The

Viola da Gamba
Society

Journal

The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain
2012-13

Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. Finished material should preferably be submitted by e-mail as well as in hard copy.

A style guide is available on the vdgs web-site.

CONTENTS

Abbreviations:
GMO   *Grove Music Online*, ed. D. Root
     <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.
IMCM   *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson
     and J. Wainwright, I (Aldershot, 2001); II (Aldershot, 2008)
MGG2   *Die Musik in Geschichte ud Gegenwart*, ed. L. Finscher
     <http://www.mgg-online.com>
ODNB   *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Goldman
     <www.oxforddnb.com>.
RISM   *Repertoire internationale des sources musicales.*

Editorial

Two of the articles derive from talks given by the authors. Wendy Hancock's investigation into the 'humouring' of seventeenth century music was given at a joint meeting of the Lute and Viola da Gamba Societies, while Peter Holman's look at an important collection made by Praetorius originally commemorated the 400th anniversary of *Terpsichore*. It has been substantially revised since its original publication in Germany - difficult for members to access. The second and concluding part of Richard Carter's article dealing with lyra-viol arrangements of music by William Byrd considers their context in the light of the many editions and manuscript sources of the music from the sixteenth century to modern times. An interesting footnote is his discussion of a hitherto unexplained ornament which may have derived from Robert Taylor.

The reviews embrace some important European figures from France, Germany, Italy and England.

ANDREW ASHBEE
January 2013

Thomas Mace and a sense of 'humour': the case for expression in 17th-century English instrumental music

Wendy Hancock

The question of expression and expressivity in English music of the 17th century is an elusive one, and not on the whole well-documented, especially as there are rarely explicit markings present as part of the original musical texts. Formerly, performers and scholars have assumed that instrumental music, certainly of the early 17th century, was designed to be played in a pure and uninflected way. However, of all theoretical writers, Thomas Mace stands out, both in addressing this thorny issue, and in giving examples from within his own output. Above all, he makes it abundantly clear that, certainly by his own time, expression in performance was expected.

Mace was an English lutenist, singer, composer and writer, whose most famous treatise, *Musick's Monument*, written between 1671 and 1675 (and published in 1676) was a retrospective defence of the English tradition, and an attempt to recover its aesthetic values. He describes his own work in just these terms as a 'Remembrancer of the Very Best Performances in Musick….Practiz'd by the Best Masters of these last 50 years…'.[1] Indeed it is a most important source of information on music in England during the second and third quarters of the 17th century.

Musick's Monument is divided into three parts. The first 'Divine' part is concerned with singing in church, while the second and third parts largely extol the merits of the lute and viol and their music, by comparison with the guitar, violin and other instruments which were superseding them. It is the more surprising, perhaps, that Mace should have identified the idea of 'humour' in its sense of 'expression' with the lute and viol, given that the violin was then gaining in popularity, and one might have expected it above all other instruments to be associated with such new ideas in England, especially in the realm of articulation and dynamics, as it was in Italy. The violin was particularly associated with a new kind of virtuosic and even flamboyant music at Court from quite early in the century: it was introduced into Charles's musical establishment, following his creation as Prince of Wales in 1616, where it was used in contrapuntal music in combination with viols and organ. Perhaps Mace ignored its expressive potential since he disliked it for being what he colourfully described as a '*Squaling-Scoulding-Fiddle*[s]', and complained about the inequality between '…*One Small Weak-Sounding- Bass-Viol*' even when joined with a '*Harpsicon*, or *Organ*…. [or] a *Theorboe-Lute*..' since …'*The Scoulding Violins will out-Top Them All*.'[2]

---

[1] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676). Modern facsimile: *Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris, 2/1966), Preface Sig.b recto.
[2] *Op. cit.,* 233.

For Mace, the idea of what we would today call 'expression' or 'affect' was loosely identified with the term 'humour', although in common with other 17th-century English musicians and theorists he used other expressions too, such as 'temper', 'temperament', 'conceit', 'nature', 'passion', 'life' and 'spirit' to suggest shades of meaning related to 'humour', and sometimes interchangeably with it.

All these terms had somewhat different connotations in the 17th century from today, bound up as they were with the persuasive powers of rhetoric and oratory, and with the psycho-physiology associated with them. Such ideas derive from Aristotelian mimetic theory, in which art (including music) was thought to be able to imitate nature, both animate and inanimate, including the inflections of speech and the emotions. The doctrine of the affections thereby related music to the flux of the emotions in both its means and its ends. On the other hand, such concepts looked forward to views expressed by writers such as Mattheson, Quantz and others in 18th-century Germany, whose use of terms such as 'temperament' 'affection' and 'passion' were broadly similar to Mace's uses of the term 'humour'.[3]

The connection between what we might call 'affective expression' in music, and rhetoric in language, is made explicit by Henry Peacham, Francis Bacon, and by Mace himself. Peacham demonstrates that while music cannot reproduce the effects of figurative language in terms of direct intellectual persuasion, it can imitate *schemata verborum*: 'hath not Musicke her figures, the same which Rhetorique?...what is a *Revert* but her *Antistrophe* ? her reports, but sweet *Anaphora's* ? her counterchange of points, *Antimetabole's*? her passionate Aires but *Prosopopoea's* ? with infinite other[s] of the same nature'.[4]

Bacon expresses much the same idea, and links it directly with the idea of 'affect', which he calls the 'Affections of the mind' : 'There be in *Musick*, certain *Figures,* or *Tropes*; almost agreeing with the *Figures* of *Rhetorike*; And with the *Affections* of the Minde, and [the] other *Senses*.[5]

Mace himself confirms this connection by explicitly stating '… as in *Language,* various *Humours, Conceits,* and *Passions,* (of All sorts) may be Exprest; so likewise in Musick, may any *Humour, Conceit* or *Passion* ([be it]never so various) be Exprest; and so significantly, as any *Rhetorical Words,* or *Expressions* are able to do …[6] While these writers all resort to a metaphysical, or analogical, comparison of musical

---

[3] In late 17th- and early 18th-century treatises these ideas ultimately became theories of the affects associated with keys, the best known of which was Mattheson's in his *Neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713). Mace may also be compared with Quantz (*Versuch..* 1752)* in his detailed and thorough treatment of the subject, and in his specifically relating it to a corpus of works for his own instrument(s)-in this case the lute and viol. (*Translated by Edward R. Reilly as *Johann Joachim Quantz, On Playing the Flute, translation with notes and an introduction* (Schirmer Books, New York, 2/1985)).

[4] Henry Peacham the Younger, *The Compleat Gentleman,* (London, 1622),103. See R. Headlam Wells, 'The ladder of love, Verbal and musical rhetoric in the Elizabethan lute-song' *EMc*, vol xii (May, 1984), 174.

[5] Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum:or, A Naturall Historie* (London, 1627),38.

[6] Mace, *Op. cit.,*118.

rhetoric to linguistic rhetoric, they leave us in absolutely no doubt that emotionally-inflected expression is appropriate to music.

Expression in texted music

In texted pieces, the music will almost inevitably contain an expressive relationship with the words in this period. This had been the case ever since the portrayal of the meaning of words in music became possible and desirable in the mid-16th century; and by the 17th century this had necessarily become part of the expressive intention in much, perhaps most, English music. Thomas Morley, as early as 1597, demonstrates this clearly : 'You must, if you have a grave matter, apply a grave music to it; if a merry subject you must make your music also merry, for it will be a great absurdity to use a sad harmony to a merry matter or a merry harmony to a sad, lamentable, or tragical ditty'[7]; and this is reinforced for mid-17th-century music by Christopher Simpson: 'When you compose music to words, your chief endeavour must be that your notes do aptly express the sense and humour of them. If they be grave and serious, let your music be such also; if light, pleasant or lively, your music likewise must be suitable to them….'[8]

Although we are not directly concerned here with texted music, it nevertheless clearly has an important bearing. For one thing it was the ideal of instrumental music to imitate the voice, and for another, many texted works were widely adapted for instrumental performance from at least the mid-16th through to the early 18th century. Adapting both Italian and English vocal music for instrumental performance by lutes or viols was (and is) an important means of developing and extending the repertory.[9] We may assume, by analogy with Mace, and with the injunctions of Morley and Simpson, that the performer might further enhance the meaning of the text by means of select and well-judged expression.

---

[7] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), modern edition R. A. Harman (London, 1952, R/1963,1966), 290.

[8] Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Music in Five Parts*, 2/1667, ed P. J. Lord (Oxford, 1970), 77. Simpson goes further still: Any passion of love, sorrow, anguish and the like is aptly expresed by chromatic notes and bindings. Anger, courage, revenge etc., require a more strenuous and stirring movement. Cruel, bitter, harsh, may be expressed with a discord, which, nevertheless, must be brought off according to the rules of composition. High, above, Heaven, ascend, as likewise their contraries, low, deep, down, Hell, descend, may be expressed by the example of the hand which points upward when we speak of the one and downward when we mention the other, the contrary to which would be absurd.' [Of course one might invert this idea to draw the conclusion that where chromatic notes, for example, occur in instrumental music, they might be suggestive of love, sorrow, anguish and the like, and so on. At least it might help the performer to expressive the affect effectively if he thought along these lines.]

[9] See VdGS index of Italian madrigals from Felice Anerio to Giaches de Wert, many of which are present in consort manuscripts (with or without words), or were published in English collections such as *Musica Transalpina*, 1588 and 1597, Watson, *Italian Madrigals Englished*, 1590, and Morley, *Selected Madrigals*, 1598. Moreover, 22 of the 28 madrigal books published in England between 1600 and 1624 offer the possibility of vocal and/or instrumental performance, beginning with Weelkes's third book which carries the designation 'apt for viols and voices'.

To sum up, I would like to suggest that 'humour', and 'humouring', and related to these the idea of the performer expressing 'passion' (as in the 17th-century term 'passionate' referring to strong feeling), are a vital and integral part of musical expression in English instrumental music from the late 16th century with lute and lyra viol music, through the early repertory involving violins at the courts of both Prince Henry and Prince Charles, through the mid-century dance repertory in trio-sonata texture, to viol fantasies up to the time of Purcell – a period when such expressive demands are not generally considered to pertain. They are in fact surprisingly well documented (albeit in the form of writings and other annotations to the music), being described by many theorists from Thomas Morley (1597) by way of Thomas Robinson (1603), Charles Butler (1636) and Christopher Simpson (1659 and 1667), through to Thomas Mace (1676) and finally Roger North, writing retrospectively in the early 18th century.[10] Of course this evidence is at the 'secondary' level, and the performer is required to judge how to interpret and apply it from the shape, character and texture of the music. There is also a considerable amount of evidence within the musical texts to confirm the same practice, which we shall consider later.

'Humour' (besides the meaning of 'amusing') has two main implications for expression

Before considering its 'expressive' meanings, it is perhaps worth pointing out that English is virtually alone in using the word 'humour' to cover both the idea of something funny or amusing and that of something expressive as well. Intriguingly most other European languages (certainly French and Italian) differentiate clearly between the basic two meanings. In French for example, 'la humeur' refers to mood, as in : 'Je suis de bonne humeur', that is 'I'm in a good mood', whereas 'l'humour' (a masculine noun), refers to something amusing, as in 'Le sens de l'humour', which may well have entered the language from English some time in the 18th century. We need to understand the different shades of meaning inherant in the term, and their origins in the underlying concept(s).

It would seem that the term 'humour' in music according to Mace and also for many other authors in England writing throughout the 17th century, until at least 1680, had two main implications. First, it referred to the concept of the original musical ideas as invented by the composer, which necessarily included such 'humour' from the very beginning. This is 'humour' in the sense of the basic underlying 'complexion' of a piece. And second, it referred to the addition of expression by the performer according to three basic principles outlined by Mace and corroborated by his predecessors and contemporaries. This is 'humour' in the sense of 'affect', and it concerns the expressive rise and fall of emotion as it occurs in performance.

---

[10] Morley, *op. cit.,* Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke,* (1603), Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (1636), Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol* (London 1659, 2/1667(a lithographic facsimile of the second edition), (London, n.d.), Simpson, 1667 (see above), Mace, *op. cit.,* Roger North, *Roger North on Music, transcribed from his essays of c.1695-1728,* ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959).

(i) 'Humour' within the piece

Both Morley and Mace state that it is necessary for anyone who wishes to create a good composition to be in an appropriate mood or 'humour' when he sets about his task. For Morley, writing about texted music, the composer should set or adapt his mood according to the meaning of the text he is about to set : 'If therefore you will compose in this kind [that is, a madrigal] you must possess yourself with an amorous humour (for in no composition shall you prove admirable except you put on and possess yourself wholly with that vein wherein you compose), so that you must in your music be wavering like the wind, sometimes wanton, sometimes drooping, sometimes grave and staid, otherwhile effeminate….' This was a form of advice which had good classical precedent, most famously of all in Horace's *Ars poetica* :

> 'As the human face smiles at a smile, so it echoes
> Those who weep: if you want to move me to tears
> You must first grieve yourself…'[11]

For Mace, the composer should simply be in a good 'mood' :

> 'Therefore I would give This as a *Caviat*, or *Caution* to any who do attempt to Exercise *Their Fancies, in such Matters of Invention; That They observe Times, and Seasons, and never Force themselves to any Thing*…….Strive therefore to be in a *Good, Chearful, and Pleasant Humour always, when you would compose, or Invent*… .[12]

Once he has established an appropriate 'mood' in every sense, Mace then urges the would-be composer to address the three essential elements which, in his view, constituted the work: fugue ('or Matter'), that is the principal theme of the piece; form ('or shape'), that is its structure; and humour (or conceit), that is, the affect. Indeed, all these had some bearing on the inherent humour which formed part of the expressive content in so far as it was bound up with composer's invention. As G.G. Butler makes evident 'It is clear also from Mace's description of it that one of the functions of fugue is to announce or present the principal affect of the piece, and thus it also makes an important contribution to the humour.'[13]

The 'composed' humour was undoubtedly connected with the idea of the four humours as physical qualities in the human body, which needed to be kept in balance, an idea which stretched back to at least Hippocrates (c.460-377 B.C.). This is the origin of the word itself: Latin *humor* (meaning wetness or dampness, and by extension fluid or similar), and came to be used for the constituent fluid elements: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. These in turn came to be

---

[11] Morley *op. cit.*, 294. Horace, *Ars Poetica, Or: Epistle To The Pisos,* translated by A. S. Kline 2005, 'What the tradition dictates' lines101-103.

[12] Mace, *op. cit.,* 124.

[13] G. G. Butler: 'The projection of affect in Baroque Dance Music', *EMc*, xii (1984), 201.

expressed also as objectified or rationalized emotional states, as implied in the quotation from Shakespeare's Henry V (III, ii, 3), the Fight at Harfleur:

Nim. *Pray thee, corporal, stay: …. The humour of it is too hot, that is the very plainsong of it.*

Pistol '*The plainsong' is most just, for humours do abound…*

According to this doctrine, the 'hot' personalities were sanguine (wet and hot), and choleric (dry and hot); whereas the 'cold' were melancholic (dry and cold) and phlegmatic (wet and cold). To be 'out of humour' or 'good humoured' today therefore refers distantly to these four humours, which together, in different proportions, make up our 'temperament'. Other vestiges of the old meanings are retained when we speak of someone as 'sanguine' or 'morbid', and in the use of 'choler' for anger.[14]

Similarly, the 'humour' latent in the original piece was not a personalised emotion, but a distilled and objectified one. Indeed, as G. G. Butler points out: 'although…Mace most consistently uses the term humour in the course of the treatise, it is clear that it was a fairly abstract concept for him, as he also employs synonymously the terms conceit, nature, passion, life and spirit when referring to it (Mace, pp.118,147).'[15]

A piece may contain several humours

Further, according to Mace, a piece does not necessarily contain just one implicit humour, but 'may carry on, and maintain *several Humours, and Conceits*...provided they have some *Affinity, or Agreement one to the other'*. Moreover, he goes further still and actually advocates changing the humour in order to avoid monotony:

> 'Now, as to the *Humour* of It, you may observe, That It All *Tasts of, or Similizeth with the 1st. Barr, in some small kind*; yet not too much of the same *Humour*, for that is *Nautious [nauseous?]*, and *Tiresome*.'[16]

This is illuminating indeed, since it suggests that experimentation, which in the 17th century took place on several levels, also affected the realm of expression to a marked extent, so that the 18th-century idea of one 'passion' or 'affect' per movement or section was not yet in evidence. It also implies a much greater variety of expressive possibilities than we normally associate with the period from *c*.1620 – *c*.1680.

There are similar passages much later in Mattheson (1739), where he suggests that a single *Affekt* could in fact be made up of a number of different emotions; and in Quantz (1752) who maintains that 'in the majority of pieces one passion constantly alternates with another'– although he is, of course, describing a later

---

[14] It is also the case with Bach's 'Well-tempered' clavier (*Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*), where the word 'temperament' refers to a tuning system adjusted to accommodate the comma of Pythagoras, each different 'temperament' taking on a distinctly different character, as is also of course the case in lute- and viol-tunings. See R. Carter's article in *The Viol*, Autumn 2010.

[15] Butler, *ibid.*

[16] Mace, *op. cit.*, 117.

style, where often contrasting musical ideas inevitably follow in much quicker succession.[17]

'Humour' mood and mode

'Humour' in the sense of 'mood' was also bound up with the effects of the different modes. Thomas Whythorne summed up received thought at the end of the 16th century on this subject : 'Cassiodorus saith that the melody named *Dorium* giveth wisdom and chastity; *Phrygium* stirreth to battle and inflameth the desire of fury; *Aeolium* appeaseth the tempest of the mind and bringeth in sleep; *Lydium* quickeneth understanding in them that be dull, and induceth appetite of celestial things'.[18]

Charles Butler too, confirms the same in *The Principles of Musick..* (1636), when writing 'of de Moodes'. He defines music as 'the art of modulating notes in voice or instrument. De wie [which], having a great power over de affections of de minde, by its various Moodes produces in de hearers various effects'.

He then goes on to describe the effects of the 'Moods' [modes] which he numbers as five: Dorian, Lydian, Aeolian, Phrygian and Ionian.[19]

But by the middle of the 17th century 'mode' had come to refer principally to the major and minor modes in England – what we today would describe as 'keys'. Already in 1558 Zarlino had made a fundamental break in modal thought by effectively describing major and minor thirds: 'In the first [the Modes first referred to], the major Third is frequently placed below the minor; while in the second it is frequently heard otherwise [i.e. the minor Third below the major]; and there is heard a sad or languid effect, which makes the whole melody soft; … [20]

---

[17] According to Mattheson, jealousy for instance, is comprised of love, desire, mistrust, revenge, sadness, fear and shame; but nevertheless, a series of competing affects or humours in performance is not suggested, as it is by Mace. Quantz, while clearly appearing to separate the lively mood of the allegro from the reflective sustained mood of the adagio, does nevertheless describe a sequence of contrasting passions, although the musical idiom is a later one:

'Finally, good execution must be expressive, and appropriate to each passion that one encounters. In the Allegro, and in all the gay pieces of this type liveliness must rule, but in the Adagio, and pieces of this character delicacy must prevail, and the notes must be drawn out or sustained in an agreeable manner. The performer of a piece must seek to enter into the principal and related passions that he is to express. And since *in the majority of pieces one passion constantly alternates with another,* [my italics] the performer must know how to judge the nature of the passion that each idea contains, and constantly make his execution conform to it.'……….(*Versuch*, *Op.cit.,* Chapter 11, prgh 15 [124])

[18] Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (modern spelling edn.), ed. J.M. Osborn (London, New York and Toronto, 1962), 199.

[19] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting: with the Two-fold Use thereof, Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (London, 1636/R), 1.

[20] R. W. Wienpahl, 'English theorists and evolving tonality', *ML*, xxxvi (1955), 377-8, quoting 'L'Istitutioni harmoniche' in *De Tutte l'opere del R.M. Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia*, Venice, F. de Senese, 1589, Part III, Chap.10, 192.

Indeed, by the middle of the century it became common in England to speak of 'flat' or 'sharp' keys for what in practice were the modes reduced to two, as Christopher Simpson makes clear: 'This Key or Tone is called Flat or Sharp, according as the Key-note hath the lesser or greater Third next above it. If it be the Lesser Third, 'tis called a Flat Key; if the Greater Third, 'tis a Sharp Key, thus exemplified…'.[21] Mace, however, returns to a pre-tonal approach to key colour and mood, partly because a distinct difference might be heard within the different lute tunings which he advocates, namely the 'Flat Tuning' and the 'New Tuning'. For Mace, 'C-fa-ut-Key' is 'the most *Noble, Heroick,* and *Majestical Key* in the *whole Scale*';…. '*D-sol-re*..is likewise a very *Stately, Noble,* and *Majestick useful Key*';…. '*Ela-mi-Key* (which is the only, and Principle *Key* of the *New Tuning*)… has a very *Handsom, Free* and *Pleasant Scope*'; while '*F-fa-ut-Key*...is an exceeding *Brisk, Lofty,* and *Sparkling Key*'. '*Gam-ut-Key*' is described only in terms of its ease of playing in the two tunings, whereas '*A-re*' is described as 'a Most Excellent Key', and '*B-mi-Key* ..is a *Key* seldom , or never made use of…(except It were *B-mi-Flat:)*'.[22]

The 'mode' or 'key' in which the composer sets his piece therefore offers another distinct aspect of the 'composed humour', which the performer is duty-bound to discover and then to express.

(ii) 'Humour' suggesting the addition of expression to a piece by the performer, by means of ornamentation, contrastive dynamics and varying the tempo

The second main implication of the term 'humour' for Mace is that the performer is expected deliberately to 'add' expression to any given piece, in order to give it life.

Clearly the performer was duty-bound to consider the three main elements of the composition as stated above: first, the '*Notion of Fugue (or Matter;)*', that is the thematic material, which in itself, by announcing the principal affect of the piece, made an important contribution to the humour; secondly he was required to consider the '*Form (or Shape;)*' of the piece (that is whether it was sectional, and if so whether the sections or 'strains' were of uniform length). Indeed, as G.G. Butler points out, 'Mace's treatment of the humour of the coranto *I Like my Humour well* 'occurs in his discussion of its form'[23] ; and thirdly he was expected to discover the '*Humour, (or Conceit;)*',[24] that is, its latent mood or feeling (which Mace often describes in extremely subjective terms). It was then his further duty to '*Express some little Humour*…by which the *Auditor* may discern some *Shape, or Form of Matter*, which you intend to follow…',[25] by methods which Mace makes clear and other writers substantiate.

---

[21] Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist*, 1659, 16.

[22] Mace, *op. cit.*,196-7.

[23] Butler, *op. cit.*, 202.

[24] Mace, *op.cit.*,138. See also 116, 123.

[25] Mace, *op. cit.*, 115.

Mace describes three main methods by which this may be done. The principal means is that of ornamentation, which is described in detail in the two chapters devoted to the performance of 'Graces' on the lute; the second is that of contrastive dynamics; and the third that of varying the tempo, including the judicious introduction of pauses.

1. Ornamentation

Thomas Robinson as early as 1603 had regarded ornamentation on the lute as an important expressive device, commonly using the term, 'passionate' in connection with ornamentation to imply not just decoration but expression too; and Tobias Hume also uses 'passionate' as a performance direction in 1605 – see p.18 following. Robinson:

> 'Now you shall have a generall rule to grace it, as with pashionate play, and relishing it: and note that the longer the time is of a single stroke, that the more neede it hath of a relish, for a relish will help, both to grace it, and also it helps to continue the sound of the note his full time: but in a quicke time a little touch or jerke will serue, and that onely with the most strongest finger.'

Robinson continues, treating of the left hand… 'And as before I haue taught you how to relysh in a single stop, with that finger which is the strongest, so take this for a generall rule, that you relysh in a full stop, with that finger which is most idelest, in any string whatsoeuer: either a strong relysh for loudnesse, or a milde relysh for passionate attencion.'[26] (Here, 'passionate' seems to suggest 'gentle' and possibly 'expressive'. The word 'relish' suggests both the addition of ornamentation in the general sense, and also the specific sense of an individual ornament.)

Mace follows Robinson – and indeed Simpson – in using the term 'gracing' to describe ornamentation in general, and in considering it to be something extra or added : 'I will now … lay down, all the other *Curiosities*, and *Niceties*, in reference to the *Adorning of your Play:* (for your *Foundations being surely Laid*, and your *Building well Rear'd*, you may proceed to the *Beautifying*, and *Painting* of your *Fabrick*.) And those, we call the *Graces* in our *Play*.[27]

Ornamentation in this period may be broadly divided into two categories: those of individual ornaments or 'graces' as described by Simpson and Mace; and those in which the melodic line 'breaks' into notes of shorter value as 'divisions'. The 'graces' current for the viol in the middle of the century are laid out in a table by Christopher Simpson, where they are divided into two categories, the 'Smooth graces' and the 'Shaked graces'.[28] From this it is clear that amongst the 'smooth graces' the affective 'beat' (described by Mace as a 'Half-fall'), which we might

---

[26] Thomas Robinson, p.9 = Cr.

[27] Mace, *op. cit.*, 102.

[28] Simpson, *Division Viol, op. cit.*, 12

term an appoggiatura from below, and 'backfall' (appoggiatura from above) act as dissonant graces by resolving onto the main note, thereby constituting highly expressive ornaments in their own right. Many other individual graces described by both Simpson and Mace broadly correspond in execution, though not necessarily in nomenclature, and often contain expressive content by means of incidental dissonance or excitation of the note (the latter particularly amongst the 'shaked' graces). However, they are too numerous to describe fully here.[29]

The other category of ornamentation at this time, that of virtuoso 'divisions', had been a feature of English instrumental music since at least the end of the 16th century, occurring first in the 'mixed consort' repertory of Morley and Rosseter, later fostered by Daniel Norcombe and Tobias Hume, and later still fully developed, for instance by Christopher Simpson (see *The Division Viol,* 1659, 2/1665), and in Jenkins's pieces for two bass viols. Such excitingly patterned writing is not necessarily subject to expressive requirements in the same way as more melodic or chordally organised music is, although at that time it may well have been regarded as a form of expressive play in its own right, especially when a certain freedom of tempo was introduced.

2. Dynamic contrast

Let us next consider dynamic contrast, that is, loud and soft play. Intriguingly, confirmation of the link between dynamics and the rhetorical musical figures associated with the doctrine of the Affections may be found in the works of both Praetorius and Mersenne. Praetorius described '*pian* and *forte*' as methods used 'to express the *affectus* and move human feelings; while Mersenne distinguished eight degrees of strength necessary to express different degrees of the passions.'[30]

Dynamic instructions had 'made their appearance in the lute literature of the early 16th century, but remained uncommon until the 17th century, when *piano* and *forte* came into general currency in the new Italian music, as in D. Mazzocchi's *Catena d'Adone* (Venice, 1626)…. In the preface to Mazzocchi's *Dialoghi e sonetti* (Rome, 1638) we read that "P.F.E.t., understood for Piano, Forte, Echo and trill, are certainly common things, known to everyone", and Mazzochi further indicated

---

[29] Mace lists fifteen graces on the lute, of which '..The 15th. and last, [is] *Soft and Loud Play, Thus*, (so: lo:) which is as *Great, and Good a Grace, as any other, whatever..*' (*op. cit.* p.102) . One other quotation from Mace on the subject of the shake is irresistible: 'I, for my *own part*, have had occasion to *break both my Arms*; by reason of which, I cannot make the *Nerve-Shake well*, nor *Strong*; yet, by a certain *Motion of my Arm,* I have gain'd such a *Contentive Shake*, that sometimes, my *Scholars* will ask me, *How they shall do to get the like?* I have then no better *Answer* for Them, than to tell Them, They must first *Break their Arm, as I have done*; and so possibly, after that, (*by Practice*) they may get *My manner of Shake.' op. cit.*, 103.

[30] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1618-1619), book 3, p.132 [*recte* 112]; Mersenne (*Questions harmoniques* (Paris, 1634/R), bk 2, p.363), quoted by M. Thiemel in 'Dynamics : History', within *Grove Music online,* incorporating *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd edition (2001), *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (1992), and *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz, 2nd edition* (2002).

short crescendos and diminuendos.'[31] Such markings were incontrovertibly associated with the violin family and its music.

In England however, Thomas Robinson as early as 1603, when writing of the lute, suggests that what he termed 'passionate play', might refer to the use of dynamic variety and contrast as a means of expression, including a suggestion of an ongoing process of crescendo and diminuendo – 'now louder, now softer':

'Passionate play is to runne some part of the squares in a *Treble:* (that is foure and foure) first loud, then soft, and so in a decorum, now louder, now softer, (not in extremitie of either) but as companie of other instruments, or farnesse off giveth occasion….'[32] Robinson emphasises this further '..for what auaileth it to stop neuer so neate, fine and clean, and if it be flubberd with a bad touch, or stroke: therefore, let these rules following, be obserued diligently, without the which, all fine play of the Lute is spoild, and nothing worth. Note, that you strike cleane, plump together in a full stroke of many parts or strings, *sometimes loude, sometimes soft* (my italics), letting your right hand, answere the left hand at the instant, striuing with no stroke: and to conclude, the touch of the one hand, to answere the stop of the other hande, in the full harmony of consent, (called a *Simpathie,*) … .'[33]

Mace too corroborates that dynamic contrast is an important element of expression in his second chapter on graces, and does so with characteristic self-importance !:

> The next, (which I (*my self*) only call a *Grace*; because no *Master* ever yet (as I can find) directed it, as a *Grace*, but my self) is to Play some part of the *Lesson Loud*, and some part *Soft*; which gives *much more Grace, and Lustre to Play, than any other Grace whatsoever* ; Therefore I commend It, as a *Principal,* and *Chief-Ornamental-Grace* (in its *Proper Place*).[34]

He had, in fact, introduced the idea earlier, in connection with ornamentation, where he describes '*Soft and Loud Play'* as 'The 15th. and last' grace on the lute (see footnote 29). Furthermore, when referring to the back-fall, he adds 'When you have given it that *Twitch,* (I have not a fitter word to give it) you must *Shake* it, either with the *Loud,* or *Soft Shake* … afterward, as if it had not been *Back-fall'd…*'[35] Later, Mace suggests that one may deduce where dynamic contrast is appropriate by observing the form of a piece. This he links directly to the expression of objectified moods or 'humours' as suggested earlier, and at the same time he offers a list of 'passions' which might not have surprised Mattheson or Quantz in their descriptions of music over 60 years later !:

> 'And as to the *General Humour* of any *Lesson,* take *This* as a *Constant Observation; viz.* Observe It, in *Its Form,* or *Shap*e; and if you find it

---

[31] R. Donington, 'Dynamics' in *New Grove*, Vol 5 (Macmillan, 1980) 795.

[32] Robinson, *op. cit.*, 9.

[33] *Op. cit.*, 11.

[34] Mace, *op. cit.*, 109.

[35] *Op. cit.*, 104.

> *Uniform*, and *Retortive*, either in *Its Barrs*, or *Strains*, and that it expresseth *Short Sentences*......... Then you will find it very *Easie, to Humour a Lesson*, by Playing some *Sentences Loud*, and others again *Soft*, according as they best please your own *Fancy*, some very *Briskly*, and *Couragiously*, and some again *Gently, Lovingly, Tenderly*, and *Smoothly*.'[36]

(I would suggest that the term 'Briskly' here may be taken both as an indication of tempo, and also to imply an aspect of articulation, as in 'active' or 'lively'.)

To endorse the importance he placed on dynamic contrast (and because he was a very practical musician) Mace recommended a continuo instrument similar to the harpsichord 'invented by one Mr. *John Hayward* of *London*', which he called a 'Pedal'. As he says, '*This Instrument* is in *Shape and Bulk* just like a *Harpsicon*'.[37] Its chief distinguishing feature however, was that it was capable of playing both loud and soft, by means of pedals operated by the each foot, so that '…It *Excels* all *Harpsicons,* or *Organs* in the World, for *Admirable Sweetness and Humour, either for a Private, or a Consort use'*.[38]

To consider next Mace's third area of expression, that is the possibility of varying the speed.

3. Varying the speed

Mace links this directly to humour by advising that one must first discover 'the Humour' which is to say the 'Life or Spirit' of the lesson. This will give an indication of the appropriate tempo, and one may then consider the possibility of varying it:

> *Many Drudge*, and take much *Pains* to Play their *Lessons very Perfectly*, (as they call It (that is, *Fast*) which when they can do, you will perceive *Little Life, or Spirit in Them, meerly for want of the Knowledge of This last Thing, I now mention, viz*. They do not labour to find out the *Humour, Life*, or *Spirit* of their *Lessons.*[39]

Here Mace suggests that many players think that above all one must play the notes correctly, and play the piece up to speed, the faster the better. However, in his view, to capture the essential character of a piece requires a subtle freedom of interpretation, and an execution such that the music *appears* to keep good time. Roger North too, emphasises the same contradiction : 'For smooth and sliding graces, the great secret is to break and yet keep the time'.[40]

Thomas Robinson, much earlier, had made the same point: '… in older times they stroue (onelie) to haue a quick hand upon the Lute, to runne hurrie hurrie, keeping a Catt in the gutter vpon the ground, now true then false, now vp now downe,

---

[36] *Op. cit.*, 130.
[37] *Op. cit.,* 235.
[38] *Op. cit.*, 236.
[39] *Op. cit.,* 147.
[40] Roger North, *op. cit.*, 152.

with such painfull play, mocking, mowing, gripeing, grinning, sighing, supping, heauing, shouldring, labouring, and sweating, like cart Iades, without any skill in the world, or rule, or reason to play a lesson, or finger the Lute, or guide the bodie, or know any thing, that belongeth, either to skill or reason.'[41]

Mace believes that good time-keeping is an extremely important part of good interpretation:

> ... you cannot fail to know my *Mistress's Humour*, provided you keep *True Time,* which you must be extreamly careful to do, in *All Lessons*: *For Time is the One half of Musick.*[42]

Mace especially advocated that beginners should be taught to keep strict time. He even presented a machine which involved suspending a weight from the ceiling, which acted as a metronome, in order to facilitate this. However, he makes it clear that this exact approach to time-keeping might be – indeed should be – modified when the beginner becomes a master:

> …you must know, That, although in our *First Undertakings* we ought to *strive* for the most *Exact Habit* of *Time-keeping* that possibly we can attain *unto* (and for several *good Reasons*) yet, when we come to be *Masters,* so that we can *command all manner of Time,* at our own *Pleasures;* we Then *take Liberty,* (and very often, for *Humour* [i.e. "mood", not "wit"], *and good Adornment-sake,* in certain Places), to *Break Time; sometimes Faster,* and *sometimes Slower,* as we perceive, the *Nature of the Thing Requires,* which often adds much *Grace* and *Lustre* to the Performance.[43]

As part of his treatment of speed and flexible time-keeping, Mace recommends that the performer introduce pauses in his play. His first mention is in the second chapter on graces, where he says the pause should be introduced 'in due place' , and that it may be made 'sometimes *Longer,* and sometimes *Shorter'* :

> 'The last [grace] of All, is the *Pause;* which although it be not a *Grace,* of any performance, nor likewise *Numbered* amongst the *Graces,* by others, yet the performance of It, (in proper Places) adds much *Grace:* And the thing to be done, is but only to make a kind of *Cessation, or standing still,* sometimes *Longer,* and sometimes *Shorter,* according to

---

[41] Robinson, *op. cit.*, 6. Thomas Robinson was a composer and cittern player, and had been a tutor to Anne of Denmark before her marriage to James VI of Scotland. She shared her brother, Christian IV's love of music, and championed the lyra viol.

[42] Mace, *op. cit.*,124. Mattheson too 'is unequivocal in stressing the importance of tempo in underlining *affect'* (See Butler, *op. cit.*, 207 fn9).

[43] Mace, *op. cit.*, 81. Frescobaldi, in the preface to his *Toccate* (Rome, 1615-16), had made a similar recommendation concerning playing slower or faster, with the suggestion of a pause (which Mace also describes): 'First, this kind of playing must not be subject to the beat, as we see done in modern Madrigals, which, in spite of their difficulties, are made easier by means of the beat, taking it now slowly, now quickly, and even held in the air, to match the expressive effects, or the sense of the words.' [quoted in R. Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London, 1963), 432].

the *Nature*, or *Requiring* of the *Humour* of the *Musick*; which if in Its *due Place* be made, is a very *Excellent Grace*.[44]

Later, in Chapter XXIV (on lute technique proper), Mace is more explicit, and suggests that pauses should be introduced at the ends of musical phrases:

'And forget not…to make your *Pauses, at Proper Places* (which are commonly at the *End* of Such *Sentences*, where there is a *Long Note*…...which give the *Greatest Lustre in Play*…..')[45]

Dance types indicate differing styles/characters of performance, and these may (occasionally) be contradicted by the humour

Before considering specific examples from Mace, we should remember that from at least 1600 and for most of the 17th and 18th centuries, any given dance type (and indeed some other genres) would in themselves convey an expected mood and quality which would have implications for expression in terms of speed, articulation, dynamic range and that most elusive aspect of performance-practice – the introduction of tiny silences.[46] The fact that Mace suggests that sometimes the inherent quality of a dance may actually be contradicted by its added 'humour' supports the idea of a strong 'dance humour' in the first place. Therefore, identifying a given dance type (whether or not it is marked as such) is an important first clue to realising its expression. Thomas Robinson had already introduced the concept in 1603, along with a broad division into the slow/grave type and the quick/lively type of piece: 'First see what manner of lesson it is, whether it bee *a Set Song, Innomine, Pauen, Galiard, Almaine, Gigue, Lauolta, Coranta, Country dance, or Toy*, whatsoeuer, according to the nature of the lesson, to giue it his grace with grauitie or quicknes.'[47]

To return to Mace, he gives an explicit example for a Coranto, in which the humour contradicts the dance type:

'This *Lesson* I call a *Coranto*, and *Properly*, as you may see, both by the *Time*, and *Shape* of It; However, I would have it *Play'd in a Slow, and Long Proportion*: For the Nature of It, is far more *Sober*, than a *Coranto*, and will please you much better so.

---

[44] Mace, *op. cit.,* 109-110.

[45] Mace, *op. cit.,*130. Tobias Hume seems to suggest even greater variations in tempo. See *The First Part of Ayres* (or Musicall Humors, 1605).

[46] There is interesting evidence from the music theorist and inventor Marie Dominique Joseph Engramelle, albeit from 100 years later than Mace: *'Les notes dans la Musique indiquent bien précisément la valeur totale de chaque note; mais leurs véritables tenues & la valeur de leurs silences qui en sont partie & qui servent à les détacher les unes des autres, ne sont indiquées par aucun signe….'*

'the notes in the music indicate very precisely the total value of each note; but their true lengths and the value of their silences which are integral to them and serve to detach them one from another are not shown by any sign………' Engramelle, Marie Dominique Joseph, *La tonotechnie ou l'art de noter les cylindres et tout ce qui est susceptible de notage dans les instruments de concerts mécaniques* (Paris, 1775),13.
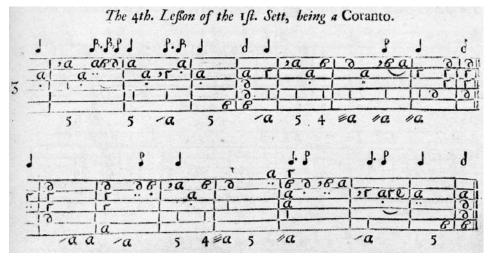
[47] Robinson, *op. cit.*, 12.

14

> The *Fugue* is seen, in the 3 *First Notes*, and perceptible all over the *Lesson*.
>
> The *Form is Even, Uniform, and Perfect.*
>
> The *Humour*, is a kind of *Sorrowing, Pittying, and Bemoaning.* [48]

Mace has already told us that as a result of its fugue and form this piece should be played '*in a Slow, and Long Proportion',* which supports the idea that sometimes the 'humour' of a piece appears to contradict its intrinsic nature – in this case that of a Coranto, which is normally light-hearted and hopeful (see Example 1).

Example 1. Mace, *Musick's Monument*, Coranto, p. 130.

The next 'Lesson' is another Coranto, but in this case Mace prefers to avoid the dance-title altogether, and call it a 'Humour'– 'I like my Humour well'. This particular piece is considered at length by G.G. Butler, who points out that 'Mace's treatment of the humour of the work occurs in his discussion of its form', and demonstrates how Mace's description of each strain might be realised in performance, the crucial strain being the third:

> …this 3*d. Strain*… is *Humorous* and *Conceited*, and seems to *Mock*, or *Mowe*, or *Jest;* to be *Blyth* or *Merry*, as if it were telling some *Jiggish Story*, and *Pointing* at *This* or *That Body*, all along, till it comes to the 4 *last barrs,* where you see the Letter (f) upon the 2d. *String*, with a *Full Stop*; and where you must *Pause,* and use the *Stinging Grace a Pritty while;* and then *Softly whirl away*, and Conclude. [49]
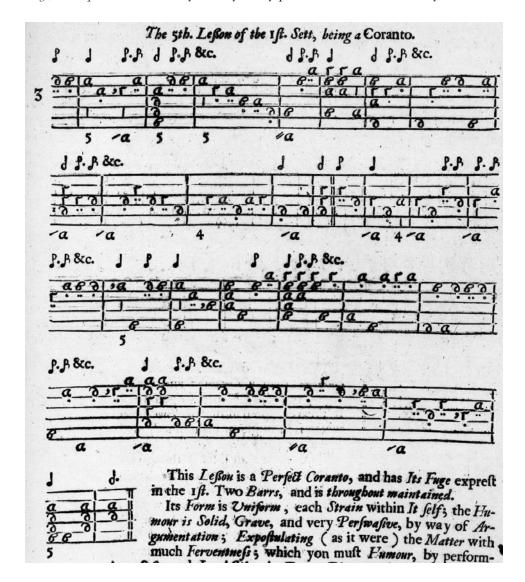
The variety of moods suggested here is worthy of note.

The following piece (see Example 2), is described as a '*Perfect Coranto'* in its fugue, its form as *'Uniform'* and its humour as '*Solid, Grave,* and very *Perswasive*, by way of *Augmentation; Expostulating* (as it were) the *Matter* with much *Ferventness;…'.* Here

---

[48] Mace, *op. cit.*, 130.
[49] G.G. Butler, *op cit.*, pp .202-3, quoting Mace, *op. cit.*, 131.

following, Mace moves directly to an assumption of the other meaning of humour, that is to add expression: '…which you must *Humour,* by performing *Soft* and *Loud-Play*, in *Proper Places*; where you may easily perceive such *Humour* to lye.'[50]
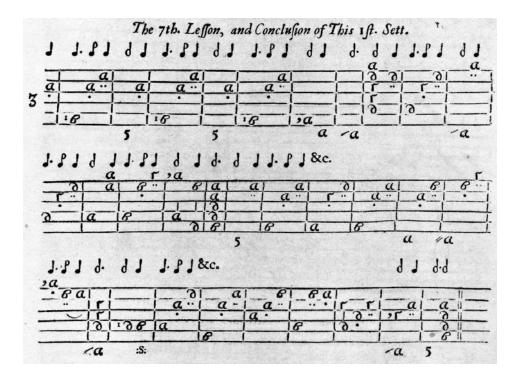

Example 2. Mace, *Musick's Monument,* Coranto, p. 132.

The final piece in the set is a saraband which Mace re-names a *'Tattle de Moy'* because 'It *Tattles, and seems to speak, Those very Words or Syllables*, as you may perceive by the *First Five Letters of It.'* (see Example 3). It is not only described as *'Toyish, Joccond, Harmless*, and *Pleasant'*, but Mace goes further still, giving us an unusual insight into his understanding of these descriptive words: 'as if it were,

---

[50] Mace, *op. cit.*, 132.

one *Playing* with, or *Tossing a Ball, up and down*; yet It seems to have a very *Solemn Countenance,* and like unto one of a *Sober*, and *Innocent Condition*, or *Disposition;* not *Antick, Apish*, or *Wild*, &c..'[51]

Example 3. Mace, *Musick's Monument*, Saraband, p. 133.

Written indications of expression

Unlike notation itself – whether staff notation or tablature – which are the vital primary means of conveying the basic pitches and rhythms of a piece to the performer, marks of expression are, in most cases, optional. Nevertheless, from the early 17th century, such indications begin to creep into English instrumental music, both in manuscript collections, and – somewhat later – into some prints. In both cases we may assume that these represent the intention of the composer, as part of his imagined sound-world, and they are therefore necessary if not prescriptive; in other words, it was no longer sufficient to leave the performer always to please his own fancy. Sometimes, but more rarely, such markings are introduced by the performer himself, as a reminder or suggestion. They are even added in one outstanding case by John Jenkins's patron, Sir Nicholas le Strange, when acting as copyist of the important collection known as the 'Newberry' part-books.

---

[51] Mace, *op. cit,* 133.

Probably the earliest composer of English music to attempt to influence performance style was Tobias Hume in his pieces for lyra viol, written in tablature and published as *The First Part of Ayres* (1605). He requests pizzicato in piece no. 1, sig. C1r, *The Souldiers Song*. I sing the praise of honor'd wars: 'Play three [tablature] letters with your Fingers'; also piece no. 10, sig. D2v, *Harke, Harke*: 'Play nine letters with your finger'; 'your finger as before'. He also requests *col legno* in the same piece – 'Drum this with the backe of your Bow'.[52] But his most famous designation occurs in piece no.12, sig. E1v, *Deth*, which has the instruction 'Play this pashenat after euery straine' at a point where there is a single melodic line, possibly intended to be played freely, concluding with a full chord, followed by a short passage of musical dialogue, marked 'Play this as it stands' (see Example 4).

Example 4. Hume, opening of *Deth* (*Musicall Humors*, 1605).

Of course 'pashenat' here means 'passionate', and there must surely be some change of speed, articulation or dynamic implied, since 'Play this as it stands' is intended to negate it. Perhaps 'pashenat' indicated a more poetic articulation (leading inevitably to softer play), combined with a slight sense of *tempo rubato* – in either direction; so that 'Play this as it stands' implied a return to a more metrical pulse and 'normal' articulation and volume. This would tie in strongly with the

---

[52] Tobias Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*, described as *Captaine Humes Musicall Humors* (London, 1605).

implication of 'passionate' to mean 'expressive' as suggested by Robinson, but also perhaps including the addition of an ornament such as a 'relish'. It will be remembered that Robinson recommends a 'milde relysh for passionate attencion' compared with 'a strong relysh for loudnesse'.

'Passion' was undoubtedly the strongest term for emotion in the 17th-century spectrum of affects. It is described at this very time by Descartes in his seminal treatise 'On the Passions of the Soul' (1649); and it is important to understand it as implying an emotion which is capable of differing levels of intensity, stretching to a degree of feeling that is both excessive and intrinsically unstable on the one hand, but which is also part of the more general idea or system of the passions as the objectified emotional states of the soul on the other. Some light may perhaps be shed on the former meaning by reference to uses of the term in other 17th-century contexts. For instance, passion was particularly associated with the strong feelings aroused by romantic love, and further, on the avoidance of a marriage (by both sexes) based on an emotion not only strong, but also inherently unstable. The lively and articulate Dorothy Osborne never ceased to identify 'passion' as an enemy of all mankind and womankind. She writes to her lover, William Temple in the early 1650s: 'Ah, if you love yourself or me, you must confess that I have reason to condemn this senseless passion; that wheresoever it comes destroys all that entertain it; nothing of judgement or discretion can live with it….'[53]

So when or at what point do composers and performers feel the need to add marks of expression? Certainly the musical texts are under-prescriptive. Composers, theorists and performers do not talk systematically about performance-practice, and markings, which are at best an *aide- memoire,* are rare and may seem to us rather random. The markings added by Sir Roger le Strange, clear and methodical though they are, are surely suggestive of the kind of thing they sometimes did, rather than binding or indicative of what was expected in every performance of that piece (see pp. 28-29).

By the second and third decades of the century however, expression marks in England begin to be associated with certain pieces for strings (although they are rare even here); but it is striking that they do not necessarily occur where one might expect.[54] However, they do tend to occur in connection with the very latest

---

[53] *Osborne Letters* (1652-4),181-2, quoted in A. Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel* (Heinemann, 1984),40.

[54] Such as in the fantasia-suites of Coprario (d.1626) which were written for the same musical establishment as, and occur in conjunction with the Gibbons sets with double bass in the two important sources GB-Och 732-5, and Och 419-21 to be discussed following. The Gibbons do contain such markings in these sources. The same absence of marks may be observed in the violin 'Setts' of William Lawes (1602-45) and the fantasia-suites of John Jenkins (1592-1678) – written away from court, but substantiating Christopher Simpson's tribute in *The Division Viol* (1659 and 1667), that Jenkins was 'the ever Famous and most Excellent Composer, in all sorts of Modern Musick'. Such pieces involve one or two violins in expressive interplay, but contain no signs of expression marks before the 1660s. By then they become somewhat commoner, for instance in the late source in Chetham's Library, Manchester, Mun.A.2.6, where, for the dance movements of Coprario's fantasia suite 12, the word 'drag' appears below note 2 of the bass viol part of bar 28 of the almain, and the word 'slow' is placed beneath note 4 of the bass viol part of bar 43b of the

instrumental combinations associated with court music and musicians. Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* (London, 1613), 'published shortly after the Prince Henry's early death in November 1612, illustrates the repertory performed by Henry's musicians',[55] which included the use of two violins in Italianate 'trio sonata' texture; and Charles's musical establishment, following his creation as Prince of Wales in 1616, saw the most important innovation: the introduction of the violin into contrapuntal music in combination with viols and organ. This was 'Coprario's music' which consisted of John Woodington, Thomas Lupo and Adam Vallet (violins), Ferrabosco (ii) and Coprario (viols) and Orlando Gibbons (organ). It was surely for this group that Gibbons composed his experimental three- and four-part fantasias with 'great dooble bass'.

Of the seven fantasias in three parts with double bass, the first four (nos. 16-19) may be firmly ascribed to Gibbons, while the last three (nos. 20-22) are possibly by Coprario: after all it would be natural for him to experiment with the new instrumental grouping. Two of these first four (nos. 18 and 19) contain very sparse expression marks,[56] and all four, along with the two fantasias in four parts which have liberal markings, are contained in the incomplete set of part-books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 419-21 (missing 2nd treble, and not ascribed to Gibbons), and the complete set Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 732-5. Both sets once formed part of the bequest of Dean Aldrich, so the former set may well have been a copy of an earlier source, made in the third quarter of the century – at which time, we may surmise, expression marks were added. The latter is a set of part-books linked with the organ book GB-Lbl RM 24.k.3 and copied 'in the early to mid-1630s', possibly by John Tomkins (1586-1638) who was a court musician and colleague of Stephen Bing, and John Woodington at St Paul's Cathedral.[57] If this is the case, and the expression marks are contemporary, this makes them the earliest examples to occur in English consort music.[58]

---

galliard. Andrew Ashbee has also confirmed that 'quite a few of the Jenkins Fantasia-Suites have the occasional 'drag', but the copies are from the 1660s'.

[55] L. Hulse, review of *Records of English Court Music, Vol. 4: (1603-1625)* by A. Ashbee, *ML*, 73(i), (1992), 101-103.

[56] Nevertheless, all four three-part pieces contain mensuration symbols to indicate changes to triple time in the scorebook Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z2.1.13, dating from the second half of the 17th century [C with dot over 31]; and the same tempo changes are indicated by white notation with doubled values in the late source Paris, Conservatoire, MS Rés 770 (another full score). This suggests that triple-time sections were played faster in relation to the underlying tactus- three new beats in the time of one old one.

[57] O. Neighbour, 'Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625): The Consort Music', *EM* 11 (1983), 355-6. See also, P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 215.

[58] I am indebted to Andrew Ashbee for helpful discussion, and for suggesting the dating of both these sets of MSS. See *The Viola da Gamba Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music* (Ashgate, 2001), 200-204. All four part-books of Och MSS 732-5 have mid 17th-century wrappings of thin grey card lined with white paper. 'The outside upper wrapper of MS 732 is annotated 'Canto', 'Coperario his 2. & 3. pts to the organ', and 'Orlando Gibbons his musique for the Double Base'; these have been added by three different scribes, none of whom has been identified. Inside upper wrapper annotated 'John Wodenton'. Outside upper wrapper annotated 'James S[-]on''.

As stated above, the markings occur in the fantasias by Gibbons with 'great dooble bass' only. This may well be because, as John Harper says, 'The fantasias with double bass (16-22, 24, 25) are especially diverse in their content and expressive vocabulary, and contain a large number of contrasting divisions: on average there are five sections, but 17 has eight and 24 has twelve. They are remarkably catholic in their choice of material. The influence of social dances predictably may be discerned in the sections in triple time, but at least four fantasias go so far as to draw on popular styles, making use of the Dutch tune 'de Rommelpot' in 18 and the folk-dance melody 'Rufty–tufty' in 24. All the fantasias begin in a serious manner: each of these evolves into a delightful (but no less expressive) pot-pourri.[59] The markings appear in three-part fantasia no. 18 '[Long and] soft', and in no. 19 'Long'; but they occur much more prolifically in the two four-part works, nos 24 and 25. These two pieces contain the designations 'Soft', 'Long' 'Fast' , and 'Away' – a set of tempo (and dynamic) indications which prevail – despite their rarity – right up to and including the time of Purcell (see Example 5). Fantasia no. 25 also contains fermata signs as described by Mace, at the conclusion of the eight-bar dance-like sections towards its end, at bars 96, 104, 123, 126. Intriguingly, the markings, though similar, are not consistent between the two sources either in designation or position, suggesting that they are neither random nor totally prescriptive.

(from the online music catalogue of Christ Church Library, complied by John Milsom, © John Milsom and Christ Church 2004).

---

[59] Introduction to *Musica Britannica,* vol xlviii, ed. J. Harper, xvi. The numbering of all Gibbons's fantasias cited in this article is that given in this volume.

Example 5. Bars 84-167 from Orlando Gibbons's Fantasia in four parts in Oxford, Christ Church MSS 732-5 [no.24 in *Musica Britannica* 48, consort music by Orlando Gibbons]

Certainly by mid-century, such injunctions to shape and inflect instrumental music in this way were becoming commoner, although they are still fairly rare; and by this period they tend to be associated with dances whose 'form' falls into a set number of strains; and with a texture which involves two high-lying trebles at a distance from the bass (and possibly tenor) – the 'trio sonata' combination – which was becoming increasingly popular in England and which possibly implies the use of violins rather than treble viols, with duplicate bass parts suggesting plucked strings.[60] The use of violins is partly suggested because of the range of the upper parts, and partly because these pieces are associated with the London theatre bands, that is, with small groups of professional musicians who are known to have used violins with theorboes playing from unfigured basses.

However, many of the pieces for the theatre bands found their way into the interesting set of part-books Lbl, Add. MSS 18940-4, in which the layout is for two trebles, sometimes tenor, bass and continuo, rather than the original scoring for five parts with one treble. In this source 'the watermarks of the ruled pages… bear the typical features of the 'pot' watermarks of the 1630s..[and]...much of the manuscript appears to have been compiled by around 1650, although most of the music is rather older than this...'[61] This source contains a miscellaneous and indeed rather jumbled selection of pieces by Richard Dering, Maurice Webster, Cuthbert Hely, Thomas Mudde, John Banister, Simon Ives, William Child, Charles Coleman, William Lawes, Christopher Simpson, and John Jenkins ('Newberry Airs'). However, in this source it is only the pieces by Simpson – 22 dances for two trebles, bass and continuo – and Ives, which have expression marks. In the Simpson pieces dynamic markings occur (very rarely) at just such a point of phrase-repetition as is described by Mace. For example, in Courant 9 where the first four bars of the first and second strains are marked 'loud' and the second four bars 'soft'. In addition, slurs are marked over pairs of conjunct quavers in Courante 3, and Galliard 14; and tempo markings 'drag', and 'slower time' occur along with slurs in Air 15 (see Example 6).

---

[60] See P. Holman, 'Organ Accompaniment of Consort Music', in *John Jenkins and his Time, Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 367.

[61] P. Holman and J. Cunningham (eds.), 'Simon Ives: The Four- Part Dances' (Edition HH Ltd., Launton, Oxon., 2008), Introduction, vii.

Example 6. Final six bars of Air 15 by Christopher Simpson,
with tempo markings and slurs.

The same may be said of Simpson's 20 Ayres for two trebles and two basses in the earliest, and only complete source, Ob MSS Mus.Sch. E 431-6, which is likely to have been copied in 1656/7, during John Wilson's time as Heather Professor of Music at Oxford. Here again, slurs very rarely occur over pairs of conjunct quavers, and pause signs occur as described by Mace, and indeed Simpson himself.[62] The marking of slurs over quaver-pairs is rare, but where it occurs – in Simpson, in Jenkins's thirty-two airs for two trebles and two basses, and Ives following – it may suggest inequality since, particularly in Simpson, rhythmic variants sometimes occur between different sources, some being marked dotted and others plain.

Similar markings, but here over pairs of repeated quavers within a group of four, occur in Jenkins's six-part Pavan no 2 in F major, surely implying a bowed connection (but not in all parts). The unique string source where such marks occur, Ob MS Mus. Sch. C. 83, is part of the collection assembled for the North family, so once again dates from the 1650s or 1660s.

Another set of examples following the same texture (for two trebles and bass, thus again implying continuo), and again with tempo and dynamic marks, are the Preludio and five (sectional) fantasias by John Hilton the Younger (1599-1657) which appear in Och MSS 744-6 and the set of manuscripts Eire-Dm MSS Z3.4.1-6. The latter may have been started in the 1640s, and completed as late as the 1670s.[63] Here we encounter similar markings to those of Gibbons and Purcell: 'Softly', 'Away' (which may perhaps imply a louder dynamic as well as a faster tempo), see Example 7, and at the start of the 'coda' (final six bars) of Fantasia 4, 'Long tyme'.

---

[62] For Simpson the term 'pause' had the continental sense of meaning a rest, whereas to indicate Mace's 'pause' he uses the terms 'stay' or 'hold'. However, he corroborates Mace's meaning for the symbol (see fn 35, 36) : 'This mark or arch ⌒ is commonly set at the end of a song or lesson to signify the close or conclusion. It is also set sometimes over certain particular notes in the middle of songs, when, for humour, we are to insist or stay a little upon the said notes and thereupon it is called a Stay or Hold.'
Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Music*, 13.

[63] This set is known to be associated with Archbishop Marsh, but its transmission and dating is complex. See A. Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music' in *John Jenkins and his Time, Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and P. Holman (Oxford, 1996), 259-267.

Example 7. Preludio by John Hilton the Younger, bars 1-19

Examples of a texture including a tenor, but in which nevertheless the two high-lying trebles cross and re-cross in dramatic dialogue may be found in the set of pieces by Simon Ives (a city musician), with specific slurs in 'The Wagge' (slurs in treble 2 first and third strains only), and with implied trills at cadences. Once again the source is Lbl Add. MS 18940-4 (See Example 8.)[64]

---

[64] Simon Ives, VdGS no 25 'The Wagge' included in P. Holman and J. Cunningham (eds.), 'Simon Ives: The Four- Part Dances' (Edition HH Ltd., Launton, Oxon., 2008).

Example 8.
First strain (eight bars) of 'The Wagge' by Simon Ives, with original slurs.

Similar effects may be found, but very rarely, in other manuscript collections of the 1630s and 1640s which demonstrate the same type of texture, and reinforce the growing preoccupation with a treble/bass polarity which was a hallmark of the emerging Baroque, that is, works by Brewer, Coleman and Lawes. For example, Thomas Brewer's dances for strings which also date from mid-century fall into this category; however, in the only early source, Ob Mus. Sch E 431-6 (dating probably from the Commonwealth period), no markings occur. Nevertheless, a few rare tempo and dynamic markings occur in the late source Lbl, Add. MS 31423 which dates largely from the 1680s, and is associated with Oxford. In the suite in G minor for two trebles, tenor, and bass (Airs 15-21, VdGS Sup. Pub. 158), 'Adagio' is marked towards the end of the Air/Alman (no 18) in treble 2 only – an early use of the Italian term. Markings of 'loud' and 'soft' to produce echo effects also occur in the second strain of the Corant (no. 21) in the treble 2 and tenor parts; indeed a certain amount of decorative elaboration also occurs, adding to the expressive effect (see Example 9).

Example 9. Brewer, Corant 21, bars 10-15

But by far the most extensive and unusual dynamic and tempo indications occur in the incomplete set of John Jenkins's three-part airs in the Newberry Library in Chicago – unusual, because none of the other sources of the same pieces contain them. This source consists of two manuscript part-books, a treble and a bass, containing 84 three-part dances, 40 of which may be precisely dated to 1644/5.[65] The second treble part-book is missing, but the part can easily be supplied by concordance with the complete score-book (Och 1005). So, once again we find the 'trio sonata' texture in association with the dance repertory, and implied indications of expression. The 'Newberry' source is unique in that both books contain 'informative notes, written in a clear, neat hand on their front fly-leaves, and similarly on a small scrap of paper attached to the treble book.' The disposition of these books has been analysed and explained in detail by Jane Troy Johnson.[66] However, to sum up for our purpose, the annotations are all in the hand of Jenkins's patron, Sir Nicholas le Strange, while the music itself is copied in three hands, one of which may be that of Sir Nicholas.[67] From the entire collection

---

[65] Newberry Library, Chicago, Case MS-VM 1.A 18 J 52c. The 40 pieces are described "All of Mr Jenkins his new composing in 1644.["and 45,&c:" inserted above] have a Pricke of Redd Inke set against them in the Catalogue"

[66] J.T. Johnson: 'How to "Humour" John Jenkins' Three-Part Dances: Performance Directions in a Newberry Library MS', *JAMS*, xx (1967), 197–208.

[67] It may be significant that Sir Nicholas le Strange was thoroughly familiar with Simpson's *The Division Viol* in which ornamental 'humourings' are laid out in the form of a table. He licensed the second edition of 1665 and called it 'one of the best tutors in the world'.

28

of 84 pieces, twelve, including two 'Ecchos', have three strains rather than two, of which the first two strains are in duple time, and the third in triple. All of these are of 'new composing in 1644'.

Of particular note amongst these is a piece originally written as a coranto, and most unusually labelled 'Passionetta', which, Le Strange remarks 'is very Passionate and Grave, more sutable (*sic.*) to a Galliard measure, and might have beene prickt in that Moode' (that is, it might have been written in that mensuration and tempo). After the writer of the scorebook recopied the coranto as a galliard with minims and the mensuration ₵ instead of a *3*, Le Strange carefully crossed out his note and added, 'Altered since, and prickt in that Moode' – although in four other sources it retains the title 'coranto', one of which advises 'slow time'. Again it would seem that 'passionate' suggests something gentle and serious – certainly the key of e minor and the affective use of diminished fifths, particularly in the second strain, might indicate this.

All Sir Nicholas's annotations fall into the two categories of dynamic contrast, or of tempo change, following the principle of humouring as outlined by Mace and others and as described above. He does not suggest the possibility of adding ornamentation or division-writing, although we know that these were considered to be important aspects of humouring; indeed several airs of Jenkins, especially his duos for two bass viols, the seven 'Fantasia-Air' sets (Christopher Field's group VI) and, outstandingly, Jenkins's nine Fantasia Suites for treble, two basses and organ (Field group III), recently edited by Andrew Ashbee for *Musica Britannica,* have elaborate division-writing incorporated from the start, often in all three movements – fantasia, almain and corant. Unsurprisingly, written-out divisions tend to occur in Jenkins's works written between the 1630s and the 1660s, particularly in the household collections of his patrons the Dereham and Le Strange families compiled during the 1630s and 1640s. Divisions also occur extensively in Christopher Simpson's suites know as the 'Seasons', which also originated in the Le Strange household.

When we consider the works of Matthew Locke, chronologically the next major composer of the century, markings are not as consistent or as frequent as they were to become in Purcell, but there are enough to demonstrate a clear desire for slower, often softer conclusions to a movement. This is particularly so in the opening 'Fantazie' movements of the *Broken Consort Part 1*, where every one of the six suites, apart from the fifth, ends with the indication 'drag', always in one of the treble parts, sometimes in both, and in one case (Suite no 3) in all three parts.[68]

---

[68] The sources and chronology of Locke's instrumental collections are generally clear, especially since he gathered most of his consort music into the autograph scorebook Add MS 17801, possibly in the 1660s, so we can be sure that marks of expression indicated there represent his own direct intentions, rather than those of a copyist or performer. However, the situation is complicated by the process of revision, since 'in most cases multiple revisions spread over a number of years…the *Little Consort* was written in 1651 but published by Playford in 1656, having undergone many revisions, and the *Consort of Two Parts* 'For Several Friends' is likely to have been written at much the same time. The *Duos for two bass viols* were written in 1652, and …the *Flat Consort* and the *Consort*

The same types of indications also occur in the *Consort of Four Parts*, although they are rare here,[69] and rarer still within the *Duos for two bass viols,* where there is but a single 'drag' and a single 'soft'. Nevertheless these both occur at the end of movements, suggesting that the same effect was intended.[70] Indeed, as Michael Tilmouth says, '[the] clear structural functions attached to the use of introductions and closes is one of Locke's most significant contributions to the development of English consort music'.[71]

By contrast, in the *Broken Consort Part 2*, such indications are much rarer than in the *Broken Consort Part 1*, no doubt owing to the fact that each one opens with a pavan rather than a 'Fantazie', so that the metre is more likely to be constant. Apart from 'drag' at the conclusion of the Pavan opening suite 3 in E minor in the 2nd treble, and 'soft' at the conclusion of the Pavan opening the Suite no 4 in F major, the marks of expression in this collection are confined to slurred pairs of notes, always – apart from one exceptional occurrence – moving by step as in Simpson, usually in combination with trills at cadences, and sometimes decorative trills within the phrase. The expectation that the performer will introduce rhythmic modification where slurs are marked, will shorten up-beats and even introduce rhythmic variety within plain quavers, is clear from Locke's own diversity of rhythm in variant readings.[72]

In those collections where slurs occur over pairs of notes, implying an expressive effect suggestive of *notes inégales,* it would seem that cadential and other trills are also frequently marked, as suggested above. This particular combination of expression marks is frequent enough to be considered a point of style, especially in dance movements. The slurs are usually, but not inevitably, applied to the shortest note-values within a movement; this is the case for example in the *Broken Consort Part 2*, although there are plenty of instances where the musical texture might suggest slurring where it is not marked. The same situation pertains – although

---

of Four Parts could have been accomplished during the next few years. 1661 saw the production of the music for 'Sagbutts and Cornetts' and probably the first part of the *Broken Consort.* The second part was probably composed sometime between 1661 and 1665'. (M. Tilmouth (ed.) *Musica Britannica* vol. xxxi, Matthew Locke, Chamber Music: I, xv).

[69] They occur within the first movement, Fantazie, in the Suite no 1 in D minor, where 'Slow and soft' is marked in the first treble part (only) at bars 80-81, which is the homophonic beginning of the conclusion to the movement; in Suite no 2 in D minor-major, in the fourth movement Saraband, where 'soft' appears in all parts near the end (bar 20); and in Suite no 3 in F major, where 'Dragg' appears in bar 89 (towards the end) in all parts, but with no other markings in this movement, or in the following Courante, Ayre or Saraband.

[70] 'Drag' occurs at bar 32 near the end of the opening Fantazie from Suite no 2 in C minor/major, and 'soft' in the penultimate bar of the final Saraband from the same suite.

[71] M. Tilmouth, introduction to *Musica Britannica* vol. xxxii, Matthew Locke, Chamber Music: II, xv.

[72] For example, when Locke arranged the Ayre from Suite no 5 in D minor from the *Broken Consort Part 1* as the symphony to his anthem 'Super flumina Babylonis', he rewrote the rhythms of the opening bars in this manner. 'A slurred pair of quavers was often rendered as a semiquaver plus a dotted quaver:bar 10 of the anthem indicates this, though in the next three bars the rhythm is reversed, suggesting that there was no hard and fast rule in the matter'. M. Tilmouth *op cit.*, introduction to *Musica Britannica* vols. xxxi, xix.

markings are less frequent – throughout the *Flat Consort* 'For my cousin Kemble', and indeed in the *Little Consort*, and the *Consort of two parts* 'For several Friends'. In this last collection there is a single rare occurrence of a slur being placed over pairs of notes forming ascending and descending thirds in the Scotch snap rhythm, within the final 'Jigg' of Suite no.5 in F major, although the remainder are exclusively placed over conjunct pairs.

Despite Locke's own statement in his *Observations* (1672) that the particular excellence of the viol and violin was their capacity for 'lowdning, softning, and continuing a Note or Sound' his own dynamic markings are surprisingly scarce. Perhaps this was because the inflections described in the *Observations* were expected at the smallest level, where one might hardly expect them to be marked. Where dynamics are indeed marked – 'loud', 'soft' and 'drag' only – they are almost entirely restricted to *The Broken Consort Part 1* (apart from a couple of markings of 'soft' within the *Consort of Four Parts* – see above); but even here they are not marked consistently or frequently. They are most likely to occur in connection with passages of imitation suggestive of an echo, most notably for example, in the 'Echo' Courante which forms the second movement of Suite no 6 from the *Broken Consort Part 1*. Here the two trebles continually act in echo response to each other, and are marked accordingly with 'loud' and 'soft'. In Suite no 2 in G major from the same collection, in the final Saraband, 'soft' and 'loud' are marked on the final canonic passage between the two trebles at the conclusion; and 'soft' is marked in all parts in bar 22 of the Saraband concluding Suite no 6 in D major, where this and the following bar act as an echo response to the previous bars, 20 – 21.

However, *The Tempest* (1670) is a recognised landmark in the history of performance indications (much as Gabrieli's *Sonata pian' e forte* was in 1599), since here dynamics are – most unusually – an integral part of the composer's conception of the work. Locke's introductory music includes the designations 'soft', and 'loud'; and in the Curtain tune 'soft' 'lowder by degrees', 'violent' 'soft', 'lowd' and 'soft and slow by degrees', all suggesting the build up to a great storm and its calmer aftermath.

Such terms continue to be used up to and including Purcell's fantasies for viols of 1680, works which consist of several linked sections, inviting changes of mood and speed, just as in those by Gibbons of some 60 years earlier. Purcell was certainly familiar with the first four of Gibbons's fantasias in three parts, and his own fantasias are similarly cast in a sectional structure and contain similar markings.

Here we encounter 'Quick', 'Brisk', 'Slow', and 'Drag', the latter having no implication for a ritardando, but merely the suggestion of an even slower tempo than 'slow'. No markings occur in the 'Fantazia upon One Note' or in the two In Nomines (of six and seven parts), presumably because these pieces are through-composed and cast in old-fashioned forms. As we have observed earlier in works consisting of strict imitative counterpoint, as a rule these tend to be bare of markings of any kind.

About 30 years earlier, i.e. from the 1650s, Italian terms had begun to appear in English sources – hardly surprisingly – in connection with Italian music. Although Italian pieces had been creeping into English manuscript collections since the mid-16th century, Italian expression marks were at first so little used and understood that a note appears in Add. MS 10338 (George Jeffrey's autograph score) on f.1r, preceding a set of six 'Fantasias of 3 Parts for ye Violls and the virginal' dating from c.1630 :

'The Italians Use 4.words in their Vocall Musick to expresse their Fancy
Presto – speed to hasten the time
Adagio- slow to prolong
Fortis –strong to sing it louder
Piano – to sing softlier'

It is interesting (but again, not very surprising) that Purcell uses English terms when writing in the traditional English genre of the fantasia, but Italian ones in his deliberately Italianate Sonatas of three and four parts – 'Presto', 'Allegro', 'Vivace', 'Adagio', 'Largo', 'Grave', and, more rarely, 'Piano'.

To conclude, there are two important meanings of 'humour' in the 17th century. First, there is the underlying complexion and expressive character of a piece, as envisaged (and of course created) by the composer. Indeed, according to Mace, a piece does not necessarily contain just one implicit humour, but 'may carry on, and maintain several Humours, and Conceits...provided they have some Affinity, or Agreement one to the other'. Second, there is the more variable kind of expression added by the performer, broadly speaking according to the three areas which Mace describes and other theorists substantiate : ornamentation, dynamic contrast and variety of speed (tempo).

On those occasions where the performer was expected to take on an active and strongly interpretive role at this time, such expressive play was linked – metaphorically and by analogy – with the persuasive powers of rhetorical expression in language; and whereas music is scarcely capable of directly portraying intellectual ideas or forms of representation, it is capable of conveying the inner flow and flux of the emotions in a metaphorical or metonymic sense. This idea of expressive 'humouring' may be linked, as Bacon shows, through the medium of rhetoric to the 'affections of the mind' and hence to the more general concept of the theory of the passions.

The fact that expressive markings are extremely rare in fantasias, does not necessarily mean that performers did not play expressively, in practice. As we have seen, expression marks occur in the early sectional fantasias of Gibbons, the somewhat later (Commonwealth period) ones of Hilton, and also those of Purcell in 1680. Perhaps there are fewer markings and annotations precisely because of the subtler musical ebb and flow of the fantasy, which therefore needed a more fine-grained approach to expressive inflection and shaping; and there is no reason to suppose that this kind of expressive playing was not also applied to through-

composed fantasias such as those by Byrd through to Jenkins, certainly from the 1630s.

It does appear very clearly, nevertheless, that dances above all were susceptible to some degree of added humouring. However, this would not have taken the form of a rhetorically-inflected kind, since the musical structures are too metrical, and the musical content too closely prescribed by the relevant dance patterns. Indeed the markings generally tend to confirm this principle, since any written dynamics that are found are normally plain 'loud' or 'soft' for repeats, or to create echo effects, and any variation in the tempo normally takes the form of a slower pace at the end of a strain, or a pause to end it.

By the 1680s, then, the idea of writing in an emotionally-inflected way, that is with a clear expressive – and to that extent explicitly rhetorical – intention on the part of the composer, and that of adding expressive 'humouring' on the part of the performer, were both thoroughly to be expected. This is clear from a small but significant body of written evidence both in theoretical works and in the form of written designations and symbols within the music itself.

Such markings, were, it seems, most likely to occur in movements which had a dramatic and/or demonstrative character, whether consisting of an opening prelude for lute or viols, a dance movement – perhaps involving violins – or within a sectional fantasy.

Composers were beginning to mark their expressive wishes increasingly clearly in both manuscript and printed collections, although it remained the case that many such decisions were still to be left to the taste and judgment – and indeed expressive ability – of the performer. The 17th century is thus the period in which performance indications, as such, began to take root in musical practice and to become a more regular part of the musician's conscious activity.

****

Terpsichore at 400: Michael Praetorius as a Collector of Dance Music[1]

PETER HOLMAN

Most people who go to concerts or buy CDs know Michael Praetorius first and foremost as the author of *Terpsichore*, the enormous collection of 312 dances he published in 1612. It was edited complete by Günther Oberst in 1929 as part of the Praetorius complete works,[2] though it only began to impinge on the public consciousness in 1960 with Fritz Neumeyer's famous recording of six pieces from the collection together with dances by Erasmus Widmann and Johann Hermann Schein.[3] Neumeyer arranged them for consorts of recorders, viols and lutes, as well as harpsichord and regal (which he played) and percussion. Some later recordings, notably the ones by David Munrow and Philip Pickett,[4] presented dances from *Terpsichore* in ever more elaborate, orchestrated versions, creating the impression they could and should be performed using virtually the whole range of instruments described by Praetorius in the second volume of *Syntagma musicum* and illustrated in *Theatrum instrumentorum*.[5] Clifford Bartlett's notes to the Pickett recording made the connection explicit: 'It seems appropriate to apply to his music the information given so copiously in *Syntagma Musicum II*. This recording exploits the wealth of instruments available in Germany at the time'. The 400th anniversary of the publication of *Terpsichore* is a good moment to examine the validity of this twentieth-century performance tradition, by looking at the collection itself and by exploring its context in the history of courtly dance music and the groups that played it.

'TERPSICHORE, / *Musarum Aoniarum* / *QVINTA*. / Darinnen / Allerley Frantzösische / Däntze vnd Lieder / Als *21. Branslen*: / *13.* Andere Däntze mit sonderbaren Namen. / *162. Couranten*: / *48. Volten*: / *37. Balletten*: / *3. Passameze*: / *23. Galliarden*: und / *4. Reprinsen*. / Mit *4. 5.* vnd *6.* Stimmen.', to give it its full title,

---

2 M. Praetorius, *Gesamptausgabe*, xv: *Terpsichore (1612)*, 2 vols., ed. G. Oberst (Wolfenbüttel, 1929).

3 *Tanzmusik der Praetorius-Zeit*, Collegium Terpsichore / Fritz Neumeyer, Archiv, APM / SAPM 198 166 (1960), reissued on CD in the compilation *Dances of the Renaissance*, Deutsche Grammophon, 469 244-2.

4 *Music by Praetorius*, Early Music Consort of London / David Munrow, EMI, CSD3761 (1974), reissued on CD as EMI, 769204; *Michael Praetorius, Dances from 'Terpsichore'*, New London Consort / Philip Pickett, L'Oiseau Lyre, 414 633 (1986), reissued on CD as L'Oiseau Lyre, 001047502.

5 M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, ii: *De organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619; repr. Kassel, 1958); Praetorius, *Theatrum instrumentorum seu sciagraphia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620; repr. Kassel, 1958).

was published by Praetorius himself at Wolfenbüttel.[6] It was dedicated to Friedrich Ulrich, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1591-1634), who succeeded his father Heinrich Julius in 1613. *Terpsichore* was part of an ambitious publishing programme undertaken by Praetorius with the support of the Wolfenbüttel court; he had been *Kapellmeister* there since 1604. In 1612 he was given 2,000 thalers by Heinrich Julius in part 'to relieve the heavy costs incurred by him … in printing his music' ('auch zu Erleichterung der angewandten schweren Unkosten, so ihm auf sein musikalisch Druckwerk … gegangen'), and in 1615 he asked the court exchequer to reimburse him for the expenses of publishing *Terpsichore* on the grounds that he had dedicated the collection to Friedrich Ulrich.[7]

Terpsichore was one of a series of volumes of secular music planned by Praetorius under the general title *Musarum Aoniarum*, each named after one of the Greek muses. In the preface to *Terpsichore*, the fifth muse, he announced that he planned to publish:

> 1. English and Italian pavans, dances, and galliards, etc. under the title of *Euterpe*, the second Muse of Aonias: 2. my toccatas and other compositions with figuration and diminutions, to be played on strings and harpsichords, under the title of *Thalia*, the third Muse of Aonias; 3. German secular compositions under the sixth Muse, *Erato*.[8]

> 1. die Englische vnd *Italia*nsche *Pavanen* Dänze *Galliarden*, *&c*. Unter die *Euterpen Musarum Aoniarum Secundam*: 2. meine *Tocaten* vnd anderer *Canzonen* mit *Colloraturen* vnd *diminutionibus*, auff *Violen* vnnd *Clavicym*beln zugebrauchen vnter die *Thaliam, Musarum Aoniarum Tertiam*. 3. die deutsche Weltliche vnter die *Sextam, Erato referiret* werden sönten.

Near the end of the third volume of *Syntagma musicum* he provided a more extensive and detailed list of these volumes of secular music, starting with *Terpsichore* as no. 1.[9] He stated that 'the following are almost completely finished, but not yet in print' ('Diese nachfolgende sind zwar fast gantz fertig, aber noch zur

---

6 RISM, 1612[16], *Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, ed. F. Lesure (Munich, 1960), 439, where copies at D-Hs and F-Pn are listed. The former came from the library of the Hamburg composer Thomas Selle, see J. Neubacher, *Die Musikbibliothek des Hamburger Kantors und Musikdirektors Thomas Selle (1599-1663*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 52 (Neuhausen, 1997), 66-67, no. 303. A third copy, formerly at Liegnitz (now Legnica in Poland) and listed in R. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1900-16; repr. Graz, 1959), viii. 49, was apparently destroyed in World War II.

7 S. Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-40', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 130/1 (2005), 1-37, at 18, quoting W. Deeters, 'Alte und neuen Aktenfunde über Michael Praetorius', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, 52 (1971), 102-120, at 108, 114.

8 For the preface, see Praetorius, *Terpsichore*, ed. Oberst, viii-xv. The translations are based on B.R. Carvell, 'A Translation of the Preface to *Terpsichore* of Michael Praetorius', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 20 (1983), 40-59.

9 M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, iii (Wolfenbüttel, 1619; repr. Kassel, 1959), 220-221. The translations are based on Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, trans. J. Kite-Powell (Oxford, 2004), 206-207.

zeit in Druck nicht herfür kommen'). Among them are the following collections of instrumental music:

> 2. Excerpts from *Terpsichore*, containing the best dances and tunes selected from *Terpsichore*, including quite a few others and new courantes and ballets.

> 5. *Musa Aonia THALIA*, containing several five-part toccatas or canzonas employing violins in particular; wind instruments such as cornetts, recorders, and curtals may also be used. Part 1.

> 6. *Musa Aonia THALIA*, containing several canzonas, galliards, and canons by other composers for 3, 4, and 5 parts arranged with diminutions quite agreeably for violins or other instruments. Part 2.

> 2. *Extract* aus der *Terpsichore*: / Darinnen die allerbesten Tänze vnd Lieder, auß der *Terpsichore* außerlesen: Vnd noch etliche mehr, andere und Newe *Courranten* vnd *Balletten*, zu befinden.

> 5. *Musa Aonia THALIA*. / Darinnen etliche *Tocaten* oder *Canzonen* mit *5*. Stimmen, auff Geigen sonderlich, auch wol auff andern blasenden Instrumenten, als Zinken, Flötten vnd Fagotten zugebrauchen. Erster Theil.

> 6. *Musa Aonia THALIA*. / Darinnen etlicher anderer Autoren *Canzonen*, *Galliarden* und *Fugen* mit *3*. *4*. vnd *5*. Stimmen diminuiret vnd gesezet: auff Geigen, oder andern Instrumenten gar lieblich zu gebrauchen. Ander Theil.

Praetorius had earlier described a volume of instrumental pieces intended to be used as preludes, interludes or postludes to vocal works:[10]

> POLYHYMNIA INSTRUMENTALIS or *Musa Aonia Melpomene*, containing sinfonias written as pavans, and *ritornellos* written as galliards and courantes in all modes for 2, 3, 3, 5, 6, and 8 parts. They are to be performed by all manner of instruments and placed at the beginning of any concerted work or other sacred or secular compositions instead of a prelude, according to the newly invented style; for the sake of variety they may also be used in the middle and/or at the end of the work.

> *POLYHYMNIA INSTRVMENTALIS: seu Musa Aonia Melpomene.* Darinnen *Symphoniae* oder *Sinfoniae* auff Pavanen, sowol *Ritornelli* vff *Galliarden* vnd *Courranten* Art, durch alle *claves* vnd *Modos Musicales* mit *2*. *3*. *4*. *5*. *6*. vnd *8*. Stimmen gerichtet: Welche nach newer erfundenen Art in anfang eines jeden *Concerts* oder anderer Geistlicher vnd Weltlicher Gesänge *Praeambuli loco*: Im Mittel aber vnd Ende *variationis & delectationis gratia*, mit aller Art Instrumenten anmütg zu gebrauchen.

In addition, no. 7 in the list of secular volumes, '*Musa Aonia ERATO*, containing the best and most splendid German secular songs, mostly never before seen in print' ('*Musa Aonia ERATO*. / Darinnen die besten vnd vornembste Teutsche Weltliche, meistentheils hiebevor im Druck nicht ausgegangene Lieder') seems to

---

10 Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, iii. 216-217; Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, trans. Kite-Powell, 204.

have contained instrumental pieces, or at least to have been conceived to be used in conjunction with *Melpomene*:

> They are set in an uniquely new way so that interludes, *ritornellos*, sinfonias, pavans, galliards, ballets and other, similar instrumental pieces (found in my *Melpomene*) may be interspersed or used together with them.

> vff eine sonderbare newe Art vnnd *Invention* gerichtet: Also daß die *Intermedio, Ritornello, Sinfoniae, Pavanen, Galliardten, Balletten* vnd andere dergleichen Instrumentalische sachen, (so in meiner *Melpomene* zu finden) darzwischen vnd auch zugleich darneben mit gebraucht warden können.

These collections have been generally ignored in the Praetorius literature – they are not mentioned in the articles on the composer in *Grove Music Online* or *MGG* – and it has even been asserted that 'there is no record [of them] ever having been written'.[11] However, the first volume of *Thalia* was certainly published. It must be the 'Michaelis Pretorii Toccaten undt Canzonen mit 5. stimmen' listed in the inventory of the music books of Basilius Froberger (d. 1637), *Kapellmeister* at the Stuttgart court and the father of the composer Johann Jakob Froberger,[12] and the 'Musa Aonia Thalia etliche Toccaten, Canzones mit 6 stimmen Michaelis Praetorius' in the 1638 inventory of the Frankfurt musician Johann Beck.[13] Beck also owned 'Michaelis Praetorius Toccata mit 5 stimmen', probably a manuscript item, and 'M. Praetorius brandle danz etc.', possibly a copy of *Terpsichore*.

Furthermore, *Terpsichore*, 'ander Theil Terpsichore' (presumably '*Extract aus der Terpsichore*' in Praetorius's list), *Thalia*, and *Erato* appear in seventeenth-century Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair catalogues.[14] This does not necessarily mean that they were published – most of the information could have been derived from the list in *Syntagma musicum* – though there are some details not provided by Praetorius. The catalogues advertise *Terpsichore* as available from Michael Hering in Hamburg, *Ander Theil Terpsichore* as being sold by Kaspar Klosemann in Leipzig, and *Thalia* as being available from Abraham Wagenmann of Nuremberg. Also, *Erato* is said to be in four parts and to have contained 44 German songs and 'some English comedies' ('etlichen engl. Comedien'). In the early nineteenth century Ernst-Ludwig Gerber provided a list of volumes in his dictionary entry for Praetorius.[15] He stated that it was based on the one in *Syntagma musicum* though he also included extra information, including some apparent dates and places of publication: he allocated *Terpsichore* and *Erato* to Hamburg and 1611, *Ander Theil Terpsichore* to Leipzig and 1612 (adding that it contained 'allerley Englische Tänze, vors

---

11 Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, trans. Kite-Powell, 206.

12 H. Siedentopf, *Johann Jakob Froberger, Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart, 1977), 27.

13 B.R. Brooks, 'Breslau MS 114 and the Violin in Early Seventeenth-Century Germany', 2 vols., Ph.D. diss. (Cornell U., 2003), i. 275.

14 A. Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Leipzig, 1902; repr. Hilversum, 1965), ii. 62-63.

15 E.L. Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1812-1814; repr. Graz, 1966), iii. cols. 758-761.

Frawenzimmer mit 4. und 5 Stimmen'), and *Thalia* to 1619; he agreed with the book fair catalogues that *Thalia* was in five parts with continuo – which might explain why it is said to be in six parts in the Beck inventory. In addition, he listed yet another volume, '*Musarum Aoniarum sexta Terpsichore*, darinne allerley Französische Täntze mit 4 und 5 Stimmer', which he said had been published in Hamburg in 1611. Finally, a nineteenth-century survey of German literature added the information that *Erato* was published in Hamburg by Michael Hering.[16]

Not all of this information can be taken at face value: as we have seen, volumes supposedly published in 1611 and 1612 were said by Praetorius in 1619 to be 'almost completely finished, but not yet in print'. But it seems that Praetorius was a much more significant collector and publisher of instrumental music than has been recognised: he may have prepared as many as seven instrumental collections, of which only *Terpsichore* survives today. In them he seems to have acted more as a collector and arranger than as a composer. He stated that the second part of *Thalia* contained 'several canzonas, galliards, and canons by other composers', and there are references to his other collections containing French, Italian and English dances. *Terpsichore* conforms to this pattern, as we shall see, even though it is commonly stated or implied in concert programmes and CD booklets that Praetorius was the composer of its dances. In this respect he was rather conservative, conforming to the sixteenth-century model in which the authors of published dance collections tended to assemble and arrange the existing repertory rather than write new material of their own. Praetorius's younger contemporaries, such as Melchior Franck, Johann Hermann Schein, Samuel Scheidt, Bartholomaeus Praetorius, and Johann Schop, mostly wrote their own dance music.

Composition and Arrangement

Like other contemporary printed collections of ensemble dance music, *Terpsichore* was published in separate part-books, Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, and Quinta vox. Nearly all the pieces are in four parts, with a single soprano, two inner parts and bass, or in five parts, with a single soprano, three inner parts and bass. There are only two six-part pieces, 'Passameze' (no. 286), and 'Passameze pour les Cornetz' (no. 288). In these the sixth part is a second soprano that continually crosses the first (Example 1). Thus in the ranges of its parts and the style of its writing *Terpsichore* conforms to the inherited practice of the sixteenth century. Several manuscripts of Italian dances and Attaingnant's first two books of printed *danseries* show that four-part writing with a single soprano, two inner parts and bass had been established as a norm as early as the 1520s.[17] Five-part writing with a single soprano, three inner parts and bass became common from the 1550s,

---

16 K. Goedeke, *Gundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, 3 vols. (Dresden, 2/1886), ii. 543.
17 For a survey of the sources, see P. Holman, 'What did Violin Consorts Play in the Early Sixteenth Century?', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 29 (2005), 53-65, esp. 60-63. See also H.M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600, a Bibliography* (Cambridge MA, 1965), 32-34 (1530[4], 1530[5]).

witness the two dance music collections published in 1555 by the Breslau town musicians Paul and Bartholomeus Hessen.[18] A single five-part piece appeared in Attaingnant's 1547 book, and there are others in books published by Gervaise in 1550, 1555 and 1557, by Du Tertre in 1557 and by D'Estrées in 1564.[19] Six-part dances with two soprano parts are found in one of the Hessen books, and occasionally in the later books of *danseries*, but not again in print until Paul Lütkeman's *Erste theil ... Gesenge ... Fantasien, Paduanen und Galliarden* (Stettin, 1597),[20] which has a number of six-part pavans and galliards, and Alessando Orologio's dance-like *Intradae* (Helmstedt, 1597),[21] the model for similar collections by Hassler, Demantius, Haussmann, and others.

Example 1: François Caroubel, Passameze à 6, *Terpsichore*, no. 286, bb. 1-15

---

18 Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 164-167 (1555[2], 1555[3]).

19 Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 104-105, 125-126, 168, 178-179, 211-212 (1547[6], 1550[5], 1555[5], 1557[3], 1557[4], 1564[2]).

20 Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 416-417 (1597[7]).

21 Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 419 (1597[11]).

It was the practice in the sixteenth century when publishing ensemble dances to indicate on the title-page that they were suitable for various types of instruments, using a formula such as 'auff allerley art Instrumenten zu gebrauchen' (Lütkeman) or 'in omni genere instrumentorum musicorum usus esse potest' (Orologio). To make this feasible the ranges of the parts tended to be restricted, with the soprano usually not going below *d'*, the inner parts not below *c* and the bass not below *F*, making them suitable for most wind and string consorts. In the late sixteenth century four- and five-part dance music was increasingly associated with violin consorts, particularly in courtly circles, while six-part writing became associated with wind groups. This is shown most clearly by manuscript sets of part-books, some of which were compiled for known professional groups. Thus DK-Kk, MSS 1872 and 1873 are the fragments of two related six-part sets copied for the wind players of Duke Albrecht of Prussia in the 1540s,[22] while GB-Cfm, Mu. MS 735 consists of five part-books of a set of six used by the English royal wind players in the early seventeenth century.[23]

Sources of four- and five-part dance music particularly associated with strings include GB-Lbl, Royal Appendix MSS 74-76, which seems to contain music used by the English royal violin consort in the 1550s,[24] and John Dowland's *Lachrimae* (London, 1604), said to be 'Set Forth for the Lute, Viols, or Violons, in Five Parts' on the title-page.[25] John Adson's *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (London, 1621) is for 'Violins, Consorts [i.e., mixed ensembles] and Cornets', and it is significant that the rubric 'For Cornets and Sagbuts' comes at no. 19, shortly before the change to six-part pieces; it presumably applies to the whole of the second half of the book.[26] In the terminology of the period 'cornets' often meant a complete consort of cornetts and sackbuts while 'violins' usually included the lower violin-family instruments, the violas and bass violins – the latter at that period usually tuned *BBb-F-c-g* rather than *C-G-d-a*, the modern violoncello tuning.[27] However, *C-G-d-a* was already known in the early seventeenth century: Praetorius gave it as a *bass geig* tuning.[28]

Applying this distinction to *Terpsichore*, I suggest that the two six-part pieces are intended principally for wind instruments (which is why no. 288 is entitled 'Passameze pour les Cornetz'), and that the rest of the pieces are intended principally for violin consort. There is a good deal of evidence for this in the collection itself. It is described as 'diverse and sundry French dances and melodies

---

22 See J. Foss, 'Det Kgl. Cantoris Stemmebøger A.D. 1541', *Aarbog for musik* (1923), 24-41.

23 See T. Dart, 'The Repertory of the Royal Wind Music', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 11 (1958), 70-77; P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: the Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993; 2/1995), 146-148.

24 Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 90-103. See also the modern edition, *Elizabethan Consort Music: I*, ed. P. Doe, Musica Britannica, 44 (London, 1979), 153-177, 199-208.

25 See esp. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 160-170; Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, 1999).

26 See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 188-189.

27 Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 24, 26-27.

28 M. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II: De Organographia Parts I and II*, trans. and ed. D.Z. Crookes (Oxford, 1986), 39, 56.

… as the French dancing-masters in France play them' ('Allerley Frantzösische Däntze vnd Lieder … Wie dieselbige von den Frantzösische Dantz-meistern in Franckreich gespielet') on the title-page. Praetorius explained in the preface that the 'melodies and airs, as they are known, of these dances are composed for the French dancers by generally very good violinists (known in their language as *Violons*) or lutenists' ('Nebenst dem ist noch ferner zuwissen daβ die Melodyen vnd *Arien*, wie sie es nennen dieser Däntze von den Frantzösische Däntzern vnd zugleich meistentheils sehr guten Geigers (auff ihre Sprach *Violons* genant) oder Lautenisten *componiret*'). He identified four of these violinists in French royal service: 'de la Motte', 'de la Fond', 'de la Grenee' and 'Beauchamp', as well as 'Richehomme' and 'Le Bret' 'who hold no royal appointment, but are no less excellent in dancing and composing' ('welche beyde zwar von Kön: Mayest: keine Bestallung sonsten aber in dantzen vnd *componiren*'). *Terpsichore* includes 'Bransle de la Grenee' (no. 20) and 'Courrant de Mons: de la Motte' (no. 79). Pierre La Grénée (d. 1610), Jean Delamotte (d. 1631), Claude Nyon *alias* De Lafont (d. 1614), and Pierre Beauchamp (*fl.* 1597-1626) were violinists and/or dancing masters active at the time in Paris.[29] The last is not to be confused with the Pierre Beauchamp (1631-1705) who developed the system of dance notation now associated with Raoul-Auger Feuillet.[30]

Praetorius provided an unusual amount of information about the way *Terpsichore* was compiled in his prefatory material. He mentioned in the dedication 'these various types of French branles, dances and melodies, of which only a few soprano parts were brought and given to me by your Highness's dancing master Antoine Emeraud from France, which I have composed and set in five and four parts' ('diese allerley Art Frantzösische *Branslen*, Däntze vnd Melodyen wie deroselbigen nur einige *Discant* Stimme durch E. Fürstl. G. Dantzmeister *Anthoine Emeraud ex Gallia* mitbracht vnd mir alhier einbehendiget worden auff fünff vnd vier Stimmen zu *componiren* vnd zu setzen mir billich gebühren wollen'). He went into more detail in the preface:

> Thus, the melodies and airs of these masters and other such composers of these dances have been communicated to me by Antoine Emeraud, dancing master of my gracious prince and lord, Friedrich Ulrich, Duke of Braunsweig and Lüneburg. To these melodies, I have humbly added a bass and inner parts and signed my name to them. Several were composed years ago by a musician, Francisq[ue] Caroubel, in five parts; this name I have always written in the correct places.

---

29 F. Lesure, 'Die *Terpsichore* von Michael Praetorius und die französische Instrumentalmusik unter Heinrich IV', trans. W. Engelhardt, *Die Musikforschung*, 5 (1952), 7-17, at 14-16. See also Lesure, 'Le Receuil de ballets de Michel Henry (vers 1620)', *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, 1, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, 1956), 205-219; D. Buch, *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour 1575-1651* (Stuyvesant NY, 1993), esp. 16-18.

30 M. Needham, 'Pierre Beauchamps [Beauchamp]', *Grove Music Online*, ed. D. Root, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 3 December 2012).

> Where the word *Incerti* appears I have received only the cantus and bass and have supplied the remaining inner parts, since all of these (except [nos.] 45, 51, 56, 60) were not therefore set by the author and as such must be indicated.

> Also seynd nun dieser Meister vnd deroselben Vorfahren auffgesetze Melodyen vnd *Arien* von solchen allerhand Däntzen meistentheils von des Durchleuchtigen hochgeboren Fürsten vnd herren herrn Friedrich Ulrichen herzogen zu Braunschweig vnd Lüneburg etc. meines gnedigen Fürsten vnd herren Dantzmeister *Anthoine Emeraud* mir *communiciret* worden darzu ich dann den *Bass* vnd andere Mittelstimmen nach meiner wenigkeit gesetzet vnd meinen Namen bey dieselben gezeichnet: Etliche aber seind darunter welche vor etlichen Jahren von einem *Musico Francisque Caroubel* genant mit fünff Stimmen *componiret* worden: Dessen Namen ich auch allezeit darbey gezeichnet.

> Wo aber *Incerti* oben drüber stehet derselbigen hab ich den *Cant* vnd *Bass* allein gehabt vnd die *restirenden* Mittelstimmen weil dieselbige alle (ohne daβ *45. 51. 56. 60*) wie sie vieleicht vom *Autore* gesetzt nicht darbey gewesen selbsten darzu setzen vnd solches dem *Musico* zur Nachrichtung andeuten müssen.

What this seems to mean is that the 30 pieces marked 'F.C.' are entirely the work of the Italian-French violinist Pierre Francisque Caroubel, who was in the service of the French court from 1576 until his death in 1611.[31] It has been assumed that Caroubel spent some time at the Wolfenbüttel court, though there seems to be no evidence of this. Friedrich Ulrich, the dedicatee of *Terpsichore*, visited Paris in 1610,[32] so it is more likely that Caroubel's pieces were acquired there by someone in his entourage, perhaps Emeraud himself.

The pieces attributed to Caroubel in *Terpsichore* are all in five parts except for the two six-part passameze. It may be significant that none of them come from the section of ballets (nos. 246-282). Like other groups of this sort, the French court violin band would have spent most of its time accompanying ordinary courtly social dances such as branles, courantes, voltas, pavans (the passameze are pavans in all but name), and galliards. Perhaps Caroubel was one of those responsible for composing and arranging its day-to-day repertory rather than the specially composed and choreographed dances used in *balets de cour* – assuming that he was not the same person as the Francisque who wrote the inner parts ('fait les parties') for two court ballets in 1598-99 or the 'M. Fransignes' who did the same for a ballet in 1606.[33] Caroubel's pieces in *Terpsichore* are important, partly because he was a skilled composer, as shown by the magnificent suite of branles (no. 1), one

---

31 See F. Dobbins, 'Pierre Francisque [Fransigne, Fransignes] Caroubel', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Root (accessed 3 December 2012).

32 See J. Bepler, 'Practical Perspectives on the Court and Role of Princes: Georg Engelhard von Leohneyss' *Aulico Politica* 1622-24 and Christian IV of Denmark's *Königlicher Wecker*', *Pomp, Power and Politics: Essays on German and Scandinavian Court Culture and their Contexts*, ed. M.R. Wade, *Daphnis*, 32 (2003), 137-163, at 144.

33 Lesure, 'Le Receuil de ballets de Michel Henry', 209, 211.

of the longest pieces of continuous instrumental music written up to that time,[34] and partly because not much French violin band music from the early seventeenth century survives in complete five-part form. There are a few five-part dances in the printed description of the *Balet comique de la royne* (Paris, 1581),[35] and a few early five-part pieces in the first three Philidor manuscripts, F-Pn, Ms. Rés. F 494, 496 and 497, though these manuscripts, retrospective collections of the court ballet repertory compiled under the direction of André Danican Philidor at the end of the seventeenth century, mostly contain dances in two-part form, lacking the inner parts.[36] That *Terpsichore* is essentially a collection of French courtly dance music is shown by numerous concordances with pieces in the Philidor manuscripts and in other sources of French dance music, such as Robert Ballard's two books of lute pieces (Paris, 1611, 1614).[37]

The layout of the five-part Caroubel pieces in *Terpsichore* is consistent with Marin Mersenne's description of the French court violin band, the group that came to be known as the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roy*. According to Mersenne, groups of this sort could consist of '500 different violins, though twenty-four suffice, consisting of six trebles, six bass, four *hautecontres*, four *tailles*, and four *quintes*' ('500 Violons differents, quoy que 24. suffisent, don't il y a six Dessus, six Basses, quatre Hautre-contres, quatre Tailles & quatre quintes').[38] Thus the group played in five parts, with six violins on the top part, four violas on each of the three inner parts, using instruments 'of different sizes, even though they are in unison' ('de differentes grandeurs, quoy qu'elles soient toutes à l'vnisson') – that is, all using the standard viola tuning.[39] The five-part pieces by Caroubel are all scored with a single treble and bass with three inner parts. The highest inner part does not cross the soprano and never goes above *f'*, the top note on the viola in first position, while the lowest inner part never goes below *c*, the lowest note on the viola. These are the normal signifiers of viola parts in seventeenth-century string consort music.

All the other pieces in *Terpsichore* involved some sort of contribution from Praetorius himself. He received those marked *incerti* from Emeraud in two-part form, to which he added two or three inner parts. This was a common way of transmitting court dance music in the seventeenth century, as the early Philidor manuscripts show, as do such English sources as a manuscript of early seventeenth-century masque dances in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10444, and two

34 Recorded complete on *Dances from Terpsichore*, The Parley of Instruments Renaissance Violin Band / Peter Holman, Hyperion CDA67240 (2001).

35 B. da Belgiojoso, *Balet comique de la royne* (Paris, 1582; repr. Binghamton NY, 1982); Belgiojoso, *Le balet comique de la royne, 1581*, trans. C. and L. MacClintock (n.p., 1971).

36 For the Philidor manucripts, see esp. D.J. Buch, 'The Sources of Dance Music for the *Ballet de Cour* before Lully', *Revue de Musicologie*, 82 (1996), 314-331; Buch, *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour*. There are facsimiles of the manuscripts on the Gallica site of F-Pn, http://gallica.bnf.fr/.

37 Listed in Buch, 'The Sources of Dance Music', 321-323.

38 M. Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1636; repr. 1963), iii. 185. The translations are based on Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle: the Books on Instruments*, trans. R.E. Chapman (The Hague, 1957), 244.

39 Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, iii. 180; Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle: the Books on Instruments*, trans. Chapman, 238.

collections printed by John Playford, *Court Ayres* (London, 1655) and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (London, 1662).[40] It was convenient because pieces could be arranged for a variety of ensembles by providing appropriate inner parts, and it suited the way that the music for court entertainments was put together, particularly when courtiers were doing some of the dancing. The dance music for them would have had to have been written weeks or months in advance for the dance rehearsals. But all that was needed at that stage was the tune, to be played by the dancing master on a violin or a dancing master's kit, with or without a bass.[41] The inner parts or *parties de remplissage* would have been needed only when the full violin band was added, normally just before the performance of the ballet.

That is why a distinction was sometimes made between those who wrote the tunes (and probably devised the choreographies) of the dances for particular ballets, and those who wrote the inner parts. It can be seen in the early seventeenth-century manuscript of French court ballet music compiled by the violinist Michel Henry, now lost but known from a detailed eighteenth-century description. Thus, for the *Ballet d'Arlequin* (1613) Henry noted that he was one of those who devised it ('J'étois un de ceux qui l'ont mené') but that the inner parts were written by De Lafont ('Les parties de M. la Font').[42] The same system was still used in late seventeenth-century French theatrical music; it is why Lully used to leave the writing of *parties de remplissage* to assistants according to Le Cerf de la Viéville.[43]

In the pieces marked M.P.C. – Michael Praetorius Creuzbergensis – Praetorius added all the lower parts, having received only the melody from Emeraud. David Buch has argued that he, or perhaps Emeraud, sometimes worked from a diatonic violin tablature which did not readily indicate whether a tune was in the major or minor, for in several cases the version printed by Praetorius is in a different mode from the concordance in the Philidor manuscripts (Example 2).[44] One occasionally senses that Praetorius was trying to make sense of something he found unsatisfactory. It is noticeable that the musical quality of the ballet section in *Terpsichore* is lower than in the rest of the collection, as if the melodies of many of those dances were composed 'on the violin' by French dancing masters without much thought for their harmonic implications, leaving Praetorius with a difficult task. Nevertheless, there are some fine pieces in this section, such as the high-spirited 'Ballet des coqs' (no. 254), 'Ballet des Baccanales' (no. 278), 'Ballet des feus' (no. 279), and 'Ballet des Matelotz' (no. 280), or the beautiful Ballet (no. 268). The last is one of the *incerti* pieces, so the bass line, which contributes an unusual amount to the musical argument, was presumably the work of the unknown French composer. It is striking how similar this piece is to the well-known 'La Bouree' (no. 32), in being cast into two contrasted sections, in the major and tonic

---

40 RISM, 1655⁵, 1662⁸, *Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, ed. Lesure, 535, 543.
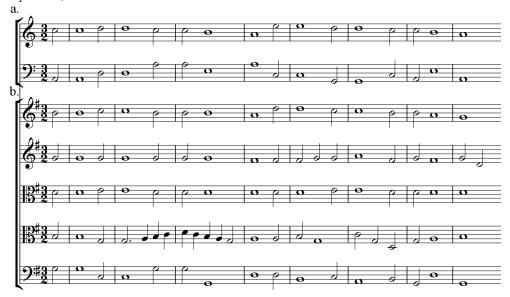41 See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, esp. 193-194, 323.
42 Lesure, 'Le Receuil de ballets de Michel Henry', 215.
43 J. Spitzer and N. Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford, 2004), 92.
44 Buch, 'The Sources of Dance Music', 321-322, 330.

minor respectively, and in using harmonies related to the *Romanesca* in the minor section. 'La Bouree' is one of the 'M.P.C.' pieces, which means that Praetorius supplied the bass line as well as the inner parts, though perhaps the same talented composer wrote the melodies of both pieces.

Example 2: a, b: Ballet de la Reine (1606), Le Grand Ballet, section 2, bb. 1-8, F-Pn, Rés. F. 496, pp. 40-41, compared with Ballet de la Royne, section 6, bb. 1-8, *Terpsichore*, no. 251

In his five-part arrangements Praetorius generally followed Caroubel in writing them for a single soprano, three inner parts and bass, the upper inner part never normally going above *f'* and the lower one never below *c*, though occasionally his second part becomes a second soprano, as in the 'Courrant de Bataglia' (no. 48), where the top part is restricted to notes available on the natural trumpet, suggesting that this piece was conceived for wind instruments rather than strings (Example 3). It is not clear why Praetorius chose to arrange many of the 'Incerti' and 'M.D.C.' pieces in four parts rather than five, though the surviving repertory of later violin bands suggests that four-part arrangements were used by smaller groups. Thus Marc-Antoine Charpentier mostly used four-part writing in his theatre music and sacred music written outside the court, reserving five-part writing for works such as the opera *Medée* (1693) that were performed at court, where a large string orchestra was available.[45] Much of the mid seventeenth-century dance music used by the French-influenced violin bands at Kassel and Stockholm is in four parts rather than five.[46]

---

45 P. Holman, 'From Violin Band to Orchestra', *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Wainwright and Holman (Aldershot, 2005), 241-257, esp. 245.

46 See, for instance, J. Écorcheville, *Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVIIᵉ siècle français, publiées pour la première fois d'apres un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Cassel*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1906; repr. 1970); J.S. Mráček,

Example 3: Courrant de Bataglia, bb. 1-16, *Terpsichore*, no. 48

Praetorius also seems to have provided variations or diminutions for some of the pieces. At the end of the collection he provided four examples of what he called 'Reprinse' (nos. 309-12), passages to be played at the end of galliards with the cantus parts 'diminished and embellished by French dancing masters' ('von den Frantzösischen Dantzmeistern diminuiret vnd coloriret'). It is likely that Praetorius wrote these elaborate diminutions himself as examples of how Emeraud and other French dancing masters applied improvised ornamentation, for towards the end of another ornamented piece, the 'Courante M.M. Wüstrow' (no. 150), the diminutions migrate from the cantus to the bassus; this piece is marked 'M.P.C.' so the bass line is presumably entirely his work (Example 4). Similarly, in the 'Pavane de Spaigne' (no. 30), another 'M.P.C.' piece, the three varied statements of the tune are matched by subtly varied lower parts, all presumably his work.

Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dance Music in Uppsala University Library, Instr. mus. hs 409, Monumenta musicae svecicae, 8 (Stockholm, 1976).

Although *Terpsichore* is essentially a collection of French courtly dances and appears to be conceived primarily for violin consorts, Praetorius was clearly aware that potential purchasers in Germany might want to play them on wind instruments; Germans had been renowned for making and playing them since the late Middle Ages. He mentioned in the notes on individual pieces in the preface that the passameze 'may be played on krummhorns or other instruments' ('Welcher auff Krumbhörnern oder andern Instrumenten gespielt werden'), and later on wrote that 'when playing durettes, sarabands and ballets a desirable sense of charm and grace may be achieved by changing the repetitions within a dance by playing one loudly and strongly, and another quietly and in an understated fashion, which one can easily do on bowed and wind instruments'. ('Auch kan man solchen vnd dergleichen Sachen vnd sonderlich den *Duretten*, *Sarabanden* vnd *Balletten*, eine sehr gute *Gratiam* vnd Lieblichkeit geben wenn biβweilen eine *Repetition* vmb die ander bald still vnd heimblich bald wiederümb starck vnd lautklingend *musiciret* wird Welches man dann auff geigenden vnd blasenden *Instrumenten* gar wol vnd leicht zu wege bringen kan.') He was presumably contrasting these instruments with harpsichords and organs, which cannot be varied in volume without changing stops.

Example 4: Courante M.M. Wüstrow, bb. 41-52, *Terpsichore*, no. 150

Organisation and Repertory

Terpsichore is divided into five major sections, bransles, courantes, voltas, ballets, and passameze and galliards, in each case with the five-part pieces followed by the four-part pieces. This method of organisation – by type of dance, so that performers make up their own sequences by selecting from several groups – was already a little old-fashioned by 1612. Composers were beginning to move to a new model where they provided ready-made sequences – or suites, as they eventually became known. There are suite-like sequences of dances in early sixteenth-century lute collections,[47] though they are first found in German ensemble collections from the first decade of the seventeenth century. William Brade's 1609 collection goes beyond the standard Pavan-Galliard pairs of English composers to make up sequences of Paduana-Galliard-Allmand, Paduana-Galliard-Coranta, or even Coranta-Allmand-Coranta-Allmand.[48] In 1611 Paul Peuerl published variation suites of Padouan-Intrada-Dantz-Galliarda, a type that reached its definitive form in Schein's 1617 collection, with its suites of Padouana-Gagliarda-Courente-Allemande-Tripla.[49]

It is possible to discern several sub-groups within the main sections of *Terpsichore*. One (nos. 22-34) comes between the bransles and courantes. Praetorius described it on the title-page as '13 other dances with strange names' ('13. Andere Däntze mit sonderbaren Namen'). These seem to be what we might call one-tune dances. Popular social dances, such as the pavan, galliard, courante and volta, had many tunes that fitted their dance steps. But when new dances were first developed there would presumably at first have been only one tune that fitted the steps. If the dance subsequently became popular then new tunes would be written to fit it, but those that never took off would have remained as one-tune dances. I suggest that we have a selection of dances in this section that were new in France in the first decade of the seventeenth century (which is why Praetorius described them as having 'strange names'), and were therefore still at the stage of being associated with only one tune.

Some of them, such as 'Philov' (no. 22), 'La Robine' (no. 23), 'Les Passepiedz de Bretaigne' (nos. 24, 25), 'Lespagnollette' or 'Spagnoletta' (nos. 26-28), and the 'Pavane de Spaigne' (nos. 29, 30), did not become popular as dances, though the 'Spagnoletta' or 'Spagnoletto' and the 'Pavane de Spaigne' or 'Spanish Pavan' were often set for keyboard, lute and other instruments. Others, such as 'La Canarie' (no. 31), 'La Bouree' (no. 32), and 'La Sarabande' (nos. 33, 34), subsequently became popular dances, so many other tunes were written with compatible rhythms and phrase patterns, though in each case the tunes printed by Praetorius

---

47 Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 14-16 (1508²), 31-32 (1530³).

48 W. Brade, *Newe außerlesene Paduanen, Galliarden, Cantzonen, Allmand vnd Coranten* (Hamburg, 1609); Brade, *Pavans, Galliards, and Canzonas* (1609), ed. B. Thomas (London, 1982).

49 P. Peuerl, *Newe Padouan, Intrada, Däntz unnd Galliarda* (Nuremberg, 1611); *P. Peuerl und Isaac Posch, Instrumental- und Vokal-werke*, ed. K. Geiringer, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 70 (Vienna, 1929; repr. Graz, 1960); J.H. Schein, *Banchetto musicale* (Leipzig, 1617); Schein, *Newe Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ix: *Banchetto musicale 1617*, ed. D. Krickeberg (Kassel, 1967).

seem to be the original ones. It is significant that many of these dances came from outside courtly circles in France. Praetorius wrote in the preface that 'Philov' is 'like a gavotte and was sung in the evening in the streets by young servants' ('Ist gleich wie eine *Gavotte*, wird des Abends von den Lackey Jungen auff der Gassen gesungen'), and 'La Robine' is 'a peasant dance' ('ein Bawer Dantz'). As we might expect, 'Les Passpeidz de Bretaigne' was 'from Brittany' ('Aus *Britannien*'), the 'Spagnoletta' was 'from the [Spanish] Netherlands' ('Ist im Niederlande gamacht'), the 'Pavane de Spaigne' was 'from Spain' ('Ist aus Spanien kommen'), and 'La Canarie' was 'from the Canary Islands' ('Aus der Insul *Canarien*'). Incidentally, the choreography of the 'Pavane de Spaigne' was not the same as for the ordinary pavan and required a faster tempo.[50] That is why the diminutions in Praetorius's setting and in John Bull's set of keyboard variations never progress beyond running passages in quavers.[51]

In most cases the dances in *Terpsichore*, wherever they came from, became popular in France and were transmitted to Praetorius as part of the French repertory. Thus, the first 'Bransle simple' in Caroubel's suite of branles (no. 1) was based loosely on Pierre Certon's chanson 'La, la, la, je ne l'ose dire', probably by way of the mid-sixteenth-century French dance repertory; at that time chansons were routinely transformed into dances by altering and simplifying rhythms and phrase-structures.[52] Here and there one finds dances using Italian chord sequences, such as the 'Bransle de la Torche' (no. 15), based on the *Forze d'Hercole*, or the second sections of 'La Bouree' and the Ballet (no. 268), which draw on the *Romanesca*, though it is unlikely that they came direct from Italy. Examples of these chord sequences are found in dances in the early Attaingnant books,[53] and were probably brought to France by Italian musicians working in Paris in the early sixteenth century.

The one group of pieces in *Terpsichore* that were probably not transmitted by way of France are those of English origin. A number of the four-part courantes turn out to be English popular tunes: no. 123 is 'Packington's Pound', no. 151 'Wilson's Wild' or 'Wolsey's Wild', no. 152 'Light of Love', and no. 154 'Grimstock'.[54] No. 157 (also found as a galliard, no. 300) is a version of John Dowland's popular lute piece 'Mistris Winter's Jump',[55] and no. 158 is Thomas Campion's song 'I care not

---

50 I. Payne, *The Almain in Britain c.1549-c.1675: a Dance Manual from Manuscript Sources* (Aldershot, 2003), 38-39.

51 J. Bull, *Keyboard Music: II*, ed. T. Dart, Musica Britannica, 19 (London, 1963), 31-34, no. 76.

52 There is a convenient modern edition at http://www.cpdl.org/wiki/images/f/f8/Certon-la_la_la.pdf.

53 Holman, 'What did Violin Consorts Play', 62-63.

54 W. Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols. (London, 1859; repr. New York, 1965), i. 86-87, 123-125, 221-224, 771; C. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick NJ, 1966), 447-448, 564-570, 791-792; J. Ward, 'Apropos *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 28-85, at 42, 57, 65; L. Nordstrom, *The Bandora: its Music and Sources* (Warren MI, 1992), 80.

55 J. Dowland, *The Collected Lute Music*, ed. D. Poulton and B. Lam (London, 1974), 180, no. 55.

for these ladies', published in 1601.[56] Praetorius would doubtless have come to know these pieces from his contacts with musicians belonging to the English theatre companies touring northern Germany and Scandinavia at the time.[57] One of these groups, which included Robert Browne, John Bradstreet, Thomas Sackville and Richard Jones, was in Wolfenbüttel in the early 1590s,[58] having previously been in the Netherlands – which may explain the presence in *Terpsichore* of 'Wilhelm von Nass.' (no. 185), a courante related to the Dutch patriotic song 'Wilhelmus van Nassouwe', now the Dutch national anthem (Example 5).[59] Bradstreet worked in Wolfenbüttel for some years, and was appointed in 1604 as court dancing master 'to teach the prince princely dances … but also to teach our other young lords and sons foreign and useful, joyful dances' ('S.H. in allerhandt Furstlichen Täntzen [zu] unterweisen und zu lehren … unsere andere Junge hern, und sonnelein gleichergestalt in frembden & nutzlichen frohlich Täntzen [zu] unterweisen').[60] Praetorius clearly knew a good deal of English music. We have seen that he planned to publish 'English and Italian pavans, dances, and galliards' in *Euterpe*, that *Erato* contained 'some English comedies in four parts', and that *Ander Theil Terpsichore* contained 'various English dances'.

Example 5: Wilhelm von Nass., *Terpsichore*, no. 185

---

56 P. Rosseter, *A Book of Ayres* (London, 1601), no. 3; T. Campion, *Songs from Philip Rosseter's Book of Airs, 1601, Part 1*, ed. E.H. Fellowes (London, 1922), 10-11.

57 For these groups, see esp. E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923; repr. 1974), ii. 270-294; W. Braun, *Britannia abundans: Deutsch-englische Musikbeziehungen zur Shakespearezeit* (Tutzing, 1977); J. Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company: English Players in Central and Eastern Europe, 1590-1660* (Cambridge, 1985); A. Spohr, *'How chances it they travel?': Englishe Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579-1630* (Wiesbaden, 2009).

58 Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, ii. 273-276; *Vom herzoglichen Hoftheater zum bürgerlichen Tourneetheater: Ausstellung des Schloßmuseums Wolfenbüttel vom 24. October 1992 bis zum 10. Januar 1993*, ed. H.-H. Grote et al. (Wolfenbüttel, 1992), esp. 19-21.

59 Praetorius's piece does not seem to have been discussed in the literature on the history of the 'Wilhelmus' tune; see esp. F. van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche Lied*, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1903-07), ii: *1620-1663*; F. Noske, 'Early Sources of the Dutch National Anthem', *Fontes artis musicae*, 13 (1966), 87-94; *Dutch Keyboard Music of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. A. Curtis, Monumenta musica Neerlandica, 3 (Amsterdam, 1961), xxxviii-xxxix.

60 Spohr, *'How chances it they travel?'*, 222.

We can now see that the modern tradition of performing dances from *Terpsichore* in elaborate orchestrated versions using the range of instruments described in *Syntagma musicum II* is essentially spurious. The publication is largely a collection of French dances, presented in four- and five-part settings that conform to what we know of the practice of the French court violin band and similar groups. It is the largest printed collection of courtly dance music of the period, and it gives us an unique insight into the reception of French (and to some extent English) dance and dance music in northern Germany.

An investigation into the anonymous setting of William Byrd's *Ne irascaris, Domine* for two lyra viols. Part two: 'Harsh progressions and monstrous combinations'

RICHARD CARTER

Part one of this article[1] discussed the unique setting for two viols in tablature[2] of Byrd's pair of motets *Ne irascaris, Domine* and *Civitas Sancti tui* in the general context of composing and arranging for lyra viol and included complete transcriptions both in tablature and staff notation, presented in score alongside the original five-part version published by Byrd[3] and a recently discovered fragment of a contemporary keyboard arrangement.[4] In the following discussion bar numbers refer to that transcription.

Part two first considers in general the presentation of the motets by a selection of editors in the four centuries since the composer's death, and then looks in particular at how evidence from the tablature setting can illuminate some matters concerning the treatment of accidentals which have taxed editors, commentators and performers over the years. Finally there is a further discussion of *Lulla, lullaby*, the other Byrd work to have been arranged for lyra viols, some aspects of which were touched on in part one.

The motets circulated in manuscript during the composer's lifetime, with both Latin and English texts, at least ten sources have survived. Byrd's own print of 1589 (hereafter *Byrd*) took the usual form of five partbooks—*Superius*, *Medius*, *Contratenor*, *Tenor* and *Bassus*—in this pair of motets the clefs are C1-C3-C4-C5-F4. In common with other contemporaries who were lucky enough to oversee publication of their own works Byrd was keen to point out that here were authoritative, definitive readings which corrected errors in manuscript copies.

Two such manuscript sources of the motets are in John Merro's hand: the sets of partbooks GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17792-17796 and US-NYp Drexel MSS 4180-4185, copied for use by musicians associated with Gloucester Cathedral.[5] Both sets are underlaid with an English text (see below), the note values are adjusted—which usually means breaking up longer note values, typically a semibreve becomes a dotted minim and crotchet—and indications of slurs are added,[6] but there are many *bis* signs, and a good deal is still left up to the performers. *Civitas Sancti tui* follows straight on, the two parts of the motet are

---

[1] In this Journal, Vol. 5 (2011), 24-55
[2] GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. D.245-247,² copied (*c*.1620?) by John Merro (*d*.1639)
[3] Nos 20 and 21 of *Liber primus Sacrarum Cantiones Quinque Vocum* (London, 1589)
[4] Arundel Castle MS M419
[5] A. Ashbee, 'John Merro's manuscripts revisited'. My thanks to Dr Ashbee for allowing me to see an early draft of his forthcoming article (intended for this Journal, vol. VII).
[6] In the British Library mss Merro uses a 'half-square-bracket' symbol which indicates the start of each slur much clearer than it does the end: I have reproduced this in the music examples.

divided only by a barline; in some partbooks they are untitled, others are simply annotated 'M^r. Birde'; at the end of the *Bassus* part in Add. MS 17796 Merro added 'Mr William Birde Ne Irascaris'—the Latin incipit had already become the name by which the work was known. Clefs are the same as *Byrd*, except that baritone clef is notated as F3. Merro's copying is neat and legible, but notoriously careless. His wayward approach to accidentals alone provides justification enough for Byrd's introductory remarks mentioned above.

The first to edit Byrd's music after his death was John Barnard, who included no fewer than twelve of his works in the anthology *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London, 1641)[7] which consists of ten partbooks. Barnard's timing was unfortunate, shortly before the upheavals of the Civil Wars and Interregnum: no single library or collection now holds a complete set, although at least one copy of each partbook has survived. The publication of Barnard's collection, which included music by composers of the previous century with the dual aim of preservation and performance, is seen by some commentators today as groundbreaking, and marking the start of the Early Music revival.[8]

In the eighteenth century *Ne irascaris* and *Civitas sancti tui* were included as two of three motets by Byrd in *Cathedral Music*,[9] the compilation of which was begun by Maurice Greene (1696-1755) and completed after his death by his former pupil William Boyce (1711-1779). Both are subtitled 'Anthem for Five Voices, As set to Music in the Key of F with the Greater Third, By William Bird'. Boyce's score preserves note values and pitch, but adds a double bar before the homophonic section to the text 'Sion facta est deserta' (b. 111); the English text is basically the same as that set by Merro, but the underlay, text repetitions (here fully written out) and alterations to the rhythm are freshly thought out. He named the parts *Treble, Contratenor, Tenor Decani, Tenor Cantori* and *Bass*, choosing clefs accordingly—C1-C3-C4-C4-F4. This acknowledges the fact that Byrd's *Contratenor* and *Tenor* have almost the same range (*B* flat-*f'* and *B* flat-*e'* flat). He supplied a comprehensively figured thoroughbass for organ.

Boyce's preface shows that he was aware that his anthology included music which was considered archaic, and some of his explanations of editorial practice and hints on performance have quite a modern ring to them, although as we shall see later, he is still a long way from editorial transparency. He too writes that one of his main tasks was to correct the carelessness of copyists and

---

[7] *RISM 1641⁵: The first book of selected church musick, consisting of services and anthems, such as are now used in this kingdome. Never before printed … Collected out of divers approved authors, By John Barnard, one of the Minor Canons of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul* (London, 1641); facsimile edition (Farnborough: Gregg, 1972). Unfortunately, despite being in the age of easy electronic communication I have not succeeded in inspecting a copy of Barnard's partbooks. My thanks to Andrew Ashbee for kindly consulting the transcription in score by John Bishop of Cheltenham, GB-Lbl Add. MS 30087, ff. 122v-130r, dated 4 May 1845. My comments below are based, with due caution, on the answers to my queries he found there.

[8] See e.g. P. Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 302ff.

[9] W. Boyce (ed.), *Cathedral Music: being A Collection in Score of the Most Valuable and Useful Compositions for that Service by the Several English Masters of the last Two Hundred Years*, 3 Vols (London 1760-1773, second edition 1788), Vol. I, 24-33 (The third Byrd motet is *Sing joyfully unto God*, a6, which Barnard had also printed).

goes on to justify publishing in score by citing William Croft, from the preface to an edition of his own anthems:

> As to performers, every one that is but indifferently skilled in the art of singing, knows of what improving advantage it is, at one view, to see the disposition of the parts, and how they depend one upon another, to observe the beauty of the composure, and to know upon the slightest view the exact point where every part takes place, either in observing the pauses or rests, or filling up the vacant spaces by joining properly in the harmony; and 'tis very obvious that this method of publishing music cannot but be most acceptable to the judicious and skilful, it being the only way whereby they can be capable at one view to find out the beauties, or discover the imperfections of any piece, which cannot in any wise be effected, if the parts be kept separate.

Croft's phrase 'filling up the vacant spaces by joining properly in the harmony' appears to be a suggestion that singers could opt to join in with another part, when their own line has rests.[10]

Boyce was also at pains to emphasize the financial advantages:

> I would just add this interesting remark, that as no person employed to copy church music can afford to provide good paper, and write what is here contained in a page at the price these pages are sold for, which is less than seven farthings each,* this must undoubtedly be the cheapest, and most eligible way of purchasing books for the above-mentioned purpose.
>
> * This Edition is now reduced to less than one halfpenny per page.

He goes on to put the earlier pieces into historical context:

> It may easily be discerned in the perusal of this collection, that the pieces which were composed between the Reformation and the Restauration are in a more grave style than those written since; a gravity in Church Music having been particularly ordered by Authority in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with intent to distinguish it from every other Species, calculated for secular purposes; …

After explaining that the subsequent change of style reflected the need to satisfy the tastes Charles the Second had acquired during his years of French exile Boyce continues:

> Nor have the more early writers been wanting in expression, although it is not so particularly marked, for their music being generally full, and composed of many parts, they seem to have been aimed at giving each of these an equal degree of sweetness,

---

[10] One feature Boyce does not draw attention to is the rather nice use of different graphic forms of the C and F clefs to assist singers in finding their stave at system changes. The figured bass is additionally identified by a pointing hand.

> as may be conjectured from the elegance and purity of the several melodies; and, it must be confessed, that their skill in the joining and intermixing them in the formation of harmony, are indubitable testimonies of their indefatigable application, and eminent abilities. The Anthems of TALLIS, TYE, BIRD, and GIBBONS, with the Morning Service of FARRANT, &c. abound with admirable examples of this kind of art and expression.

In the nineteenth century William Horsley (1774-1858) edited the *Liber primus Sacrarum Cantiones Quinque Vocum* for the Musical Antiquarian Society.[11] His introduction (signed 'Kensington Gravel Pits, July 1842. W. H.') is forthright and damning. After a preamble setting out the case for an editor to be honest and speak the truth, however unpalatable it may be, he comes straight to the point:

> … a minute examination has led me to form a very different opinion of the Cantiones Sacrae to that which I formerly entertained. Judging from a few favourable specimens, and trusting, as I am bound to confess, too much to the applause which has been lavished on them for more than two centuries, I had formed notions of their excellence which exist in my mind no longer.

With Horsley we are in a quite different world, that of the expert—not to say all-knowing—musicologist as editor, handing out wisdom from on high: Joseph Kerman has rightly commented on the 'editorial lectures by the insufferable Horsley'.[12] He knew Boyce's edition, and presumably included Boyce's assessment of Byrd and the other 'more early writers' cited above in the 'applause' which had led him astray. Almost no-one escaped his acid wit; here he is on Burney and Hawkins:[13]

> It is quite clear that Dr. Burney, with more knowledge of music than Sir John Hawkins, often wrote about things which he did not carefully examine: it is equally clear that Sir J. Hawkins, with more unwearied industry than Dr. Burney, often wrote about things which he did not thoroughly understand.

Horsley goes on to paint a picture of the insular English musicians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, toiling away in ignorance of the proper rules of composition, which only the Italians—with Palestrina leading the field—really mastered. He demonstrates at considerable length that Byrd did not compose well, even according to the rules and good practices of his own time, and indeed, what chance did poor Byrd have, knowing who his teachers were? Along the way, Palestrina's faults are also exposed. Having got that out of his system, Horsley does concede that:

---

[11] W. Horsley (ed.), *Book 1. of Cantiones Sacrae for Five Voices, Composed by William Byrd, Originally Published A. D. 1589; and Now First Printed in Score* (London, Printed for the Members of the Musical Antiquarian Society, No. 6, Second Work of the Second Year (1.11.1841 to 31.10.1842)). A scan may be downloaded from the Petrucci Library at <www.imslp.org>. Note that Horsley is the first editor in this sample to adopt the spelling 'Byrd'.

[12] J. Kerman, 'William Byrd', *GMO*, accessed 9 January 2012.

[13] Horsley, op. cit., footnote on p. 2

> The finest of all the songs, however, are No. 20, "Ne irascaris, Domine", and No. 21, "Civitas Sancti tui." The first is found, in Boyce's Collection, to the words "O Lord, turn thy wrath;" the second to "Bow thine ear."

At the end of his introduction, as if aware that he is on the brink of going too far, Horsley concludes, perhaps with one eye on his fee:

> That the work is curious, and worthy of being reprinted by the Musical Antiquarian Society, may be readily admitted. We must, however, bear in mind that the examples it furnishes are of a School long since passed away, and that (like any other music of the time) it contains principles of composition no longer received.

Despite—or possibly, because of—this critical stance Horsley's edition of the music is a rigorously faithful transcription scored up from the 1589 partbooks, retaining pitches and note values, and the Latin text. Some editorial remarks appear as footnotes. His chosen clefs, G2-C3-C4-F4-F4, reflect a scoring for SATBarB, despite the equivalent ranges of *Contratenor* and *Tenor*. Although one imagines Horsley saw his edition primarily as a study score (if not a cautionary tale), a written-out organ part 'Compressed from the Score by G. Alex. Macfarren' was published separately. This is 'compressed' vertically, onto two staves, and horizontally, by halving the note values, allowing a compact layout which fits each anthem onto either one or two pages; for better orientation each phrase of the text is underlaid at its first appearance. The expectation seemed to be that interested Musical Antiquarians would prefer to try out the music alone at the keyboard; Macfarren (1813-1887), later Sir George, provided similar reductions for editions of, amongst others, Byrd's Mass for five voices and the Fantasies in three parts by Gibbons.[14]

Almost a century later, as the modern early music revival gathered momentum, Edmund Fellowes's editing of this collection[15] demonstrates a radically different approach to producing a performing text from that of Greene and Boyce: note values are halved, tempo, expression and dynamic markings are provided, and the motets are transposed—up a whole tone into G for SATTB in the case of *Ne irascaris* and *Civitas Sancti tui*—the clefs are G2-G2-$G_8$2-$G_8$2-F4. Also as a concession to mixed-voice choirs, Fellowes was prepared to exchange material between middle voices in order to achieve a better fit to current contralto and tenor voice ranges, although it was not necessary in this pair of motets. Fellowes's English text (his own contrafactum, see below) is underlaid beneath the Latin, and made to fit the original rhythm; the keyboard reduction is marked 'For practice only'.

Finally, the recently completed revision of The Byrd Edition has returned to an appearance very close to Horsley's score.[16]

Many aspects of Fellowes's editorial style have passed into history, although editions of that sort still enjoy wide circulation. The difficulty of matching

---

[14] Edited by Edward Rimbault for the Musical Antiquarian Society, Vols 1 and 9.

[15] E. Fellowes (ed.), *The Collected Vocal Works of William Byrd*, Vol. II (London: Stainer and Bell, 1937)

[16] A. Brown (ed.), *The Byrd Edition*, Vol. 2 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1988)

voice types and pitch standards remains. The practice of upward transposition, justified in terms of a proposed high original performing pitch, is now seriously questioned, in a re-examination of the whole issue of voice types and performing pitch in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. Simon Ravens, amongst others, has recently argued that voices which were then described as 'countertenor' and 'tenor' are today's tenor (i.e. not a falsettist) and baritone.[17] Boyce, who produced his edition in the late eighteenth century for church choirs—then, as now, with boy trebles and 'high', 'medium' and 'low' men's voices—saw no need to transpose. Bruce Haynes reports English organs of this period typically being pitched at around a quarter tone lower than the modern standard.[18] Of course, the upward transposition continues to suit SATTB performance with mixed-voice choirs, whereas the original notation at modern concert pitch arguably calls for ATBarBarB, with all the women inconveniently singing the top voice. The fourth part is notated either in bass or octave treble clef, according to whether the editor feels it to be for baritone or tenor, the third part is, however nowadays always set in octave treble for tenor voice—the effect of Byrd using different clefs for two parts of effectively the same range is still felt.

Issues with accidentals

Due to its high visibility amongst Byrd's motets *Ne irascaris* has been a focus for debate on matters of harmony and accidentals. As with any intabulation of a staff notation piece, the viol setting provides us with a unique contemporary interpretation of these issues.

Each notation system has its own characteristic portfolio of likely and unlikely copying or printing mistakes: for staff notation, especially of single parts, the erroneous inclusion or omission of accidentals, resulting in notes being out by a semitone, is entirely typical. These cases then have to be considered in the light of conventions of validity and cancellation of accidentals, and whether contemporary performers versed in the hexachord would automatically inflect certain pitches in prescribed circumstances; in many cases it can be argued that well-meaning copyists with an incomplete grasp of the hexachord context have mistakenly added such accidentals. Simple copying or typesetting error is most likely to lead to omitted or misplaced accidentals.

The typical errors made when copying tablature—wrong string, wrong letter— do not generally lead to discrepancies of a semitone: adjacent strings are tuned to intervals between a minor third and a pure fifth apart, and the adjacent letters of the alphabet necessary to produce an error of a semitone are conveniently dissimilar in appearance. The majority of issues concerning missing accidentals in the staff notation parts of Dowland's *Lachrimae*, for example, are readily clarified by consulting the lute tablature; in the 'seven passionate pavans' themselves only four of the forty or so notes which in a modern edition need an accidental or a cancelling reminder cannot be confirmed from the lute part, and then only because they are not present there.

---

[17] S. Ravens, 'The Scholar, the Performer and the Critic', *Early Music Review* 150, October 2012, 15.
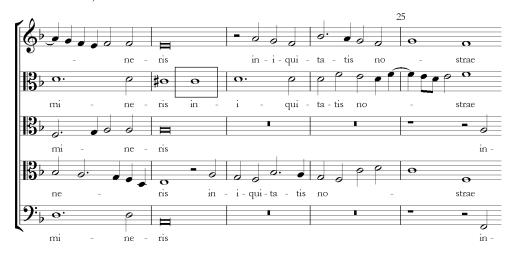
[18] B. Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch The Story of "A"* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 289 & 319.

Thus the evidence of the viol tablature arrangement on questions of accidentals deserves to be taken seriously, despite its other manifest shortcomings: the original intabulator had to come to a decision and choose which letter to notate, there was no question of leaving it up to the performer.

In the following discussion the sounding pitches of the viol tablature are transposed a fourth higher, as if the first string were tuned to *g'*, in order to ease comparison.[19]

1. In b. 22 the music comes to a close in A major on the last syllable of 'memineris'. *Medius* has the third, and leads off the new word 'iniquitatis' with another C at the same octave (Example 1a). In *Byrd* the second C begins a new system, the sharp is neither confirmed nor explicitly cancelled. Merro's manuscript copies with English text match this scheme (Example 1c), even having the system break at the same point, and are thus equally ambiguous.

The modern approach to this situation is to add an editorial natural to the second C, following the convention that a new text phrase or musical point cancels the accidental—Fellowes does so, and subsequent editors have followed suit. It produces an effect which we have become very used to hearing, and which is also frequently encountered unambiguously notated, when the major and minor thirds are in different voices.

1a: from *Byrd*, 1589

Example 1a-1d: *Ne irascaris* bb. 21-25, different readings compared

The viol tablature (Example 1b) has a major third in the first half of the bar, clumsily placed on the second minim, and no third at all in the second half; the transition to the next bar needs very careful handling in performance to avoid a crude exposure of Byrd's hidden parallel fifths. Horsley would have felt vindicated! This is without doubt incompetent intabulation, perhaps exacerbated by copying error, but it is telling that the M419 keyboard transcription is also content to strike a major third only at the start of the bar. Here the arranger thoughtfully avoided reiterating the chord in the middle of

---

19 At several points in the partbooks GB-Ob MSS Mus.Sch.D.245-247 Merro heads a group of pieces in tablature with a rubric which makes it quite clear that he expected bass viols to be used, for example: 'These be set 8ts for twoe Base violles' (see *IMCM* vol. I op.cit.).

the bar, so the natural dying away of the sound of the harpsichord or virginals helps to mask the parallels.

This all rather intriguingly suggests that the seventeenth century did not treat this categorically as a case of a new musical point cancelling the accidental.
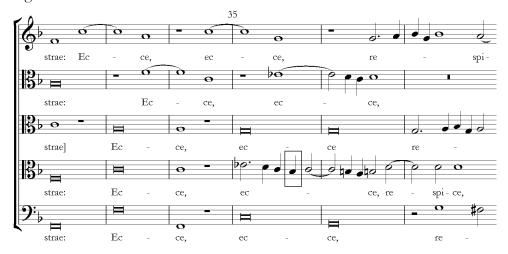

1b: the contemporary instrumental arrangements

1c: from British Library Add. MSS 17792-17796 (John Merro), *c.*1620

1d: from Boyce, *Cathedral Music*, 2nd ed., 1788
(organ continuo omitted)

Boyce employed a 'hybrid' convention for accidentals; they are valid only for one note, but cancelling reminders are consistently added, even where a barline intervenes, which makes his intentions admirably clear. However, as a result of the alterations for the English text Boyce's *Contratenor* has only a breve in this bar, set to the word 'God', and there is no second semibreve (Example 1d). To achieve this Boyce quite deliberately gave this voice a different line of text from his *Treble* and *Tenor Cantori* for the following phrase; this was a carefully thought out move, indeed he seemed almost at pains to remove any temptation to make a change to the minor in the second half of the bar.

Horsley's main concern was to reproduce what he found, even if he objected to it, but here he is inconsistent: in the score he appears to have understood the second C also to be sharpened—elsewhere he employed the modern convention, and repeated accidentals within a bar are suppressed—but in the organ reduction the second C is marked natural without comment.[20]

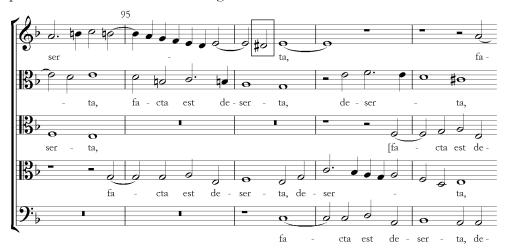Example 2: *Byrd, Ne irascaris*, bb. 32-37

2. In b. 36 (Example 2) there are in *Byrd* some unsurprising B naturals in *Tenor*, which are duly included by Horsley and in most editions since. Curiously, Boyce omitted them, this seems most likely to be an oversight; possibly he used a source in which they were not present. Uniquely, the viol tablature version pre-empts them with a sounding B natural in b. 35, which, heard against the E flat in *Medius*, either heightens the dramatic impact of the outburst 'ecce', or is an example of a copyist or intabulator misunderstanding the hexachord context. I am not aware of any other contemporary source or modern edition which suggests this possibility. It is unfortunate that the M419 keyboard fragment ends a few semibreves before this point.

3. In b. 96 the D sharp in *Superius* (Example 3) produces a controversial chromatic triad, which was debated in the pages of *The Musical Times* in the early 1960s by Watkins Shaw (against) and Jack Westrup (for).[21] The strongest argument for its retention is that it has Byrd's approval: in the introduction to

---

[20] The organ score has no introductory or explanatory text: presumably Macfarren worked from Horsley's score, but it is not clear whether this C natural had Horsley's approval.

[21] W. Shaw 'A Textual Problem in Byrd: A Purely Accidental Matter' *The Musical Times* 102 (1961), 230-232; J. Westrup 'Bach, the Bible, and Byrd', ibid., 288-289. My thanks to Richard Turbet for these references.

Byrd the composer testifies to the accuracy of the printer's work. However, it is absent from manuscript sources dating from Byrd's lifetime—Shaw lists eight such, to which the two copies made by Merro may be added. It is likewise not present in the viol tablature setting.

Example 3: *Byrd, Civitas Sancti tui*, bars 94-98

According to Shaw Barnard's edition does not include the sharp[22] and Boyce omitted it without comment; Horsley printed it, both in his score and in the organ reduction, but applauds Boyce's decision: '… the [sharp] is judiciously omitted, and a harsh progression thereby avoided.'[23]

Fellowes justified his retention of it on the grounds that 'There are three other examples of this chord in Byrd's two books of *Cantiones Sacrae*.'[24] As Shaw's article makes clear, all occur in similar circumstances, and he argued persuasively that the explanation lies in a copyist's mistaken application of the old 'musica ficta' rules when looking at a single part in isolation. He also usefully reminds us that Fellowes took it as read that Byrd's published editions were authoritative and did not see the need to consult manuscript sources, which obviously coloured his outlook. Accepting Shaw's argument means accepting that Byrd himself had either made, or at least failed to spot the error.[25] Countless further instances may be found in other sources from the time, some showing that it occurred even when copying in score.

In Francis Tregian's copying of the five-part Latin motets by Alfonso Ferrabosco I there is a passage in *Quia beneplacitum est* (2ª pars of *Cantate Domino*), bb. 25-40, which is particularly rich in debatable accidentals, b. 40 even having two simultaneously (Example 4).[26]

---

[22] Ibid., 232. Interestingly it is present in John Bishop's transcription, but pencilled comments note that it had been 'inked out', and that it was absent in 'Ex. Hall Cam.'—this last presumably a manuscript source at present unidentifiable.

[23] Horsley, op. cit., footnote on p. 96. Horsley does not appear to have consulted any manuscript sources.

[24] Fellowes, op. cit., footnote on p. 160.

[25] Shaw points out that Byrd overlooked a typesetting error in his dedication, precisely at the point where he is complaining about careless copyists.

[26] GB-Lbl Eg. 3665, Tregian pp. 138-139, f. (70), no. 25 *Alfonso Ferabosco Sen. (Quia beneplacitum est) 2ª pars*

Example 4: from Francis Tregian's copy of *Quia beneplacitum est*, Alfonso
Ferrabosco I (text—in bass only—omitted)

In each case the note which makes the chromatic triad has been raised a
semitone where the approach to a cadence has arguably been misunderstood.
In b. 26 the close is in B flat, not D, and in the other three cases the closes are
not in G at bb. 30, 35 and 41, but in C, a semibreve later in each case. The
suppression of the accidentals on the boxed notes lends the passage a
restrained dignity; if they are included the effect is uncomfortably queasy, and
at odds with the text 'Quia beneplacitum est Domino in populo suo.'[27] In the
collected works[28] the C sharp in b. 25 and the F sharp in b. 33 are suppressed,
the F sharps in bb. 29 and 34 are retained; in b. 40 the F sharp is retained and
instead the A flat in the bass is suppressed, resulting in A natural against E flat
and F sharp against C, which I find less convincing.[29] If nothing else, this
passage illustrates how difficult it is to discuss these questions without invoking
personal, subjective responses: it is equally possible to acquire a taste for the
chromaticism as it is for a reading stripped of all alteration—neither is likely to
represent contemporary practice.

---

[27] Ps. 149.4, 'For the Lord taketh pleasure in his people.'

[28] R. Charteris (ed.), *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588) Opera omnia I, Motets*, Corpus
Mensurabilis Musicae 96 (American Institute of Musicology : Hänssler-Verlag, 1984), 107-118,
here 114.

[29] Charteris takes Tregian as his main source, but since there is no detailed critical
commentary provided in the edition it is not clear whether these alterations have the authority
of one of the subsidiary sources.

Returning to Byrd and the case of *Ne irascaris*, it is no surprise that modern editors and performers remain divided; the D sharp is, for example, suppressed by Alan Brown in the latest complete revision of the Byrd Edition, and in David Fraser's online edition for the Choral Public Domain Library,[30] but many currently available recordings include it.

4. False relations were in Byrd's time, and are nowadays uncontroversial, but this has not always been so. The single example in *Ne irascaris* occurs in b. 120 (B natural in *Tenor* overlaps with B flat in *Superius*); the tablature setting and Merro's five-part versions include the B natural, but it is suppressed by both Barnard[31] and Boyce. Horsley printed it, but observed: 'This [natural] is in the Original Copy: in Boyce's edition it is omitted, with great propriety'[32] and in his introduction he had already criticized the 'monstrous combination of the Major and Minor third on the same root.'[33] By Fellowes's time false relations were once again understood and accepted,[34] and he made no comment on it.

The Texts

A detailed discussion of the English texts set to Byrd's music, especially the reasons for not using a direct translation, lies outside the scope and competence of this article.

The Latin text is Isaiah 64: 9-10, here with a literal translation:

Ne irascaris Domine satis,	Be not angry, O LORD, enough,
et ne ultra memineris iniquitatis nostrae:	and remember no more our iniquity:
Ecce, respice,	Behold, see,
populus tuus omnes nos.	we *are* all thy people.
Civitas sancti tui facta est deserta,	The city of thy holy one is made desert,
Sion deserta facta est.	Zion is made desert,
Jerusalem desolata est.	Jerusalem is become desolate.

MERRO

O Lorde turne thy wrath awaie from us for thy mercie(s) sake
Call to minde no more o Lorde oʳ God: oʳ former sins and wickednes
Looke down with thy mercifull eies and see/
wee bee thy people and thie pasture sheepe.*

Bowe thine eare o Lorde and heare**
Let thine anger cease from us†
Syon thie Syon is wasted and brought lowe
Jerusalem is wasted quite Desolate and voide.

* cf. Ps. 79:13: 'So we thy people and sheep of thy pasture …'
** cf. Ps. 86:1, 'Bow down thine ear, O LORD, hear me: …'

---

[30] <www.cpdl.org>
[31] That is to say, Bishop's transcription omits it.
[32] Horsley, op. cit., footnote on p. 97.
[33] Horsley, op. cit., p. 4
[34] Notwithstanding Donald Tovey's remark about 'the vicious English taste for false relations,' quoted in J. Kerman, 'William Byrd', *GMO*.

† cf. Ps. 85:4, 'Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause thine anger toward us to cease.'

BOYCE

O Lord turn thy wrath away from us for thy mercy's sake
call to mind no more O our God our former sins and wickedness
Look down with thy merciful eyes and see
We be thy people and thy pasture sheep.

Bow thine ear O Lord and hear
Let thine anger cease from us
Sion thy Sion is wasted and brought low
Jerusalem is wasted quite desolate and void.

FELLOWES
['Based on Barnard 1641 but considerably revised by the present Editor']

Lord turn thy wrath away from us;
call to mind no more, O Lord God, our former sins and wickedness,
Look down, and behold,
We are thy people and thy pasture sheep.

Bow thine ear, O Lord, and hear (us);
Let thine anger cease from us
Sion is wasted and brought low
Jerusalem, Jerusalem, desolate and void.

Lulla, Lullaby

Although this article has been primarily about *Ne irascaris* the other surviving lyra viol setting of Byrd, *Lulla, lullaby*, has also been brought into the discussion, and it is appropriate to summarize the information about this arrangement here, and to add one or two further points.

What survives is single part for lyra viol in the tuning *ffhfh* (Alfonso way) entitled 'Birds Lullaby', in the 'John Browne Bandora and Lyra Viol Book'.[35] It is one of a substantial number of pieces in the manuscript which were copied by Browne himself. As already mentioned, the part is neither a self-sufficient solo piece nor a satisfactory 'accompaniment', as it is presently described in the Society's *Thematic Index*. I have proposed that it is one part of a setting for two, or more likely three lyra viols, arranged from the version published by Byrd as no. 32 of *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (London, 1588).

The manuscript includes two sequences of pieces in Browne's hand, one in the tuning *fhfhf* (Eights), the other in *ffhfh*, which contain arrangements for solo lyra viol of songs and dances from Jacobean court masque productions, including those for Princess Elizabeth's wedding in 1613; the single *Lullaby* part follows on from the *ffhfh* sequence. Peter Holman has suggested that these

---

[35] GB-Lam MS 600, see *IMCM*, vol. 1, 125-130. Biographical notes on John Browne (1608-1691) on p.1

arrangements were very probably made by Robert Taylor, who is likely to have been John Browne's viol teacher at The Middle Temple.[36]

The sequences also include original compositions by Taylor, and make extensive use of a distinctive ornament mark otherwise seldom encountered: in the space between the lowest two stave lines, directly below tablature letters or chords, are pairs of vertical strokes, or a dot, which form a distinct layer in the notation, separated from the other ornament signs which appear amongst the tablature letters (Example 5). This notation has been hitherto regarded as obscure, Mary Cyr did not mention it in her two-part study of lyra viol ornamentation,[37] and Annette Otterstedt listed it as 'unexplained'.[38] It makes very good sense interpreted as a bowing mark—the vertical strokes give the start of a slur, which is ended either by the next pair of strokes, or by a dot, or sometimes by the player's feeling for what is appropriate; the note above the dot is not part of the slurred group.

Example 5: Robert Johnson, *The Princes Dance* VdGS 14, tuning *ffhfh*
(first strain), GB-Lam MS 600, f:76v, showing bowing indications
(other graces not realised in the transcription)

The only other source in which this bowing indication appears is the William Ballet Tablature;[39] it is used, comparatively sparingly and less consistently than in John Browne's copying, in the following five pieces:

p. 38:2 'A toye'   *fhfhf*   VdGS 9398

---

[36] *IMCCM*, vol. 1, 128, footnote 6.

[37] M. Cyr, 'Ornamentation in English Lyra Viol Music Part I: Slurs, Juts, Thumps, and other "graces" for the Bow', *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, Vol. 34, 1997, 48-66; and ditto 'Part II: Shakes, Rellishes, Falls, and other "graces" for the Left Hand', ibid., Vol. 35, 1998, 16-34.

[38] A. Otterstedt, *Die Englische Lyra-Viol: Instrument und Technik* (PhD diss. 1987, pub. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1989), 237.

[39] IRL-Dtc MS 408/1 (formerly D.1.21). See J. Ward, 'The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.1.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book', *The Lute Society Journal*, Vol. 10, 1968, 15-32; R. Carter & J. Valencia (eds) *Lessons for the Lyra Viol from The Ballet Lute Book*, 3 vols (Kritzendorf: Oriana Music OM101-103, 2004-5)

p. 42	'Lachrima by mr dowland'	*fhfhf*	
p. 66	'durette'	*ffhfh*	VdGS 9092
p. 67:1	'A corranto'	*ffhfh*	VdGS 9150
p. 68:1	'Couranto RT'	*ffhfh*	VdGS Robert Taylor 23

A dance called 'durets' was called for in *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, 1613,[40] so here again, arrangements of masque music and a work by Robert Taylor appear in close proximity. In addition, on p. 65 there is a setting of the *Witches Dance* from the *Masque of Queens*, 1609[41]—all these pieces are copied in the same hand, Ward's Hand D, who was perhaps another Taylor pupil.

The evidence is circumstantial, but Taylor emerges as a plausible candidate for having made the tablature arrangement of *Lulla, lullaby*, and perhaps also the masterful solo lyra viol setting of Dowland's *Lachrimae*. His possible connection with the William Ballet tablature deserves closer investigation.

There is one further tenuous link between John Browne, *Lulla, lullaby* and Robert Taylor: in the Music Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana there is a copy of Taylor's *Sacred Hymns*[42] bound together with some manuscript leaves (shelf mark 783.9T136s cop.2) in which Browne's hand has been identified. Amongst the music is the *Superius* part of Byrd's *Lullaby*.

<center>*   *   *</center>

---

[40] Four-part version in M. Praetorius *Terpsichore*, 1612.

[41] Lute setting in R. Dowland, *Varietie of Lute Lessons*, London, 1610.

[42] R. Tailour, *Sacred Hymns, Consisting of Fifti Select Psalms of David and Others, Paraphrastically Turned into English Verse* (London, 1615).

REVIEWS

Aurelio Bianco, *'Nach englischer und frantzösischer Art': Vie et oeuvre de Carlo Farina* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), €60

PETER HOLMAN

Carlo Farina is mainly known today for his remarkable Capriccio stravagante, from the second of his five books of largely four-part dance music, published in Dresden between 1626 and 1628. It is the earliest and longest in a line of programmatic pieces depicting aspects of seventeenth-century everyday life by German composers such as Johann Vierdanck, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, Johann Jakob Walther and Heinrich Biber. The Capriccio came to public attention through Nikolaus Haroncourt's famous 1970 recording with Concentus Musicus, still available on the CD *Komödiantische Musik des Barock* (Das Alte Werk 2564696893). Harnoncourt's edition, published by Otto Heinrich Noetzel Verlag in the same year, made the work generally available, though it has a number of problems, shared with the 1998 King's Music edition by Clifford Bartlett and Brian Clark. Both editions misunderstand the repeat scheme in several places, frequently change or misplace the printed slurs, and, most important, omit Farina's detailed bilingual performance instructions, printed in the Dresden copy of the *Cantus* part (now available online at http://erato.uvt.nl/files/imglnks/usimg/6/60/IMSLP75264-PMLP151067-farina_2_part_pavans_galliards.pdf) but not present in the complete copy at Kassel. So it is good that Aurelio Bianco includes the Italian and German versions of the instructions as part of a complete diplomatic transcription of Farina's title-pages and prefatory material, and that his edition of the Capriccio resolves all these problems – though, as we shall see, it cannot readily be used by performers.

The most important and innovative part of Bianco's work is not the book itself but a CD that comes in a plastic envelope attached to the inside back cover. It contains a complete modern edition of the five Farina books in a downloadable PDF file. The edition is only in score, though those more adept than me at handling the *Partifi* software (http://partifi.org/) may be able to make parts from it. There are also some editions printed in the book itself. Eight two-part dances from a keyboard tablature manuscript at Darmstadt (online at http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/6/6a/IMSLP261018-PMLP423218-Mus-Ms-1196.pdf) are given as four-part pieces with editorial inner parts, and there is an anthology of pieces relating to the Capriccio: a five-part courente by Schein; Schmelzer's Fechtschule, wrongly said here to be for two violins, viola and bass rather than violin, two violas and bass; Vierdanck's Capriccio auff quotlibetlische Art for two violins, bass viol and continuo, the earliest response to the Capriccio stravagante, published in 1641; and Walther's Serenata for violin and continuo from his *Hortus chelicus* of 1688, a piece that, like the Capriccio, includes imitations of an organ's tremulant stop, a guitar, trumpets and timpani, and a hurdy-gurdy. It is good to have these extra pieces, particularly the Vierdanck Quodlibet, which does not seem to have been edited

before, though it would be more useful if they were on the CD rather than in the book.

Bianco's book begins with a thoroughly researched biography of Farina, a great improvement on those available in current reference books. Bianco suggests that he was the son of the Luigi Farina who was a string player at the Mantuan court around 1600 and who married in 1603 – hence the suggested birth date of *c*.1604. Carlo was a string player at the Dresden court between 1625 and 1628, where his collections were published, subsequently working in Parma, Danzig and Vienna, where he died in 1639. Thus he grew up in Monteverdi's Mantua and spent his early professional life working with Heinrich Schütz in Dresden, so it rather surprising that his music does not reflect their influence to any great extent. Rather, as Bianco shows in the second section, a survey of the five books, most of their contents relate to the Anglo-German repertory of consort dance music by William Brade, Thomas Simpson and others, or to French violin band music, particularly as disseminated in Germany by Michael Praetorius's *Terpsichore* of 1612 – hence the motto of Bianco's book, 'Nach englischer und frantzösischer Art'. Overtly Italianate pieces, notably some sonatas and canzonas for one and two soprano instruments and continuo at the end of books 1, 4 and 5, are in the minority.

Bianco's third section, entitled 'Considerations sur la musique de Farina', deals with problems of *musica ficta* and tempo relationships, but curiously does not discuss questions of instrumentation, though some of these are dealt with briefly and not entirely satisfactorily in the previous section. Farina does not call for particular instruments, except to state that six three-part sinfonias at the end of the third book should be played with 'doi Violini over Cornetti'. Nevertheless, his four-part pieces conform to the standard writing for consort dance music at the time, intended primarily for violin, two violas and bass violin but also allowing for other alternatives, such as consorts of viols, recorders or cornetts and sackbuts. The top part of the Capriccio can only be played on the violin, since it has many multiple stops, and the virtuosic writing in the sonatas and canzonas (including some double stops in the 'Sonata Seconda detta La desperata' at the end of book 5) more or less excludes other instruments.

Bianco does not discuss the continuo scoring of Farina's music, which is a pity, since it is not a straightforward matter. The five collections each consist of four part-books, with the bass just labelled 'BASSO' and no separate part for a continuo instrument. However, the bass parts of the sequences of pavans that begin all five books are figured, as are those in the sonatas and canzonas at the end of books 1, 4 and 5, and for these the designation changes from 'BASSO' to 'BASSO Continuo'. What this seems to mean is that all the other four-part pieces, including the Capriccio, are intended to be played without continuo. A related problem is whether the sonatas and canzonas should be played with a string bass instrument as well as the continuo. Most instrumental collections of the period have separate bass and continuo part-books, implying that when a piece is not given a part in the bass book it should be played just with a continuo instrument. In most of Farina's sonatas and canzonas the continuo part is subservient and so it works well for the soprano instruments to be accompanied just by a keyboard or a lute, though occasionally, as in the two-

part canzona 'La Marina' at the end of the first book, it takes an equal role in the musical argument, suggesting the later practice of doubling the continuo with a string bass.

Turning to the transcriptions on the CD, they are carefully done for the most part with a minimum of modernisation. Original time signatures and note-values are retained, as is the practice of treating accidentals as acting only on the note they prefix; thus 'redundant' accidentals are retained and editorial ones are added above the note for most (though not all) of the repetitions of the same pitch within a bar. There are also a large number of accidentals missing in the original prints, many (but not all) of which have been supplied by Bianco. He has transcribed the four-part pieces using treble, alto, tenor and bass clefs, presumably because these are the clefs found in the original print, though this is not immediately apparent from the 'Apparat critique', which lacks a clear statement of editorial principles. Using an alto clef for the tenor part would have made things rather easier for potential performers, be they viola or viol players. Another potential problem is the use of two-minim bars for the pavans, which gives the false impression of a crotchet rather than a minim beat, leading the uninformed to play them too slowly – as in several performances available on *YouTube*. Bianco's inner parts for the Darmstadt dances are reasonably idiomatic, though the alto parts lie rather too low, leaving an uncomfortable gap between them and the soprano parts.

Reading through the music on the CD, I was struck by the quality of the four-part dances, particularly the pavans, once I got used to Farina's rather quirky approach to harmonic progressions. The pavans have been rather overshadowed by the modern fame of the Capriccio and the scholarly focus on the early sonata to the exclusion of other genres of seventeenth-century instrumental ensemble music. I transcribed some of Farina's sonatas in the 1980s, and found them rather awkward and difficult to bring off in performance; renewing my acquaintance with them has not changed my opinion. Logical harmonies are often in short supply, and most of them are too long for their material. The aptly named 'La desperata', for instance, runs to more than 200 bars and takes nearly ten minutes to perform. There is also an unfortunate tendency in the trio sonatas for florid passagework to alternate mechanically between the two upper instruments, so that it sounds as if a crude cut-and-paste technique has been applied to a single line.

Overall, one gets the impression of a rather conservative composer, happier with traditional four-part writing in standard dance forms than with the relatively blank canvas and thin textures of the sonata, and this stance is also reflected in the organisation of his books. By the 1620s it had become common in Germany to group dances in suite-like sequences, as in some of the collections published by Brade and Simpson or in Schein's *Banchetto musicale* of 1617. Farina used an older model in which pieces are grouped by type, with the expectation that performers would make up their own sequences. In this respect, he followed Praetorius in *Terpsichore* (see the discussion in my article in this issue of *VdGSJ*) or John Dowland in *Lachrimae*, and he shared Dowland's reluctance to pair pavans and galliards. He scored them differently, with the bass figured in the pavans but not in the galliards; he avoiding relating them

thematically; and he chose the unusual key of A major for two galliards in the third book without providing matching pavans.

Bianco does not discuss these points in any detail, though he is good on the connections between Farina's pavans and the Anglo-German repertory, pointing out, for instance, that there is a quotation from Dowland's 'Lachrimae amantis' pavan at the beginning of the second strain of the first pavan in book 2, and that the second strain of the remarkable third pavan in book 3 is constructed using a three-note ostinato that migrates from the bass to the soprano part. He links this to the In Nomine tradition, but in fact a closer parallel would be English pieces based on migrating secular ostinatos, such as the settings of Browning, the various hexachord fantasias for keyboard, or William Byrd's setting of the Goodnight Ground. Much more could be said about Farina's dance music, though I was particularly struck by the three extended suites of branles in books 1, 3 and 5. They are similar in length and patterning to the great suite of branles by François Caroubel that begins *Terpsichore*, though Farina did not identify their constituent parts as Praetorius did, who gave them labels such as 'Bransle simple', 'Bransle Gay', 'Bransle de Poictou' and 'Bransle de Montirande'. Perhaps dance historians can help us to relate these pieces to the French dance tradition, enabling us to understand how they should be performed.

All in all, Aurelio Bianco has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of a fascinating but rather neglected composer. I hope that performing versions of his transcriptions will be made available, with separate parts and with the tenor line put into the alto clef. Only when Farina begins to be widely performed and recorded will we begin to understand his true importance and position in musical history.

Showcase Viols

Friedemann & Barbara Hellwig, *Joachim Tielke Kunstvolle Musikinstrumente des Barock*[1] (Berlin/München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011), 456 pages.
ISBN 978-3-422-07078-3 (hbk) €78.00

Richard Carter

In 1980, after a lifetime's dedicated research alongside his 'day job' as a luthier, Günther Hellwig published a monograph on the life and work of the Hamburg instrument maker Joachim Tielke (1641-1719). The book was well received: not only did it sell out within a few years, but the interest it generated inevitably brought new information and a significant number of hitherto unknown instruments to light. Thus it was that when the present authors, son and daughter-in-law of Hellwig senior, undertook the task of preparing a second edition it rapidly became apparent that nothing short of a complete re-write was called for.

The project was to occupy the Hellwigs for seven years, during which time they travelled the world in order to personally document each surviving instrument or fragment. The resulting book is an impressive achievement, handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated in full colour. This may well conjure up the impression of a coffee-table book (which Tielke's highly ornamented instruments certainly invite), but there is nothing superficial about the scholarship here and the presentation is straightforward and informative. The format has been nicely judged too, the paper size a little under A4, the cover a little over—big enough to adequately accommodate the illustrations, but handy enough to sit comfortably in the lap. That it weighs in at just over 2kg is the price to be paid for the quality paper necessary to do justice to the fine photography. And all this for an extremely reasonable price![2]

The authors had themselves contributed to the 1980 monograph, and were its dedicatees: my initial qualms that this might lead to scholarly integrity taking second place to filial reverence proved to be completely unfounded—Hellwig senior's work is thoroughly and rigorously overhauled, his attributions, assessments and conclusions are further developed, rejected or confirmed in a refreshingly objective manner. Equally refreshing is the objectivity with which the achievement of Joachim Tielke himself is approached: the Hellwigs' admiration for their subject shines out of every page, but never spills over into hagiography.

The greater part of the book consists of an inventory of all the known surviving Tielke instruments, with separate chapters devoted to the lute family, guitars, 'Hamburg' citterns (*Hamburger Cithrinchen*), pochettes, the violin family, violas d'amore, the viols, and barytons. This is preceded by around 100 pages of biographical and other background material, and chapters highlighting

---

[1] 'Joachim Tielke Ornate Musical Instruments of the Baroque'
[2] At the time of writing (internet search 11th December 2012) the book was obtainable for less than £50.

specific aspects of Tielke's work. The book is rounded off by appendixes covering the work of related instrument makers, and a useful series of tables listing the instruments both in numerical order and (where relevant) according the museum or collection which holds them. Additions and errata are, or will be dealt with on the authors' website.[3]

As a coda, tucked away just inside the back cover, a useful two-page summary in English of the text sections of the book is provided—each chapter neatly condensed into a very readable paragraph.[4]

The first chapters chart Tielke's domestic and working life and set him in context in late seventeenth-century Hamburg. The securely documented facts of his life are quickly told; this skeleton is usefully fleshed out by general descriptions of the guild system and the administrative and trading conditions within which he must have operated. A remarkably lively picture emerges of a man who was capable of sitting at the workbench, but probably spent most of his time as the businessman, liaising with suppliers and customers, and supervising skilled specialist craftsmen in the enormously successful workshop operation he had built up. The best documented event turns out to be the golden wedding of Tielke and his wife Catherina, celebrated in 1717 by a series of gushing tributes, some in verse, from family and friends, a selection of which were published. These have furnished useful biographical information.

A subsequent chapter deals with pupils, imitators and successors: this is another poorly documented area where many conclusions must remain speculative.

To close this section of the book the Hellwigs had the happy idea of printing, without comment, a varied assortment of quotations drawn from encyclopaedias, diaries, newspapers and other sources. These provide a potted history of the reception of Tielke's work—both positive and negative—over the centuries since his death. Arthur Hill, of W. E. Hill & Sons, wrote in his diary on January 2nd 1915:

> 'The German family of Tielke made some of the most wonderful
> string instruments … yet I have never heard of any German taking
> the trouble to tell us anything about these craftsmen.'

There follow three chapters which give an overview of selected aspects of the instruments which came out of Tielke's workshop—the labels and signatures, the decoration, and the varnish. Inevitably the decoration claims the most attention: the carved heads and pegboxes, the purfling, the roses and soundholes, the appliqué fretwork, and the feature which we most associate with Tielke, the extraordinary inlays and marquetry. These last are put into context both in terms of technique and subject matter. Hellwig explains the method of lightly gluing several layers of dark and light material together with a template before cutting them all in one operation, which means that each pattern is produced at least twice, with dark and light areas reversed. A

---

[3] <www.tielke-hamburg.de> (parallel pages in German and English)
[4] With so many unidiomatic do-it-yourself translations around these days it is a pleasure to report that the authors took the trouble to engage Colin Tilney for the task.

remarkable number of these complementary pairs of instruments have survived, and are reunited, at least photographically, in these pages. Research has also revealed the source of many of the emblematic panels with which the most lavishly decorated instruments are adorned: 21 engravings from Otto van Heen's 'Amorum Emblemata', published in Antwerp in 1608, are reproduced here, for comparison with the inlaid panels which Tielke's craftsmen derived from them. Others are shown to be based on illustrations from Daniel Heinsius' 'Nederduytsche Poemata' (Amsterdam, 1616), and Henri van Offelen's 'Devises et Emblemes Anciennes et Modernes' (Augsburg 1695).

Also illustrated is a series of twelve untitled engravings of classical deities by Cornelis Danckerts published in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, which were repeatedly reproduced on Tielke instruments: the one evidently depicting Diana was used particularly frequently in association with the emblems of profane love. Hellwig argues here that Tielke, ignoring the clues offered by a bow-toting goddess sporting a half-moon diadem reclining in a chariot pulled by two stags, mistakenly took it to represent Venus, and the accompanying cherub—who has no bow—to be Cupid.

This bringing together of all Tielke's instruments between two covers also provides a fascinating picture of the widely varying quantity of decoration which was applied: the violins and some of the viols are very plain, with at most a carved head and pegbox—some even have inked-on 'purfling'— whereas others seem to be more decoration than instrument. Indeed, this proves to be no exaggeration, as it seems that some of the most elaborately inlaid examples genuinely are unplayable and meant only for the showcase, either because the mosaic body construction would not stand the full string tension, or because inlaid semi-precious stones stand proud of the fingerboard. On the other hand, the plain instruments allow us to form a clearer impression of the basic body outlines, which show that the aesthetics of simple shape and proportion was perhaps not the strongest suit of the Tielke workshops. This is seen most clearly with the violins, where the corners are little more than a small interruption in a 'guitar' outline; here is neither the restrained elegance of the Cremonese or Stainer instruments made on moulds, nor the strongly modelled individuality of a William Baker or the Alemannic school of South Germany and Switzerland. The one surviving cello is, optically at least, a particular disappointment, the outline and proportions gauche, almost home-made.[5] It seems, however, that the cello sounds well, and the authors are able to produce plenty of evidence that Tielke instruments were prized for their sound: he obviously had the ability to choose good tone wood, and the plate thicknessing was well judged.

The brief chapter discussing varnish contains what was for me, at least, the biggest surprise of all, that on the evidence of those instruments which have not been re-varnished in the course of restoration or repair, the varnish used by the Tielke workshop was disastrously ill-chosen and has not stood the test of time at all well.

---

[5] Recently discovered photographs of two further cellos are posted on the authors' website, these show much more assured and elegant proportions and outline.

The chapters containing the descriptions of the individual instruments are preceded by an explanation of abbreviations and the method of presentation of measurements etc. This includes diagrams of a lute, a viol and a guitar with the component parts labelled in German, and a helpful glossary giving English and French equivalents. This, in combination with the text summary already mentioned, makes the book far more accessible to non-speakers of German than it might at first sight appear.[6] However, the lists are not complete in every language; there are four question marks in the English and one in the French. For completeness: *Kappe* (on the lute) is the 'capping strip' or 'endclasp'; *Span* (in the context of the purfling) is 'veneer'; *Teil* (component part of a three- or five-piece front) is 'stave'. I too am stumped for a concise English term for the opposite end of the fingerboard to the nut. The French for 'centre bout' is missing, although this seems to be an oversight, as 'bout' has already been given as *écranchure*.

In 1980 Günther Hellwig numbered the 139 surviving Tielke 'works' then known in a single, chronological sequence. The present authors now exclude four of these as inauthentic, but are able to add 34 which were previously unknown. They have chosen to renumber this new total of 169, again in a single chronological sequence, this time using TieWV numbers, mirroring the modern cataloguing of the compositions of Bach, Buxtehude, Schütz, Handel and Telemann: the old numbers are cross-referenced, so 135 'works' have two numbers, any future new finds will be incorporated by means of a letter suffix, TieWV 153a, for example. I wish I were as convinced of the wisdom of this as the Hellwigs are. One obvious criticism is that although many instruments have securely authenticated labels, others can only be approximately dated by informed guesswork, whose status may change in the future, but which has been given a stamp of authority by the TieWV number—usually allocated according to the earliest possible dating. But more problematic, I think, is that this single sequence has to do for such a variety of artefacts: not only are there eight different instrument types represented (not including possible subdivisions of the lute and violin families), there are also fragments (a neck, or a pegbox), a number of instruments which were documented earlier in the twentieth century but which have since disappeared, and finally, instruments made by others but labelled and sold by Tielke. To be fair, uncertainties of dating or attribution, and the possibility of further new discoveries (there are already three[7]) mean that a fully consistent and logical cataloguing will never be possible; some sort of simple sequential numbering is probably the best compromise, and serves well enough for purposes of identification—provided that the next revision does not re-number once again! Nevertheless, I think there was a case to be made for separate sequences for each category of instrument.

And so to the chapters containing the detailed inventory: each begins with a few pages of introductory material and goes on to describe the instruments in chronological order. There is a lot of information here, and whereas the shorter chapters, such as those on the violin family or the barytons, can be

---

[6] Reading between the lines, especially on the authors' website, a full English translation does not seem to be planned, which is a great pity, as I am sure it would be welcomed.

[7] <www.tielke-hamburg.de> accessed 31 December 2012.

absorbed in one sitting, that concerning the viols is better suited for dipping into, as the sheer quantity of instruments soon defeats the concentration! A good place to begin, along with the photographs, is the descriptive paragraph which ends each entry: these vary in length from one sentence to half a column or more, depending on the importance of the instrument. Preceding this, some or all of the following information is provided: present owner; label and/or signature (including any repair labels); a listing and description of original parts, including construction details if known (presence of linings or corner blocks, method of attaching the neck); dimensions; any known previous owners; any published literature (sale catalogues, restoration reports etc.); technical drawings, if any; CD or other recordings featuring the instrument; page or illustration numbers if the instrument is additionally discussed elsewhere in the book.

The entries vary in length from less than a quarter of a column and one photograph, e.g. for TieWV 22, a viol of which only part of the body is original, to seven pages and thirteen illustrations for TieWV 64, one of the most ornately inlaid (but unplayable) viols. Commendable care has been taken with the photographs to show only what is original: if the neck and pegbox are modern, we see only the body; if the pegbox has been grafted onto a new neck, the body and pegbox are shown separately; if the front has been replaced, only the back and ribs are illustrated. This means that, with a few exceptions, the overall visual impression is restricted to the genuine Tielke workshop product; cumulatively, the effect of this is significant—the exceptions are mainly those instruments which have disappeared after being documented in black and white photographs from the early twentieth century, and one or instances where a neck has been made narrower and fitted with a long ebony fingerboard for use as a cello, but is otherwise unaltered. Sadly nothing can be done to improve the appearance of the often hideous replacement pegs which spoil the look of too many of the instruments.

Care has also been taken with the layout, which is varied flexibly to suit the different photograph formats. In most cases the photographs and descriptions are on the same opening, avoiding the otherwise irritating need to turn to and fro. The price paid for this is endnotes—at the end of each chapter—rather than the more convenient footnotes: I had at first been prepared to note this as a fault, but after realising what damage footnotes would have inflicted on the layout I happily withdraw the criticism! In any case, the book is kitted out with a ribbon bookmark which may be pressed into service to locate the endnotes when necessary.

Dimensions are also restricted to original parts; in particular the sounding string length is only given precisely if it is considered reliably authentic. In one or two cases where the neck angle has been altered but not the length, an approximate original SSL is estimated. The dimensions given are not intended to be sufficient for a copy to be made, but are for comparison. It seems no two Tielke viols are the same dimensions, the workshop did not use moulds, so in a sense, aiming to make an accurate copy is missing the point! Nevertheless, it is a shame to have no information at all about plate thicknesses, or to know whether they are remarkable in any way.

The Tielke viols emerge from all this as a fascinating mix of sometimes perverse and paradoxical construction features. Earlier examples typically have a three-piece front, the centre stave 6-7cm wide, and perhaps bent, and the pegs mounted 'mirror-imaged', that is, the peg nearest the nut on the treble side; later the workshop went over to 'conventional' two-piece carved fronts and the pegs in the usual arrangement. Notable also are the arched backs, which began to appear from 1683, the early ones three-piece, like the fronts. Many also show a hybrid form, the upper part bent longitudinally over ribs pre-cut either to a gentle curve, or with a sharp fold. Some of these have suffered quite spectacular deformation with the stress of the years.

Viols account for about half the surviving Tielke oeuvre; the other instrument types manufactured in his workshop are of course covered here in equal detail. It is especially fascinating for a non-specialist to be introduced to a number of plucked instruments which are less often encountered today. The little *Hamburger Cithrinchen*, a form of bell cittern, obviously enjoyed great local popularity; it featured an early form of vibrato bar, in which the strings of all but the lowest course are attached to a hinged tailpiece. The Tielke citterns, like many other wire-strung instruments which had fixed metal frets, show evidence of unequal fret spacings: Hellwig reports, however, that the placing of the frets is so inconsistent that it is not possible to deduce what temperament might have been aimed at. I must say I find the graphic presentation (page 202) of the average measured fret positions rather obscure.

Guitars were produced in three basic sizes, and as we see with other contemporary instrument makers, they carry the most lavish decoration. In addition to the 'normal' size with body length 42-45cm and sounding string length (SSL) 64-69cm already mentioned there are small ones, with a body only 25-30cm long and SSL around 45cm, and some veritable giants, the bodies 50-55cm long with SSL 75cm or more. Hellwig is content to describe the small instruments as 'Terz' guitars, but does point out that they are small enough to be tuned more than a third higher than normal; comparison with the string lengths in use today shows that they are even smaller than 'Quarte' guitars.[8] Another quirky feature is evident here: although there are always ten pegs, enough original bridges survive to show that there were only ever nine strings, the first course being single-strung.

The workshop's range included 11-course lutes, mandoras and angéliques. This last was an instrument for amateurs, a hybrid between theorbo and harp with 16 single courses, the ten stopped courses also tuned diatonically. The best preserved example (TieWV 139) has both the saddle and table marked with numbering of the strings, and tablature letters on the bass edge of the fingerboard (up to 'k') alongside the frets. Few of the surviving lute family instruments are in their original state; in particular lutes have been converted to 'theorbos' by mounting an extended swan necked double pegbox, sometimes re-using decorative elements salvaged from the original pegbox, which then no longer quite fit. Strictly speaking these are in most instances 'theorbed lutes',

---

[8] Sizes are quite variable, but string lengths are typically: standard guitar 64cm; 'Terz' guitar 55cm; 'Quarte' guitar 50cm; 'Quinte-basse' guitar 70cm.

as only one of them has stopped courses long enough to require a re-entrant tuning.[9]

One was converted to a 'Swedish theorbo': this rare variant enjoyed popularity in the early decades of the nineteenth century; not only is the neck drilled behind the first three frets for a normal capo to be fastened, there is also a further ingenious mechanism which allows the player to raise the diapasons by one semitone, this is operated by the left hand with a lever mounted behind the neck.

The violas d'amore represent another organological byway: these are all of the type with five wire playing strings and no additional sympathetic strings. Friedemann Hellwig writes that his father Günther accepted only with deep misgivings that these instruments were violas d'amore, belonging as he did to the generation which had grown up viewing them as a small viol played on the shoulder, and calling them a *Diskant Viola da braccio*. As a result of such misunderstandings many instruments of this type are in use today as shallow-ribbed treble viols, played 'da gamba', either with five strings, or with neck and pegbox rebuilt for six strings.

It is not possible to discuss the viols from the Tielke workshop without attempting an explanation of their remarkable variation in size: the body lengths measure between 71.5cm[10] and 57.5cm, the sounding string lengths between 70.5cm and 57.5cm. Despite the similar overall range the correlation between body and string lengths is not particularly strong. Commentators generally assume that they are all bass viols, the top string nominally tuned to d', although this is usually asserted (as here) without justification. Two explanations are offered for the range of sizes: the first, that two basic sizes of viol were played at *Cammerton* or *Chorton*, pitch levels which were either two or three semitones apart, according to different sources quoted; the second, that at least some of the viols were used for unaccompanied solo playing and could be dimensioned purely to suit the customer.

Prof. Hellwig mentions the second explanation, which has been promoted by Annette Otterstedt,[11] but favours the first—although he does concede that the smallest surviving viol could be a large tenor. Arguing primarily on the basis of body lengths he sees two groups: the majority are of normal size, for use at *Cammerton*, and a small number are of small size, for use at *Chorton*. I have made my own tables and graphs of body length and sounding string length—of the 73 viols whose bodies survive complete, 22 are listed as reliably retaining their original SSL. The body lengths of the majority (66 instruments) are distributed quite widely around a clear peak at 67cm—the range is 62-71.5cm; there are six small instruments measuring 57.5-59.5cm. Consideration of the string lengths shows that twenty instruments fall into a continuum between 64 and 70.5cm,

---

[9] TieWV 154 now has stopped courses 83.8cm long. German speakers generally use the term *Theorbe* (without qualification) fairly loosely for any lute with two distinct pegboxes.

[10] Only one lies exceptionally outside this range: TieWV 84 has a festooned, baryton-like body which is 74cm long. I have disregarded it in the following discussion.

[11] See A. Otterstedt, 'Die Lyra Viol auf dem Continent und ihre Verwandten', in *Viola da gamba und Viola da braccio, Symposium im Rahmen der 27. Tage Alter Musik in Herne 2002*, ed. C. Ahrens & G. Klinke, pub. Stadt Herne (Musikverlag Katzbichler: Munich – Salzburg, 2006), 139-155.

the remaining two measure 61.5cm and 57.5cm. The small sample makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions: these figures represent a range of nearly four semitones,[12] but without the two clear peaks one could wish for to confirm the 'two pitch' hypothesis.

But is this the right way to look at it? Certainly seventeenth century England Playford recommended tuning the top string as high as it would go—so the playing pitch was determined by SSL[13]—and Thomas Mace insists on the strict proportions between consort instruments.[14] But already in 1640 Mersenne had described violas of three sizes all tuned alike,[15] and in 1687 Rousseau wrote that the English had begun to make their viols smaller before the French took up the idea, reflecting the impact of the newly introduced silver wound bass strings.[16] On the other hand, at the end of the 1690s James Talbot still reported the old larger sizes of viol.[17] In her book on the Alemannic school Olga Adelmann is content to describe the instruments which are built only one semitone longer than the violins as violas, the notion that they might be violins for lower pitch is not raised.[18] This pot-pourri of contemporary ideas suggests that without further evidence it seems risky to try to relate SSL to absolute pitch levels at this period: even the largest Tielke viol, with an SSL of 70.5cm, could be tuned up to a *Chorton* of A+1 without the top string breaking. Since it was not strictly necessary to build smaller viols for high pitch it is necessary to look elsewhere for evidence that this might have been the practice.

In this context it is also interesting to turn to the chapters on other instrument types; what I find there serves to make the variability of the viols seem almost wilful. The lutes, guitars and citterns mostly have elaborately inlaid necks; this has not only ensured their preservation, it also makes it easy to see whether the length has been altered. Eight lutes deliver trustworthy original string lengths, which range from 70 to 74cm. Surprisingly long in comparison to the viols, if one assumes the standard baroque lute tuning from *f'*, and remarkably consistent, spanning less than a semitone.

I have mentioned the guitar SSLs already, the standard sized instruments' range of 64-69cm is also quite consistent, spanning just over a semitone. The *Hamburger Cithrinchen* show even greater uniformity, six have string lengths between 36.5 and 37.5cm, one early example has strings 34.5cm long.

If I have rather harped on this point, it is because I find it particularly fascinating. I do not want to give the impression that the fact that I query some of the authors' interpretations and conclusions detracts significantly from the value of the book. The authors invariably make a clear distinction between

---

[12] String lengths of, for example, 57, 60.5, 64, 68 and 72cm represent semitone steps.

[13] See e.g. J. Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, 1655), 44

[14] T. Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), 246

[15] M. Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris 1640)

[16] J. Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris, 1687), 22

[17] J. Talbot, 'Collection for a Treatise upon Musick by Dean Aldrich', GB-Och Mus. MS 1187

[18] O. Adelmann and A. Otterstedt, *Die Alemannische Schule, Geigenbau des 17. Jahrhunderts im südlichen Schwarzwald und in der Schweiz* (Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz : Berlin, 1997): the tenor violins with unaltered necks have SSLs 34-35cm, which is only one semitone longer than a violin at 32cm.

presentation of information and their interpretation of it, and readers are free to examine the facts and draw their own conclusions.

The style and appearance of Tielke instruments is not to everyone's taste, and some readers will no doubt agree with Gerald Hayes' pithy remark, cited on page 47:

> The seventeenth-century firm of Tielke in Hamburg seems specially to have delighted in turning out the sort of instrument with which collectors love to fill their cabinets; and the musician is content to leave them with this choice.

Equally, there are plenty of Tielke aficionados today, as there were during and immediately after his lifetime. No serious student of the viol can afford to ignore him, and for anyone, enthusiast or detractor alike, seeking information on the man, his workshop and the instruments, this book is the place to start. Many more delights and surprises await the reader.

Mary Cyr, *Style and Performance for Bowed String Instruments in French Baroque Music* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2012), £60 (£54 when ordered on-line). ISBN 978-1-4094-0569-6. Also available as an ebook.

Richard Sutcliffe

It was with great enthusiasm that I agreed to review Mary Cyr's latest book, given my personal interest and research into this field. As a gambist I have always been puzzled by the lack of books dealing with the viola da gamba in France. Besides Hans Bol's *La basse de viole du temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray* and *Marin Marais* by Sylvette Milliot and Jérôme de La Gorce, both of which are over twenty years old, there have been no other books published which deal with this subject. Professor Cyr's collection of articles published in Ashgate's Variorum series: *Essays on the Performance of Baroque Music: Opera and Chamber Music in France and England* (reviewed in volume II of this Journal, pp. 83-5) had avoided the topic, to which she now turns in this new book. The French repertoire holds a unique place in the hearts of gambists as it presents the largest part of our solo and chamber music repertoire and a solid basis for our current knowledge of technique and performance practice. Mary Cyr's work is a welcome and much needed addition to the gambist's library.

While the title of this book presents a wide encompassing scope of study, Cyr specifies immediately in the introduction that she is dealing with the period between 1680 and 1760 and in particular with the violin, bass viola da gamba and violoncello. Less popular instruments such as other sizes of the viola da gamba like the treble or pardessus de viole and the viola d'amore are only dealt with in passing if at all.

I felt a definite preference was shown towards the viola da gamba and violoncello throughout the book and was left wanting more information and discussion of the violin as a solo instrument in France. On the other hand Cyr's discussion of the violin family and its particularly unique situation in French orchestral music was very interesting to read.

The book is divided into four sections:

Part I : Sources and Style in French Baroque Music
Part II : Bowed String Instrument in French Ensembles
Part III : Interpretation and Style in French Music for String Players
Part IV : Composer Profiles

Part 1 is a general introduction to early music performance practice and a discussion of why it is important, dealing with subjects such as the early music revival, problems in interpreting early music, the *guerre des bouffons* and the contemporary writers' views of this clash of Italian and French styles which dominated this period in France. For the specialist this will revisit well known sources and arguments. I fear that a novice to baroque music who reads this chapter may be left with their head spinning as neither the Italian or French styles are presented previously.

The second part of book is perhaps of greatest interest to both professionals and amateurs. While professional players are undoubtedly well educated in the

solo repertoire for their instrument as well as in technique and style, performance practice issues for ensembles in France may still be unclear. Lullian orchestration and the type of instruments used are discussed here, which definitely whets the appetite for both the musicologist and musician to the unique possibilities they present. Particular attention is given to the role of bass stringed instruments in different types of ensemble. The contra-bass and the practices of performers of the time of creating a 16' bass part out of the continuo part are well covered.

Part III discusses practical performance issues in French music such as articulation, tempo, inequality, ornamentation, pitch, temperament and continuo. Newcomers to baroque music and French baroque music in particular will find a wealth of information here. The issues of inequality and ornamentation are, especially for the gambist, the biggest hurdles when beginning this repertoire.

The fourth part of the book presents profiles of Marin Marais, Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre, Jean-Baptiste Barrière and both Antoine and Jean-Baptiste Forqueray. While these are unquestionably important composers it betrays the author's personal interests and leaning towards the violoncello and viola da gamba. Marais and the Forquerays are the shining composers of the French gamba repertoire and technique as is Barrière for the violoncello. I was disappointed that instead of dealing with an iconic violinist and composer such as Jean-Marie Leclair l'aîné or even Jean-Baptiste Lully's contribution to orchestral playing we are presented with Jacquet de La Guerre's violin sonatas, a subject of Cyr's previous research. After these four composer profiles I expected to find some type of conclusion to this wide ranging study but while we are presented with a lengthy introduction to the field of early music performance practice before launching into the subject of the book, there is no corresponding conclusion whatsoever.

The value of this work is unquestionable, especially for musicians who may be taking their first steps with a baroque string instrument or historical performance practice. More experienced early music performers and musicologists may find this work an eye opener to repertoires or techniques with which they are less familiar. The author discusses many pieces to illustrate particular points and while many of these have musical examples attached, elsewhere others were lacking, which decreased my appreciation of her discussion somewhat. Mary Cyr's *Style and Performance for Bowed String Instruments in French Baroque Music* will hold an important place amongst the relatively few books to appear in the last 30 years which deal with a specific but important part of the viola da gamba repertoire. While it does cover the violin and violoncello as well, the bulk of the work is related to the viola da gamba, which is not surprising, given the importance it held in French musical society during the time period of the study. I'm sure that I am not alone when I say that I hope that other authors will follow Cyr's lead and delve into this fascinating and important repertoire for the viola da gamba.

Purcell Society Edition, Companion Series, volume 4: *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, edited by Peter Holman and John Cunningham; Stainer and Bell, London, 2012, £55.00

Scores and Parts in three sets:
Set 1: Giovanni Battista Draghi: Sonata in G minor
        John Blow: Ground in G minor
        Johann Gottfried Keller: Sonata with Suite in G minor
        Ref. Y301; £20.00
Set 2: John Blow: Sonata in A major
        Gerhard Diesineer: Sonata in G minor
        Nicola Matteis senior: Sonata in A major
        Ref. Y302; £20.00
Set 3: Johann Gottfried Keller: Sonata in A major
        Robert King: Sonata in A major
        Nicola Matteis senior (attrib.): Sonata in D major
        Ref Y303; £15.00

Andrew Ashbee

The 32 volumes which make up the Purcell Society Edition are a finite entity, although revised editions keep pace with research into his work and the occasional new discovery, such as the keyboard volume which the British Library acquired in 1994. The splendid idea of a Companion Series (in a handsome light-blue livery) is now well under way and brings to the fore works by Purcell's contemporaries to set alongside his compositions and put them in context.

In an excellent introduction the editors of this volume begin by noting how few were the continental sonatas which reached England during the first half of the seventeenth century, whereas contemporary vocal music, particularly from Italy, was avidly collected and copied. Yet little *instrumental* music was imported by the London bookseller, Robert Martin. Given the number of immigrant musicians employed by the English court, this paucity is perhaps surprising, but they seem to have been content to compose in the prevailing English forms, in particular the dances which they were required to play daily. However the real block preventing sonatas from becoming established in England came from the so-called fantasia-suites initiated by Coprario and taken up by William Lawes, John Jenkins, Christopher Simpson, John Hingeston and Christopher Gibbons. Even so the relatively small number of sources for these works does not indicate a wide circulation, but they were undoubtedly preferred to foreign 'sonatas' by the patrons known to have owned them. So the editors can affirm with confidence that

> The fantasia-suite was equivalent to, but not necessarily influenced by, two of the types of Italian sonata, and its popularity in England from the 1620s to the 1660s probably prevented an interest in Italian instrumental music developing until after the Restoration.

The accession of Charles II brought a change of fashion. Where his father 'had a particular Mourning' for William Lawes 'whom he loved when living, and commonly called the *Father of Musick*', Charles II had 'an utter detestation of Fancys' and promoted a lighter French style which he had absorbed while in exile. Roger North, studying law in London from 1669, took after his grandfather, who wrote that

> Our Frenchified Age requires rather a recollection and settling
> towards sobriety and gravity, than to be bubbled up to an over-
> Airy humour and lightness.

Roger and his fellow musicians too 'found most satisfaction in the Italian, for their measures were just and quick, set off with wonderfull, solemn *Grave's*, and full of variety.' The restoration of the royal court in London in 1660 ensured that the capital was confirmed as the prime centre for music-making in England, drawing foreign musicians like Baltzar and Matteis to revolutionize violin playing there.

This volume includes just the twelve trio sonatas which can be placed in the reign of Charles II, half by Englishmen and half by foreign composers working here. Each work receives an individual comment in the introduction. Heading the list is Draghi's G minor sonata, a fine piece which the editors note contains both English and Italian elements. They find interesting comparisons with Locke's Broken Consort suites, especially in the use of dissonance. Like no. 3 (Blow's ground in the same key) the continuo player had no figuring to guide him, but was expected to invent his part from a score or the bass, an English tradition traceable back to Jacobean times. More Italianate are the constant changes of tempo – eight in all – preventing clear division into movements. Blow's ground is technically an interloper, but well worth including. Volume I of the sets of parts concludes with no. 4 of the main volume, a sonata-suite by Keller. Both elements, say the editors, are similar to contemporary works by Dietrich Becker, which are found in several English manuscripts of the time. The suite: Allemand, Courante, Sarabanda and Gavotte mixes continental and English features, for the 'Sarabanda' abandons the quick English variety for the more stately type preferred abroad, and yet the suite concludes with a slow 'drag' section so popular with English composers of fantasia-suites. In fact the slow triple-time saraband pattern is well established throughout this series of sonatas and the English version is nowhere to be seen.

The second set of parts contains items 2, 6 and 7, sonatas in A major by Blow and Matteis senior and one in G minor by Diesineer. These three works, together with no. 4, the editors group as an *à tre* type 'with an obbligato string bass part that elaborates the continuo or diverges in places from it'. The divergence is actually quite limited in the Matteis and Diesineer – occasional passages for continuo only – but very evident in the Blow. Diesineer's sonata contains two substantial florid passages for solo violin (one for each of the two parts) of a kind which appears often in works like those now at Durham for violin, bass and continuo. Blow's sonata was evidently popular since it survives in five sources. The editors note its Italianate and French traits and its relationship with the anthem *The Lord is my shepherd*, as well as the greater independence of the string bass from the continuo. They discount an associated anonymous sonata in G major, formerly attributed to Blow, as being

'by an unidentified mid-century German or Italian composer', so that is omitted from the edition. (There's a missing # in front of the g' on p. 9, bar 20, violin 1 of the main score, but it is corrected in the parts/separate score.)

Nos. 5 and 8, both in the third set of parts, 'are examples of the less common *à due* type in which the dialogue between the violins is supported solely by a chordal continuo instrument without a bowed bass.' No. 5, by Keller, like the Diesineer, alternates triple- and common-time with solo display passages for the two violins in turn, while King's piece a 'Sonetta after the Italion way' is in four sections, with a grave opening and conclusion enveloping lively allegro and triple-time passages. One other sonata completes those for which parts have been published: no. 8 in D major, attributed to Matteis senior in MS D2 of Durham Cathedral Library, although the editors believe the work 'to be too early in style to be him.' It is attractive: two outer imitative allegros involving all three parts sandwich a brief adagio and a longer triple movement where all the interest is in the violin parts.

What survives of three incomplete sonatas appears in the main volume only, in the hope that the missing parts may one day come to light. These are the F minor sonata by Isaac Blackwell, for which there are two violin parts in British Library, Add. MS 31431. The editors have a higher opinion of the Sampson Estwick sonata in Add. MS 63627, of which only the violin I part is known. A post-1695 copy of a continuo part only for a sonata in E major by Matteis senior is in William Andrew Clark Memorial Library, MS M401 P98s. Who knows what sources will turn up as RISM and others continue to catalogue the world's holdings of music manuscripts? These twelve pieces come from twelve sources. Editing throughout is exemplary, using well established methods. Continuo parts in the performing editions are not realised, but generally the harmonic language should be simple enough for keyboard and lute players to fill out without difficulty. All are delightful pieces and deserve to be better known. Hopefully this edition will encourage performances of them.

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

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

RICHARD CARTER grew up in a musical family, playing the 'cello, but was dissuaded from studying music and took a degree in Physics at New College, Oxford. Dissatisfied with the career which unfolded, he spent twenty years living and working on the English canals. Increasing interest in early music and historical performance led to him taking up the viol and baroque 'cello, with encouragement and guidance from Stewart McCoy, Alison Crum and Catherine Finnis. Since moving to Austria in 2002 he has devoted himself to early music, supporting the teaching and performing activities of his partner, Johanna Valencia, and running a small publishing venture, Oriana Music, with a special emphasis on lyra viol and viol music for beginners. He is a founder member of the Vienna-based viol consort Almayne, and a former editor of this journal (2009).

WENDY HANCOCK is a performer and teacher of the Baroque flute and recorder, and her research interests mainly concern performance-practice and country house music, especially the musical connections of the Curzon family, at Kedleston Hall, near Derby in the 18th century. For ten years, between 1977 and 1987, (three of these with Peter Holman) she was editor of *Chelys*, the journal of the Viola da Gamba Society. In Nottingham she founded the Holme Pierrepont Opera Trust for the performance of Baroque opera on original instruments, and the Baroque ensemble Musica Donum Dei, of which she is Artistic Director. She teaches part-time for Nottingham University, as well as writing and reviewing, and enjoys playing the viol with friends in consort. **She is to be the guest editor for volume VII of this Journal (2013).**

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

RICHARD SUTCLIFFE is a performer on violas da gamba and baroque violin as well as a musicologist. He studied modern violin and music education at the State University of New York at Potsdam before devoting himself to early music. He completed his study of viola da gamba and chamber music

with Wieland Kuijken at the Koninklijk Conservatorium in Brussels and furthered his research on the viola da gamba and its repertoire at the Orpheus Institute in Ghent. Richard has published his research in various American and European journals as well as editing three books of graded solos for the viola da gamba drawn from the historical repertoire which appeared in 2012. He currently teaches viola da gamba in the music academies of Brussels and Mechelen. Since 2012 he has been a researcher at the Brussels conservatory working on their collection of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach as well as the music of the Fiocco family. He currently resides in Mechelen, Belgium where he studies carillon in his spare time.