heart between 1645–56; his first Stationers' Register entry was 26 July 1645. But his shop in Cornhill is mentioned in *Choice Psalmes* (1648/9), and in previous March 1646: D.F. McKenzie and M. Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641–1700*, vol. 1: 1641–1670 (Oxford, 2005), 166.

four of Henry's circle, Milton in third place.²⁷ Henry implied a separate volume of tributes in his address to the reader. None is known; it may betray changes in publication plan, not necessarily a need to reduce costs.²⁸ Music alone could have seemed less of an open affront in a volatile political climate. Even so, royalism pulses in the musical elegies of *Choice Psalmes*. After Henry's pastoral lament are seven pieces by colleagues, not always circumspectly skirting partisanship as his did. John Jenkins, best-known for instrumental music, specified in his longest and finest extant vocal work 'a loyal grave' for William. Could Milton have been the one to suspect that he was the gulled party, with rather more justification?

Preliminaries in *Choice Psalmes* explicitly commemorate a man and his era; also at court: its title page proclaims both brothers as royal servants. An adulatory address to Charles I follows, patron of its content – most of it smooth verse paraphrases by a gentleman of his Privy Chamber, George Sandys, first published, unset, in 1636. Henry had provided simple but elegant treble-bass harmonisations for an expanded edition (1638).²⁹ The three-part miniatures of 1648, with figured continuo bass, have no style match in the Chapel Royal's pre-war usage: manuscript wordbooks for anthems there list none of these by the brothers Lawes. The scoring was pioneered in print in a partbook set of 1639 by William Child, organist of the royal free chapel of Saint George, Windsor; maybe it related more to the Catholic chapel of the royal consort Henrietta Maria at Somerset House, London.³⁰ The only likely period for Henry and William to have written so is from that very date (1639) and on, when Charles was increasingly on campaign; he left London for the last time as its *de facto* ruler in winter 1641–2. Bass figuring printed in 1648 is apt for royal progresses in peace or campaign in war; and players of a theorbo (lute *en grand*), like Henry and William, were as capable of using it as a keyboardist, and more mobile and conveyable to boot.³¹

Overtly royalist manipulations in preliminaries to *Choice Psalmes* heighten unease. One seeming-casual insertion is an engraved portrait miniature: Charles I, in a breastplate with a riband loop and medallion (probably the Order of the Garter). The other is a 3-in-1 canon set in moveable type to

²⁷ The others: 'J[ames] Harington', presumably the gentleman extraordinary of the Privy Chamber attendant on the captive king from 1646, political theorist of *The Common-Wealth of Oceana* (1656); 'A[urelian] Tounshend', royal masque-writer; 'Fr[anciscus] Sambrooke', attorney, Henry's professed 'Countriman', a former chorister at Salisbury Cathedral who sang at George Herbert's funeral. Henry set a memorial for Sambrooke's wife Elizabeth (d. 11 April 1655, Salisbury): *The Second Booke* (1655), 28, 'Tell me not my Cælia's dead'.

²⁸ His remark 'those Elegies which many of his noble Friends have written in a peculiar Book' reads oddly if taken to refer just to the four versifications, by mere gentlemen, within a publication which may have had secretive royalist funding.

²⁹ G.S., *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David and upon the Hymnes Dispersed throughout the Old and New Testaments* ([Andrew Hebb]: London, 1636); G. Sandys *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (John Legatt [for Andrew Hebb]: London, 1637/8), dedicated to Charles I. ME: H. Lawes, *Sacred Works*, ed. J. Wainwright, *Early English Church Music* 61 (2020).

³⁰ W. Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces fit for Private Chappells or other Private Meetings with a Continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo newly Composed after the Italian Way* (James Reave: London, 1639). Like contemporary French secular songbooks, this is in oblong parts, copper engraved; see Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 77. *Choice Psalmes* is all typeset but for a portrait 'extra'. ME: Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces*, ed. J. Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2015) <@>.

³¹ Anthony Wood's 'Notes on the Lives of English Musicians' mentioned use of organ for this publication, on the authority of Dr B[enjamin] Rogers: *GB-Ob*, MS Wood D.19 (4), f. 83v.

a text ‘Regi, Regis Regum arcana cano’, named as Henry’s.³² Multiple inspection of copies (over 30 are extant) listed 13 variant combinations for these, out of a claimed 16 feasible.³³ Position and presence are varied and sporadic, though mostly on the title page verso; one state lacks both. It suggests extras slipped in, by customer’s surreptitious order. Even if not all are provocative, Milton cannot have been best pleased. Yet eleven years after Henry’s death he sanctioned reprinting of Sonnet 13 in *Poems* (1673): he stood by an immutably valid considered opinion.

As clearly, Henry’s promptness in setting about a memorial part set, 1646–8, *was* his publishing venture, solid enough – a tried *genre*, no songbook conjured out of thin air. The sonnet’s date may best be explained by his agency in soliciting friends as the year ended, as soon as he mastered the blow of William’s autumn death. The royalist core to the enterprise was surely plain from its first outline: Milton’s readiness to accept early on is irrefutable if still strange (let alone to be invited to join in). Yet *both* his acts within it are stark: of omission and commission. One is glacial lack of condolence for a brother. (Admittedly, Harington’s title did not name William with Henry.) The other is misemphasis on non-sacred work, heightened by ‘story’, deliberately asterisked to link to an unobvious or maladroitness note. Whenever else did Milton feel the urge to clarify the limpid surface of his verse in a marginal prose aside, to highlight a submerged element exactly for being an outright misfit for the occasion?

Milton’s nephew-pupils, Edward and John Phillips, provided commendations to Henry’s *First Booke* (1653). Ariadne’s Lament had pride of place there; John suggested that Henry was Ariadne’s natural personal choice to set her plight.³⁴ Milton’s whole household thus knew it; it made absence of his sonnet detailing it a telling snub. ‘Ariadne’ was to verse by William Cartwright. During the Oxford royal progress of 1636 the Lawes brothers furnished and enacted music for university plays, Cartwright’s among them.³⁵ Nothing shows that this Laudian don of Christ Church visited London after that date or kept links to either man, if both did set miscellaneous texts found in his posthumous works.³⁶ Later in 1642, to be sure, the king’s court settled in Christ Church after the

³² This recurs in a *cartellino* on his portrait at Oxford; for that, and the engraving, see C.V.R. Blacker and D. Pinto, ‘Desperately Seeking William: Portraits of the Lawes Brothers in Context’, *Early Music* 37 (2009), 157–74. Two handlings of this text by William are in *Choice Psalmes*: thorough bass part, sig. OO3v, and his holograph score volume, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. B.2, p. 107. Its wording was first jotted on a back flyleaf, in inaccurate form; he may have acquired it from Henry; without exact biblical source, it takes up a stock theme of *arcana dei*, *arcana imperii*.

³³ *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature, 1475–1700*, 3 vols., vol 2: *A Catalogue of English Books and Manuscripts 1475–1700*, comp. E.V. Unger and W.A. Jackson, intro. C.H. Pforzheimer (New York, 1940), 607–9 (no. 586), and plate xxiv (opposite 608) for the engraving. Except for a special Shelley section left to the New York Public Library, the bulk of the Pforzheimer collection is at The University of Texas, Austin.

³⁴ Musical text: Henry Lawes’s autograph songbook, Add. MS 53723, ff. 124–7 (for some reason incomplete), and *The First Booke*. ME: ed. C. Baum (2017), *IMSLP* <@>. It seems to be ‘Mr. Lawes’s long recitative song’ sung by Samuel Pepys to entertain himself whilst being conveyed by water to Erith, 19 December 1665.

³⁵ J.R. Elliott Jr. and J. Buttrey, ‘The Royal Plays at Christ Church in 1636: A New Document’, *Theatre Research International* 10 (1985), 93–106.

³⁶ Four play songs set by Henry survive from *The Royall Slave* (1636); ME: *English Songs*, ed. Spink, nos. 43–6. His autograph has ‘Com o Com I brook no stay’ from *The Ordinary* (performed c.1635?), and ‘Taught from yo^r Artfull straines’, ff. 54v, 120v. His other settings of Cartwright are ‘Venus redress a wrong’, *The First Booke*, ‘Cupid who didst ne’r see light’, *The Second Booke* (1655), on Greek Anthology themes. ‘O Now the Certaine cause I know’, for single voice in the autograph, f. 55v, has a three-voice adaptation in *The First Booke*. William Lawes set just two items, one a simple round in *The Royall Slave*, ‘A pox on our gaoler’. The other is a monody titled ‘Justicia[e] Sacrum’ in his holograph songbook (contents probably copied c.1641–2): ‘Whieles I this standing Lake’, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31432, ff. 34v–5 (no.

outbreak of war. Cartwright wrote ‘carols’, probably sung at its first Christmas there, shortly before his death.³⁷ Henry did not set them; he left no trace of attendance at that court. (Few musical servants did attend, out of a well-founded fear of no pay, in arrears even before war emptied the coffers.) A Parliamentary committee punctiliously maintained a duty to pay royal servants, but excepted ‘malignants’ or ‘delinquents’ known to have followed the king to Oxford. Its documented support for Henry by a salary clinches the matter, proving non-attendance.³⁸

The loyalism paraded in *Psalmes* came then from one who kept his head down, like Edmund Waller (whose verse Henry had served well; he put Waller’s commendation to head those in his *First Booke*). Milton’s gesture supported his outward acquiescence at a time when total royal defeat loomed. At risk of overdetermining a process beyond scrutiny, the choice of a progressive handler for *Choice Psalmes*, its joint publisher, may have allayed doubts on either side: Humphrey Moseley, who took over its copyright entire.³⁹ His issue of Milton’s and Waller’s poems in 1645 preceded James Shirley (1646), Thomas Stanley (1647), and Cartwright’s posthumous *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with other Poems* (1651). Like Milton’s title page, those of Waller and Cartwright advertised Henry as their setter and Gentleman of both Chapel and Private Music, a selling-point even then. Waller’s title stated grandly that Henry had set ‘All the Lyrick Poems’.⁴⁰ Milton’s lacks any such embracing claim, and so leaves vague what a fashionable stationer would expect his public to think set by Henry; unless some among it knew of *Comus*, already published (or thitherto unpublished *Arcades*).

On clear record, the great libertarian Milton taxed Sonnet 13 with endorsing musical settings of Sandys’s courtly psalm paraphrases, commended on their first publication by the court servant Thomas Carew, a main advocate in England of French *libertin* mores. Its terms are couched widely to cover Henry’s favoured *genre* output, but ignore English anthems. In a further paradox, this endorsement stands apart from Milton’s personal sonnets before and after; a phase in Tasso’s manner, celebrating male or female virtue – the first mainly public-republican, the second private. Previous commendation in song-publication amounts to little, owing to lapses in print outright for a lengthy period and, no doubt, the peripheral and episodic nature of the market at any time. Even with the lack, the paradoxes point up an adopted Jonsonian style in criticism (if a comparison nearer in time is Carew on Jonson, for mixing praise with constructive attention to personal defect). Jonson, the only predecessor of weight, commended just one serving royal musician, in

20); called ‘Sadness’ in Cartwright *Works* (1651): *The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Madison WI, 1951).

³⁷ D. Pinto, ‘The True Christmas: Carols at the Court of Charles I’, *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays*, ed. Ashbee, 97–120. One of the later ‘Sons of Ben’, Cartwright died on 29 November 1643, according to Anthony Wood; a terminus for any collaboration to be presumed with either brother.

³⁸ Blacker and Pinto, ‘Desperately Seeking William’, 164 and fn. 23.

³⁹ *A Transcript of the ... Stationers Registers*, ed. Briscoe Eyre, 329: 24 October 1649, ‘Master Moseley. Assigned over unto him by virtue of a note under the hand & seale of RICHARD WOODNOTH & subscribed by both wardens, all the estate, right, title & interest which the said Richard hath in this booke or copie (vizt) *Choice psalms putt in Musick for 3 voices nth a thorough Base, composed by Mr Hen & Mr W^m Lawes brothers & servants to his Ma^{ty} with divers Eligies sett in musick by sev[er]all friends, &c vjd*’; Moseley’s name appears jointly with that of Woodnoth on the edition as first printed.

⁴⁰ Moseley’s preface to Milton’s *Poems* took heart from the ‘clear and courteous entertainment’ afforded by the public to his issue of ‘Mr. Wallers late choice Peeeces’. Carew’s poems, in a faulty edition of 1640, then Suckling’s (both posthumous), made claims on Henry as their setter.

two sonnet-length poems: Alfonso Ferrabosco II, instructor in music to Henry Frederick Stuart, Prince of Wales, elder son of James I and VI. One is for Ferrabosco's book of songs, dedicated to the prince.⁴¹ The other prefaced dances and fantasias for lyra viols published the same year (1609), dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. For the songs, Jonson's meaty couplets anticipated Milton by a first-name address: 'To vrge, my lou'd *Alfonso*, that bold fame . . .'. He alluded to myths of the power of music, taming beasts and building city walls, with other effects in healing body and soul. He forbore to name the mythical figures renowned for these feats (Orpheus, Amphion, Zethus) – an agility in citing classical props, but dispensing with names. That assurance flaunted the independence of both artists in a fraternising way.⁴² To commend Josuah Sylvester for translating Du Bartas's *La Sepmaine* out of French, Jonson had also used a lay figure: Du Bartas himself. (Jonson professed no familiarity with the language.) Milton's turn to Dante could reflect that evocation of a 'reverend Shade'. If he appreciated the precedents, he chose to use them less personally. But then, the terms of a request for verse – as one must now presume it was – hemmed him in. The edge to his method of extrication witnesses mutual esteem put to test by abnormal times, its tact fine enough to be palatable to both men in 1646, even 1648. The task yet to be achieved is to show why Milton agreed (as only he could) first publication of the commendation in Sonnet 13, in a place and time that seem least to fit any honest motive. The surface incongruities conspire to dissuade any deeper look; yet no other path remains but to revise notions of the goals of both Milton and Harry, the man he commended.

Problems attendant on and inherent in the sonnet require its locus to be moved, to take full view of tensions between content and contemporary context. Put another way, answers at simplest are negatives; what a writer chose *not* to say in a commendation, and how its recipient chose *not* to treat it. Milton's Gordian 'Not' had to disengage valued talent from its use to set biblical paraphrases by an unfit practitioner.⁴³ The chosen double-edged thrust distanced Henry's prosodic ear from a professional application to pagan ends. Milton commended sacred content and memorial context in *Choice Psalmes* vaguely, or not at all; in fact he skirted it. (Maybe he decided late to add a marginal prose note, unattested in his own copy.) The very word 'exempts' in line 5 (rather than 'uplifts', say) in context *exculpates* a song writer from unworthy associates – it condones him, for setting misguided art.⁴⁴ To crown Harry a master of classical technique is a strategy owing something to Jonson on Alfonso. It imports that bias in a way never yet quite explored, if critics have scented the limits to its enthusiasm. Milton had no problem with classicism as such; a theme

⁴¹ First issued in Ferrabosco's *Ayres* (London, 1609), *STC* 10827; like the second (a fourteen-liner), in rhymed couplets but at the length of a caudated sonnet, eighteen lines. Facsimile edition: *English Lute Songs 1597–1632: A Collection of Facsimile Reprints*, intro. D. Greer, vol. 5, no. 20 (Menston, 1970); verbal text reprinted in Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs 1596–1622*.

⁴² The deficit should have tickled a man who gave his own prefaces Jonsonian bluntness. Like Henry Lawes, Ferrabosco enjoyed a sound relationship with a collaborator in masques: for him, that *was* Jonson. Jonson's verse for the lyra viol output hailed Alfonso as an equal craftsman, advising him to forgo contingent praises: 'nor seeke without | For Fame, with breath soone kindled, soone blowne out'.

⁴³ Milton's first draft for lines 7–8 was cautious; but the praise finally bestowed is ample. Henry as the sole preliminary verse-commender of John Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum* (Oxford, 1657; 2/1660) acknowledged Wilson's 'reform' of song, but noticeably allowed him adventurousness and seniority rather than primacy. In most opinions, Wilson as a song-writer touches the final post well behind several other more consistent and abler contemporary practitioners.

⁴⁴ 'Exempts' counts as another of the sonnet's unusually insistent latinisms, 'eximere' in a fully Horatian sense of 'remove from a list'. But whichever way used here, it still implies being let off lightly.

of his early Latin verse *Ad Patrem*, and visible in his published *Poems* and the preliminary portrait's background ornamentation. But the crux is propriety in application. Milton typified, not so covertly, the compromise of ideals in the paganism of Henry's royalist and Laudian friends, Sandys and Cartwright. His reading of Sandys may extend to pervasive adaptation where he saw fit.⁴⁵ It by no means equates to full approval, if he felt Sandys had turned too casually from Ovid's myths to David's Psalms.

Notoriously, a sonnet by form and nature has a 'sting in the tail'. Sonnet 13 puts a whole final tercet to striking ends: enlisting Dante to amend Fame's record, placing Henry above Casella, the musician of Florence or Pistoia assigned to Purgatory in the Divine Comedy. Judged as a symbol, Casella is in one way inexact, even superficial. For Milton to equate brief masquing songs by live Henry to a long *canzone* which Dante asked dead Casella to sing on a hillside, in an afterlife, seems inflated. To invoke Dante's context also encodes Milton's now-absented self. Casella complied with Dante's request of a song; but it irked Cato Minor enough to rebuke the pair of them for delaying a company of disembarked souls, all singing a psalm, in their upward progress.⁴⁶ Henry is coded as co-participant in masque, slight secular music; he stands for a royalist epoch vanishing by 1646, with the brother who *had* died. Casella's conduct had repeatedly barred his admittance to Purgatory, he confessed to Dante: just so, would that of William retard a path to salvation? Or Henry's, if by less? In no coincidence, 'Purgatory' has as rhyme word the source of a *need* for repentance: 'story'. That same word is by no chance either also in the marginal note immediately before the envoi: a linchpin. Counterposed to Casella, Ariadne embodies provocative dissonance in just this secular-sacred area of contention.⁴⁷

An opinion sometimes voiced, that Milton equates himself to Dante, must be erroneous. His theology never held any place for admitting comparisons. What he has done by degrees, in lines 5, 7, 9, is distance himself; even, in 12, replace himself by 'Verse', that honours Lawes. Dante plus Casella merely follows as a parable that Henry might yet be inclined to accept as playfully encompassing both Lawes brothers. It is wit austerer than Jonson's stout support of craft in colleagues, barely disguising how up-hill constancy in friendship must have become by 1646. We must though hold Sonnet 13 to enduring commendation of Henry, its self-appointed task.⁴⁸ Milton reconsidered it c.1653 for a slim chance of reuse in a royalist songbook; he acknowledged paternity by publication a full twenty years on. That constancy casts an amiable light on him, even if his first published form had ambivalence in its explanatory side note – but one of some impermanence; devised to keep true to himself, not to hint that his piece was out of its ideal context. Sonnet 13 *can* in fact be seen in part as Milton stating an *apologia pro se*. Maybe classicism, still consented to

⁴⁵ J. Ellison, *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 2002). Appendix A, 250–6, 'Sandys and Milton', summarises and develops evidence of Milton's re-usages from the version of Job by Sandys; also, maybe, more incidental ties to his Psalms.

⁴⁶ *Purgatorio*, Canto II. 76–120; and 46 for Psalm 114, 'In exitu Israel'. Non-existence up to Milton's time of English settings for Dante proves an absence of inherent or implicit contrast with musical traditions.

⁴⁷ For the climate of Laudian opinion in the 1630s, and the controversy involving Purgatory after 1635, see P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), 185 and *passim*.

⁴⁸ Andrew Marvell's commendation of *Paradise Lost* makes a relevant operative distinction between verbs 'praise' and 'commend', if in a different context of rhyming versus blank verse.

without irony in *Arvades*, was being disavowed, alongside any hint of approving royalist literary tropes.

Lawes reacted, but not in mirror image. He gave the commendation its first airing at a date which left room (if meagre) to bridge political divergences and ignore implicit reservations: Milton was useful still. He then shunned it in apter contexts. Praise valid in 1648 was unwelcome to him by 1653, when Milton revisited it. As Milton's adversarial status became plain, royalists attestably began to find his poetry tainted by his politics.⁴⁹ On available evidence Henry's loyalism was firm. His psalm settings even give some cause to posit collusion by this outward quietist in royal musical service, possibly in early wartime with his brother.⁵⁰ One wonders in passing if he blotted Milton from his work record, *Comus* apart. That he could not disown; he had sanctioned it in print and, according to his preface there, in numerous copies that he had made in person. But absence of *Arvades* from any record is unexplained. By 1649, did Milton's very amenability sting Henry most? The last straw could have been *Eikonoklastes* that year; Milton's blistering attack on *Eikôn Basiliké* and its saintly martyr, the 'Sacred Majestie' of Charles, lauded by Henry in *Choice Psalmes*, and there compared to King David under his tribulations.

⁴⁹ On 16 March 1647(/8?) Peter Gunning sent Christopher Hatton, first Baron Hatton of Kirby, 'Donne's poems, and what your Lordshipp may happily like, Miltons poems though y^e Gent hath not learned y^t leçon to his prince, of the prince of poets' (quoting *Iliad*, II. 204-5, on obedience to governance); *GB-Ob*, MS Bodl. 878 ff. 22-3, cited in Pinto 'The Music of the Hattons', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 23 (1990), fn. 52. Nicholas von Maltzahn claimed this as his finding in 'An Early Comment on Milton's Poems (1645)', *Milton Quarterly* 48/1 (2014), 15-18. Gunning (later Bishop of Ely) was tutor to the Hatton household from 9 September 1646, just before Hatton's elective exile in Paris from 24 November that year.

⁵⁰ 'See, see my Chloris' in his *First Booke* is overtly (but only in the index) titled 'on the Queens landing at Burlington'. The autograph (ff. 151-2) lacks explicit titling to this solo, celebrating her return in February 1643 to Bridlington, Yorkshire, after arms-running missions. Henry did *not* set Cartwright's *epibaterion* written at the time to mark the event, published in Oxford: 'Hallow the Threshold, Crown the Posts anew'. It infers, if confirmation is needed, that he was never at the Oxford court, despite his undoubted royalism.

Sonnet 13

To my freind M^r. Hen. Laws Feb · 9 · 1645 / To my Friend M^r. *Henry Lawes*. / To M^r. Hen: Laws
on the publishing of his Aires / To M^r. ~~Hen~~. Law^es on the publishing of his Aires / To Mr. H.
Lawes, *on his Aires*

H^Arry, whose tunefull and well meafur'd song
Firft taught our Englifh Mufic how to fpan
Words with juft note and accent, not to fcan
With *Midas* cares, committing fhort and long,
Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng, [5]
With praife enough for Envie to look wan :
To after age thou fhalt be writ the man
That with fmooth Aire couldft humour beft our tongue.
Thou honour'ft Verfe, and Verfe muft lend her wing
To honour thee, the Priest of *Phæbus* Quire, [10]
That tun'ft their happieft Lines in hymne or * ftory.
* The ftory
of Ariadne
fet by him in
Mufic.
Dantè shall give Fame leave to fet thee higher
Then his *Cafella*, whom he woo'd to fmg,
Met in the milder fhades of Purgatory.

J. Milton.

Text from *Choice Psalmes* (1648), line-numbering added. Variants: see *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems Preserved in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1899), transcription and preface by W.A. Wright (TC); *Poems* (1673) (1673); *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, vol. 2, ed. H. Darbishire (Oxford, 1955), 322–3 (*Works*); *Milton's Sonnets* ed. E.A.J. Honigmann (London and New York, 1966).

Notes to the Text, and Substantive Variants

Titles: from TC version 1, p. 40 (original p. 43); Milton's hand / 1648 / TC version 2, p. 40; in Milton's hand apart from titling / TC version 3, p. 42; hand of an amanuensis / 1673. TC (1-3) are numbered '13', but maybe only (1) by Milton. By visible dependent traits, TC (2) and TC (3) provided texts for respectively 1648 and 1673; excepting only that the title of TC (2) was obviously not in its present final form by 1648.

1: 'tunefull', part-echoed in 11, is in itself banal for an almost universal prerequisite of song, especially in a period when few writers varied normative practice by abrupt dissonance. It could compare Lawes with more uneven contemporaries, e.g. John Wilson, but reaches fullest sense only by its adjectival coupling: 'tuneful – *even while* constrained into measuring and matching non-musical verbal contours'; c.f. 2–4 and their revisions.

2: capitalisation as in 1648, TC (1–3). 'First' equals foremost, but not necessarily priority in time: cf Virgil, *Georgics* II.475, 477 'Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae . . . accipiant'. Artisan word-craft is implied in 'span', hand-span.

3: ~~Words with with just notes, wth till then us'd to scan~~ // (*sic* duplication of 'with')

~~when most were wont to scan~~ / both versions rejected, and the final choice also struck through before being appended yet again, TC (1). It elides both time-scale and invidious personal comparisons.

4: With Midas eares, ~~committing~~ short & long // 'misjoyning' in the right margin, but unadopted, TC (1). Midas had his ears changed to those of an ass, for daring to prefer Pan's skill on the syrinx to that of Apollo on the lyre (compare Henry's on lute and theorbo): *Metamorphoses* XI.146–93. The long-noted latinist sense to 'committing' is 'pitting parties in conflict'.

5: worth // ~~worth~~ ^{witt} TC (1), a rejected alternative. The much pointed-out parallel is Horace, *Odes* I.1.32 'secernunt populo'. Hesitance over suitability of 'worth', though overcome, is telling. For 'exempts' see above fn. 44.

5: skill / 1648 momentarily lapses by printing short s, Milton's habitual pen-usage. Initial long f is otherwise maintained; see additional notes over printing usage.

6: ~~And gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan;~~ / TC (1), without a replacement given; TC (2–3) as 1648. Naming Pan may have been felt to overlap mention of Midas, line 4. For replacement Envy, the chief *topos* is *Metamorphoses*, II.752–786; *c.f.* 775 in especial for wanness: 'pallor in ore sedet . . .'.

7: to after age // TC (1) / To after-age TC (2)

thou shalt be writt a man // TC (1) / the man TC (2-3).

8: that didst reform thy art, the cheif among // TC (1). As in 5, Horace has been compared for 7–8: *Odes* I.6.1-2, 'Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium | victor'. Milton strictly observes Italian practice of the *volta* dividing octave from sestet in punctuation and sense – not a bipartition habitual with him, even when writing in Italian. Transition in sense hereafter turns from technique to *genre*, and its reward. It also registers a related but submerged concept central to the task of commendation, heightened by repetition: 'honour'. This duty is met—'even though', implicit.

That with smooth aires ~~couldst~~ cou'dst humor best our tongue. // TC (2) / couldst 1648, 1673 / could'st TC (3). Repeated 'our' noticeably becomes 'their' in line 11.

9: lend // TC (1-3), 1648 / send 1673. Phrasing is neutral in ranking the two: whether Lawes had honoured Milton – by choosing him to versify in 'his' entertainments – or Milton had approached Lawes as a prominent verse-setter to honour his verse. In using his name on the title page of *Poems* (1645), Milton had relied on his reputation: a sonnet is *part*-acknowledgement for that debt, but not *from within* the publication of 1645.

10: Horace may again be citeable: *Odes* III.1.3, 'Musarum sacerdos'.

11: their // thir TC (1-2) / their TC (3). This 'exempts' Milton too, as 'our' could not. It also begins a self-absenting complete in the last tercet. 'Phæbus Quire', *pace* Horace's 'Musarum', means contemporary poet-worship of Apollo rather than the choir of the Muses. Either way, 'hymne' and 'story' are both pagan types by implication. To endow Henry with priesthood may take into account family, reinforcing the merest hint of double standards. As a Gentleman of the Chapel,

he was not even in minor Anglican orders. His father Thomas Lawes, though, a singing-man at Salisbury Cathedral, secured a vicar choralship in 1632 by the influence of Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke, and Charles I himself. A son who had the ear of both could have petitioned them.

11–14 (margin): the side note in 1648 alone. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII.169–182 tells of Ariadne, Theseus, Bacchus, under names Minois, Aegides, Liber, and of Ariadne and the Corona Borealis.

12: interpreting ‘higher’ to include Paradise beyond Purgatory is too elastic a sense, given the limiting implications that follow in line 14.

12–13: ^{Dante shall give} Fame ~~by the Tuscan’s~~ leav, ^{^to} ~~shall~~ set thee higher

Than ^{his} ~~old~~ Casell ^{whom Dante} ~~he~~ woo’d to sing / TC (1). Line 13 (much blotched) first read ‘then old Casell’ whom Dante won to sing’ according to TC, p. 6. ‘Casella’ was inserted in its right margin, and the other visible refinements then made only after pre-positioning of ‘Dante shall give’ in line 12. ‘Dante’ in place of the more allusive ‘the Tuscan’ adds to his prominence in relation to ‘Fame’ and detracts it from Casella. It also makes the transition determinedly more abrupt.

14: ^{milder} ~~mildest~~ / TC (1): not noted in *Works* (1955). It reinforces a perception that Milton was comparing varied levels within Purgatory, the shore for reception of souls the least taxing: J.S. Diekhoff, ‘The Milder Shades of Purgatory’, *Modern Language Notes* 54/6 (June 1937), 409–10.

Signature: 1648 only is named in full; TC (1) is subscribed ‘J.M.’, but not in Milton’s hand.

Sequence: TC (1) is followed by TC (2), then ‘On the detraction w^{ch} follow’d up[^] on my writing certain treatises’, ‘I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs’ (etc.), numeration ‘11’ added. Sonnet 14 on p. 41 in Milton’s draft and fair copy, ‘When Faith & Love’, commemorates George Thomason’s wife. Its titling, ‘On ye religious memorie of M^{rs} Catharine Thomason | my Christian friend deceas’d 16 Decem. 1646’, seems to conflate burial that day with an obit of 6 December. This suggests that Milton could have sifted drafts after a small gap in time before committing to extant copies, and may have implications for dating Sonnet 13, second draft. After Sonnet 13 third state, Sonnet 14 comes again (non-autograph), given due numbering.

As first drafted, this article did not acknowledge S. Nixon, ‘Milton’s Royalist Friend: The Peculiar Pamphlets of Henry Lawes’, *The Times Literary Supplement* 5147 (23 November 2001), 14–15: read, but not kept near enough the mind’s forefront. One of its conclusions does have priority in print: I hope that, in larger space, I am more persuasive on more of the relevant fronts. Nixon aimed to identify Henry’s hand in three small items now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, acquired by purchase from the Bridgewater Library in February 1917; new shelf-marks: EL 7794, 8762, 8778. They witness Henry’s private anti-Parliamentarian animus. Two of the finds are papers specifically by the first Earl of Bridgewater. Henry, it seems, took to sharing his views sociably with others of like mind in a period c.1642 pinpointed in this article. Nixon compared a similar effort, noted by McClung Evans, *Henry Lawes*, 223–5 and fn 11: *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 32343, ff. 11–12. He recognised an incongruity in Milton’s continued association with Henry then, and surmised that Milton may not, after all, have been ‘strung along’ completely in acceding to Henry’s request. ‘That is, in writing the sonnet, Milton sought to isolate Lawes’s art from his politics. In this regard, the “throng” from whom Lawes is exempted by his “worth and skill” may be as much the throng of royalists as composers’. I firmly concur, except to make ‘the throng’ far more specific: not of royalist composers – or composers of any sort, or even royalists in general – but the run of royalist *littérateurs* whose verse Henry is *obliged to set* (as impishly implied). Henry’s *œuvre* as published at any time to the present day goes quite a way to bearing out Milton’s case; one longs for the survival of more Caroline output, and sources, to amplify comment and appreciation. Furthermore, squibs against Parliament betray some ambivalence between the public and private faces that Lawes chose to adopt; that is, the first face was prepared to adopt some insincerity, in order to secure a modest wage from the opponents of his king.

Tastelessness of the Sacred in *Choice Psalmes*

Francis Sambrooke’s commendatory poem in *Choice Psalmes*, ‘Where fhall I place my wonder, when I fee’ (on Henry Lawes compared to William), pictures in its lines 21–4 how Henry’s style adapts itself to the sacred sphere, by enlisting *Iliad* I. 473–6: ‘No wanton, ruder aires affright your eare ; | Th’are pious only, and chafte numbers here : | (Such was that lovely *Paan*, when the displeas’d | Incensed God th’*Achaick* Hoft appeas’d, . . .)’. Milton is unlikely to have seen this in advance, but it demonstrates just what affronted him most over style and reception. With sardonic brevity, he had anticipated conflation of rites to *pagan Apollo* with true religion.

A Typographic Nicety in *Choice Psalmes*: Choice of Short ‘S’

Sonnet 13, line 12 gives a stray instance of short ‘s’, in its version found in *Choice Psalmes* – the only such oversight by its printer, maybe left over from Milton’s preference in copy. It is of note that letterpress preliminaries to the work, containing the commendatory verse section, shew two other differing *types* of instances for short ‘s’. (None of any sort occurs in musical underlay.) The main type is set before an apostrophe combined with | d | in the one form | s’d | used in three instances, and these alone: | compos’d | appeas’d | displeas’d |. They save confusion on the eye where untidy | l’d | could provoke misreading. The other is | *Epistle* | in a caption-heading unique to sig. A3v; it is another *unicum* in that | s | is here medial *and italic*, where ‘English’ norms applied less.

UNDEFINED BORDERS: PURCELL'S EARLY MUSIC FOR VIOLIN BAND

ROBERT THOMPSON

Even without the visual reinforcement of setting 'Fantazias' in much larger type on its cover and title page, the currently available Purcell Society Edition vol. 31, *Fantazias and Miscellaneous Instrumental Music*, implicitly relegates works other than the fantasias to a secondary role.¹ In reality, the volume's editors believed that some of the 'miscellaneous' pieces were of outstanding quality, but the title's wording and layout seem, with the benefit of hindsight, not only to privilege the fantasias but also to suggest a clearer distinction between them and other kinds of music than necessarily exists. The fantasias do indeed provide an insight into the composer's 'workshop', representing a personal exploration of his medium independent of any immediate professional or commercial obligation, but this private purpose is likely to have been shared by some of the 'miscellaneous' pieces in PS vol. 31, which might to that extent be seen as parallels to the fantasias rather than as contrasts to them.

In terms of instrumental music, evidence of Purcell's earliest work as a student comes from a number of bass parts, some of them autograph, in the now-isolated guardbook *US-NHb*, Osborn Music MS 515,² the sole known survivor of a set of five or six partbooks compiled in the late seventeenth century by an editor who indexed the collection,³ annotated some of its contents and added further movements on unused staves. Alongside several fragmentary works, this manuscript contains the 'Stairre Case Overture', of which a more complete copy exists in *GB-KNt*, MR 2–5.3,⁴ a score copied by Philip Hayes in the late eighteenth century from Osborn 515 and two companion violin parts available at that time. Hayes also included a separate basso continuo part, possibly based upon an original duplicate bass part but perhaps an invention of his own to compensate for missing material.

Table 1 outlines the layers of the partbook that contain autograph material by Purcell, showing that there is sometimes no essential codicological connection between successive folios. The same also applies between different layers of the volume, meaning that the inclusion of Purcell's music in this context is not in itself evidence that he had personally encountered the collection's other contents, and the way the partbook was compiled and assembled means that both dates and attributions are sometimes uncertain. However, two of the three overtures ascribed to Purcell are autograph: 'The Stairre Case Overture in B me' on f. 19; and another work entitled 'Overture' on f. 20v. On f. 11r, an untitled movement in the compiler's hand is also clearly an overture, with

¹ The Works of Henry Purcell 31, ed. R.T. Dart (London, 1959); rev. M. Tilmouth with A. Browning and P. Holman (London, 1990). This article derives from preparatory work for a new edition, now entitled *Consort Music*, ed. P. Holman and R. Thompson (London: Stainer & Bell for the Purcell Society Trust, in progress).

² Available online at Yale University Library, Digital Collections <@>. See R. Ford, 'Osborn MS 515, a Guardbook of Restoration Instrumental Music', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 30 (1983), 174–84; R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 292–4; S. Wollston, 'New Light on Purcell's Early Overtures', *Early Music* 37 (2009), 647–55; Wollston, 'The Instrumentation of English Violin-Band Music, 1660–1685', Ph.D. thesis (The Open University, 2010), 94–7.

³ The book contains several five-part works evidently copied from Dietrich Becker's *Musicalisches Frühlings-früchte* (Hamburg, 1668), which was published in six partbooks with separate violone and basso continuo parts.

⁴ A. Browning, 'Purcell's "Stairre Case Overture"', *The Musical Times* 121 (1980), 768–9; P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 63–5.

characteristic slow sections framing a triple-time passage labelled ‘vivace’. The ‘Stairre Case Overture’ seems to have been freestanding, as there is ample space on ff. 19r and 19v for any movements associated with it, and the overture copied by the compiler on f. 11r is also followed by blank staves on that folio and at the top of f. 11v before a further untitled movement in a different key; in the latter case, the space set aside really shows only that the compiler thought there might be subsequent movements, not that there necessarily were any. The autograph overture on f. 20v is the only one of the three to be followed by another movement apparently related to it; rather than the start of an otherwise lost suite, however, the overture and triple-time allegro (so marked in Purcell’s own early hand) seem to be a pair analogous to the pavan and allegro on f. 9r, where the tempo direction is again Purcell’s own.

Table 1: <i>US-NHb</i> , Osborn Music MS 515: layers containing autograph material by Purcell				
Folio	Collation	Heading or description	Copyist	Comments
9r	Singleton	Pavana Allegro	Purcell	Separate movements, both in F major
9v		[unused]		
10r	Singleton	Chacone	Compiler	Appears in <i>The Gordian Knot Unty’d</i> (1691)
10v		[unused]		
11r	Conjunct with f. 12	‘a.4.’ ; ‘H. Purcell’ [French overture in C major]	Compiler	
11v		[untitled piece in B minor]	Compiler	Copied on lower half of the page
12r	Conjunct with f. 11	[unused]		
12v		[unused]		
19r	Conjunct with f. 20	The Stairre Case Overture in B me	Purcell	
19v		[unused]		
20r	Conjunct with f. 19	A Pavin Prelude [B minor]	Purcell Compiler	Not a pavan, but a tripartite movement containing a section in triple time.
20v		Overture Allegro	Purcell	Separate movements in C major

Few if any extant Purcell autographs can be earlier than those in this guardbook. In addition to the recognised hallmarks of his youthful hand (the hook-shaped bass clef and characteristic forms of the lower-case ‘e’ and ‘r’), his writing shows a lack of fluency in marked contrast to his later scribal assurance.⁵ Some peculiarities go beyond handwriting: the pavan on f. 9r has the incorrect time signature ‘3i’ as well as uncharacteristically detailed figuring, the latter perhaps representing Purcell’s investigation of harmony and part movement; and the second pavan, on f. 20r, is not in the conventional form of the dance, the second of its three sections being in triple time,⁶ so that this movement resembles in overall form the similarly tripartite ‘Stairre Case Overture’; see Table 2.

Table 2: Pavin (f. 20r) and ‘Stairre Case Overture’, structural comparison		
	Pavin (f. 20r)	‘Stairre Case Overture’
Section 1:		
Time signature	♩	None visible, but C or ♩
Length	10 bars	10 bars + quaver anacrusis
Section 2:		
Time signature	C / 3i	3i
Length	20 bars (transcribed in 3/2)	20 bars (transcribed in 6/4; inclusive of repeat of opening four-bar passage)
Section 3:		
Time signature	♩ ‘very slow’	♩
Length	14 bars	12 bars

While the contrasting titles of these movements do reflect genuine differences of style, the two are far more similar than might be assumed from their headings alone, suggesting in turn that the young Purcell saw tripartite pavans and tripartite overtures as related and perhaps interchangeable forms. Indeed, the opening passage of the ‘Stairre Case Overture’ has some resonances with the third strain of the pavan that begins Thomas Baltzar’s suite for three violins and continuo, though in that work the prevailing scalar movement is downwards.⁷

The Osborn partbook shows not only that complex instrumental movements, be they pavans or overtures, figured large in Purcell’s apprenticeship, but also that they were tried out in practice, whether as part of Purcell’s formal training or in a more private setting. The second section of the ‘Stairre Case Overture’ is homophonic, but the bass parts of the other two overtures contain rests, indicating that some form of imitation was attempted.⁸ By Michaelmas 1677 Purcell had

⁵ For the general chronological development of Purcell’s hand, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 26–32.

⁶ Noted in Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 65; Wollston, ‘The Instrumentation’, 97 (n. 40).

⁷ *Restoration Music for Three Violins, Bass Viol and Continuo*, ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham, *Musica Britannica* 103 (London, 2018), 2–3. Many other possible models have of course been suggested.

⁸ Wollston, ‘New Light’, 650.

demonstrated an ambitious approach to counterpoint in some anthems surviving in *GB-Lwa*, Triforium Set 1, such as ‘Blessed be the Lord my strength’ and ‘O Lord our governor’, and the overture in the compiler’s hand on f. 11r of Osborn 515, which features bass-part rests at the mid-point and appears to have two distinct imitative ‘platforms’,⁹ may represent a comparable level of development.

If the overtures in *US-NHb*, Osborn Music MS 515 reflect stages in Purcell’s training and self-education, can the same be true of slightly later instrumental works? Apart from the ‘Stairre Case Overture’, and setting aside works involving a trumpet, PS vol. 31 contains five further complete or substantially complete works for string ensemble in genres primarily associated with public rather than private performance: the four-part Chacony in G minor and the G major suite, both from Purcell’s autograph *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 30930; and three overtures from *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 20.h.9, a scorebook in the hand of the Winchester organist John Reading (c.1645–1692).¹⁰ Except for the autograph suite, which could date from the mid-1680s, all are demonstrably early works; most might have been in the repertory of the royal violin band or one of its subdivisions, but for a variety of reasons, including the disastrous Whitehall fire of January 1698,¹¹ there is little direct evidence of the group’s repertory at the time in question beyond its involvement in concerted works such as odes and symphony anthems.¹² As a result, Purcell’s reasons for composing the above-listed works are uncertain, while the music’s source history reinforces the suggestion that generic distinctions in Purcell’s music written around 1680 are less clear-cut than might be supposed. In R.M. 20.h.9 all the instrumental works apart from the three Purcell overtures are in unequivocal chamber-music genres; see Table 3.¹³

Table 3: The Instrumental Music in *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 20.h.9

Folio	Heading or description	Terminal ascription
121r–118r	‘3 parts upon a Ground play’d 2 notes higher for F[lutes]’	M ^r Henry Pursell
117v–115r	‘5 parts: Overture’ [G minor]	M ^r Henry Pursell
114v–113v	‘Overture’ [D minor]	M ^r Henry Pursell
113r–112v	‘Overture’ [G major]	M ^r Henry Pursell
111v–111r	‘Duo’	
110v–109r	‘Dragon’; ‘This peice of Musick was Cristned Draggon at New Markett 1679’ ¹⁴	
108v–108r	‘Seignor Givano Battista Vately Symphony w[h]ch Nich. Staggin produced as his owne May 29 th : 1679’	
108r–105r	‘A Sonata of 3 parts by D ^r : Blow.’	

⁹ For the contemporary term ‘platform’ used to describe a set of imitative entries, see R. Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), 172–5, citing C. Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Music* (London, 1667), 135–7.

¹⁰ I. Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660–1714* (Oxford, 1995), 363–4, 368. Reading was organist of Winchester Cathedral from 1675 to 1681, and thereafter of Winchester College.

¹¹ *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 13, 1697–1698*, ed. W.A. Shaw (London, 1933), 51. The fire burned overnight from the afternoon of 4 January.

¹² P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford, 1993), 327–8.

¹³ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 295–7.

¹⁴ This comment and the one following are partly cut off by cropping of the manuscript, but their meaning is unambiguous.

105r–103r	[Sonata Op. 5, no. 8, ‘La Guidoni’]	Senior Givano Battista [Vitali]
103v–99r	[Piece for violin, viola da gamba and bc]	
98v–52r	‘Sonatas of three Parts with a Through-Base by Henry Purcell’ ‘Aged 25 in y ^e Yeare 1683’ ¹⁵	
52r–41r	‘M ^r Young’s three parts’ [four sonatas for violin, viola da gamba, string bass and bc, the last incomplete]	

Two of the instrumental works are from G.B. Vitali, *Sonate a due, trè, quattro, e cinque stromenti*, Op. 5 (Bologna, 1669): the complete sonata beginning on f. 105r and the movement allegedly passed off by Nicholas Staggins ‘as his owne’, which is the opening section of Vitali’s Op. 5, no.10, ‘La Sassatelli’. A number of variants indicate either that the latter was not copied directly from the printed parts or that Staggins introduced some intentional changes.¹⁶ The precisely-dated gossip surrounding this movement, along with the explanation of the title ‘Dragon’ for the piece starting on f. 110v, named after the King’s champion racehorse,¹⁷ suggests a very close link with the court. However, this anecdotal evidence may have been transmitted through an intermediate copy or copies rather than passed on in person: the manuscript’s paper is of a type demonstrably available in 1680,¹⁸ but the inclusion of Purcell’s 1683 sonatas, apparently copied from the printed edition, shows that Reading was still compiling his collection in or after that year.

Between 1682 and 1684 Charles II visited Winchester annually in connection with his projected new palace there.¹⁹ It could be in this period that Reading had access to material circulating amongst court musicians,²⁰ but, whatever his immediate source or sources, the earlier part of the instrumental sequence appears to provide an insight into the private interests of a particular set of performers in and shortly after 1679. The presence of music by G.B. Vitali is striking but not necessarily unexpected: music by him appears in *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 31431, an incomplete domestic partbook set dating from 1680;²¹ and Vitali was mentioned by Roger North as a composer whose ‘litle printed consorts came over from Itally’ during the reign of Charles II,²² possibly on the return

¹⁵ The comment about Purcell’s age, which conflicts with other evidence, is written to the left of the main heading.

¹⁶ For a transcription of Staggins’s version, see Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 300–2; compare Ex. 4c below.

¹⁷ On 7 October 1682 the Earl of Conway wrote from Newmarket that ‘His Majesty’s horse, Dragon [...] was beaten yesterday by a little horse called Postboy [...] and the masters of that art conclude this top horse of England is spoiled forever’; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, January 1st to December 31st 1682*, ed. F.H. Blackburne Daniell (London, 1932), 456 <@>. The same event is recorded in a letter to Roger Kenyon, who at that time held various public offices in Lancashire, as is an anticipated contest between these two horses in November 1681; *The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon*, ed. W.J. Hardy, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report, Appendix Part IV (London, 1894), 131, 150 <@>. Dragon is also mentioned in a letter from the Duke of York to William of Orange dated 10 March 1684: *GB-Lna*, SP 8/3/96.

¹⁸ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 295.

¹⁹ Some idea of the scale of this project is given by Sir Christopher Wren’s notes and drawings at All Souls College, Oxford, AS II.96–98, AS IV.65, IV.77, online at Digital Bodleian <@>. For links to these and a commentary, including further references, see A. Geraghty and C. Dunn, *The Architectural Drawings at All Souls College: Wren and Hawksmoor*, under ‘The Royal Palaces’ <@>.

²⁰ In 1683 Nicholas Staggins was paid for his attendance at Winchester from 29 August to 25 September; *RECM* i. 206–7; v. 165. Staggins is the only musician identified by name, but the Serjeant Trumpeter and unspecified ‘Musicians’ are included in an undated ‘Winchester List’ belonging to the same year.

²¹ *IMCCM* ii. 104–11, esp. 110.

²² Roger North *on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 302.

of Staggins from his visit to that country.²³ Vitali's sonatas might be expected to appeal to the same players and audiences as Purcell's 'Three Parts upon a Ground', with which Reading's collection begins, but, in contrast, the three Purcell overtures – on the face of it 'orchestral' rather than chamber music – appear to be misfits, potentially extracted from their intended context in the theatre or at court.

These three overtures, however, are in many ways atypical of Purcell's works in that genre, as can be shown by comparing the two G major examples in PS vol. 31, one from R.M. 20.h.9 and the other from the autograph suite in Add. MS 30930. The second is apparently the later, not merely on grounds of style but also because Purcell wrote the title 'Overture' using an italic form of the lower-case letter 'r' uncommon in his handwriting before 1681 and only predominant from 1685 onwards.²⁴ Ex. 1 and 2 show the later bars of the respective fugal sections. In Ex. 2 the imitative section is a masterpiece of apparent simplicity: the rhythm is straightforward and part-crossing in the 28 bars of the example is limited to two brief instances, in bb. 51 and 53. The movement is a fitting introduction to the suite that follows, which seems, despite its outstanding quality, to be designed to appeal to the partially attentive as well as the concentrating listener.

Ex. 1: Overture in G major from *GB-Lbl*, R.M. 20.h.9, bb. 37–62 (figuring omitted).

²³ Probably in 1676–77; see *BDECM*, ii. 1041.

²⁴ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 31–2, 130–1, 133.

Ex. 2: Overture in G major from *GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 30930, bb. 36–63.

The overture copied by Reading (Ex. 1), in contrast, features near-continuous part-crossing, the first part interweaving with the second and the second with the third as Purcell explores different ways of combining elements of the initial subject and its extensions; in addition to the four parts actually present, Purcell creates an impression of even greater complexity through abrupt changes of register entirely absent from Ex. 2. As a further comparison, Ex. 3 illustrates bb. 19–33 of ‘Welcome, vicegerent of the mighty king’, Purcell’s 1680 welcome song, which was certainly performed (and very probably composed) a few weeks after the series of fantasias dated in the summer of that year. Yet these bars are the only passage of the ode’s overture that are in any way imitative, and then in a very straightforward manner. The stylistic contrast between ‘Welcome vicegerent’ and the G major overture from R.M. 20.h.9 neatly exemplifies a potential tension in Purcell’s working life between his own creative aspirations and the requirement to produce easily-attractive material for the court or theatre – a tension he was very soon to resolve, embodying complex compositional processes in accessible music.

Ex. 3: 'Welcome, vicegerent of the mighty king', bb. 19–33.

The inclusion of the R.M. 20.h.9 overtures in a chamber music collection, together with the marked contrast between them and the overture of 'Welcome, vicegerent', possibly means that they were initially written by Purcell as free-standing contrapuntal studies, comparable in that respect to 'Three Parts upon a Ground' and the fantasias. The same may well be true of the Chacony in *GB-Lb*, Add. MS 30930, which is copied in the same four-folio gathering as the Pavan in G minor for three violins and bass.²⁵ The juxtaposition of these works is puzzling, as the first is an introspective, private reworking of an obsolescent genre and the second a flamboyant, up-to-date, and apparently 'orchestral' composition that might have been intended for the Twenty-Four Violins. Of course, the Chacony is a superb concert piece, but Purcell may initially have conceived it, and copied it in its Add. MS 30930 context, as a parallel to the majority of that manuscript's other contents: just as some of the fantasias take challenging contrapuntal propositions to their limits, so the Chacony reflects Purcell's exhaustive examination of the modern ground-bass genre, perhaps put to the test, along with other music, by a group of his friends and colleagues.²⁶ Such an origin, of course, in no way precludes a movement's future use in a suitable public setting, as was undoubtedly the case for the G major overture copied by Reading; see below.

A further hint that Purcell's early overtures were initially written for a private rather than professional purpose is given by the splendid five-part G minor overture in Reading's scorebook, together with the suite that follows it in the isolated bass part *US-NH*, Misc. MS 170, Filmer 8.²⁷ Five-part string writing never became common in Restoration England, though some fine examples exist in court odes written after 1687, when G.B. Draghi's St Cecilia's Day ode 'From

²⁵ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 95, 97.

²⁶ A similar suggestion about the earlier works is made in Ford, 'Osborn MS 515', 178.

²⁷ R. Shay, 'Bass Parts to an Unknown Purcell Suite at Yale', *Notes*, Second Series 57, (2001), 819–33.

harmony, from heavenly harmony' was the first public work performed in England to feature Italianate string writing for two violins, two violas and bass.²⁸ Purcell's similarly-scored overture precedes Draghi's ground-breaking ode by some seven years, but a chamber-music model in terms of instrumentation appears in Vitali's Op. 5, the Italian collection from which other music is found in R.M. 20.h.9. In 'La Scalabrina', the final sonata of this work, the five string parts are designated 'Violino Primo', 'Violino Secondo', 'Alto Viola', 'Tenore Viola' (the two viola parts are printed on facing pages in the Alto Viola book) and 'Violone', and the layout resembles Purcell's except that the viola parts are respectively in the C3 and C4 clefs rather than C2 and C3.

While there seem to have been no occasions before 1687 on which Purcell might have been required to write a five-part work for an established court or theatre ensemble, he could well have been prompted by 'La Scalabrina' to compose a piece of his own with a similar scoring. The passage from 'La Sassatelli' allegedly plagiarised by Staggins might also have had an impact on Purcell, reflected in his revision of the R.M. 20.h.9 overture for the 1681 welcome song 'Swifter Isis, swifter flow'.²⁹ The most significant alteration is at the end of the slow introduction, where the later version not only approaches the final cadence with a stronger sense of direction but also introduces a neat double canon in its closing bars, with one part consisting of a chromatic scale framed by a descending fourth. Of course, this pattern is part of the common vocabulary of seventeenth-century music, but its prominence at the start of 'La Sassatelli', one of the few Continental works demonstrably copied in circles close to Purcell, may mean that it was through Vitali that the young composer first recognised its expressive potential; see Ex. 4a–4c.

Ex. 4a: Overture in G, bb. 8–12: version in R.M. 20.h.9 (figuring omitted)



²⁸ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 427. Five-part string scoring was used in 1689 and 1690 by Purcell in 'Now does the glorious day appear' and 'Arise, my muse', and by Blow in 'With cheerful hearts let all appear'. The Lullian five-part pattern used by Grabu in *Albion and Albanus* (published in 1687 but apparently finished by the end of 1684), where the upper clefs are G1 (the French violin clef) and C1, seems to have found no imitators at all at that time.

²⁹ See M. Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge, 1995), 118–19, where the revisions illustrated in Ex. 4b are analysed in detail.

Ex. 4b: Overture in G, bb. 8–12: version in ‘Swifter Isis, swifter flow’.



Ex. 4c: G. B. Vitali, Op. 5, ‘La Sassatelli’; bb. 1–11 (figuring omitted).

Vivace

The single factor uniting many of Purcell’s early works in different genres is ‘the valorization of compositional virtuosity over more conventional, performance-based virtuosity’,³⁰ a feature apparent in the fantasias, the Chacony in G minor and ‘Three Parts upon a Ground’ as well as in in vocal music both devotional, such as ‘Since God so tender a regard’, and secular, such as ‘She loves and she confesses too’.³¹ Purcell’s delight in pursuing compositional ideas to their logical conclusion (if not beyond) is apparent even in one of the incomplete Osborn 515 movements: in the autograph overture bass line in C major, he writes what is effectively a four-octave descending scale, breaking upwards three times to keep within a practical range. Similar qualities are apparent to a greater or lesser extent in all three of the R.M. 20.h.9 overtures, suggesting in turn that they

³⁰ A. Howard, ‘Composition as an Act of Performance: Artifice and Expression in Purcell’s Sacred Partsong “Since God so Tender a Regard”’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132 (2007), 32–59, at 38–9.

³¹ Written on the same ground bass as a setting by Pietro Reggio, probably as an intentional display of superior skill; see Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 41–2.

may not only be comparable to the fantasias in terms of contrapuntal complexity but also parallel to them both in their primary exploratory intention and in their intended ‘audience’ amongst Purcell’s peers. If so, the new inclusive title for Purcell Society vol. 31 – *Consort Music* – has turned out to be even more apposite than its editors initially realised, much of its very varied content sharing a related origin in Purcell’s self-motivated process of development.

BURIED TREASURE IN YORKSHIRE: THE LEEDS PARTBOOKS AND THE TAPHOUSE COLLECTION¹

PETER HOLMAN

Thomas Taphouse and his Collection

In July 1905 Leeds Public Library (now Leeds Central Library) acquired a large amount of antiquarian music from the sale of the library of Thomas William Taphouse (Illus. 1), who had died on 8 January that year. Taphouse, born in 1838, had been a music seller in Oxford, the proprietor of a firm established in 1857 by his father Charles (1816–86), as well as a piano tuner, an organist and a prominent collector of old music and old instruments.² He was elected to Oxford City Council in 1888 and was serving as its mayor at the time of his death. At that time the Taphouse music shop was at 3 Magdalen Street in Oxford; the firm, run by two later generations of the family, remained in business at that address until 1982.

Illus. 1: Thomas Taphouse, photograph published in *The Musical Times* 45 (1904), [637]. Public Domain.



¹ Early versions of this paper were given during the conference *Music Collections in Leeds: From the Local to the Global*, at Leeds Central Library on 24 April 2025; and at the *41st Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, at the Foundling Museum in London on 28 November 2025. I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, Michael Talbot, Robert Thompson, Jonathan Wainwright, Bryan White and Andrew Woolley for comments on a draft of this paper and for information supplied; and to Lee Noon, Music and Performing Arts Librarian at Leeds Central Library, for drawing to my attention items relating to Thomas Taphouse and Frank Kidson in its collection, and for taking photographs of them for me.

² For Taphouse and his family, see esp. *The Story of a Music Shop 1857–1957* (Oxford, 1957); A. Rosenthal, 'Thomas Taphouse', *GMO*; 'Thomas William Taphouse (1838–1905), Mayor of Oxford 1904/5', *Oxford History: Mayors & Lord Mayors* <@>; 'A Nineteenth-Century Harpsichord Promoter, with a Famous Music Collection, who had Dealings with Arnold Dolmetsch', 2 parts, *Semibrevis: A Blog about Early Music Pioneers* <@>.

Taphouse's collection was famous at the time. He was an important contributor, of printed music, manuscripts and instruments, to the Music Loan Exhibition, held in Fishmongers' Hall in June and July 1904;³ and an article about his music library was published in *The Musical Times* in October 1904 by 'Dotted Crotchet', the pseudonym of its current editor Frederick George Edwards (1853–1909).⁴ This mentions 'lutes, and other stringed instruments, recorders, flutes, &c., too numerous to enumerate in detail', though it does include a list of eight old keyboard instruments Taphouse owned at the time: two clavichords, an Italian 'Virginal', an English spinet, two harpsichords and two eighteenth-century English square pianos.⁵ Three of these instruments, a double-manual Shudi and Broadwood harpsichord of 1781; a bentside spinet of 1749 by John Harrison; and the beautifully decorated Hieronymus Albrecht Hass clavichord of 1743, are still in Oxford, now in the university's Bate Collection of Musical Instruments.⁶ Taphouse does not seem to have played them himself, at least in public, though his stepdaughter Eleanor or Nellie Woodward-Taphouse was an significant figure in the early harpsichord revival, giving concerts on old instruments from at least 1894 to her untimely death aged 39 in 1908. On one occasion, a concert in Oxford Town Hall on 4 November 1904, she played her stepfather's Shudi and Broadwood harpsichord, Harrison spinet and Hass clavichord.⁷

Old instruments formed only a small part of Thomas Taphouse's collecting activities. The 1904 *Musical Times* article is mostly taken up with his library, and in particular with describing items from his remarkable collection of sixteenth-, seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century printed music and treatises, including a good deal of early keyboard music – some items presumably acquired for the use of his stepdaughter. However, Taphouse's activities were much more wide-ranging than the article suggests. He had an interest in the autograph manuscripts of later composers, including Mendelssohn,⁸ and the full extent of his collection at the time of his death is revealed by the Sotheby's sale catalogue, which runs to no fewer than 876 lots; an annotated copy is in Leeds Central Library (Illus. 2).⁹

³ See *An Illustrated Catalogue of the Music Loan Exhibition ... June and July 1904*, comp. A.F. Hill (London, 1909) <@>.

⁴ 'Dotted Crotchet' [F.G. Edwards], 'The Musical Library of Mr. T.W. Taphouse, M.A.', *The Musical Times* [MT] 45 (1 October 1904), 629–36. For the identity of 'Dotted Crotchet', see Edwards's obituary, MT 51 (1 January 1910), 9–11.

⁵ [Edwards], 'The Musical Library', 634–5. A rather different list of Taphouse's instruments is in the manuscript 'Catalogue / of / Instruments, Literature / and Compositions illustrating the history / of the Pianoforte / in the possession of / T.W. Taphouse / Oxford / 1890', GB-LEc, SR 016.78 TAP. Most of Taphouse's instrument collection was sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge on 7 June 1905; see 'A Nineteenth-Century Harpsichord Promoter'.

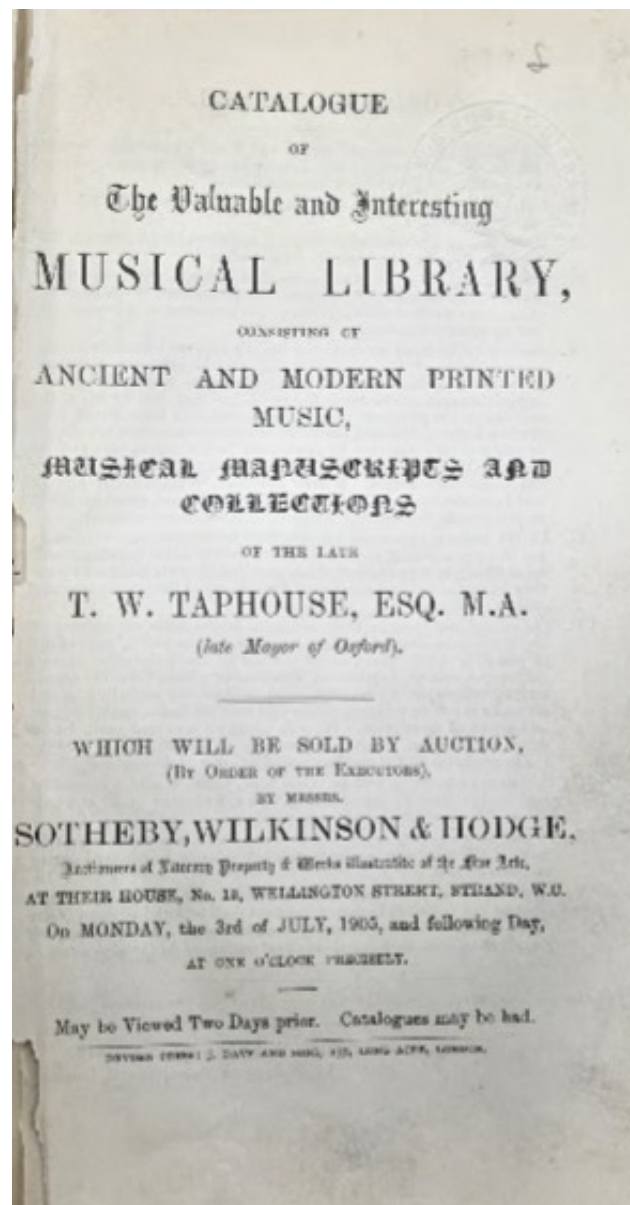
⁶ For these instruments, see *The Bate Collections of Musical Instruments*, nos. X91, X90, 9 <@>; also *Boalch-Mould Online*, BMO nos. 659, 1812, 685 <@>.

⁷ See 'Music in Oxford', MT 46 (1 January 1905), 48–9, at 48; see also her obituary, MT 49 (1 November 1908), 717.

⁸ See A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music* (Cambridge, 1963), 61, 100.

⁹ *Catalogue of the Valuable and Interesting Musical Library, Consisting of Ancient and Modern Printed Music, Musical Manuscripts and Collections of the Late T.W. Taphouse, Esq. M.A. (late Mayor of Oxford)* (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 3, 4 July 1905); annotated copy at GB-LEc, SR 780.74 TAP.

Illus. 2: The titlepage of *Catalogue of the ... Library ... of T.W. Taphouse* (Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 3, 4 July 1905). Courtesy of Leeds Libraries. Photograph by Lee Noon.



Leafing through the catalogue of the Taphouse sale, one is struck by the scope and richness of his collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music prints. Just focusing on English music, the seventeenth-century keyboard collections included the 1655 edition of *Parthenia* (lot 629);¹⁰ Matthew Locke's *Melothesia* of 1673 (lot 489);¹¹ the 1678 edition of John Playford's *Musick's Handmaid* (lot 659);¹² and the 1696 edition of Henry Purcell's *Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (lot 692).¹³ There were also many items of interest to string players, including Gottfried Finger's *Sonatae XII*, op. 1 (1688) (lot 292);¹⁴ Locke's *English Opera* (1675), which contains

¹⁰ RISM B/I, 1655⁶.

¹¹ RISM B/I, 1673⁶.

¹² RISM B/I, 1678⁶.

¹³ RISM A/I, P 6080.

¹⁴ RISM A/I, F 845.

music for his dramatic opera *Psyche* and his theatre airs for *The Tempest* (lot 487);¹⁵ Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676) (lot 501);¹⁶ a seemingly complete set of Nicola Matteis's *Ayrs for the Violin*, with the second violin parts, some in manuscript (lot 529);¹⁷ Henry Purcell's *Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre, and upon other Occasions* (1697) (lot 693) and both sets of his trio sonatas (lots 702, 703);¹⁸ and the 1659 edition of Christopher Simpson's *Division-Violist* (lot 763).¹⁹

In addition to the printed music and treatises in his collection, Taphouse owned a number of manuscripts, four of which contained sixteenth- or seventeenth-century English instrumental music. Lot 507 is described in the catalogue as 'Manuscript. A Curious and Interesting Old Manuscript Book of Songs, Psalms, Anthems, etc. by an Anonymous Writer, one is marked "Mr. Jonson's Knell," another "O Lux Mundi, Dr. Tye," etc. (37 ll.) new vellum / sm. obl. 4to. [16-]'. This item, which went to the London booksellers Maggs for 10 shillings, appears to be the late sixteenth-century treble partbook now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, *US-Ws*, Ms. V.a.408, which contains consort music and wordless vocal music followed by a sequence of anthems with texts all probably by the Wells composer Matthew Jeffries.²⁰

Taphouse also owned three important English manuscripts from the Commonwealth and Restoration periods. The earliest, lot 40, was a keyboard book in the hand of the Norwich organist Richard Ayleward (?1626–69), containing his own harpsichord pieces together with some apparently by French composers.²¹ This manuscript, purchased at the 1905 sale for £5 12s. 5d. by Arthur Henry Mann (1850–1929), organist of King's College, Cambridge, subsequently disappeared and is now apparently lost, though luckily the pianist and writer Edward Dannreuther (1844–1905), a friend of Taphouse, made a seemingly complete copy of its contents while it was still in Oxford; this is now part of *GB-Lcm*, MS 1154.

Lot 773 in the Taphouse sale was the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript, the large collection of sonatas and other music copied partly by the viola player William Armstrong (d. 1717) and partly by its first owner, the Honorable and Reverend Edward Finch (1663–1738), prebendary of York, wind player and amateur composer.²² At the sale it went to 'Ellis' for £8, but it subsequently disappeared. When it eventually reappeared, in the collection of the Berkeley family of Spetchley Park near Worcester and Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire, it became clear that it had been acquired at some point after the Taphouse sale by the horticulturalist and collector Ellen Willmott (1858–1934) of Warley Place near Brentwood in Essex. However, it remained unsold after the sale of her library at Sotheby's in April 1935, passing with the residue of her estate to her brother-in-law Robert Valentine Berkeley (1853–1940). It was purchased by the British Library at Sotheby's on 3

¹⁵ *RISM A/I*, L 2647.

¹⁶ *RISM B/VP*, 523–4.

¹⁷ *RISM A/I*, M 1377–84. See also S. Jones, 'The "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis: An Exploration of his Life, his Works for the Violin and his Performing Style', 3 vols., Ph.D. thesis (University of York, 2003), esp. i. 37–72 <@>.

¹⁸ *RISM A/I*, P 5977, 6085, 6083.

¹⁹ *RISM B/VP*, 785.

²⁰ See the description in W.A. Edwards, 'The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. (University of Cambridge, 1974), i. 158–60 <@>. See also *US-Ws*, V.a.408, *DLAMM* <@>.

²¹ See esp. A.L. Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c.1660–1720', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2008), 158–78 <@>; Woolley, 'The Harpsichord Music of Richard Ayleward (?1626–1669), "an Excellent Organist" of the Commonwealth and Early Restoration', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 15 (2009), no. 1 <@>; R. Ayleward, *Harpsichord Music*, ed. Woolley (2013), *Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music* <@>.

²² See P. Holman, 'A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found', *Early Music* 40 (2012), 469–87.

December 2019 and is now *GB-Lbl*, MS Mus. 1851. The manuscript is best known for being the sole source of Henry Purcell's Sonata in G minor Z780 for violin, bass viol obbligato and continuo. Finch only copied the violin and continuo parts; the lost bass viol part has been reconstructed by Thurston Dart and others.²³ The manuscript also includes several other items of interest to Purcell scholars, and it is one of the most important sources for the repertory of solo sonatas for recorder, flute or violin and continuo circulating in England between about 1700 and 1720.²⁴

The third manuscript collection, lot 41, now known as the Leeds Partbooks, is the focus of this article. Before considering it in detail, we need to consider the circumstances by which it was acquired by Leeds Public Library. The annotated copy at Leeds of the Taphouse sale catalogue, supplemented by a handlist of the items acquired at the sale,²⁵ shows that Leeds Public Library purchased no fewer than 145 lots, though many of these were composites, so the items at Leeds from Taphouse's library must really be at least twice as large as that, and it will doubtless turn out to be even larger when some of the job lots are catalogued and investigated in detail, such as lot 670, 'Portraits of Eminent English and Foreign Musicians (107) – Autograph Letters of Eminent Composers, Singers, etc. (130), *a lot suitable for illustration / a parcel*'; and lot 783, 'Songs, Various, chiefly Old, *some engraved on single leaves and scarce / folio. a parcel*'.

Frank Kidson and the Taphouse Collection at Leeds

All in all, this was a remarkable acquisition for a recently established library that had not, until then, been noted for its music collection; its splendid building was only opened in 1884.²⁶ Inevitably, questions arise. Why did Leeds Public Library acquire a large music collection at Taphouse's sale? Who was responsible for persuading it to come up with the money? And who chose the items and bid for them at the auction? To use the jargon of police procedurals, there is an obvious prime suspect, with the means and the opportunity: he was on the spot in Leeds; he was eminent enough to persuade the library to part with its funds; and he had the expertise to choose items with discrimination. This was the writer and antiquary Frank Kidson (1855–1926), who was born in Leeds and lived his whole life in the city;²⁷ Illus. 3 is a studio portrait of him dated 2 January 1901. He is mainly known today as a pioneer folk-song collector, but his interests were much wider than that. He published, for instance, a dictionary of music publishers in the British Isles up to the early nineteenth century, as well as a full-length study of *The Beggar's Opera* and eighteenth-century ballad opera.²⁸

²³ Modern edition: H. Purcell, *Consort Music*, ed. R. Thompson and P. Holman, The Works 31 (forthcoming), no. 24.

²⁴ For this repertory, including a discussion of the pieces in the Armstrong-Finch Manuscript, see A.N. Williams, "'Curious sola's': The Solo Sonata in Restoration Britain", Ph.D. thesis (Cardiff University, 2020) <@>.

²⁵ I am grateful to Lee Noon for providing me with a copy.

²⁶ See 'A Partial History of Leeds Central Library' (2018), *The Secret Library: Leeds Libraries Heritage Blog* <@>.

²⁷ For Kidson, see esp. L.E. Broadwood, 'Frank Kidson', *MT* 68 (1 January 1927), 42–3; H. Thompson, W.C. Smith, F. Howes and R. Williamson, 'Frank Kidson', *GMO*; R. Palmer, 'Frank Kidson', *ODNB*.

²⁸ F. Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers, London, Provincial, Scottish and Irish, from Queen Elizabeth's Reign to George the Fourth's* (London, 1900) <@>; Kidson, *The Beggar's Opera, its Predecessors and Successors* (Cambridge, 1922) <@>.

Illus. 3: Frank Kidson, studio photograph (2 January 1901). Public domain.



Looking through the list of the items acquired by Leeds at the Taphouse sale, one gets the impression that the intention was to build up a wide-ranging general music collection for the Library, acquiring many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century books on music as well as sheet music. It is noticeable, too, that the obvious was avoided: there is no Corelli or Mozart and only single items of Handel and Haydn, but a number of relatively obscure English eighteenth-century music prints were acquired, including the *Eight Solos*, op. 1 (1746) for violin and continuo by the Colchester organist and composer Joseph Gibbs (lot 336);²⁹ *Fugues for the Organ and Harpsichord with Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1704) by the London organist Philip Hart (lot 385);³⁰ the *Sonate a violino solo, ed il basso*, op. 1 (1750) by the Venetian violinist and composer Antonio Pizzolato (lot 648),³¹ recorded as active in Britain as the leader of provincial orchestras between 1743 and 1752;³² and

²⁹ RISM A/1, G 2002.

³⁰ RISM A/1, H 2162.

³¹ RISM A/1, P 2489.

³² For Pizzolato, see M. Talbot, *The Vivaldi Compendium* (Woodbridge, 2011), 145–6.

the printed full score of Daniel Purcell's setting of Congreve's masque *The Judgment of Paris* (1702) (lot 690).³³

Above all, Kidson, or whoever bid at the Taphouse sale on behalf of Leeds Public Library, clearly had an eye for a bargain. Most of the lots were acquired for less than £1 each, and there were some real bargains, such as the 32 shillings paid for a collection of the original published texts of eight Restoration plays (lot 664), including the wordbooks for three dramatic operas: Shadwell's *Psyche* (1675); Fletcher's tragedy *Bonduca* (1696) as adapted by George Powell in 1695 for Henry Purcell; and Elkanah Settle's dramatic opera *The Virgin Prophetess* (1701), set to music by Gottfried Finger.³⁴

We do not know for sure that Kidson bid personally for Leeds Public Library at the Taphouse sale, but we know he was there because the annotated copy of the sale catalogue records him as the successful bidder for two items on the second day: lot 502, a copy of William McGibbon's *Sonatas or Solos for a German Flute or Violin and a Bass* (Edinburgh, 1740);³⁵ and lot 510, which consisted of the autograph of Michael Kelly's 'Inverness-shire Grand March' and a partial transcription of the now-lost Straloch Lute Manuscript (1627–9), one of several made by George Farquhar Graham in the 1830s and 40s.³⁶

Furthermore, there is evidence that Taphouse and Kidson were friends. Among the entries relating to Taphouse in a sketchbook in Kidson's hand at Leeds Central Library are drawings of the front of Taphouse's shop in Oxford (dated 23 February 1891), and of an eighteenth-century bentside spinet, evidently the one (already referred to) by John Harrison (Illus. 4a, 4b).³⁷

Illus. 4a: Sketch by Frank Kidson of Thomas Taphouse's shop in Oxford, dated 23 February 1891. Leeds Central Library, SR 741.942 KID, p. 71. Courtesy of Leeds Libraries. Photograph by Lee Noon.



³³ RISM A/I, P 5721.

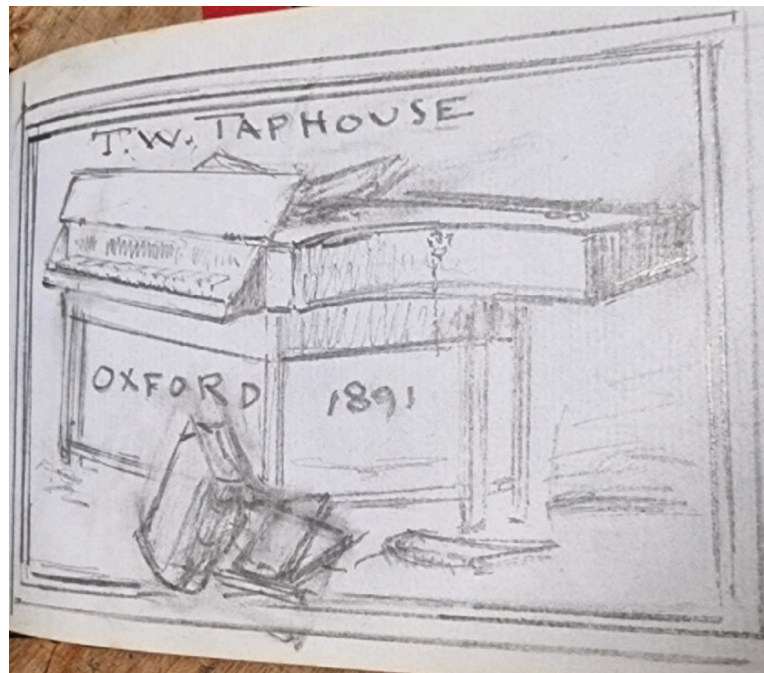
³⁴ Now GB-LEc, SR 822.4 SHA; SR 822.4 FLE; SR781.1 SET.

³⁵ RISM A/I, M 37.

³⁶ For the various copies made by Graham of music from the Straloch Manuscript, see W. Edwards, 'Seventeenth-Century Scotland: The Musical Sources', *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Porter (Bern, 2007), 47–71, at 50–1 <@>. The date 1845 in the Taphouse sale catalogue suggests that it was the one now in GB-En, MS 349; see 'Archives and Manuscripts Catalogue', *National Library of Scotland* <@>.

³⁷ GB-LEc, SR 741.942 KID, pp. 71, 67. There are further sketches of the spinet on pp. 65 and 69.

Illus. 4b: Sketch by Frank Kidson, annotated 'T.W. TAPHOUSE / OXFORD / 1891', of an eighteenth-century bentside spinet, evidently the one by John Harrison (1749), owned by Thomas Taphouse. Leeds Central Library, SR 741.942 KID, p. 67. Courtesy of Leeds Libraries. Photograph by Lee Noon.



In 1900 Kidson dedicated his *British Music Publishers* to 'MY FRIEND / THOMAS WILLIAM TAPHOUSE / OF OXFORD ... AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF ESTEEM'. He wrote in the Preface that Taphouse had 'freely (as he has ever done) thrown open to me his large and valuable store of rare and unique volumes'. Evidence of this is found in a folder in Leeds Central Library containing loose sheets in Kidson's hand with lists of books.³⁸ They including pages apparently recording the loan and return of books, including one headed 'sent to Taphouse', and another headed 'Books from Oxford / & London / Sept 1891 / from M^r Taphouse'.

The Leeds Partbooks

The Leeds Partbooks, lot 41 in the Taphouse sale, was acquired by Leeds Public Library for 22 shillings, another real bargain; it is now GB-LEc, Q784.21 L969. Some of its contents were listed the scholarly literature as early as 1979,⁴⁰ though it has largely been ignored until now, despite including two pieces by Henry Purcell;⁴¹ see Appendix 1 for an inventory. The collection consists of four folio partbooks each containing 20 leaves of music paper. The music paper, which appears to be of a single type throughout, has the Arms of Amsterdam watermark common in Restoration music manuscripts, but with the countermark 'I V T', apparently Jan van Til, a Dutch factor

³⁸ GB-LEc, SR 016.78 KID.

⁴⁰ C.A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* ([Ann Arbor MI], 1979), 137, 183, 196, 203, 206, 211–12, 232.

⁴¹ It is not mentioned, for instance, in F.B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London, 1963); R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000); R. Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England, Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts* <@>.

working in France around 1700.⁴² The tight bindings do not allow one to see how the four parts were made up, but it is likely that they consist of five nested bifolia, each folded to make four leaves. The paper was ruled with a rastrum in the English fashion, with a red vertical guide on the left margin; it was probably purchased in that form from a London music-seller's shop, such as the one that had been run by John Playford in the porch of the Temple Church.⁴³ All the music was copied by a single unidentified individual, who labelled the first page of each part respectively 'Violino Primo', 'Violino Secundo', 'Tennor' and 'Bassus' (see Illus. 5a, 5b). These pages were presumably the front covers of unbound parts just sewn together or kept looseleaf. Perhaps the copyist added these labels to ensure that the binder combined them with the correct part in a set of printed partbooks – a possibility to be explored below.

Illus. 5a, 5b: The Leeds Partbooks, 'Violino Primo', p. 1; 'Bassus', p. 1. Courtesy of Leeds Libraries. Photographs by Lee Noon.



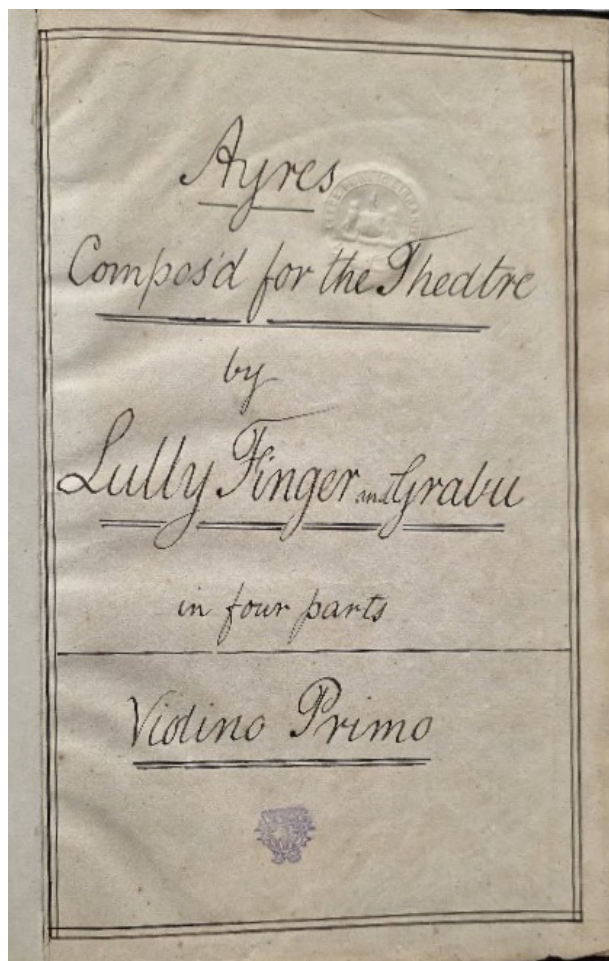
The present bindings – maroon boards stamped in gold with a vellum spine and marbled papers pasted to the inside of the covers and the facing sides of the flyleaves – are clearly Victorian, and seem to have been added at the same time as manuscript titlepages drawn on flyleaves in all four volumes, which give a summary of the contents (Illus. 6a). On the verso of the first violin titlepage

⁴² See esp. W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Holland, England and France in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and the Interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935), 25, 28, xxv (no. 38); xxviii (nos. 43, 44) <@>; IMCCM, i. 256–7. I am grateful to Robert Thompson for advice on this matter.

⁴³ See R. Thompson, “‘Rul’d paper for Musick’”: How Long was the Reach of the Playfords?, *The Music Trade in Regional Britain, 1650–1800*, ed. S. Carter and S.D.I. Fleming (Woodbridge, 2025), 34–48.

there is a more detailed index (Illus. 6b), signed at the top 'TW Taphouse / Oxford', confirming that he drew them himself.⁴⁴ This index gives us a clue to the date of the bindings: the index contains information about the dates of the first performances of Lully's operas, probably derived from the article by Gustave Chouquet on the composer in the second volume of the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary*, published in 1880;⁴⁵ we will see that instrumental pieces taken from five of Lully's operas form an important part of the contents of the collection. It seems likely, therefore, that Taphouse commissioned the present bindings, incorporating his titlepages and index.

Illus. 6a, 6b: The Leeds Partbooks, titlepage and index in Thomas Taphouse's hand on a flyleaf of the 'Violino Primo' partbook. Courtesy of Leeds Libraries. Photographs by Lee Noon.



TW Taphouse
Oxford

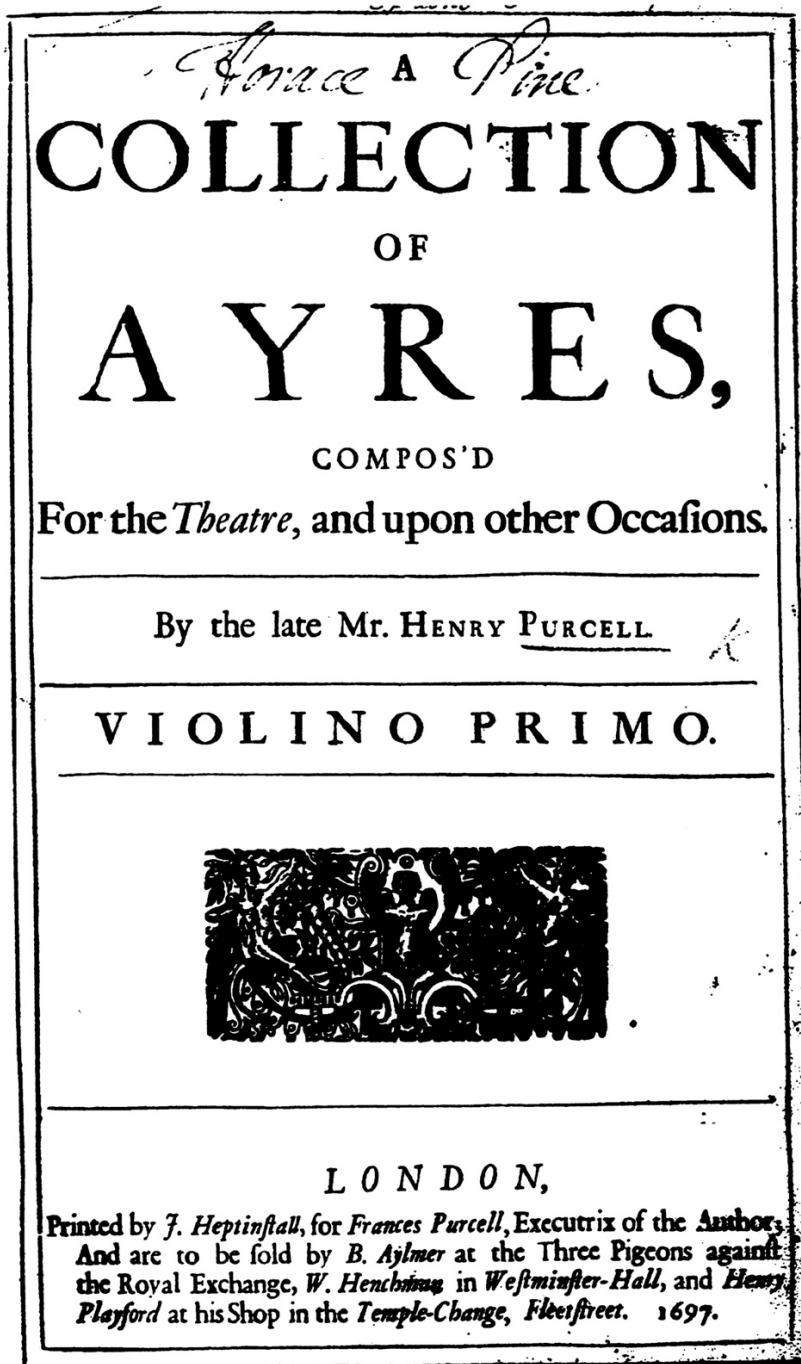
	Page
Theatre Ayres	9
Ayre in Proserpine J B Lully (1680)	8
Ayre in Belshazzar J B Lully 1679	9
Ayres in y ^e Mourning Bride by Godfrey Finger (1697)	16
L Grabin	19
Ayres in Oedipus by L Grabin	21
Ayres in Cadmus by J B Lully (1674)	25
Ayres (five) Unknwn	30
Ayres (nine) (unknown)	32
Ayre H. Purcell	40

It may be significant that the layout and wording of these manuscript titlepages mirror the layout and wording of the titlepages of Henry Purcell's *Collection of Ayres*, published posthumously in 1697. As already mentioned, Taphouse owned a copy of this collection, lot 693 of the sale, but it was not acquired by Leeds Public Library; it went to an unidentified bidder for £9. It is not readily identifiable among the copies listed by *RISM*, though its bindings were described in the catalogue as 'half vellum', as with the Leeds Partbooks, so it would have been similar in its format and appearance to them; see Illus. 7.

⁴⁴ The hand is clearly the same as that in GB-LEc, SR 016.78 TAP, the manuscript cited in fn. 4.

⁴⁵ *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4 vols., ed. G. Grove, vol. 2 (London, 1880), 172–4. However, Taphouse gave the date of *Cadmus et Hermione* as 1674 rather than 1673.

Illus. 7: The titlepage of Henry Purcell, *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre and upon other Occasions* (1697), Violino Primo. © The British Library Board.



This raises the possibility that these two collections, the 1697 print and the Leeds Partbooks, were acquired by Taphouse from the same source, and had originally been kept together or had even been bound together, to be separated when they were bound for Taphouse. It may be significant that, as with *A Collection of Ayres*, the Leeds Partbooks consist just of four string parts, without a continuo part or any figures in the bass part; I will return to this feature later. It was common practice in the Restoration period for manuscript appendices to be bound in with printed music

collections so that the owner could enter additional pieces for the same scoring – two violins, viola and bass in this case.

An example of this practice, applied to another copy of Purcell's *Collection of Ayres*, is the one, now missing its viola part, in the Newberry Library, Chicago, *US-Cn*, Case Vm 3.1 P985.⁴⁶ It has an appendix containing theatre airs by John Barrett, Jeremiah Clarke, John Eccles, Solomon Eccles, Gottfried Finger, John Lenton, James Paisible and Daniel Purcell, as well as trio sonatas and other music by Giovanni Battista Bassani, Finger, Thomas Pickmore, Henry Purcell, John Ravenscroft and others. Another example is Taphouse's copy of Purcell's *Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet*, now *GB-Lbl*, Hirsch III. 472, which has 30 additional leaves containing six extra pieces by Purcell.⁴⁷

The Leeds Partbooks begin and end with pieces by Henry Purcell. The first is the fine duple-time air in G minor Z611/9 which became popular as the country dance tune 'St Martin's Lane' and subsequently in France as the *contredanse* 'La Furstemberg'.⁴⁸ Purcell's four-part setting was included in two manuscript sources of Purcell's theatre airs for Thomas D'Urfey's comedy *The Virtuuous Wife*, probably written for a revival of the play in 1695,⁴⁹ though for some reason it was not included with the rest of *The Virtuuous Wife* set in *A Collection of Ayres*. This omission perhaps prompted our copyist to begin his collection with it (Violin 1, p. 1). For a similar reason, perhaps, he ended the collection with the Violin 1 and Bass parts of Purcell's Cibell in C major for trumpet, four-part strings and continuo (Violin 1, p. 40), best known from its keyboard transcription, 'Trumpet Tune called the Cibell' ZT678.⁵⁰ This piece, an imitation of the 'Descente de Cybelle' in Act I of Lully's opera *Alys* (1676), LWV53/37, 38,⁵¹ was also not included in *A Collection of Ayres* and is not known to have been used as a movement in a set of theatre airs.⁵²

If I am right in thinking that the Leeds Partbooks were conceived as an appendix or supplement to Purcell's *Collection of Ayres*, then this has a bearing on its date. The copyist used 'H'-form treble clefs; mostly 3i time signatures for triple-time movements; sharps cancelling flats; double bar lines marking section endings; ornate terminal flourishes; and an Italic literary hand without secretary-form letters. All these are characteristics of the music hand of an English musician born in the late 1660s or 1670s; he was apparently a slightly younger contemporary of Henry Purcell, who continued to use some secretary-form letters in his literary hand as late as the middle of the 1680s.⁵³ Our copyist was clearly fluent, experienced and musically aware, though with a music hand lacking

⁴⁶ R. Charteris, 'Some Manuscript Discoveries of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries in the Newberry Library, Chicago', *Notes*, second series 37/1 (September 1980), 7–13, at 8–10.

⁴⁷ I am grateful to Robert Thompson for drawing this item to my attention; see also A. Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 124, 187, 248.

⁴⁸ R. Semmens, "'La Furstemberg' and 'St Martin's Lane': Purcell's French Odyssey", *Music & Letters* 78 (1997), 338–48.

⁴⁹ See the modern edition, H. Purcell, *Dramatic Music: Vocal and Instrumental Music for the Stage, Part III*, ed. M. Laurie, The Works 21 (London, 2010), 176–7.

⁵⁰ Modern edition of the ensemble version: Purcell, *Consort Music*, ed. Thompson and Holman, no. 36.

⁵¹ See T. Dart, 'The Cibell', *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Musiekwetenschap* 6 (1952), 24–30; P. Holman and B. White, *The Purcell Compendium* (Woodbridge, 2025), 40.

⁵² However, I am grateful to Robert Thompson for pointing out to me that in *GB-Lcm*, MS 1144a, f. 45, at the end of Purcell's theatre airs for *Abdelazer*, there is the rubric 'Turn over for the Sybell', as if the copyist intended it to be included in a performance of the airs, despite the key change from B♭ major to C major; for this manuscript, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 298–9.

⁵³ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, esp. 20–32.

the decorative and highly formalised features often found in the work of professional copyists, concerned with the beauty as well as the clarity of their work;⁵⁴ this suggests that he compiled the collection for his own use. He generally transmitted good texts, though with the occasional small pitch and rhythm errors of the sort commonly found in Restoration sources – which may of course have been largely or wholly produced by misreadings by others in the line of transmission from the original sources.

The uniform appearance of the copying, with a single shade of ink, suggests that the collection was copied over a short period, and we can narrow down the starting point to after 1695, the probable date for *The Virtuous Wife* airs, or after 1697, if we accept that the manuscript was conceived as a supplement to a copy of *A Collection of Ayres* – which fits in well with the evidence (albeit negative) provided by the watermarks.⁵⁵ The latest datable pieces, and the last in the collection apart from the Cibell, are the theatre airs by the London organist John Barrett (c.1676–1719) for Vanbrugh’s adaptation of Fletcher’s comedy *The Pilgrim*, put on at Drury Lane on 29 April 1700 (Violin 1, pp. 32–5).⁵⁶ This set was published by John Walsh in the summer of 1702,⁵⁷ so if our copyist was working from that publication, which seems likely, he probably finished his work not long after it was published. In fact, it is possible that all his copying for the collection was done in that year or shortly after, though nearly all the music is rather older than that, as we shall see. It is clear that he never completed his task: as the inventory in Appendix 1 shows, there are missing inner parts for the first sequence of pieces by Lully, movements from *Atys* and *Thésée* (Violin 1, pp. 2–7); for Barrett’s airs for *The Pilgrim*; and for the Cibell. Also, he left blank pages in the sequence (Violin 1, pp. 14–15, 36–9), presumably to allow for extra pieces to come to hand.

The contents of the Leeds Partbooks divide broadly into three types: theatre airs written for five plays put on in London between, probably, 1692 and 1700; untitled pieces grouped by key into suites that may have been written as theatre airs but cannot be identified by their titles with particular plays; and sequences of instrumental movements derived and arranged from operas by Jean-Baptiste Lully.

Sets of Theatre Airs

At the time it was standard practice for sets of theatre airs to be specially written for new plays and for significant revivals by composers working for one of the London theatre companies: the United Company at the Drury Lane and Dorset Garden theatres until the spring of 1695, when a breakaway company led by Thomas Betterton established itself in a theatre at Lincoln’s Inn Fields; after that the rump of the United Company continued at Drury Lane and Dorset Garden under the management of Christopher Rich.⁵⁸ Complete sets of theatre airs contain a minimum of seven

⁵⁴ See, for instance, the sample of William Armstrong’s hand reproduced in Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 476.

⁵⁵ I am grateful to Robert Thompson for informing me that he did not encounter the Jan van Til countermark (see fn. 42) in his work for his thesis, ‘English Music Paper and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648–1688’, 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis (King’s College, University of London, 1988), or for Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*.

⁵⁶ See *The London Stage 1660–1800, Part 1: 1660–1700* [LS], ed. W. Van Lennep (Carbondale IL, 1965), 527–8 <@>; Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 211–12. For Barrett, see *BDECM*, i. 83–4; C. Powell, rev. H.D. Johnstone, ‘John Barrett’, *GMO*.

⁵⁷ It was published as the fourth set in the fourth collection of Walsh’s *Harmonia Anglicana*; see W.C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720* (Oxford, 1948; repr. 1968), 30; Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 240.

⁵⁸ LS includes convenient summaries of theatrical affairs in London at the start of the chronologies for each season.

movements. Two or more, known in combination as the ‘first music’ and ‘second music’, were performed before the play began and were similar in function to the warning bells in modern theatres. The overture was played before the curtain went up, and then four pieces served as ‘act tunes’ between the acts of a five-act play; there were no intervals in the Restoration theatre.⁵⁹

We can therefore see that two of the five sets of theatre airs in the Leeds Partbooks are incomplete. Two pieces in G minor (Violin 1 part, p. 1) are untitled and unattributed in the collection, but can be identified from concordances as coming from a set of theatre airs by the oboist and recorder player James Paisble (c.1656–1721) for Colley Cibber’s comedy *Love’s Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion*, put on at Drury Lane in January 1696;⁶⁰ two more movements from the set survive in other sources, so at least three movements are lost. Similarly, the Leeds Partbooks preserve a set of five movements by the Moravian bass viol player Gottfried Finger (c.1655–1730) for the tragedy *Iphigenia* by John Dennis, produced at Lincoln’s Inn Fields in December 1699.⁶¹ In this case, there are concordances for four of the movements,⁶² but the first movement, the overture, survives uniquely in the Leeds Partbooks. This is a fortunate survival, since it is one of the finest overtures in the Restoration theatre airs repertory; for an edition, see Appendix 2 at the end of this article.

The other three sets of theatre airs in the Leeds Partbooks appear to be complete. The airs by the Catalan violinist Louis Grabu (fl. 1665–93) for the tragedy *Oedipus* by John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee were probably written for a revival of the play in October 1692 – the production for which Henry Purcell seems to have set the conjuring scene in Act III, Scene 1.⁶³ Grabu’s set, unique to the Leeds Partbooks, consists of seven movements in C major, the minimum number required to provide the first and second music, an overture and four act tunes. The set for Barrett’s *The Pilgrim*, apparently copied from the printed version in Walsh’s *Harmonia Anglicana*, consists of nine movements in A major. This is the most common number of movements, allowing for the first and second music to be divided into two contrasted movements – the pattern found, for instance, in Purcell’s dramatic operas *Dioclesian* (1690) Z627/1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, *The Fairy Queen* (1692) Z629/1a, 1b, 2a, 2b and *The Indian Queen* (1695) Z630/1a, 1b, 2a, 2b.

As copied in the Leeds Partbooks, the overture comes first in the sets for *Oedipus* and *The Pilgrim*, which tells us that they have been reordered for use outside the theatre; in productions of the plays the overture would have been played after the first and second music. However, Finger’s set of airs for Congreve’s highly successful tragedy *The Mourning Bride*, produced by Betterton’s company at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on 20 February 1697, is preserved in the Leeds Partbooks (Violin 1, pp. 16–18) complete and apparently in the order it was performed in the theatre.⁶⁴ This fine set consists

⁵⁹ For the function of theatre airs in Restoration plays, see esp. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 51–61; *Restoration Theatre Airs*, ed. P. Holman and A. Woolley, Musica Britannica 110 (London, 2025), xxiv–xxix.

⁶⁰ LS, 457–8; Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 196. For Paisible, see esp. BDECM, ii. 852–66.

⁶¹ LS, 518–19. For Finger, see esp. R. Rawson, ‘From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655–1730)’, Ph.D. diss. (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002) <@>; P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 14–16.

⁶² For the sources, see Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 182–3; Rawson, ‘From Olomouc to London’, 271–2.

⁶³ LS, 413. For Grabu’s airs, see Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 206–7; I am grateful to Bryan White for providing me with a copy of his unpublished edition. ME of Purcell’s scene: Purcell, *Dramatic Music Part III*, ed. Laurie, 1–16. For Grabu, see esp. P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford, 2/1995), 293–9; BDECM, i. 502–5; A. Walkling, ‘The Ups and Downs of Louis Grabu’, *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 48 (2017), 1–64.

⁶⁴ LS, 474; Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 203. ME: *Restoration Theatre Airs*, ed. Holman and Woolley, no. 5.

of no fewer than ten movements: an overture in D minor; four movements for the first and second music; an untitled movement in B♭ major that evidently functioned as a second overture or curtain tune; and four act tunes in G minor. As with Finger's airs for *Iphigenia*, which are in C minor and E♭ major, the movements of the *Mourning Bride* set do not keep to a single key. This was because the components of sets of theatre airs were often separated by large stretches of speech when performed in plays. However, there was a trend in the 1690s, exemplified by the sets by Grabu for *Oedipus* and Barrett for *The Pilgrim*, to compose sets of theatre airs in a single key, so that they could also function as conventional suites, also suitable for concerts or as domestic chamber music.

The second overture or curtain tune to *The Mourning Bride* is a remarkable movement with a separate part for a solo wind instrument, copied in the Leeds Partbooks at the bottom of p. 17 in the Violin 1 part. It seems to correspond to Congreve's stage direction at the beginning of the play: 'A Room of State. The Curtain rising slowly to soft Musick, discovers *Almeria* in Mourning, *Leonora* waiting in Mourning. After the Musick *Almeria* rises from her Chair, and comes forward'.⁶⁵ In the Leeds Partbooks this wind part is allocated to 'a Flute' – a recorder – but in the other complete source, the Finney Partbooks, *US-LAuc*, MS 1970.001, pp. 108–13, the part, written on a slip bound into the viola part, is labelled 'For a hoboy'. A recorder seems more appropriate than an oboe for the 'soft Musick' called for by Congreve, and was probably Finger's original choice (Ex. 2); an oboe was perhaps used for subsequent concert performances.

Ex. 1: Gottfried Finger, Second Overture or Curtain Tune from *The Mourning Bride* (1697), bb. 1–17, the Leeds Partbooks, Violin 1, pp. 16–18.

⁶⁵ W. Congreve, *The Mourning Bride, a Tragedy* (London, 1697), [1].

Other Suites

In addition to the five sets of theatre airs written for known productions of plays, there are three sequences of movements in the Leeds Partbooks that are untitled but may also have been composed for the theatre. The most significant is a suite in F major attributed to Louis Grabu; it is the item immediately preceding his *Oedipus* set in the Partbooks, Violin 1 part, pp. 19–20.⁶⁶ It too has seven movements, with an overture followed by a mixture of triple-time and duple-time airs, and it may also have been written for a play put on by the United Company in the late 1680s or early 1690s, during Grabu's second period in London.⁶⁷

Immediately following Grabu's theatre airs for *Oedipus* are two anonymous sequences of movements: four in C minor (Violin 1, p. 23) and three in G minor (Violin 1, p. 24). At first sight these might be thought to make up another seven-movement set of theatre airs, but in fact they are rather different in style and accomplishment. The C minor set is a highly effective miniature suite, with a single-strain movement, evidently a prelude, followed by a jig-like air, a slow minuet and a lively duple-time air. The copyist gave them Italian tempo markings (Adagio – Allego – Adagio – Vivace) rather than genre titles, which is strange because the music is not at all Italianate, but is in an accomplished Purcellian idiom; see Ex. 3.

Ex. 2: Anonymous, Prelude from the Suite in C minor, Leeds Partbooks, Violin 1, p. 23.

The musical score is for a prelude in C minor, 3/4 time, marked 'Adagio'. It is presented in two systems of four staves each. The first system contains measures 1 through 8, and the second system contains measures 9 through 16. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals, with a key signature of three flats and a common time signature.

Commentary: 6, Vn 1, notes 2 & 3; 9 Va, notes 3 & 4: all a step higher.

⁶⁶ I am grateful to Bryan White for providing me with a copy of his unpublished edition.

⁶⁷ See esp. Walkling, 'The Ups and Downs of Louis Grabu', 31–59.

By contrast, the three movements in G minor, a duple-time air and two minuets, use a blander idiom and are by a less accomplished composer. All three have concordances with the Blakiston Manuscript, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17853, a tune book for violin and recorder dated 1694 by its first copyist, William Blakiston, a musician active in north-east England.⁶⁸ This source has a number of pieces by Grabu, including all but one of the movements in his F major suite just discussed, so it may be that these three movements are also by him.

Movements by Lully

The first half of the Leeds Partbooks, after Purcell's Air in G minor Z611/9 and the two airs from Paisible's set for *Love's Last Shift*, consists of a long sequence of 30 movements drawn from four of Lully's operas: *Thésée* (1675), *Atys* (1676), *Bellerophon* (1679) and *Proserpine* (1680). The first blank pages, Violin 1, pp. 14 and 15, come at the end of this sequence and may have been intended for yet more movements by Lully. A second sequence of nine movements later in the collection, Violin 1, pp. 25–9, comes from Lully's second opera, *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673).

These Lully pieces, mostly overtures, preludes and dances with a few instrumental versions of vocal sections, were presumably derived directly or indirectly from the original manuscript or printed scores of the parent works. However, as with most of the instrumental extracts from Lully's stage works in English sources, his five-part orchestral writing for violin, three violas and bass (*dessus*, *haute-contre*, *taille*, *quinte* and *basse*),⁶⁹ extremely old-fashioned in European terms by 1700, has been reduced in the Leeds Partbooks from five to four parts, converting it to the more modern Italianate string quartet scoring by the simple expedient of allocating the original *haute-contre* or first viola part to a second violin and omitting the *quinte* or third viola part. Ex. 2 is the four-part version in the Leeds Partbooks of the 'Entrée de l'Envie' or 'Air pour les vents' from the Prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione*.⁷⁰ The *f*[#] in the viola part in b. 11 of the Leeds version, not in Lully's original, produces a colourful augmented chord. This could be just a copying error, though it makes a logical line and progression and is highly effective in performance. Perhaps our copyist, or someone in the line of transmission, accustomed to the dissonant and angular inner parts of theatrical dance music by Locke, Blow and Purcell, found Lully's relatively bland orchestral idiom intolerable at that point.

⁶⁸ See Walkling, 'The Ups and Downs of Louis Grabu', esp. 63; A. Woolley, 'Tunes for Violin or Recorder Collected in North-East England and London in the Late Seventeenth Century: The Provenance and Contents of the Blakiston Manuscript (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17853)', *Music in North-East England 1500–1800*, ed. S. Carter, K. Gibson and R. Southey (Woodbridge, 2020), 127–50.

⁶⁹ For Lully's orchestra, see esp. J. de La Gorce, 'Some Notes on Lully's Orchestra', *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. J.H. Heyer (Cambridge, 1989), 99–112; J. Spitzer and N. Zaslav, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford, 2004), 70–104; *L'orchestre à cordes sous Louis XIV: instruments, répertoires, singularités*, ed. J. Duron and F. Gétreau ([Paris], 2015).

⁷⁰ A convenient modern edition of the original five-part setting is in J-B. Lully, *Cadmus et Hermione, Airs à jouer / Bühnenmusik / Incidental Music*, ed. L. Albanese, IMSLP, 6–7 <@>.

Ex. 2: Jean-Baptiste Lully, 'Entrée de l'Envie' or 'Air pour les vents' LWV49/8 from the Prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), in the four-part version in the Leeds Partbooks, Violin 1, p. 25.

Measures 1-4 of the musical score. The music is in 3/4 time and features a complex, rhythmic melody in the violin part, with supporting parts in the other staves.

Measures 5-10 of the musical score. This section includes a first and second ending bracketed over measures 8 and 9. The melody continues with various rhythmic patterns and rests.

Measures 11-15 of the musical score. The music continues with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, maintaining the rhythmic intensity of the previous section.

Measures 16-20 of the musical score. This section also includes a first and second ending bracketed over measures 18 and 19. The piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 20.

Little or no research has yet been done into the process by which extracts from Lully's stage works were transmitted to Restoration England; it would make an excellent subject for a Ph.D. thesis. An important task, for instance, would be to determine whether some of the four-part versions of Lully in the Leeds Partbooks and other English manuscripts were derived not from French sources but directly or indirectly from the publications of four-part suites from Lully's operas published in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger and his predecessors.⁷¹

Be that as it may, with 39 pieces drawn from five operas, the Leeds Partbooks is one of the largest and most significant Restoration sources of Lully's instrumental music; it was copied near the end of the English vogue for this repertory, which, to judge from the surviving sources, began in the 1670s and tailed off soon after 1700, when instrumental music by Corelli and his Italian contemporaries became fashionable.⁷² Given that the Leeds Partbooks also contain instrumental pieces for at least six theatrical productions put on in London in the 1690s, we might wonder whether our copyist made his collection of Lully for use in English plays.

It is true that pieces by Lully do occasionally seem to have been used in English theatre airs. A set of airs for D'Urfey's comedy *The Richmond Heiress*,⁷³ put on at Drury Lane in April 1693 and copied into *GB-Lcm*, MS 1172 by the prolific copyist Purcell scholars call London A,⁷⁴ apparently includes four-part versions of movements from *La carnaval, mascarade royale* (1668), *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* (1669) and *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670).⁷⁵ Furthermore, the 'Entrée de l'Envie' or 'Air pour les vents' from *Cadmus et Hermione* seems to have been used as the 'Dance of Winds' during the Act II Masque of Devils in the Restoration versions of *The Tempest*. Its tune, with a different bass, is found in a two-part version in the sources of the early eighteenth-century *Tempest* music, once ascribed to Henry Purcell and now thought to be by his pupil John Weldon.⁷⁶ It may also have been used in the first production of Thomas Shadwell's version of the play as a dramatic opera, put on in 1674 with music by Matthew Locke, Pelham Humfrey, John Banister and others – the year after *Cadmus et Hermione* had been produced in Paris.⁷⁷ However, the English sources of Lully's instrumental music, including the Leeds Partbooks, generally preserve them in long sequences from a single stage work, identified by the title of the parent work rather than an English play, suggesting that they were mostly copied for use in the home rather than the theatre.

⁷¹ See H. Schneider, 'The Amsterdam Editions of Lully's Orchestral Suites', *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque*, ed. Heyer, 113–130. See also the listing of these editions in R. Rasch, The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger, Part Four: *The Catalogue, La Barre-Lully*, 40–78 <@>.

⁷² For Lully sources in England, see esp. H. Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisch Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully (LWV)* (Tutzing, 1981); C. Schmidt, 'Newly-Identified Sources for the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully', *Notes*, second series 44/1 (September 1987), 7–32; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 313, 319, 337–8, 369; S. Wollston, 'The Instrumentation of English Violin-Band Music, 1660–1685', Ph.D. thesis (The Open University, 2009), 57, 85, 89, 91, 145, 153–4, 173–5, 178, 180, 366–8.

⁷³ For *The Richmond Heiress*, see *LS*, 420.

⁷⁴ For London A, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, esp. 131–5, 312. For *GB-Lcm*, MS 1172, see the facsimile, *Instrumental Music for London Theatres, 1690–1699: Royal College of Music, London, MS 1172*, intro. C. Price, Music for London Entertainment, series A, vol. 3 (Withyham, 1987).

⁷⁵ See Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 216–17; *Instrumental Music for London Theatres*, intro. Price, xv.

⁷⁶ ME: H. Purcell, *The Indian Queen and The Tempest*, ed. E. Dent, The Works 19 (London, 1912), 130–1.

⁷⁷ ME: M. Locke, *Dramatic Music*, ed. M. Tilmouth, Musica Britannica 51 (London, 1986), 19–86.

Summary and Conclusion

The Leeds Partbooks, a manuscript collection purchased by Leeds Public Library at the sale of the music library of the Oxford collector Thomas Taphouse in 1905, was the work of a single English copyist apparently working shortly after 1700. He was evidently an accomplished musician working for his own use rather than a professional copyist working for someone else. As argued above, he may have conceived his collection as a supplement to the copy of Henry Purcell's *Collection of Ayres* also owned by Taphouse. Although the Leeds Partbooks contain a good deal of theatre music, they were evidently not compiled by a musician working for one of London's theatre companies. As we have seen, the collection contains theatre airs written for productions at Drury Lane (*The Virtuous Wife*, *Love's Last Shift*, *The Pilgrim* and probably *Oedipus*) as well as at Lincoln's Inn Fields (*The Mourning Bride* and *Iphigenia*). Furthermore, the inclusion of sets reordered with the overture placed first (*Oedipus*, *Iphigenia* and *The Pilgrim*), as well as a large number of movements from Lully's stage works, suggests that our copyist was not a member of London's theatrical community, and that he compiled his collection for domestic use.

Nevertheless, we might think that the lack of a continuo part or figures in the bass in the Leeds Partbooks suggests a connection with the theatre, since there is considerable evidence that sets of theatre airs for conventional spoken plays were performed in the small music room or gallery of theatres without a continuo instrument; any vocal music in those plays could have been accompanied separately on stage or in the wings.⁷⁸ However, the Leeds Partbooks may simply consist just of four string parts because that is the format of Purcell's *Collection of Ayres*, and of course performance without a continuo instrument would have been as convenient in the home as in the music room of a theatre.

The identity of the copyist of the Leeds Partbooks is at present unknown, though it is possible that Taphouse acquired the collection and his copy of Purcell's *Collection of Ayres* in Oxford. He certainly had a particular interest in the history of music in his home city: discussing his copy of John Case's *The Praise of Musicke* (Oxford, 1586), Frederick Edwards wrote that as 'an old citizen of Oxford, Mr. Taphouse naturally takes a special interest in an Oxford printed book'.⁷⁹ It could therefore be that our copyist was a musician working in Oxford, and that other examples of his hand will come to light in an Oxford library, which might enable us to identify him. Meanwhile, we should be grateful to him for preserving some fine and historically important Restoration theatre music that would otherwise be lost to us.

⁷⁸ See *Restoration Theatre Airs*, ed. Holman and Woolley, xxxi–xxxiii.

⁷⁹ [Edwards], 'The Musical Library', 630.

Appendix 1:
Inventory of the Leeds Partbooks, GB-LEc, Q784.21 L969

Title (in Vn 1) / key / time signature / pattern of sections / comments, concordances, references

Page no.

(in Vn 1)

- 1 NT / g / ϵ / AB / Henry Purcell Z611/9. The air popular as a country dance tune, 'St Martin's Lane' (and in France as 'La Furstemberg'), included in some sources as the First Act Tune of the airs for D'Urfey's *The Virtuous Wife* (revival, DL ?1695); see PS 21, no. 16/6.

Movements from James Paisible's partly lost set of airs for Cibber's *Love's Last Shift* (DL, January 1696); for concordances, see LS, 457–8; Price, 196.
NT / g / 2 / AB / 'Air'.
NT / g / 2 / AB / 'Bore'.
- 2–7 Extracts from Jean-Baptiste Lully's operas *Atys* (1676) and *Thésée* (1675); all missing in Vn 2; nos. 5–[14] also missing in T.
- 2 '1' / g / ϵ –3i / AB / *Atys*, Prologue, 'Ouverture', LWV53/1.
- 3 '2' / g / [3i] / AB / *Atys*, Prologue, 'Air pour les Nymphes de Flore', LWV53/4.
'3' / g / 3i / AB / *Atys*, Act III/4, 'Entrée des Songes agréables', LWV53/58.
'4' / g / 3i / AB / *Atys*, Act II/4, instrumental version of 'Que devant vous tout s'abisse', LWV53/48.
- 4 '5' / g / 3i / AB / One-flat KS. *Thésée*, Prologue, 'Second Air', LWV51/14.
'6' / Bb / ϵ / AB / *Atys*, Act III/4, 'Entrée des Songes funestes', LWV53/60.
- 5 '7' / Bb / 3i / AB / *Atys*, Act III/4, 'Second Air', LWV53/62.
'8' / G / ϵ / A / *Atys*, Act II/2, 'Prelude', LWV53/42
'9' / G / ϵ / AB / *Atys*, Act II/4, 'Entrée des Nations', LWV53/46.
- 6 '10' / G / ϵ / A / *Atys*, Prologue, 'Air pour la suite de Flore, Gavotte', LWV53/9.
NT [11] / C / ϵ / A / *Atys*, Act IV/2, 'Prelude', LWV53/70.
- 7 NT [12] / C / 3i / AB / *Atys*, Act V/7, 'Première Entrée des Coribantes', LWV53/86.
NT [13] / a / 3i / AB / *Atys*, Act IV/5, 'Menuet', LWV53/77.
NT [14] / C / ϵ / AB / *Thésée*, Act V/8, 'Premier Air pour la dernière Entrée', LWV51/78.
- 8 Heading: 'Lully / in Proserpine'; extract from Lully's *Proserpine* (1680).
'1' / C / 3/4 / AB / Proserpine, Act III/8, 'Air', LWV58/58.
- 9–13 Heading: 'Bapt. Lully in Bellerophon'; extracts from Lully's *Bellerophon* (1679).
- 9 '1' / C / ϵ / AB / *Bellerophon*, Prologue, 'Ouverture', LWV57/1.
'2' / C / ϵ / AB / *Bellerophon*, Act I/5, 'Premier Air', LWV57/23.
- 10 '3' / C / ϵ / AB / *Bellerophon*, Act V/2, 'Premier Air', LWV57/68.
'4' / C / 3i / A / *Bellerophon*, Prologue, 'Menuet pour les Bergers', LWV57/9.
'5' / C / 3i / AB / unidentified; not in LWV.
'6' / F / ϵ / AB / *Bellerophon*, Prologue, 'Marche pour l'Entrée de Bacchus et de Pan', LWV57/4.
- 11 '7' / F / 6/4 / AB / *Bellerophon*, Prologue, 'Entrée des Aegipans et des Menades',

- LWV57/8.
- ‘8’ / F / ϵ / A / *Bellérophon*, Act IV/[6], ‘Prelude’, LWV57/56.
- ‘9’ / F / 3i / AB / *Bellérophon* Act IV/7, ‘Menuet’, LWV57/58.
- ‘10’ / d / 3i / AB / *Bellérophon*, Prologue, instrumental version of ‘Pourquoy n’avoir pas le c oeur tendre’, LWV57/7.
- 12 ‘11’ / g / ϵ / ABC / *Bellérophon*, Act I/4, ‘Prelude, le Roy’, with Act II/6, ‘Premier Air’, LWV57/18, 34.
- ‘12’ / B $\flat$ / C / A / *Bellérophon*, Act V/1, ‘Prelude, Le Roy’, LWV57/59.
- 13 NT / B $\flat$ / 3i / AB / *Bellérophon*, Act II/6, ‘Second Air’, LWV57/36.
- ‘13’ / a / 3/4 / AB / *Bellérophon*, Act I/5, ‘Second Air’, LWV57/24.
- ‘14’ / a / 3/4 / AB / *Bellérophon*, Act I/5, instrumental version of ‘Faisons cesser nos alarmes’, LWV57/25.
- 14–15 Blank.
- 16–18 Heading: ‘Finger in y^e Mourning Bride’; Gottfried Finger’s airs for Congreve’s *The Mourning Bride* (LIF, 20 February 1697); see *LS*, 474; Price, 203; Rawson, 280–2; MB110, no. 5.
- 16 NT / d / ϵ –3i / AB / Rawson, RT16.1; MB110, 5(a), ‘Overture’.
- NT / d / ϵ / AB / Rawson, RT16.2; MB110, 5(b), ‘Borry’.
- NT / d / ϵ / AB / Rawson, RT16.3; MB110, 5(c), [Air].
- 17 NT / d / 3i / AB / Rawson, RT16.4; MB110, 5(d), [Minuet].
- NT / d / 3i / AB / Rawson, RT16.5; MB110, 5(e), ‘Air’.
- NT / B $\flat$ / ϵ / A / Rawson, RT16.6; MB110, 5(f), [Curtain Tune].
- ‘A Part for a Flute to y^e foregoing Tune’ added in Vn 1.
- 18 NT / g / ϵ / AB / Rawson, RT16.7; MB110, 5(g), ‘Air’.
- NT / g / [3i] / AB / Rawson, RT16.8; MB110, 5(h), [Minuet].
- NT / g / ϵ / AB / Rawson, RT16.9; MB110, 5(i), ‘Gavot’.
- NT / g / 3i / AB / Rawson, RT16.10; MB110, 5(j), [Air].
- 19–20 Heading: ‘Grabu’; Louis Grabu, Suite in F, probably a set of theatre airs for an unidentified play; see Walkling, 25–6, 63; White, i. 19–20; Woolley, 142–5.
- 19 NT / F / C–3i / AB / [Overture]; Blakiston MS (*GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 17853), f. 16 (Vn 1).
- NT / F / 2 / AB / [Air]; Blakiston MS, f. 16 (Vn 1).
- NT / F / 3i / AB / Blakiston MS, f. 10v (Vn 1); *DC*, no. 38, ‘Tune’ (Vn 1).
- 20 NT / F / ϵ / AB / [Air].
- NT / F / 3i / AB / Blakiston MS, f. 15v (Vn 1); *DC*, no. 36, ‘Minuet’ (Vn 1).
- NT / F / 3i– ϵ / AB / [Air]; Blakiston MS, f. 15v (Vn 1).
- NT / F / 3i / AB / Blakiston MS, f. 10v (Vn 1); *DC*, no. 37, ‘Tune’ (Vn 1).
- 21–2 Heading: ‘Grabu in Oedipus’; movements from Grabu’s partly lost set of theatre airs for Lee and Dryden, *Oedipus* (DG, September 1678 or a later revival); see *LS*, 273, 300, 352, 399; Price, 206–7; Walkling, ‘Grabu’, 25–6, 57, 63; White, i. 19–20; Woolley, 142–5.
- 21 ‘1’ / C / C–3i–C / AB / [Overture].
- ‘2’ / C / C / AB / [Minuet].
- ‘3’ / C / 2 / AB / [Gavot].
- ‘4’ / C / 3i / AB / [Air].
- 22 NT / C / 3i / AB / [Rondeau Minuet].

- NT / C / 2 / AB / [Air].
 NT / C / 3i / AB / [Minuet]; Blakiston MS, f. 9 (Vn 1).
- 23 Untitled and anonymous suite in C minor; notated with a two-flat KS.
 ‘Adagio’ / c / C / A / [Prelude].
 ‘Allegro’ / c / 3i / AB / Magdalene College Partbooks (*GB-Cmc*, F.4.35), Set XIV/11,
 ‘Slow’.
 ‘Adagio’ / c / 3i / AB / [Slow air].
 ‘Vivace’ / c / 2 / AB / Magdalene College Partbooks, Set XLIV/3, ‘Slow’; *GB-Lbl*,
 MS Mus. 1852/5, f. 55v, ‘Entrée’ (Vn 1, B).
- 24 Untitled and anonymous movements in G minor, possibly by Louis Grabu; see Woolley,
 142–5. Partly notated with a one-flat KS.
 NT / g / 2 / AB / [Air]; Blakiston MS, f. 24v (Vn 1); *US-NH*, Filmer MS 8, p. 64 (B).
 NT / g / 3i / AB / [Minuet]; Blakiston MS, f. 24v (Vn 1); Filmer MS 8, p. 64 (B).
 NT / g / 3i / AB / [Minuet]; Blakiston MS, f. 24v (Vn 1); Filmer MS 8, p. 65 (B); *DC*, no.
 27 (Vn 1).
- 25 Heading: ‘Baptist Lully in Cadmus’; extracts from Lully’s *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673).
 ‘1’ / d / C / AB / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act II/6, ‘Air pour les Statues’, LWV49/34.
 ‘2’ / d / 3i / AB / Notated with no KS. Related to *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act V/3, ‘Amans
 aimez nos chaines’ LWV49/56 (in A minor).
 ‘3’ / C / ♯ / AB / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Prologue, ‘Entrée de l’Envie’ or ‘Air des vents’,
 LWV49/8.
- 26 ‘4’ / C / ♯ / AB / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act V/3, ‘Air pour Comus et sa suite’, LWV49/54.
 ‘5’ / C / ♯ / AB / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act III/5, ‘Marche des Sacrificateurs’, LWV49/42.
 ‘6’ / C / ♯ / AB / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act V/3, ‘Gavotte’, LWV49/55.
- 27 ‘7’ / 3/8 / A / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act III/6, ‘Les Sacrificateurs’, LWV49/44.
 ‘8’ / C / ♯ / AB / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act IV/2, ‘Air pour les Combattans’, LWV49/47.
- 28–9 ‘9’ / C / 3i / A / *Cadmus et Hermione*, Act I/3, ‘Chaconne’, LWV49/22.
- 30–1 Gottfried Finger, movements from a partly lost set of theatre airs for Dennis’s *Iphigenia*,
 (LIF, December 1699); for concordances, see *LS*, 518–19; Price, 182–3; Rawson, 271–2.
- 30 ‘1’ / c / ♯–C / ABC / Rawson, RT10.1, ‘Overture’.
- 31 ‘2’ / c / ♯ / AB / Rawson, RT10.2, ‘Slow Air’ / ‘Symphony’.
 ‘3’ / c / 3i / AB / Rawson, RT10.3, ‘Slow Air’.
 ‘4’ / Eb / C / AB / Rawson, RT10.4, [Air].
 ‘5’ / Eb / 3i / AB / Rawson, RT10.5, [Minuet].
- 32–3 John Barrett, airs for Vanbrugh’s adaptation of Fletcher’s *The Pilgrim* (DL, 29 April 1700,
 published Summer 1702). In Vn 1 and B only. See *LS*, 527–8; Price, 211–12, 240.
- 32 NT / A / ♯ / ABC / ‘Overture’.
- 33 ‘2’ / A / ♯ / AB / ‘Allmand’.
 ‘3’ / A / 3/4 / AB / ‘Corant’.
 ‘4’ / A / 3/2 / AB / ‘Aire’.
- 34 ‘5’ / A / ♯ / AB / ‘Gavot’.
 ‘6’ / A / ♯ / AB / ‘Allmand’.
 ‘7’ / A / 3/4 / AB / ‘Corant’.

- 35 '8' / A / c / AB / 'Round O'.
 '9' / A / 3i / AB / 'Minuet'.

[36–9] Blank, with pencil pagination in Vn 1, probably added by Thomas Taphouse.

- [40] NT / c / C / AB / In Vn 1 and B only. Henry Purcell's imitation of Lully's 'Descente de Cybelle' from *Alys*, Act I, LWV53/37, 38; see ZT678; PS 31, no. 36. A pencil annotation, 'See Works Vol. 6 said of / Purcell / Trumpet Tune "Cibell"', is apparently a reference to the modern edition in PS 6, p. 27, and therefore was added (probably by Thomas Taphouse) in 1895.

General Abbreviations:

Vn 1	'Violino Primo' partbook
Vn 2	'Violino Secundo' partbook
T	'Tennor' partbook
B	'Bassus' partbook
DG	The Dorset Garden Theatre
DL	The Drury Lane Theatre
LIF	The Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre
KS	key signature
NT	no title

Bibliographical Abbreviations:

DC	R. Carr, <i>The Delightful Companion, or Choice New Lessons for the Recorder or Flute</i> (London, 2/1686), second, numbered sequence <@>.
LS	<i>The London Stage 1660–1800, Part 1: 1660–1700</i> , ed. W. Van Lennep (Carbondale IL, 1965) <@>.
LWV	H. Schneider, <i>Chronologisch-thematisch Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully (LWV)</i> (Tutzing, 1981); B. Gustavson with M. Leshinskie, <i>A Thematic Locator for the Works of Jean-Baptiste Lully</i> (New York, 1989; repr. 2017) <@>.
MB 110	<i>Restoration Theatre Airs</i> , ed. P. Holman and A. Woolley, <i>Musica Britannica</i> 110 (London, 2025).
Price	C.A. Price, <i>Music in the Restoration Theatre</i> ([Ann Arbor MI], 1979).
PS 6	H. Purcell, <i>Harpsichord Music and Organ Music</i> , ed. W.B. Squire and E.J. Hopkins, <i>The Works</i> 6 (London & New York, 1895) <@>.
PS 21	H. Purcell, <i>Dramatic Music: Vocal and Instrumental Music for the Stage, Part III</i> , ed. M. Laurie, <i>The Works</i> 21 (London, 2010).
PS 31	H. Purcell, <i>Consort Music</i> , ed. R. Thompson and P. Holman, <i>The Works</i> 31 (forthcoming).
Rawson	R. Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655–1730)', Ph.D. diss. (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002) <@>.

- Walkling A. Walkling, 'The Ups and Downs of Louis Grabu', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 48 (2017), 1–64.
- White B.D. White, 'Louis Grabu and his Opera *Albion and Albanus*', 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis (University of Wales, Bangor, 1999) <@>.
- Woolley A. Woolley, 'Tunes for Violin or Recorder Collected in North-East England and London in the Late Seventeenth Century: The Provenance and Contents of the Blakiston Manuscript (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17853)', *Music in North-East England 1500–1800*, ed. S. Carter, K. Gibson and R. Southey (Woodbridge, 2020), 127–50.
- Z F.B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London, 1963).
-

Appendix 2:
 Gottfried Finger, Overture to the Theatre Airs for *Iphigenia* (1699),
 the Leeds Partbooks, Violin 1, p.30.

Measures 1-7 of the Overture. The score is written for four staves: Violin 1 (treble clef), Violin 2 (treble clef), Viola (alto clef), and Cello/Bass (bass clef). The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The music features a variety of note values including eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests.

Measures 8-14 of the Overture. The score continues with the same instrumentation and key signature. Measure 8 is marked with a '1' above the staff. The music includes a variety of note values and rests, with some measures featuring a 'b' (flat) symbol.

Measures 15-20 of the Overture. The score continues with the same instrumentation and key signature. Measures 15-16 are marked with a '1' above the staff. Measures 17-20 feature a repeat sign (double bar line with two dots) and a first ending bracket. The music includes a variety of note values and rests, with some measures featuring a 'b' (flat) symbol.

Measures 21-25 of the Overture. The score continues with the same instrumentation and key signature. Measure 21 is marked with a '1' above the staff. The music includes a variety of note values and rests, with some measures featuring a 'b' (flat) symbol.

26

31

36

41

45

1. 2.

Commentary: b. 8, vla, n. 4: c' flat; b. 10, vn. 1, n. 6: c"; b. 22, vla., n. 3: g'; b. 36, vla., n. 2-4: g'-c'-c' flat; 44, bs., n. 4-5: f-e flat.

Reviews

Restoration Theatre Airs, ed. Peter Holman and Andrew Woolley,
Music Britannica 110 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2025).

BRYAN WHITE

The range and wealth of instrumental music created to accompany plays in the Restoration theatre was mapped out thoroughly by Curtis Price in *Music in the Restoration Theatre, with a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in the Plays, 1665-1713*, published in 1979. Apart from the theatre airs of Henry Purcell, however, very little of the instrumental music listed in Price's catalogue has appeared in modern scholarly editions until recently. Those who wished to perform instrumental theatre music by figures such as Gottfried Finger, William Croft and John Eccles among others have had to edit the music themselves or, where possible, play from facsimiles of early sources. Happily, this situation is changing. A three-part *Incidental Music* dedicated to John Eccles has been published recently by A-R Editions; the edition also includes instrumental theatre music by composers other than Eccles. The new volume considered here is a much-needed further addition, offering sets of theatre airs from thirteen different composers spanning a period from 1674–1707. *Musica Britannica* is an ideal series for this anthology. The high quality of the repertoire in the volume plainly demonstrates the vibrancy of music in the London theatres in the period in question. The editors bring all that could be wished in terms of expertise and editorial judgment. Peter Holman has been a pioneering researcher in the music of the Restoration theatre for decades and a practical exponent of it through live performance and recordings, while Andrew Woolley supplies an unparalleled knowledge of English keyboard sources, crucial to understanding a repertoire that was commonly adapted from instrumental band to the keyboard.

The musical texts are prefaced by a superb essay on instrumental music in the Restoration theatre. Concise but authoritative, it is to my knowledge the best available summary of the nature, use and performance practice of this repertoire, and is valuable in its own right quite apart from its role in contextualising the music that follows. The editors begin with a clarification of terminology; the choice of 'airs' reflects the fact that these sets are not suites, a term implying that all of the movements are in the same key, nor is 'act music' sufficient since this designates only those pieces played between each of the five acts that made up the typical Restoration play. A full set of theatre airs comprises at least seven pieces: the First and Second Music performed before the play; an overture or curtain tune played at the play's beginning; and four act tunes. Many sets have nine or more movements, since each of the First and Second Music was often made up of paired pieces. Most sources of these sets do not preserve the music in theatre order; instead, the overture has been placed first to create a sequence suitable for concert performance. Only two of the sets offered in this edition are presented in theatre order, those by Matthew Locke and Robert Smith for *The Tempest* (1674) and Francis Forcer's airs for *The Innocent Mistress* (1697) by Mary Pix.

Apart from its quality and attractiveness, the music selected for this edition is eminently accessible in terms of its difficulty and required performance forces. William Turner's airs for *Il Pastor Fido* (1676) are in three parts: two violins, and bass; eight further sets are in four parts with the addition of a viola. Finger's music for *The Mourning Bride* (1697) includes a part for recorder or oboe in the curtain tune, and sets by William Corbett (*Love Betray'd*, 1703) and John Barrett (*The Albion Queens*, 1704) must originally have had trumpet parts for their overtures (and for other movements of the Corbett) which are lost, but are here reconstructed by the editors. One set is anomalous in its instrumental requirements and its nature, Louis Grabu's tunes for the Earl of Rochester's

adaptation of *Valentinian* (1684). This music is not a set of theatre airs, but rather instrumental music for a dream sequence in the third act of the play. Grabu, the French-trained former Master of the King's Music, wrote in Lullian style for the characteristic forces of the French court and opera: one violin, three violas and bass. Annotations in the lone source of this music, his engraved *Pastoralle* dedicated to Charles II's mistress Louise de K  roualle, indicate that an oboe and a recorder doubled the top line respectively in a pair of tunes in the set.

All of the movements in this anthology could be played by single instruments without continuo, a mode that was common for spoken plays in the commercial theatres in the 1680s and 90s. Dramatic operas like *The Tempest* normally had larger bands, and Grabu's music, accompanying a play designed for the court theatre, was probably performed by most or all of the string players from the court's Twenty-four Violins. By around 1700 oboes and bassoons may have been regularly doubling the outer parts of airs in theatre bands. As the editors point out, some contemporary published sets of parts indicate that wind instruments could double all the parts; indeed, Paul Goodwin has recorded the sets in this edition by William Croft (*Courtship A-la-Mode*, 1700) and James Paisible (*She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not*, 1702) with the London Oboe Band (*Playhouse Aires: Eighteenth-Century English Theatre Music*, Harmonia Mundi, 1996). Some of the non-theatrical sources of theatre tunes also include continuo figures, indicating that in concert or domestic settings continuo instruments were added to the instrumental forces. Theatre bands in the Restoration employed the bass violin on the bass line, an instrument normally tuned to *B  * (or sometimes *C*) and played at pitch; a double bass was not used in London theatres until the advent of the Italian opera orchestra in 1708. Therefore, most of the repertoire in this anthology is perfectly well suited to a modern string quartet as well as to groups who might wish to perform the music on early instruments. The range of performing possibilities that these sets allow will hopefully encourage their wider performance. I gather moreover that Music Britannica intends to make individual sets of parts available as downloadable PDFs, which should be a further spur to encourage potential performers.

In addition to the contextual and performance practice details in the introductory essay, the editors provide a few paragraphs dedicated to each composer and his music. It was common for the music of plays from this period to be composed by multiple composers, one providing the theatre airs and another the songs. Here the editors identify any music additional to the theatre airs for the plays in question where known. The approach is different to that taken in the Eccles edition mentioned above, in which an attempt has been made to provide musical texts for all of the music in any of the plays to which Eccles contributed either songs or theatre airs. Eccles contributed songs to two of the plays for which theatre airs appear in this edition, *The Innocent Mistress* (airs by Forcer), and *Love Betray'd* (airs by Barrett). Both sets also appear in *Incidental Music, Part 2: Plays H-P* of the Eccles edition (A-R Editions, 2021, ed. Estelle Murphy), while Eccles's theatre airs for *The Mad Lover* (1701?), also appear in *Masques and Dramatick Operas* (ed. Tim Neufeldt) published by A-R Editions this year.

The criterion the editors have given for the theatre airs selected here is their musical quality, and there is a great deal to admire across the collection. All of the sets apart from those by Grabu include a curtain tune or a French overture. The other movements consist primarily of recognisable dances, though they are rarely named. Locke's Curtain Tune and the Canon 4 in 2 from *The Tempest* are comparatively well known, and the sets by Grabu, Finger, Croft, Eccles, Paisible and Jeremiah Clarke (for Francis Manning's *All for the Better* of 1702) have been recorded in whole or part, the

latter in keyboard arrangement. Other sets are virtually unknown, including the anonymous airs for the Earl of Orrey's *Mustapha* (1680) and the airs for George Farquhar's *The Stratagem* (1707), attributed by the editors to Pierre Gillier. The latter are particularly attractive for the quality of their chromatic harmony and skilful part writing.

The chronological range of composers represented, from Locke (b. 1621/2) to Clarke (b. c. 1674), serves to illustrate the changes in musical style that occurred over the period. From 1680, beginning with the airs from *Mustapha*, the influence of Lully's instrumental writing, and particularly the distinctive French overture, is increasingly apparent. From the late 1690s Italianate trio sonata and trumpet idioms appear in the airs. Purcell's influence can also be discerned amongst airs by Eccles, Croft and Clarke. The combination of native born and émigré composers exemplifies the cosmopolitan nature of the London theatre scene. Nevertheless, the editors found a dearth of extant theatre airs of high quality by composers other than Purcell written between 1680 and 1697. Their choice of attractive repertoire might have been pushed back a bit earlier into the 1690s by selecting Grabu's airs for the revival of *Oedipus* (probably from 1692 and discussed in Peter Holman's article on the Leeds Partbooks in this issue), or the first of Finger's theatre airs from 1695, though this would be a distinction without a difference, since both composers are well represented in this edition. Notably missing as a contributor to the repertoire is John Blow who restricted himself to songs for the theatre. His only theatre airs are those for *Venus and Adonis*, which can be found in Bruce Wood's edition of the opera for the *Purcell Society Companion Series* (Stainer and Bell, 2008).

As one would expect with *Musica Britannica*, the presentation of *Restoration Theatre Airs* is exemplary. The music is elegantly arranged on the page, and the prefatory material includes six high-quality facsimiles illustrating the sources. A full list of sources, carefully described and each supported by its own bibliography, prefaces the detailed textual commentary. This is an edition to recommend equally to scholars and to performers, and one hopes that it inspires recordings and regular performances of the riches found within its covers.

Peter Holman and Bryan White, *The Purcell Compendium* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2025).

MARK CAUDLE

After absorbing the contents of *The Purcell Compendium*, while his activities as composer and musician in a greatly diverse number of fields are comprehensively presented, Henry Purcell's personality and character remain mostly hidden. But by revealing the enormous range of persons who formed his society; the physical environment where he lived and worked; the circumstances of the composition of his works; the scores and parts in which they were conserved and disseminated; and the instruments on which they were performed, a comprehensive picture of Purcell's world is vividly uncovered. While paying respect to the enduring value of Franklin B. Zimmerman's 1983 biography, the authors await a new biography incorporating the copious amount of more recent research and discoveries. Although it opens with a compact biographical section, this work is not a substitute for a full biography. That would require the expansion of many entries and an exploration of the connections between themes here presented in isolation (although many cross-references between topics are indicated) as well as a narrative structure showing Purcell's sequential musical and career development. But referring to this book will help every performer of Purcell's music to deepen understanding of the circumstances of its

composition and performance, its place in the canon of his work and some of the original performers and the instruments that he might have employed.

The structure of the book comprises four sections. First a compact biography, then the 190 page A-Z dictionary section, a list of works categorised according to genre which includes scoring, sources, librettists, and volume number of the modern Purcell Society Edition. There is a comprehensive bibliography which is one of the most important parts of the book, pointing the way to full understanding of the latest research about Purcell. The publisher's preface mentions numerous musical examples and illustrations but although musical illustrations are pertinent where included, they are not numerous. It is helpful to have access to the scores of works under discussion, or failing this, most can be heard in performance on YouTube, which I found useful to consult. Some of the illustrations, such as that of the Whitehall Palace complex, are rather small, and it is not very clear to see which buildings were important in the musical life of the royal palace.

The entries about viols, fantasias, and other instruments will be of particular interest to members of the Society. The authors doubt that a full consort of three sizes of viols would have been available to Purcell, and suggest that any performance of the Fantasias would probably have employed violins for the upper parts. However, an argument that Purcell at least conceived the set for a full consort of viols might be the inclusion of the In Nomines. Apart from lute or keyboard versions, I am not aware of any In Nomines for an instrumental ensemble other than a viol consort, and this indicates to me that the whole set was composed in this light, although performance around 1680 (when they were written) might have needed other solutions. There are several entries which discuss the sonata in G minor Z.780 with its apparently missing bass viol part, which is placed in the tradition of continental works for violin, bass viol and continuo and particularly the op. 1 works for this scoring by Gottfried Finger. However, the opening of the sonata refers to the trio sonata in G minor by G.B. Draghi, and modern reconstructions of the viol part by Dart et al. seem over-elaborate, and a better model might be the bass viol parts in the sonatas of three parts which only occasionally elaborate the continuo part leaving some scope for the keyboard player, extempore. Referring to the Draghi trio sonata, it is described as 'closer to Locke than Purcell', but Purcell quoting the opening shows him drawing on Draghi's ideas, as he also did in the St Cecilia Day odes and *Dido and Aeneas*, as well as Draghi's use of the trumpet in concerted music. Finger's op. 1 is a collection of shockingly disappointing quality (compared to the standard of most of the rest of his output), and it would be surprising if Purcell found his model here.

There is a suggestion that the more elaborate and melodic character of the later accompaniments to songs was a result of the more frequent use of the harpsichord rather than lute, but in France and Italy at this time a similar change is observed which is connected to the enhanced participation of bowed string basses, whether of violin or viol family. It is possible that these developments observed in Purcell's practice were a result of similar changes. The bass violin is described as 'the original large bass member of the violin family', but while in Purcell's time the *Bb-F-c-g* tuning was favoured, in Britain the few surviving instruments and the measurements in the Talbot Manuscript indicate an instrument no larger than the present day normal sized violoncello. Until a large English bass violin is discovered it can probably be assumed that they were divergent from contemporary sizes in Italy and France and were made practical by the use of an overspun *Bb* string, although Roger North felt that Purcell's orchestra had been 'underbased'. In connection with the bass violin, it is stated that G.B. Vitali was a cellist, but all his solo and ensemble

compositions demonstrate that he played a bass violin with *B♭* as the lowest string to the end of his life in 1692. Finger is also unlikely to have played the violoncello, as he left England in 1701 before the bass violin was superseded there by the cello around 1710.

To conclude the consideration of a selection of entries about instruments, in 'Continuo' it is remarked that no continuo book or figuring of the bass part exists for the *Ayres for the Theatre* collection. This is supported by the 'Drury Lane' entry, where it is suggested that the string consort playing sets of theatre airs may have been placed in a music room in a box near the stage, leaving songs to be accompanied on stage or in the wings (by theorboes?). The missing evidence of keyboard participation may be explained if, following the practice of Lully's orchestra, and maybe the example of Locke's *Tempest Musick*, the full string consort played without continuo instruments, only being combined in sections with two solo violins or other solo instruments. More support for this conclusion is given by the unusual richness of the viola parts in Purcell's four-part string writing. The authors also provide some critical remarks about current practice in the use of instruments, for example, the use of the bassoon in solo vocal sections; Purcell seems to have restricted its use to full passages.

One of the finest and most instructive attributes of this book is the enormous cast of characters who appear. Besides musicians, copyists, singers, poets, theatre managers and family, composers and performers of later generations who Purcell influenced or helped to revive his works are cited. Works of Handel influenced by Purcell are noted, to which might be added *L'Allegro, il penseroso ed il moderato*. An interesting point of connection is that some of Handel's singers had songs by Purcell in their repertoire. Sketches of the lives and musical activities are provided of many of the important singers who worked with Purcell, and the performances in which they are known to have participated are listed, which helps to enrich the picture of the way the whole musical society operated. Thus, a clear picture emerges about the types of voices that were available to Purcell and how he made use of them. Some roles in Restoration musical and theatrical life have often been overlooked, and it is a pleasure to be introduced to the 'Prompter', an important person with many responsibilities, including using his whistle to cue scene changes and his bell to cue music!

Despite their expertise and position at the forefront of modern Purcell studies the authors are generous in crediting the work of other scholars. Special acknowledgement is given to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson in the field of Restoration theatre studies; to Robert Shay, Robert Thompson and Rebecca Herissone on manuscripts and sources; and to many other scholars such as Curtis Price and Bruce Wood. The complex pattern of manuscript and printed sources is given great emphasis in the *Compendium*, and this is of particular importance given the loss of so much of the primary performing material in the Whitehall fire of 1698. Analysis of the relation of copyists to the original material helps to show how much they may be relied on where autographs do not exist, and the authors are often able to identify these people and assess their authority. Full lists are given of the contents of many manuscripts such as the important collection of Purcell's singing colleague, John Gostling. Works of other composers copied by Purcell in the process of his education and interests reveal his interest in earlier Italian sacred music and his English predecessors such as Bull, Coprario and Gibbons, where he seems to have picked out examples centred on contrapuntal technique and, in particular, canon. Manuscripts of contemporaries such as Locke owned by Purcell are noted, and their relation to his own compositions are observed. The nature and purpose of his autograph manuscripts is described, and aspects of his compositional practice are deduced.

Aspects of performance practice such as graces and rhythmic alteration are presented under various headings. The authors opinion is to dismiss the use of long appoggiaturas, regarding this practice as belonging to the eighteenth century. Although Charles Coleman's table of ornaments in Christopher Simpson's *Division-Violist* shows that appoggiaturas were played short, the 'Rules for Graces' in Purcell's posthumous *Choice Collection of Lessons for Harpsichord or Spinnet* seem to describe short and long ones, as do seventeenth-century French sources, so there remains doubt about the most usual solution used by Restoration performers. Overdotting is another controversial field, but some of the authoritative manuscripts of Locke's music, which show differing patterns of dotting, reveal that this was a performance decision that the seventeenth-century composer did not expect to control. Purcell's word setting is one of the most celebrated aspects of his music, and his special qualities are carefully elaborated together with the influence that his methods have had on British composers up to the present. It would be interesting to discover how composers after the generation of Britten and Tippett have absorbed Purcell's influence.

The *Purcell Compendium* is most likely to be used as a valuable reference resource by those looking to expand their understanding of the context and background to a musical performance of Purcell's music, which purpose is richly satisfied. But reading through the volume is also very satisfying, and even entertaining, partly due to the occasional humorous note, such as the entry on the Victorian editor and collector Edward Rimbault, who stole books from Oxford and Cambridge libraries and invented imaginary documents. The multi-disciplinary scope and the scholarship of the authors is most impressive, and in this book they provide the pleasure of the opportunity to widen and deepen our understanding of the great composer.

Vittorio Ghielmi and Christoph Urbanetz: *Decoding Marin Marais: From Cryptic Signs to New Musical Perspectives, Sources 1: Pièces de viole, Troisième livre (1711), Deuxième livre (1701)*
(Milan: Libroforte Finemusicbooks, 2025).

LUCY ROBINSON

In Toulouse, at the Bibliothèque d'Etude et du Patrimoine (F-TLm, Res. Mus. Cons 951), there is a remarkable copy of Marin Marais's *Pièces de viole, Troisième livre* (Paris 1711), part of a collection of French viol music which belonged to Jacques Bardy (1709–94) and his family. It is remarkable for two reasons: it is extraordinarily densely marked up with contemporary handwritten annotations for performance, and the authors have managed to trace these annotations back to Marin Marais himself.

Vittorio Ghielmi and Christoph Urbanetz have chosen to present their research in three ways:

1 Several volumes of sources in facsimile with interpretations of the annotations, the first and most important of which is this volume concerning the Toulouse copy of Marais's *Troisième livre* (Cons 951).

2 A highly comprehensive introductory volume (c. 800 pages), shortly to be published, which deals with the history and analysis of the Toulouse copy of the *Troisième livre* and two additional movements from the *Deuxième livre* (Cons. 950.1), the D major Prelude (no. 42) and the much-loved 'Les Voix Humaines' (no. 63). It also presents extensive historical research including a comprehensive chapter devoted to Jacques Bardy and his musical family from Montpellier, who

were amateur viol players who would meet to play together in the country. During the ‘Terror’, Bardy was rounded up aged 85 as a former member of the Toulouse Parlement (i.e. working for Louis XVI), was removed to Paris to be tried, and was sent to the guillotine. Besides Marais, the Bardy family collection of viol music includes Caix d’Hervelois, Morel and, interestingly, the Dutch composer Schenck. The introductory volume further explores the printed texts and their runs, and an assessment of the technical and musical significance of the handwritten annotations.

The support of the Mozarteum University in Salzburg, where Ghielmi is a professor and Director of the Department für Alte Musik, has enabled the authors of the series to purchase reproductions of *all* available Marésienne sources worldwide (both printed and manuscript), and thereby to reconstruct a parallel manuscript tradition, which stands as an independent but no less important pillar to the printed tradition concerning the knowledge and transmission of Marais’s music and technique. Most significantly, it has been established that the annotations contained in the Delaistre Manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, F-Pn, Gf. Rés Vma MS 94 (erroneously called the ‘Villeneuve Manuscript’ in some recent studies, although it probably had nothing to do with Mr Villeneuve) are not the work of an isolated amateur but are consistent with the annotations contained in both the Toulouse books republished by Libroforte as well as in other sources rediscovered and explored in the introductory book. In short, the alphabet of signs added by hand to the Toulouse volumes combined with the study of the Delaistre Manuscript and other new sources reveal to us the most complete system of musical transmission and teaching preserved for the Baroque period: a Rosetta Stone not only for the viola da gamba but for Baroque music as a whole *tout court*.

3 An all-inclusive dictionary (c. 90 pages) on the interpretation of the handwritten annotations of the Marésienne school.

At the heart of the volume under discussion are 134 pages of exquisitely printed facsimiles: the 132 pages of Marais’s *Troisième livre* and two from his *Deuxième livre*, all of which are intensively annotated by hand, except for the beautiful D major ‘Plainte’ which is left plain. This is an incredibly ambitious project, and the clarity of the reproduction of the handwritten annotations is a triumph on the part of the authors and printer. Below the facsimile is an invaluable, clear, bar-by-bar explanation of the multitude of contemporary handwritten symbols – the fruit of 133 pages worth of extraordinarily painstaking, accurate work. Parts of the *Troisième livre* had up to five layers of writing and needed ultra violet assistance to clarify the situation. Despite its complexity, once I started to get my head around what was offered, I quickly found it both surprisingly easy to decipher and extremely exciting. I take my hat off to the authors for their achievement: there in front of my eyes was revealed an incredibly sophisticated and lovingly presented key to the performance of Marais’s *Pièces de viole* – perhaps as close as one could possibly get without it being a recording.

The wonderful G minor Prelude (no. 76) gives an excellent taste of the Marésienne style (see Illus. 1). The opening semiquaver flourish taken with a *tirez* is marked: ‘d[oux]’. The following G chord is marked: ‘A b fo’ meaning: Arpéger bondissant fort, and the three semiquavers at the end of the bar are marked: d[oux]. However, the C minor chord on the first beat of bar 9 is loaded with six directions: tres fo[rt] A[rpéger] sub[itement] b[ondissant] tr[ainé] S[ilence]. ‘Subitement’ means all of a sudden; ‘bondissant’ means gambolling or bounding like sheep in a field – definitely off the string; ‘trainé’ means dragged. In bar 23 there are two quavers marked eg[ales]. There are 17 S[ilences] spread throughout the 27 bars of the piece.

Illus. 1: Marin Marais: Prelude in G minor, *Troisième livre*, p. 71, no. 76, F-TLM, Res. Mus. Cons 951, illustrating the extensive use of handwritten annotations. Facsimile from *Decoding Marin Marais*.



Prelude 76 1: d(oux) 2: A(rpéger) b fo.(rt), d(oux) 3: b tr.(ainé) f(ort) S(ilence) 4: d(oux) 5: f(ort) A(rpéger) S.(ilence), d(oux) 6: tres f(ort), gr.(and) Sil.(ence), d(oux) 7: tres fo(rt) A(rpéger) Sub.(itement) b [b←b?] tr.(ainé) added fingering 4 on the middle G of the chord, S.(ilence), d(oux) 8: tres f.(ort), gr.(and) Sil.(ence), d(oux) 9: tres fo(rt) A(rpéger) Sub.(itement) b tr.(ainé) S.(ilence) 10: d(oux) S.(ilence) 11: added port de voix, S.(ilence) 12: S.(ilence) 13: A(rpéger) S.(ilence), e [MM in GrA, PM in GrC] 15: S.(ilence) 16: S.(ilence) 18: A(rpéger) S.(ilence) 19: S.(ilence) eg.(ales) 20: S.(ilence) 22: A(rpéger) S.(ilence) 23: S.(ilence) eg.(ales) 26: coulé viste le doigt. ["coulé" (sic) to be understood as coulez]

Illus. 2: Marin Marais, Prelude in G minor, *Troisième Livre*, no. 76, from the Delaistre Manuscript, p. 62, demonstrating the closeness of the annotations between the two sources.

62

Prelude

en plein.

petite sup.

en plein.

animez.

animez.

Varie.

Varie.

Allemande

detache. jette

detache.

Redoublez.

These 17 ‘Silences’ immediately remind me of Le Blanc’s description of the French style of viol playing:

Père Marais and Forcroy le Père ... strove to make a sonorous sound, like the great Bell of Saint Germain, which they achieved by playing on air just as they recommended, that is to say having bowed a stroke they allowed time for the string to vibrate. [This method of playing was the foundation of] the composition and playing style of Père Marais, the harmonious sound, with a resonance like the chimes of a clock that comes from his bass viol (*Defense de la basse de viole*, (Paris, 1740), 83, 25).

Etienne Loulié likewise advocates a large number of bow strokes off the string: ‘Secs’ (dry, staccato), ‘Jettez’ (thrown), ‘Coupé’ (cut off, slashed), ‘Exprimez jettez’ (accented throw/flip), ‘exprimez jettez suivi d’un jetté’ (accented throw/flip followed by a jerk). He also advocates that the right-hand thumb is ‘pressed against the wood above the second joint [of the index finger] in such a way that the thumb serves as a counterbalance to the weight of the bow’ (*Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la viole*, MS (c. 1700)).

Ghielmi has long been an advocate of this manner of playing and holding the bow, whilst many other players have leant towards a more violinist legato. He has now been vindicated as a true disciple of the school Marésienne. There is much interesting material in the introduction. The authors have taken admirable care to preserve the ‘rich variety of the original text’ of the annotations and they have a subtle manner of indicating the layering of overwriting. In addition, there is an excellent table of concordances which will be explored in later sources volumes.

In short, *Decoding Marin Marais: From Cryptic Signs to New Musical Perspectives* is a phenomenal musical resource. It is valuable to: all viol players playing music in the French classical tradition, particularly Marin Marais; all viol players in general, for extensive information on technique and interpretation; all string players of French Baroque music and French-inspired German, Austrian and English music; all instrumentalists wishing to play French Baroque music: Marais himself recommends his *Troisième livre* to be played on the organ, harpsichord, violin, *dessus de viole*, theorbo, guitar, flute, recorder and oboe; everyone performing French Baroque music, who wish to enhance their understanding of Baroque rhetoric and gesture.

Günter von Zadow, *Catalogue of Works of Carl Friedrich Abel (AbelWV)*

(Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, [2023])

PETER HOLMAN

The task of cataloguing the music of Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–87) goes back more than 50 years, to Walter Knappe’s *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel* (Cuxhaven, 1971). This was a byproduct of, and supplement to, Knappe 16-volume collected edition, published, also in Cuxhaven, between 1950 and 1959. Knappe’s catalogue and edition were notable achievements at the time, and his catalogue numbers – WKO – are still in widespread use. However, when writing my book *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), which includes a chapter on Abel and his gamba music, I became uncomfortably aware that Knappe’s catalogue had serious shortcomings: a number of pieces unknown to him had subsequently come to light; his method of cataloguing did not easily admit new entries; there were unresolved problems about the identification of the various editions of

Abel's printed collections; and Knape evidently had difficulty recognising the composer's handwriting, accepting, wrongly in my opinion, a number of copyists' manuscripts as autograph.

It was to try to remedy these problems that I prepared a new catalogue of Abel's viola da gamba music, which was published in *VdGSJ* 4 (2010), 36–73. However, this and my book *Life after Death* came at an unfortunate moment. Shortly after I published them a new collection became available for study and performance. Now in the Bach Archive in Leipzig, *D-Leb*, Kulukundis I.A139, it consists of ten sonatas for gamba and bass and four duets for gamba and violoncello; it is now known as the Second Pembroke Collection because, like the part-autograph scrapbook *GB-Lb*, Add. MS 31697, it had once belonged to Abel's follower and probable pupil Elizabeth Herbert, Countess of Pembroke.

This new source made it necessary for me to revise the catalogue, in *VdGSJ* 8 (2014), 77–117, though, once again, shortly after this was published two hitherto unknown collections of Abel's gamba music came to light. The Maltzan Collection, now in the University Library in Poznań in Poland (*PL-Pu*) was discovered in 2014 by Sonia Wronkowska, includes 22 sonatas for gamba and bass and a duet for two gambas, some autograph and all hitherto unknown in that form. The collection came from the palace of the Maltzan family in the Silesian town of Milicz, and seems to have been collected in London by Count Joachim Carl Maltzan (1733–1817), who had been Prussian Minister Plenipotentiary there between 1766 and 1782. These new sonatas are particularly important because they are virtuoso works that the composer apparently wrote for his own use in London concerts, as opposed to simple works suitable for amateurs, as with most of the sonatas in Add. MS 31697. Finally, three new gamba sonatas by Abel (as well as three anonymous works that have been attributed to him: two trios for violin, gamba and bass and the solo part of a gamba concerto) came to light in 2015 in the Ledenburg Collection, now at *D-OSA*, the State Archive of Lower Saxony in Osnabrück, west of Hanover. It came from nearby Ledenburg Castle and was apparently in the collection of Eleanore Elisabeth Sophie von Grothaus (1734–94), who married Baron Georg Hermann Heinrich von Münster in 1759. These discoveries made a second revision of the catalogue necessary, and since Günter von Zadow was closely involved with Abel's music, publishing many editions with his firm Edition Güntersberg, it made sense for me to pass the work of revision over to him; this second revision was published in *VdGSJ* 11 (2017), 73–134.

My task now is to give a slightly belated welcome to the splendid catalogue Günter went on to produce in 2023 covering all of Abel's music. His AbelWV numbers should now rapidly replace Knape's WKO numbers, and I am glad to see that they have already been adopted in the list of Abel's works at the *IMSLP* site. The catalogue is laid out using a simple but effective system: his music is divided into eight categories: A: one instrument; B: two instruments; C: three instruments; D: four instruments; E: symphonies; F: concertos; and G: others, mostly vocal music. Pieces are numbered within each category (so, for instance, the aria 'Frena le belle lagrime' with gamba obbligato from the pasticcio *Sifari* (1767) is G1), and then are ordered by source, with the printed collections generally coming before pieces surviving only in manuscript. At the end of each category are dubious pieces, mostly with conflicting attributions, and pieces known only from documentary sources, such as F29, the oboe concerto advertised to be played by John Peter Eiffert in a London concert in 1759, or G11, a Concertino in E flat for 2 clarinets, 2 violas, bassoon and bass, known only from a Breitkopf catalogue of 1781. The great advantage of this system is that future discoveries can easily be incorporated at the end of each category. Also, von Zadow has sensibly allowed scoring to take precedence over the titles or genres of pieces. Thus Category A

includes keyboard arrangements of orchestral music; while pieces labelled ‘Sinfonia’ or ‘Symphony’ but scored only for strings are listed in Category E rather than Category F. The latter brings together symphony-like pieces scored for winds and strings, irrespective of whether they are called ‘Symphony’, ‘Overture’ or ‘Sinfonia Concertante’ in the original sources.

Gamba players interested in performing Abel will mostly already be familiar with his pieces in Categories A and B; they are all readily available in modern editions produced by Edition Güntersberg. It is in Categories C and D, for three and four instruments respectively, that there is new potential repertory for them. There is evidence that some or all of his op. 9 trios, C19–24, published as for violin, violoncello and bass around 1772, were originally conceived for violin, gamba and bass; these too have been published by Edition Güntersberg. Similarly, we know from eyewitness descriptions that Abel played the viola parts of quartets on the gamba in concerts at court; and an autograph score of ten quartets for flute, violin, gamba and violoncello were among those works by Abel offered for sale in London in 1794. We have one quartet, D21 in G major, that survives in several manuscript sources scored specifically for that combination, and obvious candidates for the same treatment are eight further quartets in which a flute is given as an alternative to the first violin: the six quartets op. 12 (1775), D7–12, and two quartets, D19 in F major and D20 in D major, published by William Napier in an anthology in 1776 with works by J.C. Bach and Giardini. Abel’s quartets were evidently very popular at the time, and it is in this section, with a multiplicity of printed and manuscript sources and complex relationships between them, that von Zadow’s mastery of his material is most apparent.

After the main thematic catalogue, there are a series of sections (called ‘directories’) listing such things as the manuscript and printed sources of Abel’s music; his publishers; tables in which the new AbelWV numbers are cross-referenced with Knape’s WKO numbers and the A numbers used in the *VdGSJ* catalogues of the gamba music; a valuable thematic finding aid in which the incipits of all of Abel’s music are ordered by key and then by their first three intervals; and a comprehensive bibliography. Finally, there are three appendices: a chronological table in which the publication dates of Abel’s publications are tied into known events in his life; a series of reproductions of the title-pages of his printed collection; and a collection of reproductions of the known portraits of him.

This last is a most valuable resource that includes the two well-known portraits by Gainsborough; the drawing by Henry Bunbury and the print derived from it dated 1773, in which Abel plays the violoncello in the company of the oboist Johann Christian Fischer and the horn player Jan Stich alias Giovanni Punto; and the drawing by John Nixon, ‘A Solo on the Viola da Gamba’, and the print derived from it, evidently done to mark Abel’s death in 1787. Much less known are the portraits of Abel by Johann Ludwig Tietz, given to the Oxford University Music School by Philip Hayes in 1780, and by Charles Jean Robineau dated 1780, now in the Royal Collection; this shows him at the harpsichord, presumably in his role as a director of the Bach-Abel concerts. I was also struck by the little-known coloured chalk drawing by Abel’s elder brother Ernst Heinrich, now in Berlin and once in the collection of C.P.E. Bach. However, I am still sceptical that the painting owned by Catharina Meints Caldwell (reproduced here as fig. 94) is by Gainsborough or depicts Abel. The attribution to Gainsborough has not been accepted by experts on the painter, and in *Life after Death* I suggested Walter Clagget or Stephen Paxton as possibilities for the unidentified sitter.

All in all, this catalogue is a major achievement, and deserves to become the standard reference work on the composer. It is nicely produced in paperback, and at 55 Euros for a book of 470 pages it is a real bargain. I hope it will stimulate further research into Abel, and will lead to new editions, performances and recordings of his music.

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

BETTINA HOFFMANN is active as a performer on the viol and Baroque violoncello, and as a musicologist. She has given concerts as a soloist and with her ensemble Modo Antiquo at major festivals and venues. A significant discography is especially notable for recordings with works by Marais, Schenck, Ortiz and Ganassi. Two CDs by Modo Antiquo have been nominated for Grammy Awards. She is the author of the *Catalogue of Solo and Chamber Music for Viola da Gamba* (LIM, 2001), now online at *Violanet*; of *La viola da gamba* (2010), translated in English for Taylor & Francis (2017); and of a study on Vivaldi's bass string instruments, *I bassi d'arco di Antonio Vivaldi* (Olschki, 2020). Bettina Hoffmann is professor at the Conservatorio of Bologna and the Scuola di Musica di Fiesole.

RICHARD RASTALL is Emeritus Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Leeds, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. His postgraduate studies in musicology and composition were followed by doctoral research on minstrels in the English royal households and elsewhere. As a founding partner of Boethius Press in 1973, he was editorially responsible for the Press's facsimile publications, and his other published work includes books on musical notation, music in early English drama, and minstrelsy in late Medieval England; many book chapters and articles on early music; and editions and reconstructions of the works of Martin Peerson and John Milton the Elder. The founder of the Manton Consort of Viols, in which he plays tenor viol, he has a particular interest in domestic music-making in the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.

JOËLLE MORTON is a widely sought-after performer and teacher, specialising in Renaissance and Baroque violas da gamba, violoni and double basses. Active primarily as a soloist and freelance chamber musician, she teaches viola da gamba and historical double bass at the University of Toronto and is the curator for the Hart House collection of antique viols. From 2005 to 2023 she directed the Scaramella chamber music series in Toronto. She is the author of a number of scholarly articles and performing editions of music for the viola bastarda and lyra viol.

DAVID PINTO, urged by Gordon Dodd, from 1972 collaborated with Dr Ashbee in identifying John Browne, Clerk of the Parliaments, as collector-copyist of a large earlier seventeenth-century musical library, revealed in Andrew's ground-breaking article, *Music & Letters* 58/1 (January 1977). He edited major works by William Lawes, for which Browne owned still-extant parts, for viols (Faber Music, 1979), and violins (Musica Britannica 60, 1991). He has combined episodes of performing, in the Jaye Consort and English Consort of Viols and Violins, with producing other Urtext editions and studies.

ROBERT THOMPSON studied at King's College, London, and spent most of his working life as a teacher at Colfe's School in Lee, South London. His 1988 Ph.D. thesis 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper trade, 1648–1688', which explored the relationship between the physical characteristics of manuscripts and their content, provided the basis for further research on late seventeenth-century music. More recently, he has edited two volumes of Purcell's continuo anthems for the Purcell Society, for whom he is currently working with Peter Holman on a revised consort music volume; he has recently become the Society's General Editor.

PETER HOLMAN is Emeritus Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Leeds. He has wide interests in English music from about 1550 to 1850, and the history of instruments and instrumental music. He is the author of the prize-winning *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (1993); *Henry Purcell* (1994); *Dowland's Lachrimae* (1999); *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (2010); and *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (2020); as well as numerous scholarly articles. *The Purcell Compendium*, jointly authored with Bryan White, was recently published by Boydell and Brewer. As a performer, he founded The Parley of Instruments with Roy Goodman in 1979 and is now director of the Suffolk Villages Festival and Leeds Baroque. He was awarded an MBE for services to early music in the New Year's Honours, 2015.

MARK CAUDLE has been performing and teaching as a Baroque cellist and viola da gamba player for 50 years. He was principal in the orchestras of Christopher Hogwood and John Eliot Gardiner and made over 50 CD recordings with The Parley of Instruments. He has performed as principal, continuo, soloist and viol player with most of the leading British period instruments groups, as well as with the Boston Early Music Festival Orchestra and Les Arts Florissants. He is currently principal cello of St James's Baroque and Canzona, and performs with the Gonzaga Band and the Monteverdi String Band. His solo recording, *The Noble Bass Viol*, for Hyperion was widely praised. In Poland, since first performing there in 1980 with Nigel Rogers and conducting workshops and concerts in Łódź and elsewhere in 1986 with The Parley of Instruments, he has been a member of L'Arte dei Suonatori and Concerto Polacco and conducted the classes of viola da gamba and Baroque cello at the Academies of Łódź, Wrocław and Katowice and the summer school in Wilanów. He gave the first modern performances in the UK and Poland of sonatas by C.F. Abel discovered in Poznań. His contribution to Polish musical culture has been recognised by an Order presented by the Polish Minister of Culture, and he is now a dual Polish and British citizen. He also regularly performs and teaches in Ukraine. He makes Baroque bowed instruments which are presently played by leading musicians in the UK and Poland.

BRYAN WHITE is Professor of Musicology in the School of Music at the University of Leeds. He is a member of the Purcell Society, for which he has edited Louis Grabu's opera *Albion and Albanus* and Giovanni Battista Draghi's *Song for St Cecilia's Day, 1687*, 'From harmony, from heav'nly harmony'. He is also a member of the editorial board of the Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music, for which he has edited anthems by John Blow. He is the author of *Music for St Cecilia's Day from Purcell to Handel* (Boydell, 2019), and co-editor with John Cunningham of *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* (Boydell, 2020). His new book, *The Purcell Compendium*, co-authored with Peter Holman, was published by Boydell earlier this year.

LUCY ROBINSON is passionate about performing Baroque music on historically-accurate instruments. To this end she studied at York (BA), Cambridge (Ph.D. entitled *The Forquerays and the French Viol Tradition*) and the Brussels Conservatoire. Lucy has subsequently performed in venues from the Wigmore Hall to Fez to the Sydney Opera House. Lucy has an international reputation for her research into Baroque music, especially into the viol and French music. She has published editions of Bach (Faber) and Couperin (Heugel), many articles (including the 'Viol') in both *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music*. After 12 years as Head of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Music at the

Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama, Lucy now teaches modern string players viol consort playing. She looked at culture from a fresh angle and published a cookery book, *The Grain-free Vegetarian* – musical references pervade this too: <grainfreevegetarian.com>.